

COUNTED-SPY

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee For A Fifth Estate Vol. 1 Issues 4 & 5 \$1.50

TERRORISM WHAT'S BEHIND IT?

WANTED BY THE FBI

NATIONAL FIREARMS ACT; MATERIAL WITNESS

Patricia Campbell Hearst

FBI No. 325,805 L10

Date photograph taken unknown

Alias: Tania

Age: 20, born February 20, 1954, San Francisco, California

Height: 5'3"

Eyes: Brown

Weight: 110 pounds

Complexion: Fair

Build: Small

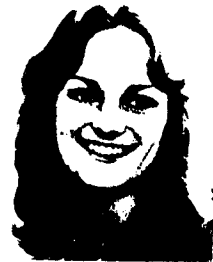
Race: White

Hair: Light brown

Nationality: American

Scars and Marks: Mole on lower right corner of mouth, scar near right ankle

Remarks: Hair naturally light brown, straight and worn about three inches below shoulders in length, however, may wear wigs, including Afro style, dark brown of medium length; was last seen wearing black sweater, plaid slacks, brown hiking boots and carrying a knife in her belt



CAUTION

THE ABOVE INDIVIDUALS ARE SELF-PROCLAIMED MEMBERS OF THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY AND REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN IN POSSESSION OF NUMEROUS FIREARMS INCLUDING AUTOMATIC WEAPONS. WILLIAM HARRIS AND PATRICIA HEARST ALLEGEDLY HAVE RECENTLY USED GUNS TO AVOID ARREST. ALL THREE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND VERY DANGEROUS.

Federal warrants were issued on May 20, 1974, at Los Angeles, California, charging the Harris' and Hearst with violation of the National Firearms Act. Hearst was also charged in a Federal complaint on April 15, 1974, at San Francisco, California, as a material witness to a bank robbery which occurred April 15, 1974.

IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THESE PERSONS, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

C. M. Kelley

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

Entered NCIC
Wanted Flyer 475
May 20, 1974

Also in this issue:

NCLC: THE WORD IS BEWARE.....FBI'S COINTELPRO ANALYZED.....MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS AGAINST CIVILIANS EXAMINED.....IDENTITY: CALIFORNIA'S RIGHT WING RISING.....U.S.-AFRICA POLICY: INTERVENTION BY PROXY!.....

EDITORIAL

In this edition, *Counter-Spy* examines two organizations responsible for terrorizing various segments of the American population. The Fifth Estate maintains an on-going interest in the subject of terrorism through our Terrorist Information Project (TIP). Our articles illustrating the activities of the *Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA)* and the *National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC)* will hopefully shed some light on a subject that lies hidden in the shadows of government secrecy, media sensationalism, public paranoia, and political manipulation.

Future issues of *Counter-Spy* will focus on governmental and corporate counter-terrorism efforts in the fields of law enforcement and intelligence. In this issue, we deal with another aspect of the problem—the real and present danger that security forces will go to an extreme to promote fears of terrorism.

Terrorism is gaining in popularity as a political tactic in many struggles around the world. Both right and left wing forces have discovered that, where other tactics are impossible (or fail) terrorism can keep an issue alive. While there are differences in the left and right approaches to terrorism, the public has never accepted terrorism as a correct political tactic. The mass media portray terrorism in much the same light as the would the actions of an irrationally violent individual.

The result of all this is that the focus of security agencies in the United States has shifted from combating monolithic communism and dissent at home to the new focus of counter-terrorism. Terrorists are being promoted within the security community as the new "Bogey Men," and agencies are requesting less restraints and more money to develop new techniques. The first focus (monolithic communism) proved to be non-existent and the security effort vis-avis Moscow was, in retrospect, laughable. As Watergate has shown, the second target proved real but legitimate in our republic and the security effort became un-American and almost fascistic. Where security forces failed to stop so-called "monolithic communism" and "organized subversion", they now promise to "counter" terrorism.

During the period of the "cold war" in the fifties and domestic unrest in the sixties and early seventies, the "enemy" often proved to be a creation of, or manipulated by, the same security forces that were established to protect the interests of the United States. In an effort to justify cold war "dirty tricks" it was necessary for national security managers to promote and/or use the myth of an alien red menace. Likewise, to justify similar tactics domestically, it was necessary for security men to demonstrate that dissent was subversive. We believe that it is possible that history will be repeated, and that terrorist groups will either be formed or manipulated to justify the designs of those persons who have made security their lives.

Evidence exists in abundance that security forces helped to foster the monolithic communist menace hoax. Evidence also exists that various security agencies agitated peaceful dissent into violence. And now as these same agencies are promoting terrorist organizations as the newest threat to the peace and freedom of citizens, indications are that certain agencies, for their own byzantine ends, are promoting terrorist groups.

In examining the activities of the *SLA* and *NCLC*, we do not wish to unnecessarily "agent-bait" these groups. It is quite possible that they are simply people whose analysis of the current political situation leads them to believe that the tactics they have chosen are the only ones that will work. And it is indeed probably that most of the membership of these organizations really believe in what they are doing. However, enough questions have been raised about the *SLA* and the *NCLC* for *Counter-Spy* to raise the issue of whether or not they are being manipulated and/or controlled by certain security agencies.

We must emphasize that all the evidence is not in. There are a great many questions to be answered. Our only desire is to ask the questions and raise the issue for our readers. It is the responsibility of both these organizations to answer these questions and resolve this issue.

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RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ISSUE: Tim Butz, Bart Osborn, Winslow Peck, Doug Porter and the Counter-Spies of the Fifth Estate.

«TRENDS»

A Spy On Every Block

In the wake of the SLA, the California State Senate Subcommittee on Civil Disorder has recently made recommendations for new security measures for the families, residences and offices of key officials in business and government. In a page right out of 1984, the Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Dennis E. Carpenter, recommended the officials "Establish a neighborhood source of reliable information regarding suspect persons or unusual happenings. Every neighborhood had a 'busy body' and they can be useful."

(January 31, 1974 SCD Report to the California Senate)

Examining the Exorcist

One of the most widely-advertised and popular, but least-understood films to reach mass audiences in several years is THE EXORCIST, based on a novel by William Blatty. Some background on the author and his techniques in the book and film tend to explain the effect of Blatty's work on a mass audience.

After graduating from Georgetown University (where the campus scenes in the movie were shot), Blatty worked for the Central Intelligence Agency in Lebanon in the 1950's, under US Information Agency cover. Later, he returned to Washington to become Policy Branch Chief of the Psychological Warfare Division of the US Air Force. As such, his job involved the military's promotion of popular anti-communist sentiment around McCarthyism at home and Cold War foreign policy abroad.

An example of the work carried out by psychological warfare in US foreign policy is the orchestrated exodus of Catholics from North to South Vietnam in the mid-fifties. In collaboration with Dr. Tom Dooley (whom Blatty quotes in his book) and others, an extensive campaign was carried out by the Catholic Relief Service, local Catholic leaders and an American psychological warfare team to drive peasants south of the DMZ by telling them "the Virgin Mary has departed from the north" and Christ has gone to the south." Amateur as this appears now, "The mass flight was admittedly the result of an extensive, well-conducted, and in terms of its objective, very successful American psychological warfare operation." (quote in *The Indochina Story*, Bantam, 1970).

In this post-60's era of return to political passivity, when the majority of youth on and off campus display a frustration with or an abandonment of political consciousness, movie-going has enjoyed a sharp rise. This atmosphere has created a mass audience, one without specific political or spiritual direction and ripe for the suggestions which THE EXORCIST carries.

The techniques used by Blatty in his EXORCIST were well-honed by years of practice in the above government business. While in the fifties crude psychological warfare could be foisted on naive groups, Mr. Blatty's sophisticated talents have several messages in the mid-70's:

*Social conscience and faith in our own identity is

eclipsed by the threat of infestation by demonic forces (the devil). Or to quote Father Merrin in his central role as the priest-exorciser, "... I think the demon's target is not the possessed; it is us... the observers... every person in this house. And I think the point is to make us despair; to reject our own humanity... to see ourselves as ultimately bestial; as ultimately vile and putrescent; without dignity; ugly; unworthy. And there lies the heart of it, perhaps: in worthlessness. For I think belief in God is not a matter of reason at all; I think it finally is a matter of love; of accepting the possibility that God could love us..."

* Political activism is attacked by one of the main characters, Chris MacNeil, who condemns a campus demonstration by saying, "It's dumb! This scene is absolutely dumb! Her mind, though untutored, never mistook slogans for truth... And so the rebel cause, to her, was 'dumb'. It didn't make sense. How come? she wondered. Generation gap? That's a crock; I'm thirty-two. It's just plain dumb, that's all...!"

It is Blatty's message, then, that spiritual fixation and religious orthodoxy are, in the final analysis, at the service of political reaction. For religion, activated as a mass response to an externally conceived threat, can be a powerful ideological cement to keep the masses spellbound in a time of profound social crisis. For Blatty, the lessons of the 1955 Vietnam campaign have not been forgotten. Only the place and time have changed. (*Old Mole*, No. 10, Mar. 1974)

ABC News Airs Big Brother Views

On April 25, 1974, ABC News Closeup aired an hour-long special on the overgrowth of the FBI's big brother computer, NCIC (National Crime Information Center). Narrated by Frank Reynolds, the program showed the huge gap between official FBI policy on collection of data on individuals and what is actually in the computer system. To the public's surprise, ABC gained access to two terminals of NCIC, and discovered that the amount of personal history recorded on several individuals' read-outs was far more than has ever been or is being admitted by the government. Confronted by ABC with this data, officials such as FBI Director Clarence Kelly were non-plussed and angry.

Examining such practices as Department of Defense use of secret codes (spin-codes) on discharges to indicate an individual's behavior, performance or discharge circumstances, and the codes' inclusion on NCIC computer records and their availability to private corporations; ABC set a precedent in the network TV media for showing concern about the growing technofascism in American society.

With the words "COMMENTARY" carefully displayed on the screen, ABC's Reynolds concluded, "Government must keep records. But no government, no police department, no armed service has any right or legitimate reason to brand any citizen without the citizen's full knowledge."

(ABC, Inc., 1124 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036)

TRENDS

MAGIC AND BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION

The division of the Justice Department which is responsible for the rapid growth of the police state is the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Created by the Nixon Administration to react to social disorder, LEAA has the job of homogenizing state and local police through \$800 million per year worth of readily-available federal funds and appropriate strings attached. In a massive effort to bring all police in line with Justice Department "law and order" policies, LEAA encourages local forces' use of new weapons, training, technology and research and development (R&D) of social control programs.

In a recent LEAA Newsletter (March 1974), the subject of funding of R&D programs on *behavior modification* is addressed by the chief of LEAA, Donald E. Santarelli. In an effort to discourage public concern about this dehumanizing practice, Mr. Santarelli shows the dangers of bureaucratic social control when he states, "Although no LEAA funds have been used for psychosurgery, to the best of our knowledge, this particular medical technique is so fraught with peril and uncertainty that it would not be appropriate to have even a slight chance that LEAA funds were used in that way."

Paradoxically, while the LEAA chief was "forbidding the use of LEAA funds for medical research, behavior modification and chemotherapy because there are no technical and professional skills on the LEAA staff to screen, evaluate or monitor such projects", a staff review discovered a number of programs funded by states through LEAA block grant funds that may involve medical research, medical experimentation or behavior modification.

LEAA's solution? In the future, says Mr. Santarelli, "Such proposals will be referred to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for appropriate funding consideration."

Sometimes the bureaucracy is quicker than the eye. (March, 1974 LEAA Newsletter).

Chess at the Pentagon

Senator J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) charged this month that the Nixon Administration is hiding \$490 million in additional foreign military aid in the Pentagon budget. He said that a Defense Department budget item of \$490 million labeled "WAR RESERVE MATERIALS" is in reality foreign military aid, since it is not for U.S. use, but destined for use by foreign forces. However, the money is not included in President Nixon's \$3.5 billion foreign military aid program. The Defense Department says the money is earmarked for Vietnam, Thailand and Korea.

Senator Fulbright said, "This hidden item is typical of the way the Executive branch tries to get around Congressional cuts in foreign aid. Congress turns off or cuts down the flow from one foreign aid spigot and they open up another one somewhere. . . . The fact that this vast amount could be hidden away in the \$86 billion Defense budget shows how much fat there is in it."

(May 6, 1974 Congressional Record)

SAO vs. TAKEOVER

A right-wing group calling itself the Secret Army Organization has sent letters threatening the advertisers of TAKEOVER, a radical newspaper in Madison Wisconsin. The letters were left with a distributor for the Badger-Herald (another newspaper) along with a note asking him to deliver them. The distributor turned the letters over to the Madison Police Department, who promptly contacted each of the advertisers involved and told them of the threat. TAKEOVER was never contacted by the police, and learned of the threat through one of their advertisers. According to reports in TAKEOVER and the *Daily Cardinal*, a student newspaper, the SAO has sent threatening letters to radical activists in the past. The Wisconsin group has no known connection with the Southern California group of the same name that was lead and financed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The San Diego based group was responsible for a two year reign of terror directed against activists that included bombing, burglaries, and shootings.

(From combined sources)

The Eyes and Ears of "PATRIC"

One of the most advanced public surveillance systems funded by LEAA is now in operation in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). A mammoth computer, nicknamed "PATRIC" (for pattern recognition and information correlations), collects data on citizens' and motor vehicles' registration, and correlates information in seconds. For now, PATRIC's terminals are at police stations, but by March 1975, 200 LAPD patrol cars will have their own terminals. Plans call for all police stations to be linked to a central computer, which will handle calls automatically, pinpoint the exact location of every patrol car at all times, and deploy them at need. Such cities as Las Vegas and Palm Beach are following suit, and now police in California are pushing for increased use of TV surveillance. Several communities there, including San Jose, Newport Beach and Huntington Beach have refused to give police their permission to deploy TV cameras on public streets, claiming that "the videotaping of everything that happens is an invasion of privacy which creates the feeling of living in a watched society, with unnerving Orwellian overtones." (March 18, 1974 *Financial Times of London*)

Defense, Consultants and the Law

In a special spring edition, the Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action (SESPA) has updated their survey of a semi-secret Department of Defense research group called Jason II. Part of DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency, Jason Group has been challenged in the past for its role in co-opting academicians into defense-related weapons and social research.

Pointing out that the research group and its closed nature is in conflict with Public Law 92-463 (The Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972), SESPA lists some 300 professors from 132 universities who are members of Jason II, and calls for their public discussion of Jason's work. Several replies to SESPA's inquiries to academics are published, the tone of which are aloof, and the message of which is "none of your business".

(SESPA, P.O. Box 4161, Berkeley, Calif. 94704)

Post-Shootout Reflections

The above article was written before the recent police and FBI raids on SLA hide-outs in Los Angeles and the subsequent deaths of most known SLA members. By the time you read this they all may be dead.

But that does not alter our contention. It only reinforces our thesis that counter-terrorism portends far more harm to society than it's objective counter-part. To most Americans, the shoot-out in L.A. should have been familiar. We should have been prepared for the scene. The classic drama from Western movies of the posse surrounding the outlaw hide-out; the shoot-out and finally the posse burning the hide-out was played live to millions of American television viewers.

We watched as almost 500 law of-

ficers fired thousands of rounds into the SLA headquarters. We watched the SLA, hopelessly outgunned, fire wildly in a vain attempt to save themselves. And we saw the end, as police tear gas grenades ignited the structure. We also saw the police fail to warn and evacuate the other residents of the area before the firefight began. It is amazing that some innocent bystanders were not injured during the holocaust.

We should have been prepared for all of this from real life, also. The scene was reminiscent of thousands of U.S. search and destroy operations in Vietnam. The police tactical units in LA were using techniques developed by our military during the Vietnam war. And the scene was also reminiscent to hundreds of such actions in

Northern Ireland where British Special Air Service commandoes use similar tactics against the Irish Republican Army. And the scene was also similar to the FBI, Marshalls, BIA Police, and vigilante firefights with the American Indians at Wounded-Knee, or the police raids on black militant headquarters during the late sixties. In all of these actions the tactics were the same. And in all of these actions the counter-terrorism force promoted its effectiveness at neutralization of an insurgent force, political dissenters or so-called terrorist group. The action in LA was no different.

We should have been prepared. But we are numbed by another example of America becoming a battle-zone.

The Symbionese Connections

by Winslow Peck

Shortly after 7 pm on November 6, 1973, Oakland, California school superintendent Dr. Marcus Foster was killed. His deputy, Robert Blackburn, was injured in front of Oakland Unified School District headquarters by shotgun fire and .38 calibre bullets packed with potassium cyanide. Oakland police immediately began a search for three black men seen fleeing the scene. On November 10, the Oakland Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle and radio station KPFA each received an identical "Communique No. 1" from the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), claiming credit for the attack.

Dated November 6, 1973, the letter from the "Western Regional Youth Unit" of the SLA stated that Foster and Blackburn had been tried by a "Court of the People" which found them "guilty of supporting and taking part in crimes committed against the children and the life of the people."

Specifically, the letter charged that the school officials were guilty of cooperation with the police, probation officers and school officials in planning the creation of a school system police unit and student identity card system.

On November 15, 1973, the Oakland school system announced that the I.D. card system would be discontinued "until the feelings of students and parents can be reassessed." The same day, the SLA sent a second communique saying the school board's action indicated "an attempt to heed and respect the wishes of the people." The SLA also announced their decision to with-

draw a "shot-on-sight order" against other members of the school board. But the letter warned that attempts to reinstate "programs of political police forces in our schools" would result in the death warrant order being reactivated without warning.

Efforts by California law enforcement authorities to solve the case remained fruitless until January 10, 1974, when the case appears to have broken suddenly and by chance. At about 1:20 a.m., on that date, Sgt. David Duge of the Concord Police Department (Concord is a suburban town 20 miles northeast of Oakland), patrolling in the Clayton Valley area of Contra Costa County, observed a red 1965 Chevrolet van, roaming the streets aimlessly.

After maintaining a watch on the van, Sgt. Duge pulled it over in the vicinity of Ayers Road and Sutherland Drive and approached it on foot. He saw there were two men in the cab and obtained the identification of the driver, Robert Scalise, and returned to his cruiser to complete the checking process. As he did so, either the driver or the passenger, or both, opened fire on him.

The shots missed Duge, but shattered the window of the patrol car. Sgt. Duge returned the fire; the Chevy van attempted to drive away, but was prevented by a shot which punctured the tires. The driver received a superficial shoulder wound. The van ran off the road, and Sgt. Duge was able to arrest the driver, who was armed with a .38 Colt revolver. The passenger ran away when the van crashed. Four hours later, hiding under a

parked car in a yard near Ayers Road and Sutherland Drive, the passenger was arrested by Concord police officer Jim Alcorn. He was armed with a .38 Walther semi-automatic pistol, but offered no resistance.

A search of the van, which was registered to a Nancy Devoto, 3856 Whittle Avenue, Oakland, resulted in the discovery of some 2000 SLA leaflets in English, Spanish, Chinese and Swahili, a 9-mm rifle and a carton of tools.

Later that day, the passenger and the driver of the van were charged with assault with intent to murder Sgt. Duge, and bail was set at \$250,000 each. The passenger was identified as Joseph M. Remiro. Robert Scalise turned out to be an alias for Russell J. Little. Both were quickly transferred from Contra Costa County Jail to San Quentin State Prison for security reasons.

At approximately 6:15 pm, a house at 1569 Sutherland Court, in Clayton was set afire from a five-gallon container of gasoline. Black powder was also scattered on the floor. The Concord Fire Department arrived shortly thereafter and prevented the fire from damaging the entire premises.

Following the fire, the Sutherland Court house was searched. Materials found included several pounds of potassium cyanide, bullets with the tips drilled and packed with cyanide, pipe bombs, explosives, ammunition cartons for 12-gauge shotguns and .30 calibre rifles two boxes of 9-mm ammunition, parts of dismantled weapons and stocks for carbines. Police also found new Lafayette walkie-talkies, wilderness maps for adjoining counties, and the Grand Tetons, and maps of Oakland and vicinity marked to show possible escape routes in and around the city.

Papers discovered in the house included a list of California prison officials and their wives marked for assassination, together with a record indicating that a form of surveillance was being kept on some of them. Some of the death warrants were for executives of the largest industries in California. The house also contained the original SLA communique announcing the execution of Foster, an SLA communique not sent to the media, and press clippings relating to the claim made by the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement (ASGM) that they had shot down an Oakland Police Department helicopter, killing two officers on October 2, 1973.

The documents indicated that the SLA had conceived of their group as a vanguard revolutionary cadre which would eventually encompass all revolutionary cadres in the United States. Some of the documents apparently were combat manuals and regulations for SLA actions.

Police investigators learned in August, 1972, a woman using the alias Nancy Devoto rented the house on Sutherland Court. According to neighbors the house was occupied by George and Nancy Devoto. The neighbors then identified George Devoto as Russell Little. Nancy was later identified by the police as Nancy Ling Perry.

California law enforcement authorities then proceeded to search the other address given by Remiro and Little. A search of Little's address at 5939 Chabot produced evidence similar to that at Sutherland Court. The Walther pistol was identified as the one used to kill Dr. Foster. Remiro and Little were then charged with these crimes.

On January 19, the San Francisco Chronicle received a communique from "Fahizah, former name Nancy Ling Perry", in which she stated that she, Little and Remiro were only information and intelligence cadre and

did not participate in the hit. However, she stated their duties were to support those SLA members who did.

Also, in the communique Perry stated that the SLA had no connection with the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement, claiming ASGM was a police plot to "discredit revolutionaries and confuse the people."

The Hearst Kidnapping

At about 9:20 pm, on February 4, in Berkeley, California, two men and a woman forced their way into the apartment of Patricia Hearst and Steven Weed. After beating Weed and a neighbor, and firing a fuselage at the apartment house, the group fled the scene, kidnapping Ms. Hearst.

On February 7, communiqués were received by radio station KPFA and the Berkeley Barb, accompanied by a credit card issued to Ms. Hearst's father, Randolph A. Hearst, president and editor of the Examiner and chairman of the board of the Hearst Corporation. This communique stated that Ms. Hearst had been arrested by the SLA and that more communiqués would follow.

On February 9, a reporter for the Palo Alto Times received a telephone call from a member of the SLA who used the name "Sanzinga". Sanzinga discussed the kidnapping and stated the previous message from Nancy Ling Perry should be presented in full by the San Francisco Examiner, which did so the next day.

On February 12, radio station KPFA received a cassette tape recording accompanied by an 8-page cover letter from the SLA. The tape recording contained a 15-minute message from Ms. Hearst and two messages from males who identified themselves as SLA members. One of the male voices identified himself as "Field Marshal Cinque". The four pages of the letter following the statement of demands were an SLA version of the Declaration of Independence and two versions of the SLA combat documents found by police in the Sutherland Court House.



Remiro (left), Little

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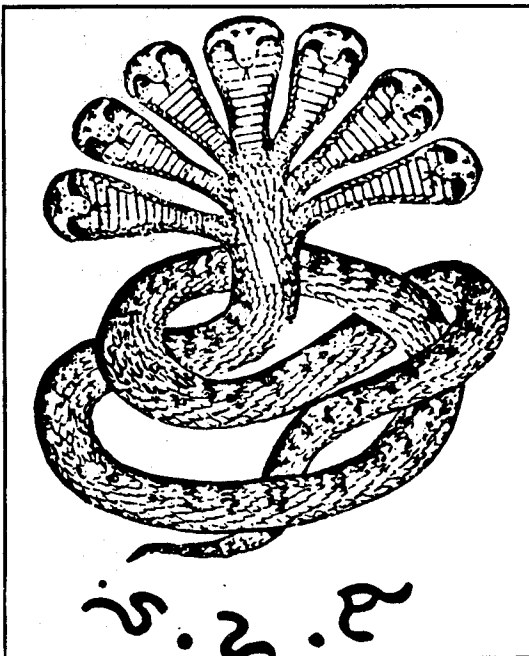
The first page contained demands for free distribution of \$70 worth of food to all of California's poor, aged, disabled veterans and ex-convicts as a gesture of good faith. Besides details of the food distribution, the document demanded that several community groups supervise the massive food distribution project. The demands included that reports of the progress of the distribution be published by several leftist newspapers.

On Friday, February 15, Field Marshal Cinque was identified by law enforcement authorities as Donald David DeFreeze, who escaped from Soledad Prison in March 1973. The second man was identified as Thero M. Wheeler, who escaped from Vacaville Prison on August 2, 1973.

For the next two months, negotiations between the SLA and Hearst continued. Hearst implemented a food distribution program which eventually, it seems, won some acceptance by the SLA. However, the SLA's attempts to have Remiro and Little give a press conference were blocked by Contra Costa County Superior Court Judge Sam Hall. Eventually, the SLA agreed to release Ms. Hearst unharmed.

But then a new communique was received. This time it was accompanied by a color photograph of Ms. Hearst holding a submachine gun in front of the SLA's seven-headed cobra symbol. Also included was a tape recording on which Ms. Hearst declared that she had adopted the name Tania, and was joining the SLA, and denouncing her parents and fiancé.

The SLA declared that the Hearst operation was finished, but that new actions were in the offing. Cinque, alias DeFreeze, announced that death warrants had been issued against three former comrades who Cinque had claimed had become informers: Colston Westbrook, former black administrator of a Black Cultural Association at Vacaville; Chris Thompson, an original member of the SLA; and Robyn Steiner, a friend of Little's. (Police also stated that three others were marked for assassination in the SLA documents, including Huey Newton, leader of the Black Panther Par-



UPI

ty, and Raymond Procnier, a California state corrections official.

Later, a black man and four white women held up the Hibernia Bank branch in San Francisco's Sunset district. The man was identified as DeFreeze, while the women were identified as Patricia Solysik, Nancy Ling Perry and Patricia Hearst. The LSA announced that this was Tania's introduction to the world as a soldier of the SLA. The five were covered by four other SLA members outside the bank. Altogether, the group made off with \$10,960.

The other four were not identified by the police, but were believed to be among those sought for the kidnapping; Thero Wheeler, William Wolfe, Angela Atwood and Emily and William Harris.

Although claiming to be a revolutionary group, the SLA has received almost no support from the American left. Only the Black Liberation Army (BLA), a group formed from a splinter of the Black Panther Party, has expressed complete solidarity with the actions of the SLA. However, their support appears to be a product of the romanticism of the SLA's actions rather than from any organizational links between the two groups. The support from the Weather Underground appeared to be qualified, in that they could not understand the killing of Foster and other tactics of the SLA. Foster was a respected black bureaucrat in Oakland, who had privately conceded to Black Panther demands to stop the student identification system. There is no evidence that the Weather Underground is in any way connected to the SLA.

Most other left groups have denounced the SLA for "left adventurism", incompetent analysis and planning, strategic inappropriateness, moral corruption and "more revolutionary-than-thou-ism". Angela Davis, speaking for the National Alliance Against Racism and Oppression, declared, "We disassociate ourselves entirely from this sort of thing." Huey Newton, Black Panther spokesman, denounced the SLA as "enemies of the people". And in a joint statement, the six groups named by the SLA to distribute the food agreed to cooperate, but added flatly, "We do not condone terrorist activity." Leftist newspapers across the country have expressed many of the same sentiments.

Those on the left who have not denounced the SLA appear to be confused, realizing that the injustices the SLA purports to resolve are real and abundant in American society, but that the SLA's methods are currently abhorant to the population. It has also been observed that the SLA's rhetoric exposes them as more culturally nationalist than Marxist in orientation. There is considerable doubt in some circles that the SLA is a left-wing organization.

Repressive Reaction

Most ominous has been the reaction from various security agencies. The Subcommittee on Civil Disorders of the California Senate, in a report dated January 31, 1974, attempted to link the SLA with practically every group in California working for prison reform. The report attempted to link the SLA with the Black Guerrilla Family, a group of black prisoners ideologically connected to the Black Liberation Army. The only connection offered was that Nancy Ling Perry had in her work with prisoners in 1973 visited members of the BGF. No evidence was presented in the report which definitely showed any connection between the BGF and the SLA.

The report goes on to state that the "SLA is thought to be a cadre of the Venceremos Organization (VO)".

Only proof of connection offered was that SLA member Thero Wheeler had once written a letter to *Pamoja Venceremos*, official organ of the VO claiming to be a prison member of that organization. The VO was a quasi-Maoist group working in the prison movement until 1972, when they were dismantled by police infiltrators and internal splits.

The report, in essence, used the appearance of the SLA to call for increased security measures from California agencies. By "terrorist-baiting" both reformist and radical groups in California, the Subcommittee on Civil Disorder targeted these groups for counter-terrorist operations. The report states, "The time for *preventive measures* against terrorism has arrived, and the Subcommittee will endeavor to assist in creating those measures, as well as being instrumental in their implementation."

In February, 1974, the House Internal Security Committee of the United States Congress released a staff study on the SLA. Following the same pattern as the California report, although not publically calling for preventive measures, they attempted to link the SLA with practically every organization attempting to change the prison system in California. The links presented, like those in the California report, were superficial and circumstantial. Neither the California subcommittee or HISC revealed the sources of their information. But the style in which both reports presented the links between the SLA and other organizations appears to be pure propaganda rather than objective research.

While these two reports were justifying new security measures, the Department of Justice had begun its attempts to apprehend the SLA. Soon after the kidnaping, Attorney General Saxbe ventured that the SLA was a prime suspect in twelve seemingly motiveless Bay Area murders, later to be known as the Zebra killings. Later, Saxbe stated that the FBI should move in and capture the SLA if and when their whereabouts became known. This raised fears by the Hearst family and the media that Ms. Hearst might be killed in a shoot-out between the SLA and the G-men. Saxbe and the FBI retreated quickly, venturing assurances that everything possible would be done to protect Ms. Hearst's life, although it is FBI policy that hostages are expendable.

After Ms. Hearst conversion to Tania and the bank robbery, she be branded Ms. Hearst as a "common criminal", producing an outrage from her father and most of the media.

The FBI for its part, descended upon California and began one of the most massive dragnets in the agencies history. In the Bay area alone over a thousand Federal, State and local agents were trying to locate the SLA under the direction of Special Agent Charles Bates, who has continued to insist the FBI does not have any idea where Ms. Hearst is being held. However, some controversy on this was raised when some FBI officials in Washington stated flatly that they had pinned down the neighborhood where the SLA was holed up.

Obstensible the FBI agents in disguise were covering all egress and entry points to the neighborhood. In the Sunset District of San Francisco, FBI and local police conducted house-to-house searches for the SLA. Meanwhile, Clarence Kelley, FBI director was attempting to scotch the notion that the FBI knew the location of the SLA but were not going in for various political reasons. The controversy over the FBI's actions continued when the FBI ended their dragnet for the kidnapers in many East coast cities. Some law enforcement authorities assumed that the FBI had ended its search



PATRICIA HEARST POSING BEFORE S.L.A. EMBLEM
"I have chosen to stay and fight."

and that it was only a matter of time before the SLA was apprehended. However, no apprehension followed.

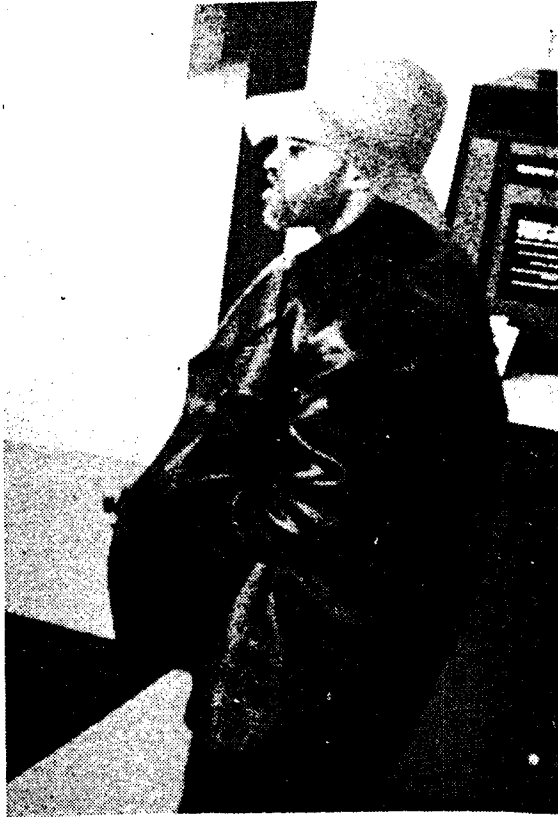
The only SLA hide-out found since Ms. Hearst's conversion to Tania was found when the landlord of the building received complaints about cockroaches coming from an apartment. When he investigated, he found slogans signed by both Cinque and Tania on the walls.

WHO'S WHO

The women in the SLA appear from both police reports and people who have known them to have developed a political analysis during the past three years, although they were involved periferly in the civil-rights and anti-war movements. Coming from somewhat dissimilar middle-class backgrounds, they all evidently became involved with the prison movement in California. Several of the women were involved in the day women's movement and the FBI believe that they are perhaps the true leadership of the SLA.

Nancy Ling Perry aka Fahizah, is the daughter of a prominent businessman in Santa Rosa, California. A conservative in highschool and at Whittier College (President Nixon's alma mater), her politics and life-style became more radical after moving to Berkeley in 1966. After a short marriage, college, a period of heavy psychedelic and amphetamine usage, Perry's consciousness shifted and she became active in radical politics, especially the prison and Indian rights movements. During this time she was living with prison reform activist Russle Little.

Camilla Hall is the daughter of a Minneapolis minis-



ter and is a humanities graduate of the University of Minnesota. In 1970, after three years as a social worker in Minneapolis, she moved to Berkeley and got a job as a gardener. She became active in the womens and prison movements. The media has noted that she is a fine poet.

Patricia Soltysik, aka Mizmoon, aka Zoya, is believed by the FBI to be the chief theoretician of the SLA. She is the daughter of a pharmacist in Goleta, California. After a background of being a high school honors student, senior-class treasurer and avid 4-H club member, Soltysik won a scholarship to Berkeley. In 1971, she dropped out of school and became involved in many political causes while working as a part-time janitor in the Berkeley library.

Angela Atwood, aka Genina, majored in education at Indiana University where she became a close friend of Emily and William Harris. In 1970, she was an activist student teacher in Indianapolis but shortly thereafter she separated from her husband and moved to Berkeley to live with the Harris.

Emily Harris was a member of the Alpha Chi Omega sorority at Indiana University. She taught junior high school English for a year in Bloomington. She and her husband moved to Berkeley in 1973. She worked as a clerk typist at the University of California and then became active in politics in the Bay area. She had leadership in the Oakland Chino Defense Committee, which raised funds for the legal defense of members of the Venceremos Organization accused of aiding a prison escape in 1972.

The white men identified as being with the SLA have

similar backgrounds moving from typical middle-class white male identities to radical politics in the last few years. Their work was primarily with the prison movement.

Thero Wheeler, the other black man besides Cinque identified as being a member of the SLA, escaped from Vacaville in August 1973. A letter he once wrote from prison to the Venceremos newspaper claiming to be a prisoner member of that organization has been touted as proof of the SLA's ties with the VO. In Vacaville, Wheeler was also active in the Black Cultural Association with DeFreeze.

DeFreeze

It is the background of Donald David DeFreeze that is most interesting. DeFreeze was from 1965 to 1969 an occasional informer and agent for law enforcement agencies in California and other states. During this time his activities primarily consisted of being an occasional informant on contraband and stolen arms.

Several times during this period DeFreeze was arrested and received light punishment or probation even when the crimes were felonies. On March 31, 1965, DeFreeze was arrested in West Covina, California with a bomb, knife and sawed-off shotgun. He received probation on June 7, 1965. On June 9, 1967, DeFreeze was again arrested for robbery but was only charged with two counts of possession of explosives, and one count of possession of a concealed weapon. DeFreeze again received probation this time for three years. On December 2, 1967, DeFreeze was arrested for the fifth time on an arms charge. He also robbed and beat a prostitute. En route to the police station, DeFreeze escaped and was recaptured but was not charged.

Four days later on December 6, 1967, DeFreeze set up his partner, Ronald Coleman by telephone and then led police to Coleman's apartment. There a cache of 200 weapons were discovered. The weapons had come from a surplus store and police surmised they were intended for the black cultural nationalist group, U.S. DeFreeze, though he had violated two probations, was given five more years probation.

In 1968, DeFreeze was arrested, for the sixth time, for burglary in Inglewood, California. Although armed, he was released with no charge. In August of 1968, DeFreeze was arrested for grand larceny. At this time he was assigned for psychiatric examination. The psychiatrist assigned to him was Frederick J. Hacker, M.D. Hacker recommended that DeFreeze be locked-up because of his violent tendencies. Hacker has since been hired by Randolph Hearst as an "expert" on the SLA.

Freed and back out on the streets, DeFreeze was arrested for the seventh time for an armed offense in April, 1969. He was charged with unlawful possession of a dangerous weapon—a semi-automatic M-68 9-mm rifle, which was fully loaded. He was also charged with burglary but, again, was released.

At this time DeFreeze violated his probation and traveled to New Jersey. While in New Jersey, DeFreeze and another man posed as Black Panthers and assaulted an employee of a Jewish synagogue with a shot-gun, demanding \$5000, and information and aid in a scheme to kidnap a well-known Newark Jewish rights leader. DeFreeze escaped authorities in Newark, crossed state lines and, in October of 1969, surfaced in Cleveland, DeFreeze appeared on the roof of the Cleveland Trust Company Branch Bank with a .38 revolver, .25 caliber pistol, an eight inch dagger, a tool kit and a hand grenade. Cleveland police during this period were on alert

for Black militants because of the Ahmed Evans affair of black militants involved in a shootout with police. Yet, DeFreeze was released with very low bail and the charges were dropped. Although DeFreeze was wanted at the time on a capital offense in New Jersey as well as probation violations in California, DeFreeze was released.

DeFreeze then went back to California and only days later, while on drugs, robbed a woman at gunpoint of a \$1000 check and using false identification, tried to cash the check at a Bank of America. DeFreeze exchanged gunshots with a bank guard and was wounded. The gun used in the shootout was a .32 caliber Berretta automatic pistol. There is some evidence that this gun was one of the original 200 which the police had confiscated from Coleman's apartment in 1967.

On December 3, 1969, DeFreeze was ordered imprisoned at the Vacaville Medical facility.

It is evident that DeFreeze was working for some law enforcement agency during this period. Information gathered by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC), an independent California research group cooperating with the Fifth Estate, indicates that the primary agency using DeFreeze was the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department.

One of the arresting officers in December 1967 was Detective R. Farwell. Farwell went on to be an official of the CCS and is now involved with the Public Disorder Intelligence Unit. PDIU is a subunit of the CCS which monitors Black political activity in the state of California. Police sources indicate that the predecessor of the PDIU was known as the "Fuck-Fuck Unit", and was involved with running guns to various black militant groups in the late sixties in Watts in the hope of setting off a gang war between the Black Panthers and the U.S. organization.

Five months before DeFreeze turned in his partner with the 200 guns, California law enforcement authorities were in an uproar because a delegation from the Black Panther Party had legally demonstrated at the Sacramento State House carrying unloaded guns in order to protest a piece of pending legislation.

During the fall of 1968, several agents of the CCS manipulated the U.S. organization into attacking the Black Panthers. At the same time CCS agent provocateur Melvin "Cotton" Smith had penetrated the Black Panther Party and set them up for a bust in 1969. In December of 1968, the Black Panther leaders John Huggins and Alprentice Carter were gunned down on

In prison De Freeze was active in the Black Cultural Association, which was a cultural nationalist grouping dominated by former members of the U.S. organization. DeFreeze attempted to gain leadership in the BCA but failed. He then approached the prison authorities and established his own organization, "Unisight", supposedly concerned with the problems of the families of Black prisoners.

While organizing Unisight, DeFreeze came in contact with the prison activists who have been identified with the SLA. DeFreeze escaped from Soledad prison in March 1973 and contacted Patricia Soltysik. Members of several community organizations in the Bay area remember that several people who have now been identified with the SLA appeared at various meetings and attempted to move the organizations toward more militant actions. Apparently when they were ignored, the group formed the SLA.

But to attempt any complete analysis of groups like the SLA it is important to examine the political conditions which spawned them. The SLA's origins are in the development of prison activists in California, where more than 20,000 men and women are locked up and kept under some of the worst conditions in civilized society. In the midst of inhuman penal life several ethnic groups developed originally for self-protection but then became organized criminal gangs. This is what the prison activists found when they went to organize the prisoners.

The original and probably largest and most powerful is the Mexican Mafia (EME). Formed early in the 60's, the EME became a major force in narcotics traffic in the prisons and the streets of Southern California. EME members number, according to corrections officials from a hard core of 300 to 800 in the statewide system.

The Nuestra Familia, or New Family, is the second most populous and powerful organization in the prison system. Originally formed by Chicanos from the rural areas of California as protection from the urban based EME, the Nuestra Familia now competes with EME in narcotics traffic.

The Aryan Brotherhood is a white supremacy, anti-Black group consisting primarily of motorcycle outlaws, such as the Hell's Angels, American Nazi Party members and members of the Manson Family. The Aryan Brotherhood has become allied with the EME based on their mutual anti-Black feelings. The EME also uses the Aryan Brotherhood for attacks on New Family members.

The Black Guerrilla Family, is the most recent group to appear in the prison system. It is evidently the rem-

INFORMATION GATHERED BY THE CITIZEN'S RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE (CRIC) INDICATES THAT THE PRIMARY AGENCY USING DeFREEZE WAS THE CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY SECTION (CCS) OF THE LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT.

the UCLA campus by two U.S. members, the Stiner brothers. Both were convicted of the murder and have recently escaped from prison, and law enforcement authorities believe they might be with the SLA.

Detective Farwell indicates that his agent DeFreeze was becoming uncontrollable in 1969, and that is possibly why he received a psychiatric examination. DeFreeze's wife, after his arrest in August, 1968, wrote to the authorities reminding them of her husband's occasional work for them, and the protection that had been promised by the police.

nant of earlier Black groups such as the Cleaver faction of the Black Panthers, the Black Liberation Army, and U.S. At the present time the BGF is aligned with the New Family in its battle with the EME and Aryan Brotherhood.

As the movement against California corrections developed in the late sixties and early seventies a romantic notion redominated the political situation casting the men and women prisoners, especially Third World prisoners, as the best movement leadership because of their years of experiencing oppression. Many of these

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"COUNTER-TERRORIST TACTICS WILL NOT BE LIMITED TO A NEW ERA OF WIRE-TAPS AND ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE BY FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL AGENCIES, BUT WILL INCLUDE 'SEARCH AND CORDON' RAIDS ON NEIGHBORHOODS SUSPECTED OF HOUSING ALLEGED TERRORISTS."

prisoners did and continue to provide good leadership to this movement, but in an arena where the prisoners are primarily organized by criminal gangs it was inevitable that the prison movement would attract opportunists of every description. It was also inevitable that the prison authorities would use many of these opportunists as infiltrators and agent provocateurs in the prison movement.

A vivid example of this involved the escape of Ronald Wayne Beaty from the California Institution for Men at Chino, California. California prison breaks are quite frequent (187 last year) and don't usually attract attention. But Beaty's escape was different, it involved ultra-left members of the prison movement.

En route to court in San Bernadino County on October 6, 1973, the car transporting Beaty was stopped a short distance from the prison by two cars. In effecting Beaty's escape, one correctional officer was killed and the other seriously wounded. Two members of the Venceremos Organization were convicted of aiding the escape, but the amazing revelation was that Beaty was an informer working with corrections officials. Beaty went on to testify against the Venceremos Organization at several grand juries and was denounced by that organization as a police provocateur. This incident appears to have played a substantial role in the demise of the VO.

It is not known if Beaty was working for the authorities before the escape, but former VO members believe that Beaty's escape was planned and controlled by state authorities as an excuse to attack the organization. It is possible that the SLA is an operation similar to the Chino escape.

It is not unreasonable to surmise that a small cadre of former prison activists disturbed by the deterioration of American institutions and the general political turmoil in the world, would, in their desperation, believe that terrorism and only terrorism would provide the answer to the situation. It is also not unreasonable to assume that these feelings could be easily manipulated by agent provocateurs whose aim would be to link SLA terrorism with legitimate progressive struggles.

It is certain, whether or not the SLA is energized by agent provocateurs, security authorities are using the SLA to their advantage. FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley recently announced that his agency was "stumped" and had no idea where the SLA was located. In the same speech, Kelley asked for more authority to use wiretaps in cases like the Hearst kidnapping. If history repeats itself, the FBI will use any new counter-terrorism wiretap authority to tap the phones of anyone even remotely connected to a case.

Counter-terrorist tactics will not be limited to a new era of wiretaps and electronic surveillance by Federal, State, and local agencies, but will also involve new urban tactics such as "search and cordon" raids on neighborhoods suspected of housing alleged terrorists. In addition, the private security agencies are now experiencing an increase in the use of their services as individuals and corporations intensify their plant and personal security systems, adding the element of untrained and potential trigger-happy "rent a cops" to an already volatile situation.

The "search and cordon" procedure, developed by U.S. advisors in South Vietnam, were introduced on a mass basis in South Vietnam after the signing of the 1972 Peace Accords. It involves a nationwide system of photo identity cards and family group passes. When the police cordon off an area and begin the house-to-house searches, everyone without the proper identification is arrested.

Even as Watergate is signalling the end of the latest period of political repression, counter-terrorism is being prepared as justification for the repression of the late seventies and early eighties. Increased physical security on buildings, both government and private, larger police forces with increased budgets and an increase in domestic intelligence operations are all being readed under the banner of counter-terrorism.

At least two organizations in the East-Bay area have come under attack by the police since the Foster and Hearst incidents; the Black Panther Party and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). Both groups have political bases within the Oakland area and have been working on a variety of political projects. Until approximately the spring of 1973, Joseph Remiro had been a VVAW/WSO organizer in the East Bay area, and left the organization without much explanation.

On the day after the Hearst kidnapping, VVAW/WSO coordinator Bob Hood received a call that a friend was being interrogated at gun point on a street near Hood's house. Hood went to the scene on the incident to see if there were problems or anything that he could do to help his friends. When the police spotted Hood, they ordered him to raise his hands, handcuffed him, and charged him with assaulting an officer with a deadly weapon, a charge that carries a possible life sentence.

Hood is not out on bail, and charges the arrest is an attempt to stop political organizing in the East Bay area. A statement issued by the National Office of VVAW/WSO similarly charges that the "government is using the SLA as a smokescreen to hide its continued attacks on VVAW/WSO and other politically active organizations and individuals on the left, as well as to increase police repression in the communities of the Bay area.

A second direct attack on a political organization came in late April when the Oakland Police Department raided the Electoral Strategy Office of the Black Panther Party. Acting under the cover of serving a warrant on a Panther member, the police raided the Panther office that was continuing the work of Bobby S Seale's mayoral campaign—a campaign that pulled 38% of the vote late November—by gathering a wide base of support for the Panther program for the November City Council elections.

Thirteen Panthers were arrested in the raid and charged with possession of narcotics and unregistered firearms. After being held on a collective bond of \$300,000, the District Attorney was forced to drop the charges for lack of evidence. In the interim, the files of the Panther office had been removed by the police.

The raid violated a long standing agreement between the Panthers, through their attorney Charles Garry, and the Oakland police. An unwritten agreement worked

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out with the help of the Federal government called for any police agency with a warrant for a Panther to simply call Gerry to arrange for the surrender of the suspect. Gerry was not called in this instance, and the individual the police raided the office in search of at the time was not present and was not arrested. The Panthers term the violation of the agreement on arrests as a sign that increased police repression will be experienced by the entire population of the Oakland and East Bay areas.

Under the codewords "Operation Zebra", San Francisco police began on April 17th, a campaign of racist repression in the Black communities of San Francisco. Using tactics developed in both apartheid South Africa and the pacification programs of South Vietnam, police stopped, questioned, harrassed and issued identity cards to over 700 blacks.

Police drew upon reserve units and were armed with shot-guns during the cordoned "stop and search" missions. The dragnets ostensibly were to find the killers of several whites in the San Francisco area. Mayor Alioto has promoted the theory that the murders were the work of the "Death Angels" who he claims are a group of Black Muslims, including several former inmates of the California prison system.

Seven Muslims were arrested and three remain in prison charged with the Zebra killings, but very few law enforcement authorities have backed-up Alioto's information on the "Death Angels." This case of obvious racist repression in San Francisco had, before the appearance of Alioto's Death Angel story, been linked to the SLA.

Because of this and the simultaneous appearance of both the Zebra case and the SLA in the same area, many observers have suggested some conspiracy on the part of officials to use these phenomena for racist repression.

However, if this has been the rational for the agent provocateur element in the SLA, then the provocateur sponsors may have underestimated the effects of their actions. The SLA is an available excuse for the security measures of the seventies, but even more profoundly, the SLA is no doubt a lesson to the anti-imperialist and anti-repressive underground in this country.

The Underground

There is an underground in this country which is not opposed to using the tactics of armed propaganda. This is something liberals do not like to admit. However, a close analysis of Watergate will reveal that the methods used by the authorities are a far greater danger to most

Americans than those used by the ostensible targets of those methods. Also it is doubtful that the left underground will engage in acts similar to the SLA. Marxist doctrine is quite clear that the practice of the SLA is not to be tolerated. But the die is cast. Since the appearance of the SLA has given justification for the security effort, the underground will feel free to act. Where before there might have been an inhibition to not create an excuse for increased security, that inhibition will probably be replaced with an urgency to act. No matter what happens to the SLA, the image of Tania has excited many would-be revolutionaries in this country.

No doubt those who believe in armed propoganda against totalitarian authority will be studying the mistakes of the SLA. Mistakes rising from a cultural nationalist ideology which is easily manipulated by agent provocateurs. And mistakes rising from a provincial myopic political analysis which led to SLA to incorrectly believe that fascism is the objective condition in America today.

It is evident that the SLA members were isolated from the ideas and practice of the great majority of people in this country sincerely opposed to fascism. In their own paranoid little world of California prison conditions and police infiltration, viewing the collapse of American institutions as well as global conflict—highlighted by the fascist coup in Chile during August, 1973 when the SLA formed—fascism could indeed seem real and present.

"IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE SLA MEMBERS WERE ISOLATED FROM THE IDEAS AND PRACTICE OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY..."

Predominately, the SLA appear to have a cultural nationalist ideology rooted in the idea of all races uniting in a single fighting force to oppose fascism, which they see as the objective condition in America today. Much of their rhetoric seems to be drawn from that of the U.S. organization. The cobra symbol as well as the basic organizing principals were all used by the U.S. organization in the sixties.

While their rhetoric is dominated by cultural nationalism similar to that of U.S., their practice also resembles that of U.S. U.S. was heavily infiltrated by provocateurs and were targeted toward the Black Panthers and other left-wing groups. The SLA could have at least one provocateur (DeFreeze) in their midst.

Objectively this mixed bag of cultural nationalists and agent provocateurs are left only in appearance. In reality they are only serving as justification for increased security measures in California and throughout the country.

Perhaps, if their outlook had not been so provincial, if they had contact with the majority of others in this country opposed to fascism they would have formed a correct analysis that fascism is not the objective condition today. Certainly there have been many experiments in this country which could lead to some new form of fascism—technofascism—but that stage has not been reached. Neither the author or the Fifth Estate can condone or support the actions of the SLA which have resulted from this provincial and naive analysis.

By Doug Porter & Larry Remer

Right-wing extremism has traditionally been manipulated by various corporate and governmental forces to suit their own purposes. In the early days of the American labor movement, Coal mine owners coalesced and funded vigilante groups to harass union organizers in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. These well-funded vigilantes later became known as the Pinkerton Detective Agency. More recently, California growers have relied upon muscle provided by the mafia-dominated Teamsters to harass the organizing efforts of Cesar Chavez's United Farmworkers.

During the last decade the Central Intelligence Agency has manipulated right-wing Cuban groups (generally referred to as Gusanos) for a variety of domestic and foreign operations. Cuban operatives formed the backbone of the team that burglarized the Watergate hotel headquarters of the Democratic Party.

During 1972, the California-based Secret Army Organization (SAO), considered kidnapping radical leaders scheduled to lead protests at the GOP Convention, which was then slated for San Diego. For two years preceding this, the SAO had actively terrorized activists throughout the Southwest. Their tactics included burglaries, firebombing, and snipings. The intelligence and operations head for the Secret Army was revealed to be an FBI informer only after a bomb explosion endangered other law-enforcement officers.

This is not to say that all right-wing extremists are mindless puppets. They are mostly sincere individuals driven to an extremist position by a rabidly anti-communist or racist ideology. Furthermore, in recent years what used to be a mild distrust for the various agencies of government, has turned into a strong dislike. Discussions in right-wing circles about how to respond to current economic and political conditions have been very intense lately. There is a growing sense of urgency that action has to be taken against the government, and soon. And it seems that the Federal Government, along with certain large corporations and liberal media have replaced leftist activists as the main enemy of the right.

Nixon's trip to China sparked virulent reaction from the right. "Wanted for Treason" posters appeared in more than a dozen cities and some of the more adventurist individuals began seriously considering assassination as a political tactic. The administration's policy of detente with the

Soviet Union, the Watergate revelations, and the growing realization that they had been used has many right-wingers unhappy. But mostly they are confused.

While confusion exists, there is also an ongoing effort to unify the far right into an effective political and, if necessary, fighting force. At the head of this unification effort in the western United States is "Rev." William P. Gale. And Gale is determined not to repeat the mistakes of the past, based on his 20 years experience with the far-right.

Prior to his involvement in politics, Gale served as a Lt. Col. with McArthur's counter-insurgency forces in the Philippines. Along with CIA Operative Edward Lansdale, he helped direct operations against Huk guerilla forces. It was during this period that he developed a rabidly anti-communist philosophy.

Upon returning to the mainland, Gale and others formed the California Rangers, a para-military group determined to fight Communism wherever they could find it. The California State Attorney General's office described the Rangers as "a secret underground guerilla force...linked with other non-military organizations by a common ideology and leadership."

The rightist group's strategy of recruiting members through veterans organizations was thwarted in 1963 when the Long Beach *Press-Telegram* exposed their efforts to turn the Signal Hill Post of the American Legion into a Ranger front. This expose, coupled with increasing pressure from law-enforcement agencies (several Rangers were arrested during 1963 on illegal arms charges), led Gale to disband the California Rangers.

During the next two years, William P. Gale was centrally involved in a coalition of rightist groups known as the Christian Defense League (CDL). The coalition grew to be one of the largest ever put together on the right, and it included the Klan, the States Rights Party, and many smaller groups. CDL members were among those questioned by the Warren Commission after JFK's assassination and did little to hide the fact that they were planning and supporting actions directed against Cuba. In 1965, however, internal disputes combined with increasing problems with law-enforcement agencies led the Christian Defense League to disband.

The latest effort at unification on the right is basically a combination of Gale's first two efforts. The New Christian Crusade Church, headquartered in Glendale, California, serves

...the Federal Government, along with certain large corporations and the liberal media have replaced leftist activists as the main enemy of the right."

as an above-ground front for the recruitment of cadre into the organization known as IDENTITY.

Currently Gale is traveling throughout California and other western states speaking at "religious meetings" and recruiting new members for Identity. Among those attracted by his racist, anti-communist rhetoric are former members of the Secret Army, the Minutemen, the National Socialists White People's Party (Nazi) assorted right-wing Cubans, and according to one source, members of law-

enforcement agencies.

Identity is organized as an underground guerilla army dedicated to stopping the advance of monolithic, world-wide communism. Its members are reported to be undergoing military-type training, and they keep in touch with each other through coded conversations on Citizen's Band Radios, and a wide assortment of "dead drops."

Unlike para-military rightist organizations in the past, members of Identity are not directing any operations

towards known activists. Given the tone and nature of right-wing feelings lately, it seems likely that their operations will be directed at targets symbolic of the right's frustration with the government, big business, and the liberal press. If and when this happens, it could open a whole new chapter for America's para-military right.

Meanwhile, law-enforcement agencies in California are remaining tight-lipped about Rev. Gale, the New Christian Crusade Church, and Identity.

The Left and the Law

With the renewed interest in the 1951 Rosenberg-Sobel case, the National Lawyers' Guild has presented an overview of the case, in the light of more recent ones such as the Pentagon Papers trial, the Gainesville Conspiracy and other Justice Department attacks on the political left. The Guild expresses concern over continued "red-baiting" which was the theme of the McCarthy-era trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and which continues as a theme in the Justice Department's reaction to political activism in the 1970's.

"Unlike the 1950's, defendants today often seek to bring out, rather than hide, the politics underlying the case. All concerned parties are increasingly aware that it has become harder for the government to get convictions with the kinds of unsubstantiated and irrelevant proof of the accused's political opinions and affiliations," the Guild submits.

Pointing out that Attorney General Saxbe announced recently that Justice is "considering revitalizing its out-

dated 'attorney general's list' of organizations, along with policies against 'subversive activities'", the Guild says, "Given Saxbe's remarks, the possibility that another round of indictments attempting to link radical people to an international conspiracy which threatens 'to subvert the future of America' is not altogether remote. If this occurs, the full use of the prosecutorial facilities of the government, including informers, conspiracy charges, illegal surveillance, fabricated evidence, and the creation of an unjustified aura of national emergency can be expected. The ability of the Left to counter such an onslaught is remarkably stronger than two decades ago, although defendants are still at a serious disadvantage when forced to defend themselves against such a state prosecution."

(Guild Notes, May, 1974)

**a radical perspective
from atlanta.**

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AN NCLC ATTACK ON MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE (left) LED TO NUMEROUS INJURIES (right).



WHO'S BEHIND NCLC?

Liberation News Service

"We have an awful responsibility. Within five years we must organize mass forces capable and prepared to institute workers' governments throughout North America and Western Europe. It can be done; it must be done. It can not be done if we dally about catering to the illusions and sensibilities of people seized by foolish ideas. We are not adventurers; we shall never take childish reckless actions. Yet we shall be cruelly ruthless in carrying out those duties which are necessary to build the kind of mass force required.

*"Immediately, readers will obtain a taste of our ruthlessness in the way we proceed to finish off the Communist Party. . . . This mopping-up operation has another importance. It is one of numerous tactical rehearsals of our own membership in the development of those qualities of ruthless leadership necessary to lead the North American working class forces to workers' governments in this decade. The North American workers will have confidence in us, in our leadership, once they recognize that we have the fighting qualities, the stamina, their increasingly desperate situation demands." . . . from an editorial in NCLC's *New Solidarity*, April 9-13, 1973.*

NEW YORK (LNS)—The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has, within the last year, made a name for itself across the country. And, at a point when the establishment media revels in the conclusion that the "movement is dead," NCLC has attracted more than usual attention from the press. In recent months, two major network stations, NBC and ABC did features on NCLC' one a two-part, in-depth study. Within the space of two weeks, both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* ran feature-length stories on the group.

The reason for the attention is that, over the past year, NCLC has intensified its activities in the left community, hop-skip-and-jumping through a series of programs dubbed with names like "Operation Mop-Up," "Revolutionary Youth Movement," and the current, "CIA-Brainwash Plot." However, the most consistent feature of NCLC's various programs, schemes, positions and actions is that they all attempt to contribute to the discrediting, neutralization and harassment of leftist organizations and the Left as a whole.

NCLC is a direct descendant of the Labor Committees, who represented a tendency in Students for a Democratic Society, allied with Progress-

sive Labor in 1968-1969. Eventually expelled from SDS, along with Progressive Labor, the L.C.'s made a name for the for itself in '69 when it alone—of every progressive group in New York City—supported the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) strike, led by Albert Shanker, against the Third World community's struggle for community control of the schools.

During that period, a man named Lyn Marcus, (also known as Lyndon LaRouche) came into prominence as leader of the Labor Committee chapter at the Alternative University (a radical, "counter" university) and eventually catapulted himself into the leadership of the N.Y. Labor Committees. Since that time, Marcus has been the theoretical and tactical mastermind (and guru) of NCLC.

However, with the exception of their support of the UFT, NCLC was fairly subdued until the spring of 1973, when they launched "Operation Mop-Up."

It was during that spring that NCLC decided to "reorganize" the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), a Black-led group organized around welfare issues. Obviously, this "reorganization" had not been requested by NWRO.

After numerous attempts to lure NWRO into a coalition, NCLC proceeded to infiltrate and disrupt NWRO meetings, with little success. NCLC then declared that NWRO was dead and announced the birth of a new organization, the National Un-Employed-Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO).

The theory behind NU-WRO is basic to NCLC's operations. They insist that to make a revolution within the next five years (Marcus's date), all workers, unemployed, welfare recipients, etc. *must* join a common organization—NU-WRO. Anything—including union organizing, welfare organizing, rank-and-file movements, etc. distract from the building of NU-WRO and are counter-revolutionary. NU-WRO is the *only* acceptable, legitimate organization, according to NCLC.

The NU-WRO campaign was actively resisted by NWRO, which was still alive and active, NCLC claims to the contrary notwithstanding. Distressed by the prospect of recently organized welfare recipients being confronted with two welfare organizing groups and becoming turned-off from both, NWRO (which includes members of the Community Party) picketed the first NU-WRO meeting in Philadelphia, last March.

NCLC was outraged and "warned" NWRO and the Communist Party that if they didn't recognize NU-WRO as the legitimate successor to NWRO, they would have to be wiped out.

"We warned the CP that we would destroy them should they scab on the campaign to rebuild NWRO—which alone could unite the employed and the unemployed in common organization to fight Nixon's slave-labor recycling offensive. . . . The CP has transformed itself into the 'left' political arm of Nixon's terror campaign directed against pro-working class welfare organizers. Now the CP will be destroyed." [New Solidarity, April 16-20, 1973].

What followed was the first in a series of assaults on the left. Known as Operation Mop-Up, the plan was to harass, humiliate and eventually destroy the CP, using a "left" criticism to justify their acts.

What in fact happened, though, was interesting—and characteristic of every action and position NCLC has undertaken since. First was the use and florification of brutal violence.

In New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia, NCLC members showed up, armed and in force, to attack meetings of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the

CP youth affiliate. Also included in the first wave of violence was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which the NCLC accused of acting as "CP goons" when they came to the defense of NCLC victims at several public meetings. Dozens of people were injured, many seriously enough to be hospitalized with broken bones, concussions and bruises. Generally the tactic was to attack one or two individuals with a superior number of NCLC people. In almost every case, clubs, pipes, brass knuckles and numchucks (a karate weapon consisting of two pieces of wood connected by a length of chain) were used against unarmed people, in clearly pre-planned physical assaults.

This tactic is euphemistically termed "intervention" by NCLC.

But, NCLC went beyond attacking the CP and the SWP. They began to collect files "for internal discussion," which included photographs and lists of alleged CP members and used information from the House Internal Security Subcommittee. With information like this, they proceeded to disrupt local community and rank-and-file meetings, demanding denunciations of CP members and allegiance to NU-WRO.

* In Detroit, on April 28 of last year, NCLC members attempted to disrupt a meeting of municipal employees at the Local 26 Union Hall (sanitation workers). They were forced out by the mostly-Black workers, but not before they had demanded denunciations of the CP.

* In Tarrytown, N.Y., an incident occurred which most clearly called into question the intent of NCLC's campaign. During a local union election at a GM plant there, a leaflet was distributed by a group calling itself "UAW Committee to Stop Communism."

The leaflet consisted of a reprint of an article appearing in NCLC's paper, *New Solidarity*, which denounced a rank-and-file candidate for shop steward, Bill Scott, as a "300-lb CP Hack," referring to Scott as "snorting," "drooling," and "hog-like." The article also used information which appeared in hearings before the House Internal Security Subcommittee, identifying some young auto workers as members of the CP. The leaflet was entitled "STOP THE PINKOS."

In all these incidents, and many others as well, NCLC seemed more interested in obtaining denunciations (hopefully with photos) than they were in actually informing groups about the CP (whatever their criticisms of it might be). During this period, *New Solidarity* was covered with photos of groups giving "the fist," and allegedly denouncing the CP, according to the captions.

NCLC perhaps hoped that they could get away with these disruptions, playing one group against the other, and capitalizing on the serious criticisms that many U.S. leftists had of the CP. But, luckily, Operation Mop-Up wasn't that successful. In every city where NCLC was visible, groups

"IN SOME PLACES LIKE DETROIT, DEFENSE FRONTS WERE ORGANIZED TO RESIST NCLC'S VIOLENCE."

* Also in Detroit, the NCLC disrupted a union meeting of mostly-Black nurses at Children's Hospital, demanding that they take sides against NWRO. The nurses refused and NCLC broke up the meeting.

* In Springfield, Massachusetts, NCLC members from Boston, disrupted a rank-and-file union meeting partially organized by a local working-class paper, *New Unity*, demanding that the meeting denounce the CP and endorse NU-WRO. In particular, the NCLC people cornered a 60-year old factory worker and accused him of being a CP member. They threatened him physically, demanding a renunciation of the CP. They also demanded that the group submit to being photographed.

came together to denounce their activities and warn people away from them. In some places like Detroit, "defense fronts," were organized to resist NCLC's violence. And, anyplace that NCLC met with serious resistance they invariably fled, preferring the techniques of ambush and mugging.

As one Philadelphia welfare activist said, "The biggest coalition you could create in this city is a coalition against the Labor Committee."

By the summer of 1973, the left community of most major cities had confronted NCLC and pretty much isolated the group. In response, NCLC declared "Operation Mop-Up" a success and announced the death of the CP. From that date on, NCLC re-

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peatedly referred to itself as the "left hegemonic" force in the U.S.

"In the U.S.A., the Communist Party is virtually dead in all its traditional areas of left and trade-union activity. . . . Otherwise, on the U.S. Left, the Socialist Workers Party is dead except as a participant in various CIA-directed schemes and projects. The formerly-Maoist Progressive Labor Party is a tiny fragment, is disorientation symptomized by its support of the outright fascist and CIA stooge, 'Aunt Jemima' Baraka!

"The other 'Maoist' and 'Trotskyist' groupings are either also inside the CIA movements or are simple inconsequential little sectlets howling in their determination to maintain perpetual obscurity." So, according to the National Caucus of Labor Committees' monthly magazine, the Campaigner, "It is in the U.S. that the NCLC has so far emerged as the unquestioned Left-hegemonic force—and consequently, the principal target of the CIA, FBI and allied agencies."

From Operation Mop-Up, NCLC went on with a series of other programs: organizing gang youth into a paramilitary Revolutionary Youth Organization (RYM), continuing with NU-WRO, and finally and most recently, beginning a campaign about a newly-discovered CIA plot.

The RYM movement is based on the premise that you can organize gang youth if you promise to "give them the whole thing in 5 years." Implicit in this is NCLC's basic conception of the future—that when the revolution comes, we'll all get \$18,000 a year via increased productivity" which Lyn Marcus and NCLC can organize.

NCLC's most recent campaign, announced by *New Solidarity* as a "CIA Plot to Take Over U.S." marks something of a shift in rhetoric but represents quite similar tactics on NCLC's part.

Briefly, the story began in the early fall of 1973 when NCLC announced that certain NCLC members had been brainwashed by the KGB (the soviet (the Soviet CIA) to assassinate Lyn Marcus, apparently in revenge for NCLC's destruction of the CP-USA.

Marcus, genius that he is, was able to thwart the first attempt and deprogram the assassin, in the process discovering the key to the KGB brainwash plan. This made Marcus the only person in the world with this knowledge and of course, the CIA could not let this knowledge go untapped. So, they joined in the chase, accord-

ing to Marcus, aiming either to kidnap Marcus and force him to reveal what he knows and/or kill him to prevent the KGB from getting at him.

The plot becomes extremely complicated, and Marcus's explanations of "psy-warfare" even more so, but certain themes are clear. Once again, NCLC has the only answer. This time, instead of denouncing people and groups as CP agents, now everyone is a CIA agent or has been brainwashed by the CIA.

"EVERYONE (WHO OPPOSES NCLC) IS A CIA AGENT OR HAS BEEN BRAINWASHED BY THE CIA."

The first victims of this process were left journalists who refused to cover the CIA/Brainwash Plot. Andrew Kopkind, who currently writes for various alternative press in Boston and has been involved in the movement for nearly 10 years, was the first to be denounced as an agent. Soon after came Bo Burlingham, former editor of *Ramparts* and about to join the staff of the *Boston Phoenix* when he was denounced. Since then, NCLC has labelled as agents, dozens of leftists.

Inside NCLC, some dissent arose, which resulted in at least one kidnapping for the purpose of so-called "deprogramming."

Alice Weitzman, a woman active in NCLC was held for two days by 6 NCLC members, awaiting "deprogramming" by Marcus. She dropped a note from the window and was eventually freed by police.

Weitzman described her "restraint" period to *Boston Phoenix* reporter Vin McLellan. She was made to listen to Beethoven at a very loud volume (Beethoven is Marcus's favorite composer; he has described rock and soul music as "animalistic") because Beethoven's music was the "key" to her brainwashing program.

Since then, NCLC tried to organize an "independent" commission to investigate the CIA plot. They issued a release which included a number of prominent left-affiliated individuals, including Nat Hentoff, a columnist for the *Village Voice* and active in the ACLU. Hentoff says he was approached by an NCLC person and was informed that several people he respected were on the commission.

He says that, although he dis-trusted NCLC from Operation Mop-Up, he adhered to the "honorable tradition of independent left commissions of inquiry," and agreed to participate.

Soon after, Hentoff was warned

by a friend, that NCLC was not above using people's names for more than they had agreed to and so Hentoff withdrew. He began to investigate the commission, calling up the other names listed by NCLC.

He discovered that nearly all who had been approached had either never given permission at all or had done so on the understanding that someone they knew and respected had suggested their name for the commission. In most cases, this was not

true.

Eventually, the entire commission was replaced by new names after all the people withdrew publicly. But the incident and its description in Hentoff's *Voice* column, earned him a denunciation from NCLC, who charged that he worked for the CIA. They "proved" this by charging that he had made more than 30 phone calls to check out the commission and obviously wouldn't have paid for them himself.

In addition to the major campaigns, NCLC particularly through its weekly paper *New Solidarity*, and its monthly magazine *Campaigner*, takes positions on other issues. And, here again, there is a basic pattern: whatever the left movement supports, NCLC doesn't!

In particular, this has been true of strikes. At a time when the left movement is increasingly expending energy on developing a base among workers, NCLC has come up with the theory that strikes are, in general, a counter-revolutionary act. In fact, most times, major strikes are termed "lock-outs" by *New Solidarity*, implying that the workers are being used by the bosses.

NCLC opposed the Farah strike and in general oppose the United Farm Workers (UFW), ridiculing the boycotts and terming Chavez a "slave-driver."

On the issue of union democracy, NCLC almost consistently opposes rank-and-file organizing, claiming that it weakens the power of the union by distributing power to a wider spectrum of people.

The United Mine Workers (UMW) since the rank-and-file successfully threw out its thoroughly corrupt president Tony Boyle and elected a Miners for Democracy candidate to head the union, has been a special target of NCLC attacks.

Interestingly enough, the only

"GIVEN RECENT REVELATIONS ABOUT THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY PLANS OF THE FBI, IT IS NOT OUT OF THE REALM OF POSSIBILITY THAT SOME AGENCY WOULD GO TO THE TROUBLE TO CREATE AN NCLC OR TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ONE THAT EXISTS."

strike and union that NCLC continues to support is the UFT struggle against community control of the schools. Charging that decentralization is "Pro-fascist", NCLC has continued to support the UFT's harassment of community elected school personnel.

Most recently, NCLC issued a leaflet on New York's Lower East Side, which attacked a youth gang there for breaking up an NCLC press conference. In that press conference, NCLC denounced Luis Fuentes, a community-elected district superintendent who has been a special thorn in the UFT's side. In the leaflet, NCLC charges that the CIA (specifically Fuentes) used a woman to lure gang members into working for them.

It reads in part: *"One lesbian-whore, one homosexual and one black macho sufficed to get the Spanish Machos (the gang in question) aroused for 'Bro' Luis Fuentes, head faggot of Rockefeller's mop-up operation against the United Federation of Teachers. . . Summer of 1971, Carmen _____, claiming connections with the impotent Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) began 'gapping' her legs in front of gangs in the Lower East Side. Within twenty-four hours, the fetid scent reached one of the most important gang leaders in the area. A few months later, that same stench had lured other key potential revolutionaries into Carmen's bed of impotence and degradation. . . The Revolutionary Youth Movement intends to stop Vampire _____, and her two vaginal assistants—Lukie and Muneca—who wind up in bed with her when not performing their 'vamping techniques' on gang members."* The leaflet was entitled, "Office of Vaginal Opportunities."

NCLC has not gone unnoticed by the left during the last year. In addition to the specific denunciations of Operation Mop-Up, some leftist groups have begun to seriously question NCLC's actual purposes and intentions. Is it in fact a legitimate leftist organization or is it a psychotic sect (akin to various religious sects), or a police-manipulated group, or something akin to the early days of Hitler's National Socialists? There is evidence to support each theory.

The relationship between Marcus and the rest of NCLC is unusual for a "revolutionary" organization. He

admits to consciously manipulating the membership to make them "better revolutionaries." He obviously determines all policy and tactics. And a glance at his personal background partially explains the various targets of NCLC—if you accept a psychological explanation of the phenomenon.

Marcus, who is in his fifties, began his career as a leftist in the Communist Party. Disillusioned, he went on to join the Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialist before joining NCLC.

Quoted in the *Phoenix*, a former NCLC member described Marcus's effect on the organization. "Lyn had the notion that if his ideas did not prevail, mankind was doomed." And since he was obviously the most brilliant (and his early work was really great) everyone became afraid to criticize him. . . even to say 'but I don't understand.' Even when his work got sloppier, people kept conceding ground. . . His ideas became the organization and the organization had to be supported."

In addition, there are certain elements of Marcus's rhetoric and theory which point to psychological problems. He is obsessed with sex, particularly by homosexuality, which he sees as the greatest threat to a male. All of the CIA Brainwashing material is sexually-oriented, with a lot of focus on the role of mother in development. A pseudo-Freudian, Marcus blames almost everything on the mother. He invariably uses sexual terms as pejoratives. NCLC wrote an entire pamphlet on "The Sexual Impotence of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party," for example.

Finally, regarding the Brainwash Plot, several investigators noted an interesting coincidence. Simultaneous with Marcus's announcement that NCLC had discovered one of their members, a man named Chris White, had been brainwashed by the KGB, White married the woman that Marcus had been living with. Some speculate that this personal rejection drove Marcus to develop the theory that White was out to kill him.

Marcus then could be viewed as a psychotic who is immensely demagogic, with a capacity to maintain the allegiance of many people even in the face of severe criticism from "comradely" groups.

Another theory is that NCLC is a police organization. Red-baiting, disruption of leftist activities, sabotage of working class movements, the potential of a paramilitary youth movement—all seem particularly attractive goals for police. And given recent revelations about the counterinsurgency plans of the FBI, it is not out of the realm of possibility that some agency would go to the trouble to create an NCLC, or take advantage of one that exists.

Much of Marcus's own background is quite mysterious. Besides his left-group hopping, Marcus is a computer programmer who owns his own business. He has taught in several universities and uses an alias.

In addition, police affiliations have been proven against several members of NCLC who were prominent in the Philadelphia leadership, which directed the initial campaign against NWRO and the CP last March. One, Jose Torres, is an ex-Green Beret and military intelligence agent, another is Daniel Valdes, a Pennsylvania parole board officer (licensed to carry a .38), and another, currently active in NCLC, RYM, is Zeke Boyd, expelled from the Baltimore Panthers as an FBI agent. Boyd was expelled from the post of Minister of Defense at the same time that the Minister of Security in Chicago, also an FBI agent, was aiding in setting-up the assassination of Fred Hampton.

Finally, there is the theory that NCLC represents a similar development to that of the Nazis in Germany during the 1930's. Many groups have used the term "fascist" to describe NCLC. Clearly, "communists" have been systematically beaten up before —by the paramilitary groups of Mussolini and Hitler. But there is also a more political reason to apply the term.

In a paper on NCLC prepared for the Madison, Wisconsin radical community, a group of movement people point out:

"When the Nazi Party first came on the scene in 1920, they were avowedly anti-capitalist. Their first mass meeting called for opportunity of employment, nationalization of trusts, communalization of department stores, extension of old-age pensions, prohibition of child labor and the prosecution of usurers and profiteers. Even the Nazi flag was chosen to be

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red, the traditional color of revolutionary socialism.

"... They set up a Central Association of the Unemployed, patterned after the Communist Party's Workers' Congresses, and even mimicked slogans and symbols of the left, to the extent that even the terms 'comrade' and 'fellow worker' flowed freely from their lips.

"Over and over the National Socialists proclaimed that Hitler's Party was the only anti-capitalist party in Germany. The Nazi newspaper, though always talking about workers and how they were being used by the ruling class, would never support their specific demands... Hitler concluded that strikes only served the interests of 'shadowy men behind the scenes, not the proletariat.'... The Nazis declared that 'in today's political situation, the strike is a cut in one's own flesh 'and it ridiculed workers who demonstrated for immediate gains."

The Madison paper warns that while one cannot make direct analogies between NCLC and the Nazis, one can learn from the clear similarities. It concludes:

"... NCLC, as it seems to exist today, has the makings of a truly indigenous fascist movement..."

In the final analysis, NCLC is probably similar to such right-wing paramilitary groups as the Minutemen or American Nazi's in the way it is probably manipulated by both security forces and the rightist vested public interests. Often these forces will finance the activities of any group that can cause trouble to the struggle for social change. The goals or ideology of the organization are of little concern to the sponsors. Witness the backing of the Minutemen and the Nazi's—two rightist trends with conflicting ideologies. NCLC appears to be a new rightist trend in this country and we believe it is probably financed and manipulated by the same forces backing the other two rightist trends.

But until the financial records of the NCLC are made available to public scrutiny, we will not know who their sponsors are. In the meantime, NCLC is a dangerous organization which must be guarded against.

an analysis of the FBI memos

by Tim Butz

In the late night hours of March 8, 1971, members of the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the Federal Bureau of Investigation entered FBI Field Office located in Media, Pa., and removed all the files from that office. After analyzing the documents they removed, the Commission reported that 40% of the reports concerned themselves with domestic political activity, 45% were concerned with murder, rape, robbery, and interstate theft, 14% were concerned with draft refusal and military desertion, and only 1% with organized crime. Amongst the 40% of the documents related to political surveillance and the investigation of other

political activity, two files related to right wing activities, ten files to immigrants, and over 200 files were on left or liberal groups.

Buried amongst the political activity files was one recurring word that had changed the consciousness of the American people in regards to the FBI's activities in domestic politics, a word that is a bureaucratic shortening of a scary term—COINTELPRO, the Hoover newspeak term for domestic political counterintelligence activity.

On December 7, 1973, FBI Director Clarence Kelley, acting on orders from a U.S. District Court, released a set of documents outlining the COINTELPRO-New Left program conducted by the FBI. The docu-

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ments were released to NBC news- man Carl Stern and his attorney, Ron Plessar of the Center for Responsive Law based in Washington, D.C. Stern, an attorney himself, had filed for the release of the documents under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act after finding the term COINTELPRO contained in the Media FBI papers. When his original request was denied by the FBI, Plessar initiated the legal action that led to the release of the documents.

The release of the COINTELPRO—New Left documents led to the release of other FBI documents that outline a widespread program of sabotage and interference with domestic political activity. COINTELPRO was not restricted to the New Left, in fact the New Left was the last known political grouping to be targeted under the program provisions of COINTELPRO. The earliest document detailing COINTELPRO activities is dated October 12, 1961, and is an order establishing a counterintelligence program based on disruption of the Socialist Workers Party, and American Trotskyist political party. The order, signed by Hoover and sent to an unknown number of local FBI Field Offices, calls for "carefully thought out operations with the widest possible effect" to be mounted against the SWP.

The October 12 memo also reveals that the FBI had previously effected a similar counterintelligence effort against the Communist Party, USA. While Hoover mentions no details of the COINTELPRO operation against the CPUSA, other sources have given an indication of how great the FBI penetration of the CP-USA was in the first years of the 1960's. According to former FBI agent Jack Levine the FBI had managed to obtain 1,500 informants amongst the 8,500 members of the CP-USA that Hoover issued a secret memo in 1960 cautioning local FBI offices not to recruit any further CP-USA informants unless they were on the "highest policy making levels" of the Party. Levine charged that the Bureau had infiltrated the Party from the lowest echelon right to the Security Officer of the National Committee of the CP-USA.

With one of their people charged with weeding out the possible FBI informants within the CP-USA, the "Security Officer" was told to "frame" loyal Party members as FBI informants and to give "security clearances" to actual FBI informants so that they could progress through the Party ranks undetected. By the

time Hoover ordered a COINTELPRO operation against the SWP in 1961, one out of every 5.7 members of the CP-USA was an informer for the FBI, and their payment of dues for these informants made the FBI a Sugar Daddy for the Communist Party.

Hoover was proud of the success in penetrating the CP-USA, and informed the FBI Field Offices participating in the CP-USA program that they should begin "a disruption program along similar lines." The SWP was targeted, according to Hoover, for "openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through the running of candidates for public

“(BY 1961)...ONE OUT OF EVERY 5.7 MEMBERS OF THE CP-USA WAS AN INFORMER FOR THE FBI.”

office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South." The order was ended with a note that the program would be analyzed for possible expansion after the first effects were evaluated.

For several years, the COINTELPRO operations against the SWP and the Communist Party continued as a matter of daily FBI routine. A basic operational pattern common to all COINTELPRO operations developed in the period of 1961 to 1964 that relied on each participating Field Office appointing a COINTELPRO coordinator responsible for compiling recommendations for disruptive or counterintelligence activities as well as quarterly reports to Hoover's office. Each quarterly report, none of which have so far been released by the Bureau, was to contain four areas of information on the status of COINTELPRO operations: Pending requests for action, operations initiated during the reporting period, tangible results from those actions, and a miscellaneous category "Developments of Counterintelligence Interest."

From the earliest days of the program, Hoover designed a strict policy for regulating COINTELPRO activities. Aside from separate reports required each time a Field office wished to begin a specific action, and the quarterly status reports required of each office, Hoover continually cautioned his Field Offices not to engage in any COINTELPRO activity without specific authority from his office. While Hoover cited fear of "embarrassing the Bureau" as the reason for such close supervision,

an unstated but logical second reason was that Hoover was fearful that a well placed Bureau source could possibly be compromised by an over zealous agent.

Not all FBI agents know the names or positions of informants and sources utilized by the FBI. It would be possible, therefore, for an agent in Cleveland, Ohio, to begin an operation against a political target who could be an informant for another FBI Field Office in Pittsburgh, or a small resident agency office in the Ohio-Pennsylvania area. Only through coordination of all COINTELPRO activity

through a central office—Hoover's office—could the safety of unknown, well placed Bureau sources be protected.

As the reporting and operational procedures for COINTELPRO activities were being developed, increased pressure from the Civil Rights Movement was forcing the Federal government to adopt a harder stance against the terrorist right-wing groups which were attacking the Civil Rights movement. The bombing of a Birmingham Church which killed four Black children and the assassination of Civil Rights leader Medgar Evers forced the government to apply pressure on the FBI to stop such activity.

In a memo dated Sept. 2, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover ordered the FBI to begin a counterintelligence operation against White Hate Groups. Hoover's memo shows that the FBI had already placed nine racist organizations under surveillance, and listed an additional seventeen organizations for consideration at the local Field Office level. The same procedures as used in the SWP and CP-USA programs were utilized with the Ku Klux Klan and other white racist groups: quarterly reports, separate requests for approval of action, and complete coordination and control of the activity by the Washington headquarters.

Hoover revealed some of his personal feelings towards the Klan by cautioning his agents that Klan Action Groups should be the target of disruptive activity. He described the Action Groups as "the relatively few individuals in each organization who use strong-arm tactics and violent actions to achieve their ends. Often these groups act without the approval of the Klan organization or mem-

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bership." It is clear that Hoover had established two sets of rules for dealing with political groups—the targeting of entire organizations on the Left, and the targeting of small elements of organizations within the Right.

It did not take long for the focus of FBI counterintelligence activity to expand to include the Black power/Black Nationalist movements. On August 25, 1967, Hoover sent a message marked "PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES" ordering them to "immediately establish a control file... and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program" targeted against "black nationalist, hate-type organizations." The purpose of the program, according to Hoover's memo, was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, 'hate-type' organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder."

Although the documents released concerning the FBI disruption of Black groups are more heavily censored than those dealing with communist and New Left groups, they leave no doubt that the program against Blacks developed in two phases. The first phase began with the August 25th memo, and was targeted against very few groups or individuals within the Black Nationalist movement. While no groups are named in the censored documents, the listing of them took only four lines of type which was inked out by the Bureau prior to release in 1973. The August order called for no quarterly reports on the status of the program as with the COINTELPRO-CP-USA and SWP programs, and the procedures for requesting approval for action have apparently been censored, although the caution to not engage in any counterintelligence action without specific approval of the Bureau headquarters was left intact.

One month prior to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, on March 4, 1968, Hoover escalated the counterintelligence activities against Blacks into a second phase and expanded the target to include virtually the entire civil rights movement. In expanding the COINTELPRO operation, Hoover outlined five "goals" that could be obtained from the project: the prevention of a coalition of Black groups, the prevention of a rise of a Black "messiah", the prevention of violence from the Black National-



"LARGE ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS CAUSED J. EDGAR HOOVER TO EXPAND THE COINTELPRO OPERATIONS TO INCLUDE THE NEW LEFT."

ist movement, the prevention of Black Nationalist groups gaining respectability, and the final goal of prevention of long range growth of Black Nationalist organizations.

In the memo, Hoover cites his belief that a coalition of Black Nationalist groups, if formed and effective,

could result in "the first step towards a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution." This was the primary reason Hoover listed as the rationale for expanding intelligence operations against the Black Movement in the U.S.

Hoover's fear of organizational unity and strength amongst Black groups was compounded by his fear of the potential of various Black leaders, "who could unify, and electrify, the black nationalist movement." Hoover referred to such leaders as potential "messiahs", and although the FBI deleted all their names prior to releasing the documents, it is obvious that Dr. King was a source of paranoia for Hoover. The FBI Director wrote that King could "be a very real contender for this position ('messiah') should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white liberal doctrines' (non-violence) and embrace black nationalism. (Name deleted) has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way."

Hoover's third fear, that of violence from the Black population, materialized one month after the memo was written, when an alleged single sniper killed Dr. King as he stood on the balcony of a Memphis hotel.

Borrowing a phrase from the CIA's assassination terminology, Hoover wrote that "Though counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they have a chance to exercise their potential for violence."

The March 4 memo also outlined the strategy for discrediting the Black Nationalist movement "tactically in three ways"; amongst the establishment and the white supporters.

Hoover concluded his overview of reasons for the COINTELPRO by stating "A final goal should be to prevent the long range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among the youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed."

Hoover then ordered his Field Offices to prepare a summary of Black Nationalist groups, their membership, and their degree of activity in every Field Office area. Secondly, Hoover wanted agents to include in their report people who were listed in the "Rabble Rouser Index" who might be targets of approved counterintelligence operations.

Hoover also used the March 4 memo as an opportunity to outline some small, but in his view successful, operations that had been carried out

against Blacks under the initial, small COINTELPRO operation begun in August, 1967. While the incidents were not the most shocking in their working or effect, they did show that the Bureau would have no qualms about the abuse of authority and power when conducting COINTELPRO activities. The names of the cities and individuals involved were deleted by the Bureau, but the basic incidents were left in the documents.

In one town the FBI collected information concerning a Black alternative school, perhaps one operated by the Black Muslims, and turned the information over to the State or local agency charged with licensing private schools in an attempt to have the school shut down. The Bureau used the opportunity to collect information on the parents of each of the students, although they were involved in no violation of the law.

In another town, the FBI and the local police authorities acted in concert to place local Black leaders under constant surveillance, arresting them for every petty violation possible. After a period, the leaders could no longer make bail, and they spent the rest of the summer months in jail. Hoover claimed in his memo that this act prevented violence from occurring in the town that summer.

Another set of COINTELPRO documents released by the Bureau show that an extensive operation was established against the Black Panther Party in Oakland. Conducted under the title of Counterintelligence and Special Operations, the FBI Headquarters "suggested" that the San Francisco Field Office, the San Francisco Police Department, and the Oakland Police Department conduct a "disruption-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party (BPP). The basic concept of the program was to provide the Panthers with false information in the hopes of creating false fears and confusion amongst the national leadership and staff of the Black Panther Party.

In order to conduct the operation, the FBI utilized a manufactured "leak" inside of one of the police departments under the guise of a "disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers." This "employee" would then provide the Panthers with "documents subtly incorporating false information and entirely fabricated documents. . . on the stationary and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the po-

lice." The FBI encouraged the leaking of documents through the mail, with a post office box for a return address. While they did not want to utilize a "live source" for the operation, the FBI Headquarters cautioned the Field Office to make "an effort . . . to locate and brief a suitable police employee to play the role of the alleged disgruntled employee."

The false information suggested for release to the Panthers included "Reports, blind memoranda, LHM's, and other alleged police or FBI documents. . . pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders for their ineptness or personal escapades; espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members; indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids and other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation; etc."

"...THE FBI AND LOCAL POLICE AUTHORITIES ACTED IN CONCERT TO PLACE LOCAL BLACK LEADERS UNDER SURVEILLANCE, ARRESTING THEM FOR EVERY PETTY VIOLATION..."

Commenting on the simplicity of the plan, Hoover noted that the same technique had "been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication. The Bureau believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity."

As the Panthers began to broaden their political base and grow in both size and power, they often made charges that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in sabotaging their work. Now that the FBI COINTELPRO documents have been released, it is apparent that the bulk of anti-Panther operations were mounted by the Bureau and not the CIA. In at least one instance, the December 4, 1969 Chicago Police raid on Illinois Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton's apartment, there are now strong feelings amongst the Panthers that the FBI COINTELPRO operations against them utilized assassination as one of its tools.

As the May 11, 1970 documents point out, the FBI has little difficulty

in arranging the cooperation of local police departments in conducting a counterintelligence operations. The recent revelations that Fred Hampton's personal body guard was an FBI informant, compounded by charges made by Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark that Hampton may have been drugged with secobarbital the night of the raid on his apartment was a guise for his assassination. While there are not any documents released by the FBI that would indicate that assassination was to be included in COINTELPRO activities, the rhetoric of government officials indicated that they considered the U.S. government at a state of war with the Black Panther Party.

Hampton possessed one of the talents that J. Edgar Hoover found to be the most dangerous—organizational talent to establish successful Black Panther Party free food programs and community clinics as well as forging alliances between the Illinois Panthers and other Black, Puerto Rican, and Apalachian white youth groups as well as college students. By Hoover's own definition in his March 4, 1968 memo, Hampton was a potential "messiah" who had transcended nationalistic bounds and was organizing along the lines of a class struggle between the haves and the have-nots.

The statements of high government officials support the idea of a war between the Panthers and the government. Vice President Spiro Agnew, Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard (who later conducted the first Justice Department cover-up at Kent State), and J. Edgar Hoover were among those who publicly attacked the Panthers as "criminals", "hoodlums", and "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country".

Black activists, the Klan, and Old Left organizations were not the only groups to be targeted under Hoover's COINTELPRO operations. As the opposition to the Vietnam War increased with an upsurge in draft resistance and the birth of a G.I. Movement, Hoover ordered counterintelligence actions taken against the New Left—the organizations working primarily among the student and youth communities as well as in coalitions with Old Left and Black groups.

On May 9, 1968, a memo was prepared by Charles D. Brennan, the deputy director of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division prepared a memo for his superior, Assistant Director William Sullivan, outlining the political rationale and operational struc-

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BLACK PANTHER LEADER FRED HAMPTON MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED AS A RESULT OF COINTELPRO OPERATIONS.



ture for a Counter-intelligence Program directed against the New Left. According to the memo, which was distributed to all Field offices the next day with Hoover's order to initiate the COINTELPRO—New Left operations, the program was designed to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of this group and persons connected with it."

Brennan also wrote that "Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left. Some of these activists urge revolution in America and call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam . . . The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously attacked the Director and the Bureau."

As with the other COINTELPRO's the COINTELPRO—New Left called for a coordinator of activities of the Field Office level charged with identifying potential opportunities for counterintelligence actions and the preparation of quarterly reports on the status and progress of each phase of the activity. Requests for permission to conduct an operation could not be made in the quarterly status report, and had to be filed separately for each proposed activity.

John T. Elliff, an assistant professor of political science at Brandies University told a Senate Judiciary Committee meeting on March 18, 1974, that Sullivan had confirmed that in addition to his role in the

FBI's Counterintelligence Program he had served as the "acting chairman" of the working group that established the 1970 Huston Intelligence Plan. Sullivan cautioned that he was not the "sole source" of the Huston Plan, but only one of those involved with its evolution. Sullivan was forced out of the FBI by Hoover in October, 1971, was seen inside the Bureau as a sign of the growing rift between Sullivan and Hoover. The FBI's COINTELPRO, which Sullivan supervised continued after the veto of the Huston Plan.

The exact nature of COINTELPRO—New Left activities, as well as the activities carried out under the other COINTELPRO operations, can only be definitely documented by the quarterly reports filed by the Field Office to the Washington headquarters, and the FBI has refused thus far to release any of the quarterly reports. There are known instances of FBI interference with New Left activities that can reasonably be assigned to the COINTELPRO program.

In the Fall of 1969, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, as well as the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, were preparing to stage a three day March Against Death and mass rally against the continuation of the Indochina War. White House counsel John Dean was engaged in behind the scenes political activity designed to sabotage the demonstration by withholding the "Mobe's" permits until a few days

before the actual demonstration. This action, it was hoped, would minimize the number of people coming to Washington for the demonstrations.

The FBI was also working to retard the demonstration through a counter-intelligence action designed to divide the Black community of Washington and the white radicals of the Mobilization. Through the use of an FBI informant inside the Washington D.C. Black United Front, the FBI had a letter sent to the New Mobilization Committee demanding a cash bond in the thousands of dollars as a prerequisite for allowing the demonstration to occur. The leaders of the Black United Front and the Mobe were eventually able to iron out the problem, and the demonstration was the largest ever mounted against the war regardless of White House interference and FBI COINTELPRO activity.

Since the revelation of the COINTELPRO—New Left program, many left groups have been going over their histories and attempting to find if they may have been victims of the FBI program. While none of the documents released gave details on COINTELPRO—New Left activity, it has become apparent that burglary was a part of the FBI's activity.

Prior to the first inauguration of Richard Nixon in January, 1969, FBI agents and members of the 902nd Military Intelligence Group broke into the offices occupied by the Wash-

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"WHILE COINTELPRO OBVIOUSLY INVOLVED VIOLATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AS WELL AS WRITTEN CRIMINAL STATUTES, CONGRESS HAS AGAIN SHOWN THAT THEY ARE NOT TOO ANXIOUS TO TANGLE WITH THE FBI."

ington Free Press, then the only "underground" paper in the D.C. area. The Free Press was assisting in the organization of the counter-inaugural demonstration by locating housing for incoming demonstrators. The FBI and MI agents removed housing cards from the office, filled them out with false names and addresses, and returned them to the organizers who were responsible for housing.

In addition, local Washington, D.C. offices of various left groups have reported that their offices were the targets of break-ins and stolen files during the period of COINTELPRO operations, including the May Day Tribe, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, Students for a Democratic Society, and others.

Hoover ordered the COINTELPRO operations terminated six weeks after the Media Field Office was burglarized, and documents relating to COINTELPRO removed from the office. On April 20, 1971, Brennan wrote a one page memo to Sullivan outlining the termination of COINTELPRO as a consolidated program. Seven COINTELPRO operations—Espionage, New Left, Disruption of White hate Groups, Communist Party-USA, Black Extremists, Counterintelligence and Special Operations, and Socialist Workers party Disruption Program were all terminated by order.

In terminating the program, however, Hoover allowed a method for continuing counterintelligence activities through a process different from COINTELPRO. Hoover told his Special Agents that "In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis." Hoover obviously did not want to part with such a valuable tool as counterintelligence operations, but the potential compromise of the program through the Media Papers in addition to his growing disagreements with Assistant Director Sullivan made the move necessary.

One former FBI informant who engaged in counterintelligence activity after the termination of COINTELPRO is Earl Robert Merritt Jr., a gay

man from West Virginia who had been coerced into becoming an informant as the result of bad checks he had written. Merritt first worked for the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington, D.C. as well as the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department before going to the FBI.

Merritt is currently under subpoena before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities and can not give press interviews without the presence of his lawyer.

While employed by the Metropolitan Police, first as a narcotics informant and later as a political intelligence source, Merritt was involved in a burglary of the Community Bookshop in Washington, the infiltration of the May Day Tribe and the sabotaging of their sound equipment, and giving false information concerning demonstrations and their locations during the May Day actions.

When working with ATFD, Merritt purchased two "sterile" incendiary grenades from a former member of the Nazi Party. The grenades, without identifying markings or manufacturer's marks, were identified by Merritt's ATFD contact as being the type made for the Central Intelligence Agency and possibly stolen from a local Army post. No arrests were made of the Nazi or his accomplices.

After May Day, Merritt was terminated by the Metropolitan Police and offered a job by the FBI. His first assignment was to infiltrate the Institute for Policy Studies and to attend classes that were being taught on Marxism. He was also told to apply for a job at the Institute, and to collect as much data as possible on the IPS staff and their activities. One of Merritt's classmates was Charles Barrett, another self-confessed FBI informant who was engaged in the same assignment as Merritt. Neither Merritt nor Barrett knew of the others role as a FBI informant.

It was during one of the evening classes that Merritt stole mail from the Institute, primarily manuscripts and letters written to the various employees of IPS. Merritt turned the mail over to his FBI superiors who opened the mail, copied it, and returned it to Merritt who was to return it to IPS.

Merritt was pulled off the IPS

assignment when he failed to get a job as a research assistant there. By this time he had come to realize that his life was being destroyed because of the work he was doing for the FBI, and he approached the IPS fellows a and told them of his work. At Merritt's request, they wrote him a letter denying him the job. When he turned the letter over to his FBI superiors, he was pulled off the IPS case.

Merritt later completely broke his ties with the FBI when he refused to go before a Federal Grand Jury that was investigating the May, 1972, bombing of a Pentagon office.

There is still much to be learned about the operations conducted by the FBI under the Counterintelligence Program. None of the requests for action not any of the quarterly reports filed with the Washington Headquarters of the FBI were released by the Justice Department. Until they are, specifics of COINTELPRO activity will be difficult to document.

Response to the release of COINTELPRO has been remarkably minimal. While COINTELPRO obviously involved violations of constitutional rights as well as written criminal statutes, Congress has again shown that they are not too anxious to tangle with the FBI. Representative Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.), a member of the Black Caucus in the House, wrote a letter to Don Edwards, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights of the House Judiciary Committee, asking that the FBI COINTELPRO activity be subjected to a full congressional inquiry.

Metcalfe wrote that "... this type of action on the part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation can only have a chilling effect on the right of dissent within a free society. . . I regard it as a flagrant violation of the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution; and the Fourteenth Amendment, insofar as the Federal Bureau of Investigation worked with state and local law enforcement agencies."

Edwards replied to Metcalfe's letter by saying that the Subcommittee would hold hearings, but he could not give an exact date due to the subcommittee's "immersion in the subject of impeachment."

In the meantime, the loopholes established by Hoover allow the Federal Bureau of Investigation to con-

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tinue to conduct counterintelligence activities. The current FBI Director, Clarence Kelley, has even decided to ask Congress for formal permission to conduct counterintelligence operations "in the event of a sudden national emergency."

Under Kelley's plan, a "review board", similiar to the one established under the Huston Plan, would determine when a national emergency existed until the matter could be better defined by Congress. Kelley states that the FBI could possibly be confronted with a situation not covered by federal laws that would require counterintelligence activity.

Kelley's request barely received press attention, nor did the idea of legalizing what the FBI has been doing for over 13 years draw any attacks or comments from Congress. The de-ja-vu of the entire situation—the knowledge that the political process and constitutional rights of the people were used as a whipping dog for the FBI's past counterintelligence actions, as well as the knowledge that there is currently no method for making the FBI responsive to the laws it is alleged to uphold—makes Kelley's request seemingly a matter of post-Watergate careful politics rather than a serious attempt to seek permission for something that the FBI has been doing as a matter of course over the last decade and more.

When Kelley wants to conduct counterintelligence activities, he will do so. If Congress attempts to stop them, they may well find the embarrassing facts of their personal life taken out of the FBI files and leaked to the FBI's friendly press contacts.

The FBI under Hoover was cut loose by Franklin Roosevelt when he authorized the FBI, on September 1, 1936, to "engage in surveillance not solely for the purposes of prosecution." On that day the FBI ceased to be the investigative arm of the Justice Department and began to develop into America's political police force. Thirty-eight years of political police work will be very hard to stop, let alone eliminate, unless the FBI itself is drastically altered.

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TODAY!

In the three years since Congress was last assured by the Pentagon that Army military intelligence operations against civilian political groups and individuals had ceased, at least six civilian groups have been infiltrated by Army military intelligence agents. In addition, other incidents of MI surveillance of domestic political activity have been uncovered by the staff of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

The groups were not identified by Britt Snyder, staff counsel for the Subcommittee, but at least one of them was the "Pat Chenowith Defense Committee," a civilian support group formed to defend a Navy sailor charged with sabotage of a Navy vessel enroute to Vietnam. Chenowith was acquitted of all charges against him, but his defense committee was infiltrated by members of the Military Intelligence Special Operations Division, the same groups which was involved with pre-1970 MI surveillance of civilians.

Snyder charged that in all there were six organizations infiltrated by the Special Operations Division since the Army announced restrictions on domestic Military Intelligence activity in 1971. The charge came during two days of hearings held in April by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. The subcommittee, chaired by Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) held hearings on S.2318, a bill designed to permanently restrict the military from domestic civilian surveillance and imposing both civil and criminal sanctions against mili-

...other incidents have occurred which prove that the military can not stop itself from spying on civilian groups and individuals."

incidents have occurred which prove that the military can not stop itself from spying on civilian groups and individuals.

"The military has proven that it cannot police itself, and unless strict civilian control of the military is brought about, Military Intelligence will again be knocking on people's doors."

In the months between the Republican Party announcement that it would hold its 1972 National Convention in San Diego and the announcement after the ITT scandal that the convention would be shifted to Miami Beach, MI agents in the San Diego area began collecting information on protest groups and their leadership, ostensibly for the purpose of coordination of protection of the President with the Secret Service.

tary personnel who violate the law.

When the Democratic and Republican National Conventions were both held in Miami Beach in the summer of 1972, three military intelligence analysts were assigned to work with the Justice Departments intelligence center, again under the guise of analyzing intelligence for indications of a civil disorder that would require use of Federal troops.

Sen. Ervin charged that the Defense Investigative Service of the Department of Defense was involved with at least three "plumber operations" in recent years. The operations, said Ervin, were designed to trace the source of a news leak of confidential Defense Department material. Later, a Defense Department spokesman denied that clandestine operations were a part of the investigations, thus admitting that the investigations had taken place.

After the nomination of George McGovern as the Democratic candidate, a group within the joint civilian-military U.S. community in West Berlin formed a support group to campaign for McGovern within the American community. After the defeat of McGovern, the group decided to change its name to Concerned Americans in Berlin, and petitioned the Democratic Central Committee for accreditation as a Democratic Party Club. Both the campaign effort and the emerging Concerned Americans in Berlin group was targeted by military intelligence for infiltration and surveillance.

The original controversy over military intelligence domestic operations dates back to January, 1970, when former Army Captain Christopher Pyle wrote a story for the *Washington Monthly* describing the U. S. Army data banks at Fort Holabird, Md. The data bank was one of three used by Military Intelligence for the purpose of storing information on the political activities and beliefs of countless U.S. citizens. The Army claimed that the data banks were established to carry out their responsibilities in case of a civil disorder, and that in order to be capable of restoring order to a riot area they would need such information on the civilian inhabitants.

An equally dangerous precedent—especially when considered in the context of the large number of coordinated drug raids by the Drug Enforcement Agency and local police forces this past spring—was the "loaning" of Military Intelligence agents to the Prince William County Virginia Police Department. The MI agents were assigned to infiltrate a drug ring operating in the county, an action justified by a "belief" that military personnel may be involved with the ring. While no military personnel were involved, 29 civilians became the subjects for MI reports.

Public outrage at the existence of the data banks forced the Army to eliminate them. Congressional hearings were held by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in February and March, 1971. Simultaneously, in an attempt to relieve pressure on the Army from the public and the Congress, the Department of Defense announced the formation of two committees to supervise the domestic policy and operations of the military intelligence agencies.

Yet to be explained is the role of the military in the White House level intelligence Evaluation Committee. The IEC went beyond the scope of the legal responsibility of the U. S. Army's intelligence functions

The first of these committees was the Defense Investigative Program, a policy formation group charged with outlining military responsibilities for intelligence. This group was placed under the control of an Under Secretary of the Army, a civilian political appointee.

"Public outrage at the existence of the data banks forced the Army to eliminate them."

The second group, more of an oversight committee, was created as the Defense Investigative Review Council. Composed of top echelon officials from the Defense Department, the DIRC was charged with monitoring and reporting on implementation of policy in the areas of military intelligence and investigations.

concerning civil disorders, and concerned itself more with the political beliefs and activities of American citizens. The IEC, which assumed some of the responsibilities originally outlined in the 1970 Houston Plan, also contained the Central Intelligence Agency and the national Security Agency, both in apparent violation of the 1947 National Security Act. The IEC was

It was under the noses of this Department of Defense oversight committee that serious breaches of military intelligence restrictions seem to have taken place however. In addition to the "plumber-operations" mentioned by Ervin, and the Six Defense Investigative Service infiltrations mentioned by Snyder, other

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abolished in 1973, but the military involvement in the period of 1971-73 raises questions as to whether Pentagon officials were truthful when questioned by U.S. Senators on the level of military intelligence activity.

"Statistics show that virtually all riots and civil disorders are spontaneous..."

The Pentagon and its supporters are opposed to the current attempt to prohibit certain activity by military intelligence agencies. During the hearings on S 2318, Pentagon supporters claimed that the bill was too vague, making it open to interpretations that would prohibit military officials from even possessing a Congressional Directory or similar material. Throughout the hearings Senator Ervin admonished the witnesses that the law was designed to restrict certain activity as it pertained to the collection of intelligence on civilians, and that there was nothing in it that would prevent the military from carrying out its legal assigned functions.

Another source of opposition comes from the provisions in the law which allow both civil and criminal cases to be made against individual military intelligence agents who engage in outlawed activity. The Military in the past has claimed that the actions of MI agents involved in prohibited actions were "individual abuses", and Sen. Ervin's logic in the criminal/civil penalties was to discourage individual "abuses" of the law by government agents. There has been speculation that the real reason for objection to this provision is that it would basically rob the military of its standard excuse should an agent be caught in the act of carrying out orders that were in violation of the law.

The first line of defense of military intelligence has traditionally been the need for intelligence in order to prepare for domestic civil disorders. While statistics show that virtually all riots and civil disorders are spontaneous and not pre-planned, the military continues to cling to their lame excuses.

Perhaps the best two examples of major civil disorders which occurred spontaneously were the Detroit riot of 1967, a riot which started over the arrest of a cab driver, and the riots that followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. Ironically, former Under Secretary of the Army David Griffert has provided the best reason for the lack of logic in the military's argument. Griffert told the Senate Subcommittee during the April hearings that "all political surveillance in the world, together with the most ingenious record keeping system, would not have given us proper clues for alerting or prepositioning troops in these cases. (Detroit and Dr. King)."

The man who started the original controversy, Chris Pyle, now believes that the power of military intelligence is at a low ebb, and that there are few, if any, domestic operations now being conducted. Even if that is the objective case, there is one fact that remains constant. The military has proved that it cannot police itself, and unless strict civilian control of the military is brought about, Military Intelligence will again be knocking on people's doors.

AFRICA: INTERVENTION BY PROXY



by Francis A. Kornegay

It is frequently stressed that overall United States interest in Africa is minimal compared to its commitments in other regions; thus the low priority given to U.S.-Africa policy in American foreign relations—a policy often termed 'Benign Neglect.' In fact, knowledgeable commentators on African-American relations have stressed a steadily declining U.S. role in Africa. However, the recent Mideast/Energy Crisis emanating from the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the April Revolution in Portugal are major developments which question the notion of minimal vested U.S. interests in Africa. Both upheavals, in their unfolding ramifications, are revealing important American strategic and economic interests in Africa. The tendency for the U.S. to relate to Africa within the context of its relations with Europe has obscured the significance of its African in-

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terests. As a means of avoiding unnecessary complications in its super-power relations, the U.S. tended to rely upon Europe to deal directly with Africa as its own 'sphere-of-influence' (arising naturally from the colonial legacy) while it assumed leadership in dealing with the Soviet Union and China, in addition to giving priority to Asia and the Middle East. In short, the U.S. has pursued its objectives in Africa primarily through European 'proxies' as a means of reducing possibilities of super-power rivalry in the continent. For the U.S., this convenience assured Africa's remaining within the

Western orbit with minimal input from Washington.

Yet, given the still critical leadership role of the United States in world affairs (in spite of a post-Vietnam withdrawal syndrome), Washington's Euro-Africa policy has done little to advance the general political and economic priorities of Africa, and worse, has inhibited their realization. Thus, with U.S. acquiescence or backing, most of Independent Africa remains under Europe's neocolonial influence, while Southern and Portuguese Africa continue under white minority/colonial rule. Furthermore, U.S. foreign policy decisions concerning other regions have shown a tendency to be arrived at, at the expense of advancing positive U.S.-African relations and thereby enhancing Africa's position within an international system in flux. A survey of Washington's current pursuit of economic and strategic objectives with respect to the Mideast, the 'Energy Crisis' and Southern Africa serves to illustrate the virtually invisible role Africa seems to play as a factor in U.S. foreign policy.

U.S.-Africa Policy and the Mideast Crisis

The central role of Portugal's Azores Islands in the U.S. response to the October 73 Mideast crisis simultaneously exposed the interdependence of European, Middle Eastern and African factors in U.S. policy while dramatizing Africa's subordinate position. The Nixon Administration's 1971 agreement with the former Caetano regime to guarantee more than \$400 million in Exim Bank credits to Lisbon in exchange for continued U.S. military use of the Azores was widely interpreted as an indication of Washington's support for Portugal's Africa policy (the Azores agreement is currently under re-negotiation). Meanwhile, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its member states increasingly associated Israel's annexation of Egyptian and Middle Eastern territories and continuing white domination of Southern Africa as related aspects of a revised system of Western domination in Africa and the Mideast through regional surrogates (Israel and South Africa). Thus, a seemingly reinforced Western commitment to the status-quo in Southern and Portuguese Africa such as symbolized by the Azores agreement has been widely identified as a major factor in the massive African diplomatic defection from Israel in 1973.(2) U.S. dependence on the Azores to supply Israel with military hardware during the Yom-Kippur War underlined Portugal's strategic significance to the U.S. at a time when other Western allies refused to collaborate with Washington in aiding Tel-Aviv. As a result, in the context of America's Western, Mideastern and African consideration, the Arab-Israeli War brought into the open a U.S./Portuguese/Israeli coalition of forces opposing an incipient Afro-Arab alliance. This trend of events was hardly designed to encourage a pro-Africa U.S. policy, increasingly challenged by Portuguese and Israeli lobbies in the U.S. Thus one commentator on African affairs would speculate that:

"Certainly, there can be no doubt that as long as the Azores are linked to Israel, Congress will vote whatever the Administration ask for Portugal. This was made clear by the way in which liberals such as Hubert Humphrey, Senate Africa subcommittee Chairman, moved to change a Tunney-Young Amendment on Portugal in conference as soon as the Middle East war broke out. Abandoned was the Tunney version that would have given legislative support to the long-standing executive

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embargo on U.S. arms shipments to Portugal for use in Africa. The shell that remained simply required a report by the Administration on its dealings with Portugal."

American Energy Politics and Africa Policy

The ramifications of the 'Energy Crisis' associated with the Arab oil boycott and the rise in oil prices following the '73 Mideast War hold similarly slim prospects for Africa in U.S. policy consideration. Initially, observers of Third World affairs were optimistic as to the implications of the Arab oil weapon for signaling a revolution in economic relations between industrial countries and Third World raw material producers. Yet, sobering revelation brought to light by the oil boycott was the vulnerability of much of the developing world and the existence of a genuine economic stratification within the Third World between energy producers and consumers; between relatively wealthy developing states and those which are genuinely poverty-stricken. Except for oil-rich Nigeria, much of Africa's sub-Saharan region above the Zambezi falls into the latter class of developing countries, now referred to as the "Fourth World." Most of these states were severely hit by the oil crisis aimed at the West. Of the twelve countries listed by the World Bank as hardest hit by the rise in oil prices, seven are in Africa, including Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, and Sudan (all of which suffer from drought and famine). Tanzania, Uganda and even mineral-rich Zaire are also among this list.

In spite of a number of genuine bilateral arrangements being made between oil producers and Third World consumers, the U.S. under the initiative of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has already been accused of attempting to benefit from the Third World's internal economic divisions laid bare by the oil crisis (a strong factor behind the Special U.N. Raw Material Conference's rejection of a \$4 billion U.S. aid proposal). However, on the domestic front, such manipulation poses a very real threat to the already precarious status of Africa policy in the U.S. Already assigned a low priority within U.S. foreign policy formulations, a recent proposal for reorganizing a portion of the U.S. Department of State may further reduce the significance of U.S.-Africa policy. In the "Society Section" of the Sunday *Washington Star-News* (21 April, 1974), it was blandly reported that:

"Alfred (Roy) Atherton, the new assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, is reorganizing his department even though the Senate has yet to confirm his appointment. Under the new plan, the North African Islamic states, which have previously been part of the Bureau of African Affairs, will be included in Atherton's diplomatic bag."

Thus, Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia will join Egypt in a move to partition North Africa from the rest of the continent in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy (although Mauritania, Spanish Sahara and the Sudan will remain in the Africa Bureau). As a result, the influence of Independent Africa above the Zambezi, but below the Sahara will be further reduced as a factor in U.S. policy. Presumably this 'reorganization' is for the purpose of serving U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East and its economic interests in current international energy politics. At any rate, if indeed Kissinger's strategy is to fragment the developing world as he is accused by his Third World critics, it will at least become partially institutionalized in U.S. policy at Africa's expense should this proposed reshuffle at State succeed.

Southern & Portuguese Africa

The pursuit of U.S. strategic and economic aims in North Africa, at the expense of an *integral Africa policy* is equally at work in Southern and Portuguese Africa. The "Energy Crisis" and especially the Portuguese April Revolution of 1974 have served to sharpen the awareness of the extent of U.S. interests in the Southern subcontinent and its corollary interests in preserving the region's racial status-quo.

White South Africans, always anxious to stress and re-emphasize the importance of the Cape Sea route to Western interests have not missed the implications of the emerging energy factor for Southern Africa:

"Where the East Coast and the southern subcontinent of Africa were unimportant in the flow of energy to Europe and the United States in the past, both today

"THE U.S., UNDER THE INITIATIVE OF SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER, HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTING TO BENEFIT FROM THE THIRD WORLD INTERNAL ECONOMIC DIVISIONS LAID BARE BY THE OIL CRISIS"





occupy important positions of strategic significance. This enhances their political bargaining power.

"As the importance of developing alternative sources of energy to petroleum is acknowledged one can expect that those areas which offer sound alternatives will occupy an important position in the strategic planning of chief consumer nations. This process will be accentuated by the anticipated shortage of enriched uranium by the end of the 1970's and the anticipated shortage of petroleum by the end of the 1980's.

"The position of uranium, coupled to the strategic significance of the Cape sea route, means that it can be expected that South Africa (and the rest of the southern subcontinent) will be able to enjoy greater bargaining power within the international energy framework towards the end of the 1970's."

The energy factor and its strategic implications for the West in Southern Africa merely reinforces other familiar indicators of U.S. interests on the side of the racial status-quo. In an essay in *U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, by Alan M. Jones, Jr. (1973), Donald Rothchild stresses that:

"In the Southern African context, trade is anything but neutral. When conducted under present conditions, it involves the United States on the side of the status-quo. In 1970 United States exports to South Africa and Namibia were \$563 million (17 percent of her total imports); United States imports from that country were \$288 million (13 percent of total exports, not including gold). A roughly similar pattern prevailed in Angola where United States exports in 1970 came to

\$38 million (10 percent) and imports to \$68 million (17 percent); moreover in Mozambique, American exports during that year amounted to \$22 million (9 percent) and imports to \$18 million (10 percent). Clearly American trade was important to the maintenance of the Southern African system. It meant that the Southern African and Western economies were to remain interconnected, thereby stimulating enterprise and giving hope to de facto acceptability."

A similar pattern is observed with U.S. private investments in the subcontinent, including \$755 million in South Africa and \$200 million in Angola's oil industry where GULF Oil Corporation has a huge stake in its Cabinda Gulf outlet which accounts for most of Angola's production (and which the liberation movements have recently promised to nationalize should they come to power).

These indicators of U.S.-Southern African economic interdependence takes on added significance in an emerging age of energy scarcity. Under the current Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy, this interdependence has shaped a U.S. policy towards the region which increasingly promotes gradual and non-violent racial change through increasing "communication" with the white governments, particularly Pretoria. The assumption seems to be that in spite of freedom movements pursuing armed struggle with backing from Afro-Asian states and the Communist powers (in the West including Scandinavia, Canada and liberal Church institutions), that white power in the subcontinent will prevail in the long-run to the extent that whites will be able to maintain control while adopting *less openly repressive multi-*

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racial systems. From this viewpoint, not only will this be good for maintaining and expanding business as usual, but will make Western/white Southern African collaboration less politically and diplomatically embarrassing in the world arena. Thus, change is viewed as desirable—within controlled bounds. In this context of official reasoning, the April upheaval in Lisbon and its aftermath is dramatic in significance. These developments have further legitimized the African strategy and support for revolutionary armed struggle. And not only is the balance of power shifting in the subcontinent as a result of these developments, but the security of U.S. strategic and economic interests based on an arrogant assumption of long-term white domination is discredited. Yet, as a recent revelation illustrates; the U.S. and its Western allies were not ruling out the threat of revolutionary changes in Southern Africa. In a recent *Washington Post* article by Tad Szulc on the implications of the April 27 Lisbon coup it is noted that:

"As long as a year ago, when it became obvious that the rebels were gaining in strength in Mozambique, the U.S. and NATO began to draw up secret contingency plans for air and naval defense of South Africa. In June 1973, NATO's Defense Planning Committee (DPC) instructed SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic) headquarters in Norfolk, Va., to draw up plans for an allied air-naval task force to stand ready to assist South Africa, should the need arise.

"This was part of a broader United States strategy, as visualized at the Pentagon, to reinforce positions in the Indian Ocean. . . against a Soviet naval threat in the area."

In the event of the currently unpredictable developments in Mozambique actually developing into a genuine threat to South Africa's security, will the U.S. and NATO risk intervention on Pretoria's behalf? *In terms of domestic U.S. considerations, such a prospect raises the most serious questions for the African-American Community whose sons would have to face the odious possibility of being involved in a military maneuver designed to do no less than bolster the last bastion of white supremacy on the continent of their ancestors. It also strikes at the very heart of the need for a strong multi-racial constituency for Africa in the United States under African-American leadership, thus far a development which has been systematically aborted for various reasons for which space will not allow elaboration. However, the renewed "winds of change" in Southern Africa unleached by recent events in Portugal could yet confront the U.S. with the task it has so far evaded of the fashioning a significant Africa policy which gives high priority to the interests of the African continent as a whole rather than to "preferred" countries and regions of the continent which mainly serve special American geopolitical interests outside Africa.*

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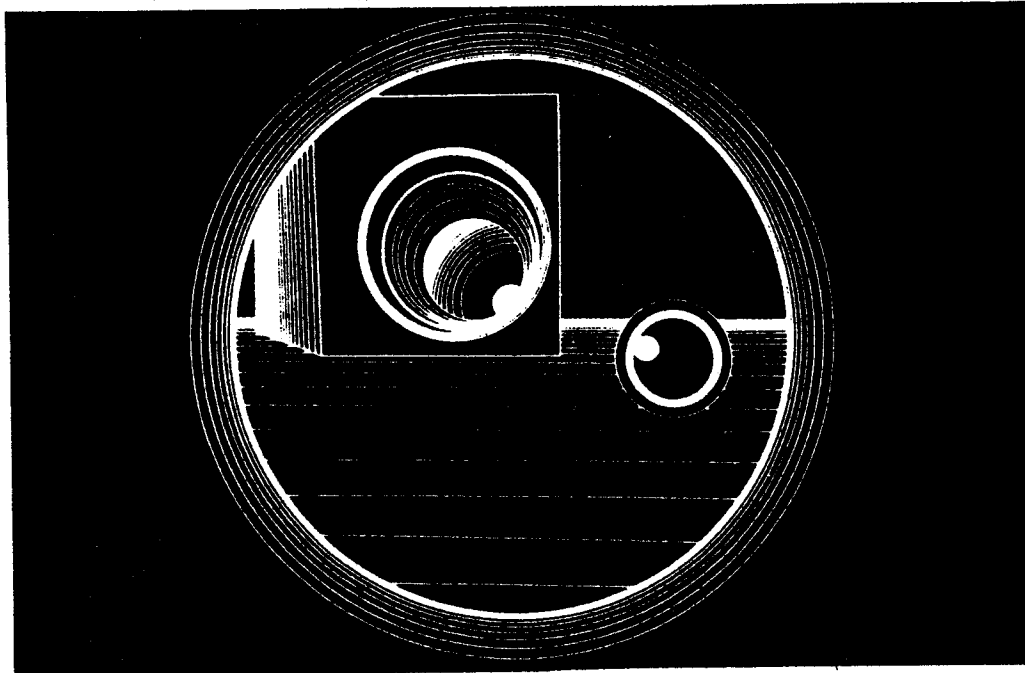
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