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# the Public Eye

A Journal of Social and Political Issues

*In Depth*

NCLC: America's Largest Political  
Intelligence Army

## Also in This Issue

- NCLC on the Right
- ID network: Right spies  
on Left for the Feds
- The New Reaction



# the Public Eye

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A Journal of Research and Analysis on Political and Social Issues That Affect Everyone.

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The Repression Information Project

# the Public Eye

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The Public Eye is a journal of political events, social interaction and change which analyzes current conditions in light of their real influences. By tearing the "new and improved" label off popular commentary, we assess contemporary American life as an historical phase and a human development alongside other worldly developments. In the pages of the Public Eye, the reader will not find the one-dimensional surreality projected by the mass media, but a hard, close study of poverty and repression, community and growth.

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The Public Eye is a publication of the *Repression Information Project*, a non-profit research center focussing on repression in the USA.

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# the Public Eye

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**REACTION:** according to Webster's Third International Dictionary, "an action induced by vital resistance to another action." Although, strictly speaking, this definition is physiological, its analogue is in the political arena where reactionary groupings act, reflex-like, to defend the current social order from changes demanded by the most vocal advocates of a more just and humane society.

In this journal, we probe the recent history of political reaction in America and the continuing project of broadening and deepening our understanding of how these groups function: how, in other words, they can disrupt and subvert the movement for social and political change as, for example, when government spy agencies and right wing political organizations act in tandem, casting a wide net of infiltration and surveillance over the Left.

A question often asked is: "Where are you at politically?" Officially, we are non-partisan researchers. But it is important to realize that we have a slant, albeit a general one. We do believe in progressive social change, in the strict adherence to the principles of human rights, and in incorporating the dynamic notions of change and struggle into everyday life. We recognize the need for developing a party of the people. And we are devoted to the process of educational exchange which will bring that about. We also see the need for experimenting with new lifestyles and stretching the boundaries of human work, thought, and expression into areas as yet unfathomed. Alongside this widening outlook is an unswervingly focussed awareness of divisive, anti-democratic, anti-community tendencies in society at large. Our human concerns and political

aspirations must be forever intertwined.

As public researchers whose goal is public enlightenment we present this study for popular consideration of the historical significance of reaction, answering questions about its roots, its class composition, and its ability to counteract progressive political activity by trying to deny activists their basic rights. The repressive movements described herein are anti-democratic, anti-change by nature. And, while lacking the cohesiveness of a tight-fighting ideology and organizational structure, they are like shackles on the struggle for more advanced social forms.

In this issue of *The Public Eye*, we resume our ongoing report on the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a small political sect which both maintains a rigidly authoritarian internal structure and wages campaigns to terrorize and dismantle legitimate political formations.

Documents show that the National Caucus of Labor Committees, also known as the U.S. Labor Party, has won an audience at government intelligence agencies, for whom it acts as a voluntary informant, targeting the left-wing which it has been out to decimate since 1973. After viewing 5000 pages of the FBI's files on the NCLC/USLP, obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, we conclude that NCLC has become what is possibly the largest political intelligence outpost in America. Files from state and local police reveal, without a doubt, a continual effort by NCLC to offer these agencies information about political organizations. In one conspicuous case, the Labor Committee sent an "Open Letter to the Philadelphia Police Department" taking ten pages and flow charts to outline most of the progressive political organization in Philadelphia.

## Eyes Right

Since last year, NCLC has been working ever more closely to ultra-conservative and far right-wing camps. Recently, NCLC's organizing attempts on the Right became public, a fact which requires covering up the contradictory position of its former, self-proclaimed association with the Left and adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. At GOP fundraising dinners or on speaking tours with George Wallace's American Independent Party chairman, the USLP is not only warning of imminent nuclear war, as it has been for years, but is now also hysterically predicting "an explosion of socialist revolutions." Most intriguing, however, is that, despite the group's seemingly dramatic "defection" to the Right, its stated goals and tactics have not changed a bit. The only difference is that, in place of its vaunted hegemony over the Left is its now equally vaunted hegemony over the counter-revolutionary vanguard. To make our analysis complete, NCLC will be put where it belongs, in the context of protofascism in America.

But there is still another perspective from which to view the group. The fanaticism and hysteria which characterizes the NCLC's behavior makes the group not only a political, but also a cult organization. Accordingly, it is used as an example of political cults past and present, such as the Fundamentalism of the '20s and the Scientologists and Jesus people of today. In this section, we particularly emphasize the authoritarian temper of political cults which offer salvation in exchange for absolute obedience.

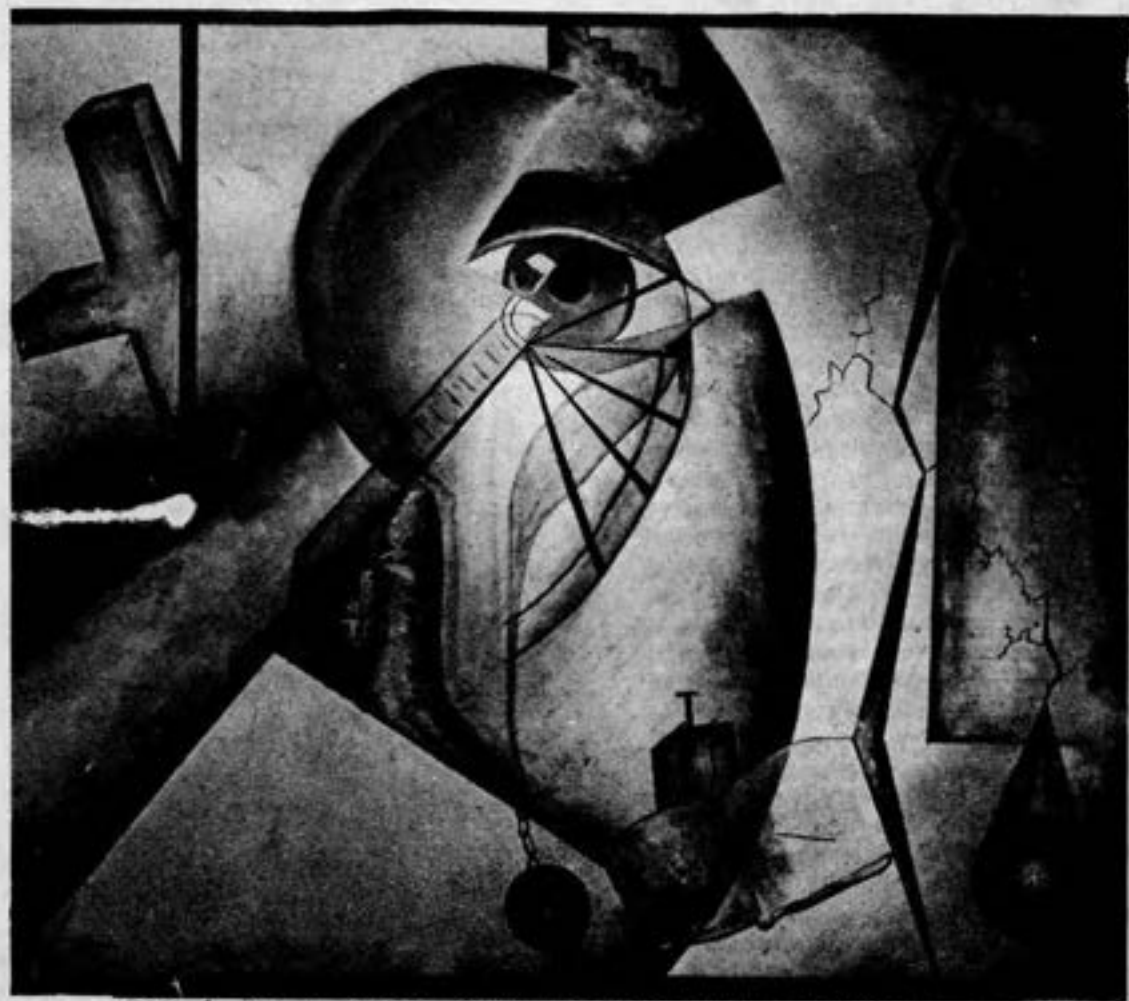
Other issues to be covered include a detailed report, reflecting over a year's research of the *Information Digest* network. The ID, a right-wing newsletter published bi-weekly since the late '60s, was originally exposed during an inquiry conducted by the

New York State legislature. Since then, much more has been learned, establishing its links to infiltrators, the John Birch Society, Congressman Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), government agencies and private security organizations. These findings represent the most comprehensive published documentation on the topic to date.

The last sections place the research and analyses in a general context of the right-wing in America and give an historical perspective on repression in the U.S. To combat the Right's anti-democratic thrust—potentially liberal democracy's reserve repressive army—we've tried to provide counter-strategies for organizing throughout.



# NCLC/U.S. Labor Party



PANDEMONIUM

# Political Chameleon to Right-Wing Spy



## History

In the last pamphlet on the National Caucus of Labor Committees, we constructed an argument, based on the history, tactics, programs, and internal structure of the organization, that the group was working to discredit and disrupt the work of progressive political groups and individuals. In the process of doing everything possible to gain state power, NCLC was doing the work, we claimed, of a repressive apparatus, a government-blessed institution of social control. Since that study, we have obtained the proof.

The following section includes remarks and accounts which could expose our sources to harm and harassment. Some have been threatened in the past for discussing their various group affiliations. Out of consideration, therefore, those interviewed require complete anonymity.

NCLC began as one of many groups which came out of the SDS community in the late '60's. In 1968, it was known as the SDS Labor Committee, which became a dissident faction purged from the Columbia University chapter for taking an unpopular position supporting the New York City school teachers on strike against community control of schools in Black neighborhoods.

Lyndon Hermyle LaRouche, also known as Lyn Marcus, is the founder, leader, guru, father figure of NCLC. The 55-year-old LaRouche was born in Rochester, N.H., the son of a Quaker family which formed its own fundamental sect. One ex-NCLC member described him as "some kind of mad genius." People who knew him well in the 1950's thought he was a genius who had a messiah complex. "He always talked about phallus and castration.

## History

LaRouche began, in this violent stage, to interpret all of reality. The group began to emerge as a cult. Members were put through intense indoctrination sessions and provided new father images.

He presupposes phallus more than Freud does."

In describing himself, Marcus says he was an "egregious child; I wouldn't say an ugly duckling, but a nasty duckling." He is now gaunt and sports thick, black-rimmed glasses. A college drop-out, bored with school, Marcus left Northeastern University in Boston during his first year. He neither had nor claims to have formal training in psychology or related fields which would give him the expertise he implies in his brainwashing techniques. He has been employed as a management consultant, a marketing researcher and computer programmer and systems designer first for his father and later, on his own.

After years of membership in the SWP, beginning in 1948, LaRouche left in 1957 having failed to achieve the recognition he tried hard to attain. He and his wife, Carol Schnitzer, then attempted to start various left-wing organizations. In 1967-68, LaRouche, under the name of Marcus, taught a course entitled, "Elementary Marxist Economics," at the Free University of New York—a one-time successful free university and center of political activity in New York. The course description Marcus wrote said, in part: "Because of their ignorance of how the U.S. economy operates, a variety



of socialists accept the delusion of the Triple Revolution Committee."

The Free University and LaRouches' activities in the Village Committee for Independent Action provided him a small following. The 30-member SDS Labor Committee became the NCLC after being thrown out of SDS.

From the beginning, NCLC set itself apart from the rest of the socialist movement. The combination of their unpopular support of the New York Teachers Union, their eccentric, bespectacled, gaunt authoritarian leader, and their early signs of a fascination for fascist history, were all indicators that NCLC's political evolution would be tainted by largely voluntary mounting antagonism against the rest of the Left. In the September, 1968, issue of *The Campaigner*, a publication of NCLC, the lead article began with two entire paragraphs of Benito Mussolini quotes and spent the remainder of the article trying to show that the New Left could head in the direction of fascism. The 13-page article gives the reader a basic knowledge about how to launch a fascist movement. Marcus was obviously enthralled by the ideas he was writing.

NCLC remained small and unnoticed in the 1968-72 period. In 1969, three Philadelphia LC members were arrested and

# NCLC/U.S. Labor Party: America's Largest Political Intelligence Army

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charged with illegal possession of explosives and conspiracy. In 1970, they began their publication, at the time called *Solidarity*, but changed the name to *New Solidarity*. The timing was apparently too late to avert a UAW trademark suit, one of several legal actions the UAW initiated against the NCLC, totalling \$30 million. The UAW newspaper is called *Solidarity*.

In 1970, ELC, NCLC's European organ, after much persistence by ELC organizers, combined with a German Vietnam Veteran deserter group, which was responsible for a publication called the *Next Step*. During this relatively brief relationship there were continual clashes. As one *Next Step* member recalled, "ELC was extremely tolerant in the early 1970's, though even back then, they couldn't learn from other people. The group drifted away from this openness. Consequently, we clashed continuously."

The Americans who had contact with the ELC thought it employed a "used car sales approach, which now would be best described as messianic," one *Next Step* member noted. Members of *Next Step* published a critique expressing their disaffection with NCLC, calling it "The Politics of Appearances." This dealt the death blow to their relationship. (See *Cults* sections.)

Marcus' wife began to take opposing positions within the NCLC when during meetings, she raised alternative viewpoints to those of her husband. This led to her separation from him in mid-1972.

After she left the organization, in great part due to the increasing wrath she incurred in meetings, Marcus centralized power around himself. This is when he started labelling all dissenters as "CIA agents" or accusing them of suffering from a "mother complex."

In April 1973, NCLC launched Operation Mop-up, a clean sweep of the CPUSA. LaRouche returned from a long trip to Europe in March, declared the physical attack mop-up strategy and tightened his reins even more.

NCLC attacked various action groups on an estimated 60 occasions, using "goon squads" that contained 25 to 50 members. Many activists were sent to the hospital; others chose to leave organizations like NWRO, one of the key NCLC targets. Still others lashed back in self-defense, generally ending in legal trouble. All the major incidents of violence generated FBI and local police investigations of the groups and individuals involved.

During this six-month attack phase, NCLC established a front organization, called NUWRO, to absorb all of the members of NWRO when it fell apart. Even though NUWRO received sizeable participation at a few conferences, for reasons that are not fully understood, it never did much.

LaRouche began, in this violent stage, to interpret all of reality. The group began to emerge as a cult. Members were put through intense indoctrination sessions and provided new father images. Total time commitments were required, mostly filled with trivial tasks which brought the average member to the point of exhaustion. Possessions were turned over to the organization, and all members were expected to live together in apartments with each other, or live alone.

As the conspiracy theories began to emerge, NCLC was found to be in the trap it had warned the Left about five years earlier. Since the two required reading books were LaRouches' *Dialectical Materialism*, an almost incomprehensible tract, and his

## NCLC on the Right

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*Beyond Psychoanalysis*, it was easy to control knowledge inside the group. The groundwork was laid for conspiracies, to establish their adversarial relationship with the rest of the world. From Rockefeller nuclear holocaust plans, to work speed-up programs, to CIA brainwashing of NCLC members, to FBI harassment, their conspiracies were usually incomprehensible.

The member's hypnotic facial expression, lack of a sense of humor and the ever present apocalypse has raised many questions about their internal structure. The ultimate goal is to convince the member that the world is in great danger and that NCLC and only NCLC offers hope for humanity.

LaRouche's paranoia is manifested in the membership. His sexual vengeance is expressed by the inferior role women play in the group. Dissent is not tolerated. The member constantly lives in a world where a catastrophe is imminent, thinking that only LaRouche and NCLC can save the world from it.

LaRouche's political vengeance has been distilled by years of consistent rejections by SWP and by SDS. He felt that he had to eliminate from the political arena all political groups and activists who would not recognize his destiny as the leader of his own movement.

It would seem, his plan is to clear the way to power by disorganizing every movement and all segments of the political spectrum. He started with the CPUSA and the SWP in 1973. He then went to attacks on ultra-left sects in 1974-75. In 1976, NCLC attacked the bicentennial demonstration organizations and passed intelligence information to local police and the FBI. In 1977, the targets have been Ralph Nader and his organizations and the anti-nuclear movement. Simultaneously, the

NCLC has been acquainting itself with the Right.

Just as Hitler saw his destiny as ruler of the Master Race, LaRouche envisions a similar destiny for himself. He told the *Washington Post* in a February 17, 1974, interview that since the 1930s, "... I was resolved that no revolutionary movement was going to be brought into being in the USA unless I brought it into being."

## NCLC On The Right

According to a dialectical proposition it is the whole which determines the truth—not in the sense that the whole is prior or superior to its parts, but in the sense that its structure and function determine every particular condition and relation. Thus, within a repressive society, even progressive movements threaten to turn into their opposite to the degree to which they accept the rules of the game.

*from A Critique of Pure Tolerance*  
Herbert Marcuse  
"Repressive Tolerance"  
*from A Critique of Pure Tolerance*  
Beacon, 1965  
pages 81-123

When LaRouche dreams of leadership today, it's of a counterrevolutionary movement. NCLC has been working to establish hegemony on the right/reactionary side of the political spectrum since as early as July, 1976. It appears now that a major policy shift took place in June, 1976. NCLC began, as part of its daily work, to pass detailed information to all levels of intelligence and police organizations nationwide. The group also began initiating contact with right-wing people.

## NCLC on the Right

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NCLC's drift to the Right wasn't only because the USLP's contempt for the Left erased their future in progressive organizing, but because the far Right conspiratorialists found LaRouche curious and his Party's theories attractive.

These facts were finally exposed through documents obtained by the Clamshell Alliance, an anti-nuclear coalition in New England. The information showed the USLP had briefed New Hampshire State Police about the Seabrook Demonstration held last April 30th. USLP claimed the demonstration was a "cover for terrorist activity." Included in the 16 pages of state documents were several pages from *Information Digest*, a controlled-circulation right-wing newsletter, which NCLC provided to state police. It is assumed that NCLC shares information with the publishers of the I.D. (see section on the I.D.) NCLC was forced to explain its actions, and with few creditable alternatives, announced its new and ongoing right-leaning programs and affiliations.

Since then, NCLC/USLP has been working hard to make inroads into virtually every major conservative and far Right organization. According to an October 3, 1977 *Los Angeles Times* article the once leftist party, "the Labor Party, under the same leadership, has moved to the Right, has joined with Southerners who are heir to George C. Wallace's American Independent Party tradition, is soliciting help from orthodox Republicans and even had an information table at a



big GOP fund-raising dinner here last month." The USLP, together with the chairman of the American Independent Party of Georgia, Army Col. Thomas A. McCrary, have been travelling around the country, visiting cities like St. Louis, Chicago, and Los Angeles, soliciting support. This vigorous drive in conservative communities has brought a new and peculiar wave of publicity to the USLP.

Over the last few years, their attempted alliances with the Right have become more obvious. In a campaign speech in Baltimore last year, Lyndon H. LaRouche, eccentric chairman of the USLP and presidential candidate on the 1976 ballot in 25 states, stated: "Our closest political allies are the Republican National Committee and the John Birch Society." The night before the presidential election, LaRouche demanded during a prime-time TV half-hour that a nation-wide NBC audience vote for Gerald Ford. The USLP delivered \$95,000 cash in a paper bag to pay for the time only hours before the telecast to allow their leader to insist, as the many NCLCers do daily on streetcorners, that thermo-nuclear war is months away. And when we sneak by without catastrophe, we will know it was the saving grace of the USLP which prevented it.

# NCLC/U.S. Labor Party

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LaRouche's \$500,000 presidential campaign got him some 40,000 votes in 25 states. The Federal Election Commission claims to still be conducting an investigation of the Party's public records.

There are many more examples that repeatedly expose USLP ties to the Right. A right-wing propaganda outpost on Capitol Hill called Liberty Lobby, has advertised and sold several hundred copies of a 129-page report by NCLC entitled, *Carter and the Party of International Terrorism*. The book conspiratorially links the "terrorist" apparatus of left-wing activists (including the author of this article), government agencies, foundations and research organizations to the Carter administration and the Rockefellers. All are charged with trying to "deindustrialize" the U.S. while fomenting a world nuclear holocaust by 1978. When *Spotlight*, Liberty Lobby's newspaper, was asked why it sold an NCLC publication, the response was, "We agree with it, otherwise we wouldn't sell it!" *Spotlight* told the *Washington Post* that NCLC was "probably the only honest Marxist group in the US because it is not supported by Rockefeller money, as are all similar groups."

The only way *Spotlight*, a respected Right publication, would have received that distorted impression was from NCLC itself. But *Spotlight* failed to delete NCLC's former Marxist identification. Not only does NCLC now insist that its audience is "Republican and conservative", but the group is also denying that it was ever Marxist. Most recently it has tried to reject the notion that it was a self-described Communist organization.

Since the November elections, the USLP has launched an intensive drive to recruit support from the traditional rightist forces. They have approached the Young Americans for Freedom, the American Conserva-

tive Union (which has 100,000 members), the Conservative Caucus, the Young Republican National Federation, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and others. Morton Blackwell, the assistant publisher of the conservative newsletter known as *Right Report*, told *Zodiac News Service* that the USLP representatives have been making numerous contacts with conservative Republican groups in recent months, including the systematic telephoning of Young Republican State Chairpersons in states around the country.

NCLC is a political chameleon which believes in a conspiracy connecting governments, capitalists and terrorists, in a plot to kill LaRouche. This belief prompted NCLC to hire a body guard, Mitchell L. WerBell, III. A Tough, reputable, Atlanta-based gun manufacturer and committed anti-communist, WerBell is best known for assisting ex-president Fulgenio Batista up until Fidel Castro and the Communist Party assumed power in Cuba. LaRouche is convinced that there are governments and organizations out to kill him, which is at best a paranoid fantasy, stemming from his enlarged self-concept and grossly overstated public importance.

WerBell was an operative for the Office of Strategic Services during WWII. WerBell said in an August 16, 1977 *Washington Post* article on NCLC, "Sometimes they're on the left. Sometimes they're to the right of Genghis Khan."

In *New Solidarity*, NCLC's twice weekly newspaper, there was an article which attacked the reporters who were investigating organized crime in Arizona in the wake of the Don Bolles murder as out to "get" their "friend" Barry Goldwater. In another *New Solidarity* article, which admitted cooperation with the FBI they stated you can't trust an FBI man under 40.

## NCLC/U.S. Labor Party: Political Chameleon to Right-Wing Spy

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*Executive Intelligence Review*, is a weekly NCLC publication peddled to businesses for \$225 a year. One issue ran an article written by Ronald Reagan, reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*, called "Energy-Cover-up." Reagan's piece was one of two articles in the May 31 *Review's* energy section, which appeared to reflect NCLC's opinions on the issue. Other sections of the publication report on every geo-political region in the world, and one section is entitled "Counterintelligence", and generally rehashes the Rockefeller funded terrorist network.

To boost the USLP's sales, the *Suppressed Truth Review*, billed as a "catalog for independent thinkers," advertised ten USLP publications. Among the publications being sold are: Willy Brandt: Socialist CIA Agent?; Papa Doc Baraka: Fascism in Newark; The Rothchilds; Stop Ralph Nader: Nuclear Saboteur; and others. The eight-page catalog dedicated to the proliferation of conspiracy theory in the John Birch Society tradition, gave the USLP the entire second page, the most space occupied by any single group. The catalog offers hundreds of the right-wing's most noted books. Peter McAlpine of Alpine Enterprises in Dearborn, Michigan, its publishers, also edits a publication called *Conspiracy Digest*. The *Digest* covers every major issue of interest to a broad spectrum of right-wing readers. The catalog describes the USLP in the following way:

The US Labor Party remains a mystery to both Right and Left. Few believe that their voluminous propaganda is financed by literature sales alone. Nor is their small membership thought to be able to make up the deficit.

The Left thinks the USLP is an Establishment police-gang set-up to disrupt the American left-wing "movement for

social change." Nothing could be further from the truth. Far from sponsoring the USLP, the Establishment sponsors the rest of the American Left to promote its "movement for social change." State capitalist foundations and government agencies forthrightly created this synthetic "American Leftism" to further tyrannical programs.

We can only admire the job the USLP has done in exposing the Rockefeller-Rothschild ties of almost the entire American Left.

More realistically, the Right suspects the USLP to be a KGB project. Whether this is true or not, the USLP does support most of the Soviet Union's policy and propaganda lines. It is well to remember that most of the American Left, contrary to naive conservatives, does not support the Soviet Union. A key point is that the Soviet Union joins the underdeveloped nations in resisting the no-growth ecology hysteria promoted by the Rockefeller-Rothschild financed Club of Rome which is extremely popular with the American Left.

One of the publications described in *Suppressed Truth Review* is the USLP's "The Political Economy of the American Revolution" which reads:

The Federalists, especially Hamilton and Ben Franklin, were much more statist and conspiratorial than conservatives would like to admit. Like the USLP they believed in centralized national planning and a Central Bank to achieve "economic progress." This is a challenging view of American history as a conflict of the American statist Federalists against the British-Rothschild agents who eventually seized America through an alliance with Rockefellers.

NCLC's drift to the Right wasn't only because the USLP's contempt for the Left erased their future in progressive organizing, but because the far Right conspiratorialists found LaRouche curious and his Party's theories attractive. A USLP inner circle member told the *Los Angeles Times* that there was a decision at one point concerning its political placement. "Axios (USLP National Executive Committee) said that intellectually the party membership decided that it really belonged on the Right, along with those who believe in the Hamiltonian and Whig philosophies that were so important in 19th century America." This was decided for them because their conspiracies could only be accepted by the far Right.

At the core of NCLC's conspiracy is its belief that it alone has the answers which will save the world from famine, war and general decline. They see the end in sight. It is engineered by the no-growth, zero-population drive, cannibalizing, war-mongering Rockefeller cabal. Among Rocky's many co-conspirators is the Carter Administration and the entire Left-wing. "There is no terrorist incident in the world that is not tracked back to (Marcus) Raskin (IPS co-director)," NCLC claims.

Like NCLC, the John Birch Society believes their theories are supreme. In *The Radical Right* by Benjamin Epstein, the JBS is described as beset by an influx of emotionally unstable people, known for their "hoodlum tactics in disrupting meetings, and heckling speakers with whom they disagree." He observed that "the members of the Birch Society are believers in the conspiracy theory of history, and in absolute political truth which they alone claim to possess. It is through the conspiracy theory of recent American history that fear is aroused—fear, the essential ingredient of extremist

strength." To the Birchers, the fear is not of Communism, though they give that impression. The fear is modern progress and change. And, similarly to NCLC, the greatest fear is that they won't be in control if and when changes occur.

The USLP's use of Hamiltonian economics seems to be a patriotic return to the "American System" which proposed rapid growth and development, along with the creation of a third national bank. On a radio talk show in Washington, D.C. last July 12, Susan Pennington, a local perennial USLP candidate (in this case for city council), stressed the importance of instilling in today's students, a concern for the American heritage. She said her party was "seeking a politically mature population to insure the implementation of the constitution." The USLP's suspicious pro-industrial position, not only brought them into the right-wing camp, and allied them with reactionary capitalists as well, but also, through a disconnected historical reference to 19th century Hamiltonian economic concepts, gave them a ready-made patriotic pitch for a public unaware of the group's underlying motives for domination and control.

National plans are advocated by the USLP for such issues as housing and education. The USLP claims to have the only plans to put the country back on its economic feet. The catch is that applying just one of their economic plans requires using the rest of them. Their hope, however unrealistic, is that one of their plans will be implemented, such as their national economic recovery, which proposes to build and nationally distribute cheap, pre-fabricated houses. This would, in their logic, bring them closer to power. Regardless of the facts, the LP already claims that some of their plans are being utilized. The ultimate goal of their plans

is to bring new capital into the U.S., raise the standard of living, guarantee municipal services, and quickly develop nuclear power, which all would generate new technologies. This list could easily be confused with a meeting agenda for a government agency. And what's comforting to both is that neither the USLP or the hypothetical government agency have any idea of how to meet these goals.

NCLC's national plans are reminiscent of the ambitions of the national socialists in Germany. Under Hitler, the promise was to provide for all, without mentioning how this was to be achieved. In economic terms, when the state, or the party ruling the state, seizes control of the economy, without altering the ownership of the productive facilities, the system can best be described as national socialist. A *Washington Post* article described NCLC: "This syndrome is familiar to anyone who has studied the rise of Hitler."

## Targets

Since our first pamphlet on NCLC, the group's vicious verbal and, to a decreasing degree, physical assaults have continued. The targets of these attacks have shifted increasingly to liberal groups and individuals. Originally, NCLC set its sights on Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals with a similar perspective. By 1976, the Institute for Policy Studies, left-wing establishment think-tank located in Washington, D.C., which for years was under government surveillance, became the nucleus of NCLC's "international terrorist" conspiratorial harangue. More recently, NCLC has attacked Ralph Nader and his Public Interest Research Group to draw attention to itself on college campuses. NCLC has been largely unsuccessful at discrediting the work of the Naderites.

NCLC targets a number of different groups and individuals they see as part of a giant byzantine conspiracy.

Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs), Ralph Nader and the consumer movement have come under slanderous attack from the Labor Party around the country for "sabotaging scientific inquiry" and pushing for a "controlled environment" that would squelch industrial, scientific and cultural achievement.

They blame Ralph Nader for building "a pseudo-scientific Zero Growth empire, with fiefdoms (PIRGs) on every major campus" that threaten a return to the Stone Age. "Nader and his network attempt to turn the American population against the Tudor (guardian, custodian) values of scientific development on which the nation was founded." They demand a "purge" of PIRG and the Rockefeller-instigated ecology movement for seeking to shut down construction of nuclear and hydroelectric facilities which they claim will curtail the potentially vast growth-rate of industrial production and accompanying increase in human living standards. They urge students, and others, to support the U.S. Labor Party's legislation for "brute force nuclear fusion development by 1985" and "environmental development through technological overhaul of U.S. industry" as weapons to "destroy the Carter/-Nader energy emergency and restore industrial Democracy as our national identity." In response to LP tirades, Nader yells "Fascist pig!"

Blacks, Chinese, Latinos and women have also historically been targets of the LP and have received the brunt of their racist, anti-communist, anti-semitic and pseudo-Freudian attacks. NCLC charges:

- Blacks are subhuman: "Can we imagine anything more viciously sadistic than the Black ghetto mother?"

• Women are subhuman: "The confused identities of women stem from the proximity of anus and vagina; therefore excretion is forever confused with reproduction."

- Chicano males are impotent.
- FBI agents screw dogs.
- Feminists are lesbian-whores.

The kingpin in NCLC/USLP conspiracy is the Rockefeller family. Rockefeller, says NCLC propaganda, aims to control or slow down industrialization to keep his worldwide economic position intact, which results in famine, starvation, and eventually will lead to world nuclear war. Rockefeller's control extends over the entire American left-wing from the ultra-left to liberal and Nader-type groups. Because there are some alleged "terrorists" who the media consider leftists, and who may have had some indirect historical overlap with IPS associates, the USLP surmises that the entire Left is terrorist.

At a June, 1977 press conference, the USLP boasted that it was "the leading counterterrorist organization." Weeks later the

group launched its fourth operation since 1973, called Operation-Counterterror, essentially a rerun of its first three operations. The operation is partly designed to distort the concern the government or progressive forces have about the USLP. The operation also draws battle plans for raids against 50 listed targets published in a leaflet inaugurating the program. The LP declares that the operation responds to an organized attempt to assassinate its chairman, LaRouche—a terror produced by NCLC's own terrorized imagination.

A two-page leaflet describes the contrived assassination program against them as follows:

*"The technically 'covert' character of Zbigniew Brzezinski's current international terrorist action is obtained by running the technical control of the assassinations with terrorists requisitioned from the international networks headed by Marcus Raskin, Richard Barnett (the co-directors of IPS), Noam Chomsky, Jean Paul Sartre, et al., 'the neo-Fabian' or Institute for Policy Studies' New Left anarchist network."*

*"The covert character of these assassinations is provided by deploying masses of the 'New Left' auxiliaries, such as Maoists, Trotskyists, and Naderites, as political cheering sections for the political outlook identified with the terrorists themselves. The terrorists deployed by Brzezinski are not professionals in the conscious employ of the US National Security Council. They are largely dupes who are supplied artificial motives for killing persons Secretary Blumenthal dislikes."*

Besides being completely unbelievable and, to many, laughable, the linkages in their terrorist network are founded on false assump-



tions puzzled together with bits and pieces of fact-related material and capped with the current favorite enemy. The objects of the LP's vengeance will probably remain the same in the future. Any changes that do come in their targeting will be in part defined by the necessity to accommodate potential right-wing converts.

## NCLC, Intelligence Outpost

As many have suspected, government documents now prove without a doubt that the NCLC/USLP has been offering intelligence information to local, state and federal agencies at least since the spring of 1976. Though there are no signs that the government purchases this information, the documents, obtained either through Freedom of Information Act or during legal proceedings, do show varying degrees of acceptance and encouragement. From the most willing partnership in New Hampshire, to the most skeptical on the part of the CIA, detailed information about the USLP's "international terrorist conspiracy", continuously slips into government files. Included are reports on many progressive activists, and funding charts of liberal and Left organizations in communities throughout the U.S.

NCLC has gone through several changes since its inception. In 1973, it attacked people physically; by 1974 the group began to "turn the corner from protest to espionage," an FBI document pointed out. A U.S. Department of Commerce memorandum dated February 1, 1974, obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, reported on



a meeting with two NCLC members. The memo began: "Mr. Shulman (of NCLC) suggested that his organization had substantial evidence which would exonerate President Nixon from Watergate charges." By 1976 NCLC is documented doing what many people close to the situation expected they were doing all along—passing information to government agencies. 5000 pages of FBI documents on NCLC obtained through FOIA give proof of NCLC's informant/vigilante role.

### NCLC Helps the FBI

The FBI watched and collected information on NCLC for nine years, ending its investigation last September. The files disclose that in mid 1976, NCLC instituted its role as voluntary information source on "Terrorist" activity, usually in the form of phone calls to FBI headquarters or visits to FBI offices, with follow-up packets promised at the end of each interaction. One such instance took place at FBI headquarters in Washington on Tuesday, June 1, 1976 at 1 p.m. Jeff Steinberg attended the meeting with two members of the eight member USLP National Execu-

tive Committee. One of the purposes of the meeting was to "furnish information concerning Rockefeller and Institute for Policy Studies plan(s) of nuclear attack on Philadelphia during the People's Bicentennial Celebration on July 4, 1976."

The USLP began its persistent FBI intelligence briefings in May of 1976. By the end of July, the files showed 11 information exchanges; four in person, at FBI offices, with the rest made by telephone. Curiously, the FBI hasn't made public their files on the group since July, 1976, so the nature of the emerging relationship remains unknown.

What is certain, based on the documents, is that the FBI indiscriminantly accepts whatever information comes their way. Though the FBI rates the quality of its informants, it still incorporates any incoming information to files if the data relates to ongoing interests. The information NCLC has to offer is accepted. Also, reflected in the FBI documents is that NCLC generates FBI investigations of every group it attacks which has the effect of helping to update files, keep informant networks alert, and information on the left-wing current. It's safe to say that when NCLC produced hate literature on activists or groups, there is a chance the leaflet will find its way into the FBI's file on that person or organization, and if a file doesn't exist, one may be started.

The FBI has also accumulated just about every analysis and article ever written about the NCLC (including some written by the author—The FBI files made mention of our first pamphlet on NCLC one week after it hit the stands). One analysis, by the New York FBI office, described the work of NCLC this way: "They carry on intelligence gathering and recruitment campaigns. They disrupt meetings; shout until they get thrown out; file lawsuits apparently as an intimidation

device; harass targets with obscene phone calls; get themselves arrested and occasionally get involved in physical confrontation. . . . They hawk newspapers on street corners and at plant gates just as the Moon children hawk ginseng tea and candy."

Most of the FOIA-obtained files were reports submitted by each FBI field office on a periodic basis. Occasionally, FBI sources, usually informants in the general employ of the FBI, would include interesting comments along with their reports. The following are samples:

NCLC in the past practiced brainwashing its own members to indoctrinate them in NCLC theory.

Membership in Milwaukee NCLC has dropped due to the fact that lengthy periods of time are devoted each meeting to theoretical lectures of no interest to the working man.

It would seem possible this group has created a facade to cloak its true purpose as a "goon squad" to combat the Left.

The picture which emerges of the NCLC is one of a clandestinely oriented group of political schizophrenics who have a paranoid pre-occupation with Nelson Rockefeller and the CIA.

Unlike the FBI, the CIA was cool to NCLC overtures. Calls similar to those received by the FBI were reported in the roughly 200 pages of CIA documents on the group. NCLC requested an audience with the CIA, but was refused. Though the CIA referred them to the FBI, it nonetheless wrote up seemingly routine "incident reports" during every call, which contained some of the details of *"the Institute for Policy Studies and*

its control of international terrorists." Finally, after weeks of USLP efforts to convince the CIA of the importance of their information, the CIA official agreed that "if they had any information concerning international terrorism and felt obliged to report it, they should submit it in writing to the Central Intelligence Agency."

### **NCLC and New Hampshire vs. Clamshell Alliance**

Certain state-level investigative apparatuses have welcomed the "intelligence" of the USLP. In an April 1, 1977 telephone conversation between New Hampshire Governor Thomson's press officer and several members of the USLP, USLP member Stuart Pettingell warned: *"What is developing in West Germany is a mass movement which can best be characterized as what developed out of the Weimar period in Germany, leading into Hitler's Nazi youth and eventually the SS, is what (today's U.S.) radical ecology movement is based on."* The Governor's press secretary lapped it up: "This is very, very interesting to me because I see a lot of logic here. . . I understand much of it. You have given us a lot of good information that we shall study and make use of." Later in the conversation, a USLP spokesperson offered: *"We do have a full brief on the environmentalist movement and where every group is funded from, and we have another brief which we drew up for the Bicentennial Movement, which we could send you both of them and you could cross grid them and we could discuss exactly how to have a Congressional investigation—that is the idea."*

One month after the Seabrook demonstration (the largest occupation/protest of a nuclear power plant in the U.S.), the Clamshell Alliance obtained 16 pages of documents showing the sources of the police's intelli-

gence information. Included were four pages of "intelligence reports" filed by New Hampshire State Police Lieutenant Donald Buxton outlining his meetings and conversations with Boston Labor Party members Graham Lowry and Larry Sherman, both full-time USLP activists who have run for public offices: five pages from the USLP publication *Counterintelligence*, and another six pages of documents from the sophisticated right-wing *Information Digest*, a recently-exposed intelligence newsletter, circulated to exclusive audiences of private corporations and government intelligence agencies. Also released by New Hampshire was a page-long report from an FBI informant concerning a March July Fourth Coalition meeting in New York City.

Detective Lt. Donald Buxton was instructed to contact Sherman and Lowry at their Boston USLP headquarters. The next day, April 13, Buxton made the two-hour drive to Boston and met with them as planned. "These very well informed gentlemen felt that the planned demonstration on April 30, 1977 at the site of the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant is nothing but a cover for terrorist activity," read the beginning of the "intelligence report" Buxton filed on April 14. "The method of operation will be the same as recently used at a bloody anti-nuclear power plant demonstration in West Germany. The support for this terrorist group is based on the east coast, and is essentially the same network which worked with the Fourth of July Bicentennial Committee, and is now working with the Clamshell Alliance."

Coincidentally, a few days before the Buxton report was filed, an FBI informant filed what appeared to be a routine report with the New Hampshire State Police. This one page document, was a telephone call from the Portsmouth office of the FBI relating

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12-11 12-11	CONFIDENTIAL

On April 11, 1977, Captain Richard Campbell instructed me to make contact with

Larry Brown  
and  
Richard Levy

at the U. S. Labor Party at 120 Madison Street, Room 206, Boston, Mass. 02114. The Captain informed me that Captain Brown wanted any information concerning the planned demonstration at Seaside that the above two men may have.

On the same date, I called Mr. Brown and made an appointment for 2:00 P.M. on April 13, 1977.

On April 13, 1977, I met with

Larry Brown  
at  
120 Madison Street  
Boston, Mass.  
Tel. 617-438-1129

at the United Party Headquarters. A few minutes later we were joined by

Richard Levy  
at  
120 Madison Street  
Boston, Mass.  
Tel. 617-438-1129

When the two men were informed previously that the planned demonstration on April 16, 1977 at the site of the Seaside Nuclear Power Plant is nothing but a cover for terrorist activity, the all of the registered details was known to them. But the intent of operation will be the same as reported by use of a steady anti-nuclear power plant demonstration in West Germany. The Seaside site will be the major focal point of a coordinated national demonstration. There are a number of other demonstrations planned to coincide with Seaside throughout the country, but it is felt by the national organizers that if Seaside is disrupted, all nuclear plants will be disrupted. The support for this coordinated group is based on the same issue, and is essentially the same movement which united the Fourth of July Movement and the Black Panther Party, and is now working with the Cleveland Movement. The number of participants is unknown. It is felt that they may get 1,000 participants but they could be 20,000 or more. As of this time the activities are

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Following below are the details.

The major participants have been training for this activity for sometime. The basic method of operation will be to divide into "celling groups" of five to seven people with one person designated as the "leader" or "spokesman" for the group. They will assemble at the Seaside Police station, Room 206, and travel south on the Seaside Road to the Seaside site. They then plan to enter the construction site. It is essential to their plan that a confrontation take place. They have previously stated that the only way they will leave the site is if they are killed. They have told their recruits to bring gas masks and food enough for seven days. The two fugitives (Levy and Brown) and they are discussing some of the action. The leaders feel that even if the Seaside is small, there will be a well trained and dedicated, and will have the effect of shock troops.

The rationale behind their actions is to prove that a nuclear site is vulnerable to attack and because it is placed on a coastal location by a North Carolina Judge - which is being considered and originates the limited resources and therefore, would be unable to afford sufficient coverage.

They are trying to gain responsibility by destroying advanced, sophisticated environmental groups and local political leaders such as Seaside Police, but essentially their aim is the destruction of property and possibly killing.

After their confrontation, they are planning a national meeting to analyze the Seaside situation.

It is not felt that there will be involved in this action.

A possible means of action to defuse this situation would be to further educate the general public as to what is going on, and to bring in information by the New Hampshire Attorney General to prohibit the demonstration as this is not an act of terrorism as it is a crime, people involved, and the financial backing of this group.

Levy and Brown agreed to provide any further information they may have.

Attached please find publications, including intelligence reports published

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By the U.S. Labor Party.

The opinion reportedly expressed by these will inform me as to the state of the Seaside site and the possibility of a demonstration. It is information to assist with the demonstration team.

The attached counter intelligence report provides the names of the Seaside organizers, many of whom are from the Massachusetts area.

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6-6-77 - 1123 hours - I received a telephone call from  
"The Seaside" (Seaside) of the U.S.L.P.  
Advised that the New York office of the  
F.B.I. had information from an informant that attended  
the Seaside meeting of the

NEW YORK OFFICE

IN New York City. The informant reported that the  
Seaside organizers had scheduled April 16th at 12:00  
and encouraged their members to take part in the  
demonstration. He advised that the Seaside organizers  
a "seaside committee with the police" when the police  
attempt to remove the demonstration from the site.

Advised that the NEW YORK OFFICE  
"The Seaside" organization has asked me to conduct  
an investigation. He said that he would keep  
me informed of any further details.

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Page 1 of 1

"that the New York office of the FBI had information from an informant that attended the March 26th meeting of the July Fourth Coalition in New York City. The informant revealed that the Coalition endorsed the scheduled April 30th sit-in and encouraged their members to take part in the demonstration. He advised that the Coalition predicted a 'violent encounter with the police' when the police attempted to remove the demonstrators from the area," read the bulk of the report the informant filed. In effect, the USLP reinforced and carried further the FBI intelligence information of a few days earlier. Both the FBI and the USLP were watching the July Fourth Coalition, both made the link to the Clamshell, and both saw violence as a logical extension of that relationship. Also important—the FBI documents prove continuing efforts by the government to spy on the Left.

The USLP has admitted that in the past, it has supplied intelligence to other states. Sherman, the Boston USLP leader, recalled for the *Concord Monitor* that: "the Labor Party has served before as informers for State Police." He cited what he called a 10-page 'massive intelligence report' prepared for state police during 1976 bombings in Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Four men of a terrorist group known as the "Fred Hampton Unit" were subsequently "convicted for transporting explosives over state lines in connection with the bombings."

NCLC/USLP also takes credit for urging Mayor Frank Rizzo to draw national attention to Philadelphia's expectation of violence on July 4th, 1976. In a 10-page August 3, 1977 "Open Letter to Philadelphia Police," complete with local Left funding flow charts, NCLC reminded the police: "As the Labor Party documented last year, the IPS was the agency which was coordinating what was to

have been terrorist deployments by the Rich Off Our Backs Coalition and the July 4th Coalition during the Bicentennial celebration. After the Labor Party informed Mayor Rizzo and police officials of this, the mayor acted to defuse the situation by focusing national attention on that danger." The open letter serves as yet another example of Labor Party vigilantism for intelligence and police agencies. The information and charges, as is often the case, were not accurate.

In July, 1976, the USLP wrote a three-page letter to 10 police and government agencies warning of a terror/harassment network which had the goal of assassinating then-presidential candidate LaRouche. The letter was a feeble attempt to show how the TIP pamphlet, "Brownshirts of the Seventies," our first expose of NCLC, caused five incidents of harassment during the first two weeks it was sold. The letter was sent to Detroit-area police departments, the Secret Service, the FBI and the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms of the Treasury department. The letter solicited assistance in preventing harassment and threats.

It wasn't the first time the ATF had heard of the USLP. The two intelligence organizations had worked simultaneously in Hartford, Connecticut, targeting a union organizer at Colt Industries, which resulted in job termination.

Lee Rosenblatt worked at Colt for a year and a half. During that time he had been heavily involved with the union, and with more militant organizing. When he was fired by Colt for allegedly falsifying his employment application, they told him they became suspicious of him after the ATF started an investigation of him and after reading about his run-ins with the U.S. Labor Party.

The USLP passed out leaflets calling him a terrorist, and made various obscene refer-

ences to him. They claimed on radio and television that he was part of a complex plot to assassinate President Ford, through smuggling weapons out of Colt Industries. They called his house constantly in the early hours of the morning, sent over exterminators to his home and finally, they physically attacked him.

While the Labor Party was harassing him, the ATF was questioning his neighbors about him and warned them that if they told him about the questioning they could end up in jail, Rosenblatt recalled. The ATF also contacted Colt in the course of the investigation.

Finally, Colt fired him for claiming on his employment form that he had finished college when he hadn't. Rosenblatt says that

Colt's contentions were false.

Whether or not the ATF and the USLP consciously planned the campaign against Rosenblatt isn't really the point. The point is that both worked toward the same goal: getting Rosenblatt fired.

Close examination of the NCLC/USLP track record speaks for itself. Their disruptions over the last four years have spanned most of the social change movement. It attacks moderates and revolutionaries, intellectuals and activists, environmentalists and factory organizers. The net result is that the NCLC/USLP appears more thorough than any FBI informer, and effectively acts as an agent provocateur. They are possibly the largest private intelligence organization in the American political community.



## Finances

The question most often asked is where does the money come from to support the organization's approximately \$1.5 million yearly expenditures? Unfortunately, little is known, and although theories abound, there is no proof. One thing is clear: the many front organizations of NCLC, like the USLP; Campaigner Publications, Inc; New Solidarity International Press Service; the Fusion Energy Foundation; to name a few, are skilled credit jugglers in the best tradition of Bert Lance. The only significant visible means of income is a computer business called Computron Systems, located in the NCLC/USLP West 29th Street New York headquarters, which in 1975 brought an estimated \$75,000 into the organization. With large bills from technological toys like their fancy international telex systems, offices in large cities around the country and expensive election campaigns in 25 states, donations from even wealthy members couldn't cover operating costs. There must be major backers. When asked, USLP members reluctantly confess that industrialists kick in substantial sums. This is quite believable, considering the many and varied services NCLC performs which would have the effect of disrupting or at least dividing union organizing efforts in factories. With pro-nuclear and pro-rapid industrial development platforms, few would question in whose interests the NCLC works.

The NCLC New Solidarity International Press Service maintains an international telex network that spans four continents. It costs \$150,000 a year for this service alone. Of the six circuits in service, according to their records of early last year, one is an AVD (audio voice data) model operating between New York City and Wiesbaden, Ger-

many, the headquarters of the group's European branch. An audio voice data terminal is a voice telex computer unit of the type "only governments, oil companies or the largest press services can afford," a communications expert commented after double-checking the information on NCLC's telexes. The question of how they can afford this network has many experts befuddled. Most speculate that NCLC has obtained multi-national corporate help for the telex. Thus far, no proof has been obtained. NCLC/USLP also spends an estimated \$200,000 a year for printing alone.

The only possible means of income other than donations would be from the sale of publications. The weekly "Executive Intelligence Review" costs the subscriber \$225-a-year to receive. Their "Daily Energy Report" requires \$2000 yearly which they admit has generated only a few subscriptions.

Unfortunately, finances remain one of the least understood aspects of NCLC/USLP.



# NCLC and its Extended Political "Community"

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"Collecting names and keeping them on file is doing the work of the police. Look, it's too obvious!"  
ex-member

Couples of organizers, one male and one female, have been touring the country over the last several years trying to set up cadres to aid and organize unrecognized farmworkers and the unemployed: America's poor. They represent the National Labor Federation. These organizers then hustle to gather up contacts, lists of key activists, and academics. All are pressured to lend their names, host organizers in town, and give more names of local people to contact—according to some, a typical, though aggressive, organizing drive. But before long, the organizers, who appear fatigued from overwork and undernourishment, have assembled files complete with 3x5 index cards which show personal data on most of the community's activists.

## Suspected Front

In response to questions raised by community people all over the country, we began researching a suspected NCLC front group, the National Labor Federation. Virtually everywhere the organization has gone—they say they've launched organizing drives in 24 areas since 1972—activists almost immediately recognize the organization as NCLC-related. Either that or the members are dismissed as police agents. Often, they are engaged in patented NCLC acts, that is, simply collecting and filing names of activists and poor people working for change. Usually, its organizing style or its political

goals set the suspicions in motion.

The true political basis of the National Labor Federation (Natlfed) itself—an umbrella for locals like the Eastern Farmworkers Association (EFWA), California Homemakers Association (CHA), Eastern or Western Serviceworkers Association (E-WSWA), and Western Massachusetts Labor Action (WMLAC)—is a mystery. Local Natlfed organizers tend to tease potential cadre with informational tidbits, only to retreat while muttering about a loose coalition somewhere. Later, the same organizer whispers of a party then smiles in response to a battery of questions, verifying that no leadership actually exists. Natlfed members have also aroused curiosity by claiming to have large gun stockpiles. They promise to deliver all this and more.

In seeking answers about the Natlfed, more than forty ex-members and others familiar with the group's doings were closely questioned. What emerged was a rough oral history of the political and social movements in the 1970's. Moreover, wrestling with these issues sparked debates concerning organizing strategies, and what it means for any group to completely conceal its political practices and affiliations from the unrecognized, unorganized and unemployed workers who are, allegedly, the object of organizing efforts.

This sensitive research effort proved to be a difficult task. Nonetheless, a series of fruitful discussions internally resulted in this exposition. Here are the facts. And theories. We hope additional information and further debates will fill in the gaps.

In 1973, a man named Eugenio (Gino) Perenti, then the leader of EFWA, and now of Natlfed as well, attended a Philadelphia convention of the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NUWRO).

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NUWRO is an NCLC-spawned group which tried to destroy the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), a legitimate national organization which, at its height in the early 70's, had chapters in nearly every state in the country. NUWRO demonstrated its indifference as NWRO began falling apart, neither able to rescue the collapsing local NWRO structures nor develop new ones in their place. It did, however, score two successes: It unveiled its undefined "class-wide" organizing theory; secondly, it began to form a phantom political community consisting of Perenti, members of the International Workers Party/Fred Newman group, an NCLC split-off group, and NCLC itself. The issue was class-wide or so-called "strata" organizing, which targeted outside the existing union structures.

The affiliation of Perenti and his organization with NCLC/NUWRO continued, though the nature of the relationship isn't clear. Several years later Perenti was seen with NCLC top brass, according to one person interviewed. A Natlfed member was quoted as saying: "We work with NCLC from time to time on specific issues." Another Natlfed organizer said: "We're not working with NCLC anymore." As NCLC failed to sustain working ties with any other groups after the 1973 violence began, the relationship between Perenti and NCLC, immediately evoked questions concerning their political aspirations.

Paul Goldman, an NCLC press flak, said during a telephone interview that, "We (NCLC) had no principle agreements with him (Perenti). He must have been involved with gun-running. He believed we must have armed struggle." Goldman continued by charging that Perenti is "essentially an agent." NCLC often practices agent baiting, with or without the proof. Here, for ex-

ample, Perenti's commitment to armed struggle and gun stockpiling has been confirmed by a number of ex-Natlfed associates who were close to him.

One version of his past puts him in the Bay Area Radical Union. In the late 1960's the group split: many got involved in the anti-war movement while others went the terrorist route, some of whom formed the Symbionese Liberation Army. In recounting his experiences in that period to a once close comrade and Natlfed ideologist, he expressed regret at having rejected the SLA path.

Perenti, an intense, compelling, charismatic Mexican-American, was elected president of the now defunct Nationwide Unemployed League (NUL) while still the leader of the Eastern Farmworkers Association, now a part of Natlfed. NUL was organized by the IWP, the 40 member NCLC splinter group. When Perenti was elected President, IWP member Al Goldstein, answering a question about their departure from NCLC said only: "Theoretically, Marcus is of value, and has input to left struggles." And from what can be observed, IWP and its many front groups (Union W.A.G.E., New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council, Lake County Coalition for Survival, School for Progress in New York, and the recently formed New York Working People's Party) have implemented much of the organizational structure they saw in NCLC. IWP leaders Fred Newman and Hazel Daren wrote in *Manifesto on Method*, a serious, detailed discussion of the polemics of Lyn Marcus: "From the very beginning our contact with comrades from the ICLC (NCLC international branch) we have worked hard to change that organization while respecting its historically just claim to hegemony." Hazel Daren at a speech last April on "Women in Struggle" said that,

"God created women to lead the struggle." One activist on the west coast claimed that "Daren caused more dissention on the west coast among women's groups, and inside the People's Party." He compared Moon, the USLP and IWP saying "similar psychological games manipulate all of them."

IWP and Natlfed have a continuing collaboration. Western Mass. Labor Action (a Natlfed local) has passed out IWP literature including the IWP's monthly publication, *The Struggle*, which reports on various Natlfed locals; IWP never fails to include the work of Natlfed as important. Perenti has privately told members of his plans to take over the IWP.

There are three entities in question: the NCLC—intelligence vigilantes now operating on the Right; the IWP, actively pursuing inheritance of the beleaguered People's Party (through that affiliation, has one of two People's Party seats for meetings of the People's Alliance, a national coalition which emerged out of the July 4th Coalition); and Natlfed, organizing local structures under varying names in 24 targeted communities. Besides the historical link NCLC has to the other two, there are many similarities which could point to ongoing collaboration. The groups have applied systems techniques as a way of guiding internal structure. The three leaders dream of hegemony. LaRouche/Marcus and Perenti speak of social change around the corner, and of a leadership ready to grab the reins of power. Moreover, the three employ psychological techniques some call brainwashing, to keep followers close at hand and tightly in line. The memberships seem comparably devoted to and mesmerized by their group and its leaders.

Natlfed hews to Communist Party strategy in the depression years which, "in the summer of 1929, had proclaimed the 'Third

**Local Natlfed organizers tend to tease potential cadre with informational tidbits, only to retreat while muttering about a loose coalition somewhere. Later, the same organizer whippers of a party, then smiles in response to a battery of questions, verifying that no leadership actually exists. Natlfed members have also aroused curiosity by claiming to have large gun stockpiles. They promise to deliver all this and more.**

Period" of capitalist crisis and revolutionary offensive," according to an article in *Radical America* (vol. 10 no. 4). The goal of the Third Period was "to set up Councils of Unemployed Workers," the CP described. Briefly put, unemployment organizing at that time became central to the CP program. But it was part of a two-pronged approach. While organizing within industrial unions they would be building structures in the unemployed sector, representing a solid one-third of the workforce. The CP strategy took a quantum leap further. It sought to dominate and bring under CP leadership every labor or unemployed organization in existence.

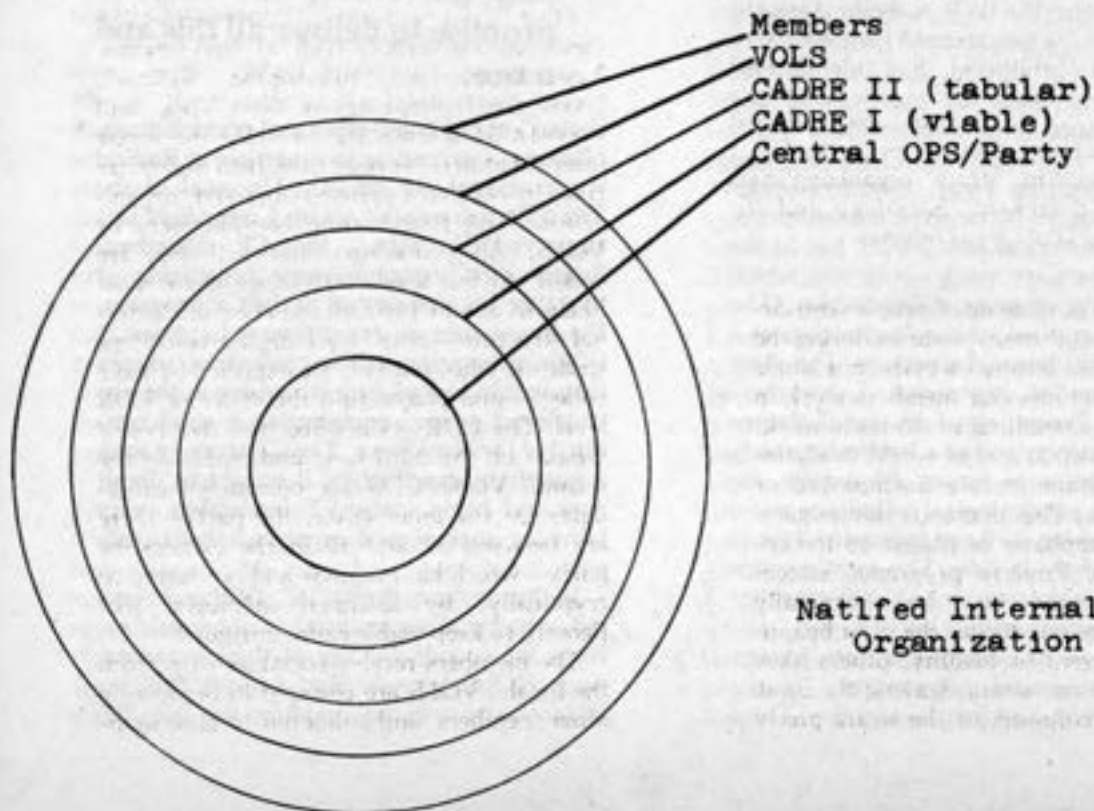
In this context, the NCLC, IWP and Natlfed, whether conspiratorial or not, could exist as the agenda for any of these organizations. NCLC discredits and disrupts; IWP infiltrates and tries to organize the left; the

# NATLFED

<u>West Coast</u>	<u>Brooklyn, N.Y.</u>	<u>East Coast</u>
N.W. Seasonal Workers Assoc., OREGON		Eastern Farm- workers, N.Y.
Cal. Homemakers CAL.		Western Mass. Labor Action Comm.
West. Service Workers Assoc., CAL.		MASS.
		East. Service Workers Assoc.
		N.Y.
		N.J.
		Pa., and Md.

## Constituents

Geologists (Professors)	Cadre (Students)	IWP/NYC/NY Workers Unemp. Party and Welfare Council
	"Strata"	



Natlfed Internal  
Organization

Natlfed delivers the unorganized.

To the extent that Natlfed sees present conditions as comparable to the level of economic turmoil in the early 30's, it is inclined to employ those strategies and incorporate that criticism.

## Natlfed Detailed

A social worker familiar with Natlfed work said, "They are doing the work state agencies should be providing. If they were interested in feeding or clothing people, it's the state they should press, not themselves." And rather than organize educational structures, which would nip the low or no wage contradiction in the bud, Natlfed has formed volunteer-run "benefits programs," which include, in its words: "free dental care for members and their families. In addition, USWA-CHA (California Homemakers Association) provides free legal aid. Free emergency food and clothing are also collected and provided to members in severe need." Natlfed explains its "strata" organizing in its only public document, *Sociology and the Unrecognized Worker*, as follows:

Our strata is made up of people who circulate through many statuses during the course of a lifetime or even in a single year. Sometimes our members work in the fields, sometimes in domestic work, in a car wash, at service work, in a laundry or restaurant, are unemployed or on welfare. This demands that organizational emphasis be placed on the entire strata. Poverty programs, educational systems, etc., have generally pulled from our strata, the most beautiful, intelligent or healthy, others have fallen into our strata, leaving the basic statistical contours of the strata pretty

much untouched. It is our aim to raise our strata as a whole. This demands the organization of the entire strata.

Since 1972, Natlfed has been involved in only a few union recognition battles, and, in general, has not been organizing according to their claims. One labor battle, on Long Island, New York, resulted in a sticky legal issue concerning union recognition. "Though they've entrusted a lot of people," another social worker explained, "the members don't do anything. Natlfed doesn't build anything." And the relationships with members, from all accounts, are very much like that of social worker to client; it's one to one, and specifically concerned with immediate needs.

They claim to have 40,000 members in their various locals, such as Sacramento, New Brunswick, Philadelphia, Bellport, Long Island, Binghamton, New York, and Western Massachusetts, to name the larger ones. Members represent the fifth and outer rung in Natlfed's systems-obsessive organization. The fourth rung is volunteers or VOLS. All procedures and activities are coded. At this level recruits are those most likely to accept their ultimately cultic internal structure—usually young, naive college students, who, once in, are expected to leave college—and placed into the cadre or CDR level. The CDR is classified into two types: *tabular* on the third rung and *viable* on the second. Viable CDR are considered candidates for the inner circle, the party—there are between 30 and 50 in the clandestine party—which has no name and is referred to cryptically, by assumed members, like Perenti, to keep viable cadre intrigued.

The members receive social services from the locals. VOLS are engaged in organizing other members, and going out to raise mon-

ey, either by organizing bake sales, or by passing the can in shopping centers. Cadre are the only ones brought into the fold. They are told of gun stockpiles, the party, and future plans, and they are the ones who are expected to "be on duty 24 hours a day." CDR are almost completely occupied by clerical work, which entails phoning, typing, and filing forms and 3x5 index cards in the 12 or so boxes of files. For each contact made by a cadre, there is a card made out in triplicate; one for the master file, another for the FIIN (financial input) file, and the third in the VOL file, for example.

Each time Natlfed enters an area to set up OPS (Operations) an organizer's first duty is hassling key activists for names of all the people they know. And, in some cases, without prior approval, they begin to use the activist's name, thereby boosting credibility. Immediately systems and files are created. The 3x5 cards begin accumulating: name, address, schooling, activities and political background. Thus, before organizing efforts were launched names go to cards and cards go in order. The master file cards are then sent to POPS or permanent operations located in Perenti's brownstone house in Brooklyn. One ex-member charged: "Collecting names and keeping them on file is doing the work of the police. Look, it's too obvious!" Another ex-member saw cards with social security numbers on them.

Another piece of evidence for the claim that Natlfed has been an intelligence outpost was furnished last year in a memo from Natlfed Central Operations to a member:

We request that you conduct an inquiry into the groups and/or individuals who are working in either the Joanne Chesimard Defense Committee or the Phil Shinnick Defense Committee. Any information that you can find out about



these people would be very useful to us at this time. What we want is an overview of who is involved and where these groups are moving. This will enable us to get an idea of other forces moving in the New Brunswick entity loco. Thanks.

The member withdrew from the organization shortly thereafter. Over a year period in the New Brunswick area, there were ten break-ins of organizations' offices and homes of activists. In all cases, they were people close to or involved in the Natlfed group. One TV was the only piece of property stolen. Five of the break-ins occurred during a two week period, all of which were Natlfed-connected. During the fifth break-

in, a key Natlfed field organizer was caught in the act.

Virtually everyone we talked to who had contact with Natlfed confirmed that the inner circle people, including Perenti, have referred to gun stockpiles in Sacramento. This information, which some found shocking, usually was noted casually at parties and meetings. And it didn't seem to matter who was told. One ex-member told of Perenti's master plan: "He told us that there was a plan to surround and takeover police stations, as part of some sort of romantic revolutionary plot."

"This is the carrot and the stick principle," another ex-member described. "The carrot is that there is a party, or that there are training camps all over the state. The stick is his (Perenti's) violent, intimidating manner. First, we take you to Montauk Point; break your legs; then into the water; if you fuck with us," the ex-member explained.

The question always posed at this point is: "Why do people join these groups?" Apparently, there are attractive elements. Their ideas, especially to naive political ears, sound perceptive and fresh. Natlfed, like NCLC, admits that, "We don't rely on the Left." "We're organizing outside the Left," Natlfed organizer Anthony County recited. This is new. Their energy is exciting. A commitment to a cause is appealing. Replacing the pressure of late adolescent, college life, the group guarantees a 24 hour-a-day routine filled with predetermined commitments, chores, and ideas. One present member says, "I was searching for some political ties. I had nothing to give up. All I had was two years of college and a lot of hard work in front of me."

In the no-alcohol, no-sleep, bad-health, canned-food and cigarette-filled life of the cadre, there is too much work and more than enough pressure to keep members devoted to

a cause they once understood conceptually from the outside. An ex-member recalled: "A lot of the time you wanted to go up to somebody and ask them 'what are we doing?', but there was no one to go up to."

And if the member should venture a criticism, retaliation should be expected. One ex-member explained that on several occasions she sat for 12 hours forced to listen to Perenti reading. "This is how they get you to stay. It's like the Moonies. First they give you a meal with meat, which is real special. Gino's



**"This is the carrot and the stick principle. The carrot is that there is a party, or that there are training camps all over the state.**

**The stick is his (Perenti's) violent and intimidating manner.**

**First we take you to Montauk Point; break your legs; then into the water, if you fuck with us."**

**ex-member**

(Perenti's) three women make you comfortable, put you in a room. When you're tired, he comes in and reads and talks to you. After this long process, I felt trapped. I just knew that."

This review of Natlfed, shows that more information is needed before firm conclusions can be made, though many of the suspicions seem justified. The historical links between NCLC, IWP and Natlfed constitute only one chain of evidence for the group's clandestine, unsavory connections. The pen-

chant for "systems" theory, along with the adoption of its jargon; the references to arch-enemy Rockefeller; the focus on "strata" rather than the masses—all these attributes place Natlfed and similar organizations in a dubious political light. Whether these groups work with NCLC directly or not, they are a distinct coalition which, beyond their cultic trappings, form an intelligence network whose effect is to destabilize structures all along the political spectrum, while dreaming of hegemony.

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## NCLC and the Cults: Politics Meets Religion

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**NCLCers, Scientologists, and Moonies are all part of a movement which uses a volatile mixture of absolute doctrine and promises of salvation to induce the conversion experience.**

Now that the crusading NCLC has openly declared its quest for right-wing support, the group seems less inscrutable than ever. Unmasked, it suddenly resembles organizations which have stirred similar passions, both political and religious. Not only are there historical precedents, but today, there are group gurus who could teach Marcus a few lessons about authoritarian cults.

The question is: How do these other reactionary cults operate and what is the social dynamism which keeps them going?

During the 1920's, the right-wing rose as power shifted away from America's heartland and toward the immigrant-swollen cities, where for the first time in history, just over half the population resided.

In response, the openly religious Fundamentalist movement was formed among small town farmers and professionals. The Fundamentalists erected their rural ramparts against the "heresy" of an encroaching federal government, urbanization, and, in the words of social scientist Daniel Bell, a "national popular culture" with its radio, motion pictures and automobiles. The reactionary Fundamentalists set out to conserve "simple religious virtues," even if they flew in the face of scientific fact, as when one Tennessee sub-sect repudiated Darwinism.

In the two decades following World War II, the perceived peril seemed much more in-

sidious than in the '20s. At that time, it was a Soviet specter which haunted the American imagination like none other since the nation's founding, permitting an efflorescence of political zealotry among groups like the John Birch Society and the Minutemen. Robert Welch, the Society's Lyn Marcus, mapped out a conception of the Communist conspiracy which he would not submit either for criticism or empirical verification.

The Minutemen and other extremist groups stocked their ideological arsenal with real weapons, preparing a patriotic resistance with rifles and mortars for the fateful day when America was communist-run. At about the same time, anti-Communist "schools" were springing up all over the country, led by crusading teachers who adapted old revivalist techniques to the modern idiom.

Traditionally, right-wing messianism has found fertile soil during periods of social instability in which old attitudes can no longer accommodate a suddenly changed societal reality—what Daniel Bell calls anti-modernism.

Throughout the 20th Century, Americans have been confronted by an ever-expanding universe of bewildering social reconstructions—from the urbanization of the nation to the counter-capitalist developments in other parts of the world. In response, religious right-wing groups have sought to "revive" simpler worldviews, delegitimizing the threatening outside, thereby preempting or at least postponing a fuller, more meaningful understanding of the changed conditions.

Today, in the era of the "multi-national community," one perceived threat is indistinguishable from another. The paradox of indefinite detente amid continuing international crises presents this picture: The Mideast is in a constant state of military pre-

paredness, racial tensions on the African continent rise in endlessly more portentous stalemates and the United States and the Soviet Union strain year after year in the SALT talks to maintain a balance of nuclear terror.

In this "post-fear" world, the demarcation line between psychological shelter and alien milieu is fuzzy. Indeed, President Carter, by establishing "human rights" as the guiding principle of his foreign policy, confirms what Americans were already intuiting: Sanctums beyond the individual are no longer inviolable.

For many Americans, adrift in a sea of shattered institutions, the new right-wing cults provide some spiritual relief—albeit, as usual, with authoritarian overtones. NCLCers, Scientologists, and Moonies are all part of a movement which uses a volatile mixture of absolute doctrine and promises of salvation to induce the conversion experience. One measure of the size of the trend is that 2.5 million Catholic charismatics have abandoned reason for faith. As Dwayne Walls notes in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review*, they are "speaking tongues," eager for "Jesus' love and His presence here among us." Not all cultic converts give up their old beliefs voluntarily, however. To break the will to resist, proselytizers have been known to harass people on street corners and intimidate them over the phone. In Charlotte, N.C., business people have lost trade for refusing to become born again Christians.

To be a person responsible to oneself and others is to engage the mind in a continuing cycle of self-criticism and self-recreation, a trying task which many cult enlistees have dropped by default. One Moonie, for example, when asked if he was disturbed by the sect's demand that he not think for himself, replied unabashedly, "No, not at all, it's great."

LCers join up to submerge their egos in complete adoration of Lyndon LaRouche. Rather than incorporate and critique their leader's assertions (sometimes called "reality-testing"), LCers seem to fuse into a single, dehumanized instrument of LaRouche's rule. One ex-member was told not to trust even his own beliefs until they were "checked out with a competent authority first." The "competent authority" is LaRouche and a handful of specially selected assistants who have gone through "depth analysis" sessions with the psychological oracle LaRouche.

From extensive interviews with both present and former LC culties, it is clear that "change" does not adequately convey the essentially transformative experience undergone by the typical sect joiner. The word "brainwashed," on the other hand, while rightly criticized for its ambiguousness, is a much closer approximation. Members who succumb to LaRouche's will are rewarded with a complete framework of thought and action. Often lacking in logic and unruffled by deliberate distortion, LaRouche provides a class analysis of modern social structure, a



Freudian revisionist analysis of the contemporary psyche and a war-like program for seeking new converts which has, in the past, justified the most vicious, militaristic street tactics.

Individuals will tolerate excesses as LCers which they would have condemned formerly because, in exchange, they find intellectual and emotional calm, unconditional acceptance by their fellow groupies, the satisfaction of animalizing the enemy as "scum" and "vermin" and an opportunity to vicariously share in LaRouche's seemingly clairvoyant prediction of certain world disasters. For the individual plagued by a cacophonous competition of ideas, NCLC programming is potent nostrum.

As gurus everywhere know, triggering the conversion response is a two-step process. First, a discipline must be imposed. Moonies have spent 18-hour days in homage to leader Sun Myung Moon; NCLCers attend grueling meetings where member dissent is prohibited; other cults have established taboos even against urinating during the sessions. Equally important for a successful conversion is the ritualistic repudiation by would-be initiates of any lingering doubts.

Ex-Moonie David Needle recalls waxing suspicious of the programming during one session. Appropriately, the very next lecturer admonished his listeners to rid themselves of their skepticism. Following the talk, as reported in the *Boston Phoenix*, "David's group got together for a set of 'throwing out your negativity' exercises in which group members stood in a circle and literally went through the motions of stooping over gathering up their negativity and tossing it over their shoulders."

Acculturation into a political cult nearly always entails trashing sectors of humanity whose "heresy" is their rival worldview.

Jews have historically been a favorite target on which baffled, cowardly individuals and groups have projected their inner pathology.

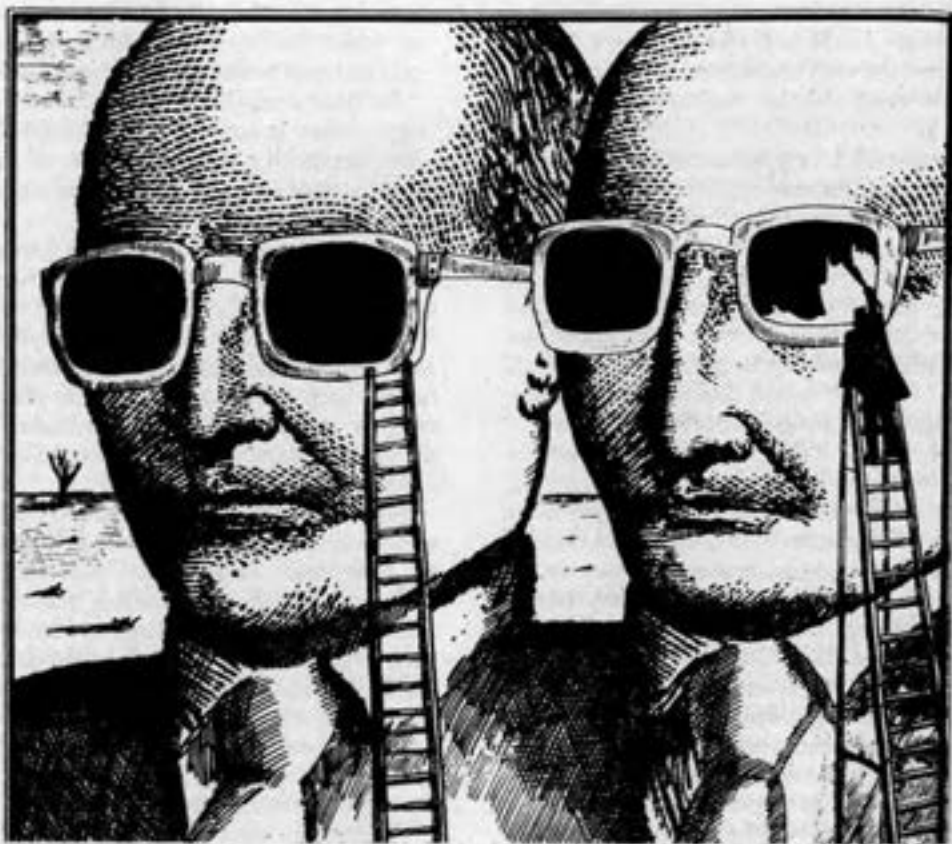
In many contemporary cults—Scientology, Jesus groups, Moonies and LCers—Jews are both a sizable portion of the membership and a target of their most vicious propaganda.

In recent years, Jewish youth from affluent backgrounds have become their own worst enemies: LCers of Jewish heritage are told that their extended kin are "terrorists" and "exploitative bankers," and Moonie lecturers teach Jewish apostates that six million of their forbearers were exterminated to indemnify sins committed against Jesus Christ 2,000 years earlier.

Why do these children of the suburban well-to-do take such punishment? According to Jean-Paul Sartre, the polemicist and author of *Anti-Semite and Jew*, it is their "inauthenticity", an unwillingness to confront their real existential-historical condition. While the "authentic" Jew struggles with self-effacement imposed by hundreds of years of anti-semitism, says Sartre, the "inauthentic" Jew yearns to fulfill the anti-Semite's wish that he be annihilated.

Ironically, as a follower of today's cultic fashion, the Jew's situation differs little from that of his non-Jewish counterpart. Both lack a firm sense of moral autonomy. Both suffer from a weak identification with either father or mother. And Jew and non-Jew alike seek to fill this psychological void by submitting to the will of a stern authoritarian figure.

Some journalists, notably Tom Wolfe, have taken great strides to dub contemporary cult worship as another Spectacular American Happening. Once demystified, however, what emerges is not the Third Great Awakening, but remembrances of reaction past. The classically authoritarian, of-



ten paranoid aspects of groups like the NCLCers, Scientologists and Moonies resemble forces which have opposed the tides of progress before. The anxious search for a unique mantra or perfect sitting posture remains a socially isolated act. Instead of applying new knowledge to change and revitalize existing institutions, culties seek a personal savior to remedy problems which seldom extend beyond the realm of one's "personal space."

While salvation, '70s-style, continues a long-standing tradition of individualism, it

also suggests a change in the nature of that individualism. Christopher Lasch, social historian who authored *The Agony of the American Left*, advances this thesis: The self-love of submitting to the "prophets of psychic and political transformation" has replaced the outlook, once considered rock-durable, of self-sacrifice for family and future. At one time, says Lasch, "economic man" was the dominant American type. Now, however, we witness the dawn of "psychological man," "both the logical fulfillment and the negation of bourgeois individualism."

## NCLC: Approaching Fascism

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Fascism is a word that has been used indiscriminately as an epithet against disagreeable political tendencies. It has been used to describe conservative and authoritarian governments and persons. However, referring to Nixon or Rockefeller as fascists negates Fascism's historical basis. This conception of the term fascism as it is associated with Hitler, Mussolini, Pinochet or Franco, doesn't explain prospects for fascism in the US. For these reasons fascism and pro-fascist tendencies must be studied to enhance understanding of concrete political conditions and where they may lead. A comparative study of the history of revolutions as applied to the unique historical conditions of the United States today is imperative. Similarly, fascism can't be understood by simplistic analogies to European examples in the 1920s and '30s.

In strict terms, fascism is a mythology created to bind together diverse groups in society, forming a mass-based dictatorship of the most reactionary sectors of the ruling elite. It has two main ingredients: ideology and a mass base. The ideology and mass base are determined by fascism's need to maintain power in a given period.

The ideology of fascism is heterogeneous in that it must serve the function of binding together various factions (right-wing, labor, agricultural workers, professionals, merchants, youth, etc.), yet cannot be encumbered by a principle. It must be able to reverse itself. Fascist ideology promulgates false contradictions, promoting racial or conspiratorial analyses instead of analyses organic to society. Palmiro Togliatti observed, "nothing more closely resembles a chameleon than fascist ideology. Don't look at fascist ideology without considering the objectives which fascism proposes to reach at a given moment with a given ideology."

A meaningful study should consider the composition of a given society (class nature, concentration of capital, etc.), the political climate which breeds fascism (where traditional forms of social control are breaking down), and the changing nature of the fascist organization as social contradictions manifest themselves within it.

Fascism should be seen in its connections with realities of the political and economic world and in the context of those contradictions. It is *not* synonymous with repression. Many institutions of the state and society are repressive. When the repression and cooptation of parliamentary forms of government fail, fascism emerges with new forms to preserve and consolidate power for the ruling elite. Repression and terror are no longer random but systematic. The fascist party resembles in effect, not a party at all, but a civilian militia. Thus, it is necessary to deal with the NCLC in that light as a fascist organization, and not merely as a harasser of progressive movements.

The NCLC/USLP internally and externally reflect patterns of fascism as it was manifest in other countries at other times.

Above all, the NCLC is anti-democratic in its internal structure. Instead of a theory of democratic centralism, for instance, it demands total subordination from its members. LaRouche said in *Centrism as a Social Phenomena* that "the true determining factors in the life of a political organization are not program, principles and the material things of the class struggle which they reflect, but are organizational routinism, bureaucracy and ultimately the personal qualities of the leader." This statement alone reveals that the principle of political struggle is abandoned in the NCLC in favor of the attainment of sheer unprincipled power: power pursued "ultimately" by "the personal

## NCLC: Approaching Fascism

qualities of the leader."

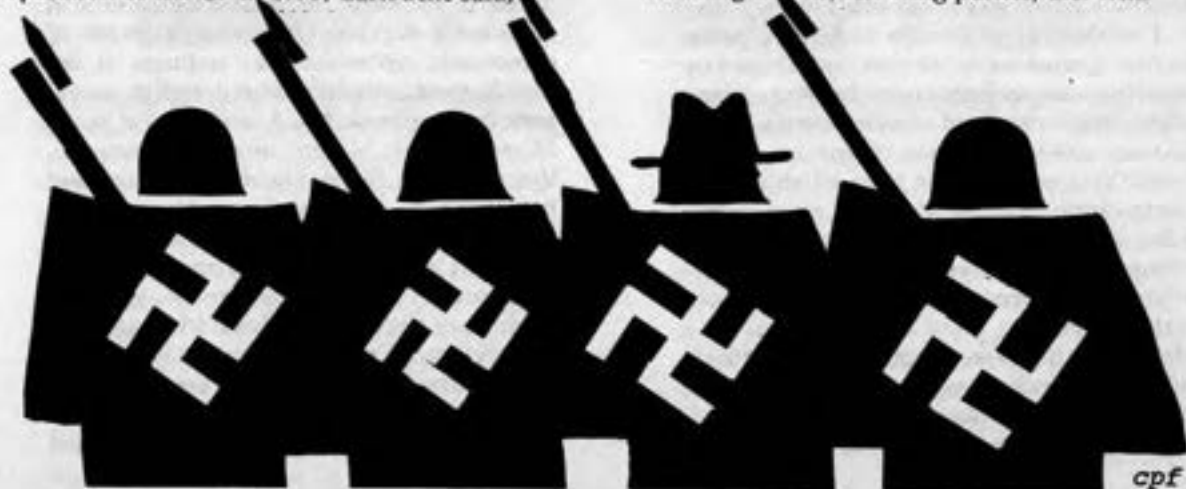
The personal qualities that LaRouche repeatedly extolls are ruthlessness and determination, the old will-to-power ideas praised by European fascists. Such values were unique to Fascism, as it allowed the maximum flexibility for opportunistic alliances and anti-progressive activities without accountability to the membership. Thus, La Rouché could at one time call NCLC Marxist-Leninist and presently deny those politics, now allying himself with the political right.

Fascist ideology is ever-changing and presents itself as proceeding on a predetermined course, pretending that everything going on in the present was anticipated, that it is rational and that all other political expressions are irrational. Many today still believe that was true of fascism in Germany. Guérin observed in *Fascism and Big Business* that "Hitler would contradict himself from one speech to the next." Similarly the NCLC presents itself as having "exact plans," certainty in predicting the future, unfettered by reasonable doubt. In reference to NCLC's mopping up operation of the CP in 1973, LaRouché said,

"We shall not say now exactly how we intend to do this. We have an exact tactical plan for this mopping-up operation. It is more convenient to our purpose to let the CP leadership perplex itself on the matter." This is concomitant with the absence of discussion within the party and the necessity of demonstrating political courage of the "will" to lead. When their predictions fail (predictably), they take credit for averting the predicted crisis. LaRouché claims omniscience; no aspect of human inner life, social life or global activity escapes his complete comprehension.

As successful fascisms evolved, they allied themselves with the reactionary elements of finance capital. The NCLC similarly offers "advice" to bankers, proposes so-called solutions to the private sector, allies itself with John Birchers, American Party elements, takes pro-industry stands and fights their political enemies—all consistent with patterns of other fascisms. Their activities in connection with military/police will be detailed elsewhere.

Fascism combatted mass organizations, including unions, left-wing parties, etc. with



cpf

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## Fascist ideology promulgates false contradictions, promoting racial or conspiratorial analyses.

an attempt to *disorganize* the masses of people. Later, they planned to bring them into fascist organizations over which they would have little or no control. Similarly the NCLC tried to break up organizations (NWRO, CP, SWP) on the left and attack only conservatives that shun them. In disrupting NWRO, NCLC created a do-nothing NWRO, which collapsed, leaving people unorganized.

Finally, a mystique of violence (and in one period much real violence) shades the NCLC. Along with ruthless determination must be a rationale for violence, especially in the pursuit of unprincipled power. Their newspaper reveals a fascination with war, terrorism and violence. They have conducted military training on a New York state farm, practicing hand to hand combat training. Fascism in Europe, with similar structures and goals, glorified valor, war and death with honor. To Mussolini, peace was the degeneration of man, and those virtues that he thought were man's essence could only be realized in war. Fascism glorified violence as a means to its goals.

NCLC closely follows the pattern of Fascist tradition which classically:

- Is anti-democratic
- Stresses political will of the leadership
- Mystifies others with the inexorability of their plans
- Allies with finance capital and supporters
- Attempts to disorganize other political groups
- Exhibits a fascination with violence

## Conclusion

NCLC/USLP regularly furnishes data to all levels of government agencies. NCLC has sought support for its programs at the furthest reaches of America's Right. NCLC denies the Left label which it once so proudly displayed. But it's not only the Right's problem if NCLC achieves any credibility or acceptance within its new found community. For even the embryo of an NCLC power base on the Right would immediately increase the value of the group's intelligence work.

Murky, byzantine analyses and evidence which is at best circumstantial make up the essence of NCLC-speak. The urgency of their message adds fuel to its hysterical fires and rationalizes its self-imposed isolation. As cult or political chameleon, NCLC is a group whose monomania in search of power heightens its desperate mission to interrupt and disrupt fragile political development in this country. Moreover, there are no indications that their unsatisfactorily explained drivenness should change because of their recently revealed shift right-ward.

NCLC's status in the world is no longer a secret. Though the sources of funds remain mired in mystery, its true allegiances and goals are now plain. Unwittingly, the NCLC community has conveyed a political lesson. Political organizations today and those yet unborn, can view NCLC's structural faults as tendencies which must be exposed. Wherever a leader scorns dissent and preaches from a pedestal, an organization's basic vitality is seriously threatened.

In the United Nations, on street corners, in shopping centers, in cities small and large, from Paris or Mexico City to Morgantown, West Virginia, whenever NCLC hawks and harrangues, the result could be disconcerting. For all these reasons, the truth about NCLC must be heard.

**The Information  
Digest:**

**Network exposed**



# Right-Wing Intelligence Network exposed

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—by The Guild Investigative Group\*

In 1972, the District of Columbia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild needed an organizer. Sheila O'Connor volunteered for the job after one of her comrades at the political commune where she lived with her boyfriend, John Seeley, brought her to the office. She was a talented organizer, typist, reporter and was known as a hard worker. After 12 to 14 months at the chapter, she simply vanished.

The organization was stunned and rumors started that she had "freaked out", gone to New York and her boyfriend had taken off to Atlanta. Her roommates complained that she took the rent. Weeks later a national car rental agency called looking for the car they had given O'Connor.

In early 1976, the New York State Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis called looking for Sheila O'Connor, aka Rees, aka Seeley. In the course of their investigation, they had uncovered the *Information Digest*.

The *Information Digest*—a biweekly newsletter published secretly since 1968 by John and Louise Rees—is one of the propaganda arms of a right-wing intelligence network in America that seriously raises the spectre of McCarthyism 25 years later.

The network has ties to the John Birch Society, conservative Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia, the blacklisting operations of the Church League of America and private international security services, and the intelligence apparatus of the government at all levels. As the agencies' illegal activity has been exposed through the media, con-

gressional investigations and public interest research, and the image of their investigative powers consequently restricted, it is being discovered that there is a parallel private sector to do the government's dirty work, including: information-gathering, spying, propagandizing and in some instances terrorizing. It is the logical extension of a government intelligence apparatus caught with its pants down.

Frank Donner of the American Civil Liberties Union Political Surveillance Project warns to expect a resurgence of private surveillance and dissemination similar to the 1920's, when there was extensive file-trading among conservative and anticommunist organizations. With the Xerox machine so easily available today, it is a farce to think that files have been destroyed by executive fiat; in fact, Donner says, they are constantly being added to from bootlegged FBI files, state police agencies and local red squads, industrial security firms as well as what he calls the "diehards," like the Church League and the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU).

## Information Digest Chronicles Left

*Information Digest* is the fruit of this era of "private" intelligence-gathering and dissemination. The ID—allegedly copyrighted, although a search conducted by the U.S. Copyright Office has yet to find a registra-

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*The Guild Investigative Group is a project of the D.C. chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. It was formed in early 1976 to research the I.D. network, and offer lawyer/support for subsequent legal action. GIG and the Repression Information Project have worked closely throughout this research effort.*

tion—offers a compendium of gossip, newsclips, innuendos, rumors, biased analyses and outright lies, intermingled with documents admittedly obtained illegally through wiretap, surreptitious entry and direct infiltration. Periodic notes remind subscribers that particular information is "confidential" or "sensitive" and if disseminated, should be "scrambled" and rewritten so as not to jeopardize the source. Throughout are sexual slurs against movement people that the Central Intelligence Agency particularly has been eager to absorb into its domestic files.

The targets of the ID are liberal and left individuals and groups, including politicians, antiwar and Third World political activists, lawyers, writers and show business personalities. Occasionally, the authors will throw in a right-wing paramilitary group like the National States Rights Party or the Minutemen to broaden its credibility and to utilize all of the information collected.

The focus of the ID follows that of government interest concerning movements for social change. In the anti-war years and before, the danger was the Communists and their sympathizers; lately, it is terrorism and organized crime.

For the past several years, the government has used the threat of organized crime to enable it to pass restrictive legislation such as the wiretap law. In practice, however, these laws most often have been used against dissenting people. Similarly, the "riot act" laws were passed allegedly in response to major urban riots in the '60s but frequently have been used against demonstrators.

A prime example is the June 17, 1972 review of *Beat the Heat*, in which the ID editorializes: "It is indeed rare that organizations dominated by the Communist Party, USA, such as the National Lawyers Guild and the Medical Committee for Human

**The ID offers a compendium of gossip, newsclips, innuendos, rumors, biased analyses and outright lies, intermingled with documents admittedly obtained illegally through wiretap, surreptitious entry and direct infiltration.**

Rights, are allowed to publicly advocate armed and violent resistance to lawful authority."

The ID is circulated to a select and secret list of over 100 subscribers, including police departments, private corporations and security services, news media, the *Readers Digest*, one major TV network and even the U.S. Labor Party. Most government intelligence agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation; CIA; Internal Revenue Service; Drug Enforcement Administration; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; National Security Agency; Secret Service; Senate Internal Security Committee and U.S. Customs Service, have received "complimentary" copies. Raw, often false, data have been indiscriminately incorporated into domestic intelligence files on individuals and organizations.

The issues of *Information Digest* spanning six years, which are available to the Guild Investigative Group, do not show the same dates the CIA has turned over through Freedom of Information Act requests. This raises the question of whether special "editions" of the ID have been prepared for the CIA or other intelligence agencies. Also likely, the CIA may be incorporating the ID, along with other source information, into their



own intelligence product.

The New York State Police took the unevaluated information from the ID, condensed and referenced it in their files and then claimed the newsletter as a "confidential informant," immune from disclosure, when the State Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis began its investigation of police intelligence abuses. Each page of the ID obtained by GIG is stamped: "The information contained herein is of a classified nature intended solely for the use of the New York State Police and any other Agency authorized by them." The Michigan State Police has since admitted to receiving the ID, with Congressman Larry McDonald's office as the return address.

Most recently the ID has surfaced among documents presented to the New Hampshire State Police by members of the U.S. Labor Party to justify their charges that the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance is a cover for terrorist activity.

The fact that the U.S. Labor Party included excerpts from the ID in its "intelligence" on the Clamshell Alliance builds links that were only speculation before, that the Labor Party and the ID are right-wing operations. What remains is the same question surrounding the Labor Party: Who is supporting this right-wing spy ring? The fine line between public and private is fading fast.

In 1974, the Maryland State Police helped obtain a Baltimore Post Office box for ID correspondence. The Reeses, with various aliases, were authorized to pick up the mail, along with John Norpel, Jr., who until 1975 was Research Director for the Senate Internal Security Committee, before which John Rees informed on the Venceremos Brigade and the New Left. According to Norpel: "Rees' information was invaluable to the intelligence community. . . I don't think Rees got his information from federal agencies. It

was my impression that the federal intelligence community was more dependent on him than he was on them."

The Maryland and New York State Police and the Baltimore Police, are all members of the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, established "independently" in 1956 by police and sheriffs' departments disgruntled with the FBI for upstaging their intelligence work. Under an elaborate organizational structure—four regional zones, national and zone officers, a board of directors, bylaws—the LEIU exchanges information and agents, "outside the channels of routine, interdepartmental communication" among its 224 members.

The FBI, in coordination with the LEIU, computerized the LEIU manual file on "organized crime," creating the Interstate Organized Crime Index (IOCI). The project was funded originally by the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency and even today receives substantial monies to support the system.

The IOCI links the red squad files of nearly every major city in the nation as well as some in Canada. The criteria for inclusion in the LEIU/IOCI system is vague and subjective and based on "the integrity of the individual member." A person can be deemed a member of organized crime even though he doesn't belong to the Mafia, has never been convicted of anything and has never even been arrested. According to counsel for the LEIU, the Assistant District Attorney for Orange County, California, the IOCI even includes attorneys representing LEIU subjects as an "associate"—a catchall category of arrested or identified terrorists covers—wherever the LEIU wants to snoop.

Beyond the ID reportage is also a system of files with questionable criteria. A note in April 2, 1971, ID alerts that "with the many anti-war events planned for the next six

weeks, it may not be possible to maintain the *Digest* production schedule. Starting with this issue, it will also be necessary to restrict the content. Until May 30, a listing will be included of more important items received, but excluded. Raw material is available on file at your request. Material on file:

Student Take-over of Merrit College  
Women's Conference in Canada  
East Coast Conspiracy Trial  
Right-Wing Activities in Louisiana  
Young Lord's rally, New York  
Planning for Antiwar Activities"

Later in '71, with a special appeal for funds, the Reeses confirmed that much information in the ID is obtained by sources active in radical, so-called "revolutionary groups."

## Movement Years

The Reeses themselves have a long history of movement infiltration and disruption. In 1968, they infiltrated the radical New York *Crazies*; in 1970, they identified themselves with the Woodstock Nation at the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia; in 1971, they joined the May Day antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. Later, they infiltrated the Institute for Policy Studies and the National Lawyers Guild.

While in D.C., John Rees worked with the Metropolitan Police, who paid the rent on a community bookstore, Redhouse, which the Reeses operated for almost a year with a dwindling group of community people. The Redhouse, equipped with mimeograph machine and one of virtually every movement periodical, became a gathering place for D.C. activists.

Also around this time, the Reeses created another information-gathering scam: CCERL (Coordinating Center for Education

in Repression and the Law), which was advertised in the original edition of *Iron Fist and Velvet Glove*, a booklet analyzing the U.S. police, as an organization to combat police repression, illegal surveillance of protest groups, grand juries, political trials, and promote prisoners' rights and the abolition of capital punishment.

CCERL was successful in duping liberal funding sources to finance its activities, including an educational campaign defining grand jury abuse complete with ideas on how to be a witness. It continues to exist today at P. O. Box 35 in College Park, Md., where it is used to collect material that is funnelled into the ID. In 1976, one Martin Perry used the box to receive his subscription to a movement periodical.

In the summer of 1972, Louise Rees, aka Sheila O'Connor, volunteered to staff the office of the D.C. chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. In a whirlwind of efficiency, she updated the membership list, kept meticulous minutes of every meeting which were at once copied and distributed and enhanced the chapter's newsletter to include detailed reports, quotes and names.

On the other hand, O'Connor attempted to sabotage a community prison conference by failing to contact the speakers for a panel the Guild had assumed responsibility for organizing. When the dispute between the organizer and her became known to others, her charges against the organizer's "sexism" clouded the issue sufficiently that the problem was rendered a personality clash. She threatened to sue the conference organizer if he fingered her as an agent and later physically threatened him.

At the 1973 national convention of the National Lawyers Guild in Austin, Tex., Sheila and John continually interfered with

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sensitive press relations, at one point physically attacking a reporter who attended a plenary session. The conference registration list eventually appeared in the *Information Digest* and in an expanded version in a Church League report entitled "Attorneys for Treason". Given the Guild's policy of keeping membership lists confidential, the only possible explanation as to how the ID obtained the list is that it was purloined. Nevertheless, like many duped before by an informant's "good work", the Guild was quick to excuse O'Connor's idiosyncracies and suspicious actions.

During their Washington years, the Reeses opened their home to meetings and social gatherings of progressive organizations like the National Lawyers Guild, the Institute for Policy Studies and the YIPs. 1616 Longfellow St., NW became the Yippie headquarters and stash for the 1973 Annual Fourth of July Smoke-in. The Yippies wound up \$200 short and the subject of extensive intelligence reports, which later surfaced in their FBI dossiers. The Smoke-in was one of seven entries in the July 14, 1973, issue of *Information Digest*, which carried reports on the National Defense Organization (the original name of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression), the Prison Project, African Liberation Day, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Fund and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

It has never been established that the house was bugged, but at one point a suspicious roommate gained entrance into the Reeses' perpetually locked room and found wire-tapping equipment and arms. The police had John's permission to install electronic equipment there and a key to get in. They also rented and bugged an office for him to use.



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#### —John Rees

John Rees' conduct is typical of LEIU agents; he has worked hand-in-hand with police across the country. According to a report of the New York State Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis, Rees told D.C. police he operated in Houston, on the West Coast, in Maryland, in New Jersey and in New York State. Law enforcement officials say he would tantalize police with stories of violent plots, and developed a reputation by taking information he had learned from one department and relaying it to another.

Continually, since his arrival from Britain in 1963, Rees has percolated intelligence through the private and public sectors. It is now known that John Rees alleges to have spent 10 years in the Royal Air Force, Special Investigations Branch, from 1943 to 1945 and again from 1948 to 1955, with interruptions to study economics and industrial psychology. Is there any significance in the fact that he rejoined the Special Investigations Branch in the same year the CIA was founded?

John Herbert Rees is not the British author John Rawlings Rees, who wrote *The Shaping of Psychiatry by War* and *The Case of Rudolph Hess*, though he has gone out of his way to feed that confusion. Interestingly, the U.S. Labor Party also joined their identities in an August 31, 1973, article in *New Solidarity* and in an August 1973 pamphlet "Papa Doc Baraka: Fascism in Newark".

After Rees arrived in the United States he worked variously as a freelance journalist, a nurse and a doctor in a midwestern hospital. Within months of his arrival in this country, he had plunged into a romance with the controversial *Peyton Place* novelist, Grace Metalious. Her deathbed will left her millions to John Rees who declined the money when the IRS claimed it for back taxes.

Rees again surfaced in 1967 in racially torn Newark, N.J. where over a period of less than two years, he became a central figure in a controversy which required the City of Newark to repay the Department Of Labor the \$8,000 salary he had been paid through a CETA program. Rees was employed simultaneously by the city and a private contractor under the same DOL grant and at the same time, was pushing his own corporation, National Goals. Under the employment contract with the city, Rees was to prepare a series of manpower training seminars for entry level employees. The racism and manipulation are inherent in the course titles:

- Nature of Leadership
- Concepts of Work Ethics
- Straight Thinking Techniques
- Freedom vs. License
- Political and Economic Significance of Opposing Black Power

Rees' financial manipulations were part of an Essex County grand jury probe which investigated the political corruption and slipshod management of the program overall.

In 1968, John Rees founded a New York corporation, National Goals, Inc., "to provide an investigative service for various branches of government and prepare memoranda, reports, etc." One of the most revealing examples of Rees's opportunism was the proposal of National Goals to create a community peace patrol in New Jersey to quell racial unrest. The proposal was submitted by Rees and Newark Police Director Dominick Spina to the U.S. Department of Justice in April of 1968 which reported that: "We do not have the funds to support such a project"

**Rees has worked hand-in-hand with police across the country. Law enforcement officials say he would tantalize police with stories of violent plots, and developed a reputation by taking information he learned from one department and relaying it to another.**

but found it "most interesting."

The \$743,000 plan for Newark would outfit the community patrols with uniforms, helmets, walkie-talkies, tape recorders, cameras, 20 patrol cars and other police equipment as well as four offices and two warehouses. Black neighborhoods would be patrolled by blacks, white neighborhoods by whites and mixed neighborhoods by mixed teams.

In reality, the National Goals plan created a second police force, pitting Anthony Imperiale's right-wing forces of the North Ward Citizen's Committee against black militant

Brother Kamiel Wadud's United Brothers of Newark. National Goals stood to gain approximately \$70,000 for what one Newark newspaper described as a "dangerously hare-brained scheme to train white vigilantes and black militants."

## THE CHURCH LEAGUE CONNECTION

National Goals was also the first publisher of the *Information Digest*, under its corporate letterhead. ID was then advertised in the *National Laymen's Digest*, a publication of the Church League of America, which Rees himself edited in 1969-70.

The Church League, a right-wing tax-exempt blacklisting operation, was founded in 1937 by Frank Loesch—head of the Chicago Crime Commission, prosecutor of Al Capone, and counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad—with other Christian stalwarts and corporate moguls, like Henry P. Crowell, Chairman of the Board of Quaker Oats, who were dedicated to keeping tabs on every person "attacking and ridiculing a major doctrine of Christian faith or the American way of life."

Since the '50s, the Church League has been headed by former Air Force intelligence officer and ordained Baptist minister, Edward G. Bundy. A Church League brochure boasts that the "largest and most comprehensive files on subversive activity, with the single exception of the FBI, are located in the Research Library in Wheaton, Illinois."

Into these (Church League) headquarters come thousands of requests for original source materials and documents from every part of the Free World." The brochure goes on to describe a 40-year history of information-gathering by "top Christian scholars, former staff members of Congressional in-

vestigation committees and intelligence divisions of Government . . . hired and working under the direction of a national board of lay and clerical leaders."

The Church League brochure admits to the use of undercover operatives who sat in on Communist and leftist meetings around the globe "who ingratiated themselves with leftists that accepted their volunteer help to work in various headquarters."

"To the League's basic files of cross-referenced items clipped from current periodicals, are added the personal reports of the League's investigators from across the country. Church League librarians also administer the Tocsin files on campus radicals initiated some years ago in California, the files on subversion compiled over four decades by the House Committee on Un-American Activities researcher Dr. J. B. Matthews, and Counter-Attack documentation on left-wing assembled by the Honorable John Keenan of New York . . . instantly available to virtually every police department and security agency in the country."

The Church League's own document further states that "National, state and local law enforcement and security agencies and individuals turn to the Church League with confidence for new leads, unimpeachable evidence, for detailed background materials."

In addition to the newsletter, *National Laymen's Digest*, the Church League publishes special reports on various groups, such as "Attorneys for Treason," a 70-page description of the National Lawyers Guild and their 1973 Austin, Tex. convention. That report is an expansion of the February 23, 1973 edition of the ID, large portions of which were inserted into the Congressional Record by radical rightist Rep. Larry McDonald (D.-Ga.)

Rep. Larry McDonald systematically uses the "Extension of Remarks" section of the Congressional Record to target every liberal to left group in the country, just as Joe McCarthy before him, citing the ID and relying more openly now on the "intelligence" of the ID, and legitimizing it in the eyes of the intelligence and police bureaucracies, and co-incidentally making the information libel-proof. He has ordained himself as the one-man House Internal Security Committee, since its abolition in 1975, and was named as the "Secretary of Defense" in a "shadow cabinet" formed by Congressional conservatives.

Unlike many politicians, McDonald seems to put his right-wing line into his daily practice. In his profession, as a urologist, he has long prescribed to his patients the controversial "cancer antidote," laetrile, which has the political and financial backing of the John Birch Society. He is currently being investigated on charges of stockpiling guns, which he would allegedly have his dying patients register and then have transferred illegally, without a trace, to him or his friends in the John Birch Society. As all Birchers are instructed, he stores dried and canned foods in his Atlanta home in case of Communist invasion or internal insurrection. Interestingly, in his last two filings with the Federal Election Commission, he gave two different addresses, neither of which exists.

As McDonald, his staff and their nefarious activities are revealed, the right-wing has jumped to their defense.

The November, 1976, issue of the John Birch Society magazine, *American Opinion*, condemned attacks on McDonald's "patriotic" researcher Louise Rees and her husband. The article, entitled "The National Security Mousetrap," targeted activists in the anti-intelligence movement by name and

home address, warning: "Regular readers know that your reporter is a man of moderation so extreme that it approaches the fanatic—which is why he is fearful of the possibility that something unpleasant might happen. . ."

McDonald himself is the youngest member of the National Council of the John Birch Society and a major exponent of radical right causes in public. He has been touted as the Birchers' theoretical genius on questions of national security.

The John Birch Society (JBS), a predominantly secret society of 80,000 of America's middle classes, believes in the conspiracy theory of history: nearly everyone to the left of its founder, retired Massachusetts candy manufacturer Richard Welch, is a member of the "Communist conspiracy" or fellow traveler. The organization, founded in Indianapolis in 1958, operates at the grass roots level through front groups and inside other organizations across the country under a zealous, disciplined and thoroughly indoctrinated cadre of organizers. In fact, it is organized like a "vanguard party" of the right. Larry McDonald is, in effect, a member of the "Central Committee" and a part of their propaganda machine.

Among the other ranks on the right which have sung praises is the Council Against Communist Aggression (CACA) which rewarded Larry McDonald and his "patriotic researcher" and her husband during its 9th annual awards dinner in August, 1976 "for their efforts to block communism." McDonald, according to an advertisement for the fete in Human Events, "has been effectively using the Congressional Record to expose leftists activities since the liberals managed to abolish HSIC." (sic)

The ad went on to identify "John and Louise Rees, who infiltrated left-wing groups to funnel information about their activities

to Rep. McDonald and thus spotlight the radicals' plans." The awards were presented by none other than Herb Philbrick, Vice-Chairman of CACA and author of the book *I Led Three Lives*, and one of the more well-known FBI "Communists."

CACA, a tax-exempt "educational" association, was formed in 1951 at a national conference called by Sal B. Hoffman, president of the Upholsterers International Union, AFL-CIO. The national headquarters of CACA is currently located in the national headquarters of the UIU in Philadelphia, Pa.

Marx Lewis, national Chairman of CACA, retired union leader and member of the National Advisory Board of Accuracy in Media (AIM), lists a second office in Orlando, Fla. Lewis, in support of the foreign policy positions of George Meaney and the AFL-CIO was quoted in the December, 1976, AIM Report as saying "If the American labor movement had made foreign policy, we wouldn't be in the mess we are today. They have consistently fought every step we have taken toward accommodating ourselves to communists aggression." (sic)

The Council regards the international Communist conspiracy as overwhelming and intent on consuming the world, after the conquest of the USA. According to its own literature, "It was the first, and remains the only, organization of its kind formed under the leadership and with the active participation of trade union officials. . . ." At the first annual dinner, the speaker was William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor who expressed his concurrence with and approval of the objectives of the council.

According to papers filed with the IRS in support of the request for tax exemption, the Council notes that in the 1967 budget of \$8,000, \$5,500 came from the UIU.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL ABUSE

Papers filed by the Reeses in three civil lawsuits in which they have been named either as defendants or witnesses yield more background material about the couple.

Louise Rees has worked for the Digest as reporter and researcher in the periods from early 1969 to late 1973 and from fall 1974 to early 1975. During the time she worked for *Information Digest* her articles also appeared anonymously or under pen names in the *National Layman's Digest*, *National Review*, *Human Events* and *Review of the News*.

John, in company with known police and suspected agents, has appeared randomly among community coalitions and demonstrations. The sense in Baltimore, where they now live, is that many people know the Reeses' story, but no one will confront them directly because of the fear of physical retaliation. The Reeses have a history of abusing people, which has included physical and psychological violence. A number of sordid stories have been documented from the time of John Rees' arrival in the U.S.

- People who knew and respected Grace Metalious are bitter about her premature death. While success of her novel *Peyton Place* brought her instant fame and wealth, it also brought angry isolation from her small New England town and unbearable pressure to produce more. John Rees came to her aid as the bright, young journalist who would rescue her from a declining literary career by collaborating on *THE NEXT BIG NOVEL*. Actually, she sank deeper into drink, and as she lay near death in a Boston hotel, he ushered in a lawyer to sign over her fortune.

- According to sources at the Manchester, N.H. *Free Press*, for whom Rees worked as a reporter in 1963, Rees relied on the ghost-writing of a woman at home to keep his job.

His employer called him "an absolute illiterate."

- The Rees home at 1616 Longfellow in Washington, D.C. was actually commandeered from their roommate, whom they eventually drove from the house with few possessions. The roommate on several occasions was beaten by the Reeses after confronting them about the theft of movement funds, possession of guns and wiretap equipment and spying for the state. To this day the woman blames the Reeses for her loss of credibility on the Left.

- Throughout their involvement in the National Lawyers Guild, the Reeses successfully manipulated movement "friends" and disrupted activities intended to expose governmental abuses and advocate reforms, particularly around law enforcement, intelligence and prisons. One of the most blatant examples is their manipulation of a friend who suffered acute paranoia with his firsthand realization of the computer capabilities of the federal government. Not only did they thwart his every effort to publicize Project SEARCH and its tri-state support arm, the Council of Governments, but, under the guise of support, they gossiped, backbit and planted false seeds of doubt, creating and exacerbating problems with family and friends and in his professional life.

While the Reeses cannot be held directly responsible for anyone's problems, they definitely exhibit a pattern of preying on vulnerable people who do not have the strength to fight back. In effect, they become "the straw that breaks the camel's back." The pattern continues today.

## REESES TODAY

Currently the Reeses are living under the name Seeley on the fringes of Baltimore's radical community at 2828 North Howard,

and commuting to D.C.

Louise, who served as a researcher for the House Internal Security Committee until its demise in 1975, is now in the employ of Rep. Larry McDonald. She conducts her research from her house which doubles as a commercial kennel named Llaeggub (Buggerall spelled backwards). She is rarely seen, although during their two-year residence in Baltimore, she has attempted to penetrate the lesbian community. Coincidentally, over the years John has also cast himself as a homosexual in professional and social circles.

John is now masquerading as a freelance journalist to cover up his intelligence work. At times he fraudulently uses the name of a legitimate consumer credit company—Capitol Reports, Inc.—to publicize a news service "to provide the press, parliamentarians and progressive public opinion makers in the United States and in the developing areas of the world with up-to-date background information on the issues and events now making headlines and about to make headlines." The post office box for the alleged news service—Box 1523, Washington, D.C. 20013—is registered to L. Reese (sic), whom the post office reports is a man producing a newsletter. The office address of L. Reese (sic) is the office of Congressman Larry McDonald, and the home address of a Maryland State policeman.

On one occasion, John called *WIN Magazine* after it published an article on *Information Digest*, posing as a correspondent for *Review of the News*, a publication of the John Birch Society.

*Review of the News* is frequently used by him as a cover for collecting information, which is then channeled into a column on the Left in the more well-known JBS publication, *American Opinion*. Reporters for *Review of the News* traditionally deny any

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connection to the John Birch Society in the course of their interviews.

Where the journalist angle would be inappropriate to extract information, the Reeses have expanded into the James Allen Collective, anxious to share information with un-

derground subversives and disseminate their literature to the collective's network along the eastern seaboard. In his own hand, using the surname Seeley, John wrote to one California-based group:

We too are working in  
the July 4 Coalition, and took  
part in a Philadelphia building  
demonstration this week —  
while we are doing what we  
believe we must. We are  
far from convinced that these  
mass demonstrations are  
effective.

In Struggle & Study..!

John.

Periodically John sports a clerical collar, which he explains away to movement "friends" as a hustle to get discounts on liquor and travel, but actually uses it as an entree into the church community, the local establishment and the criminal justice system, particularly prisons. In fact, his unpublished number is listed with Baltimore Information under Rev. John Seeley. Lately, he was spotted in clerical garb at a Baltimore art gallery.

Under the name John O'Connor, Rees has also posed as a lawyer. In the early '70's, he hung a diploma from a New York law school on the wall of his home.

#### —PRIVATE POLICE—

John may also work for Wackenhut Corp., the nation's third largest international security and investigative firm, based in Coral Gables, Fla., whose services include private investigation, physical and mechanical security emergency support for labor-management disputes, patrols and rescue and first aid. A personnel check at Wackenhut confirmed Rees' employment on two occasions, by name, address and social security number. After Congressional hearings before the Privacy Protection Study Commission, however, Wackenhut denied the earlier confirmations. A personnel employee said that "perhaps he worked at the *Washington Post* during the strike and left."

According to the 1975 Annual Report, Wackenhut "investigative services are designed to develop reliable and factual information which can be utilized by management in the decision-making process. Major clients include general business, industrial and professional communities, the insurance industry and financial interests. A wide range of professional services is provided including insurance background reports, pre-employment screening, polygraph examina-

tions, counter business espionage, protection of proprietary information, internal intelligence and general criminal, fraud and arson investigations."

Before the Privacy Protection Study Commission, Wackenhut admitted to using raw information from the Church League of America files. "If you were a member of the Communist Party USA, it would be valuable information," Wackenhut Vice President John Ammarell said. When asked, however, if they checked for accuracy, he conceded, "it would be practically impossible." Ammarell further said that at one time Wackenhut did have indices for both the Congressional and California Committees on Un-American Activities, primarily the Attorney General lists and the Communist Party lists, because they felt it was important to provide business and industry with a central listing of criminal and subversive activities. He did recognize, however, that a problem with using the data of HUAC and the Church League was that it was often overbroad. According to Ammarell Wackenhut had also received the files of Karl Baarslag, the research director for Sen. Joseph McCarthy's investigating subcommittee in the '50's, but had since donated them, in 1975, to the Church League because they did not sell. This reduced Wackenhut's one million files down to a mere 300,000.

In addition to Rees' apparent connection to Wackenhut, there is clear evidence of his work with the private security department of the Georgia Power Co. in Atlanta. Activist Father John Seeley infiltrated the dissident Georgia Power Project in 1973 to collect information on "subversives, i.e. anyone who spoke against Georgia Power," not only for the power company but also for the *Information Digest* and for Seventh District Congressman Larry McDonald. According to *Atlanta Journal* sources familiar with the op-

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Georgia Power's security department's \$750,000 budget made available sophisticated equipment like a night-time photographic telescope, fingerprint kits, drug analysis kits and videotape unit. Each investigator was equipped equal to or better than any police detective unit in the state—with pistol, shotgun, radio, camera and a company car complete with adjustable lights to confuse a possible tail.

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erations of the Georgia Power security department, "the security department not only received the ID but helped subsidize Rees' activities."

Rees was supplied with a company van and a Georgia Power credit card. The Security department's \$750,000 budget made available sophisticated equipment like a night-time photographic telescope, fingerprint kits, drug analysis kits and a videotape unit. Each investigator was equipped equal to or better than any police detective unit in the state—with pistol, shotgun, radio, camera and a company car complete with adjustable lights to confuse a possible tail.

John refuses to confirm or deny any interchange with Georgia Power, though he did admit a "mutuality of interests" in such groups as the Georgia Power Project, the National Lawyers Guild, Southern Christian Education Fund and the October League because these organizations "have been antagonistic to Georgia Power."

Another source of private intelligence used by Georgia Power to screen Atlanta dissidents, as well as prospective employees of the Hatch Nuclear Plant, is Research West Inc. of California, formerly known as Western Research. Rees has advertised his connections with police agencies across the country, but rarely has alluded to any connection in California. Yet the *Information Digest* concentrates considerable coverage

on the west coast. Given the common purpose and cooperative employment with Georgia Power, it would be reasonable for Research West Inc. and the *Information Digest* to share information.

An article in the August 20, 1976, issue of *New Times* by Warren Hinckle and William Turner describes the activities of one of Western Research's operatives, Jerry Ducote, a former Bircher and crime-busting sheriff:

For two years, he performed burglaries at the brazen rate of almost once a month for wealthy California ranchers and prominent Republicans. His targets were strictly left-wing. The goods he stole were distributed to leading conservatives across the country through a secret network of right-wing intelligence organizations that maintained millions of files on the left. In sheer volume these files rival the FBI's. But they are not rivals—local and state police, and the FBI itself, cooperated with the burglar and helped cover his tracks. In return, they shared in the forbidden fruit of his break-ins.

Ducote told the *Atlantic Journal* that the firm exists to provide clients (Southern Pacific Railroad, Pacific Gas & Electric, Standard Oil of California and Hearst newspapers) with information on "leftists."

"If you had signed an ad to stop the war in

Vietnam," he said, "then your name would be in these files. If you signed three ads, you would be described in the files as a leftist."

Security personnel, according to *Atlanta Journal* sources, arranged and paid for a

hotel room for conservative columnist Lester Kinsolving prior to a Georgia Power Co. shareholders meeting where he delivered the company line. Kinsolving admitted that the Georgia Power stock he owned was purchased by a South African interest group.

There are many examples of FBI informants who were at the same time members of far-Right groups. One example is Timothy Redfearn, who spied on Denver activists while maintaining membership in the Socialist Workers Party's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, for over a five year period, at the same time he was a member of the American Nazi Party.

Another example is Howard Godfrey, who reported to the FBI as far back as the late '60s on the southern California Left, while simultaneously serving as tactical leader for the now defunct Secret Army Organization, a right-wing paramilitary organization, which at its height in 1972-73, spanned 11 states.

Tim Redfearn was considered one of the best of the FBI's 66 informants inside the SWP, and someone who always was given "excellent" ratings by the special agent in charge of the Denver office. For years, providing names, addresses, dates of meetings, events along with his general impressions of the level of activity during any given week, he filed a regular report on political activity in Denver. 1900 pages of FBI documents released to the SWP as part of their lawsuit against the Bureau revealed the details of Redfearn's infiltration of the SWP, his meetings with "friends," his observations of meetings and demonstrations, and his efforts to confuse the student body of Denver University with frequent divisive letters to the student

newspaper. A five-part article on Redfearn is filed in *Straight Creek Journal*, a Denver weekly, revealed that the FBI was the author of some of these letters to the student newspaper. Doing damage to the communist and socialist groups by obtaining (sometimes through office break-ins), information for the FBI tends to be an act which has underlying political motivations. Like the Reeses, and Jerry Ducole, Redfearn developed a fascination for a staunchly anti-communist group. For him it was the Nazis. Two friends recall Redfearn showing off his Nazi membership card.

Howard Godfrey first worked for the FBI reporting on the Minutemen back in 1967. He liked his work and found no conflict of interest reporting their activities. The group didn't seem to concern the FBI, nor did Godfrey's participating in the Minutemen's dealings with guns and explosives. Godfrey also spied on the Left in San Diego from time to time, but did much of his Cointelpro work for the FBI by organizing his right-wing friends into acts of anti-left violence, including lootings and break-ins. Godfrey played a major role in the formation of the Secret Army Organization. The partially FBI-funded SAO harassed and terrorized many activists, and made extensive plans to harass and repress demonstrators during the Republican National Convention, originally slated to be held in San Diego but moved to Miami Beach "for security" reasons.

## SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

An interesting coincidence is John Rees's continual dabbling with South African issues. Has his interest shifted to an international scope? Rees has an extensive home library on South Africa and advertises his expertise via his CapitolReports news service. In a resume he once floated, he claimed to have been a reporter for the *London Daily Mirror*, doing on-the-spot reporting from Ghana and Nigeria. Recently Rees sought out information on South Africa from the Church of Scientology. Larry McDonald has promoted Rees' interest in South Africa by publishing in the *Congressional Record* information that showed up simultaneously in the South African press.

Such is the charlatan life of John Rees, aka John Seeley, aka John O'Connor—doctor, lawyer, journalist, priest and mercenary spy.

Both John and Louise have been subpoenaed in massive lawsuits against illegal surveillance and disruption filed by the National Lawyers Guild, the Institute for Policy Studies and the Socialist Workers Party. They unsuccessfully petitioned the courts to protect their First Amendment rights as journalists. When the Criminal Division of the U.S. Justice Department steps in—even temporarily—to represent them, when the *Washington Post* apparently sabotages a Jack Anderson column on the ID, and various government agencies continue to stone-wall requests for public information, the "journalist" argument floats like a lead balloon.

It is time to ask: who actually controls the ID operation? Also unknown, is the scope of the ID network. John Rees once told a friend that there are six couples around the country with a similar modus operandi. He also told her he keeps an arsenal, supplied by the po-

lice, in a home in Bowie, Md.—an area where the Klan is mushrooming in numbers and notoriety.

Depositions have begun but have produced few answers. The Reeses continue to play the same evasive games which have maintained their mystery these many years. When together, they contradict each other. Alone, they contradict themselves. At one deposition taking, Louise did not even honor the subpoena. John appeared not only with his lawyer—a former staff attorney to the infamous Wayne Hays' House Administration Committee—but with Herbert Romerstein, a former Chief Investigator for the House Committee on Internal Security who alleged to be escorting Rees as a private citizen, nevertheless persisted in interrupting the proceedings and answering for or coaching his client.

Since the expose of the *Information Digest* and its connections with the McDonald office, Romerstein has operated as McDonald's mouthpiece, bullying journalists and researchers seeking what should be public information. Romerstein has even come so far as to assault a magazine photographer who attempted to photograph Rees while they were walking on the street.



What the Guild Investigative Group has documented is that there are operating intelligence networks far more sophisticated than any simplistic explanations previously considered. Most of these networks feed directly into files and computers, laundering the information through data processing; information goes in raw and comes out cleansed and stamped with the government imprimatur to be used to support any expression of official ideology. Recognizing the serious threat

to basic freedoms posed not only by the police/intelligence community but by the complementary right-wing intelligence apparatus is imperative. As the threads of alliances tying the Reeses and the *Information Digest* continue to unravel, it is clear that they represent only a part of the total machinery.

Meanwhile, the ID, despite exposure and legal pressure, continues to be published—sanctioned by federal, state and local police, as well as powers of the organized Right.

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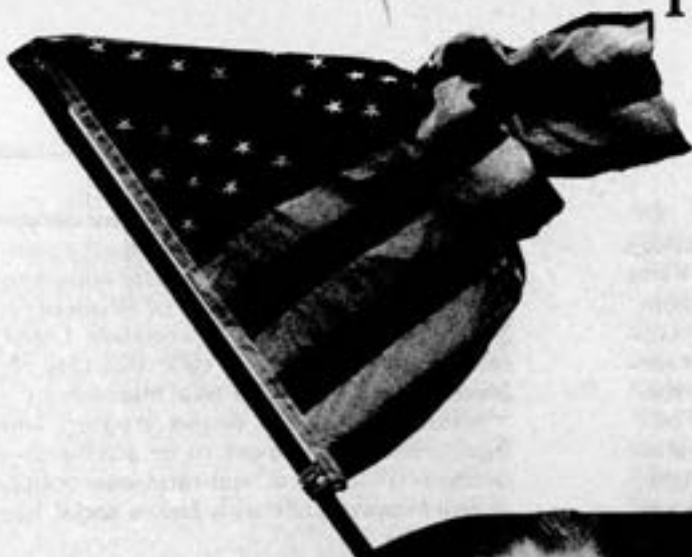
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# The New Reaction



## The New Reaction

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Although they have been building for nearly a decade, suddenly it seems as though they are everywhere—the shock troops of reaction. Various labels: the “New Right,” the “New Conservatism,” and the “Anti-Movements,” they are confronting and confounding progressives in nearly every community.

Well-organized and funded, their causes are widely varied: They oppose gay rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, pot, gun control, welfare, affirmative action, busing, and abortion. And because they have emerged from the realm of crackpots offering token opposition to a point where they are actually winning many battles, they are beginning to be taken seriously.

The leaders of these shock troops are becoming national celebrities. The establishment-oriented Jesse Helms' signature is appearing on so many fundraising appeals that the Republican Party is formally protesting because its own fundraising efforts are being hampered. Phyllis Schlafly draws large crowds everywhere she speaks. And the denizens of the shadow-worlds of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party are emerging into open public view on a regular basis for the first time in a generation.

The shock-troops of this reactionary movement are not easily stereotyped. They are not necessarily the John Birchers who have spent the last 15 years lamenting the Communist take-over of the United States and quietly reading *American Opinion*. Nor are they uneducated boors out to smash intellectualism. But they do have something in common; something that is likely to be overlooked in the rush to find stereotypes and labels to hang upon this upsurge of reaction—they are of the middle-class.

Amidst the rush of the news media to categorize and explain these movements against

social change, its real causes and social bases are usually ignored. A reading of the so-called comprehensive articles from the major magazines leaves one with the false impression that a newly-energized and unified movement is emerging. The “New Right” has been discovered just as the “New Left” was discovered in the press a decade ago. Aside from the deeply held beliefs of its activist leaders, this current bout of reaction can be viewed superficially as a fad, a social happening for bored Americans, who resent the changes of the last 20 years which have left them behind.

The resurgence of the Right has stretched political tolerance to its extremes. Paramilitary groups like the Nazis and the KKK have burst into public view. So have the weekly incidents of disruption and violence which go along with them—from the KKK attacks on Black marines in Camp Pendleton, California, to Nazi store bombings and murders.

The fact is that there is really nothing new about the “New Right.” Today's reactionaries are plagued by the same lack of ideological cohesiveness that plagued the Birch Society's attempts to organize a united front on the Right in the early '60s. What is new are the social and political conditions of the United States today, and the implications these conditions have for the populace.

Foremost amongst these changes has been the restructuring of the role that the United States plays in the world. The defeat of the United States in Vietnam; increased competition in the free-world economy (by Japan and Germany); our national vulnerability to international cartels; increased contention with the Soviet Union; and the incessant demands of underprivileged nations have served to substantially alter the political economy of the US.

The capitalist world as a whole has suf-

ferred through a period of high inflation and economic depression, meaning that "national progress," the much vaunted goal of the past, has been severely blunted. National economies have suffered while the corporate economies have internationalized themselves, thus insuring increased profitability. In concrete terms, this means that the "quality of life" for Americans has quantitatively slowed down, and the handwriting is on the wall for all to see. The chances of real improvement are slim if not non-existent.

A decade ago, buying a home was a realizable dream for many Americans. Today it has become a privilege reserved for those with already existing real estate equity.

The services that government is capable of providing are being sharply curtailed by fiscal problems, and in some cases are near bankruptcy, even though demand for these services steadily increases. Medical costs have soared beyond the reach of most wage earners, and medical insurance is becoming an expensive commodity.

Unemployment and under-employment represent long-range problems to which only partial and temporary solutions are being proposed. Factories are closing with increasing regularity around the country as manufacturers find labor cheaper overseas.

What all of this means is that the American Dream, for many people, is coming to an end—an end that appears to have nightmarish qualities. That great middle class—the class that wanted to believe that it had transcended financial insecurity—now finds itself increasingly threatened with a return ticket to its humbler origins.

It is this insecurity that provides the social basis for the current revival of reactionary forces in the United States today. Those elements of the middle-class that are dispossessed or see themselves threatened with dispossession are seeking scapegoats.

Although this "New Right" is far from having a coherent ideology, their causes do have a common theme, aside from their backlash tactical approaches. The sanctity of the nuclear family is the one thing that provides common ground for the anti-abortionist, the conservative senator and the Klansman to stand upon. And once this commonality is understood, the influences of forces much larger than traditional reactionary groupings like the Birch Society become more evident. Here the ideology becomes clear.

The republic, so goes the rationale of the new reactionaries, is under attack from sinister forces. While the real roots of the family's crisis lay in a combination of fluid sexual life-styles, fewer economic incentives and additional centripetal pressures, the boogymen of the scenario are the "minorities" whose "special advantages" have come at the family's expense.

The new reactionaries are born of changes in the relative status of empire. They are a defense mechanism for purifying an ailing imperialism that can see clearly the seriousness of the challenges that lay ahead, both from competing imperialist forces and the nations that are oppressed by imperialism. And ironically enough, these new reactionaries are being recruited from the middle class, the group facing the most cut-backs.

In the United States there has long been an inclination on the part of the left and liberal intellectuals to label any reactionary element as "fascist," a label that usually does not apply. Richard Nixon, for all his carryings on was NOT a fascist. Neither is George Wallace. And nor is the John Birch Society. To be sure, each has had its totalitarian trappings, but totalitarianism and fascism are not always the same. Thus, it behooves one to go slowly in labeling the new reaction as fascist or proto-fascist.

Any mass reactionary movement has the potential for contributing to the development of pro-fascist tendencies. But it is the relationship between the relative maturity of political economy on the one hand and ideological leadership on the other which is the key question. Although the middle-class does not look upon its economic prospects as optimistically as it did in the recent past, a major depression has yet to occur. The dislocation and disruption of the lives of the citizenry have been due in part to unemployment benefits, welfare payments and other crisis-preventing measures, spawned by the New Deal. But the current cycle of declining expectations does not a defunct American empire make—especially in the absence of world war or other international catastrophe. An empire's decline is a slow and painful process.

The leadership of these new reactionaries is divided over questions of strategy and tactics. No unified movement or party could ever be built in this political community because of their historic reactionary role—their drives for unity have always been hampered by the parochial aims of the would-be constituents. A gaggle of conservative political action committees is becoming active at the grass-roots level where, through the Republican Party, they are able to wield great power and influence inside their broad ranks. The strength of the right-wing faction of the GOP is manifested by Ronald Reagan's ability to fill the leadership slot, however tenuously.

The mere act of taking over an existing political party may not provide the shortest road to real power for the reactionaries. Past attempts by groups with a narrow ideological base to dominate existing institutions, like political parties, have never met with lasting success. This is due in part to their steadfast disregard of an institution's basic

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**The sanctity of the nuclear family is the one thing that provides common ground for the anti-abortionist, the conservative senator, and the Klansman to stand upon.**

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binding glue—compromise.

Thus, assuming a party take-over were possible, it would be ephemeral. At its moment of triumph, the activist core of the new reaction is already defused. But the scenario is strictly hypothetical. Barring unforeseeable future developments, it is likely to be a long time before a Republican Party lead by its most conservative elements can capture any significant portion of the electorate.

So it is important to understand the various forces of the New Reaction for what they are, what they aren't and what they could become. The New Reaction is basically a middle-class response to the end of unlimited growth in the American Empire. It is not fascist, but has elements which could be utilized by any fascist group seeking state power.

## Repression In America

What we've outlined in *The Public Eye* are examples of rightist groupings—in the intelligence gathering, anti-movement, and cult spheres—that contribute to an informally-institutionalized superstructure of repression in America. Repression, though a large and often overused concept, is an unavoidable one for our purposes. When we speak of counter-revolutionary forces—forces comingling with government apparatuses

which aim at limiting or undermining the efforts of progressives to alter political and social reality—then the word repression must be applied. We've shown that rightist vigilante groups like NCLC and right-wing intelligence networks like the *Information Digest*, serve as a reserve army of repression which can be employed when and where government agencies or the corporate sector deems it advantageous. The first order of battle is to understand how activists have been, and continue to be, targeted and harassed by this informal network. Exposing and spreading the truth about this dangerous situation can only help many struggles move forward.

Repression isn't by any means limited to the areas covered here, or even just a factor

in political work. Repression is a part of everyday life affecting most people. Emphasis, in recent times, has been placed on curtailing the abusive, illegal and status-quo-defensive activities of police and intelligence agencies as used against those in the civil rights and anti-war struggles. More work in broader areas of repression is vital. What seems to be the primary focus of rightist intelligence groups has been its direct threats against those criticizing the economic foundations of this society, and those working for fundamental social change. With the degeneration of the economy, we are seeing a rapid consolidation of government and corporate power, inevitably more systematic moves to suppress dissent.

Though repression is a basic defense

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## Collector's Item



**"A factual account worth reading"**  
**Washington Post, September 24, 1976.**

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## Get the pamphlet, NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies

In **NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies**, we expose a recent upsurge in reactionary activity. The pamphlet shows how NCLC, led by chief despot and propagandist Lyndon LaRouche, has tried to rout progressive work with terror tactics and misinformation.

**NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies** was written in 1976 by the Terrorist Information Project, now the Repression Information Project. These concerned researchers assembled their analytic skills to alert progressive people everywhere to the group's bizarre behavior.

The pamphlet documents this and delves deep into the group's

- street tactics
- leadership cult
- organizational structure
- resemblance to classical fascism

The pamphlet is available for \$1.00 plus 25¢ postage. Bulk rates are also available.

mechanism of a capitalist society at any historical phase, the state took its task as repressor more seriously as its role in a blossoming economy became more defined. In the late nineteenth century, U.S. industry had already established foreign markets and the government was forced to grapple with formal/informal empire building. Anti-capitalist activity flourished at that time. Note, for instance, the formation of the Populist Party, a socialist movement, and heightened labor activity like the Pullman strike of 1893. It was these conditions that ultimately gave birth to sophisticated repressive apparatuses during capitalism's advancing technological stage.

The National Association of Manufacturers, a small, conservative organization formed in the 1890's, was opposed to creating a coordinated state-run repression agency. Liberals were the ones who suggested it. "The creation of a modern repressive state was the work of reformers, liberals who had to fight vested interests in order to get what they wanted," wrote Alan Wolfe in *The Seamy Side of Democracy: Repression in America*. Early in this century, groups like the National Civic Federation feared both Right and Left. "They wished to fashion a new corporate order in which the state would play a major role, upholding the capitalists as a class (rather than the selfish interests of any one particular capitalist), rationalizing the economy to make it run more smoothly, and providing welfare benefits to cut off potential revolutionary movements." This created a more expanded role for the state. "Capitalism was becoming too important to be left to the capitalists."

The Russian revolution in 1917 found much support in this country. Realizing this, the administration of liberal Woodrow Wilson established new repressive structures

and precedents including: the appointment of J. Edgar Hoover to lead the Radical Division of the Justice Department; the first extensive use of deportation as a political weapon; the first use of nationally-planned raids on local political group's offices; the first use of the Selective Service System; the first attempt by the government to hire undercover agents to report on "subversive activity"; the first extensive recruiting of labor leaders by the state to work directly in repressing their own memberships. Often considered one of the most liberal and progressive in history, the Wilson administration was actually one of the more repressive.

Wolfe continues his trenchant analysis of liberalism:

"The presidents most inclined to use the instruments of state violence for purposes of repression in this country have been liberal Democrats, not Republicans. . . . Liberals are more likely to use the state as an instrument of corporate rule, playing a 'progressive' role in helping the economy resolve, at least temporarily, some of its contradictions."

It was President Kennedy who initially escalated the Vietnam war, became fascinated by the Green Berets, and contributed to the growth of the FBI.

Key to explaining repression in America, is understanding the nature of liberalism and reformism. Liberals believe in the system they helped create. There is a sense that they must control the flow of change, that they can do it best, while reformers limit the scope of change proposals to single issues. This enables reactionaries to launch efforts against the single issues, as has been done with, for example, the Equal Rights Amendment. If movements are broad in scope, and reveal the fissures in the system, their organizing efforts cannot be so readily countered. In this fashion, most importantly, substan-

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tive social changes—ones uncompromised by reformism—can begin to be actualized.

Liberals raise expectations the system can't satisfy. This causes tensions, social movements emerge. Our present economy, it could be argued, will induce a situation where more social controls will be required to keep societal institutions intact. More repressive policies would then be enacted.

In a speech to high school students this

past summer, President Carter warned: "You also have the freedom which won't last very much longer, to act in an unrestrained way against the status quo." Carter's message should be taken as an indicator of future state plans for repression, plans which will be aided and abetted by rightist tendencies and their intelligence arms such as NCLC/USLP and *Information Digest*.

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**The Government has the FBI  
Corporations have the Private Eye  
We have the *Public Eye***

The *Public Eye* is a publication of the *Repression Information Project*, a non-profit research center and clearinghouse focussing on repression in the USA. Using facts in the public record and "leaked" information, the Project researches, monitors, and analyzes reactionary groupings in this country.

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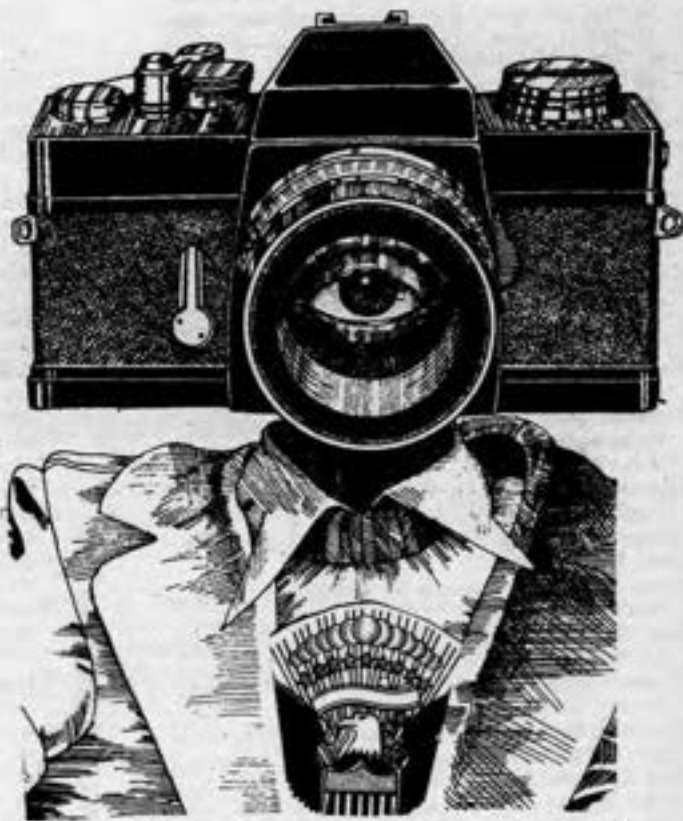
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### In the Next Issue:

- Intelligence-gathering in the private sector
  - Surveillance—official and corporate—over the no-nuke movement
  - Report on the para-military Right. Examples: KKK and the American Nazis
  - Red-baiting: Will it return?
  - The New Reaction: A closer look
  - Proto-fascist developments in U.S. society
  - Profile: the Cultic Persona
- Updates. . .

# Information Is Our Bag



Information is everything. The World both runs on it and creates it as a by-product. We, as a people act according to the information we receive. The quality of our actions and our lives, as individuals and as a community is ultimately determined by the quality of the information we obtain.

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A Journal of Social and Political Issues

Volume II, Issues #1 and 2

SPECIAL  
DOUBLE ISSUE

EYES RIGHT! • Kirkpatrick Sale on the New Right • Imani and the KKK  
World Anti-Communist League • Native American Land Grab

# *the Public Eye*

\$2.00



**Eyes Right:**  
An examination of the  
several right-wing  
currents in  
America.

## Letter to Our Readers

We've received many letters from readers and subscribers asking where our third issue has been. Well, we can't deny that we have had some financial problems. It would somehow, in these days of inflation and economic hard times for many of us, seem inappropriate for it to be any different. Public Eye was founded with few funds, but will continue to do its work while seeking a firmer economic base.

There's more work in Washington, D.C. than there are those to do it. This is probably true everywhere. However, there is a need to dig deeper into many of the scandals and issues which haunt the nation's capital and threaten to expose the nature of the system at its very roots.

For these reasons we feel our unique services must continue and grow. And we are trying tirelessly and not without personal strain, to define our efforts to achieve organizational stability. In 1979, we are planning to form a National Investigative Assistance Center (NIAC), which will be an expansion of the scope of the work of the Public Eye. The Center will serve as a resource center and clearinghouse on investigative efforts around the country, will assist journalists, lawyers, students, and community activists, will conduct peoples' investigations, and provide training in investigative techniques. The Center will continue its research into a number of special topics which we will regularly report on in Public Eye. We will continue to publish and will broaden the scope of coverage to include a variety of investigations the public needs to know about. This issue of the Public Eye is a step in that direction. Write us and tell us what you think.

How can you help? By sending ideas, comments, story ideas; by distributing the Public Eye in your area; by arranging for speaking engagements for our staff; by organizing workshops on the investigative process; by having your local university place us on their list of available intern programs; and by subscribing.

Thanks for your patience.

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## Special Note to Readers

We have shifted to a new format for a  
number of reasons. Inflation and other  
economic realities have forced us to  
search for ways of cutting costs while  
providing our readership with information  
and a quality product.

If your subscription began with the  
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LNS/cpf

# Introduction

## Memorandum

To: **Public Eye**  
From: **Harvey Kahn**  
Date: **1979**

Liberal elected officials frequently say that the "New Right" is striking harder than ever at the gains they made in recent times; the media establishment echoes this suspiciously timed observation in a constant and consistently shallow and misleading flurry of articles on right-wing revival and rightward shifts in public mood. Not surprisingly, many begging questions about the old, radical right connections to this new version—its alliances in government and in the private sector, the various less noticed activities and functions it performs, its factions and tendencies, scope, proto-fascist potential, and its net effect—are rarely addressed. While trying to grapple with some of these lingering questions about the temperature of political reaction today, a number of observations will be made about the right's inherent limitations, its dependence on progressive forces to locate and launch issues to oppose, and its role in the fight against the development of new progressive ideologies.

In this issue as well as in future issues, the *Public Eye* will address some of these questions. One of our exclusive exposes attacks a subject previously hidden from the American public, the International Right. The World Anti-Communist League (WACL), comprised of neo-nazis, right-wing terrorists and scientific racists, is the largest single international right-wing network. In an article last May devoted to this insidious organization, the *Washington Post* called WACL "the fascist spectre." The *Public Eye's* expose is based on a Danish work by Henrik Kruger that appeared in *Under Daekke (Under Cover)*, an anthology on the right-wing published in Copenhagen, and translated by E.C. Reed.

Kirkpatrick Sale probes the depth of the current right-wing tide and seriously questions whether the "New Right" is something new. *Public Eye* correspondent Eda Gordon filed an exclusive report detailing the right-wing activities against Native Americans and their remaining lands and their accompanying valuable energy resources.

Rightist forces have an effect much beyond the identifiable communities who applaud their activities and pay the tens of millions to their numerous single-issue causes. The

right has had a serious impact on foreign policy. Exploiting banal fears and grasping desperately at traditions and faith in myths, the right generated the xenophobic hysteria of the 1950's and threatens to recreate some form of low level hysteria again. To prevent this, a serious but not stifling, an informed but not preoccupying look at rightist forces is appropriate to develop political strategies for social change.

Though it is true that the right dependably rises when progressive political activity ebbs, it has had a substantial impact on government policy. Iran, Korea, and Chile stand out as just a few examples of the victories of right-wing influence in post-World War II official U.S. foreign policy. Since the Cold War began, "the center in American politics has increasingly had to adopt the politics and outlook of the right," wrote Christopher Lasch in *The Agony of the American Left*. "Thus the Truman administration, after first ridiculing the rightist myths of an internal communist conspiracy, set up a loyalty program based on the premise that this myth was reality." And Eisenhower made Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist crusade official policy. John Kennedy accommodated the right-wing's hysterical attacks on Fidel Castro. During the 1964 election, then-President Johnson denounced Barry Goldwater's demands to "liberate" South Viet Nam, only to implement that policy shortly after the election. Cold War politics find centrist liberals constantly trying "to outmaneuver the right by preempting it," Lasch wrote during the height of the Viet Nam War. Liberals forged their Cold War alliances with anti-communists of all stripes: organizations like the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the Congress on Cultural Freedom (CCF), co-opted themselves in the process of collaborating with the right.

### Appeasing the Right

The rightward bent of U.S. foreign policy failed to appease the right. The demands stretched further, until in the late 1960's, those policies showed clear signs of crumbling. It was at this point when drastic domestic measures began to escalate under a law-and-order banner. Dominant political forces began to connect a vicious circle of reaction.

Progressive approaches to governmental policies have been abandoned because of the predictable injection of compromises designed to appease the right. Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon, despite such moves as the 1972 trip to China, still remained loyal to the rightist forces they represented. And today, leading democrats like President Carter and Governor Jerry Brown go liberal to conservative depending on which is more politically (or personally) expedient, rendering at the least, confusion, and mutually canceling political trade-offs. As Gov. Brown told then-campaign aid James Lorenz, who has since written a book about Brown, *The Man on the White Horse*: "You watch. I'm going to move right and left at the same time."

Since World War II ended, not only has official policy been increasingly conservative, but the two main political parties have been breaking down and apart. Both parties have strong factions which fantasize about and flirt with new party structures. Meanwhile, special interests and single issue campaigns have replaced party platforms. In reality, the so-called "New Right" is the result of the proliferation of this contemporary political technique: the single-issue campaign. Today's right applies the tactics of liberals to achieve what liberals were achieving a decade ago. And many of these single-issue causes, from gun owning, right-to-life, anti-ERA, anti-union and now tax reduction—fundraised through Richard Viguerie's direct mail kingdom—are reversing the reformer's gains of the recent past.

The single-issue campaign is the primary tactic of the new right. The right recently brought 60,000 people to Washington, D.C. to demonstrate against abortion. It continues to try to put the right-to-work law into effect in states around the country (a campaign the right started back in 1936), and it campaigns to end restrictions on monopolies, repeal consumer legislation, and fight SALT II. Secondly, the right helps launch vigorous election campaigns, and publishes voluminously on everything from the Bakke decision, human rights, internal security (with typical McCarthy-esque attacks on key civil rights activists), nuclear waste, civil defense, and labor reform.

SALT II enemies on the right formed the latest Cold War lobby, the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), in November, 1976, because "our country is in a period of danger, and the danger is increasing." Among the Executive Committee of the group are former Under-secretary of State Eugene V. Rostow, Henry W. Fowler, Edward Bennett Williams and Paul H. Nitze. And under the CPD umbrella are such "neo-conservatives" as Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, sociologists Nathan Glazer and Seymour Lipset, and author Saul Bellow, with the likes of Paul Weyrich, formerly associated with the Heritage Foundation, a four-year old think-tank financed by beer baron Joe Coors. Podhoretz has voiced support in recent times for leading anti-ERA activist Phyllis Schlafly and anti-gay rights campaigner Anita Bryant, and has pushed the presidential candidacy of Daniel Moynihan, has stated that an unhealthy pacifism is corroding the national will and is a major cause of homosexuality.

Richard Viguerie is more than a direct mail fundraiser. He's a strong right-wing third party advocate, and raised \$6 million for George Wallace's last presidential try to illustrate

this commitment. Viguerie Communications Corporation publishes books and pamphlets, a monthly magazine, *The Conservative Digest*, a weekly newsletter, *The New Right Report*, and more. Viguerie helps conservative election campaign groups raise money. Besides his own campaign arm, The Conservative Caucus, which has pumped money into the anti-ERA battle and will help defeat pro-abortion candidates in the 1980 election, the Viguerie organization raises money for the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which assisted roughly 300 campaigns in the last election and dispersed about \$3 million, according to its own figures. Citizens for the Republic, another election campaign group, was created to run Reagan's campaigns.

Looking to the far right, there are still the old standbys. There's the openly racist Liberty Lobby, a D.C. based group with an \$850,000 a year budget, which spends some of its money maintaining its recorded call-in number, 202-543-1776, and publishing a bi-weekly newspaper called *Spotlight*. Inside the newspaper are frequent ads for Ku Klux Klan t-shirts and Nazi paraphernalia. The Lobby helped with organizing the Eleventh Annual World Anti-Communist League Conference held in Washington, D.C. Willis Carto, who heads the Lobby, is a "sometime associate" of Roger Pearson, the sponsor of the WACL conference and current U.S. representative in WACL. He has written books and articles promoting concepts of Aryan or Nordic racial superiority.

## From Class to Cult

The right attracts support from the middle classes, and has a well-developed knack for tying into the basest of attitudes. The right has captured the ability to speak to its potential constituents in a language they can understand, from people they can identify with, about things that affect them directly, on issues seemingly possible to change.

For those middle class people who don't engage in right-wing politics, or who participate in the evangelical movement (which now claims 50 million supporters), they can submerge into one of the 3000 cults in the U.S., with between three million (CBS figure) and eight million (NBC figure) members. And the cults have a broad audience to pick from; some 60 million people in the country maintain no affiliation with a church.

Some of the cults of the 1970's have involved themselves with right-wing groupings. The People's Temple, Synanon, the Unification Church, and the U.S. Labor Party, see their own perpetuation as the single most important activity of cult members. The leaders persuasively argue that their growth is for the benefit of all. The People's Temple worked for the Republican Party in several elections in California, and canvassed for Nixon while fighting against the Viet Nam War at the same time. Charles Dederich began making unreasonable demands on Synanon members, centralized power and control over members, and engaged in acts of violence against potential enemies. The Reverend Moon helped found the increasingly fascist World Anti-Communist League, supports the authoritarian South Korean president, and held a rally in support of Nixon in the last days of his

failing presidency. The U.S. Labor Party's application of European fascist strategies and tactics, such as trying to destroy or at least disorganize the U.S. left while shifting to the right, has even evoked suspicion among most rightist groupings (see *Public Eye*, Vol.1, No.1). And all of the above sects have attempted some form of mind control.

Present day cults attempt to fill the individual's desire for strong leadership, the need for direction, family, protection, the ill-conceived lust for control over one's life, and the search for identification and security. Membership in a cult replaces political activism with religious devotion. Instead of promoting community or political organizations and the skills which help bring them about, it extracts the cult member from society at large and hoists him or her into isolation. Rather than keeping on top of current events, the cults disguise them or redefine them for their own purposes. Instead of developing the critical faculties of the mind, the cult demands obedience. The 1970's cults are anti-democratic. When reinforced human obedience is complicated by prevailing social and economic chaos, one result is contributing to an environment where an overt fascism is possible.

Whether or not the U.S. right also contributes to a fascist environment (or feeds the needed mass psychology for fascism to flourish) is analytical guess work. However, certain historical parallels are worthy of note: Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany, Peron's Argentina, Franco's Spain. . .

Cries for strong leadership, law-and-order and simple answers, plant the seed and keep the ground wet for fascism to grow. The continued racial and sexual divisions reinforce the ever resilient ideology of fear.

The right's vigilantism and other attempts to repress progressive forces makes it clear what their ultimate goals are and with whom their alliances might be. Imagine an economic crisis the current administration couldn't solve. Hysteria breaks out among the people, the dominant economic powers and their allies opt for strong leadership to restore and maintain law and order. And by now, the majority of the people, it would be claimed, have been thoroughly convinced that they must sacrifice civil liberties and accept a "lean but merciful" and "austere" economic reality. Then a new social order would be announced based on "New Foundations" which would be even leaner and less merciful. Is this the distance the U.S. sits from an unleashed brand of fascism?

The current rightist thrust is cause for concern. While reactionary, anti-change forces are dangerous at this or any other time, it would be more dangerous to overestimate the right's strength or enduring support. Much can be explained by the current weakness of progressive movements, a weakness that is caused by the need for time to rethink and regroup. It's still important to study and expose what the government does to destroy social change movements, and fight to minimize it. In the interim—while progressive movements are being revived—it is clear that long-term solutions to America's problems will be complicated both by the right's simple answers and by government-attempted ones.

## How Many More? Death at Duck Valley

Water rights activist, Tina Manning Trudell, pregnant wife of American Indian Movement National Chairman, John Trudell, was killed in a fire on 12 February 1979 along with their children and her mother Leah Manning. Arthur Manning, Tina's father and past Tribal chairman, was critically injured in the blaze. All five were killed in an apparent arson attack on their home on the Duck Valley Reservation in northern Nevada.

The apparent attack follows a pattern of threats, repression and murders carried out against members of the American Indian Movement.

Tina Trudell had been a leading organizer in the struggle to retain the water rights to the Wildhorse Reservoir which was built in the 1930's by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the exclusive purpose of supplying irrigation water to the Duck Valley reservation. Wildhorse Reservoir is the only potential source of water for the reservation but local non-Indians have begun using the reservoir for recreational purposes and have applied to the state of Nevada for exclusive rights to the water as well as the surrounding lands. Tina also worked with John to organize the Minnesota Citizens' Review Commission on the FBI in Minneapolis.

John Trudell, as one of the coordinators of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, was in D.C. when he was notified of the deaths. John had been a featured speaker at the rally on 11 February 1979 in front of the FBI building where he spoke of the abuses perpetrated by the FBI against the Native American people and other movements for social change. At approximately 2:00 pm, during the speech, Trudell burned the American flag as a symbol of the contempt and anger at the continued policy of genocide of the United States government against the Indian people. At 2:00 am, some twelve hours later, the Trudell home was burned by a fire which consumed the cinder block structure. Local people on the Duck Valley Reservation believe that the fire was intentionally set.

In December 1977, while serving 60 days for cursing at a U.S. Marshal in the hallway outside an adjourned court, word came to John Trudell from the FBI that if he didn't cease his activities on behalf of the people or leave the country, the FBI would get him or his family.

AIM has called for a "Red Alert of all our members in what seems to be an escalation of the war against Indian people to rip off all our energy resources and water following the critical situation facing the United States following their defeat in Iran."

# Eyes Only

## FOIA Stall

Attacks by the intelligence apparatus (FBI, CIA, etc.) on the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), designed to give every citizen access to their government have been followed by FBI Director William Webster quietly reassigning twenty people out of the FOIA processing section, even though there are huge backlogs. This action ensures a continuing log jam.

Webster also is planning to cut back use of the reading room where approximately 630,000 pages of documents already released by the FBI can be reviewed. Currently available five days a week, the FBI wants to cut access to only Tuesdays and Thursdays. Neither the House nor Senate subcommittees charged with FOIA oversight had been informed of the decision.

The attack on access to government information and the FOIA is being carefully nurtured with periodic press statements about alleged threats to national security—in spite of the fact that Section B-1 of the Act clearly exempts such material. It may have its effect on Congress in a year or two.

## NCLC Updates

### Moving into Unions

The U.S. Labor Party (USLP) continues its involvement in labor union politics across the country. In support of the corrupt, anti-democratic leadership of the Teamsters the USLP has attacked the Professional Drivers organization, PROD, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), *Overdrive* magazine, and the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH). These independent union caucuses are vehemently opposed by the Teamster hierarchy. All these groups are fighting to change the way workers organize in relation to each other and their workplace.

Among some of USLP antics are the following:

- The Teamsters for a Democratic Union was recently trashed in USLP propaganda distributed by Robert Lins, the pro-Fitzsimmons president of Local 299. This local was the home of both Hoffa and Fitzsimmons and it symbolizes corrupt Teamster leadership. USLP literature has been spread around the union hall.

- A USLP member working for Central Cartage, organized by Local 299, has charged Pete Camarata, the TDU leader, with "undermining the ability of the union to represent its members." The USLP has no chance of success, but it serves as a harassment within the local. Such attacks have occurred in other locals.

- PROD has found that a truck driving school organized by Teamsters Local 70 in Oakland, California, has purchased 3,000 copies of the *Campaigner*. The September-October, 1978, *PROD Dispatch* says that business agents of Local 70 distribute them just before the elections. PROD candidate Marv Kaylor, who is contesting a recent election in the local, was charged by the USLP with being a drug dealer, as were his running mates.

- PROD claims that the union leadership in about 10 locals used USLP literature in union halls. In a PROD public meeting in Chicago, business agents of Local 705 distributed leaflets faithful to the USLP position: "PROD, TDU, and other rank and file groups" are out to destroy the Teamsters in order that members can be manipulated by Ralph Nader, the Ford Foundation, and British Intelligence. This is standard USLP propaganda. The Kennedy family is thrown in too, for those in the leadership who still remember Robert Kennedy's investigation of Teamster corruption.

- At Local 641 in Jersey City, New Jersey, the September 1977 issue of *Dispatch* describes a local meeting

where a local officer introduced a USLP member to speak *against* reform in the union. After his speech, no questions were allowed from the floor.

- Steve Early, a PROD leader, notes in the article that this same tactic was used by union bureaucrats of the steelworkers union against the Sadlowski campaign for presidency of the union.

In response to a FASH strike, the USLP claims the Teamster leadership has distributed an USLP "information bulletin" to truckers showing FASH "as part of a conspiracy to wreck the U.S. economy and the Teamsters union," an open admission that the Teamsters and the USLP are working closely together. In response to a demand from the TDU that the Teamsters disassociate itself from the USLP, a Teamster board meeting adopted a resolution disclaiming any association with the USLP. So whether the USLP was lying when it claimed to be working with the Teamsters, or whether the Teamsters lied in saying they had no truck with the USLP is hard to say. When it comes to lying, both groups are too good to tell.

### Moving into Anti-Semitism

For anyone who has read the NCLC/USLP's *New Solidarity* this year, it comes as no surprise that the NCLC has formed a front group to advance anti-Semitism. Recent headlines such as "Brandeis and the Jewish Lobby," and "Did the Zionist Lobby kill ... ?" etc., point to the NCLC/USLP's new-found anti-Semitism, probably so that it can forge new links with the extreme right.

The *Berkeley Barb* in its August 18, 1978 issue quotes a B'nai B'rith leader as saying the NCLC had formed a coalition with "the most virulent right wing groups" in Southern California to establish The Provisional Commit-

tee to Clean Up the B'nai B'rith.

Included in this latest attempt by the NCLC to ally with and organize the right is the Liberty Lobby, an openly anti-Semitic pressure group slightly to the right of the John Birch Society.

*New Times*, of October 16, 1978, also reported on other far right alliances. Our last issue (*PE* #2) noted alliances with white citizens councils, the KKK and the American Independent Party in Georgia.

## NCLC/USLP/FEF

The Fusion Energy Foundation (FEF), another NCLC front held a conference in Pittsburgh on November 14th. Claiming 60 persons attended, *New Solidarity* noted that representatives were there from Westinghouse, Babcock and Wilcox, Combustion Engineering, Pennsylvania Power & Light, a number of local industries (including a steel mill) and six engineering firms.

A representative from the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), gave the second major presentation, the first coming from an FEF Director. DOE has been represented at a number of FEF functions. They regard FEF as "very dedicated" and ignore their politics, always foremost in NCLC/USLP/FEF thinking. A similar conference was given this summer in France.

The Internal Revenue Service has given FEF a boost by granting it a tax-exempt status, causing increased fundraising activity.

## Drugs

And to compound alliances, the USLP has courted the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), on opposing liberalization of drug laws. The VFW meeting hall in Detroit will be the meeting spot for the Michigan Anti-Drug Coalition.

Speakers at the anti-drug meeting include two members of the NAACP from Flint, Michigan. One, Max Dean, is a member of the USLP, and has been in the NAACP for over 20 years. In 1976 he tried to get the NAACP to adopt some USLP positions. (Resolved: The NAACP opposes all concepts of zero

growth...) but was rejected. The NAACP did, however, endorse a pro-nuclear position last year during the week of July 4th. The USLP has long been an advocate of nuclear power.

The acceptance of USLP members in the NAACP contrasts with an earlier time when Roy Wilkins received FBI reports on NAACP members who were in the Communist Party and then quietly expelled them.

## Games People Play

The Institute for International Scientific Exchange recently sponsored the International Conference on Terrorism, a meeting financed by the Senate of the City of West Berlin and the Volkswagen Foundation of Germany, according to an article in the *Temple (University) Times*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The conference split into five committees: psychology of the terrorist, the socio-cultural determinants of terrorism, the attitudes to terrorism and possible ways of changing them, the possible ways in which democratic societies can prevent and protect themselves against terrorism and the various ideologies and forms of international terrorism. Attendees included representatives from Germany, Italy, U.S., England, Israel and other countries. The U.S. Department of State, the Rand Corporation, the New York City Police Department, the FBI, and the British Broadcasting Company sent representatives to the conference also.

Midway through the conference, there was a simulated game which about half of the conference participants joined; the game was a Rand Corporation design with three groups—a government, terrorist and a control group—all involved with an extortion plot. The outcome of the game, according to the rules, must not be revealed, but according to the Berlin press accounts, the hotel was taken over by terrorists.

Dr. Presseisen, history professor at Temple University, spoke of his findings on terrorist ideology: "The worst kind of terrorist is the terrorist by proxy. . . . people like the Japanese landing in Israel or the Germans in Italy. These people cannot take action in their own counties. Terrorism by

proxy is the most extreme. . . .

Terrorism is nothing new. In previous ages what is known today as terrorism was called anarchism. But the difference was that anarchism might have been committed by only one person or small group of people where today's terrorists are very well organized and can sometimes count on government support."

## Something Bugging You?

On 1 January 1979 the *Washington Post* carried a front page story entitled "Two FBI Agents Sue N.C. Bank Over Bugging." The article reports the basics of the suit as well as statements made by the agents during depositions about their feelings on being bugged:

You wouldn't believe the anger that took place inside of me that night when I found out . . . You go home and all you do is think about it . . . You go to work. You work and you forget about it. You come home at night and you go to bed and you don't forget about it. You know you've been bugged. There's no question about it now. How are they going to use it against you or when are they going to use it against you? It keeps playing on your mind."

The article credits the agent with feeling "humiliated and embarrassed as an FBI agent and [he] suffered increased hypertension and new cysts on his eyes." The second agent bugged also had medical problems; in deposition, he stated "a hemorrhoid condition worsened after the incident."

One of the agents also testified that the publicity "had totally changed my prospects for administrative advancement within the FBI . . . Any individual who is the subject of controversy or publicity is automatically regarded as a problem area and certainly not someone to be considered for an administrative post."



# Smoke and Fire:

## A Round-Earth View of the "New Right"

by Kirkpatrick Sale

When I was a kid, I remember betting an older boy a dollar to prove the truth of the adage, which I had only recently learned, that "where there's smoke there's fire." He agreed to the bet, far too readily I thought, and took out a pack of matches from his coat pocket. He lit one, blew it out, and as the smoke curled up from the extinguished match, he waved it before my eyes, and then before I could say a word pulled open my shirt pocket and dropped it in. In addition to being instantly poorer by a considerable sum, I was of course mortified, and considerably jaded about the worth of ancient wisdom.

Ever since then, I have held to the firm belief that "where there's smoke there's smoke."

Which is precisely my reaction to the current spate of newspaper articles and cover stories and polls and programs and symposia designed to show that America is in the grips of a "new right." I don't deny that there may be a right at work out there, and I don't deny that there are a bunch of current issues that has stirred it up in recent months. But I don't believe for a minute that this represents any major new force in American politics, that it is a movement comparable to the new left of a few years ago, or that it represents a serious threat to progressive and right-thinking forces, however defined. There's a lot of smoke, to be sure; but where there's smoke there's smoke.

On the surface, these past two years have seemed like a time of strong right-wing activity. The recurrent issues are all familiar: the Panama Canal treaties, ERA, abortion, "right to work," laetrile, homosexual rights, the death penalty, nuclear power, gun control, women's liberation, bussing, Proposition 13. And the names have become household—or at least headline—words: Anita Bryant, Phyllis Schlafly, Jesse Helms, Ronald Reagan, Richard Viguerie, Howard Jarvis.

But the first thing to notice about these issues and names is that, by and large, they all imply *reaction*: the new right is not initiating but reacting, reacting against ideas and policies coming against it from other parts of the political spectrum, more often than not from the dominant, mainstream political and economic forces in the country. The anti-ERA forces, for example, are up in arms about a perfectly innocuous and straight-forward amendment because they are upset, in incoherent and subliminal ways, with the changes that have taken place in the last decade in the perception and status of women, and they are choosing this as a concrete and coherent way to react. The anti-marijuana and anti-"pornography" people, similarly, are trying to fight against a sweeping process that they don't quite understand that has altered for the far-foreseeable future the very nature of the society they live in. They all may be vociferous, they may even win a victory here or there, but essentially they are

howling into the wind; theirs is not so much a threatening war or even a dangerous battle as it is a last-ditch stand.

The second thing to note about the new right is that most of the ballyhoo to confirm its existence is offered to us by the media, who are of course the real experts in finding smoke and making it into apocalypse. For starters, anything new will always sell papers and boost ratings, so whenever possible the media hucksters will cook up some new phenomenon, no matter how insubstantial, to promulgate as innovative and original: the new morality, the new cuisine, the new sex, the new wave, the new left, the new right. But I think the recent hoopla about resurgent conservatism has a deeper reason than that: it is that the media, in their role as mediators of politics in service to the pluralist state, have felt the need to balance the power of the liberal-left coalition which was gaining such headway in the land in the wake of Watergate and Viet Nam. They have found this balance in people who will come out against government bureaucracy, domestic budget increases and welfare cheats, people who are shaken and worried about homosexuality, crime, the young, and the decline of the social role of the family, and they proclaim *that* as a new right. Look, look—their message goes—there *is* a new right, the system *does* work, America is still the land of the free.

But the media are not the only ones who see advantages in trumpeting this new right. All kinds of organizers on the left, from NOW, women and gay-rights activists to the Sierra Club and the Naderites, find it convenient to conjure up a backlash threat so that they can stir their supporters and gain new converts. Liberal politicians, too, especially in an election year, did not mind posing to their constituents as honest champions beleaguered by the dark and dangerous forces of the right whose power must be met by more contributions and greater turnouts. Union officials find advantages in being able to wave what we might call a brown-shirt flag before their members, exhorting them to greater participation to stave off the elements who are out to take away their union shops. And conventional mainstream figures, politicians and business leaders and academics and the sort, like to have a rising threat from the demons of the right they can conjure with to match the constant danger from the madmen of the left allowing them to pose as wise and judicious moderates in the middle, impervious to the evils of extremism.

Above all, the creation of a new right is helpful for any American government (or agency thereof) desiring to disguise its own repressive operations. It is a familiar pattern by now, known to all of us from the machinations of the Johnson and Nixon regimes. Pretending to be hard-hats or offended conservative citizens, goons from the FBI and local Red Squads charge into peaceful marches and create the

violence that might discredit the protesters or debilitate their forces; encouraging and financing tiny right-wing anti-Castro or proto-KKK bands, government operatives get them to bomb the Communist Party headquarters or pillage and destroy the local activists' office. There is nothing quite so useful to agencies bent upon repression as allies and dupes serving their interests and providing their cover, through which they can pull the full range of their dirty tricks while keeping themselves well hidden and to all appearances lawful. I am not suggesting that I have any specific evidence that the agencies of repression in the Carter administration are necessarily behind the resurgence of the right, although since Jimmy Carter had demonstrated every bit as much concern for the First Amendment and freedom of dissent as Richard Nixon, I see no necessary reason to presume that they are *not*. I am only suggesting that there is no doubt that those agencies would clearly find it in their interest to foster and promote such forces.

A confluence of interests, then, would do more to account for all the attention given to the new right, I would suggest, than any notion that the nation is going through a genuine period of hoary reaction or neo-McCarthyism. It's a basic principle of mine, the first question I've come to ask, and it generally makes a lot of things clear: *cul bono*?—who benefits? In this case I think the answers tell a lot about the phenomenon of, and attention given to, the resurgent right.

But there is another, in its way profounder, question to consider here in the course of determining what the smoke of the new right is all about. For if you study the movement for any length of time at all, you quickly discover that it is a very peculiar kind of "right" indeed; and if you get away from label-thinking you find that the attitudes expressed are not particularly conservative in any familiar way, not even terribly cranky or paranoid, and some of them are downright "liberal." (What is more liberal, after all, than the defense of those who want to take laetrile, as entitled to their rights as those who want to smoke marijuana?)

This is the sort of complexity that drives the media and the pollsters into a tizzy, of course, because it defies all their neat boxes; the labels begin to peel off at the corners just as soon as the pundits paste them down. Indeed, the New York Times a while back found itself contorted into a headline over their Times-CBS poll reading "More 'Conservatives' Are Found to Share 'Liberal' Views," which gives you some idea how confused they must be. But that is the reality behind the new right.

The fact is that there is a very strong mood in the nation, nurtured through Viet Nam and brought to fruition with Watergate and the succeeding depression, of *opposition to the way things are* in America and fundamental *dissatisfaction with the functions of government*. It cuts across all political viewpoints, and includes those who have no particular politics at all. It is found in different ways in all parts of the country, and among all classes of people. It is the central, overriding malaise of our age. And it is from that that almost all the major socio-political forces of mid-century America have stemmed.

The new left was an expression of that mood. Its well-springs were a thorough-going disenchantment with the United States as it was constructed in the 1960's, even before the worst elements of it were exposed by Viet Nam; and,

later, a thorough-going understanding that the Federal government, being a part of the problem, could not possibly do anything to correct that.

The election of Carter was also an expression of that mood, though in a more modest form. Carter had the wit to see that the electorate of all stripes was deeply troubled by the interlocking political and economic systems they found themselves in, though as often as not they had no coherent way to express that dissatisfaction and as often as not were going around voting people *out* of office just because they had been *in* office—and, as Carter knew, vice versa. He also had the perspicacity to see that a campaign against Washington—a sophisticated form of the earlier Wallace appeal, itself another manifestation of the national mood—would speak to all parts of the populace, from the McGovernite Democrats and big-city blacks to the pseudo-populist Southerners and the neighborhood ethnics.

It is remarkable how virtually every national poll taken over the last 20 years has attested to the American malaise in findings on the declining levels of satisfaction of the people with their lives and the rising levels of disenchantment with their governments. Although the 1977 polls showed a sudden upsurge of optimism, especially when compared with those of the 1973-76 period, nonetheless the overall trend has demonstrated profound unease among a great cross-section of Americans.

Some 53 per cent of the citizens have regularly agreed that there is "something deeply wrong in America," and some 45 per cent declare that the "quality of life had deteriorated in the last 10 years." Well over half say every year that "most people with power only try to take advantage of you" and "what you think doesn't count." A consistent three-quarters of the population are resigned to the proposition that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." Not a one of the institutions that make up the daily fabric of the country inspires the confidence of a majority: only 43 per cent have a "great deal" of confidence in doctors, 30 per cent in the press, 20 per cent in the Congress, and 19 per cent in the major corporations.

As for the organs of government, public trust and allegiance have been eroding every year since 1958 when the pollsters first thought to ask about it. By now every single survey bespeaks the total disillusionment of a clear majority: recent polls have counted 58 per cent "alienated and disenchanted by the government," 72 per cent who believe the government is run "on behalf of a few special interests," and 55 per cent who feel that "public officials don't care much about what people like me think"; from 1966 to 1977 the Harris polls show that public confidence in the Presidency dropped from 41 per cent to 23 per cent, and in the Congress from 42 per cent to 17 per cent. "A central fact," the Harris organization concluded in our bicentennial year, "is that in our nation, our people, disaffection and disenchantment abound at every turn. That disaffection has now reached majority proportion."

Now that is what this so-called new right is made of: the basic dissatisfaction of the people with the political and economic institutions of the country.

That is what lies behind the opposition to, say, government supervision and control of laetrile: many people suspect that Washington is trying to keep a legitimate cancer

cure off the market in order to protect the major drug companies, another example of big government and big business working hand-in-hand to screw the average Jane and Joe. That's not a left-wing analysis, mind you, that's the ordinary perception of ordinary people who have spent a lifetime at the short end of the stick. Whether or not it is true, it makes a lot of sense, and when they want to find some form for their anti-government mood, the laetrile issue seems as good as any. But it is not only that issue. In the energy crisis, in foreign aid, in the metric system, in rising prices, in the Panama Canal treaties, citizens can easily perceive actions by a businessmen's government which will mostly end up helping big business and costing the taxpayers more money—and if they end up opposing them, that can hardly be called rightism of the traditional kind.

A similar perception lies behind opposition to gun control, the ERA, abortion laws, the 55-mph speed limit, EPA, OSHA, and bussing, to name a few "right-wing" issues; that latent sense that a government which has so far killed tens of thousands of us in a foolish war in Viet Nam, spent billions of dollars without beginning to solve everyday problems of crime and pollution, and proven itself incapable of solving either unemployment or inflation, is probably out to put another shackle, straightjacket, tax, or levy on us, and for no good reason. It is not always an explicitly realized perception, of course—after all, the heavy weight of statist propaganda tends to make everyone assume that the government really is capable of solving our problems, despite the evidence to the contrary—but it is there, nonetheless, behind all the flag-waving, and it surfaces when threatening or unsettling issues come along.

That malaise is, finally, but more complicatedly, what lies at the root of the opposition to those issues such as women's liberation, homosexual rights, and abortion seen as "anti-family" or "anti-home". Here the target is less specifically the Federal government and more generally the processes of society-at-large; but still the same sense of getting messed over by large and uncontrollable forces is at work, and whenever the government enters the fray, as with the ERA, it usually seems to be on the side of the enemy. It is particularly the feeling of *uncontrollability* that riles and torments so, especially since these matters go directly to the heart of the everyday family arrangements of many millions of people. Why can't we have some control over what's in the movies, what they're showing on TV, what the publishing houses are putting out, what is being taught in our schools? Why must our family, our community, our town, be fed these disturbing new ideas if we don't want them? And what the hell can we do about it?

This, then, is what I see to be the real source of all the smoke on the "new right." It is nothing particularly right-wing, as usually defined, or particularly conservative, except of certain social values, or freaky, repressive, dangerous, kooky, or fascistic. It is rather a malaise that almost all of us are feeling, whether we are socialists or mainstream voters or libertarians or in-betweens. It takes different forms for different people, of course, depending on their circumstances, their influences, and their socialization. But a dark and dangerous resurgence of evil it is not.

I think the lesson is clear enough. It is time that we stopped being prisoners of what Michael Marien, of the Information

for Policy Design Clearinghouse, calls the "flat-earth view of politics." That's the idea that over here on the far left are anarchists and revolutionaries, then come the communists and socialists over here, next the liberals and democrats, shading over to varieties of middle-grounders, then the Republicans and conservatives, next the arch-conservatives and troglodytes and racists, and finally the Ayn Randers and libertarians on the far right. But politics is not that way at all; life is not that way at all. It's time that we grew up to the Columbian perception that the world is round, that there are not all that many broad gulfs between the politics of the true left and the politics of the true right where one can mark, "Here There Be Tygers." The left and the right come around to join each other in the real world, and there, for all their differences (*real* differences: I do not mean to minify them) they stand in 180-degree opposition to the center-of-the-road, business-as-usual, pluralism-first, let-us-avoid extremes, middle-ground miasma. Left and right both can number the same enemies and, within limits, they both are seeking the absence of the same restraints.

That is not meant to be read as a plea for solidarity with the Nazis and John Birchers. It is rather meant to suggest that there are many thousands of people out there who are being called, and written off as, the "new right" who are ordinary souls with many of the same perceptions as the new left and its successors, souls with whom the left can make common cause at the very least and from whom it can draw eventual comrades in the best of cases. It is meant to assert that, with a careful view of round-earth politics, those on the left can find allies and converts among those who share similar ideas of—at a minimum—the dangers of excessive government, the evils of bureaucracy, the falsity of the free market, the threat of the big corporations, the rapacity of banks, the uncontrollability of elected officials, the meaninglessness of elections, and the insufficient voice of the individual.

You know what's happening out in Minnesota? There a group of old-fashioned farmers has been trying to protest the intrusion through their lands of a potentially dangerous 800,000-volt power line. They wrote to the governor and petitioned their state representatives: no help. They tried to get support from local media, and businessmen's groups, and veteran's organizations: no help. Finally a group that runs a bunch of successful food co-ops in Minneapolis heard about this struggle and was so impressed they paid for one of their bearded, long-haired organizers to go out to the little farm village that was the seat of the farm protest and work full-time in the farmers' cause. Soon thereafter some black groups joined in, and Native American, and some anti-poverty coalitions, and the old anti-war activists, and hippies past and present, and before long there was a full-scale support group going. Today the left and the embattled farmers in Minnesota have made common cause, to the advantage and wisdom of both, and the old animosities that surfaced in the days of Viet Nam protests are long forgotten. The respectable citizens who once would never dream of protesting the system are now out there harassing the power company's surveyors, and now they have begun to realize what the system is really made up of and who the enemy really is.

I don't know how much smoke they're generating, but the way I see it, *that's* fire.

## American Justice:

# Imani (Johnny Harris) on Death Row

by Sheila O'Donnell

In 1970, Johnny Harris purchased a small-sized American Dream—107 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, 26 years after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, and 2 years after passage of the Fair Housing Act outlawing discrimination on the basis of race. Johnny Harris, his wife, in-laws, and two children moved from rural Bessemer to Birmingham, where a friendly white realtor sold them a modest home in a quiet residential neighborhood. His two juvenile scrapes with the law were behind him: he was employed as a machinist; he was a family man, and he was a home owner. True, his home was located in an all white neighborhood, but the realtor never mentioned that there might be racial problems.

Today Imani (who considers Johnny Harris to be his slave name) sits on death row in the Fountain Correctional Unit. The American Dream is Imani's nightmare. Since 1970 Imani has the following history:

- He was sentenced to five consecutive life sentences in 1971. His legal counsel conducted no investigation and made no defense.

- He was charged with the murder of a prison guard under an Alabama statute that automatically defines punishment as death. The statute is an obscure Confederate law rarely used in that county prior to the Imani case.
- The "Johnny Harris Case" was used by Alabama Attorney General William Baxley as a law and order issue while running for office.
- As the hour for the execution, March 10, 1978 drew near, the press became interested. The international press declared the case a clear human rights violation. The CIA screamed that the KGB had fabricated the facts and was using the case as ammunition for the Cold War. The American establishment press never questioned the CIA's interpretation. Articles in *Time*, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Star* published completely incorrect information on the case, never once checking the facts with trial transcripts, Imani or his attorneys. Ronald Reagan has echoed the CIA theory in his syndicated talk show and in speaking engagements.
- Today, Imani sits on death row in the Fountain Correctional Unit while the state legal system considers the case.



Thousands of hours of research and energy have been donated by many people in support of Imani. This article reflects those efforts combined with our own investigation. For more information write: Committee to Defend Johnny 'Imani' Harris and Stop the Death Penalty, P.O. Box 46, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Photo by Chip Berlet

## The Wrong Time & Place

What the Harris family had not taken into account with their plans to move was the mettle of the neighborhood and the tenor of the times. Their home, located in a triangular section of land bordered by highways on two sides and a culvert on the third, is in the western section of Birmingham. Physically isolated, many of the area residents were steadfast racists who simply didn't intend to have a black family destroy their neighborhood. The residents own most of the 30 homes in the two block area; some have lived on the street for over 50 years; some are related to each other by blood or marriage.

For some the bond is financial. By virtue of ownership, the control of the racial mix was absolute. While the rest of Birmingham was struggling with integration during the 1960's, the enclave protected its interests by buying houses as they could. In 1970, the Birmingham Police Department (BPD) had several members residing on the street, several widows on the street had been married to BPD officers, and one resident was an FBI agent.

Racial tensions were high in Birmingham. The civil rights movement had made its mark despite massive resistance and the FBI's program COINTELPRO to disrupt political activity, particularly militant black activity, was in high gear. The Alabama Black Liberation Front was a target of such harassment. A media campaign against black extremists exacerbated the problems. Angela Davis, born and raised in Birmingham, was being sought with a vengeance by both the FBI and the BPD.

Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor, a volatile racist, had been gone for two years but his legacy, the Birmingham Police Department, remained stable. George Wallace was a hero for the residents of the area. Alabama Lt. Governor-Elect Jere Beasley addressed the national klonvocation of the United Klans of America at Tuscaloosa to which Governor Wallace sent a spokesperson to represent him because he couldn't attend.

In this climate, a black, rural Alabama family was befriended by a realtor who would "help." The realtor knew that in all white neighborhoods "For Sale" signs were not posted. The adjacent neighborhood, although solidly black, is physically separated by a culvert alongside Border Street. From 1969 through 1972 the black neighborhood had organized a community patrol for protection from vigilantes. Although many neighborhoods in Birmingham were changing drastically, this particular all white corner of the city remained stable and prices were still fairly low. For the realtor, the Harris family was a tool to blockbust the neighborhood; for the neighbors, the Johnny Harris family was the enemy.

## Getting Rid of Blight

The neighbors embarked on a multi-level campaign: they prayed that God would guide them and that this terrible blight would disappear; they confronted the realtor who admitted to blockbusting (unknown to the Harris family) and asked her not to sell the property to the Harris' but, "she got ugly" a neighbor said and they decided that they "couldn't work with her;" and they organized all the area residents to sign a petition appealing for the Harris' removal. They watched day and night but the family didn't move. After a month of praying and petitioning, the campaign escalated. Garbage began to appear on the lawn; verbal threats were made against the adults as well as the children; acid was thrown on the Harris family car; Klan literature appeared on the seat; Klan robes and hoods were hung on the car antennas; and racial epithets were painted on sides of garages.

The only two white area families who were friends of the Harris' began to be harassed and physically threatened. In a signed affidavit one friendly neighbor certified that the Klan "poured white shoe polish and wrote KKK on our car. The Ku Klux Klan put raw eggs down in our car engine, left a white hood on our car antenna and put a cross up in our yard." This family was run out when their rent was raised so high that they couldn't afford to stay.

Neighbors began a campaign of calling the police but were told nothing could be done unless they "caught them" doing something. One neighbor called the police because "that boy (23-year old Johnny Harris) was walking down the street

with a hat on at 3 a.m. and he was whistling." Another neighbor recalled that the family was just not the kind "you would want to neighbor with. Why, I work with niggers down at the store and they're just as nice. But living with them, it's not right." Another neighbor rationalized, "If God had wanted us to mix together, he'd have made us all the same." The

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***"If God had wanted us to mix together, he'd have made us all the same."***

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(Neighbor)

preacher of the Hunter Street Baptist Church told us that the church is buying property in Fairview to keep it from "going." Asked why the church is not integrated, he said the "members are not spiritually ready." He nostalgically added that "the neighborhood was a prominent neighborhood but then the blacks started to move in." This is the church where Johnny Harris' neighbors were praying for guidance. It is also widely rumored to be the meeting place of the local Ku Klux Klan.

The BPD had cruisers and scooters patrolling the area day and night. The Harris family and friends were constantly



Tupelo, Mississippi

Photo by Chip Barker

harassed and ticketed. Still, the neighbors were in a frenzy; for all their prayers, surveillance and dirty tricks the family remained. They hired some local teenagers to pour gasoline over the Harris' fence and torch the family out but one neighbor prevented the teenagers from carrying out the plan.

In this atmosphere, Johnny Harris was taken into custody, along with his father-in-law, to "help in a neighborhood investigation." They were fingerprinted, photographed, and taken to the line-up. They were never told of their rights. After the line-up an officer told Johnny Harris he had been identified. In the police officer's hand was the photograph they had taken earlier that day—more than likely it had been shown to the witness in the line-up room—a practice illegal even in Alabama.

Johnny Harris never went home again. The prayers of the neighbors were answered. His family moved out in the next couple of months. The friendly realtor had sold the house for \$11,000 to the Harris family; the family next door purchased it for \$23,000 less than a year later.

The few black families who moved into the area shortly after the Harris' remain, but they are specifically and overtly unwelcome even today, eight years later.

Johnny Harris was charged and forced to plead guilty to five capital offenses, four robberies and one rape. Five attorneys were appointed over an eight month period to defend Harris. His legal defense did not start well. His first court-appointed lawyer, Robert Esdale, was the son of James Esdale, a former Grand Dragon of Alabama and a member of the Imperial Klondinium of the Ku Klux Klan. James Esdale was also once owner of the local bail bond company, making it impossible for a black to arrange for bail through his company. None of the lawyers filed a pre-trial motion (i.e. bond review, suppression of illegally gained evidence, etc.), a very basic, almost knee-jerk reaction in a criminal defense for even the most incompetent lawyer. One lawyer waived the preliminary hearing, closing a major avenue of discovery, even after his law clerk who had visited Johnny Harris in jail wrote "seems like the officers may be out to get" on the Johnny Harris file. Harris was given five life sentences to be served in the Atmore Holman state penitentiary complex, the contender for the worst prison in the U.S. In 1973, Johnny Harris appealed to the court for a re-examination of the facts. The same judge, who accepted a plea to five capital offenses with no questions and meted out the punishment, denied the request without a hearing.

## Alabama Prison

Conditions in the prison were unbearable. The inmates organized a work stoppage which brought the farm to a virtual standstill and forged a bond between the men which they came to call the Inmates for Action (IFA). The administration responded to the work stoppage by beating the troublemakers, putting them in solitary confinement, and/or dispersing them to other prisons. Whites were pressured to separate from blacks and abandon the IFA. As the official pressures mounted and the need for support heightened, the IFA flourished and continued its educational activity and research. Discussions were held by shouting from cell to cell; basic hygiene, reading, writing and research skills were shared. Politics were discussed and the prisoners talked of ways to improve their lot. They began to research the eco-

nomics of their prison farm—the labor they engaged in was no different than that of the slaves who toiled on the same earth generations before. For 25 cents a week the inmates work thousands of acres, growing produce which never appears on their dinner table.

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## *His first court-appointed lawyer, Robert Esdale, was the son of James Esdale, a former Grand Dragon of Alabama.*

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In a deposition filed in this case, Dr. Thomas, the prison physician since 1951, testified that sanitary conditions "are horrible" at the facility. When questioned about the food fed to the inmates, the doctor stated that while there was not much variation, it was "staple." When questioned about the food for prisoners in segregation he replied, "I might stand corrected on this, because it used to be bread and water every other day. I think it's a meal a day, but I would have . . . to be checked. I think they get one square meal a day."

By April 1974 Judge Douglas Webb, Circuit Court of Escambia County, Alabama, wrote in a transmittal letter accompanying a grand jury report to Governor Wallace, "We live and attempt to raise our children on the perimeter of a boiling, seething caldron that can explode at any given moment into tragedy . . . Our citizens have seen their hospitals overrun in recent months by the end product of state neglect . . . I am now advised that these hospitals are at this very moment seeking legal counsel in order to determine whether or not under existing laws they are legally obligated to continue to accept for treatment such state victims of neglect." The judge begged the governor to do something about conditions.

The neglect and horror of the prison was so notorious that the city of Atmore petitioned and won the right to remove the city name from the state prison facilities. The prison was renamed Fountain Correctional Unit. As the judge himself said, admitting he was not a "bleeding heart," the people of Escambia County were simply stating a "demand for decency." The mayors of the county and the county commissioners were alarmed enough that they petitioned the state officials to do something about "the deplorable and outrageous conditions" existing at the Atmore Prison Farm because they "are detrimental not only to the undersigned but to the majority of prison inmates from throughout the state." The Alabama Medical Association sent Dr. Julius Michaels to the prison complex for a report. The doctor ended his report, "When I walked out of Atmore Prison, I was depressed. I wanted to wash my clothing and take a shower. As I got into my automobile, nausea welled up inside me. I looked back and I cried."

The tensions within the prison reached the boiling point when guards announced on January 18, 1974, that they had murdered an IFA member. The inmates seized two guards as hostages and demanded a visit from four outsiders to view the conditions under which they lived. The warden

responded by leading an armed charge of the unit; inmates jumped back into cells and waited for the gunfire to cease. One inmate and one guard were killed and scores injured. Jesse David Jett, a small, white, middle-aged man with graying hair swears in an affidavit, that Chagina (George Dobbins) the chairman of the IFA was murdered by a prison official and guard. The prison official went to Chagina, picked up a knife and "started stabbing Dobbins in the forehead. Then they threw him in the shower so none of us (inmates) could see him."

After months of investigation by the state, indictments came down against the inmates. The state's investigation found no evidence to link Imani to the death of the guard. One of the prosecutors testified in court that: "It is not our position that the defendant was actually holding the knife or anything else. We don't contend that this defendant stabbed the guard." Imani, however, was tried for the murder of the guard.

One prison guard's original statement did not implicate Imani. The guard later changed his testimony to include Harris and he explained the discrepancy away because he was ill for a period after the uprising. A pre-trial defense

trial motions, the defense requested the court to appoint local counsel to help in the jury selection process. The judge obliged and appointed a local lawyer telling him to "Help him strike the jury, but don't help him free that nigger." The defense filed a Motion to Recuse and went before the same judge for a hearing on January 15, 1975. In his defense the judge disputed "using the word nigger" saying, "If I said it at all, I said Negro and I was only joking," and refused to recuse himself. The Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals did order the judge to recuse himself after the defense briefed several complicated and novel issues of law and held a full hearing on the merit of the judge withdrawing.

The Attorney General spun dramatic "revolutionary" tales of the IFA's plan to seize the prison, release the inmates and liberate prisoners across the country, murdering those who would stop them along the way. He asked the all white jury to convict Imani on circumstantial evidence. He instructed them that if they found Imani was involved in the uprising, then he was as guilty of murder as the perpetrator of the murder. The jury, responding to the prosecutor's hysterics, found Imani guilty of murder, even though testimony showed that the guard died of knife wounds and Imani never had a knife in his hand.

***"When I walked out of Atmore Prison . . . I wanted to wash my clothing and take a shower . . . nausea welled up inside me. I looked back and I cried."***

*(AMA Medical Examiner)*

motion quotes this guard as saying that since the other inmates involved in the case were not serving life sentences, and since Imani was, he was just going to use him as an example because the electric chair is the only means of keeping order in the institution. Under a Confederate statute, still on the books in Alabama, a lifer convicted for murder of a guard is automatically sentenced to death. In court, the guard denied having made the above statements even though there was a witness. The state's Attorney General decided to personally prosecute the case even though he admitted that there was no evidence. The Attorney General began to include the Harris case in his speeches, announcing on television that he "intended to get the death penalty." In an attempt to thwart any defense investigation the Attorney General also instructed the warden to refuse to allow access to the prison or the prisoner to anyone but the attorney of record. The court ordered the warden to allow access to members of the defense team.

Imani faced incredible odds in defending his life in the Alabama court system. It would be virtually impossible to find a jury who could make a judgment of not guilty when the prison was such an issue in the locale. The jury and prosecutor would not be the only obstacles to the defense effort. On December 18, 1974, during an argument on pre-



Imani

Photo by Tom Gardner

Imani was scheduled to die by electrocution on March 10, 1978. Some 59 hours before the electrocution was to take place, a 60-day stay was granted. Subsequently the Alabama Supreme Court refused to set a new date for execution while court matters are still pending.

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***His file, as lead counsel, was seven pages long and contained the original indictments (three pages) and a four page jury list.***

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April 1978 brought Imani the first possible opportunity to view the police and prosecution records detailing the original cases against him. The original trial judge, who refused to recuse himself from the case, had denied Imani access to those records. He did, however, allow him access to his court-appointed attorney's skimpy records. Imani's current attorneys also had the chance to examine the appointed attorneys under oath. Testimony showed that although there were two attorneys appointed to handle the five specific charges, they took it upon themselves to consolidate the defense without discussing it with their client; the "team" spent a total of five hours together on five capital offenses. One testified that he and Harris took an immediate dislike to each other but he "didn't take no crap" from his client. Although he was the lead tactician, he never went to the jail to visit his client. His file, as lead counsel, was seven pages long and contained the original indictments (three pages) and a four page jury list.

The other defense attorney did interview a couple of people who would testify to Harris' whereabouts. His analysis was, however, that Johnny had "five alibis" although he admitted on the stand that the only discrepancies in the witness' stories were the exact time that Johnny arrived home, not any confusion about where or with whom he had been.

### **On Fixing a Jury**

One of the arresting officers on the case was Tom Cook, now a private investigator in Birmingham. A recently released FBI document from April 24, 1961, almost 10 years before Johnny Harris was arrested, quotes Cook as saying he could frame a reported FBI informant in the local KKK: "this person would be prosecuted and a jury could be fixed to have that individual sent to the penitentiary. (He stated) that a charge could very easily be made against any person..." Another FBI document shows the Birmingham Police Department giving the Klan 15 minutes to beat up Freedom Riders when they stopped in Birmingham. The Birmingham Police Department was across the street hiding in a parking lot while the Klan did its dirty work and then came across the street to "assist" the civil rights workers.

His interview notes with one of the alleged robbery victims was exactly the same as a *Birmingham News* article. He admitted that possibly those notes came from the article, not from any actual interview. No one interviewed the rape victim.

### **Ready, Your Honor**

Both attorneys testified on the day of the trial that they were "ready to try all five cases" and that they had a "rough game plan" which neither could recall. There were no notes on trial strategy nor any indication that they intended to put their client on the stand. They had not subpoenaed one witness to the trial nor had they had any discussion with their client about the case. One attorney did visit Johnny Harris in jail 15 days earlier but no trial preparation was done.

Johnny Harris testified that he was determined to go to trial and to take the stand in his own defense because he "was innocent of the charges" and felt that his testimony was important. The defense started to pick a jury and then, according to Harris, his attorney said "he didn't see how he was going to win the case when the court was going to take the white woman's word over mine because I was black and he didn't have any intention of bucking the system." His

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***Johnny Harris was forced to plead guilty to five capital offenses, four robberies and one rape.***

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advice was to "take the DA's offer because if I didn't I would otherwise get the chair." Harris persisted, and the jury was sworn in. The court transcript from 1971 shows a pause in the proceedings so that the defense could confer. At that point Harris learned that his attorneys never intended to go to trial. They had no witnesses subpoenaed. Their best advice was to plead to avoid the chair. Harris changed his plea but not "because I wasn't innocent, I changed my plea because I had no choice."

Had those attorneys done an investigation they would have found ample evidence for a solid defense. The neighbors wanted the family out. The police had embarked on a documentable program of harassment of the Harris family and their friends. There are serious questions about whether any rape actually occurred. The medical report on the alleged victim shows that the examining doctor had questions about whether there had been a rape. The alleged rape victim had friends who lived on the street and were part of the organized efforts to remove the Harris family. She had two brothers-in-law in the Birmingham Police Department, one of whom was recently considered for chief of police, the other of whom is now and was then part of the squad which had harassed the Harris family. The alleged assailant's description did not fit Johnny—she described her assailant to be in his early 30's weighing 175-180 pounds with a mustache. Johnny was 22 years old, clean shaven and 150-155 pounds.

The alleged victim's boyfriend disappeared just prior to her alleged abduction and his name has not yet surfaced even though he would be a critical witness for both sides. Eight people were ready to testify that Johnny had been with them that night. Two disagreed about what specific time he returned home (they were trying to remember eight months later) but they were all in agreement about what he had been doing and with whom and the exact locations.

According to the press accounts in 1970, the following facts surround the case: On August 8, 1970, a white female, aged 17, stopped at a gas station where her boyfriend used the bathroom. While she waited, the gas station was robbed, and the robber jumped into her car and held her at gun point, took her to a parking lot, raped her and took her money. The boyfriend, returning from the bathroom, discovered that his girlfriend had been kidnapped and the attendant had been robbed.

Our investigation has determined that the attendant was a close friend of the teenage gang who had days before talked of burning the family out and was a twice-convicted felon. The station where the robbery took place was one block from the Harris home. He was charged with two robberies of the same gas station—one of which had happened two weeks earlier but hadn't been reported.

In March 1978, an article appeared in the Birmingham papers about an electronic trace which allegedly led the police to Johnny Harris. The article claimed that the police had monitored the alleged rape victim's phone when the rapist called to demand \$1500 for the return of her purse. The police traced the call to Banjo's Grocerette one block from the Harris residence. The article claimed that the grocer identified the caller as Johnny Harris. The newspaper reporter alleged the trace proved conclusively that Johnny Harris had placed a call to the victim. A phone company official denied that the trace could physically have been done. The corner grocery store owner from where the call was allegedly placed never heard such a story—yet he is the person who, according to the reporter, identified Johnny Harris. When asked if he recognized the name, he told me that they "all give different names every time." When asked if he remembered Johnny Harris, the grocer replied: "Why, honey, I can't tell the difference, all them niggers look alike." When

***"Why, honey, I can't tell  
the difference, all them niggers  
look alike."***

*(Grocer)*

asked if he remembered the dramatic occasion when the Birmingham Police Department traced a call to his phone it meant nothing to him: Johnny Harris' attorneys were denied access to those records referred to in the article by the trial judge because they were not relevant to the issue of whether or not Johnny Harris had competent attorneys—although, for the original trial attorneys not to have investigated or even discovered the trace is a travesty, not just simple incompetence.

There is currently a team of attorneys and legal workers

from Kentucky, Georgia and Alabama who have spent the last five years defending Imani and other victims of the judicial system. They are involved in trying to secure a new trial in Birmingham on the original five cases and in Bay Minette, Alabama, on the prison uprising. The Birmingham cases were reviewed by the judiciary on the competency of counsel issue and are currently pending review by the Alabama Supreme Court. If they continue to affirm the decision that the attorneys provided a competent defense to Imani, the case will be appealed to federal court.

In the prison uprising case, several new developments have recently occurred. The white inmate, Jesse David Jett, has come forward and signed an affidavit stating that Imani is innocent of the prison guard's murder. Jett did not come forward before because he was threatened by the same prison official who killed the inmate. As a result of the new information the Alabama Attorney General, Charles Grady, has agreed to reopen the investigation of the incident. Representative John Conyers of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee is asking the Justice Department to conduct its own investigation. The American Civil Liberties Union has also called for an investigation.

When a visitor meets Imani at Fountain Correctional Unit, they meet in a room that overlooks the electric chair in which he is sentenced to die. Conditions remain the same as they were before the 1974 uprising. Yet Imani remains strong and retains his dreams of freedom.

### Mayor's Files Released

Documents discovered in an abandoned fire station in 1978 detail massive Birmingham surveillance of civil rights activists. A *Public Eye* investigator read the papers in the Birmingham Public Library. The library archivists permitted only limited access to the files of the mayor at the time, Alfred Boutwell, during the early months of the discovery because they were afraid that until they secured the files, there were those in Birmingham who would not wish to see the information released. The files show physical, photo and electronic surveillance, informants and undercover agents as well as friendly press contacts. The *Birmingham News* lead-in to the announcement of the discovery said: "Birmingham was a city where anything from a chance remark in a barber shop to a telephone conversation of the United States Vice-President might end up in a memo on a city hall desk."

In 1967, a memo written by the county sheriff's office detailed an intelligence operation in Nashville that was to be used as a model. The intelligence unit used sophisticated cameras capable of night, long distance, and document photography—"highly sophisticated electronic surveillance equipment"—and it "kept its files secret so they wouldn't have to be surrendered to a court subpoena." These are tactics developed and adhered to by the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (See *Public Eye*, Vol. 1, No. 2). Mel Bailey, sheriff, admitted that there was a special intelligence unit set up that "kept files on people who were active on both sides of the civil rights movement."

# World Anti-Communist League

Edited by Charles Goldman

*In fifteen years' time, people will start talking about us again, and in twenty years Nazism will once more be a force to be reckoned with."*

*Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi ideologue  
on the scaffold, Nuremberg, 1946  
Federal Republic of Germany*

Thirty years after 55 nations across six continents engaged in the world's greatest single confrontation we are still being plagued by the shadow of Hitler, Mussolini, and their devoted followers. The warriors of the prophesied Fourth Reich since the end of World War II have continued to shed blood and spread terror from Santiago to Rome via Buenos Aires, Madrid, Paris, and countless other cities which had previously succumbed to the infernal sound of Hitlerian marching boots.

This continuous reign of terror has been financed in large part by \$500 million smuggled out of Germany just shortly before the end of the war to be used for post-defeat reorganization of the Nazi movement.

These funds were used by former German Nazi officials and their ardent disciples to launch neo-Nazi and racist movements throughout the industrial and developing world.

Angelo De Boca identifies these forces "in certain sectors of the economic and political right-wing, among the military and bureaucratic castes and in Catholic Integralism." They have in the last two decades increasingly found their expression of ideals in one single organization—the secretive World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

Since its formation in 1966, WACL has evolved from a behind-the-scenes cold war lobby specializing in psychological warfare into the foremost neo-fascist umbrella organization in today's world with an increasing share of responsibility for international terrorism.

For instance, the December 1973 bombing of Rome airport by the Paladin group mercenary army which killed 32 people was coordinated from offices the mercenaries shared with the WACL, the CIA,<sup>1</sup> and a division of Spanish intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

This article was adopted from *Under Daekke (Under Cover)*, an anthology edited by Erik Jensen and Petter Sommerfelt, published by Demos (Copenhagen, 1978). The article was translated by E.C. Reed.

Yet, WACL's profile remains low, which is a feat in itself considering the roles it has played in the arms bazaar and in such cold war areas as Viet Nam, Latin America and Africa.

WACL is a staunch upholder of Christian conservatism, anti-Semitism, racialism and the corporate organization of the State so dear to Mussolini, Peron, and Franco. It has forged a fragile yet frightening alliance between businessmen, religious fundamentalists, military officers, conservative politicians, government leaders, and diehard "nostalgics" from over 70 nations.

Supporters of WACL's ideals are considerable in number. They attract the sympathy of many sectors of public opinion—especially among the middle classes. They have organized themselves into international associations, refugee organizations and mutual aid groups for war veterans. Their incitements to violence are echoed by the disgruntled youths of the post war world. Their calls for the construction of a New Order modelled after those of Petain, Salazar, Peron, Mussolini and Franco are taken up by minority political groups.

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***WACL has evolved from a behind-the-scenes war lobby to the foremost neo-fascist umbrella organization in today's world.***

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The 11th WACL conference, held in Washington, D.C. in May, 1978, confirmed the essence of this new mission. Co-financed by Taiwan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela, the League emerged as an increasingly unified neo-fascist umbrella group stretching its tentacles across several continents. Delegates represented nationalist, anti-Semitic, anti-communist, and arch-conservative Catholic parties and cells from over 70 nations. The U.S. delegation consisted of Rep. Jake Garn (R.-Utah), Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) and the conference host and sponsor, Robert Anderson, a D.C.-based anti-Semitic anthropologist, who is currently the director of the Council on American Affairs.

The highlight of this event was the chartering into WACL of Giorgio Almirante's Movimento Social Italiano (MSI), Italy's leading neo-fascist formation.

## Post War Routes

On July 2, 1945, Orvis A. Schmidt, Director of Foreign Funds Control, Treasury Dept. told a U.S. Senate Committee on Military Affairs that:

"The extensive plans for an underground movement can only be successful if the Germans can utilize the reserves already accumulated abroad and presently being added to by various devices.

If these resources are left uncontrolled, we can expect the re-emergence of a powerful Germany again seeking world domination."

As World War II came to a close, a secret meeting was held to discuss the post-defeat reorganization of the Nazi movement. On August 10, 1944, representatives of German industry and functionaries of the German Foreign Office and Ministry of Munitions suggested that \$500 million be deposited in "secret numbered or rubric accounts, trusts, loans, holding companies, and bearer shares, by dummy persons and companies claiming neutral nationality" in Switzerland, Lichtenstein, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Argentina, and the Southern Cone nations, which had remained neutral during World War II. The crucial Strasbourg, France meeting plotted controlling interests in 214 companies in Switzerland; 158 in Portugal; 112 in Spain; 98 in Argentina and 35 in Turkey.<sup>1</sup> The structure needed to administer these vast clandestine funds emerged shortly thereafter.

Toward the end of the war, former SS commando leader Col. Otto Skorzeny, and former Luftwaffe ace pilot, Hans Ulrich Rudel, created, in a stroke of organizational genius, the *Organization chemaligen SS—Angehörigen (ODESSA)*—the Nazi evacuation route to freedom or the B-B line (Bremen to Bari). The route extended for 2500 kilometers and was staffed by 250 permanent agents. Some were stationed throughout Argentina and Spain, as well as in many cities in the Middle East. In exchange for a fee ranging from £175 to £500, fugitives were equipped with new identities, false documents, and appropriate travel passes.

In the case of Argentina alone, the government of that country helped deliver 7000 false identity cards from 1945 to Peron's fall in 1955, for use by Nazi and fascist escapees from all corners of Europe.

In mid-1946, the Allied powers occupying Germany realized that, by purging millions of suspected National Socialists from the establishment, and interning tens of thousands of others, they were in effect reconstituting the Nazi party, NSDAP, through the creation of a class of millions of ex-Nazis. The denazification program became the logical answer to the problem, in the eyes of the occupation forces.

Shortly thereafter, although the SS had been branded as a "criminal organization" at Nuremberg, ex-SS servicemen went forward and founded the HIAG, upon whom official status was rapidly conferred by the West German government. Its mission was to locate former SS members for relief assistance. Acting as a "mutual aid society," the HIAG was able to penetrate all sectors of the West German civil service and effectively hamper any reprisals against alleged Nazis. After being accepted

## American-Affiliated Individuals

The following individuals are affiliated with WACL in the United States. These names are taken from, among other sources, a partial list of participants at the WACL Fifth General Assembly and reports from the sixth and seventh assemblies. An asterisk (\*) is used to denote a WACL general assembly participant.

**Lev Dobriansky**—Professor; lieutenant colonel in the reserve; co-founder of the WACCFL and WACL; member of the American Security Council.

**Robert Dornan**—Congressman from California; participant at the March 1977 3rd Congress of the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation (CAL) in Paraguay, which was characterized by outrage with President Carter's "demagogic use of human rights," and where a decision was made to seek economic aid from other nations for the struggle against communism in Latin America.

**Jesse Helms**—Republican senator from North Carolina; delivered one of the most rabid speeches at the key 1975 WACL general assembly in Brazil.

**Raymond de Jaeger**\*—Priest; member of the American Chilean Council (the pro-junta lobby) and Free Pacific Association.

**Walter Judd**\*—Former congressman; member of the China Lobby and American Chilean Council.

**Marvin Liebman**—Well known rightwing propagandist and head of Madison Avenue Public Relations office; key figure in U.S. anti-communist activism; co-founder of WACL and American Chilean Council; member of just about every far right grouping in the United States.

**Stefan T. Possony**\*—Professor; member of the American Chilean Council; associated with the American Security Council and the U.S. Labor Party's Fusion Energy Foundation.

**David N. Rowe**\*—Professor; member of the China Lobby and American Chilean Council.

**Phyllis Schlafly**\*—Editor of the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*; P.O. Box 618, Alton, Illinois, 62002.

**Strom Thurmond**—Important Republican senator from South Carolina; closely connected to Marvin Liebman; member of the American Security Council; key figure in Tongsun Park/Koreagate scandal (was Park's Senate contact); visited in 1975 by Italian fascist kingpin Giorgio Almirante and Aginter Press (terrorist combine) member Jean Denis la Rangedard.

**Young Americans for Freedom**—AFABN; co-founder of the American Chilean Council.

Among the many influential Americans connected with the WACL are General Thomas A. Lane, Nebraska Senator Carl Curtis (1964 Goldwater campaign leader), Spruille Braden of the John Birch Society and American Security Council, Congressman Daniel J. Flood and publisher/columnist William Buckley. It is also worthy of mention that Cuban exile terror group Alpha 66 is directly connected to the WACL.

American magazines that propagandize on behalf of the WACL include: the *National Review*, *Human Events*, the Moon movement's *Rising Tide*, the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, the *Herald of Freedom*, *American Mercury*, and the John Birch Society's *American Opinion*.

as an organization of "public utility" in 1956, it proceeded to officially propagandize Nazi and anti-democratic ideas throughout West Germany. Today, the HIAG has an estimated 2 million members in West Germany alone.

In 1950, the HIAG grew into the first neo-Nazi international association. Its "external organization" was assembled by Skorzeny and Rudel. To reach their brethren was no difficult task. The number of foreigners enlisted in the SS divisions disbanded at the fall of the Reich was considerable: 6,000 Danes, 10,000 Norwegians, 75,000 Dutchmen, 25,000 Flemings, 15,000 Walloons, 22,000 Frenchmen. There was also a Croatian division (Kama), a Muslim one (Handschar) and one from Albania (Skandenberg). HIAG's main centers of activity were established in Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Egypt, and Argentina. The external arm's headquarters were set up in Madrid—a thriving center of National Socialist activity.

The coordinated efforts of HIAG, its "external organization," and ODESSA, produced the lifeline for the fallen Third Reich. From Latin America to Egypt, scores of National Socialists resumed normal lives under assumed identities. Their target became the fragile fabric of the postwar world, weakened by an ideological rift between East and West. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R., two superpowers both feared and emulated by their respective allies and satellites, were concentrating the brunt of their foreign policy on Europe which had, once again, been transformed into a battlefield.

East European anti-communist refugees flocked by the thousands in a diaspora across Western Europe, into the United States, and through the Southern Cone. Soon "cultural" and "humanitarian" organizations for Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, and Rumanians emerged, structuring themselves into a loose International, seeking revenge for the loss of their motherlands to the Communist bloc. Deeply motivated by Christian integralist prin-

## Nazi Fascist Internationals

Since the end of World War II, dozens of international sects have flourished world-wide, claiming to be the heirs to Hitler's Third Reich. With headquarters in Europe and in the Americas, their operational networks are tightly organized inside the Middle East and the African continent. They advocate direct action, they fight mercenary wars and engage in counterinsurgency drives wherever these may occur, in order to uphold the threatened values of the Christian, white, anti-Communist West.

### European Social Movement

(Europäische Sozial Bewegung—ESB)

Founded in May 1951 at Malmö, Sweden, by Per Engdahl, the MSI, Sir Oswald Mosley, Maurice Bardeche, and other ex-Nazis.

### New European Order

(Neue Europäische Ordnung—NEO)

Founded in Sept. 1951 at Zurich, Switzerland, as a dissident factional split from the ESB.

### European Liaison Center of National Forces

(Europäische Verbindungsstelle-EVS)

Founded in Paris, France by the NEO as a coordinating arm of neo-fascist strategy throughout Europe.

### Social Organic Order Movement of Europe (SORBE)

Founded in Graz, Austria, by Theodor Soucek.

### Jeune Europe

(Young Europe,

formerly Movement d'Action Civique—MAC)

Founded by Maurice Thirart, a Belgian Fascist, in 1960-61. Chapters in Belgium, Spain, Austria, West Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Holland, South Africa, Brazil, Columbia, Portugal, Canada, Argentina, Uruguay, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Ecuador. Also linked to the Iron Guard of the Rumanians in exile (Europa Tanara

in West Germany) as well as to Bulgarian, Slovak, and Ukrainian refugees in the U.S. and South America.

None of these organizations, except for *Jeune Europe*, have survived the Algerian independence, formally decreed in 1962.

## Another Nazi

In German opposition circles these days people are asking whether it wouldn't be simpler to choose a president by limiting the nominees to those with a Nazi past. The reason is it now appears almost definite that President Walter Scheel's successor will be another man with those kinds of credentials.

The candidate of the CDU/CSU rightist coalition, which commands a majority of the 1038 members of the West German parliament and local officeholders who will do the voting, will be current parliament chairman Karl Carstens, who joined the Nazi party in 1940. Recently Carstens was subpoenaed in connection with the reopening of the Guillaume spy case which brought down Willy Brandt a few years ago. It's suspected that Carstens gave false testimony to the parliamentary commission which first investigated the scandal.

When German eyebrows were raised by revelations of Carstens' WWII Nazi party membership, it came out that current president Scheel had joined in 1942. He was allegedly forced to join Hitler Youth in 1937, and more or less automatically became a party member five years later.

In 1937 Carstens applied for Nazi membership, ostensibly to promote his law career, but he remained on the waiting list for three years. That he was a true Nazi was clear from the presence of the party gold pin on the lapel of his army officer uniform. Such zeal was rare, even then. Carstens was officially "denazified" in 1948.

Before Scheel there was Heinrich Lübke, who was president from 1959 to 1969. He was not an official member of the Nazi party. On the other hand, during the war he led a testing program for the V-2 rocket bomb which was carried out by forced slave labor.

ciples and conservative at heart, such groups have flourished in proportions great enough to create significant anti-communist agitation throughout the "free world."

Under the cloak of the Cold War and the instability of post-war liberal/conservative governments, they have established networks of training camps from the Appennine mountains in central Italy to the highlands of Scotland. The dictatorial systems of Spain, Portugal, and Greece provided them excellent hide-out capabilities following their terroristic endeavours. The existence of hundreds of such groups across Europe has laid the groundwork for a vast state within a state, staffed by the mercenaries of the Fourth Reich and the deposed leaders of the new Germany.

Over the last two decades, the global extension of the East-West confrontation donned the mask of regional military conflicts opposing, on one side, revolutionary guerrilla armies, and on the other, counterinsurgents trained and equipped by the U.S. intelligence community and military establishment, and financed by local business lobbies (Katanga, 1961; Indochina, 1960's).

### The APACL Backbone

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) is the organizational backbone of WACL and remains to this day a powerful force in most non-communist Asian

### ***Police identified Chung Wing Fong as the key to a narcotics deal after nabbing couriers with nearly 300 pounds of heroin.***

countries. Founded in 1954 to mobilize a political front against the two communist giants, The People's Republic of China in particular, it emerged from and remained in the hands of Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang party (KMT). The KMT furnished the APACL its president, Ku Cheng Kang, and vice president, Fang Chih—leaders, as well, of the Free China Relief Agency from which several APACL activities originated.<sup>4</sup>

In the late 1950's APACL was implicated in the first of a series of onerous affairs. San Francisco police identified Chung Wing Fong, a leader of the Chinese Anti-Communist League (the Chinese-American subsidiary of the APACL), as the key to a narcotics deal after nabbing couriers with nearly 300 pounds of pure heroin. Strings were soon pulled and Chung, a high-standing Korean intelligence agent with CIA connections, slipped off to Taiwan.<sup>5</sup>

A primary source of funds to Taiwan and all APACL members was the smuggling of opium from the "Golden



Georgio Almirante, secretary of the neo-fascist MSI-DN Italian Party, addresses a closing rally of his party in the Piazza Del Popolo in Rome.

## ***From its inception the WACCFL was to be modelled after the Anti-comintern of Hitler and Goebbels.***

Triangle" junction of Burma, Laos and Thailand. Available evidence indicates that Ku Cheng Kang and Fang Chih themselves organized the Triangle's opium smuggling KMT forces, conducted negotiations with opium cultivating Meo tribesmen and Laotian generals, and—with CIA assistance—arranged the opium airlift via Civil Air Transport, a 50-50 Taiwan—CIA proprietary. The enormous funds were invested in influence, above all in the U.S. where a secret APACL contact group forming the heart of the China lobby was chaired by New Jersey governor and Navy Secretary Charles Edison of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation (WACCFL) steering committee.

In March 1958, as the Cold War appeared to cool off, representatives of the most fanatically anti-red groupings met in Mexico City to plan the semi-clandestine WACCFL to stoke the fires of confrontation. A dozen countries and a string of organizations were represented including APACL members. Elected to its steering committee were:

Dr. Ku Cheng Kang .....	Taiwan
Dr. L. George Paik .....	S. Korea
Dr. Nguyen Huu Thong .....	S. Viet Nam
Admiral Carlos Penna Botte .....	Brazil
Jorge Prieto Laurens .....	Mexico
Salvador Diaz Verson .....	Cuba (secretary)
Sergio Fernandez Larraín .....	Chile
Charles Edison, Lev Dobriansky, Marvin Liebman & Francis J. McNamara	
.....	United States
Fritz Cramer .....	W. Germany
George Dallas .....	Great Britain
Yaroslav Stetsko (alias Vasili Donkiv & Sernon Karbowilsh) & General Ferenc Farkas Kisbarnakt	
.....	Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)
Additional places were reserved for Africa and the Middle East.	

Marvin Liebman was elected general secretary and Francis J. McNamara vice general secretary. Alfred Gielen (W. Germany), Ernesto de la Fe (Cuba) and Inamullah Khan (Pakistan) were elected regional secretaries for, respectively, Europe, Latin America and Asia.<sup>6</sup>

Let's take a closer look at these men and the enormous concentrations of political and economic power they represented, remembering that the majority remain in the WACL hard core.

One of the big four groupings in the WACCFL steering committee came from the American far right. As mentioned earlier, former Navy Secretary Charles Edison headed the APACL's secret U.S. connection and was part of the China lobby's hard core. He was also a member of the John Birch Society and American Security Council, the latter one of the most powerful WACL links to the U.S.

A coalition of former intelligence agents, industrialists and politicians of the far right, the American Security Council was formed in 1955 on the initiative of former FBI G-men.<sup>7</sup> It was to play sister to the West German *Volkshund für Frieden und Freiheit*, in whose mold it conducted security checks on applicants for employment in private firms. Its more than one million files on allegedly dangerous persons was derived from the anti-Semitic archives assembled by Harry A. Jung's American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, which worked closely in the 1930's with the Goebbels Anti-comintern.<sup>8</sup>

Regarded as the Ukrainians' number one U.S. spokesman, Lev Dobriansky is a professor at Washington's Georgetown University. He taught at the U.S. Army's National War College during World War II. In 1958 he was made a Lt. Colonel in the reserve's special department for Military Government Civil Affairs, a quasi-junta ever alert to the outbreak of war,<sup>9</sup> predating *Seven Days in May*. Dobriansky wields unusual influence in intelligence circles, while belonging to rightwing groups like the American Security Council and sitting on the board of directors of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). A leading figure of American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN), he authored Congress's "Captive Nations Week Resolution."

Marvin Liebman may well be the most important American elected to the WACCFL steering committee, to the extent that he's the key to the outer fringe of the U.S. right. All threads lead to his Madison Avenue public relations office where pressure lobbies generate spontaneously each time the country is in "danger". Closely tied to the China lobby, he's also a standard-bearer of the Chile-Rhodesia-South Korea-Panama Canal lobby on Jimmy Carter's back,<sup>10</sup> and a confederate of Congressional rightists like Strom Thurmond, Jesse Helms and Carl Curtis.

Among the organizations of which Liebman is a member, and in many instances co-founder, are the American Security Council, Committee of One Million to Aid Katanga Freedom Fighters (which dates to when the Katangans were on the "right" side), Young Americans

### **Dr. Lev Dobriansky**

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Chairman of the National Captive Nations Week, and Institute of Comparative Political and Economic Systems, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., will be moderator of the panel on "The Human Cost of Communism", to be held April 9, at 2 p.m.

Well known among ethnic groups in North America, Dr. Dobriansky is a Member of the Executive Committee of the American Council for World Freedom.

Along with his duties at Georgetown he has also served on the faculty of the National War College, has been a consultant to many Congressional committees, served on the Editorial Board of the Ukrainian Quarterly, advisor to the American Security Council, advisor, Young Americans for Freedom, President, Ukrainian Congressional Committee of America, Consultant to the Department of State, Founding Member of the Committee to Unite America.

Besides testifying before Congressional committees Dr. Dobriansky has lectured at many universities, the Naval War College, and the National War College. He is an author and world traveler.



Photo: WACL

for Freedom, American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, American Jewish League Against Communism, Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the Alexis de Tocqueville Society.<sup>11</sup> In 1975 Liebman established the American Chilean Council, four of whose founding members were from the eight-person U.S. delegation to the official WACL charter meeting in Seoul in 1966.

## The Man in the White Porsche

Fritz Cramer was the only West German elected to the WACCFL steering committee. Another, Alfred Gielen, became its European regional secretary. But this is hardly a complete picture of the influence of the German right. In fact, from its inception the WACCFL was to be modelled after the Anti-comintern of Hitler and Goebbels.

Cramer's role in Mexico was as a straw man for Eberhard Taubert, the Anti-comintern's mastermind. As head of the propaganda ministry's notorious 2nd Division, Taubert's responsibilities during World War II included the campaign against the Jews.<sup>12</sup> After the war he found refuge in Iran and South Africa. In 1950 he returned to West Germany to resume his former vocation, starting a rightwing extremist vigilante organization, Volksbund für Frieden und Freiheit. Its leader would be Cramer, then secretary general of the Committee for Information and Social Activity (CISA).<sup>13</sup> Both organizations maintained lengthy files on German leftists during the 1950's. Both Taubert and Cramer were close friends of Gerhard Frey, editor of the neo-Nazi *Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung* which emerged as the European organ in the campaign to create the second Anti-comintern.

In the late 1930's and through World War II Alfred Gielen worked directly under Taubert in Propaganda Ministry Division II. In 1937 Gielen wrote *Das Rothuch über Spanien* (Redbook on Spain), which was published by the Neibelungen Verlag whose political editor was Taubert. Like Cramer, Gielen was a CISA bigwig in the 1950's.



**Senator Jesse Helms**

Sen Helms is the first Republican to serve as Senator from North Carolina in the 20th Century.

Prior to his election in 1972 he was Exec. Vice Pres., Vice Chmn. of the Board and Asst. Chief Exec. Officer of Capitol Broadcasting Co., Raleigh, N.C. From 1960 to 1972 he wrote and delivered daily editorials on WRAL-TV and the Tobacco Radio Network. His editorials were reprinted in newspapers throughout the U.S. and carried by more than 70 radio stations.

A native North Carolinian; he attended Wake Forest College and served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. His previous political experience included service as Admin. Asst. to former Senators Willis Smith and Alton Lennon.

He is a former Exec. Dir. of the North Carolina Bankers Assn. and has received two annual Freedoms Foundation Awards for his editorials.

Photo: WACL

Taubert appears to have been the most effective Nazi infiltrator in Europe from 1950 until his death in 1976. As the "man in the white Porsche," he maneuvered his way to become psychological warfare advisor to rightist leader Franz Josef Strauss, and co-organized the neo-Nazi paramilitary unit, Kampfbund Deutscher Soldaten.<sup>14</sup>

But Taubert was not alone. He enjoyed the close assistance on the international level of his old colleague from Propaganda Ministry Division I, Dr. Johannes von Leers, as well as the latter's assistant, Dr. Gerhard Hartmut von Schubert, and war hero and terror specialist, Colonel Otto Skorzeny. Von Leers was a major ideologist of postwar Nazism, and the architect of Egypt's anti-Israel campaigns. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, when Skorzeny and von Schubert were in Spain assembling the Paladin group (their secret anti-communist terror army) many German members were recruited from Taubert's paramilitary unit.<sup>15</sup>

## Otto Skorzeny—Terror Specialist

Skorzeny, who in 1943 freed Mussolini from murderous captors and later, (thanks to the intervention of British Colonel Yeo-Thomas) was acquitted of war crimes including the shooting of 300 American prisoners; von Leers, who in the later years published postwar Nazism's main mouthpiece, *Der Weg* (The Way), from Argentina; and von Schubert (who in 1971 placed a want ad, on behalf of his Paladin group in the *International Herald Tribune*, for a pilot, captain, navigator, explosives and camouflage experts, and specialists in Vietnamese and Chinese) all found their way to Egypt in the 1950's, where they advised Nasser on such matters as Jews, propaganda and the struggle against Israel. Their other home-away-from-home, Argentina, was closed off to them in 1955 when their host Juan Peron was exiled to Madrid. However, Francisco Franco had always been equally hospitable to fascist dictators and their henchmen, and the Spanish capital was soon headquarters of the Paladin group mercenary army. Paladin actions, like the December 1973 bombing of Rome airport which claimed 32 lives, were coordinated from Skorzeny's

## Fred Schlafly — ACWF President Elect

Fred Schlafly was elected President of the American Council for World Freedom at the organization's annual board meeting held in Washington, D.C. March 1 and 2, 1974. He is a graduate of Georgetown University and Harvard Law School. He served with the U.S. Navy during World War II. He was a member of the American Bar Association Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, and was co-draftsman of the 1957 and 1958 reports of that Committee. While an undergraduate he debated with Arnold Johnson, one of the top officials of the Communist Party U.S.A.



Mr. Schlafly has written numerous articles and made many speeches exposing Communist deceit and the violations by the Soviet Union of most of its agreements and treaties. His sister, Eleanor Schlafly, is Executive Secretary of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, and his wife, Phyllis Schlafly, is a world famous author, lecturer and a commentator on Communism and Communist tactics.

Photo: WACL

"Export-Import" offices at one address shared with a division of Spanish intelligence<sup>16</sup> and the CIA,<sup>17</sup> and another shared with the WACL.<sup>18</sup> The two Nazi heavies also travelled freely throughout the rest of Western Europe—enjoying the guardianship of the CIA, the German BND (run by Hitler's masterspy Reinhard Gehlen), and other Western intelligence agencies—as they plied one of their favorite fields of enterprise, the international arms trade.

The birth of the APACL coincided with the launching of the Algerian War on November 1, 1954. For the next eight years, the Northern African peninsula was rocked by a conflict which, in the eyes of most modern political analysts, signaled the advent of a new type of warfare, more sophisticated than the shameless barbarity of SS units across Europe counterinsurgency through psychological action. In the words of Col. Rene Trinquier, one of the leaders of the French paratrooper units in Algeria and theoretician of this new mode of combat:

"War is now a sum of diversified actions (political, social, economic, psychological, military, etc.) whose aim is the overthrow of an established power and its substitution for another system."

## Urban Commandos

Popular support proved crucial to the French counterinsurgency drive deep inside the Algerian countryside. He continues:

"Control of the masses through a rigid hierarchy and often through several parallel hierarchies, is the master weapon of modern warfare."

The displacement of thousands of Algerian villagers ensued and the concept of "protected villages" or "security perimeters" was born. The pillar of such organization being information, a Politico—Military Organization was created, sectioned off into many "Specialized squads" whose responsibility it was to seek out the enemy by extensively making use of torture.

European fascists and Nazis rallied in support of the French effort, enrolling in paratrooper units and penetrating the ranks of the Foreign Legion. Algeria was to be the first battleground of the yet-to-come Fourth Reich, the training medium for saboteurs, psychological warfare experts, and urban commandos. In the period following the Algerian war, numerous anti-communist groups and dozens of inter-

## The Egyptian Axis

According to Kurt Taubert, author of *Beyond Eagle and Swastika*: "Egypt... has become a wildlife preserve for Nazis, where they not only enjoy a closed season 365 days a year but also are welcomed and placed in well remunerated jobs if they command requisite skills."

Relations between West Germany and Egypt were once defined by a German Embassy attache at Cairo as follows: "It is the wish of the Bonn authorities and the Defense Minister (Franz Joseph Strauss, leader of the CSU) that the (Nazi) German technicians should stay on to prevent the Russians from coming in to take their places."

Between Wilhelm Voss, former SS officer and deputy director of the Skoda arms works in occupied Czechoslovakia, then head of the German military mission in Egypt, Col. Otto Skorzeny of ODESSA fame, and Johann von Leers, former ideological chief of the Nazi Student League, a Nazi Underground Railroad, financed by an intricate network of Egyptian-supported dummy corporations based in Switzerland, was created to funnel German advisors and specialists with Nazi pasts within the Egyptian state apparatus, between 1945 and 1960.

### Army and Navy (1950-1959)

Generals Fahrmbacher and Manzel; Lieutenant Colonel Boehmert; Majors Nuelle and Mertins; Colonels Bouche, Ferchek, and Ernst Zolloing; Navy Captain Theodor van Mauchenheim.

### Missile and Aircraft Industry

At the Helouan jet engine and rocket center:

Dr. Hanns Eisele, SS Captain and medical torturer in Buchenwald, then staff physician at the Helouan center. Heinz Krug, chief of the Research Institute for Physics and Jet Engines in West Germany, and his assistant, Wolfgang Pilz, both former Nazis, working on radioactive capsules for missile warheads. They had both worked at the V-2 rocket base at Pennemunde, during WWII.

### Anti-Israel Propaganda Effort

Werner Witachale, Baron van Harder, Hans Appler, and Franz Buensche, all trained by Goebbels in the art of psychological warfare.

Walter Bollmann, Nazi espionage chief in Great Britain before the war, then SS major in the Ukraine.

Louis Heiden, SS official transferred to the Egyptian press office during the war.

Franz Bartel, a former Gestapo officer.

Werner Birgel, an SS officer from Leipzig.

Albert Thielemann, a regional SS chief in Bohemia.

Erich Bunz, SA Major and expert on the Jewish question.

SS Captain Wilhelm Boeckler, who participated in the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto.

### Security Force and Police

Joachim Daemling, former SS major and Gestapo chief in Dusseldorf, adviser on People's Tribunals and internment camps.

SS General Oskar Dirlwanger, chief of the famous SS penal brigade.

SS Major Eugen Eichberger, battalion commander in the Dirlwanger-brigade.

SS Colonel Leopold Gleim, chief of the Gestapo Department for Jewish affairs in Poland.

SS Lieutenant Colonel Bernhard Bender, Gestapo official in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

SA General Heinrich Sellmann, chief of the Gestapo in Ulm, working now with Daemling under the Islamic name of Mohammed Salaiman.

Dr. Heinrich Willermann, SS physician who demonstrated his creativity in Dachau.

SS Major Joachim Schmalstich, Gestapo liaison officer to French collaborationists.

SS Major Seipel, Gestapo official in Paris.

SS General Alois Moser, war criminal who participated in the extermination of the Ukrainian Jews

national networks emerged, and powerful movements and lobbies were created to solidify support for the front lines against communism. The China lobby in the U.S. rallied for a "free China" while supplying the organizational foundation for anti-communist causes to this day, shaping U.S. foreign policy to date along with the memory of two interventions in Asia.

Alliances were gradually sealed between anti-Semitic pan-Islamic nations such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, and military dictatorships spanning three continents, and conservative Western governments (including the U.S.), on the other. The existence of already-established Fascist internationals facilitated the task of coordinating the worldwide crusade against liberals, Jews, radicals, and ethnic minorities.

## WACL Birth

In the first ten days of January, 1966, delegates from some 30 countries met in Seoul, South Korea, to officially charter the World Anti-Communist League. Its main offices were established in Seoul's Freedom Center, which was organized by the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation (KCFF), a Reverend Sun Myung Moon fundraising arm started by Moon's interpreter, close friend and Unification Church member, Bo Hi Pak. Funds for the Freedom Center came principally from the Korean government with \$796,000, and the KCFF, which derived the bulk of its money through tax-exempt donations in the U.S. The remainder came from other WACL members. Richard A. Viguerie, famed right-wing direct mail pro was paid \$908,000 by KCFF to raise money for KCFF efforts, such as the WACL project, according to public records on file in New York State.

Until a few years ago, the U.S. member/representative in WACL was the American Council for World Freedom, headed by Lee Edwards, a former editor of Viguerie's *Conservative Digest*, a well-distributed monthly magazine. Edwards, an old China lobby activist in its day, was a co-founder with William Buckley and Marvin Liebman of the Young Americans for Freedom in 1962. Edwards and his organization left WACL in recent years as it drifted rightward.

By the early 1970's, WACL had proven itself to be the legitimate flame-bearer for neo-fascist causes. The second general assembly (Saigon, 1968) established the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL) which since then has held annual meetings along with those of the parent organization. The third annual meeting was held in Bangkok, Thailand in 1969; from there it travelled to Tokyo, Japan in 1970; to Quezon, the Philippines, in 1971; and to Mexico City in 1972. The seventh was to have been held in London in 1973, but was held off until the following year and held in Washington, D.C. Number eight (Brazil, 1975) marked something of a turning point.

## Moving Rightward

Delegates to the fifth annual general assembly were much concerned with Richard Nixon's imminent journey to the People's Republic of China. Their sharply worded protest to the President, however, did not placate WYACL young

bloods who, attacking their older patrons for lack of action, demanded weapons to fight the enemy.<sup>19</sup>

Their urgings eventually bore fruit at the April 1975 meeting in Rio. The situations in Viet Nam, Portugal and Greece, plus Eurocommunism's inroads in Italy, France and Spain conspired to make the WACL feel pressured on several fronts and abandoned by the U.S. government. A united front for freedom, declared the general assembly, would march against the oncoming Communist hordes and put a decisive end to the aggression. Overtures would be made to avowed fascist and neo-fascist organizations.

When Juan Peron, the 1945-1955 caretaker of the Argentine home for displaced Nazis, returned to Buenos Aires from Madrid in 1975, his evil spirit, fascist astrologist Jose Lopez Rega, became his "social" minister, and Washington transferred Lopez Rega's good friend, U.S. Ambassador

## GLOSSARY

**AAA**—Argentina's Anti-Communist Alliance.

**AF-ABN**—American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

**APACL**—Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League; the organizational backbone of the World Anti-Communist League.

**CISA**—Committee for Information and Social Activity; kept files on German leftists in the 1950's.

**BND**—Organization run by Hitler's master spy, Alfred Geihlen.

**Der Weg**—*The Way*, main mouthpiece in Argentina for postwar Nazism.

**HIAG**—Hilfsorganisation auf Gegenseitigkeit der Waffen SS; two million member organization of ex-SS servicemen whose mission is to locate ex-Nazis and provide mutual assistance.

**KCFF**—Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation; Moon tax-exempt front group with offices in Washington, D.C.

**KMT**—Kuomintang Party of Taiwan.

**MSI**—Movimento Social Italiano; Italy's leading neo-fascist formation.

**ODESSA**—Organization ehemaligen SS-Angehorigen; post-war evacuation route, also called the B-B line.

**Paladin Group**—Anti-Communist terrorist group operating in Europe, organized by former Nazi officials.

**NDSAP**—National Socialist German Workers party; Germany's Nazi party that brought Hitler to power.

**WACCFL**—World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation; formed in 1958.

**WACL**—World Anti-Communist League; the organizational heart of today's extreme right.

**WYACL**—World-Youth Anti-Communist League; youth wing of WACL, formed in 1968.

**YAF**—Young Americans for Freedom; leading rightwing youth organization in U.S., formed in early 1960's, has approximately 55,000 members on campuses around the country.

Robert Hill, from Madrid to Buenos Aires. Lopez Rega's first task was to organize Argentina's Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) as his main weapon in an extermination campaign against the Argentine left that has by now claimed thousands of lives and outlived the regimes of Juan Peron and his wife Isabel. Amnesty International reports, for instance, that between March 24, and June 3, 1976, the first days of General Videla's regime, of 326 political slayings, 59 were committed by leftists, 135 by the military, and 132 by the AAA and their fellow fascists of Tacuara!, the Argentine government's paramilitary arm. Having learned psychological warfare from ex-OAS terrorists of Algeria and from the assassination attempts on De Gaulle, the AAA has adopted the habit of executing their victims, then dynamiting their corpses in Buenos Aires' public gathering spots.

On May 23, 1975, a WACL-financed conference was held in Los Palmas (Canary Islands) in the name of the "Secret Atlantic Alliance". Gathered together were the world's active terrorists from Argentina's Anti-Communist Alliance, militants from the Italian-based Ordine Nuovo, extreme right activists from Legion Afrika (South Africa), British neo-Nazis from Column 88, and like-minded extremists from France, Switzerland, Spain, and Brazil.

In 1976, the League underwrote the founding of the International Anti-Communist Front, to be headed by the Belgian heir to the Rexist Movement, Vlaamse Militante Orden (VMO) which has ties with the U.S. Ku Klux Klan.

In 1977, during Spain's first democratic election in over thirty years, the League, according to *Triunfo* magazine, was closely in touch with groups like the Warriors of Christ the King (a para-military fascist unit mostly staffed by Spanish security agents), the neo-Nazi Partido Nacional-Socialista Espanol (the Spanish chapter of the World Union

of National Socialists, based in Arlington, Va.) and CEDADE, a WACL member organization.

In 1978 the U.S., represented by Dr. Roger Pearson, a British anthropologist and founder of the little known Council on American Affairs, the sponsor of the 11th annual WACL Conference held in D.C. in 1978. He also leads the Institute for the Study of Man which, according to its articles of incorporation, "... traces the evolution of contemporary, complex societies from extinct, prehistoric societies," and is known to promote concepts of racial superiority and "scientific racism."

WACL generally meets annually, electing a new world chairman from the following year's host country. Its honorary chairman and "spiritual leader" is Dr. Ku Cheng Kang of Taiwan.

The 12th WACL conference was held at Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, in April 1979.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

From all appearances it seems WACL will be around for a while. Members are resurfacing in most non-communist countries, a list of which matches the list of countries receiving foreign and military appropriations of the U.S. government. They have access to formidable resources and friends and allies in corporations and governments around the world, and represent a key consolidation of the Nazi network, rightist terrorists, cold war rhetoric and obsessive anti-communists.

It is the cold war brotherhood. And the dangers of its intentions are still nightmares to the many victims and their sympathizers of decades past.

It's not too late. But it's late.

## UNITY FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION



The World Anti-Communist Meeting in Washington.

Photo: Liberty Lobby

## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup> L. Gonzalez-Mata, *Cygnus* (Grasset, 1976).
- <sup>2</sup> P.D. Scott, *The Dallas Conspiracy* (1971, unpublished manuscript).
- <sup>3</sup> Angelo del Boca, *Fascism Today*.
- <sup>4</sup> P.D. Scott, *The War Conspiracy* (Bobs-Merrill, 1972).
- <sup>5</sup> P.D. Scott, "Parafascism, Watergate, Drugs and the U.S. Press," (Unpublished manuscript, 1978).
- <sup>6</sup> *Ukrainian Bulletin*, April 1, 1958.
- <sup>7</sup> W. Turner, *Hoover's FBI* (Sherbourne Press, 1970).
- <sup>8</sup> O.T. Rogge, *The Official German Report* (Thomas Yoseloff, 1961); J.R. Carlson, *Under Cover* (Dutton, 1943).
- <sup>9</sup> *Ukrainian Bulletin*, December, 1, 1961.
- <sup>10</sup> Scott, "Parafascism . . ."
- <sup>11</sup> *Counterspy*, Winter, 1976.
- <sup>12</sup> K.P. Tauber, *Beyond Eagle and Swastika* (Wesleyan, 1967).
- <sup>13</sup> *Her is Her*, (Who's Who), 1967.
- <sup>14</sup> P. Chairouff, *Dossier X... comme Neo-Nazisme* (Alain Moreau, 1977).
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> *Le Nouvel Observateur*, June 7, 1976.
- <sup>17</sup> L. Gonzalez-Mata, *op. cit.*
- <sup>18</sup> *Triumph*, March 5, 1977.
- <sup>19</sup> APACI, *Five China and Asia*, October, 1959; Scott, *The War Conspiracy*.



Ronald Reagan & Kw Cheng-Kang, founder & honorary President of the life of WACL, and former President of Republic of China Chapter of WACL & APACI. Photo: *Asian-Outlook*, WACL publication

## TACUARA!

One of Argentina's most violent paramilitary student formation on the anti-semitic extreme-right, the TACUARA! antedates Jose Lopez de Rega's AAA by over forty years.

Since its foundation in 1930 by a high school student named Juan Queralta, the TACAURA!—which means "spear" in Indian dialect—has spread its influence throughout Latin America and into South Africa.

It has over the last two decades launched an avowed terror campaign against the Argentine Jewish community, 80% of which lives in Buenos Aires.

Members of the TACUARA! are recruited amongst the sons of wealthy aristocratic families, landowners and high-ranking officers of the armed forces. They are trained for military combat and fed racist ideology by former SS men and Nazi bureaucrats on large estates in the Buenos Aires province.

Since 1960, one of the foremost leaders of the nationalist student movement has been Alberto Ezcurra Uriburu, whose father, Jose Felix Uriburu had wielded power in Argentina for two years in the early 1930's.

He proclaims that TACUARA! is fighting "against capitalism and Zionism with one hand and with the other hand against communism."

As a result of Gen. Jorge Videla's military seizure of power in 1976, Buenos Aires has become prey to the TACUARA's anti-Semitic violence. Synagogues have been firebombed, and leading members of that city's Jewish community have been systematically brutalized, kidnapped, and often murdered, in broad daylight.

It has, together with the Argentine National Socialist Front (a chapter of WUNS), penetrated government security forces to facilitate its persecution campaign.

## World Union of Nationalist Socialists

On August 15, 1962, Colin Jordan, leader of the British National Socialist Party, founded at Cotteswolds, England the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS).

As the international embodiment of the New Reich, the WUNS has taken up the Nazi swastika as its emblem and the SS as its model for tomorrow's New Man.

Following his self-appointment as the First World Fuehrer, Colin Jordan was arrested by British authorities in 1966. Soon to take the flame from his hand was Lincoln Rockwell, the late chief of the American Nazi Party. He was assassinated in 1967 by a Minuteman in Arlington, Virginia, where the WUNS headquarters are located.

The Third World Fuehrer is now Frank Collin, who replaced Rockwell as head of the American Nazi Party. WUNS claims chapters, since 1964, in Great Britain, the United States, Chile, Argentina, Denmark, France, and Australia. Many of its members have integrated the ranks of the WACL, which has indirectly provoked its neo-fascist, anti-Semitic swing to the ultra-right in recent years.

# MEMORANDUM

## The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property

Reprinted from CARASA NEWS

Saturday, May 13, 1978. Seventh Avenue and 52nd Street, New York. Some 250-300 people are gathered in front of the New York headquarters of Planned Parenthood to protest a "blasphemy against the Blessed Virgin." The full page *Daily News* ad announcing the event drew few New Yorkers. (most demonstrators were from out-of-town). The ad calls the event a public rosary, sponsored by the American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), to defend the Virgin Mary, the Family, and the Holy Crusade against abortion.

The occasion for this "solemn service" was the publicizing of a booklet called "Abortion Eve" by a Planned Parenthood local, depicting a grinning Virgin Mary surrounded by cherubs and captioned, "What, me worry?" Planned Parenthood Federation of America disclaims the publication and has publicly apologized for its "malicious and profoundly offensive cover."

What is TFP? While appearing fantastic and even ludicrous on some level, the rally represents a resurgence of an extreme right both based in the right-wing church and using the church as a base. Although the form and rhetoric of TFP are militantly religious, it is important to see that their exploitation of religious feeling masks a political purpose regarding reproductive issues. As of now, TFP's organizational connections either to the Catholic church hierarchy, the broader "right to life" movement, or other right wing troops are unclear.

Its own politics are clear—anti-left, anti-feminist, anti-abortion, and neo-fascist.

Self-described, "TFP is a civic organization based on the principles of Natural Law as they are interpreted by Catholic social doctrine. It actively and vigorously opposes socialism and communism. The TFP defends our Christian traditions, the sacred institutions of the family and private enterprise based on the right of property, the three fundamental values being undermined by Communism."

Several crucial facts about TFP's structure and political program emerge from studying its literature:

1. The organization's membership is apparently all male, with an emphasis on organizing "young men".
2. It combines a rigorous anti-communism with active opposition to feminism and the goals of the women's movement, including abortion, publicly aided child care, etc. As with other right-wing organizations, TFP's activities in the area of reproductive and sexual politics have recently overshadowed even its anti-communism.

3. It adopts the language and tactics of the left. For example, its organ, *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*, goes "directly to the people on the streets." It hails young "Americans" who have "joined the movement" through its study groups, SEFAC (Specialized Education and Formation In Anti-Communism). In 1975, it organized in support of South Viet Nam, using such familiar peace

movement methods as a candlelight vigil; and has organized campus rallies against the Panama Canal treaty.

4. There is ample evidence that TFP is linked to, and perhaps grew out of extreme right-wing Catholic organizations in Latin America. In a summary of its program since its founding in the U.S. in the early 1970's, TFP indicates its affiliation with groups in Brazil, Argentina and Chile; its frequent cultural exchanges with such groups; and its support of the junta in Chile. These connections are ominous, to say the least, since it is well known that organizations such as *Partida y Libertad* in Chile—which maintains nearly identical "principles" to those of TFP—have been engaged in violent counter-insurgency activity, were instrumental in overthrowing the Allende government, and have been heavily funded by the CIA.

In 1976, TFP held a "four month special course for young men" in Cleveland, and another "special summer course for boys" in that city in 1977. These facts are part of understanding the ties within the anti-abortion movement—ties between the Church hierarchy which encourages, and the tactical organizations which mobilizes crusades, pickets and fire-bombings of clinics.

*This article is extracted with permission from the June, 1978 CARASA NEWS, written by Roz Petchesky, and published by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse. For further information contact CARASA at P. O. Box 124, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.*

## Indian Lands

# Corporate Greed vs. Tribal Sovereignty

by Eda Gordon

The history of relations between Indians and non-Indians in North America has been tumultuous. To insure peace, individual tribes, as sovereign nations, entered into treaties with the United States. The treaties guaranteed their self-rule on separate lands called reservations "til the grass no longer grows and the rivers no longer flow." Never did Indian people dream that such a day would come.

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act, an act which allotted 160 acres of reservation land to each Indian. The purpose was to integrate Indian people into the dominant non-Indian agrarian culture. Over 100 million acres of reservation land left over after allotment was declared surplus and opened to non-Indian settlement.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 attempted to strengthen tribal governments devastated by the cultural breakdown and dispersion which allotment wrought, and to assure tribal cultural and religious rights. In fact, the act disregarded traditional tribal life, and deceitfully imposed a standardized, alien form of tribal government subject to federal sanction.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's Congress sought once again to integrate Indian people into the dominant non-Indian culture, this time by passing termination legislation that unilaterally denied certain tribes legal status as tribes. Intertwined with this was the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) attempt to relocate Indians from reservations to urban areas.

Congress passed—without Indian consultation and almost no debate—the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, guaranteeing Indians rights which parallel the Bill of Rights. In 1975 the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act recognized the right of Indians to self-determination. It brought into Indian communities "poverty" money and the political and social experimentation that that money could buy. It spawned cultural revivals and returned scattered peoples to their reservation homes. The "development" promoted, however, resembled American foreign aid programs that aid the U.S. more than the foreign country. Anthropologist Louise Lamphere explains: "The position of the Navajo reservation as an internal colony has not been substantially changed. The construction of schools, hospitals and other facilities has been in the hands of private industry which meant that much of the rehabilitation money went to the satellite economy surrounding the reservation, not directly to the Navajos. Furthermore, under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' plan to "develop"

Indian reservations, BIA policy still had the effect of allowing business interests access to reservation labor and natural resources. Judging from the Navajo experience, this industrial "development" has not been as advantageous to Indians as it has been to private capital."

## Energy and Colonialism

Multinational energy corporations treat Native American land like holdings in a far off banana republic and exploit the vast quantities of natural resources found on Indian land. Though the BIA is supposed to advocate for Indian interests within the federal government, it has granted lucrative leases of Indian natural resources to non-Indians, with a detrimental effect on Indian people and land. A blatant case in point is Black Mesa, land held sacred by both the Navajo and Hopi. Peabody Coal Company's proposal to lease almost 65,000 acres pitted "traditional" Indians, who resented the prospect of stripmining on nearby sacred land, against "progressives," who anticipated much-needed revenue. The lease was approved by the Hopi tribal council with four members short of a quorum—a flagrant violation of the Hopi constitution. Historian Alvin Josephy reports that five years after the Hopi lease had been issued, "the contract had never been shown or read or explained fully to the Hopi leaders and the people."



Emma Yazzi herding sheep in front of the Four Corners Power Plant.  
Photo by Tom Bany

In Peabody's negotiations with the Navajo, a member of the tribal council remembers, "we were asked, in effect, to say yes or no to the proposal" with no opportunity to evaluate and debate the merits. This lease, too, was signed without the knowledge of many Navajo. Even those leaders who approved issuance of the lease, were uninformed of the extent of the coal development and the environmental costs, including loss of the Navajo's annual rights to 34,100 acre-feet of Colorado River water, two-thirds of the Navajo's entire maximum annual allotment from the river.

An October 1975 report by the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Competition on Mineral Leasing on Indian Lands states:

"As of June 30, 1974, there were 380 uranium leases on Indian land compared with only four on public land and acquired lands. The Indian leases encompassed 254,380 acres as compared to the 3,808 acres for public and acquired lands . . . uranium reserves on Indian lands constitute two-thirds of the reserves on all public lands."

The Jackpile Mine, the world's largest open pit uranium mine, has removed thirteen million tons of ore and ten to twenty times as much overlying rock, devastating 2,230 acres of Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico and contaminating ground water with long-lived radioactive effluents. Left behind are mountains of still-radioactive mill tailings uncovered and uncontained, blowing in the wind.

On a uranium mine on the Navajo reservation near Shiprock, miners are infected with a rare lung cancer that resists early diagnosis. By June 1977, the cancer had killed 18 of 100 Navajo miners and 21 more were feared dying. Kerr-McGee refused to take responsibility or pay medical expenses. "I couldn't possibly tell you what happened at some small mines on an Indian reservation," Kerr-McGee spokesman Bill Phillips told a Washington reporter. "We have uranium interests all over the world." Indian life, like Indian labor, is cheap to the giant corporations.

The injustice to Indian people is not only a question of money. Navajo residents of Burnham, New Mexico are

fighting another "removal" in the wake of plans by Consolidation Coal and El Paso Natural Gas companies to strip-mine and gasify some 40,000 acres of coal on the eastern part of the reservation, which would force the relocation of more than 200 people and irreversibly damage Navajo life, land, air and water.

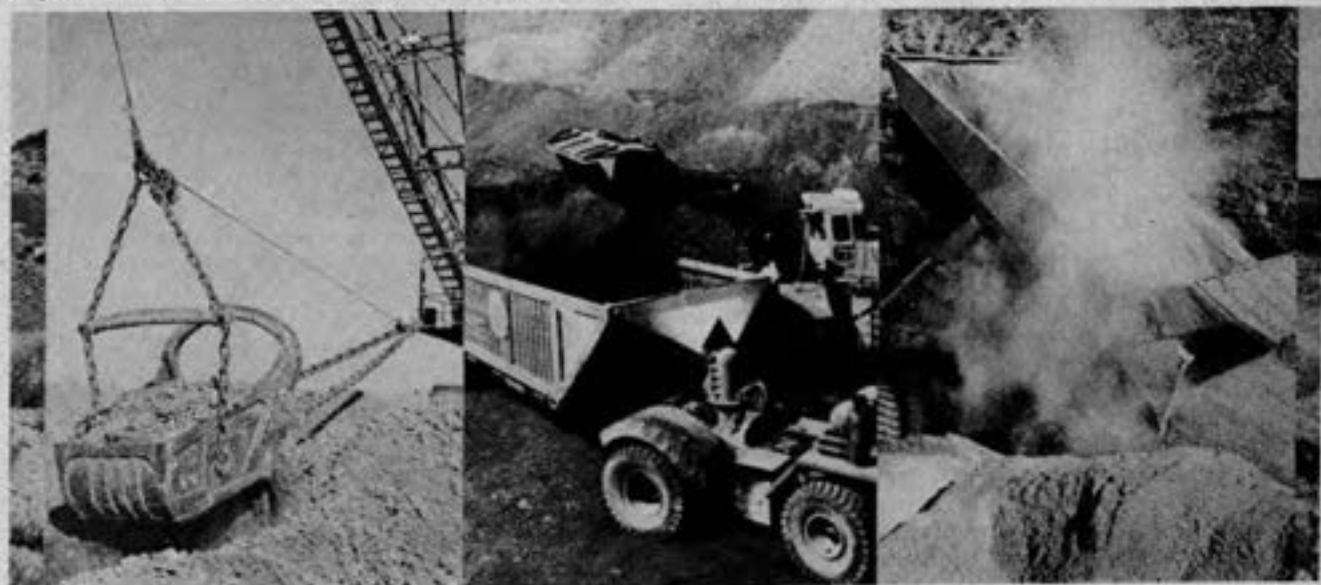
## Seventy Miles of Pollution

Burnham residents have learned the lessons of the Navajo stripmine at Four Corners, until recently the largest stripmine in the world. The Four Corners region attained national notoriety because its 70-mile flume of pollution was the only man-made vestige Apollo astronauts could discern from the moon. Notwithstanding pollution control equipment, the Four Corners generating units emit 40 tons of particulates a year, one hundred times the emissions allowable in Los Angeles county.

A recent study by the National Academy of Sciences reported that stripmined lands receiving less than ten inches annual rainfall, like Four Corners and Burnham, would constitute a "National Sacrifice Area" because of the impossibility of reclamation. After 17 years, Utah International, Inc., the company behind Four Corners, has apparently sacrificed it.

Without homes or livelihood, Indian residents have been forced to nearby "boom towns" where they become another alienated welfare statistic. On the reservation, the poverty of people starkly contrasts the wealth of tribal resources and the enormous corporate profits. Median per capita income among the Navajo in 1970, including subsistence activities, wage work and welfare, was \$900 compared to \$3921 for the United States. As a percentage of the national average, Navajo income has declined from 27.3% in 1959 to 19.0% in 1974. The energy companies' promises of abundant new jobs are unkept.

The energy corporations, who once engineered 99-year leases at minimum tribal royalties and with no environmental constraints, are now being politically and legally chal-



Photos: Mexico Mining Association Coal Committee

lenged by tribes, like the Northern Cheyenne, and by individual groups of Indians like the Navajos of Burnham.

In 1974, the Northern Cheyenne invalidated all its coal leases and prospecting permits that spanned more than half the reservation's total acreage. The Northern Cheyenne are wrestling with the prospects of a no-coal development position.

The Navajo, confronted with the Department of the Interior's unwillingness to investigate the toxic emissions from the Four Corners power plant, have enacted a law that fines all power plants within the reservation boundaries for sulfur emissions exceeding one million tons per year.

In response, energy companies are lobbying for an amendment to the Clean Air Act to strip Indians of the right to request redesignation of air quality status.

Taxation has affected not only corporations but non-Indians living on reservations. Court victories favoring Indian control of their land and resources have fanned the flames of backlash by those non-Indians whose economic toes are stepped on as tribes reassert their jurisdiction. A spate of organizations—Mashpee Action Committee, Citizens United for Resource Emergencies, Montanans Opposing Discrimination, Oregon Territorial Committee and Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens—emerged in almost all states where there are disputes between Indians and non-Indians over jurisdiction or taxation.

In February 1976, individuals and organizations from ten of those states convened in Salt Lake City, Utah and founded the Interstate Congress For Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR). Incorporated in South Dakota as a nonprofit organization, it now has chapters in over twenty states and a multimillion dollar budget to finance its federal/state lobbying efforts and mass media campaigns. The budget for 1977 was rumored to be \$13 million raised from private contributors and membership fees. ICERR accepted donations as a tax-exempt organization; however, inquiry with the Internal Revenue Service revealed that ICERR has never filed for tax-exempt status.

According to ICERR Third Vice President Hewitt C. Wells in a June 21, 1978 interview: "State organizations raise the funds and a certain percentage goes to the national organization. They have called for the raising of five thousand dollars in the state of Nevada alone this year. They expect to raise one million dollars in the state of Montana. Other states with equally impressive problems, such as Oregon and Washington where perhaps the problem is more severe, are each raising more than Montana."

## Right Wing Land Fight

ICERR maintains a Washington, D.C. office in the suite of the Washington Legal Foundation at 1712 I Street N.W. One project of the Foundation is the Committee to Stop Government Harassment of Business, which was promoted by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah in a four-page letter "not prepared or mailed at government expense." Hatch praises the "new non-profit pro-business foundation organized by free enterprise lawyers to give free legal help to OSHA victims like you" and asks for "a donation to help me turn the tables on OSHA."

The president of the Washington Legal Foundation, John

T. Dolan, is also executive director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

The public that the Foundation serves are right-wing businessmen, manufacturers and ranchers, and occasionally a right-wing surveillance operation like the *Information Digest*. Undoubtedly, these connections help to fill the ICERR coffers.

ICERR is not alone. Organizations such as the National Association of Counties and the Western Conference of the Council of State Governments have very vocal minorities who oppose Indian sovereignty. The National Wildlife Federation and the International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies and Trout Unlimited have also opposed Indian sovereignty. Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens, originally a group of 100 ranchers who own or lease 75% of the Pine Ridge reservation at substantial profit, are typical of the ICERR standard bearers who propose to eliminate the reservation system and tribal jurisdiction over non-Indians on Indian land. Rallying the South Dakota whitelash is the newly-elected governor, William Janklow. Janklow earlier won an election for state attorney general on a rabid anti-American Indian Movement campaign in 1974, one year after the occupation of Wounded Knee. Throughout his term as attorney general, Janklow staunchly advocated state control on the reservation, and more than once mustered heavily armed state police and national guard to the reservation borders, ready to take the law in his own hands.

## Indian Response

As U.S. citizens, a "right" granted to them in 1924 without their consultation, Indians are subject to state law when they are off reservations and must observe county laws and municipal ordinances when they are within those jurisdictions, even though they have no political voice there. Likewise, when an Indian lives, works or owns property beyond the confines of the reservation, he or she pays all state taxes. All Indians pay federal taxes and, when shopping or trading outside the reservation, pay local taxes.

It is the reverse of these facts on which such organizations as the Interstate Congress and their advocates in the U.S. Congress and state and local governments have based their *raison d'être*, i.e., the "special privileges" Indians supposedly enjoy.

Those "special privileges" amount to naught when understood in light of the Indian people's "guardian," the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Russell L. Barsh, professor of business administration at the University of Washington, explains how little control Native Americans are permitted to exercise. "Regulation of tribal Indians is both economic and political. Federal laws limit what they can do with their property. Most land-use decisions must be approved by Bureau employees. There are no guidelines and no judicial review. Proceeds from the use of property are regulated. To use their own income from their own land, tribes and tribal members must justify expenditures to the bureaucrats."

"Not only do they pay federal and most state retail and excise taxes, they also pay three special 'taxes' to federal regulators. The Bureau deducts a fee from the proceeds of Indian property, reduces the value of Indian property by re-

stricting its use, and further reduces its value by entangling its development in delays, red tape, and uncertainty. Businesses are reluctant to invest on reservations because they must submit to more arbitrary regulations."

What about those "special privileges" Indians have? Barsh continues, "The federal government spends about four times as much on each tribal Indian within this state as it spends on each non-Indian. However, nearly all of the difference pays the salaries of federal employees or purchases labor and materials from local non-Indians."

## Legislation

The vehicle for change chosen by ICERR-type groups is legislation. The most blatant legislation to date is a bill introduced during the 95th Congress in the House by former Rep. Cunningham (R-Wash.). His "Native Americans Equal Opportunity Act" proposed to "abrogate all treaties entered into by the United States with Indian tribes in order to accomplish the purpose of recognizing that in the U.S., no individual or group possesses subordinate or special rights, providing full citizenship and equality under law to Native Americans, protecting an equal opportunity of all citizens who fish and hunt in the United States, and terminating federal supervision over the property and members of Indian tribes."

Many people felt that Cunningham's bill was a trial balloon. Shortly after Cunningham introduced his bill, former Rep. Meeds (D-Wash.) offered two bills, an omnibus Indian jurisdiction bill and a water rights bill, that would have seriously abridged Indian rights in those areas. Compared to Cunningham's bill, Meed's bills seemed modest. Other anti-Indian bills were offered by New York and Maine representatives. In the Senate, ICERR lobbyists are pressuring a select few to keep the ball rolling.

Fortunately Rep. Meeds retired, and Rep. Cunningham lost his recent re-election bid to a man who declared that we should honor the agreements of our grandfathers. The Democratic senators from the state of Washington (Jackson and Magnuson), however, continue to develop strategies for abrogating and abridging Indian treaty rights. In March 1978, the senators wrote to Attorney General Griffin Bell asking for a clarification of the federal trust responsibility to Indian tribes, since "the trend in recent years has been to extend the meaning of that relationship to include the resources of the entire federal government . . . the federal government's advocacy of the Indians' claims have seriously contributed to the tension in relations between Indians and non-Indians, especially in cases where Indian tribes claim jurisdiction over non-Indians who have no right to participate in tribal government."

The letter's language contained phrases identical to those that have appeared in ICERR literature and were adopted by the Indian committee of the National Association of Counties.

In his response, Bell agreed that "the problem lies in the trust responsibility itself." The Justice Department, Bell, and later Associate Attorney General Michael J. Egan had been meeting with Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus to work on a solution, exclusive of Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Forrest Gerard, who for months was not told of

the meetings.

At the same time, at the senators' request, the Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, Leo Krulitz, prepared a draft bill consistent with the senators' objectives, which was submitted to the chief counsel of Jackson's Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. The so-called Omnibus Indians Claims Act of 1978, scheduled to be re-introduced this spring, calls for the imposition of a ten-year time limit on the assertion of any Indian claims to land, natural resources, water rights or hunting and fishing rights. All claims would be decided by a newly appointed U.S. Indian Claims Court. A single claims court judge would be allowed to hold trials anywhere "within the jurisdiction of the United States." The Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service, established in 1947, would have the additional duty "to prevent or minimize disruption of the free flow of commerce as a result of the pendency of Indian claims."

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***"Regulation of tribal Indians is both economic and political."***

***Professor Russell L. Barsh***

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Jackson and Magnuson also put in their order for a national Indian water bill. The bill calls for precise quantification "in expeditious fashion" of all federal water rights, including tribal water rights. James B. Hovis, tribal attorney for the Yakima Nation called the bill "the biggest steal since Eisenhower gave off-shore oil to the states in the 1950's."

Underlying all this legislation is the paternalistic premise that Indian rights are not rights of a sovereign nation but dispensations from Congress, and that it is time Congress jumped in to clear up this "murky" area. In the words of Hewitt Wells of ICERR, "All people, not only Indians, should decide the future of Indians." This presumption totally disregards very clear, well-founded legal theory upheld by the Supreme Court: Indian tribes are inherently sovereign until they cede that sovereignty or yield to a stronger governmental power. Congress has the political and military capability of intruding into tribal sovereignty but is morally bound to uphold tribal rights of self-government and territorial jurisdiction.

It is this orchestrated climate upon which the backlash depends. The native people of this continent have survived against overwhelming odds and seemingly indomitable foes. The backlash is today's Custer. It poses great threats to Indian existence. Indian people know this and have united in unprecedented coalitions to stem the tide, strengthening a position already fortified by the supreme law of the land and the unique legal, cultural and spiritual relationship Indian people have with the land.

"Backlash infers that things have been going well for us up to now," says American Indian Movement leader John Trudell. "What it is, is just more of the same. Our only weapon is the truth."

# Cointelpro Continues

## It Only Takes A Spark to Start. . . An Apartment Fire

The best evidence of current government surveillance and harassment is the Clark suit filed in New York City last year. *Clark et al. v U.S.A.* is a \$100 million law suit filed against Richard Nixon, John Mitchell, former and present officials of the FBI, the FBI itself, as well as the U.S. Postal Service and the N.Y. Telephone Company. The plaintiffs have all been targets of illegal activities conducted by these individuals and agencies, and are suing for damages resulting from over ten years of illegal surveillance and deliberate harassment. Federal indictments of former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray, former number-two man Mark Felt, former Chief of Counterintelligence Edward Miller, and ex-head of the infamous Squad 47 of the New York City FBI, John Kearney, reveal that the plaintiffs were targets of illegal wiretapping, mail tampering, break-ins, and burglaries.

As indicated in the indictments, the government falsely assumed that such surveillance and harassment would lead them to members of the Weather Underground. The plaintiffs are demanding full disclosure of the government's activities, a public accounting of all those responsible, and an end to all counterintelligence activities such as COINTELPRO.

Since this suit was filed on May 16, 1978 the FBI started a campaign of harassment that only seems to confirm the validity of the charges against them. While plaintiff Dana Biberman was announcing the Committee for the Suit Against Government Misconduct at a press conference her home was broken into and ransacked, *not* burglarized. A month later plaintiff Judy Clark was speaking at a public

forum about FBI-COINTELPRO activities. While she was speaking, her apartment was destroyed by a major fire under suspicious circumstances. FBI agents and New York City fire marshals were at the scene while the fire was still blazing. It is not normal for FBI agents to come and watch fires burn. Only 2 months later, the front entrance of Clark's temporary residence was splattered with paint. A can of "Battleship Gray" paint was found on the doorstep, but again, despite calls to the FBI and to the U.S. Attorney, no explanation was offered.

Similarly, attempts by the plaintiffs to obtain information through the Freedom of Information Act and to communicate with each other have been interfered with and disrupted. When plaintiff Natalee Rosenstein first requested her FBI files, her letter was returned *half burned* to her attorney with a note from the FBI that they were unable to process her request in that condition. A second request was made and a \$25 check sent as a deposit for the files that the FBI said they were processing. This time the check was returned by the Post Office saying it had fallen out of the envelope and couldn't be sent. Letters from plaintiffs in New York to plaintiffs in California have arrived torn in half with the envelope intact. Phone calls to and between plaintiffs have been interrupted and rerouted. In one instance a call to the plaintiffs' attorney in New York, made by an individual in New York, ended up on the telephone of a plaintiff in Chicago.

More than just examples of continuing COINTELPRO, these activities represent a clear and deliberate attempt to prevent this civil suit for damages from ever happening. The government itself has already admitted that many of the activities alleged in the original complaint did happen. Attorney William Gardner, chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division criminal section, resigned as head of that Department's task force on FBI COINTELPRO because he was prevented from pursuing the investigation to reach all those engaged in and responsible for criminal activities. Moreover, the Justice Department has refused to prosecute officials who lied to the Senate during its hearings on intelligence activities. The indictment of John Kearney was dropped by the government with no further mention of the illegal activities of Squad 47. And now, the opinion of informed sources in Washington, D.C. and New York is that the trial of Gray, Felt and Miller will never take place.

For more information and to make contributions contact:  
The Committee for the Suit Against  
Government Misconduct  
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New York, N.Y. 10009

THE POLICE CHIEF/OCTOBER 1973

## INSTANT ARSON



# He Who Lives by the Sword ...

William Sullivan, credited with being the architect of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the chief of the division responsible for the FBI's investigation of the Kennedy and King assassinations, was killed in November of 1977 in an early morning hunting accident near his retirement home in new Hampshire. Sullivan's testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee was critical in detailing the Bureau's systematic attempt to smash dissent from the left; his testimony came two years before the COINTELPRO documents would be released through the Freedom of Information Act. According to the *New York Times* obituary, he had acknowledged "a few weeks ago that he had passed subordinates instructions from Mr. Hoover to use whatever means necessary in tracking down fugitive members of the Weather Underground." Those subordinates were Kearney, against whom the indictment was dropped, and Felt, Grey and Miller who are still under indictment and against whom the civil suit has been filed. Sullivan was also of interest to the House Assassination Committee on both the Kennedy and King assassinations. Mr. Sullivan's death leaves many investigations incomplete and creates a myriad of new questions. The press handled the death as a simple matter of fact: shot dead, aged 65, by a hunter in his early twenties who mistook the man for a deer—at 243 feet with an automatic weapon with a telescopic sight in an open field in clear weather. The young son of the New Hampshire state trooper was charged with shooting a human being mistaken for game and plead *nolo contendere* to the Fish and Game violation. He was fined \$500.00 and his license was suspended for 10 years. End of story. The press and William Sullivan's former brethren at the FBI did not press further.

William Kunstler and the Assassination Information Bureau have pressed further and have found many contradictions and questions. In an article copyright 1978 by *New Times* and reprinted in the *Washington Star*, Goldberg and Yazijian laid out their investigation and basically found several questions with no answers.

Robert Daniels, Jr., an experienced hunter, shot at what he perceived to be a white-tailed deer and caught the 65-year-old former FBI official in the back. Accounts of what Sullivan was wearing differ. Here are the choices: a) a brown hat and red and black jacket (John Rolli, prosecutor in court, November 1977); b) red and white checked mackinaw (autopsy report); c) unknown (Fish and Game report); d) a red and black hunting jacket (Fish and Game official the day after the accident to the Manchester Union Leader). The only mention of the color white is his T-shirt which was not visible from all accounts. The prosecutor mentioned that Mr. Sullivan's face was pale and that could have been the white; but, his face was turned from the hunter.



A pair of gloves were found near Sullivan's body. The state police refused to comment. Daniels denies that they were his and says he didn't remove them from Sullivan's body.

Charles Brennan, Sullivan's friend and former assistant at the FBI, says Sullivan's wife Marion said her husband was going to meet Police Chief Young and Tom Casey, a retired FBI agent, to go hunting. Both Daniels and Young say Young was asleep when Daniels came to report the accident. Young says he and Sullivan were to meet at 9:00 a.m. and he doesn't know where Marion Sullivan got the impression that the date was at 6:30 a.m. Tom Casey spent the night at Young's house and went out alone hunting and returned several hours after the accident. Casey, according to Rolli, had been hunting on the other side of the hill from Sullivan. Casey refused comment.

Authorities claim Sullivan was visible from the shoulders up; Goldberg and Yazijian say from their reconstruction, he would have been visible from the waist up in a field about 100 yards by 90 yards, clear except for a small stand of leafless apple trees.

Bill Kunstler has written to Attorney General Griffin Bell calling for an inquiry. Goldberg and Yazijian point out that five witnesses who were to testify before Congress on the Kennedy assassination died violently prior to their testimony. The *Midnight Globe* on 2/14/78 declared that "the epidemic of deaths ... coincide remarkably with efforts by the House Assassinations Committee to focus on its investigation on the JFK murder."

It is ironic that William Sullivan should die a violent death after he was responsible for perpetrating so much violence in the name of law enforcement. He apparently came to question his role in 1975 in front of the Senate Intelligence Committee when he said "Never once did I hear anybody, including myself, raise the question, 'Is this course of action which we have agreed upon lawful, is it legal, is it ethical or moral?'" It is even more ironic that those against whom the FBI has traditionally vented its hostilities should wish his death investigated.

# Book Review

## The Return of the Bad Guys

by Alan Wolfe

There is an ugly side to the American experience, one that rears its head at unpredictable but regular intervals. Often, too often, it has happened that events calm down and the United States begins to pardon its abuses of an earlier past, when all of a sudden an outburst of political repression grabs hold of the minds of local elites and a hysterical and irrational attack on dissent begins. There has been no time in American history when the spectre of repression has not been either present or looming just underneath the surface of events.

The present moment is as good an example of the persistence of repression as any. In 1977 there was a faint glimmer of hope for America. After years of divisive intervention in the affairs of Viet Nam, the United States had finally—however ungloriously—extricated itself. Moreover, a tyrannical president had been deposed, an election had taken place under conditions that in other societies might have led to a coup, and a new man had been elected based upon his promise to cleanse and unify a divided society. International economic conditions had revealed the dependency of the United States on the rest of the world, and a sense that an era of unlimited expansion had come to an end. About the most negative prediction that could have been made as Carter assumed office was that we were in for a period of Eisenhower-like complacency.

One year later complacency smelled like a rose by comparison. Shattering any thought of a period of domestic tranquility, the mood of America turned mean. A determined group of cold warriors revived the Soviet threat, and that inevitably meant an increase in domestic repression. A strong right came out of the woodwork, attacking the very idea of responsibility for one's fellow persons and scoring striking success in electoral campaigns based upon the vehemence of its hatred. Women, blacks, gay people, and political dissidents were on the defensive. A decade ago they had held up to America the promise of being something better than it had been. Now they became symbols of the worst this country can offer, its inability to accept anyone or anything that threatens complacency. Determined to prove that

it is a society as shortsighted and intolerant as its radical critics complain—the United States seems to be doing whatever it can to justify its reputation for nastiness.

In searching for answers to the question of why the bad guys are coming back, it will be of great help to pursue Robert Goldstein's important new book, *Political Repression in Modern America*. Goldstein has written an encyclopedia of American abuse, a *Guide Michelin* to the uses of repression in the American dissent. Goldstein convinces beyond a shadow of a doubt even the most determined advocate of American virtue that there is something rotten in the state of the United States. His book will remain for some time the best single catalogue of repression in the United States.

Goldstein's book had two general purposes. The first is to establish the proposition that repression has been a constant feature of American history. This he does admirably. Organizing his chapters chronologically, he shows how the last 30 years of the 19th century established a pattern in which groups that dissented from the conservative status quo—particularly the labor movement—were required to pass through an initiation ritual that threatened them with extinction. From that period to the present, Goldstein demonstrates how not only workers but anti-war protesters, minorities, immigrants, dissidents and even (under appropriate conditions) adherents of the right suffered the force of the state as they tried to implement their version of the American dream. One should read every word, every repetitive detail to experience the full impact of repression in the American experience.

But Goldstein has more in mind than just telling a story. He also wants to help us understand repression so that we can counter its baleful effects. This purpose of the book is less successfully carried out. The very comprehensiveness of his historical treatment seems to interfere with his analytic discussion. For when it comes to providing an explanation for the cycles of repression that dominate American history, Goldstein seems too close to his data, too involved with the detail to offer sufficient help. His caution leaves the reader where he/she started, wondering why this stain has spread so thoroughly across the fabric of American politics.

Goldstein's decision to stick closely to the historical data

leaves him weak on three points: his definition of repression; his account of the effects that repression has had on American life; and, his attempt at an explanation for the outbreaks of repressive attacks by public officials.

Defining repression is no easy task, and in his discussion of this tough problem, Goldstein notes that the only other attempt was provided by this reviewer. He criticizes my own approach—which emphasizes all means by which holders of power keep themselves in power—as too broad, and suggests instead that repression should be limited to “governmental policies, because of their perceived political beliefs.” In my view, Goldstein has drawn the field far too narrowly. The distinction between public and private—or the actions of the government versus those of individuals or corporate bodies—increasingly makes no sense, either in the economy or in the realm of social life. Just as key corporations are locked into government, the activities of government, including repressive ones, are intertwined with ostensibly “private” bodies. If the FBI were to contract out its surveillance activities to a private firm, this would not be repression according to Goldstein. Yet more of this is precisely what is taking place, as corporations like Research West or private detective agencies are assuming the burden of repression in the face of popular checks on the actions of government. Goldstein’s definition becomes increasingly irrelevant as more repression is “reprivatized.” The question of whether repression is governmental or not needs to be examined analytically, not presumed away through definition.

Second, Goldstein’s account of the effects that repression has had on U.S. politics is a bit too restricted for my tastes. To his credit, he is one of the first scholars to emphasize the ripple effect of repression. As he rightly notes, one cannot understand why capital dominates labor or why there has been no strong socialist movement in the United States—questions frequently asked by historians—without taking into account the fears induced in ordinary people by repressive campaigns. Some of the best sections of Goldstein’s book come at the end of his chapters, when he recounts the impact of such periods as the Truman-McCarthy hysteria on later generations. So much do I agree with his approach here that I wish he had taken it much farther.

Repression not only destroys the left, it strengthens the right, yet there is little in Goldstein’s book about how the right has gained from repression. There is not enough mention of how local elites in specific sectors—like doctors opposing national health insurance or business opposing regulation—covertly support repressive campaigns to create environments favorable to their goals. There should be more on the poisonous effect that repression has on political language or the terms in which policy options are framed. We need to know more about how repression influences the conduct between white and black, male and female, gay and straight and other divisions that need to be overcome if repression is to be confronted. Goldstein says that the major effect of repression has been to weaken the radical left and the labor movement in the United States, but surely there is more to the story than this.

Finally, and most importantly, we need to understand the causes of repression more broadly than the terms that Goldstein offers. In his concluding chapter, and laced throughout

his book, Goldstein suggests that repression is caused by five things: the shifting attitude of political authorities; the level of strain and tension in the society; the degree of dissent; the existence of target groups; and, the lack of opposition by organized elites to a repressive campaign. The first, he suggests, is the most important, for without a decision by some political authority to engage in repression, there cannot be any. When the other four conditions are favorable, and assuming a decision to repress, then an outburst will occur. When the conditions are mixed, repression will be muted. When none of the conditions are present, then repression will be minimized. One has to discover the correct balance between all these elements.

I have numerous problems with this method of trying to understand repression. First, the extent to which political authorities are willing to use repression is often determined by larger conditions in the society. Goldstein, in this context, states that “the president is the single ‘political authority’ whose attitude has been the most important with regard to political repression, at least since World War I.” Yet from where do presidents get their attitudes? Presidents assess the balance of forces in the society and react accordingly; to know why a president moves to the left or right, one must analyze the strengths of various political movements. To do that is to raise economic questions, for right and left generally have different appeals depending upon the state of the economy. It is amazing to me that at a time when the International Monetary Fund can force governments like Britain or Italy to repress their own populations that Goldstein never mentions the state of the economy as a significant factor in bringing about repression. Clearly one of the reasons why the U.S. is becoming more repressive at the moment has something to do with the decline of the dollar, stagflation, and the limits of Keynesian macro-economic techniques. One could argue that whatever Carter’s “attitudes” toward repression, the state of the world economy will force him to engage in at least some important repressive actions.

The level of strain in the society, the amount of dissent, and the availability of target groups, in my view, are not causes of repression but correlations of it. That is, they will become more important when repression becomes more important and vice versa. There are always target groups, strains, and dissenters; the question is why they suddenly become prominent. An answer to this question requires a political analysis, a sense of the ability of contending social classes and political fractions to achieve domination over the state. One must do what Marx did in his study of the Eighteenth Brumaire or what contemporary theorists of the state try to do—which is to discover the political levers that make a society work. On this level Goldstein’s book is disappointing, for it is essentially devoid of political analysis. One never knows why the right was so important in the late 1940’s or why it declined in the early 1960’s. Yet one must know in order to understand why repression was crucial to one era and much less present in the other.

In the United States repression generally is most successful when the center governs, the left is weak, and the right calls the shots from the sidelines. This was the situation in the late 1930’s, when FDR moved right; in the late 1940’s, when Truman unleashed anticommunism; and (to a lesser

extent, given the strength of the anti-war movement) in the mid-1960's, when Johnson relied on the FBI. Understanding repression means being able to answer three political questions: what enables the center to hold power? what fuels the right to the point where it determines the basic questions a society asks, even if it does not provide the answers? and, what has caused the left to be so weak? Goldstein offers important thoughts on the last of these, but not nearly enough about the first two. If he had, his analysis of the causes of repression would have been much more complete.

I have spent so much time detailing the faults of Goldstein's analysis only because I was so impressed by the scope of his research, the briskness of his writing style, and the sincerity of his attempt to shed light on a phenomenon that so many political scientists seem determined to ignore. Robert Goldstein has written a major work on this subject, one that will be useful and instructive to all those who try and combat the repressive potential of American society. His book stands as a reminder of the fact that, as the bad guys come back, intelligence, reason, and commitment to humane and democratic values are the best weapons against them.

## Robert J. Goldstein Responds

With respect to definition, I agree with Alan Wolfe that this is a very "touchy" problem; in fact, it seems to me that when defining such a controversial term as political repression it is imperative that one uses a definition that is reasonably close to the common conception of the term and is clear and precise enough so that a reasonable person will have some idea of what one is talking about. A definition such as Wolfe uses—"all means by which holders of power keep themselves in power"—is so vague as to be, in my view of very limited meaning and usefulness, since it would include virtually all forms of political activity, including the passage of legislation designed to make the population grateful for providing services. If this is repression, then what is the meaning of tolerance and concessions? Further, I think it is unfair of Wolfe to quote my definition as one of "repression" when I clearly stated it to be a definition of "political repression;" I intended by the careful use of this adjective to differentiate governmental repression from other forms of repression. This is not to say other forms of repression do not exist and are not important, but only that what I wanted to study in my book was "official" discrimination carried out on behalf of "society" and backed by the unique monopoly on the legitimate use of coercive force which governments have. Certainly when a private club refuses to allow communists to join, this could be said to be a type of repression, but can it be said to have the same character as a legal prosecution in which the "legitimate" brand of ideas is officially proscribed and that those holding them will be sent to jail? I am studying a certain kind of repression which has unique characteristics. No one would suggest that because one studies discrimination against blacks that this means discrimination against Mexican Americans does not also exist or is not important. Both need studying.

Wolfe says he is "amazed" that I "never mention" the state of the economy as a significant factor in facilitating repres-

sion, when in fact I spend hundreds of pages explaining how economic dislocations like depressions (in 1873, 1882, 1894, 1907, 1913, and 1929), major strike waves (1877, 1886, 1894, 1919, 1937, and 1946) and periods of high inflation (1919, 1946) help create repressive atmospheres. He suggests that I regard the attitudes of political authorities concerning political repression as not determined by societal contexts, when in fact I again have spent hundreds of pages explaining precisely that the attitudes of political authorities are greatly affected by such factors as strain and dissent in society, the attitudes of key elites and the "suitability" of potential targets of repression. Wolfe has misunderstood the point I made in this regard that ultimately political authorities do make decisions as to whether or not repression will occur; it is possible for the president to make such a decision solely because he has a bad night's sleep, but normally such decisions are highly influenced by societal factors. This will of course be less so the more authoritarian society becomes; certainly Stalin and Hitler had less reason to be concerned about possible constraints on their repressive actions than most American political authorities have been.

Finally, the general criticisms which Wolfe makes of the book is that I stay "too close to the data," that the book is "devoid of political analysis," and that, in effect, I fail to discuss all relevant aspects of repression because I don't include such topics as the use of symbols, psychoanalytic categories, the role of the right and center as well as the left, and white/black, male/female and gay/straight relations. To explain all that Wolfe is looking for—in effect to analyze all aspects of the distribution and use of power in the United States—is the task of five lifetimes. There is, however, a great deal of material on some of these items; for example the book extensively discusses the role of repression in not only weakening the left but strengthening the right in covering labor repression from 1870 to 1935, the 1917-20 red scare and its aftermath in the 1920's, and the 1947-54 red scare and its continuing effects on American life.

I believe that in discussing a topic as controversial and important as political repression, it is important to stick closely to the data; I am trying to convince people that repression has been an important and neglected factor in modern American development rather than speak to the already convinced. This subject has been so neglected that I think one must build a case to make it. One of the great weaknesses in Wolfe's own book on this subject, in my opinion, is that there is a great paucity of data in relation to the book's broad interpretations. In terms of my alleged lack of political analysis, what Wolfe really means is that my political analysis is not the same as his. I cannot view politics as only manifestation of economic class conflict, as Wolfe largely does; how would this explain political repression in allegedly "classless" societies? Does anyone really think LBJ and Nixon used repression because they felt their class interests rather than their personal political power was threatened? In my opinion, the kind of "political analysis" that is really "devoid" is the kind which defines away politics as an independent force and views it as merely an epiphenomenon of economics, or any other single factor. The only way to reach such a conclusion with regard to American politics, in fact, is to not stick close to the data, because the data will not support such an analysis.

# Annual Report

A Sears typewriter, a wooden desk, the encouragement of people in the community, and a glaring need were the ingredients which spawned the Repression Information Project two years ago. The Repression Information Project set out to document the recent history of repression with special emphasis on government collusion with the private sector in attempts to eliminate critics and suppress dissent. On the other side of town, the Guild Investigative Group (GIG), a project of the D.C. Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild was unraveling the saga of the deepest, exposed infiltration in its 40 year history. GIG was formed to research the activities of John and S. Louise Rees and their publication, the *Information Digest*.

The two new groups found collaboration positive and necessary; in the fall of 1977, the organizations merged within the Repression Information Project and published the first issue of the *Public Eye*. Since then, the staff has initiated research on the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU), the government response to terrorism, the FBI's COINTELPRO, right-wing and paramilitary groups, surveillance of anti-nuclear activists, the Fusion Energy Foundation and others. We have assisted as investigators in several cases—Imani (s.n. Johnny Harris), Skyhorse-Mohawk, David Truong, Karen Silkwood, the Institute for Policy Studies, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Socialist Workers Party. We've worked with congressional committees, scores of press people, generated dozens of articles on intelligence

issues and the authoritarian right, indexed government Freedom of Information Act documents and served as a resource center for ongoing investigations and research around the country.

For the coming year, the *Public Eye* will seek to publish regularly. We will broaden the scope of coverage to include general investigative articles and exposes as well as book reviews, profiles of newsmakers, critiques of culture and more. Repression will join a growing list of issues the *Public Eye* will cover. The Repression Information Project will be a name from our past.

Our vision of a few years ago, to create a network of researchers in the public interest—public eyes—has taken shape. With your help our third year will achieve this goal.

The rebellious energies of the 1960's have become the investigative energies of the 1970's. One product is the *Public Eye*.

The *Public Eye*, a quarterly journal, is a project of Resources for Community Change, a non-profit D.C. based public charity which accepts tax-exempt donations. Resources for Community Change was created in 1975 to assist community groups and activists in educational work toward social change and is currently the fiscal sponsor of the *Public Eye*, the *Johnny Harris Defense and Education Fund*, the *McSurely Research and Education Fund* and the *National Investigative Assistance Center*.

## Antinuke movement spooked?

KUCLING STONE, JUNE 1, 1978

By Rory O'Connor

BOSTON

**T**HE HOUSE OF Representatives has begun investigating reports that the anti-nuclear movement has been under illegal surveillance by private and quasi-private intelli-

ECONOMICS

## The U. S. Labor Party's radical crusade

BUSINESS WEEK: October 2, 1978

POLICE SPY NETWORK

## LEIU asks "Where will you be in 1984?"

THE LANSING STAR

## Witch Hunts Still Part of Capitol Scene

JACK ANDERSON and LES WHITTEN

Washington—For a few turbulent years, the late Sen. Joe McCarthy brought the indignation to Washington. He was its high priest, before whom bowed the most florid of charlatans, around whom the witch hunters gyrated. The Age of McCarthyism, which years was a time of character assassination. Honorable men and women were pilloried, their careers destroyed and their reputations ruined by their inferences.

The downfall of McCarthy—by a 67-22 Senate reproval on Dec. 2, 1954—

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# National Lawyers Guild

Government Repression and Police Crimes Committee



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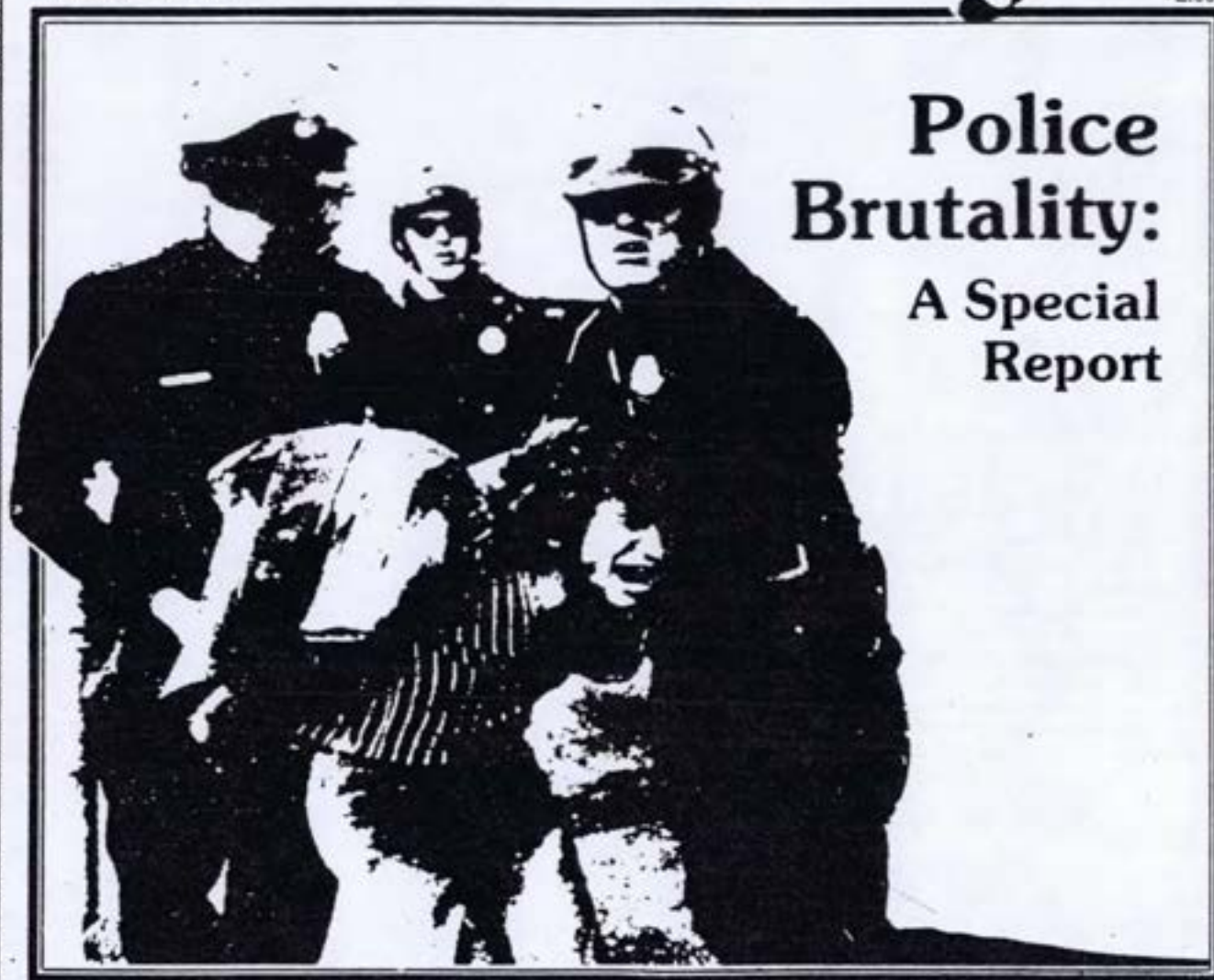
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Incorporating the newsletter of the National Lawyers Guild  Committee on Government Repression and Police Crimes

# *the* Public Eye

Volume II, #3 and 4

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**Police  
Brutality:  
A Special  
Report**

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### Special Note to Readers

This issue is a transitional publica-  
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# Comment

## Party of Fanatics

# Dirt Poor Public Spirit

by Mike Royko

An organization calling itself "Citizens for Chicago" is having a fine time kicking Mayor Byrne.

It is selling [a poster] which portrays Byrne as a witch and her husband-aide, Jay McMullen, as a monkey.

Members of the organization also have distributed thousands of handbills calling Byrne the "mad ayatollah of City Hall," and accusing her of a range of offenses that include:

Being controlled by the Crime Syndicate; guzzling booze and popping pills; being responsible for rats biting babies; hating the elderly, Poles, blacks, and the poor; encouraging prostitution and drug abuse; conniving with "Wall St. Bankers" who want to take over Chicago, and being married to a "gigolo."

The general tone of the handbills is hysterical. They predict doomsday for Chicago unless Byrne is driven out of office soon.

Baiting politicians is a grand old American sport, and Byrne should not be immune.

However, I've always believed that there should be a few rules of fairness in picking on politicians.

And the first rule should be that you identify yourself. People who sling mud anonymously are in the same league as those who write unsigned insulting letters or make creepy phone calls.

So when I saw the posters and handbills I began wondering just who the "Citizens for Chicago" are. The only explanation on their literature is that it is "a non-partisan organization committed to preventing Jane Byrne from destroying Chicago."

An outfit ought to say more about itself than that if it's going to accuse somebody of being a drunk, a pill popper, and being married to a gigolo.

And especially if it is going to urge people to "send money to help Citizens of Chicago."

So we called this organization and asked them to tell us a little about themselves and their motives.

And before long, a smooth young man named Richard Leebove, 27, dropped by the office to talk about Citizens for Chicago.

Leebove said that he is president of the organization, and that he and its 400 other public-spirited members are motivated by a deep concern for the city, nothing more.

He said they banded together after deciding that Byrne was a menace.

"I love this city," he said, with deep sincerity. "I want to see it survive." And he predicted that he and his associates

will drive Byrne from office and save us all.

About himself, he said that he has a degree in journalism from Michigan State University, works as a free-lance writer and organizer, and is politically independent.

Then, smiling pleasantly, he departed.

However, after he left, I did a little checking and thought of a few more questions to ask him over the phone.

Question: Mr. Leebove, you said you received a journalism degree from Michigan State?

"That's right."

They don't have any record of your receiving any degree.

"Uh, I received the degree after my class graduated."

When?

"What does that have to do with anything?"

Look, do you have a journalism degree or don't you?

"Uh...no."

Then why did you lie?

"I don't think that is relevant. This is about Jane and Jay."

Are you connected with the U.S. Labor Party? (That is just about the looniest wide-eyed political group in the country. Their paranoid political philosophy consists of foaming at the lips and accusing everyone in sight of being engaged in devilish conspiracies against them. They are bankrolled by extremists.)

"No, I have no connection with them."

Really? Then how come your headquarters are in their Chicago offices?

"Uh, I just use space there?"

Only space? Why is your phone number also their phone number?

"Uh, uh, they let us use their phones because they don't like Jane Byrne."

And they don't help you in any other way?

"Well, they have circulated our leaflets."

But you aren't connected with the U.S. Labor Party?

"No."

Well, what about police records showing that you have been arrested at least twice? Didn't the arrests have anything to do with U.S. Labor Party activities?

"I don't remember what I was arrested for."

You don't remember?

His suave voice suddenly grew shrill. It rose to a piercing shriek as he cried: "Why are you looking at my background?"

Did Byrne put you up to this? Did McMullen put you up to this? This is just a smear job."

He began ranting. His sentences sort of slid into each other: "It won't work...digging up dirt...trying to smear...people are on our side...go ahead, go ahead, I don't care...smear...dirt..."

Mr. Leebove, on your handbills, you ask people to send money to your organization. Just how do you earn your living?

"I free-lance. I write free-lance articles."

Name some of the publications.

"Various publications, various publications. This is a smear. This won't work. Byrne put you up to this, didn't she? A smear...go ahead...dirt...smear..."

My, such sensitivity for a fellow who doesn't mind calling someone else a pill-popping drunk, and her husband, a gigolo.

Touchy, touchy, Mr. Leebove.

## Party of Fanatics

### Crass Root Laborers

The man was standing on the corner of 95th and Western, with a sign around his neck that said: "Mayor Byrne, you ignorant slut," in big red letters.

When a car would slow, and its occupants would gawk at his sign, he'd walk over and give them handbills accusing Byrne of every crime short of the Holocaust.

I watched him for more than an hour. During that time, he gave out at least 100 handbills. Not one person asked him who he was or what his organization was. Most people looked at his literature and nodded their heads.

So I got in my car, went around the block and came to a stop. He handed me a piece of his literature.

"Who are you with?" I asked, although I already knew the answer.

"I'm with Citizens for Chicago," he said.

"Well, I'm a citizen for Chicago," I said, "and I don't know you."

"It's a grass-roots organization," he said.

"Who runs it?" I asked.

He handed me another handbill. This one touted Lyndon H. LaRouche for president of the United States.

"Who is this nut?" I asked.

He looked indignant and yelled: "Who are you calling a nut?"

That's the U.S. Labor Party. They don't mind calling someone they dislike any vile name they can think of. To them, Byrne is a slut. They used to accuse Nelson Rockefeller of practicing cannibalism. They've called others pinkos, mobsters and fascists.

But when you suggest that they might be slightly unhinged, their lips nearly tremble at the unfairness of it all.

As I wrote a few days ago, they're trying to paper the town with their handbills and posters. The posters, which they sell for \$2 each, portray Byrne as a witch and her husband, Jay McMullen, as a monkey.

Most of the people who buy the posters don't realize that they are contributing to one of the wackiest, wild-eyed political fringe groups in America.

Because the pamphlets and posters bear the name "Citizens for Chicago," people assume they are dealing with a grass-roots organization.

But it's not a grass-roots organization. It's simply a front for the U.S. Labor Party and Lyndon LaRouche, a former Trotskyite leftist who has shifted philosophies and now appears to be somewhere to the right of the John Birch Society.

Or maybe he and his band of fanatics are on the far left. Nobody is really sure, because the U.S. Labor Party, which has nothing to do with organized labor, is made up of so many liars and double-talkers.

About all that anybody really knows about it is that it never lets the truth or common decency interfere with its propaganda.

But investigations have established a few basic facts, including these:

LaRouche used to be a professor of economics and a business consultant. During the wild 1960s, he organized a left-wing student organization in New York.

Later, when left-wing radicalism began fading in popularity, he changed his approach and began preaching anti-Semitism and bizarre theories of international conspiracies, including the belief that the queen of England was trying to have him bumped off.

Well, when you say the queen of England is after you, and you post armed guards in front of your door to keep her out, most people think you are strange.

And that's why LaRouche and his creepy followers now use the covers to latch on to legitimate public issues and try to seduce people into their main organization.

Around here, their most active front is the mud-slinging "Citizens for Chicago." It's run by someone named Richard Leebove, who pretends to be a free-lance journalist, but is a long-time member of the U.S. Labor Party.

Leebove denies that he or the "Citizens for Chicago" have any connection to LaRouche's outfit. But when he's asked why they have the same offices and the same phone number, he babbles incoherently.

As I reported a few days ago, Leebove and the "Citizens for Chicago" are trying to cash in on the current municipal problems in Chicago by claiming to be a grass-roots organization working to unseat Mayor Byrne.

Members of the U.S. Labor Party are constantly working downtown and neighborhood street corners, pushing their handbills and selling the Byrne-witch posters.

Another front they use is the Illinois Anti-Drug Coalition. The name has a respectable sound, because everyone is against drugs, right?

Leebove and other former leftists run the Illinois Anti-Drug Coalition. They move in on community organizations in the city and suburbs that are concerned about drug use, hold lectures, show slides, and convince them that they are a legitimate organization trying to keep teen-agers from using dope.

And before you know it, they are pushing LaRouche for president and trying to recruit members or raise money for the U.S. Labor Party.

So if anybody tries to give you a "Citizens for Chicago" pamphlet or sell you one of their \$2 posters, tell them that you want to know what their screwy game is.

And you might ask them if they really believe the queen of England is trying to bump them off, and how she's going to do it.

Poisoned tea bags, maybe?

• • •

These articles by columnist Mike Royko originally appeared in the February 7 and 10 issues of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. They are reprinted here with permission.

# Eyes Only

## Legislative Watch

The U.S. House and Senate have been considering a number of bills that concern repression-watchers. Rachel Rosen DeGolia, director of Midwest NCARL (National Committee Against Repressive Legislation) sends along the following tidbits:

### Criminal Code

The House Judiciary Committee approved HR6915, the omnibus criminal code bill in the House, on July 2nd by a 20 to 11 vote. The approval followed three months of delays, stalling, and debate on numerous amendments. The way is now clear for a vote by the full House of Representatives on the bill later this summer, probably during the latter half of August.

Although HR6915 is not as repressive as S1722 (the descendant of the S1 bill written by the Nixon Administration), it will be extremely vulnerable on the floor of the House to *worsen amendments*, especially: changing the Extortion law to make it applicable to labor unions, permitting Government prosecutors to appeal sentences they believe are too lenient, eliminating the federal parole system, raising the maximum sentences, inclusion of a federal death penalty, cutting back on improvement in civil rights laws, and reinstating the Logan Act (which prohibits private citizens from discussing U.S. foreign policy with foreign governments without permission).

### Intelligence Oversight Bill — Charter Bills

On June 3, the Senate overwhelmingly passed the "Intelligence Oversight Act," S2284. The bill is a step forward toward overall reform of the intelligence agencies. It is one small part of the comprehensive intelligence charter bill originally proposed.

S2284 establishes *in law* for the first time the right of the Senate and the House Intelligence Committees to be kept fully and currently informed about all activities of U.S. intelligence agencies, including CIA covert operations. There

is no schedule for House consideration of the bill yet.

The CIA and FBI comprehensive charter bills have been shelved for this year, but these are high on the agenda for Congress next year. CIA and FBI leaders are pushing for charters that will "wipe the slate clean" concerning criticism of past abuses by the agencies. They hope to convince Congress to pass bills that will be very general and bring little meaningful reform or controls. In addition, there is great pressure to use the charters to cut back on the Freedom of Information Act so that it can no longer be used to expose abusive practices by the CIA and FBI.

Thus, while charter legislation may be our best hope to outlaw violations of Constitutional rights by intelligence agencies, it can also be turned into a "legalization" and legitimization of these same practices.

### Senate Action on S1722

Now that HR6915 has come out of Committee, the sponsors of S1722 in the Senate are expected to bring the bill to the Senate floor for action soon, possibly as late as July.

In 1978, the Senate criminal code bill (S1437) was approved by a 72 to 15 vote, after minimal debate — there is a great danger that that may be repeated with S1722 due to the heavy pressure for the bill from the Carter Justice Department, and the bill's sponsors (Senators Kennedy and Thurmond). This time, S1722 is closely linked to S114, the death penalty bill.

### "Agents Names"

As the *Public Eye* goes to press there is a concerted effort to push through bills that would make it a federal criminal offense to release or print the names of federal agents from such alphabet soup agencies as the FBI and CIA. HR5616 and S2216 are unabashedly aimed at publications such as *Covert Action Information Bulletin* and the third generation of *Counterspy*. The bills are being considered by the House and Senate Select Committees on Intelligence.

## FOIA, Inc. Victory

In a resounding victory for civil liberties, Federal Judge Greene in *AFSC v. Webster* ordered the FBI and National Archives to stop destroying the agency's records of wiretaps, surveillance logs and millions of other documents in the files of the FBI's fifty-nine field offices and headquarters.

Judge Greene criticized not only the FBI, but also the National Archives, whose employees testified that they had, for thirty years, evaluated files and approved FBI destruction plans (under which millions of pages were shredded and burned) without examining what was in the files. He directed the U.S. Archivist to design a file-retention program in consultation with trained historians and archivists and submit it to the court within ninety days before resuming any destruction.

The suit was organized by the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA, Inc.) for fifty well known individuals (writers, scientists, historians, and activists) and civil liberties organizations, who claimed that the real reason for the FBI's haste to destroy its files is to keep a cloak of secrecy over the agency's illegal activities of the last thirty years.

Evidence was presented that after the Freedom of Information Act was strengthened following Watergate in 1974, making it easier to obtain files, millions of documents were destroyed, some in violation of a Senate resolution and/or Court orders directing their preservation and release. In his opinion, Judge Green took special note of the fact that "raw investigative data...are ordinarily maintained solely in the field offices..." and that destruction of those files would destroy this information "for all time."

Since the Court decision, the FBI has tried a number of legal dodges, including an attempt to have the original decision thrown out based on the recent Supreme Court decision in *Kissinger v. Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press*. On July 11 the trial judge rejected the FBI motion. An appeal is expected.

In an obviously related matter, the Internal Revenue Service is threatening to pull FOIA, Inc.'s tax exempt status.

## Just Part of Training

The State of California Personnel Board reports that it has received an anonymous accusation that the California Highway Patrol Academy has shooting-range targets similar to the caricature of a running Black man found last fall at the state police firing range. An investigation has been ordered into the CHP, state police and attorney general's division of law enforcement.

The target, a caricature of a Black man with points for hitting various parts of the body, has been used at the CHP Academy pistol range, along with a "Sink the Wet Back" target and another with an obscene depiction of a woman, the complaint said.

It said several CHP traffic officers had complained in writing about discriminatory practices by superiors, but nothing was done.

## Goodbye Frank

Former Nazi leader Frank Collin of the National Socialist Party of America plead guilty on March 15 to taking indecent liberties with 5 boys. He was sentenced to 7 years in prison.

Police said Collin told the boys his name was "Dan," took them to Socialist Party headquarters at 2519 71st St. where he had sex with them, and took nude pictures of them.

He also reportedly showed them pornographic movies; one of which he was purported to have filmed himself after paying each of his young subjects \$25.

Police confiscated nude pictures of young boys reportedly taken by Collin, who posed the boys with a rifle registered to him. The rifle also was confiscated.

"The boys, who ranged from ages 11 through 14, told us they did not realize he was a Nazi leader and thought that the swastika hanging in his bedroom was some sort of Chinese design," said police.

Collin would cruise in a car or on a motorcycle around New Town's Clark Street and Diversey Parkway area looking for young boys, and then take them to a nearby hotel or to his apartment located above the Nazi headquarters, police said.

One of the 5 boys questioned said he had sex with Collin when he was 10 years old, according to police.

Collin was ousted as leader of the neo-Nazi group for being "burned out" and

no longer operating efficiently as a party leader. Reportedly he had been taking the boys to the headquarters for the past year.

## USLP continues to Dupe Citizens

The U.S. Labor Party has been soliciting support and members on the campus at Georgetown University, according to veteran USLP-watcher Julie Brooks, who reports most students are unaware of what the group represents.

According to Brooks, the USLP anti-Carter campaign has attracted the attention of students who do not know of the group's anti-democratic tendencies. "It's really frightening," says Brooks about the students' lack of sophistication regarding USLP's rhetoric.

The USLP has also launched an amazingly successful campaign to recruit Black parents into its front group, the National Anti-Drug Coalition.

As part of its campaign, USLP has published a 400 page book called DOPE, INC. — Britain's Opium War Against the U.S. in which they charge America's drug traffic is controlled by British and American Jews.

DOPE, INC. is an extensive reworking of the old Jewish conspiracy theories propounded by Germany's National Socialists in the 1930's. Says Public Eye Russ Bellant: "Now the Anti-Defamation League has replaced the Rockefeller cabal, and there has been a very clear anti-Semitic focus in the past year."

The party's anti-Semitism appeared shortly after the ultra-right Liberty Lobby began praising a 1976 USLP pamphlet titled "Carter and the Party of International Terrorism." The pamphlet outlined the "Rockefeller-CIA-Carter axis," which was supposedly trying to "deindustrialize" the U.S. and go to war with the Soviet Union by 1978.

USLP honcho Lyndon LaRouche has met with a number of influential far-right leaders to ask for support in his presidential campaign, but reaction so far has been cautious. Most researchers feel the organized far right wants to float the LaRouche campaign as a trial balloon, to see how far an extremist right-wing candidate can go in the current atmosphere of political confusion. At the same time, the organized right wants to be able to disavow any close connection to LaRouche, since he is so clearly unstable and paranoid.

In many cities the USLP has stopped using that name entirely — along with the name "National Caucus of Labor Committees." LaRouche is portrayed as a Democratic candidate for President and USLP cadre operate behind any of their dozen front groups.

The USLP now also publishes a newsletter called *Investigative Leads*, which is aimed at private and public security agents and appears to be in competition with the *Information Digest*, published by John and S. Louis Reese with the assistance of Congressman Larry MacDonald (D—Ga.).

Income and organizers for the USLP are on the increase, and the group seems committed to its right-wing march. When LaRouche is destroyed in the general election race, the USLP has to consolidate its right-wing ties or face extinction in its present form.

"If they don't make it with the right wing, they're finished," says Mark, a former USLP member, who feels the group is becoming more desperate and paranoid. "LaRouche has these glimmers of sanity, but then he gets totally screwed up." As for the humanist-capitalist alliance, Mark puts it this way: "What they call humanism is really fascism."

## Settle or Fight on Say Panther Attorneys

Plaintiffs' attorneys in the celebrated Black Panther Case are calling on federal and local officials to reassess their "intransigent" position in the wake of a Supreme Court move which in eleven of twelve legal issues affirmed a lower court's strongly-worded order for a new trial.

Attorneys Flint Taylor and Jeffrey Haas of the Peoples Law Office believe that it would be appropriate for the defendants' attorneys to consider a "just and full" settlement which would compensate the victims of the 1969 raid which left Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead and several other people severely wounded.

Attorneys at the Peoples Law Office were jubilant when the Supreme Court on June 3, 1980 denied *certiorari* petitions by the federal and state defendants in the case on all but one of the issues raised. Unfortunately for the law office, it was on the question of attorneys fees for the appeals portion of the case that the Justices issued a ruling saying the Hampton plaintiffs had not sufficiently qualified as a prevailing party in the case

# Former Scientologist Wins \$2 Million Fraud Suit

By Jack Schwartz  
Pacific News Service

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Are churches subject to the same consumer protection laws that apply to other corporations? A Portland jury has ruled that they are, at least concerning specific promises which churches make to attract converts. This unique application of consumer law in a suit against the Church of Scientology won a \$2 million judgment on behalf of an ex-member, reports Jack Schwartz, an attorney in the region and *Public Eye* editor who followed the case.

A jury in Portland, Oregon has established what could become an important precedent by awarding a former member of the Church of Scientology a judgment of more than \$2 million. The plaintiff, Julie Tichbourne, 22, had sued the organization, claiming that it had victimized her with fraudulent claims of the benefits of membership, and had harassed her to prevent her from quitting.

What especially distinguished the case, however, was Tichbourne's use of the consumer fraud law to sue the church.

In essence, the suit held that the church, like any corporation, can be held legally accountable for failing to deliver on specific promises used in recruitment.

Tichbourne had joined the organization in 1975, after graduating from high school. According to her testimony in the Multnomah County Circuit Court, she was told by church members that taking certain Scientology courses would prepare her to excel in college and would generally improve her life.

However, she said, when she tried to leave the church to attend Montana State University she was threatened with the label of "suppressive person," which means an enemy of the church.

The alternative offered, she said, was to attend the church's Delphian Foundation. She was told she could take classes in architecture and engineering there, and receive normal college credit.

Instead, Tichbourne claimed she was forced to work 60 hours a week at the Foundation, hauling garbage, mopping floors and caring for infants, for which she was paid \$8 per week.

According to her complaint, during her months with the church, her "ability to direct her life and form reasonable judgments was intentionally impaired." She was deprogrammed in 1976 at the direction of her parents.

Much of Tichbourne's case centered around alleged church claims that Scientology could cure diseases and mental illness, as well as improve I.Q. Tichbourne said she was also told that Dianetics, Scientology's doctrine, could cure homosexuality, criminality and drug addiction.

Witnesses testified that "suppressive persons" were those who left the church, or attacked it publicly, and that such enemies were "fair game," to be "sued, cheated, lied to, deprived of property, attacked or destroyed." Tichbourne and other

ex-members told the jury of physical and mental harassment after leaving the group, and of fears for their safety.

Two weeks into the trial, one juror was removed from the case after receiving threatening phone calls warning her to decide in favor of Scientology.

The jury also heard testimony from expert witnesses concerning methods cults use to brainwash converts, which Tichbourne alleged were applied to her.

The defense denied all allegations and claimed that Tichbourne had joined Scientology voluntarily. Defense lawyers attempted to halt the trial on the ground that it violated Scientology's First Amendment rights to freedom of religion, but both the trial court and the Oregon Supreme Court denied the claim.

Defense witnesses admitted that some church claims were inaccurate, but they stood by statements that Scientology cured mental distress, and such ailments as arthritis and ulcers. Others described how membership in the church improved their lives.

Although church witnesses generally denied the claim that harmful acts were conducted against enemies of the church, Dr. Jonathan Collin, a physician and member from Washington state admitted under cross-examination that suppressive persons were enemies and could be "guilty of treason." He told the jury that to file a lawsuit against Scientology was a "high crime."

Defense witness Rodney Sawatsky, a religion teacher from Canada, drew parallels between Scientology and the evolution of the Lutheran, Methodist, Mormon and Christian Science faiths, but later admitted he had never taken a Scientology course.

In closing arguments, Tichbourne's counsel Garry McMurphy charged, "The purpose of the [Scientology] courses is to destroy the ability to function as a free-thinking person, to make one subservient and obedient to the cause."

"This organization took a trusting young woman and made her into a servant, totally obedient, as it has done to 10,000 young people in Oregon. It does so for one reason — money, wealth."

"Scientologists take the best and the brightest young people and make them subservient slaves," he said. "This is your opportunity to stop this despicable, outrageous conduct," he told the jury.

Defense attorney Jack Kennedy dwelt heavily on the claim that the lawsuit attacked religious practices. "I never thought I'd be in an American courtroom asking an American jury to give someone religious freedom," he declared.

McMurphy later rebutted, "We don't care whether these people are Baptists, Scientologists or whatever — we are getting at fraud." He charged that with one exception "there wasn't

one defense witness who didn't have a bias or owe money to Scientology."

In announcing the decision, jury foreman Hohn Kekel said that all jurors "seemed to be of the same opinion, that she [Tichbourne] was duped from the start."

The jury found the Portland Church of Scientology, the Mission of Davi, California, and the Delphian Foundation guilty of fraud and "outrageous conduct." The jury was unanimous on all but one "outrageous conduct" count, on which the vote was 11-1.

Tichbourne was awarded \$2,067,000. Jury foreman Kekel told reporters, "A lot of us felt that some of the defense witnesses maybe didn't lie, but they evaded the point. We heard a lot about brainwashing... we thought there had been some brainwashing."

A spokesman for the church, in announcing plans to appeal the decision, said, "This decision is a blow to all who cherish the right to practice their religion free from the harassment of psychiatrists who have appointed themselves inquisitors. De-programming is nothing more than brainwashing, the same kind

of brainwashing used against American soldiers by the North Korean Communists."

The American Civil Liberties Union of Portland joined Scientology officials at a press conference called to denounce the jury verdict. Charles Hinkle of the ACLU said the suit represented the use of the government to fight unpopular religious groups. Ken Hoden, a self-styled minister of Scientology, announced that the church would begin to cooperate with the FBI by providing data about deprogrammers and other "enemies" of the church.

Meanwhile, a North Dakota man filed another suit against Scientology, claiming the organization took advantage of his temporary mental illness to defraud him of \$26,000. In that suit, filed in Denver District Court, Patrick Robertson said church officials knew he was under psychiatric care and told him medical care which he was receiving would not help him. The church first offered to cure him for \$300, he claims, but raised the fee to \$30,000 when officials learned he had that much money.

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## Eyes Only continued from page 7

and therefore fee awards were premature.

Both the federal and state defendants had raised issues of immunity before the Court. For the federal immunity claims, the court split 5-3 in denying *certiorari*, but on the state immunity claims the court unanimously rejected the petitions. This leaves federal and state officials in the unenviable position of no longer being able to tell the public that they are supporting their respective defendants on questions of law, but solely on their conduct in the raid and the subsequent cover-up attempts.

It is the issue of the federal defendants' attempts to withhold crucial evidence concerning ties between the raiding party and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's COINTELPRO operations that will probably reach court first. The Supreme Court ruling lets stand a Seventh Circuit order for a hearing into possible sanctions against the FBI defendants and their attorneys who the Appeals Court said "deliberately impeded discovery... actively obstructed the judicial process... repeatedly disobeyed Court orders to produce documentary material... suppressed evidence and engaged in 'dilatatory and obstructive tactics' which deprived the plaintiffs of the 'fair trial to which they were entitled.'"

"We hope to see the sanctions hearing on the calendar before fall," says Haas, "and the issue will be what is the appropriate remedy for the government's wrongdoing... the Court of Appeals is very clear on this matter... the people responsible for the cover-up are not ignorant bureaucrats but the defendants and their attorneys." Taylor agrees,

adding, "Somebody is going to have to deal with the fact that it was an unfair trial... one of the main reasons it was an eighteen month trial is that the first segment dealt almost exclusively with our attempts to break their cover-up."

Panther plaintiffs' allegations concerning the federal role in the raid were appended to the complaint after the FBI's illegal COINTELPRO operations were revealed. If the case does go to retrial, one of the key issues will be the production of additional documentation by the FBI. "We want the files that show the cover-up of the cover-up," says Taylor, "those files which show the decisions concerning what to reveal and withhold at the trial, and Washington's role in the raid."

Recent cases involving Black Panthers on both coasts have shown that despite the massive revelations about COINTELPRO, the FBI still has not released many "smoking-gun" documents which show their role in withholding exculpatory evidence in criminal cases involving Panthers. Judges in cases involving Panther leaders Geronimo Pratt and Richard Dhoruba Moore have angrily ordered the FBI to produce documents which show the politically-motivated nature of the original prosecutions.

Information obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests, discovery in several COINTELPRO-related cases, and the Seventh Circuit Hampton ruling which found "considerable evidence" of conspiracies by the state and federal defendants to "subvert and eliminate the Black

Panther Party by conducting the raid on Hampton's apartment, dramatically changes the nature of the case should it return to trial. What were characterized as wild and hysterical charges of federal complicity in the raid during the first trial, are now substantiated to the point where they can only be contested through imaginative circumlocution.

"We're starting again and this time we are starting with judicial findings and other evidence of serious and gross misconduct and conspiracy," says Taylor, "and that misconduct and conspiracy is what officials are going to have to tell the people they are trying to defend." Haas and Taylor say there are two contradictory factors which govern the government's decision on whether or not to settle or go to trial. "Eleven years of intransigence in defending the actions of the defendants, and the factual and legal position of the case."

"It's more than a financial decision on the part of the government," explains Haas, "it's a question of whether or not they are ready to accept the responsibility for what has occurred — as of yet we have seen no evidence of their willingness to accept that responsibility and pay damages and fees." Taylor points out that federal and local government has spend "millions and millions of taxpayer dollars to finance the original cover-up, and now they have to decide whether to spend millions more to continue the cover-up — everybody knows it was a political murder, when are they going to stop telling the big lie and stop using their power to perpetuate the lie?"



graphic by Ed Stein

## Police Brutality: A Special Report

**Police Brutality.** During periods of economic crisis police brutality increases dramatically. The rebellion in Miami is one indication of the anger some communities share over official indifference to police brutality.

In this special report, **The Public Eye** examines several police brutality cases, looks at how complaints are handled, analyzes the role of the police in modern society, and poses several suggestions for combatting police brutality.

We start with a short retrospective glimpse at one cause of the Miami rebellion: institutional racism.

Saw it coming: black leaders

## Angry Fuse Lit For Months

By Paul L. Montgomery  
New York Times News Service

MIAMI—Black leaders here could see violence coming for months.

First, they said, there had been a series of accusations of police brutality against Blacks, none of which resulted in significant action against the accused white officers. Then there was the conviction of the metropolitan area's leading black official on corruption charges, and the suspension of several others.

Next came the new wave of Cuban refugees, sharpening the economic competition that has left Blacks on the fringe of the city's economy since the first Black workers came here in the 1920's to work in the new resort hotels.

Finally, Saturday afternoon, May 17, 1980, it was announced

that the only recent police brutality trial had ended in the acquittal of four white former Miami police officers accused of fatally beating a Black insurance executive, Arthur McDuffie, in the course of a traffic arrest last December 17.

Within hours, people in Liberty City and Coconut Grove, the Miami area's main Black neighborhoods, took to the streets.

"The acquittal acted as a spark after many, many months of trauma involving Blacks and justice," said Marvin Dunn, a Black sociologist who has studied Miami's Black community extensively. "It just rocked through this community. The people felt the system had failed, and there was no place else to go."

That Saturday night, in the Liberty City slum a mile from downtown Miami, as fires burned out of control in several stores and sirens screamed in the steaming evening, a white

stranger asked a Black youth the reason for the violence.

"People like you all, killing us," he replied.

The verdict of six white men in the McDuffie case came after the defense won a change of venue to Tampa on the grounds of extensive publicity, and anger among Blacks, had jeopardized the officers' chances of a fair trial.

The jurors heard testimony from two former Miami policemen that McDuffie had been fatally beaten and that records were then falsified to make it appear he died in a traffic accident. Dr. Ronald Wright, Dade County's chief deputy medical examiner, testified that McDuffie's head injuries were worse he had seen in 3,600 autopsies.

"Even the most cynical among us did not expect an acquittal," Dunn said.

"The perception is that justice is not being delivered to Blacks in Dade County.

He said he had watched the mob that stormed the county criminal justice offices that Saturday night and heard a lot of angry talk about the arrival of 20,000 new Cuban refugees in the city in the last month. In the last 20 years, Cuban Americans have filled many of the jobs traditionally held by Blacks and have prospered, while Black poverty and unemployment have increased.

In a poll by the Miami Herald, 57 per cent of the Blacks questioned said they perceived the new arrivals from Cuba as having a "largely negative impact," compared with 68 per cent of the non-Latin whites and 14 per cent of the Latins.

"All this has been put in a pot and is boiling, so that you can't separate one cause from another," Dunn said. "It is probably one of the most racially explosive situations in the country. Even when this one is quelled, it will take nothing, a cop writing a traffic ticket, to set it off again. It's going to be touch and go here for a long time."

Estimates in advance of the 1980 Census put the non-Latins white population of Dade County, whose borders are the same as the Miami metropolitan area, at 50 per cent; the Latin population, almost all of it Cuban-American, at 35 per cent; and the Black population at 15 per cent. The metropolitan area's population is 1.5 million.

Current unemployment estimates are 8 per cent for whites, including Latins, and 17 per cent for Blacks. State figures put the percentage of non-Latin whites below the poverty level at 10 per cent, compared with 18 per cent for Latins and 38 per cent for Blacks.

Miami's growth as a center for commerce with Latin America has created jobs especially suited to bilingual Latins, further putting Blacks at a disadvantage. American Blacks are also forced into competition with Black immigrants from Haiti — estimated at 20,000 in south Florida — and other West Indian arrivals. Estimates of the number of Jamaicans alone in south Florida run as high as 40,000.

There was a major racial disturbance in Miami in 1968, during the Republican National Convention, and an outbreak of rock-throwing and car-burning on January 24, 1979, when the first in the recent series of police brutality cases arose.

Witnesses said the police had kicked and beaten an alleged drug dealer, though he offered no resistance to arrest. The police said the man had struggled and thrown a brick at officers, and no charges were brought. One of the accused, Alex Marrero, was among the four acquitted in the McDuffie case.

Further bitterness was aroused in February, 1979, when the police mistakenly raided the home of Nathaniel LaFleur, a Black schoolteacher, because they thought he was a cocaine

dealer they were seeking. LaFleur asserted that he and his son were beaten and their home was vandalized by the police. No action was taken, and LaFleur is suing the city.

Last October, in the suburb of Hialeah, a 22-year-old Black youth was shot and killed by a white off-duty policeman who was working in a warehouse. The officer said his gun had gone off accidentally in a struggle with the youth, whom he suspected of being a burglar. The youth's relatives said he had only stopped outside the warehouse to urinate. The Dade County grand jury voted not to indict the officer.

There was also a case last year in which a white highway patrolman here was accused of sexually molesting an 11-year-old Black girl. The original judge in the case recommended that the trooper be sent to an institution for sex offenders, and denied probation. A second judge, who entered the case after the first withdrew, granted probation.

Finally, resentment among Blacks has been heightened by the prosecution of several Black officials. Last November Neal Adams, a Black member of the County Commission, was accused of operating an illegal bingo game and was suspended. Two other Blacks who served on the commission in recent decades also were accused of corruption.

But the case that aroused the most anger among Blacks before the May rebellion was the conviction of Johnny Jones, a Black educator of national reputation who was superintendent of the county school system, the fifth largest in the nation. Jones, who was convicted of second-degree grand theft on April 30, was charged with trying to acquire \$9,000 worth of luxury plumbing with school funds. He also faces trial in a bribery case that reportedly might involve other Black officials. Black leaders have charged that racism was behind Jones' prosecution.

Paul Montgomery is a reporter for The New York Times and with Howard Blum wrote several features on the U.S. Labor Party. The above article is copyright 1980 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted with permission.



photo by Chip Barlet

of the people he works with. In such cases, reassignment to another area might change his attitude."

If retraining, reassignment and closer supervision didn't solve the problem, Dill warned, disciplinary action would be considered.

### Forty One Officers Pinpointed

Capt. Kennedy announced the results of the review on October 24, 1973. 41 officers had "a larger than average number" of complaints of excessive force lodged against them since 1971. Dill later admitted that 8-10 of them were "violence prone."

Both Dill and Kennedy refused to identify the 41. None of them had been notified they were on the list, Kennedy said, nor would they be until a retraining program could be instituted.

"In their hearts," Kennedy said, "maybe some of them know who they are. Personally, I think we have a responsibility to do something. I'd like to see this group have something specifically aimed at them."

Kennedy outlined four possible remedies for the situation: peer-group counseling by other cops of the same rank; 16-hour seminars in alternative approaches to situations that could lead to violence; a "stress panel" of command officers who would confront troublemakers; and a 40-hour, week-long refresher course including 10 hours of classroom instruction in how to handle potentially violent situations.

In December, Dill announced that a retraining program would go into effect in April, 1974.

A year later, none of these options had been put into action. LEAA, through the \$20 million High-impact anti-crime program, had indeed made available the money necessary for hiring an additional 50 officers so that groups of 40 officers could attend five-day training sessions that year. Those sessions began in August, 1974, but they had nothing to do with preventing brutality by violence-prone officers in stress situations. Instead, the LEAA grant required the sessions to contribute to efforts to cut down on the so-called "impact crimes" — burglary, robbery, assault and rape.

Dill said that he still planned to implement some kind of retraining designed especially for the 41 officers identified the year before as showing signs of emotional instability.

"Maybe next year," he said.

Meanwhile, the department had undertaken a series of training sessions with the assistance of the Commission on Community Relations. But a recent examination of recruits' comments on those sessions indicates that many were hostile to the concept or found the training less than helpful: "useless" and "a waste of time" were common descriptions.

For those already hired and working, however, there was nothing available. As for the 41 "unstable" officers, they were still waiting for that elusive "something" Kennedy hoped would be "specifically aimed at them."

In the meantime, Dill said, "Commanders were told to keep an eye on them." Not until 1977 did the department institute a mandatory program of one week of training for every officer, according to Denny Weller, director of the Denver Anti-crime Council, which coordinates federal funding to the police. In 1977 the sessions emphasized crisis intervention and "sensitizing officers to the emotional trauma people have when officers call on them," Weller said. Only in 1979 did the department offer in-service training "stressing personal management of their own problems to better serve the public."

The long-promised staff psychologist was finally hired in

August of 1978, at a cost of \$60,000 for the salary of Dr. Kenneth Wilson and his secretary and a separate office in the police headquarters. In addition to assisting the staff of the police academy in stress-management training, Wilson conducted personal confidential counseling of individual officers and provided diagnostic and therapeutic help for officers under mandatory referral. Dill regards the hiring of a psychologist as a "big boost" to efforts to change behavior of some officers, but Weller admits that "it's likely to have a limited impact. After all, it's only one psychologist for 1300 officers."

### Where ARE They Now?

But what about the original 41?

According to Dill, as of late 1979 all but five of them were still on the job. One officer received a medical discharge after being shot. His disability benefits are paid by the city.

Four officers were dismissed, Dill says, "for violations of the rules and regulations of the department, upon a hearing." He refused to reveal the specific violation which led to these dismissals, except for one officer "who shot a child."



## Chief Orders Study — Shelves Results

# The Vanishing List Of Violent Cops

By Doug Vaughan

Back in July 1973, one year after becoming Chief of the Denver Police Department, Art Dill announced that the Staff Inspection Bureau (SIB) would conduct a special investigation of the force. The idea was to determine precisely who were the "bad apples" who were giving the rest of Denver's finest a bad name. Allegations of police brutality, then as now, had fractured the body politic.

Dill's announcement, made with considerable fanfare, was intended to show that the department was making a genuine effort to patch up relations with the citizenry — and to forestall demands for some form of civilian review of the department by showing that Dill and his SIB were capable of policing their own ranks.

Dill ordered Capt. Jerry Kennedy, then commander of the SIB, to screen the personnel files of all of the 1300 officers for the period of 1971, 1972 and the first half of 1973.

"What we're looking for," Dill told reporters at the time, "is behavior patterns that would indicate that certain officers are involved in an excessive amount of 'excessive force complaints.'"

Complaints that an officer had used more force than necessary in the course of making an arrest had been frequent during that period, and their number was increasing. But the number of complaints of brutality sustained by the SIB remained consistently low, prompting charges that the SIB did not investigate such complaints diligently, that, in effect, there was a "white-wash."

In 1968 there had been 20 formal complaints of excessive force filed with the SIB, then called the Internal Affairs Bureau. Only one of those complaints was sustained after SIB's investigation. By 1970 the number of complaints had tripled (to 63) while the percentage sustained by SIB remained low (only three). In 1971, when SIB investigated 82 formal complaints of excessive force; again, only three were sustained. When Dill took over the DPD in 1972, the number of brutality complaints had dropped to 53, and the SIB again sustained just three. SIB determined the vast majority of complaints were "unfounded" or "not sustained."

Despite charges that SIB was engaged in a "cover-up," Dill maintained that the Bureau vigorously pursued complaints of police brutality. He therefore went to great lengths to explain that ordering a review of these complaints should not be interpreted as an indictment of the SIB's procedures.

For example, Dill explained, where one officer is the subject of several complaints, "that wouldn't necessarily mean he was guilty of wrongdoing. Often it's a case of 'I say 'yea' and you say 'nay.' But the fact that there were so many complaints against that particular officer indicates that he might be having some difficulty in relating to the public in the performance of his duties. Perhaps he is under a great deal of stress that makes him respond in a situation that might be interpreted as excessive force even when it's not."

Excessive force complaints were not the only point of scrutiny.

"We wanted to know about incidents in which the officers might have an inability to cope with the situation," Dill recalled in an interview, "thus contributing to the likelihood of resistance to an arrest." Dill mentioned such factors as crowd-control situations, situations in which an officer had some personal involvement, "an ability to deal with particular age groups," "limited ability to verbally communicate," misuse of discretionary power, cases in which suspects refused to comply with an officer's instructions, inability to control family disturbances, and "technical use of the law."

## Racism Not Studied

Amazingly, racism of police was *not* examined as a factor likely to lead to resistance.

"Inability to deal with particular ethnic groups" was not included, Dill said, "because in 1973 we didn't have that problem. So we didn't identify officers that had that problem." At the time of the internal review, in 1973, however, Dill indicated that racism was indeed a problem, but it was not amenable to correction in the same way as other forms of stress: "You can't stop racism through retraining, but you might make a man aware of racist tendencies he didn't even know he had."

Racism was addressed differently, Dill said, by attempting to sensitize police to minority concerns and attitudes through training sessions conducted by the city's Commission on Community Relations.

That racism of police was not a problem seven years ago would surprise many people, but Dill maintains: "The white officer doesn't have a problem with a person because he's Black or Chicano, but probably as a result of a service call for a violation of the law. We have a bigger problem with complaints of Chicanos against Chicano officers." Dill suggested several alternatives for dealing with those officers who showed signs of emotional instability in stressful situations.

Where the circumstances surrounding a complaint indicated that the officer might be "violence prone" or otherwise "unstable," the officer would be reassigned to minimize contact with the public.

"It might just mean some in-service training at the (police) academy. He might undergo psychological testing which could make these tendencies surface." Dill expressed hope that money from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration might soon be available to hire an additional 50 officers so that each officer on the force could take one more week of in-service training.

Dill also said there were some areas of the city "where an officer is more likely to have an excessive-force complaint lodged against him. Sometimes we find that an officer might be assigned to an area too long and get bitter, become too critical

Of the remaining 36 officers, eight have been re-assigned to new jobs. In addition to these administrative transfers, which do not necessarily involve disciplinary action, three others have been promoted to the rank of sergeant.

Dill refused to reveal the names of the officers still on the force. Now would he discuss their individual records, except in general — and anonymous — terms. "If I said to one of them 'You're a god-damn bad patrolman,'" Dill explained, "what would happen later if that officer came before me in a disciplinary hearing? Why, he'd claim I was biased and whatever I ruled would be suspect."

As an example, Dill cited the case of one patrolman on the list of 41. Records indicated that he had reported 11 resistances during the screening period. "But this guy was a former probation officer and he reported everything, even the most minor kind of physical contact."

In another case, Dill said, five excessive force complaints had been filed against one officer during the period. "Upon examining the SIB reports, we found that he had been jumped from behind four times." Dill recalls several other officers, "five or six who were questionable. These were transferred and if they couldn't hack it, they resigned." One man committed suicide shortly thereafter.

One of the most interesting issues posed by Dill's handling of the 41 supposedly "unstable" or "violence-prone" officers is whether the measures used to rehabilitate them — the counseling of the psychologist hired in August of 1978, the one-week training program for all officers, and the putative "closer supervision" — have been effective. Unfortunately, the only way to determine that is to examine the disciplinary records of those officers since they were identified. And that Dill steadfastly refuses to do. "They're no longer under special scrutiny," Dill says.

## Complaints Up

Meanwhile, complaints of police brutality have risen dramatically, while the number sustained by SIB stays low. Only five of 66 complaints of excessive force were sustained in 1973. Of the 69 complaints filed with SIB in 1974, seven were sustained — the highest percentage ever. The next year, complaints of excessive force jumped to 108, but only five were sustained. By 1976 only two of 152 complaints "disclosed sufficient evidence to support the allegations." In 1977 citizens filed 125 formal complaints of excessive force; the SIB sustained not one. In 1978 the figure was 109 to 7.

"The disturbing thing about this trend, aside from SIB's inability to find any merit in civilian complaints against their brethren, is that the same names of certain cops keep coming up," said Jim Joy, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Colorado. "We'd like to know if any of these guys was on the list."

Attorneys who represent people who claim to have been brutalized by the police want to know who was on the hit-list and what kind of records they've compiled since.

Jay Breese, Denver chair of the Committee on Government Repression and Police Crimes of the National Lawyers Guild, argues that: "If it could be shown that the police department knew an officer was violence-prone, and still kept him on the force, then later he goes out and thumps somebody, the victim would be able to make a good case for the city being liable for negligent retention of that officer on the force. After all, the

police put themselves on notice that some of these guys may be a problem."

Another who would like to see the list is Wes Doan. Until 1978 Doan's law firm represented the insurance policy for liability claims against police for a premium of \$150,000 per year. Due to the increased number of claims and the increased size of awards to plaintiffs, the company threatened to raise the annual premium for Denver's police to nearly \$500,000. So the city chose to become "Self-insuring," meaning that any damages would be paid directly by the taxpayers.

Doan has, by his own account, "probably seen more SIB reports than anybody." Each year Doan estimates he handled 70-90 cases involving police, with perhaps twice that many settled out of court or dismissed before trial. Generally, he says, "SIB does a good job of investigation and they're held up in court."

But Doan says he was "never advised of the list" of 41. "I think I should have seen it," Doan said. "I don't know why they held it back."

Doan's concern stems from the fact that plaintiff's attorneys often request the entire personnel file of an officer accused of brutality in order to accumulate evidence that would show knowledge of vicious propensities and thereby support a claim of negligent hiring and retention.

"It's almost a routine matter now" to file such claims, Doan said, "but no one's pursued it very far. It's never been successful in Colorado to my knowledge."

However, Doan predicts that negligent-retention claims are likely to increase with attorneys pursuing them more diligently and courts more willing to consider an officer's past record in determining a city's liability for hiring and retaining.

Normally, Doan said, the judge will make an examination of the officer's files and allow presentation of only that portion considered to be of evidentiary value in resolving the plaintiff's claim.

Members of City Council have also expressed an interest in examining the records of the officers identified seven years ago as potential troublemakers. And attorneys for victims of alleged police brutality are itching to get their hands on it.

Also anxious to examine the records of the "violence-prone" cops are proponents of a referendum which would create a civilian commission to run the police department. If approved by the voters, the referendum would amend the City Charter to allow a five-member commission, appointed by the mayor with approval of City Council, to fire the chief of police, promulgate rules and regulations for the department, and conduct public hearings into allegations of police brutality.

Meanwhile, the list of 41 "unstable" policemen rests peacefully locked in a drawer of the police chief's desk.

## Psychologist Not Told

One person who logically should have seen the list was the staff psychologist hired by the Denver Police Department in 1978, but he was not even aware of the list until recently when a reporter contacted him for a comment.

All but five of the 41 who were considered in need of special counseling were still on the force as of August 1978, when the psychologist, Kenneth Wilson, was hired. Wilson said he has "no idea" if any of the 41 are among the approximately 175 officers he has treated when he was asked for a comment.

Wilson's job, in large part, is to reduce the job-related stress policemen face. One of the purposes of the grant is to deter-

mine if reduction in stress will result in fewer citizen complaints about police behavior.

The results of stress on the job are physical symptoms such as migraine headaches and high blood-pressure, and problems at home. But Wilson denied there is any tendency to "take it out on the public."

"Brutality is just not worth it because of the possibility of being sued," Wilson argued.

Jonathan Olom, part of the legal team that won \$10,000 in 1978 in the civil suit for wrongful death filed by the family of Carl Newland against several Denver police and Sheriff's Department personnel, disagrees with Wilson's assessment of the deterrent effect of such suits:

"From an attorney's standpoint you have to be very strict about these cases because they're so damned hard to win, especially when it's your client's word against a cop's. To make any headway you need to establish clear liability and provable damages. That means, in practical terms, two independent eye witnesses who saw everything or strong circumstantial evidence — expert testimony — that demonstrates police misbehavior, since the cops always cover themselves by filing charges of resistance and interference."



photo by Chip Berlet

Wilson is enthusiastic about the response to the program so far.

"I expected resistance from the police because of the attitudes of mental health professionals towards police officers and vice versa. A lot of mental health professionals think police officers are too conservative, too action oriented, too brutal and uncaring."

Wilson acknowledges he once shared this opinion: "I used to think that cops were a bunch of nasty motherfuckers." Wilson's step-father was a cop, and he also brings to the job a PhD from Kansas State University and a background in counselling juveniles, college teaching, and a private psychological practice.

### Counseling Cops

Wilson said the officers who visit him realize the tensions of their jobs are having an adverse effect upon their home life. Divorce rates are high — 50-70 percent, according to Wilson — because of the massive strain of exposure to physical danger, irregular hours, and what Wilson calls "the crap you have to put up with from the public."

The program is strictly voluntary and completely confidential," Wilson said. "I'm not involved in the decision whether they stay on the job or not. I might tell a client he needs this, that or the other thing, but what's done about it is strictly up to him."

A command officer who feels a subordinate is the subject of too many complaints may "suggest" a visit, however. The department also has a mandatory system of referral to psychiatrist Dr. Gerald Starkey at Denver General Hospital. Starkey examines officers dispatched by their command officers and submits a formal written report which may be used to determine furloughs, suspensions and releases on psychiatric grounds.

By the end of Wilson's first year, all 1500 officers of the DPD had taken his four-day "stress-awareness workshop" and "stress management seminar" at the police academy. There is a separate program for recruits, who "are not as ready to hear about it because they don't believe it can happen to them," according to Wilson.

After his first year, Wilson had individually counselled some 175 police officers, 80 spouses, and 15 of their children.

Wilson is reluctant to speculate on the results of the program so far. Despite the trend to create such positions in police departments around the country, Wilson acknowledges "there's little way to measure success or failure."

In 1978, citizens filed 109 complaints of excessive force by police, of which seven were sustained by SIB. Capt. L.W. Pennington, commander of the bureau, said the statistics "clearly depict a continuing trend toward internal discipline and strong corrective measures within the department."

Critics of the department dispute this interpretation, however. "Nobody I know advises any client that anything will come of a complaint to the District Attorney or filing a civil suit against the officer and the city for damages," says Jay Breese, the NLG's chair. "We do advise that a citizen who has been brutalized file a complaint with SIB," Breese noted "but we warn them they can expect to be treated like shit."

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Doug Vaughan is a Denver freelance writer and journalism instructor who is active in the Committee Against Racism. Portions of this article in a different form originally appeared in the Denver weekly **Westword**.

In the Shadow of the White House

# The Terrence Johnson Case

By Brint Dillingham



Terrence Johnson (left) is escorted to courthouse by supporters.  
— photo by Ellsworth Davis

Jimmy Carter's hypocritical stance on human rights hasn't gone unnoticed, even in the establishment press. More than a few commentators have observed "incongruity" of moralizing on human rights from the front steps of the White House while simultaneously preparing to host the Shah, Pinochet and Somoza in the Rose Garden. Many commentators, however, have joined the President in largely ignoring a major human rights scandal in the shadow of the White House.

In the nation's capitol and surrounding suburbs there has been a massive wave of police brutality. Over the last decade, thousands of complaints of police brutality and other forms of serious police misconduct have been filed in the various jurisdictions of the D.C. Metropolitan Area. The majority of such complaints have come from citizens of D.C., where the police force numbers between four and five thousand officers at any one time, and is five to six times as large as the next largest police force in the area. But it is this next largest force — the Prince George's County Police — that has far and away the most notorious reputation for brutality.

While Prince George's officials have often protested that this reputation is a media-made bum rap, many civilian critics (especially in the Black community, but a substantial number of whites as well) charge that defenders of the police "doth protest too much." These critics say that there have been substantial numbers of brutality cases in the county, that a disproportionate number of these cases rank among the real "horror stories" of D.C. area police brutality, and that the cases have occurred against a backdrop of seething, sometimes thinly-veiled and sometimes wide-open, official racism.

Predictions of a tragic showdown in Prince George's County came true on June 26, 1978, at the Hyattsville Police Station, where tensions exploded, leaving two white policemen dead, and Terrence Johnson, the 15-year-old Black youth accused of murdering them with one of their own guns, "a young man suffering," in the words of his attorney, "an old man's nightmare."

The combination of an often brilliant courtroom defense and a well-organized and widespread mass support campaign brought partial victory for Terrence. He had pled not guilty to all charges under a general theory of self-defense and was acquitted on six of eight major counts. The court was not to show the understanding of the jury, however. Terrence was given the maximum 25-year total sentence.

His attorney and thousands of supporters point to solid evidence that Terrence does not deserve this nightmare. He was far from the cold calculating murderer county law enforcement officials would have us believe him to be, far from the ruthless killer of two innocent policemen who were committed to, as one county judge put it, "protect us from ourselves." Instead, as the evidence from his trial and its immediate and historical context shows, Johnson was a terrorized 15-year-old fighting for his life against police officers who had verbally, psychologically, and physically brutalized him.

## Marlboro Country

Prince George's is the suburban county adjacent to the eastern half of D.C. Its borders are less than five miles from the White House, the Capitol Building and the Supreme Court.

## The Newcomers

As late as 1940, the huge 485-mile square county was a sparsely populated rural area with less than 90,000 residents. It was the original Marlboro Country, steeped in the traditions of the old South. During the Civil War, it was a center of brutal slaveholding and the site of bloody slave rebellions. With enormous population growth and the influence of somewhat more suburban-oriented (but often no less racist and sleazy) politicians, the old South traditions may be somewhat submerged, but they have hardly drowned. Large areas of the county are still open spaces, rolling hills and tobacco plantations, where the third and fourth generation owners of the "plantocracy" ride to the hounds while Black sharecroppers till the fields.

Deep South traditions and their modern clones surface most often and most sharply in the county's law enforcement establishment. Centered at the county seat in Upper Marlboro (population 686), the judiciary at the head of this establishment holds sway in a courthouse area that has the look and feel of a movie set for the soon-to-be-released "Refused to Go With the Wind."

The major surge in the county's population growth took place in the 1960s when rapacious and corrupt land developers built thousands of apartments to be filled by thousands of whites and Blacks who "spilled over" into the country from working class neighborhoods in the eastern half of Washington, D.C. The county's Black population subsequently jumped from about 32,000 (or 9% of the county total) in 1960 to over 200,000 (and 35% of the total) today.

The plantocracy and their suburban successors let the newcomers know in the harshest ways that all they wanted to hear was that the rent was paid. County police backed up their position. Present-day police officials recently referred to the 1960s as "the Middle Ages," when county police served almost as a "militant occupation force." A few examples illustrate the official brutality and racism that existed then, and more importantly, are far from dead today:

- In 1967 County Circuit Court Judge William Bowie refused bond to and later sentenced a 53-year-old Black woman who had pleaded guilty to fatally stabbing her common law husband. Bowie gave an all-too-representative illustration of law enforcement establishment's attitude on race when he declared from the bench that if Blacks "want to live like animals, let them stay in a pen." At the sentencing, Bowie decided to elaborate, saying that when Blacks "get to fighting, they start using knives. Statistics will show there is a high incidence of this. But I don't see where there is any prejudice on the court's part. It is just a pure fact of life that Negroes and knives go together." Bowie continued to serve on the county bench until at least 1977.

- A late 1970 report charged that six unarmed men — five of them Black — had been shot and killed by county police during the previous two years.

- A December 1975 *Washingtonian* magazine article described the law enforcement and racial attitudes of the county as follows:

Prince George's is rough. Its 810-member police force enjoys a reputation as a ham-fisted army of brutes. Some of the cops like the notoriety. They think the badmouthing discourages criminals from coming into the county, though crime in Prince George's is worse than anywhere else in Washington suburbia.

- During late 1975 and early 1976, Jack Cornett, then president of the county's powerful rank and file police association, the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), was quoted as saying "I am very pleased when I hear someone accuse us of murder or manslaughter." He later added not only was he "a racist, but so are 80% of the men on this force." These statements corroborated

the charge made by Sylvester Vaughans, president of the county NAACP, who told a County Council panel on March 5, 1976: "I've said more than once Prince George's County is the police brutality capitol of the world." Those who felt Vaughans might be exaggerating thought twice when one month later (in April 1976) WRC Radio, the local NBC affiliate, reported that the station had been told that a special unit of the Ku Klux Klan, "consisted entirely of Prince George's County police officers, has been organized. . . . It has been learned that nearly 50 county police officers make up the unit." If the report was true, it means that the police force then had more Klan members than it did Blacks.

- During the four-year period between 1975 and 1978, official statistics showed county citizens filing more than one police brutality complaint per week. News reports showed 56 civilians — nearly one per month — shot by county police during the five years ending in December 1977. Seventeen (17) of these shootings were fatal (see chart). Likewise, in the period between 1967 and 1979, there were over a dozen major investigations of county police practices, including at least two major lawsuits. These investigations were conducted by county and state human relations commissions, county and state legislative panels, county and federal grand juries, the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the National Conference on Christians and Jews, among others. The Justice Department sued over discriminatory hiring practices, and the NAACP has just reopened its suit against police brutality that was originally brought in 1972 and only partially settled in 1975.

## Prelude to the Case

Events in the first six months of 1978 aggravated the crisis in police-community relations in Prince George's county. First, within a one-month period, there were two fatal shootings of unarmed Black men by county police under suspicious circumstances. The first killing, on Christmas Eve, 1977, occurred when county policeman Peter Morgan shot William "Sonny" Ray, 32, in the back of the head as Ray fled the police station. Ray had been detained for shoplifting two hams worth less than \$20.00.

Then, on January 21, the day after outraged leaders of the Black community met with county officials to protest the May killing, Officer Lester Bethel shot and killed Abraham "Cotton" Dickens, an 18-year-old youth, as he was reportedly emerging through the window of a closed diner. Both victims were Black. Both were unarmed.

Dickens was the fourth civilian shot by Bethel during his five-year police career. In a previous incident, he had accidentally shot an unarmed bystander while trying to kill a dog. Five and a half months before the Dickens killing, he had shot and seriously wounded a Black youth, James McPhaul, while McPhaul was standing across the county line in D.C. McPhaul, who was never charged with an offense, sued, and the county settled out of court.

Bethel had also been disciplined five times for accidents involving police cruisers.

No county officer had ever been indicted for brutalizing or even killing a civilian; this pair of killings proved no exception. As County NAACP President Sylvester Vaughans said after the failure to indict Morgan, "The State's Attorney is still battling 1,000."

The failure to indict either of these officers heightened the outrage and fear in the Black community. As tensions mounted, a jury awarded a record \$212,000 in damages to John Sarni, who had been brutally beaten by a Prince George's County policeman in 1976. Sarni, whose wounds required extensive hospitalization and corrective facial surgery, was a white D.C. policeman — not the first law enforcement officer to fall victim to Prince George's police. The county finally tightened restrictions on firearms use by policemen. The new controls were

## PRINCE GEORGE'S POLICE DEPARTMENT FIGURES ON NUMBERS OF COMPLAINTS 1973-77

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	Total
Excessive Force	24	60	83	62	21	250
Harassment	10	15	36	11	5	77
Fatal Shooting	1	5	8	2	1	14
Shooting w/injury	6	4	5	11	8	34
Totals	41	84	129	86	35	375

NOTE: These figures represent an average total of 75 complaints per year in these four categories combined. Of these, 50 per year have been for excessive force.

## PRINCE GEORGE'S HRC FIGURES ON NUMBERS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT COMPLAINTS 1975-78

	1975	1976	1977	1978	Total
Excessive Force	80	86	45	17	228
Other Law Enforcement Complaints	22	10	21	9	62
Total Law Enforcement Complaints	102	96	66	26	290

NOTE: These figures represent an average of 72 law enforcement complaints per year, of which 57 per year were for excessive force.

## SOME OTHER SIGNIFICANT REPORTS ON NUMBERS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT COMPLAINTS

- 1973** 165 law enforcement complaints backlogged, as Leonard Colodny recalls, up to 1973, in his first year on the Commission.
- 1973** Over 50 complaints received by ACLU, NAACP and Prince George's HRC resulting from Glenarden incident alone.
- 1974** 70 brutality complaints investigated by Prince George's Grand Jury Committee.
- 1975** 10 citizens killed by P.G. police in the 10-month period ending in October, 1975, according to MCHR 1978 Report.
- 1976** Brutality complaints involving 23 P.G. police officers investigated by P.G. Grand Jury.
- 1977** 56 citizens shot by P.G. police, 17 of them fatally, over the past five years, according to a December 30, 1977 Washington Star report.

denounced by the Fraternal Order of Police and greeted with catcalls and curses in the station house where Morgan and Bethel worked.

To protect police from further scrutiny, County Executive Winfield Kelly in March 1978, ordered county personnel to volunteer no information in the latest probe of brutality by the Maryland Commission on Human Relations. But police anger was not soothed for long.

On June 21st Police Chief John Rhoades, following the recommendation of his department's hearing board, fired Officer Morgan for his role in killing Ray.

Five days later — days in which police seethed over Morgan's firing, and a labor dispute with the county — Terrence Johnson encountered Officers Albert M. Claggett and Brian A. Swart at the Hyattsville Station.

### The Defense Movement

Terrence Johnson was the fourth of five children of Melvin Johnson, a postal worker, and Helen Johnson, a cook (divorced now for several years), for years he had lived in the Palmer Park and Bladensburg areas of the county and, like most youths in these areas, was aware of the pervasive police hostility toward his home neighborhoods. Through the grapevine, he knew of the Christmastime death of William "Sonny" Ray. He had personally known "Cotton" Dickens, as well as another Black youth, Michael Washington, who had been shot and killed, while unarmed, by the police a few years before.

For his own legal protection, prior to trial Johnson was able to make public little of the events of the early morning hours of June 26, 1978. All he would say is, "When I tell my story, you'll know it's true." However, immediately after the deaths of Claggett and Swart, county law enforcement officials launched a campaign to portray Johnson as a heartless 15-year-old who had somehow grabbed Officer Claggett's gun and who, with no provocation, had been solely responsible for turning a minor arrest into a monstrous tragedy. In the words of Prince George's District Court Judge Louis DiTriani, as he set a record high bond of \$1.05 million for the terrified 15-year-old, who had pleaded to be released to his mother:

"This incident is so shocking, it has left the community in a state of disbelief, that two men who were to protect us from ourselves should be snuffed out for no apparent reason. . . . The sheer tragedy of it — to take these two young men in the flower of their youth, and shoot them down. . . ."

DiTriani was correct in one respect. Shock, disbelief and a deep sense of tragedy was the overwhelming response in the county and in the entire D.C. area community. But among large numbers of Blacks and a smaller but substantial number of whites, the shock was that what so many had prophesied as a "tragedy waiting to happen" had finally come, and at such cost. Knowing the county's history of brutality, and noting Johnson's youth and size, they would not believe the state's version of events.

Three early reports further strengthened their determination to seek the truth. First was the report by Terrence's mother, Helen Johnson, describing his condition when she first saw him after the incident. Terry appeared scared, she said, and he "had bruises over his eyes, a patch covering his head, cuts under his eyes, and his nose was bandaged up." The second report indicated that the shooting had started behind the closed door of a small back room — the breathalyzer room — attached to the main processing room of the Hyattsville Station. The fate of

citizens at the hands of police in the "back room" of county stations is a key part of Prince George's bloody police lore. Years before (in 1971), for example, it was reported that as part of a purported county effort to clean up its brutality act, the police department had:

"... agreed to make every effort to eliminate situations in which police brutality incidents might occur. Specifically . . . arresting officers will no longer be able to take arrested suspects into closed rooms alone. . . ."

The third, and perhaps most telling fact was that Claggett, the officer from whom Johnson had wrested the gun and the first of the two officers shot, had been a central figure in the notorious Thomas Peet incident in 1975. Claggett himself volunteered testimony that he hit Peet.

A U.S. Justice Department investigation summary described the December 4, 1975, beating of Peet as follows:

Thomas William Peet was ticketed in a 7-11 store parking lot by [Prince George's officers] Ariemma and Claggett for leaving his vehicle unattended with the motor running. Peet refused to sign the ticket. Ariemma and Claggett then took Peet to their cruiser where they struck Peet repeatedly with their nightsticks, and were joined by [officers] Low, Panosh and Murdock. . . . Peet was also choked with the leather strap of a nightstick. Peet made no effort to escape nor to assault the subjects. Peet is a Black, all [officers] are white. Peet suffered three scalp wounds which required 22 stitches. There were 12 witnesses each of whom substantiates Peet's claim that he was severely beaten without provocation.

One of the witnesses to the Peet beating was Hubert Maddox who told the *Washington Star*:

"We watched them beat this man into a pool of blood. He never raised a hand to the officers. Would you if you were surrounded by four with sticks and guns?"

I inquired of an officer why they were doing this. He explained the \$10 ticket to me and said, "We told him to sign it."

He said this to me like he thought the man was a child. After a few more words, the officer said to me, "If you guys don't want to get your head busted, you had better get off this lot."

I teach in the public schools here. I know what I saw. I saw a helpless man being beaten, kicked and choked by four officers with clubs and other equipment.

One officer had the nerve to tell me that they were beating the guy because "when people resist arrest, we have to knock them unconscious." He said, "I will break his skull if I have to."

It looks like the Klan at work. Instead of wearing sheets they were wearing blue uniforms. . . ."

One of Claggett's colleagues in the Peet incident, Officer Randolph Murdock, was eventually fired from the force for a series of brutality attacks. In the most bizarre incident, Murdock shot a dog he claimed was attacking him and then told the dog's Black owner that he felt the dog might be prejudiced against white people.

A chilling tie between the Peet and Terrence Johnson cases is the prophetic letter another Peet witness wrote to County Police Chief John Rhoades soon after the incident. The witness, Federal City College professor Waynes Kong, predicted that if the county police did not mend their brutal ways, one day county officers might be hurt by someone who resisted that brutality.

With these facts in mind, those who found the official version of the Johnson case dubious at best decided to continue their own investigation. What they found quickly led to a mass movement in the county, in the D.C. metropolitan area (and eventually across the nation) to free Terrence Johnson.

This movement attracted a broad range of forces including local chapters of the NAACP, the local SCLC, the National Lawyers Guild and National Council of Black Lawyers, the Baltimore Welfare Rights Organization and D.C. Unite to Fight Back, even Ronald Hampton, President of the D.C. Afro-American Police Officers Association. As Hampton said:

A lot of people wanted to know how did it happen, how did he get the gun? . . . What I ask is what caused him to shoot those two police officers. Some of the whites want to say that he shot them for nothing. I don't believe that.

Speaking of the police in Prince George's, where he had briefly lived, Hampton said:

I don't know what it is, but they act out of fear, not respect. I have been stopped by them for routine traffic checks and I throw my hands up for fear that they might shoot me . . . and I'm a police officer. So you can imagine how that young boy must have felt.

Pressure from mass organizing in support of Johnson, and a series of demonstrations outside the county jail where Johnson was held, succeeded in the Fall of 1978 in lowering the \$1.05 million bail to \$100,000. In mid-October, Johnson's supporters (through block parties, socials, coffees, discos, and other events) had raised enough to post bail, and Johnson was released.

Soon after his release, County Circuit Court Judge Vincent Femia ruled that Johnson must be tried as an adult, though he admitted that Johnson was "amenable to juvenile treatment."

Judge Femia was notorious for alternately circumventing and breaking the juvenile law by placing minors in the county's adult jail simply to give them a taste of what they could expect if they didn't shape up.

In Johnson's case, Femia's ruling at least in one sense backfired on the county law enforcement establishment. It significantly broadened the youth's support, mobilizing those who, until then, had failed to see how serious was the county's intent to railroad Johnson. Tried as an adult, Johnson faced the possibility of two consecutive life sentences plus a number of lesser penalties that could imprison him up to 40 years.

As the trial neared, division between pro- and anti-Johnson forces sharpened. But it was not, as some establishment forces tried to portray, division along clean and simple racial lines. The pro-Johnson forces were multinational. 40% of those who had complained of brutality in 1975-78 had been white. And, a March 1979 poll taken in connection with the case showed a substantial minority of whites joined an overwhelming majority of Blacks in their fear of the police.

The contradictory decision on trying Terrence Johnson as an adult was no surprise to those familiar with Femia's career and sense of justice. In the past, the judge had been most noted for sadistic whims, such as threatening a hapless drunk appearing before him with public hanging and, similarly, threatening a hotrodder with amputation at the knees.

Now, increasingly convinced that Johnson had acted in self-defense and stark fear in a kill-or-be-killed situation, a growing number of Blacks and whites together were acting to ensure that Terrence Johnson would not be victimized further.

In March 19, 1979, the trial opened. After two and a half days of gruelling jury selection, a jury was chosen of four Black men, seven white women and one white man (whom trial judge Jacob Levin blatantly jumped to the position of foreman). Prosecutor Arthur A. Marshall had used his strikes to see that no Black women were chosen.

As his opening salvo, Marshall persuaded Judge Levin to rule that the jury could receive no evidence from the defense of Claggett's role in the beating of Thomas Peet. Later, Marshall was quick to defend Claggett both to the jury and to the press. He told the jury he was sorry he'd never gotten to know "Rusty" Claggett. And he told the press that Claggett had been exonerated in the Peet case. The truth was: Marshall himself had chosen not to press for Claggett's indictment for the brutal Peet beating, despite its being, reportedly in Marshall's own words, a "prima facie case of excessive force" strong enough to present to a grand jury. The county later took responsibility and paid a money settlement to Peet's widow who filed a police brutality suit against Claggett and the others involved in the beating after Peet died suspiciously in 1977.

Meanwhile, Johnson supporters daily packed the half of the courtroom available to them, despite the siege atmosphere outside and inside the courtroom. Police S.W.A.T. teams stood watch on top of the courtroom and surrounding buildings. Some police officers wore makeshift "Burn Terrence Johnson" buttons on the underside of their lapels. Johnson supporters who waited to get into the overflowing courtroom were forced to stand in a cordoned off section of the courthouse hallway while the other courtroom visitors strolled by or sat about. As sheriffs harassed them and refused them basic comforts, one innocent bystander commented that the scene in the hallway "must be a fulfillment of Judge Bowie's 1967 dream of consigning Blacks to pens."

Back inside the courtroom, even as state witnesses testified, it became clear that the state's cut and dried version of events would not wash. The "wanton teenage terror vs. dutiful police officers" theory threatened to crumble altogether under the surprising testimony of Dr. Stuart Silver, a state psychiatrist whom Marshall called on rebuttal to counter Terrence Johnson's moving and consistent story. Dr. Silver astonished everyone (no doubt, the prosecutor most of all) when he recalled the police "minimizing" the story of their actions in the case. But he disagreed with Terrence's plea of temporary insanity in the Swart killing. (In addition to a plea of self-defense on all charges, Johnson pled not guilty by reason of temporary insanity in connection with events after the shooting of Claggett. As defense psychiatrists later testified, Johnson was suffering from Transient Situational Disturbance, a trance-like state brought on by the terror of events leading up to and including the shooting of Claggett — a state which is also experienced by soldiers in combat.) Silver testified that:

My view of what happened, the behavior that occurred, was that it was acceptable behavior. It was the kind of behavior that, given the story that Terrence told me and was not dissimilar to what was told in other reports that we received, that he was anxious, terrified, frightened. This was appropriate, this did not reflect mental illness, but reflected a realistic situation in which his life was realistically in danger.



Demonstration showing support for Terrence Johnson drew support from a wide variety of individuals and organizations. — photo from *The Call*

And when questioned as to the circumstances surrounding the shooting of Claggett, Silver said:

In an attempt to defend himself even at the expense, in this kind of situation, pulling a gun and shooting the gun may be considered self-defense in such a situation. I do not see the need to invoke a psychiatric diagnosis in that situation.

### "A Pyramid of Terror"

In sum, the trial testimony as well as other evidence and investigation showed that what really led to the deaths of officers Claggett and Swart in the early morning hours of June 26, 1978, after they participated in the stop and arrest of Terrence and his brother, Kevin, was that Terrence reacted in self-defense and overwhelming fear to the "pyramid of terror" — as defense psychiatrist, Dr. Frances Welsing termed it — imposed on him by the county police who had him in their custody and at their mercy.

The steps in that pyramid began when officers Claggett and Richard Poma stopped the car in which Terrence was riding with his brother who was driving. The car fit the description of a car used by a single Black male suspected of robbing coin boxes a few hours earlier. Kevin, who later pleaded guilty to the theft, and who told Terrence about it only after the fact, was arrested. The police then discussed whether to take Terrence in. Though he was never charged with an offense and though there is clear evidence that they never intended to charge him, Swart volunteered to take Terrence to the station and do the paper work on him.

After this decision to detain him (though it was clear they could have released him), and before they reached the station-house, Terrence was threatened twice by officers on the scene. First, an officer who was dissatisfied with Terrence's unwillingness to talk about his brother, asked him how he'd like to be taken to the local juvenile jail to be "somebody's old lady" for the night. Then, as they drove toward the station, Swart answered Terrence's perfectly legal warning that his mother

might sue for false arrest by asking the youth, "You want your teeth?"

Arriving at the station in separate police cars, Terrence (who apparently arrived first) was handcuffed to a chair and was again separated from Kevin, who was chained to a bench inside an adjoining cell. As these two young Blacks sat cuffed and bound, white youths who — unlike Terrence — were charged with offenses, were allowed to move about without restraints as they waited for their parents who — unlike Terrence's — had been contacted. When one of the white youths offered Terrence a cigarette, Swart curtly said he wasn't allowed one.

Soon Terrence was being interrogated by Swart. And when he moved the chair to which he was bound closer to Swart, the officer first insulted him by telling him to get back because his breath stank. Next, Swart, evidently angered by one of Terrence's answers, grazed Terrence's head with a light backhanded slap. When Terrence (still handcuffed to the chair) again moved closer, Swart shoved him back by placing his foot between Terrence's legs on the chair. This had happened two or three times when Swart finally kicked him in the groin. When he swung the chair (to which he was still handcuffed) to defend himself, Terrence was attacked by officers Swart (who first hit him in the face), Steven Gibson, and Claggett, all of whom wrestled and forced him to the floor, pummeling and striking him as they did so. At the time, officer Swart was about 5'10" and weighed about 135 pounds. Officer Claggett was 6'1" and weighed 184 and one-half pounds. Officer Gibson stood 6'3" and weighed 225 pounds. Terrence Johnson was 5'5", 110 pounds, and handcuffed to a chair.

Looming in the background during part of this attack was officer Steven Roberts, who stood 6'3" and weighed 270 pounds. His major role during this beating in the corner was to block the view and silence Terrence's brother, Kevin, who was loudly protesting the beating of his brother.

Early in this beating Claggett grabbed Terrence by the neck and threatened he would "break this little black mother-fucker's neck."

Later, at Claggett's direction, one of the officers freed Terry from the chair, and Claggett, grabbing Terry by the neck and shoulders from the rear, flung him into a very small adjacent breathalyzer room (about 6' x 9'). Wearing his gun, Claggett rushed into the tiny room after Terry and closed the door. Immediately after Claggett closed the door, sounds of struggle and bumping against the walls of that room were heard by the officers, including Gibson and Roberts, who had remained in the outer processing room.

As these sounds continued, officer Gibson (whose trial testimony that Claggett took Terrence into the breathalyzer room "to calm him down by whatever way he saw fit" was greeted with scornful laughter) decided to walk away and go to the bathroom, and another officer, Gray, also left. They clearly understood that it was Terrence Johnson, and not Albert Claggett, who was being victimized in that room.

Over 84% of Black people and over 42% of white people in the county agreed that "police brutality is a serious problem" in Prince George's County.

Inside the breathalyzer room Claggett, who had vowed to break Terrence's neck, had grasped Terrence by the head and neck in a potentially lethal stranglehold, slamming and kneeling him onto the table and punching him. In the ensuing struggle, Terry's right hand clutched Claggett's gun, holstered on his right hip, and tore it out, breaking away the holster's stitching. As Terry, now holding Claggett's gun, freed himself from the officer's headlock, Claggett advanced on him. Terry, pointing the gun in Claggett's direction, remembers the gun discharging with Claggett lunging toward him and the gun, between Terry and the door. That shot entered the lower left chest-upper abdomen of Claggett. Seconds later, Terry opened the door and stepped into the processing room.

According to various witnesses, about eighteen feet directly across the processing room facing Terry stood officers Roberts and Swart — just outside the holding cell containing Kevin Johnson. Neither officer had reacted in a move toward the breathalyzer-fingerprint room in the three to five second span from the time of the shot until Terry emerged. In a trance, Terry fired a fusillade of shots in their direction. Two shots entered the interior wall of the holding cell where Kevin was chained and seated. Two shots hit Swart; the fatal shot entered his chest. Roberts and the dying Swart fled the room together, according to state witnesses, and Terry fled behind them into the hall, and turned in an opposite direction.

At this point, it should be noted that Kevin Johnson testified that he saw Swart run into the processing room only after Terry had left it, and it was then that he was shot. This implication that Swart was killed accidentally by one of his fellow officers was later corroborated by the proffered testimony of Kenneth Somers. But the judge withheld this evidence from the jury.

According to various witnesses, Terrence continued to run after Swart was shot, racing up the hall, crying, sobbing, and dry-firing Claggett's pistol which he still had. As he ran into a

looked and closed steel door at the end of the corridor, officer Paul Low (another officer involved in the Peet incident) tackled him. Terry and Low fell to the floor as Low, overpowering Terry, took the gun from him. As Terry was herded back to the holding cell, he was (according to evidence volunteered on direct examination by the prosecution) attacked, kneed and beaten again — this time by officers Roberts and Evans.

Swart died almost immediately and Claggett lived only a few hours.

## The Defense Sums Up

The summation of defense co-counsel R. Kenneth Mundy provided some of the most electrifying moments of this tension-filled trial. First, Mundy answered the state's argument that it was an uncooperative Terrence Johnson who had provoked the escalating violence, and that Terrence's swinging of the chair had been an aggressive and not defensive move:

If Terrence Johnson was being uncooperative and hadn't given his name . . . was being uncooperative and scooting his chair so that Officer Swart had to push it back. . . . The simple procedure would not have been an escalation . . . by an adult police officer with a 15-year-old juvenile, of kicking the chair back, pulling it up, kicking it back and so forth. The simple procedure would be to put him in a holding cell. . . .

If Terrence Johnson had picked up a chair and tried to strike Officer Swart with it, have you asked yourselves why would Officers Gibson and Swart let Officer Claggett take him into the breathalyzer room alone and armed? If he was that bold . . . why would those officers have sat back and permitted Officer Claggett to take that risk? . . . Officer Gibson . . . tells us that he knew or he believed Officer Claggett took Terrence Johnson in that room to "calm him down any way he saw fit . . ." and then he hears scuffling and all of a sudden, Officer Gibson says "I think I'll go to the bathroom." Detective Gray says "I think I'll go make a phone call." This is after they heard scuffling. . . . Let me tell you . . . they knew what was going on in that room. They knew that Officer Claggett was disciplining him.

But the worst shock, the worst disappointment they got was when the door flew open and there stood Terrence Johnson. . . . I want you to think about one thing. . . . First of all, why do you unhandcuff a prisoner that's unruly? Why do you take off the restraints if he is unruly? . . . and put him in a room that's as big as that area marked off there. . . . This tells you the mentality, this tells you the standard that went on in that precinct.

It seems to be fair game and standard operating procedure when you've got somebody that's giving you trouble, what do you do, you take off the handcuffs and then you bust him . . . what other single act of kindness from the time he was arrested until Officer Low chose not to kill him did he get? He was handcuffed like an animal, treated no differently and then taken into a room while other officers knew what he was going in there for and stood around.

So Mr. Marshall takes the one act of grace that he received that night, not forfeiting his life, and says that is the spirit of the Prince George's County Police at the Hyattsville Station. . . . He didn't tell you that it seemed to be accepted practice to . . . bust him while others held him, not a man, but a 15-year-old boy. He didn't tell you that it was perfectly proper while he was handcuffed and his arms jacked up for another officer to run over and kneel him in the groin and bust him in the stomach as hard as he could. . . . When that door burst open, Officer Roberts, he went through a demonstration — clap your hands.

When that door burst open, Officer Roberts and I timed it from the first shot when he thought it was a shot to the second shot with three seconds. Officer Roberts said he stood there. Do you know what thought probably went through his mind? My god, Claggett has killed the kid, because if he had thought the other way — my God, the kid has shot Claggett — wouldn't he in the three seconds before that door burst open have drawn his gun? . . . can you honestly in your heart . . . believe that [Terrence's] life wasn't in peril in that room?

You have got the facts from the Government's evidence . . . about the noises of the scuffling, about the first report saying that

there was scuffling and no officer responded . . . they stood by waiting for Officer Claggett to finish his disciplining, to finish his calming down by whatever way he wanted to, including bouncing him off the walls and whatever he saw fit to do, and they just stood by and waited for that. And the tragedy worked out the other way.

On March 31, 1979, after 18 hours of deliberation, the jury returned a compromise verdict. Johnson was found guilty only on manslaughter and use of a handgun in Claggett's death. He was acquitted of all other charges, several of the acquittals being by reason of temporary insanity.

Both sides were angry at the verdict. Defense co-counsel Alan Lenchek said he was disappointed because Johnson "was not guilty of anything. . . . Claggett was trying to kill him. . . . A 15-year-old kid with a big cop trying to choke him to death. . . . That's self-defense." But if the defense was angry, police spokesmen were rabid, with Laney Hester, Jack Cornett's "more moderate" successor, as head of the powerful Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) telling TV news cameras outside the courthouse that "Anyone who threatens a Prince George's county policeman better be prepared to meet their Maker." Johnson supporter Crystal Metcalf responded that this was hardly news since "for years the police have made open war on Black people."

The Monday following the verdict, 95% of the police force staged a one-day walkout to protest the jury's "leniency." Three days after the walkout, officer Peter Morgan — who had been fired for killing Sonny Ray — was reinstated by the police department.

A week and a half later, Hester continued his public tirade. He predicted on a televised panel discussion that because of the Johnson defense "people are going to be hurt . . . by the police, and police are going to get hurt."

Finally, on May 3, 1979, Hester and his followers were as-

"It looks like the Klan at work.  
Instead of wearing  
sheets they were wearing blue uniforms . . ."

suaged a bit by the maximum sentence of 25 years Judge Levin gave Johnson. By way of rubbing salt in the wounds that cried for healing, Levin told Johnson that he should be grateful for four things:

First thing I want you to be thankful for is that Officer Low allowed you to live the night of June the 26th, 1978. The second thing I want you to be thankful for is that 12 good citizens of this county felt compassion for you, sir, and legally absolved you of the killing of Officer Swart. The third thing I want you to be thankful for is that somebody had the foresight and the where-withal to hire Mr. Mundy as your attorney. And the last thing that you could be thankful for is that I am limited by law as to the sentence that I can impose in this case.

The age-old slavemaster's demand for the gratitude of those upon whom he bestows the gift of chains is alive and well with Judge Levin in Prince George's County.

Since the sentencing, interviews with the jurors have revealed evidence that could mandate a new trial. It was learned on March 10 that one juror went to the judge *ex-parte* and complained that the foreman was disrupting the deliberations, fomenting racial tensions among the jurors. The judge never reported the complaint to Terrence Johnson or his attorneys. The defense has filed a motion for hearing on that evidence, with the hope of post-conviction relief.

### Since the Trial

Prince George's officials continue to insist that the county's reputation is unfair and media-made. They say there's light at the end of the tunnel, that statistics show that the police no longer have a serious brutality problem, and that they're making a serious and successful effort to bring the police and the community together. The facts say otherwise:

A March 1979 scientific survey conducted by the National Jury Project in connection with the Johnson case showed that fear of the police is still strong throughout the county. The survey's most shocking findings showed that:

(a) Over 84% of Black people and over 42% of white people in the county agreed that "police brutality is a serious problem" in Prince George's County.

(b) Over 67% of Black people and over 36% of white people agreed that "Black youth have good reasons to fear the Prince George's County Police."

(c) Perhaps most shocking was the finding that more than one in every four (27%) of the Black people in the county agreed that "if Prince George's County Police arrest someone, that person's life is in danger."

As for official boasts that the substantial decrease in the number of brutality complaints lodged with county officials means substantial decline in police brutality, it is worth considering



Terrence Johnson (center): The defense called his case "a young man suffering an old man's nightmare."

— photo from *The Call*

the January, 1979 statement of Leon Perry, a man who spoke from his experience as a commissioner on the County Human Relations panel, which is responsible (along with the police department) for receiving and disposing of citizen complaints against the police. Perry (now retired from the Commission) offered a somewhat different perspective from his former colleagues among county officialdom explaining:

In a way . . . the improvement has been basically an illusion. . . . The dramatic statistical drop . . . is misleading. Things have not improved to the degree (that the statistics might indicate). . . . It's akin to unemployment statistics. The government doesn't count the millions who've given up looking for jobs that aren't there.

And to explain why many have given up looking for justice from the county:

We have had several opportunities to stand up [against police brutality] and we have failed miserably. . . . People say "why should we file complaints. Nothing ever happens anyway. . . ." All of the controversial cases have never been resolved in [the "people's"] favor. The people never felt they have won one. They have never yet seen a case of what good filing would do.

And finally, the insistence by county officials that the county's police-community relations image is merely the result of media distortions might seem at best curious to those who are familiar with recent developments such as the exchange between County Executive Larry Hogan and FOP President Laney Hester.

Hester — famed for his televised threats against the county citizens — charged in November that Hogan was playing "political blackmail" with the new police labor contract. He called the executive "Ayatollah Hogan," saying, "He's taken our contract and is holding it hostage."

Hogan, a former FBI agent who built his political career on anti-busing and pro-police platforms, responded by calling Hester "an Alabama racist who has done nothing but tear asunder our efforts to create harmony between the Black community and the police department."

Even hardened cynics were taken aback by Hogan's hypocrisy in casting himself as the champion of racial harmony and community confidence in the police. This was especially true in view of the dispute that prompted his exchange with Hester — a battle over who should be appointed as the new County Police Chief. Hogan himself had helped precipitate the battle when six months earlier (in May of 1979) he had chosen to elevate Lt. Colonel Joseph Vasco to Acting Chief (to replace retiring Chief John Rhoades) even though several months earlier (in February and March of 1979) widely published news reports revealed Vasco's alleged central role in a vigilante unit operated by county police in the late 1960's.

The unit, known as the "Death Squad," reportedly used informers to stage holdups at convenience stores where, on at least two occasions, disguised police officers shot and killed armed robbers who had been lured into the "set-up" by the police-sponsored informers. As Maryland State Police investigating the Death Squad prepared their findings (which clearly support the allegations that Vasco and at least one other present-day top police official played key roles in the squad), Hogan announced that he would not nominate him to be the permanent police chief.

When Hogan eventually announced his choice for the permanent position, it was a man who reportedly had alienated Blacks and other rank and file workers in former leadership jobs in

other towns. With this choice Hogan managed to create at least temporary harmony between the police association and some civil rights groups who both — albeit for vastly different reasons — joined in the successful effort to defeat the executive's choice.

After listening to Laney Hester's tirade following the Johnson verdict, a woman told reporters that she had thought about leaving the county, but had decided that "this is nationwide . . . this is history. What happened here can be reflected throughout the United States."

However, while police abuse is a fact of city life nationwide — in Los Angeles, Houston, New Orleans and Cincinnati — so is the growth of mass movements against that abuse of authority.

Terrence Johnson is a living, breathing symbol of this struggle. He fought back on June 26, 1978, and he is alive today. A mass movement supported his struggle, and he escaped consecutive murder convictions and consecutive life sentences. But the struggle to prevent the legal persecution of Terrence Johnson is far from over. He remains incarcerated, facing a long prison term.

If we are ever to be free of the slavemaster mentality of judges like Bowie and Levin and the police tactics they condone and encourage — from public threats and bullying to "death squad" vigilantism and terrorism — then the struggle to free Terrence Johnson must continue and must succeed.

\* \* \*

Brint Dillingham is an investigator who worked on the Terrence Johnson case.



You can help in the struggle to free Terrence Johnson by writing him letters of support. Terrence Johnson, Box 700, Jessup, MD; and by sending badly needed contributions to the Terrence Johnson Defense Fund at P.O. Box 916, College Park, MD 20740.

## Fancy Footwork, but No Justice For Fermin Montoya

By Murv Glass

Despite community commissions, City Council investigative committees, and the grandstanding resignation of the local police chief, there has still been no substantive probe into the shooting death of a Santa Barbara resident which community leaders charge was a senseless act of police brutality, and due to its continual efforts to press for a full probe into the shooting, one community group is now being sued for \$1 million by a member of the Santa Barbara Police Department.

Fermin Montoya, age 26, was killed on December 9, 1978 after he had called the police to report a disturbance outside his house that had developed after he encountered two antagonists at a local bar. Ex-Viet Nam veteran Daniel Sullivan shot Montoya, who had armed himself with his .22 caliber rifle to chase off the intruders, after police claimed he fired at them first, and ignored their warnings to drop his rifle.

Sullivan, in answering the Montoya call for help, arrived in his patrol car, parked about a block from the Montoya residence, and switched off the lights. It was at this time that Montoya emerged from his house to look for the two antagonists who had taken off — unaware that the police had just arrived. Sullivan, meanwhile, had taken his pump-action shotgun and walked cautiously down the street, which was extremely dark, due to very poor lighting. Sullivan could barely see Montoya; he was "only a silhouette" in the darkened street, so he took refuge behind a tree. A motorcycle back up cop, Michael Durham, arrived at about the same time and hid behind a parked car with his drawn revolver. A split second later, shots rang out, and Montoya was dropped to the ground by three blasts from the shotgun.

The police showing up in such an unannounced fashion, as well as who fired first, are the basis for the dispute. The police claim they found several expended .22 cartridges near Montoya's body, but only one of these was supposedly traced to his rifle. Nineteen pellets were removed from Montoya's body at the hospital, where strangely enough, police — not doctors — removed the pellets. And although Montoya was pronounced "dead on arrival" at the hospital, police refused to allow members of the family claim the body for burial for five days.

### Community Reaction

Montoya's death touched off a wave of protest in the Chicano community, which was angered not only by the killing itself, but by the disrespectful manner in which the Montoya family was treated by the police. (The family and a group of relatives who were at the residence to celebrate a birthday were rounded up by the police and threateningly interrogated; police also ate some of the birthday cake and doused their cigarettes in the soft drinks, while refusing requests by members of the family to call the hospital to inquire about Fermin.)

A subsequent coroner's inquest by an all-Anglo jury, which returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide in self defense," was rejected by El Concilio de la Raza, a local community group, partly because a tire that was reported to have contained bullets lodged there during the shooting was never admitted as evidence, and because the Coroner was not cross-examined by the attorney who supposedly represented the family. At one point in the proceedings (which the District Attorney recently admitted lacked any real rules or clarity due to the infrequent nature of inquests in Santa Barbara), many witnesses present to testify on behalf of Montoya were not going to be allowed to testify because they had been present to hear other people's testimony. However, after some wrangling on this issue, the witnesses did testify.

Since then, El Concilio has continued to fight to get a thorough and meaningful investigation of Montoya's shooting, and to monitor and investigate incidents of police brutality.

### The Police Fight Back

Raising the Montoya shooting issue at every turn, and leaf-letting the community on a continual basis on this shooting, El Concilio has now become the subject of a unique attack by the Santa Barbara Police Department. In mid-October, 1979 a \$1 million lawsuit was filed by the cop who shot Montoya, Daniel Sullivan. With the financial backing of his police union, Sullivan is alleging "slander," accusing El Concilio and the Justice for the Montoya Family Committee of characterizing the killing as a "murder" and a "cold blooded ambush."



graphic by Ed Stern

Sullivan states in his suit that he has been "cleared" of any wrongdoing, citing the verdict of the coroner's inquest. As a result of El Concilio's accusations and refusal to accept the verdict of the inquest, Sullivan claims that he has "suffered loss of his reputation, shame, mortification and hurt feelings."

Reaction to the filing of the suit was swift. Concilio President and attorney Lorenzo Campbell told the media at a press conference that "we will keep speaking out" and characterized the suit as the latest in a series of political grandstanding acts by the SBPD.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Legal Defense Center have jumped to the defense of Concilio, and called the suit "reprehensible — intended to chill the voices of the people," citing the First Amendment Constitutional issue involved. The ACLU also states that the only judicial determination the suit warrants is "dismissal."

El Concilio has questioned how Sullivan was "damaged" by their statements, pointing out that Sullivan was promoted to a detective after he killed Montoya. The SBPD refused to suspend Sullivan for the shooting, and as a contrast, the Justice for the Montoya Family points out that an investigator for the D.A.'s office was suspended two years ago for shooting a dog.

Another reason the groups feel the killing might not have been justified is Police Chief Al Trembly's complete refusal to cooperate with an investigation the District Attorney attempted to conduct into the killing. Many feel this suggests a cover-up. El Concilio members point to similarities between the Montoya incident and a Milwaukee, Wisconsin case where two police recently confessed that one of them shot a Black youth in the back, then planted a knife on the youth, and claimed "self defense." The officer was "cleared" of the shooting, committed 21 years ago, by a coroner's inquest. He recently pleaded guilty to homicide by reckless conduct and to perjury.

The filing of the slander suit against El Concilio on the heels of a very heated summer, came when the SBPD was under intense scrutiny and pressure from El Concilio and three other community groups not only for their behavior during Santa Barbara's annual Fiesta celebration, held the first week of August 1979. A celebration of Santa Barbara's Spanish heritage, Fiesta attracts tourists from all over the state. This year,

over 130 people were arrested, most Chicanos, for charges such as disturbing the peace, being drunk in public, and assault.

There were widespread charges that the police used excessive force and outright brutality during the Fiesta. This prompted El Concilio, along with the Community Police Review Board (created by El Concilio in June as an outgrowth of the Montoya shooting), to go to the City Council to demand a citizens investigation of the brutality, and police practices in general, and the suspension of Police Chief Trembly.

### A Surprise Move

Incredibly, the Council voted unanimously to set up such an investigation, but before it could act on the demand on suspension of Trembly, he abruptly resigned, blaming the Council's investigative committee, complaining it would "destroy" the police department. Trembly's resignation touched off a violent reaction by the conservative daily press, the *News-Press*, and other right wing forces in the city. The reaction came in the form of scores of letters to the paper severely criticizing the City Council, as well as intense lobbying and pressure to get them to the "minorities" of the committee. This reaction caused the City Council to totally backtrack the following week, taking away all investigative powers of its new committee. The Council also declared the Fiesta incidents and the Montoya shooting off limits to the committee, as the City Attorney advised the Council that due to pending litigation (Fiesta arrests) and the supposed possibility of litigation (Montoya shooting), no action should be taken on related incidents. This caused all four community groups to decide to boycott the City Council committee. El Concilio called the committee "phony" and charged it with being a "public relations arm" of the SBPD.

Regarding Trembly's resignation, El Concilio smells a rat, noting the Police Chief had already announced in August that he was going to retire in January, 1980. El Concilio charges that Trembly decided to announce his resignation early to use as a political ploy to pressure the Council into scrapping the investigative committee (which in effect, it did). It should be noted that Trembly was a candidate for the City Council in March of 1979, but was resoundly defeated. As such, several of the present Council members are his political foes.

The community groups decided to demand a citizen investigation into the incidents because they lacked faith in the official city committee, the Police and Fire Commission. This Commission is simply a go-between for complaints by the public against the police, as it refers them to the SBPD to investigate them. The Commission has no investigative power of its own, and is not known for its swift response. For example, the body has yet to investigate the 1976 Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) 6:00 a.m. riot between strike supporters and the SBPD which resulted in 32 arrests and several injuries. An inquiry by the Community Police Review Board to the Commission elicited the reply by the latter that it cannot investigate matters where legal proceedings are pending (which is the reason at least two Concilio members feel Sullivan filed his lawsuit).

This limitation on the Commission is contrasted with the Los Angeles Police Commission, which recently finished its investigation of the Eulia Love killing as part of a four part report it will eventually issue on police shootings. The filing of a wrongful death lawsuit in August by survivors of Mrs. Love did not stop the L.A. Commission from conducting its investigation. Indeed, something is wrong with a structure that gives the people being accused the incentive to stay in court and file lawsuits of their own to keep their conduct from being inves-



graphic by Ed Stein

tigated. But as mentioned previously, the Police and Fire Commission has no real investigative power, so what it could actually look into once an incident is through in court is highly suspect.

### Issues Not Resolved

Activity is likely to continue on a large scale in the Santa Barbara community for a number of reasons. First, there is the \$1 million suit, which, if dismissed by the courts, will then subject Sullivan, the police union which is backing him, and his attorneys to a counter suit for abuse of process, according to attorney Willard Hastings.

Then there is the issue of a new police chief. Concilio and the Police Review Board have requested a role in the process, but were told by one City Councilor that "if we let one group do it, all groups will want input." In the meantime, the Council, supposedly concerned about selecting a new chief in tune to the concerns of minorities, had chosen the retired Police Chief of an Orange County city to head the department until a permanent replacement is found.

Additionally, the Police Review Board recently announced that it has had a sharp increase in brutality/harassment complaints presented to it over the past few months.

Many Concilio members welcome Sullivan's \$1 million suit, viewing it as a chance to thoroughly investigate the circumstances surrounding Montoya's shooting. Already, an interesting fact has been discovered; the only living witness to the shooting besides Sullivan, motorcycle cop Mike Durham, quietly left the police department and moved to the Fresno, California, area. He has been located and has been subpoenaed to give a deposition. Vigorous discovery is now planned by Concilio's six defense attorneys, as they intend to show the SBPD that filing lawsuits to stop public criticism of police killings can backfire on the police.

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Murv Glass is on the Board of the Legal Defense Center in Santa Barbara.

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# Police Terror: An Example And A Context

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By Patti Hirtoa

In Miami, nine white cops brutally beat a Black businessman to death; the cops are acquitted by an all-white jury, sparking a rebellion by angry Blacks in that city. In Detroit, police are being sued for using cattle prods on suspects. In Oceanside, California, the police stand by while the Ku Klux Klan marches in full riot gear without a permit, and then brutally attacks local residents with clubs, chains and dogs. In response to these and many, many other incidents of police terror, cries of protest are being heard around the country.

People across the U.S. are organizing to demand an end to police terror. But in this struggle, many people are confused about what should be done and what role the police have historically played in our society. In Oakland, California, a wave of police killings has prompted numerous citizens to call for restraints against police brutality, but different solutions being offered reflect different political perspectives. This article will

examine the case of Oakland, California, specifically the police shooting of Charles Briscoe; but it will also delve into the causes — economic, societal, and historic — of police terror, from which we can learn the proper solutions.

### Oakland Police Spark Protests

In Oakland, California today, complaints of excessive police force are higher than in the late 1960's, when the Black Panther Party was organizing for self-defense against police attacks on the Black community. These new attacks resulted in four unwarranted shooting deaths in 1979:

- March 17: Melvin Black, a 15-year-old Black youth was shot in the back 13 times by three officers, two of whom were in plainclothes. Black was shot while fleeing unarmed. He did not

even match the police description of the sniper they allegedly were pursuing. City inspector Burr found no evidence to support the conclusion that Melvin Black was or was not a reported sniper. His report merely charged the police with using faulty judgment. U.S. Attorney Hunter's federal grand jury report found "no evidence" to prosecute the police.

• Charles Briscoe, a 37-year-old International Association of Machinists (IAM) steward at the Naval Airwork Facility, was shot by police ten times at a range of 15 feet — four times with double-odd buckshot and six times with a .357 magnum. Police came to the scene in response to a call that three shots had been fired outside an Oakland restaurant, and that a man was lying on the ground. According to one police report, an Officer Robert Fredericks arrived at the scene, and asked Briscoe, who was getting into his van to hold it, Briscoe took off. Fredericks followed on a high speed chase. Briscoe pulled into a closed gas station, and got out of the van, and aimed a rifle at Fredericks. Fredericks fired 4 shots from his 12-gauge shotgun at Briscoe, Briscoe, apparently *not wounded*, ran into the van and reached under the seat. Fredericks then fired 6 shots from his revolver, a .357 magnum. Briscoe's rifle never fired.

The coroner's report said that both of Briscoe's legs had been broken by the shotgun blasts, making it highly questionable that he could run to his van. No reports by the police, district attorney or U.S. Attorney have been released. According to the local newspaper, Robert Fredericks, the police officer implicated in the Briscoe shooting, has been involved in six shootings, four resulting in death. One of the victims was young Black Panther Bobby Hutton, who was killed in 1968. Fredericks has never been prosecuted.

• November 18: Talmadge Curtis, a twenty-one-year-old Black man was killed by Officer Tomek, who was one of two plain-clothes policemen involved in the Melvin Black shooting. Curtis was shot in the head as he was fleeing unarmed from a stalled car. Police claimed Curtis was in a car that seemed to match the police description of a car connected to a store robbery. Roberts, Curtis's friend, was booked for Curtis's murder, under a California state law that says if one is involved in a felony which results in murder, he can be charged whether he did or not.

• December 21: Francis John, a Black male, was stopped for double parking in East Oakland. Police claimed John engaged in hand combat with police and the police revolver "went off" twice — in John's chest.

In early January 1980, another Black man was shot and killed by Oakland police after a quarrel with his wife. This is the fifth controversial killing of a Black male in the last 10 months. Still the city has taken no action. Reports, special investigations have led nowhere. Not a single policeman has been put in jail or even suspected for these killings.

### Response to Police Shootings

After Melvin Black's death, the Oakland City Council set up a special task force on citizen complaints. The task force did not take any real action. After Briscoe's death, workers and friends packed City Hall twice to demand a special investigation and the release of police reports. In response to this pressure, the City Council activated the Task Force on Citizen Complaints, which eventually proposed a five-member police review board limited strictly to fact-finding. The purpose of the review board was to bring the community and the police closer together. The NAACP originally pressed for a police review board with powers to review police policy and make recommendations. They have since compromised and supported the more limited fact-finding body, but with an enlarged membership.

Various political trends have begun to emerge: the city government, the police and law and order groups, reformists

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Solutions for legislative changes only are therefore no solutions.

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such as the NAACP, and the newer anti-fascist organizations such as the Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice. Each differs on what the exact problem is and how to deal with it.

The City Council and the Mayor are primarily concerned with serving the interests of big business, like the Port of Oakland, the Raiders Football team, and real estate investors. To maintain a relatively stable community, the city has assumed the guise of mediator — giving in to the *most limited* of demands around police review in hopes of pacifying citizen anger and preventing an explosive situation. They have not acted in any way to restrict the powers of the police or to prosecute them, and it is not likely that they will. The police that kill and the city government that covers up those killings both serve those in power.

The Police Department (OPD) and local law and order groups are calling for greater power and autonomy for the police. The OPD and the press claim that police hands are being tied by the anti-police climate. The Oakland Police Officers Association held a 450-person march to City Hall protesting the Mayor's "anti-police" stand, and community demands for a police review board. They called for an investigation of all organizations advocating a police review board.

Many groups, including the IAM 739, the NAACP, OCCUR



photo by Nick Allen

(Oakland Citizens on Urban Renewal), and Black ministers pressed for a police review board. From their perspective, the review board would restore *confidence* in the police and encourage greater *cooperation* between police and the community. Traditional leaders of the Black community, largely professionals, small businessmen and clergy leaders, are urging a *strong* mayor form of city government, rather than a non-elected city manager form. The mayor is now Black; the city manager is white. An increase in power for the mayor will "go a long way towards answering some of our problems," they argue. They see the problem as being one solely of race, rather than one of class and national oppression. They also think that Black police would help solve the problem. This denies the fact that the basic role of the police, whatever nationality, is repression. It poses the problem as being one of *individual* cops, instead of the function of the police as a whole. In fact, the last nine shootings of Blacks in Oakland were done by white, Black, Asian, and Latino police officers.

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The police that kill and the city government that covers up those killings both serve those in power.

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These solutions for legislative change only, are therefore no solutions. They simply channel our anger into reforms. They foster the illusions that the current economic system can indeed serve all classes, all the people — we just need better people in those positions. History reaffirms that legislative change benefits a small handful, while the majority are left in the same basic condition. What's more, Police Review Boards have been around for over 25 years but they generally have not worked because they have been emasculated of their power (and potential power), or had their funding cut after they showed they could have some impact.

### The Why and the Wherefore

It will be impossible for community groups to develop effective plans for protecting against police brutality without an understanding of why police terror is once again on the rise, and the historical role played by the police in our economic system.

Police violence of the sort currently being experienced throughout the country is caused by the periodic economic crisis of the system we call capitalism, which is once again hitting the U.S. working class very hard. The poverty programs and federal aid of the early 1970s, which acted as a partial buffer to the recession of 1973-74, are being cut back, putting the burden of the faltering economy on the backs of the working class, especially the national minorities. Proposition 13, the Bakke decision, anti-school busing laws, cuts in unemployment insurance are a few examples. Runaway inflation, wage cuts, loss of cost of living allowance clauses, massive layoffs in the auto and steel industries, all mean greater hardship for the working people of this country.

Already an economically depressed area, Oakland, particularly feels the crunch from loss of industry and jobs. East



Oakland has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country (next to Harlem), rents have risen 50% in the last seven years, and whites have been fleeing to the suburbs, leaving Oakland with a 54% national minority (largely Black) population.

Anger, discontent and frustration have grown. To protect the class rule of the bourgeoisie, the state must use increased force and intimidation to squash attempts to organize and prevent organized resistance against the police, when the community is attacked. The repressive apparatus of the state as a whole, in particular the police and para-military fascist organizations such as the KKK, is being strengthened and directed at Black and other national minorities. It is precisely to maintain this particular oppression, and to keep the working class *divided* and under *control*, that the ruling class utilizes the police. They are used to help maintain the system of capitalist exploitation. In the name of controlling crime, they attack the victims of the system of inequality that produces poverty and crime. This is no recent development.

### History of U.S. Police

Some of the earliest organized police forces with wide jurisdiction were the southern slave patrols in the 1700's. Their job was to catch runaway slaves and to prevent and suppress slave insurrections. Although poor whites were sometimes used by the plantation owners in the patrols, they were also terrorized by these early police when they challenged the rulers of this slave society.

In the North and West, settlers in isolated farming communities often armed and organized themselves into their own militias. But the growth of the police as an organized, large-scale force, a standing capitalist army, paralleled the development of large-scale industry. As large-scale capitalist industry drew in the U.S., so too did the proletariat as an organized class. The capitalist owners of the large factories directly initiated and controlled the modern-day police force, which today numbers tens of thousands in a single city.

The growth of resistance by the working class to capitalist exploitation and the efforts to unionize were met by the capitalists' efforts to bust unions, pit worker against worker, white against Black, immigrant against third and fourth generation worker. The strikes and demonstrations of the workers in this period were met by some of the most brutal repression the world had seen to that date. The beatings and murders, strike-breaking and assassinations were carried out by the police, or

ganized as bands of thugs, or in agencies like Pinkerton's.

The police were directed in their day to day activities by the capitalists. Businessmen were appointed as Police Commissioners or Superintendents. Anything that threatened private property rights and the state rule of the capitalists was defined as "criminal." Thus all strikes, demonstrations, meetings or protests by workers were illegal and subject to attack. Early American labor history is filled with examples of meetings disrupted, labor leaders arrested, picket lines fired upon, workers beaten, strikers' wives and children murdered by the police.

The police also served to enforce national oppression. In the South, municipal police replaced the roving slave patrols in the job of suppressing Blacks and poor white workers and farmers. In the Southwest, the infamous Texas Rangers was organized to steal land and property from Mexicans and Native Indians, and to hand it over to the new Anglo capitalist landlords. Their rule was "Shoot first, ask questions later," and to this day the rule hasn't changed.

History has shown that the police have never been around to "serve and protect" the working class. They have protected and served the capitalist class by suppressing the organization and revolutionary struggles of the working class and national minorities.

As capitalism has developed in the U.S., the police have also developed. Though some of its forms have changed, the function it serves remains the same.

### The New Image

Today, the police are part of an immense state repressive intelligence network still aimed at suppressing the working masses. These repressive agencies include the CIA, FBI, National Guard, local "Red Squads" and state troopers, all the way to local police departments. The incredible gathering of informa-

tion on tens of thousands of citizens by these agencies is only one aspect of their repressive activities. This vast intelligence network has been involved in everything from political assassination of people like Fred Hampton to the routine infiltration and disruption of every progressive political movement in the country.

With the rise of popular outrage over the magnitude and character of activity of these agencies, sparked especially by the disruption of the Civil Rights and anti-war movements and the murder of various political leaders in the Black revolutionary movement, the idea of "community relations" developed. This new approach stressed the need for the police to develop "ties" with the community. Policemen were put back on the beat, and departments were expected to maintain "friendly relations" with their communities. By using terms like "ties, interaction and community relations," the police seek to hide their real role as a repressive agency of the capitalist class. They seek to pose as neutral in the class struggle.

Many citizen review boards or complaint boards were set up in the last fifteen years. They are based on the concept of increasing public confidence in the police. Although the police departments put up a fight against these boards, they also realize that they can be useful, even necessary, in terms of maintaining order and hiding the fact that police killings and repression continue. These boards try to present the state as a mediator of conflict between classes, rather than as an instrument of the ruling capitalist class.

The police "review" boards, "community relations," special use of women or national minority police are programs aimed at making the problem appear to be a few "bad cops," a few crazy individuals.

In reality, these are tactics to pacify the masses, to make the police more acceptable, to promote the view that police are neu-



Police protecting Nazis in a Chicago demonstration clash with anti-Nazi demonstrators.

— photo by Chip Berlet

tral, that they "serve and protect" all classes of society. These are tactics designed to maintain the practices of police terror and murder against working and oppressed people in the U.S.

Any attempts to combat police brutality and wrongful shootings must take these realities into account or they are doomed to failure.

### One Effort

Groups such as the Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice (CBCJ) formed in Oakland in September, 1979 are beginning to organize resistance to the growing police terror. The CBCJ is an organization of working people of all nationalities which has marched, picketed, leafleted and fundraised to demand that police who murder must be brought to trial and jailed. They demand an end to police terror. While they support genuine legislative reforms, they see the main push must be for organizing and relying on the masses, not on government institutions. To make civilian review of police meaningful, they have proposed a police disciplinary board (an elected body to discipline police officers and recommend civil or criminal charges).



Sign at Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice rally reads: "9 Black Men Dead. Cops Go Free. That's What The Rich Call Democracy."

The CBCJ has also initiated a petition campaign demanding that the governor and attorney general of California pressure to bring officer Fredericks to trial. They have targeted Briscoe's death as part of the overall rise in police and fascist terror. The committee describes itself as follows:

"The goals of the CBCJ originally were to get policeman Fredericks off of the police force, to bring Fredericks to trial for murder, to get an independent investigation of the killing, and to get masses of people behind these demands.

"CBCJ members and other workers at Briscoe's workplace, the National Air Rework Facility, and also various community people began to attend Oakland City Council meetings to have their demands complied with. The City Council ignored these demands, and procrastinated in doing anything to get justice for Briscoe or stop repression in the community. After four months no official reports have been released!

"On November 3, 1979 CBCJ held a rally and march in downtown Oakland to demand an end to police terror in the community. Numerous speakers talked of the need to get a speedy trial for Fredericks, to release the police reports on the killing and to stop police terror in the community. Since that



Speakers at Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice rally wait their turn to present their grievances and make statements. — photos from UNITE!

time, 3 more Blacks have been killed by the Oakland police. One was Talmadge Curtis, another Francis John, and the other was James Bell. Curtis and Bell were both shot down in cold blood. None of these men were criminals, but were working people with families. This shows further that the police are not representing our interests. CBCJ feels that the police are here only to protect property and not to protect lives. It does not matter what nationality or race the police are. The police do not punish the real criminals. Since these further killings the CBCJ has taken the position that it wants to fight against fascist terror and police attacks on working people and minorities.

"On December 11, CBCJ held an informational picket in front of City Hall during the City Council meeting. It also puts out literature and demanded at the meeting that the murderers of Briscoe and Curtis be brought to swift trial, and to establish a civilian disciplinary board which had the power to fire and suspend officers from the force."

### The Solution?

In the immediate period, we must continue to demand an end to the vicious and brutal police killings and terror around the country. We must build organizations that fight police and fascist attacks against all working people and nationalities, and see this as part of the effort to build multinational unity in the struggle against our common enemies — the rich owners and those who protect them. We must raise the demand that police and fascists who commit crimes must be brought to trial, and tried by juries reflecting the multinational composition of the working class. It is only through the forging of such unity, and the understanding of the source of our problems that we will someday build a society where parents will not be afraid to let their children out on the streets alone, and where we will not have to keep wondering — who will be next?

Patty Hirota is active in the Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice and a representative of the Communist Party USA / Marxist Leninist (CPUSA/ML); San Francisco Bay Area District. For more information about the work of the Committee, and to send contributions, write c/o UNITE! newspaper, P.O. Box 6206, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

# Bayou Justice: The Murder Of Joe Campos Torres

by Glen Van Slyke

The murder of Joe Campos Torres focused national attention on the struggle of the Chicano people against police repression. As these events unfolded in Houston, a political struggle developed between two programs for ending police terror — one limited to reforms within the existing police and court apparatus, the other based on fundamental criticisms of the police function in a capitalist society. The issues in this struggle, and the concrete forms in which they arose, present important questions facing people in all communities fighting police brutality.

Police harassment is a frequent occurrence for the predominantly working class U.S. Hispanic population. In 1977, 71 per cent of Hispanics worked in blue-collar, restaurant, hospital and service jobs, and 21 per cent had incomes below the official poverty level. Although Houston boasts an "official" unemployment rate of only 4.8 per cent, the picture is different for minority youth (age 16 to 21), both for Chicanos (males — 13.5%, females — 20.9%) and Blacks (males — 30.5%, females — 37.6%). Many minority youth are forced to leave school and hit the streets looking for work, and meet with police harassment, arrest and jail at disproportionate rates.

Jose Campos Torres was no exception. At 23, he was an Army veteran with an eighth grade education, working odd jobs. He celebrated Cinco de Mayo 1977 (a national holiday for Mexican and Chicano people) over a few beers with friends at a barrio bar. When the bartender decided Joe had too much to drink, he called the police. Joe's friends last saw him alive when he was dragged away in handcuffs by two patrolmen.

Three days later, Joe's body was found floating in Buffalo Bayou. A rookie cop, unable to conceal the murder, confessed that he and five other cops stopped at a deserted parking lot on the way to the jail. There, Torres was beaten so severely the jailer suggested they take him to the county welfare hospital. Instead, they took him back to the parking lot, beat him again, and threw him off a 22-foot high embankment so one of them could "see if they wetback could swim."

The day after Joe was buried, 50 people, including Joe's mother, demonstrated at city hall demanding that the killers be jailed for murder. Immediately, the "respectable" leaders of various Chicano organizations worked to channel the anger into existing institutions. Leaders of the League of United

I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this . . .  
But brother Torres,  
common, ancient bloodline brother Torres,  
is dead.  
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.  
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more words down,  
about people kickin' us when we're down  
about racist dogs that attack us and  
drive us down, drag us down and beat us down.  
But the dogs are in the street!

— Gil Scott-Heron

Latin American Citizens (LULAC) called for a civilian review of the Torres case and "more enforcement of federal civil rights." LULAC's Houston district Director, Mamie Garcia, asked U.S. Attorney Griffin Bell for an FBI investigation, as did State Rep. Ben Reyes.

A delegation of "concerned citizens" including leaders of the Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO), met with the police chief to discuss "beefing up the police department's Community Relations Division," creating a civilian review board, and making the police "more aware of the Spanish language and culture." Margaret Torres, Joe's mother, was barred from this meeting as she led a demonstration outside demanding "Put Torres' Murderers Behind Bars." One of the concerned citizens inside said, "I've never worked with a police chief so candid."

Demonstrators returned to city hall the next day, and later over 100 marched to the murder scene and threw a funeral wreath into the Bayou. Rep. Reyes met with the former president of the police officers association about a state legislature investigation, and the Mexican-American Bar Association asked the Mayor for a civilian review board to "re-establish respect between the community and the police." Finally, the police chief appointed LULAC's Mamie Garcia to head an advisory committee on "police officer sensitivity training so they will understand the Mexican-American culture." The chief acknowledged the importance of this committee in legitimizing police in minority communities, noting, "It is particularly valuable for the chief to have assistance from a group like LULAC."

## The Limit of Reforms: Two Views Emerge

Such reform proposals as civilian review boards, police sensitivity training, civil rights investigations and police community relations campaigns are all limited by the perspective of their proponents that police brutality results from "problems and conflicts within the police bureaucracy itself — not primarily as the result of the basic job the police are called on to do in a fundamentally oppressive society." This is the conclusion of radical criminal justice researchers in *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of the U.S. Police*. In contrast to



On the anniversary of the murder of Joe Campos Torres, there was a rebellion in Moody Park.

— photo from *Revolutionary Worker*

the "Iron Fist" side of the police (overtly repressive measures like S.W.A.T., etc.), the reforms represent the "Velvet Glove" approach: "new forms of community pacification and other attempts to 'sell' the police to the public." Despite their superficial differences, these researchers concluded, "both sides of the new police approach are strategies of repression... both of them serve to support the structure by making the system of repression that serves it more powerful or more palatable or both."

This conclusion flows from a fundamentally different analysis of the police as an institution of state power:

The Marxist analysis, developed most thoroughly by Lenin in *State and Revolution*, has seen the police in capitalist society as one part — along with the military and the penal system — of the apparatus of state force and violence, which directly serves the interests of the capitalist class. The capitalist state serves to facilitate the accumulation of capital in the hands of the ruling class... The police, however, serve as the front line mechanism of repression. As such, the central function of the police is to control the working class.

Frederick Engels described the origins of the police in the Athenian slave-owning state where, although the army suppressed slave revolts, "to keep the citizens in check as well, a police force was needed." Protected by "special decrees which invest them with a peculiar sanctity and inviolability," e.g., official immunity from criminal prosecution, "the lowest police officer of the civilized state has more 'authority' than all the organs of gentle [primitive classless] society put together." This protection is necessary because of the crucial role (in Lenin's view) of the police (along with the standing army as the "chief instruments of force of the state power."

Liberal reformers whom Lenin called "petty-bourgeois ideologists" see the possibility of reforming state institutions like the police to ameliorate or moderate class conflict, "to make it appear that the state is an organ for the reconciliation of classes... and not for the oppression of one class by another." This is opposed to Lenin's view of the "basic of idea of Marxism" that the "state is a product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class contradiction... an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another."

One month after the Torres murder, an organization was formed around the fundamental outlines of this class analysis of police terror. People United to Fight Police Brutality (PUFPB) and its spokesman, Travis Morales, condemned the police and the courts each as "a tool of the rich man's rule." PUFPB focused its agitation and organizing in the north side barrio around Moody Park, particularly in the dilapidated Irvington Village public housing project adjoining the park. Their slogan, "Joe Torres dead, cops go free — that's what the rich call democracy," rallied more as the investigation of the Torres murder dragged on.

Of the six cops present at the murder scene, only two stood trial in the Texas state courts. Both received a fine and a one year sentence (both probated) for negligent homicide, a charge most frequently used in auto collision deaths. The Chicago community leaders called for a federal prosecution by Houston's new Chicano U.S. Attorney, and they got it.

In federal court, three of the six cops were convicted of violating and conspiring to violate Torres' rights by beating him, and the "respectable" Chicano leaders celebrated. But six weeks later, the federal judge sentenced them to only a year in prison, concurrent with a five year probated sentence. LULAC's Mamie Garcia (now a salaried community relations assistant to the police chief) responded with "disappointment and frustration" at the light sentences. Hector Garcia of the Coalition for Responsible Law Enforcement admitted that "what was going on in the street made more sense in terms of what needed to be said." Rep. Reyes complained, "I'm in trouble in the streets, man. I told 'em, 'Don't burn a bunch of buildings, don't kill a bunch of people. We'll get some federal relief.'" The sentence, a PASO spokesman regretted, "made it impossible to convince people that there is equal justice after all. We told them we lost the first round but wait until the federal court is done. What the hell can we tell them now?"

Travis Morales, and PUFPB knew what to tell them: "We never expected much more than what we got out of the feds. There is no way to expect justice from those who don't care." The Houston chapter of the National Lawyers Guild later said the sentence revealed a "dual system of justice."

As anger flared in the barrios, the struggle between these op-

posing lines intensified. Three days after the sentence, LULAC, PASO, the American G.I. Forum, the mayor, U.S. Rep. Barbara Jordan and other politicians sponsored a city hall rally to demand more Chicano judges, strengthened state civil rights laws, and a state human rights commission. PUFPB marched to the rally with signs reading, "It's the whole damn system, not a couple of bad cops." Chanting, "We don't want high positions, we want justice now," they drew people away from the rally and marched to the police station. PUFPB followed up with car caravans and leafletting at the Cinco de Mayo celebration in Moody Park.

### The Rebellion and the Moody Park 3

On Sunday, May 7, 1978, the Cinco de Mayo gathering in Moody Park marked the first anniversary of the murder of Joe Torres. In the early evening, a shoving match broke out among some youths. When a police patrol car drove into the crowd to make arrests, people surrounded, overturned and burned it. Reinforcements with automatic weapons were called in, but the arriving police were driven out of the area by the street fighting, rocks, bottles and even barricades employed by the crowd, estimated to number up to 6,000. Windows in several patrol cars were broken, three cops and two videotape cameramen were hospitalized, and four stores were burned in the early stages of the rebellion. Later, a PUFPB banner reading "Justice for Joe Torres" appeared, and many gathered around it, chanting, "When the cops attack, the people fight back." Over 40 people were arrested in the rebellion, which resumed the following night.

Chicano organization leaders and politicians wasted no time in deflecting the blame away from the police and the Joe Torres case. Rep. Reyes accused Travis Morales and PUFPB of "inciting the kids and boozed-up people in the park." Other Chicano organization leaders held an appreciation ceremony for the police chief at a local church and asked for "better police protection." The mayor ordered more lights and security guards for Moody Park and the Irvington Village apartments.

Travis Morales and PUFPB defended the rebellion, saying the police "received a small dose of justice they deserve." There was a surge of activity in the community and various leftist organizations, including the Revolutionary Communist Party, around the trials of those arrested in the rebellion. But one trial came to be a continuing focus for anger over police brutality and the murder of Joe Torres. On Friday, May 12, Morales was arrested at a PUFPB press conference. Morales, Mara Youngdahl and Tom Hirschi, also PUFPB members, were charged with felony riot (maximum penalty — 20 years) and held on \$500,000 bond. They became known as the Moody Park 3.

The political motivation of the charges, the first ever brought under the 1973 Texas riot statute, was apparent. All three admitted support for the Revolutionary Communist Party, which often marched with PUFPB. They were not charged with any specific crime, only being in a group of "more than six persons" where nine acts of arson, assault and criminal mischief were committed (four of them by unidentified persons). A Texas legal commentator has called the law "a shocking extension of vicarious liability." Mara Youngdahl explained the purpose of the prosecution this way: "Our trial is a trial of the rebellion. We are to be an example of what happens if you dare to challenge the right of the slavemaster to enslave."



Support for the defense campaign, under the main slogan, "Defend the Houston Rebellion," was enlisted through newsletters, rallies, a national speaking tour by the defendants, newspaper advertisements, and network of Committees to Defend the Houston Rebellion around the country. A resolution of the National Lawyers Guild called for dropping the charges against all arrested in the rebellion. As the January trial date approached, many stores around Moody Park displayed "Free the Moody Park 3" posters in their windows. After a march of over 300 two days before the scheduled trial date, the trial was postponed, then postponed three more times after other rallies. By the time the trial began in late April 1979, Travis Morales had been arrested seven more times on various charges, and accumulated additional bonds of \$80,000.

The prosecution witnesses proved to be a string of undercover red squad officers who admitted following Morales since the week after Joe Torres was murdered. One agent, Rachel Navarro, had even set up a telephone "hot line" called Chicano Citizens in Action (CCIA) to monitor calls from police brutality victims. The prosecution witnesses painted a picture of the defendants encouraging the burning and looting of stores, but one eyewitness testified that Youngdahl used a bullhorn "to tell people to get away from the store," and another testified that she had physically restrained him from entering a store.

Although the prosecutors had denied all along that this was a political trial, they dropped this pretense with the first cross-examination question to the defendants: "You don't like this form of government in the United States, do you?" When the prosecutor challenged PUFPB's advocacy of force to resist and eliminate oppression, Tom Hirschi responded, "It's always



happened by force. That's where history is headed. You can't start it and you can't stop it." The prosecutor asked Mara Youngdahl if her description of the rebellion as a victory for the people referred to the burned out stores. "No, that is not the great victory," she replied. "It is that the people stood up." Travis Morales explained why, two days before his arrest, he had told the city council May 7 was "a glorious day for the people." The capitalists and their cops got a taste of what they deserved. After years of brutality, the Joe Torres murder crystallized into all those things.

The political message of the trial was aptly summarized in the prosecution's arguments to the jury. Prosecutor Andy Tobias labelled the defendants and their ideas "dangerous and a disease." His partner, Tommy Boyce, described the role of the Moody Park 3 by an analogy he claimed he learned as a "country boy" in East Texas. Comparing the three to the head of a rattlesnake and their supporters to the snake's body, he advised the jurors there was only one way to kill a snake: "Sever the head from the body."

Since all three defendants admitted being present in the park, they were technically guilty under the terms of the riot law. After ten hours of deliberation, the jury convicted them, and later sentenced Morales and Youngdahl to five years on felony probation and heavy fines (\$5,000 and \$4,000 respectively) and Hirschi to a \$1,000 fine. One juror explained that the sentence was "basically a compromise" because some who favored acquittal agreed to vote for conviction, but demanded probation. Another juror admitted that some police witnesses "just told blatant lies."

Given the history of harassment and arrests of PUFPB members, it is clear that Morales and Youngdahl could never complete five years of a probated sentence without arrest, probation revocation, and incarceration in a Texas prison for five years. All three have appealed the convictions, but the trial court has denied their request to waive appeal costs they are unable to pay. Unpaid trial expenses already exceed \$50,000, including \$12,000 for the court reporter's trial transcript needed for the appeal.

Other principals in the story have fared better. The three killers of Joe Torres are off the streets — relaxing at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama, the former home of John Mitchell and Charles Colson. Their one year federal sentence may be served in 7 to 8 months, while they enjoy color television, art classes, tennis, miniature golf, volleyball and weekend passes.

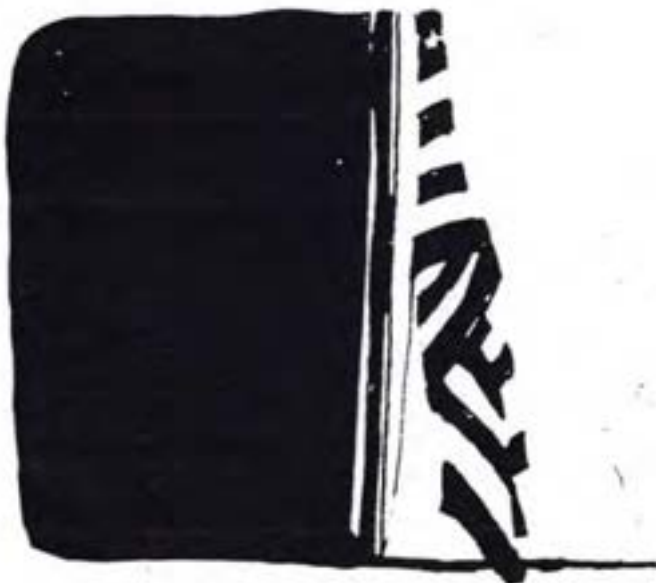
Former LULAC director Mamie Garcia, still a community relations aide to the police chief, serves as the secretary of a grand jury which just cleared two Houston patrolmen who gunned down Reggie Lee Jackson, a 26 year old Black man, after they stopped him for speeding. Former Rep. Ben Reyes, now a Houston City Council member, praised the grand jury decision and the Houston police department. "I applaud your efforts. We know we've got some rotten apples. But a lot of officers are trying to do a good job."

The transformation of these politicians from police reformers to police functionaries and apologists has not gone unnoticed among Chicanos in Houston. During the trial of the Moody Park 3, one 50 year old Chicana from the north side barrio told a reporter why she came to Moody Park on Cinco de Mayo 1979 to celebrate the anniversary of the rebellion. "I'm here to support Travis Morales. Many of the Mexicans have lied about what happened last year." Out of the thousands in Moody Park on May 7, 1978, how many more believe the problem is not just "some rotten apples"? The development of the struggle against continuing police repression will tell.

\* \* \*

Glen Van Slyke, a Houston attorney, is a member of the National Lawyers Guild. He worked on the investigation and trial preparation of the Moody Park 3 case.

Contributions for legal expenses for the appeal can be sent to the Moody Park Defense Fund at P.O. Box 18112, Houston, Texas 77023.



## The Pontiac Prison Rebellion:

# Cruel And Usual Punishment

by Robert Long

On July 22, 1978, at about 9:45 a.m., a spontaneous rebellion against intolerable prison conditions erupted at Pontiac State Correctional Center in Pontiac, Illinois. Inmates seized the North Cell House, where temperatures had reached 110 degrees. They were joined by inmates from the South Cell House who had been watching a movie. At the height of the uprising about 1,100 prisoners were in the yard. 74 guards were on duty in the entire prison. Of the five guards in the North Cell House, three were killed and the other two injured.

Property damage was estimated at \$4 million. The Commissary, the store where prisoners purchased food, cigarettes and personal items (at constantly rising prices) was burned to the ground. The chapel was also burned, as was the laundry, which for six months prior to the rebellion had been cleaning only the guards' clothes. This forced prisoners to wash their clothes in their toilets, which many do to this day.

Five hundred heavily armed state troopers in riot gear retook the prison with abusive force. Although they met no resistance, prisoners were badly beaten.

Thirty-one prisoners were indicted by a Grand Jury on criminal charges. Seventeen of these men, all Black, are charged with the murder of all three of the white guards. Each faces execution in the electric chair if convicted. Fourteen others, 11 Black and three Latino, face what amounts to life in prison on a variety of other charges. The 31 indicted men are known as the Pontiac Brothers.

Pontiac Prison was built over 100 years ago — in 1871 — to house 600 men. Today the state of Illinois claims its capacity is 1,250. On the day of the rebellion more than 2,000 men were held there, housed two to a cell in cells which measure 5½' x 9', smaller than a V.W. Beetle.

Eighty-eight percent of these men were Black, most of them from Chicago. The prison — like all Illinois prisons — is located in a rural area, nearly 100 miles from Chicago. The area is 98% white, and the prison guards are nearly all white and have no experience with urban Black and other national and ethnic minorities.

Living conditions for Illinois prisoners are so intolerable that the U.S. Department of Justice alleged in a suit against the Illinois prison system that the lack of safety, sanitation and medical care amounted to a denial of the prisoners' civil rights. The U.S. Department of Justice described conditions as "cruel and unusual punishment" and charged Illinois prisons with "systematically discriminating against blacks."

Most prisoners charge that racism was the major factor in the rebellion. Overcrowding; problems with food, medical care and basic needs (like adequate heat in winter); lack of work or job training; and lack of recreation were also factors. But the new Class X law drafted by Governor James Thompson was the last straw.

Jim Thompson rose to political prominence as a prosecutor under Nixon and was elected Governor of Illinois on a "law and order" platform. The crowning achievement of his get-tough policy is the Class X law which greatly increased the length of sentences and the arbitrary powers guards have over prisoners. "Class X abolished the parole board and allowed the white rural guard to decide if a Black urban prisoner is doing "good time" or should be written up in a disciplinary report.

The rebellion was no surprise to state officials. Charles Rowe, director of the Illinois Department of Corrections, stated that the rebellion "came a year later than most of us anticipated. You can only crowd so many people into a warehouse for so long before something happens." The rebellion was "a spontaneous anti-authoritarian move." Illinois Governor James Thompson agreed, blaming "chronic" overcrowding of inmates and shortages of guards for the rebellions.

## Increasing Repression

After the rebellions, however, the State chose not to improve the conditions but, rather, to increase the repression. Governor Thompson took over Pontiac Prison from the Department of Corrections and placed it in the hands of the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement (IDLE), which is directly accountable to the governor. IDLE was given responsibility for both running Pontiac Prison and conducting an investigation to prepare cases against prisoners involved in the July 22 rebellion.

During the investigation, which lasted for eight months, the prison was placed in "deadlock." Prisoners were kept locked in their cells 24 hours a day. They were deprived of family visits, phone calls, showers, clean clothing, fresh bedding, medical care, toilet articles, soap, cigarettes, exercise, access to the law library, schooling, work and worship. They were fed in their cells on paper plates which were folded and passed through rusty bars. Food which fell from the plates was left to rot on the floors, creating a stench and attracting vermin. IDLE investigators conducted over 1500 "interviews" of prisoners; yet not a single attorney was provided or present. These examples (submitted as a sworn statement) were the kinds of "questions" asked during these interrogations:

- We're going to fry you in the electric chair by June.
- We'll guarantee you will make parole if you say \_\_\_\_\_ beat Officer \_\_\_\_\_. Don't you want to get \_\_\_\_\_?
- Do you appreciate guys like him running the prison?
- We will help you if you will just testify that \_\_\_\_\_ is the leader of \_\_\_\_\_, and that he gave the orders.

Under these conditions state investigators sought to obtain statements from prisoners implicating other prisoners in the

rebellion. Those who gave statements were transferred out of Pontiac to minimum security institutions, offered "help" with parole and given other privileges. Not surprisingly, almost all of the prisoners who agreed to testify for the state have been paroled. The state has admitted to relocating witnesses, which means testimony has been bought with new identities, homes, social security numbers, etc.

To absolve himself and his administration from their responsibility for the inhuman conditions that provoked the Pontiac rebellion, Governor Thompson changed his official position. The rebellion was not a "spontaneous" act due to "overcrowding" and "understaffing," as he had claimed earlier. Rather, the rebellion was caused by Black "gangs" which "run the prisons." The "gangs" provided Thompson a convenient and politically profitable scapegoat. Behind this strategy is a conspiracy at the highest levels of state government — directed by Thompson himself. It is preparing to frame 31 Black men — 17 on death penalty charges — and to obtain quick convictions by any means at the state's disposal.

### The Trials

Trials for the 14 men charged with non-capital cases are set for Peoria and McLean Counties, 170 and 130 miles respectively from Chicago. These are predominately rural counties; McLean County is 96% white and immediately adjacent to the county in which Pontiac prison is located. Publicity prejudicial to the defendants has had wide circulation in both counties. McClean County, where most of the 14's cases are being held, had much publicity with an anti-Black, anti-prisoner perspective. A survey conducted in McLean County showed that 98% of the people who had formed an opinion thought that the Pontiac Brothers were guilty.

Some of the judges hearing the cases ignored this fact. These same judges also refused to pay attorneys working on these cases, in spite of the fact that through the efforts of the Black Caucus, the state legislature appropriated funds for the defense.

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*Only one country has a higher imprisonment rate per 100,000 population — apartheid South Africa.*

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Most of the cases downstate have been tried; one trial remains, and will take place in September. Of the trials already completed, four of the Brothers were totally acquitted, exposing the state's effort to frame them. Three others were convicted of lesser charges from an all-white jury who returned compromise verdicts. Four of the men were convicted as charged, also by all-white juries.

The State used all its resources to make sure these cases would be held downstate. There were several reasons for this. First, the State wanted to make sure to spread out the defense and support groups, putting them at a disadvantage insofar as finances and people-power are concerned. Secondly, by splitting up the Brothers into capital and non-capital cases, to be tried in three different locations, the State tried to create divisions among the men. Lastly, the State felt they had more control of the situation if the trials were held in all-white areas, far from the support of the Black and Latin communities in Chicago.

The 17 men charged with murder are being tried together. Their attorneys succeeded in having the place of trial changed to Chicago, where the defendants have access to their community. However, three of these men are being denied the out-of-state Black attorneys of their choice. Judge Miller, a close friend of Governor Thompson, appointed specially to try the case of The 17, has refused to appoint these experienced Black attorneys, despite the fact that out-of-state lawyers frequently are allowed to represent clients in Illinois' courts.



Two of the Pontiac Brothers (Santiago and Perez) are transferred to court for a hearing.

— photo from PPSC



*Each defendant is charged with killing all three guards in five different ways.*

In perhaps the most important ruling to date, Judge Miller denied a defense motion to supplement the indictment with a Bill of Particulars. As the indictment now reads, each of the 17 Brothers is charged in identical language with killing all three of the guards in five different ways. What this means is that each Brother is charged with doing the exact same act in the exact same place, at the exact same time. As everyone is charged with everything, it is impossible to tell specifically what anyone is supposed to have done. The defense motion would have forced the State to say who did what, where and when. The judge ruled the Brothers were not entitled to this information.

In addition, the State has continually stalled in turning over discovery material (over 10,000 pages of testimony of witnesses interrogated by the State) necessary for the defense to conduct investigations in preparation for trial. Prosecution witnesses have been "protected" with new identities, preventing legitimate defense investigation.

The case is currently being heard in a special courtroom under security measures designed to convince potential jurors that the

defendants are guilty and discourage supporters from attending the proceedings. Spectators are frisked before entering the courtroom and then separated from the defendants, the judge and the attorneys by a bullet-proof partition. This special glass wall makes it almost impossible to follow the proceedings; voices can barely be heard over the static of loudspeakers inside. The defense presented expert testimony that the partition created an atmosphere of fear prejudicial to the defendants by giving the impression that they are extraordinarily dangerous men who cannot be tried in an open courtroom. Indeed, the only comparable courtroom situation that the expert was aware of was the trial of Adolf Eichmann, a Nazi mass murderer during his trial in an Israeli courtroom enclosed in a glass cage. Nonetheless, Judge Miller ruled that the harm done was not a constitutional violation and refused to transfer the case to another courtroom.

The manipulations by the State amount to treating all the Brothers as guilty until proven innocent.

### Legal Lynching

Beyond all the rhetoric about death being a deterrent to crime (there is no relationship between the existence of the death penalty and the murder rate anywhere and never has been) we must grasp the stark fact that "legal" executions are a form of social — meaning political — control. It has never been the case in the U.S. that everyone who commits certain kinds of crime receives the death penalty. Some who have been convicted of murder and rape have been put to death — others have not. The question is, then, what determines whether or not the state will put someone to death?

In 1972 the Supreme Court wiped out existing state death penalty statutes on the ground that they were administered in a discriminatory manner. Racial discrimination was a major factor in the court's decision. Evidence showed that never had a white man been executed for raping a Black woman, that 89% of those executed for rape have been Black, and that 54% of all executions were of Black people. Yet, Blacks make up only 12% of the population.

In 1976 the Nixon-appointed Supreme Court reversed the 1972 decision and restored the death penalty. A study made of death row since 1976 reveals more clearly than ever that race prejudice determines who will get the death penalty. It is still the case that over half of the population of death row is Black. But more important, this study reveals that a Black person killing a white person is 50 times more likely to be sentenced to death than a white killing a Black.

The use of the death penalty against Black people is a political act. It is the ultimate expression of the myth of white superiority. It is, simply speaking, state-sponsored lynching. Historically, as lynching rates declined, the use of the death penalty went up. In other words, when private lynching was no longer socially condoned, the legal justice system took over to accomplish the same end. Between 1889 and 1921, 3,436 lynchings of Black people by white mobs were recorded; not one person was convicted of murder for these acts.

Events since the Nixon court decision have proved that it takes very little encouragement from law and order politicians for the death penalty to become a national epidemic. In Illinois, Governor Thompson apparently thinks that the execution of Black men will turn white votes in his favor. Hardly a month has gone by since Thompson took office without the death

penalty being imposed. There are now 24 men on death row in Illinois and the governor is pushing hard to add seventeen of the Pontiac Brothers to the list. If convicted, the 17 Pontiac Brothers face the largest mass execution since the Civil War. [Ed.: President Lincoln allowed 38 Lakota Indians to be hung in Mankato, Minnesota following the "Great Sioux Uprising" of 1862.]

*"You can only crowd so many people into a warehouse for so long before something happens."*

Director, Illinois  
Department of Corrections

### Warehousing Rebellious Blacks

Prisons have become a warehouse for Blacks and other minorities. Ten years ago the Black community was a working class community with a growing employment rate. While racism was a heavy burden on progress, Blacks were finding jobs (especially in heavy industry) and their communities were stabilizing. Today that trend is reversed. Young Black men aged 17-24 have a 40% unemployment rate. The deterioration of Black communities goes hand in hand with the prison system becoming Black. No one is more aware of this fact than the police forces that occupy and terrorize the Black community.

Intolerable conditions, police occupation of their communities, and the inevitable rebellion are bringing Black people into prisons at a staggering rate. One out of four Black men in their 20s end up in jail, prison, or on probation. For whites in the same age group, only one out of 15 is incarcerated or put on probation.

In Illinois, 58% of the prison population is Black, although only 11% of the state's population is Black. The U.S. population is 12% Black but 47% of all U.S. prisoners are Black. In fact a Black person in Illinois is ten times more likely to end up in prison than a white person. The same is true nationwide. U.S. imprisonment rate per 100,000 people for whites is 44; for Blacks it is 368, almost ten times higher.

U.S. imprisonment rates are far higher than those of any European country. Only one country has a higher rate — apartheid South Africa. But a more careful look at the racial breakdown of these imprisonment rates produces a startling discovery. The rates for white people in the U.S. are like the European rates, while the rates for Black people in the U.S. are like the South African rates. Indeed, for Black people, in many ways the United States of America is no different than the Union of South Africa.

The history of the past ten years should be enough to prove that no prison system can stop the struggle of Black and Latin people for their rights. The prison struggle began before the Attica rebellion in 1971 and it will not end with the Pontiac rebellion in 1978.

"We are MEN! We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." That statement, first made by prisoners at Attica, expresses the basic reason why U.S. prisons are and will be in rebellion.

In a period in which huge numbers of Black and Latin people are being forced out of the U.S. economy, Jim Thompson has made himself the major representative in Illinois of a political philosophy based on ever-increasing repression of ever-larger numbers of Black and Latin people as the answer to America's problems.

Politicians like Thompson are thriving on the basis of this philosophy because it represents the attitude of a large and powerful part of white America today. Increasing demands for the death penalty, for limiting the rights of defendants, for an end to all efforts to combat the effects of discrimination against Black and Latin people — this has been the dominant mood of the past several years. It is echoed in the liberal community by an increasing tolerance for racism and apathy in the face of these attacks. It is in this atmosphere that Jim Thompson is being talked about as a possible Vice-Presidential candidate in 1980 — and who knows about 1984?

Thompson's role is important both because he represents a larger trend and because of the concrete life-and-death powers he holds over Illinois prisoners. The indictments of 31 Black and Latin prisoners as scapegoats for what happened at Pontiac Prison are central to this official conspiracy to cover up what is really happening in Illinois prisons. These indictments can do nothing to change the fact that prisons serve as warehouses for a large segment of the Black community; nothing to eliminate the gross violations of human rights that prompt people to rebel; nothing to correct any of the real problems that exist inside. What the indictments can do is take the blame off Thompson and the state of Illinois, where it deserves to be.

Jim Thompson needs to convict the Pontiac Brothers. Their conviction would support his claim that violence in the prisons is the result, not of racism and brutality, but of vicious Black conspiracies. Their acquittal would refute this lie; it would confirm that the state's case was evidently a frame-up; it would smash the cover-up and the false, racist solutions to the crisis in Illinois prisons.

Robert Long is active in the Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition.

Funds are urgently needed to defend the Pontiac Brothers. Tax-deductible contributions should be made payable to the Illinois Justice Foundation/PPSC and sent to the Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition, 407 S. Dearborn St., Room 1000, Chicago, Illinois 60605; for information, call (312) 427-4064.

The death penalty case is in the pre-trial motion stage as the **Public Eye** goes to press, and is expected to begin some time this fall. Most recently, the defense has been arguing a motion to dismiss the indictments because of the prosecution's misconduct. Judge Miller denied this motion even though Illinois Department of Law Enforcement agents admitted that they threatened prisoners who wouldn't cooperate with the death penalty and prolonged periods of confinement in deadlock conditions. These same agents admitted they paid State witnesses more than \$50,000 to help re-establish themselves since they were released on parole. The judge found this evidence irrelevant to the defense motion.

# Legal Trends

## Bazooka Justice: The Case of the Mao Tse Tung Defendants

# Overreaction Or Foreshadowing?

by Peter Erlinder with Doug Cassel

The use of conspiracy theory in criminal prosecutions has a long and sordid history as a cover for political repression. Phoenix-like, it seems to rise from the ashes whenever government finds itself threatened by political currents beyond its control. In what may be a run-through for the conspiracy doctrine of the 1980's, the government has invoked the legal concept of "joint enterprise" in an attempt to hold 17 members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, including Party Chairman Bob Avakian, liable for assaults arising from a police-demonstrator clash which occurred in Washington, D.C. in January of 1979. Most of the self described "Mao Tse-tung defendants" are not charged for their own acts but only for allegedly "aiding and abetting" others to commit assaults. Eight defendants, including Avakian, are charged only with aiding and abetting.

### Another Day — Another Demonstration

The political overtones of the case have been clear almost from the beginning. The clash occurred in front of the White House on January 29, 1979 at an RCP-sponsored protest against the state visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Den Xiaoping. Marching under a banner of the ironically named "Committee for a Fitting Welcome" approximately 500 demonstrators chanting political slogans denounced Deng as a "traitor" who was "selling out the Chinese Revolution by forming an alliance with U.S. imperialism."

Like many demonstrations, this one began peacefully but turned violent. According to police, as quoted in news accounts, when the demonstrators neared the White House they "began running and screaming and throwing things." The police admit that they counter attacked, and as the *Washington Post* reported, "charged into the crowd, swinging their clubs wildly."

As the RCP tells it, the demonstrators had been marching peacefully, separated by only a few feet from several hundred armed riot police. The demonstrators were unarmed. Suddenly the police announced that the demonstrators' permit had been revoked and charged the demonstrators.

Whichever version contains more truth, the incident itself was not terribly unusual in the context of police-demonstrator confrontations. The *Washington Post* even reported that the fray lasted no more than five minutes. Of perhaps a thousand participants, only 13 police officers were injured, counting one thrown from a horse, while 38 demonstrators reported injuries, including one badly bloodied young woman carried away on a stretcher. The police arrested 78 demonstrators, charged them with misdemeanors, and held them on \$300 bonds. No demonstrators were arrested on gun or weapons charges.

Developments in the case since then however, have been anything but routine. On the next day, then U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert (one of the original Watergate prosecutors) personally appeared at their bail hearings. He announced that all charges were being raised to the felony of assault on a police officer. Promising specific allegations later, Silbert asked the court to raise the bond for all defendants to \$10,000. Except for a few defendants with local ties, the D.C. Superior Court judge complied.

"The tough stance" taken by Silbert," noted the January 31 *Washington Post*, "is a departure from the traditional policy here of charging minor offenses in mass demonstration arrests."

The "tough stance" proved somewhat shaky. The "specifics" promised by the prosecutors turned out to be so vague that two judges immediately released most defendants on their own recognizance and lowered the bonds for the rest except Avakian, whose bond was kept at \$10,000.

The prosecutor argued that Avakian, as a "revolutionary leader," would be flight-prone. When his supporters managed to come up with the bond money, Avakian was released, but only on condition that he not travel outside of Washington or Chicago for as long as Vice Premier Deng was touring the country.

Later came preliminary hearings, at which prosecutors could not link most defendants to specific acts, and line-ups, at which police could not identify nearly half of the defendants (including Avakian) even as persons "involved" in a January 29 "incident."

### Mushrooming Charges

By the time indictments were returned in late June 1979, the number of defendants was cut drastically — from 78 to 17. But the number of felony charges against each remaining defendant had ballooned: the charges were boosted to 11 felonies for one group of defendants and 15 felonies for another group.

Their indictments were less than precise. The first count, for example, charges Avakian and eight co-defendants with assaulting "an unidentified member of a police force." Similarly, all assault charges against these nine defendants either fail to identify the alleged victim or lump together multiple defendants and victims without clearly alleging who hit whom.

returned to the grand jury for a new, joint indictment charging all the counts of both indictments. The effect of the new indictment was to increase the potential liability of each defendant by over 100 years.

As a result, each defendant faced up to 241 years in prison for alleged assaults which occurred during a 5 minute fracas. According to the indictment, these alleged assaults were carried out with such weapons as a "piece of lumber," a "bottle" and a "bag of hard objects." Moreover, the indictment made clear that at least eight of the defendants, including Avakian, were being held liable without any allegations that they committed any violent acts whatsoever.



— photos from Revolutionary Worker

When the other eight defendants were called in for arraignment on July 5, D.C. Superior Court Judge Leonard Braman refused to arraign them on more than 80 out of 120 charges, because the indictments were so vague that he could not determine how many offenses were meant to be alleged.

On July 5, 1979, the defendants in the two indictments announced their intention to join all defendants in a single case. The government objected to joinder, arguing that the indictments reflected "two types of cases." A formal motion for joinder was filed on July 17 to which the government objected on July 25. However, by August 13 it became clear that on July 24, the day before the government had objected to the defendants' motion for joinder, the government had already

On August 27, the defendants moved to dismiss the indictment for "prosecutorial vindictiveness." In attempting to explain the doubling of charges against each defendant, the government cited no new evidence. Its argument was that the government theory of liability was that each defendant "(b)y presence and knowing participation . . . aided and abetted each assault. . ." and that previous separation into two groups was "convenient packaging for trial."

This explanation did not impress the judge. He noted that re-packaging exposed each defendant to more than 100 years additional imprisonment, as well as to the necessity of standing trial on multiple new felony charges. "On this record," he ruled on October 17, the government had "failed to meet its

burden of showing that [the re-indictment] was not motivated by vindictiveness." He found then. "as a matter of fact," vindictiveness.

Still, the judge gave the government another chance: Simply trim the charges and trial could proceed. The government refused. Accordingly, on November 14, the trial court dismissed the indictment.

### And the Case Goes On . . .

The dismissal of the indictment did not end the case. The government has appealed the trial court ruling in an effort to have the original indictments reinstated. On March 28, 1980 the District of Columbia Court of Appeals heard oral argument on briefs submitted by the government and the defendants. An *amicus* brief was also filed on behalf of the defendants by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Council of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild.

Although the Court of Appeals has yet to rule, the case may already be important as a preview of future government treatment of political activists. The brief submitted by the government, together with the indictment and pleadings, provide some interesting insights into the government's most recent attempt to resurrect vicarious criminal liability as a means of repressing political dissent.

According to the "Pretrial Statement of the Government," filed pursuant to the defendants' request for discovery, the government made clear that it intended to range far afield in introducing evidence "that defendants shared a common plan to engage in illegal activity on January 29." The evidence referred to by the government includes:

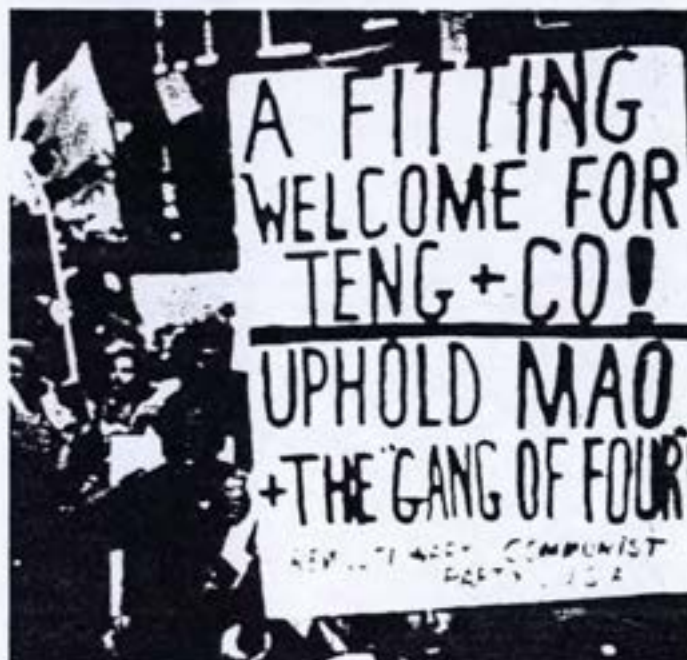
1. "evidence of the violence during a demonstration in November 1978 when the Shah of Iran was in Washington.
2. "evidence of the trouble at the Chinese Chancery in Washington on January 24, 1979"
3. "...those portions of a speech made by defendant Avakian at a press conference" four days before the demonstration"
4. Evidence that "earlier arrests at the White House were applauded by the demonstrators" at an earlier meeting at a church.

According to the government "intent to deliver a political message by illegal means would be shown by this evidence." The government concluded by stating that "(t)he government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all the defendants because they were in furtherance of a *joint enterprise* in which all the defendants were involved. If you think this prosecutorial technique smacks of "political conspiracy" you are not alone. As was pointed out by defense attorney Russell F. Canaan, "the government is bringing a conspiracy prosecution. It has to, because it has no evidence that Avakian and others engaged in any violence. But the government prefers to use the label "joint enterprise" because conspiracy has become too easily recognized as a cover for political repression."

### Catch 22

In the briefs filed on appeal, the government asserts that the increased liability imposed by the superceding indictment was not vindictive because, the government's theory throughout has been that the defendants, by their prearranged and concerted attack on the police are jointly liable for each of the assaults alleged." In other words, the content of the indictments was irrelevant because under "joint enterprise," as defined by the government, defendants need not be linked to illegal acts by anything more than their presence at a meeting, making a speech given days before the allegedly illegal events or their participation in *previous* demonstrations. Under this theory, prosecutorial vindictiveness is impossible to prove and *anyone* who attends a political gathering will be subject to criminal liability for the acts of "unidentified attackers" as occurred in the Avakian indictment.

The reasons for the government's posture in this case are obviously open to some debate. The defendants assert that their anti-Deng actions embarrassed the governments of the United States and China during a time when they are forming a military and economic alliance in preparation for war. In addition, Avakian himself has been far from popular with the



(Above) Jimmy and Rosalynn meet their guests. (Left and next page) RCP demonstrators prepare a different reception for "Teng and Company."

photos from *The Revolutionary Worker*



government as their characterization of him as a "revolutionary leader" indicates.

Whether one agrees with the RCP political analysis or not, the government's treatment of the case indicates that those who the government finds threatening, for whatever reason, have cause to be concerned that the prosecutorial techniques applied to the Mao Tse-tung defendants will find wider acceptance. This seems particularly true during a period of economic uncertainty and political foment such as the period we now seem to be entering. Of particular interest in this regard is the government's own justification for their heavy-handed response: that these demonstrators were highly organized.

According to the pleadings filed by the government the demonstrations of January 29, 1979 was "not typical of Washington's demonstrations in general. Unlike the sporadic, disorganized acts of violence which characterize other demonstrations which have turned sour, the attack on January 29, 1979 seemed to have been planned, well-organized and supported by all members of the group. Most other demonstrations have been spread out in heavily populated areas so that, after a violent incident participants are indistinguishable from passers-by. These defendants and the other attackers, however, formed a cohesive group."

It seems that the lesson the government would have us learn from this case is that demonstrations which are "planned, well-organized and supported by all members of the group" are to be treated differently than the "sporadic, disorganized" events which the government seems to prefer. For those of us that see *organized, mass action* as a means of achieving political change or making political statements, this case is an indication that such activities may well come in for special prosecutorial treatment in the future.

The case has begun to arouse nationwide concern by legal, civil liberties and other organizations. The Guild has passed a resolution demanding that the charges be dropped. The National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee along with the Guild have taken an active part in the case. In mid-November of 1979, the *Washington Post* printed a political advertisement signed by hundreds of persons ranging from lawyers and other professionals to factory workers and activists like Father Phillip Berigan, composer Gill Scott Heron, David Dellinger and the Karen Silkwood attorney Danny Sheehan calling for the charges to be dismissed.

The concern arises not only from the severity of the charges against these defendants, but also from the government's far-reaching theory of the case under which persons who are involved in political demonstrations could be in jeopardy of felony prosecutions for the alleged acts of others. A successful prosecution in this case will certainly encourage the government to rely upon and expand the concept of "joint enterprise liability" as a means of repressing organized forms of mass action. On the other hand, the case is also a political bell-weather which may give the government some indication of how far it can go before the American people will respond politically. One thing, however, seems certain, with the clouds of war, the draft, economic chaos and the Klan gathering on the horizon, it is a case that neither the government nor political activists can afford to ignore.

Peter Erlinder and Doug Cassel are attorneys and National Lawyers Guild members in Chicago.

# Book Review

The Story of Cril Payne

## Undercover For The FBI

By Jeff Cohen

His reddish hair hung inches below his shoulders. He wore patched-up jeans, tie-dyed or stars & stripes t-shirts, Indian beads, and never went anywhere without his stash of pot. Cril Payne was a "freak."

He was also political, a veteran of anti-Nixon, anti-war street skirmishes. In fact, he was so savagely beaten during the 1972 Republican convention by a team of 10 Miami policemen (one cop repeatedly jammed his nightstick into Payne's rectum), that he required several operations.

His was a familiar face around radical and counter-culture haunts on the west coast from Venice and Isla Vista, California, to Seattle. But there was one thing that separated Cril Payne from the legion of freaks and radicals with whom he marched, shared joints and crash pads: Payne was a full-time agent for the FBI. Not an informant, but an agent.

Altogether, Payne spent 2½ years as an undercover "radical" for the FBI, the subject of his book *Deep Cover* (Newsweek Books — \$11.95). In that period, Payne befriended anti-war folks, had affairs with them, lived and traveled with them — and reported all to the dossier keepers back at the FBI. In a recent interview in Los Angeles, Payne expanded upon what he began to articulate in his book: that the kinds of things he did while undercover (interfering with people's rights to privacy, speech and association) were illegal then, and should be outlawed now. According to the ex-agent, this can be accomplished only by a strongly-worded FBI Charter spelling out to every agent and superior exactly what they could or could not do.

### Patriot on Trash Patrol

It was a sense of patriotism that motivated Payne to enter the FBI in 1969 after graduating from law school in Texas. Reared in smalltown Texas, he signed up "to serve" in the FBI after the Army rejected him for medical reasons.

In late 1970, Payne was among the first agents to grow his hair and go undercover for the Bureau, an operation that was apparently kept secret from FBI Czar J. Edgar Hoover, whose strict dress and moral code would not countenance "hippie agents" — no matter how effective as infiltrators. Hoover had repeatedly proclaimed that the FBI had no long-haired hippies, and never would. After Hoover's death in 1972, the FBI initiated Operation "Deep Cover" which sent Payne and other select agents not just undercover — but underground — in what

became a 7-year futile search for the elusive Weatherman group.

But Payne's early undercover assignments in Southern California, before *Deep Cover*, were often more frightening, and usually more bizarre, than his later underground adventures. There was, for example, Operation Trash Patrol, which began soon after J. Edgar Hoover proclaimed before the Senate Appropriations Committee that Fathers Dan and Phil Berrigan were guilty of plotting to kidnap Kissinger. Usually assertions of guilt follow a collection of evidence. Not with Hoover. Agents were immediately mobilized nationwide to substantiate the Director's charge. In Los Angeles, Payne was assigned to night duty in search of evidence; he was to collect the garbage of anti-war Catholics, presumably ex-priests and nuns, from outside their homes. If the agent were ever discovered, he might appear to be a hungry hippie scrounging for a meal.

"I was never told exactly whose garbage we collected," Payne said, "because we worked on a need-to-know basis. I was told, 'You're going on trash patrol; here's the address.' The next day, other agents would have to pick through the garbage."

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In Los Angeles, Payne was assigned to night duty in search of evidence; he was to collect the garbage of anti-war Catholics.

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Then there was the FBI operation, instigated by John Mitchell's Justice Department and the Chicago U.S. Attorney, to surreptitiously record all public statements made by the Chicago 7 defendants (or their attorneys Kunstler and Weinglass) while they were free on bail pending appeal of their convictions. Payne was undercover at an anti-war rally in Isla Vista, California, when another agent, briefcase-in-hand, tried unsuccessfully to record a speech by Rennie Davis. As Payne describes it, the other agent was fortunate to leave the rally in one piece.

"The recording incident was ridiculous," he says. "While Davis is appealing a conviction for inciting to riot in Chicago, is he going to come to Isla Vista and incite another one?"

## FBI Mythology

The Isla Vista incident reflected the Bureau's position on the origins of anti-war violence, a fantasy view that continued to persist even when repeatedly refuted by reports from its own undercover agents. The Bureau's approach, reflected in the prosecution of the Chicago 7 and others, was that anti-war leaders conspired and planned violent confrontations with police at pre-demonstration meetings. Payne, who attended those meetings in connection with the 1972 Miami protests, found that no matter what precautions and plans had been pursued by leaders like Rennie Davis or David Dellinger to insure a peaceful march, they had no more control over the conduct of marchers than The Who does over its rock-and-roll audience. And as Payne painfully discovered in Miami, the violence was more often than not provoked by frustrated cops itching for a long-haired head to drum on.

But old ideas did not easily fade among Bureau officials, and Payne had to learn for himself, gradually, that the radicals he had been assigned to spy on were not the monsters he'd been told about. In fact, his book heaps praise on many anti-war leaders he once kept tabs on: Davis, Bob Scheer, Tom Hayden, Dr. Spock, Jane Fonda.

"It's paradoxical the way people's politics have changed in the years since the war," Payne reflects — now a Colorado attorney, active in local politics. "Rennie Davis sells insurance. Tom Hayden's a politician. Sam Brown is high up in the federal bureaucracy. They're in the mainstream of American life, and now because of my book, I'm the one characterized as a radical."

## The November Committee

While J. Edgar Hoover made a career of haranguing the Communist big lie," undercover agent Cril Payne found himself living what he readily admits was a big lie.

It was in Los Angeles in early 1972 that the FBI set up one of its own "fronts" — the November Committee, composed entirely of five long-haired FBI agents with Payne as one of its leaders. Its ostensible purpose was to provide housing in L.A. and transportation for protesters planning to converge from around the country on the Republican convention, then scheduled for San Diego. (What better way for the Bureau to keep track of names, numbers and vehicles heading to San Diego.) When the convention was shifted to Miami, the November Committee assisted in transporting protesters there — a service it advertised in anti-war meetings and in radical papers.

The FBI's scheme worked to perfection with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). At the request of VVAW leaders, four members of the November Committee traveled in the Vietnam Vet's caravan from L.A. to the Miami Republican convention. It was a harrowing experience for all involved; the caravan was continually stopped and searched by cops, and was even fired upon by a sniper in Louisiana.

Riding in it, the FBI agents discovered that they had been fed another myth by superiors. "The Bureau characterized VVAW as the most violent group in the anti-war movement," Payne recalled. "It was the unanimous opinion of the four agents who'd traveled with them for many days that the Vietnam Vets were deeply committed to ending the war, not to senseless violence."

In many ways, the hippie agents of the November Committee felt more threatened by their superiors than by the activists they were assigned to infiltrate. The Agent-in-Charge of the

L.A. FBI office was cut from the Hoover mold, didn't like the idea of hippie agents, and threatened to deny knowledge of them if they ever got into trouble. But the rebelliousness of their radical associates had already rubbed off on "The Beards," as the agents called themselves. Late one night they snuck into the office of the Agent-in-Charge, where they posed for photos below the grinning portraits of Mitchell, Nixon and Hoover. The pictures would document their existence as long-haired agents should they ever need them.

## When Cops are Vandals

Another thing Payne learned about while undercover was the criminality of local police. The lesson was learned in Venice, California, a counter-culture community on the Los Angeles beachfront that functioned at times as a "liberated zone" for the anti-war movement. But during a reign of terror in Venice in the early 70's, it was sometimes risky to park your car near anti-war meeting places for fear of vandalism. There was speculation among activists — often dismissed as paranoid — that the vandals were not freelance rightists, but were actually LAPD "Red Squad" cops.

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The violence was more often than not provoked by frustrated cops itching for a long-haired head to drum on.

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In his book, Payne describes how an FBI agent on a surveillance assignment once witnessed two men jump from a car near Tom Hayden's apartment to smash windows and flatten the tires of Hayden's car. It had been done several times before, but this time the agent got the license number. A check with Motor Vehicles showed the plate number was "not in file," which generally means an undercover vehicle. Payne said in our interview that the agent's probe indicated that the vandals' car did indeed belong to the LAPD's political intelligence unit, or Red Squad.

As Payne learned, the LAPD (and other local police) sometimes assisted FBI spying operations. In early 1971, Payne's FBI squad rented a Venice apartment next door to a house believed to be occupied by a Weatherman collective. The Bureau maintained a 24-hour fixed surveillance from the apartment, in coordination with mobile surveillance teams that would follow each subject who left the house. Now and then, FBI agents were unable to identify an individual . . . enter the LAPD. "We'd call up an LAPD black-and-white and have them pull the subject's car over on some pretext. Then we'd get their I.D."

## Deep Cover

When Operation Deep Cover began in late 1972, Payne boldly volunteered to go underground. He'd heard much about the Weatherman group — often in hushed tones — during his two years undercover. If any FBI agent was experienced enough to contact the Weatherman, it was Payne. He was given an elaborate "legend" — an identity complete with a phoney arrest / fugitive record as a radical.

With other prospective Deep Cover agents, Payne was sent to Quantico Marine Base in Virginia — "Hoover University" — for a week-long In-Service training on *how to go underground*. Most of the agents were experienced as undercover radicals and had been immersed in the drug culture, smoking dope with their counter-culture targets almost daily for months. Most were veterans of Miami, and the In-Service training was like a reunion. Between lectures on Weatherman, drug abuse and FBI procedure, the long-haired students would sneak away into the wooded grounds to pass joints and hash pipes. It could have been Santa Cruz, Berkeley or Ann Arbor, but this was Hoover University, the dopers were agents and the dope had been purchased with federal funds.

The hippie agents felt more threatened by their superiors than by the activists they were assigned to infiltrate.

The training session almost came undone when hippie agents were asked to attend a lecture — "Drugs of Abuse" — delivered by an instructor whose knowledge of the subject was purely theoretical. It was like having a nun lecture a group of prostitutes on the Joy of Sex. The lecturer displayed samples of each drug, including grass and hash, to the giggling agents. During the break, Payne was astonished to witness his classmates "systematically appropriating the official Bureau stash."

Payne revealed in our interview that the Bureau's Red Lebanese was "not worth ripping off."

For six months after the special training, Payne journeyed into the underground, living out of the FBI-purchased and equipped "psychedelic van." He moved through the suspected Weatherman support network in Seattle, Vancouver and Slocan Valley, British Columbia. Ultimately, he located and befriended supporters of the underground — those who helped deserters and draft resisters get into Canada with false identities — but almost none of them had Weather sympathies. Payne shared their hospitality, contacts, false I.D., marijuana, and in a couple of cases, their beds. At least weekly, he'd report his progress to the FBI. But after a half-year and growing disillusionment, Payne had not located one Weatherman fugitive.

While underground, Payne began having second thoughts about the hunt: "When I figured out that none of my targets posed any real threat to America and the whole operation was basically an exercise in salvaging Bureau pride, I had to get out."

During his time underground on the West Coast, Payne realized, he and other Deep Cover agents had violated the privacy and intimacy of people who were perceived, *often mistakenly*, as stepping stones to Weatherman. In New York City, meanwhile, relatives, friends and acquaintances of Weather fugitives had their homes and offices burglarized, their mail monitored and phones tapped by FBI agents. By May 1979, when the FBI called off its hunt for the Weather Underground (without bothering to inform the fugitives' attorneys or anyone else), the only thing held captive by the FBI was the Bill of Rights.

While underground, Payne began having second thoughts about the hunt.

## Controlling the Bureau

"I wrote the book to help the public understand exactly how abuses occurred in the past so that there will be a call for a meaningful charter strictly defining what is proper or improper Bureau conduct," Payne says. "Without a strong charter, rookie agents are asked to join a game without benefit of the rules."

The FBI has never operated under a written charter. Payne is critical of the Carter Administration's proposed charter — whose strongest supporter in the Senate, ironically enough, is Ted Kennedy. The charter is so weak that FBI officials and agents applauded when it was first presented to them, while the ACLU and other groups that originally called for a charter are now lobbying to kill the proposal.

According to Payne, the one current safeguard aimed at exposing and deterring intelligence abuse — the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) — has also become a "joke" in the hands of the FBI. Payne tells how in preparing his book, he tried to acquire his own personal file through an FOIA request. It took over a year of haggling for him to see any documents, but most files on the Weather operation had been destroyed.

The proposed FBI Charter is so weak that FBI officials and agents applauded when it was first presented to them.

"Now Bill Webster, the FBI Director, wants the teeth taken out of the FOIA," Payne says. "It hardly matters, since the Bureau never complied with it anyway — whenever somebody requested an embarrassing document, they classified it 'secret,' and that was that. The FBI's approach is, if you want it, sue us."

"Look at our history — up until the FOIA, the Bureau didn't destroy anything. We kept everything for years. After the Act passed, every agent had to spend time on-the-clock reviewing files and shredding them."

Jeff Cohen is the research associate of the Citizens' Commission on Police Repression, a Guild member, and a freelance journalist in L.A. Another version of this piece appeared in the *L.A. Weekly*.

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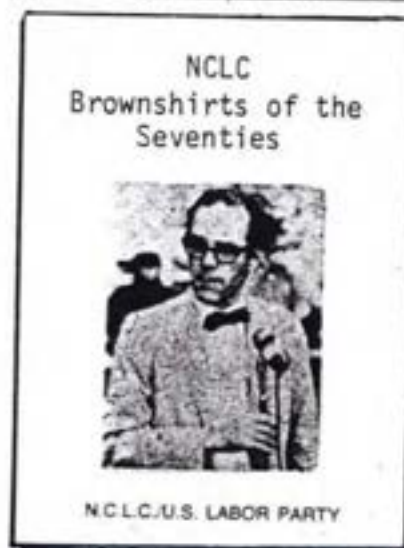
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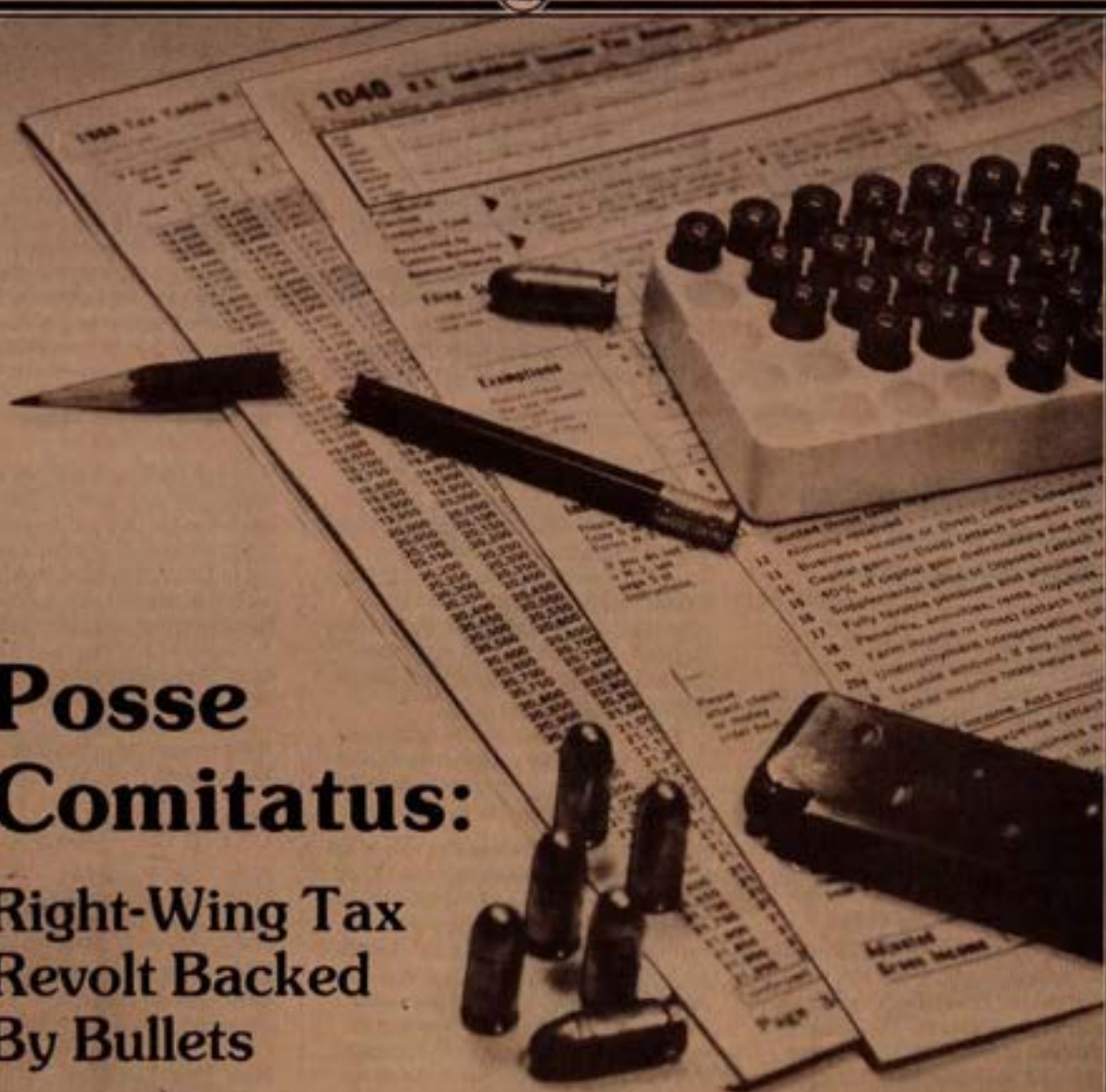
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Committee on Government Repression and Police Crimes

## Posse Comitatus:

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# Letters

Dear Public Eye:

I just had an opportunity to review your latest issue (Volume II, #3 & 4). The content of this magazine was excellent, and we thank you for publicizing the struggle we are presently involved in with the Santa Barbara Police Department.

Please send us twenty five additional copies of this excellent issue.

Thank you for your assistance, and keep up the great work!  
The Struggle Continues,  
Lorenzo Martin Campbell  
President  
El Concilio De La Raza  
Santa Barbara, CA

Friends:

We have been attempting to get a subscription to **The Public Eye** going for 18 months. We wrote you in August to ask if it were being published and received (apparently in reply) issue #3 and 4, volume II. We also have (from a year ago) volume II, issues #1 and 2. Were there any volume I issues?

Aside from the primary fact that our students scramble avidly for these issues,

we like to bind them for permanent retention, so it is important to us to have a complete run. Please send us any we are missing.

Perhaps more to the point (!), our payment records indicate that we have never paid you for any issues, which means that we never received any kind of invoice from you. Without one our accounting department will not authorize payment, so if you would please send one along to us we will process it immediately.

Thanks,  
Sincerely,  
Mary Carter  
University Research Library  
University of California, L.A.

*After receiving several letters similar to the one above, we figured we owed our subscribers and readers an explanation of what's up. It would be hard to deny that **The Public Eye** has had a difficult few years getting underway, but with the opening of our offices in Chicago we have instituted a new billing and subscription fulfillment procedure, and have recruited a new group of enthusiastic volunteers to help us stabilize our production schedule.*

*So—please accept our sincere apologies for our erratic publication schedule. Subscribers will receive four issues for \$8.*

*To date we have published five issues of the publication, two in the smaller for-*

*mat and three in the larger newsprint format. Back issues are available for \$2 each, except for the issue on Police Brutality, which has sold out. Thanks for your patience. And again, apologies for any inconvenience we have caused. We really appreciate the support and patience our readers have shown us.*  
The Editors

Dear Editor:

Thelma and I have just rec'd. the latest edition of **The Public Eye** and have both read it from cover to cover. Sheer genius! Please send a copy to Charles Houston, I'm sure he would love it also.

We respect your work and hope to see you continue. We especially like your publishing schedule. We will be back in the White House before long and I will be exonerated by history. Would **The Public Eye** like to write an article about my debacle at the hands of my oppressors? right arm,  
r. m. nixon  
P.S. I am not a crook.

*The editors really doubt the validity of the post card with this message that arrived in our offices, but we do hope to receive other, more legitimate, feedback from our readers. Letters to the Editor should be typewritten and double-spaced. Letters less than 300 words are appreciated, and require less editing for space.*

## Leonard Peltier Case Reaches Congress, Action Requested

Leonard Peltier is an internationally-known Indian leader who is currently serving two life sentences in Marion federal prison for "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation during an armed attack by the FBI on a spiritual encampment in 1975. He did not kill the agents, was convicted on the strength of admittedly perjured testimony and was never permitted to introduce at trial evidence of extreme governmental misconduct.

In 1979, the Supreme Court refused to review his case. A plot to kill him was uncovered in 1980 prompting his unsuccessful attempt to escape. Bobby Garcia, a codefendant in the escape trial, was recently found hanged in his cell in Terra Haute, and the threats on Leonard's life continue.

Now his case has been assigned to the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, headed by Representative Donald Edwards. Representative Ronald Dellums was instrumental in getting the case before this committee. Dellums reports that his office has been flooded with letters from all over the world urging an investigation.

The Committee on Native American Struggles of the National Lawyers Guild is asking people to write letters requesting a full investigation of the matter.

Letters should point out the role of the FBI on Pine Ridge since Wounded Knee as well as the evidence of coercion of witnesses and suspected involvement in the current attempts to "neutralize" Leonard in prison. Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, also accused of killing the agents, were both acquitted by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa jury after evidence of FBI illegal activities was presented. This evidence was never permitted to go before the jury in Leonard's case!

This is Leonard's last recourse at this time, other than such international out-reaches as the Bertrand Russell Tribunal last November. Whether or not the hearing will fully expose the truth depends on the public support that is expressed to this Subcommittee. Send letters to:

Hon. Donald Edwards, Chair  
Subcommittee on Civil and  
Constitutional Rights  
A407 House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

With copies to:

Hon. Peter W. Rodino  
2125 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Leonard Peltier Defense Committee  
2406 Alhambra Road  
Alhambra, Calif. CA 91801

Hon. Ronald Dellums  
2464 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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# COMMENT

Films Take a Turn for the Worse:

## Brutal Attacks on Women

by Gene Siskel

There is a plague upon the land, and if that sounds like a preamble to a fire and brimstone lecture, so be it. Because the plague in question is the most nauseating trend in films today—films that feature brutal attacks on young women.

Not only is the number of such films increasing dramatically, but the box office response to these cheapie productions has been fabulous. Thus more attack films would appear to be on the way.

The most notorious of these films is "I Spit on Your Grave," which became a *cause celebre* in Chicago last summer following a series of hostile critics' reviews and the decision by one theater owner to pull the film based on those reviews.

Last fall, local television stations were flooded with ads for "When a Stranger Calls," a disgusting shocker about a dirty phone caller, which was then enjoying its second run in Chicago. Also released last year was "He Knows You're Alone," a thriller about a maniac who stabs brides-to-be to death.

Shock films have long been a staple of the movie industry, and women typically have been featured as the primary victims. And such films have been made by directors as prominent as Alfred Hitchcock, whose "Psycho" is the best of the bunch.

But whereas "Psycho" achieved its notoriety through an attack on a woman, it wasn't a movie about a man who attacks women. It was a film about surprises—the death of Janet Leigh, its top-billed star, one-third of the way through the film, and the surprising psychosexual identity of its killer.

By comparison, today's crude shockers are primarily concerned with portraying women in perilous situations. Such films are designed to exploit the fears of women as well as any sadistic impulses of the male audiences. What many of these films boil down to is the opportunity for \$4 to watch a series of rapes.

What is even more obnoxious is that the women who are raped in these films typically are portrayed as independent or overtly sexual. To the degree that all movies tend to argue in favor of the behavior they present, the underlying message of these films is that today's liberated woman will be and should be punished.

And to the degree that all of these films are written, financed, and directed by men, it is not extreme to suggest that these attack films represent some kind of response to the women's movement, which has been brewing in the nation for the last decade.

Two very successful recent movies have been the primary triggers for this trend in attacks on women. In 1973, "The Last House on the Left," a cheapie production, grossed tens of millions of dollars telling the sick story of two teenage girls who hitchhike to a rock concert against their parents' warning and are soon attacked by slobbering rapists who force one girl to urinate upon herself before she is shot in the head and thrown into a ditch. Another girl is chased through the woods by an attacker wielding a thick butcher's knife.

The other influential film has been the even more successful "Halloween," an artfully made shocker about a killer who attacks three nubile and often scantily clad baby-sitters. There is no reason, other than financial, for this technically superb film to include shots of the baby-sitters in various stages of undress. Significantly, the killer in "Halloween" is a sexually frustrated young man, who initially "went crazy" after seeing his promiscuous sister making love to his boyfriend.

After "Halloween," the deluge. Virtually every studio saw the box office numbers on "Halloween" and sought out a carbon copy. "Friday the 13th" at Paramount. "Prom Night" at Avco-Embassy. "He Knows You're Alone" at MGM and United Artists. "Dressed to Kill" at Filmways. "Terror Train" at Twentieth Century Fox. "Motel Hell" at United Artists, and "The Howling" at Avco-Embassy.

"These films are very easy to make," says one major studio executive. "Their storytelling pattern is obvious, you don't need any costly production values, and you certainly don't need any expensive stars. In fact, big-name stars probably would hurt this kind of film."

In all these films, the principal subjects of attacks are young women, and in a majority of the films, the killers are sexually frustrated men. In "He Knows You're Alone," for example, a maniac who was spurned by his bride-to-be tracks three teen-age

girls. It's a film that is selling a violent response to sexual frustration.

In "Dressed to Kill," which is being protested by women's groups, the murderer is a man with severe sexual problems. The ad campaign for the film, switched after a couple of weeks of the film playing to upscale audiences, now panders to the sadism set, featuring a picture of Angie Dickinson cowering in terror under a straight razor blade.

In "I Spit on Your Grave," the victim who is repeatedly raped by three men is an independent young woman who leaves her Park Avenue apartment for a summer of writing in a New England cottage. She is attacked after we see her sunbathing in a bikini. The implication of the film is that she is asking for trouble by acting independently and dressing in a provocative manner.

The bottom line issue here is, are these films evil and, if so, what should be done about it? Are they evil? I believe so. They pander to base instincts and present negative images of women.

What should be done? Any manner of protest short of censorship, it would seem. Critics are obliged to spot this trend and

declare, in no uncertain terms, the content of such pictures. These are extremely ugly and vicious films and often catch the person looking for a scary movie totally by surprise.

The best argument for censorship would be that these films are accessories to the burgeoning crime of rape. But providing a direct causal link between the viewing of one of these films and a specific act of rape is not easy, if not impossible.

Rather, the most permanent damage that these films do, a damage that can be assessed, is the ability to shape the public's attitude toward attacks on women as some sort of sport. When people knowingly pay money to see a man slam a knife into a woman's body, that alone is sick.

And that is what is happening week after week in theaters across the United States. A plague is indeed upon the land.

Gene Siskel is the film critic of the *Chicago Tribune*. Copyright © 1980, *Chicago Tribune*, all rights reserved.



"WHY PAY, WE CAN SEE THE TOTAL DEGRADATION OF WOMEN ON NETWORK T.V."

# EYES ONLY

## FBI Black Baggers Slapped on the Wrists

In early December, 1980, the U.S. District Court fined two of J. Edgar Hoover's top aides a total of \$8,500 in lieu of the 10 years plus \$10,000 each which could have been meted out to the convicted felons. W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller were charged with approving illegal break-ins in an attempt to uncover and dismantle the Weather Underground. Their superior, L. Patrick Grey (left to twist slowly in the wind by Nixon) was also indicted for having approved the break-in; charges against him were dropped recently for lack of evidence and because "national security" interests would be jeopardized. John Kearney, leader of Squad 47 (the gang who carried out the break-ins) in New York City, was indicted for the same crimes but his charges were also dropped. During one hearing several hundred former and current FBI agents stood on the courthouse steps in solidarity with the gang of four feds.

In New York City, the plaintiffs in *Clark et al. v. U.S.*—a \$100,000 civil suit for damages suffered by the victims of the break-ins—continue to prepare to go to trial. The very same Department of Justice which prosecuted Felt and Miller has taken up the defense of their actions in New York.

William Sullivan, the architect of COINTELPRO, testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee about the FBI's program against the left, two years before the files were released. Sullivan met an untimely death at the hands of a hunter who mistook him for a deer at 243 feet across an open field in clear weather through a telescopic sight on his automatic weapon. In his obituary in the *New York Times*, Sullivan was reported to have acknowledged "a few weeks ago that he had passed subordinates instructions from Mr. Hoover to use whatever means necessary in tracking down fugitive members of the Weather Underground." Those subordinates were Kearney, Felt, Grey and Miller.

Another witness, alive and well (but not currently in D.C. to kick around anymore) was Richard M. Nixon. Nixon did testify that the black bag jobs were justi-

fied but that he never specifically ordered J. Edgar Hoover or Grey to conduct any break-ins. He also testified during his half-hour on the stand that he had approved the Houston plan but at the request of Hoover he had rescinded his sanction. The Houston plan included proposals for warrantless wiretaps, black-bag jobs, the wholesale roundup of "radicals" complete with plans for concentration camp housing, etc.

Friends of the FBI, a front group for the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, raised in excess of \$1 million for the defense of the former employees; Felt and Miller have expressed the hope that the group will come through with funds for their appeal.

—Sheila O'Donnell

## ITT Spies on Its Opponents

The first documentation of secret political spying by a multi-national corporation inside the U.S. was released recently in Chicago by Richard Gutman, one of the litigators of the Chicago anti-surveillance lawsuits.

The spying program by the International Telephone and Telegraph company (ITT) came to light as part of the discovery process in the seven-year legal battle by groups and individuals opposed to political surveillance of First Amendment activities.

The documents show that ITT had a secret program to spy upon and infiltrate groups in the U.S. who were opposed to the 1973 military coup in Chile. The documents were discovered because they had been forwarded to the FBI and then to the Chicago Police "Red Squad," subjects of the lawsuit. They concerned details of a Chile solidarity conference at Concordia College in River Forest, just outside Chicago, in 1975.

It has been known for some time that ITT tried to secretly manipulate the elections in Chile in the early 1970s in order to obtain a government more friendly to their investments.

ITT is larger than all but three or four governments in the world. It is very likely that these documents reveal only the tip of the iceberg with regard to spying by large corporations. Private corporations,

unlike government agencies, are not accountable to the public for their actions. This is an area of law which has received very little attention to date.

## Klan's Plans Cause Resistance

Racist violence is on the increase in this country, both random incidents and attacks by well organized cadres of right-wing vigilante groups. Reports appear in virtually every news publication of murder, assaults, bombings, mutilations and threats aimed at Blacks, Third World people and other minorities. The *New York Times* reported a "growing perception" among Blacks that the "series of violent incidents against Blacks is the result of a national conspiracy to terrorize and kill them."

Paramilitary training has become standard fare for the Klan and Nazis. In North Carolina the Klan, the National States Rights Party of America and the National Socialist Party of America formed an alliance (the United Racist Front) just a few weeks before members of their organizations murdered five Communist Workers Party organizers in Greensboro, N.C.

The Klan is reputed to now be recruiting women for leadership positions and sending their children to Klan summer camps to learn white supremacist theory and marksmanship. According to an article in *Gay Life* (Chicago), a Missouri woman campaigned for public office recently wearing her Klan robes.

Roger Handley, Grand Dragon of the Alabama branch of the Invisible Empire of the KKK, is ready to "insure that Birmingham and Decatur don't become another Miami." His insurance is a finely-tuned special forces group training in guerilla warfare one weekend a month at a camp named for the Vietnamese village of My Lai. Reporters, brought to the camp blindfolded, saw 10 men and one woman training on an obstacle course with what appeared to be automatic weapons. They were told that thirty children, male and female, trained there over the summer in the use of guns, and had classes in KKK ideology.

The *Associated Press* (Houston) re-

ported that in Texas, Ellington Air Force Base Civil Air Patrol and Explorer Scout Post 2125 sent members to "Camp Puller" to learn about military careers; but at least one Explorer dropped out of the program when he heard that he was going to learn how to hijack an airplane. The paramilitary training is provided by Joe Bogart, advisor and former member of the KKK, and John Bryant, a felon convicted of the sale of illegal automatic weapons. The men were teaching their students how to kill by strangling, decapitating with machetes, and the use of automatic weapons. Several parents were concerned with the racial slurs and the fact that their children were frequently lectured on guerilla warfare. Bogart was given a positive rating by the FBI, according to his superiors. Camp Puller is operated by the Grand Dragon of the Texas KKK.

The massive resurgence of organized racism has been the impetus for the formation of many coalitions and groups who seek to counteract the Klan. One such strategy was outlined by law professor Arthur Kinoy before the Subcommittee on Crime, House Committee on the Judiciary on 12/9/80. Kinoy proposed the use of the federal criminal civil rights statutes, known historically as the KKK Statutes. "These statutes were enacted by the post-Civil War Congress and strengthened and amplified in the 1960s . . . to provide an immediate criminal remedy against conspiracies to use violence and threats of violence against citizens." Local and state governments and courts are not effective in curtailing the activities in their own locales as the recent acquittals in Greensboro, N.C. and Miami, Fla. show. The Department of Justice can step in, as happened in the early '60s, and enforce those federal statutes, said Kinoy. Kinoy also spoke of the use of the federal anti-Klan and civil rights statutes which "prohibit any action or conspiracy to use violence or intimidation to interfere in any way with the exercise of constitutionally protected rights of citizens."

Private citizens and citizen groups have filed several suits asking for injunctive protection and relief. Other citizen groups have formed specifically to counteract Klan activity in local areas, and have been successful in educational campaigns. For further information, contact the National Anti-Klan Network, 348 Convent Avenue, NYC 10031. (212)926-5757. The network can supply information as to which anti-Klan groups and coalitions are active in your geographic

area, as well as the dates for local, regional, and national meetings and demonstrations.

—Shelia O'Donnell

## NATLFED Still Cult-Like

The National Labor Federation and its attendant affiliated groups are still considered to have cult-like qualities according to an informal survey of anti-repression researchers, although there is disagreement as to whether or not the organization should still be linked to the National Caucus of Labor Committees headed by Lyndon LaRouche.

NATLFED was linked to LaRouche and other cult groups in a 1977 *Public Eye* article which examined the group's early working relationship with the U.S. Labor Party around the issue of unemployed organizing. The article also explored the "no-alcohol, no-sleep, bad-health, canned-food and cigarette-filled life of the cadre," saying "there is too much work and more than enough pressure to keep members devoted to a cause they once understood conceptually from the outside."

The frenetic near-exhaustion pace of NATLFED cadre continues to be the norm according to several researchers who have maintained links with members. The emphasis on duplicating existing albeit inadequate social services has also remained unchanged, with cadre collecting clothes and food for the needy and setting up community medical clinics.

As for the ties to LaRouche, there is some disagreement, although most researchers do not challenge the premise that in the mid-seventies NATLFED and the U.S. Labor Party worked together on several projects. Some researchers believe NATLFED ceased all joint work with the USLP by late 1977, and criticized the *Public Eye* for making the connections between the groups seem more firm than they really are. Other researchers believe there are still ties on some levels, as recently as last Fall, one researcher reports, a NATLFED cadre was denying any ties to LaRouche or his front groups.

Whatever the ties to LaRouche, the NATLFED lifestyle encompassing psychological manipulation is still considered to be cult-like by most researchers, who feel the group should be further investigated. The cult-like characteristics of NATLFED were one reason Antioch College's Cooperative Education program broke off ties with the Califor-

nia Homemakers Association, a NATLFED affiliate.

NATLFED's two most active projects are in New York and California. The Riverhead (Long Island) Community Service Center houses the Eastern Farmworkers Association, Long Island Equal Justice Association, Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals, and the Occupational Health Project. Support for the Center is received from students at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

In Oakland, California, the Workers Community Service Center serves the California Homemakers Association, Western Service Workers Association, and the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals.

The *Public Eye* solicits information, material and comments concerning the NATLFED in order to accurately and fairly assess the organization.

—Chip Berlet

## Disinformation Campaign Against Peoples Law Office

Police disinformation campaigns, a hallmark of the COINTELPRO operation, continue in Chicago, the latest being an August 10, 1980 article by *Chicago Sun-times* cop shop reporters Art Petacque and Hugh Hough. The article, relying *entirely* on unnamed "sources" claims that Chicago Red Squad documents were found in what police call an FALN hideout in Milwaukee. In a paragraph crammed with libel-dodging qualifiers, the police beat reporters told Chicago, "It was learned that among leads being pursued is the possibility the material somehow was relayed to the FALN as a result of a federal court order that permitted limited access to Intelligence Division files following a lawsuit."

The entire remainder of the half-page article is an attempt to link the Chicago anti-surveillance lawsuits, the Peoples Law Office and the National Lawyers Guild to the alleged document discovery and "terrorism."

Quoting "a source close to the investigation," the writers say similar documents were given to Jonathan Moore during a deposition he attended while working on the anti-surveillance lawsuit. The writers then quote Moore's partner at the Peoples Law Office, Peter Schmeidel, as saying Moore was at the Boston NLG conference.

From there, the writers swing into a recapitulation of the work of the Peoples Law Office, including Schmeidel and

Michael Deutsch's legal assistance to alleged FALN members jailed in Chicago, with the ominous-sounding aside, "Members of the firm have long been active in legal actions concerning unpopular causes such as the Black Panther movement and imprisoned street gang members."

Nowhere in the article is there any direct charge that Moore was responsible for the alleged document cache, nor even a direct quote from a law enforcement official concerning the entire matter. The reporters also fail to mention that literally scores of other attorneys and legal workers potentially had access to the files, if indeed the files originated with the lawsuit at all.

Moore denies the allegations categorically, and members of the Peoples Law Office are incensed over what they feel is a sleazy attempt to discredit their legal work. Since the information could only have been leaked by law enforcement officials, the possibility that the article was a form of retribution against the work of the Peoples Law Office cannot be discounted.

—Chip Berlet

## LAPD / FBI Conspiracy Charged in Pratt Case

On January 30, 1981, attorneys for Geronimo Pratt filed a Petition for Habeas Corpus relief before the California Supreme Court that asks the Court to grant Pratt a new trial. The petition raises numerous allegations about Federal and State Government misconduct in Pratt's 1972 murder trial.

Pratt, a highly decorated Vietnam War veteran, U.C.L.A. student, and former head of the Black Panther Party of Southern California in the late Sixties was convicted of the "Santa Monica Tennis Court" murder—a robbery in which a white woman was killed. Though the murder took place in 1968, Pratt was not charged until two years later, and did not go to trial until 1972.

Pratt has steadfastly maintained his innocence and claims that he was set up for the murder conviction through conspiracy of the Los Angeles Police Department and the F.B.I. via its famous counter-intelligence program, COINTELPRO. Pratt was specifically targeted for "neutralization" by F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Pratt raises the following charges of government misconduct in his 1972 conviction:

- The main witness against him, Julio Butler, a former Los Angeles sheriff who

joined the Black Panther Party and is now a candidate for the State Bar, committed perjury in the trial when he testified that he was not working for nor was he an informant for the F.B.I. and the L.A.P.D. Pratt's attorneys have filed documents that Butler met on at least 33 occasions with the F.B.I. prior to his testimony in Pratt's trial.

- The Los Angeles Police Department suppressed evidence that the only eyewitness to the crime, Mr. Kenneth Olsen, the husband of the murder victim—positively identified another man as the murderer a year before he identified Pratt in a highly suggestive identification line-up.

- The F.B.I., with the Los Angeles Police Department, placed at least three informants in Pratt's defense team prior to and during his trial. These informants included not only an ex-Black Panther Party member, but also that informant's attorney.

- The L.A.P.D. and F.B.I. destroyed wiretap and microphone logs of the Black Panther office in Los Angeles from December of 1968, that would have proved Pratt's alibi that he was in Oakland attending a national Black Panther Party meeting was correct.

- That the F.B.I. and the L.A.P.D. suppressed information regarding a second suspect who was identified both by the L.A.P.D. and the F.B.I. The identity of the second suspect who could have proved that Pratt was not guilty of the murder has still not been turned over to Pratt's attorneys.

- The government suppressed all evidence that Pratt was a target of the counter-intelligence program that attempted to destroy him.

- The F.B.I.'s COINTELPRO did not act in isolation from the L.A.P.D., rather the L.A.P.D.'s Criminal Conspiracy section worked "hand in glove" with the F.B.I. This work included joint surveillance on Pratt, joint use of informants on Pratt, and many other contacts.

Pratt's petition before the California Supreme Court follows the denial of his petition before the California Court of Appeals in December of 1980. In a highly political decision and 2-1 majority of the California Court of Appeals, speaking through Justice Hanson of that Court, ruled that Pratt was not denied a fair trial because he was a violent member of a violent group and was fair game for law enforcement agencies. The court spoke approvingly of J. Edgar Hoover's comments about the Black Panther Party and what actions had been taken to control that organization and its leader, Geronimo Pratt. A powerful dissent was written

by Justice Dunn in the Court of Appeals when he stated that "Pratt's trial was no trial at all because there were no fundamental rights involved."

Pratt's attorney, Stuart Hanlon, stated: "The opinion of the majority of the Court of Appeals was politically—not legally—motivated. The political bias of Justices Hanson and Lilly is obvious to anyone reading the opinion. The opinion is a low point in California jurisprudence. We are confident the California Supreme Court will decide the case on the legal and factual merits, and not on the blatant political motive of defending the police and the government."

Congressman Paul McCloskey of California, and former Los Angeles District Attorney Johnnie Cochran, have joined Pratt's defense team as attorneys of record. Cochran recently resigned the number two position in the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office. Congressman McCloskey has, for two years, pressured the F.B.I. to turn over all its files on Pratt. Pratt is also represented by Margaret Ryan, John B. Mitchell, the A.C.L.U. of Southern California, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Geronimo Pratt remains locked up in the California State Prison at San Luis Obispo, continuing to wait for justice.

## Nauni Case to be Appealed

Rita Silk Nauni is a 31-year-old Hunkpapa Sioux, from Ft. Yates Reservation, North Dakota, who has lived the latter half of her life in Southern California. She, like a multitude of other Indian people, left her reservation and relocated to one of the major urban centers under the incentive of the U.S. government's Indian relocation program which originated in the 1950's.

The relocation program subsidizes the transfer of Indian people away from their colonized national territories in an attempt to assimilate them into the dominant society and to reduce resistance against energy and industrial development by multinational corporations in collusion with the government.

Like systematic sterilization abuse, child stealing, prohibition against Indian languages and dissolution of traditional governments, relocation is a government policy based on the destruction of the cultural, spiritual, economic and physical existence of American Indian people and nations.

Nauni joined other Indian women in the cities, working what factory and other

jobs she could get to support herself and her son. Adjusting to the extreme cultural difference has been hard. She has had many problems and when she has sought assistance, doctors remedied the situation by prescribing valium and other drugs.

On September 17, 1979, Nauni made a break from a less than desirable, mentally and physically abusive relationship with a man in Los Angeles. She and her 10-year-old son headed to Oklahoma to join her family. Friends, family and doctors who talked with her just before she left Los Angeles say that she was in a very agitated, paranoid emotional state. She had recently been told that she was sterile and could have no more children.

She and her son took the midnight flight to Oklahoma City on September 18, arriving around 6:30 a.m. on the 19th. Unable to get a taxi, she and her son left the airport, walking. They got about two miles from the airport.

Airport police say they received a report that someone was littering on the road. Officers Teresa Wells and Garland Garrison left the terminal with sirens and lights flashing. Teresa Wells has testified that they say no litter and no one littering, but that they went after Nauni and her son. When Nauni and her son ran, the two police officers chased them down on foot. Nauni weighs 90 pounds. Both officers outweighed her by at least 40 pounds. Officer Garrison grabbed 10-year-old Derrick and tried to handcuff him and force him into the car. Derrick left scratches on Garrison's hands from the struggle. Wells grabbed Nauni. Nauni knocked her down and went to her son's assistance. Wells grabbed Nauni again and after she was knocked to the ground again, went for her gun. Nauni grabbed Teresa Wells and in the struggle the gun went off, wounding Wells in the thigh. Garrison then released Derrick and turned on Nauni. When Garrison reached for his gun, Nauni fired three shots wildly. Garrison was struck by one of those shots and died.

Nauni and Derrick got into the police car and fled. Shortly, police converged on the car, rammed it off the road, dragged Nauni from the car and severely beat and stomped her. She was arrested and hospitalized with a concussion and smashed hand, among other injuries. Derrick was taken to the police station and interrogated. Several hours later, when Derrick's father and grandfather arrived from 90 miles away, police threatened to charge Derrick with murder if his father would not waive Derrick's rights and have Derrick make a sworn statement.

When Derrick's father said he wanted

to talk with a lawyer first, police arrested Derrick for first-degree murder. Derrick was later released and charges were dropped. Nauni was charged with first-degree murder and shooting with intent to kill. The state sought the death penalty. The lower court refused to set bail or allow evidence to be heard in support of the request for bail.

On June 2, 1980, Nauni went to trial. On June 17 an all-white jury of seven women and five men found her guilty of first-degree manslaughter and shooting with intent to kill. She was sentenced to 150 years' imprisonment, and will not be eligible for parole before 1990. Her attorneys will appeal.

Send donations (tax-deductible) for continued legal efforts to:

RITA SILK NAUNI DEFENSE  
FUND / NAC

c/o Fidelity Bank  
Account #107738

P.O. Box 24128

Oklahoma City, OK 73123

(Place account number and "for deposit" on checks.)

For further information, write:  
RITA SILK NAUNI DEFENSE  
COMMITTEE

Native American Center

1214 N. Hudson

Oklahoma City, OK 73103

## Black Panther Cleared of Frame-Up

Former BPP member Ronald Stevenson, who spent 11 years as a fugitive, has been cleared of a murder charge filed against him in Berkeley, California, in 1969. After a five-minute hearing, Municipal Judge Dawn Girard dismissed the charge due to lack of evidence.

Stevenson had fled his home at the age of 17, after a shootout in which fellow Panther Ronald Black was killed. Stevenson turned himself in during July after starting a new life in New Jersey as an autoworker and union official. During the years on the run, he married and became a father.

## El Salvador to Be the New Vietnam?

A number of groups are forming coalitions to oppose U.S. interference in the Latin American country of El Salvador. The Reagan Administration's pronouncements to date reflect a similar line to that which lead us into the intervention in Vietnam. One document that has circu-

lated widely among groups interested in El Salvador is a reputed CIA study opposing intervention titled "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America." The document is available in either English or Spanish for \$1.50 from CISPES, Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

## Charges Re-Instated in "Avakian" Case

Charges against Revolutionary Communist Party members facing 241 years in jail, stemming from a January, 1979 demonstration attacked by police, have been reinstated by the D.C. Court of Appeals. The case has generated an outcry by numerous civil liberties groups and individuals, who see the prosecution as both vindictive and a precursor to legal repression against progressives. For more information, contact The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, P.O. Box 6422, "T" Station, Washington, D.C. 20009. Tax-deductible donations for legal expenses can be made care of the Capp Street Foundation, 294 Page Street, San Francisco, California 94102. Earmark funds for the case.

## Wilmington Ten Vindicated

The Wilmington 10 at last saw the reversal of their convictions by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in early December, 1980. The 3-judge Appeals Court panel voted unanimously to reverse the 1972 convictions of the 10, saying "Petitioners were improperly prohibited from attacking the credibility of 2 important prosecution witnesses by showing possible bias or incentive to support the prosecution's case. . . . This they had a 6th Amendment right to do and thus we must conclude that they were convicted in violation of their 6th Amendment rights."

## Supreme Court Monitor

The Committee for Public Justice, Inc., has asked for help in monitoring Supreme Court appointments and other justice-related issues (i.e., Legal Services, policy directives, massive cuts in prison reform efforts, or federal court appointments). The committee is compiling information in an effort to mobilize the public interest community when appointments are in the making so they might speak out when it could make a difference. Contact: CPJ, Inc., 132 West 43rd Street, NYC 10036. (202) 944-5736.

## SWP Lawsuit Moves to Trial

The Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI went to trial on April 1, 1981. The lawsuit was filed by attorney Leonard Boudin in 1973 seeking to halt the U.S. government's harassment, spying and disruption of the SWP.

The scope of the suit was stated most clearly by presiding Judge Thomas P. Griesa:

"The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights, which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs."

Since it was filed, *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* has:

- forced the government to turn over more than 200,000 pages of documents on the infamous COINTELPRO disruption operation and on massive illegal programs against the Black, labor, women's, antiwar, and socialist movements in this country. These files reveal that the government's bag of dirty tricks included burglary, bugging, getting people fired from jobs, and even bomb threats and physical violence.
- fought for full exposure of the dirty work of thousands of government informers. These spies were instrumental in the FBI's most underhanded work, like the campaign to defame Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and physical violence against civil rights workers, often instigated and carried out by FBI informers. In 1978, then Attorney General Griffin Bell was held in contempt of court for refusing to comply with a court order to turn over the files of 18 informers against the SWP and YSA (the contempt citation was later lifted).
- established most recently that the Immigration and Naturalization Service,

a branch of the Justice Department, still maintains a blacklist used to harass, exclude, and deport noncitizens; the list includes the SWP—along with 667 other organizations—although the government claims to have ended its investigation of the SWP in 1976.

According to Roger Rudenstein of the Political Rights Defense Fund, "Despite the pretense of a reformed FBI, the government has made it clear that it reserves the right to continue the violations of civil liberties so abhorrent to the American people. After the recent break-in conviction of ex-FBI agents Felt and Miller, for example, the Justice Department announced that it still considered breaks-in, wiretaps, and other invasions of privacy to be legitimate techniques."

At the upcoming trial, the government will attempt to defend its 40-year investigation of the SWP, which has never turned up any evidence of criminal activity. Already they have announced their plans to call former FBI Director Clarence Kelley and former Attorney General Edward Levi as witnesses.

For further information or donations, contact Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York City 10003.

## Anti-Right Essay Contest Launched

Wisconsin Interchange, Inc., is sponsoring a College and High School Research Paper Contest. Wisconsin Interchange is the state branch of the National Interchange organization, whose purpose is to "know, to understand and to reverse the momentum of the right."

The paper should consist of an in-depth look at the far right, with the suggested title, "The Impact of the Far Right on America's Future." Papers must be typed, double-spaced, range from 10 to 30 pages and include a bibliography.

Papers must be postmarked no later

than June 1, 1981. They will be judged by the Wisconsin Interchange Steering Committee, who will be looking for good informational content, clarity and conciseness. Winners will be chosen by Aug. 15, 1981. There will be a \$100 First Prize, a \$50 Second Prize and Honorable mentions. To be eligible, one must be a full or part time college or high school student.

All papers should be sent to:  
Wisconsin Interchange  
College Research Paper Contest  
P.O. Box 1602  
Madison, WI 53701

## Lockheed Targets SWP Activists

Political spying has proved to have serious ramifications in Marietta, Georgia, where fifteen workers at the Lockheed-Georgia Company have been fired for their political activities. Thirteen of the fifteen are members of the Socialist Workers Party and the other two were suspected of SWP membership by Lockheed security officers.

The security officers claimed that the firings were a result of "discrepancies" on the workers' applications. However, one of the fired workers (during her interrogation by Lockheed security) noticed the letters "SWP" printed in red on her personnel folder.

As a result of the dismissals, attorneys in the SWP's civil suit against the FBI subpoenaed Lockheed security records. Sure enough those records showed that Lockheed security officers had spied on the workers in their homes, at political and union meetings, at civil rights demonstrations and collected data on person's sexual habits and personal associations.

The International Association of Machinists has filed grievances on behalf of the 15 workers in an attempt to have their jobs restored. If Lockheed refuses, the case could go to arbitration before the National Labor Relations Board.

"What is at stake here is a very fundamental issue," said Garrett Brown, one of the fired workers. "Does an employer have the right to fire someone because of their politics? What does this mean for other workers in the plant who want to speak out on safety conditions, affirmative action, or anything else?"

Telegrams of support should be sent to:

President  
IAM Local Lodge #709  
1032 Clay Street  
Marietta, Georgia

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## Peoples' Anti-War Mobilization

# The Politics of Police Repression in Los Angeles



by Jeff Cohen

There used to be an attitude among the Ruling elite of Los Angeles, and expressed by the *L.A. Times*: "We don't care who's mayor, as long as we name the chief of police." In 1909, for example, the police chief was chosen right out of the *Times* editorial office—ex-police beat reporter Edward Dishman.

The corporate elite and the LAPD have always enjoyed a cozy relationship. In the 1920's when the police Red Squad

had a policy of disrupting unions and breaking up ACLU meetings and rallies, its headquarters were in the Chamber of Commerce building.

Last month when LAPD Chief Daryl Gates announced that he might run for mayor of Los Angeles, Gates explained he'd been approached by some "wealthy businessmen" who offered their financial backing. This time the elite might get its mayor and police chief all rolled into one package.

## The Outspoken Chief

In recent years, it has not been mere rhetoric to pose the question, "Does L.A.'s civilian government run the police department or does the police department run civilian government?" Since ascending to the throne of Police Chief in March 1978, Chief Gates has made umpteen times as many political pronouncements as the mayor, Tom Bradley. The mayor cuts many more ribbons, but who knows where he stands on the issues?

As for the Chief, we know that he believes KABC-TV reporter Wayne Satz is "contemptuous," Black Assemblywoman Maxine Waters is "irresponsible," The Gathering—a group of 200 Black ministers—is "unrepresentative." We know that he disapproves of the "liberal media," "liberal judges," "liberal professors" and the "too liberal Police Commission"—which incidentally, is the board that employs him. Unimpressed, Gates has called the Police Commission a "Mickey Mouse outfit."

Criticism does not silence the Chief, it encourages him. He talks of a conspiracy that "practically destroyed the CIA and FBI" and now threatens the LAPD. He says that a citizens' police review board would become a "kangaroo court." When his critics complain that the department is overly militarized, he seems to confirm the appraisal by constantly referring to the officers as his "troops."

Gates' "troops," represented by the powerful Police Protective League, are a political force in their own right. Accused by Black and Chicano community leaders of sometimes resembling an "army of occupation," LAPD officers are not required to

live in the city, let alone the neighborhoods they patrol. The percentage of Blacks and Latinos on the force is less than ¼ their percentage in the city's population. Joining Gates in condemning the media's "unfair treatment" of the LAPD, the Protective League recently launched a \$1 million advertising campaign to "balance" the coverage.

Soon after announcing his mayoral ambitions, Chief Gates delivered a 35-minute speech (more like a revival sermon) to the Breakfast Club of L.A.—denouncing crime, drugs, the courts, orgies and the sensual life, love of money, decadence and the news media. On five occasions, Gates compared himself to the Biblical prophet Jeremiah—the "Calamity howler"—who delivered the word of God to the children of Israel. To paraphrase Darrow, "God talks to Gates and Gates tells the world."

## A Problem of Structure

Gates is a colorful personality; so were his predecessors. LAPD headquarters is named after Gates' mentor, Chief William Parker, who had a blunt response to 1960's-style "community relations" programs: "I'm a policeman, not a social worker."

To the extent that some people have misperceived Gates as a liberal, credit must go to his predecessor, "Crazy Ed" Davis, who was the featured speaker at the annual dinner of the John Birch Society in 1976. When asked to single out the main accomplishment of his eight-year reign (1969-1977), Davis responded, "When I became police chief, the Black Panther Party ruled this city with an iron hand; now they don't exist."

But the problem of police repression goes beyond the person-



# OFFICIAL L.A.P.D. REVOLVER



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nality of the chief to the structure of the department. In theory, the LAPD is run by a five-member Police Commission, appointed by the mayor. While things have progressed since the early 1930's when Police Commissioner Mark Pierce declared, "The more the police beat them up and wreck their headquarters, the better. Communists have no constitutional rights and I won't listen to anyone who defends them,"—structural problems remain.

The commissioners meet once a week, and receive \$10 per meeting. They have virtually no investigative staff, and are therefore incapable of acting as a review board of citizen complaints. Yet they are supposed to supervise the biggest department in city government, which has a force of 7,000 officers and a \$250 million annual budget. It is a structure that seems to negate serious civilian control.

Then there is the problem of who sits on the commission. Its guidelines state that the commission shall be made up of "respected" or "distinguished" citizens—the class of people who have the least experience with police abuse. A review of ACLU records could find no sea of racism or brutality complaints flooding in from the well-to-do residents of Bel Air or Century City.

If there is one place where the Police Commission seems to be succeeding, it's in the pages of the *L.A. Times*. Since the com-

mission's October 1979 report criticizing the two officers who shot Eulia Love (a Black woman whose death focused national attention on police use of deadly force), the *Times* has been writing of the "invigorated" commission which is "reshaping" the LAPD. The *Times* does not emphasize that the Police Commission has failed to look into a score of equally questionable officer-involved killings, the problem of a militarized police, or Gates' efforts to politicize the force. The "invigorated" commission has actively resisted much-needed reforms in the area of police spying.

## Mission Implausible

Even more problematic that the LAPD's structure or personality is its mission. It is a mission of "crime prevention"—subscribed to by police departments nationwide—that flies in the face of even the most establishment studies.

Four separate federal commissions on crime, as well as dozens of local research projects, all conclude the same thing: that police "wars on crime" deploying more or better equipped police (even putting a cop on every corner) will not solve the crime problem. A Rand Institute study found that a saturation of police in New York subways resulted in only a short term drop

(a few months) in crime . . . at a cost of \$35,000 per felony. A special anti-robbery squad targeting high-crime neighborhoods in Atlanta made forty-one arrests a year, at a cost of \$26,000 per arrest . . . but robberies increased in other neighborhoods. More cops have never equaled less crime.

Criminology studies have consistently found only one factor that automatically lessens crime (in a neighborhood or city)—lessening unemployment. Other factors are, of course, slum housing, deteriorating schools and racial oppression. As the 1967 Presidential Crime Commission concluded, "Police did not create, and cannot resolve, the social conditions that stimulate crime."

Ignoring its own studies, government has always responded to the crime problem with more cops instead of more jobs; with more jails and prisons instead of more schools and housing.

Chief-turned-politician Gates has already announced his plans to exploit the very real crime problem by offering the same, old illusory solutions. He will link his mayoral campaign to a referendum (developed by Gates) that could raise the city property taxes by \$60 million annually to hire 1,400 cops—a measure that will pose a dilemma for Reagan-style rightists who want taxes slashed, and a police-state, too.

## Sleuths, Snoops and Spooks

In July 1978, Chief Gates declared, "I don't know what police spying is." In the succeeding years, the Citizens' Commission on Police Repression—a coalition of fifty Los Angeles groups—has helped clarify the mystery by unearthing evidence of wholesale spying by the LAPD's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID, a/k/a "Red Squad").

While spy units in several major cities were either abolished or restricted in the wake of Watergate, political spying intensified in L.A. in the late 1970's. The Citizens' Commission has exposed:

PDID's 1975 surveillance list contains the names of 200 organizations, including United Farm Workers, National Council of Churches, National Organization for Women (NOW), Asian Americans for Peace, Radical Jewish Community, Gay Community Alliance, Black Social Workers Union, etc. Most of the groups on the list are Third World; 85% are left-of-center; only a small percentage could be labeled "criminal," "violent" or "terrorist."

Seven LAPD undercover officers—Connie Milazzo, Jon Dial, Georgia Odom, Eddie Solomon, Cheryl Bell, Edward Camarillo and Frank Montelongo—who infiltrated over thirty lawful political organizations in the late 70's, including socialist, Native American, anti-nuclear and anti-war groups.

Five of the officers infiltrated groups whose main purpose was to monitor and oppose police abuse—reflecting an LAPD policy: "You criticize us, we spy on you." (One of the groups infiltrated was the Citizens' Commission itself.)

Thirteen hundred pages of intelligence reports were authorized by the undercover officers. Unearthed by an ACLU lawsuit, these dossiers report on everyone who attended or spoke out at a meeting, their political beliefs, who's donating money, who works with whom and who's sleeping with whom. There is hardly a hint of criminal activity in the 1300 pages, except one document authored by "Source 456" / Officer Dial, which reports: Dial explained that if it was no problem for him [Dial] to obtain guns and he would help, but he could not speak for Duggan. Here it is the cop, not the activist, who is offering to provide guns—indicating agent-provocateurism.

Several of the intelligence dossiers report on the activities of City Councilpersons and other elected officials.

Two Black LAPD officers—formerly PDID spies—confessed to the L.A. Herald Examiner about tailing Rev. Jesse Jackson as he travelled around L.A., surveilling Bishop Brookins (a prominent Black clergyman) by posing as Community Relations officers, and monitoring and investigating all those who attended meetings of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). One officer commented about PDID, "They were trying to destroy the Black movement."

The Citizens' Commission's three-point program to end LAPD spying—recently endorsed by the ACLU and SCLC—calls for:

1. a local Freedom of Information Act, giving individuals and groups access to their PDID dossiers.
2. the abolition of PDID.
3. an ordinance (like the one enacted in Seattle) banning political spying, enforceable by criminal and civil penalties and an independent auditor.

The ordinance is necessary to insure that the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section, or some new division, does not creep into the political spying field vacated by PDID's abolition.

## Call for a Review Board with Teeth

A report on police repression in Los Angeles would be incomplete without reference to the numerous victims—usually Black or Brown and unarmed—of questionable police killings: Duane Standard who was shot to death while handcuffed, Reyes Martinez who was beaten to death in custody, Ron Burkholder who was shot while naked, Larry Morris who was apparently strangled to death in his apartment, etc. For every one of these homicide cases that became front-page news in L.A., there are hundreds of unreported incidents of police abuse: racial or sexual slurs by officers, threats and rough treatment, tampered evidence and false testimony by police. (Of the 10,000 calls received by the Southern California ACLU per year, half of them concern allegations of police misconduct.)

In response to the killings, as well as the day-to-day abuses inflicted by officers who are in no personal danger themselves, the Campaign for a Citizen's Police Review Board was formed. The Campaign has focused on the problem that undergirds most police abuse—namely, the LAPD investigating itself—and proposed an *elected* citizens' review board, with an independent staff to investigate citizen complaints and the power to discipline or fire abusive officers.

While it is questionable whether the Campaign will qualify its proposal for the ballot, it has succeeded in collecting 70,000 signatures and in focusing media attention on the police abuse issue and the lack of civilian control over the department.

The Campaign attracted a broad multi-racial coalition, at least partially fueled by Chief Gates, who promised / "threatened" to resign if a review board was established.

Now Gates is talking about resigning for another reason: to run for mayor. A Gates campaign, tied to his "more cops" tax referendum, could fuel a movement of opposition that would dwarf all earlier ones.

Jeff Cohen is the research associate of the Citizens' Commission on Police Repression, a Guild member, and a freelance journalist in L.A. He was a founding member and co-chair of the Campaign for a Citizens' Review Board.

## Civilian Review Boards:

# Toward Curbing Police Abuse

by Margaret Van Houten

With the number of police killings rising steadily, and conviction and punishment still quite rare, demands for civilian review boards and community control of police are being raised across the country, from Miami and Memphis to Los Angeles and Philadelphia. Historically, demands for independent civilian review have come from the poor, Black and Latino communities which have most often been the victims of police brutality, murders, and lawlessness. These same communities also face high unemployment, inadequate housing, and lack of basic services such as education, health care, and transportation. The demand for civilian review comes from experience with police departments and city governments which refuse to implement reforms on their own, and which do not hold themselves accountable to their victims.

Police departments and their supporters in city governments bank on racist myths to dismiss police violence in Black or Latino neighborhoods as a necessary response to "criminal tendencies" of such people. Residents of these neighborhoods know better. They realize that the problems of unemployment, inadequate social services, and discrimination cannot be solved with nightsticks or guns, and that police are there to disrupt and demoralize, not just to enforce the law.

Democratic control of the police is seen as one way to challenge their political role in society. Civilian review boards which are genuinely democratic, that is elected rather than appointed, and having the power to conduct effective investigations and discipline the police would lead to genuine limitation of police brutality and to exposure of their role as anything but neutral. Because of this, we can only expect boards to be established in response to sustained mass pressure on city governments.

Critics of civilian review boards say that they are powerless to really change police policy and practices and that legislative controls enforced by city governments go farther in bringing police under control. The civilian review boards that have been enacted have been hindered by a lack of authority and official support, in some cases serving to co-opt community militancy, while channeling opposition to the police into an institution that is fundamentally incapable of challenging the role of police in controlling the working class.

Despite the problems, the demand for civilian review continues to be raised by national minority communities most affected by police repression; and it must be looked at in that context as an anti-racist demand. A significant factor in the failure of civilian review board campaigns and campaigns for community control of the police is that progressive whites have not seen this demand coming from minority communities as being in their interest as well. Instead, white liberals have tended to work on professionalizing the police and reforms of certain police practices, rather than addressing the political and economic

reasons for the repressive role that the police play in society. The failure to support the more far-reaching demands raised by third world communities for control of the police lends support to the racist myth that there is more crime and violence in Third World communities and therefore a need for more police control in these communities.

## The Berkeley Experience

The oldest civilian review board in the country was established in Berkeley, California, in 1973 by popular referendum. The Berkeley review board grew out of a campaign for community control of the police developed by the Black Panther Party in 1969, which was developed into a referendum campaign in 1970 and finally passed in 1973. The thrust of the campaign was that it would end the militarism of police and get at the roots of their power by replacing bureaucratic and militaristic forms of police organization with more democratic forms of social service orientation and by making the police racially representative of the communities in which they were working.

The Berkeley campaign called for rearranging city government to permit direct control of police in three administrative districts (neighborhoods): the Black community, the campus / young community, and the middle-class Northside Hill community. Police claimed that the proposal created divisions in the community which would lead to differential enforcement. Behind this concern for "equality" was the racist argument that this initiative came from Third World communities because they had an interest in avoiding law enforcement. Supporters of the city charter amendment pointed out that the divisions were already there, that the police department represented only the conservative areas of Berkeley, while having antagonistic and hostile relationships with the Black and campus communities, engaging in harassment and selective law enforcement in these areas.

By rejecting the traditional solutions of greater professionalism and control of the police by the city administration, the thrust of the charter amendment was to insure that the people most affected by the police would be represented in finding solutions to problems with police.

The referendum was defeated in 1971 because of disunity among Black and white supporters of the campaign and because of the opposition of the police and powerful sectors of the business community. The failure to incorporate an anti-racist perspective into the organizing that went on in white communities led to a capitulation to the racist scare tactics that the police used to counter the initiative.

The Berkeley Police Review Commission was finally established in 1973, and is a watered down version of the original demands. The nine-member commission is appointed by the

mayor and city council, but drawn from the three districts. It is empowered to investigate complaints against the police, to review and recommend policies and practices and to subpoena documents and provide for public hearings on police matters. The commission has been largely ineffective, due to a lack of cooperation and support on the part of the city government. The 1973 referendum also called for city council control of police agreements with outside law enforcement agencies, limitations on police weapons, and a residency requirement for police officers.

### Civilian Review in Other Cities

In Philadelphia, an appointed civilian review board was established during the Tate administration (late '60s), during the time that Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo was beginning his rise to power based on his reputation as a "law and order" cop. This review board was dismantled in 1969. Despite its lack of power to discipline police and its dependence on cooperation of the police department and elected officials, which was not forthcoming, a nationally financed Fraternal Order of Police campaign was mounted to assure its demise. The Philadelphia board had no subpoena power and had to depend upon police for fact-finding and had to wait for civilian complaints to be filed. It was distrusted by community organizations because of its dependency on the system and because it failed to address police racism.

Philadelphia police played on the racist fears of white citizens by creating an hysteria around the Black militant groups that were organizing in the city and nationally, at that time, and to a degree the student movement. There was an almost daily barrage of rumor, innuendo, raids and arrests regarding alleged weapons caches, drugs, and the general perspective that crime was running rampant.

This climaxed in the raid on the Black Panther Party in 1970 when Rizzo forced Party members to strip in the street, to show his triumph over "terrorists." Again, in 1978, the multi-million dollar siege and assault on MOVE was an attempt to build support for the police view that ordinary citizens are not capable of making judgments about police practices, and that only the police can properly understand and respond to the crime problem in the city. With support from the city's major media, Rizzo consistently used the police to terrorize the Black community, while giving the impression that the Black community was dangerous to the police.

In 1966, a campaign of scare tactics by the Police Benevolent Association led to a voter referendum that dismantled a civilian review board in New York City. In 1978, a referendum campaign in Denver, growing out of police killings and harassment in the Chicano community was also defeated through a last-minute, highly financed media campaign on the part of the police that put out the explicitly racist message that criminal elements would be controlling the police department if the referendum passed.

Because of the increase of fatal police shootings in the last several years and the absence of any indictments or official action to end police abuse, a petition campaign has been developed in Los Angeles for a ballot referendum to establish an elected civilian review board. Police brutality is a volatile issue in Los Angeles, a city with a Third World population of more than 50% (24% Black and 27% Chicano). Conditions in the city have not changed since the Watts rebellion, despite the presence

of a Black mayor and a Police Commission (internal to the police department) charged with the responsibility for investigating citizen complaints and police practices.

The final outrage which sparked the campaign was the murder of Eula Love, a 39 year old Black woman and mother of three. In January, 1979, Ms. Love was killed by two police officers, who fired 12 bullets, eight of which struck her—police were called after she allegedly struck a gas company employee seeking to collect a \$69 bill. The police, who charged that she threw a knife at them, were cleared of any wrong doing in the matter.

Historically, police abuse has risen in step with growing strength in the labor movement and the civil rights movement. Increased police violence and harassment, from SWAT squads and undercover agents to random murders of traffic violators are elements of a systematic attempt to weaken these movements. Efforts to organize against police repression must address its political and economic roots to make clear that controlling the police is in the interests of the entire working class, and to put police in their proper perspective as protectors of capitalist interests.

Attempts to professionalize the police or develop reforms that deal with isolated aspects of their functions, without getting at the roots of their power, leave minorities and all working people vulnerable to escalating police violence. In a period when the economy is deteriorating and social services are being cut back, protests are bound to grow in many areas. Police will be there to counter them, and the demand for elected, civilian review boards, with genuine power to control the police will continue to be important.

Margaret Van Houten works with the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia. This article originally appeared in *The Organizer*, newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee.



# The Posse Comitatus in Wisconsin

by Thomas Murphy  
with Steve Vetzner

It's late in the evening in a rural tavern in Shawano County, Wisconsin. A portrait of the patron saint, tailgunner Joe McCarthy, looks down as James Wickstrom spreads his political philosophy around the room. Wickstrom saves no one from his words.

"The land is the birthplace of our freedom. If someone comes and threatens a man's sweat and toil for 30 years, he's gonna say, 'Get the hell off the land,' and he's gonna go inside and get a shotgun and blow their heads off," Wickstrom tells a reporter. "There's a revolution coming and it will be the biggest bloodbath you can imagine."

This message is a little heavier than Joe used to preach in these parts, but then Wickstrom is more than a flatfooted front man for the anti-communist lobby. His message contains more components of the ultra-right-wing than its agrarian extremist tone might indicate.

Wickstrom is the chief spokesperson for the Wisconsin branch of the Posse Comitatus (Latin for 'power of the country'); a group whose backwoods character and origin belie its sophistication and recent growth. Although the Posse is known for stopping citizens for speeding, filing endless liens against state and local officials, holding citizens' grand juries, and using its own currency; they have also started manufacturing their own ammunition, stockpiling weapons, and called for an open hunting season on Cuban refugees.

The Posse in Wisconsin apparently started in 1974 when Ray Omerick and a group of friends got tired of fighting the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) over pumping rights to a stream. Deciding to defend his potato crops against bureaucracy, Omerick and six friends formed the Wisconsin chapter of Posse Comitatus, a few years after the parent group was started in Portland, Oregon [see sidebar]. The Posse galloped across Wisconsin, and by October 1974, the Wisconsin organization was strong enough to host the Midwest National Tax and Posse Comitatus Convention which drew some 200 to 300 participants.

Omerick and his reactionary band of scary men gained headlines in 1976 when they had an armed standoff with the DNR to protect Omerick's property. Following this incident, Omerick went on to be elected a state representative—some say his election was the result of his well-publicized war with DNR.

## An Amalgam of Creepy Theories

This reality helps explain why the Posse is more than a villainous Dorothy of the Right, waiting for the last stand against the bureaucratic Oz. It pulls the right levers to collect its tinmen and cowardly lions, and then bolsters their hearts and souls with



James Wickstrom with portrait of Joe McCarthy.

the guns and hatred needed for the bloodbath. The Posse knows whom the hatred should be directed at. The group spreads a conspiracy theory that Jews and international bankers (often synonymous in Posse rhetoric) are combining with socialists to form a one-world monopoly. The Posse hoards guns and encourages armed violence. One Posse official reportedly urged a crowd to shoot at DNR wardens. It decries decrepit judges and crooked politicians, and believes law enforcement officials are on the take and incompetent. Hanging is the prescribed remedy for the wayward officials.

The Posse also claims the Federal Reserve system is "fraudulent and illegal" and discourages people from paying taxes. All of this, plus the view of the land as sacred—the land is ours, the law is ours—is a symbolism that effectively appeals to people who feel strangled by the law and government, and helps insulate Posse adherents from the rest of society.

Says one Posse member: "I'm not scared of anything anymore. I don't consider myself an extremist. I'm just sticking up for my rights." In Wisconsin there is an increasing reluctance to view the Posse as just a lot of kooks who are marking time until deer season opens when they can act out their frustrations from

Chicago Tribune photo by Bob Orcutt

# The Posse Comitatus

The Posse Comitatus holds that under the Constitution of the U.S., the county is the *true* seat of the government for the citizens; and therefore the county sheriff's office is the only legal law enforcement body for the nation. The county sheriff serves at the behest of the citizenry of the county and he is responsible for protecting the people of his county from unlawful acts on the part of anyone, including officials of the federal government. The sheriff can mobilize all men in his county, but he doesn't have to utilize the force and it is not his choice as to whether or not the Posse is organized.

So begins a document published by the Citizens Law Enforcement and Research Committee (CLERC), an arm of the Posse Comitatus in Portland, Oregon. According to the pamphlet, once the local sheriff has been notified of an unlawful act and refuses to take action, the Posse Comitatus "has the lawful right under natural law to act in the name of the Sheriff to protect local jurisdiction."

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"Only organized political action can do the job. . . . Are you willing to stand up and be counted?"

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The 16-page booklet makes liberal use of the Bible, the Constitution, the Federalist Papers and the U.S. Code as proof positive that every able bodied male should take up arms and join the Posse because "only organized political action can do the job. Merely reading books, passing out pamphlets, listening to a speech or attending an anti-communist meeting has no effect against the growth of communism. This is the mistaken idea which has brought about nothing but defeat in the battle to preserve our liberties, however it will develop the best educated slaves in the world. Only organized political action can do the job. All the talk in the world will not stop the enemy. Your future and that of your loved ones are at stake. Are you willing to stand up and be counted?"

The Posse has organized around the country, hoping to work in cooperation with the local sheriffs, or replace those with whom they find they cannot work. They have set up a network of communication with CB radios and ham operators for use in a emergency. Members are exhorted to locate ham operators who are "willing to cooperate with the movement."

The Posse has active chapters in Oregon, California, Arkansas and Wisconsin. The Division of Criminal Investigation, Wisconsin Department of Justice, is conducting an extensive investigation into the backgrounds of the

organization because of the Posse's "radical professions and actions."

Organizationally, the group was formed in Oregon in 1973, with two offspring: the Posse Comitatus and the Citizens Law Enforcement and Research Committee (CLERC). CLERC ultimately joined forces with the Ministry of Christ Church (*aka* The Identity Group, headed by William Potter Gale, one-time contender for governor of California and author of several books on guerrilla warfare). The Posse has ties to the Ministry of Christ Church through their joint membership, as well as similar ties to the California Rangers, the Tax Rebellion, the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, the Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan.

The Posse is reported as having served subpoenas on 43 individuals within Wisconsin state and county governments to appear before a Christian Citizens Grand Jury. When the 43 refused to appear, the Posse indicted the governor, the attorney general, several assistant attorneys general, a county sheriff, a county district attorney and several others. When the circuit court judge refused to issue warrants, both he and his clerk were indicted.

The Posse is also credited with having disrupted several meetings of Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources; the macing of Wisconsin Capitol Protection and Security guards assigned to protect state hearings, assaulting of a federal IRS agent; and the tying up of the court systems with a multitude of trials, all of which demanded juries.

The Posse philosophy is spreading among other ultra-right groups, with a series of articles on the Posse appearing in Indiana's right-wing *Mantooth Report*, and favorable mentions in several other publications including materials put out by other tax resistance groups.



behind a telescopic sight. As one Wisconsin newspaper editorialized, "It would be nice to write the Posse off as a bunch of Keystone Kops running around with their guns and badges, but those are real guns and it is real people who could get hurt." Wickstrom disagrees: "We're rational people," he says.

It certainly appears that the Posse is rational in terms of its plans for growth. At least they are successful—if not rational. While the Posse plows the back country with symbolic appeals to stay close to home, organizationally it is moving throughout the State throwing its seeds from several arms. Those seeds apparently are finding fertile ground.

### Strange Roots

The Posse Comitatus derives its name, "authority," and mission from Wisconsin State Statute 59.24, which embodies the elected sheriff in a county with the power to create, if the need arises, a posse to aid him in his law enforcement duties. Common law tradition in Wisconsin also allows for the creation of such a body. Through a macabre and strictly personal interpretation of law, Posse members claim to be police officers bound to enforce the laws of the State of Wisconsin. Posse members carry guns and wear sheriff's deputy uniforms as well as star-shaped badges which read, "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus." Thomas Stockheimer, a long-time rightist and convicted felon, is president of the Wisconsin Posse Comitatus, which has its headquarters in Tigerton, Shawano County, Wisconsin. Stockheimer is a middle aged man who travels throughout the state spreading the Posse's anti-urban, anti-semitic message.

Stockheimer is accompanied by his bodyguard, a Westfield Wisconsin restaurateur. Snow carries a gun, while Stockheimer remains unarmed because of his felon status. (Guns, as we shall see later, are essential to being in the Posse.) During their T.V. and radio interviews both men speak of Department of National Resources plots against their lives and well being. Stockheimer is so convinced that the DNR is out to poison farmers and other rural citizens that he carries a large thermos of well water with him so he will have no need of the poisoned tap water. In interviews, the men present the Posse Comitatus as White Christian America's last defense against the Communist Party, the "Jewish alien menace" and the "Black subhuman lumpenproletariat" of the "Devil's center"—the urban areas of America.

The best known member of the Posse is neither Stockheimer or Snow, but Wickstrom, co-chairman and State information Coordinator of the Posse. His co-chairmanship is a paper reality, but his influence is not. If Stockheimer gives the orders and formulates the policy, Wickstrom is the ideologue and public relations man. He is also a Vietnam veteran, young and most importantly for the designs of the Posse and Stockheimer, he is not a felon. This status allows him to run for public office and own and carry a firearm. The Posse is plagued by the felony records of its members. Wickstrom is one of the few members of the leadership who is exempt from that legal obstruction to political activity. Wickstrom is also more articulate and literate than most of the Posse's leadership and membership.

### Anti-Police Police?

Needless to say, members of the Wisconsin Sheriff's Posse Comitatus are not policemen nor have any Wisconsin Sheriffs deputized them or called them into existence. On the contrary, the Badger State Sheriffs Association has assigned its best inves-

tigator to investigate the Posse and to assess its threat to public order. Posse members have been arrested on numerous occasions for carrying and possessing weapons illegally, as well as for impersonating police officers.

The Posse did manage to obtain deputization once under the guise of civil defense. A village official filled with terror by Posse homilies threatening an imminent Soviet missile attack deputized Wickstrom *et al.* and authorized them to inspect local civil defense stores and facilities. This deputization was revoked when gun-toting Posse members began popping up at urban defense shelters screaming about the dire conditions and incoming communist ICBMs. This deputization was the subject of a federal investigation into the Posse's activities. Wickstrom took delight in sending notarized affidavits of his deputization to the FBI and Federal Judiciary.

The Posse has made significant propaganda gains through their use of law enforcement trappings. Through their claims to be a police group, the Posse grasps at legitimization of their witch hunting activities and military apparatus. Their tactics also provide one with a glimpse of how the Posse views the government of the future—after their victorious coming to power.

### Praise God and Pass the Ammunition

The Posse further attempts legitimacy by donning the trappings of another bastion of contemporary social structure—the church. Stockheimer is Pastor of the Basic Bible Church and Wickstrom is registered as a minister of the Life-Science Church and operates the Tigertown Christian Liberty Academy. Both Wickstrom and Stockheimer claim to have taken a vow of poverty and acknowledge that they pay no taxes on salaries received from speaking engagements. Indeed, their "ordination" serves to protect their farms, cars and other property from taxation. Needless to say, the Wisconsin Department of Revenue and Internal Revenue Service are unhappy with the Posse leadership's tax exempt status. When federal agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms raided Stockheimer's trailer in Shawano and confiscated weapons that Stockheimer had no legal right to possess as a felon, Stockheimer escaped prosecution and arrest by claiming that the guns belonged to the Life-Science Church.

Wickstrom is the spiritual guru of the Posse, claiming that "[n]o man on earth loves more than I, Jesus the Christ." Posse members present themselves as soldiers of Christ and are fond of referring to themselves as the 91st Brigade. This title is based on the 91st Psalm (KJV) which has been altered to define the mission of Posse members.

Posse recruiting literature bears the following heading:

Wanted: Volunteer Able Bodied Christian Males who will swear to uphold and defend the Constitution of the Sovereign State of Illinois without reservation, upon acceptance of their applications.

The religious status and veneer of the Posse is one of its mainstays on both the ideological and tactical level. When the Posse delivers a membership drive speech the religious angle is fully exploited. Wickstrom and Stockheimer are introduced as reverend members of the Posse, and the fascist, anti-semitic political message of the Posse is blended with a macabre form of Biblical exegesis and fundamentalist theologizing. One Wisconsin

clergyman who has carefully examined the religious rantings of the Posse describes them as the "Gnostics of the Right," laying claim to special political insight and truth through the guidance of the Holy Spirit and scriptures.

### A Taxing Struggle

The Posse is adept at utilizing not only religion and law and order propaganda, but skilled in the use of front groups as well. The main front group of the Posse is known as the Wisconsin Constitutional Taxpayers Association. The Taxpayers Association is in fact a synonym for the Posse Comitatus. This semantic guise, however, has eased the Posse's access to the media and enabled the Posse to gain support from groups which would

Wisconsin radio and T.V. stations. For a period of almost a year the Taxpayers Association contacted the media through news releases which were similar to those of the Taxpayers Alliance. These news releases made reference to the group's connection with the Posse or the actual fascist and racist subject matter of the meeting to be held. News Directors of radio stations found themselves unwittingly advertising Posse membership drives and meetings in what they considered to be Taxpayers Alliance news releases. Radio stations in particular found themselves surprised and victimized to learn that guests appearing on their public affairs interview shows were indeed not members of the business association, but Posse members recommending the extermination of Jews and Blacks and the public assassination of elected state officials.



have remained aloof had they been aware of the relationship between the Taxpayers Association and the Posse.

The name of the front may have been purposely selected by the Posse leadership to cause confusion and misidentification with another Wisconsin tax group—the Wisconsin Taxpayer's Alliance. The Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance is an extremely conservative Howard Jarvis-type association which has had no contact with, nor has it expressed support for the Posse. The Taxpayers Alliance spends most of its effort compiling and publishing bulletins and analyzing the tax structure of the state from the viewpoint of the capitalist class and industrial magnates of Wisconsin. It has excellent print and public relations facilities with regularly established news release coverage status with most

The Posse uses its Taxpayers Association title when reserving halls and clubs in which to hold membership drives. Recent cases include Posse membership drives in Portage and Columbia Wisconsin in March 1980. In Columbus, the American Legion was contacted and asked to rent their meeting hall to the Constitutional Taxpayers of Wisconsin. In Portage, the Knights of Columbus were asked to rent their hall to a taxpayer group which in the words of the Knights' financial secretary, "Would give advice on the IRS and Census forms." Both groups agreed to their halls being utilized by the "Taxpayers Association." Ads in local print media appeared shortly after permission was received, advertising the meetings as membership drives for the Posse and implying that Reverends Wickstrom and Stockheimer

had not only the use of the facilities of the Knights of Columbus and the American Legion, but their support and endorsement as well.

In the Portage case, after the Knights were informed of the Posse's manipulation, they responded by attempting to cancel the use of their hall by the Posse; but upon recommendation of their legal counsel, allowed the meeting to take place. According to the Knights' financial secretary, another factor motivating this decision was fear that the Posse would destroy their hall if they refused them the use of it. The Grand Knight later apologized on Madison televisions for the racist antics that the Posse performed in the Knights' hall. The American Legion also apologized in Madison newspapers.

## A Growing Legion

Through a combination of law enforcement rhetoric and costume, church ecclesiastical titles and ruse, the Posse has made a successful broad appeal to rural Wisconsinites. In a Law Day speech to the Wisconsin State Bar Association, Wisconsin Attorney General Bronson LaFollette stated that his enforcement agency estimated the Posse's membership to be from 200 to 1,000, with most members in Marathon, Clark, Wood and Wapaca Counties. The Posse's real membership is closer to 2,000. The silent support and comfort they receive throughout the rural areas of the state may well reach the 10,000 mark.

The Posse's front for political activity is the Constitution Party of Wisconsin. The party is controlled by the Posse and is a splinter from the older American Party of George Wallace Days. Wickstrom has stated that the party's platform is identical to that of the late U.S. Senator from Appleton, Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy.

In any event, the Posse has established County Chapters in almost every county in the state, including the state's two most urban counties, Dane and Milwaukee. The Posse leadership loves to boast of its large West Bend chapter so close to the "devil's own Sodom and Gomorrah—the City of Milwaukee." Wickstrom talks openly of the scorn he feels for the "commie Jews" at Channel 6 WITI T.V. in Milwaukee and their editorial campaigns against him and the Milwaukee based Nazi Party of America.

## Some Funny Funding . . .

The financing of the group is shrouded in mystery, but the Posse's funding is allegedly centered in three areas. The first source of revenue is from dues, the sales of anti-tax kits, and fees collected from seminars. Seminar courses offered by George Snow range in content from "How to Castrate the DNR" to "How to Avoid Taxes." Seminars cost up to \$250.00 per day.

The Posse has also been charged with being in the business of printing its own currency. U.S. Treasury agents brought charges against high ranking Posse member Albert Iwen in Merrill for counterfeiting, and he was convicted in Federal Court in Milwaukee on June 3, 1980 of attempting to pass \$5,000 in counterfeit money. A witness in the trial stated that the money came from presses operated by the Posse Comitatus. The witness, Kevin Buggy, was arrested in November for passing counterfeit money in a restaurant in the Brookfield Square shopping center outside of Milwaukee, and agreed to cooperate with authorities.

Authorities subsequently taped two conversations between Buggy and Iwen. Buggy testified that Iwen told him that the Posse had as much as \$500,000 dollars in phony bills in their possession. Throughout the trial Joseph Birkenstock (next to Wickstrom the most powerful man in the Posse and one of its founding members) sat in attendance. Iwen has been the subject of another Federal investigation. He and other Posse members have been ordered by the courts to stop manufacturing the chemical Laetril. Iwen, a chemist and health food consultant has been suspected of blackmarketing that substance in Wisconsin and Illinois.

The third source of funds for the Posse is alleged to be Lyndon H. LaRouche of the United States Labor Party. According to a Federal law enforcement source, LaRouche provides funds for Posse operations in the hopes that rural chaos will strengthen the aims of the USLP. LaRouche has been



extremely active in Wisconsin of late, having a sizable office in Milwaukee and has increased his presence in Wisconsin by attempting to send "agricultural advisors and experts" to assist the National Farmers Organization as he did recently in Sauk City.

## Guns Not Butter Is Better

A large portion of the money gained from the various sources is poured into arms. The Posse has purchased small arms of the advanced kind and some exotic military hardware such as portable rocketry. The Posse has long been suspected of stockpiling weapons and now openly admits to it on television. Attorney General Bronson LaFollette recently voiced fears that the Posse is suspected of having fully automatic weapons and bazooka weapons in their possession. Wickstrom bragged on public television in April, 1980 that the Posse was stockpiling weapons and would soon be using them against urban Blacks whom they expected will soon be pillaging the rural countryside. The Posse utilized the Federal Firearms License number of a Portage, Wisconsin sporting goods store to obtain \$22,000 worth of guns and ammunition for MIG/ARIS military weapons.

A confidential source states that Federal agents believe that the Posse also possesses Russian RPG anti-tank weapon rockets to be used against invading communist tanks if the U.S.S.R. invades America. Recently, the Posse has been under surveillance by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. BATF agents have raided Posse quarters and seized illegally held weapons and examined gun store records to determine Posse gun and ammunition purchases.

The BATF surveillance has led Wickstrom and Stockheimer to establish a Posse program of ammunition manufacturing.

According to the Posse, the final enslavement of America occurred in 1968 when the Jewish- and banker-owned Congress removed silver certificates, the last real backing of the American dollar. The Posse now believes that American Jews own the media, journalists and federal bureaucracy.

Using reloaded presses and bulk components, the Posse is turning out large batches of ammunition. Under present state and federal law, this practice is perfectly legal. For Posse members who are felons, however, the purchase of ammunition and reloading equipment has led to federal convictions.

### Stormtroopers of the Apocalypse

The Posse's stockpiling of arms reflects their conviction in their political mission, their view of America's apocalyptic future, as well as their bizarre view of the law. The arms are stockpiled for two reasons. The first is in keeping with their role as the Christian Militia and the second reason is the defeat of the Alien.

The concept of the Alien or the Anti-Christ is central to the ideological presentation and military preparations of the Posse. The Aliens are the real people responsible for wrecking America.

The Alien is identified by the Posse as anyone who does not accept Jesus Christ as the Lord. In reality, the Posse leadership describes the Alien as anyone they reject or dislike. The Aliens, in normal Posse rhetoric, are currently elected politicians, judges, lawyers, network television employees, journalists, leftists, socialists, the Rockefellers and all bankers, agents of the DNR, FBI, CIA and BATF. The Blacks and Latinos are also marked as Aliens despite the large proportion of them that are professed Christians.

The Posse leaders weave a rug of conspiracy to show how American Jews gained control of the banks and destroyed the American economy. The tale, according to Posse rhetoric, begins with the Jews seizing control of the White House in Wilson's day. They allegedly gained further power by founding the League of Nations and Federal Reserve system. The Jews consolidated their power under FDR by creating a huge Federal bureaucracy dedicated to the conversion of America into a communist dictatorship. Another thread of the conspiracy is the United Nations which is viewed by the Posse as a committee of the USSR's Prasedium. According to the Posse, the final en-

slavement of America occurred in 1968 when the Jewish- and banker-owned Congress removed silver certificates, the last real backing of the American dollar. The Posse now believes that American Jews own the media, journalists, and Federal bureaucracy, and are most easily detected in State Bar Associations and the Communist Party.

Lawyers and judges are particularly reviled by the Posse because they are viewed as the ones who have destroyed the Christian Republic by supplanting common law or in the Posse's words, "Christian Common Law," with equity law or Roman law. The Posse does not recognize the validity of any American court of law, including that of the Supreme Court. They claim that the only valid court of law is that summoned by the Sheriff under common law proceedings. The Posse envisions the original government of the Republic—before the Jewish and communist takeover—as having been composed of the National Congress, state legislature and executive branch, with the sheriff as head of the county underneath the Governor. No federal or state agency, enforcement branch or body is considered valid. These entities are considered the accretions of communist rule.

### Some Dare Call It Treason

The Posse claims the right to try anyone for treason. Such a proceeding begins when the Sheriff calls for a common law trial. The jury is composed of twelve Christian land owning persons. Land ownership and Christian beliefs are Posse requirements for citizenship. The accused traitor acts in his own defense and the prosecutor is the man or men bringing the charge. If the accused is found guilty, he is condemned and taken forthwith to the nearest tree or lamppost and publicly hung. Aliens, of course, are not even granted the privilege of a common law trial Posse style, since they are not citizens and may be disposed of as the Christian majority sees fit.

Apart from abolishing the courts, federal and state bureaucracy and eliminating Aliens, the Posse proposes a five-point plan to return communist America to a Christian Republic. First, in order to solve inflation, all foreign aid must be cancelled and America's 12.5 billion dollar trade pact with "godless China" must be eliminated. Second, all taxes with the exception of corporate excise and import taxes will be eliminated. The third point calls for the firing of 80% of all state and federal employees. Step four is the closing of all commercial banks. Step five calls for isolationism in foreign policy. According to the Posse, this should end the practice of Jewish bankers sending Christian boys to die in the heathen soils of Europe and Vietnam and soon, Wickstrom warns us, in Iran. After all, Wickstrom points out, Carter wouldn't have given a damn for the hostages in the embassy in Tehran if they (the hostages) weren't "all precious damn Jews."

The Posse Comitatus does not expect to be swept into power on the tails of an electoral swing to the right or be seizing power. They expect power to come in quite another way. The Posse believes that the U.S. will soon experience a depression so devastating that the country's industrial base will be utterly destroyed. The Blacks will find themselves in the cities without food and will descend upon the rural areas of the nation to rape and strip bare the countryside. At this point the Posse will step forward to destroy the "black heathens and preserve the White God-fearing Christian America of the rural areas."

## A Foray Into Union Struggles

In the meantime, the Posse waits, stockpiling arms, gaining members and preaching their gospel of hate and racism. Quite recently the Posse has left behind its essentially didactic mission for the more overtly political ones of running for political office and infiltrating the labor scene. The Posse Comitatus has recently become involved in the labor scene in the Hartford-Rubicon-Slinger area of Wisconsin. At the Hartford Chrysler plant, employees who have joined the Posse have been ordered by the Posse leadership to bring the Union around and to force Chrysler to pay employees in silver, as well as to stop the plant from withholding any taxes for social security. Some union members have complained of intimidation by Posse members.

Indeed, the Posse does not shy away from intimidation through both legal and violent activity. Posse members have filed up to one million dollars in liens against the property of officials who oppose them. This has led Attorney General LaFollette to order county officials to refuse to file liens by Posse members. In June, 1980 the tables were turned when the IRS filed an \$11,029 tax lien against the Posse's number three man, Joseph Birkenstock of Manitowoc.

The Posse also intimidates jurors and their families. Richard Kaufman, a loyal Posse member convicted of illegally purchasing a firearm, was ordered by U.S. Judge Barbara Crabb not to file any liens or try any other means of intimidation against anyone who participated in his trial. The DNR has alleged that Posse members have severely beaten some of their wardens and agents. Others who probe into Posse activities are also subjected to harassment ranging from threats on their lives to smear campaigns about their sex lives and patriotism. Some people find it intimidating merely to meet with snarling, uniformed, gun-toting Posse members. Wickstrom has publicly, on numerous occasions, threatened to hang Bronson LaFollette and other select judges and journalists from the nearest lamppost.

The Posse's success has startled many Wisconsin officials in as much as their insane appeals for social anarchy and devastation have brought them large membership and influence. Unlike many extreme right groups, the Posse has not received support from the police on either an overt or tacit level. This is due primarily to the fact that the Posse originally surfaced in opposition to a police agency—the enforcement division of the DNR—decrying them as communist and even physically attacking



Wanted: Able-bodied Christian males over the age of 16 to defend the Constitution

their members. The police also feel that the Posse is supplanting them in certain sectors of the state, establishing themselves as an alternative law enforcement body. Then, too, there are members of various law enforcement agencies who are just plain scared of any group in possession of huge and sophisticated weaponry that the Posse now possesses.

### **A Little Spark Might Start This Prairie Fire**

A senior investigator recently remarked that "[t]he Posse members are primed and just waiting for a spark that could set things off."

For a time last summer, many citizens feared that the Fort McCoy Cuban Refugee Relocation Center in Sparta, Wisconsin could have been that fatal spark that might someday lead the Posse, complete with its Russian RPG rockets, into a conflict with the authorities. The Posse had vowed that if the Cubans get out of hand they would liquidate the foreign trash. Wisconsin's Republican Governor Lee Sherman Dreyfus added fuel to the Posse's propaganda first by threatening to use the state police to prevent federal authorities from landing Cubans at the Center, then by attending the Center in uniform for a rocket demonstration, and finally by calling a press conference in which he ordered barbed wire to be placed around the structures housing the refugees.

Posse members began distributing literature at factories in

Baraboo, Wisconsin announcing the First Annual Cuban Shoot, which they scheduled for Sunday, August 3, 1980 at Sparta. They also distributed cards saying: "Hunting License First Annual Cuban Shoot Fort McCoy Open Season No Bag Limit." In complete mimicry of the DNR, the Posse drew up a registration form for the number of Cubans bagged—height, weight, etc.

Whether or not the Posse will ever use their weapons remains an open question, but their rhetoric has been increasingly violent and one is haunted by Wickstrom's words recently spoken in Portage:

It's a damn good thing that these traitorous local officials have taken so much care to build such nice street lamps, because very soon they will be hanging from them.

This belligerence toward officialdom resulted in a fracas in Rio, Wisconsin a short while ago which resulted in a jail sentence for one overly aggressive Posse member. A policeman had stopped a Posse member for driving without proper registration, but the Posse member countered with the argument that state registration was invalid and that he was an officer of the law himself. Both men reached for their microphones . . . the police officer to call for back up units—the Posse member to send a CB radio message for assistance.

The Posse arrived on the scene first, and some seven Posse members were involved in a melee that left the policeman knocked down, kicked and pretty well worked over. The Posse members were able to overpower the police officer because they carried Armalite 180s, a powerful semi-automatic rifle similar to the M-16.

When the police back-up units finally arrived, they made two arrests, including the driver who had launched the attack on the officer. The driver was recently sentenced to a seven-year stretch for assaulting the police officer.

Police agencies are watching the Posse closely, but are wary of getting into an armed confrontation with Posse members. "When it comes to human rights vs. property rights," said Andrew Damon, DNR deputy director, "judgment must be clear. We don't want to wind up in a shooting match." One game warden put it more succinctly: "Who wants to get your ass blown off over a fawn?"

State Representative Omerick says he no longer is affiliated with the Posse, but last year he wrote a letter to the **Wausau Daily Herald** using his legislature stationery in which he called the Posse members the "Paul Revers of today." He went on to defend the Posse whose members were "willing to die not only to defend my property but eventually theirs," and called sheriffs and district attorneys "lackeys of the DNR." According to Omerick, we are facing a "controlled Gestapo form of government."

Omerick is right about the last charge, of course, but he is looking in the wrong direction for the culprits. Says one local resident, "Nobody is very proud" of the Posse's presence, but most people fear reprisals for speaking against them. Another person told a reporter, "You feel if you look at 'em the wrong way, they'll draw their guns. . . . [O]ne of these days someone's gonna get killed."

Thomas Murphy is a radio station news director in Baraboo, Wisconsin. Steve Vetzner is an attorney in Chicago, and member of the NLG.

## **Ring in the New Year**

On New Years Eve a 300 foot high communications tower used by police, fire, and emergency units of Columbia County, Wisconsin, was toppled in a blast that resulted from professionally-placed charges at the base of the tower.

The toppled tower, which missed a local residence by some 70 feet, caused the cut-off of all official radio communications in the county. The county is the home of one of the most rabid of Wisconsin's Posse Comitatus chapters. The Posse had threatened to blow up the tower in the past, according to local sources. Officials are investigating the possibility of Posse involvement in the New Year explosion.

## Marking Time:

# The Posse in California

by Adam Dawson  
and Ken Hoover

Terrance D. Oaks believes the California Posse Comitatus is still alive in the hearts of those who are true believers. But like the 42-year-old former movie lighting technician, the Posse has faded into the background until the time is right.

The modern-day counterpart of the vigilantes which sprang up in the Old West, the Posse sought to administer the same hang-them-high type of justice to those who did not hue to its line.

Internal Revenue Service agents, judges and assorted government officials all have been targeted by the group, which at one time advocated hanging public officials at high noon in the town square.

While the Posse may have faded from the limelight in Southern California, its members have moved into other groups that share at least some of the Posse's philosophy.

"I'm laying low for a while," Oaks, a Sepulveda resident, said in an interview. "When I come back into the limelight, it will be in a big way." He explained people were getting away from the Posse because the group has a violent image. "Whatever happened, it was made out to be violent. The government tried to give the Posse a violent image," Oaks said. Nobody had to try very hard to give the Posse a violent image in Northern California or in many other states.

In addition to IRS agents, land use planners and zoning officials have been the targets of armed Posse members' anger. In addition, more than three dozen armed Posse members kept United Farm Worker organizers off a tomato ranch near Stockton in 1975. One policeman was injured and three Posse members arrested in scuffles that followed.

The original Posse manual said in some instances, public officials who violate their oath of office or commit criminal acts could be prosecuted by a certain method:

"He shall be removed by the Posse to the most populated intersection of streets in the township and at high noon be hanged by the neck; the body remaining until sundown as an example to those who would subvert the law."

That passage was removed from the official manual, Posse founder Mike Beach in Portland, Oregon, said in an interview, in the mid-1970s.

"A few pantywaists felt that was going a little too strong," he said.

Lately Posse members in Colorado have been linked to liens filed against homes and other real estate owned by public officials in an effort to cloud the ownership. In Colorado, common-law liens are permitted, although a judge ruled late last year the liens simply were filed as harassment and voided them.

Similar outbreaks of liens against public officials also have been reported in Wisconsin, Nebraska and Washington. California laws governing application of liens prevent such an occurrence here.

Many of those who were active in the Posse have moved into

the tax resistance movement. Oaks, who served three years' probation for failing to pay federal income taxes, now is active in the Murieta-based Guardians of American Rights and Demands.

The GARD is headed by A.J. Lowery, who along with his wife, Anita, publishes *The Justice Times*, a monthly publication. Its contents mainly are devoted to fiery rhetoric supporting those citizens who do not pay their income taxes.

In addition to its war on the Internal Revenue Service, GARD makes it clear it accepts only its interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights, and threatens untold horrors for any public official who deviates from it.

Other organizations such as the Garden Grove-based Your Heritage Protection Association, which just started meeting weekly in Van Nuys, teach that people owe no income taxes because salaries are paid in paper bills (Federal Reserve Notes), which are not backed by standard silver or gold and therefore are not really money.

Like others who wrap themselves in their own interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, co-founders Burton "Irish" Conway and Armen B. Condo like to be known as super-patriots.

Conway referred to the upcoming economic crash, along with people, such as David Rockefeller, who he feels have control of the government—particularly Congress:

"Some top people say if we don't turn it around by 1980, we may have to take it back with guns and bullets. I don't want to have to take it back through a guerrilla action."

One of the big advertisers in *The Justice Times* is a Tustin-based organization called "TEA," which bills itself as "an association of 20th century patriots." These patriots will sell you a charter in the Universal Life Church, and as a church, help you reduce your state and federal income taxes—all for the sum of \$1,250 to begin with and \$23 a month. That is providing you are not fairly well-to-do. If you are, the initial fee jumps to \$2,500.

Central to the philosophy of Oaks and other Posse members and supporters is a belief in the sovereignty of the people.

Oaks turned to songwriting to spread his idea of sovereignty, but he was not able to convince any of the radio stations to play the country-western single he made entitled "Posse Comitatus."

In it, he spells out exactly what the Posse has in mind when it talks about justice and defending the Constitution. After rambling through talk of hanging bankers and Internal Revenue Service agents it says:

"We may have to hang a few judges, parasites, scoundrels and bums. But let's not be sentimentalists, boys, after all, we're only dealing with scum."

Oaks said he was only advocating such action philosophically. "I'm not saying I'm going out and do that right away."

Adam Dawson and Ken Hoover are reporters for the *Valley News* in California, where this article originally appeared. Copyright 1980 *Valley News*. Reprinted with permission.

# INTERVIEW

## Earl B. Dickerson at 90

Earl Dickerson's fight to make equality a reality for all people is more than the story of one man. In a very real way, it is also the story of the struggle of an entire people. For Earl Dickerson, the story begins in Canton, Mississippi where he was born in 1891. Mr. Dickerson has said that he inherited his fighting spirit from his family who, like many Afro-Americans, resented the indignities of Jim Crow.

At the age of 15, Dickerson joined the growing northbound exodus, riding the Illinois Central Railroad to the end of the line—Chicago. He worked his way through high school and then the University of Illinois. While in college, Dickerson began to see that the law might be a vehicle for social change. In 1920 he became the first black graduate of the University of Chicago Law School.

The earning of a J.D. was only the beginning of the illustrious career of Earl B. Dickerson. In addition to becoming the first black president of the National Lawyers Guild, he has served as assistant corporation counsel for the City of Chicago, assistant attorney general for the State of Illinois, 2nd Ward Alderman, and president of the National Bar Association and the Chicago Urban League. He has served on the national boards of the NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund, and the Special Contributors Fund.

Earl B. Dickerson continues to be an outspoken activist in the fields of civil rights, civil liberties, and human equality. Even during the height of the McCarthy period, Mr. Dickerson remained unwavering in his devotion to the cause of human dignity.

*Earl B. Dickerson admitted he was in a bit of a philosophical mood on the day he talked with National Lawyers Guild member Chip Berlet, who as a freelance journalist drew the lucky task of spending several hours with Mr. Dickerson collecting reminiscences and opinions.*

**NLG:** You were president of the National Lawyers Guild during the height of the McCarthy period, and your FBI and Chicago Red Squad files are voluminous; did your activities with the Guild ever cause you problems in your personal and professional life?

**Dickerson:** Well, some officials sought to destroy most of the people who were identified with the Guild, you know, often through the press, but I was getting myself into trouble because of my beliefs and principles long before I was president of the Guild. Let me give you an example.

I was appointed in 1941 by President Roosevelt to the Fair Employment Practices Commission. And the man who was the chairman left for active service and therefore the board elected me as the acting chairman. On one occasion we were in Washington preparing for the hearings on the Washington Streetcar System. (They needed employees to operate the lines but would not accept blacks.) So on the first day of our preparation for the hearing I got a call from a man in the White House asking to have the hearing postponed or continued to another day. So the Commission meeting came that afternoon and I told them what he had said...and then I told them that, personally, I was not content to have the hearing for the next day delayed unless I got word from the President himself.



Earl Dickerson relaxes in his office in Chicago.

So later that afternoon I got a call from the same man saying that the President would like to see me at the White House that afternoon. So I went down to his office and the President told me the reason he wanted the hearing continued was that the next day he was flying to North Africa to meet with Stalin and Lloyd George and those other fellows. Well, that was okay, so I announced to the papers that the President had requested me to have the hearings continued and the hearings would be continued. Well, I cite that as one of the things that haunted me later on when I became president of the Guild; because anyone who was head of the Guild at that time was under suspicion and investigations would dredge up these incidents.

When I was running for judge, we formed a committee known as the Progressive Party which ran a slate of judges composed of black lawyers and liberal lawyers who had never been recommended for judgeships. Now, there used to be a coalition to elect the 21 circuit judges and the way they would do that for years was that all of the sitting judges—Democratic and Republican—would be on that coalition ticket, you see? So that no outsider could come in. So I got with several other fellows and we prepared a slate of 21 persons for candidacy on the Progressive ticket in the 1947 or 1948 election. (We almost broke the slate by the way.) And there again my associations were brought up. I was before the Bar Association, and they argued almost the whole day about whether they would give me the approval of being competent for this position in view of my connection with all these other things. That was before the Guild, you know; but I had been identified with everything that had come up of that nature.

Now another thing that happened years later, I'm talking about some of the things that happened to me in my connection to the Guild and other activities. In 1960 I was on the professional and businessmen's committee to promote the election of John Kennedy for the presidency. At the end of that campaign they were asking members of that group for recommendations for men to get to be appointed to posts by the President. I later discovered that this committee, of which I was a member, recommended to the President elect that I be made an assistant secretary of commerce. After the President was appointed, the FBI and all those people were checking into me as they were other people who were being considered for posts. I was the president of Supreme Life Insurance Company then, and I couldn't do any work for several days because telephone calls from all over the United States were coming in from Guild brothers and others saying that I was being investigated for some position. I guess I must have gotten about 20 calls from people.

So that went on several days. Strangely enough I didn't know until recently what had happened. But all of a sudden these calls discontinued, and nobody ever said anything to me afterwards about it, and I never heard from the President. The appointment dropped; they threw me out. I later learned that the

FBI had checked over my activities and checked what I had done with the President years before in connection with the hearings, and other things I had done. So that's it; that ended the deal. I never regretted it. I was not too anxious for an appointment.

Later in 1960, I was a witness in the Illinois legislature on a proposal to have the state legislature pass a state Fair Employment Practices Commission. Then-governor Kerner later nominated me as one of the first members of this Illinois Commission, but if you were nominated, you had to get the approval of the State Senate. They had hearings for several days on people who had been nominated for different positions and when mine came up, they had the conference room walls filled with statements that I had made, the organizations I had been a member of like the Soviet-American Friendship Society and all. And when they voted that day the confirmation was defeated by a vote of 15 Republicans to 13 Democrats. And the reason the Democrats voted for me at all was that the night before the governor had me and several Democratic Senate leaders come over to his office. The Democrats said they were going to vote against me, too. But Kerner told them that if they voted against me, that they didn't expect any cooperation from him and he just had been elected. So that's why all of the Democrats voted for me.

Before I was with the National Lawyers Guild, I was active with the NAACP. I was chairman of legal redress of the Chicago Chapter of the NAACP, and we raised money and considerable opposition to racially restrictive covenants in Chicago. Through this work I became counsel for a company which had a mortgage for a man in a racially-restrictive area—this was 1940. And because I had headed that movement—we won it by the way—I argued the case in the Supreme Court—*Hansberry v. Lee*. Because I had been identified with that fight, I was too radical for these fellows. So every time my name appeared, the *Chicago Tribune* would report the item and say, "Earl B. Dickerson, the attorney . . . for the Communist Party . . ." in such a case.

And then, of course, I had prepared a petition for rehearing in the *Communist 11* case, you know.

**NLG:** What was the *Communist 11* case?

**Dickerson:** Well that was a famous case in which all of these Hollywood artists and their attorneys were held in contempt by the House Un-American Activities Committee and they were sent to the penitentiary. They were called the *Communist 11*. And I had prepared the case for rehearing. I happen to have been at that time the president of the local Cook County Bar Association, a black organization here in Cook County. And by the doctrine of association I was placed in the front ranks of those radicals, you know. It was quite an experience, and it gave me great strength to carry on the battles.

I was happy to have been identified with all of the causes and some of the things that I did with various groups had something to do with those later civil

document courtesy  
Chicago Police Department  
Red Squad

November 22, 1954.

From: Commanding Officer - Security Unit.  
To: Commissioner of Police.  
Subject: National Lawyers Guild (Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party), 1954 Convention, November 19-21, 1954, Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, \$5.50 Per Plate.

Attached comprises report of subject Communist front activity, covered by members of this Unit.

FJH/eww/rth *Report*  
cc: DC SS

Sgt. Frank J. Heimoski

Subject: National Lawyers Guild (Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party), 1954 Convention, November 19-21, 1954, Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

This report covers the Annual Banquet held in conjunction with subject Convention. Said banquet was given on Saturday, November 20, 1954, at 7:30 P.M. in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel.

At this time the toastmaster, [REDACTED] gave a short talk outlining a bit of the history of the Guild. He stated that he was grateful for the opportunity of welcoming the audience at this high-point of the 1954 Convention. He felt honored to participate in celebrating the Guild's incomparable record of service to the bar and to the people. [REDACTED] remarked that the Guild has a wide reputation as a liberal bar association, but too few, even among those here tonight, are fully aware of the many signal achievements through which this reputation was gained.

Created in 1937 in the heyday of the Roosevelt era, the Guild was brought into being to give expression to the aspirations of liberal-minded lawyers who found hope and promise in the program of the New Deal. The Guild has concerned itself, of course, with all the problems of usual interest to a bar association - administration of justice, legal aid, the welfare of the lawyer, the standards of the profession.

To many traditional problems of the profession it brought a fresh approach. The Guild was the first national bar association to welcome into its ranks (as well as its leadership) all members of the bar, without regard to color. In concluding his remarks, [REDACTED] introduced the outgoing National President, Earl B. DICKERSON.

Mr. DICKERSON also spoke of the achievements of the Guild and member lawyers in general. He condemned the attempts of the Attorney General to place the Guild on a subversive list - he condemned the tactics of investigating bodies. Lawyers don't ask religious or political beliefs of their clients. Unless lawyers are free, the people become victims of the witch-hunts. The people would be in a sad state if Jefferson and his men were not free to write the Bill of Rights - what if Lincoln, another great lawyer, had been stopped in 1853? The Emancipation Act would never have been passed. A highlighted legislative act of the present administration, the Desegregation Act, was passed with the aid of [REDACTED] (Communist fellow-traveler), colored, (endorsed the [REDACTED], Chicago, 'Communist front' - member of presiding committee, [REDACTED] now merged with the [REDACTED] 'Communist front'), from Delaware, who is here tonight. [REDACTED] is also a member of the Guild. In summing-up, DICKERSON stated, "If you here are among those who want the people free, then back the National Lawyers Guild."

rights case, and the legislation of the 60s. The passage of the civil rights legislation of the 60s — that can't spring overnight into being. There have to be antecedents.

I was the president in 1945 and 6 of the National Bar Association, which is a black organization throughout the country, and all my speeches were started with "*Plessy v. Ferguson* must go!" Now that was the 1896 "separate but equal" Supreme Court decision. If you read the case involving the overruling of the enforceability of racial restrictive covenants that went up from Detroit—it was the case that followed my case — you'll find that the Supreme Court mentions in there on this subject the case that I had argued before — *Hansberry v. Lee*. And of course the arguments that we presented wherever we were on that subject of separate but equal affected all the other cases that came after it. For example, the 1954 desegregation case. I talked about that subject in that letter the Red Squad has on file—the letter on the desegregation of schools.

So my compensation for all of my work was not in money, but was the deep satisfaction that by the doctrine of association I was identified with all the causes not so much by what I did, but just by being with others who were doing something that happened to be on the right side. I always jumped in front of the parade at the right moment. (laughs) Anyway, it was a satisfactory experience and it confirmed my decision to fight injustice with other like-minded people. I had always been a protagonist for complete equality and had fought to remove the distinction of race as an item to be considered in measuring the rights of people. What the hell does color have to do with whether you're a thief or a bum or good or bad? It still lingers in my heart. Although I'm not active now, I'm happy to have been identified in that great experience.

**NLG:** During this period when you knew they were watching you, how did you react to that? Did that slow you down?

**Dickerson:** No, I'll tell you, I didn't know specifically that they were watching me more than they were watching anyone else, but I knew generally what they were doing. But it never bothered me because whatever I did then in connection with the Guild or in connection with any other organization was based in my concern for the welfare of the downtrodden or people who are disadvantaged—people who were denied equal opportunities.

I tried to use all the instrumentalities available to me: organizations like the Guild, the NAACP, the National Bar Association—all those organizations—I tried to use those organizations as a vehicle to aid me in my push for equality of opportunity and against the denial of equality for human beings. And therefore knowing that equality itself was not tarnished because it was not trying to destroy anything, it was trying to build up our society, I was never afraid of what they were doing when they had those people watching or taking notes.

If you examine every effort I ever made in this endeavor, you will find I was like an open field runner, always out in the open, trying to get converts and supporters for the cause in this unending quest for equality and freedom.

**NLG:** You came through the McCarthy era having withstood the red-baiting, the smears, the innuendos and attacks . . . what lessons did you learn having gone through that; what advice can you offer the younger attorneys who may someday face similar circumstances?

**Dickerson:** They should relive the period of McCarthyism and see the damage McCarthy did to human beings. That ought to be the lesson for these young people—how McCarthyism destroyed people like those Communist 11 and even the attorneys who represented them. McCarthyism froze up the area of freedom of speech and association. It drove otherwise good citizens into the closet and they were afraid to come out.

Young lawyers who treasure the importance of these freedoms—who want the opportunity to state their case without being interfered with; if they see what happened in the McCarthy period they can prepare themselves—and get tough.

**NLG:** Get tough?

**Dickerson:** Tough in the sense that they don't run from the scene of battle, but stand their ground and buttress their action on the law, as it applies to human beings and their civil liberties.

**NLG:** You were involved in many battles for civil rights over the years, what do you make of the rise of the Klan and the fact that for most blacks the promise of the civil rights movement has never become a reality?

**Dickerson:** There is a precedent for this discussion. If you go back to the period immediately after the Civil War, the Reconstruction Period, and read the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which was the first amendment following the Civil War, you will find that the people who triumphed in that Civil War did some real thinking on the subject of equality. If you read the debates that lead up to the enactment of the 13th and 14th Amendments, for example, you will see a prescription for complete equality if there ever was one. However, they had to say down at the end of these Amendments, "this Amendment will be enforced by legislation passed by the Congress." And whenever legislation is passed to enforce the high principles embodied in these amendments, opponents of equality would attack these proposals as being unconstitutional. The Civil Rights Act of 1883, for example, was the first Civil Rights Act passed. If that legislation had been upheld, which it should have been, we would not have had all the lynchings and all of the nightriding. You wouldn't have had the thousands upon thousands of blacks compared to whites out of work, or denied certain opportunities that should be allowed to people on the basis of their ability and education. But the courts emasculated these principles. And that set back for 75 years the precious meaning

of these amendments. Prior to the 13th and 14th Amendments the national policy of the country had been established as separate but equal. When the legislation to enforce these amendments was declared unconstitutional, that meant the same people who had ruled in the South before the Civil War were back in the saddle. And it took another 75 years for the 1954 decision to change the national policy from separate but equal, to the principles of equality through integration, you see.

Illinois was one of the first northern states that passed the Civil Rights Act in 1887, even before New York did, and long before California—California was where they were doing everything to separate the Chinese from the rest of the people. In this state all those Civil rights acts were on the books, and they stood up to all the constitutional tests. Yet over the years they were not enforced. No matter what the facts were that you had, and no matter what the discrimination was, how blatant it was, you couldn't get a judgment in the courts, or the jury would give, if it gave anything, the minimum \$25 for a violation. And that was no deterrent to restaurants and hotels because they'd rather pay that \$25 than integrate.

**NLG:** As you look around you now, how would you judge the period? Are things turning around now—or is there an erosion of rights?

**Dickerson:** Well, no, let me tell you. I think that Chicago never really did have a basic change from the past. The period I was just talking about, where the law was good but not enforced, that period was followed by a time when the laws were obeyed somewhat in the 60s, but not much. . . . It touched us here and there but it didn't result in effective change... because the political leaders never did actively engage in programs to carry out the law. You know, you couldn't get much help from the politicians in a city like Chicago. We have so many neighborhoods (that's a bad word, neighborhoods) that's what they hide behind now in the matter of the desegregation of schools—"neighborhood." But in order to maintain their power in public office these fellows always catered to the ethnic communities in the various neighborhoods in Chicago and Cook County and all throughout the state. Once you do that, rest your case on maintaining peace and order and continuity of practice based on neighborhoods, you make it almost impossible to attack the problem which overrides neighborhoods. If the leadership does not insist on a reorientation of the neighborhood's views on the subject of race, the status quo will persist. And that has not been disturbed much in our town.

I was a boy on the streets of Chicago at the age of 15, a sort of urchin; I had no relatives here; I was here by myself, and lived just a few doors east of Cottage Grove. And as I was growing up, racial restrictive covenants prohibited blacks from living over toward the lake.

I lived through that period as a boy, but I never did accept discrimination. I'd go to the show when I was a student at the university, go down to a movie or

something—the Chicago Theater was new then. And they had this practice you know . . . as the show would end and the seats would become vacant, the usher at the door would open the door and let people come in—"Come on in." Well, when he got down to the black couple coming along who had been standing in line, he would push away the black person and take a white person. I would push the fellow back out of the way and take the girl on in and sit down. One day one of those guys came over to me and said: "You gotta get up."

I said, "Why?" He said, "Well, you . . . so and so."

I said, "I want to tell you one thing now. I'm going to stay in here and if you bother me I'm gonna have your ass put in jail, and the others, too."

And they went away and didn't say anything. I did that all the time.

When I got older, I changed my arena. Now it was a real struggle for us to have those covenants set aside. Once we had the covenants set aside, then the problem was getting the people to take advantage of the more open society which followed. That struggle has never ended. . . .

When the real estate people saw they couldn't rely on the racial restrictive covenants, then when certain people approached they simply would not give them the opportunity to rent in certain areas. Housing is the great curse that keeps the educational system in bad shape; that defies efforts at desegregation. No matter what the principle is, no matter what the law is in the famous 1954 decision, if people can't live where they want to, by the fact of occupancy and the practices of steering by these real estate people, you're going to have the effect of the covenants even though the covenants have been abolished.

**NLG:** The result is a segregated society . . .

**Dickerson:** Exactly. And so long as you separate people on the basis of race and color, particularly so that the races which are down below, that have had so little opportunity in the past for educational, social and occupational opportunities as the blacks in Chicago were and are—so long as that's the fact, you're going to have segregation of schools. And once you have that, you destroy any possibility of democracy, of freedom, of equality. All these vestiges of inequality, racial prejudice and so on, have to be removed if the ultimate purpose of our government, stated so well in the preamble of the Constitution, is going to become a reality and not just exist in the dreams of those men who wrote the thing. Now I'm sure the dreams of those who wrote it didn't include . . . well, let's just say they made the mistake of putting in language some principles that later haunted their successors. For they can't escape what the Preamble said, and what the Constitution itself said. Nor can those who came later escape the 1st Amendment—freedom of speech, freedom of association, nor the 14th Amendment. They can't escape it. But you could never have it, you'll never have the dream fulfilled in this great country, which is the greatest country that we can conceive of from any standpoint, you will never have it so long as

you're trying to stop in its track the efforts to extend freedom and equality. . . . Right?

**NLG:** Yes, that's true, but given the enormity of the task, what made you think you could cause a change?

**Dickerson:** Well, when you consider this struggle is nothing new . . . historically you know about the struggle in Europe on the basis of religion and things of this sort; or even right now in Lebanon and in Ireland—on the basis not of color but of religion—you realize there will always be struggle. But when there are instrumentalities that promote your opportunity to win in the struggle, well, that keeps you alive and makes you to want to continue the struggle, you see. Things were happening before the 1960s here, but all the rules were in favor of the people who were persecuting us, you know. It's like a football game where there's 100 yards and they have a team black and a team white and they say that the black must cover 125 yards and the whites 100. It's the same thing, there's no way to win with those inequalities. Fortunately the civil rights acts and legislation and protests of the 60s set the rules straight. They made the Constitution finally speak the truth. They went back to 1883 and must have kicked those old Supreme Court judges who wrote those 1896 opinions such as *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It must have made those old Justices turn over in their graves to be aware of the fact that they emasculated the Constitution; they lied when they made the decisions, they knew what should have been done. But finally, truth crushed the earth shall rise, and it did.

A democracy has to sustain the principle of integration. I remember in studying Horace, the Latin poet, there is an expression, "*integer vitae*," the fullness of life . . . you can't separate it. Here we are; we're together. I applied that expression when I was studying constitutional law at the University of Chicago many years ago. There was a famous teacher, James Parker Hall, who was the Dean of the Law School and an authority on constitutional law. One day we had about 50 fellows sitting in this big classroom discussing the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. I said, "Dean, I want to ask you this question: If they can uphold the equal protection clause under the theory of separate but equal, as they did in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, based on the fact of color, why couldn't they do it in setting up the size of the feet of the people involved, or the color of their eyes, or the texture of their skins?" Man, it knocked the class out. And in that class that day I burned with what was in that phrase: *integer vitae*; every time I think of it . . . that little phrase would burn me up, and I couldn't see straight without attacking inequality. . . . I couldn't . . . can't now either, I can't do it. It's a wonder I'm alive because I was no giant physically you know. But I always resented inequality. . . . I never did accept it. So fortunately I came along and joined all the civil rights groups. And for some reason, I don't know if it was by accident, became the head of most of them and got the opportunity to state my case on a thousand platforms. It was to me thrilling.



Public Eye photo by Chip Berlet

Unleashing the Spies:

# Reagan and the Intelligence Apparatus



You've got to take care of things at home while we stir them up overseas. They need us again.

We have chosen to highlight the Reagan Administration's perspective on intelligence issues because of the very real way in which these policies will affect us when they are implemented. Attacks on the Freedom of Information Act, an imposition of an official secrets act, the new wave of investigative committees—all these are part and parcel of the new packaging of the intelligence community. While the packaging has a new design, the contents remain the same. Frank Carlucci, for instance, was with the CIA when he gave his speech on intelligence and legal issues. Now he is a Deputy Secretary of Defense. Carlucci joined the foreign service in 1956 under Eisenhower, and has served

every President since then.

The Heritage Foundation report draft is excerpted here; it was prepared by people with close ties to the Reagan Administration. The Republican platforms speak for themselves. The interview with Ellen Ray and Bill Schapp of **CovertAction Information Bulletin** bespeaks both a new emphasis on disinformation and an assault on First Amendment Rights.

Finally, in resistance, we offer some suggestions for action posed by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, who should have their hands full for the next four years.

# The Heritage Foundation Report: Blueprint for Repression

November 16, the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based "conservative think-tank" founded in 1973 by Joseph Coors, released a 3,000 page report entitled *Mandate for Leadership* to President-Elect Ronald Reagan's transition team. The \$100,000 study, which the group's President, Edwin J. Feulner, calls a "blueprint for the construction of a conservative government," was prepared by 250 present and former government scholars, consultants, ex-Administration officials and researchers.

It contains reports on almost every policy area that the Reagan transition team will analyze as it maps out the administration's agenda. According to Reagan transition team director Edwin Meese, the team did not try to influence the Foundation's recommendations. "But if we agree with them," said Meese, "we'll carry them out."

As part of their "conservative blueprint," the Heritage Foundation's Project Team prepared sub-reports on justice and intelligence. Submitted to Reagan's national se-

curity advisors, the 97-page intelligence report contends that intelligence services "have not been so weak since Pearl Harbor." It calls for sweeping changes in intelligence practices and the elimination of many restrictions on the intelligence community.

Edited by Dr. Samuel T. Francis, Policy Analyst in the Foreign Affairs Department at the Heritage Foundation, in consultation with experts in the intelligence community, including former government officials and the Academic Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, the report presents extensive recommendations on intelligence collection, counterintelligence, internal security, covert action and analysis. According to a November 20 *New York Times* article, officials close to the Reagan transition effort on intelligence have said that it is likely that several of the proposals in the report will be pursued by the Reagan Administration and the new Republican majority in the Senate.

Following are excerpts from a November 3 draft of the Intelligence Report.

## Recommendations on Covert Action

Since the greatest impediments to successful covert action have always lain in the realm of policy, then changes in policy can do most to remedy the situation.

- First, it should be the policy of the clandestine service to build the largest and most secure network of clandestine agents that we can manage to build, and greater resources should be allocated to this task.
- Second, the management of the clandestine service should rebuild the cadre of experts in covert action and above all encourage creative thinking about the means by which the interests of the United States might be served. This might be done by doing periodic surveys of the world and drawing hypothetical plans for advancing U.S. interests.
- Third, the President should communicate to the clandestine service his determination to commit the resources of the United States to the success of plans he and the National Security Council have adopted.
- In addition, legislation to establish what is now CIA's clandestine service as a separate agency probably would help by removing covert action along with other clandestine activities from complications of combining collection and analysis.

## Recommendations on Internal Security

1. Revisions of the Levi Guidelines and appointment of an Attorney General and FBI Director who understand the nature of the threat and the professional tradecraft of internal security work.
2. Presidential emphasis on the nature of the threat—repeated speeches on the escalation of Soviet bloc intelligence activities; the nature of the terrorist threat and its international dimensions; the reality of subversion and emphasis on the un-American nature of much so-called "dissidence."

3. Presidential appointment of federal judges who have an understanding of both internal security laws in the context of the Constitution and of the nature of the internal security threat—particularly of the *modus operandi* of extremist and subversive groups.

4. Presidential opposition to and promise to veto all pending and any new legislation that would further repeal or weaken existing internal security laws.

5. Exemption of the FBI from the Privacy Act and the FOIA as well as exemption of all federal agencies that hold information pertinent to internal security (e.g., the CSC, U.S. Customs Service, etc.). This would require new legislation.

6. Restoration of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department as an independent section. Rigorous enforcement of existing internal security laws and prosecution of violators.

7. Restoration of a capacity to investigate and protect the security and loyalty of federal employees in the executive and legislative branches. This would duplicate the functions of the CSC and other agencies (for the executive branch). The U.S. Congress should create such a function in regard to employees of the legislative branch. Restoration and updating of the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations.

8. Presidential support for the restoration of at least one standing committee of Congress for the investigation of internal security problems and the oversight of the enforcement of internal security laws.

9. Presidential encouragement of federal, state, and local cooperation on internal security matters. This could take the form of publicly sponsored seminars, speeches, conferences, etc., on the problems of internal security intelligence and law enforcement at the local and state level. The role of the Attorney General and the Director of the FBI would be crucial here.

10. The establishment of central files on counterintelligence and internal security (as proposed in the section on Counterintelligence).

## Some Recommendations on Counterintelligence

**The President** In order to improve counterintelligence, a wise and caring President should establish certain policies and order certain administrative measures. He should:

- declare that the United States cannot tolerate counterintelligence services which cannot even estimate the magnitude of the threat which hostile intelligence services are posing, that
- he will ask the Congress to provide for dramatically increasing the number of personnel now assigned to counterintelligence within the FBI and CIA, and that
- as part of an Executive Order, he is establishing the counterintelligence staff as an independent entity within the clandestine service.
- declare that better counterintelligence is vital to the nation's defenses, and that he would support all administrative and legislative initiatives to improve it.
- revoke Executive Order 12036.
- urge the directors of CI agencies to rehire some of the officers who left CI in the period 1976-80.

### The FBI and CIA

- The Attorney General should revoke the current "guidelines" for the FBI. The FBI and CIA directors should arrange for the creation of central counterintelligence files and declare that co-operation between the CIA (or its successors) and the FBI should be limited only to the letter of the statutory provision against the former's direct participation in the enforcement of law.

### Legislative Action

- Although Presidents (or for that matter, the directors of FBI and CIA) have the authority to order the creation of central CI files, it would be advisable to obtain legislative authority for creating a counterintelligence office staffed by specialists from all the intelligence agencies where central files could be kept, central CIA analysis carried out, and pursuit of cases should be coordinated.
- The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act should be modified to disestablish the "special court" which is constitutionally repugnant and a judicial aberration.
- The Executive Branch must develop criteria for the conduct of intensive investigations, and its conduct must be accountable to the Congressional Select Committees after the fact.

### Legal Sanctions

- The law can and should place stern penalties on anyone who misuses the products of counterintelligence activities.

## Selected Quotes

### Covert Action

The objectives of covert action are varied—to plant or eradicate impressions, to help spread calm and cooperation in certain quarters or unrest and dissension in others, to help friends or enemies, and to hinder adversaries, to shore up or to threaten governments, and to divert or channel attention or resources.

### Erosion of Internal Security Law Enforcement Capability

Many of the current restrictions on internal security functions arose from legitimate but often poorly informed concern for the civil liberties of the citizen and the responsibility of the government. While these are legitimate concerns, it is axiomatic that

individual liberties are secondary to the requirements of national security and internal civil order.

Thus, authorities must keep extremist movements under at least moderate surveillance, become familiar with their public positions and members as well as their unstated goals, adherents, and fringe elements, and be prepared to escalate surveillance of whatever groups seem likely to engage in more extreme activities. This kind of surveillance can be carried out, in its first stages, simply by reading and filing publicly available information on the observed groups, but the most serious surveillance can be carried out only by the use of such standard intelligence techniques as wiretapping, mail covers, informants, and (at least occasionally) illegal entries. Similarly, internal security files cannot be restricted to actual or imminent threats. Like most other human activities, violence, disaffection, and conspiracy do not spring full blown from the heads of their perpetrators. They develop, change, and escalate over time and become linked with other elements and groups. Hence, it is necessary to trace their development through the cumulative compilation of comprehensive files. Nor do threats from extremists recognize the conventional juristic and bureaucratic distinctions between foreign and domestic, peaceful and belligerent, federal and state. Hence, a terrorist group may have links with foreign powers or groups. Clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists, and government workers may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purpose or control of their activities.

For administrative and constitutional reasons, the U.S. government is ill-prepared to deal with this threat. Our overriding need is for accurate information available immediately. When a terrorist group strikes, the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, Transportation, Commerce, *et al.* need to know the profile and *modus operandi* of the group at once in order to respond appropriately. Our present capacity is very limited and should be augmented. One solution would be to contract with one or several of the many private corporations that have specialized in providing such information, that can collect and disseminate relevant information without legal complications, and that can respond to a crisis without transgression of administrative jurisdictions.

### Freedom of Information Act

New legislation of the 1970s was enacted that further limits internal security functions. Most notable are the amended Freedom of Information Act of 1974, which allows access to classified information. (The Act has been used by extremist groups and defendants in organized crime cases to obtain information that might identify informants against them.)

### From Summary Recommendations

**Intelligence Identities:** Provide penalties for those who engage in unauthorized disclosure of names of persons who serve the United States.

The information on the Heritage Foundation report and the Reagan Administration platforms on intelligence issues was provided by the Campaign for Political Rights and its newsletter, **Organizing Notes**.

# The Reagan Administration Platforms on Intelligence: Where They Stand

## Republican Party Platform

"Morale and public confidence have been eroded and American citizens and friendly foreign intelligence services have become increasingly reluctant to cooperate with U.S. agencies."

"Republicans will undertake an urgent effort to rebuild the intelligence agencies and give full support to their knowledgeable and dedicated staffs."

### Civil Liberties

"Development of an effective anti-terrorist military capacity and establishment of a Congressional and Executive capability to oversee our internal security efforts will no longer be neglected."

### Covert Action / Foreign Intervention

"A Republican Administration will seek to improve U.S. intelligence capabilities for technical and clandestine collection, cogent analysis, coordinated counterintelligence, and covert action."

"We will provide our government with the capability to help influence international events vital to our national security interests. . . ."

### FOIA / Secrecy / Privacy

"We will support amendments to the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act to permit meaningful background checks on individuals being considered for sensitive positions and to reduce costly and capricious requests to the intelligence agencies."

### Intelligence Reform / Oversight

"A Republican Administration will seek adequate safeguards to ensure that past abuses will not recur, but we will seek the repeal of ill-considered restrictions sponsored by the Democrats, which have debilitated U.S. intelligence capabilities while easing the intelligence collection and subversion efforts of our adversaries."

"We will reestablish the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, abolished by the Carter Administration, as a permanent non-partisan body of distinguished Americans to perform a constant audit of national intelligence research and performance."

### Specific Legislation / Administration Procedures

"We will support legislation to invoke criminal sanctions against anyone who discloses the identities of U.S. intelligence officers abroad or who makes unauthorized disclosures of U.S. intelligence sources and methods."

"We will propose methods of providing alternative intelligence estimates in order to improve the quality of the estimates by constructive competition."

## Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan has made few public statements about U.S. intelligence agencies and their operations. However, two of his closest and most influential policy advisors have been very outspoken about the issue.

**Richard Allen**, Reagan's chief foreign policy advisor, chaired the subcommittee of the Republican National Committee which

issued, in August 1979, *Intelligence and the Role of the Intelligence Community*. That policy paper concludes "...we must remedy the debilitation which has been the product of the past several years; we must correct our course before it is too late."

The report calls for:

- the creation of a clandestine "Foreign Operations Service charged with performing clandestine collection, cover or (as appropriate) overt actions, and counterintelligence abroad. This agency, as such, would be wholly clandestine; every agency of the U.S. government would be required to furnish the clandestine services with full credentials, working assignments abroad for purposes of 'cover' and full cooperation."
- the revision and tightening of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts which "have become a charter for widespread, and on occasion, grotesque abuse."
- the creation of an office "where employees of the FBI or the Foreign Operations Service can jointly maintain central files on counterintelligence and counterterrorism."

**Senator Paul Laxalt**, National Chair of the Reagan Campaign in the summer of 1980 introduced in Congress an FBI Charter Bill which would:

- mandate the FBI to gather intelligence on any public demonstration with the potential for violence;
- shield agents from prosecution for breaking the law if they were following orders;
- empower the FBI to investigate anyone who threatens to violate the law, whether or not the facts indicate that a crime is about to happen and even if the crime is nonviolent civil disobedience.

## George Bush

George Bush was the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency from January 1976 to January 1977. During Bush's tenure, the CIA was involved in secret operations in Angola; CIA payments to foreign leaders were revealed; six or seven major covert operations took place (according to Senator Gary Hart); and Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt were assassinated in Washington, D.C. by Chilean secret police (questions remain concerning how much Bush knew about the Chilean agents' activities—and when).

Bush has said, "I think there is a role for covert action somewhere between inactivity and sending in the troops." Supportive of Congressional oversight, he has also said, "But if we are going to have covert action . . . and I think we should, and we are up against plenty of covert activities around the world, then I don't think it should be made public."

Bush's campaign for the Republican nomination for the Presidency received strong support earlier this year from the intelligence community and many former Agency officials served as unofficial advisors to and volunteers for Bush's Presidential campaign.

Bush, who in mid-1979 said, "We've got to get off the back of the . . . CIA," has maintained a lower profile on the intelligence issue.

## The "Party Line" from Frank Carlucci:

# More Effective Intelligence

The following is a transcript of a speech given by then deputy director of the CIA Frank Carlucci at a conference on intelligence and legislation and the law sponsored by the American Bar Association and held at the University of Chicago on June 26, 1980.

### Introduction

Welcome to our conference on intelligence legislation. We in the American Bar Association are delighted to join in this program of our host partner, the University of Chicago Law School.

Frank Carlucci is truly a man of all seasons. He's been in business, and his government service includes the Navy, foreign affairs and domestic affairs. He was educated at Princeton, served in the Navy, and joined the foreign service in 1956, and spent a good deal of his time in Africa and Brazil. I first met Frank in 1969 as he joined the Office of Economic Opportunity and became its director at a time when I was chairman of the President's Council. His ability was recognized by all. He went on to become the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget in the White House, and then served as Undersecretary of HEW. While Frank was there, they didn't take the "E" off of it. The President designated him as the United States Ambassador to Portugal in 1974, and he served in that sensitive post for three critical years. His superior service earned him numerous awards from the State Department, then Defense Department, and HEW. Certainly we are fortunate that a man with such broad, deep and relevant experience was selected as the Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to which post he was appointed by the President on February 18, 1978. We are delighted to have you with us. I give you Director Carlucci. *[applause]*

**CARLUCCI:** Thank you, Morry, for those very kind words. I am delighted to be with you tonight. I think this kind of conference can do a great deal to illuminate the very difficult issues that our country faces in the intelligence area. And as you begin your deliberations, let me start off with a reminder. You will be studying in depth the role of the Congress, the role of the Executive, and the role of the Judiciary in structuring the legal framework for our intelligence agencies. And in doing this, you will necessarily bring to bear the traditions of the American legal profession and the American governmental system. But as you do this, I think it is important that you bear in mind that those of us in the intelligence agencies, that GS-12 or -13 out there in some other country trying to recruit an agent, operates under circumstances where our rules are not necessarily applicable. Our cultures are very different.

I am reminded of the time when I was a young foreign service officer back in 1960. I'd been assigned to the Congo, now Zaire, in Leopoldville; and it was shortly after independence and the Congo was in chaos. And we had a visit from three American Senators—Senator Gore, who is presently on our intelligence oversight board, Senator Hart, and Senator Newberger. I was named as escort officer, and had arranged for them to have lunch at the home of the president of the Congolese Senate, a man named Victor Kumariko. And in those days you very



Frank Carlucci

seldom saw the wives of the Congolese. But as we came in the door, a woman came up, who I introduced as his wife. We were sitting around having drinks before lunch, I was interpreting, and another woman came in, shook hands all around, went over and sat down next to the first woman. Senator Gore turned to me and said, "Who is she?" And I said, "Well, I don't know; maybe she's his wife." He said, "I thought you said that first woman was his wife." I said, "Well, let's ask him." And I asked him and he said, "Oh, yes, both of them are my wives." Well, with that the interest of the American Senators picked up considerably, and Kumariko said, "Oh, don't mind. You must really understand that over here our customs are very different from yours, and where I come from, I'm a big tribal chief. As a tribal chief I'd normally be entitled to five or six wives. But since I'm Catholic I have only two." [laughter]

Now if we think about it, the strangeness of the intelligence business operating in other cultures becomes apparent. We in organizations like the CIA must go forward with our task, often in disregard of foreign law. And there's a paradox here. Because in this country we are sometimes mesmerized by our legalisms when we structure the environment in which our intelligence agencies must live. But in so doing, we must be careful not to block out the reality of our operating environment.

The decisionmakers in our country need a great deal of information. This information is not easy to come by. By definition we in the intelligence business go after the most difficult [information]; and by definition other countries want to conceal it from us. Our job is to get it. We do so in many cases by establishing a contractual relationship—something very familiar to you lawyers. The agent provides a service—information, and we frequently, but not always, provide some compensation. Now there are two significant differences from the usual contract: one is that in many instances that contract may break the law of the agent's host country; and the second is that contract by nature must be secret.

Now I don't think any of us should make any apologies for this procedure. When it comes down to the hard facts, our country has no alternative. But the problem that we all face, and you as lawyers in particular face, is how we sanction this kind of activity within a carefully drawn legal framework. The 1947 National Security Act simply said do what's necessary. That's the issue. Well, perhaps it is possible—I personally think it is—to be more specific. But in being more specific, we must always bear in mind that we are legalizing an activity that is inherently antagonistic to the interests of other countries in which that activity is going to be conducted.

There's another upside down element to the intelligence business. In our society openness is a virtue. Government can't be closed. We have sunshine laws, open advisory committee meetings. We're perhaps unique in the world in this aspect. But in the intelligence business we must by nature circumscribe our openness. Secrecy is absolutely imperative. Well, you say that's a truism; of course, we all know that. But I can tell you quite frankly in the two years, two and one-half years, that I've been in the CIA, getting this simple concept across has been our single most difficult problem. Our problem throughout the world is that nobody believes we can keep a secret. And it's not just a simple problem of leaks. But, quite frankly, it's the entire atmosphere in which we operate. As you're all aware, we're living in the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam syndrome, where the emphasis has been placed on the investigative reporter, the inspector, the

oversight mechanisms, the leaker who almost inevitably takes on a moral mantle and says he's a whistle-blower. And all these people and functions have a very legitimate role; no question about it, I don't mean to gainsay it. But so does the doer have a legitimate role. And we have to strike a balance. And I would suggest to you that the balance has been tilted a bit away in government from the man who must accomplish the mission. We need to give him some incentive too. We need to give him some tools. And in the intelligence business the principal tool—I'm almost tempted to say the *only* tool—is secrecy. Because nobody is going to impart information to an intelligence representative if he thinks he's going to see it in the open, and if this information is going to be traced to him. This inability to protect the confidentiality of the information given [to us] has hurt us.

Now our critics say "demonstrate this." Well, you as lawyers know how difficult it is to prove the negative. Nobody is going to come up to you and say, "Well, I didn't give you this information for this reason." We've had some cases of people who have said "I can't trust you therefore I'm signing off." But in the vast majority people just discontinue contact or don't establish contact in the first place. And you never know how much information you didn't receive. But time and time again we are asked, "Well, is this information going to go to the Congress? Can you protect me? What about the Freedom of Information Act?" When you're involved in high stakes, nobody wants to play with a partner who can't control his own hand.

Before we frame new laws in any business, including the intelligence business, I think we need to be clear on the existing laws. Some moments ago I suggested that because of the world in which we operate, some of our usual norms do not apply. I would suggest also that our standards have not remained constant, but have changed over time. We have had propensity to indulge in retroactive morality, and to give it a legal base. We have perceived in the 70s what seemed to have been a good idea for law in the 50s and 60s. We have seen numerous accusations that intelligence agencies have acted illegally, when in fact the law has only been interpreted as such in recent times. An example is the retention by the CIA of counterintelligence information on U.S. persons. Everybody readily concludes that's illegal, although the CIA has long had counterintelligence responsibilities and much of the same kind of information is held by other agencies without any problem.

Sorting out this particular issue has been complicated. It has now been determined that the CIA can act in this area only in cooperation with the FBI. But that is a recent development, not—as much of the press would have you believe—the law as it existed in the 60s. Of course, we recognize that times have changed. We in the intelligence business don't want to turn the clock back. To the contrary, we think our mission is to look ahead into the 1980s and to put all the polemic behind us. And in doing so, we welcome guidelines through statutory authority and through the surrogate process. These are helpful, providing of course that they don't impede our ability to do our job.

We've gone through successive iterations of intelligence legislation, there are some concepts that have arisen that I personally consider a bit curious or difficult. One is that we can reduce every detail of the intelligence business to statute. The original intelligence charter—S. 2525, 273 pages—had an array of prohibitions, restrictions and reporting requirements. There was even one that said CIA agents should be prohibited from overtly taking an action likely to lead to flood, pestilence, plague or mass

destruction of property. In the CIA there was a tongue-in-cheek comment that we ought to oppose this just to keep our options open. [laughter] But the sting was there. I think all of us, including the vast majority of people on the Hill, now realize that we can't legislate the intelligence business in that kind of detail.

There is another interesting concept, legislation which is perhaps not unique to the intelligence business, but which runs along the following lines: that is, if you don't like the policy, kill the instrument. This has happened with covert action—our ability to try and influence events in other countries clandestinely. There were people who objected to how this policy, how this instrument was used in Chile, Angola, perhaps elsewhere. Fair enough; but saying that you can't have this capability because we object to that policy is like saying we can't have an aid program around the world because we object to the way aid was handled in Brazil in 1966. It's even gone one step further. In my judgment, we created an optical illusion because we said

"The Freedom of Information Act around the world has come to be regarded as a symbol. It's a symbol of all the problems that I was discussing . . . the basic inability of our country to keep a secret."

— Carlucci

"Our country will have a covert action capability; all that has to happen before you start one of these operations is for the President to make a finding and brief eight committees of Congress." That's 200 members of Congress, perhaps 50 staff. Now fair enough. We haven't always had to brief that many members. But as long as the requirement exists it is a significant deterrent to a flexible instrument that purportedly has been given to the President.

Despite the problems that I've mentioned, it seems to me that we have reached agreement in the body politic on some of the very large issues that have faced our country in the intelligence area. First of all, we have agreed that we need an effective intelligence organization, we need an effective CIA. Some of you may have seen the ABC program the other night on intelligence; the commentator . . . interviewed me for some 40 minutes. None of the interview was used on the program, but the theme he was following in the interview was "How in the world have you guys pulled the wool over the eyes of the Congress and the American people, because four or five years ago we were ready to tear you apart. And now we find this outpouring of sympathy for the CIA." I allowed as how I didn't exactly see an outpouring of sympathy, but I detected a lot of support and I presumed that some of the arguments we were making had carried a certain amount of weight. But the fact is that the American people, perhaps as never before, realize how important intelligence is to their wellbeing, and that we can no longer continue to pull it out by the roots just to see how it's grown.

We have decided that the U.S. government will have a covert action capability and that it will be housed in the CIA. I think there's a widespread consensus on the Hill that we do need to cut down the reporting requirement from eight committees to

two. And if there's any bill that will pass this year, I think it is a bill that cuts down the Hughes-Ryan reporting requirements.

There is a consensus that the CIA needs to protect the information it receives. The only issue is how to do this. There is a consensus that U.S. citizens must receive a full measure of protection of their constitutional rights vis-a-vis intelligence organizations. And there is a consensus that there will be effective oversight of our intelligence organizations. And I'm pleased to report to you that in my judgment at least that oversight is working well. We don't always agree with our friends on the committee and vice-versa. We get criticisms, we get support, we have a heated dialogue; the important thing is that it's there. And it's working and it's working well in my judgment.

And these new aspects of agreement are now very much of intelligence community life. There are still some issues that remain to be resolved. One of these is the whole question of statutory access to CIA intelligence information: Is it necessary for the oversight process? There are those who argue that it is. We say we've had a relationship over the past two years which we both say is satisfactory; let's continue that relationship where we are furnishing the information that you need. If you build in a statutory requirement, there must be some exceptions. Otherwise you will raise questions around the world. I myself have been told by people who were giving us very important information, "We will give you this information providing you promise us that you will never give it to the Congress." I was able to make that commitment, because if I passed that kind of a commitment to the Congress today they respect it. With a statutory right of access there is no way that I could make that kind of commitment.

There remains to be worked out the question of details on the collection of intelligence on U.S. persons. Now there's been a lot of debate on the tensions between civil liberties and intelligence. As a practical matter, just looking at its pragmatic aspects, I think this debate has been overdone. We don't need a lot of intelligence on Americans. The problem is that when we do need it it's liable to be critical. We can all think of cases where intelligence collection on an American citizen might be important: a dual national who's in a high position in a particularly critical country; an American scientist who might be engaged in building a bomb for a potential nuclear proliferator. The question, in my judgment, is not *whether*, but what kinds of, thresholds should be built. And we agree that there ought to be substantial thresholds. So we see it not as an either/or question, but as essentially a design question.

There is the issue of how much exemption there should be from the Freedom of Information Act. Here there's been a good deal of misunderstanding. The press would have you believe that we have sought a blanket exemption from the Freedom of Information Act; we have not. We have sought the authority to exempt our most sensitive sources and methods from release and from judicial review. This position has been supported by the Justice Department, but we continue to respond to first person requests and to requests for our finished product.

Also unresolved is the form identities legislation should take. Everybody agrees that the practice of deliberately exposing CIA personnel and CIA agents overseas with the avowed purpose of destroying our intelligence organizations is abominable. The question is how to deal with this practice without infringing on First Amendment rights. We believe this could be done, and we hope that it will be done this year.



These are all issues that you will be debating, and we will read the results of your deliberations with great interest. But let me give you for just a minute, before closing, a non-lawyer's appreciation of what is at stake. The 1980s, in my judgment, will be a very difficult period. We are finding that our nation's interests are increasingly intertwined with developments in all parts of the world. We learned in Afghanistan that it's not sufficient to know Soviet capabilities; we have to know their intent. We learned in Iran that we need to have intelligence on political-social developments. We learned in Central America the importance of intelligence on subversive activities. And we learned in the oil crisis the importance of intelligence collection and analysis in the resources area.

The U.S. and Soviet strategic forces are now more in balance than ever before. My judgment is that Soviet leaders see themselves free to undertake additional Afghanistans and Ethiopias as long as they don't challenge the vital U.S. interests. Under the protection of their strategic power, they can wield very substantial conventional power and their very substantial capability for political action. There are uncertainties in Soviet society; they have their problems: rising consumer expectations, labor shortage, declining growth rate, unrest in Eastern Europe, topping out in oil production, and perhaps most importantly, transition. I frankly doubt that we should take any satisfaction in the problems of the Soviet Union. We know very little about the leadership that is likely to come in after the transition phase of post-

Stalin leadership. We have a conservative leadership in the Soviet Union right now, and nobody knows where the new leadership, under the pressure of the topping out of oil production and consumer expectations and the other problems I've mentioned—how that leadership will react. So the 1980s clearly will be a difficult period in our relations with the Soviet Union.

Similarly, there will be no let-up, in my judgment, in the problems of the Third World. In addition to the aspirations of the Third World, we have a growing division between the upper and lower tier of the Third World countries. And then in Europe, we see an emerging economic policy that could lead to stronger political positions on the part of our allies. And the ramifications of all of this for intelligence are profound. There is less and less margin for error. We must succeed in getting good intelligence with regard to both intentions and capabilities. During the period to come, intelligence could make that crucial margin of difference.

There are those who think that the paramount threat in the country come from within—from the excesses of our own institutions. As one who has lived in a number of countries where democratic institutions have been destroyed, I share that concern. But I've also seen Soviet expansionism at work, and that danger is no less real. And what we're talking about is not a trade-off. It seems to me we can certainly accommodate concerns on both sides of the intelligence issue, if we can control our emotions and channel our intellects. You, as lawyers, are

the dispassionate element in American society; we need your help.

The tools of the profession here assembled are those of law. And thanks to the legal system, the riches of the legal system, there are a variety of measures that can be seized upon to work our will. And thanks to the constitutional framework of that system, the levers and gears of our self-government are never very far away. While the tools are there in profusion, it must take the wisdom of the law to ensure that the measures applied stimulate good health without permitting abnormal growth or flooding the system with toxic medicines.

Lawyers know only too well that the cry, "There ought to be a law" takes us only to the starting point of the inquiry. Thank you very much. *[applause]*

**MODERATOR:** Mr. Carlucci is willing to take a few extra moments for some questions.

**QUESTION:** I have rarely heard such an exposition of problems and the needs of this country such as you have presented tonight. I think it was absolutely magnificent. I wondered if you would just tell these people on a minor point what it has cost us . . . in connection with the Freedom of Information Act.

**CARLUCCI:** Well, thank you for those kind words. The Freedom of Information Act around the world has come to be regarded as a symbol. It's a symbol of all the problems that I was discussing at the earlier part of my remarks: the basic inability of our country to keep a secret. Now as a lawyer you can argue that you have exemptions under the Freedom of Information Act. But try and argue that in an alley somewhere in Eastern Europe or perhaps in Afghanistan, when the individual with whom you're dealing sees daily in the press articles coming out attributed to the Freedom of Information Act. He's taking a gamble. Or try and argue with a sophisticated intelligence service, many of whom have sent representatives over just to discuss FOIA with us, and assure them that you have exemptions. And they say, "Yes, we can trust you; but what about those 400 federal judges? Can you give us a guarantee that one of them won't reverse you?" And, indeed, in two cases we have been reversed. But the irony of the Freedom of Information Act as applied to the CIA is that we go through hours and hours of work—138 man years, \$2.5 million, responding to 4,000 requests a year—and very little of public value comes out. So we've got the wrong perception without the proportionate public benefits. We think this can be dealt with rather simply and in a way that is consistent with freedom of information concepts, and we have made our case to the hilt.

**QUESTION:** The obvious question, how?

**CARLUCCI:** We would have a statute which says the director of the Central Intelligence Agency can declare that certain files—and those which relate to sensitive intelligence sources and methods, and therefore not only should not be released but would be exempt from judicial review. Now you can say, "Doesn't that undermine the whole concept of the Act?" We would still have the congressional oversight mechanism that would insure those who think the Freedom of Information Act has been a vehicle to curb abuses. Indeed, I would argue very strongly that if your principal concern is abuses of the intelligence agencies, the way to curb those abuses is through the surrogate process, the Congressional process, and not through 4,000 FOIA requests, many of which come from children, form

letters, indeed foreigners. Under the statute as it's drafted, if the head of the KGB were to make an FOIA inquiry, we would be required to respond within ten days. And if he appealed if we said no, we would have to answer his appeal in twenty days. And so I suggest that when the Act was passed, due regard was not given to the intelligence organizations.

**QUESTION:** Concerning another legislative area, I wondered if you could outline what the Agency's position is with respect to legislation dealing with the problem of agent disclosure. What kind of legislation would the CIA support to solve that difficulty?

**CARLUCCI:** We very strongly favor legislation that would make this a criminal offense. There are two categories of personnel involved: one is the current or former employee, and all are agreed that he should be covered. And we are agreed that if anybody else is to be covered, there should be a lower threshold of proof for the current or former agency employee. We favor covering other people as well, because their disclosures, while less authoritative, are no less harmful. There are two ways of dealing with this: one is to build an intent threshold, and that was our original approach—to say that non-employees or non-former employees, if they disclose this information with the intent to harm our intelligence agencies and knowing that our intelligence agencies were attempting to keep this information confidential—were guilty of an infraction. Another approach, which was favored by the Department of Justice and which we now support in the legislation on the Hill, would simply establish a classified nexus for non-employees or non-former employees. That is to say, that if the information was revealed on the basis of classified information, that would be a criminal offense. This entails an element of proof, obviously, that the information was based on classified information. And I'd have to defer to my Justice Department colleagues here on how that particular provision would be enforced. . . . Let me be clear. We're not talking about foreign intelligence information. We're talking about revealing the names of CIA personnel or CIA agents. And to my knowledge, neither Henry Kissinger nor Lyndon Johnson have revealed such names.

**QUESTION:** *[inaudible—regarding CIA role in destabilizing governments an legislative oversight]*

**CARLUCCI:** Well, first of all, and I don't want to give this argument. There are those who would argue with your interpretation of the role of the intelligence agencies in those events. But even accepting your premise, the honest answer to your question is you can't legislate [that] kind of thing. There reaches a time when you have to have—the American people have to have—a certain amount of confidence in their public officials. *[applause]* I went through 30 hours of confirmation hearings, a month of investigation. We have established a surrogate process whereby the oversight committees go into covert action in great detail and don't hesitate to criticize. These are responsible people. They have substantial staffs. They are in a constant dialogue with the President. There is a requirement that before a covert action takes place there will be meetings of senior advisors, cabinet level advisors, to the President; there will be a presidential finding. And I would submit that if you can't have confidence in this process and in all the people that are involved in this process, then our country is in very deep trouble indeed. *[applause]*

# INTERVIEW

CovertAction Information Bulletin  
Threatened by Legislative Vendetta

## Agents Names Games

An interview with CAIB editors Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap

by Daniel Tsang

*What follows is an interview with Ellen Ray and William Schaap, two of the three co-editors of CovertAction Information Bulletin, a target of Congressional legislation aimed at criminalizing the disclosure of the identities of CIA covert operatives and officers. This interview took place September 18, 1980, at the Bulletin's office in Washington, D.C. Since then the specific bills have been shelved, but new versions are expected soon. The interviewer [Q] was Daniel Tsang, editor of the Gay Insurgent, a gay left journal based in Philadelphia. Copyright © 1980 Daniel Tsang.*

**Q:** How dangerous is the "Agents Name" bill?

**Schaap:** It's extremely dangerous, primarily because it makes no distinction between information which comes from classified sources and information which comes from unclassified sources. The bill is in fact an Official Secrets Act of a particular kind, and criminalizes private citizens publishing information that they get from unclassified sources such as the public library. There has never been a law like that before, and although we feel certain it's unconstitutional, nonetheless the fact it might be passed means that we will have to fight those battles in the courts. The bill will have a very serious chilling effect on all journalists who investigate abuses in the intelligence field.

**Q:** Do you intend to continue publishing the CovertAction Information Bulletin if the bill becomes law?

**Schaap:** Yes. We would continue to publish our magazine, although we don't intend to deliberately break the law in the magazine. We intend to go immediately to court to challenge its constitutionality. And if we have to modify our magazine during the court proceedings, for example, by not having the "naming names" column, we would eliminate that column while we were in court. We don't want to be martyrs.

**Ray:** More than that. There's no point to our being in jail where we won't be able to do any kind of work.

**Schaap:** Yes. We have the right to go into court in a civil suit to try and have the statute declared unconstitutional, and we would do that immediately. We wouldn't have to break the law in order to challenge it.

**Q:** Do you see any problem with funding the suit?

**Schaap:** It's hard to say. We certainly hope there would be enough support. The major problem is that until recently most of the media and the press in this country didn't understand the implications of the law. They really thought that it was possible to get a law that would only affect the CovertAction Information Bulletin, and as they now begin to realize, that's impossible. The law would affect all newspapers, magazines, radio, tele-

vision and so on. Fortunately we have very good legal representation from the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, but there undoubtedly would be considerable expenses in the case if it is protracted, if it involves a lot of witnesses and statements. We'll have to be doing some fundraising around it. But we are nevertheless working even now so that we could go to court immediately if the bill is passed.

**Q:** But isn't it optimistic to expect the Supreme Court to rule in your favor?

**Schaap:** To some extent, yes. You can't tell with the Supreme Court. The balance in the court is fairly conservative. On the other hand, the issue is so clear—at least to us—and it seems so directly to contradict the First Amendment, that even a relatively conservative Supreme Court might be concerned about it. And they might be concerned precisely because of what we said before. This isn't simply aimed at CovertAction. It will stop any kind of criticism of a whole area of government activity. Don't forget that Warren Burger wrote the "Pentagon Papers" decision, so that with a couple of exceptions—probably with Rhenquist being the only absolute exception—even the more conservative judges on the Supreme Court have voted in favor of various First Amendment cases. And this is probably indeed the clearest First Amendment violation they'd ever have before the Court. In recent history there's never been any law that comes close to this that I can recall. This law makes it a crime for somebody to go into the public library, take a book off the shelf, and read a paragraph in it to his next door neighbor, in effect. There's never been anything like that. It makes it criminal to publish something that's not secret in the first place.

**Q:** Is there a danger Congress will attempt to exempt the established press and only punish the alternative press?

**Schaap:** There's a very strong attempt in Congress to word the law that way. It's very difficult, because we, in fact, consider ourselves journalists too, and we publish a magazine with many analytical articles and news articles. Even if they limit it to listing names out of context as opposed to in context, they have a lot of problems in terms of constitutionality. How could they justify something being criminal if it's in one paragraph by itself, but not criminal if you put a paragraph in front and a paragraph afterward? It's going to look very illogical, that kind of argument, that you can name a name in the context of a news article but you can't name a name in the context of an article about naming names.

**Q:** How does naming names add to the struggle against U.S. imperialism? Why not just write articles without naming names?

**Schaap:** That's what everybody asks us. The major reason is for

the information of the people in the country where the CIA are.

**Ray:** Not for the country's secret service or the country's government, because in every country they know exactly who the CIA people are, but there are the students, the labor leaders, ten different categories, where the CIA target to recruit these people to work against their own country. And most people don't know initially they're meeting with someone from the CIA. They think they're meeting with an American diplomat.

**Q:** How would the law affect progressive groups abroad that use your information?

**Ray:** They wouldn't get our information.

**Schaap:** We wouldn't be able to publish the information. Also the bill has extraterritorial effect as far as Americans living overseas. They wouldn't be able to do these kinds of exposures even living abroad. If they were in a country where there was an extradition treaty, they could be extradited.

**Q:** Was the CIA able to push this bill through Congress because of what happened in Jamaica [where the CIA station chief's house allegedly was shot at]?

**Schaap:** Oh, absolutely. Nobody thought it would ever come up this year. For three years in a row a couple of the real right-wingers had introduced roughly similar legislation. And it never got anywhere, it never even got out of committee. It's one of the reasons we think the Jamaica incident was a phony, because it

was used by the CIA to whip up this hysteria to get this thing moving like crazy, to such an extent that the Congressional committees aren't even deliberating on these things—they're having rushed meetings with everybody standing and yelling, "Get something fast, we don't care what it is!" ending up with what we think is one of the most unconstitutional laws.

**Q:** Why do you think the Jamaica incident was a phony?

**Schaap:** First of all, the concept of his [Richard Kinsman's] having been named [as CIA Station Chief in Jamaica] just a day or two before is untrue. We had named him nine months earlier in the magazine [issue number 6]. Nothing happened to him. Second, his family was not home. Third, there's a question whether he was even home. Fourth, a maid sleeping in the back said she heard nothing and slept all night. Fifth, the story about bullets whistling through the child's bedroom, apart from the fact that the child was thousands of miles away on vacation—weren't true. And there were some bullet marks in the wall of the garage adjoining the house. . . .

**Ray:** And the so-called grenade was a little hole in the ground. . .

**Schaap:** And this thing was supposed to happen early in the morning and he never called the police. Ultimately, the following morning, neighbors called the police.

**Ray:** He called the opposition newspaper, the CIA newspaper, the *Gleaner*—that's another indication he wasn't even at home



The editors of *CovertAction Information Bulletin* (l to r): Ellen Ray, Bill Schaap and Lou Wolf.

photo by Kathleen Secord Galligan

when it happened. One would assume that if all this happened that he would have called the police or called someone immediately. The incident allegedly happened at 2:30 in the morning, and he didn't notify the *Gleaner* until 8:30 or 9:30 the following morning.

**Schaap:** There's probably no way of knowing for sure, but it just looks funny.

"This law makes it a crime for somebody to go into the public library, take a book off the shelf, and read a paragraph in it to his next door neighbor. . . . It makes it criminal to publish something that's not secret in the first place."

— Schaap

**Ray:** Another interesting thing is that the U.S. press did not send anyone at all down to investigate the alleged attack. They just took the word of the *Gleaner*.

**Schaap:** The stories that came out had several not just inaccuracies but absolute lies in them because nobody investigated. They all talked about the house having been bombed, whereas as we said there was a little hole in the ground, thirty yards away from the house, and no grenade fragments. There was a story in an American paper saying "miraculously his young daughter escaped injury." Well, she was away on vacation in the United States. The stories are bizarre, they just laid it on so thick and heavy.

**Q:** Why do you focus on the CIA? Exposing covert action is an endless task. Do you see any end in sight?

**Ray:** We focus on the CIA because no other single agency or operation has killed as many people around the world as the CIA has. When you add up all the deaths . . . over half a million I believe [the CIA was] directly responsible.

**Schaap:** Nobody else, no other American agency or any other agency is responsible quantitatively or qualitatively for the same amount of destruction as the CIA. When you think about Indonesia, Iran, Guatemala and Chile and endless other cases. There certainly doesn't seem to be an end in sight, because they're not going to stop the dirty tricks. They usually say, when something gets exposed, "We stopped doing that," but you then find out two or three years later that always at the exact moment they were saying they stopped doing it, they were still doing it. They change their names sometimes, or they move to another country, but they keep on doing it everywhere.

**Q:** How effective do you think you have been against the CIA?

**Ray:** I think the very fact that the CIA calls us their Number One Enemy—I don't believe that's true at all—but I believe we must be affecting them. We're three people doing this. . . . If there were three hundred doing this, even though the CIA probably has 30-50 thousand employees, and many many more when you count their agents, I think we could bring them to their knees.

**Q:** Even though you haven't been exposing CIA agents in "deep cover," that still bothers the CIA?

**Schaap:** Rarely, when we get information or a journalist has a story for us, we would do that, but it's very, very difficult. But it hurts them precisely because their main mission is recruiting agents to in effect be traitors to their own countries, and to do their dirty tricks for them. And their major vehicle for doing that is the people under diplomatic cover.

**Ray:** By and large their deep cover people are not officers, and the people who really head the operations are the ones who work out of the embassies because then they'd have diplomatic immunity, so if they do get caught they'll be sent home without anything happening to them . . . and they're really the top guys. I mean the deep cover people do probably the really rotten things, but they're given the orders by the people we name.

**Q:** What have you learned about the CIA? Is it possible to stop what they're doing?

**Schaap:** I think it's possible to have some real impact on what they're doing. I think in areas where there have been major exposures of their operations as well as their personnel, it has an impact, Jamaica being a good example. The Kinsman shooting incident deflected attention from what *really* was significant in Jamaica—which is that there was a major CIA destabilization plot going on, and that exposure helped. It was a part of many people's effort to alert the Jamaican people to it, and it had some real effect. . . . You never know whether exposing an operation or an agent or whatever might have helped prevent something terrible from happening that might otherwise have happened.

**Ray:** I think the effect it has is raising the consciousness of people all over the world about what these dirty tricks and secret operations are. And that ultimately it's going to be the people of the world, not our magazine, that stops the CIA. And hopefully at some point the people in *this* country will get more knowledgeable and understand the CIA operates in this country too.

**Schaap:** And even when it operates overseas, in the long run it's not in the interest of the United States . . . it just makes the United States enemies, and hated all over the world.

**Q:** Do you find this a lonely struggle? How do you keep going?

**Schaap:** Well, within the United States and certainly within Washington, it's somewhat lonely to the extent that not many people, even liberals, are willing to identify themselves with what we do, even though a lot of them privately are our friends and say, "We couldn't do what you're doing, but we like what you're doing." Where we're not lonely at all is around the world where we just know thousands of people in dozens of countries who deeply appreciate what we do. And that's part of what keeps us going. There's a certain moral underpinning to what we do, which is basically that we think that the concept of interfering in the affairs of other countries is immoral and that's what we're fighting to try and stop the United States in terms of interfering in other countries. And the people of other countries appreciate that.

Daniel Tsang is a researcher and organizer in the Philadelphia area. He edits *Gay Insurgent: A Gay Left Journal*, and maintains the Lavender Archives.

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## Throwing the Philistines Out at Temple:

# CIA Recruitment Blunted

by Daniel Tsang

A handful of campus activists have forced the Central Intelligence Agency to abandon its scheduled appearance on the Temple University Campus. The agency had planned to interview students interested in becoming CIA agents. Covert Action Research at Temple (CARAT), a campus organization formed following a visit last April by the editors of **CovertAction Information Bulletin**, distributed an anti-CIA leaflet in early December. Shortly thereafter, the CIA cancelled all interviews with students on campus.

CARAT's leaflet blasted the CIA for its violation of human rights the world over, and called for the banning of its recruiters from campus. It also called for the university administration to open all its books on its ties with the agency.

CARAT noted that a Temple alumnus, Philip Cherry, had been identified by Louis Wolf, co-editor of **CovertAction**, as the CIA's station chief in Lagos, Nigeria. Cherry has held a similar posting in Dacca, Bangladesh, where he was alleged to have been instrumental in the overthrow of Ali Bhutto. CARAT asked: "Is this what Temple has to offer the world? Is this the kind of job we want our graduates to have?"

At least six students had already signed up for interviews with the CIA's Philadelphia recruiter, Dr. Elissa R. Allen, before the CIA was forced off campus. Three were about to receive Masters in Business Administration: Sharon Kelly, Robert DiVito, and Nancy West. One, Andrea Varrichio, was a Ph.D. candidate in Spanish. Two others were undergraduates, David Morton and John Scudder. Scudder, graduating at the end of the semester with a degree in Business Administration, told the **Temple University News** that he was "looking for a career opportunity that was interesting."

What makes the CIA's recruitment drive at Temple significant is that this appears to be the first time the agency has publicly advertised on campus for the position of "operations officer (overseas)"—in other words, covert action case officers.

According to documents released to CARAT under a Freedom of Information Act request, the CIA has been recruiting overtly on campus at least three times since the fall of 1979: October 31 and November 14, 1979, and April 2, 1980. Two of the appearances were at the university's career services center, and a third (in November, 1979) was at a Minority Engineering Student Association's "Job Fair." This concentrated attention at Temple signifies an attempt to attract Third World students to work for the spy organization.

Cancellation of the CIA's recruitment interviews was not announced but was discovered by the press. Stories appeared in the **Bulletin**, and on local radio stations and at least one television station.

Before cancellation was discovered, CARAT members distributed anti-CIA leaflets to students on campus. The leaflet contained a spoof on the CIA's "employment opportunities," offering such jobs as "Assassin (GS-18mass murderers); Censor; Drug Trafficker; Pimp; Provocateur; and Wiretapper" for applicants fitting the following qualification: "Heterosexuality mandatory."

Job benefits included "diplomatic/military/journalistic

cover; tax shelters and immunity from IRS audit; free company editing of memoirs; safe housing; free listing in 'Who's Who in the CIA' in the **Dirty Work** volumes; free publicity in **CovertAction** and **CounterSpy**; and reunion with Temple/Penn alumnus Philip Cherry."

In the spoof leaflet, students were asked to contact the CIA or the Reagan Transition Team in Washington, D.C.

The CIA gave no public explanation for the cancellation of its December 10 campus interviews, but the **Bulletin** reported it was due to fear of a protest demonstration. Career services director George Cronk was also quoted as saying that a sign-up sheet posted in the placement center had mysteriously disappeared, and claimed that students listed were later contacted by telephone to discourage them from keeping their appointments.

The stopping of overt CIA recruitment at Temple comes two and a half months after Temple's School of Law banned the Federal Bureau of Investigation from its law Recruitment Day in New York City because the FBI violates the school's non-discrimination policy regarding sexual preference.

CARAT members were jubilant over their victory but vowed to continue their investigation into covert activities on campus. In a December 1, 1980, letter to CARAT, CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator John E. Bacon refused to confirm or deny the existence of documents relating to any confidential or covert CIA connection with, or interest in, research, recruitment, or placement at Temple University. CARAT plans to pursue its FOIA request, and to call for the banning of classified research on campus.

## Central Intelligence Agency

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Tomorrow May Be Too Late:

# A Horrendous Legislative Agenda

by National Committee Against  
Repressive Legislation

With the opening of the 97th Congress and the start of the Reagan administration, the potential for attacks on basic democratic rights is vastly increased, and the challenge to individuals and organizations committed to defense of those rights is greater than it has been for generations. The goals of many of the newly elected members of Congress, as well as some participants in the new administration are familiar. They include the restoration of a federal death penalty, the repeal of existing voting rights protections, the "unleashing" of the federal intelligence agencies by limiting the application of the Freedom of Information Act and by enabling a criminal law to punish the disclosure of names of agents, the reversal of Supreme Court decisions prohibiting prayer in public schools and affirming the rights of a woman to choose to have an abortion, and the revision of criminal laws to allow for increased surveillance and prosecution of political activities, including anti-nuclear and anti-draft work.

How successful the incoming government will be in achieving these goals will depend to a great degree on the ability of concerned citizens to mobilize and coalesce in opposition to these policies. The end of the 96th Congress brought several developments which can be viewed as harbingers of future dangers. At the same time, there were important victories in the last Congress which can offer hope and examples for concerted citizen action in defense of constitutional rights.

Among the most disturbing actions taken at the end of 1980 was the resurrection of a Congressional investigatory body. The Senate Republicans, now in the majority in that house, established a *Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism*. This subcommittee is the most recent incarnation of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security (SISS) which was created in 1950 and abolished in 1977. That subcommittee, in turn, had been the Senate counterpart to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) and its successor, the House Committee on Internal Security (HISC).

The Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism will be chaired by the new Senator from Alabama, Jeremiah Denton, and will include as members, Orrin Hatch of Utah and John East of North Carolina. The Democratic members have not yet been chosen. It is not clear at this time what the focus of the new subcommittee will be. It has jurisdiction over espionage and terrorism and oversight over the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration. The leadership of the Senate committee and subcommittee are assuring the press and public that they do not want the new panel to revive the witch-hunts of the 1940s and 1950s. Still, it will take a vigilant citizenry and constant pressure on all members of Congress to ensure that constitutional rights are not violated, and that the subcommittee does not investigate

political beliefs which, however controversial, are protected by the First Amendment.

A second development in the closing days of the 96th Congress lends special credence to the fears that the new Senate subcommittee could repeat the same tactics and methods as its predecessors, HUAC and SISS. During the debate on a resolution to continue the flow of federal government funds through the rest of 1980 and part of 1981, an amendment was offered by Sen. Hollings to guarantee that no CETA funds could be used "to provide employment or training to any person who publicly advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government." This amendment was prompted by news stories which revealed that two Martinsville, Va. individuals who were members of the Communist Workers Party were receiving CETA funds. The Senate passed the amendment by "unanimous consent," meaning that there is no recorded vote. Fortunately, with the pressures of closing the session and passing a budget without controversy, this provision was dropped and did not become law.

The withholding of certain rights and privileges, such as CETA employment, because of a person's political viewpoints, raises ominous comparisons to the blacklists of two decades ago, when the Attorney General had a list of "subversive organizations," the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) was investigating groups and individuals for "communist" connections, SISS and HUAC were subpoenaing and harassing countless persons because of their alleged political positions and affiliations, and the FBI and the Department of Justice were investigating and disrupting political groups as a means of enforcing the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950.

As frightening as these memories are, it is important to keep the new Senate subcommittee and the Senate approval of the "Smith-Act-type" funding amendment in perspective. The Smith Act itself has not been used as a prosecutorial weapon since the mid-1960s. The Subversive Activities Control Board, while not abolished by law, has not received funding since 1973. The Attorney General's list was abolished at the same time, after not having been updated since the mid-1950s. The FBI and other intelligence agencies have cut back their spying on politically active Americans, acting under some controls from the Ford and Carter administrations, even though Congress has not placed statutory limitations on the powers of those agencies.

There is no question that some new Congresspersons and many of the supporters of the Reagan administration would like to see these executive controls lifted, the Attorney General's list reactivated and the SACB used once more, as well as a House inquisitorial committee re-created. Preventing these changes will

require concerted action from people who cherish the basic right to hold dissident political views and who recognize the importance to our democracy of a free press, uninhibited debate, and the ability "peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievance."

At the same time that Congress began responding to the rightward trend of the Nov. 4 elections by resurrecting past methods of chilling freedom of political expression, it also responded positively to the citizens' movements against specific legislative encroachments on that freedom. Specifically, Congress did not debate or pass S 1722 or HR 6915, the pending Criminal Code Reform bills. Neither did Congress consider S 2216 and HR 5615, the Agents' Identities Protection legislation. Both sets of legislation were strenuously opposed by civil liberties, religious, labor, press, and grassroots organizations, and a combination of lobbying, visits to Congresspeople by constituents, letters, press reports, and favorable editorials, as well as the difficulties of getting controversial legislation passed during a lame-duck session, prevented both proposals from being approved and signed into law.

Such results hold out hope for future protection of constitutional rights. The struggles around legislation likely to be introduced in 1981 will have to include a broader scope of people both inside and out of Congress than they have in the past. Some anti-libertarian legislation will have stronger support in Congress and the administration than it has had in the most recent period. Finally, it is possible that there will be more issues demanding our attention and action than there have been before. Despite this, the groups and individuals who fought to stop S 1 and its successors and the various proposals to lift controls from the CIA and the FBI have proven through sustained action that they *do* make a difference. Continued activism, expansion and outreach, stronger coalitions, and an ever-growing commitment to democratic freedoms will ultimately triumph again and prevent the most dangerous attacks on our rights from being successful.

You don't need to know the numbers of specific bills or their details to begin communicating your concerns about civil rights and liberties to your elected representatives. Visit them when they are in their home districts, write to them at their Washington or local offices, get to know their staff people assigned to

For further information, contact one of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation offices listed below.

National Offices, Washington, D.C. Office, 510 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; phone (202) 543-7659

Los Angeles Office, 1250 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 501, Los Angeles, CA 90017; phone (213) 481-2435

Northern Californians Against Repressive Legislation, P.O. Box 99354, San Francisco, CA 94109; phone (415) 346-7350

Midwest Regional Office, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 407 S. Dearborn Street, No. 530, Chicago, IL 60605; phone (312) 939-0675

Northwest Regional Office, Northwest Committee Against Repressive Legislation, 1918 E. Miller, Seattle, WA 98112; phone (206) 329-4407

#### *NCARL Representatives / Cooperating Committees:*

Portland Area NCARL Representative: Laura Berg, 3924 S.E. Grant Court, Portland OR 97214; phone (503) 234-2723

Greater Boston Area Coalition to Stop S. 1437, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140; phone (617) 661-6130

Duluth-Superior Coalition Against S. 1, P.O. Box 553, Superior, WI 54880; phone (715) 392-4663

Florida NCARL Representative: Olga Strickland, 1595 N.E. 175th St., North Miami Beach, FL 33162; phone (305) 949-6596

Madison Coalition to Stop S. 1, P.O. Box 1027, Madison, WI 53701; phone (608) 255-8171

Montanans Opposed to Repressive Legislation, 820 Defoe Street, Missoula, MT 59801; phone (406) 721-4757

South Jersey Coalition to Defend the Bill of Rights, 1102 Nelson Ave., Mays Landing, NJ 08330; phone (609) 625-1898

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic & Social Justice, P.O. Box 11308, Louisville, KY 40211; P.O. Box 811, Birmingham, AL 35201

the issues of greatest interest to you. *Put them on notice that you are monitoring their actions on those issues.*

Address: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Phone: (202) 224-3121

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making of the so-called "Anti-Terrorism" bureaucracy.

More recent issues have documented the problem of police brutality and suggested ways to combat it; analyzed the dangerous legal theory behind the prosecution of Revolutionary Communist Party members in Washington, D.C.; reviewed a book exposing undercover operations by the FBI; and chronicled the KKK's role in setting up the arrest of a Black man, Imani Harris, who now is sitting on death row.

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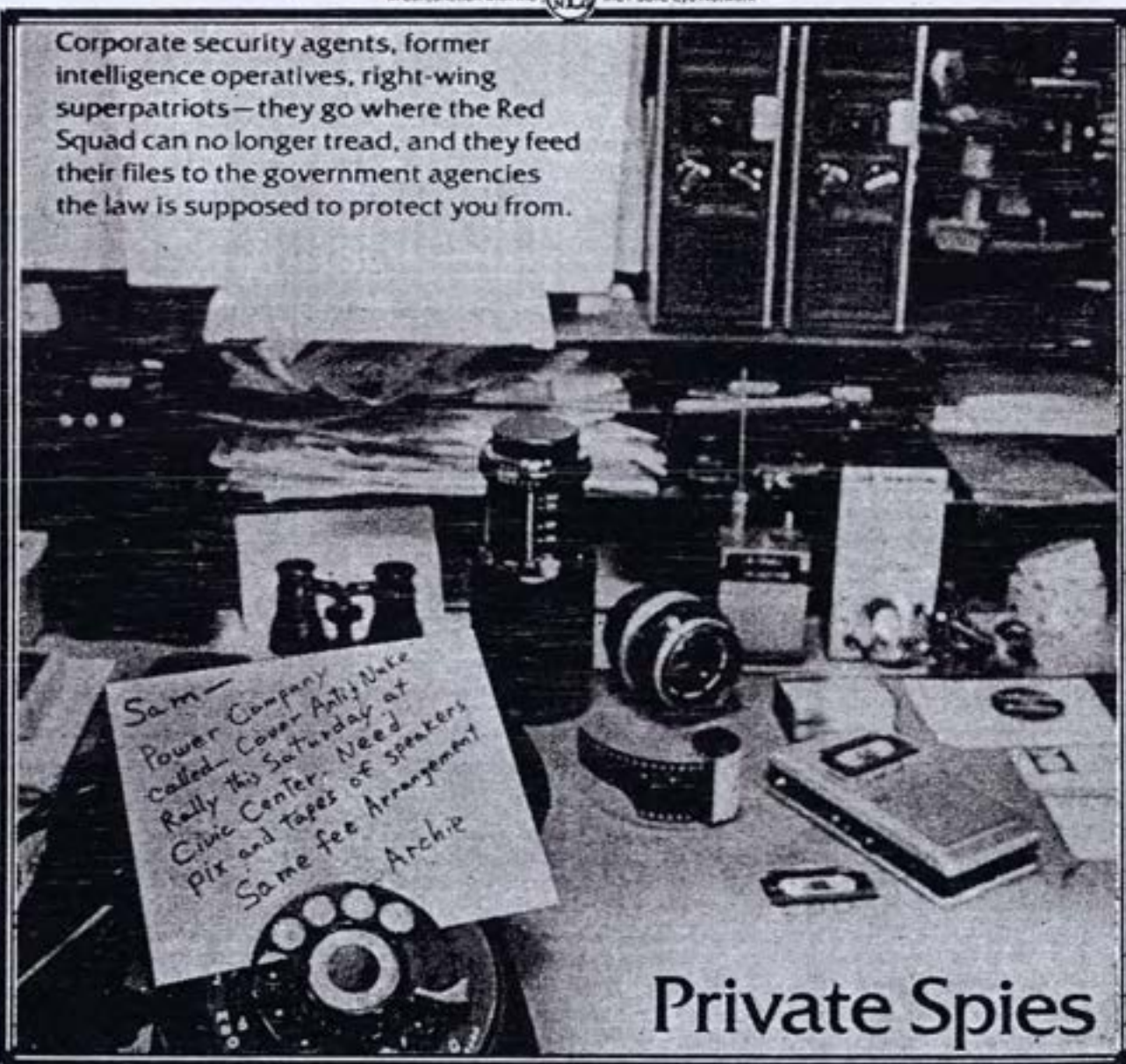
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Published by Citizens in Defense of Civil Liberties  
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**Private Spies**

It's midnight, Jim Rockford is getting himself stomped for the hundredth time on late-night reruns of *The Rockford Files*, I'm sipping cheap whiskey while pasting line corrections for the current issue of *The Public Eye*, and trying to figure out how to apologize for this issue being nine months late.

The primary reason was my temporary inability to spend the necessary time on coordinating the publication of the magazine due to serious medical problems in my immediate family—problems which happily have been resolved with the survival and growth of the newest Public Eye Network member, baby Robert who entered the world at one pound ten ounces and fought for life for many months in an intensive care unit.

I certainly do not think I could have arranged to spend my time differently in the last year, but I am sorry this issue is so late, especially since we now have a backlog of typeset copy that is waiting to become future issues of the magazine. Apologies are especially due two segments of the *Public Eye* readership: those people who have sent in checks accompanied with letters apologizing to us for letting their subscriptions lapse; and those subscribers who have sent letters with their new addresses and a note asking for back issues they have missed due to their negligence.

Well folks, this is the back issue, and while we think it was worth the wait, we do not intend to let the next issue be late. We already have typeset galleys sufficient to produce a new 48-page issue within the next two months. We also have a dedicated crew of volunteers who have pledged to produce another issue before June 19th. Why June 19th? Because it's the second anniversary of the founding of the No More Witch Hunts Network which saw some dozen cities last year stage public forums on the rise of a new McCarthyism. To mark this anniversary, *The Public Eye* will produce a special issue on The New Witch Hunt, with a transcribed speech by *Nation* editor Victor Navay, an interview with Hollywood Ten Blacklist victim Lester Cole, an article on the New Right's attack on Civil Liberties, a special section on

civil liberties issues raised by the response to the tragic Nanuet, New York Brinks truck attempted robbery, and other articles we are sure you will find informative and provocative.

In the meantime we are pleased to recognize the important activities of our Public Eye Network regional coordinators, who have continued their work during the magazine's hiatus:

Kudos to Brint Dillingham and Sheila O'Donnel whose painstaking criminal investigative work was recognized in the Washington, D.C. press as having been instrumental in clearing a youth wrongly accused of murder. Jack Schwartz continues to successfully litigate Native American land claims while Eda Gordon regularly produces the newsletter of the National Lawyers Guild Committee on Native American Struggles.

Congratulations to Jeff Cohen for finishing his legal studies, and to Linda Valentino for her new post with the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. Public Eye Robin Read has been elected to the New Hampshire State Legislature where he continues to work closely with the anti-nuclear movement, and Public Eye co-founder Harvey Kahn has a new labor organizing post in the west. It isn't that Harvey is paranoid, but six years of harrasing 2 am phone calls from the National Caucus of Labor Committee stooges has left him with a certain reluctance to divulge his exact whereabouts. And speaking of the USLP-NCLC-LaRouche Cult, Public Eye Russ Bellant continues to do excellent research into this neo-fascist movement, and recently was chosen as editor of Wayne State University's campus newspaper, the *South End*, where he will carry on a twenty-year tradition of providing progressive news and analysis to a primarily working-class student body.

Public Eye Thomas Murphy continues to astound us with his penetrating analysis of the Posse Comitatus, which he will continue as he pursues legal studies, and Angus McKenzie's relentless pursuit of documentation of the FBI's COINTELPRO program and other governmental attacks on civil liberties was chronicled in part in an excellent de-

scription of the government's war on the dissident press in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Daniel Tsang continues to research various aspects of repression for several journals, including *Covert Action Information Bulletin*—all while continuing to maintain the Lavender Archives, and publish the *Gay Insurgent*, the best analytical magazine in its field.

So the Public Eye Network has not been inactive, and we hope the *Public Eye Magazine* will live up to the fine examples of its contributors by continuing to provide the best in-depth examination of political repression in America available today.

One way we will succeed in this task is if you, our readers, continue to send us information regarding repressive activities you are aware of in your local areas. We appreciate the clippings, letters and memos from our readers who alert us to the situation where they live. And yes, we would appreciate it if you would respond generously when some of you receive subscription renewal letters in the next few weeks—sure we are late, but we hope to solve that problem in the next few months, and are confident your loyalty will be rewarded with another series of magazines that will provide the best in features and analysis covering repression in America. Please bear with us as we experience our growing pains and attempt to stabilize our production schedule; our production and editing staff is committed to providing you with magazines on a more regular basis.

## Odds, Ends, Errors . . .

Numerous people have requested copies of *Public Eye* Volume 11 #3 and 4, but unfortunately this special issue on police brutality is out of print and available only on microfilm, or, if you are desperate, for \$5 to cover the cost of photocopies.

Yes, the updated version of NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies is available, see the ad on the back page.

Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Secret Police is being reprinted and will be available soon.

(Cont. on page 47)

## The Public Eye

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The Public Eye Network is a loosely-knit affiliation of attorneys, paralegals, investigators, researchers and journalists who specialize in monitoring government intelligence abuse and governmental and right-wing civil liberties infringements.

The Public Eye Network is an affiliate of the Campaign for Political Rights and the No More Witch Hunts Network, and works closely with the National Lawyers Guild and the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA, Inc.).

# EYES ONLY

## Reagan's Crime Speech a Crime

It is said that when Ghandi was asked what he thought of Western civilization, he answered that he thought it would be a grand idea. Ghandi would not have been encouraged by Ronald Reagan's September 1981 address on crime delivered in New Orleans to the International Association of Chiefs of Police. For an object lesson in willful ignorance, distortion of facts, moral hypocrisy and sheer bigotry — the four horsemen of the Reagan administration — this speech is hard to match.

Early in his meandering New Orleans musings, Reagan demonstrated that he either never heard of or, perhaps more likely, just doesn't believe in certain concepts that heretofore had seemed rather basic to our system of constitutional and criminal law. For instance, early in the speech Reagan tells the chiefs that one of their duties is to "balance the interests of your department with those of your community, the government and its citizens, dismissing once and for all the silly notion that many have that the people are supposed to be in control of and served by rather than in competition with the police." A few paragraphs later, Reagan made quick work of the basic constitutional axiom of "innocent until proven guilty," when he told the applauding chiefs that the administration will support a number of statutory reforms that "will redress the imbalance between *rights of the accused and rights of the innocent*."

One of those statutory changes Reagan proposed in New Orleans as part of his civil liberties balancing act, is reform of the exclusionary rule — for years one of the favorite flogged horses of those who, like Reagan, have built their careers on the politics of fear. As Reagan would know, if he had been made privy to various GAO and Justice Department sponsored studies presented to his Attorney General's Task Force on Crime only a few months earlier, the traditional cry of the fear-mongers that the exclusionary rule handcuffs the police is characteristi-

cally baseless in fact (perhaps Ed Meese did not choose to wake him to tell him of those particular studies). In May of 1981, Georgetown University Law Professor William Greenhalgh, a respected fourth amendment expert representing the ABA, reported to the Attorney General's Task Force on Crime that:

Opponents of the exclusionary rule and many citizens believe the rule results in legions of criminals going free on "technicalities." Evidence from a recent General Accounting Office report strongly suggests otherwise. See *Comptroller General of the United States, Impact of the Exclusionary Rule on Federal Criminal Prosecutions*, Rep. No. GGD-79-45 (19 April 1979). . . . Some 2,804 cases were evaluated. . . . Overall, in only 1.3% of the 2,804 cases was evidence excluded as a result of filing a Fourth Amendment motion.

But were many cases dropped by the prosecutor because of search and seizure problems? The answer is no. Only 4/10 of 1% of the declined defendants' cases were turned down due to Fourth Amendment search and seizure problems, the GAO study reported.

Further evidence can be found in two studies from the prestigious Institute for Law and Social Research. In a May, 1978 study, "What Happens After Arrest?", INSLAW researchers reported "a low rate" — [less than 1%] — of rejections at screening due to improper police conduct. . . . And of the 8,766 arrests examined in the INSLAW study that were dismissed by the prosecution after initial acceptance, due process problems constituted but a small part — 2%.

A second INSLAW study is also revealing. Issued in April, 1979, it is entitled, "A Cross-City Comparison of Felony Case Processing." . . . the study found that due process reasons appeared to have "little impact on the overall flow of criminal cases after arrest."

Due process reasons were responsible for only a tiny portion of the rejections of cases at screening in most jurisdictions. . . . In fact, in the jurisdictions [studied], only one homicide arrest was rejected for due process reasons, and no rapes were rejected for these reasons. . . . In non-drug felony cases, less than 2% of the rejections in each city stemmed from due process violations.

As he went on, Reagan found time to put in a plug for the anti-big government philosophy underlying his economic pro-

gram when he told the chiefs: "We've learned that federal subsidies and government bureaucrats not only fail to solve social problems but frequently make them worse." Not surprisingly, Reagan failed to square this version of his "get the government off the backs of the people" platform with promises of extended government intrusion elsewhere in the speech such as his vow to support an exception to the Posse Comitatus Act that will allow the use of the military in control of drug traffic.

But more disturbing than these details of misconception, misinformation and misstatement which are, after all, part and parcel of any Reagan speech, was the bone-chilling tone of reactionary moralization that filled the speech from start to finish.

Reagan set the moral tone of his speech at the outset when he told the chiefs:

You and I have a few things in common. Harry Truman once said about the job that I have that being President is like riding a tiger. A man has to keep on riding or he'll be swallowed. (laughter.) Well, that's a pretty good description of what you do for a living. Society asked you simultaneously to protect the innocent, ensure the legitimate rights of property — that you must converse with the multitude, and oversee them. . . .

Lest there be any doubt that we in the multitude are seen by Reagan (and according to Reagan, by the police) as somewhat akin to a wild animal to be overseen and tamed against the day we will swallow those who self-righteously ride our backs, we need only follow along as Reagan tells those he views as fellow travelers riding shotgun on the back of the tiger:

"The solution to the crime problem will not be found in the social worker's files, the psychiatrist's notes, or the bureaucrat's budgets; it's a problem of the human heart. . . . We can begin by acknowledging some of those permanent things, those absolute truths. . . . Two of those truths are that men are basically good but prone to evil, and society has a right to be protected from them. (applause)"

and

"What these commentators are saying is that for all our science and sophistication, for all of our justified pride in intellectual accomplishment, we must never

forget, the jungle is always there waiting to take us over. Only our deep moral values and our strong social institutions can hold back that jungle and restrain the darker impulses of human nature."

and finally:

"Again, I commend you for manning the thin blue line that holds back a jungle which threatens to reclaim this clearing we call civilization. (applause)"

None of the quintessential racist politicians of what we had hoped was a bygone era — not Talmadge, not Bilbo, not Wallace or Thurmond — could have put the "new ideas" now ascendant in Washington any better.

— Brint Dillingham

## Amnesty International Cites COINTELPRO

With Washington poised to slip over the edge into the dark night of a new McCarthyism which now masquerades itself as the New Right, a ray of hope has appeared in the form of Amnesty International's call for the U.S. Government to launch an independent investigation into FBI misconduct in trials of minority militants in the U.S.

The Nobel Prize winning world-wide human rights movement's call for an inquiry, issued in a 144-page report released in October and entitled *Proposal for a commission of inquiry into the effect of domestic intelligence activities on criminal trials in the United States of America* is characteristically cautious, stressing that AI has not tried to judge questions of guilt or innocence nor commented on juries' decisions on the basis of information given them. But against this backdrop of caution, Amnesty International's findings of serious and extensive official misconduct and its call for an inquiry are all the sharper. Drawing on thousands of pages of transcripts and other official materials, Amnesty International documents a wide array of FBI abuses, in the trials of activists from militant organizations targeted for domestic governmental spying operations.

The documented abuses, some of which took place under COINTELPRO, some of which occurred long after the supposed official end of COINTELPRO in 1971, include: production of false evidence, misstatements about FBI action, harassment, infiltration of defense teams by informants and failure to make available information which the defense might have used.

Amnesty International stressed that the proposed inquiry should try to determine whether misconduct which judges might have treated as isolated abuses formed part of a pattern. "There comes a point," Amnesty International charges, "when the number or types of measures taken against a political group suggest that it may be impossible to decide whether a particular area has been affected by law enforcement misconduct without the conducting of a comprehensive inquiry into whether or not the individual measures form part of a pattern."

By way of illustration, the bulk of the report focuses on extensive analyses of FBI misconduct in the cases of Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt and American Indian Movement leader Dick Marshall. A number of additional and related prosecutions of AIM members, including Russell Means, Leonard Peltier, and the Wounded Knee cases, are also examined at some length, with brief reviews of official misconduct in the use of Doug Durham, the misuse of Myrtle Poor Bear, and other incidents.

Another important contribution of the report is its effort to address, from the outset, a distinction which has often been distorted by U.S. Government officials to divert attention and criticism arising from repeated charges that this country is far from blameless on the question of political prisoners. The report says that in many of the countries where Amnesty International works, the expression of opinion or membership in political organizations is banned, and it is therefore easy to decide that those who petition Amnesty International are political prisoners. This is not what happens in the U.S., the report adds, since here, when people are convicted on criminal charges, it is often hard to establish if the reason for prosecution is really political.

But what conclusion should be drawn, the Amnesty International report wonders, when defendants such as those examined, are members of organizations targeted for investigation by the FBI, and during the conduct of that investigation the FBI "appears to be willing to fabricate evidence against its 'targets' and to withhold information which, according to law, should have been disclosed." The broader question for Amnesty International is posed in the report's introduction, which states:

When preparing this report Amnesty International considered material about FBI domestic intelligence activity against

US citizens. In COINTELPRO "the arsenal of techniques used against foreign espionage agents was transferred to domestic enemies." (1) The targets were individuals and groups considered potential or actual threats to the security of the USA.

The result was that the right of US citizens to engage in free and open discussion and to associate with anyone they choose, was jeopardized or "chilled."

Undoubtedly there is a clear distinction between the "chilling of constitutional rights and the imprisonment of individuals on political grounds. One object of this inquiry is to ascertain whether COINTELPRO, which certainly did the former, also resulted in the latter.

A few years back Andrew Young lost his job in the Carter Administration partly because of his declaration that the U.S. had hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of political prisoners. With the help of reports like Amnesty International's, we may yet learn that Andy Young — and many before and since him — were speaking a simple and undeniable truth.

— Brint Dillingham

## We Get Letters . . .

(Philadelphia) — Amid all the talk of unleashing the CIA and FBI against Americans, there is recent evidence strongly suggestive of a continuance of mail surveillance against progressive groups and political activists.

On April 18, 1981, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that mail addressed to the Women's Switchboard in Philadelphia had been diverted to Phyllis Schlafly's post office box number in Alton, Illinois. Schlafly, of course, heads Eagle Forum, the notorious anti-ERA, rightwing organization. Someone had apparently filled out a bogus change of address form directing all Switchboard mail to be sent to Box 618 in Alton, Schlafly's address. (The incident came weeks after the phone numbers of the Switchboard, as well as a pro-abortion group, CHOICE, had been fraudulently changed to a new number that played a passionate appeal against abortion.)

Then in May, the U.S. Postal Service leafletted residents in the Germantown section of northwest Philadelphia, with a "Dear Postal Customer" letter reporting that "On May 9, 1981, mail for your area was stolen from a postal vehicle while parked at Pulaski and Winona Streets."

It should be noted that several political activists live in the area. Postal Inspector A.L. Torrance blandly concluded his May 13 letter: "We need your assistance to protect your mail." An attached brochure noted that "MAIL THEFT is a FEDERAL CRIME." Perhaps Mr. Torrance should start asking questions elsewhere.

— Daniel Tsang

## LaRouche Drops Libel Lawsuit

Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., leader of the far-right political cult known variously as the U.S. Labor Party and the National Caucus of Labor Committees, has dismissed with prejudice his libel action against *Our Town* newspaper and investigative journalist Dennis King. LaRouche's action, which was filed in 1979, is based upon the publication by *Our Town*, a weekly on New York City's East Side, of articles written by King which reported that LaRouche and the U.S. Labor Party had espoused violently anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi positions.

The voluntary dismissal with prejudice in this case effectively extinguishes the claims of the plaintiff, and has essentially the same legal effect upon those claims as a court decision in the defendants' favor. No money is being paid to LaRouche in the settlement and neither *Our Town* nor King has made any undertaking to reduce or otherwise alter their continuing coverage of the activities of LaRouche and his cult. It is believed that LaRouche decided to seek a settlement shortly after he was notified that he was to be cross-examined by attorneys for King and *Our Town* concerning numerous anti-Semitic U.S. Labor Party publications — many of them quoted in the original articles on which the suit was based — which had been produced to LaRouche by attorneys for King.

LaRouche's lawsuit was one of several libel actions brought by the U.S. Labor Party and its affiliates in an apparent attempt to silence public commentary on their extremist views. One action, *U.S. Labor Party v. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*, was dismissed before trial by the New York State Supreme Court.

Another action was brought by Computron Technologies Corporation, a company which was once closely affiliated with the U.S. Labor Party, and by certain then party members, against, among others, *Our Town*, King and Irwin Suall, an employee of the Anti-Defamation League. Computron and the former

party members have now agreed in principle to dismiss all their claims with prejudice and without any payment by any defendant. A formal settlement is expected soon.

## Milwaukee Tactical Squad Draws Fire

On July 10, 1981, Ernest Lacy, a 22-year-old Black man, decided to take a stroll in mid-town Milwaukee. Lacy had a history of psychiatric difficulties. According to his parents, he was enrolled in a therapy program, was beginning to reshape his life and was showing signs of happiness the night that he left his inner city home for a walk.

As Lacy walked in the vicinity of 27th street, in Milwaukee's central city area, he was stopped by a unit of Milwaukee's infamous "flying squad," the Tactical Unit of the Milwaukee Police Department. Lacy was seized by the Tactical Squad unit and was arrested for the rape of a young woman.

Lacy resisted his arrest, screaming that he was innocent. Witnesses later testified that members of the Tactical Squad beat Lacy to a prone position on the sidewalk, placed a chokehold on him, and that even after Lacy had been handcuffed, they placed knees in Lacy's back and raised his manacled arms high behind his back.

A police paddy wagon arrived and Ernest Lacy was tossed inside on the van's floor. Lacy was to be driven to a location where he was supposed to be identified as the rapist.

Lacy would never be identified, because he had stopped breathing, and because the man who had actually committed the sexual assault was already under arrest by other members of the Milwaukee Police Department and had confessed to them.

Ernest Lacy, arrested for a rape that he didn't commit, was dead — in the opinion of most of Milwaukee's inner city residents, because he was Black.

The Tactical Unit of the Milwaukee Police Department, was formed in the mid-1960s by Sgt. John Campbell, on orders from Milwaukee's Chief of Police Harold Breier.

The mayoral administration of Henry Meier, as well as the police department, had been caught off guard by the burgeoning civil rights movement in Milwaukee. Massive open housing marches were being led by Milwaukee's radical Catholic priest, Rev. James E. Groppi, and the elite youth leadership of the Black community, formed under Groppi, the Commandos.

Groppi had led a series of paralyzing marches from the inner city into the heart of Milwaukee's predominantly white and Polish working class South Side. Breier was determined to crush this civil rights movement, which was, in his opinion, a manifestation of anarchy led by "reds and commie agitators."

Breier unleashed his Tactical Unit, coupled with a massive police surveillance program, on the civil rights movement. The Commandos and demonstrators found their marches and meetings disrupted by nightstick-wielding special units, garbed in unfamiliar uniforms of long black plastic windbreakers devoid of any police insignia, except for a small police shield pinned to the windbreakers.

The Tactical Units, shrouded in secrecy, drove unmarked squad cars and operated with a city-wide jurisdiction, not confined to any district. They reported not to watch commanders, but to Chief Breier personally. The Tactical Squads also possessed a wide variety of weapons, special in nature, such as concentrated chemical gas weapons, as well as sniper rifles and fully automatic assault rifles.

In 1978, an ex-member of the Tactical Unit confided how the organizers of the unit had deliberately chosen "roughnecks and rowdies" to comprise the unit. He recalled how Tactical Unit Officers saved dog and cat litter from their homes and placed the fecal material in "Dixie Cup Bombs," equipped with small powder charges and delayed fuses, that could be lined along a march route, or tossed into protesters' vehicles to harass civil rights actions.

Breier would later turn the Tactical Unit loose on the Black Panther Party and Milwaukee Outlaws Motorcycle Group. In the mid-1970's, Breier justified the continuation of the Tactical Unit by placing them in charge of Special Weapons and Tactics duty and all violent confrontation situations.

It was this same group of "special police," formed to suppress the political struggles for justice of the Black community with violence and harassment, that laid their hands on Ernest Lacy. The Black community, long victimized by the "flying squads," demanded that the death of Ernest Lacy be exposed as a murder and that the policemen involved be brought to trial.

The Coalition for Ernest Lacy was organized, and held a series of mass marches in August and September. The marches were highly and skillfully organized and remained peaceful, despite the fact that Chief Breier, on several oc-

(Cont. on page 46)

# COMMENT

## Researchers Call for Probe of Potentially Illegal Acts

# LaRouche Cult Continues to Grow

by Russ Bellant, Chip Berlet & Dennis King

Joint Statement issued December 16, 1981

For years Lyndon LaRouche and his National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) have been America's most sophisticated advocates of anti-Jewish, neo-fascist and neo-Nazi ideas. Numerous published articles have made these charges.

While it is undeniably their right under the U.S. Constitution to advocate these ideas, many articles and published reports have made serious allegations of a wide variety of potentially illegal activities.

We believe it is time for federal law enforcement agencies and the U.S. Congress to take a closer look at the NCLC, especially since it is expanding its attempts to influence Congress and U.S. foreign and domestic policies. The following aspects of NCLC's activities deserve further scrutiny by government agencies and the media:

### Foreign Intelligence Activities

1) The NCLC intelligence staff, which does freelance research for hire, has prepared reports for foreign intelligence agencies such as the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) of South Africa, and SAVAK under the late Shah of Iran. A former NCLC Counterintelligence specialist recounted in the March 30, 1979 issue of *National Review* how NCLC had prepared a report for the Iraqi government. Other former NCLC security staffers have been quoted in print as saying the organization has prepared reports for many other governments including Libya, Taiwan, South Korea, India and French Intelligence under Giscard. To our knowledge, the NCLC has never registered as agents for any of these foreign governments.

A few weeks ago a person claiming to be affiliated with the French Defense Ministry and using the name Jean Claude Adam

called dozens of journalists and scholars across the nation. Among those who granted interviews were Winston Lord, president of the Council on Foreign Relations and William Bundy, CFR's editor of their *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Dennis King has exposed "Adam" as a LaRouche operative who is listed in the LaRouche-controlled *Executive Intelligence Review* as "intelligence director" of the European Economics Desk. Former NCLC members identified "Adam" from a photograph taken when King met with him. The individual is really Laurent Murawiec, who has been a follower of LaRouche since the early 1970's.

### Deceptive Fundraising

2) Allegedly illegal, deceitful and fraudulent activities by non-profit corporations, foundations, and fundraising front groups controlled by Lyndon LaRouche have been recounted in numerous articles, yet federal and state action has been rare and sluggish. NCLC internal documents boast of a \$225,000 per week budget and even conservative estimates place the annual income over \$3 million. Despite this only a handful of states have even started looking into LaRouche's fundraising activities, and on the federal level, only the Federal Elections Commission has launched any serious inquiry — an inquiry that drags on while LaRouche's coffers fill with money collected from sincere and unwitting donors.

The Illinois State Attorney General has filed suit against the NCLC-dominated Illinois Anti-Drug Coalition to force the affiliate of the National Anti-Drug Coalition to divulge its finances. The move came after an extensive article by Sun-Times reporter Alan Henry charged that the Anti-Drug Coalition was secretly using its contributions to finance the extremist political propaganda of Lyndon LaRouche. A hard-hitting editorial in the Sun Times said the group's extremist smear attempts were especially targeted against those who try to reveal the group's "tangled finances." Wrote the Sun Times editorial writer: "Sometimes the campaigns are anti-Semitic; sometimes they're racist or sexist. But in the main they're funded by unwitting contributions to the group's high-tone 'charities,' which is disgusting."

Russell Bellant, Detroit coordinator, Public Eye Network, and researcher on activities of the NCLC.

Chip Berlet, Editor, The Public Eye Magazine, and author of numerous articles on LaRouche's activities.

Dennis King, New York freelance journalist and one of the nation's leading researchers investigating Lyndon LaRouche and the NCLC.

While the Fusion Energy Foundation enjoys a tax exempt status recognized by the IRS, FEF is just another "effective fund-raising front for the NCLC," according to a published 1979 report issued by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Despite its tax status, FEF has:

- Campaigned for the Lyndon LaRouche presidential bid in 1980.
- Engaged in political lobbying in Washington, D.C.
- Listed its income as a part of the daily NCLC financial tally.
- Transferred funds to and from NCLC-controlled political and business fronts.
- Filed its membership and subscription sales on a form listing contacts for both FEF and the U.S. Labor Party, LaRouche's now-defunct political party.

In 1980 Lyndon LaRouche reported to the federal government under disclosure laws for Presidential candidates that his earnings for 1979 were \$6,000. We find this preposterous. Lyndon LaRouche, in his own words, is the "chief executive officer" of a multi-million dollar private political intelligence news agency. LaRouche maintains at least three residences, and has around-the-clock bodyguards. He travels incessantly around the world. The payments for one of his residences alone has to be greater than LaRouche's reported income.

In 1976 the Federal Election Commission began investigating the possibility of illegal contributions-in-kind by NCLC business fronts to the LaRouche 1976 U.S. Labor Party Presidential campaign committee. The FEC has also apparently uncovered evidence pointing to an attempt by LaRouche's Campaign Committee to falsify records of campaign donations in order to fraudulently qualify for matching funds. Yet with this investigation still pending, the FEC approved over \$500,000 in federal matching funds to the LaRouche Presidential bid in 1980. Now, once again, the FEC is serving subpoenas to investigate alleged falsifications in the 1979-80 applications for matching funds. One FEC report charges that LaRouche's campaign overspent its primary financial limit and should repay over \$100,000 of taxpayer money granted for the New Hampshire primary.

## Links to Organized Crime

3) LaRouche and the NCLC ties to organized crime figures and Teamster Union officials alleged to have organized crime ties have been reported in an exhaustive article by Dennis King appearing in the December 1981 issue of *High Times* magazine. Another article appearing in the January 1982 issue of *Mother Jones*, makes similar charges. LaRouche was endorsed for President of the U.S. by Rolland McMaster, who has repeatedly been identified as a Detroit racketeer. LaRouche's New Hampshire primary campaign was coordinated by Jack Ferris, a close associate and reputed business frontman for McMaster. Ferris was paid over \$96,000 by the LaRouche campaign committee, much of it while LaRouche was receiving federal matching funds. The LaRouche campaign included threats to make it "very painful" for his critics according to the 10/12/79 issue of the *Manchester Union Leader*.

The King *High Times* article outlines a history of NCLC involvement with mob-linked labor leaders going back to 1977. Teamster officials on all levels have used LaRouche's propaganda materials and political operatives in the fight against union reformers, especially members of Teamsters for a Democratic Union. NCLC members have intervened as outsiders in Teamster elections, raising serious legal questions.

In addition, the NCLC has recently launched a campaign to defend labor racketeers currently under indictment by the Department of Justice. The NCLC-controlled Committee Against Brilab-Abscam is cited by several former NCLC members as one mechanism by which NCLC is attempting to forge ties with organized crime.

## Domestic Intelligence and International Intrigue

4) Access by NCLC to sensitive data is boasted about even in NCLC's own material. The Fusion Energy Foundation, an NCLC front group, poses as a legitimate scientific organization and has cultivated ties with scientists and engineers with access to advanced nuclear research and weapons technology. Given NCLC's ties to Iraq and other foreign powers with an interest in this field, the potential for mischief is obvious. In addition, NCLC leaders have long boasted to their followers of having sources of information inside the CIA, FBI, DEA, and local law enforcement agencies. According to King's *High Times* article, right wing security specialist and former OSS officer Mitchell WerBell III arranged meetings in Washington, D.C. between top NCLC operatives and CIA employees. NCLC for years has cultivated ties with retired intelligence operatives such as WerBell in hopes of picking up useful information and building political alliances. WerBell was named by former CIA agent Frank Terpil, indicted for exporting weapons to Libya, as being involved in a plan to invade a tiny Caribbean island, according to author Murray Waas who obtained transcripts of conversations Terpil had with undercover New York detectives. Writing in the 11/28/81 issue of the *Nation*, Waas reports that "WerBell, like Terpil, has had numerous run-ins with the law, and he has been indicted for gunrunning, marijuana smuggling and violating U.S. neutrality laws." WerBell handled security for LaRouche's 1980 Presidential bid and has performed numerous other security functions for NCLC. We feel the possible links between LaRouche, NCLC, WerBell, Terpil, Libya, dissident past and present intelligence operatives, and right-wing political movements need to be probed. We know for instance that both LaRouche and WerBell have ties to the ultra-right wing and anti-Jewish Liberty Lobby, which in turn maintains friendly relations with several European ultra-right groups. That LaRouche and WerBell see themselves as active figures in a murky ensemble of right-wing intelligence networks with international links is obvious. This is perhaps the least understood area of LaRouche's activities.

## Corporate Shenanigans

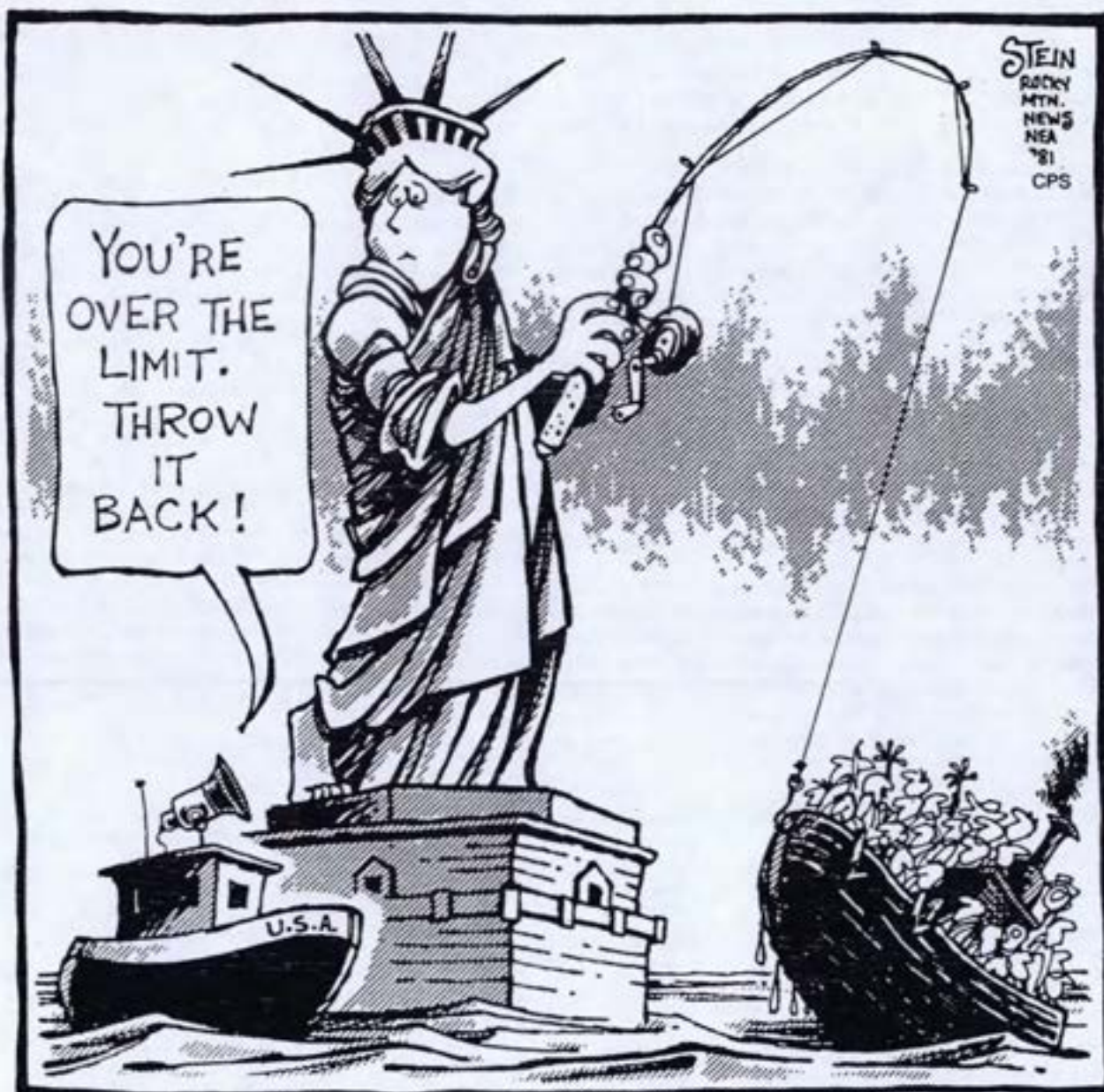
5) According to numerous court records and internal NCLC documents, large sums of money were funneled from Computron Technologies Corporation, a computer software firm owned for many years by NCLC members, into the NCLC coffers. In early 1981, Computron filed for Chapter 11 reorganization under federal bankruptcy laws. Internal memos of NCLC also in 1981 reflect a bitter struggle between Computron owners and LaRouche. LaRouche claimed Computron's founder had embezzled vast sums from the 1980 LaRouche Presidential campaign. In reply, the Computron founder strongly implied that the cash flow had been in the opposite direction, and threatened to spill the beans before a grand jury. The alleged looting of Computron is under investigation by the Computron Creditors Committee under the jurisdiction of the United States

Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York. (In Re World Composition Services, Inc. v. Computron Technologies Corporation) (File no. 81-5121-A / 81 B 10477 JL) The Court records make for fascinating reading.

## A Threat to Democracy

Finally, we would like to add that while this press conference has focused on the alleged illegal and questionable activities of Lyndon LaRouche and the NCLC, we ourselves are much more troubled by the virulent right wing and anti-Jewish paranoid political views of the organization. That a man who has publicly

stated that the Nazis in World War II "only" killed "about a million and a half" Jews could be raising by his own estimate some \$225,000 *per week* in this country is a sad commentary on the lessons we learned from the fascist movements during this century. We think that with a few exceptions, the American press has not taken seriously the growth of NCLC in this country, and that if we are to avoid another Holocaust, it is time to start educating Americans about the neo-fascist political ideology of Lyndon LaRouche and other demagogues who would blame our country's problems on convenient scapegoats, rather than attempting to struggle with the pressing issues facing us as a country in crisis.



# FBI Sought to Infiltrate Union and Manipulate Journalists in Sixties

by Angus McKenzie

## FBI Sought Union Infiltration Cover

The San Francisco FBI field office planned to establish a group under its control inside the San Francisco local of the International Typographical Union, according to an FBI memo released last month.

The memo is the first proof that COINTELPRO, the FBI's operation aimed at silencing political dissent, included plans to organize an FBI-controlled group inside a labor union.

The memo, made available recently under the Freedom of Information Act, came from FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., and expanded the San Francisco office's original plan to organize a collective inside the labor union to infiltrate a radical group, the Revolutionary Union.

Headquarters ordered San Francisco FBI agents to look into the possibility of recruiting ITU Local 21 activists as FBI operatives who would then spy on a wide range of political groups.

Local 21 activists in the strike against the *San Rafael Independent Journal* were to be investigated as a preliminary step to recruiting them into the planned FBI collective inside the union. That collective was to infiltrate a broad spectrum of "New Left, pro-Chicom (Chinese Communist) or Black extremist groups," the memo said.

"You are authorized," the memo instructed local agents, "to contact the (censored by FBI) for the identities of any International Typographical Union members who have been active in their recent strike against the *Independent Journal*."

"You may obtain background data regarding candidates for use in your cover collective, make necessary local inquiries to develop further background, including information relating to their character and reputation. . . ."

"The union knew nothing of the FBI investigation," according to President Leon Olson, who led the losing strike against the *Independent Journal*.

Newly released files also show the FBI tried to manipulate unions into taking action against periodicals, particularly the Black Panther Party newspaper published in San Francisco. But this took the form of letters mailed to union officials, rather than manipulation by a group within the union.

## FBI Operated Phony News Service

In a related discovery, it has been disclosed that San Francisco FBI agents created a news agency on that city's 24th Avenue 13 years ago to gather intelligence, according to FBI memos uncovered recently.

The phony agency, Pacific International News Service, was part of a coordinated coast-to-coast effort to establish journalistic covers for counterintelligence agents, in an attempt to suppress domestic dissent. (Pacific International News Service has no connection whatsoever to Pacific News Service currently operating in San Francisco.)

It is believed the San Francisco FBI used the news service to interview anti-war leaders and to photograph demonstrators.

Heavily censored FBI documents released under the Freedom of Information Act led to the discovery that Pacific International News Service operated from 318 24th Ave. in 1968. By 1969, records show, the agency had moved from that two-story duplex.

In July 1968, FBI headquarters authorized continued payments to the FBI informant who ran the agency. The city directory lists the FBI front this way: "Pacific International News Service (Bill LaRoss)." Galvin Wong, owner of the stucco building near California Street, said he rented the upper flat to a man named "Bill" in 1968. Wong recalled no other details.

Journalistic cover is extremely valuable to intelligence agencies. For instance, Chicago-based Army intelligence agents posing as Midwest News, another phony service, filmed an interview with anti-war leader Rennie Davis, later indicted as one of the Chicago Conspiracy Eight.

"The informant can get into places an investigator has difficulty," explained Charles Bates, special agent in charge of the FBI office here in 1968, when the phony service was operating. Bates, now a KGO-TV channel 7 reporter, said he did not recall the news service, but that it "would have been fine if it weren't put in writing."

The San Francisco FBI office refused comment.

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Angus McKenzie is a freelance writer and researcher in the Bay Area who has documented many instances of FBI penetration of the news media and labor groups. This article originally appeared in the *San Francisco Neighborhood Perspective*. Research for the article was supported by the Fund for Investigative Journalism, Inc., Washington, D.C.

## COINTELPRO FILES AVAILABLE

Now Available: Selected New Left and Black Activist FBI COINTELPRO files divided by city. For a free list, send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to CDCL #918, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60604.

## Preface

The private political intelligence apparatus has many facets. Some were outgrowths of the McCarthy-period witch hunts, others are recent projects of former agents who fled federal employ in the wake of civil-liberties reforms of intelligence agencies prompted by the Watergate and FBI COINTELPRO revelations.

Among the actors in the private political surveillance network known to have been functioning during the past two decades are:

- Private spies who supply information to corporations or police.

- Private associations made up primarily or exclusively of law enforcement personnel that share information and conduct training seminars on subversives.

- Associations of former intelligence agents who trade information and jobs.

- Corporations that employ their own political intelligence operatives, hire private firms to supply political intelligence, or share intelligence information with public intelligence agencies and local police.

- Blacklisting publications that report on the activities of community,

labor, antinuclear, and civil-rights activists.

While there is a certain degree of competition among the various participants within the network, there is also copious information sharing and a demonstrable willingness to join forces for specific investigations. Many of the participants in the network move from job to job, into and out of the private sector, always building up their list of contacts. The fruits of the private spy's labor can be utilized in many different ways, from ending up in private subversive files to being circulated in blacklists and smear sheets.

# Private Spies: A New Threat to Constitutional Rights

Corporate security agents, former intelligence operatives, right-wing superpatriots—they go where the Red Squad can no longer tread, and they feed their files to the government agencies that the law is supposed to protect you from.

## Acknowledgements

This Special Report on Private Spies is the result of several years of independent research by the authors, who wish to credit and thank the following individuals and groups for their assistance:

**George Corsetti's Articles:** These reports were first prepared for the International Peoples Appeal, 163 Madison Avenue, Detroit, MI 48226. The IPA is a non-profit organization.

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Editorial and research assistance was provided by Sheila O'Donnell and Eda Gordon, as well as the National Lawyers Investigative Group and NLG Civil Liberties Committee. Special thanks to attorneys Matthew J. Piers and Richard Gutman.

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Much of the research for both articles derives from a nationwide series of lawsuits against illegal political surveillance, sponsored in Detroit by the Michigan Coalition to End Government Spying, and in Chicago by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Alliance to End Repression. National Lawyers Guild attorneys were active in both cases.

The work of the following authors and researchers provided many useful leads, and their early work in this field is gratefully acknowledged: Frank Donner, Jim Jacobs, Eda Gordon, Harvey Kahn, Christine Marwick, Sheila O'Donnell, George O'Toole, Thomas Parsons, Jay Peterzell, David Power, Kathleen Taylor, Bill Wallace, Linda Valentino.

# Introduction

## The Ideological Torch Bearers

The glue that binds together the disparate elements of the private political spying network is the belief that anyone working for progressive social change in America is a communist, an unwitting accomplice of communists, or an unwitting dupe of communists. Since that level of hysterical anti-communism became somewhat unacceptable following the wretched excesses of the McCarthy period, the private spy network developed two protective responses—secrecy and a new vocabulary.

The network continued to share information among its members, following the discrediting of McCarthy, but stopped publicizing many of its activities. For instance, some 250 police intelligence units belong to the private Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit which has coordinated the exchange of dossier on political dissidents, but until recently no city council or state legislature had the slightest idea what LEIU did or what membership entailed.

The network's new vocabulary is designed for public consumption, and consists primarily of substituting the word "terrorist" for "communist;" this despite FBI reports on the decline of terrorism. For instance, in the Fifties headlines such as "Communist Network Menaces Atomic Energy Facilities" were very in. Now it's "Terrorist Network Menaces Atomic Energy Facilities." Of course real terrorist violence is despicable, and no sane person wants terrorists to have the Bomb, so it almost seems reasonable when private utilities explain their surveillance of anti-nuclear groups by saying they have to protect the facility against terrorists. The implication, however, is that anti-nuclear organizing is a cover for terrorism—just as in the Fifties and Sixties Ban the Bomb and civil rights organizing was victimized by charges it took its marching orders from Moscow.

The bottom line here is that political surveillance, by private—or public—agencies, is designed to preserve and protect the status quo. Often, the tactic of infiltration or surveillance is used to gather real or imagined mud to sling at social change organizers in order to smear their public image and neutralize their organizing efforts. Even when the spying fails to turn up any illegal (or even faintly embarrassing) information, the reports are dutifully filed, and frequently traded back and forth between private and public intelligence-gathering agencies.

## Spies for Hire

There are plenty of private political security agencies with which the government can cooperate. One of the most unique outfits is the California-based Anacapa Sciences Incorporated.

Anacapa Sciences is a Santa Barbara consulting firm that establishes political intelligence operations. It helped computerize the LEIU files, and designed the urban terrorism course for California's Western Regional Organized Crime Training Institute. The course clearly includes training on how to monitor the lawful political activity of dissenters. San Francisco Bay area reporter Bill Wallace found that Anacapa's founder and corporate director, Douglas Harris, assisted in developing criminal intelligence courses for California, Michigan, Texas, Canada and the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Graduates of Anacapa's political intelligence courses have already established an impressive track record of trampling on the constitutional rights of persons challenging the status quo. After Anacapa set up a program for the Texas Department of Public Safety, the Department was accused of amassing files on the Dallas anti-nuclear group Citizens' Association for Safe Energy. California graduates of Anacapa-spawned courses infiltrated and assisted in the arrest of members of the non-violent anti-nuclear Abalone Alliance during a demonstration at California's Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. The Abalone infiltrators were part of a police unit set up by Anacapa with a \$30,000 grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration report, reports Wallace.

"Anacapa Sciences Incorporated appears to be a new and significant variation of the hybrid spy firms," says Wallace, "a company that doesn't engage in spying, but teaches others how to do it." Wallace has identified similar firms around the country, including Systems Sciences Associates, Profitect, Inc., Systems Development Corporation, and the now-defunct National Intelligence Academy.

A certain percentage of private security and investigative agencies will engage in political spying if the motivation or fee is high enough. Many of them are staffed by former government intelligence officers who resented the short pay, long hours and most especially the tiresome restrictions designed to keep public investigations within Constitutional guidelines.

The phenomenon is so widespread that former CIA employee George O'Toole wrote an entire book about it called "The Private Sector: Rent-a-cops, private spies and the police industrial complex." In his introduction, O'Toole noted that the "Private Sector can serve as an informal and invisible nexus, linking both public and private police outside officially regulated channels. It can become de facto a national police force; what it lacks in organization and formal structure, it makes up for in ubiquity. . . . The prospect of a shadowy army of a million private cops ready to do the bidding of whoever will pay their wages is enough to make even the most ardent law-and-order advocate a little nervous."

To back up this contention, O'Toole documented some of his favorite atrocity stories:

- In Indianapolis, a retired air force lockpicking expert broke into the offices of U.S. Senator Vance Hartke. The burglar's accomplices planted bugging devices and collected political intelligence as part of a political espionage and dirty tricks campaign to unseat Hartke and replace him with a conservative Republican, carried out by International Investigations, Inc., a private detective firm. The

firm may have been involved in as many as 100 other burglaries related to political dirty tricks.

- In Maryland, a state senate investigating committee heard testimony that a former police officer employed in the security department of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company helped the Baltimore police install illegal wiretaps. The police also illegally obtained information from a local credit bureau.

- In California a former police officer, Jerry Ducote, committed 17 political burglaries against anti-war groups and the United Farmworkers during a two-year period. Ducote, formerly with the John Birch Society, claims he supplied stolen information to the right-wing American Security Council, Western Research Foundation, and later Research West, Inc. While these groups deny Ducote's charge, there is no denying that documents and mailing lists stolen from several groups were passed through the private and public political intelligence network and ended up in the files of the FBI, CIA, House Un-American Activities Committee, and even the paramilitary Minutemen, who sent death threats to some people on one list of anti-war activists.

- In Houston, several police officers said their illegal wiretaps were installed with the help of Southwestern Bell's security force, a staff which is one-third composed of former FBI agents. The FBI was alleged to be the receiver of much of the information gleaned from the illegal wiretaps which were aimed at collecting information about local political activists.

## A Growing Threat with Links to the Past

The problem of private sector spies collaborating with their public counterparts is certainly not new, and hardly a well-kept secret. One famous Sherlock Holmes story is based on the infiltration of the Pennsylvania coal miners' society, the so-called Molly Maguires, by a Pinkerton agent who was hired by mine owners to set up the militant workers on charges of violence. Several mine workers were hanged following a trial where almost all of the evidence came from the uncorroborated testimony of the Pinkerton spy.

In his book, *Political Repression in Modern America*, Robert Goldstein documents hundreds of cases where public officials worked with corporate security agents to crush union organizing or silence dissidents. During the turbulent organizing drives of the 1930s, one Congressional committee found that the use of private spies by employers to infiltrate and disrupt labor unions was a "common, almost universal practice in American industry." According to Goldstein, "When a company's own resources failed to break the union organizational efforts or strikes, corporations could rely upon intervention by local police, state militia or federal troops, especially in major disputes."

Linda Lotz of the Campaign for Political Rights agrees with Goldstein's analysis, but points out that "the fact that this type of activity, where corporations and law enforcement officials work together to spy on unions still continues today is not well known." In an introduction to

a packet of information on the growing threat of private sector spying, the Campaign for Political Rights warns that there is a trend towards "corporations collecting information about political activists and giving that information to law enforcement officials who have been forbidden to collect information about citizens involved in lawful political activity."

## A Classic Case of Ultra-Right Information Manipulation

One classic incident of private sector political spying involves two right-wing intelligence networks who spied on anti-nuclear activists planning for the 1977 nonviolent sit-in at the Seabrook nuclear power plant building site in New Hampshire.

The pro-nuclear U.S. Labor Party (USLP), a right-wing cult group headed by perennial presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche, maintains an intelligence gathering outfit that has an international Telex system tied to a computerized dossier filing system of activists, especially those working against nuclear power. Members of the LaRouche/USLP spy group routinely pass along their hysterical and inaccurate "intelligence" to local, state and federal police agencies.

One month before the Clamshell Alliance staged its massive Seabrook occupation, LaRouche's spies met with New Hampshire State Police agents, and warned them the demonstration was a cover for a terrorist attack. Among the documents provided to the police was material from *Information Digest*, a right-wing blacklist newsletter produced by aides and consultants to Rep. Larry McDonald (D-GA), a John Birch Society member who often blasts progressive groups in the *Congressional Record*.

These USLP-supplied documents were apparently the basis for then-New Hampshire Governor Meldrum Thompson's statements that the Seabrook demonstration was being planned by "terrorists." In the New Hampshire Police's summary of the USLP material, the Labor Party representatives are repeatedly described as "well-informed" and the police investigators give total credence to the charges that the proposed demonstration was "nothing but a cover for terrorist activity." The Seabrook demonstration included non-violent civil disobedience, but no acts of violence on the part of the demonstrators.

The incident is classic for several reasons.

- The information collected by the private spies was passed along to a public police agency which then took the unverified information and reported it to an elected official who made decisions and public statements based on the "intelligence."

- The intelligence was collected from several different private sources before being passed to the public sector.

- The purpose of the intelligence was to discredit the legitimate organizing activities of a group dedicated to non-violence by publically labelling them as "terrorists."

- The information itself was inaccurate and grossly distorted by the extreme right-wing ideology of the private sector intelligence gatherers.

— Chip Berlet

## A Case Study:

# The Doris Strieter Episode

by Chip Berlet

Doris Strieter and George Elliott have a lot in common. They are white, middle-class Americans who raised their families in the Chicago suburb of Maywood. Their children have attended the same Lutheran day school. They both are interested in politics.

George Elliott once covered the Chicago area political scene through the lens of his camera as a volunteer photographer for *Second City*, a since-vanished alternative newspaper. He could be seen at various demonstrations during the late 60s and early 70s with a 35mm camera draped around his neck. For a while he attended meetings of the Chicago Peace Council.

Doris Strieter's political involvement began when she and her husband Thomas, a Lutheran minister, moved to Maywood, a community that in the late 60s was attempting to integrate peacefully. "We became involved in civil rights activities on the local level," recalls Ms. Strieter, who in 1969 helped organize a multi-racial slate of candidates for municipal office in Maywood. Four years later, Doris Strieter herself was elected to the Maywood Village Board of Trustees.

Because of their outspoken views and public activities, both Strieter and Elliott gained a reputation as political activists. They had more than that in common. Both became involved, in very different ways, in the bizarre and little-known world of private political spies for hire. One of them was spied upon, the other was a spy.

George Elliott was the spy. A former Cook County sheriff's officer turned private investigator, Elliott apparently infiltrated and spied on numerous progressive groups in the Chicago area for the Chicago Police

Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Elliott spied on the Chicago Peace Council, *Second City* newspaper, The Guild Bookstore, and the Chicago-based Revolutionary Union—according to members of those groups. He also monitored the activities of several of the plaintiffs in a lawsuit filed in 1975 against the City of Chicago by the American Civil Liberties Union, which charged the Police Department's investigative unit with unlawful surveillance activities.

Elliott apparently was neither an FBI agent nor a Red Squad cop, but a free-lance contract informant who simultaneously worked as an investigator for several private companies. Activists who believe themselves victims of his spying observe that he could offer industrial clients a sophisticated knowledge of which leftist groups were involved in strikes, labor disputes, and union organizing drives.

Not much more can be said about George Elliott, partly because of a strict protective court order limiting the release of information, and partly because people engaged in the private spy network are loath to divulge information about themselves and their activities.

In connection with the Chicago police-spying litigation, Elliott has given a deposition in which he was questioned about his role as an informant for public intelligence groups. When it came to discussing private sector clients, however, Elliott invoked an Illinois law that allows private investigators to remain silent. Attorney Matthew J. Piers of the American Civil Liberties Union isn't convinced the law applies, and Piers is considering asking the federal court to force Elliott to discuss his private sector

spying activities. For now, Elliott remains silent.

Elliott is one of a small but significant number of private security personnel who engage in political spying. There are more than a million private security employees in this country, a larger number than work in public law enforcement. Private security has become a multi-billion-dollar-a-year industry. Most agents are guards or rent-a-cops employed to reduce pilferage or provide security. Some, however, are political spies. Their job is to collect intelligence to help clients neutralize and discredit individuals and organizations working for social change, labor reform, or better working conditions.

The private-sector spying phenomenon is much more widespread than previously suspected—and it poses a growing threat to civil liberties. A long look into the murky pool of private spying reveals that agents for hire routinely spy on the lawful political activities of a wide range of citizens.

Although many of the private political spies maintain close ties and information-sharing arrangements with public law enforcement agencies, and although many of the private groups are staffed by former (and in some cases current) police and intelligence officers, it appears that virtually all the spying and dossier collection by the private groups is currently legal. Many of these spying activities would be illegal if carried out by "official" public law-enforcement agencies, yet these agencies have easy access to the information collected by the "private" groups. This type of spying is not uncommon in Chicago. Doris Strieter can vouch for that.

Doris Strieter was a victim. She had heard rumors that her neighbor George Elliott was spying on community groups for the police, but she never had any proof. There is no evidence that George Elliott spied on Doris Strieter herself, although he was aware of her activities. Someone was spying on Strieter, though, and in the course of the police-surveillance litigation she obtained copies of the file on her kept by the Chicago Police Department Intelligence Unit—the Red Squad. Her real surprise came when the Red Squad files revealed that the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) had spied on her political activities in Illinois. It happened in 1975, when ITT sent an agent to infiltrate a meeting of activists concerned about ongoing human-rights violations in Chile following the overthrow of the elected government of Salvador Allende. Doris Strieter chaired part of the weekend conference, and a description of her appears in the report prepared for ITT.

### ITT Goes to a Conference

In February of 1975, an ITT spy boarded a bus in New York with 18 other persons headed for the Second National Conference in Solidarity With Chile, which was going to be held at Concordia College in River Forest. An ITT photographer had snapped 11 photographs of the delegation as they boarded the bus. The photographs, a memo identifying the people photographed, and an eight-page report on the conference itself eventually turned up in the files of the Red Squad. Included in the reports prepared by the ITT investigator was a description of Doris Strieter:

"Unidentified white female described as a trustee of Maywood, Illinois. Husband believed to be Lutheran minister. May have been in Chile as late as 1974."

Doris Strieter is a little perplexed that the ITT spy failed to recall her name. "The rest of the information the spy gave was very accurate," says Strieter.

It was in her capacity as an elected official that she was asked to participate in a fact-finding mission to investigate violations of human rights in Chile. "Commission members included trade unionists, educators, and people from the religious community," says Strieter, "and they wanted someone from the political community. So they asked me. I suppose because I am basically very straight—there's probably a better word—I didn't have a radical history: in fact I had just been appointed by the governor to serve on a regional planning board."

The 12-member mission went to Chile in February of 1974 and returned to write a report that charged "flagrant violations of human rights, systematic use of terror and torture, economic chaos, and strong evidence of U.S. involvement in the coup." Upon her return, Doris Strieter joined the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile. "After going down there, there was no way I could remain uninvolved," she says. As chairwoman of the Chicago Committee, Doris Strieter co-sponsored the Second National Conference in Solidarity With Chile.

Other organizers included Congressman Andrew Young, Gloria Steinem, and scores of religious, trade union, and community leaders.

The conference call listed five priority areas: freeing political prisoners, seeking legislation cutting off military aid to the junta, raising money to help exiles and prisoners facing trial, blocking further covert CIA intervention in Latin America, and exposing the role of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in destabilizing the Allende government. Among other activities suggested for discussion were "solidarity vigils, boycotts...and support for U.S. workers confronting Kennecott, Anaconda, and other multinational corporations whose role in Chile has been brutally documented." One of those multinationals was ITT.

"I don't remember there being much discussion of ITT at the conference. I know for a fact nothing major was discussed since we agreed not to focus on ITT because other companies were reinvesting in Chile," says Strieter.

Still, the ITT spy was able to fill



Doris Strieter, who found out about ITT's spying on her activities when she obtained her file from the Chicago Police Intelligence Unit, popularly dubbed the "Red Squad."

eight single-spaced, typewritten pages when he was debriefed by ITT's "manager of major investigations," John Røgeberg. Røgeberg, now chief investigator for ITT, prepared the report and sent it along with the photographs and the identification memo to FBI agent James Vermeersch, who in 1975 was part of a special New York FBI squad tracking down Weather Underground fugitives. Vermeersch has admitted in court that as part of the investigation he participated in 15 or 20 "black bag jobs," the coy FBI term for unauthorized, surreptitious entries—in colloquial English they would be called burglaries.

Vermeersch sent a copy of the ITT intelligence reports to his friend Kurk I. Klossner, a special agent in the FBI's Chicago office, and in a handwritten note asked Klossner to "review & return" the documents "within a week," adding, "I'd appreciate any suggestions on our handling of this." Klossner may have followed those instructions, but he also apparently forwarded a copy of the material to his contact in the Red Squad.

The ITT reports would have remained tucked peacefully in a manila envelope in a drawer in the Red Squad's voluminous file room had it not been for a series of lawsuits seeking to block the surveillance and harassment of social change activists. "Our obtaining these documents was a quirk of fate," says Richard Gutman, attorney for the Alliance to End Repression. He explains that U.S. District Judge Joseph Perry impounded the entire collection of Red Squad files on March 28, 1975, after learning that the police were in the process of burning hundreds of thousands of pages of intelligence dossiers rather than run the risk that they would become public. The Red Squad (which knew well in advance about the filing of the lawsuits since it had infiltrated the Alliance to End Repression, the organization preparing the first case) had not yet finished destroying the sensitive documents when the court seized the files, in-

cluding the ITT reports, which were just a month old.

Along with identifying nearly 50 participants in the Chile solidarity conference, the report detailed the various proposals submitted for discussion. A capsule analysis of the event was surprisingly erudite, if somewhat rhetorical:

"To the extent it has been possible to determine the purpose or nature of the conference, it might be characterized as a radical summit conference with a central theme of fascist oppression, crimes, and atrocities in Chile as an object lesson for the United States. It appears that around this theme an effort is now being made to unify diverse radical groups in the United States in a sustained campaign against the common enemies of United States imperialism, exploitive capitalism, the CIA and the U.S. intelligence community generally, multinational corporations, etc."

A militant agenda, perhaps, if one is to take at face value the words of the ITT spy, but certainly an agenda that is amply covered by the First Amendment. "What happened at the conference was not at all subversive, not at all illegal," says Strieter. "There were discussions and disagreements over focusing on a single issue or general antiimperialism, and the decision was made at that point to stick with the issue of Chile." A spokesperson for the National Chile Center and the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile blasted the ITT spying when it was revealed in October 1980, saying: "None of the organizations victimized by ITT spying have ever discussed, planned, or engaged in any activities that could even remotely cause ITT to fear for the security of its property or the safety of its employees. ITT could not have infiltrated and spied on us for any legitimate defensive purpose. It did so in order to assess, and if possible to disrupt, our efforts to expose ITT's flagrant abuses of corporate power."

ITT's response to press accounts of its corporate political spying was predictable. A spokesperson for the mul-

tinational communications conglomerate issued a press release that simultaneously denied ITT ever "maintained a program of political spying and infiltration" and authenticated the ITT documents found in the Red Squad files, admitting the information on the memo was "obtained by an ITT employee."

What was ITT's explanation for its political spying? Terrorism. Referring to a series of "terrorist threats, bombings, and attacks," the ITT spokesperson said, "The company cooperated with law enforcement agencies investigating such crimes in an attempt to protect its personnel and property from further terrorist activities."

"Baloney," says Richard Gutman. The spying and infiltration "certainly was not to detect crime," he says. "An examination of the reports indicate the ITT gathered information not of criminal activity but rather the lawful First Amendment activity such as the organizing of peaceful protests and boycotts against ITT." Gutman agrees that it is possible that ITT was planning to neutralize the efforts of the antijunta activists. "Intelligence gathering such as this inevitably leads to disruption," he said.

And there were signs of disruption at the Chile solidarity conference. "A number of people had materials stolen," says Strieter. "My briefcase was stolen, and at one point the River Forest Police arrived saying they had heard a rumor that Angela Davis was appearing." ITT's claim that they were investigating terrorists is angrily dismissed by Strieter. "If ITT was in the business of rating groups that threatened their corporate security, we would have been very low on the list. Our group never had any history of violent or illegal activity. It can't be an isolated instance. If they spied on us, they must have done it with other groups."

Strieter's suspicions are confirmed by Gutman, who says he has evidence he cannot reveal that ITT monitored other groups involved in antijunta organizing. Gutman is constrained by the protective court order.

## Part One

### Spying and Profits

# The Private Sector and the Political Police

by George Corsetti

## Introduction

During the 60s and 70s, Americans were deluged with revelations of spying and disruption by the government. This focus on government's most recent role makes it difficult to establish an historical perspective because of the concentration on specific recent events, such as Watergate, or on individuals, such as former President Nixon or the late FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover. This inclination is shaped and encouraged particularly by the mass media. Unfortunately, the emphasis on events or individuals makes it possible to dismiss them as aberrations, or the fault of a single person without recognizing the historical background and institutional development that gave rise to their particular role.

Today's events actually resemble the period from WWI to WWII, when government intelligence agencies targeted anti-war and socialist groups and conducted a secret war against them. The government's activities culminated in the Palmer Raids of January 2, 1920 when the FBI, together with the right-wing intelligence agents, rounded-up some 10,000 people in 33 American cities. Public outrage at this and other similar activities caused restraints to be placed on the government. As a result, illegal activities directed against social and economic reformers diminished considerably. But spying and disruption did not stop. The private sector corporations and the wealthy elite that controlled them soon created their own political police units. Their targets were socialists and union organizers.

Beginning with WWII, the government resurrected its own intelligence agencies which grew and became entrenched in the American political scene. It was these agencies which came under fire in the 70s resulting in a new round of citizen outrage and restraints. As we enter the decade of the 80s there is an increasing number of reports of private sector spying and disruption. The targets include dissidents such as anti-nuclear groups and union organizers.

The inescapable conclusion is that police intelligence forces, regardless of whether they are employed by government or corporations, have historically acted in the interest of the wealthy

elite. Their targets and tactics are clearly designed to maintain a climate where profits can be maximized at the expense of the Constitutional rights of American dissidents who advocate social and economic change.

## The Rise and Fall of Government Intelligence Agencies — Circa, Early 1900s

Theoretically a civilized society abhors the private resolution of conflict, preferring instead, an impartial force which acts pursuant to neutral laws agreed upon by the people to be governed. Unfortunately, things do not seem to have evolved that way.

The early forms of police in America leaned towards the acquisition and protection of private property and not a neutral protection of individual rights. The desire for land created problems with Indians and the need for maintaining discipline and catching runaway blacks led to privately controlled slave patrols. As colonial towns grew into small cities, night watches were hired to protect factories, warehouses and homes of the wealthy.<sup>1</sup> Industrialization, which increased around 1830 and again after the Civil War, drew immigrants as well as rural people, and the watch system was replaced, as in New York in 1845, with a disciplined, paramilitary force.<sup>2</sup> In Detroit, the police department, formed in 1865 in response to Civil War draft riots, was inexorably tied to the development of the rapidly expanding auto industry which soon drew thousands of job seekers.<sup>3</sup>

This new public sector police force, unlike the watch system, was directly responsible to government officials, had greater authority and a neutral appearance. It was a major step in achieving control over the entire population. However, local politicians who controlled the police force proved more responsive to local manufacturers than they were to the needs of the workforce. Thus, when food riots, machine breaking and union and radical political organizing increased, the workers were viewed as a threat to private property, criminal in nature, and subject to

legitimate police suppression. The police were brought in to protect scabs and put down strikes and insurrections.

Another distinct but related phenomenon that emerged to support the interests of the wealthy elite and resist economic change was the private police. Pinkerton's Detective Agency, formed in 1850, protected industrial property, investigated crimes, and arrested criminals, effectively functioning as the country's first interjurisdictional, national police force. Pinkerton also set up the first national blacklist of American workers years before the FBI was established. Another detective agency, Brinks, started as railway police in the 1800s, and the Burns Detective Agency, founded in 1909, did investigations for the Banking Association.<sup>4</sup> Private police also made effective use of informers, undercover agents and agents provocateur, and were reputedly even more brutal than the local police, often hiring thugs and goons to shoot and physically attack labor organizers and suspected radicals. In 1892, for example, Pinkerton was hired by Carnegie Steel and brought in 300 guards to break a strike at its Homestead Works near Pittsburgh. During the confrontation, five strikers were killed and many injured.<sup>5</sup>

The distinction between government and private police was often blurred and in some cases non-existent. In 1877, for example, William Scranton put down the railroad strike in Scranton, Pennsylvania by organizing 50 friends and shooting down striking workers marching on the town's business district. Afterwards they were organized into a militia company.<sup>6</sup> In other cases, direct control of the local police by the commercial class was accomplished by the appointment of manufacturers and businessmen to the offices of Commissioner and Superintendent of police.<sup>7</sup> And, private police often simply changed hats and became public. Pinkerton Detectives, for example, were hired by the War Department, operating a military intelligence network in the South during the Civil War. The Justice Department, established by Congress in 1870, hired private detectives as investigators, with William Burns as director and one of J.

Edgar Hoover's predecessors at the Department's Bureau of Investigation.<sup>8</sup>

The turn of the century saw the beginning of the Progressive Era and increasing dissatisfaction with the economic system which now included the robber barons of oil, steel, railways and banks who were using more sophisticated business methods and centralized control to pillage from the boardrooms of their national headquarters. Radicals such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were becoming more organized and effective in their quest for social and economic change.

The commercial class recognized that the harsh tactics of the often corrupt and inefficient police tended to "work more potentially to breed discontent and anarchy than all the exhortations, invocations and denunciations of soap-box orators."<sup>9</sup> Their solution was to link up with liberal reformers and professionalize the police. And using the same concepts of scientific management that made for a successful business, created a federal police force with centralized power, capable of coordinating the activities of local and private police.

Some of the more traditional citizens, however, feared this concentration of police power. But the events of the day would soon provide the opportunity. James Madison once said, "Perhaps it is a universal truth that the loss of liberty at home is to be charged to provisions against danger, real or pretended, from abroad."<sup>10</sup>

In his address to Congress seeking a declaration of war in April 1917, President Wilson warned that Germany had "filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without our industries and our commerce."<sup>11</sup> The Germans, said Wilson in June 1917, were using "liberals . . . socialists, [and] the leaders of labor to carry out their designs."<sup>12</sup>

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were busy directing strikes throughout the nation and distributing literature

## The Michigan Experience

In 1970, Walter Benkert, a suburban Detroit welder, was bilked by a local furniture dealer. Attempts to resolve his grievance proved fruitless, so he gathered a few friends and neighbors and picketed the store. He soon found himself resolving other people's problems in the same way and before long, a working class, grass roots consumer group, the Michigan Association for Consumer Protection, had been formed. Having achieved a measure of success, group members started advocating consumer protection legislation and picketing the state capitol and banks whose lobbyists were working to defeat legislation they supported.

In the spring of 1974 they learned that a state legislator who was a target of their demonstrations and leaflets initiated a State Police investigation of their political ideology. Outraged, the group sued Gov. William Milliken and the police. The state admitted the probe was illegal, but denied the existence of any widespread spy operation. Yet Gov. Milliken ordered the police to begin destroying the "red squad" files. The state's attempt to destroy the files (stopped by the court), coupled with other

revelations of FBI and CIA spying, alerted Michigan activists to the far-reaching implications of the consumer group's suit, and the case was expanded to include anti-war and labor activists, socialists and other dissidents. The Detroit Police and Mayor Coleman Young were added as defendants to the litigation.

The suit soon began to generate reams of previously secret files, not only from the police, but from corporations. As such, it provides a unique opportunity to examine the recent status of the relationship between the local and national political police and the private sector.

One result of that lawsuit was that in November of 1980 the Michigan State Police mailed letters to 38,000 people notifying them of their right to receive copies of their subversive activities files. Detroit police will soon mail out an additional 100,000 notices to victims of their spy program. This study is also a result of the political investigation of the consumer group. Its purpose is to provide a logical, historical framework to better understand why that investigation, and thousands of others like it, was conducted by the police. It is also intended to show why political spying, in a slightly different form, continues today.

— George Corsetti

calling for the overthrow of capitalism and replacing it with a socialist society. And, while Wilson said the war would make the world safe for democracy, the IWW said it would make the world safe for "predatory capitalists." Further, it said, the war was a purely imperialist struggle run by Wall Street plutocrats, and they wanted no part of it. The strikes, the IWW said, would go on.

The government moved quickly to set the stage for war — against the IWW and others who sought economic change. Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts which criminalized conduct that interfered with the draft and military operations, and the publication of disloyal statements about the U.S. form of government. Military Intelligence was expanded as were similar units in the Post Office and the Treasury Department.

The link with the wealthy elite of the private sector was facilitated by the formation of the American Protective League (APL), an organization which consisted of the "upper social, economic and political crust of each community."<sup>13</sup> The purpose of the APL was domestic counter-intelligence. They had an eventual membership of 350,000 and assumed a quasi-military structure, with chiefs, captains, lieutenants and operatives. While some financial support came from government, the bulk came from businessmen who, they said, "usually are the ones benefitted in a property sense by the protection afforded by our organization."<sup>14</sup>

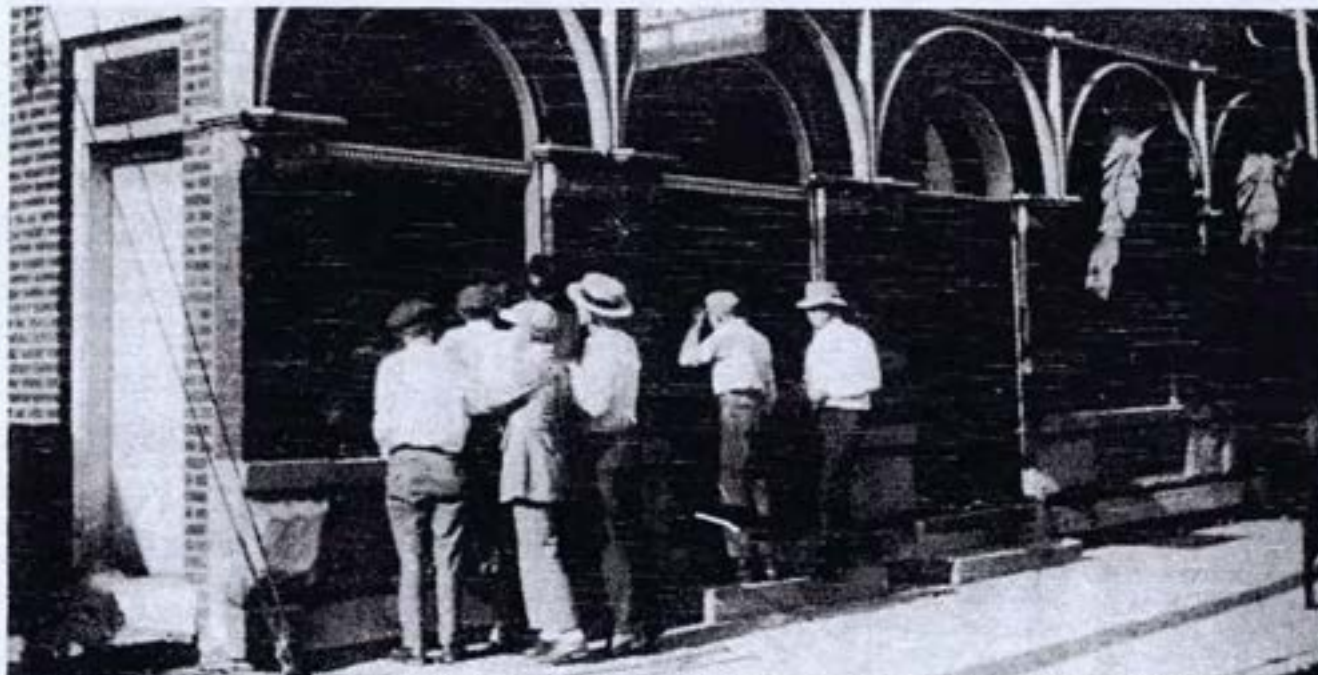
The APL worked closely with Military Intelligence, but primarily with the new Bureau of Investigation. They established their own national spy network which disrupted meetings of unions and socialists, infiltrated radical organizations and practiced surveillance by burglarizing, wiretapping and opening the mail of these organizations. Operating by industry and geographic area, the network was a model of business efficiency, directed not against spies (not a single individual was ever con-

victed of actual spy activities), but against labor organizers and those who would change the economic system. By 1918 they had become an "official auxiliary to the Justice Dept." and conducted investigations of character and loyalty. In Cleveland, for example, they did 80% of the Bureau of Investigation's work.<sup>15</sup>

With the signing of the armistice, the ostensible justification for suppressing domestic radicals ended, but the Russian revolution and an increase in strikes and radical activity did little to calm the fears of the defenders of the capitalist economy. The Justice Department was under increasing pressure to act as the centralized coordinator for the policing of dissidents. Under the guise of enforcing state statutes and the deportation provisions of the Immigration Act, it began a renewed peacetime federal initiative against dissidents. A General Intelligence Division was established in the Justice Department headed by J. Edgar Hoover, who had been responsible for compiling information on enemy aliens during the war. There was also a major expansion of Bureau authority to include investigations of anarchists, Bolsheviks and others advocating change in the government.

On the night of January 2, 1920, the infamous Palmer Raids resulted in the round-up of 10,000 persons by Bureau and Immigration agents in 33 cities. Coordinated by federal agents, the strike force included many American Protective League veterans who received "temporary, short term commissions" as special agents of the Bureau of Investigation.<sup>16</sup> In Detroit, police and federal agencies raided 28 separate halls and meeting places. They arrested over 800 people and for three days confined them to the city jail and a dark corridor of the federal building which had no beds, one drinking fountain and one bathroom. No detention lists were maintained and prisoners were not allowed to see their families or lawyers for more than a week.<sup>17</sup>

The arrests sparked massive protests from civil libertarians and politicians. The Bureau's response was to investigate the lib-



A curious crowd peers into the window of C.B. Schoberg's Latonia, Kentucky shoe shop during the summer of 1918. The shop had been bugged with a dictaphone with the listening end in the National Bank of Latonia which was cooperating with the Citizens' Patriotic League—a group that collected evidence of "sedition" by German-Americans during WWI. Four German-Americans were "arrested" by League "detectives," who gathered "pro-German evidence" with the dictaphone, which was installed under the pretense of searching out an electric light leak. The League "detectives" turned over their prisoners to the local County Court.

photo by Felix J. Koch from National Archives Research Service

eral critics. But a Congressional inquiry and new leadership at the Justice Department forced abandonment of any further raids. The military experienced "qualms about pursuing the phantoms of conspiracy any longer," and there was increased dissension about its involvement in corporate / labor affairs.<sup>18</sup> There were also a number of commutations of sentences against radicals and those imprisoned under the Espionage and Sedition Acts.<sup>19</sup> By 1924, the Justice Department and military intelligence had significantly reduced overt operations against dissidents. The government intelligence police, while more firmly in place following the war, was forced to retreat and would not be fully utilized again for some time.

In many respects the period beginning with the 1920s is very similar to the mid and late 1970s when the government intelligence apparatus was severely criticized by outraged citizens for overstepping its bounds.

### The 20s and 30s — The Corporate War on Civil Liberties

The 20s were generally known as the "prosperity decade," with real earnings of employed workers advancing, but the true beneficiaries were businesses. Corporate profits and dividends increased over 60% while chronic unemployment ran at about 10%. One analyst of the period suggests this was the beginning of "corporatism." Alan Wolfe, in *The Limits of Legitimacy*, defines this as "the self-organization of the various sectors of the economy in such a way that their harmonious interaction will guarantee stability and productivity without state intervention, or with as little as possible."<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the private sector would no longer rely on the state, but would simply assume direct control of the political economy. This concept flourished in pre-fascist Europe. Herbert Hoover was one of the primary American theorists.

Under Republican administration in the 20s, business interests took virtually complete control. President Coolidge announced that "the man who builds a factory builds a temple, the man who works there worships there." The Commerce Department was an appendage of business; regulatory agencies were packed with business representatives; anti-trust laws were used against labor organizations while businesses became increasingly concentrated. Andrew Mellon, one of the richest men in America and the Secretary of the Treasury, worked diligently to reduce taxes in the highest brackets.<sup>21</sup> The *Wall Street Journal* commented, "Never before, here or anywhere else, has a government been so completely fused with business."<sup>22</sup>

While some commentators suggest that radicalism was smashed during WWI and that apathy and conservatism were rampant, there are indications to the contrary. Senator Robert La Follette's 1924 presidential campaign, for example, proposed nationalization of railroads and water power, an end to labor injunctions and the right of labor to organize. He received 5 million votes (17%) — the strongest third party vote in history.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, before the start of WWII, labor's right to organize, a major victory for workers, would become a reality. But business interests resisted with a concerted and violent attack on union organizers and social reformers.

The late 1920s and 1930s were noted for a decrease in government police harassment and an increase in the use of private detective agencies, in-house company police and illegal vigilante groups such as the Klan.

From 1934 to mid 1937, in Michigan, for example, Pinkerton agents had successfully infiltrated auto workers' unions. One became president of the Chevrolet local in Flint and another was the vice-president of the Fisher Body plant in Lansing.<sup>24</sup>

One of the more vicious in-house police operations was established in Ford Motor Company's Service Department, headed by Harry Bennett, a member of the Michigan Parole Board.



The post-war hysteria over foreigners and Bolsheviks was dramatically evidenced in this March 1918 exhibition by the 9th Coast Artillery Corps of how they would "handle a riot in the streets," in New York City. Less than two years later the infamous Palmer Raids utilized specially commissioned members of the American Protective League, and by the end of the 1920s the transition from public to private was witnessed by a decrease in government police harassment and a dramatic rise in the use of private detective agencies, in-house company police and illegal vigilante groups such as the Klan.

Bennett commanded a small army of 8,000 men, including ex-convicts, who informed on fellow workers and physically assaulted any suspected of radical activities. Discussions of radical politics or unions were grounds for firing.<sup>25</sup> A 1932 demonstration of unemployed workers at the Ford Rouge complex was met by gunfire from Bennett's Service Department and four demonstrators were killed. The press blamed the "reds" and no official investigation was ever conducted.<sup>26</sup>

Klan activity also increased, particularly in Detroit, where they had close ties to the police department and their candidate for mayor was narrowly defeated in 1925.<sup>27</sup> A 1931 split in the ranks of this group resulted in a new organization, the Black Legion, which became notorious as a right-wing, paramilitary force responsible for the murder of union organizers, communists and Blacks, as well as the bombing of bookstores and meeting places in the early 30s. In an effort to weed out activists and prevent them from gaining employment, employers such as Packard Motors provided the Legion with lists of employees and prospective employees.<sup>28</sup> This vigilante group, like similar, illegal organizations operating in Latin American countries, had close connections to the establishment. According to a 1936 Oakland County Grand Jury report, Black Legion membership included a number of local police, sheriffs, firemen, judges, mayors, and almost all the leading officials in communities adjacent to Detroit.<sup>29</sup>

The full extent of corporate repression would not be uncovered until the mid-30s when the actions of the private sector became so outrageous that a Congressional committee convened to plumb its depths. The La Follette Committee said the list of corporations implicated in spying and harassment read "like a blue book of American industry."<sup>30</sup> Private police were found to have wiretapped phones, read personal mail, confiscated union literature and intimidated and physically abused union organizers. A fortune had been spent on the private war with labor. The committee found that between 1933 and 1937, Republic Steel, US Steel, Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube had each purchased more gas equipment than did any law enforcement agency in the country.<sup>31</sup> The use of espionage in particular, allowed "private corporations to dominate their employees, deny them their constitutional rights, promote disorder and disharmony, and even set at naught the powers of Government itself."<sup>32</sup>

In addition to private police forces, the committee examined vigilante "citizen committees" established by industrialists "to do to labor on industry's behalf what the individual employer could no longer do legally."<sup>33</sup> Vigilantes, said the committee, had become "an invisible super-government. In a country whose history provides evidence of vigilantism, it is a matter of no little public concern when business organizations, influential and moneyed, seize on and foster such movements to the attainment of their own ends."<sup>34</sup>

As if to sound the changing of the guard, on May 26, 1937, the public sector, the Chicago police, fired point blank and without warning, at striking Republic Steel workers, killing ten and injuring a hundred demonstrators. The overt and direct control of the political police had already begun its metamorphosis.

This historical overview of the political police in America purposely does not extend beyond WW II when another "danger from abroad" resulted in the government becoming the dominant force in this area. Certain aspects of this transition are,

however, worth noting, if only because they would become important at a later time.

The FBI was, of course, resurrected. In 1936 President Roosevelt directed the FBI to collect information on "subversive activities," and in a 1928 memo Director J. Edgar Hoover reported investigations in maritime, steel, garment, fur, coal and auto unions. The targets also included newspapers, youth groups, Blacks, the government and the armed forces, and in his own words, "the entire spectrum of social and labor movements in the country."<sup>35</sup>

Labor's right to organize, won in the mid-30s, resulted in corporate and government toleration of "responsible unions," which could control the workforce. However, labor's more radical element, particularly those which did not accept capitalism, had to go, and much of the post-war and McCarthy period was devoted to silencing those who still sought to change the economic system.

The government also created a new, international layer of intelligence activity, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). As the events in Europe pointed to a new conflict, Roosevelt sent William Donovan abroad to assess the situation. He would later return to advocate the formation of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner of the CIA. Donovan, a lawyer, politician and diplomat, was married to the daughter of Andrew Mellon and was an excellent representative of the wealthy elite. He was appointed director of the OSS and soon began staffing his agency from the world of what he described as "a blend of Wall Street Orthodoxy and sophisticated American nationalism."<sup>36</sup>

## A Look at the Political Police and the Private Sector — circa 1970s

Since the beginning of WW II, the American political police, unhampered by any substantial public opposition, became institutionalized and grew by leaps and bounds.<sup>37</sup> But in the early 1970s, this centralized government apparatus began to come unraveled. For the first time in decades, citizens critically examined the multitude of agencies which had been engaged in a secret war on dissidents. For the most part, this examination looked to the federal agencies from the FBI to the CIA to the IRS and others, and was conducted through legislative hearings, freedom of information act requests and lawsuits. A multitude of books and articles have been written about that secret war.<sup>38</sup>

The functions of public sector police agencies are very much like those of a sophisticated business enterprise — all are inter-related, but the purpose of each is distinct. The role of the local police is to gather information. Their informants attend nearly every meeting of any group advocating social or economic change. They report on who attends, what is said, and what the plans and strategies of the organizations are. They also report miscellaneous information including where individuals are employed, and gossip, such as which dissidents are having marital problems. Undercover police record license plate numbers covertly noting all those entering the meeting. The information is cross-indexed to the individuals and organizations involved, resulting in political dossiers. This information is passed to the FBI, Secret Service and others on a regular basis. Information rarely flows from the federal agencies to local police.<sup>39</sup>

Free of much of the task of gathering information from primary sources, federal agencies are able to manipulate the individuals and groups under surveillance. Agent provocateurs intro-

duce dissension and "splits" within the organizations. Anonymous letters are sent to spouses, parents and friends of activists in an effort to exacerbate any tensions that may exist. Other tactics include IRS audits, visits to employers and landlords and visits to the individuals.

Local political police also work closely with corporations. For example, Michigan State Police admitted to giving information from their subversive files to Panax Corporation for use in making background checks on employees and job applicants. A vice-president of the corporation readily admitted to receiving the information, and defended the practice saying, "I see nothing wrong with it. Not if we're going to keep a free country. If you have information, subversive information, I think that information ought to be shared with private enterprise."<sup>14</sup> Panax is a conservative Michigan-based newspaper chain whose publisher has been under investigation by the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission for allegedly

acting as an agent of South Africa in attempting to manipulate U.S. public opinion by acquiring the *Washington Star* and *Sacramento Union*.<sup>15</sup>

Corporate security personnel also worked with the police. Files subpoenaed from the Chrysler Corporation, for example, showed a meticulous record-keeping system strikingly similar to the police department's. The files included names and license plate numbers of persons who distributed literature at plant gates, copies of the literature, photos, news clips and organizational charts of dissident groups as well as the personal and political affiliations of employees and non-employees. The corporation security officers, many of whom had previously been employed by police intelligence units, admitted to cooperating with law enforcement agencies and providing them with information.<sup>16</sup> Chrysler also admitted that it placed a police informant among workers on the line as "a general, all around informant. . . anything he saw or heard, he'd tell them [the police]."<sup>17</sup> In

### Lockheed Spying and Old Boy Network

When Lockheed security specialist Robert Lang wanted to find out if some of the rank-and-file union militants in the Georgia assembly plant were members of the Socialist Workers Party, he simply picked up the phone and called his "personal acquaintance" John Donahue in the New York FBI office. Lang and Donahue had worked together in the FBI for ten years before Lang left for the Lockheed post.

Lang had learned from one of his several "confidential informants" in the plant workforce that dissident union members had "circulated communist literature" at the International Association of Machinists Union Hall. Lang's supervisor, E.J. Garbers, member of the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, told Lang to investigate the activities of the Socialist Workers Party in the plant.

Lang's call to Donahue in the New York FBI office included a request to check out some of the names of workers being investigated. A few days later, when Lang called Donahue again, he was told the FBI had voluminous information relating to two of the suspected SWP members. Lang called several other FBI "acquaintances" but gained no new information.

Lockheed's agents spied on suspected SWP members at work, their cars were tailed, their homes watched, and their conversations were monitored according to sworn testimony by Lang. His admissions were backed up by Lockheed "Industrial Relations" documents produced at Lang's deposition in the SWP's massive lawsuit against illegal surveillance and disruption. One document shows cooperation between Lockheed security and a local Police Intelligence Division agent who reported his unit had an undercover officer spying on the SWP, and that the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms unit had "instituted monthly meetings" of local police intelligence squads where the SWP was "discussed in some length." At those meetings, the Lockheed memo reports, "the SWP was characterized as a 'terrorist organization prone to violence.'"



Public Eye photo by Chip Berlet

Andree Kahlmorgen, one of the fired Lockheed workers.

The SWP may be many things, but it is not a terrorist organization prone to violence. Still, the Lockheed investigators pursued their research until they had identified over one dozen suspected SWP members and sympathizers in the plant. A thorough investigation of these persons' employment applications uncovered enough exaggerations and discrepancies for Lockheed to move to dismiss the workers for falsifying their records. The real motivation for the application review, however, was clearly to neutralize the activities of political activists at Lockheed.

"Fifteen of us have been dismissed so far, and some of us are SWP members, others are not," says Andree Kahlmorgen, a 28-year-old SWP member who has been touring the country to raise support for the fired workers. "I've talked to union people all over the country," reports Kahlmorgen, "and they all have a story to tell about company spies at union meetings, or electronic surveillance."

— Chip Berlet

e case of one organizer, Chrysler files included accounts of his reign travels, financial information from his bank and continued updates after he had been fired. There were also indications at future employers would be contacted should Chrysler be fired as a reference.<sup>44</sup>

There are indications that the practice of maintaining corporate intelligence files is fairly widespread and includes national networks of agents operating primarily in the private sector. Numerous reports entitled *Information Digest* were found in the files of individuals and groups. These reports contained detailed information that in many ways was superior to local police intelligence reports. The quality of information and in-depth political analysis indicated a reliance on national sources close to many social change movements in the country as well as the police. About the same time, a New York legislative committee investigating police intelligence abuses discovered *Information Digest* (Ed. Note: See *Public Eye* Vol. 1 #1). *Information Digest* is compiled and published by John and S. Louise Rees (See article on spy newsletters, this issue).

The New York investigators learned that the publishers had a network of hidden informants and hid behind a maze of false names and Post Office boxes taken out under mysterious circumstances.<sup>45</sup> A New York postal inspector traced one P.O. box, linked to the Maryland State Police, to two members of the research staff of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.<sup>46</sup> Much of the information is read into the Congressional Record by Rep. McDonald, a board member of the John Birch Society.<sup>47</sup> It is also compiled in booklet form and sent to corporate security subscribers as well as the FBI, CIA, IRS and others.<sup>48</sup>

*Information Digest* also has access to the files of the Church League of America (CLA), an organization headed by Edgar C. Bundy, an ordained Baptist minister and a former Air Force intelligence officer. The CLA claims it has "the largest and most comprehensive files on subversive activity, with the single exception of the FBI."<sup>49</sup>

According to the Privacy Protection Study Commission, a good portion of those files came from the Wackenhut Corporation, a private detective firm established by ex-FBI agents and one of the fastest growing security firms in the U.S. Wackenhut's clients have included government agencies such as NASA and the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as many private concerns in the United States and abroad. In 1966, Wackenhut purchased a mass of information from a retired naval officer who had monitored government hearings on subversion. According to the testimony of the Privacy Commission, Wackenhut updated the materials, described as "'derogatory-type' information on individuals for black-listing purposes," by adding information on current dissenters.<sup>50</sup> Thus, citizen activities in civil rights and anti-war protests during the 1960s were monitored as "other events which might be of future interest." "Patterned after the central files of the FBI, the information was indexed by individual and subject, allowing a quick central file check in the course of each background investigation of the firm conducted." The detective agency had undertaken the task "partly at the urging of some of its employer clients and partly out of its own desire to corner the private-sector market for such information," and "this file capacity was considered a major asset in marketing Wackenhut investigating services."<sup>51</sup> Concerned about the legality of their collection after the passage of the Fair Credit Reporting Act, they donated it to the Church League of America.<sup>52</sup>

According to Frank Donner, author of *Age of Surveillance*,

## A Two-Way Street . . .

Information sharing among former and current intelligence personnel is a two-way street. Evidence from the Detroit anti-spying lawsuit showed both city and state "subversive" files wound up in the hands of corporate security agents. John Ware, a former Detroit police intelligence officer, who later joined the Chrysler security force, testified that police and Chrysler security agents collaborated on monitoring and collecting files on militant rank-and-file union activists. "There was created an old boys network that allowed both formal and informal connections," said attorney Richard Soble, who is suing the police for illegal surveillance of activists. "They monitored groups that raised union issues, such as wages and working conditions, much more sharply than those discussed at the bargaining table," Soble noted, "and some of the information gathered was purely political." Much of the information was traded through the "back door" according to Soble, "a lot of it went on over the phone."

— Chip Berlet

an excellent compendium of political spying, the Church League is one of the "big two," the other being the American Security Council (ASC). The ASC, organized by ex-FBI agents, dominates the employer counter-subversive market. Funded by corporations, it is a reference source for employers seeking background checks on employees. It also has the closest ties with established power centers such as Congress and retired intelligence operatives. The ASC reportedly has 3200 members, led by the industrial giants whose dues are based on the size of their work force.<sup>53</sup>

Research West, another of the private intelligence groups, sells a newsletter analyzing "anti-business forces" and offering ideas to "ensure a stable political and economic environment in this country."<sup>54</sup> The research center was established in 1948 by a former FBI agent who worked as an anti-communist labor spy/army intelligence officer. The firm keeps massive files on labor organizers, radicals, unions, leftists, "subversives," and "terrorists." It shares the information with the FBI, military intelligence, un-American activities committees, state and local police, sheriffs and others, in addition to its corporate clients.<sup>55</sup> Recently, a former deputy sheriff admitted burglarizing the offices of some 17 liberal and radical organizations, such as the United Farm Workers, and passing the information on to the Research West where he was on the payroll.<sup>56</sup> Pacific Gas and Electric paid the firm nearly \$90,000 for "investigative services" between 1971 and 1976.<sup>57</sup> Georgia Power Company also hired them to supply information on employees and prospective employees, and Randolph Hearst admitted that the organization had "been on retainer for [the *San Francisco Examiner*] for something like 20 years."<sup>58</sup> The organization advertised in a brochure that its targets are "non-profit" organizations dedicated to the destruction of private enterprise.<sup>59</sup> When the records of the firm were recently subpoenaed by a congressional committee examining spying on nuclear energy critics, *Barron's*, a leading financial newspaper, leaped to its defense, referring to the firm as "one of the few private organizations with expertise to help companies protect lives and property."<sup>60</sup>

### Research West

Research West, Inc. formed the foundation of its files on political activists when in 1969 it obtained the subversive files of the Western Research Foundation which for several years supplied information to anti-union corporate customers such as Pacific Gas and Electric, the Hearst newspapers, and Standard Oil of California. Both Pacific Gas and Electric and Georgia Power recently hired Research West for "security investigations" which critics charge included supplying information about the activities of anti-nuclear groups. Research West denies the charge, but one researcher has boasted that while he worked at Research West, the group was engaged in infiltrating and spying on anti-nuclear groups all over the country. The researcher's affiliation with Research West was later verified by phone. There is no denying that one Research West contractor, Georgia Power, collected files on anti-nuclear activists.

— Chip Berlet

The active repression of citizens exercising their Constitutional rights is conducted primarily by vigilantes. In the 20s and 30s it was the Black Legion and the Klan. In the most recent past, the Klan, with the assistance of federal and local police, were responsible for a great deal of violence including the bombing of a church where young Black children were killed, the killing of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo, and the beating of numerous civil rights and anti-war demonstrators. In Detroit, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover approved a plan to have Breakthrough, a violent, anti-communist organization, "taken over" and used in a calculated effort to destroy left-wing organizations by force and violence in 1966.<sup>40</sup> In the Chicago area, the Legion of Justice, a group similar to the Klan, was assisted by the local red squad and military intelligence. The latter supplied them with tear gas, mace, and money. The Legion, like other vigilante groups, was involved in numerous physical assaults on suspected leftists as well as burglaries. In one incident, members of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting in an apartment, were beaten with tire irons and maced.<sup>41</sup>

As a result of the secrecy surrounding political spying, it is doubtful that any thorough and complete examination of the relationship between government spying and the private sector will ever be possible. In Minneapolis, for example, a lawsuit against Honeywell Corp. has disclosed FBI/corporate cooperation in the harassment of anti-war groups protesting the manufacture of anti-personnel bombs.<sup>42</sup> In Chicago, recently discovered documents show that an informant for International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT) had infiltrated a conference sponsored by a citizens group protesting corporate involvement in a violent right-wing coup in Chile. An ITT report and photos of the gathering, with a cover note to the FBI, turned up in the files of that city's red squad. According to the Church Committee, ITT, along with other multi-national companies, had been involved in covert economic sabotage and the funnelling of money to terrorists in Chile.<sup>43</sup> (See Streiter article, this issue.)

Thus, even though the available information is incomplete, some conclusions can be drawn. First, the government spying apparatus that emerged in the late 30s has been the primary mechanism for the disruption of legitimate political activity by American dissidents. Second, the private sector

corporate spying apparatus, while appearing to function independently, has been plugged into and dependent on governmental spying.

### Exposures of Intelligence Activity — Disabling the Public Sector

Revelations of domestic spying, including hundreds of burglaries and the disruption of many lives here have been relayed to the public. There is also more consciousness of US attempts to assassinate foreign leaders, disrupt elections and impose pro-western governments overseas. These revelations, in conjunction with the Watergate fiasco, resulted in a substantial erosion of public confidence in the government and instilled a willingness to be critical of the intelligence agencies.

Captain Justin Dintino of the New Jersey State Police Intelligence Bureau, in a speech published in the Congressional Record,<sup>44</sup> complained that the free flow of information on "subversives" had virtually dried up. "In the old days the intelligence divisions in New Jersey cities would forward such information to our State Intelligence Division on a routine basis. Today we receive little such information." He said the flow had been restricted at every level in every direction, "from city to city, from state to state, from state agencies to federal agencies, and from federal agencies to the state and local level." He said that it was equally significant that informants feared exposure and that "Many municipalities that several years ago were on the verge of establishing intelligence operations decided not to do so because the 'chill' was so discouraging."

In an editorial, *Barron's*, a financial newspaper, says: "Owing to an unholy alliance of left-wing lawmakers, journalists, and alleged consumer champions . . . intelligence agencies have been all but crippled. The House Committee on Internal Security has been abolished. Throughout the country, files on subversives and violence-prone organizations, laboriously built up over decades, have been systematically impounded, locked up or destroyed (perhaps liquidated is a better word)."<sup>45</sup>

While few people would be so naive as to assume that intelligence gathering and counterintelligence activities have stopped completely, they were certainly slowed down considerably in the 1970s. The effect on government spying is twofold. First, the gathering function of local police has been impeded, and second, the counterintelligence function of the federal apparatus has also been cramped. Even if the federal mechanism had not been affected, the loss of the gathering function alone would have been enough to interfere with the efficient functioning of this specialized hierarchy. For both functions to be affected is nothing short of a disaster to the public sector mechanism.

In many respects, the situation in the 70s can be compared to the period around 1924 when the public outcry and sense of outrage served to slow down the public sector and forced them to curtail many of their repressive activities. In both eras, the private sector's corporate spies maintained a functioning and somewhat parallel apparatus. One major difference, however, is that since the late 30s, when the government became the primary force for attacking dissent, the private sector has become increasingly dependent on the government to provide the vast majority of the economic and human resources to repress those advocating social and economic change. The overall effect of disabling the government's political police, therefore, is to similarly damage the private sector's spy apparatus.

(Part two of Corsetti's article begins on page 30)

#### ALUNDA'S PLAY FOR THE 2010s

Observers from Baltimore, Newark, Providence, N.Y. land, Detroit, and Philadelphia were in Gary, Ind. watch the final stages of the creation of COPE.

The 1988, latest, is  
Industrial and  
Commercial

INFORMATION  
DIGEST

**The American Sentinel**  
Formerly The First Sheet on the Left  
The Police Foundation and the  
Destruction of American Law

**...ATIVE LEADS**

The Police Foundation and the Threatened  
Destruction of American Law Enforcement

**...ican Senti-**

by The Pink Sheet on the Left

**INVESTIGATIVE LEADS**

For information  
purposes only  
JAN 18 1983

August 18, 1981

**BROKEN SEALS**

**TOKEN SEALS**

A Western Goals Foundation report on the attempts to destroy the foreign and domestic intelligence capabilities of the United States.

RE: 3 DEMONSTRATION PLANS IN EL SALVADOR

As we reported (see Issue #234), one of the biggest lawbreaking demonstrations since the Vietnam War was materialized in Washington on May 3. That's when a wide coalition of leftist and liberal groups plans the "March to the Pentagon." Differences between certain ideological segments of the May 3 march and a planned May 4 march were recently smoothed out. Now, evidence has appeared on the "only" demonstration for May 3.

The big backers include the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD) - heavily infiltrated by members of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance and the Workers World Party/Young Communist League; the Communist-backed Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The far left is very upset that their side is losing in El Salvador. This demonstration has a particularly high tendency for outbursts of violence, given the extreme revolutionary nature of some of its announced participants. We'll keep you informed of all developments.

# Blacklists, Smearsheets, and File Mongers

by Chip Berlet

Both the American Security Council and the Church League of America, each founded in Chicago, have tens of millions of pages of files on political activists. They have been available to law-enforcement officers and fee-paying corporate security agents for decades.

The American Security Council, based in Washington, D.C., is now best known for its forceful advocacy of belligerent military and foreign policy. It was created, however, in Chicago in the 1950s, to help corporations that wanted to check the ideological credentials of potential employees. ASC apparently still carries out this function today. Among corporations known to have subscribed to the

service are Lockheed and Honeywell, both now charged in pending lawsuits with conducting political surveillance campaigns against critics and dissident workers.

The Church League offers corporations a similar service, and will also scan its computerized files for any private citizen who makes a donation of \$150 and passes a Church League security check. That sum's enough to buy a file check on four names, and thrown in is a year's subscription to the Church League's two newsletters. The League admits to using infiltrators to collect information and boasts of its skill in using miniature cameras and tape recorders.

Some of the files in the Church

League's Wheaton library have a curious origin: they were first put together by Karl Baarslag, a former research director for Senator Joe McCarthy's investigative subcommittee. Baarslag's "subversive" files were sold to the Wackenhut Corporation, a private detective firm that culled the information most useful to the investigating it did for corporate clients and turned over the remaining 700,000 pages of files to the Church League. Wackenhut still has access to the information.

The Church League sometimes gets involved in local campaigns. Last summer, when the Reverend Roy Bourgeois vanished for several days in El Salvador while working with a Chicago television news crew, the

priest's actions were to the Church League so obviously part of a worldwide Communist plot that a four-page "Special Report" was produced and circulated in Illinois.

In its usual temperate style, the Church League quoted "one trained observer" as saying Father Bourgeois was "just another radical, left-wing, political agitator masquerading behind religion." According to the "Report":

"Father Roy Bourgeois is not the run-of-the-mill Father who hears confessions and administers Extreme Unction to dying members of his diocese. He stems from the Order of Maryknoll priests, many of whom are dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism in this country and worldwide. Although that aim is identical with that of Karl Marx and of the Soviet Union, Bourgeois and his "apologetes" deny any complicity with Communism. That, of course, is perfectly acceptable to the Soviet secret police, the KGB, which is operating vigorously in this country unhindered by men such as Joe McCarthy or the Internal Security Committees of the House and Senate."

Truly, Illinois has the distinction of hosting one of the few organizations that cherish the memory of Joe McCarthy and the congressional witch hunts. A recent Church League promotional piece spoke highly of the congressional security committees and noted that among the League's early investigators were staffers from the "congressional investigative committees and intelligence divisions of government" agencies.

Attorneys of Chicago's police-spying case want to know more about the level of cooperation between the Church League and the Chicago Red Squad. They want to find out if Chicago activists have been damaged by the circulation of derogatory information. Officers of the Church League have been subpoenaed to answer questions, but they are fighting the subpoena in federal court. "Since the Church League came up as a source in a number of Chicago Red Squad files



we fully intend to go after their files on our clients," says ACLU attorney Matt Piers. Piers notes that the Church League has published material about other activist groups, including *Attorneys for Treason: The True Story of the National Lawyers Guild*, a 46-page booklet.

In 1978, the League devoted an entire issue of its newsletter to the Alliance to End Repression. Singled out for attack were Chicagoans Sidney Lens, Lucy Montgomery, and Studs Terkel. The Church League called the Alliance a "conspiracy to commit violence" and charged that the Alliance lawsuit against Chicago police intelligence abuses was a sinister "conspiracy hidden behind the seemingly legitimate and civic organizations that support and protect the underground warfare being conducted by the terrorists." It is ironic that today, when such paranoid charges are being heard even in the halls of Congress, the Church League is facing a subpoena in the same Chicago police spy case that they saw as part of a pervasive conspiracy.

### Conspiratorial Worldview

Conspiracies are the bread and butter of the publications issued by the right. Three of these are spy newsletters that continually make reference to individuals and organizations: *Pink Sheet on the Left*, *Information Digest*, and *Investigative Leads*.

The material that appears in these newsletters and in the files of organizations such as the American Security Council or the Church League of America may not seem very credible. Who could possibly believe these ravings about the Red Menace? But police departments apparently believe them. And in some cases they even act on the information.

At least two police departments, Philadelphia's and the state police in New Hampshire, used information from the right-wing spy network to plan for demonstrations. In both cases, what turned out to be nonviolent demonstrations were alleged by right-wing information sources to be covers for terrorist attacks. Copies of both *Investigative Leads* and *Pink Sheet on the Left* were found this summer in active police intelligence files on "Terrorism" kept by the Seattle police. Copies of *Information Digest* appeared in FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act. Material from *Information Digest* appeared in New York State Police files as information attributed to a "confidential informant." The right-wing spy newsletters may be the Keystone Kop component of the private political spy network, but incredibly enough, they are a real component with real influence on those intelligence agents and corporate security personnel who share an apocalyptic and conspiratorial world view.

The October 15 issue of *Pink Sheet on the Left* reveals that two Illinois

"leftist" Congressmen, Harold Washington and Gus Savage, have joined 24 other representatives in a lawsuit aimed at stopping President Reagan from sending military aid to the regime in El Salvador. The lawsuit is seen as a Communist-front activity by the editors, whose newsletter is printed on pink paper to nail down the witticism of the title. Actually, *Pink Sheet* has just changed its name to *American Sentinel*, in an effort to gain wider acceptance, but the paper remains pink. Last summer *Pink Sheet* joined the attack on Father Roy Bourgeois, calling him just "another example of a radical Maryknoller who is using his clerical collar to advance the Marxist revolution." The newsletter's editor, interestingly, is Phillip Abbott Luce, a former bona fide member of Students for a Democratic Society who converted to the ultra-right Young Americans for Freedom.

### LaRouche as Control Agent

Lyndon LaRouche, founder of the U.S. Labor Party, has now branched out into the intelligence field. His *Investigative Leads* newsletter is backed by a Telex network with offices in Chicago and 19 other U.S. cities and 9 foreign countries. Circulation of *Investigative Leads* is hampered by its anti-Semitic editorial line claiming the world is controlled by secret cabals of British and Jewish spies. LaRouche recently circulated to Congress lengthy dossiers charging dozens of political activists and journalists (including this reporter) with being part of a bizarre, unsubstantiated, Soviet KGB spy ring. Congressman Paul McCloskey was forced to denounce the dossiers as a fraud when one of his aides, Chuck Fager, was included in the list.

Apparently, other members of Congress are a tad more gullible than McCloskey. Representative Charles E. Bennett, a Florida Democrat, arranged for LaRouche intelligence operatives to use rooms in House office buildings for seminars on drug abuse and heroin smuggling, which the LaRouche minions blame on such

mainstream Jewish organizations as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

When *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter Alan Henry exposed some of the LaRouche fundraising and intelligence operations in Illinois, he received a phone call from a person claiming to be a researcher for *Defense Nationale*, a publication sponsored by the French Defense Ministry. The researcher wanted to know more about LaRouche. A suspicious Henry soon discovered the caller was a LaRouche intelligence operative trying to pump him for information about what else the *Sun-Times* knew about the LaRouche setup. A few weeks later Henry learned that another LaRouche spy was calling other journalists and claiming to be Alan Henry.

(After I wrote an article on LaRouche for the *Chicago Reader* in 1980, I received a dozen phone calls from people wanting to know more about LaRouche. Fewer than half turned out *not* to be LaRouche spies.)

Internal Labor Party documents from the Chicago office indicate that LaRouche intelligence agents have been trying to forge ties with the Chicago Police Department, their methods including attempts to phone former members of the Red Squad. No one knows if they have been successful, but other internal Labor Party memos do claim contact with numerous police officials in Chicago and Illinois.

LaRouche's minions collect information in Chicago in several ways. They make frequent "pretext" phone calls, such as the ones to and "from" Alan Henry. Sometimes they claim to be a reporter for Pacific News Service, or a free-lance writer, or a secretary to a government official. Sometimes they say they are with one of their real publications, such as the *Executive Intelligence Review*, or with their New Solidarity International Press Service, whose Chicago offices are on the ninth floor at 116 S. Michigan Ave.

At O'Hare Field, a casual conversation at their Fusion Energy Foundation table can end up summarized on a preprinted Contact Form or De-

briefing Report in the organization's Chicago intelligence files. A series of these files obtained from a source close to LaRouche's Chicago operation shows that the airport intelligence operation produced reports from conversations with unknowing Illinois employees of such businesses as WKQX-FM, Dean Foods, Ciba-Geigy, Loeb Rhoades Hornblower, Lafayette Coal Company, Eastman Kodak, Westinghouse Electric, and the Argonne National Laboratories.

A recent defector from the LaRouche operation who spent over seven years in its security division claims the LaRouche spy operation frequently trades information gathered from phone calls and airport conversations with governmental intelligence units. He also says he was aware of LaRouche spies preparing intelligence assessments for foreign governments in Libya, in Iran before the shah's fall, in Iraq, South Africa, and Taiwan. For Iraq, the LaRouche security division prepared a report on a Chicago-based Marxist group called the October League.

## STOP TERRORISM! STOP DOPE!

### How?

*Investigative Leads* is building a network of law enforcement and security professionals and others who are committed to the eradication of terrorism and narcotics trafficking.

IL is a twice-monthly intelligence report providing quality information on breaking and impending developments.

IL predicted the rebuilding of the Black Liberation Army ONE YEAR before its reactivation in April 1981.

IL warned of a 100-day "yellow alert" around the security of President Reagan two months before we came dangerously close to losing our President.

### INVESTIGATIVE LEADS

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## Information Digest

Lack of accuracy is no barrier to success for private spy publications. *Information Digest* has been selling its biased but highly detailed reports on the activities of left, liberal, and radical groups for over a decade. Its subscribers are mainly corporate security agents and law enforcement officials. The work of two John Birch Society operatives, John and Sheila Rees, *Information Digest* collects its information not only by voraciously reading leftist periodicals, but also by physically infiltrating various groups, including several in Chicago. *Information Digest* has repeatedly turned up in the files of the Chicago Red Squad and other local and federal intelligence agencies being sued for illegal surveillance and disruption. Its specialty is tracing alleged "Communist" infiltration of movements for social change.

John Rees is known to have supplied the *Information Digest* and information to the Chicago Police Department, the FBI, and several other law enforcement agencies. He also worked for a time with the Church League of America in Wheaton, Illinois. Information from the Church League and a similar group called the American Security Council has turned up in the Chicago Red Squad files.

There is ample evidence that the Red Squad was plugged into a private political intelligence network. For instance, George Elliott was not the only civilian spy utilized by the Red Squad. There was a string of paid and unpaid civilian spies including Sheli Lulkin, a Chicago schoolteacher, who is linked to spying on no fewer than 80 Chicago organizations.

Lulkin continues to keep in touch with some of the more right-wing former Red Squad agents, and shortly after being revealed as a civilian Red Squad spy, she received an award for her work from the Council Against Communist Aggression. Lulkin maintains she infiltrated community and labor groups in order to ferret out Communist influence and the "terrorist infrastructure." While in Washington to receive her award, Lulkin met

with John and Sheila Louise Rees.

John Rees first turned up in Chicago on the occasion of the 1968 Democratic Convention. He promptly went undercover to ferret out subversives. The process of how information from Rees ended up as an item in Robert Wiedrich's *Chicago Tribune* Tower Ticker column is illustrative both of how private spies feed information to the police (who then pass it to scoop-hunting journalists) and of how the information is distorted with each little step it takes.

Documents released to Jerry Rubin in a FOIA request concerning the 1968 convention protests provide the details of how Wiedrich was buffalooed by the private political spy network's information-laundering game. To begin with, we will let the FBI documents speak for themselves. What follows is taken from the memo prepared by the FBI agent assigned to investigate the Wiedrich article:

"Chicago Tribune" reporter Robert Wiedrich wrote in a column 'Tower Ticker' on September 4, 1968, that the Chicago Police Department, Chicago, Illinois, had a secret tape recording made by an undercover man indicating that the Yippie leaders intended to tear Chicago apart. The article quoted part of the tape recording as 'These Chicago cops are soft.

If that had been New York cops, they'd have busted our heads. It's gonna be easy to take these coppers and this town apart.'

"Mr. Wiedrich advised he obtained his information used in his article from Thomas McNerny, Mayor's Office, Commission of Investigation, Chicago, Illinois.

"Mr. McNerny advised that the information he gave to Mr. Wiedrich was obtained from one John Rees.... Mr. Rees did undercover work during the Democratic National Convention and reportedly made a tape recording of a meeting of dissidents in which the quote referred to above supposedly was made. Mr. McNerny does not have the tape recording in his possession nor has he heard it."

The FBI agent went on to report that the tape recording was originally given to Thomas Lyons of the Chicago Police Intelligence Unit by John Rees. Unfortunately, the forgetful Mr. Lyons could not locate the tape and reported that "no transcript was made of the recording inasmuch as it is practically inaudible in its entirety." In fact, Lyons told the agent that the quote about the Chicago Police Department being soft was not on the tape recording at all. The quote was actually a statement by Rees, who mentioned in the course of a conver-



John Rees walks down a Washington, D.C. street accompanying his lawyer, Louis W. Ingram, Jr. and close associate Herbert Romerstein. Romerstein, former investigator with the House Un-American Activities Committee and Minority Chief Investigator of the House Committee on Internal Security from 1971 to 1975, defended Rees in testimony before a New York State Assembly task force investigation of abuses in police information gathering.



Rees ducks behind his attorney's legal pad in attempt to hide from photographer.

sation with Lyons that the persons "gathered at the Quaker House generally felt the Chicago Police had been easy to deal with at the time the demonstrators were forced out of Lincoln Park." So much for accurate quotes. So much for Wiedrich's highly touted sources. The right-wing political spy network strikes again.

As for Rees, the FBI concluded his information left something to be desired. One FBI memo puts it succinctly: "Rees is an unscrupulous unethical individual and an opportunist who operates with a self-serving interest. Information he has provided has been exaggerated and in generalities. Information from him cannot be considered reliable. We should not initiate any interview with this unscrupulous unethical individual concerning his knowledge of the disturbances in Chicago as to do so would be a waste of time."

Despite this rather tawdry assessment, the FBI did accept information from Rees in the form of his newsletter *Information Digest*, which several activists found in their FBI files obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

Rees is famous for one other aspect of his career. He received nationwide attention in 1964 when *Peyton Place* author Grace Metalious died leaving him her quarter-million-dollar estate

on the basis of a death-bed will that ignored her estranged husband and their three children. Rees had known Metalious only a few months. Rees later renounced his claim to the estate once it was discovered liabilities exceeded assets.

Rees, who once edited a newsletter for the Church League of America, still publishes *Information Digest* and has now taken on the task of editing a newsletter for the newly created Western Goals Foundation. Western Goals is raising funds to computerize files on so-called subversives compiled by witch-hunting congressional committees and by right-wing spies like John Rees. Western Goals is the brainchild of Democratic congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia, a urologist and a John Birch Society honcho who specializes in placing antiprogressive diatribes and reports on left-wing activities in the *Congressional Record*. *Broken Seals*, the outfit's first book, charges that groups including the Campaign for Political Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Center for National Security Studies are part of a Soviet-backed attempt "to destroy the foreign and domestic intelligence capabilities of the United States." The book features an introduction by right-wing congressman John Ashbrook and an afterword by

Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Rees is gaining considerable credibility in Washington, D.C., these days as an expert on national security issues. He has been quoted as "authoritative" by Sam Francis, a key aide on the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, which plans new hearings in January into alleged subversive conspiracies. "What is truly frightening," says Rachel Rosen DeGolia of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, "is that Sam Francis also wrote a report for the Heritage Foundation where he suggested the U.S. intelligence agencies utilize information from private security and intelligence groups which are not hampered by constitutional and regulatory safeguards that protect citizens from governmental invasions of privacy." She points out that information-collecting techniques that cannot legally be employed by governmental investigators are sometimes permitted private security forces. The private political spy network, then, could be plugged directly into governmental intelligence units to supply information not otherwise obtainable legally by the public investigators.



Romerstein pokes at camera and makes nasty comments regarding photographer's political affiliations.



Attorney snarls just prior to flailing photographer with legal pad.



Rees instructs Romerstein on use of camera to photograph the intrepid Public Eye photographer.



Rees graciously agrees to pose for *The Public Eye* after telling his friends to cool out.

## Part Two

### Spying and Profits

# The Private Sector and the Political Police

by George Corsetti

## What Direction for Political Spying in the 1980s?

The defenders of American capitalism have always relied on some form of political spying and disruption, governmental or private, to thwart the efforts of those who legitimately seek to change the social and economic system. In the 1920s, when the federal government's fledgling apparatus was disabled, the private sector filled the vacuum. Public outrage in the 70s appears to be history repeating itself, and one is tempted to examine evidence of current corporate spying. But one of the primary differences between the 1920s and the present is the reliance since WW II on public resources. Therefore, before looking to the private sector, it is necessary to see what efforts are being made to resurrect the governmental spy agencies.

## Rehabilitating the Secret Police — The Government Fights Back

### Research and Development — The Urban Crisis

By 1968, it had become increasingly clear that in spite of FBI and CIA cooperation, state and local police could not reduce the level of instability and disruption sufficiently to maintain the status quo. With a state of virtual guerilla warfare in the country's major cities, Congress established the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to spearhead a new "war on crime." LEAA became one of the fastest growing agencies in the federal government. Its budget increased from \$63 million in 1969 to over \$753 million in 1977. Effectively functioning as a domestic defense department, LEAA has spent some \$3 billion to fund projects and research, purchase military hardware, and implement intelligence and communications systems.<sup>1</sup> LEAA's funding has now been terminated, but its impact lingers on.

In an attempt to anticipate "problems," LEAA made extensive use of think tanks, funding universities and private research centers. In 1976, its research and planning component did an analysis of the current social and economic situation. It does not differ in many respects from the stance of most leftists:

The urban crisis is far from being resolved; in many ways, the state of the great cities is more desperate than it was during the most serious riots of the 1960s. An unstable economic situation has forced substantial curtailment of public services in many cities and caused a general deterioration in the quality of life for the poorer classes. Crimes of violence, damaging to both criminal and victim, continue at unacceptably high levels. Unemployment has risen

markedly, and job opportunities for the disadvantaged have dwindled. These facts may well have contributed to the present quiescence. But this is a false calm, and we must see in the current social situation an accumulation of trouble for the future. There will come a time when once again socio-economic conditions will generate violent reactions.<sup>2</sup>

The forecasts in the LEAA's 1976 report are prophetic. With the recession/depression of the late 70s has come soaring inflation, unemployment, crime and violence.

The LEAA, like other components of the public sector apparatus, was bureaucratized. And, while it has some understanding of the underlying causes of unrest, it is not designed to divorce itself from its specialized function. Citizen dissatisfaction, for example, is perceived as a "problem" to be dealt with by other components. In order to understand how research and development is implemented, it is useful to examine another LEAA study published in 1973 and entitled *Collective Violence*. The 1973 study not only focuses on Blacks, Chicanos, and peace groups, but also potential problems, advocacy of women's rights and consumerism. Later, the LEAA published guidelines for local police, which called for the expansion of intelligence gathering:

Prepare a list of leaders of all groups who may contribute to the development of [collective violence]. Know their faces, addresses, cars, telephone numbers. Know their goals, strategy and tactics of their organizations, the number of members, the level of their funding. Know their attitudes toward police. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In October 1977, the LEAA decided to reactivate its 1973 *Collective Violence Program*. The Program Announcement cites examples of past collective violence: the Boston Tea Party; unemployment and poverty marches of the depression era; minority groups demanding equality of voting and other civil rights; students demonstrating against the war in Vietnam; and the poor demonstrating for jobs and increased social benefits.<sup>4</sup> The Announcement recognizes that "social concerns have shifted from the highly-focused issues of civil rights and Vietnam . . . to more generalized fiscal and energy problems."<sup>5</sup> Incapable of seeing beyond its specialized function, the LEAA recognized that "even though long term social and economic programs have failed to achieve much success in removing the fundamental causes of collective disorders," and even though such disorders emanate from "deep-seated tensions in society. . ." and "include legitimate expressions of social protest, lawfully organized and conducted, . . . the immediate official (criminal justice) response to collective disorders must be to restore order and per-

mit the normal functioning of society to continue."<sup>11</sup> (Our italics.)

In 1980, Congress discontinued funding for the LEAA, but the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, a part of the Justice Department, is continuing to fund a research project conducted by the University of Michigan. Originally slated to take sample surveys of activists in 11 cities, the project was modified to focus entirely on southeastern Michigan and particularly Detroit, because it is an important industrial city where automobile unemployment is high and recession/depression becomes a reality. The University of Michigan's Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations is doing the work. (See sidebar on next page.)

Targets for the study include: the Mayday demonstration; an anti-nuclear demonstration; community organizing on the city's west side; a teacher's strike; labor organizing in fast food restaurants in Detroit; and vandalism by Chrysler workers who had been informed they were to be laid off.<sup>12</sup>

It is not clear what the results of the new research project will bring. The inclusion of workers and unions, however, suggests that the policy of tolerating organized labor, in effect since the late 30s, is open to review by the government's political police. As LEAA saw the problem, "There is a lack of preparedness within the agencies responsible for riot control." Their analysis did not include resolving the underlying problems, but instead, to conduct "further research . . . on the nature and characteristics of collective disorders, their precipitating conditions, their participants, and the law enforcement and community regulatory strategies which are most effective in preventing and controlling their occurrence."<sup>13</sup> (our italics)

"Prevention" and "control" are two distinct responses. In June, 1979, 2,000 citizens of Levittown, Pennsylvania joined in a truckers protest, burning cars, smashing windows and vandalizing gas stations over the issue of high energy costs. They were "controlled" by 300 police and dogs from 34 surrounding communities. Historically control has meant using the Army, National Guard and SWAT teams. "Prevention" has traditionally meant infiltration and disruption, i.e., using the political police.

Speculation on preventive techniques is not without some historical grounding. During the recession of 1974-1975, the "fiscal cal" situation of many workers did not look optimistic. In August, 1975, one Detroit red squad officer was giving testimony in connection with the Michigan lawsuit against illegal surveillance. In speaking to the subject of his activities, he said:

The groups want various things; and if you want to lump all of those things under the category of political change, you know, some groups want more employment, some want — I don't know. I can't even think of it. The main thing that I can think of right now is unemployment. . . . I would characterize it as a common feeling that a certain number of people, perhaps, have that there should be more employment. . . . If those people decide, because of their thinking or this concern for unemployment, go to the streets and demonstrate, we become involved.<sup>14</sup>

Even though the LEAA has not been refunded by Congress, the University of Michigan project continues. There will be other mechanisms to supply the necessary funds in the near future. Public demand to control poverty-induced crime will no doubt serve as a vehicle for the creation of a new, and possibly improved domestic defense department.

## New Tools for an Old Job — Legitimizing the Secret Police

Because research and development is not very visible to the public, it is easier to accomplish than the public relations and new laws that will be necessary to restore the government's spying apparatus to its heyday of the early 70s. It will be necessary to legitimize past activities; limit freedom of information laws; criminalize First Amendment activities; and to find a publicly acceptable "danger from abroad" or its equivalent.

Suggesting an external threat is probably the quickest and easiest. Past examples of such "dangers" include: immigrants, aliens, Blacks, Japanese, Jews, socialists, reds, communists, and subversives. Its modern-day equivalent is — the terrorist. Historically, the repressive apparatus has always sought to legitimize its often despotic and brutal actions by wrapping them in fear. The LEAA has spent some \$5.4 million in the study of terrorism.<sup>15</sup> Here the institutionalized ideological repression, primarily in the form of media reporting, can be counted on to supply a justification for a renewed intelligence function.

Attempts to make demonstrations and picketing and other First Amendment activities "criminal" can already be seen in the new criminal code. Here the wealthy elite such as Senator Kennedy are still leading the charge in restricting those freedoms. And, while parts of such a law may eventually be ruled unconstitutional, as was the Smith Act and various subversive acts, until that happens, usually 4 to 5 years, much activity can be restricted. In addition to legitimizing actions of the intelligence agencies, this bill will place many offenses which may have been criminal under state codes and common law under federal jurisdiction. Thus, the federal apparatus will have the power to act against those who may not be prosecuted by state or local authorities. The provisions of the bill that deal with national defense also effectively reenact espionage laws and would likely result in creation of an official secrets act.<sup>16</sup> The FBI director is moving to limit access to evidence of government wrongdoing by cutting back on citizen use of the Freedom of Information Act, calling for a 5-year moratorium on use, exempting "terrorist" investigations, and precluding criminals from requesting documents.<sup>17</sup> The Presidential pardon of the FBI burglars and the refusal to prosecute the director who gave them orders are also indications that all is forgiven.

Legitimization of past abuses was also evident in the last attempt at a new FBI charter which included: authorization for electronic surveillance, hidden cameras, mail openings, mail covers, trash searches and undercover agents; the use of burglaries; full access to credit, insurance and bank records without subpoena; use of journalists, physicians, attorneys and clergy as informers, and a destruction of records provision. All this without civil or criminal remedies for violation of the charter.<sup>18</sup>

Clearly, the state is not simply rolling over and accepting its disabled status in hopeless resignation. But the prospect of increasing unrest in urban areas in the near future is effectively making the task twice as difficult. The ability of the government to resume its past level of activity, let alone increase it in response to increased activism, is not at all certain. The public's respect for the intelligence agencies, and the government itself, has diminished considerably. For the first time in decades, the American people have been exposed to a dark and murky side of "democracy" which they will not soon forget.

# Social Science for Social Control

by Jeanie Wylie

A study nearing completion at the University of Michigan shows the ways in which the social sciences, no less than the physical sciences and mathematics, can be used by Government for potentially devious ends.

In 1978, the U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) offered a \$300,000 grant for a study of "collective disorders." In its request for proposals, the LEAA, an agency known for the billions it spent to outfit local police units with military hardware, said the information elicited from police agencies, dissidents, and reporters would be used by the Justice Department to "prevent and control" civil disturbances that might harm property or lives.

Of the six institutions that responded to the LEAA's request, the University of Michigan's Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations (ILIR) was selected. Although the LEAA itself was phased out by the Carter Administration, the Michigan research project continued under the auspices of the National Institute of Justice.

Activists in Detroit who were approached by the researchers included fast-food workers trying to organize, May Day demonstrators, Chrysler employees who had vandalized an assembly line when they learned they were to be laid off, and Iranian demonstrators. They were told, in letters sent out during the summer of 1980, that the University was interested in evaluating "the effectiveness of specific actions in the expression of issues and grievances."

Although many members of the 100 activist organizations contacted nationwide found the researchers sympathetic and sensitive to the civil liberties problems the study posed, none of the activists were told initially that the project was sponsored by the Justice Department. After being promised that their names would be kept confidential, many

provided the requested information.

But if the names of those surveyed were protected, the age, occupation, marital status, and number of children of each was carefully noted. Although the interviewers had been cautioned not to ask, they were told to record each activist's sex and race. In addition, interviewees were encouraged to discuss the structure, recruitment methods, internal communications systems, and long-term objectives of their organizations.

The project's chief investigator, Lewis Ferman, says "great pains" have been taken to disguise the information, and promises to be "very, very careful that the data don't fall into the wrong hands."

But a member of the ILIR study's advisory panel has expressed reservations about use of the data. "I've been uneasy, very uneasy," said Charles Tilly, a sociology professor. "There's no question that there's a chance that what you will learn will be more valuable to law enforcement authorities than to those who want to open political processes."

University of Michigan graduate Jeff Alson agrees. "University of Michigan professors and the LEAA want to cloak the project in the objective appearance of a study," he said. "But my perception, knowing LEAA, is that it will be used to understand why protests take place and that knowledge will be used to suppress social and political dissent."

Alson's misgivings were underscored when he learned that a similar 1973 study resulted in guidelines to police intelligence units recommending that police collect the names of all activist organizations and their leaders. "Know their faces, addresses, cars, telephone numbers," the guidelines instructed. "Know the goals, strategy, and tactics of their organizations, the numbers of members, the level

of their funding, and the sources of their funding."

Will the new study at Michigan bear similar fruit? Lois Mock, the study's coordinator at the National Institute of Justice, said the Justice Department does not expect the study to generate guidelines for the police, but she revealed some other disturbing possibilities.

The study might help cities formulate ordinances to regulate protest, she said, "so that people can't just go call a demonstration." She suggested that cities might require groups to state their purpose and estimate attendance at rallies before issuing permits. She added that although there would be legal problems, it would be ideal to put "limitations on the media" so the press would not help "escalate the situation into violence."

Ferman, however, sees different uses for his work. Instead of inhibiting social protest, he says, the study will help legal demonstrations remain peaceful.

People connected with the study obviously hold various opinions of how the information gleaned should be used. University of Michigan sociology professor William Gamson, who sits on the study's advisory panel, points out that there is no way of ensuring that any one view will prevail.

"There's no way we can really monitor the project," Gamson said. "It has a life of its own; it becomes a general social science research project." And while he, too, hopes some good will come out of the study, he says, "I'd feel more comfortable about [the study] if it were not sponsored by an agency whose mission is social control."

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## Corporate Spying — Picking Up the Pieces

Just as the anti-war movement resulted in government spying, increased consumer protests against utility rate hikes and nuclear power plants are resulting in increased spy activities by corporate security and police agencies nationwide. Coupled with the spying have been efforts to prevent speakers from discussing nuclear power issues freely, and circulation of false charges or "disinformation." Both these tactics are trademarks of the public sector apparatus. (See sidebar.)

In September 1977, the *Atlanta Journal* disclosed that Georgia Power Company had embarked on a massive spying program that included a \$750,000 annual budget and nine full-time undercover agents who came from Army intelligence, U.S. Treasury, FBI and state intelligence agencies. The company surveillance team reportedly used equipment "better than that used by any police detective unit in the state," including elaborate cameras, wiretapping equipment, videotape machines, walkie-talkies, nighttime telescopes, fingerprint kits and drug-analysis material. According to NBC News, the targets included citizens protesting rate hikes, nuclear power and corporate policies generally. The company admitted keeping files on "subversives" such as the Georgia Civil Liberties Union, the leftist Georgia Power Project, Ralph Nader and news reporters unsympathetic to nuclear power. The power company also used the services of both Research West and John and Sheila Rees' Information Digest. The resulting intelligence reports were sent to other private security departments and law enforcement agencies.<sup>81</sup>

There is also evidence that the private sector's need to directly suppress dissidents will encompass more than covert intelligence activities and may even include the assumption of some traditional public policing roles. For example, in January 1975, at the request of Virginia Electric and Power Company (VEPCO), a Virginia state legislator introduced a bill that proposed allowing VEPCO to establish its own police force including the power of arrest anywhere in the state and access to confidential citizen's records normally available only to state and local police.<sup>82</sup> In Washington state, new legislation was proposed which would have conferred blanket police powers on the 150-member security force of the Washington Public Power Supply System which is presently building five nuclear reactors.<sup>83</sup>

Attempts to discourage citizen protest of nuclear energy policies through increased criminal penalties is also evident. An Oregon state representative introduced a bill, which ultimately failed, to subject nuclear plant trespassers to sentences of up to ten years in prison and \$2,500 fines.<sup>84</sup> The Texas legislature recently passed a bill drastically increasing penalties for trespass on utility property and creating a new felony for interference with utility operations.<sup>85</sup> Non-violent protesters would also be subjected to investigation by the FBI and federal prosecution under an unsuccessful amendment to the 1980 Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorization bill.<sup>86</sup> Anti-nuclear lobbies and several other groups have also been targeted by the conservative Heritage Foundation in a detailed report for the Reagan transition team. The report recommends the use of wiretapping, illegal break-ins, mail covers and informants by federal, state and local investigative and law enforcement agencies, along with increased use of private corporations to gather intelligence. The Heritage Foundation also recommends the reactivation of Un-American Activities committees.<sup>87</sup>

The recent expansion of private spying has also been recognized by the Center for National Securities Studies, a Washington-based civil liberties group. In a recently released report documenting cases over the last six years, the Center concludes that "more than 40% of known spying or disruption incidents against [the anti-nuclear movement] are attributable to groups in the 'private sector.'" The Center sees this as a sharp contrast to similar intelligence operations targeting the civil rights and anti-war movement which were conducted by governmental agencies and calls this a "dangerous change."<sup>88</sup>

The dangerous ramifications of this tilt toward private sector policing has also been recognized by Professor Peter Lejins, Director of the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Maryland and a consultant to the LEAA's Task Force on Private Security. The Task Force, which resembles some past Presidential Commissions, is composed of representatives from the three branches of government; security directors for IBM and Hilton Hotels; banking representatives; a former CIA officer; and experts in protecting the interests of industry and finance.<sup>89</sup> In a 1976 report, the group concluded that "it is now apparent that police alone cannot control crime. . . ." and "[c]onsidering the mutual interests and common linkages between the public law enforcement and private security sectors, a close working relationship could enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of both forces. . . ." In short, the LEAA recommends that an effective merger take place between the government and private sector police. But in a highly unusual preface to the recent LEAA report, Prof. Lejins raises some very serious

### Michigan PIRG a New Victim

In July 1976, the Michigan court hearing the lawsuit brought by the Michigan Association for Consumer Protection declared the state's subversive activities statute unconstitutional and ordered the Detroit and Michigan State Police to disband their political intelligence units. But hardly had the ink dried on the court order when in September of the same year, Detroit Edison and Consumers Power were caught in a far-reaching attempt to disrupt the activities of still another consumer group, the Nader sponsored Public Interest Group in Michigan (PIRGIM). PIRGIM, a primarily student-funded and operated organization had been actively involved in attempts to block the building of nuclear power plants and in resisting utility rate hikes. Documents released by the group in September 76 showed that four utility and related corporations had formed a "Committee" to send letters and memos to college regents, presidents and deans, attacking PIRGIM and designed to undercut the student funding system. In a tactic that is strikingly similar to that of the FBI, the utility documents stressed that "any communications must appear to be individual ones, and not company signed." The utilities also tried to block a classroom discussion on nuclear power at a community college and circulated false information that PIRGIM student fees are channelled back to Ralph Nader in Washington. Efforts to prevent speakers and the circulation of false "disinformation" are also trademarks of the public sector apparatus.

— George Corsetti

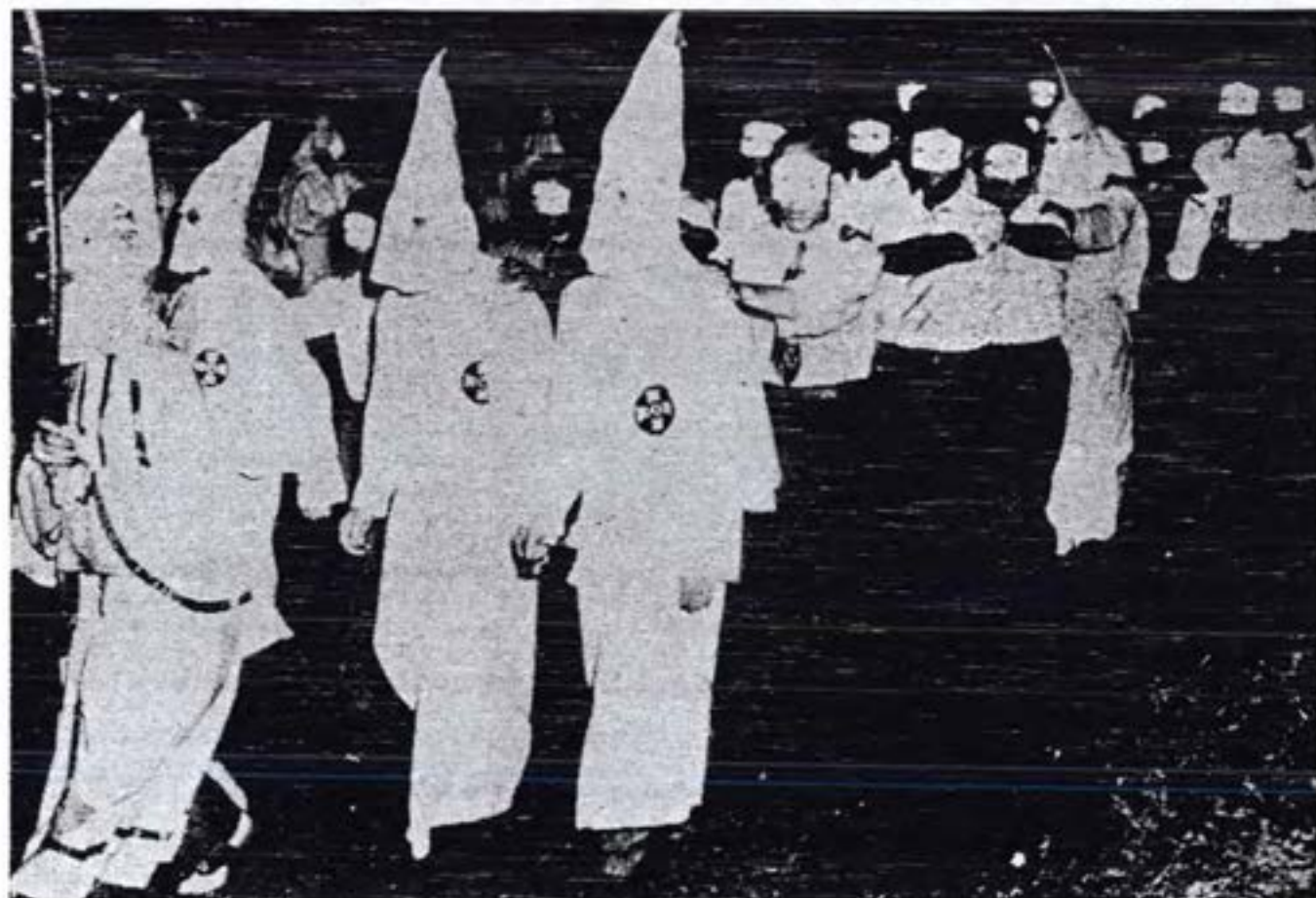
questions: "Is the transfer of the guarantees of the rights of the individual to private initiative compatible with the organizational principles to which democratic societies, e.g. American society, subscribe? Could it be that immediate advantages of insuring security by private means in the long run lead to the weakening of the public government by transferring one of its basic functions to private enterprise? . . ." The problem, he says, is "the potential danger of radical changes in the governmental functions . . . which a political scientist engaged in the study of constitutional law and government administration and planning has to assess as a potential *major change in the structure of government.*" (our italics)

Civil libertarians have traditionally focused their concerns on the repressive actions of government. As business and government become fused, a process which will no doubt accelerate with the Reagan presidency, citizen activists will certainly be subjected to increased corporate repression. As we have seen, this process is already well under way with regard to citizen protests of utility rate hikes and nuclear power. Other areas of repression will include an increase in vigilante activities and union busting.

Vigilantes have always been a part of the American political scene. And, while existing throughout good and bad economic periods, they become particularly active during a depression and increased citizen unrest. One cannot help but notice an increase in both Klan and Nazi activity. The recent killings of communists in Greenboro, North Carolina is similar to actions by the

Klan and organizations such as the Black Legion during the 20s and 30s. In Latin American countries right-wing death squads are openly funded by the wealthy elite and work closely with the police and military and often consist of "off-duty" personnel. There are differences, of course, but one of the similarities is that American police agencies, particularly the CIA, influenced the reactions of those countries to the rise of a mass movement that threatened the economic system. In the U.S., the Klan frequently opposes union organizers, particularly in the south. In the northeast they backed the expansion of nuclear power in New Hampshire and initiated recruiting drives based on that issue. According to one report, William Wilkerson, imperial wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the KKK, told reporters "the Seabrook nuclear plant is the kind of issue that will draw people to the Klan." More likely, however, are Klan activities designed to divide the white and black working class, particularly as jobs become more and more scarce. If history tells us anything, it is that this violent form of reaction will increase as the threat to capitalism increases. The KKK recently established two guerilla training camps in Alabama and Texas. Trainees wear military uniforms and practice with automatic weapons. One reporter who witnessed the training was reportedly told that two of the instructors were "commissioned Army officers."

But while the more violent groups are increasingly visible, the respectable business/vigilante groups tend to be less so. Historically, such groups as the American Protective League were much more a part of the establishment — fighting crime, albeit



A 1949 Ku Klux Klan initiation ceremony at Stone Mountain, Georgia signaled a resurgence of the racist group's activities which have paralleled economic hard times for over a century.

socialist and anarchist "criminals." These groups are also increasing today. In June of 1979, for example, the *New York Times* reported that a group of prominent businessmen had formed an independent citizens crime commission as a "watch-dog" to oversee the criminal justice system. The group said New York's own agency "was not responsive to the public's needs." Directors include representatives from IBM, Time, Mobil Oil, Rockefeller Center, Arthur Andersen & Co. and others. They are privately funded, and only time will disclose their true concerns. Similar groups have been set up in Philadelphia, New Orleans and Chicago. The Philadelphia group participated in the LEAA Task Force on Private Security. The Chicago group actively opposed legislative limitations on political intelligence gathering.<sup>14</sup>

While union busting, blacklisting and the repression of labor organizers is generally considered a thing of the past, some recent events suggest it may be more commonplace in the near future.

In July 1979, for example, the J.P. Stevens Co. along with police and city officials from Milledgeville, Ga. were charged in federal court with illegal police spying and conspiracy to deny workers and union representatives their Constitutional rights. The targets were organizers from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). According to documents released by ACTWU, the city's mayor and police chief had, for two and a half years, regularly monitored meetings between workers and union organizers at the local Holiday Inn. The police occupied adjoining rooms, noted car license numbers used to identify workers and then circulated a list to local industrial leaders. The result was a dramatic drop in worker attendance at organizing meetings. According to testimony taken in the lawsuit, the spy scheme included then mayor of Milledgeville, and J.P. Stevens and Grumman Aerospace, both of whom have plants in the city. The instances of local public officials and business leaders teaming up to break union organizing campaigns in the south is apparently not unusual. "This is not atypical," said William Hobgood, Assistant U.S. Secretary of Labor for labor-management relations. Campaigns fighting unions in southern towns "get all manner of municipal assistance, my investigators tell me," he said.<sup>15</sup> (See sidebar, next page.)

Detective agencies and industrial security firms are also active in union busting, particularly in southern California. In one instance a printers' union sought to organize a firm only to have 46 pro-union workers lose their jobs through firings, quits and layoffs. The union later discovered that three of seven members of its organizing committee were undercover agents for the West Coast Detective Agency, the third largest agency in the state. One of the agents, an ex-police officer from Las Vegas, Nevada, later had a change of heart and confessed to his activities, which included framing one organizer on criminal charges for theft. His regular reports to the detective agency included comments about the personal lives of the other employees, the status of some as undocumented workers and pro-union activists.<sup>16</sup>

In Cleveland recently, another industrial security agent also had misgivings about his undercover work and agreed to become a double-agent for the union. He had been hired by the Guardsmark Corporation of Memphis, Tennessee. "I was supposed to report on how many people were wearing union shirts, on people complaining about the pay, how people felt about the plant, even people's facial reactions to their pay checks," he said. He was also assigned to frame certain organizers on criminal charges.<sup>17</sup>

Union busting lawyer/consultants, however, are the most deserving of the title of modern day Pinkertons. As recent testimony before the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations indicates, these firms employ sophisticated measure to insure that unions don't get in, and if they do, to decertify them or make certain that a contract is never negotiated. It is a booming business. The AFL-CIO estimates there are some 300 such firms and that over \$100 million was spent for their services in 1979. They are also effective. *Business Week* reported that in 1978 union representation elections were won in only 46% of the cases, down from 57% in 1968. Worse yet, decertification elections increased from 239 in 1968 to 807 in 1978, with unions losing 74% of them.<sup>18</sup> The techniques of the consultants include many illegal tactics such as wholesale firings and employers persuading workers to seek decertification — a process which, under law, is to be done only at the initiative of the employee. The consultants also advise provoking unions into strikes, by making grossly inadequate contract offers, and then firing all striking workers. The consultants, said one Congressman, "have replaced the blackjack with the briefcase and the ball-point pen." Complaints of illegal actions to the Secretary of Labor have reportedly tripled in recent years. Moreover, Congressional action to stop the practices is not very likely. The FBI's highly questionable ABSCAM operation, ostensibly designed to fight "white-collar crime," decimated the ranks of leading Congressional advocates of AFL-CIO positions. Some progressive House staff members interpret the use of the federal police bureaucracy as a major shift in the anti-labor offensive of big business.<sup>19</sup> One of the FBI's targets was Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.) chairman of the subcommittee that investigated the union busting activities. Seven of the eight ABSCAM victims consistently voted with labor on key issues.<sup>20</sup>

One of the primary problems of the shift toward private sector replacement of government spying and disruption is the level of protection afforded the corporations. Under the provisions of the U.S. Constitution, individual privacy and freedom from unreasonable searches by the government is guaranteed. And, while there is no question that the government did not always honor these prohibitions, as evidenced by the massive spying of the 60s and 70s, the victims did have some recourse to the courts, either to stop such actions or to seek damages when their rights were violated. With the shift to private spying, however, the Constitutional protections simply do not apply. The law prohibits government, not private intrusions. There is a good argument that when the state is a partner in these violations of rights, then the actions of the private sector are imputed to be those of government and both are prohibited. This concept, if utilized by spy victims, would seem to offer some protection. When, as in the case of union busting, the actions are those of private consultants, little or no protections are available or forthcoming in the near future. Clearly we are entering a new phase in the fight for social and economic change.

## What Next?

As we enter the decade of the 80s we are increasingly beset by difficult economic times reminiscent of the late 20s and early 30s. During this period the private sector fused with the government bureaucracy and business virtually controlled the country. The Reagan presidency suggests history repeating itself. As we have seen, that earlier period was also known for its upsurge in corporate repression particularly against organized labor. We are

now facing a very similar situation. Clearly there are differences, not the least of which is the tenacity of the federal government's political police operations. But one thing is certain, the private sector is increasingly forced to assert itself — to itself declare war on dissent and to limit, if not smash organized labor. If there is anything that is new about the present period it is that the truce which existed between organized labor and the corporate managers of capital is at an end. With the increasing attacks by the forces of the rich, comes a dilemma for the leaders of labor. Failure to fight back is virtual suicide. But, unleashing the rank and file may be more than the present leadership can contend with — unless they are willing, or forced, to themselves become more democratic, to accept the views of dissidents, to work with them against the common enemy of corporate repression.

Any examination of repression tends to be disheartening if not downright depressing. This need not be the case. Indeed, the

increase in private sector activity means the dissidents are winning. First, it must be remembered that the private sector is not acting from a position of strength, but rather desperation. Certainly they would rather the government, with its aura of neutrality, conduct the war against social and economic reform. It is simply not possible for the government to do so at the level it did during the civil rights and anti-war movements. The second advantage in the present situation is that it more clearly delineates the class nature of the conflict. When detective agencies and union busting consultants attack organized labor they unquestionably do so in the name of protecting profits. When utility companies try to restrict the activities of anti-nuclear groups it is much clearer whose interests they are defending. As it becomes plainer to the average American that their economic well-being, if not their very survival, is being threatened by corporate greed they will be better able to focus their own response.

In the last analysis, it is only through the efforts of a more en-

## The Good Ole Boys in Milledgeville

Surveillance of union meetings can have a devastating effect on organizing drives by labor unions as a now-settled lawsuit against J.P. Stevens documents. The incident occurred in the normally quiet and emphatically anti-union town of Milledgeville, Georgia, where Mayor Robert Rice decided to do something about the presence of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union organizers seeking to unionize the J.P. Stevens textile plant on the outskirts of town.

Mayor Rice called representatives from J.P. Stevens, Grumman Aerospace and several other local industries to City Hall in 1976 to discuss the problem. According to testimony Mayor Rice gave as part of a settlement in the lawsuit filed by the union, he suggested to the corporate representatives that the Milledgeville police "monitor the meetings of the union organizers to obtain [license] tag numbers." The list of car licenses could then be run through the town's nifty computer (part of the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System) which had access to Georgia's motor vehicle license files. A typed list of who the cars were registered to would be provided to the companies to "check against their personnel file folders," said the Mayor. "Everyone thought this would be a good idea," recalls the Mayor, so he directed the Milledgeville Police to start surveillance.

For two and one-half years, between the summer of 1976 and early 1979, Milledgeville police monitored the activities of the union organizers and reported the license plate numbers of workers who attended meetings. One of the officers conducting the surveillance later said he believed "the workers whose names and license plate numbers we provided would be fired." In the summer of 1978, local newspapers began airing charges that the union organizing meetings were being watched by police. Following the news articles, attendance at the meetings dropped from over 40 to 1.

ACTWU organizer Melvin Tate said after the stories about the surveillance began to circulate, workers told him they were afraid to be seen with him and other orga-

nizers. "They believe that some workers who have met with ACTWU have lost their jobs because the employers found out about their participation in meetings," said Tate.



ACTWU Organizer Melvin Tate in Milledgeville.

During the height of the surveillance, local police were so "worn to a frazzle" by the spying activity that Mayor Rice asked for and received corporate assistance for the spying. According to Rice, "Grumman Aerospace . . . graciously consented to send two of their security men . . . to help and assist the Milledgeville Police Department's surveillance work." The Grumman gumshoes were reputed to be former CIA agents, but their work did not impress the Mayor, and they left after 10 days. The police spying did have its intended effect, however. "It was quite obvious that from the way the attendance had dropped off at the meetings that we had been successful in our surveillance work and that Union activities had stopped," Mayor Rice stated.

Even the *Macon News*, which admits it is not "overly enamored of organized labor," was worried about the Milledgeville spying incident. In an editorial it pointed out that "when a large industry enlists the police power of its host community to compel workers not to join unions through intimidation and harassment, we are entirely too close to the police state for comfort."

— Chip Berlet

lightened and dissatisfied public that any meaningful change can take place. While there are those who would say that America in the 30s flirted with fascism, it is also true that it was a period of unprecedented achievement — the recognition of labor's right to organize. Certainly the coming period of conflict offers us an opportunity to further advance beyond this point in the quest for economic and social change.

George Corsetti is an attorney in private practice in Detroit who has been actively researching government intelligence abuses for several years.

## FOOTNOTES

1. *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An analysis of the U.S. Police*, produced and published by the Staff of the Center for Research on Criminal Justice (2d ed., 1977); see p. 21. Available from the Center, P.O. Box 4373, Berkeley, CA 94704. Much of the early historical material in this study comes from the *Iron Fist*. (Hereinafter cited as *Iron Fist*.)
2. *Iron Fist*, p. 23, et seq.
3. "The Conduct of Local Political Intelligence," James Basil Jacobs, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Princeton University, May 1977); see p. 100. (Hereinafter cited as "Local Political Intelligence.") The Jacobs thesis is an extremely well researched analysis of local political intelligence operations. Available from National Clearinghouse for Legal Services, 500 North Michigan Ave., Suite 2220, Chicago, IL 60611, request item #21195.
4. *Iron Fist*, p. 157; *The Private Sector*, George O'Toole (1978), pp. 20-40.
5. *Iron Fist*, pp. 24-25, 157.
6. *Iron Fist*, p. 28.
7. *Iron Fist*, p. 24. In Lynn, Mass., for example, the small, inefficient police force was built into a model labor control force in the 1860s.
8. *Private Sector*, pp. 28-30.
9. *Iron Fist*, p. 34, n. 8.
10. Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, May 13, 1778.
11. *Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to the Present*, Robert J. Goldstein (1978); see p. 107 and accompanying citation.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *The Price of Vigilance*, Joan M. Jensen (1968), p. 140. (Hereinafter cited as *Vigilance*.) This book represents an excellent compendium of information about the American Protective League. See also pp. 130-41, references to pedigree of APL.
14. *Vigilance*, pp. 48, 155.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 284. See generally, *Supplemental Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, Book III, *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, U.S. Senate, April 23, 1976. (Hereinafter cited as the *Church Committee*.) See pp. 382-87. The entire book is worth reading, in particular the historical documentation beginning on p. 373.
17. *Church Committee*, pp. 384-85; "Local Political Intelligence," p. 101, n. 15.
18. *Vigilance*, p. 155.
19. *Political Repression*, pp. 172, 177, 184.
20. *The Limits of Legitimacy*, Alan Wolfe (1977), p. 119. (Hereinafter cited as *Legitimacy*.)
21. *Political Repression*, p. 170.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
24. "Memorandum on the Black Legion," prepared by Maurice Sugar, n.d., Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Krause papers, box 12, p. 25.
25. "Local Political Intelligence," pp. 105-110 and accompanying notes.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
27. *Ibid.*
28. "Petition for Investigation into Commission of Crime," Law No. 22, p. 846. Report of Black Legion Activities in Oakland County, Oakland County Circuit Court, State of Michigan, August 31, 1936. See also "Local Political Intelligence," pp. 113-15 and notes. By far the most thorough historical documentation of Black Legion activities has been done by Professor Peter Amman of the College of Arts, Sciences and Letters, University of Michigan-Dearborn; his *Vigilance Fascism: The Case of the Black Legion* is especially good.
29. See n. 28 above, Oakland County Grand Jury Report.
30. *Liberty*, p. 98.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5. "Republics arsenal included 552 revolvers, 64 rifles, 245 shotguns, 143 gas guns, 4,033 gas projectiles, 2,707 gas grenades, and an undetermined number of night sticks and gas revolvers" (*Liberty*, p. 101).
32. *Liberty*, p. 99.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Iron Fist*, p. 99, n. 4; see also *Church Committee*, pp. 396-99; "The Truman Administration and the Decline of Civil Liberties: The FBI's Success in Securing Authorization for a Preventive Detention Program," Athan Theoharis, *Journal of American History* 64, no. 4, March 1978.
36. *Bodyguard of Lies*, Anthony Cave Brown (1975), p. 63. (Hereinafter cited as *Bodyguard*.) Donovan also had previous experience and contact with British Intelligence. It is also worth noting that, while the CIA has had a succession of military men at the helm, its first director at the crucial period when it was developing its post war mission was a business executive who had amassed considerable wealth revitalizing ailing corporations and developing new ones, particularly in the aviation industry. See the *Supplemental Detailed Staff Reports on Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book IV, *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities*, U.S. Senate, April 1976, p. 9.
37. See *Church Committee*, pp. 34-35. Official blacklisting was conducted through FBI checks of Civil Service applicants. See *Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the U.S., Proposal to Resolve Longstanding Problems in Investigation of Federal Employees Civil Service Commission*, Dec. 16, 1977, p. 34. The Bureau's media manipulation is best illustrated by programs such as "I Led Three Lives."
38. See COINTELPRO (1975); *Spooks*, Jim Hough (1978); *The Age of Surveillance*, Donner (1980). The latter is probably the best compendium of information.
39. Deposition, *Benkert v. Michigan State Police*, Nov. 18, 1975, p. 69.
40. *Detroit Free Press*, March 1, 1977, p. 8A.
41. See *New York Times*, June 15, 1979, p. 1A; *Washington Post*, March 25, 1979.
42. See *Detroit News*, March 11, 1976, p. 8G; *Michigan Free Press*, March 8, 1976, p. 3.
43. *Michigan Free Press*, March 8, 1976, p. 1.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *State Police Surveillance, A Report of the New York State Assembly Special Task Force on State Police Non-Criminal Files* (Sept. 1977).
47. *Ibid.* See also *Age of Surveillance*, pp. 446-49.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Personal Privacy in an Information Society, the Report of the Privacy Protection Study Commission* (July 1977), p. 333. See generally Church League of America; *Age of Surveillance*, pp. 422-23, 425, 447. See also the following articles: "The Intelligence Laundry," *Nation*, May 6, 1978; "The Information Digest Plot," *Nation*, Oct. 7, 1978; "Congressional Aide Spies on Left," *Counterspy*, Spring 1978,

- p. 16; "Right Wing Spies Exposed," *High Times*, July 1977; "How the Right Watches the Left," *WIN Magazine*, July 7, 1977; *Washington Post*, June 27, 1976, A-6; *Atlanta Constitution*, March 30, 1977, 1-A.
50. *Report of the Privacy Study Commission*, p. 333.
  51. *Ibid.*
  52. *Ibid.* Wackenhut says that few employers were interested in it, but the testimony of its officers and others in the business make clear that the real reason was the Credit Act.
  53. *Age of Surveillance*, p. 423.
  54. "Private Spies Keep Tabs on Radicals," *In These Times*, Aug. 30 - Sept. 5, 1978, p. 19.
  55. *Ibid.*
  56. *Ibid.*
  57. "Is PG&E Spying on Its Nuclear Power Opponents?" *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, Dec. 22, 1977.
  58. *Ibid.* "Private Spies." See generally *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 7, 1977, p. 14; *Berkeley Barb*, Sept. 18-24, 1977; *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 19, 1978; and *Contempt Proceedings Against Patricia Attahowe*, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Cong., 2d sess., May 3 and 17, 1978.
  59. *Barrons*, April 10, 1978, p. 7, also Dec. 19, 1977. "Self help, of course, lately has grown increasingly vital, if not yet quite a matter of life and death. Owing to an unholy alliance of left-wing lawmakers, journalists and alleged consumer champions . . . intelligence agencies have been all but crippled. The House Committee on Internal Security has been abolished. Throughout the country, files on subversives and violence-prone organizations, laboriously built up through the decades, have been systematically impounded, locked up or destroyed. . . ."
  60. *Detroit Free Press*, July 16, 1978, p. 1A; *Detroit Free Press*, July 20, 1978, p. 11A. Regarding Klan activities and the FBI, see *New York Times*, July 17, 1978, p. 1A.
  61. *People v. John Doe*, No. 655. Before the extended Grand Jury of Cook County, transcript of testimony taken on July 23, 1975. See also *Age of Surveillance*, p. 427 and sources cited in n. 26 above.
  62. *New York Times*, April 21, 1977, financial page & p. 59.
  63. *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 9, 1980, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 9, 1980, p. 2; *Chicago Sun-Times*, Oct. 9, 1980. Regarding CIA-ITT links, see *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 9, 1978, p. 4B, Nov. 3, 1978, p. 8C, Feb. 18, 1979, p. 3C, Mar. 8, 1979, p. 10C; also *Detroit News*, Oct. 24, 1978, p. 7A.
  64. *Congressional Record*, Oct. 1, 1976, E5510. It should be noted that the remarks were in all probability inserted to justify tightening up the Freedom of Information Act, but they nonetheless contain valid information.
  65. *Barrons*, Dec. 19, 1977.
  66. *Ninth Annual Report of LEAA*, 1977, p. 3.
  67. *Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism*, National Committee on Criminal Justice Goals and Standards, 1976, available from LEAA, pp. 2-3.
  68. "Prevention and Control of Collective Violence," vol. III, Guidelines for Intelligence Personnel, from the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. GPO stock no. 2700-0019, p. 4-5.
  69. Program Announcement, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice "Collective Disorders," May 17, 1978, p. 2.
  70. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
  71. *Ibid.*
  72. Telephone conversation with Margaret French from the University of Michigan Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Oct. 20, 1980.
  73. Program Announcement, cited in n. 69 above (emphasis added).
  74. Deposition, *Benkert v. Michigan State Police*, Aug. 4, 1975, pp. 131-32.
  75. See "The Terrorist as Scapegoat," *Nation*, May 20, 1978, p. 590.
  76. See "Read It and Act," a publication of the National Committee on Repressive Legislation. Available from the Committee, 510 C St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.
  77. See *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1979, p. 8A; see also Organizing Notes, June 1979, available from the Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Mass. Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.
  78. *Ibid.*
  79. *Michigan Free Press*, Oct. 10, 1976, p. 1; "Nuclear Power and Civil Liberties," pp. 99-101, available from the Citizen's Energy Project, 1413 K St. N.W., 8th floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. In the summer of 1977, activists planning an anti-nuclear march held a series of meetings which were attended by security agents from Det. Edison who noted that one of the participants advocated "dismantling" power plants. This comment served as the basis for a criminal complaint made by Edison to the State Police. It was kept open pending the outcome of the demonstration. (From documents received from Rep. Perry Bullard.)
  80. "Nuclear Big Brother," *Progressive*, Jan. 1980; *First Principles*, vol. 6, no. 3, Dec. 1980, available from the Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; "Nuclear Power and Civil Liberties," cited in n. 79 above; "Utilities Generate Sparks by Keeping an on Critics," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 11, 1979, p. 1.
  81. See "Nuclear Big Brother."
  82. See "Nuclear Power and Civil Liberties," cited in n. 79 above; "Nuclear Big Brother."
  83. See "Nuclear Big Brother."
  84. *Ibid.*; *First Principles*.
  85. *Ibid.*
  86. *Ibid.*
  87. *Detroit Free Press*, Nov. 16, 1980, p. 1A.
  88. "Surveillance and Disruption of Anti-Nuclear Protest," *First Principles*, Dec. 1980.
  89. *Report of the Task Force on Private Security*, National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Goals and Standards of the LEAA (1976), pp. 565-72.
  90. *Ibid.*, p. 205. While the states are not required to use the standards, LEAA can suggest they include them in plans submitted for funding. See *Iron Fist*, p. 205.
  91. As indicated, the Jejins preface is only available in the privately published edition (Anderson Publishing Co., p. iii).
  92. *Ibid.*, p. iv, v (second emphasis added).
  93. "Nuclear Big Brother."
  - 93a. "Klan Group in Alabama Training for 'Race War,'" *New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1980, *Detroit News*, Sept. 29, 1980; "Klan performs for the camera," *Detroit News*, Feb. 5, 1981, p. 8A.
  94. *New York Times*, June 21, 1979, p. 7B.
  95. "Southern Hospitality," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 29, 1980, p. 42; "The Trouble in Mideville," *Daily News Record*, July 23, 1979; "Dirty Tricks Down South," *Nation*, Feb. 9, 1980, p. 142.
  96. "California Firms Pay for Spying, Dirty Tricks against Unions," *In These Times*, Dec. 19, 1979.
  97. "Shopfloor Spy Confesses," *In These Times*, Dec. 19, 1980.
  98. "Taking Aim at 'Union Buster,'" *Business Week*, Dec. 12, 1979. On union busting generally, see *In These Times*, Dec. 19, 1979 and March 12, 1980; and *Rub Sheet*, published by the AFL-CIO and available at 815 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.
  99. "Bribe Scandal Shakes Congress," *Guardian*, Feb. 13, 1980, p. 3.
  100. *Ibid.* Both Thompson and Williams are considered the most steadfast labor supporters. Williams chaired the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee and Thompson was the ranking Democrat on the Education and Labor Committee. Jenrette (D., S.C.) had a 74% voting rating with the AFL-CIO, Lederer 80%, Myers 78%, Murtha 90%. Kelly, the only Republican appears to have been thrown in for balance.

## The Old Boy Network:

# The Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI

by Chip Berlet

As the Streiter incident, the John Rees escapades, and the private security files found in the possession of the Red Squad prove, information frequently flows from private spies into public intelligence coffers. Sometimes, however, the relationship is even more cozy.

Depositions taken in connection with a Chicago Socialist Workers Party lawsuit produced claims by several former members of the Legion of Justice, a right-wing vigilante group active in Chicago during the antiwar period, that the group cooperated with both federal and local intelligence units. The cooperation extended to collecting information for the agencies through illegal activities such as office break-ins and thefts.

Twice in the 1950s, the National Lawyers Guild held its national convention in Chicago, and both times wiretaps and black-bag jobs produced information for the Red Squad and the FBI. The techniques could have escaped detection only through active assistance of hotel security personnel, according to the Guild.

Private security personnel are often happy to assist their public counterparts; in many cases the private intelligence agents earned their spurs in the employ of governmental investigative agencies. Government agents migrate into private employment with such frequency that former FBI agents have their own organization, the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI. One cynical FBI alumnus has dubbed the group "Hoover's Loyal Legion."

A 1975 FBI Society list (the last edition to slip out of the highly secre-

tive group's tight fist) shows that in that year there were almost 7,000 former FBI agents employed nationwide and paying dues to the Society.

It would be unfair to suggest that all former FBI agents are as obsessed as J. Edgar Hoover used to be with rooting out subversives. And certainly, not all former FBI agents engage in nefarious activities. But some do. Consider the following:

- In Houston, several police officers said their illegal wiretaps were installed with the help of Southwestern Bell's security force, a staff that is one-third composed of former FBI agents. The FBI was alleged to be the receiver of much of the information gleaned from the illegal wiretaps, which were aimed at collecting information about local political activists.

- A former FBI agent working for Lockheed corporate security in a Georgia assembly plant wanted to find out if several union activists had ties to the Socialist Workers Party. A quick phone call to a buddy still employed with the Bureau in New York resulted in an illicit and illegal confirmation that some of the activists were linked to the political group. Lockheed security then began an extensive background check on the fingered employees that turned up some irregularities in their original job applications. Several of the activists were fired. A lawsuit is pending.

Of the over 100 former FBI agents listed as Society members in Chicago in 1975, more than half were in law enforcement or with private security firms or in corporate posts dealing with security, investigations, person-

nel management, or labor relations. Among the Chicago firms with former FBI agents in these posts, according to the 1975 list, were:

Standard Oil, E.J. Brach candies, Purolator security, American Airlines, United Airlines, R.R. Donnelly & Sons, Illinois Bell, Walgreen's, Canteen Corporation, Edward Hines Lumber, Continental Can, Playboy, Beatrice Foods, Texaco, and Marshall Field's.

Lest there be any doubt that the FBI Society sees itself as a network encouraging professional interaction among its members, it should be noted that the Society's membership list is organized alphabetically, geographically by state and city, and alphabetically by corporations for which Society members work. The list is a ready reference manual for information gathering and sharing among private security officers and their public counterparts.

George O'Toole, author of *The Private Sector*, a book on private security groups, writes that "the Society is not a collection of superannuated federal pensioners.... Many of the members served less than three years with the FBI.... For them a tour with the Bureau was a kind of internship, a career step." According to O'Toole, a loyal FBI alumnus working in the private security field "can often be more useful in achieving the Bureau's goals than a special agent on active duty with the FBI. The Society appears to be an instrument of this policy — its Executive Services Committee is a placement bureau aimed at populating the most powerful security posi-

tions in both the public and private sectors with former FBI agents."

A glance at the Society's 1975 roster certainly proves O'Toole's contention about positions of influence. Nationwide, there were over 100 Society members working for telephone company security forces alone, and there were high concentrations of FBI Society members among the security staffs of auto and aircraft manufacturers, oil companies, insurance companies, and private detective agencies. There were no fewer than 18 FBI Society members working for the conservative Wackenhut detective agency, the agency whose extensive files on leftists were turned over to the Church League in Wheaton, where they are available to both public and private intelligence agencies.

A controversy over the FBI Society flared up in Chicago two years ago when it was discovered that a federal appeals court judge who was hearing cases involving alleged FBI misconduct in Chicago had been an FBI agent and was identified in the 1979 edition of *Who's Who* as a member of the FBI Society. Wilbur F. Pell was one of three judges hearing arguments in connection with the 1969 raid that left Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead and several other Panthers seriously wounded. Among the allegations in the subsequent lawsuit were charges that the FBI had instigated, encouraged, and assisted in the planning of the raid.

Not surprisingly, Pell issued a stinging dissent to the majority ruling, which overturned a lower court decision favoring the police and FBI and ordered a new trial in the Panther civil suit. Pell felt that charges against the FBI had no merit. Attorneys for the Panther survivors tried unsuccessfully to have Pell removed from the case after they learned of his FBI ties and Society membership. Pell said he stopped paying Society dues in 1977.

According to a brief filed by Panther attorneys from the Peoples Law Office, Pell should have disqualified himself. The attorneys pointed out that one defendant in the case, former Chicago FBI chief Marlin Johnson,

was also a member of the Society. The then Cook County state's attorney, Bernard Carey, whose office was defending the county officials charged in the lawsuit, was also listed as a Society member. Furthermore, according to Peoples Law Office attorney G. Flint Taylor, "The Society had spawned an informational and financial auxiliary that organized support and raised over \$400,000 to help defray legal expenses of agents charged with abuses of civil liberties."

Later the Society claimed credit for an agreement with the Justice Department that Justice would pick up certain expenses of the agents, who, in the words of the Society, were "defending themselves against the many harassing civil suits which have been pressed by left-wing groups and individuals." This philosophy was encapsulated in a policy statement issued by the Society that said that "any criminal prosecution of FBI agents [for actions] taken totally without criminal intent, while performing their duties with honor and determination to protect the country from criminals and subversives, is completely unwarranted."

The Society does more than issue statements, however, and in 1976 adopted a new activist statement of purpose that stressed involvement in

efforts to foster increased public respect for law enforcement officials and "protect American security from destructive forces, foreign or domestic." A brief filed by the Peoples Law Office on the motion that Judge Pell disqualify himself from the Panther case contained the vague charge that the Society was reported (it was not said by whom) to have an agreement with the FBI by which it would serve as an auxiliary in times of need. Under this supposed understanding, whenever the Bureau needed to apprehend numbers of citizens for preventative political detention under its secret Agitator and Security Index programs, the Society members would be ready to be deputized to assist in the roundup.

If such an agreement seems hard to believe, consider that former members of the Legion of Justice in Chicago report that they also were told by people introduced as government agents that the Legion might be asked to help round up radicals for preventative detention in an emergency. In fact, according to documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, the roundup had two operational names, Lantern Spike and Garden Plot, and training manuals for the operation were actually produced by the U.S. military.



SOCIETY OF FORMER SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI, INC.  
Suite 2734 Graybar Bldg., 420 Lexington Ave., N.Y. 10017

#### POLICY STATEMENT BY BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Re: Indictment of Former FBI Officials

#### New Indictments Deplored -

The 7,400 members of the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, Inc., are shocked by the unjustified, unconscionable, and unprecedented action of the U. S. Department of Justice in obtaining Federal indictment against three former top officials of the FBI, as a result of the performance of their official duties to investigate the terrorists and bomb-throwers of the Weatherman underground.

Our Society members, all of whom served honorably in defense of the United States, consider the indictment on April 10, 1978, of former Acting Director L. Patrick Gray III, former Acting Associate Director W. Mark Felt, and former Assistant Director Edward S. Miller to be a travesty of justice.

We affirm that any criminal prosecution of FBI Agents for actions taken totally without criminal intent, while performing their duties with honor and determination to protect the country from criminals and subversives, is completely unwarranted. None of these officials obtained personal gain or profit. They acted to protect the country, to prevent terrorism, and to apprehend Federal fugitives.

#### FBI Investigated Terrorists -

These dedicated FBI men, now charged with criminal offenses, firmly believed they were discharging responsibilities imposed on the FBI by

# The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit

by Chip Berlet

The more one delves into the political spy networks, both public and private, the more distinctions blur. "The overlap between the public sector spying and the private sector spying is extensive to the point where the distinction becomes somewhat arbitrary," says Matt Piers, an attorney for the ACLU police-spying lawsuit in Chicago. "The public and private intelligence sectors come close to being the same in some instances." Piers thinks a prime example is the quasi-private Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU).

It was in a musty cardboard box of materials from the Navy Pier offices of the Red Squad that attorney Jon Moore, then working on the ACLU spy case, found the first documentation that the LEIU was disseminating information about the noncriminal activities of political activists. The LEIU is a publicly funded yet privately operated spy apparatus. The evidence of LEIU's political spying was in the form of hundreds of five-by-eight-inch index cards on so-called "organized crime" figures distributed by the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit to member police agencies. LEIU's rather novel definition of "organized crime" was sufficiently broad to include card dossiers reporting the lawful political activities of antiwar, black, native American, community, and labor organizers. This discovery flatly contradicted repeated claims by LEIU officers testifying before congressional committees that their files pertained solely to criminal activities.

The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit was formed in 1956 at a San Francisco meeting of representatives of 26 law enforcement agencies from seven western states. LEIU was later

expanded to encompass agencies from many other states, including the intelligence unit of the Chicago Police Department. The official purpose of the group was "to promote the gathering, recording, and exchange of confidential information not available through normal police channels, concerning organized crime." The unofficial purpose was to establish a national criminal intelligence network independent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose agents frequently refused to share information with local law enforcement officers.

By 1962, the LEIU had clearly expanded the scope of its interest to include noncriminal activity. That year, a regional meeting in San Francisco included a discussion of "police intelligence units' role in securing information concerning protest groups, demonstrations, and mob violence," according to an FBI summary. Seventy-two persons attended that meeting, and in addition to local and state law enforcement officials, the FBI noted the presence of representatives from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Department of Labor, the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and several military investigative units.

During politically volatile 1970, LEIU's national and regional conferences held discussions revealing a preoccupation with monitoring dissidents. Among the topics analyzed that year were: "national militant problems," "international influence on current disorders," "dissident and militant funding," "revolution in the streets—intelligence aspects," "viewpoints on campus disorders," "Students for a Democratic Society," and "permissiveness."

With workshop topics such as these, it is hardly surprising that local LEIU members began submitting information on political activists to the group's California clearinghouse. A 1979 investigation of LEIU by the Detroit Board of Police Commissioners found that scores of LEIU subject cards contained information on persons "not apparently related to criminal activities." This conclusion is documented by the LEIU cards found in the Chicago Red Squad files.

One LEIU card found in the Chicago files reported on California activist Leland Lubinsky. It described him as a "recognized leader in Peace movements [who] has operated Draft Evasion Counseling [sic] Peace Demonstrations locally." It said that so far as was known, Lubinsky had never been arrested. Lubinsky's card, like other LEIU cards, included a photograph, along with information on his physical description, associates, family, vital statistics, last known address, vehicle and license numbers, hangouts, and modus operandi. LEIU cards were cross-indexed by Social Security number, driver's license number, and FBI number.

A professor Michael Lerner was described on an LEIU card as a "Marxist scholar, political activist, leader within Seattle Liberation Front, present at many demonstrations in Seattle." Anne Braden, a longtime community and labor organizer with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was listed as assisting "in organizing many radical groups and publications in the Southern U.S."

Among the "criminal" activities listed for American Indian Movement activists Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt was the damning news that the pair "travels extensively."

Much of the information on Cali-

## Tax Dollars at Work

The federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funded several California projects during Reagan's governorship that fit into the puzzle of the public/private political spy network, including the Western Regional Organized Crime Training Institute (WROTCI) and the California Specialized Training Institute (CSTI).

Since 1971, WROTCI has taught over 4,000 police such techniques as electronic surveillance, infiltration and informant development, but organized crime is not the only target. One police official in California admitted the Institute taught his men how to conduct surveillance on unions and anti-nuclear activists as well. WROTCI is operated by the same California state agency that administers the LEAA-funded LEIU/OICI computerized dossier system. Two other training centers similar to WROTCI exist in Florida and Ohio.

The California Specialized Training Institute has graduated thousands of state military, police and national guard personnel; and its Officer Survival and Internal Security Course is taught by a staff which "includes men with a considerable background in the areas of insurgency and counter-insurgency, social factors and urban unrest, political systems, terrorism, internal defense and security, and intelligence systems," bragged the Commandant of the Institute in a letter to LEAA. The letter notes a carbon copy being sent to then-governor Ronald Reagan's Executive Assistant, Edwin Meese III. Much of the LEAA funding of political surveillance networks in California occurred when Reagan was Governor, and Meese is now a top Presidential aide who has a reputation as a hard-liner on domestic intelligence issues. Meese has spoken favorably of the Heritage Foundation study calling for increased cooperation between public and private security agencies.

— Chip Berlet

California activist Michael Zinzun's LEIU card was simply inaccurate. The card failed to note that several arrests were on charges later dismissed, and had him belonging to the Black Panther Party well after he had left that organization. Zinzun has never heard of the "Triad" real estate group that the LEIU card said he was "believed to be associated with," and repeated attempts to locate or even prove the existence of the "Triad" group have been unsuccessful. Among Zinzun's reputed associates was one Nathan N. Holden, a former California state senator whose only association with Zinzun was to collect rent—Holden was once Zinzun's landlord.

The lack of accuracy and plethora of unverified reports and innuendos in the LEIU files prompted investigations of the LEIU by local, state, and federal agencies. The federal General Accounting Office found that only a small percent of the information recorded on the LEIU cards could be completely documented. Responding to the mounting criticisms of its files by the GAO and other investigative groups, LEIU in 1979 removed 145 subject cards. The cards were purged to meet new LEIU guidelines designed to strike a balance between "the civil rights and liberties of American citizens and the needs of law enforcement to collect and disseminate criminal intelligence," according to an LEIU memo.

High-sounding words, but as critics have pointed out, the policy can be reevaluated and changed by the LEIU board as soon as the controversy dies down. Besides, LEIU will not reveal what cards were destroyed and what cards were retained. According to Tom Parsons, a spokesperson for the Seattle Coalition on Government Spying, "there are continuing indications of LEIU willingness to share political information through its bulletins and files under the guise that it is information about 'terrorism.'" Parsons feels the most crucial problem is that the "LEIU continues to operate outside of public control or accountability." Unless public oversight and accountability are established, says Parsons, the "positive steps recently taken by LEIU could be reversed—in secret, with no notice to the public."

The LEIU gets away with hiding its activities from public scrutiny because it claims to be a private organization—despite the fact that it is composed of law enforcement agencies that use tax dollars to pay dues and fees. The LEIU is shielded from federal and state laws governing the conduct of intelligence gathering and dissemination, and escapes the probing eye of the federal Freedom of Information Act.

Given the flawed quality of the LEIU's data, it is perhaps surprising that the federal government has spent close to two million dollars on a nearly

completed scheme to computerize it. The General Accounting Office found that the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a recently terminated program to supply federal funds to beef up local police forces, awarded eight grants totaling over \$1.7 million to research and establish the Interstate Organized Crime Index (IOCI). The Index is a computerization of the LEIU cards that can be used only by LEIU members, who request searches by calling a toll-free number at a computer facility in Sacramento, California.

The IOCI computer also keeps track of which police units submit data, so that requesting police agencies can be directed to the source of the information to trade details totally outside the data bank. The General Accounting Office was bothered by the lack of safeguards regarding the verification of the computerized data and the security of the information dissemination. "We believe intelligence-gathering projects, because they are secretive and sensitive, need to be closely scrutinized. IOCI was not," concluded the GAO study.

GAO investigators were particularly concerned that "in many cases, contributing member agencies did not provide public record support for entries in the index, although a special condition of the [LEAA] grants required entries to be based on such information."







Some LEIU critics charge that the whole LEIU/IOCI scheme was an intentional attempt to circumvent congressional mandates prohibiting the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration from establishing a federally funded national police network and centralized dossier system. One of these critics is Sheila O'Donnell of the *Public Eye* network, an investigator who points to a 1974 meeting between officials of the FBI and LEAA. On that occasion, according to an FBI memo, LEAA assistant administrator Richard Velde tried to establish a "joint FBI-LEIU operation" to create a "national communication network" for dissemination of information about "terrorists and extremists" during the Bicentennial.

The FBI rejected the plan because it was "questionable from a legal standpoint" and not feasible because of the "political climate." Another FBI memo, written a month later, reports strained relations between the LEAA and the FBI, with the LEAA threatening to withhold funds from FBI-related projects.

Within the next few months the LEAA awarded almost half a million dollars in grants to evaluate and implement an on-line computer system for the IOCI. One grant, for \$324,000, had to be rewritten so as not to be in violation of pending federal legislation "dealing with privacy and security," according to the General Accounting Office.

That same year, Velde cosigned an LEAA grant for \$77,000 that in effect transferred some of the support services for the IOCI computer index from a California law-enforcement foundation to a newly incorporated private company called Search Group, Inc. Search Group itself was originally a "consortium of representatives from each state, appointed by their respective governors," the GAO found. SEARCH stood for "System for Electronic Analysis and Retrieval of Criminal Histories."

That \$77,000 LEAA grant was administered by Paul K. Wormeli, who three years later, in 1977, was deputy administrator for administra-

NAME: BELLECOURT, Clyde Howard		CONTRIBUTED BY: LEIU 4002	
ALIAS:		South Dakota Division of Criminal Investigation Pierre, South Dakota	
LEA: 1337 E. Franklin, Minneapolis, Hennepin Co., Minnesota.		 	
CRIMINAL ACTIVITY: Assault on Law Officer (PT); Burglar (PT); Robber (PT); Traveler Externally.			
FAMILY: Vernon Franklin BELLECOURT, LEIU 4007 (Brother) Criminal Oriented Associate.			
ASSOCIATES: Dennis James BARNES, LEIU 4008; Russell Charles HEARN, LEIU 4009; Carter Augustus CAMP, LEIU 4009; Stanley			
NAME: NORT, Richard		CONTRIBUTED BY: LEIU 2630	
ALIAS: "DART ARMBARAKI ORACLE"		Police Department New Orleans, Louisiana	
LEA: 1048 Lewis Street, Jackson, Mississippi.		 	
VEHICLE: Subject rarely uses auto for travel.			
ASSOCIATES: Virginia E. COLLINS, LEIU 2498; Clarence SARTY, Robert BOWEN; Mitchell TROUBLE, III.			
SUMMARY OF ARRESTS: None Given			
M. O. & MISC. INFO: NORT & the above mentioned associates are members of the REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA. NORT is the President of the Republic of New Africa. NORT has no arrest record in			
NAME: MADON, Anne McCarty		CONTRIBUTED BY: LEIU C-71	
ALIAS:		Police Department Louisville, Kentucky	
LEA: 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.		 	
OCCUPATION: Southern Conference Educational Fund, 3200 W. Broadway.			
FAMILY: Carl James MADON, LEIU C-72 (Husband).			
SUMMARY OF ARRESTS:			
10-1-54 PD Louisville, Ky.#100062 Teaching Criminal Syndicalism			
4-10-67 PD Louisville, Ky.#100062 Banding Together, S.C. Cost for the Bel of Minor & Parading W/O a permit			
9-21-69 PD Louisville, Ky.#-- Abandoned Auto, South W			
M. O. & MISC. INFO: Long time Communist Party Member - Editor "The Southern Patriot". Has assisted in organizing many radical groups and publications in the Southern U.S.		DESCRIPTION: WHITE FEMALE 5'-0" 115# BROWN HAIR PHYS. FEATURES: None noted. D.O.B.: 7-25-25 PLACE: Louisville, Kentucky PHOTO DATE: 4-15-67 FBI #100: Unknown FBI #100: 153 778 0 FBI #100: 4 980 813	

LEIU cards found in the Chicago "Red Squad" files show political information.

tion of the LEAA and in that capacity cosigned (along with Richard Velde) a grant for \$299,999 to continue and update the manual IOCI system and also fund the "acquisition, installation, and operation of the minicomputer system." As a Detroit Police Board investigator remarked concerning the merry-go-round of funders and fundees involved in the LEIU-IOCI network: "It is difficult to discern where one agency begins and the other one ends." Search Group, Inc. was given over \$3 million in LEAA funds during the three-year period ending June 30, 1977. Search Group's revised bylaws of 1977 state that its corporate membership consists of "one representative of each state...appointed by the chief executive thereof and four representatives appointed by the administrator of the Law Enforcement As-

sistance Administration." In 1976 and 1977, LEAA's administrator was Richard Velde.

The report of the Detroit investigation notes that "while registered as a 'private agency,' there are indications that the LEIU interfaces in a unique manner with public agencies.... The LEIU appears to operate as a public agency, but one which is not subject to governmental oversight or control."

Even the FBI was worried about the LEIU's computerized intelligence network. One FBI memo remarks of an incident involving LEIU's information system, "This is indeed an outstanding example of one of the worst features of any kind of a national clearinghouse as such for criminal information. It would also seem to be an indictment of the LEIU and the high-sounding purposes promoted for

this organization...." Of course, one must remember that the FBI and the LEAA were feuding over who should control the electronic spy empire.

Once the LEIU data base is computerized, another LEAA grantee will help speed the information among LEIU members and beyond.

The National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System (NLETS) is, according to its corporate charter, a nonprofit corporation established to facilitate the exchange of operational and administrative data

among police departments. In June 1973, LEAA approved a grant of \$1.2 million to NLETS to improve the speed of the NLETS teletype system and make it available to more police forces.

"NLETS provides police departments in each state with direct access to a teletype system that can be used to collect and compare information in both the FBI and LEIU computer files," says the *Public Eye's* O'Donnell. "Agencies at all levels of government can now be tied into a nationwide

intelligence network of dossiers on political dissidents." NLETS, following the pattern of Project Search, has incorporated itself as a private firm.

"What has happened is that the federal government has spent millions of dollars to fund an old boys network of political spies who want to circumvent the Constitution and federal regulations," charges O'Donnell. "You don't have to wait until 1984 for Big Brother," she says. "You've already paid them to create a file on you."

## Postscript

# A Blurring of Distinctions

The interconnections in the private political surveillance network are endless, not because there is a nefarious cabal of closeted conspirators meeting regularly in a carpeted boardroom, but because the spies and their employers share an apocalyptic view of social change. The result of this right-wing ideological framework is a con-

sensual move to infringe upon the constitutional rights of anyone who challenges the status quo in an attempt to blunt the momentum for change. Ironically, the growth of the private spies is in part due to the "increased government sensitivity, at least on the federal level, to constitutional guarantees," says Jay Peterzell, a researcher

with the Center for National Security Studies.

The Reagan administration already is being pushed to eliminate the restrictions on governmental investigative agencies that were the post-Watergate answer to protecting constitutional rights. Recently Pres. Reagan authorized the CIA to assist in domestic security investigations. What may develop, then, are two parallel political intelligence networks—one public, one private—that share information about political activists and have direct access to modern data banks as well as to the files compiled during the McCarthy period.

"What we fear is that there will soon be a complete integration of the public and private political intelligence apparatus," says attorney Piers. "This network will then be unleashed first against persons accused of having ties to unpopular foreign governments or affiliated with alleged terrorist groups," says Piers, "but inevitably the public-private network will move on to investigate and disrupt the activities of a wide range of community, labor, and political activists."

"If this scenario is fulfilled," says Piers, "the McCarthy period will have a second chapter to add to the history books."



Detroit Police videotape a Revolutionary Communist Party demonstration in 1981.

Photo by George Corse

— Chip Berlet

Still Crazy After All These Years

# The Posse Comitatus Rides Across Wisconsin

by Thomas Murphy

It's Sunday, May 10, 1981 in Tigerton, Wisconsin, and forty men have gathered for Sunday Services on the grounds of the Tigerton Christian Liberty Academy, a school and Church operated by the Wisconsin Chapter of the Posse Comitatus. Instead of choir gowns the men are garbed in military fatigues and instead of holding missals and hymn books, these men are devoutly clenching AR-15 Colt assault rifles. The minister, Reverend William P. Gale, approaches the men who stand at attention awaiting his word and screams, "I think you guys ought to hang that son of a bitch!"

The man referred to as an SOB is none other than State Representative Mordecai Lee, a Democrat from Milwaukee, who has angered the Posse by introducing Assembly Bill 488 onto the floor of the Wisconsin Legislature. As you can see, these are not your basic garden variety of Church services but those of a heavily armed and continually growing ultra-Right group in the state of Wisconsin, the Posse Comitatus. (See Public Eye, Vol. III, Issues 1 & 2). Nor is Reverend Gail typical of most clergy, since he has served not so much in the ministry as in the American military where he was Colonel Gail, in charge of guerilla warfare operations in the Philippines for Douglas MacArthur during WWII. Gail is from Mariposa, California and is one of many in a long line of extreme rightists being imported to Wisconsin to teach the art of mayhem at the Posse's warfare training center in Tigerton and in Gail's particular case, the art of knife fighting, in which he is considered a legend.

After his fiery homily, Gail was confronted by the news media as to his threat against Representative Lee and retracted his statement saying, "I never threaten anybody. To hang that guy is too good for him." James Wickstrom, Chairman of the Posse in Wisconsin, later held his own press conference concerning Representative Lee and refused to retract the Posse's threats, stating, "I believe that we will have a citizens' grand jury . . . and hang him."

The Posse's threats are being taken seriously by the Assembly. The Criminal Justice and Public Safety Committee has limited publication of dates established for public hearings on Lee's bill to only 24 hours notice and has dramatically increased the amount of armed security normally present at hearings in the State Capitol. Lee, a liberal democrat is tired of the Posse's para-military activity in the state and has developed a piece of legislation aimed at curbing this activity by looking to a little known federal law called the Civil Obedience Act of 1968. Using the federal legislation as a base, Lee has authored a bill which if enacted as Wisconsin law would make a Class D Felony, any training of persons in the use of weapons or violent techniques to cause civil disorder. The bill would prohibit the demonstra-

tion, application or manufacture of weapons, devices or techniques for use in, or furtherance of civil disorder.

Although the bill does not specifically mention the Posse, Representative Lee readily admits that the Posse is the bill's intended target, stating: "I want to help control extremist factions, such as the Posse, Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party. I hope that the proposed law would give prosecutors and judges a new legal tool to use against these extremist groups without violating the constitutional liberties and freedom of speech."

The Posse, apart from threatening the life of Lee and the bill's co-sponsors, issued a statement decrying the bill as unconstitutional and as an attack against, "white Caucasian Christians." The Posse also demanded that Lee include groups that are, in their opinion, the real menace to public order, "the Black Muslims, Black Panthers, the Jewish Defense League and the Communist Party."

The bill has received widespread bi-partisan support and, the Posse's increasingly violent rhetoric about the bill has added support to Lee's efforts. State Representative Michael Neubauer from Racine asked that this name be added as a sponsor to the bill after he heard that Lee's life had been threatened. Neubauer said, "As a white Christian, I am willing to hang along side of Lee, a Jew. The only thing worse than being hanged is being alone." The bill has picked up the support of State Senator Thomas Harnisch of Neillsville who deals with a strong Posse Chapter within his district. Harnisch, a conservative, is now the subject of a recall petition drive against him spearheaded by the Posse.

The bill has also received support from left groups who have been pushing for anti-Klan / Nazi legislation, but the bill has also been objected to by people concerned with civil liberties because of a section of the bill that deals with conspiracy and damage to property. The bill defines a public disturbance as, "an assemblage of two or more persons engaging in unlawful acts of violence against persons or property which cause immediate danger . . . or result in damage or injury."

(Cont. next page)

## Posse Comitatus Issue Still Available

Back issues of *The Public Eye's* special issue on the Posse Comitatus are available by sending \$2 to CDCL #918, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60604. Prepaid orders only, please. Ask for details about bulk order discounts for classroom or organizational use.

(Cont. from page 6)

casions, confronted the marchers by parading in front of them, guarded by a contingent of Tactical Unit police.

Two autopsy examinations failed to specifically pin down the cause of Lacy's death. Under severe pressure from the Black community, Milwaukee County District Attorney E. Michael McCann held an inquest into Lacy's death, which began around the end of September, and lasted for nearly four weeks.

Testimony varied, from the accounts of the police that Lacy seemed to be on drugs, had the strength of ten men, and had "flipped out," to a University of Wisconsin pathologist who speculated that police may have used a "death grip" on Lacy.

The most damning testimony came from paramedics, who testified that when they arrived at the scene of Lacy's demise, the Black man lay in the police van, devoid of any vital signs, and that Tactical Unit members met their inquiries on what had happened to Lacy with stony silence.

The inquest jury, composed of three whites and three Blacks, handed down felony charges of Homicide by Reckless Conduct against Tactical Unit members George Kalt, Thomas Eliopel and James Dekker.

The Tactical Unit members were also charged with Misconduct in Public Office, for failing to render first aid to Lacy when Lacy lost his ability to breathe. The same charge was brought against the two police van attendants, Joseph Kamicek and Robert Enters.

Chief Breier was outraged because his "secret police" had been exposed to public scrutiny. He informed the press that the arrest of the five policemen was a "terrible miscarriage of justice."

Breier held his own rally in support of the police on October 23, 1981 on the South Side. The pro-police rally was publicly shunned by minority police officers, but drew crowds in the thousands and featured music, dancing and refresh-

ments. The guests of honor at the celebration of "police unity" were suspended Tactical Unit members Kalt, Eliopel and Dekker, out on bail while awaiting trial on charges relating to the death of Ernest Lacy.

In a related situation, James Shoemperlen, a 33 year old white business executive who became intoxicated while at a Milwaukee Brewers baseball game, is suing the City of Milwaukee for an alleged beating he received from the police, after Shoemperlen urinated in public and engaged in a high speed chase with the police.

Shoemperlen, hospitalized for plastic surgical reconstruction of his face, has become the center of a John Doe hearing, at which the majority of police officers have refused to answer questions, instead pleading the Fifth Amendment.

Activists hope that the Shoemperlen case will bring home to Milwaukee citizens that the danger of becoming a victim of Breier's "flying squads" exists for all, not just for the poor and minorities. They are now concentrating their organizational efforts on a campaign to disband the Tactical Squads and to force the resignation of Harold Breier.

— Thomas Murphy  
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A Socialist Monthly

## Creation 'Science' Law Struck Down

A federal court in Arkansas struck down that state's law that required so-called creation science to be taught in schools where evolution is taught.

The judge said the law violated the constitutional prohibition against a state attempt to establish religion. He added that creation science was not valid science, had no useful educational purpose and only furthered religion.

"We applaud the decision," says Sharon Robinson, director of NEA/IPD.

"Clearly creationism is a religious doctrine, not a scientific principle."

Despite this decision, efforts to halt the teaching of "creation science" will continue. The Mississippi Senate passed a similar law on the day Arkansas' was held unconstitutional. And, Louisiana's law is being challenged in the courts.

— National Education Association

## Ed Asner Piques Rightists

Ed Asner, member of the Board of Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc. (FOIA, Inc.), and the newly elected board of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), has always spoken his mind. His latest concern, however, has led to attacks which have escalated from verbal invective to death threats, according to the Los Angeles police, who take the threats seriously. The people threatening Asner, Police Lieutenant Dan Cooke said, are well-known individuals about whom he "would have to say they were right-wing."

Asner's Hollywood SAG office received a call February 18 announcing an assassination plot against the actor because of his support in the formation of the Medical Aid for El Salvador Committee. He had participated in a Washington press conference outside the State Department three days earlier with other well-known actors and directors. In a statement released to the press, the artists pointed out the necessity to "organize opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador," and to raise money for medical aid instead of the war materiel being sent by the Reagan Administration. The enemies of President Reagan and Alexander Haig in El Salvador, they said, "are not our enemies."

Attempts to silence Asner's outspoken and courageous defense of hu-

(Cont. on next page)

(Cont. from previous page)

William O. Hart, Chair of the Democratic Socialist Party of Wisconsin and a longtime familiar face at the Capitol, believes that this part of the bill is tantamount to a conspiracy act which could be used to squelch civil protest by unions, war protestors and members of the anti-nuclear movement. Hart describes this part of the bill, "as a danger to civil liberty. What constitutes sufficient prior knowledge or damage and injury? If Father Berigan were to 'conspire' to pour blood on an atomic nose cone in Wisconsin to protest armaments, would he be guilty of a felony under Bill 488 for engaging with others in 'violence' against

property? Would workers banding together against strike breakers be in violation? The bill contains elements of thinking akin to Mitchell's and Nixon's view of civil disorder, and it's safe to say, long after Lee has left the Assembly, his bill will remain for others, possibly the extreme right to enforce."

The bill is expected to eventually become law. Civil liberty watchdogs hope to cause the bill to be amended to the point where it will pose an effective halt to the Posse's paramilitary activities and still preserve civil freedoms.

Thomas Murphy is a socialist and free lance journalist who lives in Baraboo, Wisconsin.

# Bulletin Board

●The Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc. has available several publications which have proven to be quite useful to researchers:

●Our Right to Know — FOIA's bi-monthly publication, focuses on particular examples of how the FOIA is an essential tool for maintaining our rights, holding the government accountable, preventing secret government, and informing the public. Subscriptions are \$10 per year.

●Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files — Published by Grove Press, this 227-page paperback book was written by FOIA's Ann Mari Buitrago and Leon Andrew Immerman. An absolute must for the serious FBI researcher. The book has an in-depth guide to making effective requests for FBI records, and an exhaustive examination of how to unscramble, decode and understand the gibberish they send \$7.95

●How to Set Up and Run a "Send for Files" Booth — Produced by the FOIA, Inc. Coordinating Committee, this packet contains all of the necessary form letters, addresses, and instructions for setting up a "Send for Files" table at public events. \$1.

●White Paper? White Wash! Phillip Agee on the CIA and El Salvador. — The book that led to the exposure of the State Department "White Paper" on El Salvador as a fraud. Order

from Deep Cover Books, P.O. Box 677, New York, NY 10013. \$8 paperback, \$14.70 hardcover (includes postage and handling).

●Fight the Right — The Center for Constitutional Rights still has a limited number of copies of its excellent summary booklet that details the massive assault on civil liberties being waged by organized and highly-motivated right-wing forces in America. \$1 includes postage. Write for price on bulk orders. Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

●No More Witch Hunts: Tools for Resistance — An Organizing manual for protecting civil liberties in the '80s, this handy booklet contains topical articles, organizing suggestions, resource lists, and film suggestions. No More Witch Hunts, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. \$1.50 includes postage.

●Gay Insurgent: A Gay Left Journal — This serious journal is edited by Public Eye stalwart Daniel Tsang and is considered the best in its field by many librarians. Contains many articles discussing repression against gay men and lesbian women. \$7 per year (3 issues). Prepaid orders only to Lavender Archives, Dept. TPE, P.O. Box 2337, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

## Asner

(Cont. from previous page)

man rights and freedom of information began last August when the right-wing Washington newspaper, *Human Events*, issued a blistering attack on him and FOIA, Inc. Claiming Asner was a dupe of the far left for testifying in Congress on behalf of FOIA, Inc. with respect to preserving the Freedom of Information Act, *Human Events*, in a witchhunting techni-

que reminiscent of the McCarthy era, listed the members of FOIA, Inc.'s Board with disparaging and slanderous comments about each. Quoting the notorious intelligence newsletter, *Information Digest*, produced by admitted CIA and FBI informer John Rees, also known as John Seeley, *Human Events* said that FOIA, Inc. "has joined anti-intelligence lobby groups raising funds for campaigns to block strengthening of the U.S. intelli-

gence community by Congress and the new Administration."

Asner is also involved in a heated public debate against non-progressive elements of SAG, led by former SAG president Charlton Heston, who challenged his right as president of the union to criticize the Reagan Administration's Salvador policies. The SAG Board of Directors, however, passed a resolution reaffirming Asner's right, as Guild president, "to speak out on political and/or public issues," as an individual citizen.

In answer to the criticisms, Asner said in a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece entitled "We're on the Wrong Side in El Salvador" (February 13): "I think that it's not only a right but an obligation for every responsible citizen to speak out when our Government is acting in ways we believe are wrong. . . . And I will not sit back quietly and witness a repeat performance of another tragedy that the United States Congress doesn't vote for and that the American people don't want. . . . It is the responsibility of every concerned citizen to stay informed and speak out in the name of decency when our Government's foreign policy is wrong."

— Ellen Ray / FOIA, Inc.

## Letter

(Cont. from page 2)

No, we don't have the resources to return phone calls, so write us for information and then please be patient, we eventually do answer our mail, honest.

Subscribers whose coded last digit on the mailing label is eight or less are due to receive a resubscription notice shortly.

And finally, yes the cover of Volume 1 #1 was designed by Bill Lemmer, and yes, it was the same Bill Lemmer who was an FBI informant against Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and no, we didn't make the connection right away, and yes, as soon as we learned he was the same Bill Lemmer we confronted him and asked

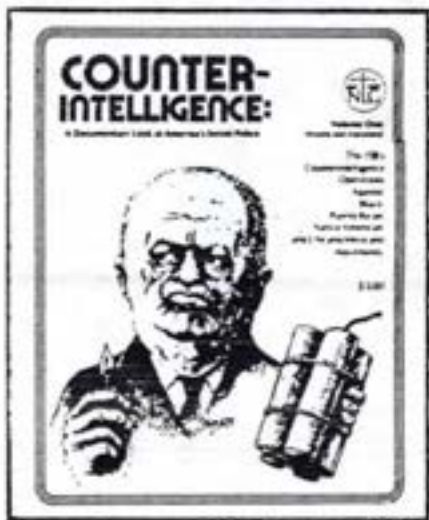
that he not submit any more artwork to the publication and stop visiting the offices, and no, that doesn't make us all police agents (virtually every progressive group in this country has been infiltrated by informants and agents and besides, we have no evidence to suggest Lemmer was doing anything but submitting artwork to us since he is a graphic artist), and yes, it is embarrassing, but no, it shouldn't detract from the credibility of our work, and yes, there are people running around saying we are all a bunch of police agents, and no, it isn't true, and yes, please let us know if you hear this silly allegation because it is a pain in the ass.



### NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies

The first exhaustive study of the National Caucus of Labor Committees—U.S. Labor Party. Now updated with several recent articles showing how the USLP/LaRouche cult has turned into a neo-fascist threat for the Eighties. This 24-page book delves into the brainwashing and psychological manipulation inside the LaRouche cult, examines the group's history and structure. The articles discuss the Fusion Energy Foundation, National Anti-Drug Coalition and other front groups.

**\$3.00**



### Counterintelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Secret Police

A 104-page book that uses actual FBI documents to show operations against Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano movements. Details the cases of slain Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Exposes the set-up of jailed Panther leader Geronimo Pratt. Shows how the FBI allowed assaults on civil rights workers.

A terrific educational tool since the book uses the FBI's own documents providing unchallengeable evidence of wrongdoing.

**\$5.00**



## The Public Eye

A Magazine Devoted to Social and Political Issues Concerning Repression in America

**\$8 for four issues (quarterly)**

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in conjunction with the Public Eye Network



**The  
New  
Witch Hunt**

Led by right-wing ideologues who see "terrorists" behind every tree and KGB-backed subversives behind every American social change organization . . .

(See page 5)

DINO 1983

# Letters

To the Editor:

I wish to correct several inaccuracies and omissions in your article entitled "The Doris Strieter Episode."

First, you quote me as stating that the court "impounded" the Red Squad files on March 28, 1975 and later refer to the court having "seized" the files. In reality the court never "impounded" or "seized" the files. Your reference to impounding unfortunately echoes a portion of a false charge frequently repeated by the Chicago Police Department that our lawsuit has made it impossible for the police to get access to their past intelligence

files regarding terrorism and other criminal activity.

Second, you state that Doris Strieter "found out about ITT's spying on her activities when she obtained her file" from the Chicago Red Squad. But it would have been impossible for the ITT reports to be in Strieter's file since, as you acknowledge, ITT failed to identify Strieter as having participated in the meeting in question. In reality, it was not until after I discovered the ITT reports in the Chicago Red Squad files and sent them to the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile that Strieter learned of the reports.

Finally, the one and only lawsuit you cite in reference to the deposition of George Elliott is not the lawsuit which was responsible for Elliott's deposition being taken.

Very truly yours,  
Richard Gutman  
Attorney for plaintiffs in  
*Alliance to End Repression,  
et al. v. City of Chicago  
et al.*

*Ed. Note: Injudicious editing shortened the article in question and while not essentially inaccurate the cuts contributed to the confusion clarified by Mr. Gutman's letter.*

We get lots of mail at The Public Eye, including a substantial number of letters from our readers offering or seeking information. We don't get many letters to the editor, at least not in a form, length or style that is suitable for publication.

We would like to publish more letters to the editor

from our readers, commenting on our articles, providing information, asking questions, raising issues, etc.

To make our life easier, we would appreciate it if the letters to the editor were typed, double-spaced and not exceed 500 words in length. Let's hear from all you monomaniacs out there.

## A Letter from the Editor

Promises, Promises. Next time I won't be so foolish as to predict a publication date. Well, here is the almost annual issue of The Public Eye.

Despite our best efforts, we do seem to have a problem getting these suckers out. One problem is that we have been biting off more than we can chew in terms of the length of articles and the research needed to produce them.

Our next issue will reflect a possible solution to that problem based on a small reader survey. Our survey showed general

enthusiasm about the content of the issues; a desire for more frequent publication (no joke); criticism of the small type and skimpy graphics; and a desire for a mixture of articles along with the main theme.

OK folks, larger type, larger graphics it is. This will also mean easier production for our beleaguered Chicago staff. We will also look for more reviews and interviews and a mixture of shorter articles outside the scope of the main theme.

Hang in there readers.

And thanks for the patience and support.

*Chip Barab*

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The Public Eye is produced in conjunction with the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee and the Public Eye Network.

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The Public Eye Network is a loosely-knit affiliation of attorneys, paralegals, investigators, researchers and journalists who specialize in monitoring government intelligence abuse and governmental and right-wing civil liberties infringements.

The Public Eye Network is an affiliate of the Campaign for Political Rights and the No More Witch Hunts Network, and works closely with the National Lawyers Guild and the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA, Inc.).

# The New

## The War Called Peace

### The Soviet Peace Offensive

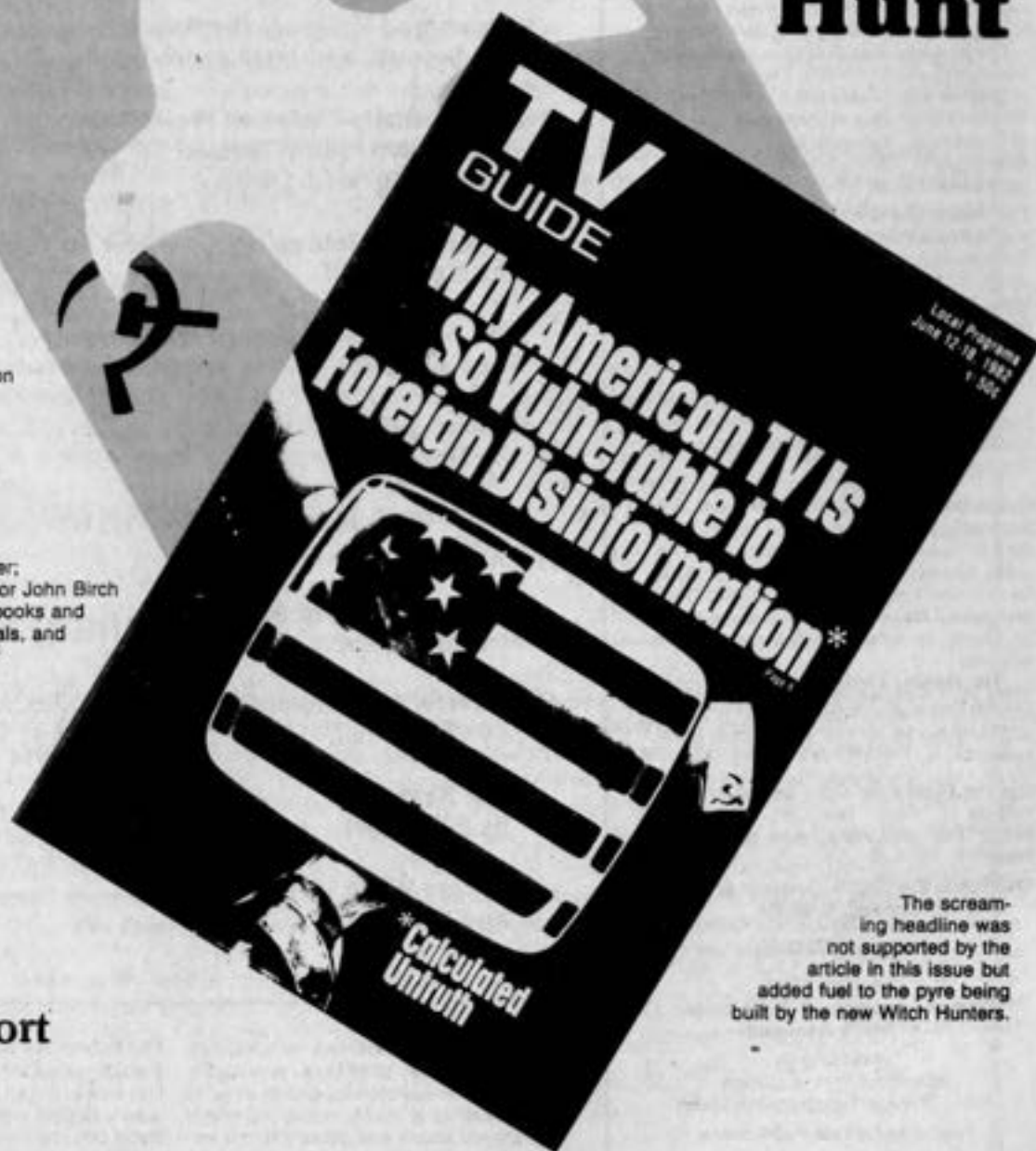
"The War Called Peace," researched by John Rees, is essentially an annotated blacklist based on guilt by association

The prolific Rees with his wife S. Louise Rees continues to publish Information Digest newsletter; Rees also writes regularly for John Birch Society publications, edits books and periodicals for Western Goals, and circulates a \$1,000 per year restricted circulation newsletter on "jugular" issues which he produces along with Spike co-authors Arnaud deBorchgrave and Robert Moss.

## Special Report

The private right-wing spies and blacklists launder information leaked by hawkish intelligence factions and spread lurid tales of KGB manipulation of the social change movement, creating a circular daisy chain of sourceless charges of subversion cited and re-cited by the Senate Subcommittees, intelligence agencies, professional anti-communists, and even the President.

## Witch Hunt



The screaming headline was not supported by the article in this issue but added fuel to the pyre being built by the new Witch Hunters.

...The Nuclear Freeze movement is currently the main target of The New Witch Hunt, with President Reagan parroting the charge that the Freeze is a KGB plot. When astonished reporters traced the President's sources, they found that the John Barron article in *Reader's Digest* cited by the President was based substantially on the work of private right-wing spy John Rees, a professional anti-communist whose reliability has even been questioned by government intelligence agencies.

In the last issue of *The Public Eye* we detailed how Rees and other private spies function. In this issue we look at how information collected by private and public intelligence networks is used to smear and blacklist the social change movement—a new witch hunt designed to silence dissent at home and force allegiance to a newly-resurrected beligerent foreign policy.

Why has lynching, with various barbaric accompaniments, become a favorite regulator in cases of "the usual crime" in several parts of the country?

Is it because men think a lurid and terrible punishment a more forcible object lesson and a more effective deterrent than a sober and colorless hanging done privately in a jail would be?

Surely sane men do not think that. Even the average child should know better. It should know that any strange and much talked of event is always followed by imitations, the world being so well supplied with excitable who only need a little stirring up to make them lose what is left of their heads and do mad things which they would not have thought of ordinarily.

—Mark Twain,  
*The United States of Lyncherdom*

The reason, Twain tells us, for mob hysteria is the propensity of the human instinct to imitate—that and our commonest human weakness: an aversion to being unpleasantly conspicuous, pointed at, shunned as being the unpopular side.

Our reaction to political inquisitions seems to parallel the way the periphery of a crowd responds to a lynching. The event seems to paralyze any action against the actual perpetrators. In the process, social and political freedoms are stripped away, and power of the inquisitors reinforced.

We were only recently wiping away from our social fabric the stain of the McCarthy era (and perhaps forgetting the lessons we had learned) when a new stain spilled onto the front page. In spirit, in fervor, the new witch hunt appears to be a smaller spectacle, yet it may be a greater menace than what we previously experienced.

In the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy emerged from the shadows of post-war America to give political meaning to the phrase "Witch Hunt." Through name calling, smears, and

symbolization of an unseen "Red Menace," McCarthyism created a climate of fear that stifled the free expression of ideas. Eventually, McCarthy became too greedy, and "McCarthyism" became a dirty word. But in the process, a silent generation was created, often willing to accept Cold War initiatives and hot war bloodletting without protest to avoid being ostracized.

This phenomena was evident during the Vietnam War. When the immorality and stupidity of that conflict became a daily news item, Richard Nixon unleashed Spiro Agnew on the "effete snobs" of the press, Agnew told those Americans who provided the human fodder for the war that the voices of the media belonged to rich "Easter intellectuals" from a different social class who weren't sufficiently patriotic. The consequence was a resurgence of jingoistic patriotism, "happy talk" news, and the creation of a "silent majority." Eventually, the bloody rice paddies being broadcast into our living rooms brought us back to reality, and anti-war sentiment was rekindled. Yet for a while, America heeded the message that dissent equalled treason. In the words of Archie Bunker, they stifled themselves.

## COINTELPRO Carries On

Spanning the two decades, from McCarthyism to the end of the Vietnam War, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI worked in concert with the political lynchers, keeping tabs on citizens who joined the wrong organization or signed too many petitions. Hoover supplied the names of dissidents to cooperative journalists and government representatives for public lynchings. When public attacks were not enough, the FBI undertook its own covert assault, first employing dirty tricks against real and imagined communists, and later polishing them in its campaign against Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights and antiwar leaders.

Organizations were infiltrated, smear campaigns were launched, illegal wiretaps were placed, hundreds of homes and offices were unlawfully entered, all in a hunt for the illusory Soviet link—activities which the FBI admitted in their own internal documents would not be tolerated in a democratic society. As Noam Chomsky puts it, the FBI campaign was designed to "engineer consent" for public policy.

Because of the work of activists and civil libertarians, the FBI dirty tricks were exposed and denounced. The outcry of the public and the press forced the Justice Department in 1976, to write guidelines restraining political investigations. Historic lawsuits, in Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C. and other cities provided some further incremental protection against illegal surveillance and disruption.

## Erasing the Blackboard

As the 1970s drew to a close, two of the major architects of the FBI's illegal campaign against the Weather Underground, FBI agents Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller were tried and convicted for unilaterally suspending the Constitution in their fruitless search for the hotline between Moscow and the Weather Underground. But the pillory seemed to be made of paper mache. On the same day *Washington Post* reporter Janet Cooke lost her Pulitzer Prize (and the American press in Greek chorus denied it was in the business of creating news rather than merely reporting it), President Ronald Reagan pardoned Agents Felt and Miller. Reagan praised the Agents as law abiding citizens acting without criminal intent—a direct contradiction to the facts present in the case and the jury's verdict.

Reagan's rope trick—untying the noose from which the intelligence community's illegal campaigns had been hanging for public inspection—was just the first symbolic act of the new lynch mob. The second act was staged in Nyack, New York when misguided revolutionary romantics apparently placed the noose around their own necks, transforming their peasant bandanas into robber's masks. With the Brink's robbery attempt, the right wing found an excuse to begin its hot pursuit of "international terrorism" on American soil in earnest.

Over the past two years, we have seen hints of the old slogans, but the new lynchers are sly. Now there are new code words, new techniques, new sophistication. The words "subversive," "red," and "fellow traveller" have been replaced by "terrorist," "internationalist," and "dupe." The name-calling has even progressed to a real call to arms among certain small though militant sections of the American ultra-right, who actually are stockpiling bullets and beans in preparation for the battle to save America from domestic traitors.

## The New Witch Hunt

Unlike our previous encounters, the present attacks on our Constitutional rights are not being led by bit-part demagogues looking for a starring role. The Oval Office has become the Casting Office for this new tragi-comedy; and Ronald Reagan's performances are just one song and dance in an ideological floor show choreographed to influence our perceptions of global and internal political debate.

The script for these new attacks was originally authored in large part by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank which serves as a sort of Shangri-La for the ideological right—a place where laughable suppositions are taken quite seriously.

In a massive study, released at the time of Reagan's election, the Heritage Foundation gave us a glimpse of things to come. The Foundation's study archly warned the U.S.A. was under siege by terrorist groups, that the KGB was running the American intelligence community, that Soviet nuclear attack was a split second away. These bombastic broadsides may leave us contemplating reality in bewilderment and sadly scanning the "Sorry, sold out of National Enquirer—again" signs at checkout counters. Despite the implausibility of it all, the Heritage Foundation's typed tirades have now become our daily headlines: Legalization of the FBI's Old Dirty Tricks, Emasculation of the Freedom of Information Act, Nuclear Freeze Movement as KGB Dupes, Secrecy Oaths, Restoration of HUAC in the guise of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

The marching orders for the Senate Subcommittee were taken up less than two years ago by conservative Senator Jeremiah Denton, a former Vietnam prisoner of war, and his colleague in ideology and arms, John East—both latter day McCarthys but with more "smarts" if less support. Denton and East cleverly defended the venue of the Senate sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism by first circulating charges of reverse McCarthyism. They then paraded witnesses such as "Spike" coauthor Arnaud de Borchgrave to tell them about the need for increased political surveillance to combat international terrorism.

Although no facts were presented, East and Denton found the "evidence" conclusive—demonstrating once again the right-wing's nostalgia for the Alice in Wonderland theory of first the punishment, then the trial.

The danger represented by the Security and Terrorism boys, Victor Navasky tells us in his article, "is that they will move, with the support of the Administration, to legitimize the illegitimate, to make respectable that which was previously done only undercover because it was fundamentally shameful." This is precisely what is happening now.

## The New Script

With the ill-fated Brink's robbery, the new Witch Hunt gained momentum. With the support of a gullible press, East and Denton went back to work, actually calling upon former Agents Felt and Miller as spokesmen for scrapping Attorney General Levi's FBI guidelines, and spreading the belief that more weapons were needed to combat the web of international terrorism.

The new Witch Hunt is not the creation of a single Senate committee or a fragment of the 1960s crashing out of the omphaloskeptic politically correct cosmos onto a New York road. The increase of political investigative techniques and other dissent-stifling activities are part of the government's plans to once again "engineer consent." The plans for a "winnable" nuclear war, and the restrictions of individual freedoms necessary for that strategy, have spawned a growing movement to protest the mindlessness of nuclear war and the totalitarian-like steps our government is taking down that road. To stop this new protest movement the Reagan Administration is moving quickly to shackle those who dare speak out against the emperor's ideological new clothes.

With a magician's deft theatrics, the Reagan Administration shifted the focus of the debate from the real issues of nuclear madness and civil liberties to the loyalty and political affiliations of those who challenge the assumptions. Those who dare speak out against our perilous course are charged with being the enemy—and as in any war-time situation, their punishment is swift even though their only crime is moral responsibility and the guts to step forward and dissent.

The nuclear freeze is rendered unacceptable not on its merits, but rather the proponents are smeared as witting and unwitting dupes of the Soviet KGB network. An argumentative device that a high school debating team would be scolded for trying to employ becomes a legitimate form of indictment. So Ronald Reagan playing the role of Moses brings down from the mountaintop the new stone tablets for judging the sins and transgressions of the nuclear "freezeniks," and what was once "classified" is writ large in *Reader's Digest*.

This anarchy of reason is coupled with the ubiquitous assumption underlying American foreign policy that "the Soviets are always the bad guys... Americans are always the good guys:" the dubious and debatable ideological matrix is Reagan reality, and he stars in the new marketing campaign to sell us the "new" improved" Cold War. For many of us, it's the same old dog food fed to us during the McCarthy era.

## The New Targets

It should be no surprise to see the Brink's robbery used as an excuse to defame Black activists and smear the Republic of New Afrika. It should be no surprise to see the Puerto Rican community in New York terrorized by new grand juries and government investigators who come in the night. It should be no surprise to see the jailing of grand jury resisters who refuse to testify on ethical grounds.

And it should be no surprise to see this new Witch Hunt justified as an attempt to track down the ephemeral "infrastructure" of the alleged front groups for the Weather Underground remnants; or as an attempt to penetrate and unmask the supposed "conspiracy" between members and supporters of the FALN; or as a protective reaction against the mysterious and evil KGB which classified documents, secret sources, and smirking UN ambassadors with a knowing wink claim is behind dissent over US nuclear, military, and foreign policy.

When Reagan unleashed the FBI to infiltrate domestic groups not engaged in criminal activity, he swallowed whole this Big Lie served up by the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and others inside the Administration who hold a paranoid, conspiratorial view of world history.

The recent FBI revisions are thoroughly consistent with other methods of prior restraint which have been activated in recent months, all under the familiar cloak of National Security.

- The Reagan executive order condoning domestic political spying and infiltration now allows the F.B.I. to operate on the hunch standard. Now instead of merely stifling dissent, F.B.I. agents can move to prevent dissent from even starting.
- The passage of the Names of Agents bill now shields the CIA from being probed by the press. Now the Agency can return to its covert operations such as in Nicaragua.
- Government employees who think of themselves as possible, future whistleblowing "Ellsburgs" now face polygraph tests for talking to the press about government scandals. Now the government can safely have its think tanks develop military intervention plans for U.S. troops in El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America.
- Films from Canada, never thought to be a threat to our national security, are suddenly required to comply with the dusty and moldy Foreign Agents Registration Act. Now it will be harder to hear about the perils of acid rain or the horrors of nuclear war.

And consistent with this trend, while a certain segment of the population is being blindfolded, pillaged, and tossed in the stockade, the demagogic Falwells, LaRouches, and Wilkersons are free to work the back acre, finding fresh fields to sow, from which they later harvest their own germinations of hate. And the Moral Majority, National Caucus of Labor Committees and Ku Klux Klan continue to prepare the citizenry to accept regimentation and authoritarianism.

All this should send a mild chill down your back. But that is

precisely the calculated effect of the new lynchings—create enough fear and confusion for us to sanction this new lawlessness by being afraid to act or even think, lest we open ourselves to a nuclear attack, or be blamed for some terrorist act.

And, as in the past inquisitions, the "real" enemy is outside of our borders. With the KGB bogeymen at fault, it is harder to challenge the assumptions; when the enemy is outside our borders, it is easier to create myths and shift the blame for our own failures.

Throughout our history our foreign relations has dictated the extent of our internal freedoms. It is not surprising then, to witness these repressive developments in an age when we seriously contemplate fallout shelters and indestructible missiles and western Europe as a nuclear battlefield. The smear of the anti-nuclear movement as a Soviet front seems perfectly logical when we hear the Domino theory being resurrected to justify pouring weapons into El Salvador.

However irrational we know these visions of reality to be, we often fail to realize the impact they have upon our own conduct, and the victimization it brings to others—witness the case of overkill prosecution against NLG attorney Kiko Martinez discussed in this issue.

## The New Resistance

Sometimes the messages become so horrifying and the people who yell them so demonic that it wakes us from our slumber. And perhaps when we see the return of the past nightmares we seek to erase them. People are beginning to organize a resistance to the new Witch Hunt, and are once again finding strength in unity. This issue of *The Public Eye* is devoted to aiding those who are fighting back.

The articles that follow offer some warnings, and some lessons, old and new. The purpose of this issue is to backtrack and chronicle how the new Witch Hunt was orchestrated, and how it has a real effect on real people.

Victor Navasky sets the stage by examining the differences between the Witch Hunts, old and new.

In his series of articles, author Nat Hentoff reveals how the scenario for rectifying the FBI was scripted; from the reasoning behind the pardons of agents Felt and Miller, to the sweet dishes of innuendo and disinformation served up by law enforcement "sources" after the Brinks robbery; dishes that were greedily lapped up by the hungry hounds of the corporate media.

The section on the trials and tribulations of NLG attorney Kiko Martinez show the circular self-fulfilling logic of the smear-oriented, professional anti-communist. Martinez, accused on the flimsiest of circumstantial evidence, and never convicted despite repeated trials, becomes a case history in terrorism for the Senate Subcommittee and a Military Police magazine.

Finally, Hollywood Ten resister, Lester Cole offers some insight into lessons we should have learned.

Mark Twain felt that you had to go to the missionaries in China to find someone with enough moral courage to cry out against a lynching. Actually it just takes some moral sense and a realization that through silence we become not victims but perpetrators. When we start crying out ourselves against the real terrorists—Sen. Jeremiah Denton, Sen. John East, U.N. ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Rep. Larry McDonald, and others—then we don't have to worry about the next lynching being our own.

# Can it Happen Again?

by Victor Navasky

*Ed. Note: This is an edited transcript of a speech by Victor Navasky, editor of The Nation magazine, given at the Chicago No More Witch Hunts rally on June 19, 1981.*

I see two kinds of alumni here. One kind are the people who appeared before or were named in front of the various congressional investigating committees. And I think it's a happy occasion that they can be here because it shows that their resistance prevailed.

And then I was greeted by someone who informed me that we were both alumni of the same high school in New York, which was a special pleasure because it was the high school of the Little Red School House, as it was ominously known. And appropriately enough the director of that high school was called before the Eastland Committee, where he chose not to educate them, invoking his right to silence.

## The Political Culture of Repression

You will forgive me if I choose my examples about the past from the Hollywood repression because, as you already know — and if you didn't you've learned it from the eloquent statements of various speakers this evening — Hollywood wasn't the main target of the repression of the '50s; it was the trade union movement; it was the Academy; it was people working in government; it was the whole political culture. What's interesting to me about the Hollywood people is that because they had the least opportunity to contribute to the overthrow of our government by force and violence, it is a measure of the depth of the repression that existed how seriously they were taken and the measures that were taken against them.

When *Naming Names* was first published in October of 1980, a lot of radio and television interviewers would ask me — of course most of them not having read the book — "Why, Mr. Navasky, on earth did you choose to write about something that happened 30 years ago?" Then came the election and shortly thereafter they started to ask — still not having read the book — "Mr. Navasky, when you started out your research eight years ago, how did you know that your book would be so timely?" Now what they're really asking, of course, is not whether I am some sort of political Jean Dixon, but what if any relevance does McCarthyism, and more particularly the Hollywood experience of 30 years ago, have for us today?

The best short answer to that question that I have come across can be deduced from an interview given by candidate Ronald Reagan during the 1980 presidential campaign to a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, Robert Scheer. And I want to just read you briefly from the question and answer of that interview conducted in the spring of 1980:

**Scheer:** In the debate in New Hampshire, you once again attacked godless communism, and I'm curious about the use of the word "godless." Why is that an important element there?

**Reagan:** Well, because this is one of the vital precepts of communism — that we are accidents of nature.

**Scheer:** But is it the godlessness that makes them more violent, more aggressive, more expansionist?

**Reagan:** Well, it is one that gives them less regard for humanity, for human beings.

**Scheer:** But here we have the Ayatollah in Iran, who is certainly not godless, and he seems to be. . .

**Reagan:** . . . a fanatic and a zealot.

**Scheer:** But he's not godless. (laughter)

**Reagan:** No, not in his sense. And we have had that all the way back through history. We go back to the inquisitions in Spain, so there are people who, through their fanaticism, misuse their religion. And I remember one night, a long time ago, in a rally in Los Angeles, 16,000 people in the auditorium, and this was at the time when the local communists, the American Communist Party — and this is all well documented — was actually trying, had secured domination of several unions in the picture business, and was trying to take over the motion picture industry. And all of the rewriting of history today and the stories that we have seen and screenplays and television plays and so forth about the persecution for political belief that took place in Hollywood. . . Believe me [says Mr. Reagan] the persecutors were the communists who had gotten into positions where they could destroy careers and did destroy them. There was no blacklist of Hollywood. The blacklist in Hollywood, if there was one, was provided by the communists.

I quote Reagan's comment because both his obsession with communism and his denial of the existence of a blacklist were and are typical — they are representative of the official position of the industry and the political culture at the time.

One of the peculiar features about the Hollywood blacklist is that although virtually the entire industry submitted to its unwritten laws, almost nobody who counted was willing to admit that it existed. Now you see it, now you don't. The Motion

Picture Association of America denied that the industry had a blacklist, but it said no accused communist who hadn't purged himself before an appropriate congressional committee could work. The Screen Actors' Guild said, "We will not be party to a blacklist," but it banned communists and non-cooperative witnesses — those who wouldn't name names — from membership. One would have thought that the publisher of the so-called bible of blacklisting, a little booklet called "Red Channels," which would list the subversive affiliations of everybody accused in the business, or one of the other publications that purported to list Communists and Communist front activities with which individuals had been publicly identified, might have conceded the existence of a blacklist, but no, they were sort of a political credit rating service, like Dunn & Bradstreet, as their attorney observed. No one ever accused Dunn & Bradstreet of running a blacklist. (Today that attorney, incidentally, is the law partner of the Roy Cohen we saw in the movie earlier this evening, and he clears Ronald Reagan's judicial appointees in New York.) In other words, when you add it all up, there was no such thing as a blacklist; that was just an ugly rumor started by movie, radio and television people who couldn't get work because of their political associations.

Now the truth, of course, is quite different. Careers were ruined, families were smashed, lives were taken. And after the so-called Hollywood 10 refused to answer the question which came to mark a decade, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Congress cited them for contempt, they were indicted, prosecuted and convicted, and went to prison for terms of up to a year. And it quickly came to pass that no one was employable who was accused of being a member of the Communist Party and refused to renounce himself and name others.

## The Social Costs of Repression

The social costs of McCarthyism, not just in Hollywood but throughout the culture, have yet to be computed. By conferring its prestige on the red hunt, the state did more than bring misery to the lives of a few hundred Hollywood communists and a few thousand non-Hollywood communists, former communists, fellow travelers, unlucky liberals; it smashed the left, it weakened American culture, and it weakened itself. Unlike the Palmer raids of the early 1920s which were violent hit-and-run affairs that had no long-run effect, the vigilante spirit of McCarthyism, as Representative Washington pointed out earlier in his eloquent statement, lives on and is accepted as part of the American way. The morale of the civil service was savagely undermined, and the purge of the foreign service contributed to our disastrous miscalculations in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and the consequent human wreckage. There was nobody left to dissent from our policies in Southeast Asia from within since the China hands — the old China experts — had all been purged.

The Congressional investigations of the 40s and 50s fueled the anti-communist hysteria which eventually led to the investment of thousands of billions of dollars in the nuclear arsenal with risks that boggle the mind — even of those who specialize in thinking about the unthinkable.

It is a particularly sad phenomenon of that period that the guardians of our liberties — those organizations whose primary purpose and reasons for taking dues in quiet times is to support the values which they were organized to safeguard in times of

trouble — were no exception. The American Civil Liberties Union, a sponsor of tonight's rally, is not the same organization it was in the 1950s, when some of its officers were meeting behind the scenes with J. Edgar Hoover, trading information on subversives and their names in exchange for keeping the Un-American Activities wolf away from their door. The Americans for Democratic Action, the American Jewish Committee — a variety of solid liberal organizations — all found the best of reasons even while denouncing witch hunts and denouncing McCarthy, denouncing the man McCarthy and the -ism McCarthy, to disassociate themselves from those they should have been defending.

Perhaps most dispiriting about the 1950s, however, was not that the studio heads in Hollywood, which after all is the land of accommodation, went along; or even that the Americans for Democratic Action and the old as distinguished from the new ACLU went along. They were, after all, these organizations and the captains of industry, part of the cold war system, and they shared its assumption. The astonishing aspect of the 50s to me, and the thing that stuck out to me in the course of researching **Naming Names**, was the success that the Un-American Activities Committee and other agents of the repression had in driving decent, talented, intelligent, otherwise dedicated people to betray their friends and to betray their values. There was a veritable explosion of informing during this period. It was both the saddest (and it inevitably had elements of farce), tragic episode of that period.

There were reluctant informers like the actor Larry Parks, who offered to talk about himself but pleaded with the Committee, "Don't make me crawl through the mud like an informer. What kind of heritage is that," he asked, "to leave to one's children?" The Committee insisted that he name names, and he did so after a brief recess.

There were philosophical informers like the director Robert Rossen, who changed his mind about naming names after first refusing to do so because, as he put it, "the individual could no longer indulge himself in the luxury of individual morality." This man, by the way, was one of the most talented writer-directors in Hollywood. He gave us "All the King's Men." Later on he came back and he wrote "The Hustler."

There were perjurers like the screenwriter Martin Berkeley, who named 161 names — some of them simply wrong. . . . Ring Lardner, one of the Hollywood 10, said Berkeley used to write these animal pictures like "My Friend Flicka" because he couldn't write human dialogue.

There were combative informers like the playwright Clifford Odets, who lectured the Committee: "I did not learn my hatred of poverty or of communism," but then proceeded to give them the names that they asked for. There were groveling informers like the writer Nicholas Sera, who insisted on standing before the Committee because, as he put it, "I want humbly to apologize for my grave error." There were noisy informers like the director Elia Kazan, who took an ad in the *New York Times* urging others to do likewise. There were quiet informers like the actor Lloyd Bridges, who named his names in the privacy of his lawyer's office and to this day his testimony has never been released, and he would rather not talk about it although the Committee, in its listings of who were the people who were cooperative witnesses, thoughtfully put his name in so that he could go back to work.

There were comic informers like the director-songwriter Abe Burrows, who had no trouble identifying those he saw at Communist Party meetings as communists, but when it came to himself made clear that he might look like a communist and talk like a communist and hang around with communists and others were justified in thinking him a communist, he told the Committee, "In my heart I didn't believe it." (This from the lyricist who gave us "You Put a Piece of Carbon Paper Under Your Heart, You Gave Me a Copy of Your Love.")

The actor Sterling Hayden named his mistress; the director Richard Collins named his creditors (laughter), and Clifford Odets, who gave the eulogy at the funeral service of the Group Theater actor J. Edward Bromberg, named J. Edward Bromberg.

These hearings were degradation ceremonies. They were rituals with no content. The Committee already had the names. They had agents who were supplying them to the Los Angeles Police Department, who were sharing them with the FBI, which was sharing them with the Committee. They were degradation ceremonies with the witnesses stigmatizing as subversives the Committee's targets as the price for employment or acceptability by the political culture. They represented the routinization and the institutionalization of betrayal, the intimidation of the politically unpopular. The silent generation did a lot of talking.

## Is the Past Past?

Now, can it happen again? Well I don't believe it can happen again in the same way. For one thing, the investigating committees over time lost their sting, they lost their power to punish through exposure, or at least they appeared to do so. The symbolic nature of that loss was illustrated when one of the Yippies, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, blast them out of business by appearing before the Committee in a Santa Claus suit. During that period they seemed to have lost the possibility of punishing people for their beliefs through accusation and exposure. They lost their own reputation to such an extent that the lead committee — the House Committee on Un-American Activities — first had to change its name, as its heritage was so abominable, and later was voted out of business; and similarly the Senate Internal Securities Committee was put out of business.

A second fact is that world communism, as our chairman has mentioned earlier, has lost its automatic power to strike terror in the hearts of all red-blooded Americans. It's still not a nice word, but in today's world communism is no longer seen as an international monolithic conspiracy; the planet is no longer seen by the whole culture as split between the totalitarian communists and the free world. At a minimum today we have the totalitarian Russians, the Chinese communists, the Third World and us. Not to mention the authoritarians, whoever they are, since the right doesn't like to talk about them.

Then there's another difference, which is the fact that the late J. Edgar Hoover, much talked about, is no longer with us. His role at the center of the internal security establishment during the cold war years cannot be overestimated, if not yet fully understood. Every document that's released under the Freedom of Information Act reveals new dimensions to the terror that the FBI under his jurisdiction visited on our society. His absence makes it impossible for the cold war to repeat itself in quite the same way. Even as Judge Webster's FBI is not Hoover's FBI,

the post-Watergate press, while it still has a long way to go, can't be counted on the way it could during the cold war years to uniformly reinforce cold war assumptions. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have not moved from their status as the fourth branch of the government to the adversarial role depicted in films like "All the President's Men," but at a minimum, they include some wild cards.

And we have the Freedom of Information Act with all its faults — and it has many, and it has been administered historically in a way to prevent many researchers from getting critical information; nevertheless it makes it possible in its current incarnation to audit government improprieties as never before.

Another barrier to Cold War II is that the country is suffering from a genuine shortage of subversives. We simply don't have enough of them to create the climate of fear generally thought necessary to justify genuine repression. If you permit me, I'll quote briefly from a *Nation* editorial where the editorial writer observed:

Since, as Judge Webster himself pointed out, the number of terrorist incidents in this country had declined, it was clear that our terrorist shortage was as serious as our 1974 energy crisis. And so we propose that perhaps some of the techniques for solving the latter could be applied. Perhaps a synthetic terrorist corporation could underwrite the production of synthetic terrorism. Foreign imports should also be stepped up; there's a terrorist glut in the Middle East right now that should be tapped, plus large stockpiles in France, West Germany and Italy where the stockpiles are overflowing. Domestic reserves must be fully exploited too. Rising crime statistics could be counted as terrorism to boost the GNP — Gross National Terrorism Product. A white paper should be issued in this connection, proving that American street criminals are actually armed and financed by Moscow. [As we said] American know-how can lick this problem. Remember, terrorism scares begin at home.



Plotting strategy, Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (r.) with chief "investigator" Robert Stripling and committee member Richard Nixon prepare for next day's witch hunt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Finally, on this note, and more seriously, I would like to believe that there's one other factor that makes it difficult for repression to happen again in quite the same way. And that is the example of those who resisted and prevailed. People like Lillian Hellman who told the Committee that she would be happy to talk about herself but she didn't want to bring trouble to others because, in her eloquent statement as she said, "I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit the fashion of the times." Or of folksinger Pete Seeger, who told the Committee that it was none of its business where he performed, before what groups he performed, or what his political affiliations were. But he told the chairman of the Committee, "I would be happy to sing you some of the songs that I know, Congressmen, and that I sang from your own home district for the coalminers."

Or take the character actor Lionel Stander, who told the Committee that he was prepared to name names. He said, "I am prepared to reveal a group of conspiratorial fanatics out to undermine everything this country stands for," and he started to name the members of the committee. . . .

I'd like to believe that by their bravery — some with ridicule, some by putting their lives and careers in jeopardy, some with eloquence, that these resisters made it more difficult for it to happen again. By the same token, there is the fact that a new generation regards those who named the names as tainted, as unworthy, as informers who will perhaps make it more difficult for decent citizens to desert their principles and indulge in mass betrayal this time around should it come to that. The stigmatizers have become stigmatized, and yet here we are. Here you are, calling for No More Witch Hunts.

## Some Bad News

On April 15, 1981, President Reagan issued a pardon to former FBI officials W. Mark Felt and Edward N. Miller, convicted the previous November for authorizing break-ins in connection with an investigation of the Weather Underground without warrant or probable cause. The convictions bore a symbolic importance since they stood for the principle that the intelligence agencies must obey the law and are bound by the Constitution. Yet on his own initiative the President chose to view these men as heroes, as acting on what he called in his pardon statement "high principles."

The bad news doesn't all originate in Washington. There's plenty that's scattered throughout the land. In South Dakota, birth control information has been removed from the high school guidance office, and the word "evolution" is no longer uttered in advanced biology. Now that the word "communism" has lost its power, there's a new vocabulary. So instead of communism we hear terrorism; instead of communist propaganda we hear of the KGB manipulation of media via disinformation. Instead of communist agents we are told of agents of influence. And if the existence of a Soviet-inspired terrorist-disinformation-agent-of-influence network can't be documented in the tradition of non-fiction, so what? Call it fiction, publish it under the name of *The Spike*, but treat it as fact.

To deal with the subversive shortage I mentioned before, in addition to the new vocabulary and the new jurisprudence, as exemplified in the Felt-Miller pardon, there's a new math. After FBI Director Webster said on "Meet the Press" that the number of terrorist acts had sharply declined in recent years, and that he

saw no threat from Soviet-inspired terrorism, the CIA revised its terrorist count to include *attempted* acts of terrorism, so the statistics are once again inflated in the best of Cold War traditions.

Illinois' own Representative Crane has signed an appeal for financial and political support for the so-called Anti-Terrorism Bill, warning that "For all we know terrorists are plotting subversive activities right under our noses." Even so, the terrorist shortage is so bad that members of the administration have been reduced to calling the American Civil Liberties Union a lobby for the Mafia.

Okay, the Security and Terrorism Subcommittee is not HUAC. Senator Denton is not McCarthy, at least not the McCarthy we saw, although he did at a hearing the other day bear his chest to prove he was not wearing a bullet-proof vest.

## The New Repression. . .

We've had a brief audit from Representative Harold Washington of what has happened. Let me run over it again with a slightly different emphasis. The Unamerican Activities Committee is gone, but in its place we have the new Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism and Security — it's very much here. We don't hear as much these days about the American Legion and the pressure groups of the 1950s, but as you've heard earlier, there is the Heritage Foundation. There are lots of others, but the Heritage Foundation's report is the easiest one to quote because it's 3,000 pages worth, there are nine volumes of it. And it's a report that's especially symbolically important because it had the blessing and the participation of Ed Meese, who is the president's counsel. In addition to calling for the reinstitutionalization of the investigating committees and the other things that Representative Washington and others have mentioned, it calls for the legalization of breaking and entering; it calls for the more permissive legalization of wiretapping and bugging, placing informers in anti-nuke organizations, and generally permitting the violation of civil liberties wherever it is thought that they are in tension with what they call national safety. As mentioned, it calls for the rolling back of the Freedom of Information Act, but as you may know the new administration has already issued an executive order which would reverse the presumption that the people have the right to know without any rolling back of the Act, and it will make it much harder, agency by agency, for researchers, citizens and others to use the Act without any new legislation.

There is a bill called the Agents Identities Bill on which hearings are now being held which contains language which would make it a crime for me to reveal the identities of any of those intelligence agents mentioned by the previous speakers who may have infiltrated our meeting tonight. And even if their identity is already a matter of public record. Don't worry, whoever you are, I don't intend to name names. (Ed. Note: *The Agents Identities Protection Act is now law.*)

## The Phases of Repression

If Denton is not McCarthy, and the cold war investigating committees have lost their power to sting, why worry? As I see it, the investigating committees of the 50s were only phase I of a

continuing repression. When civil libertarians hailed the demise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee, they were celebrating a pyrrhic victory, for in fact that was the precise moment, we discover many years later, that the FBI was undertaking phase II — its most shameful, violent, and theretofore least legal undercover operation, COINTELPRO — Counter Intelligence Program. They were visiting direct, violent, illegal punishment on their targets.

We are now — at least it appears to me, and I think it would appear to any reader of the dailies — the front pages of the dailies — headed into phase III, which involves the attempt to make legitimate that which was previously illegitimate. To do overground that which the FBI used to do underground. To use the Security and Terrorism Committee not so much to stigmatize as

to legitimize. To enact the Heritage Foundation's agenda to make respectable that which was previously thought to be so shameful that it was done underground, outside the eyes of the law; that the Bureau, the administration, the president, the Congress denied that it was going on — now it is part of the official agenda of the president's party.

What about phase IV? I believe phase IV will happen when and if the Reagan economic program fails. There's one school of thought which says that Reaganomics will work if the working class will stand for it, since it is premised on making the economy come alive at the expense of the poor. That I regard as the optimistic view, because I am of the school which believes that the single, outstanding, irreversible trend in the world today is the decline of the United States as a world power, and there's nothing that Reagan or Carter or any other president can do

### INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:

#### FACT SHEET

Prepared by the Council for Inter-American Security

- Who are the terrorists? Who helps them? Who investigates and protects YOU against international terrorists? Who are the members and backers of the KKK? Were the "student militants" in Iran part of a Soviet international terrorist organization?
- Congress must answer these questions now to protect you. Because
- More than 20 time bombs exploded at a United States national air guard base near San Juan, Puerto Rico on January 12, destroying 8 jets and damaging 2 other aircraft. The destruction of American military property is estimated at \$45 million. FBI agents found evidence that a Marxist-Leninist terrorist group carried out the attack.
- A violent Maoist group that claims 200 members nationwide, the Workers Viewpoint Organization, fought with the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina. The December 3, 1979 battle resulted in 5 killings.
- Former CIA officer David Barnett was sentenced to 18 years for giving details of CIA operations to the KGB -- the Soviet Secret Police -- and exposing the identities of 30 American intelligence agents. The KGB paid Barnett \$92,000.
- South Africa captured a KGB agent who was trying to incite a terrorist group, the pro-Communist African National Congress, to armed uprising.
- "Miami-based Castro agents" agitated for mob violence in last year's Miami riots, according to a news report.
- Christopher Boyce and Andrew Lee were convicted recently of selling top secret information concerning America's "Pyramider" spy satellite to Soviet agents. Lee was sentenced to life. Boyce escaped from prison and is still at large.
- Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that international terrorism is "intimately" related to "Soviet activity in terms of training, funding and equipping."
- "There is virtually no terrorist operation or guerilla movement in the world today, whether communist, semi-communist, or non-communist, from the Irish Republican Army to the Palestine Liberation Organization to our own Weather Underground, with which communists of one sort or another have not been involved," according to Dr. Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution and L. Francis Bouchey, Executive Vice President of the Council for Inter-American Security, in their book *International Terrorism - The Communist Connection*.
- These are only some of the reasons why Congress should re-establish the Internal Security Committee.

You can help President Reagan close the door to wild revolutionaries.

You can help re-establish the House Internal Security Committee. It's urgent we restore internal security to protect you.

After all, government's most important job is protecting you.

But you've got to help too.

So please mail me your Survey along with your check for \$15, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more today.

Every day counts in my campaign to shut America's open door on terrorism.

Thank you and God bless you.

Sincerely,

*Daniel B. Crane*  
Daniel B. Crane  
Member of Congress

The "International Terrorism" fact sheet accompanied a direct mail fundraising pitch signed by Congressman Dan Crane on behalf of the Council for Inter-American Security.

about it. And if that is right, then economic policies which fail to take this global reality into account cannot work. And if that is true then my fear is that in its next phase the repression will consist of scapegoating and identifying those responsible for our lack of discipline, the new permissiveness which has resulted in low productivity, a volunteer army which can't fight, the national humiliations of Vietnam and the taking of the Iranian hostages — not to mention crime in the streets, drugs, teenage pregnancy, etc. In other words, what we have to look forward to is a scapegoating of those responsible for the progressive agenda of the 60s — affirmative action, gay rights, feminism, the anti-war movement; you name it. The danger is that the search for scapegoats will take us down the road, further down the road, to a police state.

## What Can Be Done

At the Rand Corporation and the Hudson Institute, they call such happy projections scenarios. Well, if this scenario be accurate, what can and should be done about it? First, I would remind you of the witness who explained to me why he named names in the 50s. He said, "I'd be willing to jump off a cliff for something I believed in, but I joined the Party ten years earlier. I had a wife and two kids and a mother to support, and why should I go to a concentration camp? [And in the 50s, in times of national emergency, the president did have the power to put security risks in detention camps — and that's again on the Heritage Foundation's agenda.] Why should I go to a concentration camp for something I don't believe in?"

The point of course is that the principle at stake wasn't the credo of the Communist Party. The principle at stake was the First Amendment, the right of people not to be punished for dissenting beliefs. And so I would say that one of the first lessons of the 50s is the need for serious national First Amendment education: what it is, how to use it, how to know when it is under attack, and how to defend it. The lessons for radicals, then, is the importance of civil liberty. The First Amendment of the United States Constitution is not an instrument for the oppression of the masses by the ruling classes. It is the single most important guarantor of human rights for the underclass.

Second — lessons for liberal organizations. It seems to me that of all the lessons they can learn from the study of the past, none is more essential than to realize that it was a tactical, political and moral error to try to disassociate themselves from those under attack, that is, those to the left of them. The lesson for liberals is to protect and defend the rights of, rather than desert, those to the left of them.

Third, I say know the enemy. Reagan's goal and that of his administration is not repression, it is to get the government off our backs and liberate the economy to do its stuff and to return us to the American way. But his election has energized, strengthened, unleashed dangerous forces at every level of the government and in the private sector too. I speak now not only of the interlocking directorate of the Moral Majority, the Christian Right, the American Council of World Freedom. I speak of the American Security Council, the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, the National Committee to Restore Internal Security, . . . If I go on any longer our time here would run out; the list is too long to read.

It seems to me that the way to fight state and local repression, which is already going on all over this country, is at the state and local level. It's not glamorous, but it can be effective to join your local library board. It can be meaningful to join the PTA and the local Board of Education. That is where it's happening even as we meet this evening.

The next point — and this is going to sound self-serving — but I would say another thing that you can and should do is read and subscribe to *The Nation* magazine. (laughter, applause) You know, the right wing has *Conservative Digest*, *National Review*, *Human Events*, *Commentary*, *the Public Interest*, and many more. And when a man like Arnaud deBorchgraff, late of *Newsweek*, co-author of *The Spike*, testifies that on the basis of evidence supplied to him by his sources, over 1,000 major cases of espionage in the United States could be cracked if there were to be a restoration of internal security in any meaningful way, you need sources beyond his sources. If that be disinformation, you need information. And you should read and subscribe to publications such as *The Progressive* and *In These Times*.

Repression, you know, is nothing new. At least not to those engaged, as you are, in the struggle for social justice. So what we learned from the 50s, however, are the dangers of paralysis inspired by the great fear. Groups like the National Lawyers Guild, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the new American Civil Liberties Union and others which fought the lonely fight in the 50s teach us that repression needn't breed paralysis. It represents an opportunity; it's an opportunity to build organizations. It represents an opportunity to fight back. It represents an opportunity to command attention for the social programs which were discussed by some of the other speakers this evening. It represents an opportunity to help the people of El Salvador. It represents an opportunity to get back into the struggle for social justice.

There will undoubtedly be times when the strategy of silence is called for. But don't forget that every attack also provides a platform like this one from which to reach more people.

Now is it premature to raise these questions? It's not premature to study the past. It's not premature to come together in meetings like this to consider what to do about the future. It's not premature to audit the Security and Terrorism Committee, the local Red Squads, the Heritage agenda. But if there is one lesson to be learned from the 50s, the important thing, it seems to me, is not to get into a bitter argument on the left of whether or not it is premature. Solidarity, not fragmentation, should be the spirit in which we proceed.

I've saved until last the point which perhaps should have been first. There is one indisputable precondition to the survival of civil liberties and civil rights — namely the survival of the species. Nuclear disarmament ought to be at the top of our political agenda. The clock ticks. The most blatant example of the new vocabulary is the Heritage Report's inclusion of *anti-nuke* activity as an activity which threatens the security of the state.

Finally I want to mention that Anne Braden, one of the victims of the 50s but indomitable, observed recently, "You stop a police state by defending and freeing its first victims." The defeat of the Lefaveur nomination shows that victory is possible. There comes a time when resistance may be identical with morality. If we are headed into such a time, let's make the most of it. Thank you.

Victor Navasky, in his article, warns of attempts "to make legitimate that which was previously illegitimate." The next few articles examine that trend which seeks to broaden the domestic surveillance powers of the government, and isolate dissident voices through charges of conspiracy with alleged communists and terrorists.

## The Felt-Miller Pardon:

# Our Own KGB

by Nat Hentoff

### Canonizing the FBI's Black-Bag Boys

The two stories broke on the same day, April 16 — the defenestration of Janet Cooke and the Presidential pardons of Mark Felt and Edward Miller, convicted last November of directing secret FBI break-ins of the homes of innocent citizens. On that first day, both stories got about the same amount of space in much of the press; but then, while autopsies of Cooke's career in journalism proliferated, convicted FBI felons Felt and Miller eased back into the shadows which are their natural habitat.

Yet, the exoneration — because that's what it is — of the FBI's former Associate Director and its former Chief of Intelligence Operations is a crucially important story because of what it signals for the next four years, and beyond. (A unanimous jury, it should be remembered, found that Felt and Miller not only broke the law, but meant to. There was clear criminal intent.)

First, there is the direct impact of the pardons on all our secret police, state and local as well as Federal. The suave Mark Felt himself got it exactly right when he spoke of the "tremendous" symbolic value of the pardons, adding: "This is going to be the biggest shot in the arm for the intelligence community for a long time."

At an East Side Conservative Club dinner honoring the heads of the burglary ring, Roy Cohn was much more lyrical, crowing that the pardon is a "moment of magic for every law-enforcement officer in the United States."

Shazam! The Fourth Amendment has been turned into a crowbar!

Among the announcements at the club the night Cohn spoke was news of a forthcoming memorial for the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. Only those of exceedingly little faith do not believe that the graves of martyrs ultimately open.

So these pardons are by no means discrete affairs, despite the *New York Times's* editorial position that Reagan's act of "mercy," as the *Times* puts it, "just about wraps up this tragic episode." For instance, Felt and Miller have also come to symbolize the intensified assault on the Freedom of Information Act. The goal of the assault is that no official lawbreakers need even go to trial from now on, since no one will ever know anything they've done.

Consider the ongoing Socialist Workers Party suit against the Government for 45 years (!) of such relentless and perva-

"Justice ultimately prevails."

— Richard Nixon, in a note to Mark Felt and Edward Miller, 1981

sive abuses of its members' Constitutional rights that a complete narrative could make a training manual for the KGB. As national secretary Jack Barnes told *The Washington Post* recently, "In '73, when we filed suit, we filed what we suspected, not what we knew. Not until the Freedom of Information Act, five years later, did we find out the extent" of Government lawlessness.

## Reagan Pardon

Pursuant to the grant of authority in Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution of the United States, I have granted full and unconditional pardons to W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller.

During their long careers Mark Felt and Edward Miller served the Federal Bureau of Investigation and our Nation with great distinction. To punish them further — after three years of criminal prosecution proceedings — would not serve the ends of justice.

Their convictions in the U.S. District Court, on appeal at the time I signed the pardons, grew out of their good faith belief that their actions were necessary to preserve the security interests of our country. The record demonstrates that they acted not with criminal intent, but in the belief that they had grants of authority reaching to the highest levels of government.

America was at war in 1972, and Messrs. Felt and Miller followed procedures they believed essential to keep the Director of the FBI, the Attorney General, and the President of the United States advised of the activities of hostile foreign powers and their collaborators in this country. They have never denied their actions, but, in fact, came forward to acknowledge them publicly in order to relieve their subordinate agents from criminal actions.

Four years ago thousands of draft evaders and others who violated the Selective Service laws were unconditionally pardoned by my predecessor. America was generous to those who refused to serve their country in the Vietnam War. We can be no less generous to two men who acted on high principle to bring an end to the terrorism that was threatening our Nation.

—Ronald Reagan  
April 1981

But if two of the highest officials of the FBI, convicted in another case of directing exactly those kinds of crimes, are beatified by the President, with much of Congress cooing along, then the Freedom of Information Act is just a pain in the ass of patriots. And as Attorney General William French Smith has indicated, the FOIA, sooner rather than later, is going to be shredded. Why even transiently embarrass the future Felts and Millers?

## Ignoring Reality

If the press has largely ignored the ramifications of the Felt-Miller pardons, it has also failed to examine these heroes of the FBI themselves. In its heartfelt April 16 editorial, "Pardoning the FBI's Past," the *Times*, after observing that the two burglars "deserve the executive clemency President Reagan has now extended," goes on to say that Felt and Miller had "many years of loyal and unblemished national service."

So they supervised break-ins, without a warrant, of the homes of "friends and acquaintances" of the Weather Underground in 1972 and 1973. Well, a small aberration in otherwise resplendent records.

Aside from the fact, as will be shown, that one of the victims was neither a friend nor a relative of the Weather brigade (indeed, he was an ideological enemy), how the hell does that editorial writer know that Felt and Miller's FBI past was "unblemished?"

In none of these cases, even with the help of the FOIA, is it possible to get anything near the full account of illegal activities by the FBI, CIA, et al. Some of the documents grudgingly released under the FOIA are heavily censored, and some documents are not produced at all. In a current similar suit, *Clark* (and seven other plaintiffs) v. *United States of America*, one of the briefs states:

"The full nature and extent of defendants' actions are at this time unknown to either the plaintiffs or the public because the actions were carried out in a covert and illegal manner." Among the defendants in that suit, by the way, are Mark Felt and Edward Miller. Among the charges: warrantless break-ins ("black-bag jobs"). Just another blemish, if proved, on all those shining years of national service.

And defendants Felt and Miller, now that they have been given clemency by *The New York Times* — and turned into legends by the President — are asking the Government (you and me) to pay the private lawyers handling their defense in *Clark v. U.S.A.* That's not chutzpah. You don't have to be a Weatherman to know which way the Zeitgeist is going.

But if we don't know everything Felt and Miller may have done outside the law during all those years of fearless service, we know something. There is, for example, Frank Donner's exhaustively researched *The Age of Surveillance* (Knopf) — invaluable for its illumination of what's coming as well as of the past. On page 132, Donner presents information by M. Wesley Swearingen, a retired FBI agent who was with the Bureau for 25 years.

Swearingen told Justice Department prosecutors of Felt and Miller that — concerning "black-bag jobs" and other FBI felonies in the hunt for the Weathermen — the Bureau had lied to the General Accounting Office as well as to a Washington grand jury. These burglaries and other crimes had not taken place only in New York and New Jersey, as the FBI had claimed. (It was for these Constitutional violations that Felt and Miller were convicted.) There also had been lawless law-enforcement acts in Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Portland, Oregon, Newark, and San Francisco. The Weathermen had to be found by any means necessary.



Mr. Edward S. Miller



Mr. W. Mark Felt

Now, in 1972 and 1973, Felt was Acting Associate Director of the FBI and Miller was Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division. Is it at all plausible that they directed the secret break-ins, illegal wiretaps, and mail openings going on in the New York office (under the infamous Squad 47) but were ignorant of parallel squads of FBI bandits in pursuit of Weathermen in those other cities?

After all, the District of Columbia Grand Jury indictment of Felt and Miller notes, among *Overt Acts*, that "On or about October 6, 1972, in Quantico, Virginia, FBI agents attending a Weatherman in-service training course were given a lecture on how to conduct surreptitious entries." Surely Felt and Miller knew about that seminar in thievery.

But these are the folks who, *The New York Times* instructs us, "deserved" the Presidential pardon. Furthermore, said the *Times*, in a wondrous burst of pietistic illogic, all's well that ends well in this best of all possible worlds. You see, the heads of the burglary ring have been forgiven and "meanwhile, the courageous prosecution of this case stands as a potent deterrent to officials who may be tempted, even by patriotic zeal, to break the law. Overzealous officers should never again be so sure that all their actions are politically and legally immune."

The pardoned Edward Miller gave that gaseous homily the skewering it deserved. The pardons, he said, were "a very fine thing for the present FBI" because they would erase any reluctance that agents might have to "do their job 100 per cent." Some deterrent.

There were a few churlish souls who did not share in the general exaltation that these fine public servants were now free — as one of their lawyers said — "of any taint of guilt" since the pardon represented "complete expungement" of any reason to feel guilty. (As the convicted felons quickly agreed.)

John W. Nields Jr., chief prosecutor of Felt and Miller, grumbled: "I would warrant that whoever is responsible for the pardons did not read the record of the trial and did not know the facts of the case."

Another of the prosecutors, Francis J. Martin, reminds us in an angry May 11 *Times* Op-Ed piece that the victims of the Felt-Miller gang "were not criminals or spies. They were people who happened to have a child, or a sister, or a brother, or a friend who was a fugitive member of the Weathermen, a violent faction of the anti-Vietnam war movement."

And what did the burglars find? "A love letter, a poem and a Valentine, a professor's manuscript on social ecology, Yiddish lessons prepared in anticipation of a trip to Israel, and a daughter's reflections on the recent death of her father."

Aw, come on. Felt claims the burglaries were urgently justified because the Weather Underground was connected to hostile foreign countries.

Murray Bookchin's apartment on Second Avenue near 14th Street was broken into by Squad 47 on February 14, 1973. Quiet as mice, FBI agents photographed his discarded address books, scraps of manuscripts for articles and books in progress, and two photos of his daughter.

Says Bookchin in a letter to me: "An assumption that I could have harbored a 'Weatherman fugitive,' had any dealings with the Weatherman group, or any international connections with any governments hostile or friendly to the U.S. Government's interests is preposterous.

"I was and am an Anarchist, largely in the Reconstructive Tradition of Peter Kropotkin. I was and remain hostile to all authoritarian forms of socialism as well as capitalism — hence, from their very inception the Weatherman faction of SDS were bitter political opponents [of mine]." That sharp Bookchin-Weatherman conflict, by the way, has been reported on in a number of places and is surely in the famed FBI clipping files.

"I certainly could not have had relations with a 'foreign power' — any kind," Bookchin continues. "... I know of no serious anarchist who supports any state, much less any 'foreign power.' ... I did not even support the Vietnamese NLF — or North Vietnam — any more than I support Russia, Cuba, China, Albania, Vietnam, etc. I opposed America's participation in the war, but I did not support the NLF or Vietnam, north or south.

"My views are matters of public record." (Here Bookchin noted his many books, articles, lectures at colleges and on public television, and frequent appearances on talk shows.)

Bookchin adds that his views in deep conflict with the Weathermen "were fully developed at the Miller-Felt trial last September. I was an embarrassment to the defense and was quickly ushered off the stand with minimal cross-examination. The press corps was there and I was surrounded by reporters who, to summarize their own remarks, were 'astonished' to hear my sworn testimony because they had been led to believe that people related to the Weathermen had been invaded by the FBI — not their opponents.

"My testimony was given national circulation owing to its 'anomalous' character ... and was discussed for about a paragraph in the *Times* as an example of the helter-skelter nature of the FBI's 'bag jobs.' Yet, the press still persists (including the *Times*) in reporting the victims of these 'bag jobs' as friends and relatives and/or sympathizers of the Weathermen. ...

"I have not sued or received 'recompense' for the FBI's actions, like other victims ... and the fiction that everyone who was so victimized was friendly to the Weathermen goes on and on and on. ... It is implied in Reagan's 'pardon' and explicitly reiterated in the press. I ask for justice in this matter. Anarchists have no 'allies' on the Left, no countries that would like to keep them alive, much less give them 'refuge.' But they can ask for journalistic redress. ..."

I hope this helps some.

Meanwhile, the clearest assessment of the pardons themselves comes from Henry Strauss in an April 28 letter to the *Times*:

"If two men are caught breaking into a shoe store, they are tried and, if found guilty, are thrown into the clink.

"If two men are caught breaking into the Constitution and are found guilty, they are pardoned by President Reagan.

"Conclusion: the Constitution is of less consequence than a shoe store."

If nothing else comes out of this, maybe the *Times* will replace whoever wrote that callowly romantic editorial, "Pardoning the FBI's Past," with Henry Strauss. Especially now, the Bill of Rights needs a defender, not a trimmer, at the *Times*.

Nat Hentoff is a frequent contributor to the *Village Voice* from which this article is reprinted with permission [Copyright 1981, *Village Voice*]. Hentoff's latest book is *The First Freedom: A Tumultuous History of Free Speech in America*.

## The Right looks at Felt & Miller:

# Patriots and Heroes

The Security and Intelligence Fund, which works closely with the hawkish American Security Council, is in the forefront of U.S. groups calling for the increased use of domestic intelligence operations to ferret out subversion. It helped raise tens of thousands of dollars to pay for the legal defense of FBI agents Felt and Miller. Excerpts from its publications are reprinted below.

The following cover letter was sent with a copy of the Fund's Situation Report on the Reagan pardons to selected members of congress.

The special aspects of the recent Felt-Miller trial are discussed in some detail in the attached Security and Intelligence Fund *Situation Report* which I think you will find interesting. They explain why the President had no choice but to grant full pardons to Messrs. W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller for their courageous efforts to apprehend and bring to trial the notorious Weathermen.

The growing awareness of the spread and efficacy of international terrorism will recall to many people's minds the concern and consternation over the now forgotten reign of terrorist bombings in the late 1960's and early 1970's perpetrated by the Weather Underground Organization (WUO).

The fact that these explosive outbursts happened in such diverse localities as the Capitol, the Pentagon, other military facilities, the State Department, police stations, banks, and elsewhere, could not have been possible without training and support from foreign elements — namely Cuba and other Soviet satellites. At that time, most of the press and the public were largely ignorant of Soviet involvement in such terrorist activities.

For this reason, the diligent efforts made by the FBI to run down the WUO members who perpetrated these terrorist acts seemed to be unconnected to any national security threat from foreign powers. This important aspect of the FBI operations was given little emphasis in the trial and convictions of Felt and Miller. Proper emphasis also was not given in that trial to the longstanding Presidential approval of such surreptitious entries in cases involving national security.

*What follows are excerpts from the Spring 1981 Situation Report, Copyright 1981 by the Security and Intelligence Fund, Inc. Every effort has been made to preserve both the context and meaning.*

## by Security and Intelligence Fund

President Reagan's stern strategy for coping with the untiring thrust of international communism and the Soviet orchestration of subversion and terrorism under the red banners of "wars of national liberation" has inevitably encountered heavy opposition. His opening moves have put him on a collision course with detente-steeped institutions on the left and liberal side of American politics that are determined to continue to exercise their enormous influence over the course of American foreign policy.

The first tentative testing of the state of American public opinion on this new strategy has, in fact, already begun. Mr. Reagan's moves to bring American military power to a high degree of readiness in far places, his postponing of the SALT negotiations in the absence of a Soviet willingness to right the strategic imbalance, and, because that is where the new strategy is most visibly in motion, his actions to repel the Soviet-cum-Cuba thrust into Latin America with El Salvador as the immediate

target, have all come under increasing fire from the liberal establishmentarians.

The sway of debate on these grave issues will rank in its consequences for American prospects with the struggle beginning over the Reagan economic policies. It stands to reason that the merits of the Reagan strategy will be determined, first, by the assessments of the national intelligence community and, next, by the political atmosphere in which the estimates are weighed. This aspect of the matter is therefore of acute interest to the officers and members of the Security and Intelligence Fund.

Unfortunately for all of us, there is a vast difference between the resources available to Mr. Reagan as he gropes for the old signposts and those that were at the command of the earlier Presidents. In their time, the United States had in being the means for decisive military action in almost any situation of strategic importance. The Central Intelligence Agency in collaboration with the military intelligence services was rapid-

ly making itself master of revolutionary techniques of espionage, counterintelligence and political action while establishing its competence in the more sophisticated methods of intelligence gathering. It was emerging from a highly instructive apprenticeship in the practice of political action with friendly forces abroad, the subtlest and quietest tool in the practice of containment. And the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for its part, had in place a highly professional and vigilant corps of counterintelligence specialists for dealing with communist subversion and espionage within the nation.

Now the military preponderance has melted away. The intelligence services remain dazed and demoralized by the gutting of their foremost ranks during the Ford and Carter Administrations, the debasement of their pride and the ruin of their professional privacy at the hands of the then Senators, Frank Church and Fritz Mondale, Representative Otis Pike and others in both houses of the Congress. The dominoes continue to fall. And as Mr. Reagan moves to prevent the communizing of El Salvador, there can be heard, in the chorus of dissent swelling up from the most powerful organs of the press and television, from the liberal left wing of the Democratic opposition, from chairs of learning at the universities, and from the web of "institutes" and other opinion-influencing bodies on the left, many of the same voices that howled our country into the shameful retreat from Vietnam and, in the aftermath of that defeat and the disgrace of Watergate, hounded the FBI and the CIA into the dock.

So the business of getting American opinion turned around is certain to take some doing. Your Fund is committed to renewing the competence of the intelligence services and restoring public confidence in their essential work. For us, no single recent event has been more revealing of the delusions which continue to cloud much of American thinking on the realities of communist subversion and international terrorism than the trial of the two senior FBI officers in the nation's capital.

### **An Unsettling Verdict**

Not quite five months ago, on November 6, 1980, a jury in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia found Mr. W. Mark Felt, a former Acting Associate Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and his longtime colleague, Mr. Edward S. Miller, former Assistant Director and Chief of the Bureau's Intelligence Division, guilty of conspiring to "injure and op-

press" relatives and friends of the radical Weather Underground Organization by authorizing surreptitious entry into their homes, in 1972 and 1973.

Felt, when he resigned in 1973, had given the Bureau 31 years of unflawed service, having risen rank by rank from the starting grade of street agent. Miller, who resigned at the same time, had had 24 years of service. He, too, had risen in the Bureau to the number three post of command.

Two days earlier, Mr. Ronald Reagan had been elected President on a philosophy of government that included a crystal clear commitment to strengthen the national intelligence services.

An unsettling irony pervades the jury's findings, just as a disturbing anomalousness shadows the motives of the lawyers in the Department of Justice who pressed for the prosecution of the FBI officers with a zeal close to ferocity. For the outcome of the trial had the deplorable effect in one direction of mocking the Bureau's long-standing conception of its duties and prerogatives in the defense of the national interest. In another, it revealed the unrelenting hostility of the liberal-leftist factions of American society to the political philosophy around which Mr. Reagan now seeks to reshape the American strategy for neutralizing the more sinister aspects of the Soviet threat.



Former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray. The term "Graymail" was coined to describe how he used the threat of disclosure of secret intelligence documents in his defense to force the government to drop charges of unconstitutional activity against him.

Felt was fined \$5,000 and Miller \$3,500. Chief Judge William B. Bryant who presided over the trial gave no explanation for imposing such seeming trifling penalties. They were certainly trifling in a dollar sense, considering that the issues were judged important enough for the government (by some accounts) to spend more than \$20 million in pursuing the case, and for friends and supporters of the two men to go into their own pockets for more than \$1.5 million for their defense.

### **A Distorted Symbolism**

The obvious explanation is that the significance of the fines lay in their symbolism. Felt and Miller were convicted of a felony. The means they employed in tracking down the Weathermen, who had perpetrated numerous bombings, violent street demonstrations and other acts of terrorism, had been held by the court to be in violation of the constitutional rights of other American citizens under the Fourth Amendment forbidding "unreasonable searches and seizures." That was the outcome the Carter Administration wanted.

The attorneys for Felt and Miller filed their appeals early in the spring. Their briefs were not expected to enter an hospitable atmosphere. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington is unabashedly liberal in its outlook. So an ominous question mark hung over the efforts of these two faithful and scrupulous Federal law enforcement officers to free themselves of the brand of felons. Hardly less disquieting was the fog which their conviction, if upheld, would have continued to cast over the operational sanctions available to the FBI in particular and to the intelligence community as a whole if they were to grapple seriously with foreign spies, subversives and terrorists.

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*The facts in the case demanded the exoneration which President Reagan's pardon justly represents.*

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Happily for the general interests, President Reagan had the good sense and the moral certitude to move forthrightly to undo the travesty of justice acted out by a vengeful clique in the Department of Justice, a judge seeming with a deaf ear, and an impressionable jury. On March 26, four days before the attempt on his life, he gave "full and unconditional" pardons to Felt and Miller.

### **What the Record Shows**

In a strange upside-down way, the injury done Felt and Miller exemplifies a twisting around of the

classical folk tale of justice miscarried in which an innocent and helpless individual is destroyed by an unscrupulous public functionary serving a corrupt society. There never was so much as a hint during the eight-weeks-long trial that the two men harbored a criminal intent, or that they sought any advantage for themselves. On the contrary, the Department of Justice lawyers who prosecuted the case knew from their own close associations with the Bureau that Felt and Miller had good reason to believe that what they ordered done in pursuit of the Weathermen was under the government's sanction. Indeed, even as he was feeling for the FBI's jugular, Attorney General Griffin Bell acknowledged to a Senate subcommittee that the practices for which the Bureau was to be punished had "been going on for 40 years in this country." The high crimes of the Weathermen were purposefully ignored by the government lawyers. In giving the Department of Justice lawyers free rein, the Carter Administration sought through Mr. Bell to appease the hunger of the civil libertarians and leftists in its ranks for vengeance against a law enforcement agency which, until the Church-Mondale inquisition, had rightly enjoyed an almost impregnable prestige and trust.

For that self-serving act of indulgence, the nation may in time suffer sorely. The lust for violence which propelled the Weathermen on their trail of havoc in the Vietnam years remains latent in the radical groupings persisting under the surface of so-called "liberal" politics. We have seen one of the most effective defenses against another wave of such terrorism struck down by the government's own arguments in the trial, and the way this was managed calls for long second thoughts.

For students of intelligence operations, and even more for Americans who have been steadily misled by the press and by the twisted evidence cast up by the Church and Pike committees in 1975-76, the most instructive historical fact to emerge from the trial was the revelation that the Bureau's sanction for employing at its own discretion its considerable catalogue of clandestine techniques, including surreptitious entry, flowed from a direct delegation of presidential authority.

That sanction was first conferred by President Franklin D. Roosevelt when war was on the horizon in 1936. It was reaffirmed categorically by the next two Presidents in line, was consented to by the next three, and under that continuing authority was exercised at need in national security and public safety situations through more than three decades, until Jimmy Carter entered the Presidency.

# Two Mutually-Exclusive World Views

## STATEMENT OF CATHLYN PRATT WILKERSON PRIOR TO HER IMPRISONMENT FOR WEATHER UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES JANUARY 15, 1981

Today I am going to prison to serve a three-year term. I have been identified as one who sought to attack the foundations of American justice. I did indeed do this because I believe that American justice is a system organized to protect the rich and powerful and to terrorize those who fight against its cruelties.

Where, I ask you, is the justice in the mass murders of black women in Boston, Black men in Buffalo, Black children in Atlanta, when these murders follow centuries of violent race hatred? Where is the justice in the exoneration of Nixon, Gray, Felt and Miller while the victims of their illegal Cointelpro frameups remain in jail?

The culture that grows from the economic and political institutions of North America bears poison flowers. Our culture is rife with contempt and hatred of women, causing the rape, brutalization and belittlement of our sex. Our culture is rancid with white supremacy, with many white people obsessed with justifying our obviously greater access to education, housing, jobs and power. But remember that the more overt actions by the most exploited whites who are immediately threatened by decaying schools, loss of jobs or home are not as heinous in the long run as the duplicity of more privileged whites who provide ideological justifications for racism: who by their material success and self-righteous smugness provide a persuasive example of the material benefits of complicity — however silent — with white supremacy.

The sap of the poison flowers is heartless, calculated violence. Sure, one by-product of imperialism is violence among the people, caused by material desperation and deep alienation. But this violence is like a teacup to a reservoir compared to the violence of our government. U.S. support of reaction in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America has cost millions of lives and the decimation of lands and cultures. U.S. corporate pollution of air, ground and water (most extreme in their third world locations) is costing tens of thousands more every year. And what of the violence done to the children, sleeping with their shoes on in urban centers because they have no heat? Do they have the same equal opportunity to study as children who have their own warm room?

continued on next page

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR JEREMIAH DENTON BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM JUNE 24, 1982

Today the Subcommittee begins an inquiry into the domestic security guidelines, commonly called the Levi Guidelines, which governs the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in domestic security investigations. Of primary interest will be the effect that these guidelines have had on the ability of the FBI and other agencies to gather information or intelligence and to discharge their domestic security and other responsibilities.

The FBI has established a reputation which distinguishes it from all other major law enforcement agencies throughout the world. Its consistent dedication to the ideals of professional federal law enforcement have long served as a model. The rigorous standards it has set for itself are among the highest found anywhere.

Several years ago, the FBI entered into what might be termed uncharted waters, especially with respect to its shift away from earlier priorities on street crime, an area in which the states operate effectively. It has achieved substantial successes, for the imaginative investigative techniques it has developed have brought about startling results and a record number of convictions in the new priority areas of white collar crime, organized crime and espionage. This achievement is truly commendable, and something in which we all can take pride.

Unfortunately, it appears that, in the reordering of priorities and the restructuring of the entities within the Bureau which deal with substantive foreign counterintelligence and domestic security, an important aspect of the Bureau's work may have fallen through the cracks. To be sure, the Bureau has allocated substantial resources to the problems of foreign counterintelligence; it has established a section within its Criminal Investigative Division to deal with terrorism. What continued on page 22

*Photo, right.* Soldiers and sailors tear up one of the red flags carried by the Socialists in their February 1918 Boston peace demonstration. A crowd of 8,000 looked on as the soldiers and sailors broke up the demonstration, and many by their cheers, expressed approval of the action. This type of hysteria has been a hallmark of 20th century American politics.

continued from previous page

The thought or sight of children cold and hungry, of the dignity of teenagers being whittled away by decayed schools and no jobs . . . These commonplace occurrences can still make me weep. I cannot insulate myself — by whatever means — from these realities for it would necessitate a deadening of the spirit, a neutralizing of morality. I have fiercely guarded my ability to cry out at pain by being an activist. That is why, given the choice of prison or cooperation with the perpetrators of global violence, I chose to join the folks inside, for they are my people. And the middle choice of numbing the pain holds no appeal. I do not want to die in spirit.

My mother taught me to respect the dignity of other human beings. This allowed me to understand that oppressed peoples are best qualified to define their struggle for freedom. As a white person, wanting to contend with racism, sexism and economic exploitation facing me and a majority of other whites, I recognize that it is third world communities, fighting U.S. imperialism in all its forms, who have exposed the diseased corruption of U.S. culture and who are taking realistic and courageous steps to move beyond it. In that context, I want to take this opportunity to extend my solidarity to the people and communist parties of Vietnam and Cuba, to the freedom fighters of Africa, El Salvador and Chile and to the Black, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation struggles amongst us.

I also send love and thanks to my sisters who have fought to help us women and our children to find the insights and courage to stand up proud, gentle and fierce. Without the inspiration and guidance of these forces I would still be confused and frightened by the barrage of propaganda foisted on me, as on all of us, by our government.

And I want to send special love and solidarity to the sisters and brothers of the Puerto Rican Movement who are P.O.W.'s in our prisons, to Assata Shakur, William Morales, and their comrades who remain free and fighting, and to the Black and Indian freedom fighters serving life terms. You see — it is obvious: a government which enforces its corruption and barbari-

ties on all levels — from enforced poverty, to miseducation, misinformation, social manipulation and pervasive violence must expect to be fought on all levels. Fascism was not fought with words alone. The other day, General Haig justified U.S. intervention in Chile resulting in the bloody coup against Allende and the murderous Pinochet regime. He argued for more of the same around the world. His only regret about Vietnam is that this government lost. In the face of this, no one should expect freedom movements which have shown such courage and sacrifice to avoid the responsibility to take up arms in defense of these movements. And since the most minimal struggle against imperialism is met with overwhelming repression by the government, the early stages of armed struggle must follow closely behind the birth of a movement. In the long run, the battle of words is decisive, but at moments, armed struggle will be crucial in defending the political gains of the people. Sometimes these actions will focus on exposing a particular aspect of the repression of the state, and at other times they will defend a revolution itself.

For twenty years I have participated in many areas of struggle. Because I think it is a delusion to separate one aspect of my life, that of March 1970, from others, I believe I am being sent to prison for the totality of my activities. How can I think otherwise when so many who fight against society's evils are in prison and others who cause death and destruction through illegal wars, repression, industrial pollution and right wing violence remain free?

Nonetheless, I remain committed to fighting to change our world because I believe the beauty and productivity of the human spirit cannot be contained by the few who rule with greed, selfishness and cruelty. Finally, to the children, I send love and hope that while you wrestle with the inequities and confusions of our system, you hold onto the gentleness, courage and caring with which you were born. Especially today, Martin Luther King's birthday, you should know that there are others grappling with the evils and holding hopes for the future.

A Luta Continua



Photo courtesy National Archives Research Service—Underwood & Underwood.

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seems to be missing, however, is attention to organizations and individuals that cannot be shown to be controlled by a foreign power, and which have not yet committed a terrorist or subversive act, but which nevertheless may represent a substantial threat to the safety of Americans and, ultimately, to the security of this country.

The organizations of which I speak may present themselves as seeking the same goals as other, legitimate, organizations committed to and working for higher goals. We know that, in the past, movements such as that to support the Republican government during the Spanish Civil War, the neutralism movement prior to World War II, and the movement against the war in Vietnam were exploited in exactly that way. In the future, they might choose to take advantage of popular sentiment about issues such as nuclear power, aid to nations under attack by Communist terrorists, or racism. They might seek to find support from and exploit organizations committed to causes such as civil rights reform, prison reform, or a nuclear weapons freeze.

Recognizing the limitations that have been imposed on the FBI, they would understandably attempt to hide themselves among other groups in areas well protected by the First Amendment and thereby escape the scrutiny of the Bureau.

And, of course, there are groups that are open in their stated purpose of acting by violence and their advocacy of terrorism. It is obviously vital for us to have current information on them.

The people of the United States look upon the FBI as the sole agency responsible for investigating activities that we once called subversive. For many of these we have lately developed euphemisms, and the resulting attention to labels rather than substance has inhibited a full appreciation of the magnitude of the problem.

The Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the Weather Underground Organization, and the May 19th Communist Organization clearly oppose our democratic ideals. All of these groups favor the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence. They operate effectively through a variety of fronts, and many of their members participate in organizations that are essentially non-violent but which indirectly support and sustain the smaller groups that have nefarious purposes. Of those four organizations, only two are under investigation. Moreover, there is reportedly disagreement among bureau officials whether one organization properly falls within the guidelines.

The Weather Underground organization has surrounded its core leadership with protective concentric structures, fronts, and organizations of supporters. These include a surface support group, called the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, as well as the John Brown Club and the May 19th Communist Organization. These groups would not even be under investigation were it not for the violent criminal activity at Nyack in which 2 policemen and one guard were killed.

In addition, the Weather Underground has established liaison and cooperation with other active terrorist groups—with the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and its overt wing, the Movimiento del Liberacion Nacional (MLN); with the Chicano revolutionaries associated with the Denver Crusade for Justice, the La Raza Unida Party and the Continental Liberation Army; with the Black Liberation Army; and with the Republic of New Africa.

To implement its cooperation with these and other terrorist

groups, the Weather Underground has set up a number of fronts. Among them are the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence; the Women's Committee Against Genocide; and the John Brown anti-Klan Committee.

Members of the overt and front groups can aid and abet acts of terrorism or "armed struggle" by locating targets, carrying out "intelligence-gathering," providing logistical support, or actually being part of the group that carries out the attack. The degree of participation appears to be largely a matter of choice. Without support from overt groups, many or most terrorist or subversive acts could not be attempted, much less succeed.

I mention the structure and interrelationship of the groups associated with or derivative of the Weather Underground as evidence that those who would seek to destroy our system operate on many fronts, both covertly and openly. They have ample support from other ideological allies such as the National Lawyers Guild, an organization formed in 1936 with the assistance of the International Labor Defense, the U.S. Section of the International Class War Prisoners Aid Society which was, in turn, an agency of the Comintern. The NLG, which now claims a membership of 6,000 lawyers, students, legal workers, and "jail house lawyers," seeks to exploit the law in order to bring about revolutionary change.

According to the NLG's own 1971 statement of policy, it claims that its struggle is "...to defeat the ruling class in this country and to defeat its hold on large parts of the world" and that this is "not a struggle separate" from the full range of revolutionary and left issues in the U.S.

Today, the NLG remains the primary U.S. affiliate of the Soviet-Controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers. This group and its western hemisphere regional affiliate, the American Association of Jurists, provide logistical support to Soviet and Cuban-backed terrorist groups.

On February 4, 1982, during an FBI oversight hearing at which Judge Webster testified, the Subcommittee discussed in detail the problems associated with the Levi Guidelines. On that occasion, it was decided that it was desirable to hold separate hearings on this issue. Our hearings today and tomorrow are the result. The Subcommittee will receive testimony about the scope of the limitations that have been imposed on the FBI in the wake of Watergate and the COINTELPRO revelations. We will examine not only the language of the 1976 Domestic Security Guidelines but, more important, how that language is interpreted by Bureau officials, and how that policy that is derived from those interpretations affects the Bureau's ability to collect domestic intelligence.

At this time of ever increasing terrorist activity, I believe the American people need an organization that has the ability, the desire, and the understanding of the threat to see through propaganda and false colors so that the American people can be informed of the threat presented by organizations committed to the destruction of our freedoms. When I speak of a threat, I do not just mean that an organization is, or is about to be, engaged in violent criminal activity. I believe many share the view that the support groups that produce propaganda, disinformation, or "legal assistance" may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs. Many of them are immune under current policies, and they have even exploited their immunity by using the tools of the law to intimidate and cripple the ability of law enforcement personnel to do their job.

## Setting the Stage:

*The Brinks robbery ushered in a new phase for the current witch hunt. As before, the press became a willing, almost eager, partner in circulating the most ludicrous charges regarding progressive political groups and individuals, as long as someone could be quoted alleging a connection to the Brinks robbery.*

*The Hentoff article which follows analyzes the press coverage resulting from the Brinks robbery. We then look in-depth at the prosecution of National Lawyers Guild attorney Kiko Martinez, a case which demonstrates how un-Constitutional surveillance, selective prosecution as a form of political harassment, right-wing circulation of smears, the witch hunting Congressional Committees, and reactionary local police intelligence units all fit together as components in the New Witch Hunt.*

Look, Ronald, Look!

# See a Herd of Journalists Overdose on Terrorism

by Nat Hentoff

*"There has been some question as to whether this is a resurgence of the old left. I don't think it ever went away."*

—Kenneth Walton, FBI Deputy Assistant Director in charge of the New York office and also director of a joint Federal-New York City Terrorist Task Force, at an October 24, 1981 press conference.

The weekend after Bob Dylan's old toy weathervane had become clogged with real blood, I was in Chicago, talking with a group of librarians from all around Illinois. We were talking about censorship — not only the increasingly stiff winds from outside the library but also the rising indications that some librarians are censoring themselves.

In Minnesota two days before, I had learned, for instance, that in several libraries, new Judy Blume titles are just not being ordered. It doesn't matter what her new books are about, how they're being reviewed in the professional journals, or how many kids are looking forward to them. By now, this author's name, all by itself, practically guarantees trouble. And Lord knows, there's enough trouble already.

On the other hand, there was also news that Saturday of successful resistance to thought control; and the librarians present agreed with a message I had brought from one of their number in Minnesota: "I realize there are jobs on the line, but the most important role we can play is to become more courageous in

keeping our libraries free. Because if we don't, who will?"

It was on that bracing note that the meeting ended, and I went downstairs to the Palmer House bar to catch up on the World Series. There I ran into a group of civil liberties lawyers and other attorneys in the public interest who had just finished a strategy session on how to cope with the daily attempts by the Gipper and his roughriders to dismantle the Constitution.

Rockland County, of course, was much on their mind; and one of them, who has remained a "movement" lawyer, even during those parched times when there was hardly any movement to be seen, said to me: "Kathy Boudin and her friends have given those bastards in Washington a windfall they never could have dreamed of."

What glad tidings for Senators Jeremiah Denton and John East of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism! And for all those working mightily to "liberate" the FBI, the CIA, and the other intelligence agencies from the infernal shackles of the so-called Bill of Rights. And, even before the Rockland County murders, Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia had persuaded 159 members of the House to sponsor his resolution to recreate the House Un-American Activities Committee. Suppose that resolution were put to a plebiscite right now around the country. You don't have to be a meteorologist to figure out the drift of the votes.

Like the librarians upstairs, however, the lawyers in Chicago



Cynthia Boston, vice president of the Republic of New Africa, accompanied by attorney Chokwe Lumumba. Boston refused to cooperate with the grand jury investigating the Brinks robbery.

kept on keeping on. There were still members of the House and Senate who would resist the reincarnation of Tailgunner Joe McCarthy. And these legislators had to be buoyed up by local organizing among constituents who also do not see vicious crimes by desperately self-glorifying "revolutionaries" as heralding an epidemic of Tupamaros. They're the end, not the beginning. As Congressman Don Edwards told me last week, "There are no international connections in this. These are just the remnants of self-destructive people." Self-destructive and acutely delusional. As Alexander Cockburn said in Press Clips two weeks ago, they're "like Japanese soldiers occasionally found on some Pacific island, still making their own personal contribution to the Second World War."

But there are those who greatly prefer that these violent end games create a sense of fear in the land. A fear of more assaults and killings to come. A looming conspiracy of radical evil which must be crushed. By new statutes; by high-powered investigative committees of the Congress and eventually state legislatures; and by law-enforcement cadres with unlimited power to infiltrate, bug, wiretap, disrupt all kinds of "suspicious" groups. And since the Brink's holdup on October 24, the greatest aid to these conjurers of blood-streaked auguries has been the press.

At the bottom of page 3 in the October 28 *Daily News*, there was a story keyed to the arrest of Cynthia Boston in Gallman, Mississippi, on a charge of being involved in the Brink's holdup in Rockland County. (The charges were dropped on November 5. The FBI had pounced on the wrong woman.) Boston is an official of the Republic of New Africa; and in the second paragraph, according to "police sources," we are told that this group has spent the past decade "in almost complete silence and secrecy, teaching techniques of terrorism to perhaps hundreds of underground radicals."

Wow! Even more than the story of Jimmy Carter bugging the Reagans in Blair House, this should have been all over the *Daily News* front page. If true. I called one of the reporters on the piece and asked him if there was anything more. Some facts maybe.

"You notice," he said, "I didn't use the teaching of terror as a lead." It turned out he wasn't all that comfortable with this fragment of alleged news. Where did he get it? From a colleague. I asked the colleague who his source had been. Well, an FBI member of the joint Federal-New York Terrorist Task Force. The FBI man didn't want to be quoted. Did he give you anything besides that? No, he was rather vague.

But, on the basis of unchecked, vague "police sources," that chilling bit of information becomes part of a news story, adding to the weather of fear.

Then there is the Cuban connection. In an October 23, 1981 editorial, *The Wall Street Journal* urgently invited someone (Jeremiah Denton?) to investigate the connections of the Weather Underground during all these years. The Soviet Union set up Libyan and PLO training camps for terrorists over there; what did the Kremlin do for the insurrectionists over here?

There must have been something. Does *The Wall Street Journal* have any leads on that? No, it's just asking, just adding to the fear, as if the editorial writer were idly speculating in a bar rather than in the solemn pages of his paper.

There must have been something. Does *The Wall Street Journal* have any leads on that? No, it's just asking, just adding to the fear, as if the editorial writer were idly speculating in a bar rather than in the solemn pages of his paper.

Ah, but the *Journal* does have a real connection between the Weather Underground and Cuba. There is a Canadian TV documentary, the *Journal* editorial emphasizes, called *The KGB Connections. An Investigation into Soviet Operations in North America*; and, the *Journal* tells us, "it depicts a deep involvement in American terrorism by Cuban intelligence, the DGI."

What's the proof? Why, says the editorial, the film features an interview with Larry Grathwohl, a former member of the Weather Underground: "He describes how members found one another on occasions when they got cut off from the main body of the group in hiding. Did they call some hippie friend? Or a sympathetic relative? No siree. They telephoned the Cuban embassy in either Canada or Mexico and identified themselves by a special code name. An intelligence officer with the Cuban embassy would then arrange for them to be put in touch with the members of the Weather Underground they were seeking; those persons were also identified by code names."

Good God! He never died! Why was this story not on the front page of *The Wall Street Journal*? And why didn't the editorial writer tell us a little more about Larry Grathwohl, the alleged "former member of the Weather Underground?" I suppose it might dampen the crunch of the story a little to disclose that Grathwohl was a plant, an FBI informer, one of Guy Goodwin's boys. From 1970 to 1973, Goodwin ran the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department in a manner that would have made his idol, J. Edgar Hoover, *kwell*. Or, as Frank Donner puts it in *The Age of Surveillance*: "Goodwin appears to be a counter-subversive zealot obsessed with stalking and harassing his targets by any means possible."

One of those means was Grathwohl, who had a lively imagination, adding much color to Goodwin's conspiracy scenarios, but little paydirt in terms of actual convictions. I found it hard to believe that so responsible a paper as *The Wall Street Journal* would have parroted these "particulars" of the Cuban connection on the unchecked word of this ex-informer.

So I called someone I knew there. Well, they hadn't done any independent investigation. They had taken the assertions in the TV documentary and by Grathwohl himself as reliable. No, they didn't know Grathwohl had been an FBI "member" of the

Weather Underground. (Don't they have a morgue? Grathwohl was all over the papers in the early 1970s and testified in the much more recent Felt-Miller FBI black-bag trial. Grathwohl's name is also readily found in the index to Frank Donner's book, which I thought every serious newspaper felt obliged to have, along with *The Almanac of American Politics*.)

So, on the basis of such careful analysis, the *Journal's* editorial — titled "Terrorism at Home" — suspects that an investigation into domestic terrorism "would disclose that the Cubans have been actively aiding and abetting the Weather Underground and similar groups in the U.S. for years."

Similar groups? Which ones? Based on what evidence? As for the main theme, it may be that there was, and still is, a Cuban connection to the Weather Underground, but there is no proof whatever in that *Wall Street Journal* editorial, which reads as if it could be written, though with somewhat more bluster, by Robert Bleiberg of *Barron's*. (See his grand fireworks show, *Reap the Whirlwind/Events Have Discredited the Critics of the FBI*, in the October 21, 1981 issue of that jolly journal. Says Bleiberg, in the wake of the Brink's arrest: "Since the mid-Seventies, under a ceaseless barrage of leftist propaganda, the nation's intelligence agencies have been all but destroyed." And now's the time to more than make up for all of that. *The Wall Street Journal* just wants to help.)

With such earnest carelessness at *The Wall Street Journal*, it is not surprising to read Marcia Kramer's report in the October 25, 1981 *Daily News* that "Cuban intelligence agents, posing as United Nations diplomats here, have maintained regular contact with Weather Underground members. The members have gone to Cuba for training, and have checked in regularly with the DGI. In fact, a few years ago, one cell of Weather Underground members was criticized by DGI for talking too much and not taking bold enough action."

Gee whillikers, why isn't that on the front page? Maybe because there are some limits beyond which Editor Mike O'Neil (who likes to discourse on press responsibility) won't let his workers go. The only basis Kramer shows for that story is "Washington FBI sources." That's it. No documents, no corroborative confirmation, no nothing.

It may be news to Kramer that the FBI has been contesting vigorously, through all channels possible, the Reagan Administration's attempts to get the CIA officially into the domestic spying business. That's traditionally been the FBI's near-exclusive turf, and one of the ways the FBI can keep its hegemony is to make it look as if the bureau is on top of, inside, and burrowing from underneath every conceivable terrorist organization in the United States. It knows about the Cuban connection; it knows about the 10 years of training in terrorist techniques in Mississippi. It knows the press will swallow just about anything from an FBI source.

And the press can also be relied upon to creatively build on the leads slipped it by the FBI. Like Marcia Kramer:

"Funny, in the past, people snickered at the suggestion that Russian spies were trying to create unrest and revolution here in America — the land of the free. But recent evidence that Italy's Red Brigades, Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, Palestine Liberation commandos and Libyan terrorists have all been trained in the Soviet give new credence to the idea."

No facts about Russian spies tutoring the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army in her story, but who needs facts to build credence?

More to come, because the press is not nailed nearly often enough when it becomes a mindless messenger for official mis-



Katherine Boudine (left) and Judith Clark (right) being led from courtroom after pleading innocent to charges stemming from the 1981 Brinks robbery.

chief. As in that delightful evasion of journalistic responsibility in an October 23, 1981 front-page *Washington Post* story which reports the fusion of the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army. The source? "... undisclosed 'intelligence information' has led investigators to believe. . . ."

Undisclosed to the reporters, and so, unknown to the readers. And yet, all this passes as "information." But wait until our next main exhibit. It makes the *New York Post* look like *The Christian Science Monitor*.

## The Ohio Connection

Soon after I came to New York some 30 years ago, a much weathered reporter broke off listening to a pianist in a jazz saloon to warn this provincial: "Do not fall into the 'as if' school of journalism. It goes like this: 'I don't have all the facts, but it could have happened that way, and I got law-enforcement sources that say it could have happened that way, and it makes for much better copy if it happened that way, so why not write it as if it had happened that way?'"

The beauty part is that on a newspaper, you can usually get away with that kind of schlock reporting. Who remembers last week's story, let alone last month's or last year's? Right now, how many readers remember the by-lines, or where they appeared, of the reporters who gorged themselves on "as if" leads and follow-up "details" in covering, as it were, the Brink's murders in Rockland County?

The elaborately ominous Cuban Connection, for instance. Or the October 29, 1981 revelation in the *New York Post* that Nathaniel Burns, in custody for alleged involvement with the murders, is "a former SWAPO guerilla trained by the Cubans and Soviets in Africa." Says who? "It was learned," reporters Cy Egan and Peter Fearon tell us. Burns, the story goes on, fought for Namibian (sic) independence. (It's Namibian.) Who says he did? "Sources said." Burns and his associates in Africa "hoped to prepare themselves for terrorist activity in the U.S. . . . They were convinced they could lay the groundwork for a 'black re-

volution." Who says? Again, "Sources said."

Anything's possible, but what kind of journalism is it that quotes, like a stuck raven, only unidentified sources on a story of this potential importance? And in the *New York Post* yet — which has so diligently earned the respect of all in the profession for its fanatic devotion to factual accuracy. So, if we never hear again of SWAPO or Namibia in connection with Nathaniel Burns, who will remember the perpetrators of the original "story"?

Then there is plain dumb sloppiness on the part of the press. Using a dim bulb to illuminate the terrorism in Rockland County, Kenneth Walton, director of a joint Federal-New York City Terrorist Task Force, told the press on October 24 that all the various links between the Weather Underground and other "radical groups" show certain "common purposes." Like what? Well, Walton said, such common purposes as "the creation of a socialist state" and "an end to the United States Government as we know it."

### Terrorism by the Press

After that piece of fine-tuning by the FBI, I was surprised that the *New York Post* and the *Daily News* did not try to establish some links between Joanne Chesimard and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. However, that FBI terror-word "socialist" did lead to this AP story which appeared, among other places, in the October 22, 1981 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*:

"... FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette in New York said the Bureau had determined that Clark [one of the Brink's suspects] was the same Judith Clark who once was in the Weather-Underground and is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

Despite decades of FBI infiltration and dirty tricks, the one thing clear about the Socialist Workers Party is that while these Trotskyists may talk you to death, they do not engage in nor advocate terrorism. And more to the immediate point, as Jack Barnes, the SWP national secretary, said in an angry press release, "As the FBI well knows, Judith Clark has never been a member of the SWP, let alone 'a figure in it.'"

Despite decades of FBI infiltration and dirty tricks, the one thing clear about the Socialist Workers Party is that while these Trotskyists may talk you to death, they do not engage in nor advocate terrorism. And more to the immediate point, as Jack

The AP then put out a "corrective" which included the SWP's denial, and then said the linking of Clark to the SWP had not come from the FBI after all, but rather from New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire. Thereupon, McGuire's office issued a statement saying Clark was indeed not a Socialist Workers Party figure or even member. But around the country, the damage to the SWP — still engaged in its monumental court battle against FBI spying and disruption — had been done. Before the first bulletin went out, did no one at the AP think of calling the SWP to find out if Clark was actually on it rolls?

Socialist Workers Party headquarters tells me no such call was ever received.

One group of journalists, above all, has so distinguished itself in the practice of "as if" journalism that they have succeeded in making the *New York Post* look positively sedate. On October 25, 1981, the front-page headline in the Sunday *Advocate* (Stamford, Connecticut) proclaimed: *Tracing roots of the underground/Possible connection in Ohio is examined*. Tracking the Ohio trail were staff writers Chris Janis, Luise Putcamp Jr., and Karen Singer.

First, the *Advocate* is the paper where Rita Jensen is a reporter. Jensen was Kathy Boudin's roommate on New York's Upper West Side for three years until the day of Boudin's arrest. She says she did not know until that day who Boudin actually was. Jensen now becomes one of the targets of her paper's fearless probe of the Ohio connections in this case.

The lead tells us that Boudin, Jensen, and Jensen's current attorney, Martin Stolar "all had addresses in two major Ohio cities in 1969."

The second paragraph begins: "The three individuals have not been linked to each other while having residences in Ohio." Aw, shucks! But hold on. Nonetheless, "the extent of their relationships" before the Brink's murders "remains unclear."

So let's go back to the Buckeye State, whose official motto, I kid you not, is "With God, All Things Are Possible." Before Kathy Boudin went underground in 1970 because a building suddenly disappeared on West 11th Street, she was a community organizer in Cleveland, the *Advocate* reveals, while Jensen was into women's rights activities in Columbus, and Stolar "had been denied entrance to the Ohio Bar because he had refused to answer questions about political affiliations, though he later appealed successfully."

A little later in the story, we find out more about this Stolar person. He "helped to defend a number of radical activists in the early 1970s." So that must tell us something about this Stolar. It must tell us something about his own politics. It's unheard of for someone simply to defend a radical on Constitutional principles — or even for a straight fee.

But the reader needs more background from the *Advocate* about Stolar: "His clients, according to published reports, included reputed Black Panther Mark Holder, charged in a 1971 New York City murder trial, former Youth International Party (YIPPIE!) leader Abbie Hoffman, and convicted murderer and Black Liberation member Joanne Chesimard."

Aside from Stolar's right to represent anyone he damn well pleases without being presumed dangerous to the republic, Mark Holder was convicted in that trial, but — the *Advocate* never bothered to find out — the conviction was reversed on Constitutional grounds. A coerced confession. Also, the only time Stolar represented Abbie Hoffman was in the famous *Handschu* case against the New York City Red Squad. Third, Stolar has never represented Joanne Chesimard.

The *Advocate* claims it tried to reach Stolar by phone while preparing the story, but he tells me he heard from no one at the paper about these and any of the other alleged "facts" in this investigative story so extensive that it required three (!) reporters.

In that story, there follows a great deal about Stolar's refusal to answer questions about his organizational affiliations in order to be admitted to the Ohio Bar in 1969. The *Advocate* does concede that ultimately the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of Stolar and the First Amendment; but the paper notes darkly that one of the questions he refused to answer was whether he had been a "member of any organization which advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force."

I forget: is Stolar a defendant in this case or is he one of the lawyers?

These three Stamford reporters really know how to dig, though. They found out that Stolar is a member of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. And guess who the NECLC's general counsel is? Leonard Boudin. In case you're slow, the *Advocate* breaks the news that "Boudin is Kathy Boudin's father."

These remarkable *Advocate* reporters did, however, miss a

Sunday Sun-Times, August 10, 1980

# FALN hideout had cop reports

By Art Petacque and Hugh Hough

Photocopies of Chicago police intelligence Division documents were discovered in a Milwaukee hideout of FALN terrorists during an FBI raid in April, the Sun-Times has learned.

The documents dealt with police plans to cope with possible FALN terror tactics in Chicago.

Included were a list of buildings that police believed were potential bombing targets and a list of dates when such attacks by the Puerto Rican nationalist group were considered most likely.

FBI agents seized the illicit photocopies, along with bomb-making equipment and a cache of firearms, during an April 8 raid on an FALN "safe house" at 2553 N. Ninth Ave., Milwaukee.

The house became a target of raids after Evanston police obtained its address during their April 1 arrest of 11 suspected FALN terrorists.

Last week, two of those arrested were sentenced to 20-year prison terms for the armed

UNLAWFUL POSSESSION AND STORAGE OF EXPLOSIVES; CONSPIRACY

WANTED BY FBI

OSCAR LOPEZ-RIVERA

Photograph from 1978

Photograph from 1978



Schmiedel, said Moore was attending a conference of the National Lawyers Guild in Boston.

Schmiedel said he and Moore are members of a law firm at 343 S. Dearborn that also includes Michael Deutsch, Jeffrey H. Haas and Dennis Cunningham. He said he and Deutsch visited the FALN prisoners at Cook County Jail and provided "guidelines for legal procedure" for the terrorists, who acted as their own attorneys.

Members of the firm long have been active in legal actions concerning unpopular causes such as the Black Panther movement and imprisoned street gang members.

For example, Deutsch recently filed a petition with the United Nations seeking to have the arrested FALN members designated as prisoners of war.

The FALN organization has taken credit for numerous bombings in Chicago, New York City, Puerto Rico and elsewhere. Thomas C. Deans, an FBI



This article appearing in the *Chicago Sun-Times* implied that attorney John Moore was involved in supplying information to the FALN. Although in court government attorneys were unable to meet a judge's challenge to produce

evidence of the charge, the smear was later presented as "evidence" in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (see McCree article, this issue).

beat. When Stolar went to court in Ohio to contest his initial rejection from the Ohio Bar because of his subversive invocation of the First Amendment, that suit was filed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Stolar's lawyer was (gasp!) Leonard Boudin. But the *Advocate* folks got it wrong. They said Bill Kunstler was Stolar's attorney. Well, all New York radical lawyers look alike.

Having nailed down Stolar's diversely suspicious Ohio activities, the *Advocate* goes on to describe Kathy Boudin's welfare-rights organizing in the state, along with her civil rights work in connection with Students for a Democratic Society. As for Rita Jensen (the third side of this Ohio triangle whose ends never met), she had become known at Ohio State University as "a fervent champion of women's rights and the causes of battered women."

The clincher about Jensen — never let it be said that the *Advocate* is unduly fair to its own people — comes from her journalism professor back then, Martha Brian:

"Rita's reputation was not a normal one. She was always involved in a lot of feminist causes. She was very outspoken about that kind of thing."

"Not normal." Is that what the *Advocate* is actually trying to tell us about these three people, all of whom "had addresses in two major Ohio cities in 1969"? Is that the link? That each, being variously abnormal, was bound to get involved, one way or another, in these terrorist murders.

Who the hell edits the *Advocate* — this news(sic)paper "serving Fairfield County since 1929"? Who looked at this copy? Who approved its front-page placement? Looking back, does no one on the staff have even a touch of shame now? I'd really like to know. I'd also like to know where these three reporters have worked before. There may be centers of "creative" journalism in this land I've never heard of.

I am indebted for my copy of the *Advocate's* background scoop to Gabe Kaimowitz of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense & Education Fund, Inc., who observed in a covering letter that he too, as a young attorney, had objected, on Constitutional

grounds, to being asked his organizational affiliations in order to be admitted to the New York Bar. Thereby linked to Stolar, Kaimowitz adds, "It soon will be learned that I once was represented by Leonard Boudin and knew Kathy."

Kaimowitz further speculates — not entirely fancifully — that reporters of the quality of those on the *Advocate* may also make him "the Puerto Rican Connection (notice how we stopped the New York City election just as the bombings and bank robberies were occurring?). I would not be concerned except for the fact that [on October 25, 1981] on NBC's *News 4 New York* Ralph Penza told all of the city that the Stamford *Advocate* had just come across all these connections and was following them up." (The *Advocate* also put the same "story" on the *Los Angeles Times-Washington Post* wire.)

In a pale imitation of the *Advocate's* strategy of weaving defense lawyers into this terrorist web, Leo Stadora and Marianne Goldstein revealed in the October 22, 1981 *New York Post* that Rita Jensen "has hired Martin Stoler [sic], a Manhattan lawyer who has in past represented clients linked to radical groups, including the Puerto Rican terrorists group FALN."

Just for the record, folks, Stolar was once engaged by a client, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, because she was being subpoenaed by a grand jury allegedly looking into the FALN. On principle, the client would not testify in what appeared to her to be a political fishing expedition on which she was being linked to the FALN just because she was an *Independista*. That is Stolar's sole "link" to the terrorist FALN.

When I finally got my own FBI and CIA files a few years ago, much of the bulk consisted of newspaper clippings about me, including "as if" stories. Because I had signed a particular petition or spoken at a particular rally, I was thereby "linked" to a particular group or action. It could have been true, the reporters must have thought, so why not write as if it were?

What do alarmed patriots need these days with Arnaud de Borchgrave when they've got the regular press working away at its creative "as if" reporting? As if they were real journalists.

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## Case Study of a New Witch Hunt:

# Kiko Martinez—A Case of Harassment

by Sally Olson

Almost ten years ago, bombs were discovered in letters mailed to two Denver residents and one business. What followed the defusing of the explosives, easily fits the dictionary definition of a classic Witch Hunt:

*—“an investigation usually conducted with much publicity, supposedly to uncover subversive political activity, disloyalty, etc., but really to harass and weaken political opposition.”*

This time the target was Francisco E. “Kiko” Martinez, who the government indicted in the bomb cases. Martinez, a Mexicano attorney, is a member of the National Lawyer’s Guild, and an organizer prominent in the Southwest for defending the civil rights of minorities and working people.

How conscious was the government’s plan to target Martinez as a political activist, and from whose brain the idea sprang, is the subject of two current civil lawsuits. Through the civil suits Martinez seeks to establish that the U.S. government made him the target of counterintelligence activities as part of a conspiracy undertaken to deprive him of his civil and Constitutional rights in an effort to undermine and denigrate his political views and activities.

In short, it is believed that Martinez was set up, because of his vocal legal representation and leadership against oppression of Chicano and Mexicano workers in Colorado. As one of his attorneys, David Graham of Denver explained, Martinez was taking on the government in court, “and he was beating them.”

Whether Martinez was singled out from the start, or whether he became a victim of circumstances, events since his indictment support his claims. Elements of a Witch Hunt abound: hysteria, this time aroused by stories of bomb threats and the liberal use of inflammatory reports in the media; a manhunt for an allegedly dangerous “mad bomber”; judicial misconduct, undertaken by a judge who obviously believed the defendant guilty and acted on this belief from the start of the trial; harassment and intimidation of the defendant’s family, supporters and friends, possibly including the sudden “accidental” death of Martinez’s younger brother, Reyes; “lost” evidence; surveillance of the support committee and meetings called in defense of Martinez; distortion of events and facts, reaching character assassination, to make it appear that Martinez had a history of arrest for bomb-related incidents; and so on. While many of these elements turned up early in the history of this case, they continue to reappear, as Sgt. McCree’s article, “A Case for Self-Defense,” reflects. (See article this issue.)

The most blatant of the early signs of Witch Hunt were the actions of Judge Fred M. Winner, presiding trial judge in the 10th

Circuit Court for the first federal trial, which took place in Pueblo, Colorado. As David Smyth’s “Judicial Jujitsu” article in this issue details, Judge Winner’s contribution to the ambush included efforts to undertake secret surveillance of Martinez’s supporters in the courtroom; an attempt to organize, through *ex parte* meetings, cooperation between the prosecution and the Judge on the initiation, acceptance and timing of a mistrial motion; and after this activity had been uncovered, letters to the U.S. Attorney’s office and numerous judges, accusing Martinez of being the lynchpin in a network of terrorist organizations.

Judge Winner’s secret meeting with prosecution attorneys and witnesses brought about a mistrial in the first federal trial, on what was called the Hodge Count, named after the recipient of the particular letter bomb, Denver policewoman Carol Hogue. Judge Winner’s activities did not, however, result in a dismissal of all charges. Kenneth Padilla, Martinez’s criminal lawyer, filed an appeal calling for dismissal of all counts, on the grounds that a new trial would violate Constitutional protection against double jeopardy. The 8th Circuit Court dismissed the counts concerning Hogue, but refused to dismiss the “Two-Wheeler” and “Crider” counts, named after the recipients of the other two letter bombs, because these had been severed from the Hogue count before the first trial.

In state court, Padilla filed a motion to dismiss all counts, based on the misconduct of the judge, and the fact that key witnesses and personnel in the State of Colorado’s case had been involved in the secret meeting with Winner. In a hearing, the presiding judge determined that aside from the involvement of police officers at the secret meeting, no state misconduct could be found. Before he had a chance to rule on this determination, however, the Colorado District Attorney’s office filed a motion to dismiss all counts on the state level, on the grounds that “the federal government had messed the case up so badly, they should be the agency to have to deal with it.”

## Some Bad News

Despite all events to this point, the U.S. Attorney’s office pressed for the prosecution of the two remaining federal counts. Padilla’s appeal to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari to have all remaining counts dismissed because of violations of due process in the Pueblo trial, was denied. The second federal trial on the Two-Wheeler indictment began March 29, 1982 before Judge Kane.

On the eve of this trial, the U.S. Attorney’s office received a stay while it appealed a ruling regarding evidence issued during

Martinez's appeal to the 8th Circuit. This ruling prohibited the government from introducing as evidence in the "Two-Wheeler" or "Crider" counts any discussion of Martinez's flight from Colorado after indictment, as well as any evidence used in the Pueblo trial on the Hogue count. In this fashion, the federal government attempted to circumvent the double jeopardy ruling, and get admitted as evidence material from the Hogue trial. Arguments on this issue were heard on May 6, 1982; Judge Kane's ruling was subsequently reversed, permitting the government to present evidence of Martinez' flight in 1973 at the "Two Wheeler" trial. Following his reversal, Judge Kane removed himself from the case.

Despite its evidentiary "support," the government was unable to capture a guilty verdict in the "Two-Wheeler" case. After a month of testimony under the watchful eye of Judge Frank G. Theis (the third trial judge in the matter), the jury returned a unanimous verdict of not guilty on November 20th, 1982.

Do not suppose, however, that this failure has deterred the prosecution. On the contrary, prosecutors have initiated a third federal trial, this time on the only remaining count, the "Crider" count. Once again, the U.S. Attorney's office seeks to have testimony concerning the "Hogue" and "Two Wheeler" counts, already dismissed, introduced to "establish" Martinez' guilt in the "Crider" count. Once again, the prime evidence allegedly linking Martinez to the bombings, a finger or palm print, has been destroyed, and only photographs remain. Motions to dismiss the "Crider" count case were heard in February of 1983 and are still under advisement.

Since the declaration of a mistrial in the Hogue case, Martinez and his attorneys have gone on the offensive, filing two suits against the federal and state governments and/or their agents. In the first, in Washington D.C., Martinez is suing to establish whether materials denied him during a request for records under the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts, have been properly withheld. Daniel Schember, attorney of record in this case, states that he believed, "the motive for the government's prosecution (of Martinez) could be revealed by the documents" currently being deleted or withheld from his client. That case is awaiting a Judge's decision on preliminary motions to dismiss and is expected to go to trial this year.

In a related civil suit, filed in Colorado, Martinez is seeking to prove that a conspiracy to violate his civil rights was undertaken by a number of defendants, including Judge Winner, the FBI, U.S. Attorney's office employees, state prosecutors, the City of Denver Police Department, and journalist Pete Webb, among others, not because he was guilty of any crime, but because of Martinez's political views and activities. At a 1982 hearing on defendants' various motions to dismiss, Judge Bruce Jenkins of Salt Lake City, initially indicated he might be swayed by the argument that Martinez had already achieved appropriate relief of his complaints against the defendants, because retrial on the "Hogue" count and the state counts was prohibited. Additionally, some governmental defendants claim "immunity" from prosecution on Constitutional or civil rights grounds, stating in effect "you can't sue us, we are the United States"! That case was dismissed and is currently on appeal.

Since the declaration of a mistrial in the "Hogue" case, in late January of 1981, there has been no official censure of any of the parties involved in misconduct. Judge Winner has not retired, but remains a practicing judge. Results, if any, from the judicial council convened to review his activities in Pueblo have never



Attorney Francisco "Kiko" Martinez

been released to the public. At last notice the members of the U.S. Attorney's office involved in the *ex parte* meeting were still with that office. A motion to have the entire office disqualified from further involvement in the trials was sidestepped by the introduction of two U.S. Attorney's from Chicago, Barry Alden and Walter Jones, Jr. to handle the federal prosecution.

However, during the same period of time, Kiko Martinez, his attorneys and supporters have faced continued harassment and threats. U.S. Attorney Dolan testified at one point that Judge Winner had told him he was planning to attempt to have the FBI place secret cameras in the second trial courtroom to film Martinez's defense attorneys and supporters, with or without the trial judge's knowledge.

According to Padilla, Judge Winner also wrote to U.S. Attorney Sue Roberts in the summer of 1981, threatening to file undefined grievances against him and Leonard Weinglass, Martinez's original attorneys. A grievance finally was filed with the Bar Association some time later, by another Judge, claiming that Padilla made "improper comments" to the press during the Hogue trial. Padilla refuses to respond, on the basis that First Amendment rights protect his freedom of speech.

Meanwhile, the victim of the Witch Hunt continues to pay the consequences of crimes for which he has not been convicted. Martinez's license to practice law has been suspended for some time. The results desired by the alleged conspirators have in one way been achieved; Martinez can no longer defend and organize, as an attorney, those minority and working people to whom he has devoted so much time. This restriction alone does not satisfy those who haunt him; they would still like, after all these years and all that bungling, to put him out of circulation. Additionally,

Martinez's case is used to justify the argument that freedom of information should be restricted or denied, and to support the position that intelligence and counter-intelligence procedures against political dissidents is acceptable and requires protection.

The events and elements of Martinez's case only go to show that a Witch Hunt is never conducted simply to "get" an individual. Witch Hunts of this type are a fraud perpetrated to

justify a theft. While the fraud of a particular set-up or conspiracy may effect only an individual or a few, the resulting theft of rights is aimed at a more massive struggle. At their heart, they have a far greater purpose—to institute repressive legislation and restrict progressive measures, to prevent and disrupt the organization of political opposition, and to terrorize those who fight for social change.

**If At First You Don't Succeed . . .**

## Judicial Jujitsu

"I could get a job hashing in 1933 and couldn't get any other job. I couldn't hash unless I went to school because the job was at a sorority. There was no medical school in Denver at the time, so I went to law school at the University of Colorado."

From these spartan beginnings, Fred M. Winner has become one of the most controversial judges in the West. Some people would like him to retire; they say Winner has made a hash of a venerable body of legal ethics and regulations.

by David Smyth

**M**any of those charges are directed at Winner's handling of the trial of alleged letter-bomber Franke Eugenio "Kiko" Martinez. Three days into the trial, Winner called a controversial meeting which was kept secret from the defense. Its disclosure five months later exploded the case.

Defense and prosecution attorneys have spent months trying to redress the harm and set the record straight. But the three hearings that followed the Martinez mistrial have raised, as well as answered, several questions as to how the judicial process works. The alleged judicial misconduct of the Chief U.S. Judge for the District of Colorado has prompted an investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States, according to Joseph Dolan, Chief U.S. Attorney for the District of Colorado. Duke Short, chief investigator for the committee, has no comment.

In 1971, Richard Nixon appointee Fred Winner was completing his first year on the District of Colorado bench when Franke Martinez was admitted to the Colorado bar. In 1972, Martinez successfully sued the Colorado Department of Corrections for improperly transferring prisoners



to the state penitentiary in Canon City. He was defending members of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) in 1973 when three dynamite bombs were mailed to three Denver residents. No one was killed or injured. Shortly thereafter, a grand jury indicted Martinez for the crimes.

He fled to Los Angeles, then to Mexico, where he remained a fugitive for seven years. The government prosecutors say his flight bears witness to his guilt; his defense attorneys say he became a fugitive to save his life from vindictive police whom he had successfully sued and who were virtually at war with parts of Denver's Chicano community. At any rate, Martinez was arrested in Phoenix, Arizona, in September 1980 after he attempted to slip into the United States.

Martinez's trial on federal charges of possession of explosives, mailing a letter bomb to a Denver policewoman, and conspiracy—the first of three scheduled federal trials—began on January 27 of this year with Judge Winner presiding. It was expected to last about 10 days. Martinez would face three trials on state charges later.

But the first trial never went to the jury, and ended

in a highly contested mistrial. Martinez's lawyers assert that events leading to the mistrial show misconduct by the judge and prosecutors who attempted to cover it up and demand that all federal and state charges be dropped. Prosecutors claim that only Winner acted improperly and that all charges should go to trial. Winner says he acted to ensure a fair trial for both the defendant and the public.

But according to lawyers, Winner had already taken unusual measures in the case. Although district court cases are customarily assigned by lot, James Manspeaker, clerk for the U.S. District Court in Denver, testified at a later hearing in federal court that Winner assigned the case to himself. Winner said that ultimately he was given the case by lot. A Telex sent from the Denver FBI office to Washington headquarters stated "Chief Federal Judge Fred M. Winner opted to personally handle the arraignment and will in all likelihood reside over subject's trial" because radicals were converging on Denver for a "mass demonstration."

One of Martinez's lawyers later argued in federal court that the memo showed that Winner had "decided on a plan to convict Mr. Martinez." In opening remarks at the federal trial, one of the defense attorneys, Leonard Weinglass, said there was minimal evidence pointing to Martinez's guilt, only a print from his left ring finger on a piece of canvas-backed cardboard commonly used by artists and readily available at the UMAS office in Boulder. Under cross-examination by the defense, Denver Police Captain Robert Nicoletti, who had performed the fingerprinting tests, said the print could have been on the board up to or over a year before the bomb was mailed. Moreover, he noted that there were two other fingerprints not belonging to Martinez on the inside of the mailing package which the Denver crime laboratory could not trace.

Fleeing prosecution is considered incriminating behavior, but Weinglass, who had also served as defense attorney at the Chicago Eight trial a decade earlier, argued that Martinez fled with good reason, considering the political situation in Denver in 1973. Defense would argue later that Judge Winner's conduct made Martinez's flight yet more understandable.

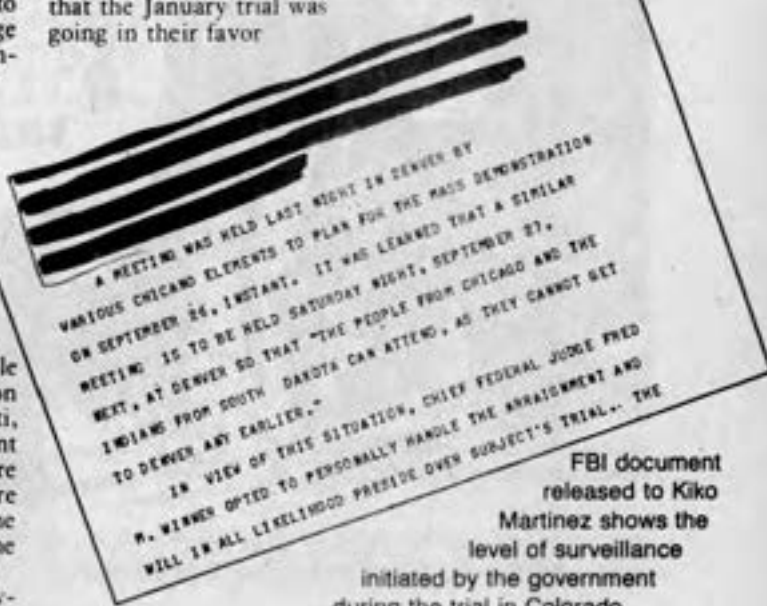
Martinez's trial was held in Pueblo because of pretrial publicity in Denver. But more important to the case than the issue of publicity is the issue of intimidation. Intimidation can resemble the antics of the Cheshire Cat. Just as only the smile of the Cheshire Cat is visible, so only the anonymous phone call or the flash of a weapon is perceived by the victim. The perpetrator and his motive often remain hidden.

Last June, Judge Winner told a federal hearing that he had received a death threat and that other court personnel, including a marshal and a clerk, reported being followed or having had family members in Denver visited by strange, unknown people. But everyone—including Winner—stated that none of this could be linked to the Martinez case. No violence connected with the trial was reported in Pueblo, but as several observers at the trial noted, the atmosphere was tense.

The issue of intimidation in the courtroom is one of the keys to understanding the eventual mistrial. Judge Winner testified at a federal court hearing five months later that the attempted intimidation of jurors and witnesses reached criminal proportions. But courtroom security was very tight, and ten temporarily deputized plainclothes officers

from the Pueblo Police Department's Intelligence and Narcotics Squad attended the trial. Spectators at the trial said that security in and outside the courtroom was very heavy. All spectators had to pass by a desk in the hallway and some were not allowed to take in packages. Police constantly monitored the spectator gallery by looking into the room from the main entrance.

There was no violence or shouting during the trial and no one reported that the jurors ever said they were afraid of the spectators. Kenneth Padilla, principal defense lawyer, claimed Judge Winner used intimidation as a subterfuge to convene an improper meeting. Defense attorneys later stated in court that the January trial was going in their favor



FBI document released to Kiko Martinez shows the level of surveillance initiated by the government during the trial in Colorado.

when the mistrial was called.

The pretext for the mistrial happened on the third day when a juror complained angrily that spectators should not be allowed to wear T-shirts that said, "Free Kiko" while the jury was prohibited from watching newscasts. Judge John Kane, at a federal hearing on the Martinez mistrial stated that he agreed and would not allow message-bearing clothing in his courtroom. Winner and Padilla both say they saw two people wearing these shirts. Spectators reported seeing as many as eight in a room that held about 80 people.

Another juror complained that a law student who was present briefly at the defense table wore sunglasses. The defense moved for a mistrial based on juror hostility toward the defendant. The prosecution did not express an opinion. Judge Winner denied the motion but said the defense could enter it again later if they wished.

That evening, January 29, Winner called a secret meeting of prosecutors and other court personnel which the prosecutors said was highly improper and compromised their ethical standards. The next day, the prosecution moved for a mistrial because of the meeting (which was not publicly disclosed for five months) and decided that Winner should be taken off the case. But as the prosecution moved for a mistrial, it listed juror hostility toward the defendant and concern over Martinez's right to a fair trial as the only reason.

The defense was instantly skeptical of the government's



Community people in Chimayo, New Mexico march in support of Martinez. A defense fund has been established:

Francisco "Kiko" Martinez Defense Committee, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Colorado 81101.

motives. Their curiosity grew when an inflammatory TV newscast (made for KMGH by ex-FBI agent Peter Webb) reported that the prosecution wanted to regroup from the alleged harassment of the Kiko supporters. Two months later, on April 4, the *Denver Post* printed excerpts from a

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*Prosecutors were embarrassed by Winner's actions and feared they could lose their law licenses unless they reported the Judge's misconduct.*

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letter written by Winner to a Department of Justice (DOJ) official in Washington that castigated Joseph Dolan, the chief U.S. Attorney in Denver, and his superior in Washington for not allowing the installation of hidden cameras in the courtroom. The defense then surmised that Winner had met with the prosecution secretly, an improper action in most cases.

Winner excused himself from the Martinez trial last February, and the case was assigned by lot to U.S. District Court Judge John Kane. Kane presided over the aforementioned hearing on March 18 that examined, among other things, the circumstances behind the mistrial. Said

Kane of his mission: "The whole discipline of the office of a judge is to listen to both sides and rule and let the chips fall where they may. . . . I want anything I do to be subject to the adversary process."

The first witness to take the stand was U.S. Attorney Dolan. He testified that the government had moved for a mistrial because of "an event Thursday evening." When asked to explain that event, Janis Chapman, a U.S. Attorney representing the government, objected, arguing that such questions would intrude on the way an attorney prepares his case, a legal tradition considered sacrosanct in the profession. Judge Kane upheld the objection, saying that he did not want to go on record as the first judge in U.S. history to violate this privileged area. The defense repeatedly rephrased its questions, but each time Chapman objected and each time Kane upheld the objection.

But then something unusual happened. Chapman offered to give evidence to Judge Kane that would explain the "event," but only if the defense were not present. Kane turned it down, saying he would not accept evidence presented this way, known as *ex parte*, *in camera*. The defense urged him to accept it, but he held fast. Kane commented at the hearing, "I just don't like these private deals. I just don't like them." The legal time bomb had not yet exploded but the tick was deafening.

On April 21, acting on a defense motion, the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Kane to inquire further

into the factual basis of the government's motion for mistrial. On April 24, Kane asked the Court of Appeals to assign a judge to the hearing from outside the six-state area that comprises the 10th Circuit. By now, it had become apparent that Winner would probably be called to testify at the hearing—an almost unprecedented event—and any judge in the 10th Circuit would find it difficult to preside at such a hearing because of "principles of impartiality and

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*Judge Winner was angered when he couldn't install hidden cameras in the courtroom.*

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collegiality," as Kane put it. So, the 10th Circuit assigned U.S. District Judge Luther Eubanks of the District of Oklahoma to preside at a new hearing in Denver, held on June 30 and July 1. On these two days, "Winnergate" finally reached the public eye.

At the hearing, Winner testified that he called a meeting on the night of January 29 in his room at the Pueblo West Motel: "It was done because of my sincere belief that I was observing the commission of crime; namely obstruction of justice" by spectators attempting to intimidate jurors, witnesses, and the judge. Winner said that some of the spectators, who were led by two men, were attempting to stare down people and that two people with sketch pads were attempting to catch the juror's eyes.

Among those present at the meeting were Sandra Spencer, second secretary to Judge Winner, James Manspeaker, clerk for the District Court, and three U.S. Marshals: Payton Bear, Matthew Dunn, and Les Weisenhorn. The Marshal Service is in charge of court security. Apparently, no notes were taken.

However, also present with Winner's permission, were two witnesses for the prosecution, Denver policemen J.C. Tyus, Jr. and Robert Nicoletti. Tyus had not yet testified at the trial; Nicoletti had begun his testimony that day and would resume it the next. Manspeaker testified that Tyus offered to cause a mistrial by mentioning a previous arrest of Martinez that Winner had ruled could not be mentioned at the trial. Tyus denied this; Winner said Tyus meant it as a joke.

One of the two government prosecutors, John Barksdale, testified that Winner ordered him and his associate, Daniel Christopher, to the meeting. The presence of these assistant U.S. Attorneys is the germ of the meeting's controversy.

A meeting between a judge and only one side of a dispute is called an *ex parte* meeting. The American Bar Association (ABA) Codes of Judicial Conduct and Professional Responsibility expressly forbid *ex parte* meetings, with the narrow exceptions of the discussion of matters such as court dates, schedules, and certain emergency situations, such as some injunctions, temporary restraining orders, or subpoenas, according to Francis Jamison, Professor of Law at the University of Denver and former Jefferson County Judge. These prohibitions supposedly prevent one side in a dispute from discussing a case without the other side being informed or allowed to express an opinion. Furthermore, the code states that if any *ex parte* communication occurs, then counsel must notify the opposition promptly and in writing.

Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley says, "We don't

have any substantive *ex parte* meetings with judges. My prosecutors are under orders not to meet with judges *ex parte*."

A slightly modified version of the ABA standards has been codified into law in Colorado and is the basis for disciplining state judges and lawyers.

Winner testified that he was trying to convince the prosecutors that he should be allowed to install secret cameras in the courtroom to record the alleged intimidation.

John Barksdale had a different recollection. "There was [sic] a few little preliminary matters, and then Judge Winner spoke to me directly and said, 'John, when you want a mistrial, I will give you a mistrial whenever you want it.'" Barksdale testified that he, Christopher, and Winner discussed what the defense could be, then Winner said, "I think that this government should be entitled to as much discovery as the defense, and I will keep this case going until we find out what that is..."

Professor Jamison said that if what Barksdale said was true, "that's a classic violation of that [ABA] canon, because it's a situation where the judge is called upon to make a determination and both sides are not present." Jamison said that if what Winner said is true, it is still a serious infraction, because Winner shouldn't have met with the attorneys.

Richard Collins, a Boulder lawyer who teaches part-time at the University of Colorado School of Law, said that ABA rules also enjoin a judge from doing things that even have the appearance of impropriety. "If all they did was sit around and sip lemonade, it has the same appearance of partisanship, he said.

Barksdale testified that after the meeting, he called his supervisor, Susan Roberts, Chief of the Denver Criminal Division, and told her about the meeting. Dolan testified that the next morning, January 30, Roberts informed him of the concern of the prosecutors. Dolan then decided to send her to Pueblo.

Roberts, who never mentioned meeting with Winner at the previous hearing under Kane, testified at the Eubanks hearing shortly after she had arrived in Pueblo, she met with Winner, who told her he wanted the prosecutors to move to Winner's motel so that the next meeting wouldn't be noticed. Roberts also testified that she counseled a meeting with all parties present and that Winner rejected the suggestion because it would allow the defense to attend.

Dolan testified that Roberts phoned him to report that things were "real bad" and that the prosecutors were considering whether they should turn in their licenses to practice law. After further discussion, the four federal attorneys agreed to press for a mistrial that afternoon. Dolan said his office was concerned about Martinez's right to a fair trial.

In Denver the following Monday, February 2, Judge Winner was furious with the U.S. attorneys for bringing the trial to a halt before he could install the cameras, according to Barksdale, Roberts, Dolan, and even Winner. This one of the few points on which they all agreed.

Dolan testified that he told Winner that before he could recommend the installation of secret cameras, Winner would first have to use his considerable powers of issuing contempt of court citations to offending spectators.

Later Dolan said that citing someone for contempt is like dealing with perjury. "You separate it from the trial, you don't drag it into the trial." Judge Kane said that

he eliminates problem spectators by ordering marshals to eject them summarily.

Winner testified that he didn't make notes on the attempted intimidation during the trial, nor did he order a marshal to identify the guilty spectators and eject them because the obstruction of justice case he contemplated would be much stronger if the spectators' behavior were recorded by cameras. Video recording would have prevented the very hearing over which Judge Eubanks was presiding, Winner testified.

Winner staunchly maintained that he only discussed security at the meeting, although he admitted he may have made remarks such as "I will keep this thing going as long as you want" and "... it would be helpful" to listen to the defense case. He denied offering to grant Barksdale a mistrial and said he wanted to structure the case for a mistrial that he would declare himself, once the cameras had recorded the alleged misconduct.

Dolan testified that he didn't place a great deal of stock in reports of intimidation outside the courtroom, although his assistants reported some alleged incidents. He said that when he told Winner on Monday, February 2, that he was aware of these incidents, Winner just brushed them off and said they were "no big deal," according to Dolan. Dolan said that some of the behavior in the courtroom could have been misinterpreted; for example, adjusting a neck bandana could have been interpreted as a throat-slitting gesture.

Winner did not agree. On February 3, Winner wrote an angry letter to Philip Wilens, the Director of the Department of Justice section that would have to approve the secret cameras. Winner wrote that he had reports that Martinez "is the catalyst for bringing together four terrorist groups which have never acted jointly." He went on to say that the DOJ and Dolan "are tacitly approving egregious obstruction of justice and you are hamstringing my efforts and the efforts of the FBI to try to bring to the bar persons who seem to be attempting to wreck our way of handling criminal cases. I don't know what you have been old, but I write this letter to say to you that I think that if here is an acquittal in this case without ability to prosecute for threatened obstruction of justice, you are inviting bombings, killings, and riots." Winner sent copies of the letter to Dolan, Manspeaker, Jack Egnor (Denver FBI chief) and William Webster (national FBI director) and every U.S. District Judge in the Colorado District. The letter was mailed anonymously to the *Denver Post*, which published large sections on April 4, 1981. It was also mailed to Robert Shaughnessy, Captain of the Denver Police Bomb Squad and a scheduled witness.

Dolan testified that he directed the FBI to interview some spectators about their conduct but that no obstruction of justice charges resulted.

Dolan said that his office debated whether to inform the defense of the January 29 meeting at Judge Winner's motel room. The DOJ Department of Professional Responsibility advised them to do so, as did a William Coulson, a U.S. attorney called in specially to represent the government for the Eubanks hearing. Dolan's office made the aforementioned ex parte submissions concerning the January 29 meeting to Judge Kane, to the Court of Appeals, and to Eubanks. If ex parte proffers of evidence are made on the record and before counsel of the other side, they are proper and it is up to the judge to accept or decline the offer. Judge Kane declined, even though the defense urged him to accept.

When neither the appellate judges nor Judge Eubanks had accepted the ex parte proffer, Dolan released a sworn affidavit summarizing the government's call for a mistrial to the defense. Kenneth Padilla, Martinez's principal attorney, said he received Dolan's affidavit explaining the meeting about 4 p.m. on the afternoon before the Eubanks hearing was to begin.

Eubanks ruled that the charges for which Martinez was tried in January be dropped because the defense had consented to a motion for mistrial without knowing all the facts. The defense has appealed the decision because it wants all charges dropped partly because alleged government misconduct might adversely affect government witnesses. The government has appealed to have the charges reinstated because it terminated the trial after the meeting.

Dolan said that Judge Winner's conduct will be investigated by the Judicial Conference of the United States, an organization of judges convened by law by the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court that will meet in Washington later this month, or by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Howard Philips, clerk for the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, said that complaints about judges' misconduct can be filed at the 10th Circuit through Chief Appellate Judge Oliver Seth who then makes a determination as to whether the matter warrants a formal proceeding. Philips said that no complaints have been lodged in the 10th Circuit during his tenure and that if a protest were filed it would not be a matter of public record until Judge Seth ordered it put on the record.

Robert Maes, a Denver attorney, said that the Hispanic National Bar Association (HNBA), which held a convention in Denver recently that was attended by about 100 attorneys and judges, passed a resolution criticizing Winner and the prosecution. According to Maes, the HNBA will file a protest with the Criminal Section of the DOJ's Civil Rights Division and request that the DOJ look into a conspiracy to violate Martinez's civil rights.

Professor Jamison said that the states have much stricter and more well-defined processes for disciplining judges than the federal government. He said that the 10th Circuit could simply decide to take a judge off a case without making a public disclosure. However, a recent federal law that goes into effect in October streamlines the process of redressing judicial misconduct, although it doesn't guarantee public disclosure of disciplinary actions.

But even if the new law could be legally applied to Winner's case, he stands little chance of censure. In his ruling, Judge Eubanks found no judicial or prosecutorial misconduct. Said Eubanks: "With respect to Judge Winner, I have no difficulty in saying he acted in high motive because of his sincere belief that the trial should be short-circuited by reason of misconduct among the spectators, acts of intimidation that he felt, he sincerely felt, had permeated the whole trial and infiltrated into the minds of the jurors to the point that a fair trial could not be had. You heard him say, and all honest minds must agree, that fair trial means for both sides, both the government and the accused, and I agree."

"Judge Winner, and I applaud him, wanted to protect the sanctity of his courtroom. He wanted to get the cameras installed so that these people, whom he believed to be misbehaving and doing acts of intimidation, could be positively identified."

Eubanks pinpointed the issue behind the judicial misconduct when he stated: "The fault, then, comes, 'Well,

somebody should have told the defendant." I think the reason that Judge Winner did not is what he said here: He had no reason to mistrust Mr. Weinglass or other defense counsel, but he did, indeed, mistrust Mr. Padilla. He said that he was not sure but what Mr. Padilla was a part of the obstructionist situation that he had seen and he didn't want to bring him into his confidence."

Eubanks thus effectively acquitted Winner of judicial misconduct by sanctioning him for the very action which led to the mistrial. The fact that Winner mistrusted Padilla, that he associated Padilla with the alleged obstruction of justice, was, according to Eubanks' ruling, reason enough for Winner to exclude Padilla and other defense counsel from the meeting.

Padilla said that Winner once asked him to work as a federal public defender, but that he respectfully declined.

The NHBA protest asserts, according to Robert Maes, that Winner's actions "violated a multitude of the defendant's rights, including his right to a fair trial and the due process of law."

So, as he nears 70 and prepares to step down from his august office, Fred M. Winner will leave a legacy to American jurisprudence: that a judge can exclude counsel from important meetings that affect the outcome of a trial on the thinnest suspicion that counsel is somehow connected with a crime that may never have taken place.

*David Smyth is a contributor to the Denver weekly, Westword, this article is reprinted by permission. Copyright 1982, Westword*

*This article first appeared in the summer 1981 issue of Military Police. While the Journal usually runs descriptive and analytical articles detailing the problems faced by military police officers, this article stands out as an exception. There are so many factual inaccuracies in this shoddily researched article we feel compelled*

*to disclaim the article in writing and apologize to the victims. Much of the information in McCree's article appears to be identical to charges circulated by right-wing spy John Rees in his Information Digest and books by him published by Western Goals Foundation. We run this as an example of the New Witch Hunts.*

# a CASE for self-defense

sgt a mccree

Reprinted from  
Military Police Journal

*This article does not represent either the position of The United States Army or the Los Angeles Police Department.*

**A** society that wishes to survive must have a self-defense instinct. A reality of the physical world is that nations are engaged in a continuous struggle for territory and power. The need for a country to protect itself is constant.

The post-Watergate hysteria that exists in America today has made us a nation of defenseless victims. Well-intended, but hastily enacted, Federal and local legislation has created a shield that insulates terrorists and criminals from legitimate investigations. In our attempt to guarantee our right to privacy, we have lost our ability to protect ourselves from the criminal and politically insane. Terrorists from the Puerto Rican FALN, the Symbionese Liberation Army, the Weather Underground, the Crusade for Justice, and the National Lawyers' Guild have used their involvement in "political organizations" to insulate themselves from legitimate investigation while committing acts

of terrorism. In each of the documented instances, terrorists were heavily involved in what they and the prevailing law would characterize as a legal political group.

The FBI, Secret Service, ATF, and other Federal law enforcement agencies have been so hampered by the Right-to-Privacy Law, Title 5, USC Section 552A, and the Freedom-of-Information Act, Title 5 USC Section 552, that they are emasculated. The Privacy Act prevents the FBI from investigating any group that only advocates violence; for example, the San Francisco-based group, The Urban Guerrilla (TUG). The TUG #4 pamphlet published picture, home addresses of PG&E executives, and instructions for manufacturing bombs and explosives. The articles went on to exhort the formation of new NWLF cells and the bombing of the named PG&E executives. Is it any wonder that public officials are assassinated,

shot, and assaulted? For, it's not a crime to merely *advocate* such acts. In fact, it could be against the law to warn the executive of the plot. Prevention against inside disruption is impossible when the *inmates run the asylum*.

Most major police departments are politically intimidated to discourage investigation, surveillance, and infiltration of left-wing and environmental groups. Ironically, such sanction rarely exists for right-wing organizations. Extensive justification, to the point of absurdity, is often the order of the day if any surveillance has been conducted.

California Penal Code Section 13300, an extension of the Privacy and Security Act, prohibits the release of personal criminal history. This restriction could allow terrorists, who have been released from prison, to obtain employment with the very corporation for whose bombing they were imprisoned. The company would not be able to ascertain this information, consequently subjecting themselves to possible additional attacks. A recent LAPD case involved a certified security guard who was arrested for a series of arsons and bomb threats to premises he was charged to protect. He was fired by the security firm but gained employment with a different security firm while awaiting trial. The guard subsequently built a hoax bomb and planted it in a public supermarket, causing evacuation and bomb squads to respond. His current security company was sued by the market for negligence in hiring this dangerous and licensed firearm-toting security guard. In all fairness to the current security firm, Section 432.7 of the California Labor Code prohibits prospective employers from gaining access to arrest records. It is entirely possible that the guard could apply for a job with another security firm, gain employment, and endanger countless lives again. It appears that between 13300 PC and 432.7 of the Labor Code, the public has no right to protection.

It is my opinion that the nine people involved with the organizations I will discuss represent a *prima facie* justification for police infiltration and investigation.

Shortly after the SLA shootout, Kathleen Ann Soliah helped to organize the Bay Area Research Collective (BARC), a political organization that published a pamphlet called *The Dragon*. A series of ten publications were produced. Included in the articles were discussions of political issues, bomb-making instructions, and antipolice dialogue. Ultimately, Kathleen Soliah and several

other members of BARC transcended advocacy and placed a series of bombs on police cars and corporation targets. Kathleen Soliah is still a fugitive and could well be using a similar "political group" to harbor her from arrest. Other members of the BARC have been named in the same indictment as unindicted co-conspirators. Their whereabouts is also unknown.

In the mid-seventies, the Episcopal Church established the Commission on Hispanic Affairs. This group was heavily represented by the Puerto Rican community. Two significant people sat on this commission, Carlos Alberto Torres and William Morales. Most of their political rhetoric focused on independence for Puerto Rico and antipolice activity. Less than a year later, Carlos Torres, his wife, Haydee, and Oscar Lopez Rivera were being sought for involvement in the FALN bombings. Carlos Torres and Oscar Rivera are wanted for investigation of the bombings, but Haydee is being sought for murder in connection with a death in the 1977 Mobil Oil bombing in New York. William Morales' bombing activities came to light in late 1978 when he blew his hands off building a parcel bomb. The device was consistent with bombs mailed to public figures, FBI, and the CIA by the armed commandos for Puerto Rican independence, a FALN splinter group. He escaped while awaiting trial and is a much-sought fugitive. Again, the point is that *terrorists used the Right-to-Privacy and Freedom-of-Information Act to insulate themselves*.

Explosives seized by authorities suggest that the FALN at one time was receiving at least some of its explosives from the Colorado-based "Crusade for Justice." Interestingly enough, the impact of the Right-to-Privacy Act prevented law enforcement from using telephone tolls to prove a connection with long-distance call records. They were similarly prohibited from investigating those groups that only advocate violence. As we shall see, they curiously included the terrorist. In the case of Crusade for Justice, a curious alliance appears. John Horo, a deputy director of Crusade for Justice, and Antonio Quintana were arrested for plotting to blow up police vehicle and facilities in protest of the upcoming IACP convention to be held in Denver. In February 1976, Horo was sentenced to six years in prison. Interestingly enough, he was also the past-president of MECIA at California Polytechnic College.

Another noteworthy player is Ricardo Romero, a Crusade-for-Justice member who also sat

on the Episcopal Commission on Hispanic Affairs. He was jailed in November 1977 in Chicago for refusing to answer grand jury questions about the FALN explosives and bomb factory and their connection to stolen explosives in Denver. He is reportedly the son-in-law of Corky Gonzales, who is the director of Crusade for Justice. When the FALN bomb factory was discovered, a .30 caliber carbine with filed off serial numbers was also recovered. When the serial number was restored, ownership was traced to the one and same Ricardo Romero.

Another terrorist we will look at is one Carlos Zapata who was killed in Denver by a bomb he was planting at a VFW hall on 22 March 1978. He was also at one time a brown beret, Crusade-for-Justice member and involved in the National Lawyers' Guild-sponsored "Police Crimes Task Force." He was reportedly involved in the Coors Strike Support Committee. It seems where there is smoke, there is fire.

It appears that the National Lawyers' Guild also transcends being advocates and indulges in terrorism. In several cases the subjects not only were legal advisors, but were advocates of terrorism as well. Many people insist that this is the prevailing philosophy in the guild.

Bernadine Dohrn, the much sought Weather Underground fugitive, was named student director for the National Lawyers' Guild (NLG) in 1967. At the national convention for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1968, Bernadine Dohrn was selected to be the interorganizational secretary of SDS, a national office. Asked if she were a Socialist, Miss Dohrn answered, "I consider myself a revolutionary Communist."

NLG member, Stephen Mitchell Bingham, is being sought by the state of California and the FBI for smuggling a .380 automatic pistol to George Jackson in prison inside a tape recorder. Being a lawyer gave him the privilege of being able to bring a tape recorder into prison. The lawyer-client relationship can and will likely continue to be used by radical attorneys to shield them from security procedures, investigation, and prosecution. They also use the power of subpoena to get terrorist leaders together for strategy sessions.

Another interesting Guild member is Frank Eugenio Martinez. He was a Loyola law student who was active in NLG projects at the college and on the streets. Suspiciously, Frank's fingerprints ended up on several of the eight letter-bombs mailed to Denver police officers in 1973. He is still a fugitive and being sought. Subsequently, his

younger brother, Francisco Kiko Martinez, also an attorney, was killed in a car when a bomb they were transporting exploded. Violent action seems to run in the profession and the family. The car belonged to Freda Bugarlin, director of the Platte Valley Action center, funded with over one million dollars in Federal, state, and local funds. Zapata had also been active with the Platte Valley Action Center.

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*The NLG continues to act as a clearing-house and as apologist and defender for terrorist and terrorism.*

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The NLG continues to act as a clearing house and as apologist and defender for terrorist and terrorism. They have been at the forefront in drafting much of the national and local legislation, both proposed or enacted, that restricts, hampers, and weakens police investigation.

The Weather Underground and its spinoff organizations have in many respects achieved more than most of the other groups mentioned. Several of their former members hold congressional seats, White House appointments, and jobs with the National Security Council. It looks like the old saying, "The foxes are in the hen house," is appropos.

A person worth looking at closely in connection with Weather Underground is Clayton Van Lydegraf who co-chaired the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) with Jennifer Dohrn, Bernadine's sister. He helped publish the original Prairie Fire pamphlet and Osawatamie. Both documents advocate revolution. He traveled extensively around the United States meeting other revolutionaries. Naturally, he was insulated from a complete FBI intelligence investigation because he was only *political* and following him or maintaining a dossier would be an invasion of his privacy. The truth of the matter is that Clayton couldn't or never intended to wait for the revolution. He linked up with four Weather Underground fugitives and planned and executed several bombings. They bombed the HEW office in San Francisco and the Selective Service Building and State Department Building in Washington, DC.

The group was arrested in Los Angeles and Houston, Texas. They were planning to murder a judge and were arrested during the construction of a device intended to blow up a state senator's

election headquarters. A case of putting terrorism into politics. When taken into custody, they had 2 bombs, 181 pounds of explosives, 6 weapons, and monitoring equipment for police radio frequencies. PFOC still maintains that it is a political organization, thereby seeing that it is insulated from legitimate investigation.

Mr. Ronald Olin, in his article, *An Evaluation of the United States Counterterrorism*

*Response Capability*, in the June 1979 *Police Chief* magazine, noted that—

"... the terrorist threat is unconsciously aided by Department of Justice guidelines on domestic security investigations. Counterterrorist operations must rely on timely, pertinent intelligence information; but an examination of the guidelines covering domestic intelligence shows that many of the activities necessary to collect the

## McCree Expands His Thesis

*Ed. Note: The statement of Detective Arleigh E. McCree, Officer in Charge, Firearms and Explosives Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism concerning domestic security guidelines on August 12, 1982 was virtually identical to his article in Military Police Journal. The excerpts printed here consist of the material that was not included in the original article, but was part of McCree's Senate testimony.*

During the past three years, the Los Angeles Bomb Squad has responded to 1875 suspected bombs. Members of my squad have disarmed 156 bombs and on 416 separate incidents have picked up explosive items. In this same period, we have experienced 95 bombings.

A significant number of the bombings have been carried out by terrorist organizations with four (4) terrorist groups being active in the greater Los Angeles area.

On four occasions, members of the Bomb Squad have narrowly escaped death or serious injury by disarming the terrorist bombs, moments before they were due to explode. This causes me grave personal concerns as I can't help but feel luck has played as much a part in this good fortune as their skill has.

My concern is amplified by the recent arrest of terrorists at Los Angeles International Airport, when a bomb was placed at the Air Canada freight office.

This group, ASALA, has threatened to carry out additional acts of terrorism unless their comrades are released. They have given those jurisdictions holding ASALA members until August 14 to free those detained.

Armenian terrorist groups have carried out 11 bombings and one assassination in Los Angeles.

It is unfortunate that our large law abiding Armenian and Croatian community is being tainted by this group of hoodlums. I have observed a gradual decaying process in our ability to separate the hoodlums and terrorists from the law abiding community. This has been brought about by the dismantling of the intelligence community, both on a national and local level.

I am fearful that this well intended, but absurd attitude on the part of Federal and local policy makers will ultimately take a terrible toll in lives.

I have documented a series of the more serious instances of how these laws and policies affect our lives.

Unfortunately, it is even more pervasive than I have indicated, and many other useful instances are necessarily omitted.

★ ★ ★

In each of the documented instances, the terrorists were heavily involved in what they and the prevailing law would characterize as legal political groups, exercising its first amendment rights.

Like all law enforcement agencies, we in Los Angeles are being hamstrung by local right to privacy type rules; in fact, the Levi guidelines were used as a model to adopt our intelligence gathering rules.

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A final case brings the NLG very clearly into focus. In 1979, a Federal Judge ordered Chicago Police to turn over their intelligence files to NLG attorney, Jonathan Moore. He specifically ordered they be read, not copied, and returned. Copies were subsequently found in a Milwaukee FALN safe-house.

The NLG continues to act as a clearing house and as an apologist and defender for terrorists and terrorism. They have been at the forefront in drafting much of the national and local legislation, both proposed or enacted, that restricts, hampers, and emasculates police investigation. Mr. Levi, the former Attorney General, was at one time a member of the NLG. His Levi guidelines are still the order of the day for federal officers. Is this just the tip of the iceberg?

★ ★ ★

The recent brutal murders of the two New York Police Officers and the Brinks guard last October only serve to clarify this point of view.

Eva Rosahn, Judy Clark and other members of an anti-apartheid movement have been indicted for involvement in this bloody crime. When not "legitimately" protesting the appearance of the South African Spring Boks, she and perhaps unknown others were bombing, robbing, and murdering. How can we in law enforcement develop investigative leads, such as motive, means or opportunity unless we can investigate organizations which appear to manifest reasons for acts of terrorism? We must be allowed to investigate the membership, motives and actions of such groups.

A chilling example is the January assassination of the Turkish Consul General, Kemal Arkan, in Los Angeles, and it amplified my point. Only the brave actions of a witness provided a clue to the identity of his murderer.

information are legally curtailed. This lack of basic intelligence limits activity to response after the fact. A comparison of the numbers of investigations conducted before and after recent congressional hearings on this topic reveals the change of emphasis in this area."

Mr. Olin's article quotes another writer in stating —

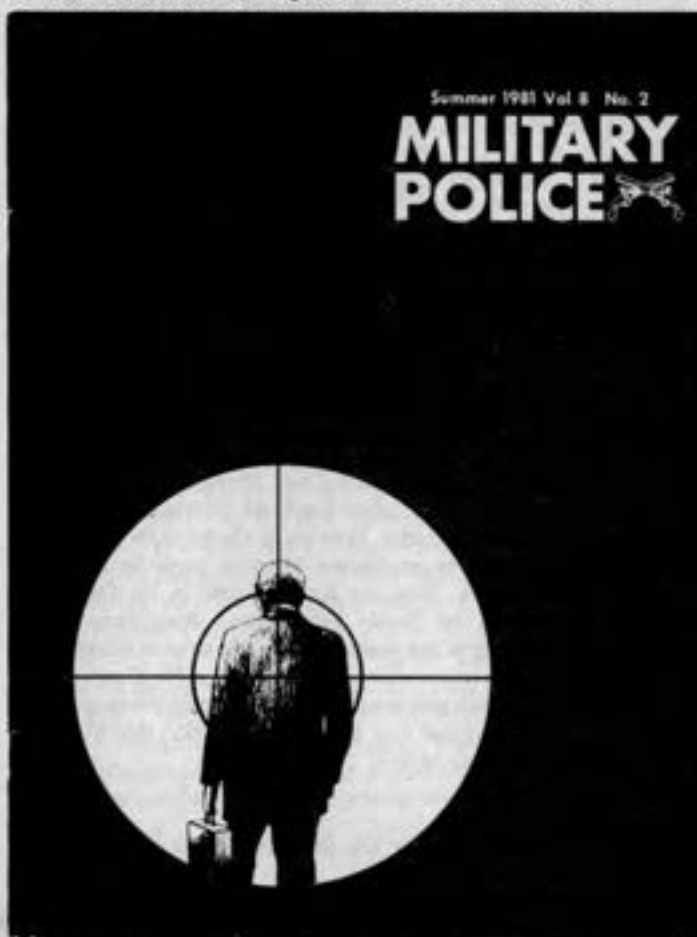
"... that for the past five years, the United States has been stripping away its organizational, legal, and ideological defenses against terrorism. Without exception, every person who has any acquaintance with terrorism understands that such forms of underground, cell-structured, non-nationalist, absolutely disciplined organizations can be successfully combatted only with the help of counteractions that intersect the terrorist universe: secret surveillance, wire taps, mail checks, computerized files of millions of persons throughout the world, secret communications with counter-terrorists agencies in other nations, informers, and infiltration." These techniques are currently unacceptable in the existing political climate. In some cases these techniques may be necessary for handling critical situations.

FBI Director Webster is quoted as describing the current state of terrorism in the United States as "embryonic." He also has stated

that the police response to the SDS or Weather Underground and black and white radical groups may have prevented the development of terrorism beyond its initial stages. It is possible that the very steps now condemned for use in the police community were responsible for preventing the further development of terrorist organizations in the United States.

In closing I would like to be very clear that I believe the United States is, and should remain, the world's example of a country dedicated to individual freedom. We must all be vigilant in recognizing the potential for stifling legitimate dissent and its ultimate disastrous results. I also believe that the continued freedom of this country is dependent upon its ability to cope with the efforts of the enemy within, who are committed to its destruction. We must rebuild our intelligence capability in self-defense.

*Sergeant McCree is the officer-in-charge of the Bomb Squad and Firearms Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department and the Intelligence Officer for the International Association of Bomb Technicians and Investigators. In the past, Sergeant McCree has been an investigator for the LAPD Criminal Conspiracy where he specialized in antiterrorism and, for about 5 years, he was a SWAT team leader.*



## the Kiko Martinez Case

# Clarifying the Record

by Junio Carrera

In an article entitled "A Case For Self Defense" in Vol. 8 No. 2 of *Military Police*, the author, Sgt. Avleigh McCree of the LAPD argues for a return to the COINTELPRO era. He wants official sanction of unconstitutional police activity, especially when aimed at organized dissent.

McCree's article was obviously written before the Reagan intelligence agency policies were implemented. McCree has been getting some of what he wants: FBI agents Felt and Miller were pardoned; FOIA material is more difficult to obtain; police spying and repression are on the increase. The FBI has been unleashed to infiltrate domestic political groups. Overall, there is a general move toward more government secrecy and less individual privacy.

Undoubtedly one of the factors helping form McCree's opinion are the revelations by persons researching data on police intelligence operations which proved the police were doing far more than just gathering intelligence. Repeatedly we find the police were heavily engaged in conscious actions to destroy legitimate dissent. These revelations resulted in greater mistrust and less confidence in the police and government, conditions favoring social change.

In the case of this specific article, McCree exhibits a total disregard for factual accuracy. Names are mis-spelled. For instance John Horo is actually Juan Haro who never studied at California Polytechnical, nor was he active in the groups mentioned by McCree. Richard Romero is not Corky Gonzales' son-in-law. In one place, McCree refers to "Frank Eugenio Martinez" and Francisco Kiko Martinez," as two people, when in context these names refer to one and the same person—a racist goof. Further "Frank" or "Francisco" Martinez never attended Loyola Law School. Nor was he killed in a car explosion. However Francisco's brother Reyes was killed in an explosion—at whose hands no one knows for sure—the police claim the car carried a bomb. The Mexican community questions this theory and feels that Reyes was assassinated as were Black activists Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago. The explosion occurred in the wake of a police dragnet and "shoot-on-sight" order issued to capture Kiko Martinez after Denver police created a 1973 bomb hysteria. (See Judge Winner and Kiko Martinez articles this issue.) Throughout this period Reyes Martinez was the object of intense and constant police surveillance, making it impossible for him to be carrying a bomb in his car. Curiously enough, an absolute void of information concerning this event exists in government documents produced during the courtroom struggle to free Kiko Martinez and in response to his FOIA lawsuit. The government has treated all events concerning the Martinez's and the Denver Mexican community during that period as a conspiracy, yet they have failed to produce any evidence. Innuendo, guilt by association and suggestion of conspiracy abound—but there is no evidence.

Yet there is a conspiracy! Somewhere a link will be found in a government file showing a conspiracy to assassinate and imprison Colorado activists. If McCree gets his wish for more government

spying and secrecy, we won't be able to see those documents until after the fall of those in power, just as the Bolsheviks and other revolutionaries saw for the first time after their triumph to what extremes those in power are willing to go to protect their privileges and maintain control of a society.

Some insights into this latter proposition can be gleaned from government crimes perpetrated during the legal process against Martinez. Throughout the seven years of Martinez' exile and three years of legal proceedings, there have been many government machinations to convict and imprison him. FBI documents reveal a continuing campaign to spy on the defense effort by sending informants to public functions, offering money and other considerations to purchase perjured testimony, harassment of supporters, and questioning of persons in an attempt to get information about political tendencies, finances, associations and strategy of the campaign to free Martinez. Other government tactics to frustrate the campaign to free Martinez include collusion with an ex-FBI agent turned TV newsmen to broadcast highly inflammatory and negative reports about the case; efforts to intimidate and offer federal protection to a newspaperwoman who had reported favorably about the case; attempted installation of a secret camera in the courtroom to film and indict supporters for allegedly trying to intimidate the judge and jury and influence proceedings; and perhaps most revealing, planning and participation by the federal trial judge in a scheme to force a mistrial after the defense had outlined its case so that prosecutors could discover defense strategy, making it easier to convict Martinez at retrial. The government has denied and tried to coverup these crimes for as long as possible.

Thus far none of these tactics have prevailed; the government's case has progressively weakened. But the government continues to try, in the on-again-off-again series of trials. These efforts include the appointment of special prosecutors from Chicago; witchhunting in New Mexico, trying to link the Martinez campaign to "terrorism"; restrictions on Martinez's travel; suspension of his law license; legal documents filed with McCree-type mistruths; and an attempt to deplete the human and material resources necessary to defend against a classic case of racist and political repression.

No doubt McCree and division Chief Shaughnessy of the Denver Police Department, who heads the frameup against Martinez, are birds of a feather. Both are in charge of the bomb squads and are active in intelligence gathering work for their respective departments. Both are highly placed in the International Association of Bomb Technicians. Shaughnessy's reputation in Colorado is that of an excellent fabricator of stories, who will go to extra measures when it comes to political cases. He uses these confabulations to get publicity, scare the public and convince his superiors that they need his work. Isn't this what McCree is trying in part to do?

*Junio Carrera is active with the Kiko Martinez Defense Committee.*

# INTERVIEW

## Lester Cole

*Lester Cole was one of the Hollywood Ten, artists who resisted the 1947 witch hunt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and were jailed for contempt. His list of screenwriting credits under his own name and pseudonyms used to circumvent the blacklist encompasses over thirty films including Born Free, Blood on the Sun, Objective Burma, the House of Seven Gables, The Invisible Man Returns, Too Tough to Kill, and Charlie Chan's Greatest Case. Interview by Chip Berlet.*

**Question:** With all of the targets that were possible in the McCarthy period, why Hollywood? Why would that be almost the central issue of the time?

**Cole:** Despite the fact that the level of culture of Hollywood was considered low, more or less accurately, much anti-fascist material did come from Hollywood, particularly during the late '30s and the War. Much of it was very, very popular. People reading this article will know that the Unamerican Activities Committee started with Martin Dyes as its chairman, and its first goal, I believe its most prominent target was the Federal Theatre Project of the WPA. HUAC fought it for three years, because that Theatre Project was educating American people in a way that films were not, theatre was not. No place was there such theatre as they were showing. It was extraordinary. Much later a Ford foundation survey discovered that in the four years until Congress, through Martin Dyes, killed them as a "Red Menace," more people went to the Federal Theatres throughout the country than the total attendance in the history of theatre in this country. That is an astonishing thing to realize. That was its power.

I don't think any of us have realized, or accepted the fact, that one of our main weapons is the creative and cultural field in this country. But HUAC and Congress knew it. The other reason for HUAC coming to Hollywood was, of course, that here was a place open for the greatest publicity. If they had gone to some factory town someplace and harassed workers there who were involved in strikes or something of that sort, well, it would have appeared for a day or two. But to go into Hollywood, that hit the headlines everywhere. And that was their idea. They did seek culturally to censor Hollywood. They were trying to end the possibility that on the basis of the popularity of our anti-fascist films, those of us who were anti-fascist would gain some political prominence that we had not until then. So that's why Hollywood.

**Question:** Do you think that it was the content of what was being done as well?

**Cole:** Of course. The Federal Theatre inspired Hollywood. When the bosses in Hollywood saw the money being made there, they said, "there's dough in that kind of story." So suddenly there appeared *The Life of Emil Zola*, a picture against anti-Semitism, and a beautifully made picture called, *Juarez*, the first time a revolutionary leader of a colonial country was shown to be

victorious in making a republic. They'd never even show that of the American Revolution. So, these were things that scared the hell out of them. And along with these came some of the Frank Capra pictures which were sensational. *You Can't Take It With You* was a marvelous movie, really showing the nonsense of capitalism and then there was *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, which showed the corruption in our capitol. Interestingly enough, of all of the pictures of the '30s none of these ever come back on the television screen. You just don't see them. I had a couple of pictures which are never shown, a Jimmy Cagney picture called *Blood on the Sun*, a picture against Japanese imperialism, and *None Shall Escape*, about Nazi anti-Semitism, the death camps and the Jews resisting as they came off at Dachau. These are never shown, although these were big hits in their time. It's a question of selection and of guidance. The media guides, it doesn't inform.

**Question:** Today we're seeing attempts to portray social change and dissident movements as being directed by a massive KGB conspiracy. Is this similar to what happened in the '50s, when these movements were seen as being controlled by the Soviet Union?

**Cole:** That's right. That's what happened in the '50s, and we're seeing it again in a number of ways, although not yet on film. One very important thing about film, is that it possesses a strange kind of independence. Formerly there were 6 or 7 major producing corporations. In the main, they have become part of multinationals which are run by businessmen who know nothing about film, who are there to make sure that they're going to make money. Then the corporations go out and get independent producers. Somehow or other people like Woody Allen or Jane Fonda, who are "bankable" make films, and income some films which are rather surprising. For instance, *Reds*. Who would ever expect a picture like *Reds* to appear today and create the kind of discussion that happened. But that's only one. There are some really beautiful pictures, like *Heartland*, a marvelous movie, and pictures like *Ragtime*, which shows racism at its cruelest and crudest. Pictures like that are just extraordinary in our time. Another picture is *Zoot Suit*, which shows historically, in a musical comedy, it's true, but a beautifully made musical comedy, how some Chicago boys were framed for murder in Los Angeles in 1941. The trial is dramatized from the transcript. And if you ever saw a racist trial, there it is. These are astonishing things coming on the screen, and they're big hits today. Word has gone around from certain producers in Hollywood that they're looking for scripts of high quality concept—there's dough in it.

**Question:** Weren't those same type of films bankable in the 1950s?

**Cole:** Nobody asked for them. Nobody wanted them. Now they're looking for them because there's money in it for them again. Somehow or other, despite the attempt to suppress what's

happening in the world, well, you cannot separate the basic economic condition in the country from the learning process that goes on. We'll see things appear on the screen in television that we wouldn't have seen 2-3 years ago. It's going to happen again. People are going to just turn off their sets, if they get the same old stuff over again.

**Question:** The current TV season has a crop full of shows about the lone cop who ignores the rules to get the criminals, the Constitution notwithstanding, e.g., the *New FBI* which has no skeletons in the closet,...

**Cole:** I know, both are there. But I think there's greater control over TV by those in power than there is in film.

**Question:** When the Committee started coming to Hollywood, there were certainly communists involved in some things out there, and progressives who worked with communists, but were not themselves communists, and also people who weren't particularly progressive, but understood what the Constitution stood for. There was also, it appears, a large group of people who were willing to ignore civil liberties either to protect their careers, or from a misguided sense of patriotism. When HUAC came, what was the first step to try to build unity to resist them and how well did that work?

**Cole:** Not very well. I would say that fear predominated. And when members of the Communist Party turned their coats, became friendly informing witnesses, this made resistance seem hopeless. It made progressives cynical, because hearing Communists do this, they said, who am I to attempt leadership when the so-called leadership of the Left is falling apart that way. This was one of the sad and tragic times. In his book, *Naming Names*, Victor Navasky overlooks this; maybe he doesn't overlook it, but he is unaware of this being one of the factors disintegrating resistance. People who had been formerly progressive, either went back to the Fifth Amendment or took what was called the Diminished Fifth Amendment. At this point



Lester Cole posing for prison officials at Danbury. His recent autobiography, *Hollywood Red*, is available from Ramparts Press. Cole is a frequent lecturer. For information write Cole c/o Suite 4, 741 Kansas St., San Francisco, California 94107.

it was the second line of defense for progressive people. There was no attempt to organize against the Committee any longer. Their big victory came when they sent us to prison, and when the Supreme Court voted in their favor, they felt free to march along. Then when men like Edward Dimitrick, one of the ten, who was one of the first ones to name people and get up to get his job back, people were disgusted, cynical and defeated.

**Question:** Was the first line of principled resistance to cooperation at all? Is that why you were sent to jail?

**Cole:** That's right.

**Question:** What kind of support was there for that line at the beginning?

**Cole:** It was great. Some of the biggest stars and directors in Hollywood, men like Memulian and the biggest directors and Humphrey and Lauren Bacall, Judy Garland, Peter Dunn, some of the top people in Hollywood organized the Committee to Defend the First Amendment. They went on the air nationally with broadcasts. They came to Hollywood to support us, and at that time, interestingly enough, we had the support of most of the major newspapers in the country. The Detroit Free Press said there was no greater unamerican act than the investigation by HUAC. But 15 days later the producer succumbed, and put out the Waldorf Decision, supporting the Committee and saying that all those like ourselves who would defy the Committee would be blacklisted. That became an official stand, and the Committee to Defend just about collapsed. Bogart left; he felt there was no hope in trying anything. Others left too. And that was the beginning of the end of anything active. Then two years later the Supreme Court caught us with their decision, and we went to prison. By that time, HUAC had free rein and they went out on a rampage.

**Question:** The current Congressional Committee, the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism is using a modified version of the "Soviet Threat." They say all terrorism is controlled by the KGB, and therefore by the Soviet Union; allegedly groups that support national liberation struggles around the world are supporting terrorism. They equate any kind of revolutionary struggle with terrorism, but the bottom line is that anyone who works for social change is a witting or unwitting dupe of the KGB and supports terrorism.

**Cole:** That's just another way of saying what the Unamerican Activities Committee said back then. Now they use the threat of terrorism, because of groups like the Red Brigade. You can imagine anything you want, or say anything you want, but they have no proof whatsoever of KGB involvement in terrorism. It just doesn't make sense. But it's enough to frighten the American people, to lead them back into the fold. You're liable to see a repeat of the same thing, unless groups who are fighting against this, like these in Chicago and others, can rally enough support. I think they will, as more and more people find themselves unemployed, more and more people have to listen to Reagan's speeches of how we're improving at a time when it's getting worse and worse.

**Question:** So you think that the witchhunting committees are used to keep a lid on in times of high unemployment and economic crisis?

**Cole:** And to divert the people from the real struggle. I'm sure that this whole thing with Poland is part of the diversion. Just imagine all this outrage at martial law in Poland, when we support and actually help achieve martial law in any country which is friendly to us around the world, from the Philippines to

Chile to Argentina, and now in Pakistan. Everywhere our government supports it. How they expect the American people to believe and buy this, I just don't really understand.

**Question:** So you don't think this is a tactic that's going to work in the long run?

**Cole:** I don't think it can, although the degree to which the media supports them, helps them is an important factor. Where people don't get other information the media can. People can't just understand the situation without anybody given them the other side. Today there is no informing by the press, there's just an attempt to guide, to send people along the approved route.

**Question:** That's not always been the tradition of the American press though.

**Cole:** No, it hasn't.

**Question:** So what happened?

**Cole:** Well, look how some of the papers are folding today. More and more the top of the business is being controlled, because the papers are depending on their advertising. What is it that has made change? Maybe it's the feeling that the U.S. has lost its financial and political supremacy in the world, which starts a feeling of desperation, and the media helps to suggest that we've got to pull together to save it.

**Question:** If the attempt to keep people acquiescent fails, do you think that there's something more sinister in the works?

**Cole:** There would have to be. I've never known the ruling class to give up, to say, "Okay, we give up; your resistance proves that you don't like our system, so go ahead and change it." I don't think this is going to happen.

**Question:** So in that case, a fight against witchhunting committees is the first step of any defense of a democratic society.

**Cole:** Absolutely. This has to be stopped.

**Question:** So there is more than just a pure academic First Amendment issue here?

**Cole:** We saw a Committee recently in Hollywood. I don't know which one it was. It was just a feeler, I guess. They came out to investigate on the use of dope in Hollywood. Well, they were thrown out of town. They got nowhere; nobody would even talk to them. They didn't subpoena people, because there was no basis for it in law. People practically ran them out of town. They would have nothing to do with this Committee. It's a pretty good sign of where Hollywood stands today. What happened to us, and

what happened to people in Hollywood as a consequence of it, taught people a lesson. This is something you don't let come in again. So I don't think that any Committees are going to get very far there.

**Question:** There is still a problem of unifying this resistance. There are a lot of progressives in the U.S. who, for a variety of reasons, do not support Communist governments overseas, although they may consider themselves progressive or even socialist. How do you approach the problem of building a unified front against the attacks by these Committees given that situation?

**Cole:** Well, you have to do it on the basis that there is a common danger. If they hit one, they're going to move on to others. So, you simply have to form a united front. Dimitroff called for a united front against fascism in 1935, and a united front was developed which had some success. I think we have simply to learn that a united front is an essential. I know recently

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*People will come to see that other differences have to be put aside until the major menace is met, fought with, and defeated.*

---

I was called on by the Socialist Workers Party to speak at a meeting in San Francisco, a rally in defense and to raise money for their suit against the FBI. I accepted this, and I was introduced as a communist, as a film and drama critic of the *People's World*, and a member of the Hollywood 10, who had come here to help defend these people. I got a rousing reception for my appearance there and for what I had to say. Well, I think it was a good sign. Whatever the differences may be, when we're facing this fascist threat with committees which come in and try to intrude upon our rights, we've got to unite against that, and I think it will happen more and more. People will come to see that other differences have to be put aside until the major menace is met, fought with, and defeated.

## Review

*Continued from page 45*

alternative institution/network, or as individual endeavors, it had more substance, cunning, spirit and perseverance than any White House gave them credit for.

However, the 80's economic crises and political uncertainties could undermine the single most significant insurance alternative media needed: public opinion and concern. When the citizenry accedes to too-simple solutions, some libertarian efforts can be sacrificed to make room for easy answers.

"A 1984 American generation may glimpse here the trauma and jail-helplessness, the unconscious blood-fear they've inherited, that's hexed many a mouth to imitate the same bland singing-in-the-dark doubletalk they hear on commercial tele-

vision in the course of being sold more gasoline war," comments Ginsberg in his introduction.

To prevent popular abandonment and prevent their isolation from popular support, the alternative media must offer audiences honest, accurate information, and a unique perspective, delivered in a forthright and enjoyable manner, while avoiding the shallow, hollow clichés frequently relied upon for the last 15 years. Taken in tandem, these two titles give some assurance to an independent alternative press. Using the substance in *A Trumpet To Arms* and learning from past *UnAmerican Activities*, alternative media can grow with vitality, validity and vision.

*Bill Knight is Managing Editor of the Illinois weekly, Prairie Sun, a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate.*

# BOOK REVIEW

by Bill Knight

## Repression or Economics?

*A Trumpet To Arms: Alternative Media in America*, by David Armstrong, J.P. Tarcher (Houghton-Mifflin), 1981, 384 pp., \$14.95

*UnAmerican Activities: The Campaign Against The Underground Press*, by Geoffrey Rips, City Lights Books, 1981, 176 pp., \$7.95



*Mother Jones'* magazine's Adam Hothschild puts it this way: "Although we cannot claim to be blithely cheerful, we do feel ready for a good fight." Hothschild is referring to the threat of renewed attacks on progressive media in the U.S., and seems to echo much of the determination that exists in America's contemporary alternative media.

The Reagan Administration has unleashed some snarling hellhounds to dog the trail of independent journalism: weakening the Freedom of Information Act; allowing the CIA to step up domestic activities; attempting to revive the House Unamerican Activities Committee; and showcasing the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism—all behind the guise of "national security." In addition to government's crack-down is the attack being mapped by the New Right—particularly the McCarthyist Heritage Foundation, which targets media as diverse as *Mother Jones*, Pacific News Service, National Public Radio, Covert Action Information Bulletin, the Institute for Policy Studies, *Counterspy* magazine and the Pacifica radio network.

In the face of such potential repression, Hothschild's optimism is refreshing. But are all alternative media as healthy and/or hopeful as he is?

Journalist David Armstrong looks at the question in *A Trumpet To Arms*, a new book on the alternative media in America—a pseudo-history that traces the birth and growth, the losses and victories of this section of America's media. He details many victories (scoops like the My Lai massacre and the CIA-heroin connection, and long-running achievements like the end of the Vietnam War, recognition of minorities and women, a new awareness of the environment and some states' decriminalization of marijuana), but he also chronicles the considerable losses—many papers folded, and countless staffers faced arrest, harassment and danger.

However, the alternative/underground press handily survived—adapting to pressure and repression, changing with the economic times, fighting and feinting its way out of troubles. The colorful, jerky, no-holds-barred approach introduced "new concepts and values" which society then accepted or rejected, Armstrong writes, and was a hearty force to read or reckon with.

The dominant media in America has been so pervasive, persuasive and single-minded that iconoclastic writers, reporters and artists as disparate as R. Crumb, Norman Mailer, William Lester, Art Kunkin, Amanda Spake and Warren Hinckle arose to "fill a steadily expanding journalistic credibility gap," Armstrong points out. The '60s underground press simply provided a flip-side perspective to the tarnished coin that the nation's mainstream press had become.

Other books have raced over this territory (Robert Glessing's *The Underground Press in America* was a sluggish, scholarly work and Laurence Leamer's *The Paper Revolutionaries* was a painstaking jaunt), but Armstrong's, though sometimes romantic and dramatic, is mostly a precise, concise chronicle that jogs along at a deliberate, well-conditioned pace and includes other media besides print. Armstrong—still a contributor to alternative newspapers and once the *Berkeley Barb's* editor—is hard-pressed to detach himself from the subject, but can still be critical.

He skims past centuries of alternative/independent media heritage, giving us the goods only after the '60s start, but comes away with a comprehensive, stylish book about the topic. He shows the alternative press' heydays as a logical, frequently contradictory, progression and development. Through his examination of trends and times, one can better understand the emergence of the "pop culture" weekly from the staid, anti-war newspaper prevalent on campuses a decade ago. By looking at the media's participants, one can notice embryonic efforts by special interests (women, recreational drug users, radicals,

minorities) to make a mark. And by studying the forms the media has turned to, one can foresee possible futures for a resilient alternative media that can stand shoulder-to-shoulder comparison with mainstream media and also face government constraints without withering.

It is this spectre of bold government intervention which provides Armstrong with his most valuable and telling section, the superb chapter entitled "The Secret War." As Paul Krassner points out, "The underground press has its... impact because it began with the supposition that the government was corrupt and writes from there." The government—whether the regimes of Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon—never took kindly to criticisms and soon considered the opposition media as worth the worst reaction the state could muster in a democracy. Concentrating on the FBI's Operation COINTELPRO, Armstrong discusses the disinformation plots, petty harassment, provocateur infiltration, sabotaged printing presses and widespread paranoia that became the standard operating procedure when publishing a radical paper.

COINTELPRO was but one of several state-sponsored schemes designed to intimidate journalists from covering many social change issues. The government's systematic, sustained violation of the First Amendment and its blatant disregard from freedom of expression is the focus of *UnAmerican Activities: The Campaign Against the Underground Press* by Geoffrey Rips. Using the resources of the PEN American Center's Freedom To Write Committee, and research amassed by Allen Ginsberg and others, Rips rips open the covert, disjointed and coordinated war on the underground press and presents a cohesive, in-depth fine brush detailing to augment Armstrong's portrait. He combines his fiction-style prose with an aggressive investigative drive to yield a readable report of importance.

Not a commercial treatment, but a well-documented chronicle of the period's excesses, *UnAmerican Activities* also features several prefacing chapters. Civil libertarian Aryeh Neier covers one method to squelch media dissidents in his "Surveillance As Censorship"; Todd Gitlin (author of *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*) sees the underground press as an improvised adventure in his pessimistic "The Underground Press and Its Cave-In"; and Allen Ginsberg's "Smoking Typewriters" mixes fantastic metaphors with stark reality. Angus Mackenzie's "Sabotaging The Dissident Press" wraps up the trade paperback.

The underground/alternative media has always been about as unAmerican as Thomas Paine and the Founding Fathers. Still, Rip uncovers government involvement in attempts to stifle this exercise in a free press, and most will be surprised at its extent. At its peak, the campaign reached staggering proportions of time, money and personnel. Revelations revolve around three primary areas: direct surveillance, harassment, and violence.

### Direct Surveillance

Not only were telephones tapped and mail opened, but breaking and entering wasn't uncommon. The Underground Press Syndicate experienced it, and hundreds of papers were victims of vandalism, informants and infiltrators (Washington, DC's *Quicksilver Times* had a long-time staffer who was on the CIA's payroll). Plus, police agencies circulated libelous reports to local authorities, resulting in false arrests or charges ranging from drug busts to obscenity violations. And a few times the government tried to spy on a larger scale, forming its own phony

underground services: the Army started Chicago's *Midwest News*, and the FBI established both the Pacific International News Service and the New York Press Service.

### Harassment

Since local law enforcement people were pliable to federal officials and the mainstream media essentially ignored the plight of the underground papers, agency harassment ranged from contacting printers, banks and businesses (the FBI effectively curtailed all record company advertising by influencing Columbia Records executives in 1969) to send damaging letters to papers to fuel suspicion among the Movement. Along the way, there were tax audits, advertiser threats (Wisconsin's *Kaleidoscope* chain folded after its advertising base was destroyed) and repeated arrests.

### Violence

Attacks on the underground press sometimes became just that—physical assaults or property damage. Liberation News Service suffered a major fire, both Milwaukee's *Bugle-American* and Atlanta's *Great Speckled Bird* were fire-bombed. Progressive radio stations had transmitter towers toppled, editors were threatened with kidnapping or worse, and a federally-controlled clandestine right-wing group, the Secret Army organization, attacked papers' reporters and workers.

All three areas were touched upon by the FBI's COINTELPRO, the CIA's Operation CHAOS and the CIA's Project Resistance, which violated the CIA's Congressional charter in trying to destroy popular opposition and discover foreign financial connections which simply weren't there.

According to former Army Counterintelligence analyst Ralph Stein, quoted in Mackenzie's piece, "Far from being financed by any hostile power abroad, the people who were putting out these papers were actually using their lunch money."

And the economic challenges of the mid-70s proved to be more of an obstacle to the lunch-money budgets than Nixon's wrath. Combatting harassment was easier than coping with the daily dollars-and-cents struggle. A clear-cut enemy can be better battled than the unrecognizable scourge of inflation/recession.

Today, financial requirements like rising printing and production costs have ballooned, a generally discouraging sign. But changing economic and political conditions have not yet damaged the alternative press on a broad scale. Openly subjective, more literary, more creative, more intense, the underground/alternative vehicle was a process as well as a product. But some papers have had to market themselves as products in order to weather the stormy political and economic climates. Years of transformation and disintegration have passed. Some alternatives have prospered and improved their services with ethics intact while other vestiges of '60s undergrounds have withdrawn into barely-recognizable shells of former selves—distant, mutant cousins co-opted by an "over-the-counter culture."

Still, economics is only a mild menace compared to a renewed program of repression in the decade ahead, according to Gitlin. His article warns alternative journalists to prepare for the inevitable return of prolonged repression in a new and different time. True, alternative media have survived and flourished thus far. The inherent weaknesses which made it an attractive target for the state included a unique looseness which allowed it to adopt. The alternative press was as vulnerable as the sometimes superficial youth/student movement it merely mirrored, but as an

*Continued on page 43*

# No More Witch Hunts

by Kristin Lems

dm gm A7

No more witch hunts in my name— We're catchin' on we're gettin' wise to your game

dm gm A7

You make a list of enemies and when you're through— Who we gon-na

dm gm A7

find to protect us from you? who we gon-na find to protect us from you

dm

—?

(chorus)

No more witchhunts in my name  
We're catching on, we're getting wise to your game;  
You make a list of enemies and when you're through  
Who we gonna find to protect us from you?

1. You wiretap, set traps and open mail  
Set up grand juries, overcrowd the jails,  
Spend the nation's wealth on security  
While people all around you live in poverty  
chorus

2. To stop terrorism, you will terrorize,  
To stop deception, you'll make use of lies  
You break a law to make a law, you don't care,  
To stop murder, you use the electric chair.  
chorus

3. Many a person of renown and fame  
Had their lives ruined when the withhunts came;  
Artists, labor leaders, teachers, in time—  
Freedom of expression their only crime  
chorus

4. We gotta get together now before it's too late  
Build up our freedom, tear down walls of hate  
We're gonna rise up, gonna win this fight  
We go down alone or stand up for our rights.  
chorus

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- Kristin Lems is an Illinois-based feminist singer-songwriter. According to the New Yorker, Lems is "a charmer in the most literal and least artificial sense of the word." This song was written especially for the No More Witch Hunts Network meeting at which Victor Navasky spoke (see article this issue).

Lems has produced three albums: *We Will Never Give Up*, *In the Out Door*, and *Oh Mama!*, which are available for \$7 apiece including postage from Carolsdatter Productions, P.O. Box 2267, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820. Write for a free catalog listing these and other recordings and materials.

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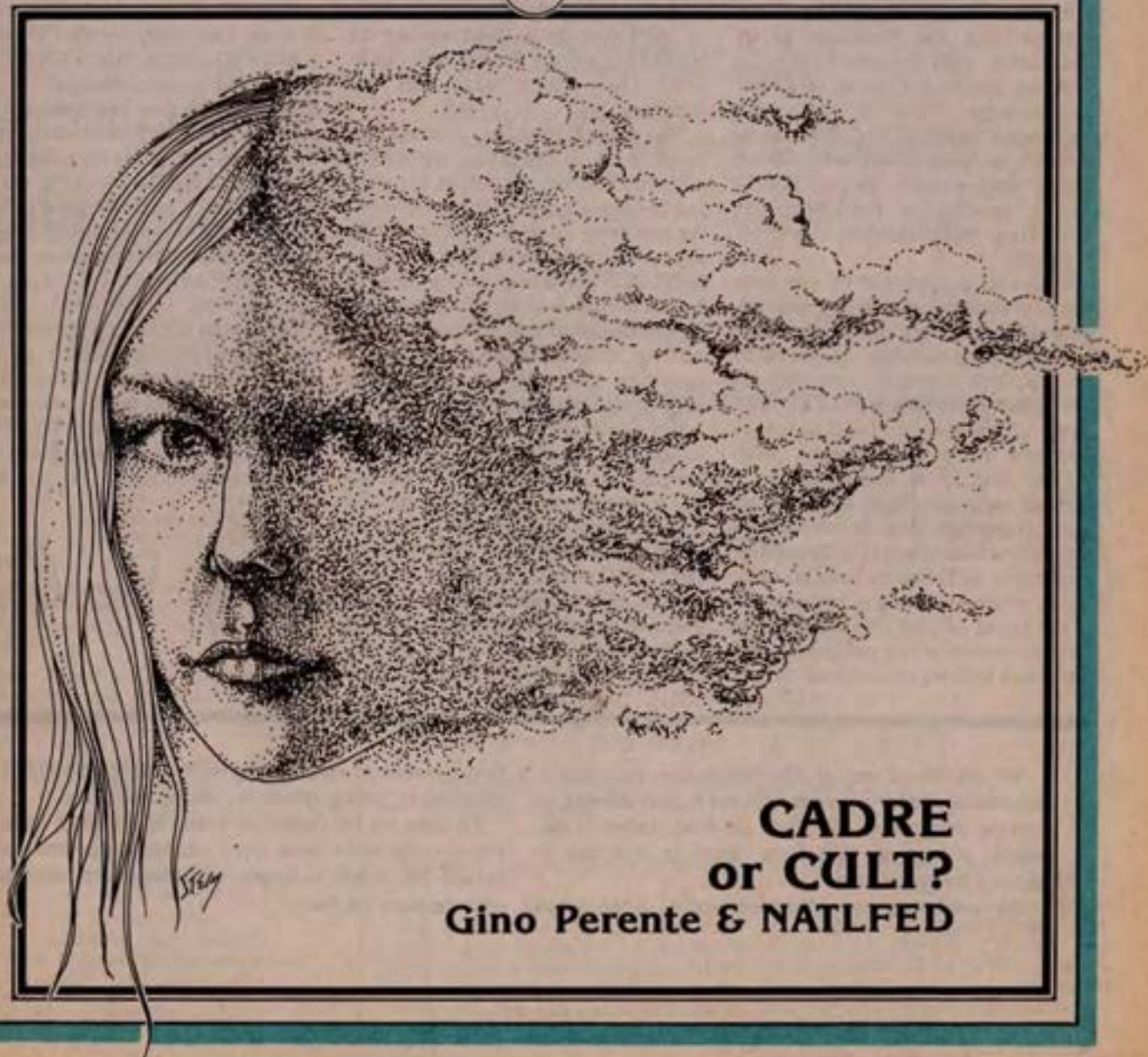
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see pages 6-9

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**CADRE  
or CULT?**

**Gino Perente & NATLFED**

## A Letter from the Editor

---

The *Public Eye* Magazine would have preferred not to run the series of articles on the National Labor Federation (NATLFED) in this issue. With repressive activities on the increase, we would have preferred to devote these pages to documenting and analyzing government and right-wing civil liberties violations. However, NATLFED has become a controversial group not only in terms of its practices and claims, but also as a target of an hysterical FBI raid which violated NATLFED's civil liberties (See statement on page 10).

In our very first issue in 1977, we published an article linking Gino Perente and the National Labor Federation with Lyndon LaRouche and the National Caucus of Labor Committees. That Perente and LaRouche worked together individually and organizationally can be amply documented, as can NATLFED's suspicious penchant for amassing intelligence files on activists.

It can be argued that by the time the first *Public Eye* article appeared, Perente had broken with LaRouche, however this possibility was raised in the article which concluded: "Whether [Perente's NATLFED, and Fred Newman's International Workers Party (IWP)] work with NCLC directly or not, they are a distinct coalition which, beyond their cultic trappings, form an intelligence network whose effect is to destabilize structures all along the political spectrum, while dreaming of hegemony."

We stand behind this analysis as being accurate when published, and we stand behind the original article

as published with only one apology and retraction: although there appeared to be an intent and attempt to take over control of a group called "Union Wage" by IWP, we now regret calling Union Wage a "front." Beyond that one excess, we offer no apologies nor retractions whatsoever. We explicitly deny we have "retracted" the original article as has been claimed publicly by persons we criticized in the article.

Between 1977 and 1981 *The Public Eye* was criticized repeatedly by organizers, journalists and political groups for not carrying out a more thorough assessment of NATLFED. In 1981 we ran a short update on NATLFED saying it was still "cult-like." Our critics were still not satisfied.

We argued that as a magazine devoted to documenting repression and civil liberties violations we were not the appropriate vehicle for what we saw as an internal "Left" polemic. We had originally scrutinized NATLFED because of its ties to NCLC (which was at the time openly supplying biased and inaccurate information to government intelligence agencies, as well as, physically assaulting community activists).

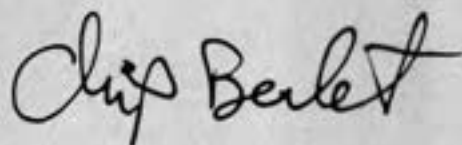
Between 1977 and 1982 we repeatedly supplied, and offered to supply, our information on NATLFED to progressive publications and organizations in the hope that some public scrutiny and criticism of NATLFED would take place. It was, and is, our opinion that the progressive movement needed to clean its own house in this matter. We are particularly disappointed in *The Guar-*

*dian* for consistently, over a period of seven years, refusing to investigate our charges or even open up a public debate over NATLFED's alleged wrongdoing. We consider this to be an abuse of journalistic principles and an act of political myopia.

Several years ago we began to provide our information to freelance journalists and publications which we thought could stimulate the long-overdue debate over NATLFED. The resulting articles varied in quality and substance, but should have provoked a response. The progressive community remained silent.

Now the chickens have come home to roost. Last February the FBI raided NATLFED offices, announced it had forestalled a revolution at the last minute, and is now attempting to persuade a grand jury to hand down indictments. The FBI is also attempting to portray NATLFED as a serious revolutionary terrorist group and to use the raid to build public support for civil liberties infringements.

Perhaps we waited too long, but nevertheless, we obviously can no longer avoid publishing the articles in this issue—articles which demonstrate the ludicrous nature of the FBI's actions and public statements, but also demonstrate our own failures and weaknesses as progressives.



---

We get lots of mail at *The Public Eye*, including a substantial number of letters from our readers offering or seeking information. We don't get many letters to the editor, at least not in a form, length or style that is suitable for publication.

We would like to publish more letters to the editor

from our readers, commenting on our articles, providing information, asking questions, raising issues, etc.

To make our life easier, we would appreciate it if the letters to the editor were typed, double-spaced and not exceed 500 words in length. Let's hear from all you monomaniacs out there.

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The Public Eye Network is a loosely-knit affiliation of attorneys, paralegals, investigators, researchers and journalists who specialize in monitoring government intelligence abuse and governmental and right-wing civil liberties infringements.

The Public Eye Network is an affiliate of the Campaign for Political Rights and the No More Witch Hunts Network, and works closely with the National Lawyers Guild and the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA, Inc.).



# EYES ONLY

## Government Culpable in KKK Assaults

In two separate court actions, the U.S. government has been ordered to pay \$25,000 and \$35,000 respectively to civil rights activists Jim Peck and Walter Bergman who were brutally beaten by the Ku Klux Klan in May of 1961 when buses carrying freedom riders were ambushed in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama.

The suits were filed shortly after the 1975 Senate testimony of former Ku Klux Klan member Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., who, as an FBI informant, had warned local police and Federal agents that the ambush would take place.

Neither local police or federal agents intervened in the ambush, and in fact the Birmingham Police Department informally agreed to allow the Klansmen up to 20 minutes in which to assault the Freedom Riders before police would arrive on the scene.

Peck was beaten unconscious outside the Birmingham bus station while Bergman was assaulted while the Freedom Ride buses were in Anniston, Alabama where one of the buses was destroyed by a firebomb. Bergman, now 84, is confined to wheelchair, in part due to injuries resulting from the beating. Despite his injuries, Bergman still firmly believes his participation in the Freedom Rides was worthwhile, and contributed to "opening up the South to free travel by people of all races."

## No Justice in Greensboro Killings

A federal jury in Greensboro, North Carolina has acquitted nine current and former Ku Klux Klan and Nazi members of all criminal charges stemming from their deadly assault

on an anti-Klan rally November 3, 1979.

It was the second time the murders of five members and supporters of the Communist Workers Party went unpunished. An earlier state trial also ended in acquittals.

Two days after the federal trial ended in a not guilty verdict, a defendant, Virgil Griffin, told the *Charlotte Observer* "Every member of the Communist Party should be tried for treason and put in front of a firing squad and shot, or else sent to Russia to see how they like it there."

The tone of the federal trial was set when one defense attorney, Roy Hall, based his argument for acquittal on a twisted analysis of history and the meaning of the Nuremberg Trials. Hall told the jury his client was "a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were."

"The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism. Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were forty years ago at the end of the war? These defendants are patriotic citizens just like the German citizens. That's why they went to Greensboro—to stop communists," said Hall.

A \$48 million federal civil damages trial will begin August 1 during which relatives and friends hope to demonstrate the collusion between the Klan and Nazis and federal, state and local government officials.

## First Amendment Essay Contest

The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute has announced the First Annual Corliss Lamont First Amendment Law Student Essay Contest. The 1984 topic will be "Civil Disobedience and the First Amendment." First prize is \$1,000 with the second and third prizes set

at \$750 and \$500 respectively.

Entries should not exceed 5,000 words and should be typed, double-spaced, on white paper, suitable for photocopying. Footnotes should also be double-spaced. Any law student attending school in 1984-85 is eligible. Entries must be postmarked no later than July 1, 1984, and sent to: Meiklejohn Institute, Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701.

## WACL Finally Expells One Pro-Fascist Organization

After almost a decade of indecision, the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) has expelled its most notorious members, the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation (CAL).

CAL, based in Mexico, has a long history of anti-Jewish and pro-Fascist activities, not the least of which is serving as the umbrella networking group for Latin American death squads.

The World Anti-Communist League's American Chapter, now headed by retired Army General John Singlaub, pushed for the expulsion of CAL only after columnist Jack Anderson detailed CAL's death squad role. Members and affiliates of WACL are a number of anti-Jewish, fascist and pro-Nazi organizations recruited into the organization when CAL was a major influence in WACL during the mid-1970's. (*The Public Eye* detailed the attempted fascist takeover of WACL in Vol. 2, Issues 1 and 2).

For several years in the mid and late 1970's many of the original American WACL founders and supporters distanced themselves from the group because of the growing pro-Nazi sentiment.

During this period Dr. Roger

Pearson coordinated the American WACL activities and according to internal memos circulated inside WACL, pushed for the inclusion of more fascist groups. Pearson's attempted fascization of WACL led to a split and power struggle which failed to rid WACL of fascist elements, but lessened their role in policy-making.

In 1981 many of the original American WACL forces rejoined the group fearing the growing "communist threat" in Central America. While WACL has expelled CAL, there are still numerous fascist allies in WACL.

Pearson himself has moved on to become an informal anti-communist policy advisor to key figures in the Reagan Administration. Several other American WACL figures are also influential in setting the tone for Reagan's anti-communist posturing, including Singlaub, Fred Schlafly (better known as Phyllis's husband), and Dr. Lev Dobriansky.

*The Public Eye Magazine* will present a detailed examination of WACL and its influence on the Reagan administration in a future issue.

## LAPD/Western Goals Tie Alleged

A Los Angeles ACLU lawsuit continues to uncover an elaborately-concealed relationship between the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the private right-wing spy think tank Western Goals Foundation based in Virginia.

Suspended Los Angeles Police Detective Jay Paul is accused of storing a mountain of LAPD spy files at his home and leaking the contents of the sensitive material to the Western Goals Foundation through a computer financed by the Foundation and located at the office of Paul's wife, Ann Love. Love had a \$2,500 per month contract with Western Goals for unspecified computer services. Paul denies that any LAPD spy files were laundered into the Western Goals computer

database, but the Los Angeles ACLU has filed a lawsuit based on that very supposition.

The ACLU has sought the deposition of a former Western Goals staffer John Rees, who recently left the Foundation following a policy dispute. Rees sought to block the deposition but has been ordered to answer questions in the ACLU case.

As the case progresses, further revelations about the relationship between private spy groups and public police agencies are expected.

## Center Seeks U.S.I.A. Documents on Film Blacklist

Attorneys for the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) have warned the United States Information Agency not to destroy any documents which would show that political considerations have been used by the agency in denying educational certifications to films for distribution abroad. The warning, made on behalf of a group of filmmakers, was prompted by revelations that the agency destroyed records which showed why the government blacklisted such people as Walter Cronkite, Senator Gary Hart, and Coretta Scott King from inclusion in the U.S.I.A.'s overseas speakers program.

The filmmakers, through their CCR attorneys, have made a Freedom of Information Act request to the agency to determine why their films, including award winners *Soldier Girls* (about female recruits in U.S. Army basic training), *In Our Own Backyards* (about the hazards of uranium mining), *The Secret Agent* (the dangers of Agent Orange) and *Save the Planet* (debate over nuclear power) were denied educational certifications.

The U.S.I.A. issues certificates of educational character under the terms of an international agreement intended to "facilitate the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of educational, scientific, and cultural character."

Films which are denied such certificates are subject to high import/export taxes which in effect prevent the films from being distributed and viewed abroad because the taxes make the cost of purchase or rental prohibitive.

Under the Reagan Administration, the U.S.I.A. denies certificates to films which supposedly present "a point of view." In reality, the agency rejects films with a point of view that is not shared by the Administration usually with the comment that such films will be "misunderstood" by foreign audiences. *Save the Planet*, for instance, was denied an educational certification because it allegedly "resurrected the traditional U.S. guilt of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but failed to show the progress in social thinking and planning of nuclear power since then"; *Soldier Girls*, *In Our Own Backyard*, and *Secret Agent* were rejected because they would be "misunderstood or misinterpreted by foreign audiences."

Documents have been requested which may establish the agency's policy of denying certificates when it simply does not approve of the message of the film. The warning to the agency is intended to insure that such documents will not be destroyed as part of the U.S.I.A.'s efforts to prevent public scrutiny of its use of unconstitutional "political" litmus tests.

## Moonie Paper Retracts Charges Against Spartacists

Sun Myung Moon's Washington D.C. daily newspaper, *Washington Times*, has been forced to retract a charge it made accusing the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League of "provoking violence" during a 1982 anti-Klan protest march and rally in Washington, D.C.

The retraction came as part of a settlement in a libel lawsuit filed by

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# TIP SHEET

for staff organizers

## Common Sense Security

by Sheila O'Donnell

As the movements for social change become more sophisticated, the techniques of the state, corporations and the right wing have also become more sophisticated. Historically this has always been the case; we will continue and will be the eventual victors. Caution in the face of the concerted effort to stop us, however, is both prudent and necessary.

Here are some useful suggestions:

- If you wish to have a private conversation, leave your home and your office and go outside and take a walk or go somewhere public and notice who is near you. Never say anything you don't want to hear repeated when there is any possibility of being recorded.
- Never leave one copy of a document or list behind; take a minute to duplicate an irreplaceable document and keep the duplicate in a safe place. Back up and store important computer disks off-site. Sensitive data and membership list should be kept under lock and key.
- Keep your mailing lists, donor lists and personal phone books away from light-fingered people. Always maintain a duplicate.
- Know your printer if you are about to publish.
- Know your mailing house.
- Know anyone you are trusting to work on any part of a project that is sensitive.
- Don't hire a stranger as a messenger.
- Sweeps for electronic surveillance are only effective for the time they are being done, and are only effective as they are being done if you are sure of the person(s) doing the sweep.
- Don't use code on the phone. If you are being tapped and the transcript is used against you in court, the coded conversations can be alleged to be anything. Don't say anything on the phone you don't want to hear in open court.
- Don't gossip on the phone. Smut is valuable to anyone listening; it makes everyone vulnerable.
- If you are being followed, get the tag number and description of the car and people in the car. Photograph the person(s) following you or have a friend do so.
- If you are followed or feel vulnerable, call a friend; don't "tough it out" alone. They are trying to frighten you. It is frightening to have someone threatening your freedom.
- Debrief yourself after each incident. Write details down: time, date, occasion, incident, characteristics of the person(s), impressions, anything odd about the situation. Keep a "weirdo" file and keep notes from unsettling situations and see if a pattern emerges.

- Write for your file under the FOIA and pursue the agencies until they give you all the documents filed under your name.
- Brief your membership on known or suspected surveillance.
- Report thefts of materials from your office or home to the police as a criminal act.
- Assess your undertaking from a security point of view; understand your vulnerabilities; assess your allies and your adversaries as objectively as possible; do not underestimate the opposition. Do not take chances.
- Recognize your organizational and personal strengths and weaknesses.
- Discuss incidents with cohorts, family and membership. Call the press if you have hard information about surveillance or harassment. Discussion makes the dirty work of the intelligence agencies and private spies overt.

## Visits from the FBI

- Don't talk to the FBI (or any government investigator) without your attorney present. Information gleaned during the visit can be used against you and your co-workers. Get the names and addresses of the agents and tell them you will have your attorney get in touch with them. They rarely set up an interview under those circumstances.
- Don't invite them into your home. Speak with the agents outside. Once inside, they glean information about your perspective and life style.
- Don't let them threaten you into talking. If the FBI intends to empanel a grand jury, a private talk with you will not change the strategy of the FBI.
- *Lying to the FBI is a criminal act.* Any information you give the FBI can and will be used against you.
- Don't let them intimidate you. So what if they know where you live or work and what you do? This is still a democracy and we still have Constitutional rights. They intend to frighten you; don't let them. They can only "neutralize" you if you let them.
- *Remember:* The United States prides itself in being a democracy; we have Constitutional rights. Disatisfaction with the *status quo* and attempting to mobilize for change is protected; surveillance and harassment are violations. Speak out.

*Sheila O'Donnell, a Maryland-based investigator with more than a decade's experience on civil liberties cases, is a co-founder of the Public Eye Magazine.*

## Big Brother Meets COINTELPRO and Reichstag Fire

FBI agents are once again using investigations as a cover for disruption and harassment (see box next page), while Reagan guts the Freedom of Information Act (see page 9), and introduces in Congress bills that would criminalize support for foreign governments or groups unilaterally declared "terrorist" by the Secretary of State (see box, page 39). Groups protesting the above get strange visits in the night (see below).

All this as a rising right-wing chorus uses Congressional hearings, the media

and direct mail to smear anti-interventionists, nuclear freezers and other activists as witting agents and unwitting dupes of the KGB "terrorists."

Meanwhile, FBI analysts and other "terrorism experts" warn of potential attacks during the summer Olympics and political conventions. In a potential self-fulfilling prophecy of violence, special "anti-terrorist" units will be deployed against suspected attackers who the government believes will use peaceful demonstrations for a cover.

According to the Administration, totalitarians (commies) are always bad, but authoritarians (fascists) are OK to work with sometimes; rebels in El Salvador are "terrorists" while rebels in Nicaragua are "freedom fighters"; U.S. troops in Lebanon and nuclear missiles are "peacekeepers," but pro-freeze protestors are actually provoking a war.

Incidentally, it is 1984; listen for the knock on the door. . . .

# Big Brother Returns: Harassment Monitored

The Organizing Committee Against the Reagan/Smith Guidelines is a newly-founded vehicle for various civil libertarians and concerned representatives of other organizations to begin a coordinated fight against government repression—legislatively, through the legal system, and where agent meets target.

A major effort of the Organizing Committee has been to popularize the necessity for organizations and individuals to carefully and completely document cases of government intimidation, harassment, and disruption—this for fighting repressive actions and activities both at the grassroots level and through the legal and legislative process.

Our fundamental unity is that we oppose the Reagan/Smith Guidelines as they presently stand, and we believe that the legal system is our first line of defense against government repression. At this time we are discussing our posture toward, and our "input" into, the 1984 elections. We are also discussing the significance of Reagan's domestic national security program to political freedom in the United States, and whether or not there has been an increase in FBI activity over the past five years.

We invite all interested individuals and organizations to join our efforts, particularly in our discussions of the best way for the American people to respond to government repression.

Howard Aylesworth	Director, The Center on Government Repression
Lewis Cohen	Center on Government Repression
Teresita Feressa	WILPF Legislative Office
Arthur Kinoy	Center for Constitutional Rights
Sheila O'Donnell	Public Eye, National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee
Beth Perry	CISPES National Office (D.C.)
Dale Sampson	Greensboro Civil Rights Fund
Dan Schember	National Lawyers Guild, D.C. Chapter
Sue Sullivan	Campaign for Political Rights

## Report from the Organizing Committee

To determine if the relaxation of restraints on the intelligence community is being accompanied by a resurgence of attacks against Washington D.C. dissidents we conducted interviews with activists from peace organizations, civil liberties organizations, solidarity committees, and organizations representing foreign political exiles. This report contains our preliminary findings.

While responsibility for the events reported here can only be attributed in those cases where the perpetrators have identified themselves, the overall pattern reflects the same tactics employed by the FBI during COINTELPRO, as uncovered by the Congressional intelligence committees during the Seventies. The Levi FBI guidelines implemented to curb those abuses has been replaced by the Reagan/Smith FBI guidelines which are "intended to give our agents in the field confidence to perform their work."

## Something's Happening Here, What it is Ain't Exactly Clear:

**MEDIA CAMPAIGNS.** Often the first sign of activity are reports in the media claiming links between local organizations and foreign powers. We are being smeared as dupes, commies, dupes of the commies, terrorists; controlled by Moscow, Cuba, China, trained by Libya, the PLO, Cuba, the IRA or some other foreign agencies. These media smears come together with the FBI visits and curious incidents involving the phone, mail, break-ins, etc.

**MAIL TAMPERING.** The U.S.P.O. has returned mail to activists in several communities. Just the address part of the package has been returned or it's stamped to indicate that the package broke in transit.

Documents mailed in D.C. to various cities: Of 3 identical packages, 2 didn't arrive at their intended destinations and the third arrived with different documents than had been sent.

## Widespread FBI Harrassment of Activists Reported

Since late February, widespread FBI harassment of Latin American Support and anti-interventionist groups has been reported nationwide. Other intelligence agencies, and right-wing groups are stepping up their red-baiting campaigns, which also are effecting exile, emigre, sanctuary, and other groups with an international focus.

Typically several scenarios have developed:

- FBI agents visit the employer, and friends and co-workers of an activist, asking: "Did you know that X works with communists and KGB agents?"
- FBI agents appear in the evening at the home of an activist, and say: "We know you are sincere, just tell us the names of the KGB agents."

- FBI agents attempt to interview activists about the "lawbreakers" involved in the sanctuary movement.

- FBI agents threaten exposure to Immigration officials unless an undocumented activist talks.

- FBI agents threaten activists with jail unless they reveal their "plans" for "terrorist" attacks on this summer's Olympics and political conventions.

Military Intelligence agents have also appeared at reserve weekends and interview co-workers of activists saying "tell us about your co-worker who hangs out with Soviet spies."

Activists have also received written threats of violence signed by the "Posse Comitatus" or "National Socialist Liberation Front."

An estimated 50% of mail from one local organization to an anti-intelligence organization does not arrive.

Mail has either simply not arrived at its destination, or arrived late and often shows signs of a struggle trying to make it through the system.

**PHONE PROBLEMS.** Phones sound like they are ringing on the caller's end; the potential recipient of the call never hears the phone ring.

People trying to talk on the phone hear their conversation being repeated as they speak or hear the last conversation they had being repeated during this new call. Activists need to dial twice to connect to the desired party.

Activists answer their phones to hear another party answering the phone with the name of the embassy of the country around which they are organizing.

Organizations have lost their phones for an hour at a time—for no reason.

Unsolicited phone repairmen have appeared, in one case for four consecutive days.

**VISITS.** The FBI has appeared at homes of activists and has gone to offices where activists are employed asking to speak to them "about areas of mutual interest" or in an effort to "determine who are the real KGB agents."

If the activists have spoken to the agents, they have been shown photo lineups and have been asked to identify certain people. These agents have also asked about personal habits of activists: drinking, gambling, etc. One agent told an activist he had seen movies of people who went to the courthouse for a criminal trial as part of a training session at the FBI.

The FBI has visited activists involved in international issues upon their return home to determine who organized the trip, etc.

One agent visited the office of an activist with another military intelligence agent. They refused to give a card or leave their last name. They did show their badges. The questioned the activist for 2½ hours, then told her not to mention the visit.

Another activist was visited on the strength of an anonymous letter from a convicted thief alleging participation in criminal activity. They visited neighbors as well to find out how many men came to her house, if child care and household were maintained, the kids went to school. They showed the activist a picture of alleged accomplice.

The FBI, in doing background checks, has begun asking professors about former students' political backgrounds and associations.

**OFFICE BREAK-INS.** D.C. offices have been broken into in an obvious manner. Sometimes money and machines are

missing and sometimes it is only documents that have been moved around or stolen.

In some incidents it is obvious someone has been there because drawers are left open or blinds normally left open have been drawn.

One office door was damaged but the bolt lock was still on. It was the only office in the building tampered with that weekend. A crowbar was clearly used.

**CAR TAMPERING.** One activist reported having his car searched while he was in an office. The attendant only realized that someone other than the owner was searching when the owner showed up.

**FRONT GROUPS.** The Society for Sensitive Research called a meeting on Nov. 11, 1983 at Davis House to talk about the political use of refugees. The phone numbers traced back to a right-wing group.

**PHONY JOURNALISTS.** Press people are telephoning and visiting organizations asking for information. A check has determined that some of them are from official (non-U.S.) government agencies seeking information on opposition activity in the U.S.; some are from right-wing organizations seeking information for use in smear campaigns both here and abroad.

**CREDIT SMEARS.** An international activist used her credit card to pay for a foreign dissident's passage to the United States. Her credit card was cancelled because the computer said she had declared bankruptcy; she had not declared any such thing.

**FBI COOPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS.** The FBI returned documents to an activist one year after a foreign government arrested the activist on vacation. When the documents were returned, the agent returning them asked the activist about specific people abroad and mentioned that many of the names in her address book were known nationalists. The agent also asked the activist about her connections in this country.

**DIRTY TRICKS.** An activist leaving his office grabbed a bunch of leaflets to distribute. As he leafleted, a document appeared in the middle of the stack which did not belong to him or the organization. It could only have been placed in the stack to humiliate him.

All of these incidents took place within the last 2 years, most within the last 6 months. Visits coincide with the arrival of a head of state, the day of a demonstration or other event. Typically activists have not heard from the FBI again. Just a quick visit. Those most commonly targeted have been international and foreign born activists, although domestic activists have also been subjected to this harassment.

2/21/84

# Reagan Administration Stifles Freedom of Information Act

by Nancy Blodgett  
[Alternative Media]

The Reagan administration apparently wants the American people to know as little as possible about what their government is doing. Or so it seems based on certain Presidential orders and judicial guidelines that have been issued in the last two years to restrict the flow of information and reduce the power of the Freedom of Information Act, our primary recourse against bureaucratic stonewalling in Washington.

On March 11, 1983, President Ronald Reagan issued a "National Security Decision Directive." This order required all U.S. government employees with access to classified material to sign a secrecy pledge and undergo lie detector tests if requested. It also required the estimated 100,000 government employees with access to "Sensitive Compartmental Information" to submit all speeches, books or articles to prior review by government censors, even after leaving their posts.

Diana Autin, executive director of the Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc. or FOIA, Inc., said such an executive order is unconstitutional as it imposes prior censorship. Autin, whose organization helps people make use of the FOI Act and also lobbies against restrictions in it, added that the order damages public debate as it gags the people "in the know" for life.

The American Civil Liberties Union, in its most recent public policy report, also characterized the national security directive as a "life-time gag-order," affecting hundreds of thousands of government employees. They noted that Reagan issued the directive "without any congressional input or public debate and without producing any evidence that leaks by federal employees had actually compromised national security."

## Information Flow Decreases

Less than a year before this security directive was issued, Reagan put out an executive order on classification of documents. This order tries to limit, as much as possible, the release of information to the public. Under the provisions of the executive order, it is no longer required that identifiable potential harm to national security be demonstrated before information can be classified and therefore exempt from the Freedom of Information Act, (FOIA). The order also maintains that the public's right to know need no longer be considered in the decision to classify documents, as it was during the Carter administration. It also tells government officials that if they are in doubt about how to classify material, they should designate it at the highest level of secrecy, not the lowest level, as was the policy under former President Carter.

The Reagan classification order goes so far as to require that government officials classify anything which is classifiable and allows for reclassification of information that has already been declassified! Republican Senator David Durenberger of Minnesota once remarked of the the classification order: "This is an order that only a bureaucrat could write. It was drafted by security bureaucrats, who think only of how to keep everything secret, and legal bureaucrats, who think only of how to get away with filing fewer affidavits."

Autin, an attorney said Reagan's classification reverses a 30-year trend of reducing the classification of documents and added that its requirements "show a desire [by the U.S. administration] to shroud foreign policy and even domestic policy actions from public review."

## FOIA Access Diminishes

At the beginning of 1983, the Justice Department also moved to make life harder for FOIA requesters. They did this by issuing new guidelines governing agencies granting of fee waivers to FOIA applicants. This guideline, although not binding in law like an executive order, has nevertheless been having an impact, according to Allan Adler, legislative counsel for the Washington-based Center for National Security Studies. Adler said the new fee waiver policy, which he characterized as "more stingy" than the previous one, has resulted in certain instances where the fee should have been waived and were not.

Clearly, the increased demand to pay in order to get information available under the Freedom of Information Act reduces the number of people actually able to benefit from it. (Adler estimated that search fees for FOIA-inclusive material—depending on how the search is conducted—range from \$5.00 to \$18.00 an hour.)

Under the new guidelines, put forth by Attorney General William French Smith, a fee waiver for FOIA requests will be granted if five criteria are met:

- 1) The material sought must be the subject of genuine public interest, not strictly personal interest, noting that it is not in the public interest to grant waivers solely based on a requesters "indigency."
- 2) The government agency must examine "the value to the public of the records themselves."
- 3) The agency must determine if the requested information is already available in the public domain.

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Special Section:

## Cult or Cadre?

Gino Perente and the National Labor Federation

When a Joint FBI/New York Police raid on the offices of the "Provisional Communist Party" was reported to the media, most people, including progressives, had never heard of the group. The search warrant listed "Weapons (rifles, handguns and machine-guns) and other military equipment including uniforms; explosives" and

"plans for an armed insurrection."

But when no weapons were found and no arrests were made; and instead, mountains of files were seized and trucked away, reporters began to question FBI claims that a "classic communist terrorist cell" had been broken up just before launching a violent revolutionary attack on the

U.S. government.

Now, the tangled and bizarre tale of the Provisional Communist Party, a psychologically-manipulative cult which uses "communist" rhetoric as bait for naive and idealistic recruits, the story of Gino Perente and the National Labor Federation . . .

### FBI Raid A Cover For Intelligence Gathering and Harrassment

Statement issued by Chip Berlet

The February 17, 1984 joint Federal Bureau of Investigation — New York Police Department raid on three offices of the NATLFED cult in New York is being exploited by the FBI to generate hysteria over alleged terrorism.

The raid conveniently coincides with Reagan Administration initiatives to exempt the FBI from public scrutiny and Congressional oversight; curtail civil liberties; and rekindle McCarthy era witch hunts against political dissidents.

Only the FBI with its history of the COINTELPRO operations and other unconstitutional disruption campaigns against dissenters would be so duplicitous — or so stupid — as to consider this pathetic and self-destructive cult group to be a serious threat to the American government.

This is merely an excuse for another round of illegitimately-constituted Grand Juries whose sole purpose is to harass political activists. We must condemn NATLFED for its cultism and

deceptive fundraising and recruiting - but we also must condemn the FBI for using NATLFED as a foil for its continuing campaign to be unleashed from proper restrictions which guard Americans against police-state tactics.

If the FBI raid was intended to stop a "terrorist" threat, then the "terrorists" would be in police custody. Obviously something is phony here.

The real purpose for the FBI raids on the cult group was not to stop a so-called "terrorist communist cell" from launching a revolution, but to seize files on community and labor activists compiled by the group for almost a decade.

The FBI was aware that the endless compilation of political dossiers on activists by NATLFED cult members was an aspect of the control process used by the organization to keep their members operating at the point of exhaustion. They also knew that tens of thousands of pages of these files were stored at NATLFED offices in New York.

In 1977 the *Public Eye* magazine wrote about this incessant dossier compiling and speculated whether or not the information would end up in the hands of an intelligence agency. Now it has.

continued on next page

[Editor's Note: Throughout this section, the names Perente, Parente, Perenti, and Parenti all refer to the same individual whose first name is Gino or Eugenio and who heads NATLFED. The variations reflect spellings appearing in print over a period of years. No confusion nor disrespect is intended.]

# "Dedicated and Dreamy"

by Grier Horner,  
The Berkshire Eagle

From her tenement windows on the other side of Columbus Avenue in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a woman stares blankly at the anonymous storefront housing Western Massachusetts Labor Action. The signs of life she sees give no clue to the group's revolutionary connections and its hidden agenda.

Through the shop windows of the former West Side Fish Market, which has been the organization's headquarters for its seven years here, she can catch glimpses of three women at battered desks inside. Nothin they are doing gives a hint of the ominous goals of their parent organization.

But while the parent group, the little-known National Labor Federation may espouse armed revolution,

observers here say the only danger the local group poses is the possibility it might nag you to death.

While the woman in the tenement might be someone the group would target in its efforts to organize the poor, people close to Western Massachusetts Labor Action (WMLA) say she probably hasn't joined them—hardly anyone has.

Except for its shopping center solicitations and approaches to clergymen, business and the academic community, WMLA has operated almost invisibly here. But with publication by *The Christian Century* this summer of an article entitled "How the Revolutionaries Conned the Bureaucrats," that is changing.

As word of the article in the liberal ecumenical weekly spreads, clergymen have started taking a new look at the organization that has come to them for aid for the poor.

In *The Christian Century* piece, associate editor Jean Caffey Lyles outlines how a radical group called the National Labor Federation, with headquarters in Brooklyn, N.Y., took over publication of a church-sponsored catalog of organizations in which students and others can volunteer their time. In the process, the National Labor Federation, inserted 41 of its own groups, including WMLA and its offshoot, the Berkshire County Fuel Program in the *Invest Yourself* catalog.

continued on next page

As part of our earlier investigation, *the Public Eye* obtained a one-inch-thick stack of FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act. Those files show that the FBI conducted an investigation of Perente — then known as Gerald William Doeden or Gino Savo — when he announced his first "revolution" in 1970 with letters to California officials. The FBI concluded then that Perente exaggerated his claims of power and influence, and inserted into the FBI file a March 20, 1970 article by Ed Montgomery in the *San Francisco Examiner*. That article was headline "Terrorist Group A 'Paper Tiger'" and quoted law enforcement officials describing Perente's followers as "kooks" and "small potatoes."

Montgomery said intelligence agents had observed at the time: "dedicated revolutionaries don't advertise."

For over forty months Perente has been telling his followers that the revolution was scheduled to begin in early 1984. Perente actually first set the date for March 15, 1984, then later moved it earlier several times, finally settling on February 17, 1984.

Parents of NATLFED cult members reported their children said the revolution would start in February but they would be

able to come home to visit by summer. Does this sound like a serious revolutionary threat?

Furthermore, in recent months Perente had begun to back away from the deadline, changing the "Revolution" to a "symbolic act," then a rally for which they reserved a hall in New Jersey, then a press conference — and finally the hall reservation was cancelled and the "Revolution" postponed indefinitely.

The FBI was aware of these facts, yet decided to stage a raid on February 17, anyway, to seize the intelligence files and gain an excuse for launching investigations into legitimate and Constitutionally-protected activities by groups and individuals the FBI wishes to harass.

With the files in their possession, the FBI will now attempt to launch grand jury fishing expeditions against political activists nationwide. Despite our distaste for Perente and his organization, we urge that individuals concerned with civil liberties defend the victims of the current FBI fiasco.

Witch Hunts always target those groups with the least support — at the start. It is in our own self interest to protest the fraud being perpetrated by the FBI.

### Not a labor union

WMLA is not a labor union. It describes itself as a "mutual benefits association" dedicated to changing the conditions of area workers hurt by "chronic unemployment, lack of adequate health care and [who] experience living as a genuine struggle to survive."

Western Massachusetts Labor Action does not hide its connection with the National Labor Federation, headed by Gino Parente, a shadowy figure on the radical left. In letters soliciting donations, it openly says it is part of "a nationwide effort called the National Labor Federation."

What has been hidden is what the National Labor Federation stands for. Its inner core, observers on the left claim, calls itself the Communist Party U.S.A., Provisional, a quirky fringe group that has set dates for waging armed revolution against the United States, dates that keep changing as the time nears.

One observer, however, says it now appears the National Labor Federation may have abandoned that goal. Recent information coming out of the group, another said, would tend to confirm that.

No one close to the local group considers it armed or dangerous.

As these observers see it, WMLA and the National Labor Federation are the cadre that couldn't shoot straight.

### 'They're harmless'

"I think they're more laughable than dangerous," says Lawrence Z. 'Lari' Brandstein, a sociology professor at Berkshire Community College.

They are so bad at what they do, he contends, that at times they make him wonder if they aren't really federal intelligence agents set up to discredit the left.

"They're either agent provocateurs or very, very stupid," he says.

"Any right-wing attempt to make them into a threat to American society is as off the rocker as they are," he says. "They're harmless, politically and socially. Absolutely harmless."

Brandstein is not alone in that belief, although most of the sniping at the National Labor Federation so far has been coming from the left, not the right.



photo by Joel Librizzi

FORMER FISH MARKET at 298 Columbus Ave. is headquarters for Western Massachusetts Labor Action. Unidentified woman in doorway is believed to be one of the volunteer staff. She declined to identify herself or to be interviewed.

"They're dedicated, dreamy, wishful, sincere and no threat to anyone," says a Pittsfield man who has had contact with them.

"They are not the Salvation Army," quips Kurt Tauber, head of the political science department at Williams College.

But what he calls the National Labor Federation's "mumbo jumbo" about revolution, appears to be nothing more than whistling in the dark to give its singleminded volunteers a sense of importance and to keep them going.

They and other local observers interviewed by The Eagle say that Western Massachusetts Labor Action is so abrasive and so demanding it has defeated its own efforts to organize the poor.

"They use some very hard tactics," says the Rev. Willard H. Durant of the AME Zion Church and the Christian Center here. "Instead of just asking for help, they try to exert pressure. They lay a guilt trip on churches, merchants and volunteers."

### Students turned off

Some students from Williams College and Berkshire Community College several years ago volunteered

to work with the group but their professors said their demands on them were so voracious and their politics so far out the students rebelled and the schools ended any as-



Lawrence Z. 'Lari' Brandstein  
'They're harmless'

sociation with them.

"I don't allow them to come near my classes or the school anymore," says Brandstein, who contends the organization in many ways resembles a cult.

"They are a real embarrassment to any progressive people around," Brandstein says. "Their strategy stinks and their theory is off the wall."

While it is supposedly a secret organization, the National Labor Federation's lack of discretion to whom it tells its secrets is said to be so blatant that they would appear to be an easy mark for U.S. intelligence sources to infiltrate.

"For a group that is planning overthrow, they are not very clandestine," Associate Professor George Vickers of Brooklyn College told *The Eagle*.

Vickers, author of "The Formation of the New Left," made contact with the group in 1977.

"They will start talking very quickly about revolution with people who seem sympathetic," he said in a telephone interview.

#### National leader identified

Vickers said he met Parente, the National Labor Federation leader, at a Marxist-Leninist study group in 1977. He describes him as "very bright, very intense, very convincing, if you can accept his basic premises."

A problem, Vickers contends, is that Parente's basic premises "are about 45 degrees off" to start, so that for all his deductive power, his conclusions and strategy lead to "bizarre" conclusions.

From what he saw of the National Labor Federation, Vickers describes it this way: "It is basically a Stalinist organization with centralized powers in the hands of the chairman of the central committee. They claimed to have a military wing, a central committee and a national political committee."

While the group reportedly claims alliances with Cuban and Central American revolutionaries, it does not associate itself with the official Communist Party in this country.

"They argue that the existing party is bankrupt and that they will be the vanguard of a new Communist party," Vickers says.

Mrs. Lyles, author of *The Christian Century* article, says one of the

things that disturbs her about the group is that many of its volunteers don't seem to know what they are getting into when they join.

"I think there are a lot of well-

meaning kids who sort of get sucked into it, unaware of what they may be getting into," she said in a telephone interview from her office in California.

#### Use of money criticized

## WMLA operates hand to mouth

Peggy Uman has just come back on the job after an illness, and she still looks pale and drawn.

There is something ascetic about her face that conveys the impression that she could sacrifice herself to a cause like helping the underclass in a rich nation whose benefits aren't shared equally.

She is wearing a white print dress buttoned to the throat. She looks as though she would be at home working in the reference department of a Midwestern library.

As she stands in the cluttered storefront on Columbus Avenue that serves as Western Massachusetts Labor Action's headquarters, she appears uncertain how to handle a reporter's request for an interview about accusations being made about her group — which she founded in Adams in 1975 and moved to Pittsfield two years later — and about its parent organization, the National Labor Federation.

As two young women and a young man in the office watch, she suggests that the reporter write her a letter and outline the things he wants to discuss.

Ms. Uman tells the reporter that the organization is launching a number of programs for the poor that the public undoubtedly would be interested in.

The reporter says he hasn't time to go through the process of mailing a formal request for an interview and points out that the last time *The Eagle* followed that route, it received no reply. He suggests that he sit down and write the letter on the spot, and she lets him use an antique typewriter whose black ribbon is tangled in its winding spools.

Ms. Uman says she will get in

touch with him the next day. When the reporter does not hear from her, he calls her. She says she has other time priorities.

"I know it's your job and you have to make a living," she says, "but I just can't accommodate you."

#### Staff changes frequently

Observers say the Pittsfield cadre is constantly shifting in membership and varies from four to eight people in number, most of them young women who come in from the outside. They say they don't know of any local people who have become full-time participants.

In the office, with its clutter of desks, files, empty styrene coffee cups and stacks of papers, the workers routinely put in 14- to 18-hour days. There is a wood stove for heat, a sofa, piles of bulletins. A poster on the wall is an exhortation against use of alcohol and drugs, and a bulletin says that the California Homemakers Association, one of the National Labor Federation's groups, "needs you."

While they have antagonized a number of social agencies, clergymen and professional people in the process, Western Massachusetts Labor Action has helped a number of poor people here.

The Rev. John E. Post of First United Methodist Church can attest to that. As a minister and as chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Pittsfield Area Council of Churches, he has been approached by the group both for grants to sustain its operations and for emergency funding for families it brought to his attention.

Mr. Post said that although no grants were made to the organization, emergency funds were given to

families that it was helping.

He has read the article in *Christian Century* magazine, which calls WMLA's parent group a revolutionary organization, and is spreading copies among the Central Berkshire Clergy Association.

The *Eagle* interviewed a South County woman whom WMLA assisted.

"What they did for me was to help me and my children at a very hard time," she said. "We were in dire straits."

"There are people in the United States who really have it rough, and I don't mean the people on welfare."

WMLA contacted a medical professional who provided free help for the children and directed her to a church that also provided assistance.

#### Pay phone in headquarters

But the woman said that WMLA, which charged her a mere 25 cents a month for dues, demanded a higher price than that from her in return for its assistance.

"They would call me day and night wanting to know if they could use the phone and if I could get them a ride to get here," she said.

The reason they wanted to use the telephone, she said, is that the only one they have in their headquarters is a pay phone.

One young man from the organization used her phone to call well-to-do people in the area. Citing her difficulties, he made a pitch for help and, by the end of the day, had collected \$1,300 in pledges, the woman said.

But none of the money went to her. Instead, she maintained, WMLA told her it needed the money to pay back rent on its headquarters.

"I thought it was fraudulent that they got rent money using my case," she said.

Eventually, she said, her husband put his foot down and told the group to stop harassing her, and it did.

Later the medical man WMLA had put her in touch with offered to continue giving her children free care, she said, but if only she would work with him directly rather than through Western Massachusetts Labor Action.

Like many others who had worked with WMLA, she said he didn't want any further association.

Her story of the group's use of money it had collected to meet its own needs bore similarities to comments of others interviewed by *The Eagle*.

One anti-poverty worker interviewed said she came on the group once outside the Adams Super Market, where it was conducting a food drive. "When I said, 'You look like you've done well. Can I make some referrals to you?' they said, 'We have to eat first,'" she told a reporter.

#### Live on donations

Several others suggested that when they say they are collecting food for the poor and then use it themselves, it is actually finding its way into stomachs that need it.

These volunteers are unpaid, don't hold outside jobs and are genuinely impoverished, the observers say.

#### Commitment or fanaticism

## Earmarks of cult seen in WMLA

Lari Brandstein, a sociology professor at Berkshire Community College, contends that Western Massachusetts Labor Action has all the earmarks of a cult.

Others familiar with the group say his assertion may be farfetched. Calling a group whose goals and levels of commitment lie far beyond the mainstream of a cult is easy, they argue. But demonstrating convincingly that a group is a cult is difficult.

Presumably Western Massachusetts Labor Action (WMLA) would denounce any claim that it is a cult. But Peggy Uman, who organized the group here in the 1970s, turned down *The Eagle's* request for an interview on this and other questions.

#### Support from professor

Professor Kurt Tauber of Williams College suggests it is all too easy to jump to conclusions about the WMLA. Tauber describes himself as one of the few who still supports WMLA in its local efforts,

"They used to live on donations of food that wasn't salable, wilted vegetables, day-old and two-day-old baked goods," said one woman who was close to them at one point.

She spoke fondly of one woman worker she had known there, describing her as "a very sweet, altruistic person, an admitted communist, in the truest sense of the word, who believed in people working for the common good."

The same woman, however, said that most of the workers appear to be poor by choice and "comfortable in their poverty," in contrast to the real poor they are trying to help.

"Most poor people are in such hard straits that they are worrying about putting the next meal on the table, not going out and volunteering their time."

"I always have the feeling that these kids can stop the merry-go-round at any time and go back to their life."

while divorcing himself from the group's national rhetoric.

"For bourgeois types like ourselves," he says, "they are strange, dedicated people. They don't make very good company."

From the portrait he and others paint, the members are single-minded in their devotion to their cause.

"Some would call it fanaticism," Tauber says.

One of those who does is Brandstein.

"They live, sleep and breathe it 24 hours a day," he says. "It's their religion, their home, their love, their community. They have zero life outside of it."

"They have a kind of Moonie aspect about them. They have the same kind of look in their eyes, the 120 percent commitment Moonies have. They are caricatures of revolutionaries, like comic book characters."

Priscilla Coates of Hannacroix, N.Y., also considers the National Labor Federation a cult. From her

hillside farmhouse Mrs. Coates keeps subscribers to her monthly newsletter, the Citizens Freedom Foundation News, up to date on activities of cults.

In its isolation her house, where an antique woodstove and a Zerox copier compete for space in the front room, looks like a movie set for deprogramming a cult member. And in fact several years ago it was once used for that purpose.

"I'm not ashamed that I did it," Mrs. Coates says, adding that in deference to the foundation's reputation and laws against detaining people against their will she would not do it now.

Last winter she received letters from two families who wanted to know if the National Labor Federation was a cult.

According to the parents, their children had undergone personality changes since joining the National Labor Federation and the parents suspected that they had been programmed, Mrs. Coates said.

The parents hired a private investigator, who concluded that the group is ineffectual and is "a cult waiting for something to happen."

According to the parents, she said, the National Labor Federation has supposedly dropped its goal of armed revolution.

In addition to the letters, she received a packet of material on the group from a California radical, Jeff Whitnack, who said he had been a member of the National Labor Federation through its California Homemakers and Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals in Oakland. Since leaving the group in 1981 Whitnack has been waging a campaign against the organization that so far has escaped the attention of the national press. Whitnack, a one-time garbage man who went into respiratory therapy, told *The Eagle* that from his experience the National Labor Federation is not only a cult but dangerous.

Whitnack, Professor George Vickers of Brooklyn College and others maintain the National Labor Federation had actually set a date for the revolution but, like doomsayers, kept extending it as the time approached. The last date she heard, Mrs. Coates says, was March 15, 1984.

While WMLA and its parent group have a lot of critics, not everyone is down on them.

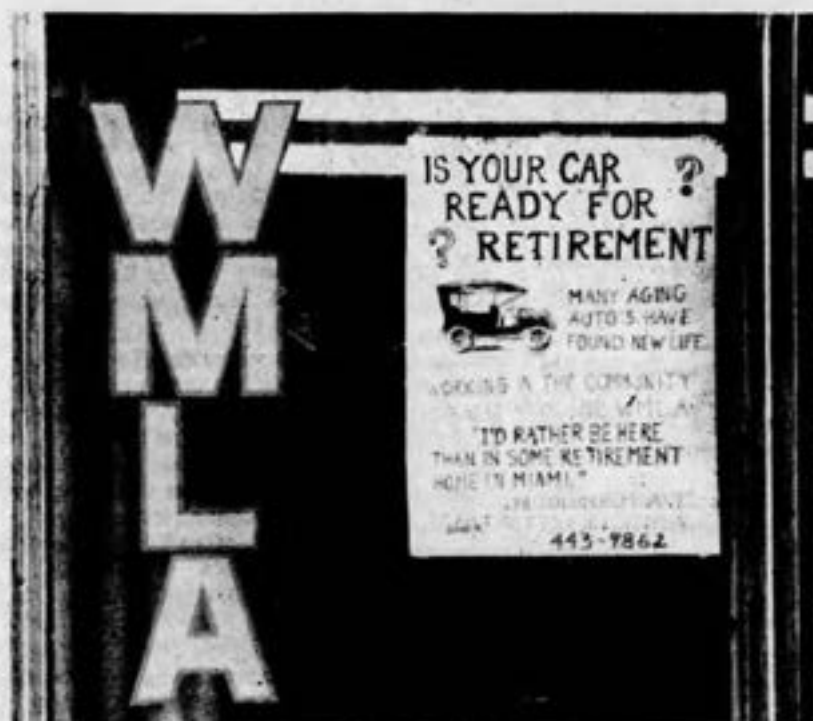


photo by Joel Librizzi  
WINDOW ADVERTISEMENT at Western Massachusetts Labor Action headquarters on Columbus Avenue in Pittsfield makes a pitch for the donation of old cars.

"They are really and truly helping the poor," is the assessment of one local woman who has assisted them. "I've never in my life seen such dedicated kids working their heads off doing the impossible."

The very hopelessness of the task they have tackled here and in other locations on the East and West coasts is a way the National Labor Federation cynically sets its volunteers up, according to Professor Vickers.

The idea is to make the volunteers realize that they cannot effect significant improvement on behalf of the poor peacefully, says the author who has written about the New Left. At that point, Vickers adds, the volunteers will presumably be more receptive to the idea of revolution.

Why would they pick a place like Pittsfield, Vickers was asked.

"I think they have deliberately chosen places without other leftist groups and where the government won't pay much attention to them so they can establish a base," he says.

But instead of establishing a base with the impoverished workers they are aiming at, he adds, they have been effective only in bringing middle class converts — largely

from academic communities — into their cause.

#### Keep them busy

"One of the reasons the cult question is interesting," Vickers says, "is that if you keep people busy all the time, as is done in the cults, they don't realize they're going nowhere."

About 41 groups are believed to be linked to the National Labor Federation and they are located in Dayton, Ohio; Northport, Rochester and Riverhead, N.Y.; Philadelphia; Sacramento, Oakland and San Diego, Calif.; Trenton, N.J.; Roxbury and Medford, Mass.; Oregon; Hidalgo, Texas, and other communities.

Among the National Labor Federation's most prominent arms, Vickers says, were the Eastern Farmworkers on Long Island, who he said apparently fell apart in efforts to organize potato field workers, and the California Homemakers, which he said he has lost track of.

"I don't know to what extent their spin-off strategy has been successful," Vickers comments. "But to the extent that they create new little groups in new towns, they give their

members a sense of something growing and happening."

If the members ever get a sense that nothing is happening, he suggests, the National Labor Federation will face a serious internal crisis.

Meanwhile, Western Massachusetts Labor Action is alive and functioning in Pittsfield. But those close to the group see them more as an embarrassment to the left than a threat to the government.

One Pittsfield man on the left put it this way:

"What if there are a few Marxists around? Is that any reason for alarm?"

One local woman, however, isn't convinced they are harmless.

The woman, who was a member of WMLA before becoming disillusioned with it this year, estimates that last year about 100 area residents held the WMLA's red membership cards.

"But if they have 20 members now they're lucky," she says.

WMLA has been more effective in raising money here from individuals, businesses and churches than most people believe, says this ex-member, who maintains that part of the money goes to support the National Labor Federation. She says she learned her own church, a Pittsfield Catholic church, was a contributor.

Last spring, she said she went to one of the National Labor Feder-

ation's meetings in the slums of Brooklyn. According to her estimate, 300 people attended the locked-doors session patrolled by what she described as a security force of 10 men dressed in olive drab, black berets and black boots.

Revolutionary songs were sung, speeches about overthrowing the government were given, she said.

"And they believe it's going to happen soon," she says. "These are tough people. They're not push-overs."

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Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Terrorist Group A 'Paper Tiger'

By Ed Montgomery

LARGO, a newly founded revolutionary group which last week threatened widespread death and destruction, is just a paper tiger in the opinion of intelligence agents.

For one thing, they point out, dedicated revolutionaries don't advertise.

On March 11, the "underground" National Liberation Front Continental Armed Services Division of the Liberation Army Revolutionary Group Organization (LAR-GO) sent letters to officials in various Northern

of 15 hours to trace the mis-

They emanated from a back room in the Little Red Bookstore, an outlet for Maoist, pro-Viet Cong propaganda at 3190 Mission St. here, according to investigators.

Wanted

Intelligence agents have traced the letters to the work of Jerri Williams, 22, operating from the Little Red Bookstore as Gina Savio. He formerly lived in Chicago, where authorities



JERRI W. DOEDEN  
"Small potatoes"

Also area and was rebuffed.  
One potential

at the Little Red Bookstore yesterday. "He" was "Claude."

A young clerk named Sylvia behind the counter said "Gina Savio" had been called out on urgent business and that "Claude" had not been around for two or three days.

Posters

Revolutionary posters depicting the Venceremos case cutting brigade in Cuba, revolutionist Emiliano Zapata and the facsimile of a Bank of America check showing the Isla Vista branch burning in the background, adorn the Little Red Bookstore walls.

Publications available include the Peking Review, Black Panther and Nation's Guardian.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>9/11/70</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>12/5/69 - 9/8/70</b>	FILED BY <b>jb</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>LIBERATION ARMY REVOLUTIONARY GROUP ORGANIZATION (LARGO)</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS - MISCELLANEOUS</b>		

REFERENCE: San Francisco airtel to the Bureau with LHM, dated 5/12/70.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL because information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] if [redacted] result in the identification [redacted] and compromise their [redacted]

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

S.F. Examiner

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 3-20-70

Editor: 9 Star Final

Author: [redacted]

Editor: Edmund J. Dooley

Title: Liberation Army Revolutionary Group Org.

Location: [redacted]

Character: IS - LHM

or SF 00-00032

Classification: (U)

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

Talking The Talk & Walking the Walk

# Gino Perente, NATLFED & The Provisional Party

Part One

by Jeff Whitnak

It's Northern California in early 1971. On an island in the Feather River, about thirteen people are busy with shovels and picks digging a deep hole. The purpose of their endeavor is to enable them all to have a place to hide in case of a feared upcoming police dragnet. Soon the hole becomes so huge that the diggers need to be pulled up from the bottom before they can climb out.

Suddenly a motorboat is heard approaching the island. In

the boat are two game wardens. Everyone scrambles and hides in the hole—except for one man left standing near the island's shore clutching an M-1 rifle in his hand.

Attempting a ruse, he waves to the game wardens and shouts, "Sure hope I can get a big buck!"

"You'd better not, son," yells back one of the game wardens as they putt-putt on down the river, "It isn't deer season yet."

## Beware the Ides of March!

This group of California hole-diggers was only one of several para-military squads organized during 1970-1971 by West Coast political organizer Gerald William Doeden, who apparently now uses the name Eugenio Perente.

Calling themselves the Liberation Army Revolutionary Group Organization (LARGO), they operated out of the Little Red Bookstore at 3191 Mission St. in San Francisco. According to several former LARGO members, Doeden had told them they were all a part of an organization called Venceremos. (Venceremos Organization was a revolutionary west coast political group active in the early seventies. It disbanded in October, 1973 and had been a prime target of the FBI's COINTELPRO disruption activities.)

Gerald Doeden's group had actually declared war on the State of California. To enunciate this position of armed struggle, LARGO mailed mimeographed proclamations in March of 1970 to several California county governments declaring that a "fully trained, equipped, and manned army of revolution will be operating in Northern California beginning March 15th."

The squad which was to lead the attacks got cold feet and backed out at the last minute. Following the collapse of the scheme to overthrow the government of California with a handful of earnest, but misguided revolutionaries, LARGO's leader—the self-appointed latter-day Lenin of the loose-knit adventurist Left, Gerry Doeden of California, simply vanished. Unlike the real Lenin, Doeden has not yet returned—at least not as Doeden—resurfacing instead as Eugenio Perente in Brooklyn, New York.

While LARGO would have undoubtedly failed to overthrow any government, it was large enough, armed enough, and

continued on page 19



## **Declaration of Entity and Purpose of the newly formed National Liberation Front Continental Armed Services Division,**

### **Liberation Army Revolutionary Group Organization (LARGO)**

*Whereas*, we believe the current government of the United States of America to be an unlawful and illegal one, operating contrary to the wishes and interests of a majority of the people of that nation, and contrary to the best interest and safety of the world community, and

*Whereas*, all legal and constitutional mechanism for change has been unduly and illegally channeled away from the people of the United States and the world community, and

*Whereas*, there is no promise of any present or future attempt of the current government of the United States to return the power of government to the people of the United States of America:

### **An explanation to the citizenry of Northern California concerning the purposes and method of the Revolution to be waged in Northern California**

"LARGO" is the designation of the Liberation Army of Revolutionary Group Organizations, a fighting force of men and women dedicated to the overthrow of the United States government by the use of force. After March 15, 1970 a fully trained, equipped and manned army of revolution will be operating in Northern California. Plans and training procedures for this organization have been conducted within the confines of California, and we believe ourselves to be of sufficient numbers at this crucial time to motivate a nationwide uprising. During the months that follow we will offer the public more material as to our benevolent purpose toward the people of the world. You will notice that our material is badly printed. This is due to the fact that printing devices, even those operating within private premises, are traceable by the federal police state, necessitating the disguising of any mass produced material.

We do not know what path the federal forces will follow. To keep civilian casualties to a minimum, we are establishing a set of qualifications which we will unswervingly follow to regulate the war against the oppressive federal government.

Initially we will limit our attacks to installations directly under control of federal forces or their allies. The acts of aggression will be against property only, and in all cases combat will be limited only by federal forces in control of the various attack points.

*We do hereby declare* the existence and intent of a National Liberation Front fighting force within the continental confines of the United States of America to be actively engaged in a people's War of Revolution against the aforementioned nation, and to support all legal and recognized revolutionary forces currently in operation throughout the world

*We do hereby declare* a State of Revolution to be existing within the United States of America, and we call upon the United Nations to recognize uniformed armed combatants of force LARGO (Liberation Army, Revolutionary Group Organizations) as a legally constituted revolutionary group adhering to and subject to the rules of warfare as established by the Geneva Convention.

Unlike our opposition, engaged in cruel and inhuman acts of tyranny abroad, we hereby file public notice of our intent to conduct a controlled punitive action against United States Federal Forces and municipal forces on a limited scale, from the city of San Francisco on the south, to the Oregon border on the north, other confines being marked by the State of California boundaries.

*All citizens are hereby notified* that a state of Revolution shall begin as of March 15, 1970.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

In the revolution, all those who bear arms in service of the established government-to-be-deposed are considered members of the federal forces because of their ability and orders to destroy, apprehend, kill and detain soldiers of the National Liberation Front. *this includes members of local police forces, the California Highway Patrol, California Border Patrol, members of the county sheriff departments, uniformed armed members of the National Guard, and all federal troops on duty, in uniform, and armed. Un-uniformed groups of individuals are traditionally treated as counter-insurgents.*

A soldier of the Revolution will be dressed in a military manner, uniformly with other members of the striking force to which he belongs. In case of extreme emergency, when a soldier of LARGO must bear arms without notice, he will identify himself throughout the action with a red armband on the left arm.

Civilians coming into contact with soldiers of the revolution should immediately identify themselves, their location and non-combatant status. Do not identify yourself as a sympathizer unless this is a true statement. Your rights will be honored and your safety taken into primary consideration, regardless of beliefs.

Our war against the Federal Forces will be conducted on a program of gradual acceleration, as efforts to eliminate LARGO increase. At each step of the escalation a statement of procedure will be published in order to insure the safety of warzone residents.

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE, WE SHALL NOT FAIL!!!**

Commanding Officer  
designate: LARGO

Liberation Army Revolutionary Group Organizations of the  
National Liberation Front.

These proclamations were received by California reporters and government officials in 1970.

fanatical enough to do real political and physical damage; not to the government, but to themselves and legitimate social change activists. Had LARGO actually launched its woefully-premature attempt at armed military campaigns, the resulting tragedy might have eclipsed the Symbionese Liberation Army's travails.

## Dangerous Deja Vu

Today another Doeden-controlled political group is digging a similar, but far deeper and more dangerous hole. Under the umbrella name of the National Labor Federation (NATLFED), and operating through a large number of front groups, Doeden (as Perente) is secretly collecting naive recruits for what could easily become another LARGO-type fiasco.

NATLFED groups include the California Homemaker's Association, Eastern Farmworker Association, the Western and Eastern Service Workers Association, Coalition of Concerned

Medical Professionals, Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals, Temporary Workers Organizing Committee, National Equal Justice Association, and so on. A clandestine core group, thinly buried under all these organizations, calls itself the Communist Party USA (Provisional), Provisional Party, Provisional Communist Party, or Order of Lenin.

Most unnerving is the fact that the person who controls this vast web of interlocking organizations — Eugenio (Gino) Perente — is actually Gerald William Doeden; and further, that Perente is up to the same scenario as before, but this time using a sophisticated nation-wide recruitment apparatus which has been successful in attracting volunteers, members to its associations, donations, etc., as well as avoiding any serious scrutiny by the progressive forces in this country. Perente has also apparently called himself Gino Savo and Vincente E. M. Perente-Ramos.

## Looking Under The Rug

At first glance, the umbrella National Labor Federation may appear to be coordinating just another grass roots organizing drive. And, at first glance, the Provisional Party may appear to be just another communist party in the alphabet soup world of American communist parties. But investigations by several reporters, activists, and volunteer group coordinators suggest otherwise.

There is much evidence to suggest that NATLFED uses consciously-implemented psychologically-manipulative techniques as part of its organizing and recruitment program; its leadership purposely misrepresents the size, influence, and goals of the group to attract new recruits; it falsely claims to have an official or "special" relationship with several Latin American revolutionary organizations and socialist countries; diverts donations of food, clothing, and cash collected for the needy to the personal use of NATLFED cadre; recruits are required to provide to the organization potentially-embarrassing personal information which can — and has — been used to blackmail members into discipline, and former members into silence; death threats are made to members who leave (or attempt to leave) the organization; and that NATLFED circulates false and defamatory information about its critics to community and progressive organizations throughout the country.

The above charges have been made not only by the Public Eye, but by other investigators, journalists, psychological

counselors, as well as both former volunteers and volunteer coordinators who have had very negative experiences with NATLFED-controlled agencies engaged in social service activity.

Currently NATLFED is embroiled in a battle over control of a church-related volunteer agency — the Commission on Voluntary Service and Action, publishers of the volunteer service guide, *Invest Yourself*. (See Chuck Fager article in this issue).

The purpose of this article is not to question the right of a revolutionary group to organize, but to examine serious charges of unethical procedures used to recruit individuals into the group, the unsavory and psychologically-manipulative methods used to keep members in the group, and the deceptive and fraudulent organizing and fundraising practices of the group both inside and outside of its membership.

Furthermore, the article is intended to expose NATLFED as primarily a self-perpetuating cult, with no legitimate claim to being interested in social activism, Marxism, or revolutionary change.

## The National Labor Federation

The National Labor Federation began with the founding of the Eastern Farmworkers Association on Long Island, NY, in 1972. The Association was founded by Perente and other organizers who apparently were unable or unwilling to work with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

Although the details are unclear, Perente may have spent some time after the LARGO fiasco and prior to organizing the Long Island Farmworker Association engaged in farmworker organizing. Perente himself claims to have co-chaired the UFW boycott in New York City, although UFW officials deny Perente had any official post in that organization. Nevertheless, 1972 found Perente on the East coast, having dropped the name Doeden, and involved with the fledgling Long Island Association. Since then, Perente and his inner circle have launched other outreach associations which have formed the National Labor Federation.

NATLFED has expanded steadily, so that current organizing drives are located on the East Coast in New York, (New York City, Brooklyn, Utica, Long Island, Lyons, Northport, Smithtown, Bellport, Rochester) New Jersey (Atlantic City, Trenton, New Brunswick) Pittsfield and Boston, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. On the West coast NATLFED is active in Medford, Oregon; and in the California cities of Redding; Sacramento; Oakland; San Francisco; Santa Cruz; Anaheim; and San Diego.

You may have already run into this organization in any one of several ways—their door to door canvassing in low-income neighborhoods in search of members to sign cards and pay dues; their bucket drives in front of shopping centers in search of donations and volunteers; baked goods sales at college campuses; speaking engagements to churches; and their information tables. Or, you may have been the object of one of their drives to target a specific professional group for recruitment, such as has happened with sociologists, lawyers and medical professionals.

To understand NATLFED, one must first be aware that beneath that public reality is a secretive directorate, the "Provisional Party." The organizational structure of the various groups is best illustrated by visualizing onion-like layers.

The outer layer consists of what NATLFED cadre describe as their "mutual benefits associations," such social welfare organizations as the California Homemakers' Association or the Eastern Farmworkers Association.

These "mass-based" associations are purportedly organized in the interest of the "unrecognized strata" of the labor force such as farmworkers, domestic workers, attendant care workers, and temporary workers. Cadre and volunteers busy themselves with such tasks as signing up low-income people as members, collecting and distributing various benefits such as food, legal services, and medical aid. This mixture of charity, social work, and advocacy obviously brings a small, but steady stream of both volunteers and needy people into their doors.

Parallel to this outward charitable effort by cadre and volunteers, two aspects are immediately evident insofar as their office style are concerned.

One aspect is the fact that the social work functions primarily as a framework for the collection, recording, and cross-referencing of all new information and names into a large and elaborate system of files and paperwork. NATLFED maintains massive files on the political views of thousands of social change activists across the country, with notations as to the potential for recruitment.

[Ed. Note: This habit led the Public Eye to charge in its first (1977) article on NATLFED that the information being collected by NATLFED was identical to that being collected by government agencies targetting activists, and to speculate as to the possibility of the NATLFED information reaching intelligence agency hands.]

Another notable aspect of NATLFED is the organization of all activity and information according to a pre-coded structure of workflow, hierarchy, abbreviated titles, jargon or special language. (Much of this descriptive language — used by NATLFED itself — is borrowed from regular communist organizational structure and theory.) Commonly, volunteers and cadre work late into the night bolstered by a steady stream of freely supplied coffee and cigarettes.

The next level of organization consists of Sponsors, Volunteer Coordinators, and various "Commissars" who provide the bureaucratic elbow grease to speed the flow of information toward the New York headquarters, and motivate — and sometimes coerce — volunteers and recruits.

The final innermost levels are within the Provisional Party. Many volunteers with NATLFED front organizations are unaware of the existence of the secret "Party."

Most members of the "Party" are expected to quit their jobs, and sever meaningful outside personal ties.

Former members tell of being ordered to "denounce" old friends, receiving letters censored by superiors, and being forced to write return letters to friends that were actually dictated by higher-ups in the organization.

Members are expected to work constantly, often operating at the point of exhaustion with an eighteen hour per day, seven day per week schedule while working both in a NATLFED front organization, as well as attending the various activities connected to the Provisional Party.

Professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and college professors are sometimes allowed to keep their well-paying, influential jobs while turning over money and contacts to NATLFED, but many others are told to quit and devote their time to the "Party." In either case, their time is still accountable to

NATLFED on the same eighteen hour/day, seven day/week schedule.

Party members are willing to do this because they sincerely believe the revolution is imminent — so imminent that the Party has decided the date for the revolution to begin is sometime in early 1984.

(Ed. Note: Although the Provisional Party, in fact, had set the exact date for their attempted overthrow of the government, we feared that revealing this date — which we were totally convinced was merely another in a long series of fraudulent boasts used to keep cadre under discipline — would expose the members of the Provisional Party to the type of government repression the Public Eye has historically exposed and denounced.)

## A Hidden Agenda

Critics of NATLFED charge it has a hidden agenda: the organizing by the mutual aid associations is not really to solve or address the specific problems of low-income persons, but rather to attract recruits to the Provisional Party. The organizing drives are the bait, which is one explanation for the inability of NATLFED groups to sustain any long-term program beyond the door-to-door level. The outward establishment of the "mutual benefits associations" provides a structure to sign up members in various communities through door-to-door canvassing, the canvassing itself then helps convince potential volunteers they are part of a legitimate grassroots organizing drive, the ongoing social service programs are used to attract well-meaning and idealistic volunteers, as well as to solicit goods and services from merchants—some of which goes to the needy, but much of which goes to the sustenance of the NATLFED cadre.

This merchant solicitation process has become so pressured at times as to be considered extortion by ex-members of NATLFED. One ex-member described a situation where organizing efforts in one area began to fail. The ranks of donating merchants dwindled and NATLFED organizers began to intensify their demands and finally resorted to actual threats. This led to a vicious circle where fewer and fewer merchants donated goods and services, less chance for the cadre to develop new contacts, and an ill-fed, undernourished cadre already short of medical services and unable to work productively for the expected 18-hour days.

## Infusing New Blood

NATLFED has been fairly successful in getting college students assigned to projects for college credits in social work and related studies. For example, at Sacramento State College in California students are currently assigned to work with the California Homemakers Association (CHA) for credit. Friends World College in Huntington, Long Island assigns students to the Eastern Farmworkers.

Antioch College in Ohio used to send students to the California Homemakers Association for course credit, but then cancelled the arrangement when the charges of cult-like conditions at CHA started to surface in the mid-'70's.

One Antioch school administrator remarked, "Much of what you're telling me about this group I've already heard from students. We cancelled the program due to the lack of 'truth in advertising'."

Another source of recruits for many years was the listing of numerous NATLFED fronts in a legitimate volunteer service catalog published by the church-related Commission on Voluntary Service and Action. [Ed. Note: See Chuck Fager article, this issue.]

Like an auto-dealership, Perente's group works very hard using a variety of strategies to get interested people coming through the doors of their outlets. Then a pre-planned, step-wise recruitment protocol guarantees a steady influx of those volunteers into the full-time status of members in the Provisional Party.

In pulling in new recruits and keeping them in, a carrot and stick approach is used. The carrot is the slowly acknowledged and revealed projection of a powerful, large, and committed "party of revolution," with gross lies about its true history and strength.

NATLFED offers its volunteers training to become "certified" as "professional organizers" if they, in turn, make a definite commitment of their time. The chance is extended to be a "subject of history, and not just an object." Selected volunteers are given the chance to become "professional revolutionaries" as described in Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?"

Tidbits of information regarding NATLFED and the Provisional Party are meted out only after commitments are made — they'll tell you what lies inside the cookie jar if you agree with them as to the color of the jar and promise to help them bake the next batch.

But, like a Kafkaesque nightmare, inside the cookie jar lies another cookie jar with more of the same. It is this arrangement of revelation predicated on prior and unquestioning agreement and commitment that is typical of many cult organizations, be they religious or political in nature.

"We have to remember that people who walk in our doors don't know how to make a revolution or they would already be doing what we're doing," an Oakland member of the Provisional Party once told her fellow members in one of their clandestine meetings. "We're looking for people who want a revolution." That's the "Party Line."

On the day of their recruitment into the Provisional Party the cadre are told the tale of NATLFED's "historic genesis" which is claimed to have given rise to the Provisional Party, as well as the group's claims to have their secret headquarters in Cuba.

The "genesis" tale traces a trail from the old Communist Party, through the Progressive Labor group's guerrilla training in Cuba during the early sixties, guerrilla struggles in Guatemala around 1966, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, United Farmworkers Union, and, just prior to forming the Eastern Farmworkers, the Venceremos Organization.

That's the carrot — a chance to be part of an historic struggle in an organization with real credentials and history.

The stick is the physical harm threatened to any who would challenge or leave the Provisional Party. While there has not been any documented case of violence on this group's part, threats of both an overt and implied nature are common practice. Many ex-members go underground and fear for their personal safety. Many of the sources for this article agreed to talk to the Public Eye only if we absolutely guaranteed their anonymity.

The author himself received a direct threat when the Oakland leader warned him, "Whatever you have, you'll lose it." She then pointedly inquired as to my personal relationships

with certain other persons she listed by name.

What distinguishes the Provisional Party from many other groups using the name of a communist party is not only that they lie about their past and present activities, but that the entire organization is actually a brilliantly conceived and self-sustaining cult community. The cult aspects start with the recruitment program and become increasingly evident as one scales up their hierarchical ladder.

The whole question of what makes a group a cult is a difficult and controversial topic, but in this case I speak from my own experience.

## My Life and Times with NATLFED

I first ran into NATLFED in early 1981. Prior to that I had worked hauling garbage for six years in Chico, Fairfield and Richmond, California. Hauling garbage had been good money and exercise. I was used to the work and we would run through the route in 4-5 hours and still get paid for eight hours work. I liked the work outdoors and felt good about the fact that I could get up and go anywhere in the country and, without too much trouble, find a job making a living wage.

In addition to this work, I had recently been taking nursing prerequisites at a local community college, in anticipation of maybe someday entering the nursing program there.

But a back injury on the job soon changed my life. One day, while at work, I lifted a particularly heavy can. Suddenly it felt as if someone had plugged my lower back into a live wire. Thus began an Alice in Wonderland type journey into the reality of Workman's Compensation—waiting for months for late checks from the insurance company, constant and demeaning visits to various doctors and lawyers offices with constant inuendo from these professionals, as well as casual acquaintances, that I was perhaps faking my back injury.

Finally, after a year of going back to work, repeated back injuries, etc., it was medically decided that I would be unable to continue hauling garbage for a living. I was then eligible for a rehabilitation program and opted for a career in respiratory therapy—a field I had never heard of before, but since nursing wasn't offered to me, respiratory therapy seemed a related field where I could use my accumulation of knowledge gained from my nursing prerequisite classes.

In my classes and at hospital clinical rotations, I soon began to learn the high technology practice of ventilator management in intensive care units. While giving breathing treatments to patients with emphysema and bronchitis, and certain other aspects, were rewarding, I saw many people being kept "alive" on ventilators after every organ save the heart had failed. I began to witness capitalistic medicine carried to the extreme. Whereas I had started my career in nursing filled with idealistic notions about my possible role in the health care field, I began to find myself trained for what often were bizarre and cruel situations.

Both my frustration over my back injury and the subsequent loss of my job, along with my revulsion over certain aspects of medicine I was being trained for, spurred on another problem—the growing state of profound alienation I was developing with the local Bay Area left political scene.

It seemed to me that "respectable leftists" did their "political work" in trendy, short-term support groups for Gays, the Third World, prisoners, whales. Or they would travel to the latest mecca of revolution, returning to talk

only to each other in endless forums and cafes, where the best of coffee and the richest of chocolates were served. I felt this "let them eat theory" perspective probably had more to do with the addition of croissants on the menu of Jack-In-the-Box than with any real political impact in this country.

To sum up—I was in a state of personal, economic, and ideological crisis. (I used to joke to my friends that I should sue over my back injury for developing a secondary disease called "Pol Potitis"—affecting the politically sensitive areas of the brain and leading to chronic outbreaks against the bourgeoisie and their professional henchmen.)

So, when NATLFED called, I was ready to answer.

## The Recruitment Pitch

I had been involved with a political group collecting medical supplies from the East Bay to be sent to aid Nicaragua. One Saturday afternoon in early 1981, I was busy sorting through some of the supplies which had been stored in the basement of a Berkeley church. Several other people were also there helping out, among them an old acquaintance of mine, a Dr. Garth Shirnbaum. [Ed. Note: all names of NATLFED cadre other than Perente's have been altered.]

Towards the end of the sorting session, Shirnbaum called me aside and in private, with an air of great importance, told me he had something to talk to me about alone after the work was done. I was very curious as to what he had to say.

As soon as the sorting of medical supplies was over for the day, we both walked out the back door of the church and went and sat in his new Volkswagen Rabbit to talk. On the way out of the church, he asked me if I was cadre to any organization. When I said, "No," he seemed relieved and began talking.

It took two hours to hear him out. Shirnbaum started out by referring to the recent trip he had made to Nicaragua. He then

moved on to painting a picture of the Nicaraguan revolution as one instigated by a super-clandestine group (the Sandinistas) who operated helpful associations to aid the poor of Nicaragua (like mutual benefits associations).

Then came the dares from Dr. Shirnbaum, "Would you have joined the Sandinistas if you had lived in Nicaragua then?"

"I maintain that such an organization of revolutionary intent exists in this country now," asserted Shirnbaum with an air of total seriousness.

Then, without revealing much more, Dr. Shirnbaum gave me two phone numbers—one was for the Oakland chapter of California Homemaker's Association (CHA). The other was for the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals (CCMP), also in Oakland. I was to call either number and use a code to signify that I had had the introductory lecture. Using the code meant saying that I was a "friend of Carlos" and then ask to speak to a woman named "Brook." (Looking back now, this code routine didn't seem to serve any real purpose of security, rather it acts as another screening filter. If, after having the canned rap, you then call up their office and use the code, it signifies that you accept their game of intrigue. But, if the person is too skeptical or scared, well then, there are other fish in the sea.)

I had never heard anything negative about either CHA or CCMP before. That, combined with my knowing Shirnbaum personally, made it seem like a reasonable (and intriguing) thing to check out. That week, during a lunch break at one of my hospital clinical sites, I called up the CHA office and used the code, saying that I was a "friend of Carlos." That week, I casually asked several friends what they had ever heard of either CHA or CCMP. All I got back in reply was, "California Homemakers—aren't they the people that organize domestic workers? I think I heard them talking over KPFA (local radio station) a few years ago."

## The Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals



Free Health Care for the Bay Area's Working Poor

Since the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals put out its initial call to Bay Area medical professionals and other concerned members of the community in the Spring of 1976, the response has been so great that we are now able to provide free podiatry, physical therapy and general medical sessions on a regular basis. For many domestics and other low-paid workers, these services offer the only non-emergency medical care available to them in the Bay Area.

## With your help...

### SKILLS

Physician  
Nurse  
Podiatrist  
Physical therapist  
Printer  
Mechanic  
Other: \_\_\_\_\_

### DONATIONS

I am enclosing:  
\$100 \$50 \$25  
\$10 \$5  
I will make a  
regular donation of:  
\$ \_\_\_\_\_  
I can arrange for a  
CCMP fundraiser.

### SUPPLIES

Medical supplies  
Medical equipment  
Pharmaceuticals  
Office supplies  
Typewriter  
Food or clothing  
Car or car parts

### VOLUNTEERS

I want to attend a  
CCMP volunteers  
orientation.  
I want to volunteer  
my services for  
CCMP medical sessions.  
I want to help recruit  
volunteers and resource  
for CCMP.

## Sizing Things Up

So, the next Saturday I toured both the CHA and CCMP offices, went on a neighborhood canvass to sign up and collect dues from members in the low income neighborhoods of Oakland.

I was impressed. The volunteers and cadre I met seemed real sincere, dedicated and interested in their projects. These people, combined with the intrigue created by the talk with Dr. Shirnbaum and the vast array of activities—canvassing, housemeetings, outreach phoning, bucket drives, general medical sessions, well-child sessions, combined with the vast membership base in low income areas from coast to coast, all seemed to give them more legitimacy in my eyes. "What a contrast," I thought, "with the let's-talk-to-each-other nature of other left groups in the Bay Area."

Part of the bait that really hooked me was their Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals. Since I had been studying nursing earlier and most recently had entered respiratory therapy, this aspect of their organization held particular appeal. The CCMP held weekly General Medical Sessions and bi-weekly Well Child Sessions. At these sessions, community members receive "free comprehensive medical care" from medical professionals, supplies, and volunteers that had been organized by NATLFED.

Providing medical services is a much needed service in the Oakland community. More than enough cases of TB, anemia, malnutrition, idiotic health regimens, etc. came to my attention to contrast starkly with my study of spinning dials on ventilators.

Against this background of a projected community organizing drive, developed the pitch to join the Provisional Party. Every other Sunday, they hold huge (two hundred people approximately) revivalist-style meetings, which they call the National Labor College. After a few weeks of volunteering with NATLFED, I was invited to join with them at one of these affairs.

These meetings are arranged to have a clandestine, serious and intriguing air. As one leader later remarked to me, "We want to hit them (new recruits) with the formality." One Sunday, prior to leaving the CHA office, I gathered with several other new recruits and waited to set off. We were given a speech on the secretive nature of the upcoming meeting. Envelopes were handed to the NATLFED drivers which contained the address of the meeting. These envelopes were opened only after we had all gotten in the car. We drove across the Bay to San Francisco and entered a hall at the UCSF campus which had been reserved for the occasion. Prior to entering, you signed in and had to sign out before going to the bathroom.

The speaker at these meetings on the West Coast was Dr. Marcus Selene, a former sociology professor from a college in Ohio, who is now "Western Regional Political Commissar." At one National Labor College, Dr. Selene claimed to the audience that a Provisional Party member had just recently been killed in El Salvador after having been sent there "on assignment" from the Provisional Party to fight alongside their purported sister organization, the FMLN of El Salvador. This lent an air of importance and seriousness to the group.

At another of these meetings, held in May of 1981, one of their Hispanic leaders, a medical student named Alfred Damu, got up dressed in full military uniform and spoke to the assembled

crowd. He proceeded to claim that he knew for a fact that a revolution would occur in Chile within two years. This tidbit of alleged internationalist knowledge was dropped on us to bolster the group's claim of ties to the international revolutionary movement.

Two weeks earlier, another NATLFED leader claimed, "This organization has just placed one of our members on the Teamsters' Union Executive Council." The idea was that NATLFED and the Provisional Party was a large and growing movement with increasing power and influence, both domestically and internationally.

During my Easter break from Respiratory Therapy school, I worked full time with NATLFED in Oakland. Working over eighteen hours a day and participating in many of their activities (and meeting their organizers), I became more enthused about the organization. At the end of my one week vacation, I dropped out of my Respiratory Therapy classes, as requested by NATLFED, and became a full-time "organizer" for NATLFED.

## The "Genesis Rap"

Just prior to the decision I made to join NATLFED, I was taken to a secret screening meeting in San Francisco with their West Coast leadership. It was here that, finally, their purported history (or "genesis" as they refer to it), along with the name "Provisional Party" was revealed to me by Dr. Marcus Selene. I paraphrase it here:

In 1958 our people were active in the CPUSA... then we were part of the Progressive Labor Movement... some 18 of our people went to Cuba in the 1960's (with Phillip Abbott Luce) and were signatories to the founding OSPAAAL accords. (Ed. Note: OSPAAAL is a Cuban solidarity agency). These same people went to Guatemala where they participated in, and learned from, a disastrous Cuban-sponsored foco attempt at guerrilla warfare... By 1968, our people returned from Guatemala and we were then active in the Bay Area Revolutionary Union on the West Coast. During the San Francisco State strike, the Progressive Labor Party set up a picket against our activities, so we shot seven of them to prove that we were serious... our tendency then became the Venceremos Organization. We sprang Ron Beatty from a prison van and hid him in Venceremos safehouses... He turned state's evidence and so Venceremos had to be officially disbanded... but we formed "columns of forty" and later recontacted many of these former Venceremos members... this is how our present organization came to be.

Helping to substantiate their claims of "genesis" in my mind was an article I vaguely remembered from an old issue of "The Nation". Rummaging through my old copies, I found it—May 17, 1980, "What's Left - A View of the Sectarian Left," by George Vickers.

The article contained the following sketch:

"Within the BARU, however, a major rift appeared over the role of armed struggle in the party-building process. While one faction emphasized party-building and changed its name to the Revolutionary Union (RU), Stanford Prof. Bruce Franklin, and others who advocated greater emphasis on armed struggle, broke off to

form a new group called Venceremos. Many of the most militant Venceremos members were soon underground or in jail, and within a year those remaining in Venceremos dissolved the organization.

"Unofficially, however, many of these former Venceremos members formed a clandestine group called the Communist Party USA (Provisional), which continues to organize through a front body, the National Labor Federation, which in turn is comprised of groups like the Eastern Farmworkers Assoc., Calif. Homemaker's Assoc., and other projects set up to organize seasonal workers, temporary workers, and the unemployed. These groups currently have a total of perhaps 200 party members nationally."

Included in the "genesis" initiation lecture of the Provisional Party is the claim that Perente's group is the officially recognized representative of Cuban solidarity in the United States, supposedly through the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL) in Havana, Cuba. The Provisional Party tells its members that, like the old Comintern based in Moscow, OSPAAAL is now the centralized Western Hemisphere communist clearinghouse, based in Cuba. They further claim that their sister organizations in OSPAAAL include the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, El Salvador's FMLN, Chile's MIR, etc.

At the end of this recruitment session, I agreed to join with them. While enthusiasm did play a major role in my decision, after hearing the grisly "genesis" lecture, I was more than a little afraid of what would happen to me had I refused. I was already in so deep and besides, no one else knew where I was that afternoon.

## Dropping Out

Two months after joining this group, I left it. One day, while returning from taking some new volunteers out on a canvass, I asked a woman volunteer to pull her car over, whereupon I opened the door and got out. I walked to a nearby BART station and escaped. I never went back. It was for the following reasons that I left:

1) While it was bad enough that we all had to work over 18 hours per day, I became even more angry and suspicious when I was expected to accomplish about eighty hours of work in those 18 hours. I slowly began to suspect that the whole situation was purposefully set up to create a pressure cooker, "boot camp"-type atmosphere where people had neither the physical or emotional energy to question their assignments, much less engage in meaningful ideological discussions.

2) I witnessed two Provisional Party member go around passing themselves off as actual members of the Nicaraguan FSLN on assignment in the USA. I happened to know that these people didn't belong to the FSLN and, so, it made me wonder about the other claims I had heard. It was just another total fabrication designed to impress members and potential recruits.

3) It began to dawn on me that these people's idea of what it meant to be a cadre in their organization was somewhat a mixture of a con-artist and a hitman. I began to wonder if they had learned their style from reading J. Edgar Hoover's "Masters of Deceit."

4) At first, the Provisional Party's deadline for revolution (33 months as of mid-1981) was downplayed to me since I was skeptical. When I first heard of this deadline, I told my Oakland leader that I thought it all a little unrealistic. "While I am impressed with this organization and its potential for growth, I don't expect to see us holding power that soon," I told her during one meeting I had where just the two of us were present.

Seeing my skepticism, she replied that the deadline was nothing really definite, but was rather an adjustable guideline to keep them from becoming too complacent. Then, a month-and-a-half later, I was at a National Labor College meeting and one of the national leaders bluster out: "The 33-month deadline is real! The leadership of this organization has their theoretical and real necks on the line! So if you've been just an irregular volunteer on some half-assed schedule—GET REAL!" I began to consider the potential for both physical and political disaster implicit in the execution of this deadline. I began to trust nothing and suspect everything regarding the Provisional Party.

5) While in NATLFED, I had never met its leader, Gino Perente. However, an old friend of mine had read the earlier 1977 issue of "the Public Eye", which named Gino Perente as the leader of NATLFED. This friend of mine had known a "Gino Perente" from back in 1971 as actually being Gerald Doeden. This friend had heard Doeden go by the name, "Gino Perente," on several occasions.

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**"I have since become convinced that deception was used to attract me to NATLFED, and cultic techniques were used to keep me in."**

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Over the years, I had heard bizarre and harrowing tales from several old friends about the old LARGO group and its leader, "Gino." When members of the SLA died in the LA shootout, one of them commented to me, "That's how we almost ended up." Now, ten years later, the circle was completed when my friend stopped by the NATLFED office I worked at and told me, "It's the same guy—the same Gino you've heard of from us before!"

"Gulp," I thought to myself, "You've been had."

6) I caught a bad case of the flu and was very sick for a few days. This gave me a rare opportunity, for a cadre in NATLFED, to think things over thoroughly. It seemed ridiculous and dangerous to me, at the time, to bring up my fears and concerns to NATLFED leaders. I resolved to leave and did so at the first available opportunity.

I have since become convinced that deception was used to attract me to NATLFED, and cultic techniques were used to keep me in. My welfare and destiny was controlled by a group in New York I really knew nothing about — other than the lies I had been told. I resolved to find out the truth.

# Statement

by National Labor Federation

*Ed. Note: The following statement, apparently transcribed from a dictated tape cassette recording, was circulated among NATLFED members and contacts.*

**December 26, 1981**

(Public Eye slander is being presented to left organizations, that Eugenio Perente is really [John Doe]. The F.B.I. caused the arrest of two different names on exactly the same charge. Public Eye's only source can be a Suffolk County search and arrest warrant, which attributed the information to a protected police informant. The other is a copyrighted news story by *San Francisco Examiner's* Ed Montgomery, who exposed Cleaver, Franklin and Rubin. There are no other sources. Both "militant activity" cases in California and New York were defeated.)

Dr. David Shapiro announced today that some light had been shed on slander stories involving Labor Committee (or U.S. Labor Party), Eugenio Perente—one of the founders of Eastern Farmworkers Association, and various slanders and reports that the "left out press" of the still-propagandizing sector have vented at the National Labor Federation. He revealed today that a Jeff Whitnack, along with a Sally Pinkus, acting on behalf of *Public Eye* had linked Perente once again to "John Doe" a linkage which had previously led to the strangest case of FBI double jeopardy ever seen. "Gino and the man were claimed to be the same person, head of an underground northern California army or something," said Shapiro. "This was exposed in a headline searing Bay Area press campaign involving the *Berkeley Gazette* and *San Francisco Examiner*, while others like the *Chronicle* stood strangely silent. Gino said it was by-lined and copyrighted by Ed Montgomery, Hearst's Pulitzer Prize-winning feature writer whose name is mentioned from Jerry Rubin's book to every cold war trial in the Bay Area. The stories led to a Northern California manhunt and raid involving 60 FBI officers and 17 Placer County Sheriff's officers participated. Secret army hell. They were armed with fully automatic machineguns. The case became a local mystery as press stories suddenly changed to the "John Doe" name only. "John Doe," though claimed to be in possession of a mammoth Maoist (?) gun horde, was hustled off to an adjoining county without additional benefit of magistrate. The charges were dropped. Gino denies the whole story. 'I'm no goddamn Maoist,' he said."

Shortly after the opening of EFWA, again citing sources as police informer the two names were linked again on a Suffolk County warrant running out of state. The names Perente and "John Doe" were linked once again on the second warrant, this time reversed; this time Perente was sought along with co-founders of EFWA Mary Seeber and Polly Gardner, an effort that started this time with a 12-FBI agent-9 Suffolk County police raid on the charge that Perente had been

arrested for drug charges and militant activities in the West. The trial, a 2½ year affair represented by Martin Barbus's office, used a multitude of attorneys under the direction of Harley Lewin, who now represents the organization. The charges were dismissed after extended proceedings. Perente states "I have never been arrested on goddamn drug charges in my life under any name. As for militant activities—when the hell did they get illegal? That started coming out of the religion-color-creed portion of the Constitution in 1954." These are the only two incidents in which the names have ever been linked.

Perente, who left Suffolk in '73 and is assigned, among other organizing roles, to the Field Command in the National Labor Federation, stated "the Kahn business began shortly before publication of the infamous *Public Eye* article no. 1, when entities coast to coast were jarred with a series of threatening, harassing and intimidating phone calls. Anyone who read article no. 1 could see the only ones who said we were anything was Labor committee's Public Relations (God he must be a ghoul) expert, Paul somebody—I don't remember the name. They got their credibility by supposedly exposing Labor Committee in the same copy and are always claiming connections to *Counterspy*. What's so hot about alot of ex-FBI agents reporting on the government? That's what they're using to shut down on everybody else. I mean left them join the left, you know. I mean a whore can join the church, but you don't let them lead the choir right off—that's *Counterspy*. The Left is doing no organizing whatsoever, and their idea is internal turmoil, they still think it's Russia 1914. You do not yell "police." You do not yell anything. Anyone reading *Public Eye* could see they didnt jump Labor Committee. Everything they told about them was public domain. "It was during this period we were starting the National Foundation of Alternative Resources. Alfred McLung Lee, a noted sociologist, was interested in the project."

Dr. Frances Moulder stated, "We'd been organizing NFAR committees such as Sociologists Committee for Alternative Resources, in 1976 and 1977. These were attracting academic professionals from a broad political spectrum, with the common denominator being the attraction to an actual practice of social change. This included people of the status of Lee, the founder of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, an eminent sociologist and practical politician in the profession, who has a reputation of a man who couldn't be Bought. The professionals are split into competing political labels—"radicals", "Marxists", versus the "mainstream". SCAR cut across all these labels because we said the real question is—will you do something to organize for change—and if so, how much time do you have? Here are some people who need your help. . . .

Then the rumors and innuendo started, followed by the publication of the *Public Eye*. Lee called off his association with NFAR. . . he explained to me that he's heard we had

unsavory connections... government connections... he'd gotten this from certain individuals (John Leggett, Dick Cloward)... Their sources?... he couldn't say. The *Public Eye* was mailed anonymously to thousands of professionals all over the country who'd been interested in NFAR."

Deliberate hue and cry among some of our cadre's parents reached all the way to the Los Angeles Civil Liberties Union. Little brown envelopes started showing up to supporters all over the country. Harvey Kahn spoke at Antioch. Don't blame it on the cops. They do it for a living. I started this in '58-'53 actually, I was born young. Name calling doesn't do it. Same guy calls him pig will call you CIA, and some other poor bastard will get whacked for it. This is work, dammit!"

This Whitnack story curiously enough—according to Caryn Hoffman who received the call, although Whitnack did not use his real name when he called the entity, accused us of not being Venceremos. "I told him that that was a history of the left written by George Vickers of *Nation*." According to Dr. Pablo Martinez who received the call in Oakland, Whitnack also claimed George Vickers said we had Vietnamese connections. Hoffman denied that. "He used the two names, that's all, in that matter."

## It Gets Worse

Sometime after the *Public Eye* reporter called, Caryn Hoffman reported that an unidentified "name withheld" EFWA official received a call at the EFWA office from "John Doe's" daughter, the name linked with Perente's. She claimed to be "John Doe's" daughter (?) and she told Hoffman, who called back in curiosity—she wanted to know if the two names were the same person. She also gave Hoffman a phone number of a Marge Valdez. "Gino had an old friend who worked in Northern California in those days—and also in Sacramento for a while. The 'daughter' claimed she had made a call to the FBI in search of her father after hearing from the woman calling herself Marge Valdez, and that an FBI agent who had visited her ten years ago and told her that Perente was dead, got her the answer that he was 'dead but not dead enough to release the records.' Perente, who is in irregular contact with the entity, could not be contacted for several days. "What can I tell you, it's the first time it's happened here," he said. "In Texas it was worse; someplaces it's been better. Let's look at it this way—*Public Eye*'s second story, is reported to be coming out in mid February. It reports all this—the family thing and the rest. Let's say I'm terribly ashamed—that's reported too. What happens—maybe I disappear; maybe I'm suicide; maybe I'm arrested—who knows? It's the number; they all work off this guilt thing. You know how sensitive I am. Nobody knows who does it. Everybody will yell 'cop'. They'll yell that I am a cop, not that cops did it. Everybody yells too fast. What cop? I'd like to tell these great Leninists something. When Lenin went into power in Russia he had two cops on his Central Committee. The books say they knew because the Mensheviks had said so. Well you get checking back in the books and find one line—college books get it down real fast.—and you find out the Mensheviks accused 14 different members of Lenin's Central Committee of being Russian secret police. Turned out afterward the secret police had this whole campaign going."

Some organizers alarmed by the first *Public Eye* had called Perente and asked his advice. "Well tell them you're not a

cop. People know you. Who the hell is Harvey Kahn, I never heard of him. Kahn and Chip Berlet recently have started a highly-touted intelligence network throughout the midwest. People are supposed to write to them and tell them things about people they suspect. It's call the Anti-Witch Hunt Campaign. Hey, read their own documents. The CIA doesn't hire organizers with a 6th grade education. When you're sure you're sure. Nobody will say it to your face. I asked John Leggett. David asked Francis Fox Piven and Dick Cloward, the big sociology discovery of the year—They want poor people to go out and riot again like they did in the sixties. You're supposed to write a big book on that and they did. I said they were crazy. You'd obviously get the same thing you got in the 60's. I will say it again. Anybody poor asks you about the story, you stand there and read it with them. These other folk, just ask them. Well they don't win."

The National Foundation of Alternative Resources is the largest referral toward people thinking of career volunteer work. It's considered as publisher for the best damn Constitutional law that's hit the country. Dr. Shapiro wrote *Social Work: Our Dying People*—he'd better check their references if they come for volunteer work. It's death trap in the 'daughter's' phonecall—headlines—"Organizer Trapped In Potential Plot". I had family; well, you can't do this right and stay near people you know. I don't know if it was my daughter—you never knew Venceremos? That's a sign on the wall, and that's what George Vickers should be writing. This is called hue and cry, it's part of lynch law. You go where you go to organize farmworkers, you see it sometimes. Mary Seiber, Polly Gardner and I were shot at here. A man stopped along side the road, plaid coat, shotgun, and shot the car. You just keep driving. This is the first time we even mentioned it except to people in the office. It wasn't a cop, when you're sure, you're sure. I said it is the first time I read *Public Eye*. The two places those names were linked doesn't say cop. It says police source and police informant. What happens when the left yells CIA and it isn't their agent? Or Labor Committee? We aren't Labor Committee—if we were we'd tell you. You don't like it, kiss our ass. If you don't want to... be caught at it don't do it. The righteous have been very righteous in the Left; very brave too. Take *People's World*, CP West Coast—Terry Cannon Printed parts of the first *Public Eye* article in his column uncited. Mark Allen, an editor, was a friend. We called him and asked why. He said he didn't know it was us; he'd call back next week. We didn't wait. The *Guardian* knows me. When I was head of the UFW Boycott in New York a friend and I were co-chairman, or whatever, for Wilfred Burchet. Part of the *Public Eye* thing is Chavez denies something—I don't know; all I can say is good for Chavez—if he's smart he'll deny everything those bastards say. The *Guardian* lists *Public Eye*'s books. Jack Smith is the editor. Anyway, There's a Perente in their masthead as Business Manager and they can check their files of their announcement stories. The announcement stories—she worked with me on the boycott too—I don't know if it was emperor of the union or President of Mexico, you know. This ain't free press, man, it's cheap. We don't use it. We stay out of it. We're not interested. We just let our members know."

*The Public Eye Network received several different versions of the preceding document. We have attempted to print the most lucid and understandable version by combining the texts we received.*

Conning the Churches:

# The Edge of Right

by Chuck Fager

For many years, the church-related Commission on Voluntary Service and Action's major activity was the publication of a guide to volunteer service projects called *Invest Yourself*. This guide has been published every year since 1946 and usually sells several thousand copies, mainly to churches, schools and colleges, where it is used as a reference by counselors and would-be volunteers, particularly young people. Groups seeking volunteers are listed free in *Invest Yourself*. Many thousands of people over its 36 years have found volunteer positions through its pages; it is a standard reference in its field.

Most of the 180-odd listings in the 1982 edition of the guide are clearly church-related—running the denominational gamut from the Jesuit Volunteer Corps through various Protestant agencies to the American Jewish Society for Service. But a closer reading of its pages reveals several clusters of listings for non-religious groups with names like Eastern Farmworkers Association, the Eastern Service Workers Association, the California Homemakers Association, the National Labor Federation, the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals and a Coalition of Concerned Legal professionals. These groups are centered in certain areas—Long Island, Trenton and New Brunswick, New Jersey; western Massachusetts, Oregon and California. The descriptions of them—there are 38 in all—read very similarly: they are said to be "mutual benefits associations," providing the necessities of life to "the lowest paid strata" of unorganized workers, while applying a strategy of "systemic organizing" to produce "permanent change" in their conditions. They all say as well that volunteers need no experience; they will be trained by professional organizers.

This similarity is no coincidence. All these groups are fronts for the Perente Party—"entities" or "operations" in Party jargon, though none mentions their affiliation or their true agenda. All their nationwide activities are, however, centrally directed from a brownstone building at 1107 Carroll Street in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. Their work is part of a scheme which Party leaders have repeatedly said is aimed at producing a Marxist revolution in the United States by early 1984. If that sounds unrealistic or even crazy, Perente Party members are nonetheless serious about it, and disciplined in its pursuit. They do not shrink from talk of violence, and guns have been seen around their Brooklyn headquarters.

Some members of the Committee on Voluntary Service and Action Executive Committee are apparently connected with the Perente party, in particular the former chairperson, Diana

Ramirez, a woman who came into the group in 1973, representing the Eastern Farmworkers Association, one of Perente's original "entities." Most members of the CVSA's Executive Committee are from mainstream church backgrounds and normally come together for policymaking only twice a year. They had little inkling of what was happening to their organization until last winter. At that time the committee's secretary, Wilbur Patterson, who works for the Presbyterian volunteer agency at 475 Riverside Drive, received a letter from a California man named Jeff Whitnack.

## A Strange Story

Whitnack was drawn into the Perente party's Bay Area entity through the California Homemakers Association and the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals. He only stayed a few months before deciding that the Party's conspiratorial style was dishonest and oppressive, and its plan for a revolution by 1984 was impractical at best and at worst a recipe for another Jonestown. But while attending clandestine Party meetings in San Francisco, he heard various "political commissars" bragging about having infiltrated CVSA, using it to attract new recruits, and through it having placed a member in the United Nations. (This last bit of hyperbole refers to the fact that Diane Ramirez, as the CVSA chair, has been a delegate to the Youth Committee of UN Non-Governmental organizations.)

Since leaving the Perente Party, Whitnack has spent much time investigating and trying to expose it.

When Patterson saw Whitnack's data, it helped make sense of a growing body of unsettling information that had been collecting in CVSA's files but had gone mostly unnoticed: reports of volunteers signing up with various "entities" listed in *Invest Yourself*, only to quit in protest when they discovered their real and clandestine character; the repeated use of CVSA as a tax-deductible conduit for foundation and other grants to the non-exempt Eastern Farmworkers Association.

Then there was the matter of the production and printing of the guide itself. In 1978, when CVSA's income slumped, a group of Ramirez' comrades, representing the National Foundation for Alternative Resources (NFAR—another front), offered to take over the guide's publication. This offer was eagerly accepted, and since then the foundation has produced *Invest Yourself*, with a woman named Susan Angus as editor.

The NFAR has upgraded the quality of the guide's printing, making it look more substantial. But the odd thing, to

Patterson and other concerned executive committee members, was the secretive character of the operation. By 1982, NFAR had produced four editions of the guide, yet Patterson and the other officers (except perhaps Ramirez) still had no idea where or by whom the actual production and printing was being done. Editor Angus' address was a Manhattan post office box; her phone number was an office in Philadelphia; further, she was always out when called; a caller always had to leave a message, and she would later call back.

For that matter, the same thing was true of Ramirez. Her address, for most of the eight years she has been on the executive committee, was 58 Beaver Dam Road, Bellport, Long Island. But this is not a residence; it is the office of the Eastern Farmworkers Association; more recently, she switched to a post office box in Floral park. She too has used the always-out-leave-a-message and call-back telephone arrangement.

### Cleaning House

Against this background, talk of a secret organization behind such groups as NFAR and the Eastern Farmworkers Association made increasing sense to Patterson and others, because its agents in CVSA had consistently acted in a coordinated, clandestine fashion even when carrying out CVSA's routine tasks. As Patterson put it to other concerned executive committee members, whoever was behind these groups "now controls [Invest Yourself] 100 percent and, therefore, controls 90 percent of the reputation of CVSA. And we really do not know that organization."

Further corroboration of these suspicions came from Antioch College. In the mid-70s, the California Homemakers Association, had managed to get on the list of agencies to which Antioch students are sent for the cooperative work terms with which they alternate academic terms. At the same time, a separate Perente "entity," the Antioch Financial Aid Student Aid Association, was set up on the Antioch campus. As many as half of the students sent out to work with the California Homemakers Association did not come back: they were recruited into fulltime membership and dropped out of school. Numerous others, however, did return and complained to college administrators that the group was not what it said it was. In the spring of 1978 the college removed the California Homemakers Association from its job list.

About the same time, a campus newspaper discovered that the Antioch Financial Aid Student Association, rather than aiding students was actually engaged primarily in gathering information on campus activists for files whose purpose was not made clear. When this report was published, the Association people vehemently denied it. But the reporters had proof, obtained by literally piecing together shredded documents from the organization's trash cans. Thus exposed, the Antioch Financial Aid Student Association closed down, and the Perente Party's two entities effectively were driven off the Antioch campus.

After agonizing over the implications of what they had learned, Patterson and several other executive committee members concluded that CVSA was long overdue for a housecleaning like Antioch's "What," Patterson asked several others in a confidential memo, "are we allowing CVSA to become, wittingly or unwittingly?" He planned to bring up the evidence and the question of manipulation at the winter executive committee meeting this year.

### The Confrontation

But when the meeting opened on March 30, 1982, Ramirez, Angus and their cohorts were ready and Patterson and his allies proved no match for their smokescreen tactics. They called Whitnack a police agent, the Antioch and other volunteer evidence inconclusive, and added that a California physician allegedly named in *The Public Eye* article was suing it, and Patterson, for slander. The meeting ended in confusion, with the questioners in disarray.

Afterward, Patterson admitted that, "it was a mistake not to come into the meeting with a definite, focused strategy. They want *Invest Yourself* and the aura of respectability CVSA provides. We need nine votes at the [next] meeting to vote that there be no *Invest Yourself* 1983 published. We must be prepared to vote down anything other members propose."

This was tough talk for a mild-mannered church bureaucrat, accustomed to a gentler, more restrained form of politicking. And while the challengers did somewhat better at the next meeting on July 20, 1982 in New York, they still couldn't bring it off. Ramirez opened that session aggressively, first proposing that Angus and two other members of NFAR be added to the executive committee; then she denounced Patterson as a traitor to the organization and demanded that he be dropped from the body. Both of these moves were turned back. When the motion to cancel the 1983 *Invest Yourself* was offered, however, two of its supporters had to leave before the actual balloting. The vote came down to a tie, which Ramirez broke in favor of publication.

Despite this favorable vote, the 1983 edition of *Invest Yourself* appeared minus many important entries. After the July meeting, several large denominational groups, including Methodists, Lutherans, Episcopalians and others have withdrawn their listings from it, and more are expected to do so.

Further, at a third executive committee meeting in late September, 1982, Patterson and his colleagues finally managed to act together. Ramirez was replaced as chairperson, several new committee members were added to shore up CVSA's ties to mainstream groups, and the committee resolved to try to reclaim *Invest Yourself* from its infiltrators. Whether CVSA can in fact recover from this trauma, especially financially, will not be clear for several years.

With the reclamation or destruction of CVSA, the Perente party will lose one of its most useful recruiting tools. No one knows how many people have been drawn into the various "entities" through *Invest Yourself*, but what reports are available suggest that it had been producing a steady stream, as did their early efforts at Antioch.

### Structure

The Party operates through a series of onionlike layers, with Perente and his circle, which likely includes Ramirez, at the center. At the outer layer of the onion are the front groups such as Eastern Farmworkers, California Homemakers Association, and National Labor Federation. These groups openly recruit "members," poor people who sign membership cards and receive some donations of food, clothes and occasional volunteer medical or legal services. But these "members" are little more than clients of the group; they

have no role in its functioning, and generally no awareness of the organization's real agenda.

The next layer consists of the volunteers for the groups, such as those attracted through *Invest Yourself*. These volunteers are carefully screened by the dropping of hints and casual remarks about the need for revolutionary action to end hunger and injustice. If volunteers respond correctly to these hints, they are progressively recruited into the "unit," the local party group which runs the front group. (One plausible estimate is that there may be 300 to 500 such Party members.)

At every stage of their initiation, recruits are told of the absolute importance of secrecy. Recruits are instructed to deny the existence of the Party and its revolutionary plans if asked by outsiders. In keeping with this policy, the Perente Party publishes no newspaper or other public documents, and does much of its political communication in person or on easily erasable audio tapes.

### Total Commitment Required

For most recruits, Party membership means a total commitment to a demanding regimen of work and political indoctrination. Most members (except for professionals like doctors and lawyers) are expected to quit their jobs and give up their old housing arrangements to depend completely on the Party and what it makes available. Questions from family and friends about what they are doing are to be deflected unless the questioner is a potential recruit.

The political indoctrination consists of heavy reading in the classic Marxist revolutionary canon, supplemented by large doses of the works of Stalin; Stalin is a favorite of Perente's. Lengthy Fidel Castro-like harangues by Perente are also common, either in person or by cassette. There are also frequent exhortations about preparing for a revolution by

1984, dark hints about stockpiles of guns and shadowy "military units," and warnings of a dire fate awaiting anyone who turns on the group.

Members are expected to work long hours, typically 16 to 18-hour days, with few days off. Much of the work consists of fundraising—door-to-door canvassing, bake sales at shopping centers or on campuses, and telephone pitches to small businesses and churches. According to reports by former members of the Oakland entity, that group was quite successful in obtaining donations of money, auto parts, food, even fancy chocolates from progressive-minded local shopkeepers. Churches, especially those of a "guilty liberal" persuasion, are said to be particularly responsive.

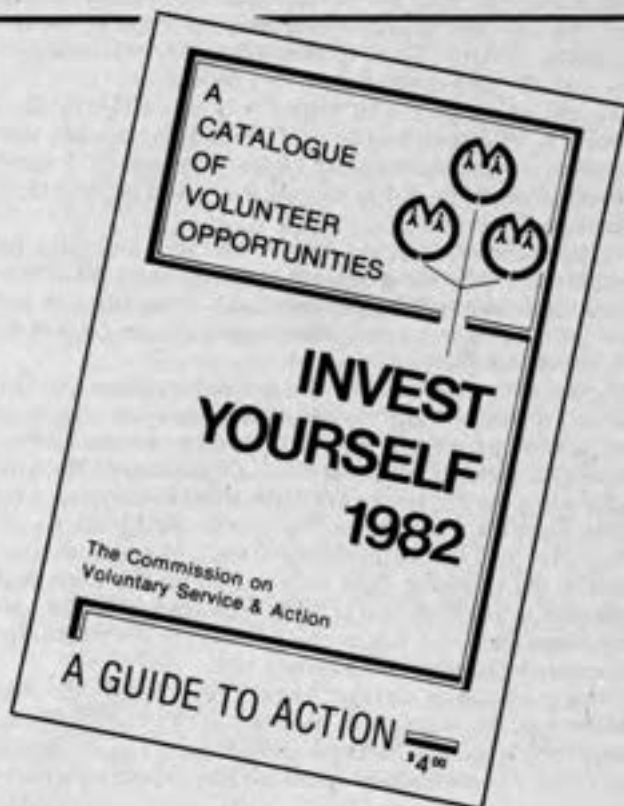
### Voluminous Files

Most of the rest of a member's work time, however, is spent in keeping and filing records. The Perente Party is obsessive about keeping files on people—not just members, but also other activists in its areas of operation. What happens to these files is unclear, but reliable reports tell of typewriters tapping away far into the night almost every night at the Brooklyn headquarters. Visitors to the place have also seen a control board covering almost an entire wall, with spaces set aside for all the entities.

Perente Party members are generally contemptuous of other leftist groups, regarding them as "social fascists," and they are virtually invisible and little-known amid the fervid jumble of sectarian maneuvering and polemic in socialist circles in New York, Philadelphia, and the Bay Area, where they have sizeable operations.

Copyright 1982 by Chuck Fager. Versions of this article have appeared in other publications including Washington D.C.'s *City Paper*.

Most of the 180-odd listings in the 1982 edition of the guide are clearly church-related—running the denominational gamut from the Jesuit Volunteer Corps through various Protestant agencies to the American Jewish Society for Service. But a closer reading of its pages reveals several clusters of listings for non-religious groups with names like Eastern Farmworkers Association, the Eastern Service Workers Association, the California Homemakers Association, the National Labor Federation, the Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals and a Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals.



## Talking The Talk & Walking the Walk

# Gino Perente, NATLFED & The Provisional Party

## Part Two

by Jeff Whitnak

### The Investigation

After discussing NATLFED over the phone with Public Eye editor Chip Berlet, he asked me if I would be willing to write an article for publication. Upon agreeing to do so, I launched an investigation into NATLFED, its claims, and its leader, Gino Perente.

At first, my research centered around their tales of historic "genesis" and claimed international ties. Not really knowing about, or feeling secure with, the cult issue, I wanted to pin down some purely "political" issues.

If one stands back and looks at their whole "genesis" story, it does begin to make sense from one angle. If you wanted to make something up which would be almost impossible to disprove totally (groups such as Progressive Labor Movement, BARU, and Venceremos have since disbanded and former members are somewhat reluctant to discuss past activities), would impress new recruits with a picture of a wise, and an experienced leadership and, perhaps most importantly, would instill fear into new recruits of ever crossing or leaving the organization, then the NATLFED/Provisional Party's tale is perfect—except research proves it to be a fabrication.

As one ex-member who helped to found CHA in Sacramento in 1973 remarked to me, "I heard people claim that they were in Venceremos when I knew they weren't. I don't doubt they would lie if they thought they could use it to their advantage."

In researching their claims, I talked with several people who went to Cuba in the early 60's with the Progressive Labor tour at the same time as Phillip Abbott Luce. None knew of any such political tendency or OSPAAL signatures, as claimed by the Provisional Party.

I spoke with ex-BARU and Venceremos members who felt that the Provisional Party's genesis tale was unfounded in fact. One of these people was H. Bruce Franklin, former Central Committee member of Venceremos Organization. Franklin explained to me that he doesn't claim to know everyone who was or wasn't in Venceremos, nor does he usually like to talk about other people's involvement in that organization. But, Franklin did know the Gino Perente who ran the Little Red Bookstore in San Francisco in 1971. Franklin emphatically denied to me that Gino was ever a member, or involved with, Venceremos Organization. I believe him.

Then I contacted George Vickers, the author of "The Nation" article which gave credence to NATLFED Provisional Party's claim of having descended from Venceremos. It seems that Vickers made an honest mistake and merely took on

faith what Gino Perente told him. He had no other source of information. Vickers now disbelieves the tale of the Provisional Party springing from Venceremos.

### Claimed International Ties

As part of the introduction to the Provisional Party, Nicaragua's revolutionary history was twisted around to parallel the present efforts and projected organizing drives of the Provisional Party. After researching Nicaragua's road to revolution it became patently obvious that the Provisional Party's rendition of history was a fairy tale. The prestige of the recent Nicaraguan revolution was used to impress potential recruits and lead them into the Provisional Party.

I also had come to learn that the two-hour "first person rap" I had heard detailing the Provisional Party's ties to the Nicaraguan revolution had first been prepared and taped by someone else, then later memorized by various NATLFED cadre, including Dr. Shirnbaum. A few months after joining the Provisional Party I witnessed another NATLFED cadre, this one having never even been to Nicaragua, giving the same canned rap to several other targeted recruits. It was all a cheap, yet sophisticated, trick.

As for the claims of a headquarters in Cuba, the claim that The Provisional Party is given special status through the OSPAAL accords, and all the other claims regarding a so-called "special" relationship with the government and Party in Cuba—they are all false. When the Public Eye contacted the Cuban government regarding this investigation, the proper agency for coordinating international friendship and support work (ICAP - not OSPAAL) supplied an official document outlining their policies which include the stated decision not to recognize any political formation or group in the United States as having a "special" or superior status. [Ed. Note: See ICAP communique in box on next page.]

Leaders in several groups who regularly send support and friendship delegations to Cuba called the Provisional Party's claims not only false but also dangerous to Cuban-American friendship work.

### Deception as Practice

One former NATLFED organizer admits the organizing and distribution of benefits was not primarily aimed at those people who needed assistance, but was aimed at providing as context from which discipline and commitment would be instilled in the cadre. He insists this was a conscious organization-build-

INSTITUTO CUBANO DE AMISTAD CON LOS PUEBLOS		FAVOR CONTESTAR A:
ATENCIÓN DE:	MEMORANDUM	
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:		
<p><b>ASUNTO:</b>          Queremos hacerle saber a los distintos grupos y organizaciones de solidaridad en Estados Unidos, que no existen organizaciones y/o grupos en particular -- ninguno, en ese país que sean los máximos responsables del trabajo de solidaridad con Cuba.          Nuestro Instituto (ICAP) es el encargado en nuestro país de establecer y -- desarrollar el trabajo de amistad y solidaridad.</p> <p>Sin otro asunto, queda de ustedes</p> <p>Manuel Lee Lam          J'Dpto. Norteamérica y P. Rico.          ICAP.</p>		



The Provisional Party tells recruits it has a "special" relationship with Cuba through a Cuban organization called OSPAL.

Several years ago, in the course of verifying these claims, the Public Eye asked the Cuban government for a clarification of its relationship with groups in the United States. The Cuban response is printed here.

It does not support the claims of the Provisional Party.

#### Memorandum from Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos (ICAP)—Cuban Institute for Peoples' Friendship

We want the different solidarity groups and organizations in the United States to know that there are not any particular organizations or groups in that country with primary responsibility for friendship work with Cuba.

In our country, our Institute (ICAP) is in charge of establishing and developing the work of friendship and solidarity.

ing policy and justifies those occasions when cadre used donations for their own food, travel and lodging needs.

The theory seems to be that since a successful Marxist revolution will in the long run greatly benefit the working class and disadvantaged, it's OK to rip off a few poor people and workers along the way in order to build the "true" revolutionary Party. In short: The ends justify the means - any means.

Most Marxists and Leninists interviewed for this article found such rationalizations obnoxious and a distortion of the writings of Marx and Lenin. Several pointed out that this type of distortion was popularized by anti-communist and right-wing groups who pull quotes out of context and ignore the large number of statements which contradict this inference in the voluminous writings of Marx and Lenin.

As far as I'm concerned, calling NATLFED a Marxist organization is like calling the "Moonies" a Christian organization. Just because they claim to be Marxists and revolutionaries doesn't make it so.

Are other distortions and deceptions commonplace within NATLFED? This is how one former volunteer with NATLFED's Oakland branch phrased it:

At first sight the work here seems ideal - Low income people have an organization which is working in their interest. . . . You read about this positive impression in my previous reports. After three months of experience with this project [however, I must report that] reality is very different.

Members are told that this is their organization. To the

contrary, most members [outside New York] do not even know about the National Labor Federation. The structure is ambiguously organized from top to bottom. Members are at the [bottom] of the hierarchy. . . . No decisions are made collectively, members do not have any power of decision. . . . It is a lie if they are told that they themselves are deciding about the organization. . . . I have been told that volunteers are not supposed to be thinking about what they are doing.

Volunteers and members are not taken seriously, but [are being] used. They are being lied to if it is useful to the organization. I have experienced [these lies] often. . . .

Financial matters are totally obscure. Some money goes to the top, but almost nobody knows where to—particularly not the members. . . .

As soon as a volunteer criticizes anything he will be interviewed by a trained co-worker . . . [it appears to be] just like an interrogation. Systematically, he will be driven into defense. Nobody will listen to the problem, he is just a 'stupid' volunteer. I have never [known] criticism [to be] really listened to.

Contacts to the outside are [severely limited]. I do not know anything but work. You may ask why I do not face my conflicts here — the militarist structure and the way in which conflicts are dealt with are incompatible with [raising criticisms internally]. It is assumed that anyone who does not like [the way things are] leaves. All who are of different opinions are stupid [and] ridiculous. . . . One who does not cooperate is a murderer because he allows [poor people to] continue to starve. [I am told

that] the only way for real change is [through] this organization.

I do not want to cause any panic, but this organization is dangerous, at least incalculable."

The above excerpt not only discusses the conscious deception that is integral to the NATLFED organizing style, but makes several references concerning enforced allegiance techniques which some critics charge make NATLFED a cult group.

## Is NATLFED a Cult?

Now that I look back at my experience in NATLFED, it sure seems to fit all the criteria for being a dangerous cult:

- a schedule designed to produce chronic exhaustion,
- long droning lectures while followers are already exhausted,
- wild ideas and beliefs which attain the force of psychotic delusion,
- predictions of change or doom around the corner,
- the POW camp-type atmosphere,
- followers quitting their jobs and severing outside personal and economic ties,
- the historic sense of mission,
- the operating under tight discipline and secrecy,
- the extolment of qualities of ruthlessness and fanatical determination,
- a "Triumph of Will" approach, eventually pushing cult members to adopt a "beyond good and evil" mentality,
- the kneejerk calling of any critics "government agents."

This is Gino Perente's National Labor Federation.

Being a political cult, the Provisional Party distorts Marxist classics much the same way the Moonies distort Biblical passages. Religious cults prey upon the guilt feelings of recruits who are systematically made to be ashamed of not living up to Christian or other religious ideals. In The Provisional Party, recruits who sincerely want to be involved in social change are psychologically-manipulated into believing that they would be traitors to the "Cause" if they rejected the discipline of the only "true" revolutionary party in America.

To ensure that recruits never successfully challenge the carefully orchestrated apocalyptic reality within NATLFED, emotionally-disruptive and fatigue-producing techniques are used. Writing in the religious magazine *Christian Century*, associate editor Jean Caffrey Lyles put it this way:

"Some former recruits describe Natifed as both militaristic and cult-like ('like the Moonies,' said one), an organization that works recruits up to 18 hours a day, keeping them in a state of chronic fatigue; subjects them to droning sessions of indoctrination; and discourages critical thinking. New arrivals at the local units are given books by Marx, Lenin and Stalin as assigned reading.

"Volunteers have no permanent base but are moved from place to place, sleeping in a different location each night. Two volunteers are rarely left alone together, and are told only as much as they need to know to carry out an assignment. One former volunteer recalled: 'A lot of the time you wanted to go up to somebody and ask them, "What are we doing?" but there was no one to go up to.'

Another former member described being shuttled from house to house, sometimes sleeping on the floor of the local NATLFED office, or even a garage. Food was plentiful when visitors and potential recruits were around, but other times cadre would go whole days without food depending on the success of local solicitations and organizing drives. Ideological discussion was not available since the cadre were simply lectured to and were ordered to work from pre-written instructions for given political questions and situations. Copies of some of these instruction sheets obtained by the *Public Eye* show attempts to control behaviour in virtually any situation a cadre would encounter.

## Who's In Charge Here?

The innermost onion core behind the Provisional Party, is controlled by Gino Perente and a handful of his very trusted followers. Several of these followers joined with Perente as adolescents over ten years ago, and have subsequently spent their entire adult lives with him and his cause. Headquarters for the Provisional Party is a Brooklyn brownstone house referred to as "the Cave." Maps are on the wall, desks are crowded with members busily filing and doing correspondence and research, walkie-talkies are used for communication between the floors of the "Cave." A former member of NATLFED on the East Coast, "You asked me why I left the organization. The reason was Gino. Before you ever met him there is a big buildup that you're going to get to meet 'The Old,' as they refer to him. You're taken to a room where he sits alone with you and reads from a book." She assumed that she was expected to be in awe of Gino. She was not sufficiently impressed to remain in the organization. Many members are.

As for what Gino gets out of all this — another former member who knew Gino well remarked, "Look, he gets a following, he's comfortable, and the culture and intrigue are exciting to him." Yet Gino Perente is a far more complex person than that description implies.

## Perente as Doeden

Gerald William Doeden was born in 1937, reportedly in Twin Falls, Idaho. Gerald's father was an old Wobbler (member of the activist International Workers of the World IWW) who died when Gerald was a young boy.

By 1957, Gerald and his mother, Irene, moved to Marysville, California—a Northern California agricultural town situated near the juncture of the Feather and Yuba Rivers.

This author interviewed over a dozen Marysville residents who remember Doeden well, and confirm each other's accounts. One interviewee asked, "Is he still calling himself Gino Perente?" He is remembered as somewhat of a town character. From all these interviews, one common picture emerges of Doeden—that of an extremely brilliant, well-read con artist with a reputation among friends for heavy drinking and a difficulty handling recreational drug use. He is said to have lived by a cynical twist of the Biblical saying, "A stranger came along and I 'took him' (in)."

When Gerald Doeden was offered a scholarship to Yuba College, he refused it, telling his friends, "If I can't steal it, then I don't want it."

Several of Doeden's old friends related a tale of how when they all once went out drinking together with Doeden, he actu-

ally paid for drinks with a check he'd signed, "Jesus H. Christ." Doeden was never prosecuted, apparently because the merchant did not wish to appear in court and publicly admit he'd actually accepted such a check.

Hearing this story reminded me of a taped lecture by Perente that I had heard while a member of NATLFED, when Perente exclaimed, "Joe Hill was guilty as hell. After he died, every socialist cocksucker wrote a book about him. What about the guy who helped him rob the market? That's our hero—he robbed a capitalist and got away with it." Perente seems to consider such activities to be salutary and romantic.

Doeden's physical impairment is a result of his tendency to drive like a maniac, according to several old friends. Once he was involved in a serious car accident and fractured his leg in several places as well as sustaining other major injuries to his legs. The doctors wanted to amputate, but Doeden refused and had his leg in a cast for several years, developing osteomyelitis.

"He refused to wear crutches. I remember him always hopping around with that bad leg," said Milt Carland of the *Marysville Appeal Democrat*. Doeden carries that limp to this day and some reports say his leg continues to deteriorate.

One woman who was very close to Doeden in the late sixties described him as an "extraordinarily sensitive, sad, crippled genius, with an enormous amount of anger."

Once, while out drinking coffee at an all-night Marysville restaurant, a fellow customer called Doeden "uncouth."

"What do you mean, uncouth?", replied Doeden, who then proceeded to recite, from memory, entire sections from Shakespeare's play, "As You Like It."

Doeden worked in Marysville as a disc jockey and newscaster for local radio station KAGR, as well as doing some freelance advertising sales for the station. He also moonlighted as a local Shakespearean actor. Toward the late sixties, Doeden sought help for his drinking and drug problems. Friends say he went first to Alcoholics Anonymous and later to Synanon.

I raise this issue not to smear Doeden by mentioning his personal problems, which he apparently successfully overcame, but because there are some troubling and important similarities between the style and practice of Perente's Provisional Party cult and the picture of Synanon portrayed in David Gerstel's account of his experience in Synanon: "Paradise, Inc."

## Paradise, Inc - Paradise Lost

In Gerstel's account, Synanon leader Charles Dederich is referred to as "The Old Man" by Synanon followers. In the Provisional Party, Gino is referred to as "The Old." In both Synanon and the Provisional Party, members are exhorted to "walk the walk, not just talk the talk."

Doeden's exact activities from 1969 to early 1970 are still a mystery. But, by late 1970, Gerald Doeden, recently rehabilitated Shakespeare enthusiast, with the blood of his Wobblie father coarsing through his veins, apparently discovered his political self when he created LARGO. Amidst the sub-culture and intrigue of militant politics, Doeden found he could gather a following, thereby encapsulating himself from reality. He got the first real taste of the potential power of his charismatic leadership.

So, by 1971, Doeden had opened the Little Red Bookstore in San Francisco. Going by the name Gino Savo, he proceeded to organize local activists throughout Northern California into his LARGO group. They proceeded with plans of launching

military war against the government beginning March 15, 1970.

The plans collapsed. Gerry Doeden faded away.

In 1972, Doeden turns up on Long Island to organize the Long Island Farmworkers' Association, now the Eastern Farmworkers' Association (EFA).

According to two ex-NATLFED members I talked with, Perente started the EFWA after being fired by the United Farm Workers from his job as co-coordinator of the UFW New York boycott office. The United Farm Workers have denied to me that Perente (or Doeden) was ever on the staff of the UFW. There is agreement that there never have been any formal working ties between the UFW and any part of NATLFED.



photo of Gerald Doeden taken in Marysville, CA in the 1960s

Whatever the technical truth may be about Perente's claimed relationship in the past to the UFW, several things of interest do stand out regarding Synanon and UFW. Synanon did have a relationship to the UFW. Charles Dederich and Cesar Chavez apparently were personal friends. For awhile, Chavez incorporated a Synanon group activity called, "The Game" into the UFW's internal structure. It is perhaps in this milieu of relationships that Doeden further consolidated his development and style.

Tactics used by NATLFED, such as housemeetings and canvassing, as well as the name, "Eastern Farmworkers" and other organizational paraphernalia, certainly point to the possibility that Perente was exposed enough to the UFW in order to copy and later project some of its appealing organizational style. Unlike the UFW, however, Perente's group seldom achieves anything of lasting significance for the membership base they maintain in their "mass based associations." Those people only serve as a fly-paper used to attract new cult members. Any long-term successful struggle for real gains would focus attention on NATLFED's activities, and public scrutiny is not something Perente values.

While Perente's exposure to the UFW may have provided him with an appealing model, it seems that his dealings with other groups in addition to Synanon have provided him with models of more concrete internal cult-like structures. I am now

speaking of Fred Newman's International Workers' Party (IWP), and Lyndon LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), both based in New York City.

Newman is now best known for his work with the New Alliance Party and the New York Institute for Social Therapy, both labelled cultic by some critics. LaRouche is currently once again seeking the Presidency of the United States, this time as the Democratic Party nominee, but using the organizational front: The National Democratic Policy Committee.

NATLFED's preposterous claim of having placed one of their members on the Teamster Union Executive Council does actually parallel a real achievement of LaRouche's NCLC who did see one of their close Teamster allies reach that office. This Teamster/NCLC relationship was detailed in Dennis King's December 1981 article in *High Times* magazine: "Hippocrates - Anti-Drug Cult Linked to Mob Cronies."

According to King, NATLFED's relationship with LaRouche was short-lived. "Much more significant was NATLFED's relationship with the Newmanites [IWP]. That relationship went on at least through 1977, and still to this day there is some communication between them. In 1976 fusion talks were held between NATLFED and IWP."

Says King, "Although Gino worked with Fred Newman, he had a certain contempt for him — referring to him as 'Fat Freddy' and regarding Newman's group as not altogether reli-

## FREE CLOTHING GIVE-AWAY



California Homemakers Association has been organizing in the Bay Area for four years. As an all volunteer association of low income people fighting for change, we have seen our members go without heat, food, jobs, medical care, without any control over our lives. As government program after government program gets cut, defunded, or requires welfare referrals, more of our members have to do without. False promises don't feed our children. Now, more than ever, we must and will help ourselves. Come sign up as a member, help with the distribution, and take home what you need. Contact California Homemakers Association at 1666 7th Street, Oakland, California 94607. (415) 832-2111

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able." [Ed. Note: Fat Freddy is a disheveled underground comic character].

Specific similarities can still be seen between the style of NATLFED and the IWP, which now uses the name New Alliance Party: the use of bucket drives to solicit funds and pitch for volunteers; the vast amount of mindless paperwork that followers must devote themselves to; and, according to King, "the surfacing of selected cult members to participate in the normal life of the community while keeping their real agenda hidden."

For both the old IWP and NATLFED, says King, the use of what they call 'strata organizing' exists "merely to give a sense of mission to the cult, feed the vanity of the cult leaders, and provide a cover for various fund-raising and recruitment rip-offs."

[Ed. Note: As you will learn from a forthcoming article on Fred Newman and the IWP, *the Public Eye* no longer feels it is accurate to call Newman's political network a cult. We do feel that at one point in its development it was fair to characterize the group as a cult, and we still have strong criticisms of the groups' organizing style and the relationship between Newman's Therapy Institute and his political organizing.]

While the possibility of an ongoing relationship between NATLFED and NCLC has long been a matter of speculation and concern, this relationship seems doubtful. Unfortunately, most concern about NATLFED has revolved around this point to the exclusion of other concerns. No matter their past or present ties to LaRouche—Perente's group is a potentially dangerous cult in its own right. There are some critics of NATLFED who strongly feel that the whole organization is part of an FBI COINTELPRO-type operation designed to gather information on, and disrupt, the American left. While not dismissing this as a possibility, I have found no direct evidence to support this view. But NATLFED is so far over the edge that it really may not matter whether or not they are part of any pre-planned plot or conspiracy in terms of the potential for disaster. They are dangerous to themselves, the progressive movement and the real interests of poor and working people.

Perente appears to be extending his political influence. Using the name Eugenio Vincente Perente-Ramos, Perente is listed as the business agent of the Texas Farmworkers Union, and his cadre are involved in producing literature for that group. Already this relationship has further isolated the Texas Farmworkers from broad-based support from labor unions and the progressive community.

The Texas Farmworker connection provides NATLFED with yet another cover to rope in more recruits & connections. NATLFED is currently organizing TFWU Support Committees on the East Coast.

Further, it would be callous to disregard the plight of those sincere individuals who have been snared by NATLFED and the Provisional Party through the use of psychologically-manipulative techniques - and more potential cult members continue to be fed into Perente's operation through the reputation it gained while publishing the Commission on Voluntary Service and Action's guide *Invest Yourself* which NATLFED continues to publish unilaterally [See Fager article]. Another group which appears to be a source of volunteers is the legitimate Hispanic law student organization, La Raza Legal Alliance.

Perente also seems to be moving in the direction of penetrating organized labor in the role of a consultant and through the provision of legal and support services.

Where Perente is heading is difficult to predict. It is ludicrous to expect that the timetable for "revolution" in early 1984 will be adhered to; but Perente shows no signs of fading away, rather he shows signs of extending his influence.

As one sociologist whom Gino tried to recruit said, "I think that Gino sees himself as some kind of modern-day American version of Lenin, who plans to rise to power by playing off one group against the other—a kind of double, double agent."

## Cleaning Our Own Dirty Linen

So, how can we, the progressives of this country, allow this group to operate in our midst unchallenged? Part of the reason Perente's group may appear to be part of the left political spectrum is that we allow them to do so. Any group may label itself a communist party, or have a progressive exterior front, and seek to operate clandestinely. But, this group is not really hiding from the government, but rather from the public in general and the left in particular.

Look at the history of any past revolutionary movement forced to struggle through a clandestine organization. What was clandestine has usually been only the identity of local members, the location of leadership, and very specific strategy or tactics. But the long-term goals of the organizations, and the group's ideology are usually public knowledge, so that there can be discussion, feedback, and trust from all sectors of the people seeking the revolutionary transformation of society. And real revolutionaries are often willing to risk paying a heavy price for making such information available to the working class because they know it is an indispensable part of the process.

Nor should we hesitate to challenge NATLFED on the basis of its claims to be a labor organization. NATLFED itself has denied being a labor organization to the Department of Labor, and there is no evidence to suggest that NATLFED represents workers before management anywhere in the United States. The only labor NATLFED is truly organizing is the hard labor of its exploited cadre and volunteers.

The organizations described in the church-related volunteer guide "Invest Yourself" are neither labor organizations nor "mutual benefit" associations. They are in fact local service organizations where free legal and medical help is traded for the recipients' signed pledge of "membership" in the organization. These one-time benefits recipients are the source of NATLFED's claims of vast numbers of members and supporters.

Although it is admittedly somewhat embarrassing, it has not been really too hard for me to face up to the fact that I was stupid enough to be conned by this cult group. I've been conned before and will probably be conned again. There are far more intelligent people than I, with fine motivations, still trapped in the NATLFED cult.

What profoundly disturbs me is this group has been out canvassing in poor neighborhoods across the country and drawing in young (and some old) people with idealistic, progressive ideas for over ten years now. And, for the most part, they have gone unchallenged, unexposed, and in some cases even aided by the progressive movement.

It may make some radicals squeamish to denounce a group with the name of "Communist Party USA (Provisional)," but is the price of our pious sense of political purity really worth the lives and well-being of the victims of NATLFED?

It may make some "civil libertarians" squeamish to use the word "cult," but that doesn't absolve them from facing the awful realities of NATLFED and its exploited cadre.

I'll just bet that there are people walking around today who pulled their punches on Jim Jones — or even supported him — who now look at the final price tag and gravely regret not having spoken out before it was too late. Have we learned nothing from the People's Temple experience and the tragedy in Jonestown?

While most people in the NATLFED cult are probably sincere, if somewhat brainwashed, functionaries with no real power — at the core of this cult is a bunch of potentially-violent fanatics with a distorted sense of historical mission.

If they even begin to plan for or attempt to carry out some of the things they have threatened to do — and we have chosen not to detail their bizarre and futile plans because we assume they are concocted for the benefit of the cadre and not really serious — the authoritarian, right-wing and neo-fascist forces in this country would clamor for crackdowns against a host of progressive and radical groups in this country. The provocative nature of NATLFED/Provisional Party could easily set up the American progressive movement for a new wave of Witch Hunts — and at the same time endanger the people of Cuba and Nicaragua.

I believe we need real fundamental change in this country. It will take organization. It will take a fight. There will be leaders. Change will not come about just because we are good, sincere people doing good, important political work.

But Perente's group is both absurd and dangerous and destructive to us, to our movement, to its own members, and to our society as a whole. It is time to take a stand and speak out.

.....

In a kitchen in Marysville, a few miles from the hole dug on the Feather River island ten years earlier, I sit talking with Gerald Doeden's old drinking buddy and former best friend.

"What was Doeden really like?", I asked him.

"Gerry could sell a refrigerator to an Eskimo, and then charge him 30% extra for being so far north," replied the friend. "There's one word, a code that we had between us," he continued.

"If you ever used it, Gerry would know you've talked to me."

"What's that?", I asked.

"'Ducdame' — it's from a scene in the Shakespeare play, 'As You Like It':

If it do come to pass  
That any man turn ass  
Leaving his wealth and ease  
A stubborn will to please  
Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame  
Here shall he see  
Gross fools as he  
An if he will come to me  
Ami — What's that 'Ducdame'?  
Jaq — 'Tis a Greek invocation  
to call fools into a circle.

## PERENTE CULT GROUP OFFICES

### California

#### Anaheim

California Homemakers Association  
Western Service Workers Association

#### Central Valley

Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals  
Shasta County Community Service Center  
Shasta County Food Committee

#### Oakland

California Homemakers Association  
Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals  
Oakland Community Service Center  
Western Service Workers Association

#### Redding

California Homemakers Association  
Western Service Workers Association

#### Sacramento

California Homemakers  
Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals  
Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals  
Western Service Workers Association  
Workers Community Service Center

#### San Diego

California Homemakers Association  
National Equal Justice Association  
Western Service Workers Association

#### Santa Cruz

California Homemakers Association  
Western Service Workers Association

### Massachusetts

#### Pittsfield

Berkshire County Fuel Committee  
Western Massachusetts Labor Action  
Roxbury - Eastern Service Workers Association

### New Jersey

Atlantic City - Eastern Service Workers

#### New Brunswick

Eastern Service Workers Association  
Temporary Workers Organizing Committee

#### Trenton

Eastern Service Workers Association  
Committee for Community Health and Safety  
Trenton Community Service Center

### New York

Bellport - Perente, Eastern Farmworkers Assoc.

#### Brooklyn

Perente, National Headquarters NATLFED:

Lyons - Eastern Farmworkers Association

Northport - Citizens for Migrant Workers

#### Riverhead

Coalition of Concerned Medical Professionals  
Committee of Friends and Relatives of Prisoners  
Long Island Equal Justice Association  
Riverhead Community Service Center

#### Rochester

Eastern Service Workers Association  
Finger Lakes Equal Justice Association  
Smithtown - Long Island Alternative Press

### Oregon - Perente

Ashland - Jackson County Fuel Committee  
Medford - Northwest Seasonal Workers Assoc.  
Ohio - Dayton - Assoc. of Financial Aid Students

### Pennsylvania - Philadelphia

Eastern Service Workers Association  
Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals

## Joint Statement on NATLFED

With the publication of Jeff Whitnack's article in this Spring 1984 issue of the *Public Eye*, we would like to take this opportunity to voice our concerns regarding the existence and activities of Gino Perente's National Labor Federation and its subordinate offshoots.

Despite our diverse backgrounds and perspectives, we have all come to one common conclusion—The National Labor Federation has all the hallmarks of a dangerous cult. Unless National Labor Federation members are willing or able to provide a satisfactory response to the charges raised against them, we call upon churches and merchants to deny them donations, the media to investigate them, and community organizations to shun them.

"Recent history is all too filled with examples of what may happen when groups such as this remain unexposed to the light of day.

Chip Berlet  
editor, *the Public Eye*, Chicago  
Priscilla D. Coates,  
director, Citizens Freedom Foundation, New York  
Chuck Fager,  
freelance reporter, Washington, D.C.  
Dennis King,  
freelance reporter, New York  
J. Wilbur Patterson,  
church executive, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., New York  
Thomas E. Roe,  
Berkeley, California  
Rev. Robert C. Smith,  
rector, The Anglican Parish of St. Barnabas, Perrefonds,  
Quebec Canada  
Jeff Whitnack,  
respiratory therapist, former NATLFED member, California

## CFF Statement on NATLFED

CFF's information about NATLFED comes from journalists, newspaper and magazine articles, families and friends of members and a former member. "NATLFED seems to operate like other groups which concern CFF. NATLFED presents itself under numerous guises. I doubt individuals have any idea what commitment or ideology is planned for them when they volunteer for the Coalition of Concerned Medical Practitioners, the Eastern Farm Workers or the California Homemakers.

"Cults will always exist," said CFF's director, Priscilla Coates. "Many cults are loosely structured and actually benefit their members and society. The groups which concern CFF recruit deceptively and effect total dependence on the group. Although cults and authoritarian organizations have always existed, CFF is anxious about the modern ones. Past dictators and manipulators relied on trial and error to obtain control. Hitler's use of the media and Mao's use of reeducation camps, as well as the advances in psychology and sociology, appear to have provided models for destructive cults. In modern destructive cults manipulation and control are carefully and systematically planned. Through the systematic manipulation, all devotion and allegiance are transferred to the group. The individual's very existence and identity are based solely on the destructive cult."

"Hare Krishnas abandon their traditional saris to solicit funds or teach a course in vegetarian cooking.

"Unification may introduce itself as Project Volunteer, CARP, the New Educational Development Systems, CAUSA, ERA, ICUS or the Global Congress of the World's Religions.

"Scientology offers tests and then courses to expurgate PBB's, improve interpersonal relations, intelligence and personality. Testing displays severe problems—the I.Q. of a cricket or the personality of a sloth.

"The Children of God recruit through prostitution.

"The Alamo Foundation is offering to raise the child of anyone considering an abortion.

One can become 'hooked' by nibbling at any of these baits—and then it may be months before the extent of the

commitment and the hidden agendas are apparent.

"There are many more examples.

"CFF cares deeply about anyone in these groups. We believe they have been duped. We live in a beautiful, crazy, sane, wonderful world which presents many exciting challenges and no answers. Members of destructive cults do care. They want to serve their fellow humans. Sadly they are trying to follow a rainbow after sunset."

According to CFF, destructive cults may:

- revolve around a living dogmatic leader who claims to possess the only truth
- utilize systematic, sophisticated techniques of thought reform and ego destruction to effect total dependence on the group
- require absolute and unquestioning obedience
- maintain members in a state of heightened suggestibility through changes in sleep and diet and intense controlled group experiences
- function as a totalitarian regime where free will and choice do not exist (milieu control)
- demand a full-time, life time commitment
- maintain secret practices and hidden objectives
- ignore ordinary laws and ethics to accomplish their goals—the end justifies the means
- encourage isolation from society and dissociation from family, friends and past life
- promote a we (the group) versus they (society) viewpoint
- prohibit independent thought, questions, actions and responsibility
- manipulate members and others through fraudulent charitable acts
- claim the exclusive solution to all the world's problems
- pay members little or nothing even if they staff lucrative businesses
- solicit funds and goods fraudulently
- subject children and older members to neglect and abuse.

## Explanation of Position

### by Citizens Freedom Foundation

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* is a national, non profit corporation founded to educate the public about the harmful effects of mind control as used by the destructive cults.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* is a network of 59 affiliated groups in 32 states composed of many dedicated volunteers.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* confines its concern to unethical or illegal practices, including coercive persuasion or mind control, and does not judge doctrine or beliefs. Funding for the activities of the organization and its affiliates comes exclusively from voluntary contributions.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* provides educational programs and information, support for families and assistance to former members in their re-entry to society. We maintain communication with similar organizations in the United States and other countries such as Canada, England, France, German, Israel, Denmark, Australia and New Zealand.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* defends every individual's right to believe in whatever he FREELY chooses. We pass no judgement on which doctrine is "right." We oppose the practices of any organization which gains its recruits through fraud and deception and its adherents by the use of mind control techniques.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* opposes the practices of any organization which clearly violate our laws, our ethics and our morals: deceptive recruitment, fraudulent solicitation of funds, illegal immigration, child abuse and neglect, trafficking in drugs, smuggling, using unpaid or lowly paid labor; working long hours to staff lucrative businesses and mind control or coercive persuasion. We strongly support the enforcement of current laws to curtail the illegal activities of such groups.

*Citizens Freedom Foundation* favors legal means for individuals to learn the commitment required by a group before they become members. *Citizens Freedom Foundation* also favors deprogramming.

Mental health professionals have learned those members who have the opportunity for exit counseling/deprogramming recover more quickly than those who do not. Deprogramming/exit counseling is counseling a member of a destructive cult by conversations while the individual is given time to eat, rest, relax, reflect on his goals and learn about his group.

The goal of deprogramming is to restore critical thinking, freedom of choice and freedom of association so the individual may make an INFORMED and VOLUNTARY decision about his affiliation. Most individuals who have this opportunity choose to return to "society." *Citizens Freedom Foundation* does not engage in nor support abduction or holding a person against his will.

## Recommended Reading List

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MacCollam, Joel A., *Carnival of Souls*, 1978, Seabury Services, 815 2nd Ave. New York City 10017.

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Rudin, James (Rabbi) and Marcia Rudin, *Prison or Paradise*, 1980, Fortress Press.

Stoner, Carroll & JoAnne Parks, *All Gods Children*, 1978, Chilton—also Penguin. \$2.95.

Underwood, Barbara and Betty Underwood, *Hostage to Heaven: Four Years in the Unification Church*, by an Ex-Moonie and her mother, Clarkson N. Potter, \$10.95.

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Tax deductible donations payable to CFF  
would be appreciated.

monthly newsletter  
donation \$15

## FOIA

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- 4) The agency must look into the identity and qualifications of the FOIA requester, including the person's "expertise in the subject area and ability and intention to disseminate the information to the public."
- 5) Finally, the agency must make "an assessment based upon information provided by the requester as well as information independently available to the agency of any personal interest of the requester reasonably expected to be benefited by disclosure," noting that "a fee waiver is appropriate only where the benefit to the general public is primary."

The five criteria to determine eligibility for fee waivers "subverts the intent of Congress to make information available to the public," Autin said. She noted that at the same time the government is restricting our right to know—by charging expensive search fees, classifying unclassified documents and gagging government officials—it is also increasing its right to know.

## Government Information Gathering Increases

The Justice Department has done this by its March, 1983 promulgation of new "Domestic Security Guidelines" for the FBI. These guidelines superseded those announced in 1976 by then Attorney General Edward Levi.

The most important element of the Levi Guidelines was

the requirement that the FBI could investigate domestic security threats based only on facts that the individual or group was or may have been involved in violent actions or federal law-breaking. The new guidelines, put forth by Attorney General Smith, seem to authorize the FBI to investigate and infiltrate groups based solely on whether they "advocate criminal activity."

By these standards, Autin explained that simply advocacy of a revolution in the U.S. is reason enough for the FBI to investigate an individual or group and that the standards of "probable cause" no longer needs to be met to initiate investigations.

The Smith guidelines mean that the FBI can now do investigations for political purposes but have them come under exemption from the FOIA by being categorized as "investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes."

A few of the other eight FOIA exemption categories include trade secrets, classified records dealing with national security and internal personnel matters. The Justice Department is discouraging government agencies from giving out information unless the FOIA requester can prove it does not fall within one of the specified areas of exemption, according to Autin. She said as a result, government agencies in general, and not just the FBI and CIA, are giving out less information now and that almost all initial responses for such information have been denials.

*Nancy Blodgett is an Illinois freelance writer specializing in legal matters. This article was circulated by the Alternative Media Syndicate.*

## Dissent Under Attack by National Committee Against Repressive Legislation

Under claims of a growing threat of terrorism in the U.S., the Reagan Administration is increasing its use of "anti-terrorism" rhetoric in its continuing campaign to stifle dissent, using the badge of "terrorist" to characterize dissent as tantamount to disloyalty and treason. The term "terrorist" is taking the place of the label "communist" in justifying attacks on political opposition. The Administration launched its campaign in the face of repeated testimony from FBI Director William Webster that the incidence of terrorism in the U.S. decreased by 40% last year.

On April 3, the President signed a secret directive authorizing "pre-emptive strikes" and reprisal raids against "terrorists" abroad, while intensifying intelligence collection by the FBI and creating FBI paramilitary teams at home. Since this is a classified document, even Members of Congress have been unable to find out specifically what role the directive gives the FBI.

On April 26, the Administration sent legislation to Congress which represents

the most drastic step yet in criminalizing political expression. One bill creates a new crime, making it illegal to provide "support services" or "act in concert with" groups or countries designated as "terrorist" by the Secretary of State. Defendants charged with this crime are prohibited from challenging the Secretary's designation. The vague wording of the bill casts a wide net which punishes people for their associations, up to 10 years in prison and/or \$100,000 fine. Since existing law already prohibits the actual criminal acts involved in terrorism, such as bombing and murder, this sweeping new prohibition seems aimed at activity protected by the First Amendment—support of controversial causes.

Consistent with the hypocrisy of announcing a campaign against terrorism while conducting international terrorist activities of its own, the Administration's bill exempts activities of the U.S. government from coverage. The only other exemption is for the provision of medical services or training.

Another "anti-terrorist" bill sent to congress authorizes rewards of up to \$500,000 for information leading to the arrest of persons engaged in or conspiring to engage in terrorism. The possibility that such unprecedented high payments might elicit unreliable information is ignored by the Administration, which recently awarded the Medal of Freedom to one of the McCarthy era's most notorious informers, Whittaker Chambers.

These bills have been introduced "by request" in the House and Senate, meaning that technically they are not sponsored by those who introduced them. In the Senate, S.2625 (informers) and S.2626 (aiding terrorists) were introduced by Senators Thurmond and Denton.



# Illegal Electronic Surveillance and New Eviction Notices: Government Assaults Native Culture

by Chip Berlet

Government claims of a massive salmon poaching conspiracy among Pacific Northwest native tribal members have begun to unravel.

With most of the nearly 80 cases involving allegations of illegal salmon poaching by tribal members concluded, there has yet to be a conspiracy conviction.

While some of the trials have ended in individual convictions for overfishing permit quotas and other minor infractions, the government has been unable to prove an alleged widespread conspiracy which they sought to document through a 14-month long sting operation dubbed by defense attorneys "Salmon Scam."

What has surfaced, however, is massive evidence of illegal use of phone wiretaps and concealed body recording devices, according to defense attorneys. Many of the cases tried to date have been acquittals or have been dismissed due to illegal search and seizure practices and illegal electronic surveillance.

During the investigation, undercover agents spent some \$150,000 enticing local tribal fishing families in Oregon and Washington to violate federal law by selling salmon to non-tribal buyers. It was this element of entrapment that led to the latest acquittal in the cases.

On February 17, 1984, Chief Howard Jim, a 65-year-old Yakima Indian of the Rock Creed band, was found not guilty of selling four salmon to an undercover agent by an all-white jury after the defense argued the case was a clear-cut example of entrapment.

Beyond the questionable government investigatory and arrest methods lies the question of Native American Treaty Rights, the question of sovereignty and control over native lands, and attempts to control and exploit for commercial purposes the resources on those native lands.

Attorney Sandra Barringer of the National Lawyers Guild Committee on Native American Struggles outlines several reasons why she feels the government has invested enormous amounts of time and energy in pursuing these cases.

"The first, is that in 1981 the U.S. District Courts began to grant Treaty Indians the right to use the Courts to insure that there will be fish in the Columbia River. Rights to control habitat and breeding were recognized as being superior to the short-term economic desires of those industries whose activities do great damage to the fish resource: the utilities, the ocean fishery, sports fisheries, white commercial in-river fisheries, the timber and agriculture industries," claims Barringer.

"The representatives of these powerful interests within the state and federal governments, saw the potential legal power



Melinda Jim (left) prepares ceremonial salmon at annual celebration of Native American fishing villages on the Columbia River.

photo by Jayme Armstrong

that the Indians were obtaining, and they sought to use their political power to make a pre-emptive strike against the Tribes. After all, if there are no fishermen to sue in court, then there cannot be any unfavorable court decisions. With a history of over ten years of victories for the Tribes in federal court, their economic opponents needed to knock the Indians out of the competition," Barringer says.

"There is also a broader historic pattern at work in these cases. For two hundred years, the invading white forces in the Americas have sought to dominate and control the Red Nations through various strategies—military, political economic; control of education and religion. In this century, when it is less able to use bald force or illegal power, the government must be more subtle in its anti-native tactics." One way to do this is thorough the economic control of the Indian populations, which Barringer feels is the current government policy.

"The object is to make Indians dependent upon either the White government, or White corporations, for their subsistence. If Indians become financially tied to the white structures, they will be less likely to use their political and cultural strengths to fight those structures. This is why the U.S. only encourages Indian tribal governments which must use U.S. money to operate, and to pay salaries of the Tribal leaders. The Indian Reorganization Act was legislation designed to transfer power from the traditional elders, to the B.I.A.-controlled elected leaders," she claims.

What has happened politically, also happens economically, according to Barringer. "The U.S. supports external domination of Indian economies, and not efforts towards self-determination in the traditional ways. The White culture cannot control Indians who can feed and house and protect themselves. Therefore, the ability of Indians to exist apart from White society must be attacked. This happens to colonized populations not only on the Columbia, but in South America, Asia, Africa, and throughout the Third World. The U.S. government does not prosecute white-collar criminals who may be misappropriating federal money meant to help their Tribes. Only the self-sufficient Indians are dragged through the courts and prisons of America," says Barringer.

"This is not just a struggle to save a dozen Indian families from prison, or even to stop the destruction of the traditional Indian culture that still exists along the River. It is ethnocide that we resist: an immoral, illegal attempt by the United States to force Indians to become puppets of the White corporate system. Indian people must be allowed to live their lives the way they want to without an alien culture forcing itself on them," she said.

The government was so upset with the vigorous defense

of native fishing rights by NLG attorney Jack Schwartz, lead defense lawyer in the "Salmon Scam" cases, that at one point prosecutors filed a motion to hold Schwartz in contempt of court for his public comments charging that racism was involved in the prosecutions. The contempt complaint was later dropped after a number of legal groups, including the Guild and American Civil Liberties Union rallied behind Schwartz and filed an *Amicus* brief on his behalf.

The latest government assault on treaty rights occurred March 19th when federal agents served eviction notices on traditional tribal families living along the banks of the Columbia River. Those evictions have been stayed pending a legal challenge. Militant resistance is expected should federal authorities seek to carry out the evictions.

Columbia River Tribespeople consider their relationship to the river to be sacred and part of their religious and ethnic heritage. Every year the first salmon swimming upriver signals the beginning of the annual Fish Feast celebration which this year saw 800 tribal members gather on April 15th at the Long House in Celilo, a village on the river. The Columbia River tribes are comprised of the Nez Perce, Yakima, Warm Springs and Umatilla Native peoples.

Reprinted from the Lewis and Clark Law School Forum

## Salmon Scam:

# More Than Fish At Stake

by Barry Paisner & Charleen Touchette

For the past several years the United States Government has escalated its attacks on the right of native tribal peoples to continue the tradition of fishing for salmon on the Columbia River and its tributaries in Oregon and Washington. This campaign's latest battle is in the legal arena where scores of tribal people have been dragged into court charged with violating federal and state fishing laws.

The arrests in these cases were the result of a 14 month sting operation conducted by the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS). On June 17, 1982, federal agents raided Cook's Landing, a traditional Indian fishing village. The federal agents were armed and threatened Indian men, women and children. Homes were ransacked and physical injuries resulted. Personal property, cars, fishing gear and other items were confiscated. The loss of the fishing gear has made it increasingly hard for the fishermen to meet the cost of their massive legal defense. The sting operation resulted in over 75 arrests or indictments. In some cases whole families were arrested.

On the same day of the raid, the U.S. Department of Commerce disseminated a press release which glorified the raid and stated that "illegal fishing has been a major factor in the loss of adult salmon." Through the government press releases, statements by fishery personnel and biased press coverage, people were led to believe that "illegal" Indian fishing is a dire conservation issue. In reality, the alleged illegal Indian harvests are miniscule in comparison to the effect of ocean overharvests. During the 14 month investigation, NMFS alleg-

ed 6,100 fish were poached. Generally, NMFS agents sat on the shore and counted how many fish were caught over the permit by listening to how many fish they thought they heard flop into the boats. This is obviously not a very accurate method of counting fish.

The real conservation issue becomes evident when a single salmon run is examined. The total size of the 1981 upriver fall chinook run was estimated at 192,000 fish. Ocean fisheries off the Northwest coast harvested 129,000 fish from this run. Thus, two-thirds of the run was caught before they began their return to the river breeding grounds. Of this 1981 run, NMFS alleges Indian fishermen poached 2,300 fish.

The poor return of the upriver fall chinook is a decade long pattern. It seems clear that NMFS is focusing on alleged Indian fishing violations so that the public won't focus upon the true causes of the diminishing salmon runs such as NMFS's permitting ocean fisheries to harvest more Coho Salmon than conservation quota permits allow and the effects of the hydroelectric dams.

It is an undisputed fact that the Columbia River Dams in the past 20 years have killed an estimated 44 million fish. The economic and political leverage of the commercial fishing and hydroelectric industries is a strong incentive for their government to downplay their role in the demise of the salmon runs. Thus, the Indian fishermen become a convenient scapegoat necessary to obscure the real conservation issue.

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Nineteen fishermen and women were indicted in the Federal court for violation of the Lacey Act. The Lacey Act subsumed state and tribal laws relating to fish and wildlife and made their violation a federal crime. It is no coincidence that among these nineteen defendants were David SoHappy and his wife, Yakima elders and long-time activists in the struggle for Indian fishing rights. David SoHappy was the original plaintiff in the controversy that resulted in the Boalt and Belloni decisions, which extended Indian fishing rights.

In a pre-trial motion, Federal District Court Judge Jack Tanner granted a change of venue motion. Tanner agreed with the defense that Indian fishermen could not get a fair trial in the Northwest. Of over 100 pre-trial motions made, the venue motion was the only one granted. One of the key pre-trial motions addressed the issue of whether the U.S. had jurisdiction over the defendants. The alleged criminal acts occurred in Indian country and should be an internal tribal matter.

The Federal trial ended in a conviction for most of the nineteen fishermen. However, after a two year investigation costing a quarter of a million dollars, the government could not prove the existence of the so-called organized poaching ring. The harshest sentences were handed out to David

SoHappy Sr., David SoHappy Jr., and Bruce Jim (David Sr.'s nephew). They each were sentenced to five years in prison to be followed by five years of probation. These are harsh sentences since, excluding state misdemeanors, this was their first conviction.

Two days after the verdict, it was made public that a study by NMFS totally absolved Indian fishing for any measurable loss of fish in the Columbia River. The federal case is now on appeal, but the state cases have begun. There are 25 cases pending in Oregon state court. Many of the fishermen tried in federal court are again being tried at the state level for the same alleged criminal acts. The majority of the cases are in Dalles, a city in Wasco county.

To date, Judge Jeldreks has denied every pretrial motion by the Defense. This includes a change of venue motion that was supported by a community attitude study. The study showed "there is widespread community attitude that Indians are fishing illegally and treaty rights are not valid."

Amnesty International, which has appointed a representative to observe the trials, considers the prosecution "racist and politically motivated." This fact has been substantiated by the Defense's motion to dismiss based on selective and vindictive prosecution.

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## Peltier Granted New Hearing

American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier continues to wait for a legal decision that will either be his first step toward freedom or the effective end of judicial relief in his case. Peltier was convicted of aiding and abetting the deaths of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, and was sentenced to two consecutive life terms in 1977. He is currently incarcerated in the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois.

The incident for which Peltier stands convicted occurred on June 26, 1975, when a virtual army consisting of FBI agents, U.S. Marshalls, National Security Administration agents, and various other law enforcement personnel were conducting paramilitary-type operations on the Reservation. Activists charge these government sweeps "were really designed to end once and for all traditional Indian resistance to the continuous corporate land-grabs and commercial exploitation of the Oglala Indian Nation."

During this particular operation, FBI agents opened fire on a spiritual encampment of traditional men, women, and children, and in the ensuing gun battle two agents and an

Indian man were killed.

Three men were eventually tried for the deaths of the two agents. Bob Robideau and Dino Butler were tried in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1976 and were acquitted on the grounds of self-defense. Evidence that contributed to this acquittal was not permitted to be introduced into court during Leonard's trial in Fargo, North Dakota in 1977, and thus he was convicted.

Furthermore, since his original trial, Peltier's defense attorneys, through the Freedom of Information Act, have obtained documents directly from FBI files that prove conclusively that the FBI fabricated and falsified evidence, withheld evidence, coerced testimony, and committed perjury during the trial; there is also evidence that the convicting judge, (Paul Benson of Fargo), held a series of secret meetings with the government attorneys in which were discussed the most effective ways of prosecuting Peltier.

Armed with this documentation (some 12,000 pages of radio transmission logs, memos, and lab test results) Peltier's attorneys filed a Writ of Habeas Corpus calling for a new trial

on April 19, 1982. The following December, Judge Benson denied the Writ without even holding an evidentiary hearing. Such a hearing is standard operating procedure, and its denial is a blatant attempt to keep the truth from emerging in a court of law.

In September of 1983, Bensons' denial of an evidentiary hearing was taken to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis.

Now a Federal judge has ordered a new hearing in the case. The new hearing was granted, in part, on the Appeals Court's decision to give judicial notice to an FBI teletype obtained by the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York that reports on the ballistics tests conducted by the FBI.

Conclusions of the tests contradict crucial evidence upon which the government had rested its case against Peltier. The date of Peltier's forthcoming hearing is still to be set, but attorney William Kunstler is hopeful that the original verdict will be overturned.

# The Current Status of the Posse Comitatus:

## An Outline with Observations and Suggestions

by Chip Berlet

[Ed. Note: The following is adapted from testimony presented by Chip Berlet on behalf of Midwest Research before Wisconsin's Equal Rights Council, Wisconsin State Capitol, February 10, 1984.]

Nothing is more suggestive of the likely eventual failure of the Posse philosophy in this State, and this Country, than the Posse's current recorded telephone hotline message that stoops to threatening the spouses and children of Wisconsin State Legislators who are considering legislation to ban paramilitary training.

Americans are generally not impressed by this type of cowardly and despicable threat, and it bespeaks the relative lack of success the Posse has had in convincing Americans of the validity of its hate-filled message.

At the same time, we should pause and understand that while we must hate the sin, we must surely also love the sinner, or we are no better than they. To dehumanize the people who consider themselves Posse members—to dismiss them as crazy, sick, subhuman, evil—is to make the same mistakes they have made.

We must also recognize they share the same Constitutional rights we all enjoy, and we must take care not to trample on their rights in our rush to disapprove of their message of hate. Anyone who thinks what happened to Posse leader Gordon Kahl was justice, or that he "got what he deserved," has failed to weed their own garden of the sprouting hate cultivated by the Posse philosophy.

And it is hate, and fear, and anxiety over the unknown, and a feeling of helplessness, and a sense of inability to control the events happening around them that is the superstructure of the Posse philosophy.

As in many similar philosophies, the world as seen by the Posse is divided into *Us* and *Them*. Evil conspirators control world events. A special few have been given the knowledge of this massive conspiracy; and it is their solemn duty to spread the alarm across the land. The Posse philosophy is not a new philosophy, merely a variation on an old, discordant theme, whose notes echo down the canyons of history.

In specific terms, the Posse believes "alien conspirators" have seized control of America away from White Christian Patriots.

Each Posse unit is autonomous, and selects which conspirators comprise the conspiracy. Jews are almost always at the top of the list, but other favorite scapegoats include: Elected politicians above the county level, Law enforcement officials above the level of County Sheriff, Blacks, Judges,

Lawyers, Network Television Employees, Journalists, Leftists, Socialists, The Rockefellers, Trialateralist Commission members, The Bilderberger Group, Council on Foreign Relations members, Federal Reserve Bank Officials, All Other Bankers, Internal Revenue Service Agents, Agents of Federal Law Enforcement, Game Wardens, and Latinos.

Many Posse units also disdain all ethnic minorities not considered "White." (White is defined generally by the Posse as Aryan or Anglo-Saxon or, at the very least, Northern or Middle European.)

The Posse was founded on paper in the late 1960's. In 1969 charters were issued by H.L. "Mike" Beach in Portland, Oregon. The same theories were promulgated at the same time by Col. William Potter Gale in California. Shortly after Beach began issuing "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus" charters and handbooks, Gale began issuing charters and a handbook called the *Guide for Volunteer Christian Posses*.

Mike Beach also founded the Citizens Law Enforcement and Research Committee, while Col. William Potter Gale also founded the Ministry of Christ church, also known as *The Identity Group*.

In the early 1970s, the Beach and Gale forces mingled informally. The "Posse" adherents formed autonomous paramilitary groups while the "Identity Movement" adherents focused on developing their sectarian Christian conspiracy theories. There was, however, much overlap.

The early 1970s was marked by some factionalism, but by 1974 the Posse as an informal political and religious movement began to grow. A manifesto was issued in booklet form.

In late 1974 Wisconsin hosted an early convention: 200-300 attended. There have been sporadic conventions since then, some openly Posse, some not.

States where Posse activity has been reported in last few years:

Wisconsin	Illinois
South Dakota	North Dakota
California	Oregon
Wyoming	Colorado
Montana	Texas
Minnesota	Nebraska
Washington	Idaho
Pennsylvania	Kansas
Iowa	Missouri

The most visible and active Posse branch is in Wisconsin. The State and national press has given much attention to Wisconsin Posse leader James Wickstrom, although his claims to hold some vague national leadership post is flatly contradicted by the autonomous and anarchistic nature of Posse, itself. Wickstrom and Gale work together, however especially around paramilitary training.

The most violent Posse confrontation to date involved the mishandled attempted arrest of Posse activist Gordon Kahl. Two Federal Marshalls were killed, and several persons wounded. Kahl fled underground and was later killed in another mishandled attempt to flush him from a fortified bunker.

Kahl has since become a martyr to not only the Posse, but many other like-minded groups. The anti-Jewish weekly Liberty Lobby publication *Spotlight* (circulation 300,000) calls Kahl a Populist hero. It is certain that thousands of disgruntled rural citizens, while deploring his tactics, would have readily offered Kahl shelter during his underground flight. Many farmers publically said as much when interviewed during the dragnet for Kahl.

## A Closer Look at the Philosophy

Posse conspiracy theories are similar to those articulated by the John Birch Society, but more outrageous and with the addition of virulent overt racism and anti-Jewish hysteria.

Posse members share a paranoid worldview best analyzed in an essay by the historian, Professor Richard Hofstadter in his book *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*.

"The central preconception of the paranoid style," wrote Hofstadter, is the belief in "the existence of a vast, insidious preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network designed to perpetrate acts of the most fiendish character."

Paranoid political movements have been a mainstay of American political life since the Salem Witch Trials and the anti-Masonic hysteria in the 1770s, but adherents have always been a small minority.

Groups seen at various times as the engines behind the "global conspiracy" include: Jews, bankers, Catholics, communists, Black militants and civil rights activists, anarchists, the Bavarian Illuminati society, Jesuits, the Rockefellers, the Council on Foreign Relations, Israeli secret police, socialists, Trilateralists, and Soviet KGB agents.

The Posse does not yet fit the parameters of Fascism, although it would only take a few short steps for it to adapt itself. The major problem is lack of homogeneity in the U.S. which has always been a barrier to the rapid growth of a xenophobic nationalism, and the simple fact that the current Federalist/Anarchist nature of the Posse and its ideology is antithetical to classic Fascist models of societal organization.

There are many other American groups with similar (but not necessarily as virulently racist) paranoid philosophies:

Christian Patriots Defense League—Illinois  
Christian Defense League—Arabi, Louisiana  
Sons of Liberty—Metairie, Louisiana  
Aryan Nations—Hayden Lake, Idaho (Rev. Richard Butler)  
Church of Jesus Christ Christian—Hayden Lake, Idaho (Butler)

Lord's Covenant Church—Phoenix, Arizona  
(Pastor Sheldon Emry)

National Socialist Liberation Front—Kenner, Louisiana

White People's Committee to Restore God's Laws (newsletter editor—Rev. Thomas Arthur Robb, Harrison, Arkansas)

National Emancipation of Our White Seed—Louisiana (Buddy Tucker)

New Christian Crusade Church—Louisiana  
(James K. Warner)

WANTED BY THE FBI	
KILLING FEDERAL OFFICER; ASSAULTING FEDERAL OFFICER; PROBATION VIOLATOR	
<b>GORDON WENDELL KAHL</b>	
	
Photographs taken 1977 and 1981 Researched photographs taken 1977 and 1981	
Missouri: Gordon Kahl, Gordon W. Kahl	
<b>DESCRIPTION</b> Age: 32, born January 6, 1955, Height: 5'7", Weight: 160 pounds, Eyes: Blue, Hair: Brown, Build: Medium, Complexion: Fair, Race: White, Nationality: American Birth date with serial: 01-06-1955 Photographs: 1977, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 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**Outreach:** For several years Nellie Babbs and her husband Charles ran radio station KTTL-FM in Dodge City, Kansas which featured tape messages from Wickstrom and Gale in which thinly veiled death threats, and overtly racist rhetoric against Jews and Blacks were common. This practice has apparently ceased following an intra-family power struggle over programming in which Charles has emerged the victor.

The *Spotlight* newspaper tries to sanitize its references to the Posse but hailed the heroic struggle of Gordon Kahl and other "tax protesters". The *Mantooth Report* newspaper in Indiana carried Posse-related articles. Many Tax revolt groups (though not all) circulate Posse material. Many survivalist groups (though not all) circulate Posse or Identity Movement literature.

*The Turner Diaries* is a widely distributed book that glorifies Posse philosophy, and there are several country and Western songs that celebrate Gordon Kahl and Survivalism. The role of the Posse in organizing certain segments of the grassroots section of the American Agricultural Movement should not be underestimated. Federal law enforcement officials tracking Kahl reported astonishing levels of support for Posse ideology across the wheat and corn belt.

**Thumbnail Sketch of Posse Philosophy:** Racist, Anti-Jewish, Militant, Armed, Authoritarian, Federalist, Gnostic Sectarian Christian, Paranoid, Conspiratorial, Scapegoating, Proto-fascist.

Following the Gordon Kahl incident, many Posse members decided to carry out activities in secret or through front groups. Some members are reported to be buying large quantities of grains, canned goods and vitamins in anticipation of long-projected economic or political collapse.

Latest Guise: Educated Citizens of \_\_\_\_\_  
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## Some Specifics on Wisconsin

The Posse-declared township of Tigerton Dells, Wisconsin poses a special problem for law enforcement, both in that local police are faced with superior firepower which has created a reluctance to enforce laws, but also in the creation of a dual system of justice in Wisconsin.

As long as Posse members can use intimidation to escape prosecution, even on petty offenses, there will be a diminution of respect for law and its equal application. The message is clear—White racists don't have to obey the same laws as the rest of the citizens of Wisconsin.

And if you doubt there is an element of subtle racism here, ask yourself how long the inhabitants of Tigerton Dells would remain out of jail if they were Black or Puerto Rican.

Interesting note: in the past 80 years, many right-wing groups in America have had the tacit approval of (or in some cases the active support of) local and federal law enforcement agencies. Some examples would include: the historic relationship between the Ku Klux Klan and southern police forces; the FBI and Detroit's violent Breakthrough organization; members of the Chicago police force and the Legion of Justice; and the FBI's role in not stopping violent attacks by the Klan on civil rights workers.

The anti-law enforcement posture of the Posse however, has made this type of relationship difficult if not entirely impossible. One result of this factor is to cut all the traditional information routes from violent right-wing groups to

law enforcement agencies—in the past when right-wing groups became too berserk, law enforcement officials knew just who to contact to pull in the leash. This is apparently not possible with the Posse.

I am not suggesting that greater investigative latitude be given to law enforcement agencies. I am, however, suggesting the traditional methods of monitoring and controlling right-wing groups will not work with the Posse.

I should hasten to add that many local law enforcement officials in rural Wisconsin have privately expressed frustration and anger at the lack of seriousness with which the Posse is taken by State officials. Local police need outside assistance to deal with the Posse since local officials justifiably fear reprisals against their family members by Posse fanatics.

## The Larger Picture

Small paranoid right-wing conspiratorial groups have formed and disbanded throughout American political history. They usually have remained small and lacking in influence, except during periods of economic and/or social upheaval.

The growth of the Posse Comitatus parallels a period when legitimate grievances by farmers, ranchers and rural Americans have been too-often ignored by the rest of society.

When I was invited to appear on NBC's Today Show, I insisted that a farmer fighting foreclosures appear with me. Without the crisis in agriculture, the Posse would have remained an insignificant hate group.

As long as disparate produce and stock pricing structures, mortgage foreclosures, excessive loan rates, unfair commodities speculation, and inequitable Federal agricultural policies continue to tear apart the social and economic fabric of rural America, there will be an audience for the Posse Comitatus.

Salmon  
continued from page 42

On January 11, 1984, Douglas Palmer, a Warm Springs fisherman, was found guilty (10 to 2 jury verdict) for over-fishing his permit. Palmer was the first of 13 defendants to be tried in Oregon. Two Oregon cases were transferred to Umatilla Tribal Court. The Tribal Court dismissed the cases ruling that Oregon fish regulations were unconstitutional because they violated Indian treaties. In Washington State, ten cases have been won and two lost.

Why has the government spent a quarter of a million dollars and enormous court costs to put a few dozen Indian fishermen behind bars?

The defense contends that the government's true goals are: 1) to undermine the Boalt-Belloni decision by making the public believe that Indian fishing is the cause of diminishing salmon returns; 2) to make it clear that the government will retaliate against anyone who stands up for treaty rights and sovereignty by making an example of David SoHappy and his family; 3) to put a wedge between environmental activists and Indian rights activists, and finally 4) to control Indian tribal resources by undermining tribal sovereignty and self-determination.

Barry Paisner, a third-year law student has been working with attorney Jack Schwartz on tribal fishing rights issues for nearly two years. Charlene Touchette is a member of the executive board of Six Directions, a Native American cultural group.

Desperate people will listen to desperate solutions, even though the solutions are simplistic, scapegoating and full of hate. No amount of law enforcement intervention will stop the Posse; what will stop the Posse is an agricultural policy that is fair and equitable and protects the small farmer.

And do not be fooled by the relative silence about the Posse—it has not gone away, nor has its influence diminished. The Posse is merely being ignored by the media—until another violent confrontation thrusts them back into the headlines.

## What Can the Council Do? Some Suggestions for Discussion

1) Call for the Justice Department to vigorously enforce existing federal laws, popularly known as the Anti-Klan Statutes.

2) Vigorously enforce existing Wisconsin laws when applicable, especially criminal conspiracy statutes and statutes which impose sanctions against those who interfere with elected officials and authorized law enforcement officials carrying out their lawful duties.

3) Seek to have the Federal Criminal Statutes on Conspiracy Against Rights of Citizens (18 U.S.C., Section 241), and Federally Protected Activities (18 U.S.C., Section 245), introduced into the Wisconsin legislature; or, if similar provisions are seen as substantially existing under Wisconsin Law, to have these state statutes vigorously enforced.

4) Educate Wisconsin residents about the Constitutional Rights of all citizens, and how the exercise of those rights ends when it abuses the rights of others; and encourage a debate on these issues in the press, electronic media, and public schools.

5) Encourage civil litigation by the targets of the Posse and other hate groups under the federal civil statutes protecting Constitutional Rights (42 U.S.C., Sections 1981-1989).

Attorney Arthur Kinoy, a professor and legal authority on Constitutional law affiliated with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, testified before Congress several years ago regarding the utilization of the existing Federal "anti-Klan" statutes mentioned above. I am presenting a copy of his testimony to the Council. Wisconsin does not need new laws of dubious Constitutionality—it needs to enforce the laws that already exist.

## Moon Retraction continued from page 5

the Spartacists by the attorney Rachel H. Wolkenstein, and in noted libel attorney Jonathan W. Lubell of the firm of Cohn, Glickstein, Lurie, Ostrin, Lubell & Lubell.

On December 26, 1983 the *Washington Times* printed a letter by the Spartacists detailing their activities during the November 27, 1982 anti-Klan rally, along with an introduction by the newspaper which included the retraction stating "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) provoked violence on that day."

According to Spartacist League spokesperson Walt Senterfitt, the lawsuit helped expose the *Washington Times* as "the Moonie Unification Church's attempt to give a respectable, conservative cover to Moon's plan for theocratic dictatorship—in the name of fighting 'the Great Satan' of Marxism, of course." Senterfitt thought it ironic that the "Moonie 'Lord of the Second Advent' had to apologize to his most hated 'Satan,' revolutionary Marxism."

Following the anti-Klan rally, the *Washington Times* had headlined an article "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot," referring to some isolated looting and disorderly activity that

had occurred away from the demonstration site. The *Times* quoted several un-named sources as charging that members of the Spartacist groups had handed out metal bolts and other projectiles and encouraged violence.

A large part of the article was an attack on the Spartacists, their politics and tactics with the clear implication that police would be justified to use any measures necessary to protect themselves when dealing with Spartacist members. While the Spartacists have attracted a reputation for disrupting rallies and engaging in militant confrontations, the article's allegations went far beyond this type of criticism to actually alleging criminal violent acts and exposing the Spartacists to a scenario of police over-reaction based on the *Times* allegations.

According to Spartacist counsel Wolkenstein, "This was a libel that kills. In falsely targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies were trying to set up the organization's members and supporters to be shot first and questioned later. We took up the suit in self-defense, to protect not only our good name, but the right of anyone to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to vicious frame-ups."

Attorney Jonathan Lubell noted, "This settlement is extremely significant in light of the fact that the media will not generally settle cases of this nature. The *Washington Times*' libels against the SL/SYL were dangerous as well as false. This settlement is recognition of the essential fact that the SL/SYL were not involved in provoking violence." Lubell is nationally known as the libel lawyer who successfully took the case of *Herbert v. Lando* to the Supreme Court.

The SL/SYL has compiled overwhelming evidence exposing the Moonies' libel, including a statement submitted by FBI director William Webster to the 1983 FBI Oversight Hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Webster's March 10 submission included the statement that though "a group known as the Spartacist League (SPL) was alleged to have been involved in the violent portion of the anti-Klan demonstration," in fact, "investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has not uncovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals."



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# the Public Eye

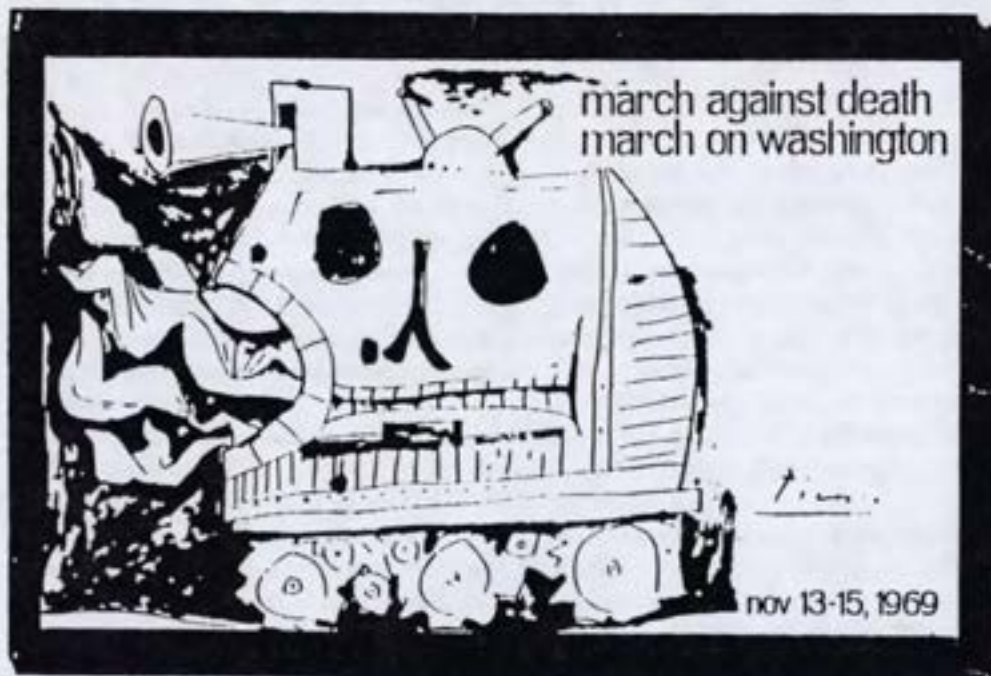
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# *the* **Public Eye**

*Watching the people that are watching you. . .*

Vol. V Issue 1

January 19, 1991

Three Dollars

**SPECIAL ANTI-WAR EDITION**

## **HUGE WORLDWIDE ANTI-WAR PROTESTS**

### **NEWS & ANALYSIS INSIDE**

- U.S. Demonstrations
  - City by City Accounts
- Worldwide Demonstrations
  - Country by Country Accounts
- What to Do if You Are Arrested
- How to Fight Harrassment & Infiltration of  
Your Organization
- Analysis of the War
  - Noam Chomsky
  - Barbara Ehrenreich

the Public Eye is a civil liberties news publication sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee & published by Investigative News Features

## *the* **Public Eye**

P.O. Box 1469, Sausalito, CA 94966

Watching  
the people  
that are  
watching you . . .

## IF YOU GET ARRESTED...

Preparation for possible arrest:

Center yourself on the meaning of your action.

Attend a nonviolent training session with your affinity group if you have not previously done so.

Prepare yourself for the experience of jail by talking with those who have experienced civil disobedience and arrest.

Carry NO weapons or contraband into the action. Prescriptions should be in original containers only. Carry prescription orders with you as identification and to facilitate having prescription drugs brought into jail.

Make sure support people have necessary information about you (name, who to contact, your birthdate, special needs you have for getting things into jail and jail account, etc.)

Keep 20 cents for a phone call in jail. **The Warning:** Police order you to leave. This is the last opportunity to opt out. In a situation of mass arrests, it is sometimes difficult to get away at this point.

**The arrest:** There are several options (up to the individual, but affinity groups should know who among them is doing what: a) walking with the officer in an effort to communicate with him/her; b) going "limp" or non-cooperating in another nonviolent manner.

In either case, you may be handcuffed. Any active resistance or interference with someone else's arrest can lead to additional charges and personal injury.

Police are not required to read you the Miranda Rights unless they are questioning you. You have the right to remain silent. Men and women may be separated at the time of arrest into separate buses.

Write down the details of your arrest as soon as possible. Record the time and place of the arrest for possible trial use later, as well as the name and badge numbers of the arresting officer. You are a witness; what you remember may be valuable to someone in court later.

You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer at any time before you say anything or agree to anything. Don't be afraid to ask for someone on the legal team if you are confused or need clarification on the process.

**Booking:** You will probably go through a booking procedure, either at the arrest site or at the jail. You may then be asked to show picture ID, address, Social Security number, etc. How much information you give up is up to you. Some activists carry no identification and/or refuse to answer objectionable questions. Refusal to supply the requested information slows the whole process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole. At booking you will be given a preliminary set of charges which are not final, but may be changed at the time of arraignment.

Opportunity to "cite" out: Once you are in jail waiting for arraignment, authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court at the appointed time for arraignment. This is called being released on O.R. (own recognizance.) Failure to appear results in a bench warrant being issued on you.

Some jail systems prefer to release prisoners on O.R. because it is less bur-

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Watching the people that are watching you...

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## SPECIAL ANTI-WAR EDITION

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The Public Eye is an educational project of the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee in association with Investigative News Features.  
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## CALENDAR

Jan. 20, NOON Planning meeting for Jan. 26 March & Rally, 255 Ninth St. (above Folsom) (CAVME) 626-8053

Jan. 20, 2:30 PM Meeting of the Bay Area Direct Action Network, Ashkenaz, 1317 San Pablo (at Gilman), Berkeley (415) 464-3020

Jan. 21, 10 AM March to Honor Dr. Martin Luther King and his stand for peace. Assemble at Third and Carroll, SF, march to a rally at noon at Civic Center (Civic Auditorium)

Jan. 23, 12 NOON Mass die-in rally at UC Berkeley (Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf) Sproul Plaza, Telegraph & Bancroft, Berkeley

Jan. 23, 7:30 PM Sign painting party for Jan. 26 March at the East Bay Green Party office. 3122 Shattuck, Berkeley (near Ashby BART) (415) 530-4935

Jan. 24, 7:00 PM Torch-Light March at UC Berkeley (Students Organizing for Resistance and Democratic Empowerment (SORDE), Sproul Plaza, Telegraph & Bancroft, Berkeley (415) 548-9252

Jan. 25, SUNDOWN Anti-War Beach Bonfire Party at Baker Beach in SF w/live music (Direct Action Network), picnic area near Lincoln Blvd. & Bowley Road, bus line 29 464-3020

Jan. 25, 6 PM Meet the Jan. 26 speakers at fund-raising reception at 1015 Folsom Nightclub, San Francisco (Jan. 26 Mobilization) 1015 Folsom (between 6th and 7th) \$10 to \$20 donation, ages 21 and over. (415) 626-8053

Jan. 26, 10 AM Nationwide March and Rally, march from Justin Herman Plaza to rally at Civic Center. (C.A.V.M.E.) Gather at Embarcadero & Market, Embarcadero BART (415) 626-8053

Jan. 27, 10 AM Western States Student Anti-war Meeting (Organize to build a broad student movement to bring the troops home now) Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley (415) 626-8053/421-4617

Jan. 27, 8 PM Benefit for the Emergency Committee with Last Laugh Theatre and other acts (\$5 to \$10) Ashkenaz, 1317 San Pablo (at Gilman), Berkeley (415) 525-5054

Jan. 28, NOON TO 3:30 PM Teach-in at Diablo Valley College (Mount Diablo Peace Center, Frank Little Club), Student Forum at Diablo Valley College, (415) 933-7850/798-36948

Jan. 28, 4 PM ACT UP on the Day of Disaster (Bush's State of the Union Address) Decentralized autonomous actions, plus rally at SF City Hall. (Plus pre-action meeting/party Jan. 27, 6 PM Caesar's Latin Palace, 3140 Mission above Army)

Jan. 29, 7 PM Showing of anti-war videos from across the country: "War, Oil and Power" and "Bring the Troops Home" (New American Makers) Opera Plaza Theatre, 601 Van Ness Ave., SF (415) 558-0320

Feb. 2, 7:30 PM The Causes and Consequences of the Gulf War talk by Sam March (Chairman of Workers World Party), The Womens' Building, 3543 18th St., SF, \$3 to \$5 donation requested. (415) 826-4828

### ON-GOING ACTIVITIES:

Tuesdays & Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM, vigil at S.F. Federal Building (Mustardseed Affinity Group, (415) 339-2753)

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## Common Sense Security For Political Organizers

By Sheila O'Donnell

As the movements for social change become more sophisticated, the techniques of the state, corporations and the right wing have also become more sophisticated. Historically this has always been the case; we will continue and will be the eventual victors. Caution in the face of the concerted effort to stop us, however, is both prudent and necessary.

### Here are some useful suggestions:

#### Office

Never leave one copy of a document or list behind; take a minute to duplicate an irreplaceable document and keep the duplicate in a safe place.

Back up and store important computer disks off-site. Sensitive data and membership list should be kept under lock and key.

Keep your mailing lists, donor lists and personal phone books away from light-fingered people. Always maintain a duplicate.

Know your printer if you are about to publish and know your mailing house if you contract for distribution.

Know anyone you are trusting to work on any part of a project that is sensitive.

Don't hire a stranger as a messenger. Sweeps for electronic surveillance are only effective for the time they are being

done, and are only effective as they are being done if you are sure of the person(s) doing the sweep.

Brief your membership on known or suspected surveillance.

Assess your undertaking from a security point of view; understand your vulnerabilities; assess your allies and your adversaries as objectively as possible; do not underestimate the opposition. Do not take chances. Plan for the worst, hope for the best.

Recognize your organizational and personal strengths and weaknesses.

Discuss incidents with cohorts, family and membership. Call the press if you have hard information about surveillance or harassment. Discussion makes the dirty work of the intelligence agencies and private spies overt.

#### General

If you wish to have a private conversation, leave your home and your office and go outside and take a walk or go somewhere public and notice who is near you.

Never say anything you don't want to hear repeated when there is any possibility of being recorded.

Don't use code on the phone. If you are being tapped and the transcript is used against you in court, the coded conversation can be alleged to be anything.

Don't say anything on the phone you don't want to hear in open court.

Don't gossip on the phone. Smut is valuable to anyone listening; it makes everyone vulnerable.

If you are being followed, get the license tag number and description of the car and descriptions of people in the car.

Photograph the person(s) following you or have a friend do so.

If you are followed or feel vulnerable, call a friend; don't "tough it out" alone. They are trying to frighten you. It is frightening to have someone threatening your freedom.

Debrief yourself after each incident. Write details down: time, date, occasion, incident, characteristics of the person(s), impressions, anything odd about the situation.

Keep a "weirdo" file and keep notes from unsettling situations and see if a pattern emerges.

Write for your government files under the FOIA and pursue the agencies until they give you all the documents filed under your name.

Report thefts of materials from your office or home to the police; these are criminal acts.

Report incidents to the Movement Support Network in New York at the Center for Constitutional Rights.

#### Visits from the FBI

Don't talk to the FBI (or any government investigator) without your attorney present. Information gleaned during the visit can be used against you and your co-workers.

Get the names and addresses of the agents and tell them you will have your attorney get in touch with them. They rarely set up an interview under those circumstances.

Call the National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union or other sympathetic legal group if you need assistance locating a reliable local attorney.

Don't invite agents into your home.

Speak with the agents outside. Once inside they glean information about your perspective and life style.

Don't let agents threaten you into talking. If the FBI intends to impanel a grand jury, a private talk with you will not change the strategy of the FBI.

Lying to the FBI is a criminal act. The best way to avoid criminal charges is to say nothing.

Any information you give the FBI can and will be used against you. Don't try to outwit the FBI. Your arrogance could get you or others in serious trouble.

FBI agents sometimes try to trick you into giving information "to help a friend." Don't believe them.

Don't let them intimidate you. So what if they know where you live or work and what you do? This is still a democracy and we still have constitutional rights. They intend to frighten you; don't let them. They can only "neutralize" you if you let them.

Remember: The United States prides itself on being a democracy; we have Constitutional rights. Dissatisfaction with the status quo and attempting to mobilize for change is protected; surveillance and harassment are violations. Take your rights seriously and fight for them. Speak out.

Originally circulated: 1984 Revised: 1/89

Sheila O'Donnell is a paralegal investigator with more than a decade's experience on civil liberties, civil rights, and government intelligence abuse cases.

Ms. O'Donnell is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and co-founder of the Public Eye Magazine. She is cur-

## World-Wide Round-Up of Anti-war Protests

By Rory Cox and Jonathan Franklin

Much of the following information was compiled from a variety of sources and is unconfirmed.

Despite the efforts of the U.S. government to package and market Operation Desert Storm, it will have to go down in history as being the war which has met the greatest opposition before the first shot was even fired. Since the war started, demonstrations have mushroomed world-wide in intensity and size, as hundreds of thousands angry yet spirited protestors fill city streets, college campuses, and town squares.

In San Francisco, the morning of the January 15 deadline saw at least 3,000 successfully close down the Federal Building and its surrounding streets. Later that afternoon, many of the same people launched a sneak attack on the Oakland-S.F. Bay Bridge, successfully closing down both directions of the Bay Area's most vital transportation link. A somewhat patriotic talk-show host urged those stuck on the bridge to roll down their windows and turn up their radios while he played "God Bless America." That evening, at least 10,000 marched from the Mission District to Chevron's headquarters in the Financial District, where they acknowledged the stroke of 9 PM, the time of the U.N. deadline, by chanting "fuck the deadline!"

Wednesday afternoon war broke out, and a contingency plan had been established by the Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East for months to meet in the heart of S.F.'s shopping district. Within an hour, the throng had grown to well over 10,000, stretching for blocks and snaking through the city. Despite the local media claiming the nature of the protests were violent, most people just made a lot of noise or quietly carried candles. Some left a trail of spray paint graffiti—peace signs and anti-war slogans—on buildings and buses, which suddenly became moving anti-war billboards. Neighbors, local business people, and even commuters stuck in non-moving traffic expressed their support, while a few displayed outrage at the inconvenience. By the end of the evening, a police car had been blown up, several businesses had their windows smashed, and the local Armed Forces Recruiting office had been completely ransacked after protestors smashed the front windows in, went in and overturned desks, scattered files, and destroyed a framed picture of Uncle Sam. "I feel as if I'm saving at least a few kids' lives," mentioned one protester as he scattered a whole box-load of files filled with young men's names up and down Van Ness Avenue. By Friday, there were over 1,000 arrests.

In other locations:

PARIS—Saturday, Jan. 12 Over 100,000 protest.

CANADA—Saturday, Jan. 12. Over 25,000 demonstrated across the country in 20 cities, despite cold, snowy conditions.

EUGENE, OR—Tuesday. Protesters staged a mock die-in, where an air raid

siren was set off and "soldiers" wearing bandages soaked with theatrical blood froze in place. After the siren stopped, they fell to the ground as if dying, while taped sounds of warfare played over the loud-speaker. After that, the Federal Building was blocked by 2,000 people, and that evening demonstrators blocked Interstate 5, until they were broken up with a round of tear gas from police.

ROME—Wednesday. Sit in in front of the Italian Parliament. A group of Greenpeace activists and women dressed in black as a symbol of mourning entered the Parliament. Greenpeace inflatable boats delayed the departure of two Italian naval vessels.

BERLIN—Wednesday. Windows of a U.S. cultural center were smashed, while demonstrators called a strike to protest plans to treat wounded American soldiers in German hospitals.

HIROSHIMA, JAPAN—Thursday. Survivors of the 1945 bombing participated in an anti-nuclear sit-in.

PHILADELPHIA—Thursday. 1,100 marched two miles from City Hall to the Liberty Bell and back, tying up the afternoon commute.

AUSTIN, TX—Two dozen were arrested in a crowd blocking rush hour traffic.

PORTLAND, ME—Thursday. 100 protesters chanted and held up a symbolic body bag, a white sack speckled with red paint.

ATHENS, OH—Thursday. 103 arrested in demonstrations and confrontations between those supporting Operation Desert Storm and those opposing.

BOSTON—Thursday. 600 demonstra-

tors attempted blocking the John F. Kennedy building. 84 arrested.

ST. CLOUD, MN—Thursday. 29 arrested while blocking entrances to a building.

HARTFORD, CT—Thursday. 120 people blocked entrances to the Federal Building.

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA—Thursday. Over 200 blocked traffic, chanted "no more war," and wept openly.

BONN, GERMANY—Thursday. A Greenpeace ship bearing a banner declaring "No war in the Gulf, away with the ultimatum" sailed up the Rhine, blowing an air raid siren.

MUNICH—Thursday. 15,000 youths rallied for peace.

HAMBURG, GERMANY—Thursday. A demonstration left a bank's window smashed.

GOETTINGEN, GERMANY—Thursday. Protesters blocked train tracks, halting service from this town about 95 miles northeast of Frankfurt.

FRANKFURT, GERMANY—Thursday. A torchlight march lights up the front of U.S. army facilities.

HELSINKI, FINLAND—Saturday, 1/19. Protests scheduled for today, 1,000 expected.

BOSTON—TUESDAY, Boston Commons 4,500 protestors, 9 arrests. WEDNESDAY, a group of 1,500 Harvard Sq. to Government Center, die-ins across the city from Boston to Cambridge. 1 arrest for harassment of police. THURSDAY, from 8 am to 8 pm at Federal Building, 90 arrests. Storrow Drive, a major highway closed by 2,500 protestors. Spontaneous demonstrations

closing down Harvard Square and MIT. High school students across city walking out. Minimal violence by police or demonstrators.

SPRINGFIELD, MA - WESTOVER AFB - 5,000 protestors at Air Force Base, 90 arrests.

MONTPELIER, VT-2,000 protestors. 20 people blocked bridge between Vermont and New Hampshire near Dartmouth College.

BURLINGTON, VT-500 protestors marched.

NEW HAVEN, CT-100 protestors  
PROVIDENCE, RI- 500 demonstrators, 3 people arrested taking over federal plaza.

CONCORD, PLYMOUTH, TILTON, NH - Many Junior High and High School Walkouts.

ATLANTA, GA - TUESDAY, 3,500 protestors in MLK & anti-war march, THURSDAY, 300 protestors all day protest at Federal Building, 3 arrests march through downtown, to recruiting station, MLK tomb.

MICHIGAN - Will send 600 people in busses to march, many more in carpools and vans. THURSDAY 1,000 people protested at Federal Building, no arrests. Ann Arbor - THURSDAY 400 people protested. Wpsilanti, Eastern Michigan University THURSDAY 400 protestors. CHICAGO, ILL. - No answer

NEW YORK CITY - WEDNESDAY 5,000-7,000 protestors in Times Square, march to UN. Marched around Manhattan. 1 am on the Brooklyn Bridge, drunk driver rains march, 1 KILLED, several injured. WEDNESDAY - 5,000 African-American coalition against US in-

tervention, demonstration at UN, 12-6 pm. Traffic snarled for hours. Police brutality videotaped. THURSDAY - Times Square, 10,000 demonstrators marched to Washington Square.

NEW PALTZ, NY - Since last Saturday, daily vigil in town plaza, 50-80 people - "No more Blood for Oil" slogan.

POUGHKEEPSIE, NY-200 people attended "town meeting" in Episcopal Church. Discussed sources of accurate news information. Marched through town to Civic Center.

WOODSTOCK, NY - 24 hour, daily vigil in town green for past week. Emphasis on women's groups for peace.

HUDSON, NY - 100 protestors at town center, every Saturday morning vigil.

ALBANY, NY - THURSDAY, 2,000 protestors gathered at Capitol marched to Federal Building, 5 arrests.

WASHINGTON, DC - LAFAYETTE PARK, constant protests and late night arrests, several "cracked heads" TUESDAY - 7,000 gathered at National Cathedral marched to White House. TUESDAY - 3-4,000 Howard University students, 12 pm marched to White House. WEDNESDAY - 1,500 protestors marched throughout city, traffic snarled, few arrests. THURSDAY NIGHT - 2,000 protestors gathered in park. White House surrounded by phalanx of police cars. Pro-war supporters given more access to streets. Protests restricted by police.

WITHOUT DETAILS

DURHAM, NC - WEDNESDAY 4,000

PORTLAND, OR - 15,000 SATURDAY

OLYMPIA, WA - TUESDAY, state capitol occupied.

## Excerpts from a National Teach-In

sponsored by the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East on WBAI and Pacifica Radio, 1/13/91

Noam Chomsky . . .

“Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait evoked a strong response from the industrial powers, in fact, two quite distinct responses. One was economic sanctions of unprecedented severity; the second was the threat of war [now no longer just a threat — ed.] The first had wide backing; the second is pretty much limited to the U.S. and Britain. As the leader of the two-member coalition, the U.S. moved quickly to ensure that sanctions could not be effective and to bar any diplomatic initiative. Two questions arise at once: Why has the response to Iraq’s aggression been so firm and harsh? And why did the U.S. and Britain insist on force rather than sanctions and diplomacy, virtually alone apart from the family dictatorships that were put in place to rule the Gulf oil-producing states?

Now, there is a standard answer to that question: “Iraq’s aggression and annexation are unique crimes, so they merit an unprecedented reaction.” President Bush has declared that America stands where it always has, against aggression, against those who would use force to replace the rule of law, and Secretary of State Baker has orated about the era full of promise that awaits us if only we stop the “new Hitler” before he conquers the world.

Many commentators have praised “the wondrous sea-change at the United Nations, which is functioning as it was designed to do for virtually the first time in

its history, and thus offering a bold new pattern of peacekeeping for the post-Cold War world” (New York Times). The standard explanation for that is that with the U.S. victory in the Cold War, Soviet obstructionism and the shrill anti-Western rhetoric of the Third World no longer render the U.N. ineffective.

None of these claims can withstand even a moment’s scrutiny. Saddam Hussein is a murderous gangster, exactly as he was before August 2 when he was an amiable friend and a favored trading partner. His invasion of Kuwait is another crime comparable to others, not as terrible as some, for example, the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor which reached near-genocidal proportions — thanks to diplomatic support from the two righteous avengers of the Gulf.

The truth was revealed by former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who describes his success in implementing State Department directives to render the U.N., as he put it, “utterly ineffective in whatever measures it took in response to Indonesia’s aggression,” because the U.S. wished things to turn out as they did and worked to bring this about. It was stated with equal frankness by the Australian foreign minister who explained his country’s acquiescence in the violent annexation of East Timor: “The world is a pretty unfair place littered with examples of acquisition by force.”

Saddam Hussein’s aggression, in contrast, called forth the Australian prime minister’s ringing declaration that “big countries cannot invade small neighbors

and get away with it. If Libya were to join the “Butcher of Baghdad” in exploiting Kuwait’s oil riches, we would be hearing the call to “nuke ‘em.” When Australia joined the “Butcher of Jakarta” in exploiting Timorese oil a few weeks ago, there may have been a small item on the business pages.

The United Nations has been unable to respond to aggression, annexation and other violations of international law, because it’s been blocked by the great powers, primarily the U.S. During the past two decades, the U.S. is far in the lead in Security Council vetoes, with Britain second, France a distant third, and the Soviet Union fourth. The record in the General Assembly is similar on questions of aggression, annexation, disarmament and others....

The U.N. was able to respond to Iraq’s aggression because for once the U.S. allowed it to. That is the “wondrous sea-change” at the U.N. The unprecedented severity of the U.N. sanctions was the result of intense U.S. pressure and threats accompanied by much cynical posturing. As a matter of logic, principles cannot be selectively upheld, and as a matter of fact, the U.S. is one of the major violators of the principles now grandly proclaimed. We therefore conclude at once without ambiguity or equivocation that the United States does not uphold those principles. The response to Saddam Hussein’s aggression was unprecedented because he stepped on the wrong toes....

Sanctions would have [had] an unusually good chance of working for one thing because of their unprecedented

severity and for another because they happened to be supported by the usual sanctions-busters, the U.S. and England prominently among them. Nevertheless, the U.S. moved at once to foreclose this option by dispatching a huge expeditionary force to the Gulf.... The purpose and the effect of the quick military build-up was to ward off the danger that sanctions might force Iraq out of Kuwait....

There are two crucial regional issues, apart from Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The first is the Arab-Israeli conflict and the second is the matter of weapons of mass destruction. On both issues, the U.S. has consistently been opposed to the diplomatic track, long before the Iraqi invasion. On the Arab-Israeli conflict, there has been a broad international consensus for years on a political settlement. The U.S. and Israel have opposed it and they have been isolated in this rejectionism. The latest U.N. vote was 151 to 3 (the U.S., Israel and Dominica).

...The U.S. has consistently opposed an international conference on the Middle East. The excuse now offered is that we cannot reward aggression, but that can’t possibly be the reason since, for one thing, the U.S. does commonly reward aggression, and for another, it opposed this international conference long before Iraq invaded.

**Barbara Ehrenreich**, writer, author of *The Worst Years of Our Lives*, documenting the Reagan years:

“If you look over the events since August 2nd, the first impression that you get

is of one man's single-minded determination to get us into a shooting war, and that one man is George Bush.

There was, for example, the cynical search for a rationale for war that would appeal to the American public. First, they tried "oil," which got generalized into "our way of life," meaning, I suppose, our habit of consuming about a quarter of all the oil used in the entire world every year, although we account for only five percent of the world's population. And of course this habit was beautifully exemplified by George Bush at Kennebunkport as he thought about the crisis in early August and drove around in a speedboat which gets one mile to the gallon.

But it's hard to believe in oil as a rationale for war even if it were a morally defensible one — which it isn't — because whatever else he's done, Saddam Hussein didn't threaten the world's oil supply, didn't raise the world's oil prices. In fact, if this country were really concerned about oil prices, we would have invaded Amoco and bombed Exxon, because they are the ones who have raised prices and caused hardship all over the world.

Then they tried "democracy," but that didn't work at all. Kuwait was a feudal monarchy, Saudi Arabia is the land of gender apartheid where by law women can't even go out of their homes without a male relative, can't drive cars, can't go shopping. If you happen to believe that women's rights are also human rights and that democracy involves two sexes, then we are not defending democracy.

Then they tried "jobs." This was the real low point in the search for a rationale. Everyone knows that the war buildup is

sinking our economy, already ravaged by the speculative frenzy and rich people's orgy of the Eighties and that the only jobs that the Gulf venture is likely to generate in this country are for grave-diggers.

Then they tried the rationale of "international law," which sounds pretty good, of course, until you realize that only a year ago it was George Bush who was invading a small country to his south, Panama. And it was the United States that was condemned by the United Nations for a "flagrant violation of international law...." The number of civilian deaths resulting from the U.S. invasion of Panama (which we don't know the exact number), but if we just look at the order of magnitude, if we look at the estimates, then we see that the number of deaths is in the same order of magnitude as the number of deaths — civilian and otherwise — resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait....

They tried other rationales; the potential Iraqi nuclear threat was pretty popular for a few days last month, but now the rationale seems to have settled down to the oldest one in history: We have to go to war because we're there and we're armed and we're ready to fight....

It wasn't that difficult for most of these U.N. countries to give George Bush the go-ahead because their young men and women will not be dying in the Gulf. And it was easy enough for the U.S. Congress and Senate also to vote for war. Our so-called volunteer army — which has in fact been drafted by poverty, joblessness and racism — does not contain the children of lawyers and

business leaders and high-ranking public officials. Out of 535 congresspersons and senators only two have children in the armed services in the Persian Gulf....

One last eerie fact: The Pentagon has what it has called its "nightmare scenario" for the Gulf. Now you might think that would mean a long, bloody war, right? A U.S. defeat, right? But no, do you know what the "nightmare scenario" was, until just a few days ago, anyway? It was an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The nightmare was that there would be no war!...

I think we have to face another explanation, maybe the scariest of all, that our leaders are addicted to war, that militarism has become our way of life.... Think back a year ago to our leaders' response to the end of the Cold War. Was there jubilation in Washington? Was there dancing on the White House lawn? No! If you will recall, there was a mood of sullenness, suspicion and withdrawal. In fact, then there was an immediate search for new enemies to replace the old ones, a search that led first to drugs (remember that?) and then to Manuel Noriega, and now to Saddam Hussein.

Second, we have what some researchers call an economic addiction to war. Think about it. We spend about 30 percent of the federal budget on the military, which means there is never any money for education or health care or housing or any kind of safety net for the poor or the out of work. No, we expect the military to absorb the poor — the young and able-bodied poor, that is — and we expect the military to generate little bits of employment here and there

manufacturing weapons, manufacturing the means of destruction.

Why do congressmen lobby so ferociously for the B-1 bomber or for the F-14 to be made in their districts? Because the alternative is unemployment for tens of thousands of Americans, and unemployment in Republican America means poverty, hunger, even homelessness. Why don't we have social programs that would protect the economically vulnerable, such as workers in the weapons industry?... Why isn't there a safety net for them? Because the money that we might use for people like them has already been spent on preparations for war.... This is a vicious cycle, a dependency and addiction which we cannot seem to break even as we slide as a nation into a major recession or worse....

Thirdly...what's our solution to poverty? Three words: Build More Prisons. Already the U.S. leads the world in the percentage of its citizens incarcerated, surpassing the Soviet Union and just beating out South Africa. Because the use of force, of guns and iron bars has become our reflexive solution whatever the problem at home or abroad. Or drugs? Yes, there's a problem, especially among very poor young people who are experiencing despair and alienation. But what is our solution, a major public health campaign, a mobilization against the roots of that despair which are poverty and racism and economic decline? No. We had a war on drugs, more guns, more force, more racism and brutal repression....

Why are we in Saudi Arabia? I don't think the precipitating event occurred on August 2 when Iraq invaded Kuwait. It

had already occurred two months earlier, in June, when various Democratic congressmen began to call for drastic cuts in the military budget. We should have known it right then. We should have known that that moment was the signal for war, that an enemy would be created if an enemy couldn't be found....

This is a war to justify militarism. This is a war for the sake of war.

We have to stop this war. George Bush drew his line in the sand. We have to draw *our* line in the sand. And we have to say to George Bush, if you cross *this* line...then you will face something far more powerful than Saddam Hussein, and that is an outraged American public....

We need an anti-war movement, because war is human sacrifice and human sacrifice must rank with slavery as an archaic evil that humankind must finally put aside in loathing and disgust. But we need more than an anti-war movement. We need a movement that is positively and affirmatively for peace, a movement that strives to create a society and a world based not on violence and brutality but on peace and common concern and mutual assistance. We need a movement that upholds the preciousness, the miracle and beauty of each and every human life.

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## STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE ON THE BEGINNING OF WARFARE IN THE PERSIAN GULF

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The outbreak of war in the Gulf represents a massive failure of governments, politi-

cal leaders and international institutions. Aggression, ultimatums, deadlines, demands for oil, and inflexibility became more significant than human lives and the welfare of the human family. The overwhelming, US-led militarization of international efforts to secure Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait took on a predictable logic of its own and has propelled the world community inexorably into actions that bear no relationship to original goals.

The American Friends Service Committee believes deeply that war could have been averted, and we believe now that it must be stopped now, before more blood is shed. It must be ended before the imperatives of warfare become fully entrenched.

'Since August 2 our voice has been one among many in this country and around the world that have called for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and for international economic and diplomatic efforts to secure that end. Ours has been one of the growing number of voices calling for restraint as President Bush has led this country on a relentless course toward the war that now flames in the Middle East and threatens to engulf ever more peoples and nations.

In this dire circumstance, we find hope in the voices of people in this country and around the world that demand that the killing stop. The American Friends Service Committee is committed to educate, to organize and to advocate policies toward this end.

'Our hope also is with those young people who, on grounds of conscience, will not participate in this war. This

Quaker organization is committed to informing them of their rights and to supporting their resistance.

As we seek an early end to the fighting, we also stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance to the war's civilian victims, wherever we can.

As we focus on the immediate effects of war, we are dismayed once again at the devastating impact of warfare on other issues that remain as unmet challenges to our own society and government. Political imagination is diverted from addressing the disgraceful fact of homelessness in our communities; from the growing economic disparities between rich and poor, Black and white, men and women; from the effects of an ever-worsening economy on the most vulnerable in our society. Believing that the peaceful world we yearn for must be based on foundations of justice, we are committed to sustain and strengthen our efforts on these and other pressing issues of social, racial and economic justice for our own society.

Our prayers are with all who are affected by this conflict: the people of Iraq, of Kuwait, of Israel, of Saudi Arabia, of Syria, of Jordan, the Palestinians and others in the region who will suffer most directly. Our prayers are with the men and women in the armies—of our own nation and of the other nations involved and with their parents and loved ones. For all of their sakes, we urge that the call for sanity in our political leadership and for an end to the killing be heeded.

We call on all people of good will and from all religious traditions to choose

## Report All Incidents to the— Movement Support Network

The Movement Support Network (MSN) is a project of the Center for Constitutional Rights with cooperation from the National Lawyers Guild. MSN was founded in 1984 to respond to increasing government surveillance and harassment of people involved in Central America solidarity work and people active in the sanctuary movement. Since then the network has expanded to serve as a monitoring mechanism to collect information about surveillance and harassment of persons involved in a wide range of peace and social justice issues.

By collecting and disseminating information on specific incidents, MSN not only organizes opposition to such abuses, but also raises public awareness of important civil liberties issues, and helps activists place isolated incidents in a national context.

For more information or to report an incident, contact MSN, 666 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10012.

The MSN HOTLINE # is (212) 614-6422.

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life in this time of violence, and to demand of political leaders the courage to reverse their policies of death.

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## HOW DID THE FBI COINTELPRO OPERATIONS WORK?

COINTELPRO was the FBI code acronym for its COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

By Brian Glick

Excerpted by permission from "War at Home" A South End Press Pamphlet/Booklet - Available from the Movement Support Network

When congressional investigations, political trials, and other traditional legal modes of repression failed to counter the growing movements, and even helped to fuel them, the FBI and police moved outside the law. They resorted to the secret and systematic use of fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally protected political activity. Their methods ranged far beyond surveillance, amounting to a homefront version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

FBI Headquarters secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was strongly encouraged. Other recommended collaborators included friendly news media, business and foundation executives, and university, church, and trade union officials, as well as such "patriotic" organizations as the American Legion.

Final authority rested with FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Top FBI officials pressed local field offices to step up their activity and demanded regular progress reports. Agents were directed to maintain full secrecy "such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques." A total of 2,370 officially approved COINTELPRO actions were admitted to the Senate Intelligence Committee, and thousands more have since been uncovered.

Four main methods have been revealed:

1. **Infiltration:** Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main purpose was to discredit and disrupt. Their very presence served to undermine trust and scare off potential supporters. The FBI and police exploited this fear to smear genuine activists as agents.

2. **Psychological Warfare:** From the Outside: The FBI and police used myriad other "dirty tricks" to undermine progressive movements. They planted false media stories and published bogus leaflets and other publications in the name of targeted groups. They forged correspondence, sent anonymous letters, and made anonymous telephone calls. They spread misinformation about meetings and events, set up pseudo movement groups run by government agents, and manipulated or strong-armed parents, employers, landlords, school officials and others to cause trouble for activists.

3. **Harassment Through the Legal System:** The FBI and police abused the legal system to harass dissidents and make them appear to be criminals. Officers of the law gave perjured testimony and presented fabricated evidence as a pretext for false arrests and wrongful imprisonment. They discriminatorily enforced tax laws and other government regulations and used conspicuous surveillance, "investigative" interviews, and grand jury subpoenas in an effort to intimidate activists and silence their supporters.

4. **Extralegal Force and Violence:** The FBI and police threatened, instigated, and themselves conducted break-ins, vandalism, assaults, and beatings. The object was to frighten dissidents and disrupt their movements. In the case of radical Black and Puerto Rican activists (and later Native Americans), these attacks—including political assassinations—were so extensive, vicious, and calculated that they can accurately be termed a form of official "terrorism." [copyright 1989, Brian Glick]

## WITNESS FOR PEACE STATEMENT ON THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS

January 4, 1991

The guiding principles of Witness for Peace are: a prayerful search for peace with justice; grounded in religious faith and the belief that we ourselves cannot be free as long as anyone remains oppressed; political independence; and a commitment to changing our

government's unjust policies through eyewitness experience and creative non-violence.

Given these commitments, we make the following statement about the crisis in the Persian Gulf:

1. We deplore Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and the human rights violations its forces have committed there. We call upon Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and to find a peaceful solution to its grievances.

2. We oppose a military response to this crisis and we support a much stronger effort at negotiation and diplomacy, along with a range of creative, non-violent social and economic measures designed to impact the government and not the people of Iraq.

3. As an organization deeply involved in Central America, we recognize how often our government has intervened unjustly in the affairs of smaller states. We call upon our government to see this situation as an opportunity to renounce its own policies of unjust intervention around the world and to commit itself to the peaceful resolution of such crises.

4. We also call upon our government to place human rights, social justice and environmental balance in the fore of all foreign policy decisions, specifically to:

A. Reinstate policies of energy conservation and development of alternative, safe energy resources to reduce U.S. dependence on environmentally destructive and politically perilous fossil fuels.

B. In cooperation with the United Nations and World Court make peaceful resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East a high priority.

C. End the world-wide arms race and the trade which feeds upon it, that oppresses smaller nations and poor peoples and escalates conflicts such as that in the Persian Gulf.

## Linking Central America with the Persian Gulf Crisis Embarking on a deadly path

By Vincent Cobb

WFP Mid East Consultant

On August 2, 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait. In response President Bush "drew a line in the sand" and sent 200,000 U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf region to "defend our way of life." There are now 400,000 U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia ready to expel Iraq from Kuwait and restore Kuwait's "ruling family."

### ANALYSIS

While WFP strongly condemns Iraq's invasion of Kuwait (and insists that Iraq withdraw its forces), we must ask ourselves at this critical juncture whether the U.S. response is likely to help settle the crisis and bring about a lasting peace in the region. For longtime observers of U.S. policy towards Central America it has become increasingly clear that instead of providing paths to peace, U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf is following the same deadly trends that have exacerbated and prolonged the conflicts in Central America.

### What About Democracy?

As in Central America, U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf is unconcerned with democracy. In Central America the his-

tory of U.S. policy is replete with aiding and defending dictatorships (eg. Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua). In sending U.S. troops to "defend" the monarchy of Saudi Arabia and insisting on the "full restoration" of the "ruling family" of Kuwait, President Bush has once again aligned U.S. policy with authoritarian, wealthy elites while ignoring the disenfranchised of the region.

### What About Multilateralism?

As in Central America, U.S. policy has ignored and discouraged the regional institutions and organizations (such as the Arab League) that have sought to peacefully mediate the Persian Gulf crisis. Just as U.S. policy vehemently opposed any regional, non-military solution to the conflicts in Central America (eg. Contadora process), President Bush has responded to Iraq's invasion by unilaterally 1) "drawing a line in the sand" 2) sending 200,000 U.S. troops and, 3) rejecting any Arab mediation. Although the United Nations subsequently passed resolutions demanding Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, presenting the fait accompli to the United Nations and then asking for after-the-fact approval does not constitute multilateralism. (Note: President Bush has suggested that in accordance with international law, the U.N. should compel Iraq to pay any damages caused by Iraq's invasion into Kuwait. At the same time the U.S. rejects the 1986 verdict handed down by the World Court that the U.S. pay Nicaragua war damages.)

### What About North and South?

As in Central America, the current crisis should be seen within the context

of the rich and powerful nations dominating the lesser developed countries. Whether it's agricultural products in Latin America or cheap oil from the Persian Gulf, U.S. policy continues to underscore the "right" of the U.S. to determine the social, political and economic futures of developing nations. Even in a "Post Cold War" era in which conflicts are no longer framed in East-West terms, President Bush has decided that the U.S. will act as policeman (or mercenary) to maintain and defend the established "order" and economic privileges of the industrialized nations.

Given all of the changes around the world in the last 12 months and a shifting political situation in Central America, this moment could present the United States with an opportunity for creative, non-military responses to a series of developments. The Bush administration's response to events in the Persian Gulf does not reflect new thinking or creativity, rather it reinforces old models of relating to other countries. If this policy goes unchallenged in the Gulf, it will be more difficult to challenge it elsewhere in the developing world, particularly in Central America.

For further information and action suggestions contact Vincent Cobb at Witness for Peace: (202) 797-1160.

## World Peace Number One

By SteppenLeap

It could start with you, it could start with me,

It could start with anyone.

It could start right here, it could start right now,

World Peace Number One.

There's a way we can find some peace of mind,

And keep it rollin' too.

It's World Peace Number One,

And it's rollin' to you!

There's a lot we must do to turn the world war blues

Into World Peace Number One.

It's the only home we've got, we kinda like it a lot,

So fellas keep it cool, don't you let it get hot.

Let the sun and the rain and the earth grow the grain,

And our love for each other to heal the pain.

Got to say no to war and to all it stands for.

I may be crazy but I ain't insane...

I may be lazy but I'm on the train.

And it's rollin', yes it's rollin', yes it's rollin'

Rollin' for World Peace Number One!

© Stephen Leiper

## RIGHT WOOS LEFT OVER GULF WAR ISSUE Confronting Rightist Ideologies & Anti-Jewish Bigotry is Crucial to Full Debate Over Principled Tactics

Memo by Chip Berlet  
Political Research Associates

Revised & Updated 1/18/91

As the movement against war in the Middle East builds, a handful of far-right and anti-Jewish groups has begun to seek alliances with liberal, progressive, and left antiwar groups, leading some activists to fear that fragile coalitions could be damaged by the presence of such forces, especially if they press their paranoid conspiracist and sometimes anti-Jewish theories in progressive coalitions where similar sentiments have not already been routinely confronted as a matter of principle.

The attempts by the political right to organize around antiwar issues is varied by both locale and method, but the situation is causing problems across the country, especially attempts by followers of the distinctively distorted neo-Nazi Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. to forge ties with liberal and left antiwar coalitions.

For the most part, the political right is trying to build antiwar sentiment without seeking coalition with the left. Such was the case at Merrimack College in Massachusetts and at a downtown Boston anti-war rally where the ultra-conservative John Birch Society distributed antiwar flyers.

Another rightist group organizing unilaterally is the Liberty Lobby. Persons associated with Liberty Lobby have circulated antiwar and pro-isolationist literature, including their weekly newspaper *Spotlight*, at several antiwar rallies. The *Spotlight* cheers the activities of U.S. neo-Nazis and skinheads but masks its anti-Jewish stance behind coded phrases such as "dual-loyalist."

The most disruptive push, however, is being caused by LaRouchians trying to penetrate grassroots antiwar groups. The LaRouchians generally organize under front groups such as Food for Peace, Schiller Institute, and *Executive Intelligence Review*. Some local groups have admitted the LaRouchians, while others have not. Some experienced antiwar activists warn that working with the LaRouchians and other far-right and bigoted forces will only discredit serious work towards peace in the Middle East.

Jon Hillson, a seasoned peace activist based in Ohio, reports LaRouche organizers at events sponsored by the Cleveland Committee Against War in the Persian Gulf. At one meeting, "Two people went through the crowd handing out LaRouche's *New Federalist*," says Hillson. "I was shocked, but then I realized most students had never heard of LaRouche," says Hillson. "I would urge people to disavow any collaboration with them because of their past ties to government agencies, disruptive past, and their homophobic, racist, sexist, and anti-Semitic agenda." Hillson notes that it will take patience to explain to new activists why a broad-based coalition

should exclude anyone, but that the task of educating people that coalitions with fascists should be rejected is not one to be ignored.

In Los Angeles several LaRouchians were dismayed when the local antiwar coalition pointed to their principles of unity which included a call for a sensible non-nuclear energy policy. The LaRouchians are vocal supporters of nuclear power. In Richmond, Virginia, local antiwar organizers simply kept shouting at the LaRouchians to "shut up" when they began their bizarre spiels and eventually they stopped coming to meetings.

Chicago antiwar organizer Alynne Romo reports their group has "asked the LaRouchians not to participate when they have appeared at our demonstrations." According to Romo, "The LaRouche people called us several times. They told us Margaret Thatcher was behind the situation in Iraq and that she put George Bush up to it." Romo adds that "they also said they were working with Ramsey Clark as a way to get us to cooperate."

## The Emerging Rightist Coalition

By Chip Berlet

Lyndon LaRouche has picked up support for his release from a number of right-wing extremists, including retired Air Force Colonel and intelligence specialist Fletcher Prouty, a leading light

among ultra-right researchers. Prouty first published "The Secret Team" in 1973 where it was among the first wave of books to take a critical view of the role of the U.S. intelligence establishment in designing the failed counterinsurgency policies in Vietnam. Since writing the book, Prouty has drifted far to the right, as has another CIA critic, Victor Marchetti, and both now have allied themselves with groups which support anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

In 1989 Marchetti presented a paper at the Ninth International Revisionist Conference held by the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). Both IHR and the Revisionist Conference promote the theory that the Holocaust was a hoax. The title of Marchetti's paper, reprinted in the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, was "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History."

Marchetti also co-publishes the <Zionist Watch> newsletter, endorsed in direct mail appeals on Liberty Lobby stationery by the late Lois Petersen, secretary of the Liberty Lobby board of directors. The October 5, 1987 *Spotlight* reported that Mark Lane was named associate editor of *Zionist Watch*, which is housed in the same small converted Capitol Hill townhouse as Liberty Lobby and *Spotlight*. Liberty Lobby, *Spotlight*, the International Revisionist Conference, the Institute for Historical Review, and IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* are all projects of Willis Carto, one of America's most influential peddlers of anti-Jewish and pro-Nazi propaganda.

Not all rightist groups adhere to obviously anti-Jewish views. The John Birch

Society has in recent years tried to avoid anti-Jewish rhetoric, instead basing its theories on the belief that all major world powers are controlled by a covert group of "Insiders," such as members of the Trilateral Commission, who are seen as manufacturing the current crisis in the Middle East.

The LaRouchian antiwar theories parallel many of the themes promoted by the Birch Society and Prouty, but in their typically distorted way. According to one flyer issued by the LaRouchians, "If war is to come, it will be the result of deliberate 'geopolitical' plotting by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carrington, and other London friends of Henry Kissinger." Over the years LaRouchian literature has maintained that British political leadership is really controlled by Jewish banking families such as the Rothschilds, a standard anti-Jewish theory that influenced bigots from Henry Ford to Adolph Hitler, among others.

In their book *Dope, Inc.: Britain's Opium War against the U.S.* first published in 1978, the LaRouchians assert that the British oligarchy is in league with Jewish bankers to control drug smuggling into the U.S. Arch-rightist and former U.S. intelligence operative the late Michell WerBell said the book was of "outstanding importance," because it told "the history of a political strike against the United States in an undeclared war being waged by Great Britain."

At the recent 35th Anniversary Liberty Lobby convention, there was considerable antiwar sentiment expressed by speakers who tied the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia to pressure from Israel and its

intelligence agency, Mossad. (No matter what actual political involvement forces in Israel may have in shaping the current situation, the history of Liberty Lobby is to circulate lurid anti-Jewish propaganda, not principled factual criticisms.)

At the conference Fletcher Prouty released a new edition of his book on CIA intrigue, *The Secret Team*, and moderated a panel where much-decorated Vietnam veteran "Bo" Gritz wove a paranoid conspiracy theory which explained the U.S. confrontation with Iraq as a product of the same "Secret Team" outlined by Prouty. Gritz's charges have also been featured by Birch Society publications. The far rightists who adhere to the Prouty/Gritz thesis agree with the left analysis that the CIA tolerates or encourages drug smuggling by its operatives and allies, but see the situation controlled by Mossad. The Israeli connection to Iran Contra-gate was a major reason the Prouty/Gritz crowd condemned Oliver North's operation, another point of alliance with the left. Other conference speakers and moderators included Dick Gregory, whose anti-government rhetoric finds fertile soil on the far right, and attorney Mark Lane who has drifted toward far-right anti-Jewish conspiracy theories in recent years.

The issue of anti-Jewish rhetoric over the Gulf crisis first surfaced in September as part of a long simmering feud within the political right in the U.S. Ultra-conservative columnist Pat Buchanan fired the first salvo to reach the mainstream media when he declared

on the McLaughlin Group TV roundtable program that the two groups most favoring war in the Middle East were "the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen chorus in the United States." *New York Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal charged those comments reflected anti-Semitism, to which Buchanan retorted that Rosenthal had made a "contract hit" on him in collusion with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. ADL is a Jewish human rights group often allied with the neo-conservative movement, and is an ardent and uncritical supporter of Israeli government policies.

Sara Diamond (who covered the Buchanan/Rosenthal feud in *Z Magazine*) says "the Buchanan forces have explicitly rejected coalition with the left on the issue of opposing intervention in the Gulf," but it is elements of the opportunistic right that are seeking such coalitions. According to Diamond, "one can only speculate that they want to recruit people into their own organizations and then leave the left discredited," says Diamond. It appears that most persons in the antiwar movement are unaware of the backgrounds and ideology of the several rightist groups seeking alliances, and merely are hoping to build a broad based alliance. Still, the issue of an undercurrent of anti-Jewish bigotry among a handful of pro-Palestinian, Black nationalist, and other groups who work with the left has been under discussion for several years. Less well known are the attempts by rightist groups to forge ties with the left around a common agenda of smashing the powerful center.

One danger of such an alliance is that

the widespread conspiracism of the right can easily find fertile ground among the naive or uncritical forces on the left. Author Holly Sklar, who has written progressive critiques of the Trilateralists, warns antiwar activists that "there is a big difference between understanding the influence of the Trilateral Commission on world affairs and the paranoid right-wing fantasy that the Trilateralists and their allies are an omnipotent cabal controlling the world. It's important for people to base their political decisions on facts, not lazy catch-all conspiracy theories."

The first area where the LaRouchians appear to have penetrated the left is the area of covert action and CIA misconduct. The LaRouchians were early critics of the Oliver North network, and in the early 1980's, LaRouche intelligence operatives such as Jeffrey Steinberg maintained close ties to a faction in the National Security Council which opposed Oliver North's activities, while at the same time trading information with mainstream and progressive reporters. One surprising public instance of this relationship surfaced when Eugene Wheaton, an adviser to the Christic Institute, spoke at the December, 1990 LaRouche antiwar conference in Chicago.

According to progressive author Russ Bellant who writes investigative critiques of New Right and far right political groups, this is not the first time rightist groups with an anti-Jewish agenda have tried to forge alliances with left activists or researchers. Bellant says he has been sharply critical of other authors who have recommended he seek information from LaRouchian intel-

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## ATTENTION PEACE ACTIVISTS: TO STOP THIS WAR, WE MUST BECOME MEDIA ACTIVISTS.

### HELP GET ANTI-WAR VOICES IN THE MASS MEDIA

#### A Communiqué by Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting

Unless the Persian Gulf debate is dramatically expanded, hopes for peace will be dashed. No matter how many anti-war protests there are, the plunge toward war will be unstoppable unless the U.S. public begins to hear anti-war perspectives—loudly, clearly and consistently—through the mass media. Too often, media “debates” are reduced to this year’s secretary of defense vs. last year’s secretary of defense, or Republican hawks vs. Democrats who don’t seriously challenge the policy.

Polls show that millions of people oppose this war. Peace vigils, teach-ins and marches are occurring across the country. But the national leaders of this movement have been dramatically under-represented in national media forums.

#### THE SITUATION CAN BE CHANGED

In the wake of FAIR’s recent expose of bias and censorship against progressives on the McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour, that program (seen by millions every day) began opening up to people who had generally been excluded from TV; Noam

Chomsky, Erwin Knull of *The Progressive*, Edward Said and others offered dissenting views on the Gulf crisis. Their presence helped move these discussions beyond typical TV “debates” focusing on tactical questions, such as “How long will it take to get this war over with and bring the troops home?”

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO

—Phone and write national media outlets asking them to be more professional in providing balanced journalism. Good journalism requires that policy critics be quoted alongside policy makers in print stories or TV segments. Democracy and independent journalism require full-spectrum debate—not tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum. When you communicate with TV producers and other journalists, question their professionalism, their lack of objectivity and balance, not their “bad politics.”

—If you are part of an organization, set up media committees to lobby the media toward the balance and inclusion. Demand that the leader of your national organization be included in debates.

—Quick response: As soon as you see a report or TV discussion that excludes all but members of the white, male foreign policy establishment, that’s the time to call and lodge a protest. Remember: African-Americans, Latinos, Arab-Americans were never part of the so-called “national consensus” in support of Bush. Women have been far more skeptical about the policy than men. Demand that people of color and women participate in the national debate over the war.

—When you contact the news media,

recommend a few of the many peace spokespersons whose viewpoints should be appearing more regularly in the media, people like Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Ehrenreich, Rep. Maxine Waters, Rep. Ron Dellums, Alex Molnar (whose son is a Marine in the Gulf), or any of the dozens of other peace advocates of your choice.

—Let FAIR know what you are doing. Send us copies of your written correspondence with the media.

**Join FAIR. 130 w. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (201) 633-6700.**

In the interest of balancing the ever-present opinions of policy makers with those of true policy critics, here are some of the many independent experts on the Persian Gulf Crisis:

Alex Molnar, father of Marine servicing in Gulf; chairperson, Military Families Support Network. Tel: (414) 964-5794

Daniel Ellsberg, former Pentagon strategist. Tel: (415) 526-4310

Maxine Waters, U.S. Congress, (D-Cal.) Tel: (916) 445-2363

Richard Barnet, foreign policy analyst, Institute for Policy Studies (202) 234-9382

Barbara Ehrenreich, essayist, Time Magazine; feminist activist. (516) 364-9676

Noam Chomsky, foreign policy critic, MIT. (617) 253-7819

Karen Pfeifer/Joe Stork, editors, Middle East Report. (413) 584-2700

Edward Said, Palestinian-American professor, Columbia University. (212)

854-3620

Jesse Jackson, National Rainbow Coalition, (202) 728-1180

Karima Bennouna, student, U. Michigan-Ann Arbor Anti-war Coalition (313) 769-3072

Rashid Khalidi, Arab-American professor, U of Chicago, (312) 702-3013

Eqbal Ahmed, foreign policy analyst, Hampshire College. (413) 549-4600

Pedro Noguera, Latino professor, UC Berkeley, (415) 642-1493

Alexander Cockburn, columnist, The Nation, The Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times (212) 242-8400 or (408) 685-2511

Christopher Hitchens, columnist, The Nation; Washington editor, Harper’s Magazine. (202) 387-4842

Ms. Hala Madoud, Women’s Studies professor, Georgetown U. (202) 363-4866

Gerald Horne, Chair, Black Studies Dept., UC Santa Barbara; frequent columnist, L.A. Times. (805) 968-0856 or (805) 893-3800

#### NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA

ABC World News Tonight  
7 West 66th St.  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 887-4040

Associated Press  
50 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10020  
National Desk (212) 621-1600  
Foreign Desk (212) 621-1663  
Washington Bureau (202) 828-6400

CBS Evening News  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 975-3693

CBS This Morning  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 975-2824

Christian Science Monitor  
CSM Publishing Survey  
One Norway St.  
Boston, MA 02115  
(800) 225-7090

CNN  
One CNN Center  
Box 105366  
Atlanta, GA 30348  
(404) 827-1500

CNN  
Washington Bureau  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7900

Crossfire  
CNN  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7951

Face the Nation  
CBS News  
2020 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 452-4321

Good Morning America  
ABC News  
1965 Broadway  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 496-4800

Larry King Live TV  
CNN  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7900

Larry King Show-Radio  
Mutual Broadcasting  
1755 So. Jefferson Davis  
Highway  
Arlington, VA 22202  
(703) 685-2175

Los Angeles Times  
Times-Mirror Square  
Los Angeles, CA 90053  
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PO Box 2626  
Washington, DC 20013  
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MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour  
WNET-TV  
356 W. 58th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 560-3113

Meet the Press  
NBC News  
4001 Nebraska Ave. NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
(202) 885-4200

Morning Edition/All  
Things Considered  
National Public Radio  
2025 M St., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 822-2000

NBC Nightly News  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10112  
(212) 661-1971

New York Times  
229 W. 43rd St.  
New York, NY 10036  
(212) 556-1234  
(212) 556-7415

New York Times  
Washington Bureau  
1627 Eye Street, NW, 7th  
Floor  
Washington, DC 20006  
(202) 862-0300

Newsweek  
444 Madison Ave.  
New York, NY 10022  
(212) 350-4000

Nightline  
ABC News  
47 W. 66th St.  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 887-4995

Nightline  
Ted Koppel  
ABC News  
1717 DeSales St. NW

Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 887-7364

This Week With David Brinkley  
ABC News  
1717 DeSales St., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 887-7777

Time Magazine  
Time Warner, Inc.  
Time & Life Building  
Rockefeller Center  
New York, NY 10020  
(212) 522-1212

Today Show  
NBC News  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10112  
(212) 664-4249

United Press International  
1400 Eye St., NW  
Washington, DC 20006  
(202) 898-8000

U.S. News & World Report  
2400 N St. NW  
Washington, DC 20037  
(202) 955-2000

USA Today  
1000 Wilson Blvd.  
Arlington, VA 22229  
(703) 276-3400

Wall Street Journal  
200 Liberty St.  
New York, NY 10281  
(212) 416-2000

Washington Post  
1150 15th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20071  
(202) 334-6000

Washington Week in Review  
WETA-TV  
PO Box 2626  
Washington, DC 20013  
(703) 998-2626

## When The Story Ever Is Told

By SteppenLeap

When the story ever is told  
How Old Glory got cut up and sold  
For a profit in crude oil and gold  
While the people went hungry and cold  
Then the shit will hit the fan  
And we'll have to junk the plan  
And stop the man

Who's got us down on the ground.  
If you ask me where, when and who's  
Gonna start things and who'll follow  
through

Then I'd say, my friend, it's all up to  
you,

'Cause we're all called to be on the  
crew.

And we're gonna make the grade,  
Life on earth will never fade,  
Don't be afraid  
It's just our time comin' 'round.  
© Stephen Leiper

# The Great Nation

By Steven Jonas, M.D.

Once upon a time there was a Great Nation. Its territory stretched across several time zones of the continent on which it lay. Assembled in part by settlement, in part by conquest, it had a large, multi-ethnic population speaking many languages. There was one national tongue.

It came to pass that it found itself in conflict with a distant adversary. The object of the conflict was a territory rich in natural resources and strategic in location. While close to the boundaries of the adversary, the territory in question lay far from the Great Nation's home base.

Although the Great Nation had a legislative assembly, in matters of foreign policy and war its chief executive paid little attention to that body. Although the Great Nation previously had had friendly relations with its foreign adversary, at this juncture in history the chief executive decided that war was the only solution to the conflict over resources that had arisen. Also, it happened that the chief executive faced many domestic problems. His popularity was declining. He thought that a touch of war, and a magnificent victory, would be just the thing to distract the people at home and bring them to rally round once more.

The Great Nation had a mighty military force. While its adversary had assembled what also seemed to be strong military power, the Great Nation belittled it. In any case, the adversary was thought to be of an inferior race, incapable of standing up in

any way to the Great Nation.

And so, on his own initiative, the chief executive dispatched a large expeditionary force across the sea. The distance was long, many thousands of miles. But the skill of the force was thought to be high, the quality of its equipment first-class, the morale of its troops equal to the task.

A single battle was fought. The belittled adversary won, in the fight using tactics written about in the military texts but not before seen in use on the field of battle. The forces of the Great Nation took many casualties. A large part of its expeditionary force's equipment was destroyed. Resupply at the great distances involved was very difficult, and local allies were not happy about the military defeat. The war was lost.

At home, a wave of protest ensued. And one day, in the capitol of the Great Nation, headed by religious figures there was a march of many, unarmed, ordinary folk on the residence of the chief executive. The protest was angry, but peaceful. Nevertheless, troops were ordered out and shots were fired.

At the end of the day, over two thousand bodies littered the snowy pavement. In the ensuing weeks there were more outbreaks of violence, but eventually the protests were put down. More repression followed. Nine years later, the Great Nation found itself embroiled in a massive foreign war which it did not want and which served it no purpose. Three years after that, the chief executive was overthrown in a revolution which changed the course of history.

The Great Nation was Czarist Russia.

The adversary was Japan. The resource rich territory over which they fought was Manchuria. The battle was that of Tsushima Strait. The bloody demonstration was that which set off the revolution of 1905. The rest is well known.

Although the analogy is neither historically nor strategically precise, it is nevertheless too close for comfort. Did anyone say the Straits of Hormuz?

Steven Jonas, M.D. works with the Department of Preventive Medicine, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

## Resources:

Ace Investigations, PO Box 1633, Pacifica, CA 94044, (415) 381-0734

American Friends Service Committee (Mid-East Program), 2160 Lake, SF, CA, 94121, (415) 752-7766

American Friends Service Committee (Youth & Militarism Project), 1407 46th Ave., Oakland, CA, 94601, 533-7554

Bay Area Direct Action Network, 2215-R Market, SF, CA, (415) 464-3020

California Students Network Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, 1083 Mission, SF, CA 94103, (415) 431-4617

CAVME (Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East), 255 9th St., SF, 94103, (415) 626-8053

Central Committee for Conscientious Objection, Berkeley (415) 474-3002

Covert Action Information Bulletin, PO Box 34583, Washington, D.C. 20043, (202) 331-9763

DAGGER (Dykes and Gay Guys Emer-

gency Response), 3543 18th St., #26, SF, CA, 94110, (415) 558-8671

Earth Action Network/Community Action Network, 1711 Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 843-4306/843-8788

Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East, 2489 Mission, Rm. 28, SF, 94110, (415) 821-6545.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), 130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (212) 633-6700

Fellowship of Reconciliation (Middle East Task Force), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626.

Food Not Bombs, 3145 Geary #12, S.F., CA 94118, (415) 330-5030.

Frank Little Club, 5134 Red Oak Dr., Concord, CA 94521, (415) 7948-3698.

Global Exchange, 2141 Mission Rm. 202, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 255-7296

Greenpeace, Fort Mason, Building E, San Francisco, CA 94123, (415) 474-6767

Haight/Ashbury Neighborhood Council, 1750 Waller, Rm. 202, SF, CA 94117, (415) 566-1767

In These Times, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

January 26th Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now, 255 9th St., SF, CA 94103, (415) 626-8053

KPFA, 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704

Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 441-2557

Middle East Peace Action, 2140 Shattuck #207, Berkeley, CA (415) 548-0542

Military Family Support Network, 4350 Heights, Pittsburg, CA 94565 (415) 432-0961

Mount Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Ln., Walnut Creek, CA 94596 (415) 933-7850  
 Mustard Seed Affinity Group, 6022 Thornhill, Oakland, CA 94611, (415) 339-2753  
 NAJDA (Women Concerned About the Middle East), PO Box 7152, Berkeley, CA 94611  
 Palestine Aid Society, PO Box 1190, Daly City, CA 94107, (415) 591-2010  
 Palestine Solitariness Committee, PO Box 27462, SF, CA 94127, (415) 861-1552  
 Palestinian American Youth, PO Box 27561, San Francisco, CA 94127  
 Parents Against the War, (415) 665-6572  
 PeaceNet (415) 923-0900  
 Peninsula Peace Center, (415) 32-PEACE, 555 Waverly, Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 326-8837  
 Physicians for Social Responsibility, 2288 Fulton #307, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 845-8395  
 Pledge of Resistance, 4228 Telegraph, Oakland, CA 94610, (415) 655-1177  
 Propaganda Review, c/o Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 441-2556  
 the Public Eye (415) 332-8369

#### Continued from page 21

ligence sources or persons close to the Liberty Lobby or other far right groups. "I think you discredit yourself when you work with these bigoted forces," says Bellant, "and the mere association tends to lend credence to these rightist groups because people figure the group can't be that bad if a respected figure on the left is associated with them."

While the concept of broad-based anti-

Resource Center for Nonviolence (Middle East Witness), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626.  
 Roots Against War, (415) 548-0425.  
 SANE/Freeze, 347 Dolores #335, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 621-7770.  
 Seeds of Peace, 2440 16th St., Box 241, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 420-1799  
 Speak Out (415) 864-4561  
 Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network, (415) 273-2427  
 Tri-City Peace Action, 4127 Bay, Box 224, Fremont, CA 94538, (415) 888-2130  
 United Bay Area Veterans Against War in the Middle East, PO Box 40755, SF, CA, (415) 255-7331  
 Veterans Peace Action Teams, PO Box 170670, SF, CA 94117, (415) 753-2130  
 Women Against Imperialism, 3543 18th, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 995-4735  
 Women For Peace, 2302 Ellsworth, Berkeley, CA (415) 849-3020  
 Women's Peace Office/Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 50 Oak, Rm. 503, SF, CA 94102, (415) 621-1371/863-7146

war coalitions remains desirable, seasoned activists continue to warn that coalitions should be very careful to examine the background of groups with which they become affiliated.

Chip Berlet is an analyst for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

## IF YOU GET ARRESTED...

Continued from Inside Front Cover

densome on the jail system, both financially and in terms of personnel. Because the option of citing out tends to weaken group solidarity and make second-time offenders more visible, the decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Furthermore, protesters who cite out may be assigned individual or small group court dates. In any case, their arraignments will be separate from those who remain in jail.

**Arraignment:** This is an appearance before the judge in which the charges will be read to you, and you will be asked to enter a plea to them. You will not be alone in the courtroom. Other protesters (or maybe all of them) will be there with you, and lawyers for the action will be present. You are entitled to legal coun-

sel before you plead. If you are confused about the charges, or how you want to plead, request that the judge grant you time to consult with one of the lawyers. This can usually be arranged on the spot. Arraignments are conducted in a similar way in state and federal courts. If you as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of expressing your views through non-cooperation with court procedures (e.g., mule-ness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority.) These measures should be carefully considered because they may result in contempt of court charges.

If you are being held in custody on state charges, you have a right to be arraigned within 48 hours of your arrest, not including weekends or holidays.

## Calendar

Continued from page 2

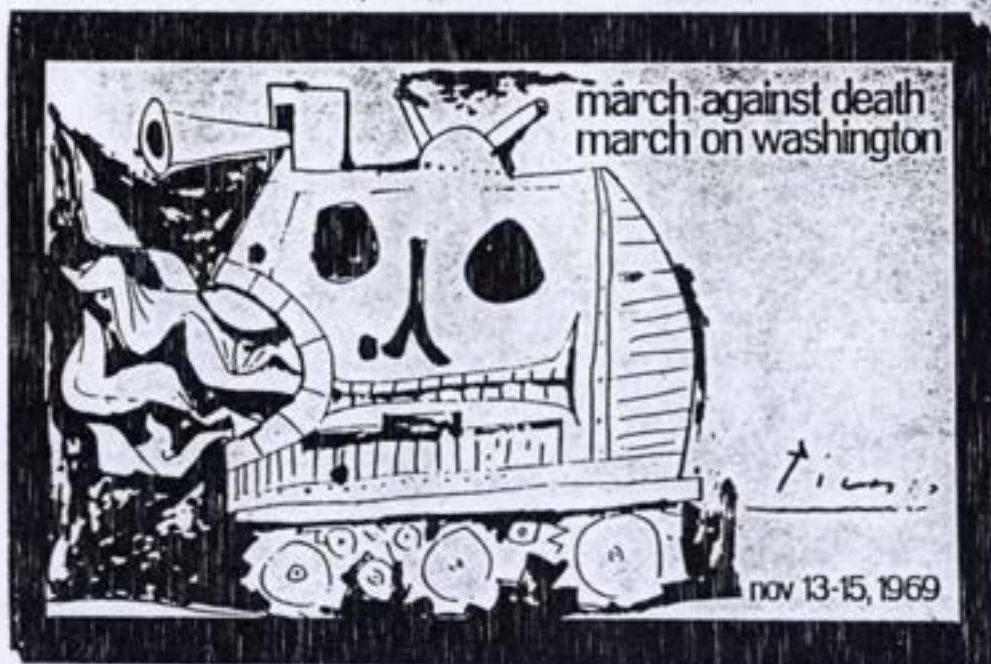
Wednesdays, 5:30 to 6:30 PM, leaflet at Rockridge & other East Bay BART stations (Mustardseed Affinity Group, (415) 339-2753)

Wednesdays, 5:30 to 7:30 PM, leaflet at Walnut Creek and Concord BART stations (Mount Diablo Peace Center, (415) 933-7850)

Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM, vigil at 14th and Broadway, Oakland, near 12th St. BART (Parents Against the War, (415) 658-6572)

Fridays, 5:30 to 7:30 PM, vigil at Concord Army Recruiting Station, 1812 Galindo at Concord Blvd., Concord (Mount Diablo Peace Center, (415) 933-7850.)

Saturdays, 5:30 to 6:30 PM, vigil at Petaluma Blvd. & Washington St., Petaluma (Petaluma Peace Group (707) 762-1325.)



## *the* **Public Eye**

P.O. Box 1469, Sausalito, CA 94966

Watching  
the people  
that are  
watching you . . .

# *the* **Public Eye**

*Watching the people that are watching you. . .*

Vol. V Issue 1.2

January 26, 1991

Three Dollars

**SPECIAL ANTI-WAR EDITION**

## **HUGE WORLDWIDE ANTI-WAR PROTESTS**

**NEWS & ANALYSIS INSIDE**

- U.S. Demonstrations
  - City by City Accounts
- Worldwide Demonstrations
  - Country by Country Accounts
- What to Do if You Are Arrested
- How to Fight Harrassment & Infiltration  
of Your Organization
- Analysis of the War
  - Noam Chomsky
  - Barbara Ehrenreich

the Public Eye is a civil liberties news publication sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee & published by Investigative News Features

## IF YOU GET ARRESTED...

From Pledge of Resistance 655-1177

### Preparation for possible arrest:

Center yourself on the meaning of your action.

Attend a nonviolent training session with your affinity group if you have not previously done so.

Prepare yourself for the experience of jail by talking with those who have experienced civil disobedience and arrest.

Carry NO weapons or contraband into the action. Prescriptions should be in original containers only. Carry prescription orders with you as identification and to facilitate having prescription drugs brought into jail.

Make sure support people have necessary information about you (name, who to contact, your birthdate, special needs you have for getting things into jail and jail account, etc.).

Keep 20 cents for a phone call in jail. **The Warning:** Police order you to leave. This is the last opportunity to opt out. In a situation of mass arrests, it is sometimes difficult to get away at this point.

**The arrest:** There are several options (up to the individual, but affinity groups should know who among them is doing what: a) walking with the officer in an effort to communicate with him/her; b) going "limp" or non-cooperating in another nonviolent manner.

In either case, you may be handcuffed. Any active resistance or interference with someone else's arrest can lead to additional charges and personal injury.

Police are not required to read you the Miranda Rights unless they are questioning you. You have the right to remain silent. Men and women may be separated

at the time of arrest into separate buses. Write down the details of your arrest as soon as possible. Record the time and place of the arrest for possible trial use later, as well as the name and badge numbers of the arresting officer. You are a witness; what you remember may be valuable to someone in court later.

You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer at any time before you say anything or agree to anything. Don't be afraid to ask for someone on the legal team if you are confused or need clarification on the process.

**Booking:** You will probably go through a booking procedure, either at the arrest site or at the jail. You may then be asked to show picture ID, address, Social Security number, etc. How much information you give up is up to you. Some activists carry no identification and/or refuse to answer objectionable questions. Refusal to supply the requested information slows the whole process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole. At booking you will be given a preliminary set of charges which are not final, but may be changed at the time of arraignment.

Opportunity to "cite" out: Once you are in jail waiting for arraignment, authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court at the appointed time for arraignment. This is called being released on O.R. (own recognizance.) Failure to appear results in a bench warrant being issued on you.

Some jail systems prefer to release

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# *the* Public Eye

*Watching the people that are watching you...*

Vol. V Issue 1.2

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## SPECIAL ANTI-WAR EDITION

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## CALENDAR

Jan. 20, NOON Planning meeting for Jan. 26 March & Rally, 255 Ninth St. (above Folsom) (CAVME) 626-8053

Jan. 20, 2:30 PM Meeting of the Bay Area Direct Action Network, Ashkenaz, 1317 San Pablo (at Gilman), Berkeley (415) 464-3020

Jan. 21, 10 AM March to Honor Dr. Martin Luther King and his stand for peace. Assemble at Third and Carroll, SF, march to a rally at noon at Civic Center (Civic Auditorium)

Jan. 23, 12 NOON Mass die-in rally at UC Berkeley (Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf) Sproul Plaza, Telegraph & Bancroft, Berkeley

Jan. 23, 7:30 PM Sign painting party for Jan. 26 March at the East Bay Green Party office, 3122 Shattuck, Berkeley (near Ashby BART) (415) 530-4935

Jan. 24, 7:00 PM Torch-Light March at UC Berkeley (Students Organizing for Resistance and Democratic Empowerment (SORDE), Sproul Plaza, Telegraph & Bancroft, Berkeley (415) 548-9252

Jan. 25, SUNDOWN Anti-War Beach Bonfire Party at Baker Beach in SF w/live music (Direct Action Network), picnic area near Lincoln Blvd. & Bowley Road, bus line 29 464-3020

Jan. 25, 6 PM Meet the Jan. 26 speakers at fund-raising reception at 1015 Folsom Nightclub, San Francisco (Jan. 26 Mobilization) 1015 Folsom (between 6th and 7th) \$10 to \$20 donation, ages 21 and over. (415) 626-8053

Jan. 26, 10 AM Nationwide March and Rally, march from Justin Herman Plaza to rally at Civic Center. (C.A.V.M.E.) Gather at Embarcadero & Market, Embarcadero BART (415) 626-8053

Jan. 27, 10 AM Western States Student Anti-war Meeting (Organize to build a broad student movement to bring the troops home now) Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley (415) 626-8053/421-4617

Jan. 27, 8 PM Benefit for the Emergency Committee with Last Laugh Theatre and other acts (\$5 to \$10) Ashkenaz, 1317 San Pablo (at Gilman), Berkeley (415) 525-5054

Jan. 28, NOON TO 3:30 PM Teach-in at Diablo Valley College (Mount Diablo Peace Center, Frank Little Club), Student Forum at Diablo Valley College, (415) 933-7850/798-36948

Jan. 28, 4 PM ACT UP on the Day of Disaster (Bush's State of the Union Address) Decentralized autonomous actions, plus rally at SF City Hall. (Plus pre-action meeting/party Jan. 27, 6 PM Caesar's Latin Palace, 3140 Mission above Army)

Jan. 29, 7 PM Showing of anti-war videos from across the country: "War, Oil and Power" and "Bring the Troops Home" (New American Makers) Opera Plaza Theatre, 601 Van Ness Ave., SF (415) 558-0320

Jan. 31, 8 PM "Is Truth the First Casualty of the War?" a forum on media coverage of the war in the Gulf and the dissent back home. Jeff Cohen (FAIR), Tome De Vries (KRON), Judy Coburn (UC Berkeley), Bill Wallace (SF Chronicle) New College, 777 Valencia (near 18th), SF. Sponsored by Media Alliance 441-2557, \$5.

Feb. 2, 7:30 PM The Causes and Consequences of the Gulf War talk by Sam March (Chairman of Workers World

Continued on Inside Back Cover

## Common Sense Security For Political Organizers By Sheila O'Donnell

As the movements for social change become more sophisticated, the techniques of the state, corporations and the right wing have also become more sophisticated. Historically this has always been the case; we will continue and will be the eventual victors. Caution in the face of the concerted effort to stop us, however, is both prudent and necessary.

### Here are some useful suggestions:

#### Office

Never leave one copy of a document or list behind; take a minute to duplicate an irreplaceable document and keep the duplicate in a safe place.

Back up and store important computer disks off-site. Sensitive data and membership list should be kept under lock and key.

Keep your mailing lists, donor lists and personal phone books away from light-fingered people. Always maintain a duplicate.

Know your printer if you are about to publish and know your mailing house if you contract for distribution.

Know anyone you are trusting to work on any part of a project that is sensitive.

Don't hire a stranger as a messenger.

Sweeps for electronic surveillance are only effective for the time they are being done, and are only effective as they are being done if you are sure of the person(s)

doing the sweep.

Brief your membership on known or suspected surveillance.

Assess your undertaking from a security point of view; understand your vulnerabilities; assess your allies and your adversaries as objectively as possible; do not underestimate the opposition. Do not take chances. Plan for the worst, hope for the best.

Recognize your organizational and personal strengths and weaknesses.

Discuss incidents with cohorts, family and membership. Call the press if you have hard information about surveillance or harassment. Discussion makes the dirty work of the intelligence agencies and private spies overt.

#### General

If you wish to have a private conversation, leave your home and your office and go outside and take a walk or go somewhere public and notice who is near you.

Never say anything you don't want to hear repeated when there is any possibility of being recorded.

Don't use code on the phone. If you are being tapped and the transcript is used against you in court, the coded conversation can be alleged to be anything.

Don't say anything on the phone you don't want to hear in open court.

Don't gossip on the phone. Smut is valuable to anyone listening; it makes everyone vulnerable.

If you are being followed, get the license tag number and description of the car and descriptions of people in the car. Photograph the person(s) following you or have a friend do so.

If you are followed or feel vulnerable, call a friend; don't "tough it out" alone. They are trying to frighten you. It is frightening to have someone threatening your freedom.

Debrief yourself after each incident. Write details down: time, date, occasion, incident, characteristics of the person(s), impressions, anything odd about the situation.

Keep a "weirdo" file and keep notes from unsettling situations and see if a pattern emerges.

Write for your government files under the FOIA and pursue the agencies until they give you all the documents filed under your name.

Report thefts of materials from your office or home to the police; these are criminal acts.

Report incidents to the Movement Support Network in New York at the Center for Constitutional Rights.

#### **Visits from the FBI**

Don't talk to the FBI (or any government investigator) without your attorney present. Information gleaned during the visit can be used against you and your co-workers.

Get the names and addresses of the agents and tell them you will have your attorney get in touch with them. They rarely set up an interview under those circumstances.

Call the National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union or other sympathetic legal group if you need assistance locating a reliable local attorney.

Don't invite agents into your home. Speak with the agents outside. Once inside they glean information about your

perspective and life style.

Don't let agents threaten you into talking. If the FBI intends to impanel a grand jury, a private talk with you will not change the strategy of the FBI.

Lying to the FBI is a criminal act. The best way to avoid criminal charges is to say nothing.

Any information you give the FBI can and will be used against you. Don't try to outwit the FBI. Your arrogance could get you or others in serious trouble.

FBI agents sometimes try to trick you into giving information "to help a friend." Don't believe them.

Don't let them intimidate you. So what if they know where you live or work and what you do? This is still a democracy and we still have constitutional rights. They intend to frighten you; don't let them. They can only "neutralize" you if you let them.

Remember: The United States prides itself on being a democracy; we have Constitutional rights. Dissatisfaction with the status quo and attempting to mobilize for change is protected; surveillance and harassment are violations. Take your rights seriously and fight for them. Speak out.

Orig. circulated: 1984 Revised: 1/89

Sheila O'Donnell is a paralegal investigator with more than a decade's experience on civil liberties, civil rights, and government intelligence abuse cases.

Ms. O'Donnell is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and co-founder of the Public Eye Magazine. She is currently a private investigator on the staff of Ace Investigations in Pacifica, California.

## **National Round-Up of Anti-war Protests**

### **MASSIVE RALLIES COAST TO COAST**

By COALITION TO STOP U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

36 East 12th Street, 6th Floor, New York, NY 10003 Phone (212) 254-2295 Fax (212) 979-1583

### **100,000 MARCH IN WASHINGTON, DC; 200,000 IN SAN FRANCISCO**

Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets across the country Jan. 19 to demand that President Bush stop his murderous war. Capitol Police estimated 75,000 marched in Washington; march organizers counted 100,000.

The San Francisco outpouring was the largest anti-war march since 1971, the height of opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam. The San Francisco Examiner quoted the organizers' estimate of between 150,000 and 200,000 protesters.

Tens of thousands more marched in Seattle, Houston, Des Moines, Shreveport, Phoenix and Honolulu. Anti-war throngs also filled the streets of London, Paris and Berlin. Gigantic crowds came out in the major cities of North Africa, topped by 300,000 in Algiers. In Australia, the five major cities all saw large rallies, with a combined total of more than 100,000.

The main message of the demonstrations in the U.S., organized by the National Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, was a condemnation of the bombing of Iraq and a call to bring the troops home. "The \$2 billion a day being used in U.S. colonial war against the Arab people should be used for jobs, housing, education and AIDS research," declared Coalition leader Teresa Gutierrez.

Well over 400 buses came to Washington, DC, including 175 from the New York metropolitan area. Tens of thousands of other people came by trains, cars and vans. The demonstration also had a strong turnout from the African-American community in Washington, DC. The demonstrators overflowed Lafayette Park and spilled into the streets surrounding the White House.

The march from Lafayette Park to the mall across from the Capitol was led by the African American Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention. There was a large Latino delegation, plus contingents of Koreans, Palestinians, and the American Indian Movement. Labor representation included Local 1199 of the Health and Hospital Workers, AFGE, AFSCME, and strikers from Greyhound and the Daily News. There was a lesbian and gay delegation, and a student contingent.

"The massive turnout and the multi-racial and multi-national composition of the crowd reflects the diversity of the new anti-war movement," said Sahu Barron, a coordinator of the National Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. "The Coalition believes that today's demonstrations, from Washington, DC, to San Francisco, show that the media's public

opinion polls have been absolutely false."

Barron added that "we know the majority of people in this country are opposed to the war against Iraq. It is a war for the oil companies and big banks, an attempt by the U.S. government to gain total control over the resources of the Middle East. Today is just the beginning of a movement that will become an explosive force."

## WORLD-WIDE ROUND-UP OF ANTI-WAR ACTIONS

Jan 22, 1991

The first demonstrations against the Gulf war began minutes after it was confirmed that US warplanes had bombed Baghdad. In the USA, spontaneous protests began outside the White House, Washington DC, and the United Nations building, New York City, as well as in several other cities.

Lafayette Park (also known as Peace Park) in Washington has had a continuous peace presence since the night of 16 January. On Saturday 19 January between 30,000 and 100,000 attended a demonstration which had been — prior to the outbreak of war — a major bone of contention between rival groups within the peace movement. In Boston, 200 supporters of the war attacked anti-war demonstrators, while in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Birmingham, Alabama there were mass arrests. In San Francisco, the Bay Bridge has been blocked twice by protesters.

The scale of protest in GERMANY has been massive, with opinion polls suggesting that 70-80 per cent of the population oppose the war. All major German universities, with the exception of Munich, are either occupied or on strike. Students have rallied to the slogan "It's war time. Boycott your usual routine", and have set up blockades on streets, roads, and at airports to draw attention to the war. In Berlin, demonstrators rolled barrels of paint from the Iraqi diplomatic mission to US army headquarters, leaving a blood-red trail between the two buildings.

Media coverage in Germany has been very supportive. In the state of Lower Saxony, the prime minister, a Social Democrat, called for mass public participation in anti-war demonstrations. Die Grnen have called for resistance to military service as a response to the outbreak of war, and groups throughout the country have offered sanctuary, both to soldiers deserting from belligerent armies and to Arab residents of Germany who are being victimised by the police and others.

In PARIS, a demonstration was announced for the evening of the 17th but was banned by the city's chief of police. After urgent interventions by British CND and the Finnish peace movement, the ban was rescinded, and despite the lack of notice 100,000 turned out. The CGT trade union federation asked workers to start assemblies, debates, consultations, and strikes in response to the outbreak of war. Demonstrations have continued in all major French cities.

In BELGIUM, Forum voor Vrede-

saktie (the renamed Flemish WRI section) held a daily vigil, demanding "active diplomacy", at the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Brussels from 10-16 January. Since then, the Coalition to Prevent War in the Middle East has held vigils at the US and Iraqi Embassy and a 30,000-strong demonstration on Sunday, 20 January.

IRISH peace activists have picketed Shannon Airport since December, demanding an end to landing rights for Gulf-based US military flights (there have been 88 refuelling stops since August). On 17 January 1200 people attended an all-day rally in Dublin, and additional rallies have been held outside the US and British embassies, as well as the foreign ministry. Irish CND is pressing the Irish government to go to the International Court in the Hague to seek an Advisory Opinion on UN Resolution 678. They argue that this violates Articles 41 and 42 of the UN charter. Meanwhile, the Irish government refuses to impose the press censorship rules for Gulf coverage adopted by the USA, the UK, and France.

In BELFAST, Santa Claus took a letter to the US consulate the day the bombing began: "in December it's peace and goodwill, in January it's obliterate them". A daily vigil is being held at City Hall and Mairead Maguire (ne Corrigan), Nobel Peace Prizewinner, has begun a 40-day fast for peace.

In CATALONIA, people have been placing white sheets with black ribbons in their windows as a protest against the war. Demonstrations throughout the state of Spain the previous weekend had at-

tracted close to two million.

NORWAY has one ship in the Gulf, and has sent missiles "on loan" to Turkey. Demonstrations have been low-key, due to the death of the king on 17 January, but there have been small demonstrations in front of parliament and the US embassy.

An anti-war organisation in SWITZERLAND has declared Geneva to be a protection zone for military deserters. There were demonstrations in the Square of Nations on the Thursday and Saturday.

In AUSTRALIA, news of the war brought people out on to the streets in Sydney and Melbourne, blocking traffic; on Saturday there were large demonstrations in all major cities, with 60,000 in Sydney and 15,000 in Adelaide. Constant vigils have been maintained in Sydney and Melbourne. On 21 January demonstrators converged on Canberra for the reconvening of parliament. (Australia has two frigates and a supply ship in the Gulf.)

A national day of women's protest was held on the 18th in CANADA. A fast for peace has been started in Montreal. Impromptu rallies were held in small and large cities across the country, while in other centres organising efforts for 26 January, the previously-designated international day of action, have continued.

Groups in INDIA have held actions calling for an immediate ceasefire. There have been clashes between groups of protesters in BANGLADESH, while in PAKISTAN, pro-Iraqi demonstrations have taken on an anti-government tone. The Iraqi press attache in Islamabad has been declared persona non grata after being suspected of organising pro-Saddam dem-

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## Excerpts from a National Teach-In

sponsored by the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East on WBAI and Pacifica Radio, 1/13/91

### Noam Chomsky . . .

“Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait evoked a strong response from the industrial powers, in fact, two quite distinct responses. One was economic sanctions of unprecedented severity; the second was the threat of war [now no longer just a threat — ed.] The first had wide backing; the second is pretty much limited to the U.S. and Britain. As the leader of the two-member coalition, the U.S. moved quickly to ensure that sanctions could not be effective and to bar any diplomatic initiative. Two questions arise at once: Why has the response to Iraq’s aggression been so firm and harsh? And why did the U.S. and Britain insist on force rather than sanctions and diplomacy, virtually alone apart from the family dictatorships that were put in place to rule the Gulf oil-producing states?

Now, there is a standard answer to that question: “Iraq’s aggression and annexation are unique crimes, so they merit an unprecedented reaction.” President Bush has declared that America stands where it always has, against aggression, against those who would use force to replace the rule of law, and Secretary of State Baker has orated about the era full of promise that awaits us if only we stop the “new Hitler” before he conquers the world.

Many commentators have praised “the wondrous sea-change at the United Nations, which is functioning as it was designed to do for virtually the first time in

its history, and thus offering a bold new pattern of peacekeeping for the post-Cold War world” (New York Times). The standard explanation for that is that with the U.S. victory in the Cold War, Soviet obstructionism and the shrill anti-Western rhetoric of the Third World no longer render the U.N. ineffective.

None of these claims can withstand even a moment’s scrutiny. Saddam Hussein is a murderous gangster, exactly as he was before August 2 when he was an amiable friend and a favored trading partner. His invasion of Kuwait is another crime comparable to others, not as terrible as some, for example, the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor which reached near-genocidal proportions — thanks to diplomatic support from the two righteous avengers of the Gulf.

The truth was revealed by former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who describes his success in implementing State Department directives to render the U.N., as he put it, “utterly ineffective in whatever measures it took in response to Indonesia’s aggression,” because the U.S. wished things to turn out as they did and worked to bring this about. It was stated with equal frankness by the Australian foreign minister who explained his country’s acquiescence in the violent annexation of East Timor: “The world is a pretty unfair place littered with examples of acquisition by force.”

Saddam Hussein’s aggression, in contrast, called forth the Australian prime minister’s ringing declaration that “big countries cannot invade small neighbors

and get away with it. If Libya were to join the “Butcher of Baghdad” in exploiting Kuwait’s oil riches, we would be hearing the call to “nuke ‘em.” When Australia joined the “Butcher of Jakarta” in exploiting Timorese oil a few weeks ago, there may have been a small item on the business pages.

The United Nations has been unable to respond to aggression, annexation and other violations of international law, because it’s been blocked by the great powers, primarily the U.S. During the past two decades, the U.S. is far in the lead in Security Council vetoes, with Britain second, France a distant third, and the Soviet Union fourth. The record in the General Assembly is similar on questions of aggression, annexation, disarmament and others....

The U.N. was able to respond to Iraq’s aggression because for once the U.S. allowed it to. That is the “wondrous sea-change” at the U.N. The unprecedented severity of the U.N. sanctions was the result of intense U.S. pressure and threats accompanied by much cynical posturing. As a matter of logic, principles cannot be selectively upheld, and as a matter of fact, the U.S. is one of the major violators of the principles now grandly proclaimed. We therefore conclude at once without ambiguity or equivocation that the United States does not uphold those principles. The response to Saddam Hussein’s aggression was unprecedented because he stepped on the wrong toes....

Sanctions would have [had] an unusually good chance of working for one thing because of their unprecedented

severity and for another because they happened to be supported by the usual sanctions-busters, the U.S. and England prominently among them. Nevertheless, the U.S. moved at once to foreclose this option by dispatching a huge expeditionary force to the Gulf.... The purpose and the effect of the quick military build-up was to ward off the danger that sanctions might force Iraq out of Kuwait....

There are two crucial regional issues, apart from Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The first is the Arab-Israeli conflict and the second is the matter of weapons of mass destruction. On both issues, the U.S. has consistently been opposed to the diplomatic track, long before the Iraqi invasion. On the Arab-Israeli conflict, there has been a broad international consensus for years on a political settlement. The U.S. and Israel have opposed it and they have been isolated in this rejectionism. The latest U.N. vote was 151 to 3 (the U.S., Israel and Dominica).

...The U.S. has consistently opposed an international conference on the Middle East. The excuse now offered is that we cannot reward aggression, but that can’t possibly be the reason since, for one thing, the U.S. does commonly reward aggression, and for another, it opposed this international conference long before Iraq invaded.

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**Barbara Ehrenreich**, writer, author of *The Worst Years of Our Lives*, documenting the Reagan years:

“If you look over the events since August 2nd, the first impression that you get

is of one man's single-minded determination to get us into a shooting war, and that one man is George Bush.

There was, for example, the cynical search for a rationale for war that would appeal to the American public. First, they tried "oil," which got generalized into "our way of life," meaning, I suppose, our habit of consuming about a quarter of all the oil used in the entire world every year, although we account for only five percent of the world's population. And of course this habit was beautifully exemplified by George Bush at Kennebunkport as he thought about the crisis in early August and drove around in a speedboat which gets one mile to the gallon.

But it's hard to believe in oil as a rationale for war even if it were a morally defensible one — which it isn't — because whatever else he's done, Saddam Hussein didn't threaten the world's oil supply, didn't raise the world's oil prices. In fact, if this country were really concerned about oil prices, we would have invaded Amoco and bombed Exxon, because they are the ones who have raised prices and caused hardship all over the world.

Then they tried "democracy," but that didn't work at all. Kuwait was a feudal monarchy, Saudi Arabia is the land of gender apartheid where by law women can't even go out of their homes without a male relative, can't drive cars, can't go shopping. If you happen to believe that women's rights are also human rights and that democracy involves two sexes, then we are not defending democracy.

Then they tried "jobs." This was the real low point in the search for a rationale. Everyone knows that the war buildup is

sinking our economy, already ravaged by the speculative frenzy and rich people's orgy of the Eighties and that the only jobs that the Gulf venture is likely to generate in this country are for grave-diggers.

Then they tried the rationale of "international law," which sounds pretty good, of course, until you realize that only a year ago it was George Bush who was invading a small country to his south, Panama. And it was the United States that was condemned by the United Nations for a "flagrant violation of international law...." The number of civilian deaths resulting from the U.S. invasion of Panama (which we don't know the exact number), but if we just look at the order of magnitude, if we look at the estimates, then we see that the number of deaths is in the same order of magnitude as the number of deaths — civilian and otherwise — resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait....

They tried other rationales; the potential Iraqi nuclear threat was pretty popular for a few days last month, but now the rationale seems to have settled down to the oldest one in history: We have to go to war because we're there and we're armed and we're ready to fight....

It wasn't that difficult for most of these U.N. countries to give George Bush the go-ahead because their young men and women will not be dying in the Gulf. And it was easy enough for the U.S. Congress and Senate also to vote for war. Our so-called volunteer army — which has in fact been drafted by poverty, joblessness and racism — does not contain the children of lawyers and

business leaders and high-ranking public officials. Out of 535 congresspersons and senators only two have children in the armed services in the Persian Gulf....

One last eerie fact: The Pentagon has what it has called its "nightmare scenario" for the Gulf. Now you might think that would mean a long, bloody war, right? A U.S. defeat, right? But no, do you know what the "nightmare scenario" was, until just a few days ago, anyway? It was an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The nightmare was that there would be no war!...

I think we have to face another explanation, maybe the scariest of all, that our leaders are addicted to war, that militarism has become our way of life.... Think back a year ago to our leaders' response to the end of the Cold War. Was there jubilation in Washington? Was there dancing on the White House lawn? No! If you will recall, there was a mood of sullenness, suspicion and withdrawal. In fact, then there was an immediate search for new enemies to replace the old ones, a search that led first to drugs (remember that?) and then to Manuel Noriega, and now to Saddam Hussein.

Second, we have what some researchers call an economic addiction to war. Think about it. We spend about 30 percent of the federal budget on the military, which means there is never any money for education or health care or housing or any kind of safety net for the poor or the out of work. No, we expect the military to absorb the poor — the young and able-bodied poor, that is — and we expect the military to generate little bits of employment here and there

manufacturing weapons, manufacturing the means of destruction.

Why do congressmen lobby so ferociously for the B-1 bomber or for the F-14 to be made in their districts? Because the alternative is unemployment for tens of thousands of Americans, and unemployment in Republican America means poverty, hunger, even homelessness. Why don't we have social programs that would protect the economically vulnerable, such as workers in the weapons industry?... Why isn't there a safety net for them? Because the money that we might use for people like them has already been spent on preparations for war.... This is a vicious cycle, a dependency and addiction which we cannot seem to break even as we slide as a nation into a major recession or worse....

Thirdly...what's our solution to poverty? Three words: Build More Prisons. Already the U.S. leads the world in the percentage of its citizens incarcerated, surpassing the Soviet Union and just beating out South Africa. Because the use of force, of guns and iron bars has become our reflexive solution whatever the problem at home or abroad. Or drugs? Yes, there's a problem, especially among very poor young people who are experiencing despair and alienation. But what is our solution, a major public health campaign, a mobilization against the roots of that despair which are poverty and racism and economic decline? No. We had a war on drugs, more guns, more force, more racism and brutal repression....

Why are we in Saudi Arabia? I don't think the precipitating event occurred on August 2 when Iraq invaded Kuwait. It

had already occurred two months earlier, in June, when various Democratic congressmen began to call for drastic cuts in the military budget. We should have known it right then. We should have known that that moment was the signal for war, that an enemy would be created if an enemy couldn't be found....

This is a war to justify militarism. This is a war for the sake of war.

We have to stop this war. George Bush drew his line in the sand. We have to draw our line in the sand. And we have to say to George Bush, if you cross *this* line...then you will face something far more powerful than Saddam Hussein, and that is an outraged American public....

We need an anti-war movement, because war is human sacrifice and human sacrifice must rank with slavery as an archaic evil that humankind must finally put aside in loathing and disgust. But we need more than an anti-war movement. We need a movement that is positively and affirmatively for peace, a movement that strives to create a society and a world based not on violence and brutality but on peace and common concern and mutual assistance. We need a movement that upholds the preciousness, the miracle and beauty of each and every human life.

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## STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE ON THE BEGINNING OF WARFARE IN THE PERSIAN GULF

The outbreak of war in the Gulf represents

a massive failure of governments, political leaders and international institutions. Aggression, ultimatums, deadlines, demands for oil, and inflexibility became more significant than human lives and the welfare of the human family. The overwhelming, US-led militarization of international efforts to secure Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait took on a predictable logic of its own and has propelled the world community inexorably into actions that bear no relationship to original goals.

The American Friends Service Committee believes deeply that war could have been averted, and we believe now that it must be stopped now, before more blood is shed. It must be ended before the imperatives of warfare become fully entrenched.

'Since August 2 our voice has been one among many in this country and around the world that have called for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and for international economic and diplomatic efforts to secure that end. Ours has been one of the growing number of voices calling for restraint as President Bush has led this country on a relentless course toward the war that now flames in the Middle East and threatens to engulf ever more peoples and nations.

In this dire circumstance, we find hope in the voices of people in this country and around the world that demand that the killing stop. The American Friends Service Committee is committed to educate, to organize and to advocate policies toward this end.

'Our hope also is with those young people who, on grounds of conscience,

will not participate in this war. This Quaker organization is committed to informing them of their rights and to supporting their resistance.

As we seek an early end to the fighting, we also stand ready to provide humanitarian assistance to the war's civilian victims, wherever we can.

As we focus on the immediate effects of war, we are dismayed once again at the devastating impact of warfare on other issues that remain as unmet challenges to our own society and government. Political imagination is diverted from addressing the disgraceful fact of homelessness in our communities; from the growing economic disparities between rich and poor, Black and white, men and women; from the effects of an ever-worsening economy on the most vulnerable in our society. Believing that the peaceful world we yearn for must be based on foundations of justice, we are committed to sustain and strengthen our efforts on these and other pressing issues of social, racial and economic justice for our own society.

Our prayers are with all who are affected by this conflict: the people of Iraq, of Kuwait, of Israel, of Saudi Arabia, of Syria, of Jordan, the Palestinians and others in the region who will suffer most directly. Our prayers are with the men and women in the armies—of our own nation and of the other nations involved and with their parents and loved ones. For all of their sakes, we urge that the call for sanity in our political leadership and for an end to the killing be heeded.

We call on all people of good will and

## Report All Incidents to the— Movement Support Network

The Movement Support Network (MSN) is a project of the Center for Constitutional Rights with cooperation from the National Lawyers Guild. MSN was founded in 1984 to respond to increasing government surveillance and harassment of people involved in Central America solidarity work and people active in the sanctuary movement. Since then the network has expanded to serve as a monitoring mechanism to collect information about surveillance and harassment of persons involved in a wide range of peace and social justice issues.

By collecting and disseminating information on specific incidents, MSN not only organizes opposition to such abuses, but also raises public awareness of important civil liberties issues, and helps activists place isolated incidents in a national context.

For more information or to report an incident, contact MSN, 666 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10012.

The MSN HOTLINE # is (212) 614-6422.

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from all religious traditions to choose life in this time of violence, and to demand of political leaders the courage to reverse their policies of death.

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## HOW DID THE FBI COINTELPRO OPERATIONS WORK?

COINTELPRO was the FBI code acronym for its COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

By Brian Glick

Excerpted by permission from "War at Home" A South End Press Pamphlet/Booklet - Available from the Movement Support Network

When congressional investigations, political trials, and other traditional legal modes of repression failed to counter the growing movements, and even helped to fuel them, the FBI and police moved outside the law. They resorted to the secret and systematic use of fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally protected political activity. Their methods ranged far beyond surveillance, amounting to a homefront version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

FBI Headquarters secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was strongly encouraged. Other recommended collaborators included friendly news media, business and foundation executives, and university, church, and trade union officials, as well as such "patriotic" organizations as the American Legion.

Final authority rested with FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Top FBI officials pressed local field offices to step up their activity and demanded regular progress reports. Agents were directed to maintain full secrecy "such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques." A total of 2,370 officially approved COINTELPRO actions were admitted to the Senate Intelligence Committee, and thousands more have since been uncovered.

Four main methods have been revealed:

1. Infiltration: Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main purpose was to discredit and disrupt. Their very presence served to undermine trust and scare off potential supporters. The FBI and police exploited this fear to smear genuine activists as agents.

2. Psychological Warfare From the Outside: The FBI and police used myriad other "dirty tricks" to undermine progressive movements. They planted false media stories and published bogus leaflets and other publications in the name of targeted groups. They forged correspondence, sent anonymous letters, and made anonymous telephone calls. They spread misinformation about meetings and events, set up pseudo movement groups run by government agents, and manipulated or strong-armed parents, employers, landlords, school officials and others to cause trouble for activists.

3. Harassment Through the Legal System: The FBI and police abused the legal system to harass dissidents and make them appear to be criminals. Officers of the law gave perjured testimony and presented fabricated evidence as a pretext for false arrests and wrongful imprisonment. They discriminatorily enforced tax laws and other government regulations and used conspicuous surveillance, "investigative" interviews, and grand jury subpoenas in an effort to intimidate activists and silence their supporters.

4. Extralegal Force and Violence: The FBI and police threatened, instigated, and themselves conducted break-ins, vandalism, assaults, and beatings. The object was to frighten dissidents and disrupt their movements. In the case of radical Black and Puerto Rican activists (and later Native Americans), these attacks—including political assassinations—were so extensive, vicious, and calculated that they can accurately be termed a form of official "terrorism." [copyright 1989, Brian Glick]

## WITNESS FOR PEACE STATEMENT ON THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS

January 4, 1991

The guiding principles of Witness for Peace are: a prayerful search for peace with justice; grounded in religious faith and the belief that we ourselves cannot be free as long as anyone remains oppressed; political independence; and a commitment to changing our

government's unjust policies through eyewitness experience and creative non-violence.

Given these commitments, we make the following statement about the crisis in the Persian Gulf:

1. We deplore Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and the human rights violations its forces have committed there. We call upon Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and to find a peaceful solution to its grievances.

2. We oppose a military response to this crisis and we support a much stronger effort at negotiation and diplomacy, along with a range of creative, non-violent social and economic measures designed to impact the government and not the people of Iraq.

3. As an organization deeply involved in Central America, we recognize how often our government has intervened unjustly in the affairs of smaller states. We call upon our government to see this situation as an opportunity to renounce its own policies of unjust intervention around the world and to commit itself to the peaceful resolution of such crises.

4. We also call upon our government to place human rights, social justice and environmental balance in the fore of all foreign policy decisions, specifically to:

A. Reinstate policies of energy conservation and development of alternative, safe energy resources to reduce U.S. dependence on environmentally destructive and politically perilous fossil fuels.

B. In cooperation with the United Nations and World Court make peaceful resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East a high priority.

C. End the world-wide arms race and the trade which feeds upon it, that oppresses smaller nations and poor peoples and escalates conflicts such as that in the Persian Gulf.

Continued from page 7

onstrations. (Pakistan has troops in the southwest and northeast of Saudi Arabia, under Saudi command.)

There have been mass meetings in TURKEY, now the base for the US-led alliance's "second front" against Iraq. A young woman, arrested for putting up a poster reading "No to War!" at her school, spoke to a meeting in Istanbul, following her release from prison where she spent two months on remand. She faced a ten-year sentence for her "offence".

In the UK, 5-6000 marched down Whitehall to hold a "people's assembly" against the Gulf war in Parliament Square on the night the UN deadline expired. Two days later, a similar number returned to protest against the start of hostilities, but were forced to turn back. On the 19th, demonstrations were held in London, Oxford, Brighton, Leeds, York, and Glasgow, but turnout was much lighter than on the previous Saturday, when about 50,000 had demonstrated in London and 10-12,000 in Glasgow.

From Peace News 2338. Information gathered from PNB (World Peace Council, Helsinki), IPCC (Vredeshuis, Brussels), and GreenNet.

For updates, see Mideast.action conference on Peacenet (415) 923-0900.

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## When The Story Ever Is Told

By SteppenLeap

When the story ever is told  
How Old Glory got cut up and  
sold  
For a profit in crude oil and gold  
While the people went hungry  
and cold  
Then the shit will hit the fan  
And we'll have to junk the plan  
And stop the man  
Who's got us down on the ground.  
If you ask me where, when and  
who's  
Gonna start things and who'll fol-  
low through  
Then I'd say, my friend, it's all up  
to you,  
'Cause we're all called to be on  
the crew.  
And we're gonna make the grade,  
Life on earth will never fade,  
Don't be afraid  
It's just our time comin' 'round.  
© Stephen Leiper

Continued from page 16

Despite the efforts of the U.S. government to package and market Operation Desert Storm, it will have to go down in history as being the war which has met the greatest opposition before the first shot was even fired. Since the war started, demonstrations have mushroomed world-wide in intensity and size, as hundreds of thousands angry yet spirited protestors fill city streets, college campuses, and town squares.

In San Francisco, the morning of the January 15 deadline saw at least 3,000 successfully close down the Federal Building and its surrounding streets. Later that afternoon, many of the same people launched a sneak attack on the Oakland-S.F. Bay Bridge, successfully closing down both directions of the Bay Area's most vital transportation link. That evening, at least 10,000 marched from the Mission District to Chevron's headquarters in the Financial District, where they acknowledged the stroke of 9 PM, the time of the U.N. deadline, by chanting "fuck the deadline!"

Wednesday afternoon war broke out, and a contingency plan had been established by the Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East for months to meet in the heart of S.F.'s shopping district. Within an hour, the throng had grown to well over 10,000, stretching for blocks and snaking through the city. Despite the local media claiming the nature of the protests were violent, most people just made a lot of noise or quietly carried candles.

— Rory Cox

## World Peace Number One

By SteppenLeap

It could start with you, it could  
start with me,  
It could start with anyone.  
It could start right here, it could  
start right now,  
World Peace Number One.  
There's a way we can find some  
peace of mind,  
And keep it rollin' too.  
It's World Peace Number One,  
And it's rollin' to you!  
There's a lot we must do to turn the  
world war blues  
Into World Peace Number One.  
It's the only home we've got, we  
kinda like it a lot,  
So fellas keep it cool, don't you let  
it get hot.  
Let the sun and the rain and the  
earth grow the grain,  
And our love for each other to heal  
the pain.  
Got to say no to war and to all it  
stands for.  
I may be crazy but I ain't insane...  
I may be lazy but I'm on the train.  
And it's rollin', yes it's rollin', yes  
it's rollin'  
Rollin' for World Peace Number  
One!

© Stephen Leiper

## RIGHT WOOS LEFT OVER GULF WAR ISSUE

### Confronting Rightist Ideologies & Anti-Jewish Bigotry is Crucial to Full Debate Over Principled Tactics

Memo by Chip Berlet  
Political Research Associates

Revised & Updated 1/18/91

As the movement against war in the Middle East builds, a handful of far-right and anti-Jewish groups has begun to seek alliances with liberal, progressive, and left antiwar groups, leading some activists to fear that fragile coalitions could be damaged by the presence of such forces, especially if they press their paranoid conspiracist and sometimes anti-Jewish theories in progressive coalitions where similar sentiments have not already been routinely confronted as a matter of principle.

The attempts by the political right to organize around antiwar issues is varied by both locale and method, but the situation is causing problems across the country, especially attempts by followers of the distinctively distorted neo-Nazi Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. to forge ties with liberal and left antiwar coalitions.

For the most part, the political right is trying to build antiwar sentiment without seeking coalition with the left. Such was the case at Merrimack College in Massachusetts and at a downtown Boston antiwar rally where the ultra-conservative John Birch Society distributed antiwar flyers.

Another rightist group organizing unilaterally is the Liberty Lobby. Persons associated with Liberty Lobby have circulated antiwar and pro-isolationist literature, including their weekly newspaper *Spotlight*, at several antiwar rallies. The *Spotlight* cheers the activities of U.S. neo-Nazis and skinheads but masks its anti-Jewish stance behind coded phrases such as "dual-loyalist."

The most disruptive push, however, is being caused by LaRouchians trying to penetrate grassroots antiwar groups. The LaRouchians generally organize under front groups such as Food for Peace, Schiller Institute, and *Executive Intelligence Review*. Some local groups have admitted the LaRouchians, while others have not. Some experienced antiwar activists warn that working with the LaRouchians and other far-right and bigoted forces will only discredit serious work towards peace in the Middle East.

Jon Hillson, a seasoned peace activist based in Ohio, reports LaRouche organizers at events sponsored by the Cleveland Committee Against War in the Persian Gulf. At one meeting, "Two people went through the crowd handing out LaRouche's *New Federalist*," says Hillson. "I was shocked, but then I realized most students had never heard of LaRouche," says Hillson. "I would urge people to disavow any collaboration with them because of their past ties to government agencies, disruptive past, and their homophobic, racist, sexist, and anti-Semitic agenda." Hillson notes that it will take patience to explain to new activists why a broad-based coalition

should exclude anyone, but that the task of educating people that coalitions with fascists should be rejected is not one to be ignored.

In Los Angeles several LaRouchians were dismayed when the local antiwar coalition pointed to their principles of unity which included a call for a sensible non-nuclear energy policy. The LaRouchians are vocal supporters of nuclear power. In Richmond, Virginia, local antiwar organizers simply kept shouting at the LaRouchians to "shut up" when they began their bizarre spiels and eventually they stopped coming to meetings.

Chicago antiwar organizer Alynne Romo reports their group has "asked the LaRouchians not to participate when they have appeared at our demonstrations." According to Romo, "The LaRouche people called us several times. They told us Margaret Thatcher was behind the situation in Iraq and that she put George Bush up to it." Romo adds that "they also said they were working with Ramsey Clark as a way to get us to cooperate."

## The Emerging Rightist Coalition

By Chip Berlet

Lyndon LaRouche has picked up support for his release from a number of right-wing extremists, including retired Air Force Colonel and intelligence specialist Fletcher Prouty, a leading light

among ultra-right researchers. Prouty first published "The Secret Team" in 1973 where it was among the first wave of books to take a critical view of the role of the U.S. intelligence establishment in designing the failed counterinsurgency policies in Vietnam. Since writing the book, Prouty has drifted far to the right, as has another CIA critic, Victor Marchetti, and both now have allied themselves with groups which support anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

In 1989 Marchetti presented a paper at the Ninth International Revisionist Conference held by the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). Both IHR and the Revisionist Conference promote the theory that the Holocaust was a hoax. The title of Marchetti's paper, reprinted in the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, was "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History."

Marchetti also co-publishes the <Zionist Watch> newsletter, endorsed in direct mail appeals on Liberty Lobby stationery by the late Lois Petersen, secretary of the Liberty Lobby board of directors. The October 5, 1987 *Spotlight* reported that Mark Lane was named associate editor of *Zionist Watch*, which is housed in the same small converted Capitol Hill townhouse as Liberty Lobby and *Spotlight*. Liberty Lobby, *Spotlight*, the International Revisionist Conference, the Institute for Historical Review, and IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* are all projects of Willis Carto, one of America's most influential peddlers of anti-Jewish and pro-Nazi propaganda.

Not all rightist groups adhere to obviously anti-Jewish views. The John Birch

Society has in recent years tried to avoid anti-Jewish rhetoric, instead basing its theories on the belief that all major world powers are controlled by a covert group of "Insiders," such as members of the Trilateral Commission, who are seen as manufacturing the current crisis in the Middle East.

The LaRouchian antiwar theories parallel many of the themes promoted by the Birch Society and Prouty, but in their typically distorted way. According to one flyer issued by the LaRouchians, "If war is to come, it will be the result of deliberate 'geopolitical' plotting by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carrington, and other London friends of Henry Kissinger." Over the years LaRouchian literature has maintained that British political leadership is really controlled by Jewish banking families such as the Rothschilds, a standard anti-Jewish theory that influenced bigots from Henry Ford to Adolph Hitler, among others.

In their book *Dope, Inc.: Britain's Opium War against the U.S.* first published in 1978, the LaRouchians assert that the British oligarchy is in league with Jewish bankers to control drug smuggling into the U.S. Arch-rightist and former U.S. intelligence operative the late Mitchell WerBell said the book was of "outstanding importance," because it told "the history of a political strike against the United States in an undeclared war being waged by Great Britain."

At the recent 35th Anniversary Liberty Lobby convention, there was considerable antiwar sentiment expressed by speakers who tied the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia to pressure from Israel and its

intelligence agency, Mossad. (No matter what actual political involvement forces in Israel may have in shaping the current situation, the history of Liberty Lobby is to circulate lurid anti-Jewish propaganda, not principled factual criticisms.)

At the conference Fletcher Prouty released a new edition of his book on CIA intrigue, *The Secret Team*, and moderated a panel where much-decorated Vietnam veteran "Bo" Gritz wove a paranoid conspiracy theory which explained the U.S. confrontation with Iraq as a product of the same "Secret Team" outlined by Prouty. Gritz's charges have also been featured by Birch Society publications. The far rightists who adhere to the Prouty/Gritz thesis agree with the left analysis that the CIA tolerates or encourages drug smuggling by its operatives and allies, but see the situation controlled by Mossad. The Israeli connection to Iran Contra-gate was a major reason the Prouty/Gritz crowd condemned Oliver North's operation, another point of alliance with the left. Other conference speakers and moderators included Dick Gregory, whose anti-government rhetoric finds fertile soil on the far right, and attorney Mark Lane who has drifted toward far-right anti-Jewish conspiracy theories in recent years.

The issue of anti-Jewish rhetoric over the Gulf crisis first surfaced in September as part of a long simmering feud within the political right in the U.S. Ultra-conservative columnist Pat Buchanan fired the first salvo to reach the mainstream media when he declared

on the McLaughlin Group TV roundtable program that the two groups most favoring war in the Middle East were "the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen chorus in the United States." *New York Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal charged those comments reflected anti-Semitism, to which Buchanan retorted that Rosenthal had made a "contract hit" on him in collusion with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. ADL is a Jewish human rights group often allied with the neo-conservative movement, and is an ardent and uncritical supporter of Israeli government policies.

Sara Diamond (who covered the Buchanan/Rosenthal feud in *Z Magazine*) says "the Buchanan forces have explicitly rejected coalition with the left on the issue of opposing intervention in the Gulf," but it is elements of the opportunistic right that are seeking such coalitions. According to Diamond, "one can only speculate that they want to recruit people into their own organizations and then leave the left discredited," says Diamond. It appears that most persons in the antiwar movement are unaware of the backgrounds and ideology of the several rightist groups seeking alliances, and merely are hoping to build a broad based alliance. Still, the issue of an undercurrent of anti-Jewish bigotry among a handful of pro-Palestinian, Black nationalist, and other groups who work with the left has been under discussion for several years. Less well known are the attempts by rightist groups to forge ties with the left around a common agenda of smashing the powerful center.

One danger of such an alliance is that

the widespread conspiracism of the right can easily find fertile ground among the naive or uncritical forces on the left. Author Holly Sklar, who has written progressive critiques of the Trilateralists, warns antiwar activists that "there is a big difference between understanding the influence of the Trilateral Commission on world affairs and the paranoid right-wing fantasy that the Trilateralists and their allies are an omnipotent cabal controlling the world. It's important for people to base their political decisions on facts, not lazy catch-all conspiracy theories."

The first area where the LaRouchians appear to have penetrated the left is the area of covert action and CIA misconduct. The LaRouchians were early critics of the Oliver North network, and in the early 1980's, LaRouche intelligence operatives such as Jeffrey Steinberg maintained close ties to a faction in the National Security Council which opposed Oliver North's activities, while at the same time trading information with mainstream and progressive reporters. One surprising public instance of this relationship surfaced when Eugene Wheaton, an adviser to the Christic Institute, spoke at the December, 1990 LaRouche antiwar conference in Chicago.

According to progressive author Russ Bellant who writes investigative critiques of New Right and far right political groups, this is not the first time rightist groups with an anti-Jewish agenda have tried to forge alliances with left activists or researchers. Bellant says he has been sharply critical of other authors who have recommended he seek information from LaRouchian intel-

Continued on page 28

## ATTENTION PEACE ACTIVISTS: TO STOP THIS WAR, WE MUST BECOME MEDIA ACTIVISTS.

### HELP GET ANTI-WAR VOICES IN THE MASS MEDIA

#### A Communiqué by Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting

Unless the Persian Gulf debate is dramatically expanded, hopes for peace will be dashed. No matter how many anti-war protests there are, the plunge toward war will be unstoppable unless the U.S. public begins to hear anti-war perspectives—loudly, clearly and consistently—through the mass media. Too often, media “debates” are reduced to this year’s secretary of defense vs. last year’s secretary of defense, or Republican hawks vs. Democrats who don’t seriously challenge the policy.

Polls show that millions of people oppose this war. Peace vigils, teach-ins and marches are occurring across the country. But the national leaders of this movement have been dramatically under-represented in national media forums.

#### THE SITUATION CAN BE CHANGED

In the wake of FAIR’s recent expose of bias and censorship against progressives on the McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour, that program (seen by millions every day) began opening up to people who had generally been excluded from TV; Noam

Chomsky, Erwin Knoll of *The Progressive*, Edward Said and others offered dissenting views on the Gulf crisis. Their presence helped move these discussions beyond typical TV “debates” focusing on tactical questions, such as “How long will it take to get this war over with and bring the troops home?”

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO

—Phone and write national media outlets asking them to be more professional in providing balanced journalism. Good journalism requires that policy critics be quoted alongside policy makers in print stories or TV segments. Democracy and independent journalism require full-spectrumed debate—not tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum. When you communicate with TV producers and other journalists, question their professionalism, their lack of objectivity and balance, not their “bad politics.”

—If you are part of an organization, set up media committees to lobby the media toward the balance and inclusion. Demand that the leader of your national organization be included in debates.

—Quick response: As soon as you see a report or TV discussion that excludes all but members of the white, male foreign policy establishment, that’s the time to call and lodge a protest. Remember: African-Americans, Latinos, Arab-Americans were never part of the so-called “national consensus” in support of Bush. Women have been far more skeptical about the policy than men. Demand that people of color and women participate in the national debate over the war.

—When you contact the news media,

recommend a few of the many peace spokespersons whose viewpoints should be appearing more regularly in the media, people like Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Ehrenreich, Rep. Maxine Waters, Rep. Ron Dellums, Alex Molnar (whose son is a Marine in the Gulf), or any of the dozens of other peace advocates of your choice.

—Let FAIR know what you are doing. Send us copies of your written correspondence with the media.

**Join FAIR. 130 w. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (201) 633-6700.**

In the interest of balancing the ever-present opinions of policy makers with those of true policy critics, here are some of the many independent experts on the Persian Gulf Crisis:

Alex Molnar, father of Marine servicing in Gulf; chairperson, Military Families Support Network. Tel: (414) 964-5794

Daniel Ellsberg, former Pentagon strategist. Tel: (415) 526-4310

Maxine Waters, U.S. Congress, (D-Cal.) Tel: (916) 445-2363

Richard Barnet, foreign policy analyst, Institute for Policy Studies (202) 234-9382

Barbara Ehrenreich, essayist, *Time* Magazine; feminist activist. (516) 364-9676

Noam Chomsky, foreign policy critic, MIT. (617) 253-7819

Karen Pfeifer/Joe Stork, editors, *Middle East Report*. (413) 584-2700

Edward Said, Palestinian-American professor, Columbia University. (212)

854-3620

Jesse Jackson, National Rainbow Coalition, (202) 728-1180

Karima Bennouna, student, U. Michigan-Ann Arbor Anti-war Coalition (313) 769-3072

Rashid Khalidi, Arab-American professor, U of Chicago, (312) 702-3013

Eqbal Ahmed, foreign policy analyst, Hampshire College. (413) 549-4600

Pedro Noguera, Latino professor, UC Berkeley, (415) 642-1493

Alexander Cockburn, columnist, *The Nation*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times* (212) 242-8400 or (408) 685-2511

Christopher Hitchens, columnist, *The Nation*; Washington editor, *Harper’s Magazine*. (202) 387-4842

Ms. Hala Madsoud, Women’s Studies professor, Georgetown U. (202) 363-4866

Gerald Horne, Chair, Black Studies Dept., UC Santa Barbara; frequent columnist, *L.A. Times*. (805) 968-0856 or (805) 893-3800

#### NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA

ABC World News Tonight  
7 West 66th St.  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 887-4040

Associated Press  
50 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10020  
National Desk (212) 621-1600  
Foreign Desk (212) 621-1663  
Washington Bureau (202) 828-6400

CBS Evening News  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 975-3693

CBS This Morning  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 975-2824

Christian Science Monitor  
CSM Publishing Survey  
One Norway St.  
Boston, MA 02115  
(800) 225-7090

CNN  
One CNN Center  
Box 105366  
Atlanta, GA 30348  
(404) 827-1500

CNN  
Washington Bureau  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7900

Crossfire  
CNN  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7951

Face the Nation  
CBS News  
2020 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 452-4321

Good Morning America  
ABC News  
1965 Broadway  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 496-4800

Larry King Live TV  
CNN  
111 Massachusetts Ave.,  
NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
(202) 898-7900

Larry King Show-Radio  
Mutual Broadcasting  
1755 So. Jefferson Davis  
Highway  
Arlington, VA 22202  
(703) 685-2175

Los Angeles Times  
Times-Mirror Square  
Los Angeles, CA 90053  
(800) 528-4637

MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour  
PO Box 2626  
Washington, DC 20013  
(703) 998-2870

MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour  
WNET-TV  
356 W. 58th St.  
New York, NY 10019  
(212) 560-3113

Meet the Press  
NBC News  
4001 Nebraska Ave. NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
(202) 885-4200

Morning Edition/All  
Things Considered  
National Public Radio  
2025 M St., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 822-2000

NBC Nightly News  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10112  
(212) 661-1971

New York Times  
229 W. 43rd St.  
New York, NY 10036  
(212) 556-1234  
(212) 556-7415

New York Times  
Washington Bureau  
1627 Eye Street, NW, 7th  
Floor  
Washington, DC 20006  
(202) 862-0300

Newsweek  
444 Madison Ave.  
New York, NY 10022  
(212) 350-4000

Nightline  
ABC News  
47 W. 66th St.  
New York, NY 10023  
(212) 887-4995

Nightline  
Ted Koppel  
ABC News  
1717 DeSales St. NW

Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 887-7364

This Week With David Brinkley  
ABC News  
1717 DeSales St., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 887-7777

Time Magazine  
Time Warner, Inc.  
Time & Life Building  
Rockefeller Center  
New York, NY 10020  
(212) 522-1212

Today Show  
NBC News  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, NY 10112  
(212) 664-4249

United Press International  
1400 Eye St., NW  
Washington, DC 20006  
(202) 898-8000

U.S. News & World Report  
2400 N St. NW  
Washington, DC 20037  
(202) 955-2000

USA Today  
1000 Wilson Blvd.  
Arlington, VA 22229  
(703) 276-3400

Wall Street Journal  
200 Liberty St.  
New York, NY 10281  
(212) 416-2000

Washington Post  
1150 15th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20071  
(202) 334-6000

Washington Week in Review  
WETA-TV  
PO Box 2626  
Washington, DC 20013  
(703) 998-2626

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## WEEKLY ACTIONS AGAINST MEDIA DISINFORMATION

A coalition of writers and artists invite you to join them every Tuesday at 5:30 pm to protest media bias against the anti-war movement and insufficient coverage and analysis of the Gulf War. The first action was on January 22 at KGO TV and radio. for more information, call 885-4749.

Further Actions:  
1/29/91 - KPIX TV  
855 Battery St., San Francisco (near Broadway)  
2/5/91 - KRON TV  
1001 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco  
2/12/91 - KTVU TV  
Two Jack London Square, Oakland  
2/19/91 - KQED TV & Radio  
500 Eighth St., San Francisco

# The Great Nation

By Steven Jonas, M.D.

Once upon a time there was a Great Nation. Its territory stretched across several time zones of the continent on which it lay. Assembled in part by settlement, in part by conquest, it had a large, multi-ethnic population speaking many languages. There was one national tongue.

It came to pass that it found itself in conflict with a distant adversary. The object of the conflict was a territory rich in natural resources and strategic in location. While close to the boundaries of the adversary, the territory in question lay far from the Great Nation's home base.

Although the Great Nation had a legislative assembly, in matters of foreign policy and war its chief executive paid little attention to that body. Although the Great Nation previously had had friendly relations with its foreign adversary, at this juncture in history the chief executive decided that war was the only solution to the conflict over resources that had arisen. Also, it happened that the chief executive faced many domestic problems. His popularity was declining. He thought that a touch of war, and a magnificent victory, would be just the thing to distract the people at home and bring them to rally round once more.

The Great Nation had a mighty military force. While its adversary had assembled what also seemed to be strong military power, the Great Nation belittled it. In any case, the adversary was thought to be of an inferior race, incapable of standing up in

any way to the Great Nation.

And so, on his own initiative, the chief executive dispatched a large expeditionary force across the sea. The distance was long, many thousands of miles. But the skill of the force was thought to be high, the quality of its equipment first-class, the morale of its troops equal to the task.

A single battle was fought. The belittled adversary won, in the fight using tactics written about in the military texts but not before seen in use on the field of battle. The forces of the Great Nation took many casualties. A large part of its expeditionary force's equipment was destroyed. Resupply at the great distances involved was very difficult, and local allies were not happy about the military defeat. The war was lost.

At home, a wave of protest ensued. And one day, in the capitol of the Great Nation, headed by religious figures there was a march of many, unarmed, ordinary folk on the residence of the chief executive. The protest was angry, but peaceful. Nevertheless, troops were ordered out and shots were fired.

At the end of the day, over two thousand bodies littered the snowy pavement. In the ensuing weeks there were more outbreaks of violence, but eventually the protests were put down. More repression followed. Nine years later, the Great Nation found itself embroiled in a massive foreign war which it did not want and which served it no purpose. Three years after that, the chief executive was overthrown in a revolution which changed the course of history.

The Great Nation was Czarist Russia.

The adversary was Japan. The resource rich territory over which they fought was Manchuria. The battle was that of Tsushima Strait. The bloody demonstration was that which set off the revolution of 1905. The rest is well known.

Although the analogy is neither historically nor strategically precise, it is nevertheless too close for comfort. Did anyone say the Straits of Hormuz?

Steven Jonas, M.D. works with the Department of Preventive Medicine, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

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## Resources:

Ace Investigations, PO Box 1633, Pacifica, CA 94044, (415) 381-0734  
American Friends Service Committee (Mid-East Program), 2160 Lake, SF, CA, 94121, (415) 752-7766  
American Friends Service Committee (Youth & Militarism Project), 1407 46th Ave., Oakland, CA, 94601, 533-7554  
Bay Area Direct Action Network, 2215-R Market, SF, CA, (415) 464-3020  
California Students Network Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, 1083 Mission, SF, CA 94103, (415) 431-4617  
CAVME (Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East), 255 9th St., SF, 94103, (415) 626-8053  
Central Committee for Conscientious Objection, Berkeley (415) 474-3002  
Covert Action Information Bulletin, PO Box 34583, Washington, D.C. 20043, (202) 331-9763  
DAGGER (Dykes and Gay Guys Emer-

gency Response), 3543 18th St., #26, SF, CA, 94110, (415) 558-8671  
Earth Action Network/Community Action Network, 1711 Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 843-4306/843-8788  
Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East, 2489 Mission, Rm. 28, SF, 94110, (415) 821-6545.  
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), 130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (212) 633-6700  
Fellowship of Reconciliation (Middle East Task Force), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626.  
Food Not Bombs, 3145 Geary #12, S.F., CA 94118, (415) 330-5030.  
Frank Little Club, 5134 Red Oak Dr., Concord, CA 94521, (415) 7948-3698.  
Global Exchange, 2141 Mission Rm. 202, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 255-7296  
Greenpeace, Fort Mason, Building E, San Francisco, CA 94123, (415) 474-6767  
Haight/Ashbury Neighborhood Council, 1750 Waller, Rm. 202, SF, CA 94117, (415) 566-1767  
In These Times, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054  
January 26th Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now, 255 9th St., SF, CA 94103, (415) 626-8053  
KPFA, 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704  
Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 441-2557  
Middle East Peace Action, 2140 Shattuck #207, Berkeley, CA (415) 548-0542  
Military Family Support Network, 4350 Heights, Pittsburg, CA 94565 (415) 432-0961

Mount Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Ln., Walnut Creek, CA 94596 (415) 933-7850

Mustard Seed Affinity Group, 6022 Thornhill, Oakland, CA 94611, (415) 339-2753

NAJDA (Women Concerned About the Middle East), PO Box 7152, Berkeley, CA 94611

Palestine Aid Society, PO Box 1190, Daly City, CA 94107, (415) 591-2010

Palestine Solitariness Committee, PO Box 27462, SF, CA 94127, (415) 861-1552

Palestinian American Youth, PO Box 27561, San Francisco, CA 94127

Parents Against the War, (415) 665-6572

Paper Tiger TV (415) 558-0320

PeaceNet (415) 923-0900

Peninsula Peace Center, (415) 32-PEACE, 555 Waverly, Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 326-8837

Physicians for Social Responsibility, 2288 Fulton #307, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 845-8395

Pledge of Resistance, 4228 Telegraph, Oakland, CA 94610, (415) 655-1177

Propaganda Review, c/o Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 441-2556

the Public Eye (415) 332-8369

Resource Center for Nonviolence (Middle East Witness), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626

Roots Against War, (415) 548-0425

SANE/Freeze, 347 Dolores #335, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 621-7770

Seeds of Peace, 2440 16th St., Box 241, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 420-1799

Speak Out (415) 864-4561

Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network, (415) 273-2427

Tri-City Peace Action, 4127 Bay, Box 224, Fremont, CA 94538, (415) 888-2130

United Bay Area Veterans Against War in the Middle East, PO Box 40755, SF, CA, (415) 255-7331

Veterans Peace Action Teams, PO Box 170670, SF, CA 94117, (415) 753-2130

Women Against Imperialism, 3543 18th, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 995-4735

Women For Peace, 2302 Ellsworth, Berkeley, CA (415) 849-3020

Women's Peace Office/Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 50 Oak, Rm. 503, SF, CA 94102, (415) 621-1371/863-7146

#### Continued from page 21

intelligence sources or persons close to the Liberty Lobby or other far right groups. "I think you discredit yourself when you work with these bigoted forces," says Bellant, "and the mere association tends to lend credence to these rightist groups because people figure the group can't be that bad if a respected figure on the left is associated with them."

While the concept of broad-based anti-war coalitions remains desirable, seasoned activists continue to warn that coalitions should be very careful to examine the background of groups with which they become affiliated.

Chip Berlet is an analyst for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

## IF YOU GET ARRESTED

Continued from page 20

Some on OJ's defense team have been on the jail system, both financially and in terms of personnel. Because the option of citing out tends to weaken group solidarity and make second-time offenders more visible, the decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Furthermore, protesters who cite out may be assigned individual or small group court dates. In any case, their arraignments will be separate from those who remain in jail.

**Arraignment:** This is an appearance before the judge in which the charges will be read to you, and you will be asked to enter a plea to them. You will not be alone in the courtroom. Other protesters (or maybe all of them) will be there with you, and lawyers for the action will be

present. You should request that the judge grant you time to consult with one of the lawyers. This can usually be arranged on the spot.

Arraignments are conducted in a similar way in state and federal courts. If you as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of expressing your views through non-cooperation with court procedures (e.g., muteness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand upon court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority). These measures should be carefully considered because they may result in contempt of court charges.

If you are being held in custody on state charges, you have a right to be arraigned within 48 hours of your arrest, not including weekends or holidays.

## Calendar

Continued from page 2

Party), The Womens' Building, 3543 18th St., SF, \$3 to \$5 donation requested, (415) 826-4828

### ON-GOING ACTIVITIES:

Tuesdays & Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM, vigil at S.F. Federal Building (Mustardseed Affinity Group, (415) 339-2753)

Wednesdays, 5:30 to 6:30 PM, leaflet at Rockridge & other East Bay BART stations (Mustardseed Affinity Group, (415) 339-2753)

Wednesdays, 5:30 to 7:30 PM, leaflet at Walnut Creek and Concord BART stations (Mount Diablo Peace Center, (415) 933-7850)

Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM, vigil at 14th and Broadway, Oakland, near 42nd St. BART (Parents Against the War, (415) 658-6572)

Fridays, 5:30 to 7:30 PM, vigil at Concord Army Recruiting Station, 1812 Galindo at Concord Blvd., Concord (Mount Diablo Peace Center, (415) 933-7850)

Saturdays, 5:30 to 6:30 PM, vigil at Petaluma Blvd. & Washington St., Petaluma (Petaluma Peace Group, (707) 762-1325)

Paper Tiger TV's Gulf War Update: SF Cable 25, 8 PM every Mon. night; PCTV in East Bay, 7:30 PM every Wed, 9:30 every Thur. afternoon, 7:30 every Mon. night, 558-0320



This paranoia about terrorism is getting out of hand.



Every group with a hint of political content is now suspect.



Lately this outward looking guy in a trenchcoat has been hanging around the ball fields.



He never says a thing, but he's always there, nosing around.



It's exactly what mom was afraid of.



I play on a terrorist women's softball team.

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## *the Public Eye*

P.O. Box 1469, Sausalito, CA 94966

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the people  
that are  
watching you . . .

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Watching the people that are watching you. . .

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- Did Iraq Really Gas the Kurds?

the Public Eye is a civil liberties news publication sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee & published by Investigative News Features

# Common Sense Security For Political Organizers

By Sheila O'Donnell

As the movements for social change become more sophisticated, the techniques of the state, corporations and the right wing have also become more sophisticated. Historically this has always been the case; we will continue and will be the eventual victors. Caution in the face of the concerted effort to stop us, however, is both prudent and necessary.

Here are some useful suggestions:

## Office

Never leave one copy of a document or list behind; take a minute to duplicate an irreplaceable document and keep the duplicate in a safe place.

Back up and store important computer disks off-site. Sensitive data and membership list should be kept under lock and key.

Keep your mailing lists, donor lists and personal phone books away from light-fingered people. Always maintain a duplicate.

Know your printer if you are about to publish and know your mailing house if you contract for distribution.

Know anyone you are trusting to work on any part of a project that is sensitive.

Don't hire a stranger as a messenger.

Sweeps for electronic surveillance are only effective for the time they are being done, and are only effective as they are being done if you are sure of the person(s) doing the sweep.

Brief your membership on known or suspected surveillance.

Assess your undertaking from a security point of view; understand your vulnerabilities; assess your allies and your adversaries as objectively as possible; do not underestimate the opposition. Do not take chances. Plan for the worst, hope for the best.

Recognize your organizational and personal strengths and weaknesses.

Discuss incidents with cohorts, family and membership. Call the press if you have hard information about surveillance or harassment. Discussion makes the dirty work of the intelligence agencies and private spies overt.

## General

If you wish to have a private conversation, leave your home and your office and go outside and take a walk or go somewhere public and notice who is near you.

Never say anything you don't want to hear repeated when there is any possibility of being recorded.

Don't use code on the phone. If you are being tapped and the transcript is used against you in court, the coded conversation can be alleged to be anything.

Don't say anything on the phone you don't want to hear in open court.

Don't gossip on the phone. Smut is valuable to anyone listening; it makes everyone vulnerable.

If you are being followed, get the license tag number and description of the car and descriptions of people in the car. Photograph the person(s) following you or have a friend do so.

# the Public Eye

Watching the people that are watching you...

Vol. V Issue 2

February 13, 1991

Three Dollars

## ANTI-WAR MEDIA ACTIVIST EDITION

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Southern California Contact: Jack Schwartz (213) 281-1798

## CALENDAR

Feb 14 (Thursday)

**Protest at Food Not Bombs Hearing**  
"War and Hunger are the Real Crimes"  
(Food Not Bombs 350-5030)

8:30 AM on the steps of S.F. City Hall  
(Polk Street side) (Keith McHenry's hearing is at 9:30)

**Teach-In on Media Coverage of the War** (Haight/Ashbury Neighborhood Council 566-1767 or 863-5498)

7 PM at All Saints Episcopal Church,  
1350 Waller Street (near Ashbury), SF

**Mid-East Teach-In in Mill Valley**  
(Marin Sane/Freeze 459-1530)

7:30 PM at Mill Valley City Hall, 26  
Corte Madera Ave. (near Throckmorton),  
downtown Mill Valley

**Decentralized Actions Across the Nation**  
called by the Mobilization to Bring the  
Troops Home Now coalition (626-8053)

Feb. 15 (Friday) student organizing and  
actions, and Feb. 16 (Saturday) commu-  
nity organizing and actions.

Feb. 15 through Feb. 17 (Friday - sun-  
day) **Western Regional Organizing  
Conference (WROC)** "Stop the war at  
home and the war abroad" (\$10 advance;  
\$15 at door) at SF State University (Si-  
mone 655-3154; Rhodney 653-5442;  
Hatem 338-2324)

Feb. 15 (Friday) **Teach-In with Media  
Analyst Eduardo Cohen** plus Iraqi, Pal-  
estinian, and Israeli speakers (info. 339-  
2625) 7:00 pm at the California College  
of Arts and Crafts (CCAC), 5212 Broad-  
way (at 52nd) in Oakland

Feb. 16 (Saturday) **March for Peace in  
Walnut Creek** (Mount Diablo Peace  
Center 933-7850) 11:00 AM, meet at the  
Walnut Creek BART station

Feb. 16 (Saturday)

**Rally in Golden Gate Park** (Mobiliza-  
tion to Bring the Troops Home Now  
626-8053) 12:00 noon to 5:00 pm in  
Sharon Meadow near the Northeast  
corner of Golden Gate Park in S.F.

Feb. 18 (Mon.) **Panel on Peace: Larry  
Bensky** (Pacifica radio) and **Michael  
Krasny** (KGO-AM). 7 PM College of  
Marin (Olney Hall) in Kentfield.

Feb. 19 (Tuesday) **Media Picket at  
KQED TV (channel 9) & Radio** (Art-  
ists and Writers Encampment 885-4749;  
Media Alliance 441-2257 5:30 pm at  
500 Eighth Street in S.F.

Feb. 21 (Thursday) **International Day  
of Student and Youth Mobilization  
Against the War** Contacts: Kate Morris  
415-327-1003 Rhodney Ward 415-653-  
5442

Feb. 21 (Thursday) **Forum on the War  
in the Gulf: Unanswered Questions**  
(speakers recently returned from Iraq  
and Jordan) 7:00 pm at 1151 Mission  
Street (between 7th and 8th) in SF (Global  
Exchange 431-6911 or 255-7269)

Feb. 23 (Saturday) **War Tax Resis-  
tance Conference** "Lives of Resistance/  
Communities of Support" (No. CA war  
Tax Resistance 843-9877) 9:30 AM to  
5:00 PM at UC Berkeley School of Jour-  
nalism (Northgate Hall)

Feb. 23 (Saturday) **Marin County Peace  
March** (Marin Center for Peace and  
Justice 459-5676) 11:00 AM, starting  
location unset, probably march to Albert  
Park in San Rafael

Feb. 23 **Media & the War Conference**  
at New College, 777 Valencia, 12-6 pm,  
in SF. Media Alliance, FAIR, KPFA,  
648-3193, 282-1629

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## WORLDWIDE ANTI-WAR ACTION ROUND-UP

•**Algeria:** Over 500,000 people pro-  
tested several times against US-led  
strikes on Iraq. 5000 doctors and nurses  
from Algeria, Tunisia, Mauretania,  
Yemen and Sudan are trying to enter  
Iraq via Iran. They are bringing blood  
and plasma with them.

•**Argentina:** On 24 January, 5,000-  
10,000 protesters gathered outside the  
parliament building to protest their  
country's involvement in the war while  
representatives voted to allow  
Argentina's navy to support the allied  
forces in the Gulf.

•**Australia:** In all major cities huge  
anti war rallies took place, including  
10,000 who gathered on 19 January at  
the US and Israeli consulates in Sydney.  
Protests have been against the war, and  
have demanded the withdrawal of Aus-  
tralian support. It is the biggest peace  
movement in Australia since the Viet-  
nam protests.

•**Austria:** 15,500 people have pro-  
tested in cities throughout the country  
since hostilities began, and larger dem-  
onstrations are expected. The Austrian  
Students Union declared a resolution  
against the war.

•**Bangladesh:** 500,000 Moslems,  
gathered after the Hajj pilgrimage, voiced  
support for Saddam Hussein. Students  
in Dacca (Dhaka) staged a peace protest  
which drew 3,000 supporters on the 24  
January. The Bangladesh government  
has protested the Iraqi embassy's al-  
leged involvement in organizing dem-  
onstrations. Like in Pakistan thousands  
of people volunteer to fight for Iraq  
against the US.

•**Belgium:** About 10,000 people dem-

onstrated in Brussels on 20 January to  
demand the withdrawal of Belgian sup-  
port for the war. Protests continued on  
Saturday, 26th and another rally is planned  
for Saturday, 16th of February.

•**Brazil:** 2,000 anti-war protesters gath-  
ered in Sao Paulo to protest the war.

•**Canada:** Thousands of protesters, led  
by students, have protested across the  
country to demand an end to the war and  
the withdrawal of Canadian forces and  
support. The movement against the war  
seems to be growing steadily.

•**China:** Arab students were refused a  
permit to hold an anti-American protest in  
Beijing.

•**Czechoslovakia:** In Prague, 150 anti-  
war demonstrators organized by Palestin-  
ian students called for withdrawal of Czech  
support for the war.

•**Denmark:** There have been several  
peace vigils at the US embassy. In the  
biggest one 1500 people participated. In  
general, the Danish peace movement is  
beginning to pick up momentum.

•**Djibouti:** The Interior Ministry said  
protests which took place on 19 January  
were "prejudicial to the security and peace  
of the Republic" and banned all further  
demonstrations over the war.

•**Ecuador:** In the capital city of Quito,  
students protesting the war threw a make-  
shift bomb at a branch of a British bank.

•**Egypt:** The government imposed a  
visa requirement for citizens of Tunisia,  
Algeria, and Morocco because of the mass  
protests in those countries against Egypt's  
role in the war. The government also ex-  
tended the mid-year holiday for university  
students in an apparent attempt to prevent  
student led protests against the war. Still

the opposition of fundamentalists and intellectuals against the government is getting stronger. The media coverage of the war is glorifying Egypt and its troops and misinforming the people.

•**Finland:** There have been several demonstrations supporting the Baltic States. Recently there have also been peace vigils in front of the US embassy.

•**France:** 30,000 anti-war protesters including peace activists, workers from communist-led unions, and Green Party members marched in Paris on 18th and 19th January, although protests were restricted by the police authorities, with several thousand also protesting in other cities. The protesters also called for an international conference to solve the problems of the Middle East. Many Arabs living in France for years, including students and members of civil rights groups, have been arrested and expelled from the country overnight. A rising harassment of France's Arab population (more than 600,000) by Le Pen's nationalist groups keeps children away from schools. The French minister of defence resigned, because "the conflict is threatening to involve French troops in war actions that have nothing to do with the fulfilling of the UN resolutions".

•**Germany:** Hundreds of thousands of Germans have protested across the country since the war began, expressing anti-war, anti-German involvement, and some anti-American sentiment; smaller concurrent demonstrations have been held by pro-Israel groups. In Berlin on 18 January, more than 10,000 school children with candles crammed the main shopping avenue, bringing traffic to a standstill. More

than 200,000 participated in an anti-war rally in Bonn on 26 January. All major universities have been on strike. Students, pupils, unions, churches, the German Greens and the Social Democrats are backing up the strongest peace movement in Europe. Lots of background material is analyzed to support the media and to inform the population about German war industries, its relation to the government and its involvement in the world's wars.

•**Greece:** More than 10,000 people marched through Athens to the US Embassy on 24 January to protest the US and Greek involvement in the Gulf, and to call for an end to the war. Students have occupied universities and 80% of the high-schools since November protesting new education laws. The Greek students are therefore probably too exhausted to build the backbone of the Greek peace movement.

•**India:** 1,000 anti-war demonstrators outside the US Embassy in New Delhi were dispersed by police using tear gas on 18 January. In Delhi's old city, police wielding long canes charged to prevent pro-Iraqi Moslems from halting traffic.

•**Iran:** At Tehran University, anti-American and pro-Iraqi demonstrations were held by 2,000 students, who "reflected the mixed feelings of many Iranians, who hate the Iraqi leadership but will not tolerate Western forces killing fellow Moslems."

•**Ireland:** Thousands of people were protesting against the war in Dublin. In Limerick a two thirds majority of the students decided, not to support the peace

Continued on page 20

## Interview —

### Michael Parenti

on KPFA radio (Pacifica, Berkeley) January 30, 1991

**Q:** Can you discuss your reactions to last week's Super Bowl, with the masses of people waving flags and singing patriotic songs? It seemed to resemble Nazi Germany.

**Michael Parenti:** Sports events are often used as hype for patriotism. I've just written an article on how sports and the weather are very political things, the way they're reported, and certainly in sporting events you see that. I saw a football game, last week's Conference Championship when the Buffalo Bills slaughtered the L.A. Raiders. It began with Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force in parade dress uniform with flags, marching down the field, and people all shouting "USA, USA", "Nuke Iraq," and other enlightened kind of things like that.

By the way, we shouldn't typify all the fans in the stands as being like that, the camera comes in on the noisy jingos who are most militaristic, but certainly that kind of thing is whipped up in sporting events very consciously. War imagery is often used in sports, 'we hit them hard with our aerial offensive,' and vice versa, you can hear the military saying 'we've got all our players in place.' The military also uses, and the mainstream media often picks up on it, a lot of euphemisms, 'we're going to neutralize targets,' and things of that sort, collateral damage.

**Q:** What are your observations of the way the peace movement is being portrayed in this country, and how that contributes to the patriotism?

**MP:** The peace movement is being portrayed the same way every peace and anti-war movement has been. The numbers of demonstrators are being undercounted, whole demonstrations are being ignored and simply not being reported, the massive demonstrations in Europe have been given scant attention, and in some reports none at all.

The counter-demonstrators are given disproportionate exposure, there'll be 100,000 of us and 100 of them and they'll get 40% of the coverage. In fact, *NBC News* on Saturday night did a special on the pro-war demonstrators who were all of a hundred. It said, 'while groups of protesters moved across the Capitol grounds...' and it showed just a few stragglers, and we had a massive crowd there, and they talked about pro-Administration people, and they showed all these sound-bites, showed them walking down the street to Lafayette Park, interviewed them, it was rather remarkable that here we had over 100,000 people and this special report was on this 100 people.

These are some of the gimmicks they use. They preface every report on the demonstrations by saying 'but the majority of the American people support the Administration.' When they report on the compulsory pregnancy demonstrations, the anti-abortion parades, they never preface it by saying 'but the majority of the people are for safe and legal abortions.' They don't take the trouble to do that. The news media trivialize, marginalize, undercount,

treat the peace movement as a small thing. What's impressive is that here we are in barely the second week of the war and we have masses of people out there marching and demonstrating with a variety of issues saying a great many intelligent things. I started writing down what all the different signs were saying, and they were rather remarkable things. People are speaking back.

Q: So why is the media doing this, George Bush is not calling everybody up and saying "keep it quiet?"

MP: They sure do do that, that's one of the things that happens every day, the networks are called every day by the White House and asked what their two or three lead stories are for the evening, they have conferences, they have dinners together, they bring pressure on them quite regularly, but in any case you don't have to pressure them, it's a built in pressure. Baker gets up and says, 'this is the policy, A,B,C' all the reporters write 'this is the policy, A,B,C.' They've become the mouthpieces, so it doesn't have to be any big conspiracy.

If you oppose too often then you get cut out of the news pool, you get fed misinformation, you get starved out on stories. And in any case, the people who own the giant networks are the same people whose interests are being defended by this giant global military machine. NBC is a subsidiary of General Electric, General Electric is one of the biggest military-industrial contractors in the world, one of the biggest corporations. George Bush does good things for General Electric. So there's a community of interest between those who own the world and those who own media. They're

the same people.

Q: I talked to a White House correspondent recently, and his job is to report what the President said that day. Since the President says or does something just about every day, there's no time to go around and get alternative responses, there's no time to investigate whether what the President is saying is true or false, it's just his job to report what the guy had to say that day.

MP: It's very refreshing that he said that. Then he's saying 'I am a shill, I am a mouthpiece, I am an amplifier of the White House.' But then don't come back and try to give us this jive about how we try to give you both sides of the story, we are free and independent and objective, you're not free, you're not independent, you're not objective.

If you cannot also look at alternative sources, if you cannot note that this guy is contradicting himself, that yesterday he said A, today he's saying B, and tomorrow he's saying C, and you cannot matter of factly just point those things out, then don't tell us that you are looking at the reality of the subject from all its dimensions. Then tell us what you are, you are an extension of the White House propaganda corps, or White House publicity machine.

Q: What chance have we, in a situation of war, of finding out the truth about anything?

MP: In this war we're going to have less than ever, in the wars I remember—World War II, Korea, and Vietnam—there were journalists at the scene of the war reporting the actual fighting. In this war journalists are going to be banned

and they will not be allowed to report the war, they will not be allowed to report pain or suffering scenes, like any wounded coming back on stretchers. Now, why is that, there's no security reason for that, that isn't telling the Iraqis something.

The reason is to control or short-circuit democracy, to deny the public any sense of reality of the costs of that war so as to not undermine support for the war. A democracy is supposed to be able to make up its mind. If the people decide that they don't like this war and they don't want this war, it should be their right not to have it. So what you have is the government making sure they have no basis for turning against the war.

Q: Last night Peter Arnet of CNN got an interview with Saddam Hussein, and among the many things he had to say was that he took sustenance from the world-wide outrage at the war, citing demonstrations around the world and here in the United States. This has the impact of making it appear that every anti-war demonstrator is serving the purposes of Saddam Hussein.

In other reports of people who were against the war in Vietnam who now support the war in the Middle East, they say, 'Saddam Hussein is not a Ho Chi Minh,' that this man is a brutal, terrible dictator, a man guilty of war-crimes, poison-gassing his own people.' They were against the war in Vietnam but this is a war that needs to be fought, better to fight him now than five years from now.

MP: Let me point out that they said the same things about Ho Chi Minh, that

he was a brutal, horrible dictator that we have to bomb and kill and all that sort of thing. The fact that this man is so terrible and such a dictator and victimized his people does not give us license to victimize his people. You see the fact that he is such a terrible dictator, because of this dictator and a coterie of militarists, let's say that's what they really are, how does that give us license to go in and terror-bomb his people? Saturation bombing is what we're doing. We're now hitting villages, we're hitting townships, we're running out of targets.

Q: What about the surgical strike notion, that we only hit military targets, we have smart bombs, they've only hit the target that they're set to, pilots are told not to drop the bomb if they don't have a clear target, and they have minimized collateral damage?

MP: You know what you can do with that statement. By their own propaganda, the very first day, the euphoric day, the great celebration of high technological fascism, where the proficiency of the weapons seemed to be their own justification, even that day they said 80% of our targets were hit. Where did the other 20% of the missiles go? 20% of 2,000 is a lot of bombs, a lot of sorties that were hitting not the precise targets that they wanted to hit, but that were hitting the buildings next door. ■

Michael Parenti received his Ph.D. from Yale in 1962, and has taught at major universities across the country. His books include *Democracy for the Few*, *The Anti-Communist Impulse*, *Power and the Powerless*, and *Inventing Reality: the Politics of the Mass Media*.

# ANTI-WAR MEDIA WORK

By Norman Solomon

Anti-war activists across the United States, angry about media coverage, can do a lot about it.

TV news has focused on Persian Gulf events with lenses controlled by the Pentagon. Military censorship and media biases have been framing what the American people see, hear and read within tight constraints.

News accounts of the continuous bombing attacks on Iraq have an abstract, sanitized quality. Correspondents mouth the euphemistic language of the Pentagon, with the human impacts rarely even mentioned.

Air Force officers have described the bombing runs in computer terms — "I just see blips on the screen." And we see this war's human devastation reported as blips on our TV screens.

As a placard at a Jan. 19 march pointed out, "Behind the CNN Light Show, the Innocent are BLOWN to Pieces." Another sign was more concise: "TV Sells War."

Meanwhile, anti-war protests get short shrift. Peace demonstrations are often ignored, trivialized or stereotyped as violent. Media are apt to lower the numbers and downgrade the significance.

These patterns should not surprise us, or discourage us. The mass media reflect the dominant range of views within the ruling circles of this country. Ever since Congress voted to go to war on Jan. 12, that range has narrowed dramatically.

All but a few members of Congress have opted to close ranks behind the war. So have the mass media. Right now there is no place on powerful political agendas for grassroots democracy and anti-war activism.

As a corollary to the famous axiom that war is the continuation of diplomacy by other means, we could add that war reporting is the continuation of peacetime propaganda by other means. To stop this war we must challenge the media bias that is so vital to sustaining it.

Busy with urgent tasks of building the anti-war movement, activists may be inclined to give media work a low priority. That would be a big mistake.

Opponents of the war machinery should fight for space everywhere. Effective media work is crucial for creating a broad and militant anti-war movement in this country. The obstacles we face in breaking through the propaganda walls require that we be methodical and determined in doing media outreach.

## Some suggestions:

- Consistently articulate a strong anti-war position. Don't water it down. Don't be rhetorical. Strive to be direct and clear.

- Develop ongoing communication with local newspaper, radio and TV journalists. It doesn't pay to be hostile. Show that you can provide timely and reliable information, as well as articulate comments. Provide phone numbers and names of spokespeople who can be reached around the clock.

- Press releases should be well-written and tidy. Remember: The news biz is

a business, and staff time is shorter than ever because of corporate cutbacks. Sometimes we have to virtually do journalists' jobs for them if we're going to get decent coverage.

- Notify all media about scheduled events. If possible, maintain a list of media fax numbers and use them frequently. Don't assume that sending written material will be sufficient. Follow up by phone.

- Advance publicity for demonstrations should NOT include numerical estimates of how many people will participate. Specific predictions have resulted in news reports that crowds were "smaller than expected."

- Don't forget to stay in touch with the nearest Associated Press and United Press International bureaus. Keep them posted about upcoming events, and ask that they inform all the region's media outlets ahead of time.

- When possible, give the media some prepared texts of speeches and other public statements. This increases the chances that speakers will be quoted accurately. Typed releases should be given to reporters at all protest actions.

- Don't exaggerate the turnout. Inflating the numbers hurts credibility, and also makes it harder for future demonstrations to come across as bigger actions that reflect a growing movement.

- Immediately after an event, provide written press releases to AP, UPI and any major media that didn't show up. Also, if you call radio stations right away, some may tape statements or do interviews over the phone.

- Remember that timeliness is key.

Have a media committee functioning that can confer on short notice and issue a public statement. Rush news releases to wire services, daily newspapers and broadcast outlets.

- Submit commentary articles to local daily and weekly newspapers. If anti-war pieces are turned down, inquire why. If they're repeatedly rejected, ask for a meeting with relevant editors. If you live in the paper's circulation area, your articles should get favored treatment since you're a local writer. Firmly assert your right to be published.

- Encourage peace supporters to send letters to the editor. Even if they aren't printed, the letters may make it easier for others with similar views to get into print.

- Develop rapport with producers of local radio and TV talk shows. Representatives of activist groups and others with special perspectives on the Persian Gulf war should be offered as guests on a regular basis. Be polite but pushy!

- Call talk shows regularly to speak on the air.

- Keep utilizing alternative media such as progressive weeklies and noncommercial radio stations — to provide anti-war analysis of the news, to promote upcoming events and to critique the failings of mainstream media.

- If a local daily paper or news station refuses to balance its coverage, consider putting up an informational picket line around the offending media outlet. Don't forget to invite other media to send a reporter — they might, if only to make a competitor look bad. Print media may be especially open to criticizing electronic media, and vice versa.

- Insist that local papers print information about upcoming protest activities, including exact times and locations, along with the phone numbers of anti-war groups. Similar listings should be carried in broadcasts. These ought to be regular news items, since many people in the community want access to such information on a continuous basis. Likewise, radio and TV stations should be pressured to include spots for pro-peace activities among their "public service announcements."

- Don't forget that listener-funded radio stations and cable outlets are reaching core constituencies that should constantly receive detailed updates about past and future anti-war activities. More upper-crust PBS and NPR affiliates should be compelled to air strong anti-war views and information on a regular basis.

- Promote the bulk distribution of periodicals serving the anti-war movement locally and nationally. It's important for people to be reminded that their organizing for local actions is part of a vigorous national movement.

- Demand that the daily half-hour news feed from Pacifica National Radio News (based in D.C.) be aired by noncommercial radio stations in your area. At this point, National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" and "Morning Edition" news shows are very strongly tilted in pro-war directions. Any station carrying those programs should at minimum carry Pacifica news for purposes of balance. If station managers refuse, picket lines and listener boycotts at pledge-time may prove persuasive.

- Even the best radio stations in the country will be under pressures to revert to

usual formats. Urge — and if necessary, insist — that regular programming be suspended. Since we're now living in wartime, progressive radio stations should implement new priorities that will promote peace.

Any attempts to create a sense of normalcy about this war must be challenged.

The masters of war need the news media in their arsenal as much as any other weapon. The peace movement must undermine their propaganda firepower.

*Norman Solomon is co-author of Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media (Lyle Stuart, 1990).*

For media activism resources, contact FAIR, 130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001; (212) 633-6700.

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#### CALENDAR continued from p. 25

**Fridays** 8:00 to 9:00 pm, vigil at Jackson & Mission Streets in Hayward (Hayward Area Peace Fellowship 582-7011)

#### North Bay:

**Mondays** 6:00 to 9:30 pm, vigil at Lytton Square Plaza, downtown Mill Valley (Marin Sane/Freeze 459-1530)

**Tuesday through Friday** 8:00 to 9:00 am & 4:30 to 5:30 pm, vigil at Tam Junction on Mill Valley Shoreline Highway (Marin Sane/Freeze 459-1530)

**Wednesdays** 6:30 to 7:30 pm, vigil at Petaluma Blvd. & Washington St. in Petaluma (Petaluma Peace Group (707) 762-1325)

**Saturdays** 5:15 pm, vigil at Old Redwood Highway & Diablo in Novato (883-

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## Interview — Ricardo Alarcon, U.N. Security Council Ambassador from Cuba

*with Eduardo Cohen*  
for KPFA radio (Pacifica, Berkeley)  
on January 17, 1991

EC: Ambassador Alarcon, Cuba was one of only two nations in the United Nations Security Council to vote against the use of force concerning Iraq. I would like to ask you some questions about those votes.

First of all, I would like to ask you about the first vote. After the United Nations passed an embargo, the United States wanted to use military force to enforce the embargo. There seemed to be considerable resistance in the United Nations and in the Security Council. President Bush then said that he had consulted with heads of state — I believe he mentioned Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, Francois Mitterand, also I believe the Prime Minister of Japan — and said that he felt he had enough authority to use military force to enforce the U.N. embargo.

Then the Security Council seemed to change its mind and agreed to incorporate language that would authorize military force. What happened to change the minds of people on the Security Council to authorize the use of military force at that time?

RA: I think that the explanation is really the level of pressure that the United States has exercised over the members of the Security Council, taking advan-

tage also of the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the very severe difficulties that the Soviet Union has been facing in the last months.

U.S. diplomacy has been acting as if the U.S. were really the master of the entire world and been able to take decisions by its own. The fact of the matter is that every step taken by the Security Council was trailing what the U.S. has already been doing. For example, on August the 2d, immediately after Iraq invaded Kuwait, the U.S., Britain, and other countries imposed an economic embargo against Iraq. That was before the U.N. Security Council adopted the economic sanctions resolution. And on the very day that we adopted that resolution on the embargo, the U.S. had already begun sending vessels to the Gulf area, like Britain did.

I remember on that day Mrs. Thatcher was here in Washington, and I saw her and Mr. Bush appear on TV on the very afternoon of the day that the Security Council adopted the sanctions resolution, and both of them told the press that they were taking steps in the Gulf to ensure the enforcement of that resolution — but nobody has asked anybody to enforce that particular resolution.

It was the same when we, or rather the Council, agreed to step up its sanctions rule, its actions against Iraq. And, finally, it culminated with the Resolution 678 by which the Security Council authorized the use of any measures, which means in your language including military force, to do what they are doing now. I think that it was really a very shameful situation.

EC: Ambassador, concerning Resolution 678, although the United States ad-

ministration is saying that we are responding to the United Nations and simply doing nothing more than enforcing a U.N. resolution, we've had reports that immediately after that vote on 678, which authorized the use of force against Iraq to remove Iraq from Kuwait, the Soviet Union received large grants from Saudi Arabia, as well as food assistance from the United States. China was able to get a loan from the World Bank—I think \$110 million, which I believe was the first loan from the World Bank since the Tianan'men Square massacre—and also a highly placed Chinese diplomat was received in Washington, kind of breaking the diplomatic embargo that had been in place since Tianan'men Square.

And I also read that Columbia was getting some trade agreements with the United States that it had sought for some time. If these reports are true, doesn't this paint a picture of a sanction that was less a result of a spontaneous response of the United Nations and more like something that was almost—if I should use the word—bought by the United States.

RA: Well, I think that that may be a fairly accurate description of what appears to have occurred, at least in some cases. But on the other hand, I think that it should also be taken into account that that particular resolution, two countries voted against, as you recall—Cuba and Yemen—and China abstained.

And explaining his position, the Chinese foreign minister in the Council made it very clear that China did not approve the use of military force to resolve this crisis. I think that there has also been what I call sort of intellectual terror, a massive, a huge campaign around the world has been

launched presenting Saddam Hussein as Hitler, as if we were really facing a very unique situation in which the world should act, abandoning the most elementary steps that should have been at least tried.

Let me remind you that when the economic sanctions were adopted on August 5, on that very date the Iraqi government made a formal announcement—which was repeated at the Security Council session by its ambassador—that Iraq had decided to initiate the withdrawal of their troops from Kuwait. I mean, at that moment Iraq was not claiming that Kuwait was the nineteenth province of its country, it was pretending to annex that territory, and on the contrary, announced before the Security Council that they were beginning their withdrawal.

That was also the eve of the Arab League conference that was going to take place in Cairo the next day. One point that we made in the Council that night was: what was the reason to hurry up that very night—it was a Sunday night, by the way—and to adopt the most comprehensive, more rigid sanctions than have ever been considered at the United Nations?

And I don't remember any satisfactory explanation for that. We could have waited for the next day, we could have waited for the results of the Arab League meeting, and also to ascertain if the Iraqis were really withdrawing or not. But every step taken at the Council had been as if the Council were following a pre-established line that was leading unavoidably to what has happened, is

happening since yesterday. In other words, to war. On the assumption—it was always the rhetoric that the U.S. disseminated around the negotiations and so on—that it was better to put more pressure and more pressure on Saddam Hussein in order to force him to withdraw, thus avoid a military confrontation. And in order to placate U.S. anger, in order to avoiding the U.S. going unilaterally to war, it was better to satisfy their wishes and give them another punishment against Iraq, another step in the direction of threat and pressure against Iraq, and ignore completely—in this case, for the first time in the history of the U.N.—certain steps that have been taken time and again on every other issue, on every other conflict.

No role was considered for the Secretary General, for example, to mediate, to approach the other side, to try to seek a compromise, to try to—well, to begin with, to give some time for the resolution of the crisis. We have waited more than 40 years for South Africa to abandon the apartheid policy, for example. And the Council has never established government sanction against South Africa, in spite of the request by the General Assembly, by the nonaligned countries, by the African states, and so on. But in this particular case, it was a different, completely different rule.

EC: Ambassador, from your unique perspective, do you believe that the United State was sincere about sanctions, or were sanctions simply a stepping stone for the United States in order to eventually gain authorization to use military force against Iraq?

RA: As I was saying, that was precisely our point. We were always afraid that every step, beginning with the economic sanctions, was bringing us closer and closer to war. For a very simple reason: by doing that they were cornering Iraq constantly, putting Iraq in a position that they were less and less inclined to compromise and to take a more flexible position.

We have said, we will repeat, that Iraq is also responsible, particularly because of its intransigence, but it must be recognized that the other side has done everything in its power to play with the Iraqi intransigence and not to facilitate flexibility, compromise, accommodation. They have treated this country as if it were the worst enemy of mankind since the very beginning, and that's why I do not believe that sanctions when they were imposed were anything but a step toward a confrontational approach, a step towards a military intervention in the area.

EC: Today on CNN it was reported that some U.S. administration officials had announced that Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait was no longer enough to satisfy the United States, that now only surrender would be accepted. Later there were some statements where officials were seen backpedaling, saying, "Well, we don't want to be hung up on language." However, asking for surrender seems to go far beyond even the language and authority of Resolution 678.

RA: Exactly, but I would say that this perhaps is the most sincere statement coming from the U.S. side. When they say that, they are telling the truth. The motivation of all this process, all that has been

Continued on page 18

# IRAQ, THE KURDS, AND THE GAS: A CAUTIONARY TALE

By Alan Bickley

"When the law is against you, argue the facts. When the facts are against you, argue the law." Following this rule of the trial lawyer trade, anti-interventionists have been conceding the U.S. Government's version of the facts in the matter of Iraq's use of poison gas against the Kurds.

"Saddam is truly beastly," goes the refrain that establishes their credibility. There follows a reference to the Iraqi use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish minority, in one particularly horrifying instance killing thousands in a single town. The inescapable conclusion is that Saddam is thoroughly evil. Advance admission of this fact is supposed to make the anti-interventionist argument that follows that much more potent. Thus has Halabja been transformed by the design of the State Department and the sweet reasonableness of many in the antiwar movement into the Guernica of the 1980's. The trouble with the equation is that, like much of the pop mythology we carry in our heads, it may not be true.

On December 17, 1990, an *Associated Press* dispatch summarized a report prepared for the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The main part of the AWC report had to do with the efficacy of Iraqi armor and fighting spirit. Of greater interest in a time of U.S. propaganda overkill, however, is the finding by the report's authors that the United States "had no conclusive evidence when it accused Iraq of using chemical weapons against its Kurdish minority in September 1988." The report was declassified last

summer before Iraq invaded Kuwait.

Co-author Leif Rosenberger told *AP* writer Joan Mower that the State Department claims "rest solely on testimony of the Kurds, who have long sought autonomy from Iraq." The report says that "there were never any victims produced. International relief organizations who examined the Kurds . . . failed to discover any." The authors "concluded that the Kurds had symptoms — such as temporary blindness and skin blisters — that are more commonly associated with attack by fuel air explosives rather than chemical weapons."

Then on to the nitty, the charge that Iraq wreaked a terrible vengeance on the town of Halabja in March, 1988, by killing an undetermined number of its Kurdish residents. A multitude of subsequent news reports have alluded to this event. Unfortunately for its credibility, the reports diverge on important details, such as number of victims, method of delivery of the chemicals, and the date upon which it is supposed to have happened.

Most of the reports fix the date at either the 16th or 17th of March, but the *United Press International* on March 10, 1989, puts the date of the Halabja affair on March 28, 1988. The number of victims varies from *Facts On File*'s "hundreds, perhaps thousands" to Nicaragua Network's 6,000, cited in an antiwar flier prepared on January 9, 1991. Various wire service reports have given estimates ranging from "hundreds, perhaps thousands," attributed in one case to the CIA, to 5,000 in the March 10th report cited above.

*UPI* United Nations reporter Jim Anderson gets the name of the town wrong. He calls it Kalabaja, a spelling which may

appear in some atlas somewhere, but not in the *London Times Comprehensive Atlas* nor in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

The means of delivery of the lethal chemicals is in dispute, with some reporters holding out for bombs, others for artillery shells, and Jim Anderson declaring that the town was sprayed. *Facts On File*, April 1, 1988, states that the town had recently been entered by Iranian Revolutionary Guards, most of them equipped with gas masks, and thus not harmed. *Facts On File* states that Iranian army film appears to show the town under chemical attack, covered with a whitish cloud. It neglects to say how the cloud came to be.

Said the War College report:

Iraq was blamed for the Halabja attack, even though it was subsequently brought out that Iran too had used chemicals in this operation, and it seemed likely that it was the Iranian bombardment that had actually killed the Kurds." The report noted that pictures from Halabja showed victims with blue mouths and hands, which points to a cyanide-based gas. The Iranians — not the Iraqis — are known to possess such gases that affect the blood.

The stories of Iraqi gas attacks on the Kurds are shaky, at best, when it is noted that the Turks were unable to find even one case among the Kurdish refugee population to sustain the charges. Secretary of State George Schultz declared in the summer of 1988 that the State Department had incontrovertible evidence to prove the case, but such evidence has not been made public, if it exists.

The *AP* story was largely ignored in the daily press. The *Los Angeles Times* carried the dispatch as it came from the wire. The

*Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Chicago Tribune* carried stories on the War College report, but ignored the conclusions about the use of gas against the Kurds. The *Middle East Insider* on January 31, 1991, said that the Bush Administration has suppressed the AWC report. A challenge to the conventional view of the Iraqis as war criminals in this limited matter may be too inconvenient to talk about openly.

The book on the Iraqi use of gas against the Kurds is not closed, but it is clear that there are good reasons to doubt the stories that have done so much to narrow the moral difference between Saddam and Hitler in the minds, not only of the most fervent supporters of the war, but of its opponents. Among these reasons are (1) a lack of credible eyewitnesses, (2) parallel stories — never verified or even followed up — of thousands of gas fatalities in other Kurdish villages, suggesting that they do "protest too much," (3) a lack of medical evidence of the use of gas, (4) a lack of forthrightness about detail and evidence from the State Department, (5) confusion in the mass media, typically accepting of U.S. official versions of controversial matters, about specific and presumably ascertainable details.

Critics of the government cite its failure to protest too vigorously against the allegation that Iraq gassed the Kurds, as if this were evidence of our side's moral blindness. Try this alternative explanation: the State Department never put much stock in the gassing stories, but with the wisdom born of experience, it tucked them away for use at a time when they might be needed to justify an otherwise unsalable war. That time came in August 1990. ■

# War Protest-Related Police Brutality Challenged in San Francisco

By Rory Cox

A rash of police brutality against protesters by the San Francisco Police Department has accompanied some of the largest anti-war demonstrations in recent history.

Among the cases being pursued by the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is one of a Turkish woman who was beaten by police and subsequently miscarried. [She was not at the scene to demonstrate. In fact her husband is currently serving in the army in Saudi Arabia.] Riva Enteen, demonstration coordinator of the NLG, says that many of the 1,700 arrests that have been made so far have been done in indiscriminate sweeps where neither demonstrators nor bystanders were given the alternative to leave. The result is that over half of these arrests have been of people legally demonstrating on the sidewalk, or who just happened to be in the way of police at the wrong time. She cites as examples two 15-year-old Catholic school girls who were leaving a fast food restaurant in the Financial District, a Financial District bank manager, two Hastings law professors, and two state public defenders.

Several incidents involving mace and clubbing were reported, leading members of groups such as the NLG, Greenpeace, Pledge of Resistance, and AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP) to charge that

these are intimidation tactics used to discourage future protests. Hundreds were detained at the remote, dilapidated Pier 40, where the police set up an area they designated with a hand-written sign: "Operation Desert Keep." Demonstrators were held up to 10 hours, and were denied water and restroom facilities for several hours.

"An attorney was outside, wanting to get in," said Enteen, "and they wouldn't let the attorney in. The fear is that this is a preview for marshal law tactics."

According to a Greenpeace press release, many of those arrested at one non-violent demonstration were detained with high bails and exaggerated charges, such as "failing to leave the scene of a riot," when nothing even resembling a riot was occurring. "Mayor Agnos said he wants our protests to be peaceful," said Darla Rucker of the Pledge of Resistance, "yet he sends in the police to break up our peaceful gatherings."

Police spokesman Dave Ambrose, in a response to criticism which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle, said "In every case I've seen the people have had ample time and avenue to disperse. We're getting complaints from people saying we didn't do enough, or that we did too much, and once again, police officers are stuck right in the middle."

There's no dispute that the recent announcement by the Golden Gate Transit board imposing a fine of \$10,000 for blocking the Golden Gate Bridge is intended as intimidation. But what's more of an ominous sign for demonstrators is the recent dispatching of a Special Operations Group (SOG) SWAT team

to the Federal Building by U.S. Marshal Reginald Boyd. Now carrying 9mm semiautomatic pistols and wandering the hallways of the Federal Building, this group in 1973 took part in a 71-day stand-off with the American Indian Movement at Wounded Knee, S.D. There they trained Bureau of Indian Affairs police in the use of carbines and shotguns, and collaborated with the FBI and the Army under the approval of then General Alexander Haig. This incident effectively dealt a crippling blow to the growing Native American movement for self-determination. Some of those arrested are still incarcerated, and have been recognized by Amnesty International as political prisoners.

The SOG also helped quell 1975 riots in Boston over the desegregation of schools, and last year helped extradite Manuel Noriega to the United States. Boyd told the Chronicle they were hired because "they take care of business."

Meanwhile, the media's distorted portrayal of "violent" protesters seems to have gotten one neighborhood post office to take very seriously a package left on their counter several hours after a non-violent march went by its front door. Not knowing what to make of the package, the West Portal post office called the bomb squad, who closed and evacuated the post office and all surrounding buildings. Two hours later, according to the San Francisco Examiner, the bomb squad dared to open the package, only to find a box full of stainless steel pots and pans.

## Here Comes President Kill Again by Andy Partridge-XTC-1989

Here comes President Kill again, surrounded by all of his killing men. Telling us who, why, where and when. President Kill wants killing again.

Hooray, ring out the bells, King Conscience is dead. Hooray, now back in your cells, we've President Kill instead.

Here comes President Kill again. Broadcasting from his killing den. Dressed in pounds and dollars and yen. President Kill wants killing again.

Hooray, hang out the flags, Queen Caring is dead. Hooray, we'll stack body bags, for President Kill instead.

Ain't democracy wonderful? Them Russians can't win! Ain't democracy wonderful? Let's us vote someone like that in.

Here comes President Kill again. From pure White House to Number 10. Taking lives with a smoking pen.

President Kill wants killing again.

Hooray, everything's great, now President Kill is dead.

Hooray, I'll bet you can't wait to vote for President Kill instead.

done against Iraq — and I said that in the Council on the first day of the crisis — is not to achieve the restoration of the Kuwait independence and sovereignty and to get the Iraqis out of Kuwait.

The real aim is to destroy Iraq, and that is why no compromise was sought with Iraqis, no flexibility was promoted on the Iraqi side, but on the contrary, everything was done to reach a point in which now they can say that openly. But of course that's to go very far beyond the U.N. resolution. Suppose that if Iraq withdraws from Kuwait, or if it is forced to withdraw, at that moment the original problem has disappeared and everything should go back to what was the first — but that is not the intention of the U.S. That has never been. And at least through those statements to the media, disclosing what I think many people have suspected from the very beginning of the crisis.

EC: Ambassador, there are any number of ways in which this crisis may end. One possible end of the crisis or direction of the crisis would be to establish the United States as the new international police force, particularly in the Third World, and this so-called "New World Order." Now, prior to this crisis, it had appeared as if the United States Information Agencies were turning up the heat on Cuba, and some people who are Latin Americans in the country were speculating as to whether or not after Panama, Cuba might be the next target of U.S. military intervention. If President Bush is able to come out of this crisis successfully, with a successful use of military power, would that make people in Cuba nervous that perhaps your nation might be the next

target of U.S. military intervention?

RA: Well, I think that if the events were to develop in the way that some people appear to hope in this country, and the U.S. to impose its will and also using methods that are really barbaric — it's a sort of electronic barbarism that we are witnessing now in this merciless effort to annihilate an entire nation — of course, the precedent for the future of international relations will be very, very grave, and certainly Cuba is one of the few countries that continues to be a target of hostility and aggressiveness on the part of this country. The conclusion for us is very clear.

But I think that it is yet a little bit early to anticipate the outcome of this war. The war has only started, and I don't have much information, but as you know it's one of the characteristics of this war that information is very scarce and pretty well controlled, but I don't know what is really going on in the area. I think that we have to wait and see what is really happening there and what kind of outcome will come from what has started yesterday.

EC: Premier Fidel Castro, though not widely respected in the United States, is, however, widely respected in the Third World. He's made some recent statements concerning this crisis. Can you tell us anything about his recent statements?

RA: Well, he said that this is a very sad situation. He said — let me quote from him — "Everybody's to blame." He expresses sentiments of pain and shuddering for these developments and for the loss in human life and material

wealth, and he said that the main responsibility lies on the shoulders of he who fired the first shot and of those who supported him. He added that Cuba did all it could in the Security Council and in direct contacts with Iraq to achieve a political solution. He accused the United Nations and the United States of a double standard, and asked himself what would have happened if Kuwait had been invaded and occupied by a country that possessed nuclear weapons.

He insisted that the war would have been avoided and sanctions against Iraq would have been given more time. The United Nations still had an arsenal of measures in reserve to compel Iraq to leave Kuwait and restore the sovereignty of that emirate without firing a shot. The war, he said, will have unpredictable consequences for mankind as a whole, and particularly for non-oil producing Third World countries.

And he said that the hegemonic policy of the United States and the intransigence of Iraq are the main elements responsible for the outburst of war in the Gulf. That was in resumé what he said yesterday, talking with some journalists that happened to be in Havana — some U.S. journalists. We are really very, very concerned.

We think that this is a very sad moment for the peoples involved, including the people of this country. Human life will be lost unnecessarily. And the effects in economic terms, in ecological terms, may be very, very severe for everybody on this planet, and also this war may signify a very severe blow to the idea of an international order based on certain

principles of equality, of respect for small countries, and especially based on peace and peaceful resolutions of differences among states.

EC: Ambassador Alarcon, Ambassador from Cuba to the United Nations, thank you very much. I know that you are incredibly busy in this time of crisis for the United Nations, and I appreciate your taking time to speak with us and the listeners of KPFA.

RA: I thank you very much, and it was a privilege for me.

## International Day of Student and Youth Mobilization Against the War — February 21, 1991

On January 27, 1500 students and youth from over 100 campuses and high schools met in Washington DC. At the same time, 500, from over 30 campuses, met in Berkeley, CA. We have come together to unify our many protests into a single day of mobilization to stop the war.

Students from France and other countries are joining in, making this an international day of action.

Malcolm X was assassinated February 21, 1965.

**Stop the War! Bring the Troops Home Now! No Legal or Economic Draft! Fight Racism! Develop a sustainable and renewable energy policy. End all occupations in the Middle East.**

**Contacts:** Kate Morris 415-327-1003  
Rhodney Ward 415-653-5442  
for Peace in the Middle East, 1225 15th St N.W. Washington DC 20005.  
(202) 462-1801.  
Fax: (202) 232-5210.

movement.

•**Israel:** Organizers expect 30-40 people to take part in an anti-war vigil outside the US Embassy on 25 January. They will call for an immediate cease fire. Several anti-German demonstrations with lots of participants took place shouting slogans like "German gas is killing Jews again". Arab villages offered their homes as shelter for Israelis living in the cities.

•**Italy:** 100,000 young anti-war demonstrators marched in Rome on 19 January. Big demonstrations also took place in Florence, Milan, Naples, Turin and other cities all over the country.

•**Japan:** Anti-war protesters have rallied in Tokyo, Okinawa and Osaka. Students of Tokyo University participated in demonstrations outside the US embassy. Protests are mainly against Japanese financial support of the war.

•**Jordan:** Although the majority of the population is supporting Saddam there has also been a peace demonstration in Jordan. The professors of Jordan's universities marched for peace last week.

•**Lebanon:** Thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians celebrated the Iraqi attacks on Israel and protested the US and allied attacks on Iraq on 18 January.

•**Libya:** One million people, led by Col. Gaddafi demonstrated against the war and called for Kuwaiti self-determination, according to the State News agency.

•**Malaysia:** The 300,000 member Pan Malaysian Islamic Party said it expected to sign up thousands of Moslems for a jihad to relieve Iraq.

•**Mauritania:** Angry pro-Iraq/anti-France demonstrations were held on 17 January, and hundreds of French citizens

took refuge in the French embassy after local officials said they could not guarantee their safety.

•**Morocco:** All eight opposition parties have demanded that the government withdraw the forces it contributed to the war. All sports events scheduled for this weekend have been canceled ahead of planned pro-Iraq demonstrations. Schools have also been closed. King Hassan had promised to decree a state of siege at the first sign of disorder, threatening that agitators will be tried by military tribunals.

•**Netherlands:** Some 500 anti-war protesters blocked traffic in Amsterdam on 18 January, and clashed with police who tried to disperse them. Some other rallies took place in Amsterdam on Saturdays.

•**Nigeria:** A group of demonstrators, mainly Shi'ite Moslems, were dispersed by police using tear gas at a protest against the killing of Moslems in Iraq.

•**Norway:** There has been a peace vigil of 1500 people at the US embassy. In general the Scandinavian people are rather more moved by what's happening in the Baltic states.

•**Pakistan:** Several thousand pro-Iraq/anti-American demonstrators rallied across the country, and police in Karachi battled protesters with tear gas and batons on 18 January. Pakistan has since been the site of some of the most vehement anti-US demonstrations. Millions of Moslems have also thronged mosques to listen to prayers for Saddam's victory. The radio station "Deutsche Welle" reported 60,000 volunteers to fight for Iraq against the USA. The Pakistani gov-

ernment is trying to gather Arab leaders in Karachi for a peace conference.

•**Philippines:** On 25 January, some 70 people protested in front of the US embassy in Manila, supporting Iraq's annexation of Kuwait.

•**South Korea:** Thousands of students rallied to protest the ruling party and US involvement in the Gulf.

•**South Africa:** White extremists sent a message of support to Saddam on 16 January, which was also echoed by hard line black separatists. The letter read in part: "May your weapons be blessed." On 18 January, 70 Moslems were arrested for protesting the US position in the Gulf. Moslem groups have asked President F.W. de Klerk for permission to send a force of 10,000 to aid in the fight against the US and allied troops. On 25 January, several thousand people in Johannesburg and 2,500 in Durban protested US intervention in the Middle East.

•**Spain:** Over 300,000 anti-war protesters (mostly students) have rallied across the country for several days. Thousands of students skipped class on 23 January, and 10,000 marched through the streets of Barcelona to protest the war and Spanish involvement. Some anti-US/anti-NATO sentiment has been expressed. Meanwhile the catholic church of Spain supports the peace movement. Unions called very successfully for a two hours strike protesting the war. The Spanish government declared that it would not consider an Iraqi rashness on bomb attacks flown from Turkey as a NATO defence case.

•**Sudan:** Several thousand anti-

American/anti-Israeli protesters marched in Khartoum on 19 January. An anti-war march on 18 January ended in violence outside the Saudi Arabian embassy.

•**Sweden:** Besides demonstrations to support the Baltic states there have been several peace vigils against the Gulf War as well.

•**Switzerland:** About 20,000 protesters have come out against the war across the country on January 26th. General assemblies in Swiss universities passed resolutions against the war.

•**Tunisia:** Mass rallies have been held by the Moslem population in support of Iraq, and young men are reportedly signing up to volunteer to fight for Saddam Hussein.

•**Turkey:** Nearly 2,000 Moslem fundamentalists protested in Istanbul on 18 January against the attack on Iraq. They later issued a statement which said that "the U.S. is trying to tarnish the beliefs and honor of the Moslem peoples." The majority of the miners are on strike. Their original demand for fair wages has become a movement against the war. A march of 50,000 miners has been stopped with massive police forces even using tanks. People in the east of Turkey are strongly opposing German, American and Dutch forces in the region. Meanwhile Turkish newspapers like "Hurriyet" (Freedom) are running a campaign to free the Turkish minority in the north of Iraq. Actually these are Kurdish people, a nation that has always been suffering under the Turkish government as well. Recently the Turkish government withdrew a law banning the Kurdish language in Turkey (after 8 years) and calls itself protector off the Kurdish

nation, which is now living in three different countries.

•**United Kingdom:** Tens of thousands of people, including many students, protested the war and Britain's involvement at rallies across the country. Protest centers appear to be London and Scotland. Leaders of Britain's 1.5 million Moslems called for British withdrawal from the war. Several Arab civil rights activists have been imprisoned. Far reaching censorship in the British media refuses to give sufficient coverage of peace rallies. The BBC directors even banned songs from "Give peace a chance" to "Walk like an Egyptian", the Sunday Times reported. The High Court in England has ruled that a students union can not use its funds to protest against the war. The case was brought to the court in a remarkably short time considering the mentality of the case and the action was taken by a member of the Conservative party in the university. It means that it is now very easy for any student to stop their union from using money in this manner, reported by the Guardian.

•**USA:** Until February 1st 3243 events have been counted against the war in the country. The biggest rally against the war took place in Washington D.C.. Organizers estimated close to 250,000 participants.

•**USSR:** Hundreds of pro-Hussein demonstrators, mostly Arab, gathered in Moscow and Leningrad on 18 January to condemn US and Soviet policy in the Gulf.

•**Yemen:** Two days of anti-American, anti-war, pro-Iraq protests involved about 200,000 people in the capital of Sanaa.

•**Yugoslavia:** There were big demonstrations in Beograd (Belgrade) and in all other major cities. They were attended by several thousand people and were mainly attended by all members of the public, not necessarily students or trade unionists.

— Bernd Schneider

News of Actions for Mideast Activists 4:53 am Feb 4, 1991

This is an attempt for an update of the sitrep 9 report of Greenpeace US based on different sources listed at the end of the text.

Sources: Greenpeace USA  
Situation Report (SITREP) No. 9  
Special Report, The Opposition to War  
•**NEWSLETTER-network, faxes, phone calls and e-mails reaching the office every day c/o ASIA Uni Hannover** (Student Council of Hannover University) Mail: Welfengarten 2c, W-3000 Hannover 1, Germany  
Ph: +49 511 762 5061/62/63/64 (English as well!)

*This information is also available on PeaceNet in a conference called <mideast.action>. Call PeaceNet at (415) 923-0900.*

**CALENDAR** continued from p. 10  
8188 or Marin Center for Peace and Justice 459-5676)

**South Bay:**

Daily 7:30 to Midnight, vigil at San Jose Federal Building, First & San Carlos, San Jose (Peace Camp (408) 297-2299)

Sundays 5:00 to 7:00 pm, vigil at Plaza Park in San Jose (Women Opposed to War (WOW) (408) 288-6320)

## ATTENTION PEACE ACTIVISTS: TO STOP THIS WAR, WE MUST BECOME MEDIA ACTIVISTS

### HELP GET ANTI-WAR VOICES IN THE MASS MEDIA

A Communiqué by Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting

Unless the Persian Gulf debate is dramatically expanded, hopes for peace will be dashed. No matter how many anti-war protests there are, the plunge toward war will be unstoppable unless the U.S. public begins to hear anti-war perspectives—loudly, clearly and consistently—through the mass media. Too often, media "debates" are reduced to this year's secretary of defense vs. last year's secretary of defense, or Republican hawks vs. Democrats who don't seriously challenge the policy.

Polls show that millions of people oppose this war. Peace vigils, teach-ins and marches are occurring across the country. But the national leaders of this movement have been dramatically underrepresented in national media forums.

### THE SITUATION CAN BE CHANGED

In the wake of FAIR's recent expose of bias and censorship against progressives on the McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour, that program (seen by millions every day) began opening up to people who had generally been excluded from TV; Noam Chomsky, Erwin Knoll of *The Progressive*, Edward Said and others offered dissenting views on the Gulf crisis. Their presence helped move these

discussions beyond typical TV "debates" focusing on tactical questions, such as "How long will it take to get this war over with and bring the troops home?"

### WHAT YOU CAN DO

—Phone and write national media outlets asking them to be more professional in providing balanced journalism. Good journalism requires that policy critics be quoted alongside policy makers in print stories or TV segments. Democracy and independent journalism require full-spectrum debate—not tweedle-dee, tweedle-dum. When you communicate with TV producers and other journalists, question their professionalism, their lack of objectivity and balance, not their "bad politics."

—If you are part of an organization, set up media committees to lobby the media toward the balance and inclusion. Demand that the leader of your national organization be included in debates.

—Quick response: As soon as you see a report or TV discussion that excludes all but members of the white, male foreign policy establishment, that's the time to call and lodge a protest. Remember: African-Americans, Latinos, Arab-Americans were never part of the so-called "national consensus" in support of Bush. Women have been far more skeptical about the policy than men. Demand that people of color and women participate in the national debate over the war.

—Let FAIR know what you are doing. Send us copies of your written correspondence with the media.

**Join FAIR. 130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (201) 633-6700.**

## RESOURCES Continued from page 28

Military Families Support Network, Box 11098, Milwaukee, WI 53211 (414) 964-5794  
 Mustard Seed Affinity Group, 6022 Thornhill, Oakland, CA 94611, (415) 339-2753  
 NAJDA (Women Concerned About the Middle East), PO Box 7152, Berkeley, CA 94611  
 National Association of Black Veterans, Box 432, Milwaukee, WI 53211 (800) 842-4597  
 National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, 104 Fulton St., Rm 303, NY, NY 10038 (212) 227-0221  
 National Lawyers Guild HOTLINE for men and women in the military, their families, and those concerned about the draft. (800) 86-NO-WAR  
 National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East c/o USSA, 1012 14th St., N.W., Suite 200, Washington, DC 20005 (202) 462-1801  
 New England War Tax Resistance, Box 174, M.I.T. Branch Post Office, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 859-0662 (617) 859-0662  
 New Jewish Agenda, 64 Fulton St., #1100, NY, NY 10038 (212) 227-5885  
 Operation Real Security, 2076 East Alameda Dr., Tempe, AZ 85282 (602) 921-3090  
 Palestine Aid Society, PO Box 1190, Daly City, CA 94107, (415) 591-2010  
 Palestine Solidarity Committee, PO Box 27462, SF, CA 94127, (415) 861-1552  
 Palestine Solidarity Committee, Box 372, Peck Slip Station, NY, NY 10272 (212) 964-7299  
 Palestinian American Youth, PO Box 27561, San Francisco, CA 94127  
 Parents Against the War, (415) 665-6572  
 Paper Tiger TV/Gulf Crisis Project, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012 (212) 228-6370  
 Paper Tiger TV (415) 558-0320  
 PeaceNet (415) 923-0900  
 Peninsula Peace Center, (415) 32-PEACE, 555 Waverly, Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 326-8837  
 Physicians for Social Responsibility, 2288 Fulton #307, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 845-8395

Pledge of Resistance, 4228 Telegraph, Oakland, CA 94610, (415) 655-1177  
 Propaganda Review, c/o Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 332-8369  
 the Public Eye (415) 332-8369  
 Resource Center for Nonviolence (Middle East Witness), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626  
 Roots Against War, (415) 548-0425  
 SANE/Freeze, 347 Dolores #335, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 621-7770  
 Seattle Coalition for Peace in the Middle East, 4554 12th Ave. NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-7207  
 Seeds of Peace, 2440 16th St., Box 241, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 420-1799  
 Southern Rainbow Education Project, 46 E. Patton Ave., Montgomery, AL 36105 (205) 288-5754  
 Speak Out [progressive speakers bureau] (415) 864-4561  
 Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network, (415) 273-2427  
 Tri-City Peace Action, 4127 Bay, Box 224, Fremont, CA 94538, (415) 888-2130  
 United Bay Area Veterans Against War in the Middle East, PO Box 40755, SF, CA, (415) 255-7331  
 Veterans Peace Action Teams, PO Box 170670, SF, CA 94117, (415) 753-2130  
 War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450  
 Washington Area Labor Committee Against War in the Middle East c/o SEIU Local 722, 1673 Columbia Rd., NW, Washington DC 20009 (202) 483-6221  
 Women Against Imperialism, 3543 18th, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 995-4735  
 Women For Peace, 2302 Ellsworth, Berkeley, CA (415) 849-3020  
 Women's Peace Office/Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 50 Oak, Rm. 503, SF, CA 94102, (415) 621-1371/863-7146

## CALENDAR continued from page 2

**Feb. 23 (Saturday) March & Rally in Santa Rosa** to bring our troops home now (Action Coalition on the Mid-East (707) 575-8902) meet 1:00 PM at Santa Rosa Jr. College (1501 Menocino Ave.); rally at 2:00 at Old Courthouse Square  
**Feb. 24 (Sunday) Black Voices Against the War** speakers include conscientious objector reservists Farcia de Toles & Azania Howse 4:00 PM (for location and other info call Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women at 864-1278)  
**Mar. 2 (Saturday) Racism in Wartime Panel Discussion** speakers include Arab community representatives and black Vietnam vets 7:30 PM at the Women's Building, 3543 18th St, SF (John Brown Anti-Klan Committee 330-5363)  
**Mar. 8 (Friday) Wall of Women Against the War** demonstration on International Women's Day (Women Against Imperialism 995-4735) 5:00 PM, gather at Justin Herman Plaza (Market & Embarcadero in S.F., at Embarcadero BART)

## ON-GOING ACTIVITIES:

### San Francisco:

**24 Hour vigil** at SF Civic Center plaza (Homeless Vets Against the War, Food not Bombs 330-5030, SF Peace Camp)  
**Mondays 8:00 pm**, Gulf War Video Pretest Update on Viacom Cable Channel 25 in SF (Paper Tiger TV 695-0931 or 558-0320)  
**Wednesdays 7:00 AM**, rush-hour banner; meet in S.F. at 1050 South Van Ness (at 21st) (Pledge of Resistance 665-1177)  
**Fridays 12:30 pm**, vigil at SF City Hall (Polk Street) (S.F. Women In Black 755-

2708-wear black; women & men welcome)  
**Saturdays 8:00 to 9:00 pm**, "Sound Off" call-in TV show on KRON Channel 4 (561-8000; during show; 1-800-464-3090)  
**Tuesdays & Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM**, vigil at S.F. Federal Building (Mustard-seed Affinity Group, (415) 339-2753)  
**Paper Tiger TV's Gulf War Update** - SF Cable 25 - 8PM every Mon. night  
**PCTV in East Bay** - 7:30PM every Wed., 3:30 every Thur. afternoon, 7:30 every Mon. night. 558-0320

### East Bay:

**24 Hour vigil** at Concord Naval Weapons Station (Nuremberg Actions 689-9620; training info 825-8335-Victor)  
**Daily 12:00 noon**, vigil at the Fruitvale BART (Fruitvale & 14th-Latinos to Bring the Troops Home Now 534-0078)  
**Thursdays, Noon to 1 PM**, vigil at 14th and Broadway, Oakland, near 12th St. BART (Parents Against the War, (415) 658-6572)  
**Fridays, 5:30 to 7:30 PM**, vigil at Concord Army Recruiting Station, 1812 Galindo at Concord Blvd., Concord (Mount Diablo Peace Center, (415) 933-7850.)  
**Saturdays, 5:30 to 6:30 PM**, vigil at Petaluma Blvd. & Washington St., Petaluma (Petaluma Peace Group (707) 762-1325.)  
**Wednesdays 7:00 am**, rush-hour banner; meet in Oakland at 4228 Telegraph (at 43rd) (Pledge of Resistance 655-1177)  
**Thursdays 5:00 to 6:30 pm**, vigil at Chevron station at Lakeshore & Mac Arthur, Oakland (NE corner of Lake Meritt) (Lake Meritt Neighbors Organized for Peace-LMNOP 465-7568)

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## HOW DID (DO?) THE FBI COINTELPRO OPERATIONS WORK?

COINTELPRO was the FBI code acronym for its COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

By Brian Glick

Excerpted by permission from "War at Home" A South End Press Pamphlet/Booklet - Available from the Movement Support Network

When congressional investigations, political trials, and other traditional legal modes of repression failed to counter the growing movements, and even helped to fuel them, the FBI and police moved outside the law. They resorted to the secret and systematic use of fraud and force to sabotage constitutionally protected political activity. Their methods ranged far beyond surveillance, amounting to a homefront version of the covert action for which the CIA has become infamous throughout the world.

FBI Headquarters secretly instructed its field offices to propose schemes to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" specific individuals and groups. Close coordination with local police and prosecutors was strongly encouraged. Other recommended collaborators included friendly news media, business and foundation executives, and university, church, and trade union officials, as well as such "patriotic" organizations as the American Legion.

Final authority rested with FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. Top FBI officials pressed local field offices to step up their activity and demanded regular progress reports. Agents were directed to



maintain full secrecy "such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques." A total of 2,370 officially approved COINTELPRO actions were admitted to the Senate Intelligence Committee, and thousands more have since been uncovered.

Four main methods have been revealed:

**1. Infiltration:** Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main purpose was to discredit and disrupt. Their very presence served to undermine trust and scare off potential supporters. The FBI and police exploited this fear to smear genuine activists as agents.

**2. Psychological Warfare:** From the Outside: The FBI and police used myriad other "dirty tricks" to undermine progressive movements. They planted false media stories and published bogus leaflets and other publications in the name of targeted groups. They forged correspondence, sent anonymous letters, and made anonymous telephone calls. They spread misinformation about meetings and events, set up pseudo movement groups run by government agents, and manipulated or strong-armed parents, employers, landlords, school officials and others to cause trouble for activists.

**3. Harassment Through the Legal System:** The FBI and police abused the legal system to harass dissidents and make them appear to be criminals. Officers of the law gave perjured testimony and pre-

sented fabricated evidence as a pretext for false arrests and wrongful imprisonment. They discriminatorily enforced tax laws and other government regulations and used conspicuous surveillance, "investigative" interviews, and grand jury subpoenas in an effort to intimidate activists and silence their supporters.

**4. Extralegal Force and Violence:** The FBI and police threatened, instigated, and themselves conducted break-ins, vandalism, assaults, and beatings. The object was to frighten dissidents and disrupt their movements. In the case of radical Black and Puerto Rican activists (and later Native Americans), these attacks—including political assassinations—were so extensive, vicious, and calculated that they can accurately be termed a form of official "terrorism."

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## Report All Incidents to the— Movement Support Network

The Movement Support Network (MSN) is a project of the Center for Constitutional Rights with cooperation from the National Lawyers Guild. MSN was founded in 1984 to respond to increasing government surveillance and harassment of people involved in Central America solidarity work and people active in the sanctuary movement. Since then the network has expanded to serve as a monitoring mechanism to collect information about surveillance and harassment of

persons involved in a wide range of peace and social justice issues.

By collecting and disseminating information on specific incidents, MSN not only organizes opposition to such abuses, but also raises public awareness of important civil liberties issues, and helps activists place isolated incidents in a national context.

For more information or to report an incident, contact MSN, 666 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10012.

The MSN HOTLINE # is (212) 614-6422.

# Resources

Ace Investigations, PO Box 1633, Pacifica, CA 94044, (415) 381-0734  
American Friends Service Committee (Middle East Program), 2160 Lake, SF, CA, 94121, (415) 752-7766  
American Friends Service Committee (Youth & Militarism Project), 1407 46th Ave., Oakland, CA, 94601, 533-7554  
American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7165  
Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20008, (202) 244-2990  
Bay Area Direct Action Network, 2215 R Market, SF, CA, (415) 464-3020  
California Students Network Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, 1083 Mission, SF, CA 94103, (415) 431-4617  
CAYME (Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East), 255 9th St., SF, 94103, (415) 626-8053  
Central Committee for Conscientious Objection, Berkeley (415) 474-3002  
Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215) 545-4626  
Clergy and Laity Concerned, 17 North State St., Room 1530, Chicago, IL 60602 (312) 899-1800  
Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, 36 East 12th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 777-1246  
Covert Action Information Bulletin, PO Box 34583, Washington, D.C. 20043, (202) 331-9763  
DAGGER (Dykes and Gay Guys Emergency Response), 3543 18th St., #26, SF, CA, 94110, (415) 558-8671  
Dallas Coalition for Middle East Peace c/o The Peace Center, 3100 Martin Luther King Blvd., Dallas, TX 75215, (214) 421-4082  
Earth Action Network/Community Action Network, 1711 Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 843-4306/843-

8788  
Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East, 2489 Mission, Rm. 28, SF, 94110, (415) 821-6545.  
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), 130 W. 25th St., New York, NY 10001, (212) 633-6700  
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, (914) 358-4601  
Fellowship of Reconciliation (Middle East Task Force), 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, (408) 423-1626.  
Food Not Bombs, 3145 Geary #12, S.F., CA 94118, (415) 330-5030.  
Frank Little Club, 5134 Red Oak Dr., Concord, CA 94521, (415) 7948-3698.  
Global Exchange, 2141 Mission Rm. 202, S.F., CA 94110 (415) 255-7296  
Greenpeace, Fort Mason, Building E, San Francisco, CA 94123, (415) 474-6767  
Gulf Peace Action Team, Box 598, Putney, VT 05346, (802) 387-2600  
Haight/Ashbury Neighborhood Council, 1750 Waller, Rm. 202, SF, CA 94117, (415) 566-1767  
Hands Off, 111 East 14th St., Room 132, New York, NY 10003 (212) 353-2445  
In These Times, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054  
January 26th Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now, 255 9th St., SF, CA 94103, (415) 626-8053  
KPFA, 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704  
Los Angeles Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East 8124 West 3rd St., Los Angeles, CA 90048 (213) 655-3728  
Media Alliance, Building D, Fort Mason, San Francisco, CA 94123 (415) 441-2557  
Middle East Peace Action, 2140 Shattuck #207, Berkeley, CA (415) 548-0542  
Military Family Support Network, 4350 Heights, Pittsburg, CA 94565 (415) 432-0961

Continued on page 24

to start to follow police and vulnerable. If you don't know what you're doing, trying to follow you. It is interesting to have someone threatening to follow you.

Don't let yourself be an incident. With a little bit of planning, you can avoid being a target of the FBI. Don't let yourself be a target of the FBI.

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