

AFFIDAVIT OF GARY BELLOW

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS)
 :
COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX)

Gary Bellow, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a professor at Harvard Law School and an attorney at the Legal Services Institute in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts.
2. I make this affidavit with knowledge that it will be provided to Grove Press and Richard Cummings prior to the publication of a book about Allard K. Lowenstein.
3. The draft book asserts that Allard K. Lowenstein was an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency ("CIA") in Spain and southern Africa (and, impliedly, Portugal) from at least 1962-67. I believe this assertion to be false, for the reasons set forth below.
4. On April 18, 1975, Allard K. Lowenstein after consultation with me, made Freedom of Information Act requests to the CIA, the FBI and the Defense Department, seeking copies of all reports, memoranda and documents about his background, associations and activities. The CIA forwarded some documents in late 1975, and Mr. Lowenstein also received documents from the State Department, to which the CIA had referred Mr. Lowenstein's request. Mr. Lowenstein was not satisfied with the CIA's production of documents, since (a) most of the produced documents were heavily redacted and (b) the CIA stated that it was refusing to produce numerous other documents. Accordingly, on April 28, 1976 I wrote on Mr. Lowenstein's behalf to then-CIA director George Bush, seeking a more complete production -- but this effort was to no avail. Efforts are now under way to seek additional production

from the CIA.

5. In the documents that the CIA did produce, nothing supported the draft book's assertion summarized above in paragraph

3. One of the contrary CIA-produced documents was stamped with the date September 20, 1962 and stated:

"[Redacted] should know Lowenstein is among other things a troublemaker out to establish self as American through whom Spanish opposition leaders should deal. To our knowledge [sic] he represents no one but himself in spite of propensity for name-dropping.* * *"

This document was written during the time period when, according to Mr. Cummings' book, Mr. Lowenstein was working for the CIA in promoting the downfall of the Spanish government.

6. After Allard K. Lowenstein was nominated by President Carter to serve at the United Nations, Mr. Lowenstein telephoned me. He expressed concern that during the Senate confirmation process, the CIA might provide information which would be used to support accusations that he had associated with Communists and "left-wing" groups. Mr. Lowenstein later informed me that a congressional committee had made arrangements for me to discuss his file with a CIA employee in Langley, Virginia -- on condition that I take no notes. Mr. Lowenstein told me that my assignment was to determine whether the CIA was going to accuse him of engaging in "subversive" activities or participating in "subversive" organizations.

7. I went to the CIA's headquarters and met with a person who appeared to be a low-level employee. He spent several hours with me describing (but not showing me) documents in the file. Nothing that I heard or saw there in any way indicated that Mr. Lowenstein had ever been a CIA agent. I did determine from the discussion that the CIA obviously had kept Mr. Lowenstein

under surveillance on many of his trips abroad and, to some degree, in the United States.

8. Immediately after leaving the CIA's headquarters, I phoned Allard K. Lowenstein and said that if the CIA had anything about his being a subversive, it was not in what I went over that day. Rather, I said, what I saw was just a bunch of reports reflecting the CIA's surveillance of Mr. Lowenstein.

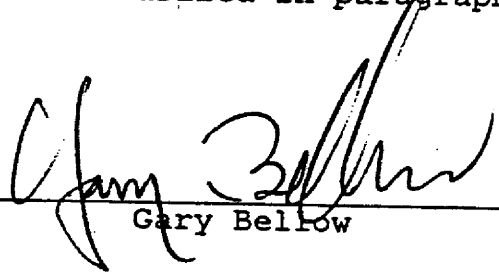
9. In none of our discussions did Mr. Lowenstein ever suggest any concern that he would be identified as a CIA agent. Indeed, I recall Mr. Lowenstein being livid about people in the National Student Association ("NSA") having hidden from him the NSA's ties to the CIA.

10. I provided Allard K. Lowenstein with a copy of the papers which the CIA had provided. Those papers are now at the Southern Historical Collection of the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ("the Southern Historical Collection"). I have been informed that those papers were already at the Southern Historical Collection when Richard Cummings visited there and that no one prevented him from seeing those papers on those occasions. I am informed that Ronald J. Tabak will be providing Mr. Cummings (and his publishers' attorney) with access to those papers again, along with this affidavit.

11. After the "Evergreen" magazine article by Richard Cummings about Allard K. Lowenstein appeared, I telephoned Mr. Cummings at his home. I said that I was troubled about the article's allegations about Mr. Lowenstein and the CIA and asked him to sit down and talk with me about his basis for the assertions in the article. I agreed to drive to Suffolk County, Long

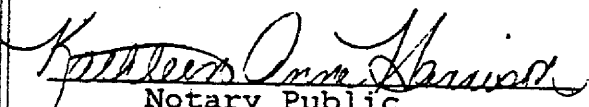
Island and to phone him the night before to make arrangements. When I finally reached him, he was so unbelievably emotional and made such angry accusations about me that I stated that my visit to him would now be pointless. I subsequently told Martin Garbus, the attorney representing Grove Press, that in view of Mr. Cummings' emotional state, I had no reason to believe that he would act responsibly if I provided him with information.

12. Had my meeting with Mr. Cummings gone forward, I intended to inform him of the facts summarized in paragraphs 4-10 above.



 Gary Bellow

Sworn to before me this
 22nd day of February, 1985.



 Notary Public