

# The Hunt for Red Menace:

## How Government Intelligence Agencies & Private Right-Wing Groups Target Dissidents & Leftists as Subversive Terrorists & Outlaws

by Chip Berlet<sup>1</sup>

===“Our First Amendment was a bold effort. . .to establish a country with no legal restrictions of any kind upon the subjects people could investigate, discuss, and deny. The Framers knew, better perhaps than we do today, the risks they were taking. They knew that free speech might be the friend of change and revolution. But they also knew that it is always the deadliest enemy of tyranny.”

--U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black

Since the colonial period in the late 1690s our land has been swept by witch hunts, moral panics, and fears of collectivist plots. Following the end of World War II, a coalition of conservative, ultra-conservative, right-wing and liberal anti-communist political movements and groups organized support for high levels of military spending, promoted the use of covert action abroad, and cultivated the acceptance of obsessive governmental secrecy, surveillance and repression at home. In the domestic public sphere this coalition shaped an overwhelming willingness among citizens to trade real civil liberties for illusionary national security safeguards. Some observers of this phenomenon see it as having fueled Cold War antagonisms and resulted in what they term the “National Security State.”

Within the United States there developed a covert apparatus to support domestic anti-communism in the form of a loosely-knit infrastructure where both public and private intelligence agents and right-wing ideologues shared information both formally and informally. The result was an ad-hoc domestic counter-subversion network. Oliver North relied on elements of this institutionalized counter-subversion network to raise

funds for the Contras and serve as a public lightning rod to hide his own government-backed covert operation. In fact, some of the same players North orchestrated in the off-the-shelf private foreign policy drama were also involved in an off-the-shelf private domestic intelligence network.

The private domestic intelligence network is that sector of the counter-subversion network which conducts surveillance of progressive groups, and then feeds the information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other public law enforcement and intelligence agencies, as well as other private right-wing groups, and in some cases corporate and industrial security. Some of the groups involved in the domestic intelligence network utilized by North were outgrowths of McCarthy Period witch hunts, others were projects of former agents who fled federal employ in the wake of civil-liberties reforms of intelligence agencies prompted by the intelligence agency scandals of the 1970's, still others were new groups created by ideologues of the New Right. Many were formed after the terror attacks on September 11, 2001.

The counter-subversion network is comprised of many overlapping institutional and individual

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components:

- Individuals employed at government law enforcement and intelligence gathering agencies on the federal, state and local level.
- Staff of various congressional committees and executive agencies.
- Agents and officers of foreign intelligence services.
- Private associations made up primarily or exclusively of law enforcement personnel that share information, run computerized data exchanges, and conduct training seminars on suspected subversives and terrorists.
- Associations of former intelligence agents that facilitate the sharing of information on subversives and jobs.
- Private security firms with industrial and commercial clients.
- Private spies who supply information to a variety of groups as part of a commercial enterprise.
- Corporate security specialists who utilize political intelligence operatives, hire private firms to supply political intelligence, or share intelligence information with their public and private counterparts.
- Groups specializing in workshops and seminars predicated on the supposition that demands for social-change are frequently covers for foreign “active measures,” disinformation, criminal subversion, or terrorism.
- Private right-wing intelligence gathering groups which frequently publish their allegations in small limited- circulation newsletters.
- Blacklisting publications that report on the activities of community, labor, anti-nuclear, civil-rights, peace and social justice activists.
- Ultra-conservative and far-right magazines and newspapers and other publicly-disseminated publications that target liberal and left dissidents.

Havens within the U.S. government for members of the counter- subversion network include congressional committees such as the now-disbanded House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (especially the counter-terrorism section), military investigative units especially Naval Intelligence, certain sectors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and many others. In pursuit of their goal of exposing and stopping alleged

subversion, government intelligence agents periodically make tactical alliances with conservative, ultra-conservative, and even anti-democratic far right political groups and movements, both domestic and foreign. Working cooperatively, the public and private components of the domestic counter-subversion network carry out legal, electoral, political, and extra- legal attacks on dissidents—primarily on the political left.

Political surveillance, by private or public agencies, is designed to preserve and protect the status quo. Often, the tactic of infiltration or surveillance is used to gather real, imagined, or invented mud to sling at social change organizers in order to smear their public image and neutralize their organizing efforts. Even when the spying fails to turn up any illegal (or even faintly embarrassing) information, the reports are dutifully filed, and frequently traded back and forth between private and public intelligence-gathering agencies. Eventually the information percolates into conservative and right-wing publications.

Among the scapegoats historically promoted by the counter-subversion network: the Soviet military threat, the international communist Red Menace, KGB spies, airplane hijackers, terrorists, drug lords, secrets about U.S. nuclear weapons, rioting by urban Blacks, persons organizing against the war in Vietnam, the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, political radicals, Palestinian rights activists, members of the Arab community in the U.S., protesters against U.S. policy in Central America, environmental activists, feminists, persons calling for equal rights based on sexual preference, and AIDS activists.

Each of these targets have been portrayed as powerful sinister forces attacking the very foundations of America. Each, we have been told, could only be stopped by using law enforcement and intelligence agency techniques that required trading civil liberties for safety and security. Real terrorists, airplane hijackers, and others engaged in criminal activity can and should be prosecuted for their crimes—but for the most part, the persons spied on by the public and private components of the counter-subversion network are not criminals, but persons simply seeking to exercise their First

Amendment rights to speech, association, religion, or petitioning to redress grievances.

The domestic counter-subversive network was built by persons who share a perception that the U.S. is constantly at peril from foreign attack or domestic subversion by those who wittingly or unwittingly serve the goals of radical politics, global communism, or terrorism. This is not a rational critique of communism, radical political theory, or actual terrorism, but a non-rational ideological construct which resembles the Manichean rightist worldview described in Professor Richard Hofstadter's classic work *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*. Despite its non-rational metaphysical nature, the views of these counter-subversion ideologues have consequences which are real and documentable.

Many authors have discussed the recurring themes of political repression by government and private groups, and noted how the end result was a defense of the *status quo* that benefits powerful economic and political interests.

Historian Frank Donner's 500-page book *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims & Methods of America's Political Intelligence System* is considered the definitive study of this phenomenon and its relationship to federal law enforcement probes of dissent.<sup>2</sup> Donner followed with *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Political Repression in Urban America*.<sup>3</sup> In *Protectors of Privilege* Donner showed how local police intelligence units—often dubbed Red Squads—subverted the Constitution while justifying their actions as preserving democracy in the fight against subversion. Because they believed the country was on the brink of ruin due to internal subversion organized by communist agents, local police Red Squads not only conducted surveillance and built dossiers on a wide range of activists, but also worked with far-right vigilante groups to carry out break-ins and assaults, sometimes with an assist from the FBI.

*Political Repression in Modern America, 1870 to Present*, by Robert J. Goldstein is another lengthy look at government and corporate attacks on dissident political groups through the years.<sup>4</sup>

Murray B. Levin examined the underlying

social and political forces that create repressive periods such as the McCarthy Period and the Red Scare of the 1920's in *Political Hysteria in America—the Democratic Capacity for Repression*.<sup>5</sup>

In *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, Ward Churchill & Jim Vander Wall wrote a chilling account of the murderous tactics used against non-white political activists during the FBI's COINTELPRO program and in the years that followed. .<sup>6</sup> When some academics challenged their thesis they wrote *COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States*, which uses numerous actual FBI documents to make a strong case for convincing skeptics that COINTELPRO-type activity continued after the name was shelved.<sup>7</sup> Both books discuss the way in which political repression involves portraying the targeted group as essentially an outlaw formation.

*It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America* by Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz uses interviews with victims of political repression in the U.S. to construct a powerful indictment of the myth of equal justice under law in the U.S.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the nadir of illegal government attacks on non-criminal dissidents occurred during the FBI's secret COINTELPRO operations in the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's. "Racial Matters": *The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960—1972* by Kenneth O'Reilly documents how under COINTELPRO the FBI undermined the civil rights movement while posing as its defender against violent attacks by the Klan and other white supremacists.<sup>9</sup>

*Break-Ins, Death Threats and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement* by Ross Gelbspan, a veteran Boston Globe reporter, examines the pattern of robberies and attacks reported by persons and groups opposing Reagan Administration policies in Central America, especially CISPES. Gelbspan reported that hundreds of offices, homes, and cars were broken into, files were ransacked or stolen, but valuable equipment was left untouched. Several years, hundreds of interviews and many thousands of pages of FBI files later, Gelbspan concluded the

perpetrators of the robberies will probably remain a mystery, but reveals the FBI repeatedly lied to Congress about the extent and purpose of its investigations into the same network of Central America activists victimized by the robberies.<sup>10</sup> Gelbspan documents how the FBI forged back-channel ties to far-right anti-communist groups in the U.S. and a shadowy network of government agencies and death squads in El Salvador, and how the press was used in the campaign. The chart in the Gelbspan book (with the addition of ADL), is an accurate sketch of the dimensions of the counter-subversion network.

Brian Glick summarized many of the techniques of government intelligence abuse in *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It* and offered suggestions on how to fight back.<sup>11</sup> He included an analysis of the relationship between U.S. political economy and domestic covert action.

Eve Pell's *The Big Chill* looked at the erosion of civil liberties during the first years of the Reagan Administration, and the role played by right-wing and authoritarian ideology.

In *The Terrorism Industry: The Experts and Institutions That Shape View of Terror*, authors Edward Herman & Gerry O'Sullivan.<sup>12</sup> argue that our national security mania has even spawned a specialized industry of self-promoting experts who manipulate our fears by exaggerating the actual threat of terrorism, and then tell us if we give up more rights the problem could be solved.

Another book detailing the high price we pay for our reliance on secret spying is *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity In The Global Drug Trade* by Alfred W. McCoy.<sup>13</sup> McCoy, in this revised edition, unravels the CIA's long-standing links to drug-running networks used as allies during counter-insurgency operations. McCoy's first version of this book was published during the Vietnam War and dealt primarily with the Golden Triangle in Southeast Asia. McCoy traces CIA drug-tainted political operations from today back to post-war France where our government secretly funded anti-communist political parties and labor unions and a group of drug smugglers who helped break a dockworkers strike.

When our national security interests are perceived as threatened, apparently the ends justify the means. This view was harshly criticized in *The Secret Government: The Constitution In Crisis*. by Bill Moyers.<sup>14</sup> Moyer stepped back to examine the covert operations revealed in Iran-Contra and concluded:

=== "What is secret is often squalid as well. In the dark, men were able to act contrary to the values they proclaimed in public. Paying service to democratic ends, they made league with scoundrels whose interest is anything but the survival of democracy...today's New Right ideologues believe in the omnipotence of the goal and the irrelevance of the deed. So their tactics are those of the enemy they hate and fear, and they award America's franchises to con men, hustlers, terrorists, racketeers, murderers and other sleazy characters who for a fee sign up for the crusade.

Historian Henry Steele Commager, in his introduction to Moyer's book, noted that "Corruption of language is a special form of deception that recent administrations and the Pentagon have brought to a high degree of perfection....Along with the corruption of language goes, of course, the corruption of truth. If there were lies during the Vietnam years—and lies there were—nothing can compare with the corruption of truth of the Reagan administration."

*Washington's War on Nicaragua* by Holly Sklar.<sup>15</sup> showed how the Reagan administration worked with far-right groups to use patriotic language to reframe the Contras, a CIA-spawned anti-Sandinista army, as "Freedom Fighters." It's not just Reagan and the Republicans, of course. Harry Truman, a Democrat, was the first President who relied on the rhetoric of freedom while secretly sending the CIA on anti-democratic (and frequently disastrous) foreign covert operations.

How can this happen? According to William W. Keller in *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover*, the problem goes back to the issues raised by Moyers regarding balance of powers. Keller believed liberal congresspersons are uncomfortable having oversight over agencies of police power, and by default, they allow their more reactionary colleagues to craft agencies such as the FBI into tools of repression.<sup>16</sup>

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Another structuralist view comes from *Under Cover: Police Surveillance in America*, by Gary T. Marx, 1988, Twentieth Century Fund/University of California Press.<sup>17</sup> This thoughtful critical analysis of undercover police techniques warns of several serious Constitutional problems posed by the uncritical expansion of secretive undercover operations in recent years.

Many of the authors cited above conclude that intelligence activities, whether domestic or foreign, almost inevitably turn toward undemocratic techniques without unequivocal guidelines, firm congressional oversight, and thoughtful judicial intervention. All of these constraints have failed to keep government surveillance abuse from recurring.

The counter-subversion network of the political right was involved in the Palmer Raids, the McCarthy Period, the FBI's illegal COINTELPRO operations, and political repression during the Reagan years. Donner, especially, discusses the existence of a counter-subversion network that persistently survives through a variety of political and social conditions, and is a deeply-rooted institutional and ideological presence in American society. The network is seldom discussed publicly since it is secretive by nature, even paranoid, with some sectors constantly on the alert for penetration by subversives or foreign agents. It frequently cloaks its activities by invoking fears that its critics are breaching national security or assisting terrorism.

The counter-subversion network should not be viewed as an exotic conspiracy, merely a loose coalition of groups and individuals, some of whom manipulate a conspiratorial view about subversion to justify maintaining the status quo so they and their mentors can retain the perquisites of power and profit margins. Like any successful social movement, the counter-subversion network has an informal yet frequently cooperative national infrastructure that provides educational and ideological resources. The paranoid and authoritarian views of the counter-subversion network in the U.S. are circulated and perpetuated through Nativist publications, institutions and events, administered by a core of persons who have made counter-subversion and counter-terrorism a

profession.

The key component of the counter-subversion network is the various political intelligence specialists who actually conduct political spying and primary information gathering. John and S. Louise Rees and their *Information Digest* newsletter are perhaps the best known practitioners in this field. Other groups that have supplied information on political dissidents since the 1970's include the Council for Inter-American Security, the *American Sentinel* newsletter (renamed back to its original title *Pink Sheet on the Left*), Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church network, Young American's for Freedom and its spin-off Young America's Foundation, the Council for the Defense of Freedom, Students for a Better America, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The LaRouchians are publicly shunned by many on the political right, but their information regularly showed up in right wing (and a few left wing) publications.

There are scores of right-wing magazines, newspapers, and newsletters that ply the reader with tales of progressive plots to plunder free enterprise in America. These include the weekly newspaper *Human Events*, newsletters from Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America, Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Media, the Schlafly family's Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Campaign, and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum. There are hundreds of other periodicals, as well as publications such as books, pamphlets, and flyers. In the past, films, filmstrips, and slide shows were circulated. As they became more popular and relatively inexpensive, audiotapes and videotapes have been utilized, and a few computerized telecommunications networks and bulletin board systems have emerged. Radio talk shows and syndicated radio and television programs reach large audiences, with Rush Limbaugh, Pat Robertson, Chuck Harder and Tom Valentine among the major information sources attacking liberal conspiracies. Every week there are dozens of direct mail appeals with gossipy tidbits about leftist treachery and predicting doom if checks are not in the mail to help counter the subversion.

A number of rightist think tanks, membership

organizations, lobbying groups, trade and professional groups, internship centers, direct mail concerns, and a handful of academic institutions create a permanent institutional infrastructure to keep counter-subversive theories alive and fresh. A leading purveyor of counter-subversion theories during the Reagan Administration was the Heritage Foundation and its various publications including *Policy Review*. Others include the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FRPI) at the University of Pennsylvania. The FRPI journal *Orbis* was particularly of interest due to its glorification of authoritarian solutions to numerous problems. The Free Congress Foundation founded by the late New Right strategist Paul Weyrich circulates many publications that reflect its ultra-conservative, reactionary and narrow fundamentalist views. The exclusive and secretive Council for National Policy serves as a network and resource for the Nativist right. The Madison Foundation trains conservative campus activists in counter-subversion, and funds a network of conservative campus publications.

The word is spread through myriad events including speeches, conferences, investment seminars, conferences, and training workshops. For instance, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation holds weekend workshops and an annual conference spreading the gospel of anti-communism. The educational effort includes slide shows at American Legion halls, speeches at Reserve Officers Association conventions, and workshops at the World Anti-Communist League annual convention. American Security Council films targeted at Republican audiences provided a forum where the public and private contra aid networks did their propaganda and fundraising. In one “documentary” film, dominoes topple up the isthmus of Central America toward downtown Houston. *Reader's Digest*, an occasional source of paranoid counter-subversion, told us in the 1980's that anti-nuclear and pro-peace activists were unwitting dupes who spread KGB disinformation as part of a Soviet “active-measures” campaign to weaken the West. One newsletter published by the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade even suggested the Soviets exploited abortion, pornography, homosexuality,

and mass murder to demoralize the American spirit in preparation for invasion.<sup>18</sup>

To understand contemporary counter-subversion operations it is necessary to study their lineage which traces back to Nativism, through the anti-radical anti-labor manias of the 1920's and 1930's, and from there to McCarthy Period theories developed to serve the ideological needs of the Cold War—theories which have steered this country away from the Constitutional guarantees of liberty and toward the authoritarianism implicit in the demands of the National Security State.

The activities of the FBI provide a clear example of how this Nativist authoritarian phenomenon functions as the domestic component of the “National Security State”. Drawing resources from both the public and private sector, the FBI has a long history of collaborating with right-wing groups to attack movements for peace and social justice. Other federal agencies also play a role, as do local and state law enforcement agencies. At the same time there is competition among the groups. The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit was established in part to serve as a horizontal information sharing network among state and local intelligence units frustrated by the fact that the FBI expected information to flow up the ladder into their files, but seldom sent information down the ladder to the state and local units.

While the revelations of Watergate and the Church Committee in the 1970's resulted in temporary restraints against the public side of the domestic intelligence apparatus, these gains were soon erased by the Reagan Administration which began a broad assault on civil liberties under a variety of national security slogans.

## From Nativism to McCarthyism:

### Developing the Theories of Countersubversion

The modern countersubversion witch-hunters are part of an authoritarian trend in the U.S. which has its roots in the Nativist anti-progressive movement. At the turn of the century this Nativist

movement fought the growth of labor unions and the arrival of ethnically-diverse immigrants. It coalesced during the turmoil of the Bolshevik revolution and World War I and popularized the idea of the global Red Menace.

Even before the FBI was established the Justice Department relied on private Nativist groups to help smash dissent and ferret out alleged subversion. Frank Donner traces the roots of this network in *The Age of Surveillance*: “Beginning in 1918, private intelligence forces emerged to combat radicalism, labor unionism, and opposition to the war,” Donner observed.

Louis F. Post, the Labor Department official who signed the deportation order for anarchist Emma Goldman after the Palmer Raids in 1919-1920, later wrote a book, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty* where he argued that no evidence of a widespread subversive conspiracy among immigrants ever emerged: .<sup>19</sup>

=== “The records seldom showed any cause whatever for deportation other than a purely technical one. It seemed to me at the time, and the impression has been deepened by subsequent developments, that if there were any alien conspirators in the United States who were at all dangerous to its institutions, its free institutions, the detectives of the Department of Justice did not “hit their trail.”

=== “As a rule the hearings showed that the aliens arrested to be workingmen of good character, who had never been arrested before, who were not anarchists nor revolutionists nor obnoxious to the spirit of our laws in any other sense. Many of them were faithful fathers of American-born children. Nearly all had been subject to arbitrary arrest, to long detention in default of bail beyond the means of hardworking wage-earners to furnish, and for nothing more reprehensible, so far as intent counted, than affiliating with friends of their own race, country and language. Cases in which there was substantial proof of any unlawful act with sinister intent or guilty knowledge were exceptions—very rare exceptions.”<sup>20</sup>

The Nativist network eventually transformed into a network of right-wing ideologues who saw communist subversion behind every international movement for national liberation and every domestic movement for peace and social justice.

## Conspiracism as an Analytical Model

The overly-simplified conspiracy mentality was discussed by Professor Richard Hofstadter who traced its historic influence in American right-wing movements in, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*.

According to Hofstadter, paranoid movements rise and fall periodically, and appeal to people fearful about the world political and economic situation, and longing for simple solutions to complex problems. The use of scapegoats is common among these movements, said Hofstadter who laid out the three “basic elements of...right-wing thought” shared by many conservatives who succumbed to paranoid forms of conspiracy thinking in the 1950's and 1960's:

=== “First, there has been the now familiar sustained conspiracy, running over more than a generation, and reaching its climax in Roosevelt's New Deal, to undermine free capitalism, to bring the economy under the direction of the federal government, and to pave the way for socialism or communism. . . .

=== “The second contention is that top government officialdom has been so infiltrated by Communists that American policy, at least since the days leading up to Pearl Harbor, has been dominated by sinister men who were shrewdly and consistently selling out American national interests.

=== “The final contention is that the country is infused with a network of communist agents. . .so that the whole apparatus of education, religion, the press, and the mass media are engaged in a common effort to paralyze the resistance of loyal Americans.

One primary role of this right-wing network is the dissemination of propaganda on what Donner calls the fear centered twin myths of “an all-powerful internal subversive enemy and a permanently endangered national security.” As Donner explains:

=== “A pattern of support and collaboration between government and private intelligence forces dominates the history of radical-hunting in this country. The values and priorities of American Nativism have decisively influenced both official and private intelligence activities. As a vital ideological resource of American capitalism, nativism has kept the counter-subversive tradition

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burning by continuing and enlarging its own private intelligence activities.

There is a symbiotic relationship between right-wing hard-liners in law enforcement and the radical hunters in Congress and the private sector. Law enforcement has long relied on the political right-wing to fight subversion, and this has always been especially true when it comes to the FBI response to critics who point out the FBI's anti-democratic ideological mission. Yet whether or not a group or individual cooperated with government law enforcement agencies and congressional committees or choose to resist, the overall effect on society was to crush dissent and narrow the acceptable range of political discourse in the United States.

### The Global Red Menace

The anti-communism of the domestic counter-subversion network was not a rationale critique of communism as a political theory, or communist repression of dissidents, or communist foreign intervention, but a zealous view of communism, real or perceived, as the Red Menace. The most extreme form of this view saw the Soviet Union as the Evil Empire and believed there was no compromise with godless Satanic communism.

Premised on this obsessive paranoid phobia, the anti-communist counter-subversive movement in the U.S. pursued through public and private channels the increased reliance on covert action as a major pillar of U.S. foreign policy, and secrecy and anti-subversive witch-hunts as a significant factor in domestic policy. Since this movement wanted to “Rollback” communism and believed in the inevitability of war with nations that were communist (or were perceived as communist), it saw a need to maintain a high level of defense spending for military preparedness, and the need for constant domestic surveillance against internal subversion.

Civil liberties are seen as always secondary to national security. Achieving “Law and Order” is seen requiring the use of state power to force conformity. It is appropriate to refer to this movement as sharing an ideology that is paranoid and authoritarian and manifesting itself most concretely in terms of anti-communism and anti-

liberalism with an undercurrent of reactionary anti-modernism, and, in a few instances, echoes of fascist theories of nationalism.

### Counter-subversion Theory & the Cold War

The counter-subversive Nativist views on subversion were adapted to the geo-political realities of the post WWII period to form the basis of the Cold War, the political witch hunts culminating in the McCarthy Period, and a number of other events and movements which combined to create the National Security State.

The Cold War consensus in the 1950's was forged primarily through a coalition of three disparate groups:

- Liberals, such as those in the State Department and analysis section of the CIA.
- Conservatives and reactionaries such as those in Congress and the operational section of CIA.
- Nativist xenophobes such as Sen. Joseph McCarthy and those who would later form the secretive John Birch Society.

There was certainly contention among these groups. The liberals distrusted the reactionaries as authoritarian and militarist and distrusted the Nativists as anti-intellectual proto-fascists. The conservatives distrusted the liberals as naive dupes who flirted with socialism and distrusted the Nativists as zealous and isolationist. The Nativists distrusted the conservatives as rich elitists and interventionists and distrusted the liberals as either naive “one-world-government” dupes or witting communist agents.

Remember that McCarthy, the quintessential Nativist was seeking out communists and “fellow travelers” in the State Department, which at the time was already actively fighting communism. But Nativists were isolationist, and thought every attempt to involve the United States in global politics was part of an internationalist plot, even attempts to involve the country in fighting global communism.

Still, there was agreement among the three main political tendencies that the spread of communism had to be stopped if their unique (often contradictory) vision of Western civilization was to survive.

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A seminal work in shaping the Cold War was William R. Kintner's 1950 book *The Front is Everywhere* in which Kintner lays out his analysis of the communist style of subversion through a "Communist Fifth Column" involved in otherwise legal "political activity."

=== "The Communist plan, as fashioned by Lenin, is always to 'carry on work that is possible,' work that will finally end in 'commencing and carrying out the **national armed insurrection**'. . .<sup>21</sup>

According to Kintner, since the ultimate goal of communist subversion is armed revolution and the destruction of the democratic state, it is a national security necessity to ferret out the presence of communists in organizations involved in non-criminal political activity.

=== "If American Communists wore the uniform of the Red Army, steps would be taken to safeguard the national security by preventing the operation of the Communist party's intelligence net and its fifth-column activity in behalf of a foreign power. . .<sup>22</sup>

=== "How can they be stopped? Are additional laws needed? . . . Is the American judicial system flexible enough to convict the professional revolutionaries of a quasi-military party, whose mode of operation is designed to make convictions on the accepted rules of evidence next to impossible? . . .<sup>23</sup>

=== "The passage of a law outlawing Communist conspiratorial practices would only be the first step. . . . A law-enforcing problem to overcome would be the procurement and training of a sufficient number of agents to infiltrate into every corner of the Communist conspiracy. . .<sup>24</sup>

=== "The practical problem involved is the development of a concise legal doctrine on the question of proof through association. Because of the very nature of the Communist party, the government may have to fall back on such proof. . .<sup>25</sup>

=== "The false accusation of 'Communist' against citizens who desire some change in the existing order does much harm and no good. The best way to stop these malicious attacks is to distinguish accurately between loyal American liberals and radicals and those professional revolutionaries who take their orders from Moscow. . .<sup>26</sup>

### Psychological Warfare for Domestic Consumption

In a 1958 "consultation" with the House

Committee on Un-American Activities, three major architects of Cold War theory summarized their hard line views concerning the "Communist Strategy of Protracted Conflict". Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, Alvin J. Cottrell, and James E. Dougherty, (all affiliated with the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania) appeared before the Committee to answer critics of the Cold War who urged a less confrontational posture toward the Soviet Union. Hupé put it this way:

=== "The Communist strategy never has been, and is not now, a strategy of limited war such as that which has preoccupied many Western writers in recent years....

=== "The strategy of protracted conflict prescribes the annihilation of the opponent by a long series of carefully calibrated operations, by feints and maneuvers, by psychological and economic warfare, and by diverse forms of violence....

=== "It encompasses all known forms of violent and non-violent conflict techniques, and fuses them into a weapons spectrum which begins on the left with the seemingly most innocuous political activities, such as the clandestine distribution of leaflets, and terminates on the right end of the spectrum with the megaton bomb.

=== "There is no difference between cold and hot war. There is no essential difference between military and political means. They are all instruments of conflict, leading to the same objective of power accumulation.

Hupé was describing his perception of the communist view of conflict, but the description also fits the ideology underpinning U.S. Cold War counterinsurgency methods against its political enemies, methods now artfully called "low-intensity conflict".

At the same hearing, Cottrell argued that just like "in time of war the American people, generally, and their political parties abstain from partisan politics," that since the Communists were in fact waging an ongoing war through their theory of protracted conflict, that the Executive branch should be able to conduct its policies concerning Communists with wartime efficiency and support absent extended political debate. Cottrell observed, "The great debates which are sources of strength in the internal affairs of a democracy actually vitiate

our foreign policy”. Cottrell proposed the following as the solution:

=== “The United States should be able to wage psychological warfare more effectively than the Soviet Union. The fact that it has been unable to do so derives from certain features of its own democratic system, such as the sensationalism of the press, the irresponsibility of many journalists and politicians, and the rivalry of the armed services. The answer does not lie in any institutional modification of our democratic social structure. What is urgently needed is an advance to political maturity and responsibility on the part of American elites, who should be able to act as intelligent critics of American policy without depriving the Government of all freedom of choice in the conduct of American diplomacy.

Despite the lofty-sounding rhetoric, Cottrell's position was essentially that when it came to fighting Communism, the democratic process should be short-circuited. . .an argument reechoing a similar one made by Lt. Col Oliver North. In fact, this same mentality of giving government elites a free and covert hand in fighting the international Red Menace permeated the domestic side of the Cold War equation when it came to fighting the internal Red Menace.

### The Theory of a Subversive Infrastructure

The underlying theory of subversion held by both the reactionary conservative and Nativist authoritarian schools of anti-communism share a common belief in the concept of the political front, intentional or unwitting, as the most common form of political organization on the left.

The most persistent theoretical underpinning of the FBI's COINTELPRO-era activity was the notion of the naive front controlled by communist infiltration, or COMINFIL in Bureau jargon. COMINFIL was described succinctly by author William W. Keller:

=== “...the theory behind Cominfil is that the Communist party members seek to infiltrate or join the ranks of legitimate organizations, rise to positions of leadership, establish effective control of the organization, and ultimately convert it into a vehicle for mass communist revolution.”<sup>27</sup>

In this theory, communists are thought to have

developed a method of control using surrogates, both witting and unwitting, to actually hold the titular reins of power.

Generally, for both conservatives and reactionaries, any movement that challenges the status quo, the assumptions of the state, and the control by its leading interest groups, can be perceived as part of what is today called a “Soviet Active Measures” campaign to undermine America. While this may appear overly simplistic and paranoid, one need only read the literature of the counter-subversion empire to see the many variations on the theme. *Orbis*, *West Watch*, and *Information Digest*, all have detailed elaborations and fine tunings of these overall views.

According to Keller, the conservatives and reactionaries effectively control counter-subversion activities in the U.S. due to the unwillingness on the part of Congressional liberals to actively pursue an oversight role over all counter-intelligence activity. Keller sees this unwillingness stemming from liberal ambivalence regarding the questionable security techniques employed, and their ultimate allegiance to the perceived security needs of the state.

=== “The cold war military buildup to deter future conflict is analogous to the domestic security intelligence buildup to prevent future subversion, sabotage, civil unrest, and even revolution. In both spheres, the liberal polity demonstrates its stateness.”<sup>28</sup>

While courts have consistently ruled that passive monitoring of First Amendment activity is permissible, critics charge that passive monitoring and dossier-compiling often turns into disruption or attack, sometimes inadvertently, sometimes intentionally. As Donner explains:

=== “The listing of individuals, whether for ultimate detention in the event of war or for clues to the source of civil disorders, masked an underlying tension between passive monitoring and barely suppressed aggression. Why wait for the future showdown? What can be done to get at these people now? This tension found an outlet in special programs directed at ‘key figures’ and ‘top functionaries,’ singled out for close penetrative and continuous surveillance.”<sup>29</sup>

## McCarthy Period Private Sector Groups

During the McCarthy period *Red Channels*, published by American Business Consultants and *Counterattack* published by Aware, Inc. were the primary blacklisting newsletters.<sup>30</sup> Two groups formed in Chicago, the American Security Council and the Church League of America began as information clearinghouses for industrial and business security agents.

The American Security Council started life as an employers reference to ferret out pro-union and thus supposedly subversive employees. There is an excellent review of the American Security Council's early red-hunting activities in William Turner's *Power on the Right*.

## The FBI, COINTELPRO, and the War on Dissent

When the smear tactics of Joseph McCarthy and his allies were finally discredited, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover simply took the red menace campaign underground and re-institutionalized attacks on dissenters with a massive program of illegal spying and harassment dubbed COINTELPRO—the FBI's Counterintelligence Program. Meanwhile, unaware of COINTELPRO, the grassroots Nativist forces retreated to the fringes of the American political system to regroup and publish their periodicals and books.

## COINTELPRO

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated COINTELPRO, the acronym given the FBI's Counterintelligence Program, in August 1956. COINTELPRO was designed to “increase factionalism, cause disruption and win defections” inside the Communist Party U.S.A. The FBI program was later enlarged to include disruption of the Socialist Workers Party (1961), the Ku Klux Klan (1964), Black nationalist groups such as the Black Panther Party and the Nation of Islam (1967), and the entire New Left, including community and religious groups (1968).

Hoover was certainly obsessed with counter-

subversion and a conspiracy view of history. He was convinced the civil rights movement was the result of communist subversives agitating normally docile Blacks into protesting segregation. Hoover even demanded his agents find out who was behind the women's movement, apparently assuming he could eradicate the global feminist awakening by ferreting out a small cabal of malcontents.

Inside the FBI there developed a core group of agents with authoritarian tendencies who adopt the theories, and sometimes the practices, of the the paranoid Nativist right-wing. This view was institutionalized while Hoover was FBI director, and a self-perpetuating network carries on the tradition today following his death.

David Kaplan of California's Center for Investigative Reporting called COINTELPRO “the largest known program yet in domestic surveillance.” Kaplan observed that “between 1965 and 1975, the FBI opened more than 500,000 intelligence files on more than one million Americans, according to a Congressional report.... Among the Bureau's targets: Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement, anti-Vietnam War Groups, and the underground press.”

In the Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities, COINTELPRO was castigated in no uncertain terms:

=== “COINTELPRO is the FBI acronym for a series of covert action programs directed against domestic groups.

=== “Many of the techniques used would be intolerable in a democratic society even if all of the targets had been involved in violent activity, but COINTELPRO went far beyond that...the Bureau conducted a sophisticated vigilante operation aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech and association, on the theory that preventing the growth of dangerous groups and the propagation of dangerous ideas would protect the national security and deter violence.

Richard Criley of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, himself a victim of government surveillance abuse, has chronicled the enormity of privacy violations by the FBI and their use of informants:

## The Hunt for Red Menace

=== "In the City of Chicago alone, from 1966 to 1976, the FBI employed (at a cost of \$2.5 million) over 5,000 secret undercover informers to operate within civic and political organizations which were violating no laws. For 16 years (1960 to 1977), the FBI employed 1,600 informers to infiltrate one small political group, the Socialist Workers Party (at an estimated cost of \$26 million). Such was the national pattern.

=== "The information gathered by the FBI's informant network was supplemented by illegal wiretaps, letter openings, burglaries of office files, secret examination of bank records, clippings from newspapers, and physical surveillance. At the FBI and other government offices, vast files of organizations' political policies and individuals' opinions were catalogued according to their degrees of presumed "dangerousness" in the FBI's secret "Security Index."

=== "Thousands of individuals in the FBI Index were targeted for round-up and detention in case of a "national emergency," although it is still unclear what constituted a "national emergency." The FBI created this detention list in the 1940's, even before the legislation was passed providing any statutory authority (the Emergency Detention Act of 1950)."

COINTELPRO violated constitutionally-guaranteed rights in a carefully calculated manner, and was essentially anti-democratic in design and implementation. Allowed to evolve towards its logical conclusions, COINTELPRO would have engendered an authoritarian environment limiting basic liberties.

Only a handful of the tens of thousands of pages of COINTELPRO documents reviewed by researchers for various lawsuits had any mention of criminal activity. When the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania was raided in 1971 by unknown antiwar activists, the pilfered files revealed the following startling statistics: 1 percent of the files were devoted to organized crime, mostly gambling; 15% regarded bank robberies, rape, murder and interstate theft; 30% were manuals and official bureaucratic non-investigative documents; 14% were devoted to draft resistance and AWOL military personnel; and a 40% were devoted to political surveillance and investigations of alleged subversion and security risks. Two of these political cases involved right wing groups, ten cases involved immigrants, and 200 cases involved political

activists on the left.

Sometimes the collusion between the FBI and the far-right had violent results. Civil rights activists Jim Peck and Walter Bergman were brutally beaten by the Ku Klux Klan in May of 1961 when buses carrying freedom riders were ambushed in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama.

Former Ku Klux Klan member Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr. was an FBI COINTELPRO informant who in 1975 testified before a Senate committee that he had warned local police and Federal agents that the ambush would take place. Peck and Bergman filed lawsuits shortly after the 1975 Senate testimony

Neither local police or federal agents intervened in the ambush, and in fact the Birmingham Police Department informally agreed to allow the Klansmen up to 20 minutes in which to assault the Freedom Riders before police would arrive on the scene.

Peck was beaten unconscious outside the Birmingham bus station while Bergman was assaulted while the Freedom Ride buses were in Anniston, Alabama where one of the buses was destroyed by a firebomb. Bergman, 84 at the time of his court victory, was confined to a wheelchair, in part due to injuries resulting from the beating. Despite his injuries, Bergman still firmly believed his participation in the Freedom Rides was worthwhile, and contributed to "opening up the South to free travel by people of all races." The lawsuits resulted in judgements against the government of \$25,000 and \$35,000 for Peck and Bergman.

### **Evidence is Immaterial**

Contrary evidence was no impediment to Hoover pursuing his right-wing paranoid vision. In 1969 the FBI special agent in San Francisco wrote Hoover that his investigation of the Black Panther Party revealed that in his city, at least, the Black nationalists were primarily feeding breakfast to children. Hoover fired back a memo implying the career ambitions of the agent were directly related to his supplying evidence to support Hoover's view that the BPP was "a violence prone organization seeking to overthrow the Government by

revolutionary means”.

Hoover made his real agenda clear in a later memo instructing agents that the “Purpose of counterintelligence action is to disrupt BPP and it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge.”

The FBI's relentless disregard of evidence in pursuit of its ideological enemies fits Winston Churchill's description of the fanatic as “one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject.” It would be comical if it weren't so tragic. The results of this authoritarian fanaticism by government intelligence agents can be deadly. In the late 1960's, according to testimony and documents produced in a lawsuit filed in Chicago, the FBI informant in the Illinois Black Panther Party was unsuccessful in encouraging the BPP members to bomb buildings and rob stores. So the FBI tipped off local police that the Panthers were heavily armed and supplied a floorplan of their apartment. The ensuing police raid left Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead. The few guns found were later discovered to have been legally purchased. An FBI memo noting the deaths requested a bonus for the informant.

### COINTELPRO Media Operations

Journalists were not only unwittingly fed disruptive information by the FBI during its COINTELPRO operation, but in many cases, journalists also willingly cooperated with the FBI knowing they were participating in counterintelligence programs.<sup>31</sup>

An analysis of COINTELPRO documents showed the FBI's use of newspapers, radio stations, and television stations was much greater than previously suspected. A separate COINTELPRO media program was in operation from at least 1956 to 1971; and documents reveal FBI offices in 16 cities were requested to compile lists of cooperative and reliable reporters for COINTELPRO use. The New Haven, Connecticut office alone submitted a list of 28 media contacts. Media operations were carried out by agents in an additional seven cities. The FBI media program was especially active in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Milwaukee.

The COINTELPRO media program violated every single clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution by: harassing religious groups, attacking progressive newspapers, preventing free speech, disrupting peaceable assemblies and interfering with citizens' rights to petition the government for redress of grievances. That journalists actively participated in subverting these First Amendment guarantees is frightening, and dispels the notion that in America, the press is always an objective watchdog protecting citizens' rights from governmental excesses.

Targets of the FBI media program included:

- The Communist Party-USA, especially its Black members and groups;
- Black nationalist organizations such as the Black Panther Party and Nation of Islam;
- New Left groups such as Students for a Democratic Society, Socialist Workers Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Progressive Labor party, and anti-HUAC coalitions;
- Anti-war groups, especially those on campuses;
- Various media ranging from *Liberation News Service* to the *New York Post*.

In some cases the FBI covertly fed information to unwitting reporters; but in many instances journalists worked with the FBI and promised not to reveal that the Bureau had suggested coverage or provided information. Some reporters went further and actually volunteered to assist the Bureau in counterintelligence operations —writing articles designed to damage a specific FBI- targeted individual, organization or event. One Chicago newspaperman toured the Chicago FBI office and “indicated that he was always ready and willing to be of service to the Bureau.” An L.A. journalist was recommended for further tasks after cooperating “in a very successful counterintelligence operation,” according to FBI files.

Print and electronic media journalists agreed to ask activists embarrassing questions supplied by the FBI; in fact, the FBI circulated to select journalists a list of 44 questions designed to provoke members of the CP-USA. Documents reported that in several instances journalists supplied news films or tapes to the Bureau. Reporters would phone the FBI to report upcoming events scheduled by targeted groups, and in at least three cases, journalists

## The Hunt for Red Menace

worked as volunteer agents. A Mr. Hall, a Boston reporter, embarrassed the Bureau by publicly claiming a special clearance from J. Edgar Hoover himself. Hall was scolded for being overzealous and was cut off from leaked information for several months as a punishment.

The most frequently-reported operation involved the FBI supplying a cooperative reporter with information designed to harass an activist and cause public embarrassment. For instance, in 1966 the FBI provided the *Chicago Daily News* with information that a local Black communist leader owned a ghetto apartment house with building code violations. The resulting article was picked up locally and nationally, resulting in tremendous loss of credibility for the activist. The effectiveness of this type of operation was underscored in an FBI memo:

=== "The New York Office has noted that public statements by columnists and the press have a considerable effect on the Party. Some have caused the Party to delay work for days at a time in an effort to answer charges made, and to discover the source of the information printed.

Among newspapers cooperating in this type of operation were the *New York Daily News*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*. Hearst chain newspapers were frequently cited as cooperative, and on one occasion the FBI ordered its Bureaus to collect data to assist a Newhouse chain reporter.

Television stations WHDH in Boston, KTTV in Los Angeles, and WCKT in Miami were active in COINTELPRO/ Miami's WCKT-TV worked closely with the FBI in preparing a 30-minute color documentary on the Nation of Islam. "Each and every film segment produced by the station" was submitted to the FBI to insure that the FBI was satisfied "and that noting was included" which in any way would "be contrary" to FBI interests.

The FBI used a variety of techniques in its media program. Disruptive information was provided to unwitting reporters, sometimes arriving in letters signed with fictitious names. Information damaging to an activist group would be sent in envelopes bearing that group's return address to

encourage internal bickering.

The FBI arranged phone call and letter campaigns to force cancellation of radio and television appearances by progressives. Coverage of private meetings was suggested, often to use the press presence as a disruptive element.

Cooperative reporters were given information revealing embarrassing incidents, secret plans, or internal disputes. Often the material was revealed in a way that implied the source was a disgruntled group member.

Clippings from newspaper articles were anonymously sent to reporters to encourage similar coverage. Once the FBI planted an article in *U.S. News and World Report* and then distributed clippings to other journalists. Sometimes the FBI would reprint articles for greater distribution, or plant articles critical of one activist and sent clippings to rivals. The FBI even wrote its own articles and printed cartoons for dissemination to newspapers.

It is obvious from the documents that every media operation had to be cleared by FBI headquarters in Washington, and most, if not all, required the personal approval of J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI clearly was aware it was violating constitutional rights and took great care to prevent the program from being revealed publicly.

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### MEDIA WITH CONTACTS COOPERATING IN COINTELPRO OPERATIONS

Hearst newspaper chain  
Associated Press (NY)  
New York Daily News  
New York Daily Mirror  
Chicago Daily News  
Chicago Tribune (Ron Kosiol)  
Cleveland Plain Dealer  
Milwaukee Journal  
Los Angeles Examiner  
Los Angeles Evening Herald Express  
Los Angeles Herald Examiner  
Newark Star Ledger  
Philadelphia Inquirer  
Newhouse chain (D.C.)  
U.S. News and World Report  
Chicago American  
Chicago Courier

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Arizona Daily Star  
Jackson Daily News (Mississippi)  
The Youngstown Vindicator (Ohio)  
Buffalo Courier Express  
Buffalo Evening News  
KTTV-TV (Los Angeles)  
WCKT-TV (Miami)  
WHDH Radio & TV (Boston)  
ABC-TV (Chicago)  
WBZ Radio (Boston)  
KYW-TV (Cleveland)  
WJW-TV (Cleveland)  
WELW Radio (Ohio)  
Four Chicago TV stations  
(names deleted)  
FED DISRUPTIVE INFORMATION  
Sandy Smith, Chicago Tribune \*  
Edmund J. Rooney, Chicago Daily News \*  
Michael Kirkhorn, Milwaukee Journal \*  
Jack Steele, Scrips-Howard \*  
Polish Daily News, Detroit \*  
Charles E. Davis, Jr., Los Angeles Examiner  
Boston Record American  
Pittsburgh Press  
Seattle Times  
Washington Daily News  
TWENTY EIGHT COOPERATIVE MEDIA  
(Compiled by New Haven, CT FBI) \*  
The Hartford Courant  
New Haven Register  
New Haven Journal-Courier  
WELI (New Haven)  
WNHC-TV (New Haven)  
WICH (Norwich)  
Norwich Bulletin  
WSUB (Groton)  
WNLC (New London)  
New London Day  
Greenwich Times  
WNLK (Norwalk)  
Norwalk Hour  
Stamford Advocate  
WSTS (Stamford)  
Bristol Press  
Meriden Journal  
Meriden Record  
New Britain Herald

WNAB (Bridgeport)  
Bridgeport Post  
Bridgeport Telegram  
Middletown Press  
WLAD (Danbury)  
Danbury News Times  
WICC (Fairfield)  
WMMM (Westport)  
The Town Crier (Westport)  
Waterbury Republican American

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\* Of 16 FBI offices requested to provide lists of “established and cooperative news media sources which have been or may be used in connection with counterintelligence action,” only the New Haven office’s list has been released. A list of 20 Ohio contacts was released, but all names were blotted out. The 16 FBI offices are:

Boston  
Buffalo  
Chicago  
Cleveland  
Detroit  
Los Angeles  
Milwaukee  
Minneapolis  
New Haven  
New York  
Newark  
Philadelphia  
Pittsburgh  
St. Louis  
San Francisco  
Seattle

Documents reveal COINTELPRO media operations in these other cities:

Albany  
Cincinnati  
Dallas  
El Paso  
Jackson, MS  
Miami  
Phoenix

## Information Collection & Sharing

David Kaplan noted that there were other

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agencies of the federal government who spied on citizens during the 1960's and 1970's:

- === “Until 1974, the CIA conducted a widespread, illegal spying operation within the United States. According to Congressional reports, the names of 300,000 U.S. citizens were cross-indexed within agency files, and thousands of Americans were placed on “watch lists” to have their mail opened and telegrams read.
- === “The Pentagon's intelligence operations spilled into a highly questionable area during the 1960s and early 1970s. The U.S. Army Intelligence Command, among others, ran a far-reaching domestic spying program that, at its height, fielded over 1500 plainclothes agents from 350 offices to spy on anti-war and civil rights groups. The Army's program was, in the words of a Congressional subcommittee, “both massive and unrestrained,” and compiled an estimated 100,00 dossiers on U.S. citizens. The Secretary of the Army subsequently ordered those files destroyed, although, like the CIA, there are now indications that such activities may have continued.

Information from the private right-wing groups and federal agencies also flowed in and out of the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, an association of local law enforcement intelligence and investigative squads set up to compete with the sometimes less- than-cooperative FBI.

Civil liberties activist and author Richard Criley was especially concerned with local police intelligence units.

- === “In Chicago, the local police intelligence unit amassed files on over 200,000 citizens and groups ranging from the PTA to the Communist Party. They had already considered plans to computerize the file system when a series of civil lawsuits brought their activities to light. Chicago was just one of several cities with similar surveillance units.

In fact, an informal nationwide network for sharing political dossiers among police and private intelligence agencies existed for several decades prior to 1975. According to files produced in a series of lawsuits against government surveillance in Chicago, 159 agencies in 33 states throughout the nation received political spying files from, or sent such files to, the Chicago Police Department Intelligence Division, which for many years was called the Red Squad.

The agencies include 100 municipal police departments, 26 state law enforcement agencies, 16 county sheriffs offices, and 17 other public and private agencies.

“While many concerned civil libertarians have been convinced of the existence of politically-motivated activity by their local police, they have frequently been frustrated by the need for concrete proof.” said Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance* who called for a “remedial campaign to abolish such abuses,” based on the revelations.

According to attorney Richard Gutman, who obtained the police reports, the following examples are typical of the material discussed in the Chicago Police Transmittal Files:

- The Texas Department of Public Safety (“Texas Rangers”) sought “any pertinent information related to subversive activities or affiliations” regarding Chicago attorney Terry Yale Feiertag. The Chicago police responded that attorney Feiertag was employed by an organization which provided legal aid to low income groups and in civil rights cases;
- The Indianapolis Police Department sought “any data” regarding Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam. The Chicago police in response sent information about the group's lawful anti-war activities;
- The Detroit Police Department sought information regarding Lucy Montgomery. In response the Chicago police sent Detroit a four-page report detailing Mrs. Montgomery's lawful political activities.

“Many of these political surveillance units—which have also surfaced in Detroit, Seattle, and elsewhere—have been disbanded as the result of public outrage and, in some cases, lawsuits,” observed journalist David Kaplan. “Civil liberties watchdogs, however, believe that other units whose activities remain secret continue to grow.”

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### AGENCIES EXCHANGING POLITICAL SPYING INTELLIGENCE WITH THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE DIVISION (CPD/IU)

- Alabama
- Alabama Dept. of Public Safety
- Birmingham Police Dept.
- Huntsville Police Dept.

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Arizona  
Phoenix Police Dept.  
Maricopa County Sheriff  
Tempe Police Dept.  
Tucson Police Dept.  
California  
Anaheim Police Dept.  
Alameda County District Attorney's Office  
Bakersfield Police Dept.  
California Dept. of Justice, Organized Crime  
and  
Criminal Intelligence Branch  
California Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Criminal  
Identification and Investigation  
Delano Police Dept.  
Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office  
Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office  
Los Angeles Police Dept.  
McFarland Police Dept.  
Newark Police Dept.  
Oakland Police Dept.  
Orange Police Dept.  
Palo Alto Police Dept.  
San Francisco Police Dept.  
San Jose Police Dept.  
San Mateo County Sheriff  
Santa Ana Police Dept.  
Santa Barbara County Sheriff  
Torrance Police Dept.  
Colorado  
Aspen Police Dept.  
Denver Police Dept.  
Connecticut  
Connecticut State Police  
Hartford State Police  
Delaware  
Delaware State Police  
District of Columbia  
Metropolitan Police Dept.  
Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of  
Inspection  
Florida  
Dade County Sheriff's Office  
Florida Department of Law Enforcement  
Duval County Sheriff's Office  
Miami Beach Police Dept.  
Miami Police Dept.

Orlando Police Dept.  
Tallahassee Police Dept.  
Tampa Police Dept.  
Hawaii  
Honolulu Police Department  
Illinois  
Carbondale Police Dept.  
Crystal Lake Police Dept.  
Decatur Police Dept.  
DeKalb Police Dept.  
Evanston Police Dept.  
Galesburg Police Dept.  
Grayville Police Dept.  
Hammond Corporation, Deerfield  
Highland Park Police Dept.  
Illinois State Police  
Peoria Police Dept.  
Rockford Police Dept.  
Rock Island Police Dept.  
Skokie Police Dept.  
United States Army Intelligence, 113th MI  
Group,  
Evanston  
University of Illinois Police, Chicago Circle  
Campus  
Woodridge Police Dept.  
Indiana  
Anderson Police Dept.  
East Chicago Police Dept.  
Gary Police Dept.  
Indiana State Police  
Indianapolis, Mayor  
Indianapolis Police Dept.  
Northwest Indiana Crime Commission, Inc.  
Iowa  
Cedar Rapids Police Dept.  
Des Moines Police Dept.  
Iowa Dept. of Public Safety, Bureau of Criminal  
Investigation  
Kansas  
Columbia Police Dept.  
Kansas City Police Dept.  
Minneapolis Sheriff's Police Dept.  
Kentucky  
Kentucky Dept. of Corrections, Division of  
Probation and Parole  
Kentucky State Police

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Louisville Police Dept.  
Louisiana  
Franklin Parish Sheriff's Office  
New Orleans Police Dept.  
Maine  
Houlton Police jDept.  
Maine State Police  
Maryland  
Baltimore County Police Dept.  
Baltimore Police Dept.  
Maryland State Police  
University of Maryland  
Massachusetts  
Boston Police Dept.  
Fitchburg Police Dept.  
Massachusetts Dept. of Public Safety, Division  
of  
Subversive Activities  
Massachusetts State Police  
Medford Police Dept.  
Michigan  
Ann Arbor Police Dept.  
Berrien County Prosecuting Attorney  
Detroit Police Dept.  
Detroit Police Officers Ass'n  
Eaton County Sheriff's Dept.  
Flint Police Dept.  
Michigan House of Representatives, Economic  
Development Committee  
Michigan State Police  
Saginaw Police Dept.  
Minnesota  
Bloomington Police Dept.  
Missouri  
St. Louis Metropolitan Police Dept.  
Minutemen  
Nebraska  
Omaha Police Dept.  
Nevada  
Reno Police Dept.  
New Jersey  
Atlantic City Police Dept.  
Camden Police Dept.  
Newark Police Dept.  
New Jersey State Police  
New Mexico  
Albuquerque Police Dept.  
New Mexico State Police  
New York  
Beacon Police Dept.  
Buffalo Police Dept.  
Ithaca Police Dept.  
Nassau County Police Dept.  
National Goals, Inc. (Private group, John Rees,  
Dir.)  
New Rochelle Police Dept.  
New York City Police Dept.  
New York State Dept. of Civil Service  
New York State Police  
Port of New York Authority  
Suffolk County Police Dept.  
Yonkers Police Dept.  
Ohio  
Akron Police Dept.  
Canton Police Dept.  
Cincinnati Crime Bureau  
Cincinnati Division of Police  
Columbus Police Dept.  
Cleveland Division of Police  
Cuyahoga Falls Sheriffs Office  
Dayton Police Dept.  
Ohio State Highway Patrol  
Steubenville Police Dept.  
Toledo Division of Police  
Wintersville Police Dept.  
Zenia Police Dept.  
Oregon  
Eugene Police Dept.  
Portland Bureau of Police  
Portland District Attorney  
Multnomah County Sheriffs Office  
Pennsylvania  
Pennsylvania House of Representatives  
Pennsylvania State Police  
Pittsburgh Bureau of Police  
Philadelphia Police Dept.  
Rhode Island  
Providence Police Dept.  
Tennessee  
Knoxville Police Dept.  
Memphis Police Dept.  
Nashville Metropolitan Police Dept.  
Tennessee Office of the Attorney General,  
Dyersburg

Texas  
Dallas Police Dept.  
Fort Worth Police Dept.  
Houston Police Dept.  
Texas Dept. of Public Safety  
Utah  
Salt Lake City Police Dept.  
Virgin Islands  
Virgin Islands Dept of Public Safety  
Washington  
Camas Police Dept.  
Seattle Police Dept.  
Wisconsin  
Fondulac County Sheriffs Office  
Milwaukee Police Dept.  
Washington County Sheriffs Office  
Wauwatosa Police Dept.  
Wisconsin Dept. of Justice, Division of  
Criminal Investigation

### Private Connections

Break-ins and thefts were numerous during the COINTELPRO period. When a judge allowed plaintiffs in one lawsuit against government spying access to the Chicago Police Red Squad files, lawyers found original membership lists stolen from radical groups such as Medical Committee for Human Rights and Students for a Democratic Society. Former staff members from the groups remembered the lists vanishing after mysterious office break-ins where office equipment was left untouched.

In some cases break-ins and assaults were carried out by right-wing paramilitary groups coordinating their efforts with FBI informants, military intelligence agents, and local police investigative units. Chicago's Legion of Justice not only assaulted activists, but stole files and distributed photocopies to government agencies.<sup>32</sup>

Detroit's Operation Breakthrough harassed activists while it was essentially controlled by police agents who sometimes outnumbered non-informant members.<sup>33</sup>

The FBI relationship to the far right reached a violent climax in San Diego, where an FBI informant testified the FBI provided him with \$10,000 worth of weapons, including explosives

used in a bombing by the Secret Army Organization (SAO), a right-wing group which harassed activists protesting the Vietnam war. The FBI even hid a gun used in an SAO assassination attempt against a leftist professor until an ACLU-sponsored lawsuit by a woman wounded in the assault forced the FBI to reveal the weapon's existence.<sup>34</sup>

The interlocking network of private right-wing counter-subversion operations flourished during the COINTELPRO period. Groups such as the American Security Council, Church League of America, Wackenhut Security, Research West, Agitator, Inc., FIPOL/UCC, and Anacapa Sciences gathered information about alleged subversives. Several of these groups were active in California during the governorship of Ronald Reagan and one security specialist for a California utility told investigators of a link between Research West, Governor Reagan, and Edwin Meese.

## Goldwater and the True Believers

The first highly-visible post-McCarthy attempt by American Nativists to gain a mass following came as part of their support for the 1964 campaign of conservative Sen. Barry Goldwater to gain the Republican Party's presidential nomination. But preparations for that campaign had been long in the making. In the late 1950's and early 1960's a network of Nativist anti-communists spread the gospel of the Red Menace through books, magazine articles and workshops. One of the most influential leaders of this movement was Dr. Fred Schwarz and his California-based Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. A tireless lecturer, Schwarz in 1960 authored *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)* which sold over one million copies. It soon became the secular Bible of the Nativists.

The views on intractable godless communism expressed by Schwarz were central themes in three other bestselling books which were used to mobilize support for the 1964 Goldwater campaign. The best known was Phyllis Schlafly's *A Choice, Not an Echo* which suggested a conspiracy theory in which the Republican Party was secretly controlled by elitist intellectuals dominated by members of the Bilderberger group, whose policies would pave the

way for global communist conquest. Schlafly's husband Fred had been a lecturer at Schwartz's local Christian Anti-communism Crusade conferences.

Schlafly elaborate on the theme of the global communist conspiracy and its witting and unwitting domestic allies in a book on military preparedness tailored to and published in support of the Goldwater campaign, *The Gravediggers*, co-authored with retired Rear Admiral Chester Ward. Ward, a member of the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council was also a lecturer at the Foreign Policy Research Institute which published much of Kintner's anti-communist strategies. *The Gravediggers*, showed how current U.S. military strategy and tactics would pave the way for global communist conquest.

Often overlooked because of the publicity surrounding *A Choice, Not an Echo* (the title became Goldwater's campaign slogan), was the widely-circulated book by John Stormer, *None Dare Call it Treason*, which outlined how the equivocation of Washington insiders would pave the way for global communist conquest. *None Dare Call it Treason* sold over seven million copies, making it the largest-selling paperback book of the day.

All of the above-mentioned books were primarily self-published and circulated through word of mouth. Their effect on the U.S. political scene, coupled with an aggressive grassroots organizing campaign, was virtually invisible until the 1964 Republican convention where delegates such as Schlafly and Stormer rallied the Goldwater supporters they had helped organize precinct by precinct. The Goldwater nomination was the high point for the resurgent Nativists in the 1960's, and membership in the John Birch Society soared. But if mainstream Republicans were not ready for the full Nativist political agenda, neither was the rest of the U.S. electorate, and the collapse of the Goldwater campaign heralded a slow but steady deterioration of public support for domestic anti-communist nativism. Public attention shifted to the problems posed by the growing civil rights movement and the minor irritation of sending a handful of military advisers to an anti-communist skirmish in the small Asian nation called Vietnam.

Throughout the period, private counter-subversion groups continued to operate.

## Private Counter-subversion Groups of the 1960's

### Church League of America

The Church League of America claimed to have the largest collection of files on "subversives" outside of the government channels, and admitted using infiltrators to collect information. The League boasted of its skill in using miniature cameras and tape recorders. For many years the League offered to check four names using their computerized files for any private citizen who made a donation of \$150 and passed a background check. The file check included a year's subscription to the Church League's two newsletters, *News and Views* and *National Laymen's Digest*.

Some of the Church League files were inherited from Karl Baarslag, a former research director for Senator Joe McCarthy's investigative subcommittee. Baarslag's "subversive" files were sold to Wackenhut Corporation, a private security firm. The remaining 700,000 pages of files were turned over to the Church League.

### Research West

California's Research West formed the foundation of its files on political activists when in 1969 it obtained the subversive files of the Western Research Foundation. For many years the Foundation years supplied information to anti-union corporate customers such as Pacific Gas and Electric, the Hearst newspapers, and Standard Oil of California.

One Research West contractor, Georgia Power, collected files on anti-nuclear activists. Georgia Power, incidently, contracted with the ubiquitous John Rees. Both Pacific Gas and Electric and Georgia Power hired Research West for "security investigations" which critics charge included supplying information about the activities of anti-nuclear groups.

One Research West snoop boasted to a friend over dinner that while he worked at Research West,

the group was infiltrating and spying on anti-nuclear groups all over the country. The researcher's affiliation with Research West was later verified by phone. (Research West nonetheless denied the charge). The researcher probably felt safe in boasting about his counter-subversive activities because at the time his claims were overhead he was dining in a restaurant in northern Wisconsin where local businesses still proudly display their autographed photographs of Joseph McCarthy.

Research West no longer is in operation and no information on the disposition of its files could be found.

### **Combat**

A brief flash in the pan was *Combat*, which first appeared in the Spring of 1968. Published by National Review, it was edited by Theodore Lit and Ruth I. Matthews and sported Eugene Lyons of *Reader's Digest* fame as editorial advisor. The editorial credo was succinct: "*Combat* intends to make clear to its readers the intricate plans and action programs of the radical forces now at work undermining the American way of life."

### **On Target**

*On Target* was the "Intelligence Newsletter of the Minutemen Organization," and sports a rifle cross-hairs inside the Letter "O" on the newsletter's flag. Issued sporadically, one typical issue listed the "active members, recruiters and chapter leaders" of Science for the People, a group that attempts to demystify technology. The same issue also included a list of "pro-communist and ultra-liberal meetings and programs held at the University of Kansas" in Lawrence.

According to *On Target*, "*Most parents who send their kids to college have no idea how much pro-communist activity exists on most college campuses today.*" Among the "*pro-communist. . . ultra-liberal*" events at the University of Kansas, according to *On Target* were speech on "organized Crime in America" sponsored by the Ecumenical Christian Missionaries; and a dance sponsored by Gay and Lesbian Services of Kansas.

## **Private Counter-subversion Networks in the 1970's**

### **Political Spying & Private Security**

A certain percentage of private security and investigative agencies will engage in spying if the motivation or fee is high enough. Many of them are staffed by former government intelligence officers who resented the short pay, long hours and most especially the tiresome restrictions designed to keep public investigations within constitutional guidelines.

In his introduction to "The Private Sector," O'Toole noted that the network "can serve as an informal and invisible nexus, linking both public and private police outside officially regulated channels."

"It can become de facto a national police force; what it lacks in organization and formal structure, it makes up for in ubiquity....the prospect of a shadowy army of a million private cops ready to do the bidding of whoever will pay their wages is enough to make even the most ardent law-and-order advocate a little nervous."

To back up this contention, O'Toole documents some of his favorite atrocity stories:

- In Indianapolis, a retired air force lockpicking expert broke into the offices of U.S. Senator Vance Hartke. The burglar's accomplices planted bugging devices and collected political intelligence as part of a political espionage and dirty tricks campaign to unseat Hartke and replace him with conservative Republican, carried out by International Investigations, Inc., a private detective firm. The firm may have been involved in as many as 100 other burglaries related to political dirty tricks.
- In Maryland, a state senate investigating committee heard testimony that a former police officer employed in the security department of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company helped the Baltimore police install illegal wiretaps. The police also illegally obtained information from a local credit bureau.
- In California a former police officer, Jerry Ducote, committed 17 political burglaries against anti-war

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groups and the United Farmworkers during a two-year period. Ducote, formerly with the John Birch Society, claims he supplied stolen information to the right-wing American Security Council, Western Research Foundation, and later Research West, Inc. While these groups denied Ducote's charge, there is no denying that documents and mailing lists stolen from several groups were passed through the private and public political intelligence network and ended up in the files of the FBI, CIA, House Un-American Activities Committee, and even the paramilitary Minutemen, who sent death threats to some people on one list of anti-war activists.

- In Houston, several police officers said their illegal wiretaps were installed with the help of Southwestern Bell's security force, a staff which is one-third composed of former FBI agents. The FBI was alleged to be the receiver of much of the information gleaned from the illegal wiretaps which were aimed at collecting information about local political activists.

While there is a certain degree of competition among the various participants within the network, there is also copious information sharing and a demonstrable willingness to join forces for specific investigations. Many of the participants in the network move from job to job, into and out of the private sector, always building up their list of contacts.

### Public/Private Interface

The problem of private sector spies collaborating with their public counterparts is certainly not new, and hardly a well-kept secret. One famous Sherlock Holmes story is based on the infiltration of the Pennsylvania coal miners' society, the so-called Molly Maguires, by a Pinkerton agent who was hired by mine owners to set up the militant workers on charges of violence. Several mine workers were hanged following a trial where almost all of the evidence came from the uncorroborated testimony of the Pinkerton spy.

In his book, "Political Repression in Modern America," Robert Goldstein documents hundreds of cases where public officials worked with corporate security agents to crush union organizing or silence dissidents. During the turbulent organizing drives of the 1930's, one Congressional committee found that the use of private spies by employers to infiltrate

and disrupt labor unions was a "common, almost universal practice in American industry." According to Goldstein, "When a company's won resources failed to break the union organizational efforts or strikes, corporations could rely upon intervention by local police, state militia or federal troops, especially in major disputes."

In the late 1970's and early 1980's a number of civil liberties groups sought an investigation of the public/private counter-subversion spying network, especially in the area of employment. Linda Lotz of the Campaign for Political Rights pointed out that "the fact that this type of activity, where corporations and law enforcement officials work together to spy on unions still continues today is not well known." In an introduction to a packet of information on the growing threat of private sector spying, the Campaign for Political Rights warned that there was a trend towards "corporations collecting information about political activists and giving that information to law enforcement officials who have been forbidden to collect information about citizens involved in lawful political activity."

### Suburban Spying

Doris Strieter and George Elliott had a lot in common. They were both white, middle-class Americans who raised their families in the Chicago suburb of Maywood. Their children attended the same Lutheran day school. They both were interested in politics.

George Elliott once covered the Chicago area political scene through the lens of his camera as a volunteer photographer for *Second City*, a since vanished alternative newspaper. He could be seen at various demonstrations during the late 60s and early 70s with a 35mm camera draped around his neck. for a while he attended meetings of the Chicago Peace Council.

Doris Strieter's political involvement began when she and her husband Thomas, a Lutheran minister, moved to Maywood, a community that in the late 1960's was attempting to integrate peacefully. "We became involved in civil rights activities on the local level," recalls Ms. Strieter, who in 1969 helped organize a multi-racial slate of candidates for municipal office in Maywood. four

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years later, Doris Strieter herself was elected to the Maywood Village Board of Trustees.

Because of their outspoken views and public activities, both Strieter and Elliott gained a reputation as political activists. They had more than that in common. Both became involved, in very different ways, in the world of private political spies for hire. One of them was spied upon, the other was a spy.

George Elliott was the spy. A former Cook County sheriff's officer turned private investigator, Elliott infiltrated and spied on numerous progressive groups in the Chicago area for the Chicago Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Elliott spied on the Chicago Peace Council, *Second City* newspaper, the Guild Bookstore, and the Chicago-based Revolutionary Union—according to members of those groups. He also monitored the activities of several of the plaintiffs in lawsuits filed in the mid 1970's charging the Chicago Police Department's investigative unit, the “Red Squad,” with unlawful surveillance activities.

Elliott apparently was neither an FBI agent nor a Red Squad cop but a free-lance contract informant who simultaneously worked as an investigator for several private companies. Activists who believe themselves victims of his spying worried that he could offer industrial clients a sophisticated knowledge of which progressive groups were involved in strikes, labor disputes, and union organizing drives.

Not much more can be said about George Elliott partly because of a strict protective court order limiting the release of information, and partly because people engaged in the private spy network are loath to divulge information about themselves and their activities.

In connection with the Chicago police-spying litigation, Elliott gave a deposition in which he was questioned about his role as an informant for public intelligence groups. When it came to discussing private sector clients, however, Elliott invoked an Illinois law that allows private investigators to remain silent.

Elliott is one of a small but significant number of private security personnel who engage in political spying. There are more than a million private

security employees in this country, a larger number than work in public law enforcement. Private security has become a multi-billion-dollar-a-year industry. Most agents are guards or rent-a-cops employed to reduce pilferage or provide site security. Some, however, are political spies. Their job is to collect intelligence to help clients neutralize and discredit individuals and organizations working for social change, labor reform, or better working conditions.

Although many of the private political spies maintain close ties and information-sharing arrangements with public law enforcement agencies, and although many of the private groups are staffed by former (and in some cases current) police and intelligence officers, it appears that virtually all the spying and dossier collection by the private groups is legal. Many of these spying activities would be illegal if carried out by “official” public law-enforcement agencies, yet these agencies have easy access to the information collected by the “private” groups. This was the heart of the controversy in San Francisco in 1993. This type of spying was not uncommon in Chicago during the 1960's and 1970's—Doris Strieter can vouch for that.

Doris Strieter was a victim. She had heard rumors that her neighbor George Elliott was spying on community groups for the police, but she never had any proof. There is no evidence that George Elliott spied on Doris Strieter herself, although he was aware of her activities. Someone was spying on Strieter, though, and in the course of the police-surveillance litigation she obtained copies of the file on her kept by the Chicago Police Department Intelligence Unit. Her real surprise came when the Red Squad files revealed that the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) had spied on her political activities in Illinois. It happened in 1975, when ITT sent an agent to infiltrate a meeting of activists concerned about ongoing human-rights violations in Chile following the overthrow of the elected government of Salvador Allende. Doris Strieter chaired part of the weekend conference, and a description of her appears in the report prepared for ITT.

### ITT Attends a Conference

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The documents released to Strieter tell an interesting story. In February of 1975, an ITT spy boarded a bus in New York with 18 other persons headed for the Second National Conference in Solidarity with Chile, which was going to be held at Concordia College in River Forest, Illinois. An ITT surveillance photographer had snapped 11 photographs of the delegation as they boarded the bus. The photographs, a memo identifying the people photographed, and an eight page report on the conference itself eventually turned up in the files of the Chicago Police Red Squad. Included in the reports prepared by the ITT investigator was a description of Doris Strieter:

“Unidentified white female described as a trustee of Maywood, Illinois. Husband believed to Lutheran minister. May have been in Chile as late as 1974.”

Doris Strieter was a little perplexed that the ITT spy failed to recall her name. “The rest of the information the spy gave was very accurate,” said Strieter.

It was in her capacity as an elected official that she was asked to participate in a fact-finding mission to investigate violations of human rights in Chile. “Commission members included trade unionists, educators, and people from the religious community,” said Strieter, “and they wanted someone from the political community. So they asked me, I suppose because I am basically very straight—there’s probably a better word—I didn’t have a radical history; in fact, I had just been appointed by the governor to serve on a regional planning board.”

The 12-member mission went to Chile in February of 1974 and returned to write a report that charged “flagrant violations of human rights, systematic use of terror and torture, economic chaos and strong evidence of U.S. involvement in the coup.” Upon her return, Doris Strieter joined the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile. “After going down there, there was no way I could remain uninvolved,” she said. As chairwoman of the Chicago Committee, Doris Strieter co-sponsored the Second National Conference in Solidarity with Chile. Other organizers included Congressman Andrew Young, Gloria Steinem ]]]sp?, and scores

of religious, trade union and community leaders.

The conference call listed five priority areas: freeing political prisoners, seeking legislation cutting off military aid to the junta, raising money to help exiles and prisoners facing trial, blocking further covert CIA intervention in Latin America, and exposing the role of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in destabilizing the Allende government. Among other activities suggested for discussion were “solidarity vigils, boycotts...and support for U.S. workers confronting Kennecott, Anaconda, and other multinational corporations whose role in Chile has been brutally documented.” One of those multinationals was ITT.

“I don’t remember there being much discussion of ITT at the conference. I know for a fact nothing major was discussed since we agreed not to focus on ITT because other companies were reinvesting in Chile,” said Strieter.

Still the ITT spy was able to fill eight single-spaced, typewritten pages when he was debriefed by ITT’s “manager of major investigations,” John Rogeberg. Rogeberg, later chief investigator for ITT, prepared the report and sent it along with the photographs and the identification memo to FBI agent James Vermeersch, who in 1975 was part of a special New York FBI squad tracking down Weather Underground fugitives. Vermeersch has admitted in court that as part of the investigation he participated in 15 or 20 “black bag jobs,” the coy FBI term for unauthorized, surreptitious entries—in colloquial English they would be called burglaries.

Vermeersch sent a copy of the ITT intelligence reports to his friend Kurk I. Klossner, a special agent in the FBI’s Chicago office, and in a hand-written note asked Klossner to “review & return” the documents “within a week,” adding, “I’d appreciate any suggestions on our handling of this.” Klossner may have followed those instructions, but he also apparently forwarded a copy of the material to his contact in the Chicago Police Red Squad.

The ITT reports would have remained tucked peacefully in a manila envelope in a drawer in the Red Squad’s voluminous file room had it not been for a series of law suits seeking to block the surveillance and harassment of social change activists. “Our obtaining these documents was a

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quirk of fate,” said Richard Gutman, attorney for the Alliance to End Repression. He explained that U.S. District Judge Joseph Perry impounded the entire collection of Red Squad files on March 28, 1975, after learning that the police were in the process of burning hundreds of thousands of pages of intelligence dossiers rather than run the risk that they would become public. The Red Squad (which knew well in advance about the filing of the lawsuits since it had infiltrated the Alliance to End Repression, the organization preparing the first case) had not yet finished destroying the sensitive documents when the court seized the files, including the ITT reports, which were just a month old.

Along with identifying nearly 50 participants in the Chile solidarity conference, the report detailed the various proposals submitted for discussion. A capsule analysis of the event was surprisingly erudite, if somewhat rhetorical:

“To the extent it has been possible to determine the purpose or nature of the conference, it might be characterized as a radical summit conference with a central theme of fascists oppression, crimes, and atrocities in Chile as an object lesson for the United States. It appears that around this theme an effort is now being made to unify diverse radical groups in the United States in a sustained campaign against the common enemies of United States imperialism, exploitative capitalism, the CIA and the U.S. intelligence community generally, multinational corporations, etc.”

A militant agenda, perhaps, if one is to take at face value the words of the ITT spy, but certainly an agenda that is amply covered by the First Amendment. “What happened at the conference was not at all subversive, not at all illegal,” said Strieter. “There were discussions and disagreements over focusing on a single issue or general anti-imperialism, and the decision was made at that point to stick with the issue of Chile.” A spokesperson for the National Chile Center and the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile blasted the ITT spying when it was revealed in October 1980, saying: “None of the organizations victimized by ITT spying have ever discussed, planned, or engaged in any activities that could even remotely cause ITT to fear for the security of its property or

the safety of its employees. ITT could not have infiltrated and spied on us for any legitimate defensive purpose. It did so in order to assess, and if possible to disrupt, our efforts to expose ITT's flagrant abuses of corporate power.”

ITT's response to press accounts of its corporate political spying was predictable. A spokesperson for the multinational communications conglomerate issued a press release that simultaneously denied ITT ever “maintained a program of political spying and infiltration” and authenticated the ITT documents found in the Red Squad files, admitting the information on the memo was “obtained by an ITT employee.”

What was ITT's explanation for its political spying? Terrorism. Referring to a series of “terrorist threats, bombings, and attacks,” the ITT spokesperson said, “The company cooperated with law enforcement agencies in investigating such crimes in an attempt to protect its personnel and property from further terrorist activities.”

“Baloney,” retorted Richard Gutman. The spying and infiltration “certainly was not to detect crime,” he said. “An examination of the reports indicate the ITT gathered information not of criminal activity but rather the lawful First Amendment activity such as the organizing of peaceful protests and boycotts against ITT.” Gutman said that it was possible that ITT was planning to neutralize the efforts of the anti-junta activists. “Intelligence gathering such as this inevitably leads to disruption,” he said.

And there were signs of disruption at the Chile solidarity conference. “A number of people had materials stolen,” said Strieter. “My briefcase was stolen, and at one point the River Forest Police arrived saying they had heard a rumor that Angela Davis was appearing.” ITT's claim that they were investigating terrorists is angrily dismissed by Strieter. “If ITT was in the business of rating groups that threatened their corporate security, we would have been very low on the list. Our group never had any history of violent or illegal activity. It can't be an isolated instance. If they spied on us, they must have done it with other groups.”

Strieter's suspicions were confirmed by Gutman, who said he found evidence he cannot

reveal that ITT monitored other groups involved in anti-junta organizing. Gutman is constrained from discussing the details by the court protective order.

### The Good Ole Boys in Milledgeville

Surveillance of union meetings can have a devastating effect on organizing drives by labor unions as a now-settled lawsuit against J.P. Stevens documents. The incident occurred in the normally quiet and emphatically anti-union town of Milledgeville, Georgia, where Mayor Robert Rice decided to do something about the presence of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union organizers seeking to unionize the J.P. Stevens textile plant on the outskirts of town.

Mayor Rice called representatives from J.P. Stevens, Grumman Aerospace and several other local industries to City Hall in 1976 to discuss the problem. According to testimony Mayor Rice gave as part of a settlement in the lawsuit filed by the union, he suggested to the corporate representatives that the Milledgeville police “monitor the meetings of union organizers to obtain [license] tag numbers.” The list of car licenses could then be run through the town's nifty computer (part of the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System) which had access to Georgia's motor vehicle license files. A typed list of who the cars were registered to would be provided to the companies to “check against their personnel file folders,” said the Mayor. “Everyone thought this would be a good idea,” recalls the Mayor, so he directed the Milledgeville Police to start surveillance.

For two and one-half years, between the summer of 1976 and early 1979, Milledgeville police monitored the activities of the union organizers and reported the license plate numbers of workers who attended meetings. One of the officers conducting the surveillance later said he believed “the workers whose names and license plate numbers we provided would be fired.” In the summer of 1978, local newspapers began airing charges that the union organizing meetings were being watched by police. Following the news articles, attendance at the meetings dropped from over 40 to 1.

ACTWU organizer Melvin Tate said after the stories about the surveillance began to circulate,

workers told him they were afraid to be seen with him and other organizers. “They believe that some workers who have met with ACTWU have lost their jobs because the employers found out about their participation in meetings,” said Tate.

During the height of the surveillance, local police were so “worn to a frazzle” by the spying activity that Mayor Rice asked for and received corporate assistance for the spying. According to Rice, “Grumman Aerospace...graciously consented to send two of their security men...to help and assist the Milledgeville Police Department's surveillance work.” The Grumman gumshoes were reputed to be former CIA agents, but their work did not impress the Mayor, and they left after 10 days. The police spying did have its intended effect, however, “It was quite obvious that from the way the attendance had dropped off at the meetings that we had been successful in our surveillance work and that Union activities had stopped,” Mayor Rice stated.

Even the Macon News, which admitted it is not “overly enamored of organized labor,” was worried about the Milledgeville spying incident. In an editorial it pointed out that “when a large industry enlists the police power of its host community to compel workers not to join unions through intimidation and harassment, we are entirely too close to the police state for comfort.”

### Lockheed Security & the FBI Old Boy Network

When Lockheed security specialist Robert Lang wanted to find out if some of the rank-and-file union militants in the Georgia assembly plant were members of the Socialist Workers Party, he simply picked up the phone and called his “personal acquaintance” John Donahue in the New York FBI office. Lang and Donahue had worked together in the FBI for ten years before Lang left for the Lockheed post.

Lang had learned from one of his several “confidential informants” in the plant workforce that dissident union members had “circulated communist literature” at the International Association of Machinists Union Hall. Lang's supervisor, E.J. Garbers, member of the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, told Lang to investigate the activities of the Socialist Workers

Party in the plant.

Lang's call to Donahue in the New York FBI office included a request to check out some of the names of workers being investigated. A few days later, when Lang called Donahue again, he was told the FBI had voluminous information relating to two of the suspected SWP members. Lang called several other FBI "acquaintances" but gained no new information.

Lockheed's agents spied on suspected SWP members at work, their cars were tailed, their homes watched, and their conversations were monitored according to sworn testimony by Lang. His admissions were backed up by Lockheed "industrial relations" documents produced at Lang's deposition in the SWP's massive lawsuit against illegal surveillance and disruption. One document showed cooperation between Lockheed security and a local Police Intelligence Division agent who reported his unit had an undercover officer spying on the swp, and that the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms unit had "instituted monthly meeting" of local police intelligence squads where the SWP was "discussed in some length." At those meeting, the Lockheed memo reports, "the SWP was characterized as a 'terrorist organization prone to violence.'"

The SWP may be many things, but it is not a terrorist organization prone to violence. Still, the Lockheed investigators pursued their research until they had identified over one dozen suspected SWP members and sympathizers in the plant. A thorough investigation of these persons' employment applications uncovered enough exaggerations and discrepancies for Lockheed to move to dismiss the workers for falsifying their records. The real motivation for the application review, however, was clearly to neutralize the activities of political activists at Lockheed.

Not all of the fifteen workers dismissed were SWP members according to Andree Kahlmorgan, a 28-year-old SWP member who toured the country to raise support for the fired workers. "I've talked to union people all over the country," reported Kahlmorgan, "and they all have a story to tell about company spies at union meetings, or electronic surveillance."

Information frequently flows from private spies into public intelligence coffers. Sometimes, however, the relationship is even more cozy.

Depositions taken in connection with a Chicago Socialist Workers Party lawsuit produced claims by several former members of the Legion of Justice, a right-wing vigilante group active in Chicago during the antiwar period, that the group cooperated with both federal and local intelligence units. The cooperation extended to collection information for the agencies through illegal activities such as office break-ins and thefts.

Twice in the 1950's, the National Lawyers Guild held its national convention in Chicago, and both times wiretaps and black-bag jobs produced information for the Red Squad and the FBI. The techniques could have escaped detection only through active assistance of hotel security personnel, according to the Guild.

### Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI

Private security personnel are often happy to assist their public counterparts; in many cases the private intelligence agents earned their spurs in the employ of governmental investigative agencies. Government agents migrate into private employment with such frequency that former FBI agents have their own organization, the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI. One cynical FBI alumnus has dubbed the group, "Hoover's Loyal Legion."

A 1975 FBI Society list (the last edition to slip out of the highly secretive group's tight fist) showed that in that year there were almost 7,000 former FBI agents employed nationwide and paying dues to the Society.

It would be unfair to suggest that all former FBI agents are as obsessed as J. Edgar Hoover used to be with rooting out subversives. And certainly, not all former FBI agents engage in nefarious activities. But some do.

In Houston, several police officers said their illegal wiretaps were installed with the help of Southwestern Bell's security force, a staff that is one-third composed of former FBI agents. The FBI was alleged to be the receiver of much of the information gleaned from the illegal wiretaps, which

were aimed at collecting information about local political activists.

Of the over 100 former FBI agents listed as Society members in Chicago in 1975, more than half were in law enforcement or with private security firms or in corporate posts dealing with security, investigations, personnel management, or labor relations. Among the Chicago firms with former FBI agents in these posts, according to the 1975 list, were: Standard Oil, E.J. Brach Candies, Purolator Security, American Airlines, United Airlines, R.R. Donnelly & Sons, Illinois Bell, Walgreen's, Canteen Corporation, Edward Hines Lumber, Continental Can, Playboy, Beatrice Foods, Texaco, and Marshall Field's.

Lest there be any doubt that the FBI Society sees itself as a network encouraging professional interaction among its members, it should be noted that the Society's membership list is organized alphabetically, geographically by state and city, and alphabetically by corporations for which Society members work. The list is a ready reference manual for information gathering and sharing among private security officers and their public counterparts.

In his book "The Private Sector: Rent-a-Cops, Private Spies and the Police Industrial Complex," former CIA employee George O'Toole wrote that "the Society is not a collection of superannuated federal pensioners....Many of the members served less than three years with the FBI....For them a tour with the Bureau was a kind of internship, a career step." According to O'Toole, a loyal FBI alumnus working in the private security field "can often be more useful in achieving the Bureau's goals than a special agent on active duty with the FBI. The Society appears to be an instrument of this policy - its Executive Services Committee is a placement bureau aimed at populating the most powerful security positions in both the public and private sectors with former FBI agents."

A glance at the Society's 1975 roster certainly proves O'Toole's contention about positions of influence, nationwide, there were over 100 Society members working for telephone company security forces alone, and there were high concentrations of FBI Society members among the security staffs of auto and aircraft manufacturers, oil companies,

insurance companies, and private detective agencies. There were no fewer than 18 FBI Society members working for the conservative Wackenhut detective agency, an agency whose extensive files on leftists were eventually turned over to the Church League in Wheaton, where they were available to both public and private intelligence agencies.

A controversy over the FBI Society flared up in Chicago when it was discovered that a federal appeals court judge who was hearing cases involving alleged FBI misconduct in Chicago had been an FBI agent and was identified in the 1979 edition of Who's Who as a member of the FBI Society. Wilbur F. Pell was one of three judges hearing arguments in connection with the 1969 raid that left Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead and several other Panthers seriously wounded. Among the allegations in the subsequent lawsuit were charges that the FBI had instigated, encouraged, and assisted in the planning of the raid.

Not surprisingly, Pell issued a stinging dissent to the majority ruling which overturned a lower court decision favoring the police and FBI and ordered a new trial in the Panther civil suit. Pell felt that charges against the FBI had no merit. Attorneys for the Panther survivors tried unsuccessfully to have Pell removed from the case after they learned of his FBI ties and Society membership. Pell said he stopped paying Society dues in 1977.

According to a brief filed by Panther attorneys from the Peoples Law Office (Chicago), Pell should have disqualified himself. The attorneys pointed out that one defendant in the case, former Chicago FBI chief Marlin Johnson, was also a member of the Society. The then Cook County state's attorney, Bernard Carey, whose office was defending the county officials charged in the lawsuit, was also listed as a Society member. Furthermore, according to Peoples Law Office attorney G. Flint Taylor, "The Society had spawned an informational and financial auxiliary that organized support and raised over \$400,000 to help defray legal expenses of agents charged with abuses of civil liberties."

Later the Society claimed credit for an agreement with the Justice Department that Justice would pick up certain expenses of the agents, who in the words of the Society, were "defending themselves against

the many harassing civil suits which have been pressed by left-wing groups and individuals.” This philosophy was encapsulated in a policy statement issued by the Society that said that “any criminal prosecution of FBI agents [for actions] taken totally without criminal intent, while performing their duties with honor and determination to protect the country from criminals and subversives, is completely unwarranted.”

The Society does more than issue statements, however, and in 1976 adopted a new activist statement of purpose that stressed involvement in efforts to foster increased public respect for law enforcement officials and “protect American security from destructive forces, foreign or domestic.” A brief filed by the Peoples law Office on the motion that Judge Pell disqualify himself from the Panther case contained the vague charge that the Society was reported (it was not said by whom) to have an agreement with the FBI by which it would serve as an auxiliary in times of need. Under this supposed understanding, whenever the Bureau needed to apprehend numbers of citizens for preventative political detention under its secret Agitator and Security Index programs, the Society members would be ready to be deputized to assist in the round up.

If such an agreement seems hard to believe, consider that former members of the Legion of Justice in Chicago report that they also were told by people introduced as government agents that the Legion might be asked to help round up radicals for preventive detention in an emergency. In fact, according to documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, the roundup had two operational names, Lantern Spike and Garden Plot, and training manuals for the operation were actually produced by the U.S. military.

## The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit

For close to 250 local and state police intelligence units, the problem of how to spy on dissidents was solved by membership in the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU). As journalist David Kaplan saw it, the LEIU was a “private, federally-funded network of computerized files.”

Who was in the files? “Among the subjects catalogued in LEIU files have been minority, labor and community organizers, many with no criminal records,” wrote Kaplan.

The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit was formed in 1956 at a San Francisco meeting of representatives of 26 law enforcement agencies from seven western states. LEIU was later expanded to encompass agencies from many other states. The official purpose of the group was “to promote the gathering, recording, and exchange of confidential information not available through normal police channels, concerning organized crime.” The unofficial purpose was to establish a national criminal intelligence network independent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose agents frequently refused to share information with local law enforcement officers.<sup>35</sup>

By 1962, the LEIU had clearly expanded the scope of its interest to include noncriminal activity. That year, a regional meeting in San Francisco included a discussion of “police intelligence units’ role in securing information concerning protest groups, demonstrations, and mob violence,” according to an FBI summary. Seventy-two persons attended that meeting, and in addition to local and state law enforcement officials, the FBI noted the presence of representatives from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Department of Labor, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and several military investigative units.

The evidence of LEIU’s political spying surfaced in the form of hundreds of five-by-eight-inch index cards on so-called “organized crime” figures distributed to member police agencies. LEIU’s rather novel definition of “organized crime” was sufficiently broad to include card dossiers reporting the lawful political activities of anti-war, Black, tribal, community, and labor organizers. This discovery flatly contradicted repeated claims by LEIU officers testifying before congressional committees that their files pertained solely to criminal activities.

During politically volatile 1970, LEIU’s national and regional conferences held discussions revealing a preoccupation with monitoring dissidents. Among the topics analyzed that year were: “national militant

## The Hunt for Red Menace

problems,” “international influence on current disorders,” dissident and militant funding,” revolution in the streets -intelligence aspects,” “viewpoints on campus disorders,” “Students for a Democratic Society,” and “permissiveness.”

With workshop topics such as these it is hardly surprising that local LEIU members began submitting information on political activists to the group's California clearing house. A 1979 investigation of LEIU by the Detroit Board of Police Commissioners found that scores of LEIU subject cards contained information on persons “not apparently related to criminal activities.” This conclusion is documented by the LEIU cards found in the Chicago Red Squad files.

One LEIU card found in the Chicago files reported on California activist Leland Lubinsky. It described him as a “recognized leader in Peace movements [who] has operated Draft Evasion Counciling [sic] Peace Demonstrations locally.” It said that so far as was known, Lubinsky had never been arrested. Lubinsky's card, like other LEIU cards, included a photograph, along with information on his physical description, associates, family, vital statistics, last known address vehicle and license numbers, hangouts, and modus operandi. LEIU cards were cross-indexed by Social Security number, driver's license number, and FBI number.

Professor Michael Lerner was described on an LEIU card as a “Marxist scholar, political activist, leader with Seattle Liberation Front, present at many demonstrations, in Seattle.” Anne Braden, a long-time community and labor organizer with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was listed as assisting “in organizing many radical groups and publications in the Southern U.S.” Among the “criminal” activities listed for American Indian Movement activists Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt was the damning news that the pair “travels extensively.”

Much of the information on California activist Michael Zinzun's LEIU card was simply inaccurate. The card failed to note that several arrests were on charges later dismissed, and had him belonging to the Black Panther Party well after he had left that organization. Zinzun has never heard of the “Triad”

real estate group that the LEIU card said he was “believed to be associated with,” and repeated attempts to locate or even prove the existence of the “Triad” group have been unsuccessful. Among Zinzun's reputed associates was one Nathan N. Holden, a former California state senator whose only association with Zinzun was to collect rent - Holden was once Zinzun's landlord.

The lack of accuracy and plethora of unverified reports and innuendos in the LEIU files prompted investigations of the LEIU by local, state and federal agencies. The federal General Accounting Office found that only a small percent of the information recorded on the LEIU cards could be completely documented. Responding to the mounting criticisms of the files by the GAO and other investigative groups, LEIU in 1979 removed 145 subject cards. The cards were purged to meet new LEIU guidelines designed to strike a balance between “the civil rights and liberties of American citizens and the need of law enforcement to collect and disseminate criminal intelligence,” according to an LEIU memo.

High-sounding words, but as critics have pointed out, the policy could have been re-evaluated and changed by the LEIU board as soon as the controversy died down. Besides, LEIU will not reveal what cards were destroyed and what cards were retained. According to Tom Parsons, a spokesperson for the Seattle Coalition on Government Spying, there were “continuing indications of LEIU willingness to share political information through its bulletins and files under the guise that it is information about 'terrorism.’” Parsons feels the most crucial problem is that the “LEIU continues to operate outside of public control or accountability.” Unless public oversight and accountability are established, said Parsons, the “positive steps...taken by LEIU could be reversed - in secret, with no notice to the public.”

The LEIU gets away with hiding its activities from public scrutiny because it claims to be a private organization -despite the fact that it is composed of law enforcement agencies that use tax dollars to pay dues and fees. The LEIU is shielded from federal and state laws governing the conduct of intelligence gathering and dissemination, and escapes the probing eye of the federal Freedom of

Information Act.

Given the flawed quality of the LEIU's data, it is perhaps surprising the federal government spent close to two million dollars on a scheme to computerize it. The General Accounting Office found that the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a now-terminated program to supply federal funds to beef up local police forces, awarded eight grants totaling over \$1.7 million to research and establish the Interstate Organized Crime Index (IOCI). The Index was a partial computerization of the LEIU cards and public record information that could be used only by LEIU members, who requested searches by calling a toll-free number at a computer facility in Sacramento, California.

The IOCI computer could also keep track of which police units submitted data, so that requesting police agencies could be directed to the source of the information to trade details totally outside the data bank. The General Accounting Office was bothered by the lack of safeguards regarding the verification of the computerized data and the security of the information dissemination. "We believe intelligence-gathering projects, because they are secretive and sensitive, need to be closely scrutinized. IOCI was not," concluded the GAO study. GAO investigators were particularly concerned that "in many cases, contributing member agencies did not provide public record support for entries in the index, although a special condition of the (LEAA) grants required entries to be based on such information."

Some LEIU critics charge that the whole LEIU/IOCI scheme was an intentional attempt to circumvent congressional mandates prohibiting the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration from establishing a federally funded national police network and centralized dossier system. One of these critics is Sheila O'Donnell, a private investigator who specializes in political surveillance cases. O'Donnell points to a 1974 meeting between officials of the FBI and LEAA. On that occasion, according to an FBI memo, LEAA assistant administrator Richard Velde tried to establish a "joint FBI-LEIU operation" to create a "national communication network" for dissemination of

information about "terrorists and extremists" during the Bicentennial.

The FBI rejected the plan because it was "questionable from a legal standpoint" and not feasible because of the "political climate." Another FBI memo, written a month later, reports strained relations between the LEAA and the FBI, with the LEAA threatening to withhold funds from FBI related projects.

Within the next few months the LEAA awarded almost half a million dollars in grants to evaluate and implement an on-line computer system for the IOCI. One grant, for \$324,000, had to be rewritten so as not to be in violation of pending federal legislation "dealing with privacy and security," according to the General Accounting Office. That same year, Velde co-signed an LEAA grant for \$77,000 that in effect transferred some of the support services for the IOCI computer index from a California law-enforcement foundation to a newly incorporated private company called Search Group, Inc. Search Group itself was originally a "consortium of representatives from each state, appointed by their respective governors," the GAO found. SEARCH stood for "System for Electronic Analysis and Retrieval of Criminal Histories."

The \$77,000 LEAA grant was administered by Paul K. Wormeli, who three years later, in 1977, was deputy administrator for administration of the LEAA and in that capacity cosigned (along with Richard Velde) a grant for \$299,999 to continue and update the manual IOCI system and also fund the "acquisition, installation, and operation of the minicomputer system." As a Detroit Police Board investigator remarked concerning the merry-go-round of funders and fundees involved in the LEIU-IOCI network. "It is difficult to discern where one agency begins and the other one ends."

The maze got thicker. Search Group, Inc. was given over \$3 million in LEAA funds during the three-year period ending June 30, 1977. Search Group's revised bylaws of 1977 state that its corporate membership consists of "one representative of each state...appointed by the chief executive thereof and four representatives appointed by the administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration." In 1976 and 1977, LEAA's

administrator was Richard Velde.

The report of the Detroit investigation noted that “while registered as a 'private agency,' there are indications that the LEIU interfaces in a unique manner with public agencies....The LEIU appears to operate as a public agency, but one which is not subject to governmental oversight or control.”

Even the FBI was worried about the LEIU's computerized intelligence network. One FBI memo remarks of an incident involving LEIU's information system, “This is indeed an outstanding example of one of the worst features of any kind of a national clearinghouse as such for criminal information. It would also seem to be an indictment of the LEIU and the high-sounding purposes promoted for this organization....” Of course, one must remember that the FBI and the LEAA were feuding over who should control the electronic spy empire.

Once the LEIU data base was computerized, another LEAA grantee was funded to help speed along the information among LEIU members and beyond. The National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System (NLETS) is, according to its corporate charter, a nonprofit corporation established to facilitate the exchange of operational and administrative data among police departments. In June 1973, LEAA approved a grant of \$1.2 million to NLETS to improve the speed of the NLETS Teletype system and make it available to more police forces.

“NLETS provides police departments in each state with direct access to a teletype system that can be used to collect and compare information in both the FBI and LEIU computer files,” said the O'Donnell. “Agencies at all levels of government can now be tied into a nationwide intelligence network of dossiers on political dissidents.” NLETS, following the pattern of Project Search, has incorporated itself as a private firm. “What has happened is that the federal government has spent millions of dollars to fund an old boys network of political spies who want to circumvent the Constitution and federal regulations,” charges O'Donnell.

### **Tax Dollars at Work**

The Law Enforcement Assistance

Administration funded several other California projects during Ronald Reagan's governorship that fit into the puzzle of the public/private political spy network, including the Western Regional Organized Crime Training Institute (WROTCI) and the California Specialized Training Institute (CSTI).

Since 1971, WROTCI has taught over 4,000 police such techniques as electronic surveillance, infiltration and informant development, but organized crime is not the only target. One police official in California admitted the Institute taught his men how to conduct surveillance on unions and anti-nuclear activists as well. WROTCI was operated by the same California state agency that administered the LEAA-funded LEIU/OICI computerized dossier system. Two other training centers similar to WROTCI were established in Florida and Ohio.

The California Specialized Training Institute has graduated thousands of state military, police and national guard personnel; and its Officer Survival and Internal Security Course is taught by a staff which “includes men with a considerable background in the areas of insurgency and counter-insurgency, social factors and urban unrest, political systems, terrorism, internal defense and security, and intelligence systems,” bragged the Commandant of the Institute in a letter to LEAA. The letter noted a carbon copy being sent to then-governor Ronald Reagan's Executive Assistant, Edwin Meese III. Much of the LEAA funding of political surveillance networks in California occurred when Reagan was Governor. Meese later became a top Reagan aide and then was appointed Attorney General. He had a reputation as a hard-liner on domestic intelligence issues, and spoke favorably of a Heritage Foundation study calling for increased cooperation between public and private security agencies.

One of the most unique private outfits linked to LEIU is the California-based Anacapa Sciences Incorporated. Anacapa Sciences is a Santa Barbara consulting firm that establishes political intelligence operations. It helped computerize the LEIU files, and designed the urban terrorism course for California's Western Regional Organized Crime Training Institute. The course clearly includes

training on how to monitor the lawful political activity of dissenters. San Francisco Bay area reporter Bill Wallace found that Anacapa's founder and corporate director, Douglas Harris, assisted in developing criminal intelligence courses for California, Michigan, Texas, Canada and the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Graduates of Anacapa's political intelligence courses have already established an impressive track record of trampling on the constitutional rights of persons challenging the status quo. After Anacapa set up a program for the Texas Department of Public Safety, the Department was accused of amassing files on the Dallas anti-nuclear group Citizens' Association for Safe Energy. California graduates of Anacapa-spawned courses infiltrated and assisted in the arrest of members of the non-violent anti-nuclear Abalone Alliance during a demonstration at California's Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. The Abalone infiltrators were part of a police unit set up by Anacapa with a \$30,000 grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration report, reported Wallace.

"Anacapa Sciences Incorporated appears to be a new and significant variation of the hybrid spy firms," said Wallace, "a company that doesn't engage in spying, but teaches other how to do it." Wallace has identified similar firms around the country, including Systems Sciences Associates, Profitect, Inc., Systems Development Corporation, and the now-defunct National Intelligence Academy.

### **The ACLU Lawsuit Against LEIU and IOCI**

Fearing the potential for abuse, the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California sought copies of the LEIU cards and computer printouts from the IOCI data base under the terms of the California Public Records Act. A lower court ordered the material provided, but the case was appealed.

The California Supreme Court recognized that the California's Public Records Act's "intelligence information" exemption "severely limits the information subject to disclosure," yet it did "not entirely protect the index cards and printouts." The California Supreme Court ruled that while certain

information from the IOCI print-outs should be provided to the ACLU, the burden and cost of segmenting out exempt information from the cards was sufficient to bar the release of that information.

In a lengthy dissent, California Supreme Court Chief Justice Bird discussed the issue of maintenance of law enforcement records that has significance to all law regarding those records and how they are maintained:

=== "Simple logic and experience dictate that the public's right to know not be overridden by claims of bureaucratic inconvenience.

=== "The bureaucracy -rather than the Legislature, the courts, or the people -will [now] be empowered to determine what records will be revealed. It is the bureaucracy that decides in what form and where to keep its records. By commingling exempt and nonexempt information and spreading out responsibility for the compilation and storage of records, the agency can be assured of a tenable claim of exemption [from being forced to provide records].

=== "At the very least, already wary agencies are discouraged from creating internal procedures that will assure that disclosable information can be easily separated from what is exempt.

## Warning Flags

The increased use of computers by local police departments in each state with direct access to telecommunications systems was also a matter of concern. "This could easily become a nationwide computerized network used to collect and compare information in both the FBI and other computerized law enforcement files," said Sheila O'Donnell, co-founder of the Public Eye magazine. "Agencies at all levels of government can now be tied into a nationwide intelligence network of dossiers on political dissidents and, in fact, on every American citizen." O'Donnell and others feared the development of two parallel computerized political intelligence networks -one public, one private -that could share information about political activists and have direct access to modern data banks as well as to the files compiled during the McCarthy period.

"We fear there will soon be a complete integration of the public and private political intelligence apparatus," warned attorney Matthew J.

Piers, in 1982. Piers, the former chairman of the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee, went on to predict “This network will then be unleashed first against persons accused of having ties to unpopular foreign governments or affiliated with alleged terrorist groups. But inevitably the public-private network will move on to investigate and disrupt the activities of a wide range of community, labor and political activists.

Piers could not have known at the time he spoke that the FBI was already cooperating with private right-wing groups to launch an investigation of the anti-interventionist group CISPES. One justification used by the FBI was a right-wing analysis that characterised CISPES as a terrorist group supporting foreign revolutionaries.

### A Classic Case of Ultra-Right Information Manipulation

One classic incident of private sector political spying involves two right-wing intelligence networks who spied on anti-nuclear activists planning for the 1977 nonviolent sit-in at Seabrook nuclear power plant building site in New Hampshire.

The pro-nuclear U.S. Labor party (USLP), a right-wing cult group headed by perennial presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche, maintains an intelligence gathering outfit that has an international Telex system tied to a computerized dossier filing system of activists, especially those working against nuclear power. Members of the LaRouche/USLP spy group routinely pass along their hysterical and inaccurate “intelligence” to local, state and federal police agencies.

One month before the Clamshell Alliance staged its massive Seabrook occupation, LaRouche's spies met with New Hampshire State Police agents, and warned them the demonstration was a cover for a terrorist attack. Among the documents provided to the police was material from *Information Digest*, a right-wing blacklist newsletter produced by aides and consultants to the late Rep. Larry McDonald (D-GA), a John Birch Society member who often blasted progressive groups in the Congressional Record. These USLP-supplied documents were apparently the basis for

then-New Hampshire Governor Thompson's statements that the Seabrook Demonstration was being planned by “terrorists.” In the New Hampshire Police's summary of the USLP material, the Labor Party representatives are repeatedly described as “well-informed” and the police investigators give total credence to the charges that the proposed demonstration was “nothing but a cover for terrorist activity.” The Seabrook demonstration included non-violent civil disobedience, but no acts of violence on the part of the demonstrators.

The incident is classic for several reasons:

- The information collected by the private spies was passed along to a public police agency which then took the unverified information and reported it to an elected official who made decisions and public statements based on the “intelligence.”
- The intelligence was collected from several different private sources before being passed to the public sector.
- The purpose of the intelligence was to discredit the legitimate organizing activities of a group dedicated to non-violence by publicly labeling them as “terrorists.”
- The information itself was inaccurate and grossly distorted by the paranoid conspiracy theory views and extreme right-wing ideology of the private sector intelligence gathers.

## Reform & Backlash

With the revelations of government surveillance abuse that emerged during the 1970's came a series of lawsuits across the country. While many of these cases dragged on into the 1980's the vast bulk of the factual evidence of government misconduct was publicized during the 1970's and resulted in a series of partial and in some instances short-lived reforms. Since it was the public debate created by the information emerging from the lawsuits, their findings and results will be discussed here, even though the legal proceedings sometimes stretched into the 1980's and the Reagan years.

## McCarthy's Shadows

## Reagan and the Counter-

## subversion Revival

When the abuses of the COINTELPRO period were exposed in post- Watergate Congressional hearings and media accounts, some restrictions and reforms were attempted. President Carter issued an Executive Order mandating stricter investigative guidelines to protect the right to dissent. In response, the counter-subversion network shifted its emphasis to the private sector. As post- Watergate reforms were implemented, the counter-subversion Nativists wailed that America's security was being crippled. committees were established, headlines screamed, newsletters warned of dire consequences. Agents moved into the private sector in disgust and wrote memoirs. They joined the other true believers on the right who had kept the flame of McCarthyism alive, and the worked together to launch a campaign to rebuild the public arm of the counter-subversion network. Donner saw this rehabilitation effort as connected to the Cold War mentality:

=== “The co-star in the script for the revival of domestic counter-subversion is the influential grouping of foreign policy and military defense hawks, which ranges from the American Security Council to the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM), composed of moderate Democrats...to an offshoot, the Committee on the Present Danger, and other cold war forces. The potential for an alliance even more durable than in the fifties between nativism and this elitist sector has been strengthened by the emergence of a sense of the decline of America's role as a world power.”<sup>36</sup>

According to Donner:

=== “At a time when established governmental systems for monitoring subversion have been cut back, these private counter-subversive operations acquire special importance; they must continue the data collection and storage practices formerly shared with government agencies, intensify their propagandea efforts, and—a new mission—promote renewed official involvement in surveillance and related activities directed against dissent.

Donner's analysis was published at the beginning of the Reagan Administration. Since then, evidence showed, there has not only been a “renewed official involvement” in spying on dissent, but the continued development of a parallel private

right- wing intelligence-gathering apparatus which feeds information to government agencies.

The mood of both the paranoid right-wing and the intelligence community changed dramatically as the New Right gained more influence and assisted in the election of Ronald Reagan as President. In writing recommendations for the Reagan transition team in the New Right Heritage Foundation's “Mandate for Leadership”, Sam Francis recommended that the intelligence agencies be unshackled. .<sup>37</sup>

With words that are essentially the modern transliteration of Kintner, Francis wrote:

=== “Many of the current restrictions on internal security functions arose from legitimate but often poorly informed concern for civil liberties of the citizen and the responsibility of the government. While these are legitimate concerns, it is axiomatic that individual liberties are secondary to the requirements of national security and internal civil order: without the latter, the former can never be secure. Moreover, much of the current legislation and administrative measures was adopted with little appreciation of the threat or the *Modus Operandi of extremist, subversive, and violent groups.*”<sup>38</sup>

=== “In general, the new restrictions place an emphasis on limiting surveillance to **actual or imminent** [original emphasis] violence or illegalities. However, terrorist violence does not usually develop spontaneously. It typically grows in stages, as extreme elements become increasingly dissatisfied with their organizations and come to find them ‘soft’ or ‘corrupted by the system.’ A terrorist cadre forms, therefore, from the splinters of dissident or extremist movements. Once it forms, it typically goes underground; its members establish safehouses, clandestine links, adopt noms de guerre, and begin storing arms. Once underground, it is virtually impossible to penetrate systematically. **Thus authorities must keep extremist movements under at least moderate surveillance, become familiar with their public positions and members as well as their unstated goals, adherents and fringe elements, and be prepared to escalate surveillance of whatever groups seem likely to engage in more extreme activities** [emphasis added]. .<sup>39</sup>

Francis also urged that federal intelligence agencies be allowed to contract with private groups for the collection of vital information.

## Reagan Takes Office in 1980

When Ronald Reagan took office in 1980, he arrived with a set of assumptions regarding internal subversion which he had developed and refined while leading a purge of alleged communists in Hollywood as head of the Screen Actors Guild in the 1950's. Like Ronald Reagan, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had cast itself in a central role during the 1950's political witch hunts, as had a network of right-wing political vigilantes who ferreted out subversion and publicized their findings in newsletters such as "Red Channels," which identified those it felt belonged on the Hollywood blacklist.

Reagan facilitated a concerted and successful attempt by the intelligence agencies and their counter-subversion allies to abolish the reforms which had restrained them during the late 1970's. The early 1980's also saw tremendous growth in the private security industry coupled with an authorization for the contracting of intelligence investigations to private firms outside the reach of Congressional oversight and laws protecting privacy. The FBI and other agencies also redefined the terms "terrorism" and "foreign intelligence" to reflect a broad and self-serving interpretation; and then argued their investigations into social change groups met the terms of specific legal language allowing the FBI greater investigative latitude in probes involving political violence and foreign spying. The result was that by 1983, FBI agents and private security specialists had launched broad intrusions into the lives of ordinary citizens engaged in otherwise legal activities.

Ronald Reagan showed his support for counter-subversion investigations when, on taking office, he pardoned two FBI agents convicted in 1980 by a federal jury of criminal burglaries of activists homes and offices in what became known as the "Graymail" case. "Graymail" because former FBI director L. Patrick Gray successfully blocked prosecution by threatening to expose embarrassing "national security" secrets, a tactic also tried by Oliver North. But the Reagan pardon of two individuals was just the beginning, he went on to pardon the entire U.S. intelligence establishment which had come under fire during the Carter years.

This came as no surprise, given the support for Reagan organized by the New Right, which embraced the counter-subversion network as an important and patriotic force protecting internal security.

### Reagan and the New Right

The grassroots Nativist forces recruited by the New Right became part of the coalition that sent Ronald Reagan to the White House. That fact did not go unnoticed. Drawing from the latter-day disciples of nativism, elitist reactionary conservatism and mainstream Republicanism, Ronald Reagan forged an unusual coalition packaged in a friendly "just folks" style. The Reagan agenda shifted the American political scene far to the right, and legitimized the return of active counter-subversion campaigns in the public and private sectors. Yet the Reagan coalition still was able to unite with mainstream liberalism around anti-communism, often under the banner of "bipartisanship". Thus, during the Reagan administration, the anti-communist theory underlying cold war ideology ultimately served to feed both militarism and interventionism abroad, and surveillance and repression at home, leading to a further institutionalization of the National Security State.

While the Reagan Administration gave mainstream Republicans a green light for lucrative trade with communist countries such as the Soviet Union and mainland China, Reagan gave the meager markets in Central America, Africa, and Afghanistan to the ultra right as a testing ground for their paranoid plans of fighting communism through covert action.

On the domestic side, conservative single issue right-wing constituencies that supported Reagan received promises on abortion and school prayer, and saw Reagan launch a campaign to destroy the Legal Services Corporation. More significantly, the Nativist ultra-right saw their people receive appointments to executive agencies, where they served as watchdogs against secular humanism and subversion.

Paranoid anti-communism, political witch hunting and red-baiting all saw a revival during the Reagan Administration, and while they never

became the dominant themes, they resonated throughout the nation's capital. Still, not all of the Nativists were happy with Reagan, and within a few months of his taking office, there were grumbles that Reagan had already sold out to the Washington insiders. From time to time the press would report the complaints of the more ultra-right figures in the Reagan Administration as they suggested global thermonuclear war as a serious alternative to arms control. It was these more zealous Nativist paranoid forces who finally went public in 1988 and branded Reagan a "useful idiot" and dupe of the KGB for negotiating with Gorbachev over arms control.  
<\$!Add lineup of CIS victims of Christic fundraiser  
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### Unleashing the FBI

Reagan apparently agreed with the Heritage findings on national security because he quickly unleashed the FBI. In December 1981 Reagan issued Executive Order 12333 which authorized the FBI to use intrusive investigatory techniques, such as mail openings, wiretaps and burglaries, when there was probable cause to suspect a "terrorist" threat.

Reagan also authorized the FBI to contract with and rely on private sources of information in national security investigations. Public sections of the mostly-secret "Attorney General Guidelines for Foreign Intelligence Collection" require the FBI not to question "individuals acting on their own initiative" how they obtained information. Thus right-wing zealots could conduct their own intelligence operations and thefts and provide the fruits of their mission to the FBI without fear of reprisal.

After only a few months in office, Reagan had legalized the same techniques condemned when COINTELPRO was revealed.

According to Margaret Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights, "When President Reagan signed Executive Order 12333. . . he opened the door for the intelligence abuses evidenced in the CISPES files.

=== "Executive Order 12333, permits the FBI and CIA to surveil individuals even if they are not breaking the law or acting on behalf of a foreign power. Foreign intelligence is defined to include

"information relating to the capabilities, intentions and activities of foreign powers or persons," including anything that a any foreigner is doing. Under such a definition, anyone who has any contact with a foreign person or organization may be subjected to a foreign intelligence investigation. The order does away with the warrant requirement of the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, giving the Attorney general, rather than a neutral judicial body, the power to approve the use of "electronic surveillance, unconsented physical searches, mail surveillance, or monitoring devices" once he determines that there is "probable cause to believe that the technique is directed against a foreign power."

=== "If such a technique is "directed" against a foreign power, it can be utilized against hundreds of unwitting targets. Searches need not be limited to offices, or to premises under the control of a suspected agent, nor need they be linked to the alleged commission of an unlawful act.

Ratner noted that the FBI further justified its use of intrusive techniques when it claimed to have the "inherent authority" to conduct secret entries in national security cases. Ratner noted with irony that the FBI's remarkable claim of this unconstitutional inherent authority came after the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court "turned down an FBI request for a warrant to conduct a black bag job, holding that Congress had given it jurisdiction only over electronic surveillance."

### Reviving the Witch Hunt

The conservative and far-right also began to reconstruct the counter-subversive apparatus soon after Reagan took office. Ultra-conservative Strom Thurmond was named head of the Senate Judiciary Committee which oversaw the work of the newly formed Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. SST was chaired by ultra-conservative Sen. Jeremiah Denton, who quickly began rekindling the Congressional witch-hunt. One notable SST staff member was Samuel T. Francis, who after authoring the security section of the Heritage Foundation Reagan transition study, became legislative assistant for national security to ultra-conservative SST member Senator John P. East.

If there was any doubt the Subcommittee would avail themselves of McCarthy period and

private spying data, it was laid to rest in an article by Samuel T. Francis in a 1982 issue of the conservative newspaper, "Human Events."

In an article titled "Leftists Mount Attack on Investigative Panel," Francis sought to discredit SST critics by labeling them "far-left, revolutionary, or pro-terrorist." To bolster his charges, Francis reached back to the Witch Hunting committees to note that SST critics such as the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had been "identified as Communist Party front groups." The National Lawyers Guild, Francis reported, "was cited in 1950 as the 'legal bulwark of the Communist party' by the House Committee on Un-American Activities." The Center for Constitutional rights is called a "far-left...appendage of the National Lawyers Guild" and staff counsel Margaret Ratner is described as "associated with the legal defense of a number of political violence groups and terrorists." Francis also told Human Events that right-wing Birch Society spy John Rees was "authoritative" on the subject of internal subversion. Early targets of SST included alternative media such as Mother Jones magazine and the Pacifica Radio network. Luckily the SST Committee's hallucinatory hearings on the "Red Menace" soon discredited that forum, at least among mainstream journalists, and an attempt to restart the old House Un-American Activities Committee failed. Despite these setbacks, the views of the paranoid right wing had made serious inroads at the White House.

Reagan himself joined the Red Menace alert in 1982. That was the year Reagan charged the nuclear freeze campaign was, "inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some people who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest and sincere people." Reagan saw freeze activists as dupes or traitors. When asked for proof, reporters were told much of the information was secret, but that one public source was a "Reader's Digest" article by John Barron. Barron had based the allegation in part on an article by right-wing spy John Rees. Rees had based his article on unsubstantiated red-baiting allegations made during McCarthy period hearings. Reagan later openly criticized those who brought down

Joseph McCarthy. A State Department charge that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was a "communist front" was retracted when traced to a Rees report published by Western Goals Foundation. .<sup>40</sup>

At a June, 1982 SST hearing on how the FBI had been crippled by well-meaning liberals duped by communists. Denton called the National Lawyers Guild the "ideological allies" of terrorism and murder, and said "the support groups that produce propoganda, disinformation, or 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs." The NLG promptly produced large buttons with the Guild logo and the phrase "More Dangerous Than Those...Who Throw the Bombs."

### *Rehabilitating COINTELPRO*

On March 7, 1983 Attorney General William French Smith finished erasing any civil liberties gains made in the post-Watergate era when he released "Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations." According to Mitchell Rubin, a law clerk who authored a lengthy analysis of the Smith guidelines for *Police Misconduct and Civil Rights Law Report*, "Three authorizations granted to the FBI under the Smith guidelines. . .[included] the FBI's right to conduct surveillance of peaceful public demonstrations, to use informants and infiltrators, and to investigate persons or groups advocating unlawful activities." These were three areas where the FBI had systematically abused Constitutional rights in the past, and had been restrained under the guidelines issued in 1978 by President Carter's Attorney General, Edward Levi.<sup>41</sup>

Rubin questioned the Constitutionality of the Smith guidelines citing past court cases which raised concerns over the chilling effect of such police surveillance procedures. Rubin also noted the "Smith guidelines are ambiguously written so that they can be read to explicitly sanction knowing interference with First Amendment rights by an infiltrator." The fears expressed by Rubin and other critics of the Smith guidelines appear to have been well-founded. The CISPES investigation by the FBI

showed an unsavory mixture of surveillance, political harassment, and public attack on CISPES by the FBI, Reagan Administration officials, and private right-wing groups and individuals.

### The Return of the Thought Police

By late 1983, widespread FBI harassment of Latin American support and anti-interventionist groups began to be reported nationwide. Other intelligence agencies, and right-wing groups also began stepping up their campaigns warning of communist or terrorist subversion, which also smeared exile, emigre, sanctuary, and other groups with an international focus.

Reported incidents included:

- FBI agents visited the employer, friends and co-workers of an activist, asking: "Did you know that your friend works with communists and KGB agents?"
- FBI agents appeared in the evening at the home of an activist, and said: "We know you are sincere, just tell us the names of the KGB agents."
- FBI agents attempted to interview activists about the "lawbreakers" involved in the sanctuary movement.
- FBI agents threatened exposure of an undocumented activist to Immigration officials unless the activist talked.
- FBI agents threatened activists with jail unless they revealed their "plans" for "terrorist" attacks on the 1984 summer Olympics and political conventions.
- Military Intelligence agents, starting in the mid-1980's, began appearing at reserve weekends to interview co-workers of activists saying "tell us about your friend at work who hangs out with Soviet spies."<sup>42</sup>

At the same time, a campaign by ultra-conservatives and the New Right to portray dissidents as traitors was well underway. Starting in the late 1970's, this campaign circulated millions of direct mail letters and tens of thousands of magazines and newsletters warning of a leftist plot to take over America and pave the way for a Soviet takeover.<sup>43</sup>

Some activists in the mid-1980's received written threats of violence signed by far-right anti-communist groups such as the anti-Jewish white supremacist Posse Comitatus or neo-Nazi National Socialist Liberation Front.

The heavy-footed presence of federal gumshoes became so obvious and irritating around 1984 that a loose coalition of civil liberties groups, including the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA, Inc.), began distributing pamphlets and conducting workshops to advise activists how to "Just Say No" when the feds dropped by to ask for an interview about life in Managua. Workshops were held in over ten cities including New York, Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles. 1984 also saw the creation of a political rights education project by the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee which later was subsumed by the The Movement Support Network (MSN) sponsored by the Center for Constitutional Rights in cooperation with the NLG.

Nearly 100 reports of mysterious break-ins of activists offices have been compiled by the Movement Support Network since 1984. In Boston, where numerous unexplained break-ins of movement offices have been reported, a symposium on surveillance and dissent in 1986 drew over 300. At that meeting, *Police Misconduct Manual* co-author Michael Avery and long-time civil liberties activist Frank Wilkinson of NCARL both explained how the term "terrorism" had replaced the "communism" as a justification for intrusive government surveillance and predicted the term would be the excuse the FBI used to justify spying on activists.

### Private Counter-subversion under Reagan

The main right-wing domestic intelligence-gathering networks that operated during the Reagan/Bush Administrations were the John Rees Information Digest network, and a more amorphous network of New Right groups around the Council for Inter-American Security, Young American's for Freedom, and the American Sentinel newsletter. Two other domestic intelligence operations were run by two cult leaders, the neo-fascist Lyndon LaRouche, and the theocratic authoritarian Rev. Sun

Myung Moon. Dozens of smaller private right-wing spy operations operated freely during the 1980's.

While there is competition and sometimes acrimony among counter- subversion groups, there is also room for cooperation. For instance in 1981 when the **American Sentinel** was still called "Pink Sheet on the Left" and Phillip Abbot Luce was still editor, Luce wrote a promotional letter to his subscribers strongly recommending the "informative work being done by Dr. Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade." Luce called the Crusade's newsletter excellent, and went on to rave that the publication was "Educational, informative and hard-hitting. I find it accurate, fact-filled and very well-documented."

### ***John Rees Information Digest and the Old Birch Network***

The most influential private domestic spying operation during the 1980's was run by John Rees, a veritable right-wing spymaster who has published *Information Digest*, a gossipy newsletter, for over twenty years.

Rees spent the early years of the Reagan administration as the spymaster for the right-wing Western Goals Foundation. The Foundation was the brainchild of the late Rep. Larry McDonald, former leader of the John Birch Society. Western Goals published several small books warning of the growing domestic red menace, and solicited funds to create a computer database on American subversives.

Western Goals Foundation was sued by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) when it was caught attempting to computerize references to "subversive" files pilfered from the disbanded Los Angeles Police Department "Red Squad."

Western Goals essentially collapsed after the death of Larry McDonald in September of 1983. John Rees left shortly after McDonald's death. Western Goals discontinued its domestic dossier and intelligence operation shortly after the departure of Rees. A contentious battle over control of Western Goals and the alienation of key funders left the foundation essentially a shell which was taken over by a conservative fundraiser Carl Russell

"Spitz" Channell who turned it into a conduit for contra fundraising efforts linked to North and Iran-Contragate. Rees returned to his freelance spy-master status while former Western Goals director Linda Guell went to Singlaub's Freedom Foundation.

For many years John Rees was a frequent contributor to *American Opinion and Review of the News*, *John Birch Society* periodicals.

To prove the nuclear freeze is a Soviet plot, Rees in *Information Digest* noted that public remarks on disarmament by a member of the Soviet Central Committee of the Communist Party bear a "striking similarity" to materials produced by the Mobilization for Survival, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and U.S. Peace Council. Furthermore, Rees noted that several of the organizations involved in the nuclear freeze campaign were identified by witnesses during the McCarthy era as communist fronts. This is the type of material that appears in his book, *The War Called Peace: The Soviet Peace Offensive* which was the Bible of the anti-Freeze movement.

Rees material is frequently cited in newsletters and monographs. For instance in 1988 Phyllis Schlafly's newsletter cited the Rees newsletter *Information Digest* on the FBI CISPES probe. A second Rees newsletter, published through his Mid-Atlantic Research Associates (MARA) with Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, and titled *Early Warning*, was cited in an essay by retired Lt. General Gordon Sumner, former chairman of the Council on Inter- American Security and a national security adviser to President Reagan. The Sumner essay offered "Some Startegic Thoughts on Central America," including the following paragraph:

=== "Mid-Atlantic Research Associates, Inc., issued a special report on August 15, 1984 entitled *Central American Support Networks*, which gives a detailed and documented description of the proliferation of Communist-supported organizations, both in the United States and abroad, that are supporting the Cubans' and Sandinistas' efforts.

The Sumner monograph was published by the Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy, a think-tank with close ties to the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Sumner is credited in the publication as

having served on the “Committee of Santa Fe which developed the Republican Party platform on Latin America in the 1980 campaign.”

### ***The Lyndon LaRouche Network***

The LaRouche intelligence network is still active despite its legal troubles. Rees, who has urged conservatives to not forge alliances with LaRouche whom he considers “a remedial Fascist,” describes the LaRouche operatives as: “copious information collectors but their analysis is off-the-wall.” Documents produced in various lawsuits show some intelligence agencies don’t trust the LaRouchies yet sift the LaRouche material for informational gems amidst the mental trash, others seem to find even the incredible material credible and dutifully file it.

The same National Security Council that spawned Oliver North received visits from LaRouche security specialists such as Jeff Steinberg, now on trial in Boston facing conspiracy and obstruction of justice charges stemming from a credit-card fraud indictment. One Reagan aide praised the LaRouchies as running one of the “best private intelligence networks” in the world—an unusual assessment for a group that believes the Queen of England runs an international heroin cartel. When this was revealed, pressure came from more pragmatic cold warriors such as Henry Kissinger (who called the LaRouche episode “outrageous”) and finally forced the Reagan Administration to stop fraternizing with the lunatic LaRouchies.

### ***The Rev. Sun Myung Moon Network***

Another player is the Unification Church network. The minions of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon are up to something, but so secretive that nobody willing to talk has any clues. Moonies have tracked leftists for years, but seldom publish or disseminate the information externally. They worked in coalitions with conservatives and rightists to shadow and pester Nicaraguan officials and stage counter demonstrations against Central American solidarity activists and other perceived communist dupes.

They also have been quite successful in

organizing among the Black store-front churches that are ubiquitous in urban settings. The issue is the joint struggle against “Godless Communism,” according to Rev. James Bevel, a Black minister who attended a Moonie-sponsored conference in Chicago and urged cooperation with Moon.

For a time the New York-based newsletter Free Press International was affiliated with the now-defunct Moonie-owned New York Tribune and provided coverage of alleged Soviet activity around the world, including periodic articles on domestic subversion. Gelbspan noted the cooperation of CAUSA activists in targetting anti-intervention activists.<sup>44</sup>

### ***The Council for Inter-American Security***

The Council for Inter-American Security, (CIS) is proud of its role in monitoring the activities of American progressives, and in one direct mail solicitation it told its members, “Our files on the organized left are the most extensive in the nation,” and in another boasted about Waller’s infiltration of a meeting in Europe. An ad for its newsletter West Watch carried the headline “Keep track of the revolution lobby.” The text includes phrases such as:

=== “. . .brings you monthly updates on the activities of the Revolution Lobby, going behind the scenes to enlighten concerned citizens about the activities of groups supporting Fidel Castro.

=== “. . .features a regular insider’s report on different members and campaigns of the Revolution Lobby.

CIS touts itself as a counter-subversion watchdog group. In one direct mail piece they ask for a donation and say that “if a member of Congress is working with pro-Communist radicals, we know about it or we’ll find out about it—and expose it!”

### ***The Council for the Defense of Freedom***

The Council for the Defense of Freedom in its book *Prophets or Useful Idiots?* has footnotes indicating pretext interviews of activists by student interns, and covert attendance by Council representatives at meetings of activists. Formerly called the Council Against Communist Aggression,

(CACA) it changed its name, perhaps when it realized the acronym was unacceptable for use in Spanish-speaking countries.

### ***Ryan Quade Emerson***

Ryan Quade Emerson cultivated the periphery of the law enforcement community, peddling long lists of alleged subversives, radicals, revolutionaries and terrorists. His material was essentially a compilation of material obtained from other sources. Emerson has operated using several names for his activities, including the Zeus Group and the Apple Group. He has served as a government informant against the Lyndon LaRouche organizations. Emerson's newsletter on terrorism was sold and is now published by a more cautious individual who has no ongoing connection, financial or ideological, to Emerson.

### ***DanCor, Ltd.***

DanCor, Ltd. billed itself as specializing in counter-terrorism and police training. At one seminar in 1985 the workshop schedule included a speaker from the American Security Council, a film titled "The KGB Connection," a workshop on 60 new "Communist Front Groups" (allegedly including the the sanctuary, anti-nuclear power and nuclear freeze movements), and a speech on "National Security Concerns" by Fred J. Villella a former official of FEMA's National Emergency Training Center which reportedly was involved in plans to circumvent the Constitution and round up and detain tens of thousands of persons to prevent civil disorder during a national emergency. Louis Giuffrida headed FEMA while Villella was there. Davis worked for Giuffrida at the California Specialized Training Institute which taught anti-terrorism and counter-subversive techniques to local and state police. CSTI was established in 1971 by then-governor Ronald Reagan and his assistant at the time, Edward Meese.

### ***Church League of America,***

One former key counter-subversion outfit, the Church League of America, collapsed early in the Reagan years due to an internal schism. The Church League, which once claimed the National Council of

Churches was a communist front, shipped its 7 million index cards and 200 file cabinets full of material on "subversives" to the library at Rev. Jerry Falwell's Liberty University where it was stored in a warehouse and saw little if any use.

Prior to its collapse, the Church League continued its publishing program.

"News and Views," was a four-to-sixteen page newsletter published monthly by the Church League of America from its headquarters in Wheaton, Illinois. The March/April 1982 issue carried an "expose" on the Council on Economic Priorities - a liberal/radical think tank.

In an attempt to discredit the Council, "News and Views" reviews the activities of its founder and executive director, Alice Tepper-Martin:

"According to U.S.A. magazine, November-December 1972 Edition, page 8, Alice [Tepper-Martin] has been involved with the Union of Radical Political Economics....Alice Widener, editor of U.S.A., and noted syndicated columnist for Barron's Financial Weekly and other newspapers across the country, said the Union of Radical Political Economics is bent on the destruction of the U.S.A. form of government and has actually penetrated the government.

"The Wall Street Journal stated that this organization has as its tenet 'class conflict.' The left-liberal New Republic magazine described the Union of Radical Political Economics, December 26, 1970, as 'more than Marxist.' The organization has stated in writing, that 'radicals should attempt to take over economics departments whenever and wherever possible....If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution.'"

"In 1968 the Union of Radical Political Economics held a seminar in December in Philadelphia. One of the leaders was Seymour Melman, whose topic was 'The Pentagon State - Guns and Margarine?' Melman is listed on the advisory Board of the Council on Economic Priorities in a folder entitled, 'What CEP Does,' which was sent out in a mailing across the country soliciting tax-deductible contributions....

"The Communist newspaper, Daily World, of Thursday, December 26, 1968, page 9, gave

considerable favorable space to the URPE conference in Philadelphia, attended by many leftists and revolutionary group representatives from around the country. New Left and Students for a Democratic Society papers were distributed among the participants.

“On Alice's staff of 19, in 1970, were left-liberal churchmen, stockbrokers and anti-Vietnam War agitators, such as Sam Brown, who later obtained a position in the Carter Administration.”

The newsletter continues along this line for most of its twelve pages, with only passing references to the positions or policies advocated by the Council on Economic Priorities. At times it is necessary to remind oneself that the article is on the Council on Economic Priorities and not a discussion of the Union of Radical Political Economics or another of the many groups dragged in to discredit the Council or its activities. This litany of detailed interconnections of board and staff members with other groups identified as leftist is typical of right-wing Blacklists.

Other issues of “News and Views” from this period included articles entitled “Soviet Agents Enter United States Freely,” which assumes that all representatives of a World Peace Council delegation which toured the U.S. were “Soviet agents;” and “The Riverside Connection: The National Council of Churches and the Palestine Liberation Organization,” in which Donald Paul Bates, Sr., director of research for the Church League, asserts that the national church group is anti-Israel because it supports a Palestinian homeland and negotiation with the PLO. Bates traces these positions to the influence of revolutionaries on the National Council of Churches. As is common with the Church League, the last article also includes a list of all the endorsers of a statement on the middle east issued by a liberal church conference on issues involving Palestine.

The Church League also published the twice-monthly National Laymen's Digest, a newsletter which sought to expose the communist penetration of American churches and church organizations using the same guilt-by-association style of writing. The Digest contained roughly one dozen short articles in each four page issue. The May 15, 1982

issue contained a denunciation of religious leaders seeking to develop a new Christian Contemporary Music. This religious music movement combines lyrics stressing Christian values with upbeat rock tunes. The Digest describes one such proponent of Christian Contemporary Music as another one of those compromising, middle-of-the-road 'evangelicals' who thinks that a Christian should adopt and imitate unregenerate lifestyles, such as jungle rhythms, which accentuate and stir up fleshy emotions in youth, rather than sacred and enduring great music to reach lost sinners." Despite the lack of regard for the laws of English grammar, the Digest's meaning is made clear in the next sentence: “This imitation of the world, and flesh and the devil, is causing tragic upheavals and inordinate sexual responses in young people who once professed Christ as Savior.”

Among the books published by the Church League were *Common Cause: The Lobbying Left*, *Liberal Do-gooders Web*, *Modern Art: Political Psywar Weapon*, *Attorneys for Treason: The True Story of the National Lawyers Guild*, and *The Wicked Alliance Between Radical Church Leaders And Secularists For The Destruction of Capitalism*.

When the Fair Credit Reporting Act (FCRA) was passed, Wackenhut gave the balance of the Karl Baarslag McCarthy-period files to the Church League where Wackenhut still had access to the information, but was not compelled to disclose it under the privacy- protection terms of the FCRA.

Before its demise, the Church League circulated material on the ACLU, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, Center for National Security Studies, Campaign to Stop Government Spying, American Friends Service Committee, and the Institute for Policy Studies.

### *American Security Council*

The American Security Council, still kept files, but apparently shifted its focus to throwing ideological icebergs at the thawing cold war and lobbying for increased aid to the military. Researcher Wes McCune quips that the ASC is the personification of the Military Industrial Complex.

## Case Studies:

### The National Lawyers Guild & Legal Services

One group that came under attack as a front group during the 1950's was the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Red baiting of the NLG began soon after the organization was established in 1937, but for several years the public mood was such that the charges never gained wide circulation or prompted any concern. Articles in the "New York Times" from the period show a dramatic change in the situation during the late 1940's.

Up until 1948, articles on the NLG cited in the "Times" index center on substantive activities and positions of the NLG on law and legislation. Starting in 1948, however, the Times coverage of the NLG through the next ten years centers on charges relating to subversion.

Much of the "documentation" on the NLG as a communist front can be traced to Congressional hearings held during the McCarthy Period. This labelling was part of a coordinated campaign involving the Congressional committees, the FBI and right-wing groups.

New York attorney Michael Krinsky, who represents the National Lawyers Guild in its lawsuit against 30 years of FBI surveillance, points to an incident during the McCarthy period when an FBI wiretap revealed that Yale Law School professor Thomas Emerson was discussing with the NLG the publication of a study criticizing as unconstitutional a variety of FBI investigative methods. The FBI passed the information to Richard Nixon, then a congressman on the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and persuaded him to hold a press conference announcing a HUAC probe of the NLG as a communist front.

According to Krinsky, a partner in the law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, Lieberman, the FBI then publicly launched an investigation of the NLG and privately fed inflammatory information to right-wing and anti-communist contacts. Certain leaders of the American Bar Association even worked with the FBI in a campaign to destroy the National Lawyers Guild.

Fred Schlafly, Phyllis's husband, was a leader in early attempts at red-baiting the Guild.

Hoover had the FBI write a report (which HUAC issued under the Committee's name) without hearings or an investigation. The report was titled "Report on the National Lawyers Guild: Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party."

Krinsky said, "The FBI files reveal that HUAC's report on the NLG, which almost destroyed the Guild by labeling it the 'legal bulwark of the Communist Party,' was not the product of HUAC's attempt to carry out any legislative function, but was issued by the Committee on the sole instigation of the FBI."

The NLG fought back in court and eventually forced the government to remove it from a list of so-called "subversive" groups, but the power of the false accusation alone nearly destroyed the NLG, with membership dropping from over 4,000 to under 600. The Guild eventually recovered, and, unlike many political and legal organizations of the period, did so with its principles intact, having never conducted an internal purge of communists, socialists or other targeted groups.

### NLG & Redbaiting Redux

In the late 1970's the National Lawyers Guild discovered that thousands of pages of FBI files on the NLG and its members remained carefully indexed and neatly filed in numerical order for fast retrieval. Many of the FBI reports were inaccurate, inflated by ambitious agents, or illegally obtained, yet in late 1979 the FBI provided files to Senator Strom Thurmond who was seeking to block federal judgeship for a former National Lawyers Guild activist. .<sup>45</sup>

In August of 1979, Thurmond asked the FBI for material on the Guild detailing "the total Communist influence," on the Guild and "any known actions that would reflect on the NLG's opposition to our Democratic form of government." Thurmond wanted "special emphasis placed on the Executive Board of the Detroit, Michigan Chapter for the period 1960-1965." That was when Anna Diggs Taylor, the federal judge nominee, was active in the Detroit NLG Chapter leadership.

FBI director William Webster sent Thurmond

“excised copies of FBI reports” on the Detroit Guild, but limited the material to information “previously released to the plaintiff’s” in the NLG lawsuit against the FBI. An FBI memo noted the material was provided to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary when “Senators Thurmond and Kennedy both desired this information...for a Committee hearing”. Thurmond failed to attend the hearing, but Kennedy asked Taylor to respond to charges made “in the past” that the NLG had “communist connections.”

“Preventing this type of use of the FBI information is one aspect of the Guild’s lawsuit against the FBI,” said Attorney Michael Krinsky of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman, the law firm handling the Guild lawsuit sponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Krinsky’s co-counsel, Gordon Johnson, points out that many of the FBI records on the Guild were gathered by “massive informant infiltration, wiretaps, trash covers, and burglaries; and yet these misleading and illegally-gathered records have the capacity to be used against the NLG and others to recycle the smear.” Krinsky and Johnson charge that much of the FBI-collected information was not related to any law enforcement purpose, but was amassed to be used by the FBI and Congressional Witch Hunters to discredit and destroy progressive organizations.

Much of the FBI’s information was originally gathered to provide fuel for the first round of Witch Hunts, yet it is still intact, and apparently available to Congressional committees. “It is not proper to draw on the FBI’s vast body of illegally gathered political intelligence,” insists Krinsky. “The government has no right to have membership lists or financial records from the Guild nor information on political positions taken by Guild members. This is simply none of the business of government,” Krinsky said.

Over the years there have been scores of articles in the conservative & reactionary press which Red Baiting the NLG. NLG president Debra Evenson, a law professor at DePaul University in Chicago, said “the National Lawyers Guild has learned to expect red-baiting over the years, and we are discussing ways to confront it.” One survey conducted by the

NLG showed that older members as well as law students are fearful of professional repercussions should their membership become widely known. “Martin Luther King, himself a target of similar anti-communist attacks, talked about this deep ‘malady’ that afflicts the American spirit,” said Evenson who sees a need for a broader coalition to, “address the pathological anti-communism that has lead our country into its present situation in which a presidential candidate has tried to label even ‘liberals’ as being outside the ‘mainstream’.”

In a democracy based on informed consent and the free interplay of ideas, the criticism of an idea based on labeling and smears serves to limit debate and establish narrow parameters to discussion. Yet the right-wing Red Baiters serve not only to de-legitimize progressive politics through smears, but through conspiratorial subversion-mongering, also provide a convenient justification for putative criminal probes by government agencies such as the FBI. This is in part what happened with the FBI probe of CISPES.

### Redbaiting the NLG & Legal Services in the 1980’s

David A. Williams is convinced that a covert cabal of conniving communists controls the coffers at the Cambridge-Somerville Legal Services office. Williams considers himself an expert on the subject. In March of 1988, while a staffer at the Legal Services Corporation central administrative office in Washington, D.C., Williams conducted an extensive study attempting to document communist subversion by showing “the extent of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) involvement in the Legal Services Corporation.” When LSC officials learned of William’s study in the reactionary Moonie-controlled “Washington Times,” Williams was given his walking papers.<sup>46</sup>

The NLG is a national organization of progressive lawyers, law students, legal workers and jailhouse lawyers. It was founded in 1937 as an alternative to the American Bar Association, which at the time admitted only white lawyers, and was fighting against the New Deal policies of Franklin Roosevelt. Its members have included several Supreme Court Justices.

To people who think like David Williams, the NLG is a commie front. Williams rhetoric is typical of those on the conservative and reactionary right who still suspect the hidden hand of the Red Menace, and utilize guilt by association techniques and hysterical anti-communism to “Red Bait” their political opponents who are insufficiently conservative.

The hysterical nature of most Red Baiting is easy to demonstrate historically, and Williams is no exception. Consider the tone as Williams noted breathlessly in his report that LSC staff attended Guild workshops: “The taxpayers paid for the official training and the NLG increased its opportunities to propogandize the Communist Party line and recruit allies and potential members.” In his conclusions, Williams wrote of, “the 50 year record of the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist Front and a stalwart defender of the Soviet Union.”

Williams was especially interested in the discovery that six LSC programs had NLG representatives on their governing boards, and singled out the Cambridge & Somerville Legal Services for special note: “Barry P. Wilson is President of the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. He represents them on the [LSC Board]. Barry P. Wilson is also Chairman of the Cambridge & Somerville Legal Services, Inc.” claimed Williams who warned archly, “The proverbial ‘tip of the iceberg’ would seem to apply to this subject.”

“Bullshit,” Barry P. Wilson, responded succinctly. Wilson, a criminal attorney, did indeed chair the Cambridge & Somerville Legal Services Board at the time of Williams' study, but Wilson added in a tone fluctuating between ironic disbelief and anger: “I am not now, nor have I ever been an elected official of the National Lawyers Guild. I'm a member, and even if I had been an officer, it wouldn't mean anything. This is garbage, he certainly never contacted me. His kinds of remarks reek of the misleading and totally false accusations made in the 1950's. This type of smear has no place in a rational discussion.”

A copy of the Williams study and related documents were obtained by the NLG through the federal Freedom of Information Act. The

documents show that Williams combed through the 1986 financial records of 325 LSC-funded legal programs looking for a connection to the NLG. He found 28 programs where he discerned a connection, including instances where Legal Services programs listed the NLG among the participating local Bar associations and those times when LSC staff attended legal training workshops sponsored by the NLG.

When Williams examined the 1987 financial records from 323 LSC programs, he discovered the number of LSC programs sending staff to NLG-sponsored training workshops went up from 9 to 22. “That is an increase of over 140%!!!” reported a shocked Williams, “The taxpayers paid for the official training and the NLG increased its opportunities to propogandize the Communist Party line and recruit allies and potential members.”

“To conclude then,” wrote Williams, “the 50 year record of the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist Front and a stalwart defender of the Soviet Union, warrants concern when shown the high degree of NLG involvement in the Legal Services Corporation, especially with taxpayers' funds.”

It's difficult to know where to start when dissecting red-baiting blithering, but math is a handy lever. If 22 of 323 LSC programs sent staff to NLG-sponsored training workshops, that represents just under 15%, hardly a “high degree” of involvement, even if you ignore, as Williams surely did, that the NLG-sponsored training is often accredited for professionally-mandated continuing legal education credits. Furthermore, NLG lawyers literally write the book in several areas of law, contracting with the respected Clark Boardman Law Publishers in New York to produce weighty manuals on the law of Immigration, Labor, Jury Questioning, Civil Rights, Civil Liberties and Police Misconduct—all areas of the law where Legal Services attorneys represent clients.

Williams reported his findings to an ultra-conservative LSC board member, Charles Jarvis, who, according to Williams, uged him to go public with his findings. But LSC President John H. Bayly, Jr., himself a widely-respected conservative Republican, is said to have been especially angered

that he first read about the Williams report in an editorial in the Moonie-owned conservative *Washington Times* newspaper. Williams was soon job-hunting.

According to letters sent by Bayly to several Congressional staff investigators, "Mr. Williams' preparation of these memoranda was pursued without my knowledge or that of his supervisors in the Office of Field Services. Certainly, the Corporation authorized no such 'study' and Mr. Williams memoranda do not represent or reflect Corporate policy." An LSC review of the Williams study concluded that neither his math nor his conclusions added up properly.

Bayly himself was ordered to clean out his desk a few months later when he refused as a matter of principle to carry out orders from the ultra-conservative majority of the LSC Board which Bayly felt would have crippled the agency.

After being terminated by LSC, Williams wrote of his study in several rightist publications. In *Conservative Digest* he penned an article titled "Legal Services Caught Funding Communist Front," which repeated the errors concerning Boston attorney David P. Wilson. The article also reveals that the *Washington Times* editorial on the Williams' study was penned by Samuel T. Francis, with whom Wilson had worked at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. Francis had written a Heritage study that bemoaned the end of executive and congressional subversive hunting, and later joined the staff of Denton's witch hunting Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

Using Williams "expose," rightist conservative groups began a failed campaign in late 1988 to cut off funds for the Legal Services Corporation. It was not the first time LSC came under attack from the political right.

### Legal Services as Communist Front

The ultra-conservative attack on the Legal Services Corporation has always been linked to the red-baiting of the National Lawyers Guild. As early as September of 1977 Howard Phillips as leader of the Conservative Caucus circulated a letter to every member of the U.S. Senate saying: "I am deeply concerned the some employees of the Legal

Services Corporation....are active in the National Lawyers Guild. Indeed, it is a fact that some grantees....assign seats on their boards, to be filled at the discretion of the National Lawyers Guild." Phillips asked the Senate to initiate public hearings to investigate the connection between LSC and NLG.

The April 8, 1981 issue of *Review of the News* escalated the rhetoric by claiming LSC was "a federally-funded beehive of radical activity, swarming with Marxist attorneys who want to remake society, and most of whom can't find jobs in the private sector." *Review of the News* is published by the paranoid ultra-right John Birch Society, a key institution in the American Nativist right. The column quoted ultra-conservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) as saying, "The record of this Corporation and specifically its representatives around the country contains many horror stories of harassment and intimidation...." Among the alleged LSC atrocities:

- Legal work to help "organize farm workers unions in California, Florida, the Midwest, and New Jersey...."
- "Litigation in order to return major portions of the States of Maine and Massachusetts to the Indians;
- Legal advice for "A lobbying campaign for the graduated income tax in Massachusetts;
- "Litigation to compel payment of SSI benefits to alcoholics;
- "Litigation to place South Boston High School into receivership;
- "An amicus brief in the Bakke case;
- "...Litigation to define 'black English' as a foreign language;
- "...Litigation to compel the New York City Transit Authority to hire former heroin addicts;
- "Litigation to establish the principle that a mother's lesbianism is not sufficient grounds for changing a custody decree."

Most Congressional representatives found little odd about the list provided by Helms, since the Legal Services Corporation was established to assist poor people in asserting their legal rights in non-criminal situations.

Rep. George E. Brown, Jr (D-CA) responded pointedly that "The problem with the Legal Services Corporation is not that it is ineffective but rather that it is too effective in representing the needs of the poor and disenfranchised"

Legal Services became a key component in a campaign launched by *Conservative Digest* in its April 1982 special issue: "How Washington Funds the Left: The New Pork Barrel" The magazine at the time was published by New Right direct mail whiz Richard Viguerie, and its contributing editors included Reagan advisors Patrick J. Buchanan and Lyn Nofziger. The issue included a two page spread on why "Legal Services must be Stopped" and a column by Howard Phillips titled "Let's De-Fund the Left."

The November 1983 conservative "Free Market" newsletter *On Principle* raised the issue of the NLG as commie front: "The Guild was identified by a Congressional Committee as the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions," said the newsletter. The article quoted a study by Michele Rossi revealing that "workshop speakers at the 1983 National Lawyers Guild Convention included at least eight NLG attorneys who are also Legal Services Corporation attorneys."

The article failed to mention that workshop speakers numbered over 200 and one workshop panel was a discussion of attacks on Legal Services by LSC staff who were also Guild members.

Attending the convention were two young conservative college students wearing *Conservative Digest* press credentials. One student had the credentials legitimately, but the other had forged his credentials, and when reporters complained the two had sat in the press section during a major event snickering and passing racist notes during speeches by Black NLG members including then Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, the Guild leadership decided to revoke the credentials and toss them out.

The student who had actually registered as representing *Conservative Digest*, blamed his colleague for all the disruption, and demanded an appeal hearing, so one was quickly convened by Guild leadership. The appeals board voted that if "Conservative Digest" would verify the student's press credential was legitimate, he would be allowed to stay. The student reached Howard Phillips at "Conservative Digest" but Phillips refused to speak to any member of the NLG so the credential could not be verified.

The National Lawyers Guild has learned to expect red-baiting and to confront it head-on.

Responding to a 1985 printed attack in a Seattle daily charging the Guild was part of a "Soviet Front," two local Guild officers responded by explaining the tactic of the "Red Baiter" is to use "labels and name calling to cloud issues."

"It is a technique that discredits dissent, breeds distrust, and limits debate. We shouldn't forget the sordid history of the with hunts for "Un-Americans" in the 50's. Lilian Hellman named that period well — it was a "Scoundrel Time." Then and now, the National Lawyers Guild stood, with honor, beside those, like Hellman, who refused to participate in what was, and is, red-baiting."

"The Guild, throughout its history, has fought for the rights of women, minorities, the poor, the politically and economically disenfranchised — and those who dissent. Anyone at all familiar with the Guild's open and democratic decision-making is aware of the substantial diversity of political opinion in the organization. No informed person would entertain for a moment the accusation that it is a front organization for a foreign government of for anyone."

## A New Generation of Witch-hunters

All peripheral political movements reach a point in their growth towards mainstream respectability and influence where they face the issues of broadening their base and perpetuating their ideas through some form of institutionalization. Signs of the maturation and mainstreaming of a marginal political movement include its ability to work in coalition with other groups, its ability to network its leaders and its constituency, its ability to recruit new converts, and its ability to train a new generation of leaders. The success of the New Right in institutionalizing itself and broadening its appeal are well-documented, however the more reactionary and Nativist elements of counter-subversion within the New Right also appear to have been successful in establishing more permanent structures to further legitimize their worldview, and in reaching out to a broader audience.

One way to demonstrate the networking ability

of the counter- subversion movement is to chronicle the career of one young recruit, J. Michael Waller, from the perspective of cooperation with other groups and individuals in the paranoid Nativist counter-subversion profession.

### J. Michael Waller and the New Kids Network

J. Michael Waller is one example of the successful youth recruitment campaign mounted by the aging ultra-conservative counter- subversion network to train a new generation to carry on the anti-communist witch-hunt. Waller comes out of a group of right- wing former campus journalists whose campus newspapers received funds from conservatives seeking to influence campus politics and recruit new blood into the conservative political movement. The funds often are coordinated through the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) (now merged into the Madison Foundation). IEA and the Young America's Foundation helped finance a Waller trip to Central America where he travelled with the Contras.

An early Waller article on CISPES was prepared in 1983 for both the right-wing IEA-funded campus newspaper *The Sequent* (11/9/83) at George Washington University, and in a differing format for the United Students of America Foundation (11/7/83). At the time, the United Students of America Foundation (USAF) was housed at the Heritage Foundation building. "CISPES: A Guerrilla Support group," was the title of the piece Waller wrote as Editor-in-Chief of *The Sequent*, while "CISPES: A Guerrilla Propaganda Network," titled the USAF report which listed Waller as Director of Research for USAF.

In February 1984 Waller revised and expanded his CISPES attack for L. Francis Boucheys Council on Inter-American Security (CIS). The CIS senior researcher, according to CIS fundraising pitches, was Waller.

Waller's report on CISPES for CIS experienced rhetoric escalation and was titled "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network." The February 1984 Waller report on CISPES for CIS was circulated just prior to a series of anti-Administration demonstrations during "Central America Week" in March of 1984. A few days after the demonstrations

were over, CIS issued a press release calling for then Attorney General William French Smith to investigate CISPES, with CIS president Bouchey charging that CISPES was "operating in contravention of the Foreign Agents Registration Act." The press release went on to say that CIS "has offered its assistance and the documentation that it has compiled on CISPES's activities, including a detailed report by J. Michael Waller, to the Attorney General's Office."

Later in 1984 Waller re-wrote his article for the new Students for a Better America (SBA), which supplanted USAF as a conservative youth group and was still located at the Heritage building. The SBA version of the Waller report was titled "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network." A brochure summarizing the report was also issued by SBA which distributed copies of a newsletter, *Freedom Fighter*, published by a group called Coalition for Democracy in Central America (CODECA).

In 1985 Waller joined with Allan C. Brownfeld, in authoring *The Revolution Lobby*, published jointly by the Council for Inter- American Security and the Inter-American Security Education Institute. The 175 paperback provides background reports on groups such as CISPES, the North American Congress on Latin America, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Washington Office on Latin America, and the Council on Hemispheric Affairs. The book is but one of many examples of a project which showed the interlocking nature of the conservative counter-subversion network.

In his biographical note for *The Revolution Lobby*, Brownfeld is listed as a former "member of the staff of the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee" and "author of that committee's 250-page study of the 'New Left' . . . A former lecturer at the U.S. Air Force Special Operations School in Elgin, Florida" and "a consultant to members of the U.S. Congress and the Vice President of the United States. At the time of publication Brownfeld was associate editor of the right-wing *Accuracy in Media's* AIM Report and associate editor of the *The Lincoln Review*, published by the conservative Lincoln Institute for Education & Research. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas served on the editorial advisory

board of the The Lincoln Review.

Waller is listed in *The Revolution Lobby*, as having been elected National Secretary of Young Americans for Freedom in August 1985 as well as being editor of the CIS newsletter *West Watch*. The previous year Waller was listed as being on the CODECA board of directors as research director of SBA. He served on the CODECA board along with Mike Boos, Young America's Foundation, William Pascoe, III, Research Fellow, Council for Inter-American Security, and Gustavo Marin, Chairman, Abdala Cuban Youth Movement. CODECA was a member of the Reagan Administration's United States International Youth Year Commission which represented the U.S. at the U.N. International Youth Year Commission for 1985. <\$!expand section on government ties re: Waller, YAF, etc.

Waller and Boos have long-standing ties to Young Americans for Freedom, which is the major route for youth recruitment by ultra-conservatives. They both contributed articles to the "Winter 1982-83" edition of YAF's magazine, *New Guard*.

Boos, listed as YAF Projects Director, penned an article which was headlined "The Nuclear Freeze Fairy Tale: Communist Front Groups Behind the Peace Movement," and warned that the "peace movement" is in fact not spontaneous but "Rather, it is a well conceived and thus far successfully implemented sinister scheme being directed by the Soviet Union through its front groups in the U.S. and abroad." Boos noted that: "a good source of this information. . . is *The War Called Peace*, published by Western Goals."

Waller, listed as "Chairman, District of Columbia YAF," wrote a piece called "Bare-fisted Journalism: How and Why a YAF Activist Started an Alternative Campus Newspaper" which praises the new wave of conservative campus publications and warns that:

=== "Today, a new generation of anti-family, anti-religion, anti-capitalist, anti-defense, anti-American activists dominates nearly every university. they are the little brothers, sisters, and cousins of the long-haired, flea-ridden Tom Hayden groupies who, like their bellwethers of the 1960's, want to destroy America, again, in the name of 'peace, jobs, and justice.'

Young Americans for Freedom, American Conservative Union, *Human Events*, and National Review co-sponsored the Tenth Annual Conservative Political Action Conference in 1983 where YAF members could rub shoulders with "Ronald Reagan, members of his Cabinet, Jesse Helms, Orrin Hatch, Jack Kemp and a host of other conservative leaders. . . ."

Other Nativist recruitment avenues includes those aimed at the college intern. One such group is the National Journalism Center of the Education & Research Institute. The Center brings college students to Washington, D.C. for seminars lead by conservative luminaries and then places them with a wide range of journalistic enterprises such as *National Geographic*, *Voice of America* and *UPI*, and more conservative outlets such as *Human Events*, *Reader's Digest*, *The World and I*, *American Spectator*, and *Campus Report* (Accuracy in Academia). Alumni of the Center have gone on to positions at the Council for Inter-American Security, Heritage Foundation, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Accuracy in Media, Reader's Digest, Mid-American Institute for Public Policy, Hoover Institution, *Washington Times*, *The World and I*, and *Human Events*.

One former Washington Journalism Center intern, Scott Powell (Summer 1981), wrote *Covert Cadre*, a purported expose of the Institute for Policy Studies which alleged the progressive think tank is the nexus for KGB operatives and Soviet disinformation campaigns in the U.S.

### Modern Paranoid Conspiracy Constituencies

General John "Jack" Singlaub gained national attention when he testified before the joint Congressional committee investigating Iran-Contra on his role in Contra fundraising. That Committee never pursued Singlaub's ties to the World Anti-Communist League, which networks not only anti-communists but racists, anti-Semites, fascists and even a handful of aging Nazi collaborators.

Singlaub has been a representative of, and works closely with, the American Security Council, the major pro-military lobbying group in the U.S. and one of the chief lobby groups for Contra aid.

## The Hunt for Red Menace

ASC started life as a blacklist-style agency retained by manufacturers to screen potential industrial employees for communist or subversive pasts—such as a preference for labor unions.

Singlaub is also on the Advisory Board of the Council for Inter- American Security, the group that brags about how it infiltrates meetings of “leftists” to spy on activists. Another CIS Board member is columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, who played the role of the pit bull terrier for the Reagan Administration. Other CIS Board members include Congressmen and Senators such as Sen. Jack Kemp, Rep. Bill Chappell, Sen. Malcolm Wallop, and Rep. Vin Weber.

Singlaub, who served on the board of the now-defunct Western Goals Foundation, is a classic example of how counter-subversion Nativists with close government ties work to influence government policy with paranoid conspiracy theories and authoritarian solutions. That Singlaub is the quintessential counter-subversion Nativist can be shown through his own words. For instance Singlaub signed one CIS fundraising letter where he warned:

=== “Ultraliberals want you to believe that Communist Russia wants peace. . . .Ultraliberals want you to believe that the big bosses of the Kremlin are people `just like you and me'. . . .ultraliberals support permanent nuclear superiority by Soviet Communists.

Those, like Singlaub, who filter their anti-communism through a paranoid world view firmly believe in the existence of the global red menace; an immense and secret international communist conspiracy the dimensions of which are so horrific that the United States of America is on the verge of collapse because its very foundations are riddled with the rot of communist subversion while the country itself is geographically surrounded by hordes of mindless commie zombies brainwashed through endless Leninist lectures to have no regard for human life. If you don't think anyone seriously believes this worldview, you didn't see the movie “Red Dawn”.

That this paranoid anti-communist premise is actually believed by a small but significant segment of American society is illustrated by reviewing the

invitational brochure for an ultra-conservative investment planning seminar scheduled for September 25-28, 1985 at the Los Angeles Airport Hyatt. The slick multi-color flyer announced: “Gary North Presents: Racing to the Year 2000—Planning for personal stability in the midst of change.” Sounds normal enough until you scan the following lecture topics as printed in the brochure:

- General John Singlaub, Chairman of the United States Council for World Freedom (the General Jimmy Carter axed): “How and Where World War III Will Be Fought.” The ignored military reality that will shape America's future—information that will affect your future plans, profits, and personal safety.
- Antony Sutton, Editor of The Phoenix Letter: “Soviet Technology: Made in the USA.” How by reducing government expenditures, we can cripple the Soviet Union without firing a shot—and who is seeing to it that we don't do it.
- Jack Wheeler, Foreign Policy Consultant: “The Soft Underbelly of the Soviet Empire and Who's Punching It.” An insider's view of the eight anti-Soviet guerrilla wars going on right now and whether or not you can bet on the Soviet Union crumbling.

Other workshops included presentations by:

Selected representatives from various anti-communist guerilla movements;

Joel Skoussen, Chairman of the Conservative National Committee, talking on the secret “puppeteers” behind various Latin American governments;

Dr. Frank Aker, newsletter publisher, on “Where the Soviets are concentrating their attention, and when your new refugee “neighbors” will be arriving;

Science Fiction author and computer technology consultant Dr. Jerry Pournelle on Reagan's “Star Shields” program, “The good news about American technology—and why the Soviets are panicked.”

These lecturers were joined by the standard right-wing luminaries such as Howard Phillips, National Director of the Conservative Caucus; former Congressman Ron Paul, the 1988 Libertarian candidate for President; right-wing Illinois Congressman Phil Crane; conspiracy-mongering author Larry Abraham; and apocalyptic newsletter editor Howard Ruff.

Not your average investment seminar. . .the

underlying paranoia is palpable.

## The FBI Probe of CISPES

The FBI probe of the anti-interventionist group Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) reflected the cooperation of the public and private counter-subversion network, but was ahistorically dismissed by the Congress and the media as an aberration. The CISPES investigation involved almost every FBI Field Office and eventually involved the creation of file indices on 200 other organizations. When the CISPES probe was revealed in documents obtained under the federal Freedom of Information Act, the FBI contended it was an aberration. Yet even a cursory review of FBI history argues against that claim. Since its inception, the FBI has conducted endless surveillance and infiltration of U.S. dissident groups in a vain quest for the domestic incarnation of the “Red Menace”.

While certain aspects of the FBI surveillance of CISPES prompted media coverage, Congressional hearings and lawsuits, there has been almost no public discussion of the underlying political assumptions and justifications which fuel most counter-subversive investigations by both public and private agencies in the U.S., leaving the door open for continuing FBI abuses against Constitutionally-protected freedom of speech and association. The FBI investigation of CISPES was not an aberration, but the logical outcome of the long-standing consciously-implemented institutional policies of the counter-subversion network.

The genesis of the FBI probe of CISPES was a complex network of groups and individuals with a common counter-subversive worldview:

- The underlying theories which prompted the FBI investigation of CISPES were developed at the start of the Cold War, and reflect the same discredited view of subversion that the American public finally rejected to end the McCarthy period.
- Individual and groups who hold this discredited view of subversion played influential roles in shaping the policies of the Reagan Administration in this area, and then in some cases moved on to become consultants and staff members in Administration and

Congressional posts.

- These same groups and individuals then set out to rebuild a private counter-subversion network among conservative and rightist groups with the goal of assisting the government, and specifically the FBI, in investigating subversion. The results of their investigations were published in a range of newsletters and journals in articles which frequently cross-cited each other and often traced back to unsubstantiated charges of communist subversion made by persons testifying before congressional witch-hunting committees.
- Young conservatives from colleges and universities were recruited and trained to participate in monitoring and analyzing the activities of alleged subversive groups through a network of interlocking conservative institutions based in Washington, D.C.
- Information and documents collected by private right-wing groups were provided to government law-enforcement agencies that would otherwise be prevented from obtaining the information by constitutional and legislative restrictions. This biased and unverified information was then used to justify criminal investigations of dissidents in general and the anti-interventionist CISPES in particular.

Many activists involved in Central America issues became aware of ham-handed snooping by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in the early 1980's. In 1986 the Center for Investigative Reporting in California used the federal Freedom of Information Act to obtain FBI files which suggested a large-scale probe into CISPES. In 1987 testimony by a former FBI informant Frank Varelli also suggested a broad attack on CISPES by the FBI. Varelli later told reporters of the involvement of other governmental and private right-wing groups in targeting CISPES.

Some 1300 pages of additional FBI files released in 1988 by New York's Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), on behalf of CISPES, reveal in sharp detail the extent and nature of the FBI probe into CISPES. More importantly, the files show that the FBI, to justify its actions, accepted as fact a right-wing conspiratorial world-view which sees dissent as treason and resistance to oppression as terrorism.

The first FBI investigation of CISPES was launched in September of 1981 to determine if CISPES should be forced to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Among the

documents used by the FBI to justify this CISPES probe, according to Congressional testimony by FBI official Oliver “Buck” Revell, was a 1981 article by a former FBI informant and ongoing right-wing private spy—John Rees. The Rees article appeared in *Review of the News* a magazine published by the paranoid ultra-right John Birch Society. This FBI investigation was terminated without indictments in December of 1981.

A second FBI investigation of CISPES began in March of 1983. It was premised on the right-wing conspiracy theory that CISPES was a cover for “terrorist” activity. To justify this view, the FBI relied not only on reports from its informant Varelli, but also in part on a conspiratorial analysis contained in a report written by Michael Boos, a staffer at the right-wing Young Americas Foundation. This FBI “counter-terrorism” investigation was terminated without indictments in 1985.

The FBI relying on the malicious musings of paranoid right-wing ideologues to justify probes of the anti-Administration CISPES is rather like the IRS assigning Jerry Falwell to audit the financial records of the American Civil Liberties Union.

### The Terrorist-Baiting of CISPES

The June 1984 report on CISPES by Michael Boos, the staff member at the Young Americas Foundation, was titled: “Group in Nation’s Capitol to Aid Left-Wing Terrorists.” In the report Boos wrote that the D.C. Chapter of CISPES would “soon launch a fundraising campaign to provide direct military assistance to the Soviet supported Marxist terrorists seeking to overthrow the recently elected government in El Salvador.” This conclusion was reached when Boos made the Kierkegaardian assumption that the shoe factory CISPES planned to help build in El Salvador would not really benefit civilians, but would secretly make and repair boots for rebel soldiers—and thus constituted military aid for “Soviet supported Marxist terrorists.”

Boos wrote his report after attending a public CISPES meeting in Washington, D.C. According to a spokesperson at the Young Americas Foundation, Boos was apparently engaging in a freelance information-gathering activity not directly connected with his staff position. Boos filed his

report with the right-wing newsletter *American Sentinel*, and sent an unsolicited copy to the FBI. The FBI promptly distributed it to 32 of its field offices and apparently sent it to other federal agencies as well.

It is ironic that the Boos report on CISPES for *American Sentinel* was revealed in the FBI documents on CISPES since the Young Americas Foundation is only a minor player in the right-wing information network. The Foundation primarily is involved in recruiting college students into the conservative anti-communist movement. Boos, while at Young Americas Foundation, circulated a newsletter reporting on campus activists, but it too is not influential in right-wing circles.

The Young Americas Foundation is a haven for aging former members of the right-wing campus-based Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). While it was started by a former YAF staffer, the Foundation is not formally tied to that group. They are certainly right-wing ideological soul-mates, however, and they cooperate closely. The Foundation once sent out a fundraising mailing calling former Senator George McGovern “anti-American,” and claimed “our classrooms are full of teachers and textbooks that tear down our system of republican government and free enterprise while glorifying communism and socialism.”

The *American Sentinel*, the newsletter which published the Boos report on CISPES (without attribution) is, however, one of the core right-wing outlets for red menace diatribes. The *Sentinel* frequently touts its relationship to law enforcement. The *Sentinel* raised funds to send its blacklist-style report to “723 FBI offices and local police departments,” pledging to keep track of “the liberals, the left-wingers, the radicals and the Communists.”

### Paranoid Theories and the FBI Probe of CISPES

That the views of the paranoid right wing find safe harbor at the FBI is supported by the documents they released under the FOIA concerning the probe of CISPES. As Alicia Fernandez of the Center for Constitutional Rights explained in an article appearing in the *Movement*

## The Hunt for Red Menace

### *Support Network News:*

=== "In order to justify its investigation, the FBI utilized two rationales: it posited the existence of a covert program and it resurrected a 1950's favorite, the concept of a 'front group.' These two notions were extremely useful. By positing a covert program, FBI headquarters was able to reason away the lack of findings in investigations conducted by the field offices.

=== "When a field office reported that assiduous investigation had revealed that a local CISPES chapter pursued only such projects as teach-ins, slide shows, and pickets, headquarters would remind the field office of the 'covert program' This, headquarters explained, was known to only a few CISPES members, but represented CISPES' true intentions and activities. Thus headquarters would caution the field office not to be deceived and urge it to dig deeper. The deeper the field office dug, with no results, then clearly, reasoned the FBI, the deeper they needed to dig.

=== "When field offices cabled headquarters to inform it that they had located no CISPES chapter but had found a Central American solidarity committee, or a Latin American human rights group, or a sanctuary church, headquarters would recommend aggressive investigation and explain that CISPES operated through 'fronts,' in which respectable people were duped for its 'terrorist purposes.'

In this way, any group which ever worked with CISPES or shared members became a potential 'front.' "The very logic of these rationales increased the pressure to expand the hunt for fronts and intensify the search for covert activities," Fernandez points out.

The FBI probe of CISPES involved 52 of the 59 Field Offices of the FBI. Dossiers were compiled on hundreds of other organizations which intersected in some vague way with CISPES during the course of the investigation.

Margaret Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights called the FBI probe of CISPES a "sweeping and intrusive investigation. . .the FBI utilized wiretaps, undercover agents, and informants in addition to the type of intensive physical surveillance that is normally reserved for investigation of serious crimes." According to Ratner:

=== "The investigation, which was begun in 1981 to

determine if a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act existed, was quickly turned into a 'Foreign Intelligence/Terrorism' inquiry, even though no basis for such existed. The new category, however, allowed the FBI to utilize 'special techniques,' that are considered illegal when applied to domestic investigations. It allowed the FBI to avoid strictures developed to remedy the abuses that came to light in the post-Vietnam protest era."

Ratner charges that "the investigation was used as one of the pretexts for the harassment and surveillance" being reported by those who oppose the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

FBI director William Sessions, however, defended the CISPES investigation as a legitimate probe into criminal activity. But one FBI agent assumed a more sinister motive for the CISPES investigation in a memo which warned:

=== "It is imperative at this time to formulate some plan of action against CISPES and, specifically, against individuals [deletion] who defiantly display their contempt for the US government by making speeches and propagandizing their cause while asking for political asylum.

=== "New Orleans is of the opinion that the Departments of Justice and State should be consulted to explore the possibility of deporting these individuals or at best denying them re-entry after they leave.

Among the many groups named in the CISPES FBI files were: Central American Solidarity Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Church of the Brothers, Chicago Interreligious Task Force, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends Religious Society, Maryknoll Sisters, National Education Association, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, United Steel Workers Union, and the United Auto Workers union. Also named in the files were a number of individual churches, colleges, religious orders, community organizations, women's groups and political groups.

The following excerpt from the Pittsburgh FBI field office file on the local CISPES affiliate, the Central American Mobilization Committee (CAMC), showed the ideological framework which forms the basis of the FBI investigation:

=== "The membership of the CAMC and its affiliated groups appears generally to be of two type groups: the 'core' membership and the 'affiliate'

membership. The `core' membership consists of individuals with strong Communist or Socialist beliefs who have a history of being active in Communist or Socialist political organizations, some since the Vietnam War era. The `affiliate' membership, on the other hand, consists in large part of local college students relatively new to the political scene. It has at least one female high school student member. Some of these younger `affiliate' members appear to be politically unsophisticated in that they know little of current international events save what they read or hear at their political meetings. Pittsburgh has noted at least two of these members or affiliates both were young females."

The CISPES FOIA revelations came on the heels of charges by former FBI informant Frank Varelli that he was pressured into inventing information to show that CISPES was tied to terrorists. Varelli told a Congressional subcommittee in 1987 that his reports were designed to provide an excuse for the FBI to intimidate critics of Reagan's Central America policies.

According to Varelli:

=== "The FBI led me to believe that CISPES was a radical `terrorist' organization. . . .Ironically, never once during the next three years of my association with CISPES did I encounter anything even close to the picture painted by the FBI. The CISPES organization was peaceful, nonviolent, and devoted to changing the policies of the United States towards Central America by persuasion and education.

Varelli sued the FBI, alleging they refused to pay him \$65,000 in back pay. Varelli was terminated as an informant when the FBI agent controlling him carelessly lost in a car burglary files containing secret information that might have blown Varelli's cover.

## FBI as Thought Police

Attorney Michael Krinsky was not surprised when he learned the FBI had waged a five-year surveillance war against CISPES in a fruitless search for terrorists and subversives. This is precisely the scenario Krinsky and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee fought in a now-settled lawsuit against the FBI on behalf of the National Lawyers Guild. Krinsky charges that FBI

"subversion/terrorism" investigations never really are ended, because they can never really succeed in accomplishing the FBI's primary goal—that goal is not investigating criminal activity, but proving the pre-conceived notion that dissent is fueled by treason.

"This is the theory under which the FBI has kept subversion investigations running for 45 years now," said Krinsky:

=== "They believe there is a subversive element out there trying to infiltrate and destroy our government. Infiltration is by definition covert, and therefore, to safeguard our government from this secret plot, the FBI has to know everything about everybody. The fact that the FBI never finds any evidence of this subversive infiltration merely demonstrates to the FBI how clever the subversives really are.

Even when their Justice Department superiors repeatedly terminate these types of investigations because they result in no evidence of wrongdoing, and only show the non-criminal nature of the targeted group, the true believers simply bide their time and then open another investigation under a different file name.

When FBI agents can't find the non-existent KGB candygram to CISPES, they merely ignore the evidence of no criminal activity and redoubled their efforts to pursue the group. When the current controversy over CISPES blows over, a new excuse will be found to launch another investigation. Attorney Krinsky agrees with author Donner that the term terrorism is merely a device used by the FBI to justify its political mission. Krinsky noted:

=== "The FBI investigated the NLG for over three decades, moving from one pretext to another, without being hindered by the fact that none of their suspicions proved to be based in fact. As soon as one pretext was challenged by a court or the Justice Department administrators, the FBI would abandon that pretext and embark on a supposedly new investigation using a different pretext.

Among the investigative categories used to justify FBI spying on the NLG, Front for the Communist Party, Fomenting Prison Rebellion, Front for the Weather Underground, and Violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

No criminal charges were ever filed against the

NLG and each investigation was terminated unsuccessfully when no evidence of criminal activity was found. “So you see the CISPES so-called investigation comes as no surprise to us”, said Krinsky who added the revelations vindicate the position that former FBI director William Webster (under whom the CISPES investigation was conducted) never really repudiated the sins of the past. Webster now heads the CIA, he is supposed to clean up the mess left by former CIA director William Casey. Sure. Ann Mari Buitrago, a file specialist from the Fund for Open Information and Accountability, was hired by the Center for Constitutional Rights to read and analyze the FBI files on CISPES. Her conclusions:

=== “The files show a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object—the destruction of the people's right to know and to assemble in order to express opposing views on public policy.

=== “The FBI is still reaching into the Hoover-era bag of tricks to fight dissent. They are feeding their fantasies that the Red Menace is everywhere. It is an obsessive belief they share with Reagan—and like all fantasies, facts do not put it to sleep.

Buitrago believed the Boos report on CISPES was circulated by the FBI because the agency actually shares the right-wing paranoid vision of the internal subversive conspiracy. But as Buitrago observed, “This is nothing new.”

The new round of FBI and private spying represents a new strain of McCarthyism, mutated to avoid public scrutiny. The terms may have changed from red menace, fellow-traveller, and communist propaganda to terrorist threat, unwitting dupe, and Soviet disinformation, but it is McCarthyism nonetheless.

The true-believers in the FBI serve as the covert McCarthyists within that agency, continuing their super-patriotic crusade down through the decades. Those in the Reagan Administration and the FBI who shared the paranoid anti-communist worldview initially could not understand the fuss about the CISPES investigation. When it came to smashing perceived criminal subversives and allies of Soviet “terrorism”, the authoritarian Nativists assumed they were simply carrying out their mandate—as indeed in a sense they were.

The less zealous anti-communists in the Justice Department are critical of the paranoid true-believers (such as those agents involved with directing FBI informant Varelli to engage in disruption), yet they seek to defend the basic concept of using political surveillance like a fishing expedition to hook the criminals hiding behind the first amendment. Today the FBI serves not only an official police function in the modern political surveillance network, but also a forum for legitimizing attacks on dissenters by criminalizing their views in the eyes of the public. Thus someone who supports the Sandinistas is transformed in the eyes of the public into a potential terrorist by the FBI probe. . .and terrorists are clearly not deserving of Constitutional safeguards protecting free speech.

Few activists think “authorized” burglaries and infiltration by the FBI could account for all the break-ins, assaults, kidnappings and other incidents against progressive activists chronicled by the Movement Support Network. Activists on both sides of the ideological fence speculate that at least some of the break-ins are being conducted by a shadowy strata composed of authoritarian FBI agents, ideological local police, and a loose consortium of right-wingers such as militant anti-communist ideologues, former police and agents from deposed foreign dictatorships, even U.S.-based members of Latin American death squads. Given the historical record, these speculations are hardly outrageous. Ross Gelbspan's book on the CISPES probe documented some of these suspicions.

## Slippery Slopes

Not even the tremendous gains of the counter-subversion worldview during the Reagan years pacified the true believers. Their concerns were expressed at a February 1989 conference held by Nativist conspiracy theorists in Worcester, Massachusetts where author John Stormer told the crowd of 200 that, “Communists are running wild in America.”

Many in attendance were recruited through flyers distributed by ultra-conservative Christian fundamentalist groups. The conference packet held an issue of the magazine published by the John Birch Society whose headquarters graced the

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Boston suburb of Belmont for many years. In fact, key figures of the Birch Society attended the sessions, and one person who has monitored the Birchers for almost 20 years concluded the seminar was clear evidence that the Birch Society and its mentality are alive and well, at least in the Boston area.

The Worcester audience watched Oliver North's communist red menace slide show which was originally used for contra fundraising. North's trial was mentioned repeatedly in the context of proving the treason of those who are prosecuting North.

Treason and conspiracy were the main themes of the conference. Stormer's "None Dare Call it Treason" was for sale at the conference and formed the outline of the presentations. The back cover summarizes the text as detailing "the communist-socialist conspiracy to enslave America" and documenting "the concurrent decay in America's schools, churches, and press which has conditioned the American people to accept 20 years of retreat in the face of the communist enemy." Liberals, secularists, humanists, and psychologists were all denounced as helping pave the way for a communist takeover. Stormer was joined by Conservative Caucus founder Howard Phillips who conducted several workshops on the domestic subversive network.

According to Stormer, all problems worldwide "stem from the Soviet Union." The roots of government subversion in the U.S. were planted at the Department of Agriculture where "Young Communist attorneys, fresh off the campuses of Harvard and Columbia" began to plan the take over of every government agency.

After Iran-Contragate, said Stormer, "hard-line knowledgeable anti-communists, such as Oliver North" were cleaned out of the National Security Council, when really the "State Department needs to be cleaned out."

Stormer blamed liberals in Congress and the Jimmy Carter Administration for destroying internal security in U.S. and allowing communist subversion to flourish. He said North was forced to lie to Congress because North didn't want to give sensitive information to Congressman George Crockett, thought to be a security risk because as an

NLG attorney in the 1950's, Crockett defended top communist leaders called before congressional committees and prosecuted for their beliefs. Stormer said Crockett, "showed his allegiance, although he has never been identified as a known communist."

The audience in Worcester bought the whole apple pie served up by Stormer. The only serious discussion between workshops centered the pervasiveness of the conspiracy, and the role of the Trilateralists, Bilderbergers, Council on Foreign Relations and Fabian Socialism. The scene could well have been painted by a tipsy Norman Rockwell attempting a pastiche of Picasso's *Guernica*. There were sex-segregated rows of fresh-faced teenagers from private Christian schools, businessmen in banker's suits, middle aged women with henna hair and diamond earrings, grey-haired dowagers shrinking into their furs, young professionals in tweed sports coats and wire rimmed glasses, craggy couples in wool shirts and bulky sweaters.

According to Stormer, "If you have millions of people conditioned to think a certain way by the humanists, it only takes a few communists to manipulate them." The framework of the conspiracy is erected through state control of the public school educational system which was first instituted by John Dewey in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Dewey not only urged centralized curriculums under state government agencies, but encouraged the expurgation of religion from the then widely-used McGuffey Readers series of schoolbooks. Thus it is the secularization of American society that is leading to its demise.

Stormer believed that secularists, liberals, humanists, and socialists pave the way for communism due to their naive belief that Man is basically good, when true Christian conservatives know that Man is basically evil and finds goodness only through God. Because of the erroneous belief in evolution, all humanists think communism will eventually evolve, which is impossible. Because of pervasive acceptance of modern psychology, humanists believe Man is a product of his environment; they thus think if the communists do something bad, it must be our fault. Of course, true Christian conservatives realize that Communism is the embodiment of evil, said Stormer.

What is important to Stormer and his allies is made clear by his comment that “Nicaragua under Somoza was not a system we would be comfortable living under, but at least you could own private property and practice your religion.” Stormer said Reagan appointees such as U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick understood this concept, which is why they were forced out of the Reagan Administration, which all conference speakers agreed had sold out to the “Washington Insiders”.

Howard Phillips doesn't have much faith in the Bush Administration either, calling the first term the “third Bush Administration” Phillips announced that “the Western Alliance is coming apart at the seams,” and suggested we should “take back the Panama Canal” and “support for South Africa as a bulwark against communism.”

Phillips, who once headed up the Young Republican Club at Harvard, moved on to be appointed by Nixon to dismantle the Office on Economic Opportunity which Stormer described as “basically financing the whole revolution in American cities.” Phillips spoke on the topic: “How U.S. Taxpayers Finance Perversion and Domestic Leftists.”

Another key thesis of the Stormer conference was that the American intelligence community was still hamstrung by laws, court decisions, federal regulations and a cabal of traitors, from adequately penetrating the subversive political movements in America today. Indeed, that premise is a central thesis of the counter-subversion network and why it sees a need to not only cooperate with the FBI, but also to establish parallel surveillance structures.

## From Red Menace to Subversives and Terrorists

### Case Studies

#### Campus Counter-subversion

At the 1989 Conservative Political Action Conference counter-subversion star J. Michael Waller spoke at a student workshop on conducting

“Opposition Research.” At the workshop a pamphlet published by the Young Americans for Freedom was distributed. Titled “List of Un-American Organizations on Our College Campuses” the 15-page booklet is dedicated to “Uncle Joe (1908-1957)” and fulfills its McCarthyist heritage by its blacklist-style smears of CISPEP, United Campuses Against Nuclear War, Communist Party USA, Oxfam America, Trans Africa, Washington Office on Africa, United States Student Association, and a “Sandinista Support Network” including Witness for Peace, Nicaragua Network and TecNica.

According to the pamphlet:

=== “With Congress and the FBI no longer able to investigate anti-American activities on the college campuses, it has increasingly become the responsibility of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) to keep watch over those groups who desire to undermine America.

=== “While YAF was able to secretly monitor Leftist groups for the last several years, a recent string of newspaper articles and a television documentary have appeared, blowing YAF's cover.

The pamphlet also archly warns that it hopes to provide:

=== “a basic idea of the terrible threat these Hard-Left groups pose to our way of life. Many of these groups take their orders directly from a hostile foreign power and all of them are entrenched on at least one of the college campuses in your community.

#### Corporate Security

Commercial security consulting firms such as Vance Security Assets Protection Team, Business Risks International, and Wackenhut continue to offer services with paranoid right-wing assumptions sometimes in evidence. This is especially true with security during labor struggles or strikes. Information on this area is meager given the secretive nature of the organizations. A study of Vance was published by the paperworkers union.

#### Rees's Pieces

The former kingpin of the intelligence arm of the counter-subversion network John Rees, Rees was a Falstaffian figure who relished his role and the

intrigue it involved. He is assisted by a staff of investigators which includes his wife, Sheila Louise Rees, a former aide to the late Rep. Larry McDonald. Rees also runs a network of informants and infiltrators which often is better placed than FBI informants and is more professional than the young campus-oriented network favored by the Council for Inter-American Security and Young Americans for Freedom.

S. Louis Rees became the official editor of *Information Digest*, published out of a house in Baltimore, Maryland where she is assisted by John Rees and Martha Powers.

### The Neo-Nazi KKK Network

At the farthest fringe of the counter-subversion movement are the Neo-Nazi and Klan groups in the U.S. that are known to share data on their ideological and racial enemies,

Although this activity frequently is carried out in secret, one published clue appeared in the newspaper of the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) run by former California Klan leader Tom Metzger. The article, which refers to ZOG, the Zionist Occupational Government, speaks for itself:

=== “. . . Agents of the Jew power system must learn a lesson in honesty. (We differentiate between an honest labor- oriented Left, eager to know more about anti-establishment Whites apart from their media stereotype, and the dishonest Leftists who are really only police spies). W.A.R. would like to obtain photographs of ZOG agents such as Leonard Zeskind of the so-called ‘Center for Democratic Renewal’ (a.k.a. National Anti-Klan Network), ‘Chip’ Berlet of ‘Midwest Research’ and similar police- tied groups (Public Eye, ADL, etc.) and individuals.

=== “All such photographs and documents are intended only to protect our rights. (Our criteria for determining if a Left group is police-connected is to examine their reporting of the murders of Kahl and Mathews. If they simply repeat the pig’s version of events, something they would never do if negroes or Jews were victims—they are ZOG). Let’s keep an eye on the spies and, through legal means, use their own tactics against them: White activists should attend these ZOG group’s meetings whenever possible—taking notes or tape recording the talks.

=== “Send copies to W.A.R. Counterintelligence c/o

this newspaper—and be sure to photograph the speakers and their associates—such photos are a big help to our team.

Needless to say, it is unlikely that information gathered by this network is shared with federal or local law enforcement officials.

## How Counter-Subversion Investigations were Rationalized in the 1990's

During the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) operations from the 1950's through the early 1970's, the stated goal of the FBI was to actually “disrupt” or “neutralize,” the activities of dissidents, a goal both Congress and the courts found to be unconstitutional.

Following media exposure, Congressional hearings and numerous lawsuits, the FBI attorneys carefully read the applicable case law. Today, all FBI investigations at least start out tied to a possible violation of a specific federal criminal statute. The FBI's legal justifications, however, merely serve as the current public rationalization for a decades-long policy of targeting alleged “subversives” with extra-legal tactics in an effort to derail or destroy movements for social change. . . movements with leaders perceived to be witting or unwitting tools of communist agents.

Since this ultimate ideological goal of the FBI cannot be legally (and certainly not publically) articulated, the FBI has developed an artful use of coded language to obscure and justify its actions. To understand these related phenomena, it is necessary to study the political ideology behind the current use by the FBI and its allies of the terms “national security,” “subversion,” and “terrorism.”

### The Rubric of Terrorism

Certainly no foreign agent or actual terrorist has the protection of the Constitution for his or her activities; and on a moral level all terrorism (violence directed at non-combatant civilians to spread fear and panic in an effort to achieve military or political goals), is reprehensible. . . whether carried out by individuals, political groups or nations, and regardless of the merit of the political ends. Still, it is

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important to listen carefully when the term terrorism is used since it is frequently used purposefully to redirect thinking concerning acts of war, armed aggression, and violence which, while they may be tragic or despicable, in fact are not accurately described as terrorism, nor carry the stigma of the term terrorism. Nonetheless, whether an act is actual terrorism, perceived to be terrorism, or called terrorism, the effect as a rhetorical device is identical.

The FBI uses popular fear of terrorism in a rhetorical sleight-of-hand to construct a seemingly-plausible reason for surveillance and infiltration of groups that the FBI readily admitted are ostensibly engaged in protected speech and associational activity.

According to the FBI theory (as laid out in repeated public statements and FBI internal documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act) lawful groups are used as covers or fronts for subversive activities of enemy agents and terrorists. The goal of these subversive terrorists is to so weaken society as to allow the takeover of the United States by the forces of global communism. Thus seemingly legitimate groups which appear on the surface to be merely exercising their First Amendment rights, are potentially subversive, can be used as a staging area for terrorism both abroad and in the U.S., and thus pose a serious threat to our national security interests.

This rationale was, in fact, put forward to an FBI oversight committee, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, February 23, 1988 by Oliver B. "Buck" Revell, Executive Assistant Director of the FBI. Revell had been summoned to explain the FBI's CISPES investigation. However Revell's explanation was found to be dubious by Congressional probers. FBI Director William Sessions then went before the committee and stated that the CISPES investigation was the result of errors by a few wayward FBI agents and informants—a claim not supported by the FBI's own internal documents.

### In Search of the Crafty Core Cadre

Implicit in the rationalizations and justifications for political repression is a package of right-wing

paranoid beliefs with roots deep in xenophobia and nativism. Two key paranoid theories could be called the theories of the "Slippery Slope" and the "Onion Ring."

#### The Slippery Slope Theory of Subversion:

- Global liberation movements are not prompted by a genuine response to social conditions but by outside intervention, most often by revolutionaries or communists and their proxies.
- Domestic social change movements are not fueled by a genuine response to social conditions but by outside agitators, most often revolutionaries or those under the control of revolutionaries .
- Liberalism is the crest of a slippery slope which leads downhill to the Welfare State, then Socialism, and inevitably to Communism or Totalitarianism.
- Dissent is provoked by subversion. Subversion is a terrorist movement. Terrorism is criminal.

For the true believers who advocate this view, patriotism equals unquestioning obedience to authority and undying resistance to social change. Surveillance and infiltration are justified to stop the spread of subversion. It's all a plot. Slippery Slope theorists generally also believe in the Onion-ring theory as well.

#### The Onion-ring Theory of Subversion.

- Subversive cadre bore into the core of all social change movements both at home and abroad.
- To uncover the cadre who are engaged in subversive criminal activity, an informant must work step-by-step from the outside onion ring of non-criminal free-speech activity through several rings of hierarchy toward the center core where the criminal activity lurks.
- Honest though naive activists are often unaware they are being manipulated, and therefore should welcome attempts to expose the core of crafty covert criminal cadre.

The Onion Ring theory is less extreme than the Slippery Slope theory in its concession that some members of radical and liberal political movements are sincere, and not sliding towards totalitarianism. Nonetheless, its advocates also justify surveillance and infiltration to stop the criminal activity at the core of groups exercising their free speech rights.

In fact, in order to insure that at least some agents or informants succeed in penetrating to the criminality at the core, an extraordinary level of invasion becomes not only legitimate, but essential.

Onion-ringers advocate infiltrating every group, spying on every member, and keeping track of all persons even tangentially involved in all social change movements. Alas, for the domestic political activist, the end result of both the Slippery Slope and Onion Ring theories is the same: political surveillance and infiltration.

===While courts have consistently ruled that passive monitoring of First Amendment activity is permissible, critics charge that passive monitoring and dossier-compiling often turn into disruption or attack, sometimes inadvertently, sometimes intentionally.

Since agents are attempting to find a core of criminality that, except in rare cases, does not in fact exist, they become frustrated and redouble their efforts. This fervor is especially problematic with informants and agents provocateur who fail to find the sought-after criminals, and thus may feel compelled to inflate, provoke, or invent charges of criminality to reach their assigned goal, gain status, and continue to receive pay and bonuses.

The dynamic of informant abuse is discussed in *Under Cover: Police Surveillance in America*. Some critics insist that without unequivocal guidelines, firm congressional oversight, and thoughtful judicial intervention, intelligence activities—whether domestic or foreign—almost inevitably turn toward undemocratic techniques. Other, more historically informed critics point out that all of these constraints have consistently failed to deter abuse.

## Re-Framing Dissent as Criminal Subversion

Exactly how the repetitive repressive processes of counter-subversion interact, and which elements are causative, symptomatic, or merely anecdotal, has not been fully studied. Nevertheless, when classic patterns of political repression emerge, regardless of causation, a political or social movement would be wise to consider tactics and strategies to protect its members from the negative effects of political repression—political, emotional,

and physical. Further, since dissident groups experiencing political repression often are later revealed to be victims of illegal government surveillance and harassment, members can be provided with simple, common sense techniques to prevent fears of (and actual incidents of) surveillance and infiltration from paralyzing or disrupting the group and diverting it from its goals.

## Paradigm Shift & Anti-Ecology Witch Hunts

Often overlooked as a possible warning sign that a campaign of political repression is underway is “paradigm shift.” Paradigm shift, in this usage, means a major negative change in the way the public perceives the political movement that is ultimately victimized. Paradigm shift frequently is associated with episodes of political repression, and frequently precedes more overt signs of attack such as assaults, break-ins and surveillance. Political repression telegraphs its punches.

For many years the major threat to “the American way of life” was popularly believed to be communism, then generalized leftist revolutionism, and now a vaguely-defined domestic terrorism. Targeted individuals are seen as not only engaged in criminality, but also attacking core cultural and political values which, if abandoned, would destroy America as we know it, and which therefore represent a threat to national security. This concept of America under attack frequently is filtered through a paranoid worldview that represents what social scientists call a “subversion myth.”

The perceptual shift from dissent to criminality first goes public with unsubstantiated allegations and conclusions in the newspapers, newsletters and magazines of the reactionary and paranoid political right. These right-wing media attempts to re-frame the public's perception of the dissident group. The concept of the “frame-up” has been popularized in pulp crime novels and film noir, but few people stop to consider what it means when, with wide-eyed innocence, the person being dragged to jail proclaims, “I've been framed.” The term “frame” is condensed from the original jargon, “to hang a frame” on someone, which means to select for an observer a perspective from which certain conclusions about a person, group or event seem

readily apparent, logical, and even inescapable.

Eventually, right-wing re-framing of dissidents as subversives or criminals spills over into more mainstream media. A growing segment of the public begins to see the targeted political movement as fundamentally at odds with mainstream society. This antagonism is portrayed as irreconcilable. The dissidents are seen as non-rational, unstable, alien, and capable of odious crimes because of their zealous mindset. Lists of potential crimes are discussed, and finally actual crimes are blamed on the political movement. Ideas that were once merely marginalized are thus criminalized. Popular opposition to government and private attacks on the dissenting group is partially neutralized. In some cases the re-framing is so successful that there is widespread popular sentiment supporting the attacks. When this process of re-framing is successful, paradigm shift has occurred.

Often, derogatory information passes back and forth between government agencies and private right wing groups through informal back-door channels, and the actual source becomes obscure. Lawsuits and declassified documents have revealed that sometimes it is the investigative agency that leaks information to the right-wing press, and in other cases investigative agencies rationalize investigations by citing charges appearing in the right-wing press. The relationship benefits both sides. The agency is able to test public sentiment and prepare the ground for its assault, while the right-wing press furthers its political agenda and at the same time appears to be generating hard investigative journalism.

Re-framing of dissenters as criminal subversives is therefore a critical process within government law enforcement and intelligence agencies. For internal and external reasons, government institutions must provide justifications for the fact that on the surface, members of a dissident group under investigation often appear to be engaged in activity protected by the First Amendment. Agents and officers who become queasy about lapses in protecting Constitutional rights, or who object to the paranoid assumptions underlying the rationalization of the investigation, are made aware that their careers will suffer unless

they become team players. Sometimes, if public political conditions are favorable, a Congressional committee will start a well-publicized investigation and hold hearings where the government and right-wing experts who started the process are called to testify. This forum ensures that the charges against the targeted group are distributed widely by the media, and hearing transcripts become the basis for a new wave of charges.

When the public is prepared to view the dissidents as a clear and present danger, the last stage of political repression is implemented. Government agents engage in intrusive investigative procedures and harass members of the targeted group. Suddenly, demonstrations or acts of civil disobedience are met with huge overreaction and displays of police power (and sometimes acts of police misconduct or brutality); and unexplained and apparently random physical assaults, arson attacks, or robberies occur with increasing frequency.

Since the occurrence of paradigm shift may serve as an early indicator for political repression it is useful to study how the environmental movement and the movement seeking civil rights and equality for gay men and lesbians are both experiencing paradigm shifting attacks.

As Johan Carlisle pointed out in *Covert Action Quarterly*, “the two environmental groups under the heaviest fire are Earth First! and Greenpeace.”

<sup>47</sup>Right-wing publications have been re-framing the environmental movement for several years and current articles in mainstream media are beginning to reflect this paradigm shift. For instance *USA Today* in April of 1992 ran two opposing views on Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* published thirty years ago last April. <sup>48</sup>After claiming Carson's warnings about DDT were unfounded, author Patrick Cox, “an associate policy analyst for the Competitive Enterprise Institute,” went on to frame Carson and the anti-toxics movement as hysterical ideologues. An analysis of Cox's polemic results in the following:

### **Frame established for anti-toxics movement:**

Persons who oppose pesticides and believe DDT is unsafe:

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- Reject science.
- Are inflicted with “environmental hypochondria”.
- Circulate “apocalyptic, tabloid charges.”
- Have “no evidence” to back their “hysterical predictions.”
- Use “gross manipulation” to fool the media.
- Are “unscrupulous, Luddite fundraisers.”
- Suffer from “knee-jerk, chemophobic rejection of pesticides.”
- Create “vast and needless costs” for consumers and farmers.

### Frame established for pro-pesticide industry:

Pesticide supporters who believe wide use globally of DDT is safe:

- Are pro-science and pro-logic.
- Have support from the “real scientific community—the community of controlled studies, double blind experiments and peer review.”
- Are on the side of U.S. consumers and farmers and save them money.

The rhetoric attempting to frame the environmental movement is vivid. “Willing to sacrifice people to save trees.”<sup>49</sup> “We are in a war with fanatics...they will go to any extreme.”<sup>50</sup> “Behind the Sierra Club calendars...lies a full-fledged ideology...every bit as powerful as Marxism and every bit as dangerous to individual freedom and human happiness.”<sup>51</sup> “Blinded by misinformation, fear tactics, or doomsday syndromes.”<sup>52</sup> “The core of this environmental totalitarianism is anti-God.”<sup>53</sup> “An ideology as pitiless and Messianic as Marxism.”<sup>54</sup> “Since communism has been thoroughly discredited, it has been repackaged and relabeled and called environmentalism.”<sup>55</sup> “The radical animal-rights wing of the environmental movement has a lot in common with Hitler's Nazis.”<sup>56</sup>

There have been centuries of discrimination against persons who challenge the heterosexual majority, but the 1990's saw a wave of physical attacks on and harassment of those trying to raise awareness about AIDS, or seeking human rights for lesbians and gay men. These attacks reflected classic patterns of political repression.<sup>57</sup>

Articles in the right-wing press escalated hyperbolic rhetoric concerning homosexuals

starting in the late 1970's, as gay rights activists moved out of the closet. In the early 1980's Enrique Rueda of the Free Congress Research & Education Foundation was asked by Free Congress president Paul Weyrich “to research the social and political impact of the homosexual movement in America.”<sup>58</sup>

The result was a lengthy 1982 book, *The Homosexual Network*, in which Rueda concluded that “The homosexual movement is a subset of the spectrum of American liberal movements.”<sup>59</sup> Rueda was alarmed by “the extent to which it has infiltrated many national institutions.”<sup>60</sup> One jacket blurb writer gushed that Rueda had revealed “the widening homosexual power-grab in our society.” From civil rights to power-grab in one volume.

In 1987 Rueda joined with co-author Michael Schwartz to produce *Gays, AIDS and You*. The introduction warns “The homosexual political agenda represents a radical departure from what we as Americans believe...a terrible threat—to ourselves, our children, our communities, our country...a radical, anti-family agenda.”<sup>61</sup> From power-grab to terrible threat. The authors suggest the movement for homosexual rights is different from movements involving “legitimate” minorities, and using conspiratorial phrases, write:

=== “This movement is stronger, more widespread, more skillfully structured than most Americans realize. It reaches into our media, our political institutions, our schools, even into our mainline churches....And now this movement is using the AIDS crisis to pursue its political agenda. This in turn, threatens not only our values but our lives.”<sup>62</sup>

Back cover blurbs include snippets from Senator Bill Armstrong, “An urgent warning,” Beverly LaHaye, “reminds us of the necessity to reaffirm our civilization's Biblical heritage,” and Congressman William E. Dannemeyer, “failure to affirm our heterosexual values not only is unhealthy, but could result in the demise of our civilization.” From terrible threat to end of civilization.

An order form for *Gays, AIDS and You* circulated by the Free Congress Foundation includes a picture of a man at a desk, his face in shadows, and the headline: “This Man Wants His 'Freedom' So Bad He's Ready To Let America Die

For It.” The text added, “Our civilization stands in the path of his fulfillment as a freely promiscuous homosexual.”<sup>63</sup>

Dr. Ed. Rowe, author of *Homosexual Politics: Road to Ruin for America*, goes further in outlawing the targeted movement, stating that “Homosexual politics is a moral cancer eating at the fabric of America. It is an unholy, satanic crusade...this evil movement must be stopped!”<sup>64</sup> Senator Jesse Helm's introduction to Rowe's book also raises the theme of non-rational zealotry: “Homosexual politics continues in fanatical pursuit of its goal of carving out a new 'civil right' based on the sexual appetite of its adherents.”<sup>65</sup>

Neo-fascist hater Lyndon LaRouche was among the first in the paranoid right to move the alarm into the political arena. LaRouchians spawned restrictive propositions placed on the California ballot that were successfully defeated only after broad-based organizing efforts reversed early polls showing passage of measures that essentially called for firings and quarantines for persons with signs of AIDS. LaRouche even obliquely suggested murder as a tactic, writing that history would not judge harshly those persons who took baseball bats and beat to death homosexuals to stop the spread of AIDS. One 1985 pamphlet published by LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee was titled “AIDS is more deadly than Nuclear War,” which turned out to be a repackaged attack on the International Monetary Fund and the Federal Reserve.<sup>66</sup>

There are dozens of books and pamphlets that marginalize and frame the lesbian and gay men's movements as threats to the American way of life, and fit the pattern for paradigm shift.<sup>67</sup>

## Rees & Kincaid

While covering the January 26, 1991 Washington, D.C. demonstration against the Gulf War for the newspaper *Human Events*, reporter Cliff Kincaid contacted and quoted Sheila Louise Rees, who claimed the group coordinating the antiwar demonstration, the Campaign for Peace in

the Middle East, was established “by the traditional hard-line peace activist organizations that have always worked with the Communist Party U.S.A....” including, according to Rees, the War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, and SANE/Freeze. The phrasing of the quote implied that the peace groups were really fronts for the Communist Party, U.S.A. The headline for Kincaid's February 9, 1991 article read, “Far Left Sparks Anti-War Protests: Effectively Supports Iraq,” implying that in time of war, the peace activists in effect were guilty of being criminal traitors.

The rhetoric, source, and outlet for the story are all familiar components of an institutionalized domestic counter-subversion network. One arm of this network is comprised of private right-wing groups that spy on progressive dissidents and then publicize claims that the dissidents are engaged in potentially-illegal activity. These biased claims are then used by the other arm of the network, counter-subversive units within government intelligence agencies, as a rationale to launch investigative probes which frequently interfere with legitimate protest activities of dissidents who are not engaged in criminal activity, but merely exercising their First Amendment rights.

*Human Events*, is an ultra-conservative weekly newspaper that periodically carries articles claiming to have uncovered subversive plots. And, as *Human Events* reporter Cliff Kincaid pointed out in his story on the Gulf War protest, Louise Rees is “publisher of *Information Digest*, the publication that monitors extremist groups.”

Starting in the late 1960's, S. Louise Rees and her long-time partner John Rees conducted political monitoring and surveillance operations on leftists for twenty-five years, circulating their reports in their *Information Digest* newsletter to a wide range of public and private groups. The Reeses supplied information to such private sector conservative groups as the Old Right John Birch Society, the Christian Right Church League of America, the New Right Heritage Foundation, and the Neo-conservative Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The Reeses also provided information to government law enforcement and investigative

agencies such as the FBI, congressional committees, and local police intelligence units. In addition, the Reeses supplied data to private sector industrial and corporate security departments.

Allegations by the Reeses and other right-wing spies have been used by the FBI as a justification for launching massive investigative probes. These intrusive FBI investigations harassed, smeared, and disrupted groups that were not engaged in any criminal activity, but simply exercising their constitutional rights to dissent from official government policies. For instance, articles by John Rees in *Information Digest* and a John Birch Society magazine, along with material from other right-wing sources, were used by the FBI as part of their justification to probe members and allies of the anti-interventionist group Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) as possible terrorists or foreign agents. In the suspicious world of counter-subversion, information such as that printed in *Human Events* and *Information Digest* targets a liberal or leftist political movement as acting as a foreign agent for a hostile government, promoting communist revolution, or providing a cover for terrorism, all of which involve violations of criminal law.

### Spies, Researchers, or Journalists?

Like other right-wing investigators interviewed for this study, J. Michael Waller rejects the label spy, and points out what he is doing is what any good journalist would do. Waller believed he had “the goods” on CISPES: “if the FBI had access to the same information we came up with, they would have reached a different conclusion” about CISPES, Waller claimed.

He said he parts company, however, with those journalists who are too close to the FBI. “If someone is writing in a journalistic capacity they should maintain their independence by not cooperating on the side of a government agency.”

Waller's position on this topic is eroded by the fact that the CIS publicly announced its assistance to law enforcement and intelligence agencies, and Waller himself prepared a report for the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy, which has been described in a Congressional staff report as

essentially a domestic CIA propaganda operation.

In a 1987 interview Waller allowed that the CIS fundraising claims are a bit hyped, but said CIS did maintain the best files on Central America activists. Waller insists he “would not knowingly accept information obtained illegally,” and said flatly that those involved with CIS “don't steal, don't break in, we don't do anything of that.” According to Waller, “several disenchanted former CISPES members have been pretty helpful to us,” but he refused to say whether that help extended to passing along internal documents.

The Constitution protects the right of right-wing groups to monitor groups and disseminate the most outlandish charges about their political enemies on the left. As long as the right-wingers are not stealing documents or tapping phones or engaging in other criminal acts against privacy rights, they are not breaking the law. “CISPES members have attended our meetings,” noted Ron Robinson, President of Young Americas Foundation, “if that's infiltration then every reporter who attends a meeting and writes about it is an infiltrator.” According to Robinson, the Foundation “provides information to the government,” especially to those members of the Reagan Administration who had a “long history of activism in conservative youth groups.”

John Rees, the dean of right-wing sleuths argues that “the Constitution protects what I do.” What if the FBI launches a criminal probe based on his material? Rees responded “I'm delighted they are supplementing my effort; and when they close down an investigation I report it as being closed down.” Rees added he has been repeatedly sued by his liberal critics for his activities, “and none of them prevailed.”

The problem, according to Hugh Byrnes, political director of CISPES, is when Reagan's law enforcement agencies used “the false picture of CISPES portrayed by these right-wing loonies” to launch a criminal investigation which in fact was simply a pretext for crude harassment against anti-administration dissent in general, and CISPES in particular. “The fundamental issue is the right to free speech and the right to dissent,” said Byrnes. “Under Reagan, the government's policy, from the highest levels, has been to stifle all dissent that is in

opposition to the Administration's failing policies in Central America. They learned from Vietnam it is necessary to prevent social upheaval and silence critics to be able to win their war in Central America," said Byrne. According to Byrne, Iran-Contra showed the Administration is willing to use any method with "contempt for the law" to achieve their goals.

It is unlikely that any presidential administration in post-McCarthyist America could successfully pursue a policy of openly "stifling dissent." Government actions which can be interpreted by activists as "stifling dissent" are rationalized by government agencies as fulfilling legitimate law enforcement functions. The paranoid Nativist's who pursue counter-subversion as a central issue create a body of literature and a functioning constituency which the FBI relies on to justify its political spying in terms of unravelling terrorist and criminally-subversive (actually traitorous) activity on the part of dissenters. While what the private counter-subversives do is protected by the Constitution, how the FBI uses their "research" is to engage in political surveillance and investigations which almost inevitably end up violating the constitutionally-protected rights of those who dissent from administration policies.

Revell disputed that the FBI based its investigations of CISPES on John Rees's John Birch Society reprints. Responding to a question after delivering a speech at the 1989 annual meeting of the American Society for Industrial Security, Revell described the FBI circulation of Rees's material as the work of one FBI staffer.<sup>68</sup> According to Revell, he told the Congressional committee that this was an isolated incident, but Revell said that he was informed by an associate that this was not technically accurate. "Then Steve Pomeranz, who was the section chief on terrorism, says, 'Well B'Nai B'Rith does send us stuff and we do send it out on the activities of some of the Palestinian groups,' and I said we shouldn't do that either," explained Revell. "But I didn't get the same reaction from the congressional committee members on that one."

## Conclusions

A murky netherworld exists among ultra-right

ideologues that see conspiracies everywhere, the "Cowboys" of the private security sphere, and certain segments of the law enforcement community. They spy on activists, trade information, and inevitably end up harassing persons engaged in the type of freedom of expression our laws are supposed to protect.

The view of treacherous subversion embraced by the ultra-conservative right was based on a paranoid conspiratorial world view with its historic roots in turn-of-the-century xenophobic nativism. Some persons who share this paranoid worldview work in public government intelligence agencies and private right-wing groups, and they forge *ad hoc* covert spy networks to investigate dissidents and trade information and files on activists they suspect of subversion or other criminal activity.

As government intelligence agencies came under public scrutiny in the 1970's, and some limited reforms were implemented, many functions of the government counter-subversion apparatus were privatized. When the Reagan Administration resuscitated the intelligence community, a parallel public/private counter-subversion network emerged once again on the political scene.

The loosely-knit domestic counter-subversion network engages in an ongoing obsessive witch hunt against dissidents, surviving through different presidential administrations, working inside and outside of government agencies and congressional committees, and pursuing its goals in the public and private sectors with little regard for legislative or Constitutional safeguards. The network sees itself as composed of latter-day knights on a patriotic crusade, with all liberal or radical-left dissenters pictured as infidels.

The existence of a public/private counter-subversion network is not new. Paranoid nativism predates both the Cold War and the Red Menace. Even before the rise of Bolshevism there were periodic hysterias in the U.S. centered around imagined subversive plots by Papists, Freemasons, and the Bavarian Illuminati. The scapegoat is interchangeable, but the process remains constant. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the counter-subversion network quickly shifted its scapegoats

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from the minions of the Red Menace to the threat posed by other contemporary worldwide movements seen as threatening to U.S. national security interests. These perceived threats include narco-terrorism, Arab terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, spying by economic competitors, militant environmentalists, homosexuals, and other members of movements which are stereotyped and then presented as scapegoats.

The civil liberties problems created by the excesses of this domestic counter-subversive network remain unresolved, as was demonstrated by revelations in 1993 of an intelligence network that involved persons associated with the San Francisco Police Department, the CIA, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In at least one instance, information collected by an ADL associate was provided to the foreign intelligence service of Israel, and one ADL contract agent, Roy Bullock, also sold information on anti-apartheid groups to the government intelligence service of South Africa. This incident was not an aberration, but another example of the unrestrained counter-subversion network in action.

As reporter Bill Moyers observed: "The apparatus of secret power remains intact. The voices that airily dismissed Watergate now ridicule the 'lessons' of Contragate and continue a spirited defense of lawbreaking, arguing that the United States cannot play by the rules in a world where others are lawless."

Journalist Eve Pell, who wrote "The Big Chill: How the Reagan administration, corporate America, and religious conservatives are subverting free speech and the public's right to know," 1984, Beacon Press, worried that the situation keeps getting worse and yet most Americans seem complacent. "The Bill of Rights was designed to protect dissidents because the colonists knew from direct experience that when the rights of the unpopular are eroded without protest, the rights of the average person will soon be infringed." Pell concludes her book with a quote from Benjamin Franklin: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

According to reporter Ross Gelbspan,

"Looking at the CISPES investigation in light of other political investigations dating back to the 1950's, one gets the distinct impression that the FBI sees its mandate as neutralizing or disabling every political movement that has the potential for bringing about significant changes in the American political system," argues Gelbspan.

Kit Gage, the Washington representative of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) agrees with Gelbspan. "We know first hand the kind of havoc the FBI can wreak on a group exercising its First Amendment rights," said Gage who has leafed through FBI files recording "38 years of surveillance on NCARL and its predecessors which produced 130,000 pages of files but not one criminal conviction." What is well documented "is an incredible amount of harassment and disruption of our organization," Gage charges. "Since the FBI seems unable to regulate itself," said Gage, "NCARL is currently seeking legal remedies in the form of legislation that would limit FBI investigations solely to criminal activity." Hundreds of law school professors have endorsed NCARL's proposed legislation.

Surveillance and disruption continues to hamstring activists. At the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, the Movement Support Network (MSN) maintains a list of suspicious incidents called in by groups around the country. According to MSN coordinator Jinsoo Kim, "since 1984 there have been over 300 suspicious incidents including 150 unexplained break-ins" where usually files are rifled but expensive office equipment not stolen. Suspicions point to an ad-hoc alliance of FBI agents and informants, other government investigators, far right vigilantes, and private security sleuths who trade information and justify their actions in the name of national security and fighting terrorism. Clearly the environmental movement is the target of some type of harassment campaign.

Although it is a needed reform, revising the Executive Orders which have unleashed the FBI is no long-term solution. The problem of chronic domestic government intelligence agency abuses is not so much that there are rogue elephants in the intelligence community, but that there are timid mice in Congress that are seldom chased into

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meaningful corrective action by the toothless cats in the Washington, D.C. civil liberties community. No one in congress wants to be perceived (or labelled) soft on “terrorism”.

Legislative reforms to rewrite the FBI Charter, such as those proposed in a petition campaign by the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, offer some safeguards against

government intelligence abuse, but the larger problem is societal not legislative. As long as paranoid nativism, hysterical anti-communism, and counter-subversion which hunts maintain a significant grassroots constituency, the right to dissent in the U.S. will be under attack, and the basis of informed consent which undergirds pluralistic democracy will suffer.

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- <sup>1</sup> (Original version 05/01/87)
- <sup>2</sup> Donner, Frank. *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims & Methods of America's Political Intelligence System*. New York: Alfred Knf, 1980
- <sup>3</sup> Donner, Frank. *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Political Repression in Urban America*. Berkeley: University of California, 1991
- <sup>4</sup> Goldstein, Robert J. *Political Repression in Modern America, 1870 to Present*, 2nd edition. Rochester VT: Schenkman Books, Inc., 1978.
- <sup>5</sup> Levin, Murray B. *Political Hysteria in America—the Democratic Capacity for Repression*. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- <sup>6</sup> Churchill, Ward & Jim Vander Wall. *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*. Boston: South End Press, 1988.
- <sup>7</sup> Churchill, Ward & Jim Vander Wall. *COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States*. Boston: South End Press, 1989.
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- <sup>9</sup> O'Reilly, Kenneth. “Racial Matters”: *The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960—1972*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
- <sup>10</sup> Gelbspan, Ross. *Break-Ins, Death Threats and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement*. Boston: South End Press, 1991
- <sup>11</sup> Glick, Brian. *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*. Boston: South End Press, 19.
- <sup>12</sup> Herman, Edward & Gerry O'Sullivan. *The Terrorism Industry: The Experts and Institutions That Shape View of Terror*, New York: Pantheon, 199
- <sup>13</sup> McCoy, Alfred W. *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity In The Global Drug Trade*. Lawrence Hill Books, 1991
- <sup>14</sup> Moyers, Bill, Maryland: Seven Locks Press, ]]]
- <sup>15</sup> Sklar, Holly. *Washington's War on Nicaragua*, Boston: South End Press, 19
- <sup>16</sup> Keller, William W. *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 198
- <sup>17</sup> Marx, Gary T. *Under Cover: Police Surveillance in America*. California: Twentieth Century Fund/University of California Press, 19
- <sup>18</sup> ]]]
- <sup>19</sup> Post, Louis F. *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1923. P. 20
- <sup>20</sup> *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twen*
- <sup>21</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 225. Emphasis in the original
- <sup>22</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 24
- <sup>23</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 24
- <sup>24</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 25
- <sup>25</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 25
- <sup>26</sup> Kintner, Front: p. 2
- <sup>27</sup> Keller, William W. *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover*. Lawrenceville, N.J.: 1989, Princeton University Press, pp. 157-15
- <sup>28</sup> Keller, *Liberals*, p. 19
- <sup>29</sup> Frank Donner, Age: p. 16
- <sup>30</sup> Navasky, *Names*, p.8
- <sup>31</sup> This section is drawn from a series of articles by the author and using research materials provided by the Public Eye COINTELPRO indexing projec
- <sup>32</sup> See numerous articles in Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune, especially circa July 1970 when first grand jury indictments were handed down, and July-August 1975 when sworn testimony firmly tied members of police unit to Legion. Noteworthy are the articles by Larry Green in Chicago Daily News July 29 & 30, August 1, 1975. Also depositions from Socialist Workers Party, et. al. v. Joseph Grubisic, et. al. Also discussed in Donne
- <sup>33</sup> Conclusions arrived at after review of material produced in the Michigan ACLU lawsuit, Benkert v. Michigan State Police. Also unblished academic paper by Daniel Jacob
- <sup>34</sup> See generally San Diego Door coverage of SAO, especially investigation by Doug Porter, Larry Remer and Bill Ritter. “The FBs Secret

- Soldiers,” Peter Biskind, *New Times*, Jan. 9, 1976. For hiding of gun see Donner p.444-44
- <sup>35</sup> This section is based in part on research provided by private investigator Sheila O'Donnel
- <sup>36</sup> Donner, *Age*, pp. 453-45
- <sup>37</sup> Mandate for Leadership: Policy Management in a Conservative Administration, Charles L. Heatherly, ed. (Washington, D.C., Heritage Foundation, 1981). See chapter 28: “The Intelligence Community,” Samuel T. Francis, Editor. pp. 903- 953. See especially: list of potential security threats, p. 935; call for constant surveillance/comprehensive files p. 940; contracting with prate organizations, p. 94
- <sup>38</sup> Mandate, p. 939 .
- <sup>39</sup> Mandate, pp. 939-9
- <sup>40</sup> An excellent discussion of Rees's role in these matters can be found in the *Village Voice*, August 16, 1983, “The Spy Who Ca Down on the Freeze: Rees, Reagan, and the Digest Smear,” by Seth Rosenfeld
- <sup>41</sup> "The FBI and Dissidents: A First Amendment Analysis of Attorney General Smith's 1983 FBI Guidelines on Domestic Security Investigations." Mitchell S. Rubin, *Police Misconduct and Civil Rights Law Report*, Clark Boardman Law Publishers, New York. Two parts: Vol. 1, No. 14, March-April 1986 and Vol.1 No. 15, May-June 1986. (edited under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee) .
- <sup>42</sup> All of the incidents of visits by FBI agents and Military Intelligence agents are based on interviews by the author with activists during 1983- 1984. See “FBI Harrassment: Vaguely Reminiscent of the 60's” *The Mobilizer*, Mobilization for Survival Newsletter, Summer 1984, by the author; For general FBI return to surveillance and disruption, see “Harrassment Monitored: Big Brother Returns,” *Public Eye Magazine*, Summer 1984 pp. 7-8. .
- <sup>43</sup> Numerous examples of this type of rhetorical direct mail are on file at Political Research Associates in Cambridge, MA. One classic was from the Council on Inter-American Security which contained a questionnaire asking “In your opinion, should we crack down harder on revolutionary groups already inside our borders? Yes/No/Undecided” .
- <sup>44</sup> ]]] .Gelbspan
- <sup>45</sup> This section was originally researched in cooperation with Nancy Katz for the National Lawyers Guild lawsuit against the FB
- <sup>46</sup> This section was originally researched with my colleague Margaret Quigley as a joint project from which we both wrote articles and papers. .
- <sup>47</sup> Carlisle, Johan. Bombs, Lies and Body Wires: Targetting the Environmental Movement. *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Number 38 (Fall 1991). See also: Berlet, Chip. Hunting the Green Menace. *The Humanist*, July/August 1991. Berlet, Chip and William K. Burke. *Corporate Fronts: Inside the Anti-Environmental Movement*. Greenpeace, Jan./Feb./March, 1992. .
- <sup>48</sup> *USA Today*, April 14, 1992, p. 12A. .
- <sup>49</sup> cited in Knox, Margaret. “Meet the Anti-Greens: The 'Wise Use' Movement Fronts for Industry.” *The Progressive*, October 1991. .
- <sup>50</sup> cited in Goldenthal, Howard. “Polarizing the Public Debate to Subvert Ecology Activism,” *NOW* (Toronto), July 13-19, 1989. .
- <sup>51</sup> Postrel, Virginia I. “The Green Road To Serfdom.” *Reason*, April 1990. .
- <sup>52</sup> Sikorski, Merrill. “Neo-Environmentalism: Balancing Protection and Development.” *American Freedom Journal*, December 1988, January 1989. ..
- <sup>53</sup> Krug, Edward C. “Save the Planet, Sacrifice the People: The Environmental Party's Bid for Power.” *Imprimis* (Hillsdale College, Michigan), July 1991. .
- <sup>54</sup> Rockwell, Llewellyn H., Jr. “An Anti-Environmentalist Manifesto.” *From The Right* (newsletter of Patrick J. Buchanan). Vol 1, #6, Quarterly II, 1990. .
- <sup>55</sup> Williams, Walter E. Column distributed for publication June 4, 1991, as reprinted in *Summit Journal*, July 1991. Citing Rockwell article above. .
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid. .
- <sup>57</sup> Kaplan, Esther. “Act Up Under Seige—Phone

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Harassment, Death Threats, Police Violence: Is the Government Out To Destroy This Group?" *Village Voice*, July 16, 1991. .

<sup>58</sup> Rueda, Enrique T. *The Homosexual Network: Private Lives and Public Policy*. Old Greenwich, CT: The Devin Adair Company (The Free Congress Research & Education Foundation), 1982. p. 15. .

<sup>59</sup> .” Ibid. p. 18. .

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 15. .

<sup>61</sup> Rueda, Enrique T. and Michael Schwartz Gays, *AIDS and You*. Old Greenwich, CT: The Devin Adair Company, 1987. p. 7. .

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p. 8. .

<sup>63</sup> Ad for Gays, *AIDS and You*, from Free Congress Foundation, circa 1988, as reproduced in Bellant, Russ. *The Coors Connection*. Boston: South End Press, 1991. p. 65. .

<sup>64</sup> Rowe, Dr. Ed. *Homosexual Politics: Road to Ruin for America*. Herndon, Virginia: Growth Book and Tape Co. (Church League of America-Washington, D.C. office), Back cover.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. P. 4. .

<sup>66</sup> National Democratic Policy Committee. “AIDS is more deadly than Nuclear War.” Pamphlet, NDPC, 1985. .

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, Monteith, Dr. Stanley. *AIDS: The Unnecessary Epidemic—America Under Siege*. Sevierville, TN: Covenant House Books, 1991. LaHaye, Tim. *The Unhappy Gays*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1978. Noebel, David A. *The Homosexual Revolution*. Tulsa, OK: American Christian College Press, 1977. See also, various pamphlets and reprints from the John Birch Society, including “The Truth About AIDS,” *The New American*, August 31, 1987, and “What they are not telling you about AIDS, a pamphlet reprinting articles from the January 19, 1987 issue of *The New American*. .

<sup>68</sup> The author posed the question to Revell .