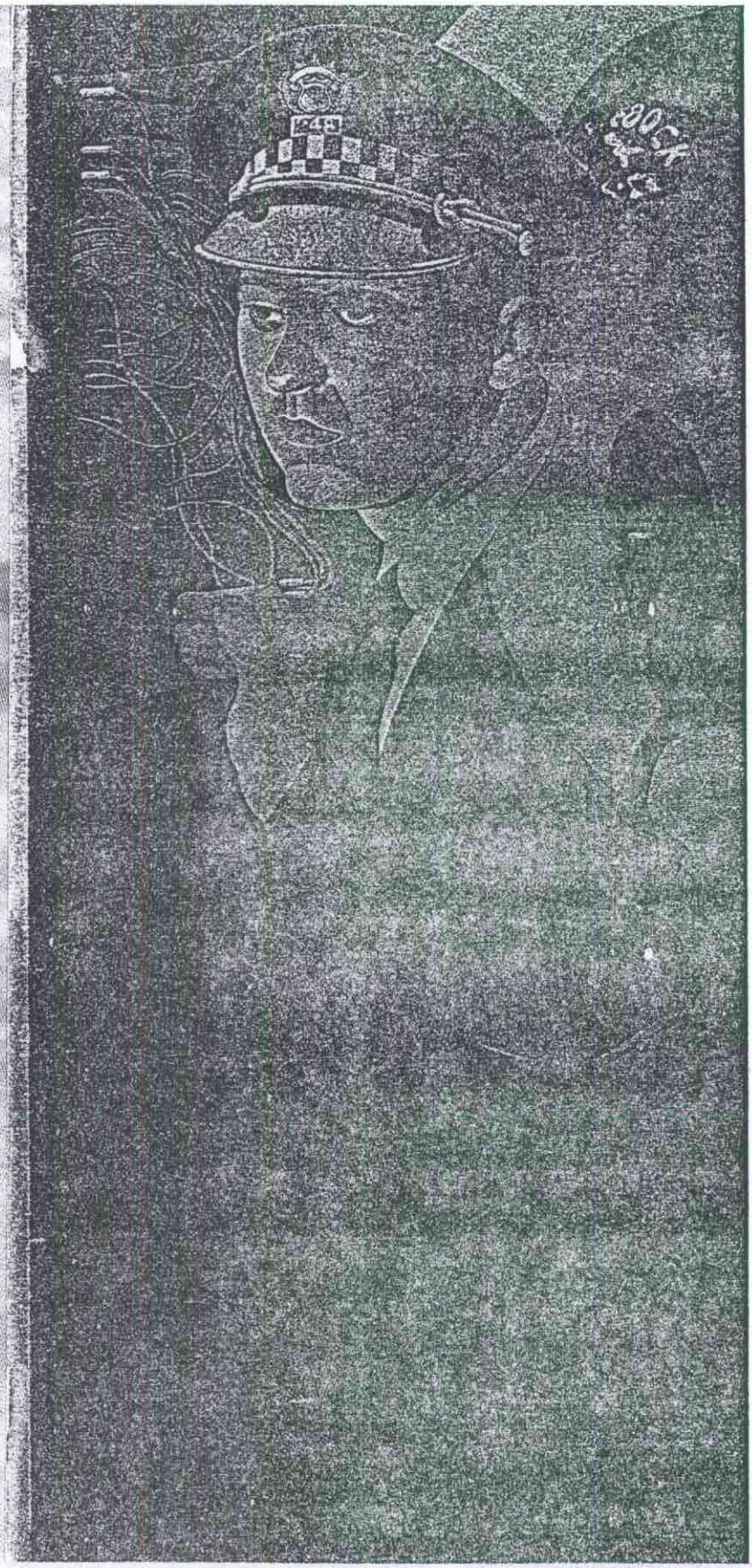


EXCLUSIVE!

This clandestine web of police spies links almost every major city in the United States and Canada. But it is so secret that few people even know it exists and so powerful that it does as it pleases while answering to no one.

AMERICA'S SECRET POLICE NETWORK

In today's society blackmail has replaced physical force as the currency of political power brokerage. J. Edgar Hoover knew that power lies between the manila covers of a personal dossier, and he used that knowledge to build and maintain his empire for almost half a century. The FBI, the CIA, and virtually every other agency given the authority to spy to defend us from foreign or domestic enemies have sooner or later gone off the reservation and used their power to steal our liberties.

In contrast to the CIA and the FBI, the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit is a little-known organization; in fact, almost no one has ever heard of it. But its power is considerable, and its potential threat to our freedom is enormous.

The LEIU links the intelligence squads of almost every major police force in the United States and Canada. Although its members are sworn police officers who work for state and city governments, it is a private club, not answerable to voters, taxpayers, or elected officials. It cuts across the vertical lines of authority of local government, for its members hold certain allegiances to the group that cannot

BY GEORGE O'TOOLE

be countermanded by a mayor, a county manager, or even a state governor.

The organization forms a vast network of intelligence units that exchange dossiers and conduct investigations on a reciprocal basis. Several of the police departments belonging to the group have recently been caught in illegal wiretapping, burglary, and spying on the private lives of ordinary citizens. The LEIU is, in effect, a huge, private domestic-intelligence agency.

"The LEIU is not a secret organization," says Lt. Ray Henry, chief of intelligence for the Long Beach, Calif., Police Department and the organization's national chairman. "The LEIU is so secret that, until recently, even its existence was usually denied," says Douglass Durham, a former Des Moines police officer who claims to have worked as an undercover investigator for the group. If the LEIU is not a secret society, it may as well be. Several Washington, D.C., lawyers who specialize in personal privacy and civil-liberties cases told me that they had never heard of the organization. Even among many police officers, the LEIU is something of a mystery. One former California cop thought the name referred to the Los Angeles Police Department's intelligence squad. And an investigator for a California district attorney's office described the LEIU as "extremely hush-hush, extremely low-profile."

The LEIU's low profile has succeeded in keeping the organization out of public view for twenty years. The group was founded in March 1956 at a secret meeting called by Capt. James E. Hamilton, then commander of the Los Angeles Police Department's intelligence squad, and by several other senior California police officials. Representatives from twenty-six police and sheriff's departments in seven western states attended the meeting and became charter members. By 1967 the organization had grown to include seventy police forces across the United States, and by 1975 more than 225 law-enforcement agencies were involved, including six in Canada.

"The thing is a monster network," says Lake Headley, a former Las Vegas deputy sheriff who belonged to the LEIU in the late 1950s. "It was Captain Hamilton's brainchild. He wanted to take police intelligence away from the FBI. Police departments do the street-level work to collect information, and Hamilton didn't like the idea of turning it over to the FBI and making them the monitor; so he formed the LEIU to circumvent the FBI's network. It was established to form an intelligence network independent of any federal agency. The LEIU is a combination fraternal organization and functioning intelligence agency."

The LEIU is divided into four geographic zones: eastern, central, northwestern, and southwestern. Each zone is governed by a chairman and a vice-chairman. Nationally, there are also a general chairman, a general vice-chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer. The national and zone officers comprise a twelve-member executive board, which governs the organization. The LEIU holds national and regional conventions every year. Lake Headley describes the conventions as "big club meetings."

It's not easy to join the LEIU. When applying for membership, a police force must be sponsored by another agency already in the LEIU and must be endorsed by three others. All members are notified of the application, and the LEIU carries out a thorough investigation of the applicant agency and the officers who work for it and will take part in LEIU activities. Finally, the executive board votes on the application.

"It's a very selective, very elitist sort of thing," says former member Lake Headley. "In a local intelligence squad you kind of look to the LEIU man to jump into a phone booth and come dashing out in a Superman suit."

The protective cloak of obscurity shielding the LEIU from public view was briefly lifted last year when the Houston, Tex., Police Department left the organization.

THE SECRET LEIU MEMBERSHIP LIST

The following confidential membership list of the LEIU was compiled in October 1973 and is probably still at least 90 percent accurate. The following abbreviations are used: Co.—County; P.D.—Police Department; D.A.—District Attorney; S.D.—Sheriff's Department.

ALABAMA
Dept. Public Safety

ALASKA
State Troopers

ARIZONA
Dept. Public Safety
Phoenix P.D.
Scottsdale P.D.
Tucson P.D.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock P.D.

CALIFORNIA
Alameda P.D.
Alameda Co. D.A.
Alameda Co. S.D.
Albany P.D.
Anaheim P.D.
Berkeley P.D.
Buena Park P.D.
Butte Co. S.D.
Concord P.D.
Contra Costa Co. S.D.
Daly City P.D.
El Cerrito P.D.
El Dorado Co. S.D.
Emeryville P.D.
Fremont P.D.
Fresno P.D.
Fresno Co. S.D.
Fullerton P.D.
Garden Grove P.D.
Hayward P.D.
Humboldt Co. S.D.
Huntingdon Beach P.D.
Imperial Co. S.D.
Kern Co. S.D.
Lodi P.D.
Long Beach P.D.
Los Angeles P.D.
Los Angeles Co. D.A.
Los Angeles Co. S.D.
Marin Co. D.A.
Marin Co. S.D.
Modesto P.D.
Monterey P.D.
Monterey Park P.D.
Napa P.D.
Napa Co. S.D.
Newport Beach P.D.
Oakland P.D.
Ontario P.D.
Orange Co. D.A.
Oxnard P.D.
Palm Springs P.D.
Palo Alto P.D.
Pasadena P.D.
Piedmont P.D.
Placer Co. S.D.
Pomona P.D.
Redlands P.D.
Redwood City P.D.
Richmond P.D.
Riverside Co. S.D.
Sacramento P.D.
Sacramento Co. S.D.
San Bernardino Co. S.D.
San Diego P.D.
San Diego Co. D.A.
San Francisco P.D.
San Joaquin Co. S.D.
San Jose P.D.
San Leandro P.D.
San Luis Obispo Co. S.D.
San Mateo P.D.
San Mateo Co. D.A.
San Mateo Co. S.D.
San Pablo P.D.
San Rafael P.D.
Santa Ana P.D.
Santa Barbara P.D.
Santa Barbara Co. S.D.
Santa Clara P.D.
Santa Clara Co. D.A.
Santa Clara Co. S.D.
Santa Cruz Co. S.D.
Santa Rosa P.D.
So. San Francisco P.D.
Stanislaus Co. S.D.
State Division of Law Enforcement (Central Coordinating Agency)
Stockton P.D.
Torrance P.D.
Tulare Co. D.A.
Tulare Co. S.D.
Ventura P.D.
Ventura Co. D.A.
Ventura Co. S.D.
Vernon P.D.
Walnut Creek P.D.

COLORADO
Boulder P.D.
Bureau of Investigation
Denver P.D.
Jefferson Co. S.D.
Littleton P.D.

CONNECTICUT
Hartford P.D.
New Haven Police Service
State Police

DELAWARE
State Police

FLORIDA
Dade Co. Public Safety Dept.
Dept. of Law Enforcement
Duval Co. S.D.
Fort Lauderdale P.D.
Hollywood P.D.
Miami P.D.
Orlando P.D.
Tampa P.D.

GEORGIA
Cobb Co. P.D.
De Kalb Co. P.D.
Muscogee Co. S.D.
State Division of Investigation

HAWAII
Hawaii P.D.
Honolulu P.D.

IDAHO
Boise P.D.
Dept. of Law Enforcement

ILLINOIS
Chicago P.D.
Cook Co. State Attorney's Office
Rockford P.D.
Skokie P.D.
State Police

INDIANA
State Police

IOWA
Bureau of Criminal Investigation
Cedar Rapids P.D.
Des Moines P.D.

Houston police officials announced that their department was resigning from the LEIU after it had received requests from other member agencies for information on the private lives of people with absolutely no criminal connections. In one instance cited by the Houston officials, a California police department asked for a full-scale investigation of a highly respected Houston businessman who had requested a liquor license to sell beer in a chain of grocery stores in California. The inquiry reportedly included a request for information about the man's investments, business associates, family life, and even his sex habits.

LEIU national chairman Ray Henry denies the allegation, describing it as "a bunch of sour grapes." The Houston Police Department didn't quit the LEIU, according to Lieutenant Henry. "They were kicked out by me because they had something like 200 officers indicted for illegal wiretapping. We're not going to put up with that kind of crap." Lieutenant Henry said that he had a postal-registration receipt to prove the Houston Police Department was expelled from the LEIU prior to its announced resignation, and he added that the present Houston chief of police had denied the earlier charges by his subordinates that the LEIU spied on noncriminal subjects.

The self-proclaimed sensitivity of the Houston cops to the privacy of ordinary citizens does seem a bit implausible in view of the department's own record, which has recently come to light. Houston has been the scene of one of the major police-spying scandals of recent years, involving the department's Criminal Intelligence Division, the FBI, and the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company. The affair probably was the cause of Houston's expulsion from the LEIU, although Lieutenant Henry's pious condemnation of the department's illegal wiretapping serves to mask what is probably the LEIU's true reason for expelling the Texas cops.

In 1973 Houston elected liberal Democrat Fred Hofheinz as mayor. Hofheinz promptly made good his campaign promise to replace Houston's hard-line, law-and-order police chief, whose department had frequently been charged with brutality to blacks. Hofheinz's new chief, Carroll M. Lynn, soon discovered that under his predecessor the police department had carried out a ten-year program of political spying. The Criminal Intelligence Division had amassed dossiers on more than a thousand noncriminal subjects. Most of the individuals spied upon were liberals, black activists, or civil-libertarians, although the cops had also taken an interest in some conservatives. Chief Lynn found dossiers on liberal Congresswoman Barbara Jordan and conservative Congressman Bob Casey. There was also a thick file on Fred Hofheinz, the new mayor.

The police spy files were chock-full c personal information, often including sex ual gossip, and much of the data coul have been acquired only through wiretap ping. Texas has no state law for regulatin wiretapping, and under a 1968 federa statute, local police in such states are for bidden to tap phones under any circum stances; electronic eavesdropping can b done only by federal agents with court or ders. Chief Lynn launched an internal in vestigation in order to determine how th information in the files had been obtainec The probe disclosed that the Housto police had conducted more than thousand illegal wiretaps during a sever year period.

The files of the Houston Criminal Intell gence Division were sequestered on th order of a federal judge and were turne over to a federal grand jury investigatin the affair. The sequestered files include not only the standard CID dossiers but als one full set of the special files of the LEIU– the complete assortment of intelligence in formation that Captain Hamilton and hi successors had succeeded in keeping ou of the hands of the federal authorities fc almost twenty years. In the words of Lieu tenant Henry, the Houston cops had pe mitted the LEIU files to be "seized by civi ians," and it is this surrender, rather tha the telephone tapping, that seems th

KANSAS
Bureau of Investigation
Wichita P.D.

KENTUCKY
Louisville Div. of Police
State Police

LOUISIANA
Jefferson Parish S.D.
New Orleans P.D.
Shreveport P.D.
State Police

MAINE
State Police

MARYLAND
Baltimore P.D.
State Police

MASSACHUSETTS
Dept. of Attorney General
State Police

MICHIGAN
Dept. of Attorney General
Detroit P.D.
Flint P.D.
State Police
Warren P.D.

MINNESOTA
Bloomington P.D.
Bureau of Criminal Apprehension
Minneapolis P.D.

MISSISSIPPI
Highway Safety Patrol

MISSOURI
Gladstone Public Safety Dept.
Kansas City P.D.
State Highway Patrol
St. Louis Co. Dept. of Police
St. Louis Metropolitan Police Dept.

NEBRASKA
Lincoln P.D.
State Patrol

NEVADA
Clark Co. S.D.
Las Vegas Metro P.D.
Reno P.D.
Sparks P.D.
State Gaming Control Board
Washoe Co. D.A.
Washoe Co. S.D.

NEW HAMPSHIRE
State Police

NEW JERSEY
State Comm. of Investigation
State Police

NEW MEXICO
Albuquerque P.D.
State Police

NEW YORK
Buffalo P.D.
Mount Vernon Police Dept.
Nassau Co. P.D.
Nassau Co. D.A.
New York City Police Dept.
Rochester P.D.
Suffolk Co. P.D.
Waterfront Commission -N.Y. Harbor

OHIO
Bureau of Criminal Identification & Investigation
Cincinnati P.D.
Cleveland P.D.
State Highway Patrol

OKLAHOMA
State Bureau of Investigation

OREGON
Eugene P.D.
Medford P.D.
Multnomah Co. D.A.
Multnomah Co. S.D.
Portland P.D.
State Police

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia Co. D.A.
State Police

RHODE ISLAND
State Police

TENNESSEE
Nashville Metro P.D.

TEXAS
Amarillo P.D.
Beaumont P.D.
Corpus Christi P.D.
Dallas P.D.
Department of Public Safety
Fort Worth P.D.
San Antonio P.D.
Wichita Falls P.D.

UTAH
Ogden City P.D.
Provo P.D.
Salt Lake City P.D.
Salt Lake Co. S.D.

VERMONT
State Police

VIRGINIA
Fairfax Co. P.D.

WASHINGTON
Seattle P.D.
State Patrol
Tacoma P.D.

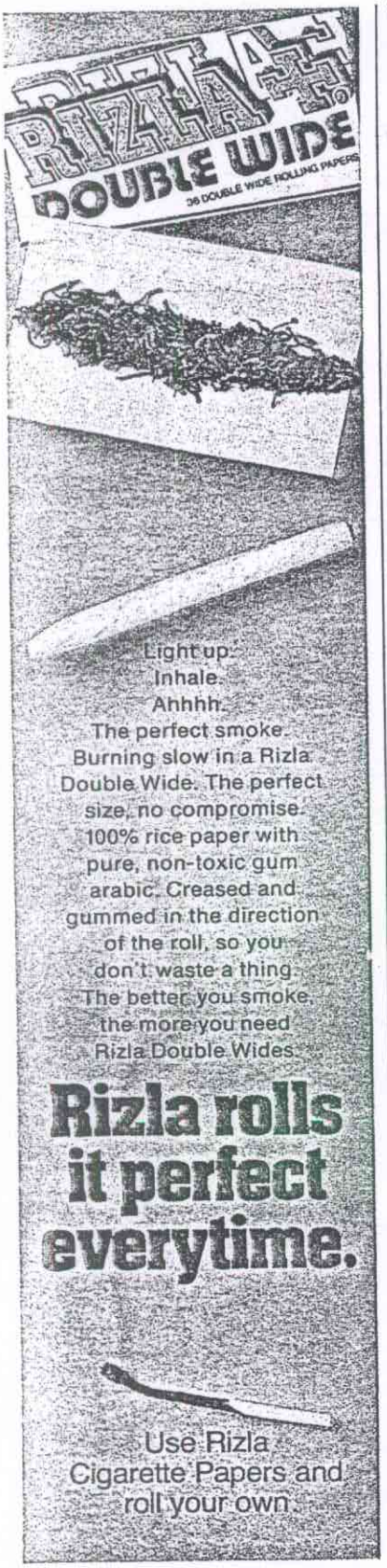
WISCONSIN
State Dept. of Justice

WYOMING
State Attorney General

CANADA

ONTARIO
Canada Department of Manpower & Immigration
Niagara Regional Police Force
Ontario Provincial Police
Toronto Metro P.D.
Windsor City P.D.

QUEBEC
Montreal Urban Comm. P.D.



> "The LEIU flatly refuses to show its files to anyone who is not a member—including FBI agents."

more plausible explanation for Houston's expulsion from the LEIU.

Custody of the LEIU's files is the most sacred trust that the organization bestows upon its individual members. The LEIU not only withholds its files from the FBI and other federal authorities but also flatly refuses to show them to anyone who is not a LEIU member. Former member Lake Headley recalls that access to the locked LEIU file cabinets could not be shared by two officers working on the same case unless both were LEIU members. (Today all officers assigned full-time to the intelligence squad of a regular member agency are considered LEIU members and have full access to the files.) In some instances a police officer is designated as an "affiliate member" of the LEIU, meaning that he, but not the police department for which he works, belongs to the LEIU; he is the only person in the entire department who may look at the LEIU files. Even a request by the chief of police or by the police commissioner would have to be refused.

Both regular and affiliate LEIU members are forbidden to show the organization's secret dossiers to "civilians." It makes no difference that the chief of police is appointed by the mayor or the city council and serves at their pleasure; he cannot obey any order to make the LEIU files available to them.

"We've had numerous cases where some political figure has tried to gain access," Lieutenant Henry told me. "We had an agency not so long ago where our members voluntarily resigned from LEIU and returned the files because they weren't sure they could keep their mayor away from them. Nonmembers don't have the need to know or the right to know."

Freedom-of-information and privacy laws enacted by the federal government and several of the states give every citizen the right to know what is in government files, especially dossiers in which his own name may be, but the LEIU is completely exempt from such laws. The LEIU is a private club and therefore not subject to freedom-of-information or privacy laws. Thus the LEIU files are more secret than those of the CIA or the FBI.

Any LEIU member can open a file on an individual simply by filling out a form and obtaining the approval of the local LEIU regional chairman. The form is forwarded to the California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation in Sacramento, a part of the state's Division of Law Enforcement that voluntarily acts as a central coordinating agency for the LEIU. (The LEIU's private status has not prevented it from receiving generous support from state and federal government agencies.) The Special Services Section of the Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation summarizes all the information provided on the individual and puts it on a five-by-eight-inch card, along with a photograph, if one is available. Copies of the card are sent to all LEIU members, to be kept under lock and key in the special LEIU file cabinets.

Some of the LEIU files have been entered into the Interstate Organized Crime Index, a computerized file system developed and operated by the LEIU under a $1.3 million grant from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The IOCI system is an international network of computer terminals, linked by telecommunications lines to a central computer run by the Michigan State Police in East Lansing, Mich. Last year the LEAA cut off all funds for the IOCI system.

"The Justice Department put it on ice," said Lieutenant Henry, blaming the cutoff on public concern over domestic spying. "They decided not to fund anything that uses the word *intelligence* until the hue and cry dies down. But they just recently called us up and said the pressure is off," he added. "So we may be back on again in a few months."

Pressure on the LEIU resulted from the Houston police charges and from statements made by a former Des Moines police officer, who told investigators for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that he had served as an undercover agent for the LEIU and was assigned to spy on noncriminal subjects. Douglass Durham, an accomplished pilot, safecracker, photographer, scuba diver, and electronic eavesdropping specialist, said that he was part of an LEIU-sponsored exchange program in which undercover officers were traded between police departments in the Midwest. Durham says he was lent by the Des Moines police to work undercover for the police departments of Lincoln, Nebraska and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He says that some of his assignments involved the surveillance of political dissidents.

Lieutenant Henry denies that Durham worked for the LEIU; the organization employs no undercover investigators, he says. (But individual LEIU member agencies are committed to conduct undercover investigations, surveillances, and background checks for other member agencies, on request. Durham actually claims only to have worked undercover for the Des Moines Police Department in an exchange program sponsored by the LEIU. The Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, and Lincoln police departments are LEIU members and, presumably, use undercover investigators.) Lieutenant Henry also denies that the LEIU keeps files on anyone but people involved in organized crime, adding, "I hope that story has been laid to rest, because

CONTINUED ON PAGE

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SECRET POLICE

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totally false."

But, when Donald H. Carroll, then LEIU general chairman, testified before a Senate subcommittee probing criminal-justice data banks in 1974, he defined the purpose of the LEIU as, "the gathering, recording, investigating, and exchange of confidential information not available through regular police channels on individuals and organizations involved in, *but not necessarily limited to*," organized crime (emphasis added). And a 1973 report on the Interstate Organized Crime Index contained this statement: "The LEIU data base was comprised of persons of interest to intelligence units other than organized crime subjects." Lieutenant Henry had a copy of the report, and I asked him about the statement.

"I don't understand that statement at all," he said. "I didn't see it, or it certainly would have been cleared up. There are no subjects in the LEIU data base except those involved as either principals or associates in organized crime activities. They don't have to belong to La Cosa Nostra, but they've got to be involved in some conspiratorial organized crime activity."

"Would the LEIU's definition of organized crime include radicals or bomb-throwers?" I asked.

"No, it certainly does not," Lieutenant Henry replied. "The LEAA [Law Enforcement Assistance Administration] has often asked us to include that kind of individual, and we finally told them to get off the subject. We're not in that kind of business."

The 1973 report containing a copy of the mysterious statement was written by a group headed by Charles E. Casey, assistant director of the Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence Branch of the California Department of Justice (an LEIU member agency). I called him and asked what the statement meant.

"I'm not sure I can explain what it means," he replied. "The LEIU data base is 100 percent organized crime, except for a few of what I would call 'arrested or identified terrorists.' I really couldn't explain the statement, right off the bat."

What is an "identified terrorist," and how does he or she differ from the "arrested" variety? The answer is that it's not necessary to have been convicted of any crime, or even arrested, in order to earn oneself a LEIU dossier, according to the 1974 Senate testimony of then LEIU general chairman Donald Carroll. An "identified terrorist" is anyone the LEIU believes to be a terrorist.

Lieutenant Henry's "no bomb-throwers or radicals" claim seems in direct contradiction to Casey's admission that the LEIU files contain "a few terrorists," and neither man offers a very adequate explanation of the "persons other than organized crime subjects" slip appearing in the report of an LEAA-funded study that Casey him-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 200

In 1765, a group of merch
met under the "Liberty Tree
discuss independence.

The pine tree shilling.
It was America's first coin.

America's first flags bore trees as their emblems.

Please be careful of fire. Because a country without its forests is a country without its future

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SECRET POLICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 194

self directed. Still, what does it matter if the LEIU has added a few bombers, kidnappers, and hijackers to its collection of loan sharks, pimps, hit men, and gamblers? The disturbing thing about the LEIU files is that the criteria for opening a dossier on someone seem rather vague and subjective. If a person can be deemed a member of organized crime even though he doesn't belong to the Mafia, has never been convicted of anything, and has never been arrested, one is moved to wonder whether the LEIU's definition of an "identified terrorist" is broad enough to include people who simply disagree with the government.

Lt. J.O. Brannon is a Houston police intelligence officer and the spokesman who first charged the LEIU with spying on law-abiding citizens. I asked him if he would describe the kinds of noncriminal subjects in the LEIU files. Unfortunately, he could not discuss the specific contents of any of the files seized by the federal court, but his general comments served to put the LEIU in better perspective.

Lieutenant Brannon minimized the importance of the LEIU's special files. He said that the really important information is contained in the full dossiers maintained by each LEIU member agency and made available to every other member agency. "Wouldn't those files be exchanged between police forces, even without the LEIU?" I asked. Not necessarily, Lieutenant Brannon informed me.

Cops can be as suspicious of each other as they are of "civilians." A police intelligence officer who makes a long-distance call to his counterpart in another law-enforcement agency may encounter regional or political mistrust, big city–small town bias, or any of a variety of other obstacles impeding an easy exchange of information. For Lieutenant Brannon, the real value of the LEIU is overcoming this resistance through the regional and national meetings that the group holds annually.

"The LEIU meetings are mostly social affairs, but you build up lasting friendships when you go out and have a few drinks with an old boy," Lieutenant Brannon explained. "Then, when he calls you up, you know who you're talking to, because you looked him in the eye just last week—some guy four states away. It's the closeness of the damn thing that I liked."

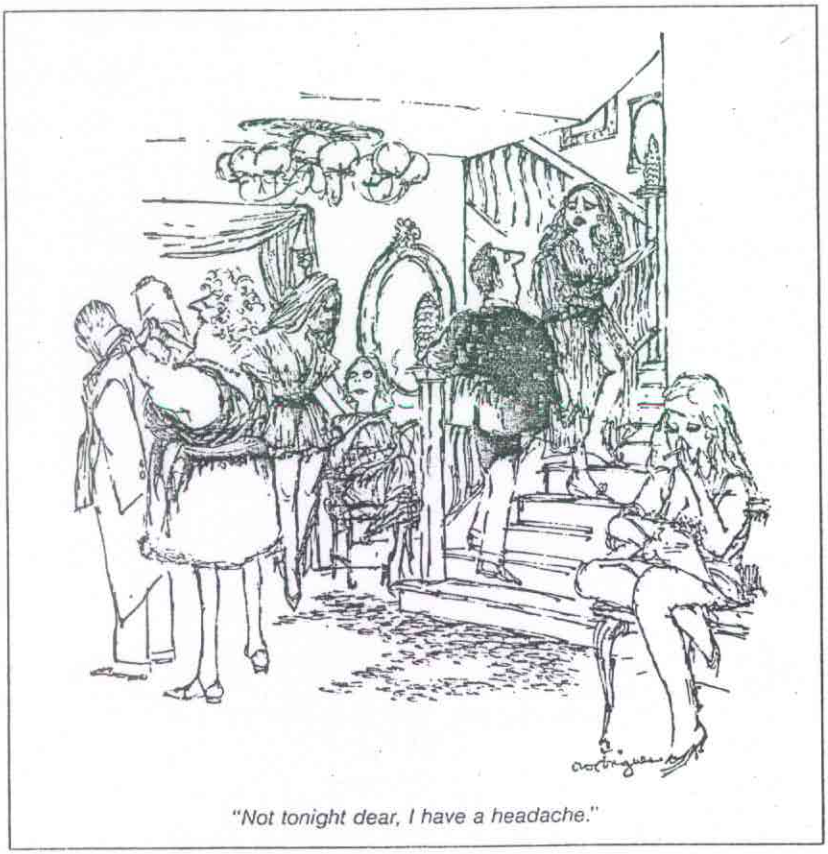
Brannon said that expulsion from the LEIU hadn't made much difference to the Houston police. They still retained the LEIU directory listing the name and phone number of every LEIU contact in the more than 225 member agencies. Houston continues to exchange dossiers with the other LEIU members.

Regarding the current Houston spying scandal, Brannon observed, "We spread our wings too far and exceeded what wa proper, tapping a few phones and doing few other things. The damn thing got out c hand here, but I'm reasonably sure the were doing the same thing in every othe city. They just didn't get caught at it."

In fact, several other LEIU membe agencies did get caught at it during th same period as the Houston revelations. I Michigan the State Police and the Detro Police Department—both LEIU mem bers—were charged with infiltrating an wiretapping a suburban Detroit consume group at the request of state legislator who had been criticized by the organiza tion. In New York a State Supreme Cou judge charged New York City's Public Se curity Unit—the current name for the NYP Red Squad—with carrying out an oper free-wheeling people-watching mission And in Washington, D.C., Senators Henr Jackson and Charles Percy asked th General Accounting Office to investiga how police departments use federal func to carry out illegal spying activities in th nation's ten largest cities. (The police d partments of seven of the ten cities a LEIU members.) But the most devastatir revelations of police spying came out Baltimore and Chicago—both LEIU mem bers—where snooping scandals rivale that of Houston.

The Chicago affair began when th Afro-American Patrolmen's League, whic was involved in a discrimination su against the police department, filed routine request to subpoena whatever file the local intelligence squad held on th league. From the records obtained by th court, it was clear that the police ha amassed files on a host of organizatio and individuals having no apparent crim nal connections. The police departmen Subversive Unit—or, as it was genera called, the Red Squad—had compile dossiers not only on the obvious targets police suspicion, such as political dis dents, but also on such personalities former Chicago Bears football star Ga Sayers and local television commenta Len O'Connor. Gaylord Freeman, t chairman of the First National Bank, a Arthur Woods, chairman of Sears, Ro buck, and Company, earned themselv dossiers by donating money to a civ rights organization.

Dossiers had also been opened on Theodore Hesburgh, the president of No Dame University, *Chicago Daily News* c umnist Mike Royko, the late Jackie Rob son, Republican mayoral candidate Jo Hoellen, and an assortment of state a federal legislators. The Red Squad h files on the Chicago Metropolitan Ar Housing Alliance; the Organization fo Better Austin (a section of Chicago); a the Citizen's Action Program, a group de icated to fighting the proposed Crossto Expressway. A file had been started or Chicago doctor because the police h observed his car parked in the sa neighborhood where the Illinois Co munist party was holding a meeting.



"Not tonight dear, I have a headache."

The Red Squad's gumshoes took a few deductive shortcuts in writing up their reports. If someone's car was parked in the same neighborhood in which a certain group was holding a meeting, that meant he had attended the meeting. If he had attended a group's meetings twice (or if his car was parked nearby twice), then he was a member of the group. Such "facts" were recorded in a dossier and also forwarded to the FBI for inclusion in its files. And the allegation was available for swapping with any of the 225 other LEIU member agencies.

In Baltimore a Maryland State Senate investigating committee probed charges that the Police Department's Inspectional Services Division had spied on politicians, newsmen, and clergymen. They found that the police intelligence squad had also spied on labor unions, colleges and universities, and civic groups concerned with such things as rodent control, highway relocation, and utility rates. In the words of one ISD officer, "If there was a meeting in Baltimore City, we were there."

Baltimore's police commissioner, Donald D. Pomerleau, was not in the least shy about admitting that he had compiled information on practically everybody. In fact, Pomerleau often boasted of the thickness of his dossiers and told the quaking visitor to his office, "I know where you meet, when you are going to meet before you meet, what you do. . . ." In one case Pomerleau summoned an individual to his office, showed him his dossier, and watched with despotic satisfaction as the wretch fell to his knees before him and begged the police commissioner not to release the information. It must have been a high point in the 300-plus-year history of Baltimore.

The Maryland Senate investigating committee found that "ISD had amassed a data bank containing the names of, and information pertaining to, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of citizens of this state, many of whom did nothing more than testify with respect to a particular piece of legislation before the Baltimore City Council or peaceably walk a picket line." The committee noted that "the feeling seemed to prevail in ISD that persons who deviated from the norm, who were outspoken or criticized the status quo, members of organized labor, picketers, and protesters—these people were 'potential threats' and society must be protected against them."

In an interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, a Chicago Red Squad officer declared, "I believe in the American flag, and I want it to stay American and not turn Pink. The way things are run now, democracy is running wild. Everyone is allowed to do anything he wants. I believe the country, the state, and the city come before individual rights."

A Chicago grandmother who was paid twenty-five dollars per month by the Red Squad to infiltrate church and community groups told reporters from the *Chicago Daily News*, "I am a police spy, and I am proud of it. I do police-spy work because, as far as I'm concerned, God and Country

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come first.... You guys are so busy worrying about constitutional rights, along with the Communists, that they're going to take us over."

Some might say that such attitudes are typical of the point of view of the police, but there is little about police intelligence officers that is typical of most policemen. Within a police department the intelligence squad is almost as alien as it is within society as a whole. In Baltimore many veteran officers were completely unaware of the existence of the Inspectional Services Division. Fewer than forty officers in the department had any idea of the unit's function, and only a small percentage of those who did had been fully briefed on its operation. In fact, the Baltimore cops were themselves targets of ISD spying when they went out on strike in 1974; undercover officers from the unit photographed policemen as they walked picket lines outside their station houses.

In Chicago, too, the Red Squad's activities were shrouded from the rest of the police department. Recruits selected to serve in the unit bypassed training in the police academy so that former classmates couldn't identify them later. Senior Chicago police officials claimed to a grand jury that they were ignorant of the Red Squad's activities. But the most bizarre example of the chasm between Red Squad officers and the cop on the beat is the case of one undercover officer who infiltrated a Chicago group and eventually became its president. He admitted to the Cook County Grand Jury probing police-spying activities that he had specifically urged other members of the organization to shoot Chicago policemen and had even demonstrated the most strategic way to place snipers in downtown Chicago so that they could blow away the greatest number of his fellow officers.

Conspiracy to commit first-degree murder is the worst, but by no means the only, case of lawbreaking by police intelligence squads perpetrated by the LEIU. The Chicago Red Squad, for example, carried out a six-year program of burglary, vandalism, and assault in collaboration with a hoodlum gang masquerading as a patriotic group and calling itself the "Legion of Justice." The legion was the brainchild of the late right-wing Chicago attorney S. Thomas Sutton, who recruited an unsavory assortment of local thugs with patriotic pretensions to harass peace groups and serve as the unofficial shock troops of the Chicago Red Squad. From 1967 to 1973 the Legion of Justice carried out a series of break-ins, trashings, and assaults on antiwar groups, often under the approving gaze of Chicago police officers parked nearby in their squad cars. In some of the break-ins, especially those in which illegal bugging devices were planted, members of the Red Squad served as lookouts while the legion hoods did the actual burglary.

The most common type of criminality among LEIU intelligence squads is illegal wiretapping, which is almost always done with some degree of cooperation from l local telephone company. A former Ba more vice-squad officer told the Maryla Senate investigating committee that the telligence squad routinely installed ille telephone taps with the aid of an ex-c who worked for the Chesapeake a Potomac Telephone Company. A phc company spokesman denied the char In Houston some of the officers who adr ted taking part in illegal wiretapping s that the taps had been placed with the cooperation of the Southwestern Bell Te phone Company and named some 2 phone-company employees as havi helped in the illicit eavesdropping. Sou western Bell denied the charge, althoug Bell spokesman said that he could not r out the possibility that some of the cc pany's 14,000 employees might have v lated company policy and taken part in wiretapping.

Ties between Southwestern Bell and Houston law-enforcement establishm are very close. The phone company e ploys about seventy Houston policemer moonlight as security guards. Eight cc pany officials held commissions as Spe Texas Rangers, with the full arrest a weapons powers of state police office And fourteen or fifteen of the compar forty-four-man security force are forr special agents of the FBI. The lir separating Southwestern Bell from loc state, and federal law enforcement ha become extremely thin.

Where phone-company cooperat cannot be obtained through the pol old-boy network, other means are e ployed. Chicago Red Squad officers portedly obtained the help of four Illin Bell linemen in placing illegal taps after men were caught by the police in "cc promising positions." The "compromis positions" included drunkenness and s ual misconduct, and the linemen w threatened with arrest and exposure if tl refused to cooperate.

Telephone companies are by no mea the only part of the private sector that a LEIU intelligence squads. A police te book on the subject advises intelliger officers to cultivate contacts in utility cc panies, airlines, banks, newspapers, bo ing companies, private detective ag cies, and credit bureaus. The federal vacy Protection Study Commission cently heard testimony from such cc panies as American Express and Shera Hotels, in which they admitted that tl routinely surrendered information ab their clients and guests to law-enforcem officers on a simple oral request, with requiring a court order. However, passe of the 1970 Fair Credit Reporting Act verely restricts the information that a cre agency can release without a subpoer

Until the April 1971 effectiveness of Fair Credit Reporting Act, the Baltimore telligence squad had received the t cooperation of the Credit Bureau of Ba more, Inc., a local consumer credit ager in obtaining full access to the personal

formation in its files. After passage of the federal credit law, however, the Baltimore cops found that an important source of information had suddenly dried up. Several months after the law had gone into effect, Officer Terry Josephson of the intelligence squad left his $9,000-a-year job with the police department and became vice-president of United Credit Bureaus of America, Inc., one of the largest independent consumer credit agencies in the country, which more than doubled his old salary.

United Credit Bureaus of America has files on most citizens of Maryland, and Josephson had unlimited access to this information. An intelligence-squad officer told the Maryland Senate investigating committee that Josephson supplied some of this knowledge to the police without benefit of court order. Josephson denied that he was serving as an undercover informant for the Baltimore intelligence squad; but shortly after his role was publicized, he resigned his $20,000-plus-a-year job with United Credit Bureaus of America and returned to the police department at his old salary.

In fairness to the LEIU, it should be pointed out that the number of member intelligence squads that recently have actually been caught breaking the law or spying on noncriminal citizens represents less than 5 percent of its membership. Nevertheless, in the opinion of one Houston police official, such practices are much more widespread and the recent revelations are only the tip of the iceberg. In one sense, it is remarkable that any of the intelligence squads at all were caught, given the inherent difficulty of investigating the police, who are also in a unique position to cover up their transgressions. In fact, the probes of the intelligence squads in Houston, Baltimore, and Chicago all encountered the same pattern of police resistance and obstruction.

Baltimore Police Commissioner Pomerleau tried unsuccessfully to halt a State Senate investigation of his department by slapping every member of the investigating committee with a lawsuit. Through a variety of delaying tactics, former Chicago Police Supt. James B. Conlisk hamstrung a Cook County Special Grand Jury investigating his department. Conlisk insisted on consulting with his lawyer in an adjoining room whenever the grand jury asked him a question, including such queries as, "When did you become superintendent of the Chicago Police Department?" and, "Did you take an oath to serve and protect the interest of the citizens of the city of Chicago?" During one tiresome three-hour grand-jury session, Conlisk made thirty-one trips between the hearing room and the anteroom, where his lawyer waited. The grand jury recommended that Conlisk be cited for contempt.

In Houston the Police Officers Association ran a full-page newspaper advertisement to complain about their new chief, Carroll M. Lynn, who had made the initial

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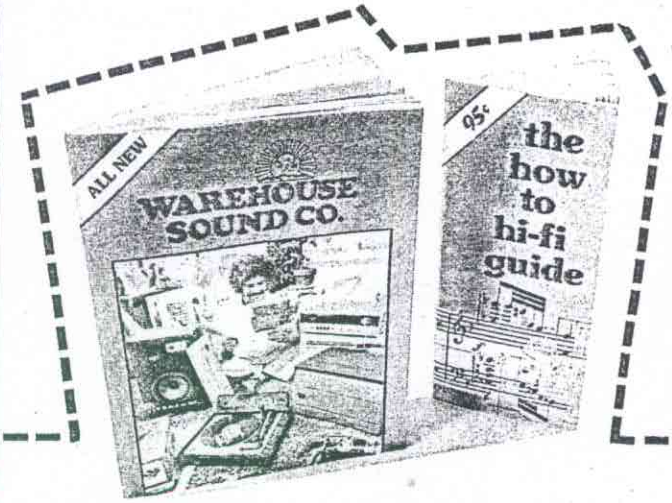

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probe into the intelligence squad's illegal wiretapping. Enough pressure was brought to bear upon Chief Lynn to force his resignation, although the investigation, which had been taken over by a federal grand jury, continued.

Police resistance to the probes also went beyond such legal and public-relations maneuvers. In Chicago a state's attorney investigating the police received a report that his own phone had been tapped. A Baltimore newspaper reporter critical of the police was the target of surveillance and other harassment; on three occasions when he returned to his car parked in the police department's parking lot, he found that the tire lugs had been loosened. Police officers called to testify by the State Senate committee investigating the Baltimore intelligence squad said they feared they would lose their jobs if it was learned that they had cooperated with the committee. In Chicago many officers who were called in the grand-jury investigation of the Red Squad received the same anonymous telephone message: "We know you have seen the state's attorney. If you want to stay healthy, you'd better not talk before the grand jury."

During the probe a mysterious fire broke out on the eighth floor of Chicago police headquarters. It seems to have started in one of the filing cabinets containing the Red Squad's files. Other records subpoenaed by the grand jury, such as the Red Squad's electronic-surveillance log, had been "routinely destroyed." The Baltimore intelligence squad "routinely destroyed" many of its files on political dissidents sometime in 1973. According to Houston police intelligence officer Lt. J.O. Brannon, other LEIU members destroyed their files when it seemed as though their political-surveillance activities might be investigated.

"After the government seized our files," he said, "Guess what Los Angeles did? They burned almost every goddamn thing they had. Some of the other cities did the same thing. They called it 'purging the files.' We should have done the same thing, but we didn't know that's what you're supposed to call it."

You might also call it destroying evidence of a felony, unless you were merely grateful that such a collection of scurrilous gossip had been consigned once and for all to the flames. But such a celebration of the destruction of police dossiers could be premature. An intelligence officer might be able to state under oath to a grand jury or senate committee that the police department no longer has a dossier on John Doe, but such testimony is no insurance that a copy of John Doe's dossier isn't locked away in the file cabinet of another LEIU-member intelligence squad in a city 3,000 miles away, or, for that matter, that some 225 copies of the dossier haven't been distributed to every LEIU member agency. And there is also no guarantee that, after the investigators have completed their probe of the intelligence squad and have turned their attention elsewhere, the squad will not reconstruct its destroyed files from duplicate copies stored elsewhere in the LEIU network. Investigators who look at police intelligence-squad lawlessness as a local problem are victims of a shell game. They have never heard of the LEIU, or, if they have, they don't understand what it is.

But whatever the real or potential abuses of the LEIU, it would be a mistake to regard it simply as the sinister apparatus of an incipient police state. The LEIU was formed for a very legitimate purpose, and whatever else it may now be up to, it continues to perform a necessary law-enforcement function—the exchange of information on organized crime.

Organized crime is a national enterprise, but the individual police department's jurisdiction ends at the city limits. In pursuit of an illicit buck, loan sharks, narcotics dealers, hit men, and other assorted hoods regularly cross state lines and international boundaries with impunity, and the police force that tries to deal with them as a local law-enforcement problem is like a watchdog on a short tether. The cops' basic problem is how to get timely and accurate information on the mobile mobsters who may turn up in their town. But providing that kind of information to the local police sounds like the job of the FBI, not some private group like the LEIU. I asked LEIU general chairman Ray Henry why the bureau isn't doing it.

"That's a hell of a good question; I wish I knew the answer," he replied. "The FBI has got so many rules and regulations about disseminating information to local law-enforcement that you get little or nothing from them. Oh, we exchange information with individual FBI agents, but there is no formal arrangement where information is automatically channeled to all interested agencies by the bureau. That will never happen through the FBI, but it happens daily through the LEIU."

Lieutenant Brannon in Houston put it this way: "The FBI is a good organization, but it's useless to us. It prides itself on its files but do you know where the information in the FBI files comes from? Your local police department. They come over here and have access to everything they want, but when we try to get some information on a suspect from them, it's a different story. They pull the guy's file, then sit there holding it, and say, 'Okay, what do you want to know?' Well, I want to look through the whole file, but they won't allow that. They won't even let us hold it in our hands. It's never going to change because the FBI has this standoffishness. They figure we're a bunch of dumb-dumbs, and we figure they're a bunch of bureaucrats, and it's hard to break down that barrier."

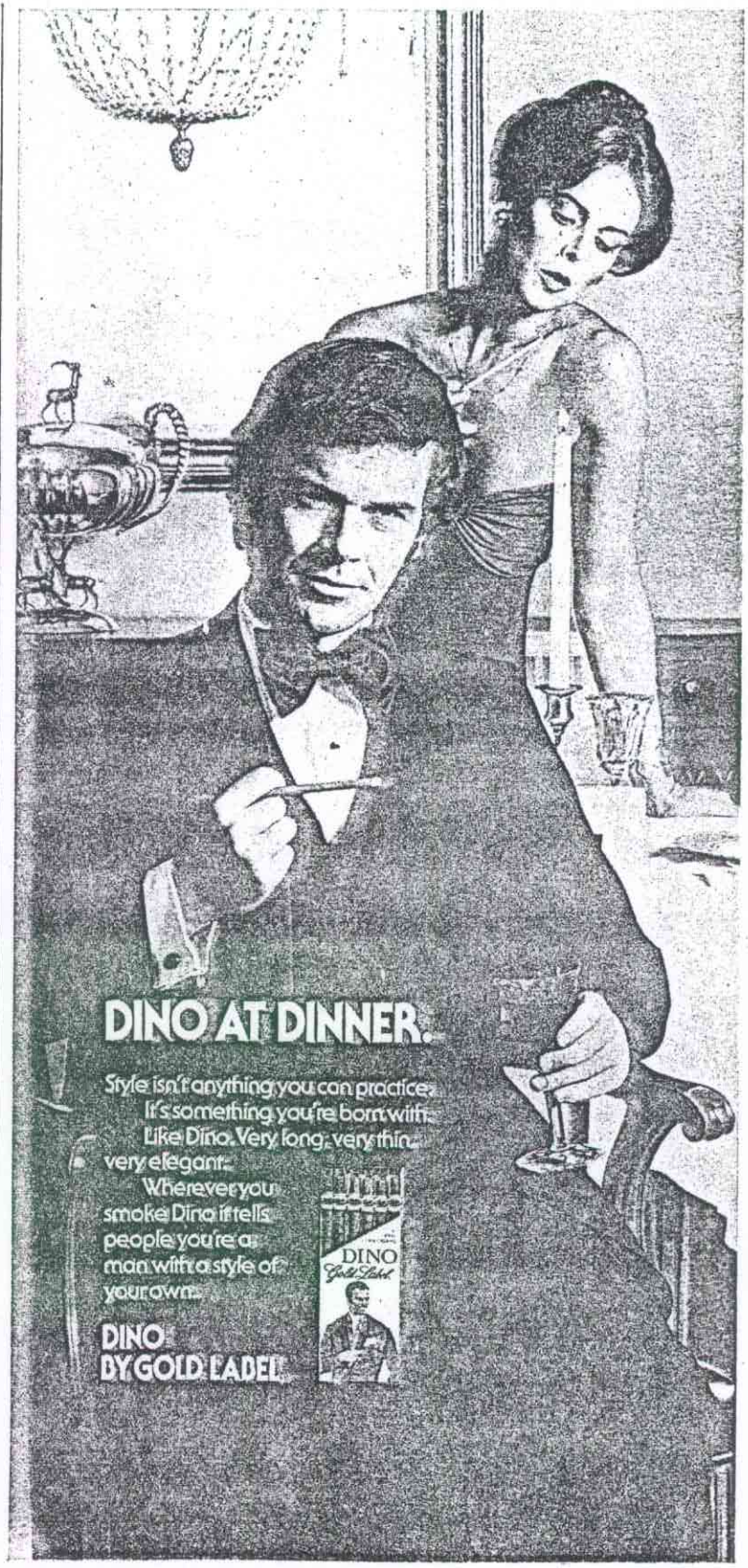
The cops have always said that dealing with the FBI is a one-way street, and many policemen complain that the bureau is uncooperative and less than zealous in fighting the Mob. And after all the recent revelations of FBI abuses of police power, taking away its monopoly on criminal intelligence information may not seem like a complete

bad idea. But the cure could be much worse than the illness; the FBI is, at least in theory, subordinate to the Justice Department and, ultimately, to the public, while the LEIU is a thoroughly private club. In setting up the LEIU, the cops have created the skeleton of a national police force that is also, in essence, a vigilante organization.

Beyond the more obvious hazards to civil rights created by a private national police-intelligence network, there is also the danger that the LEIU can provide a domestic spying apparatus to federal agencies prohibited from setting up their own surveillance machinery within the borders of the United States. U.S. Army Intelligence, which in the recent past has shown a disturbing propensity for spying on Americans, is more than a little chummy with the local cops in many cities. The army trained several Baltimore intelligence-squad officers in techniques of electronic eavesdropping and surreptitious entry at its Fort Holabird spy school in Maryland. In return, the Baltimore cops passed along many of their intelligence reports to the army. In Chicago the Red Squad was in daily contact with the army's 113th Military Intelligence Group during the late 1960s and early 1970s, passing along intelligence reports and receiving a variety of technical assistance. The 113th also provided money, tear-gas bombs, mace, and electronic-surveillance equipment to the Legion of Justice thugs whom the Chicago Red Squad turned loose on local antiwar groups. On at least two occasions, the fruits of the legion's burglaries turned up in army hands. In one case, documents stolen from the defense attorneys in the famous Chicago Seven trial, which grew out of the disturbances at the 1968 Democratic Convention, were turned over to the army by the Legion of Justice hoodlums. For a very familiar reason the Cook County Grand Jury was unable to discover how deeply the 113th was involved with the Chicago Red Squad; the army reported that it had destroyed all its records of the liaison.

How extensive the relationship may be between Army Intelligence and other LEIU member agencies is not clear, but the degree of army involvement with local police forces was indicated recently when the army's Criminal Investigation Command applied for funds (which were ultimately denied) to buy 324 marble paperweights and 50 walnut wall plaques. The items were to be presented to police chiefs across the country who had cooperated with the Army's CIC. It would be remarkable if such cooperation did not at least occasionally include access to the files and other assets of the LEIU.

But Army Intelligence is by no means the only federal agency that might find the LEIU's ready-made dossier network to be of value. Co-opting the local police in foreign countries is standard operating procedure in the CIA's book of tricks. In the past, the agency would select foreign police officers for recruitment when they came to Washington, D.C., to study Ameri-



can police methods at the State Department's International Police Academy. When the recruited officers returned to their jobs in their home countries, they would be on the CIA payroll. CIA watchers familiar with this process were more than a little disturbed to learn that the agency had conducted similar police-training courses for police officers from many police departments within the United States. Of course, such training might have been prompted by the purely altruistic motive of disseminating the advanced police technology developed by the agency for overseas use, but it would be naive to ignore the fact that local police cooperation would be essential to domestic intelligence operations, an area we now know the agency was involved in from the early 1960s. And given the CIA's Operation CHAOS, a program directed at spying on domestic dissidents, it would be doubly naive to suppose the agency has ignored the LEIU network, which links virtually every major Red Squad on the North American Continent.

Douglass Durham, the former Des Moines cop who claims to have worked in an LEIU undercover program, says that he heard of a federal government employee who was involved with LEIU. "He was supposedly working for the Department of Justice, but I heard rumblings that he was from CIA. Nobody really wanted to say what the connection was."

Durham is rather vague about this mystery man and acknowledges that the report is only scuttlebutt. However, there is one interesting piece of circumstantial evidence suggesting some sort of interface between the CIA and the LEIU.

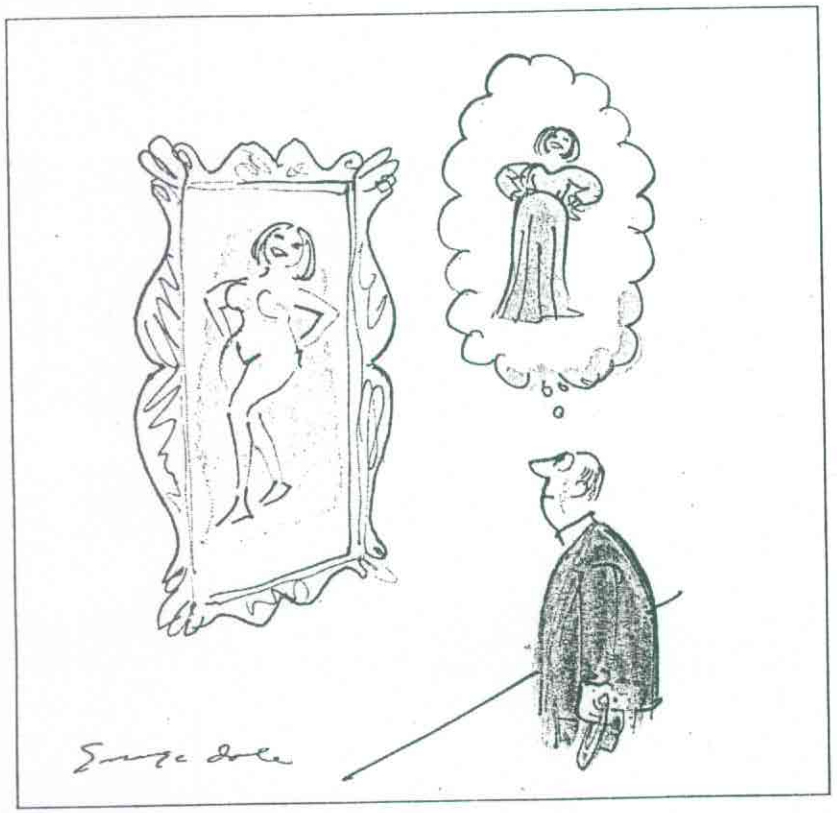
There is only one LEIU member agency in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, and only one LEIU member agency in the entire state of Virginia; it is the same agency, the Fairfax County, Va., Police Department. It's a little surprising that the Fairfax County police belong to a network ostensibly dedicated to fighting organized crime, because there is little indication of Mob activity in Fairfax County, a quiet, upper-income, bedroom suburb of the nation's capital. In fact, the only enterprise with any known Mafia connections located anywhere in Fairfax County is the 125-acre wooded tract that is CIA headquarters.

Ties between the CIA and the Fairfax County police are, to say the least, close. The agency has given the Fairfax cops training in electronic surveillance, surreptitious entry, lockpicking, safecracking, and explosives. It has provided equipment and personnel to assist the police department in several of its investigations. The agency hosted a dinner for one retiring Fairfax police captain who had been particularly helpful and presented him with a $150 watch as a token of its appreciation.

In return for such largesse, the Fairfax police provided the CIA with police badges and identification to be used as cover in domestic investigations. The Fairfax cops have also provided assistance to the agency in staging the "arrest" and interrogation of CIA intelligence-officer trainees in order to determine whether they could resist such pressure prior to being assigned overseas. But the greatest act of fealty to the CIA may have been performed in the early hours of February 19, 1971, when several Fairfax County police officers and CIA agents broke into a photographic studio in Fairfax City, Va. The studio was owned by a Cuban refugee whose fiancé was a former CIA file clerk. The agency was afraid that the woman might have taken classified documents and given them to the Cuban; so an illegal entry was mounted in order to search the studio. To ensure that everything went smoothly, the break-in expedition was led by the chief of the Fairfax County police. If the Fairfax police were willing to aid and abet the CIA in the commission of felonies, it seems reasonable to assume that they would be more than willing to act as a "cut-out" or interface so that information and influence could pass between the CIA and the LEIU. And it's hard to imagine the CIA passing up that kind of opportunity.

Of course, it's just possible that the LEIU has never been exploited by the CIA, Army Intelligence, or any other federal agency. And maybe, despite the lawlessness and political spying of many of its member agencies, the LEIU is nothing more than a group of policemen dedicated to fighting organized crime. But even granting such a generous benefit of the doubt, the LEIU remains one of the most potentially dangerous threats to freedom in America.

We have been able to save ourselves from the police state—at least thus far—because the American form of government is equipped with a system of checks and balances that makes executive agencies ultimately accountable to the people. But there is a powerful dossier subculture in America, a vast old-boy network that ties together intelligence agencies, police departments, credit bureaus, private detective agencies, bonding companies, and the many other collectors and compilers of personal information about private citizens. It is an aggregation of police power beyond the direct control of the democratic process.

The LEIU is a part of this subculture, and it is an especially powerful part because it has form, structure, and efficiency. Perhaps it doesn't spy on ordinary citizens and perhaps it directs its attention solely toward organized crime, but all that could change with a single meeting of the LEIU executive board. There is no statutory charter that defines the limits of the LEIU's operations, and so it can be and do whatever its members decide it ought to be and do.

In the meantime, of course, and despite whatever else is on the secret agenda of the LEIU, the organization continues to supplement the FBI's uncertain war on organized crime. Perhaps the LEIU plays a vital role; perhaps it performs an indispensable function in our national holding action against La Cosa Nostra. But somehow there must be a better way.