

29 December 1975

MEMO TO ██████████

Re. Fifth Estate

1. The recent murder of Richard S. Welch, CIA station chief at Athens, Greece, has focussed attention on Fifth Estate, a radical group apparently working to sabotage various US intelligence operations. Fifth Estate is charged with fingering Welch for assassination, wittingly or unwittingly, by listing his name in the two latest issues of its quarterly publication, "Counter-Spy", on Page 50 of its Summer-Fall issue and on Page 26 of its Winter issue. (See copies of both issues attached, and Fifth Estate explanation.)

2. Fifth Estate bluntly states its primary current objectives as (1) "abolishment of the CIA" and (2) "support for CIA defectors", on Page 5 of the Summer-Fall issue of "Counter-Spy".

3. Other Fifth Estate objectives, as ascertained from the above two and other issues of "Counter-Spy", appear to be to hamper or destroy the effectiveness of the FBI and other US intelligence and security agencies.

4. From a brief evaluation of available material and other evidence from Fifth Estate sources, including interviews with two of its five principals (Winslow Peck and Eda Gordon), it is apparent that Fifth Estate, and its spin-offs, not only are targeted to damage or destroy US security operations, but also that they are probably under Marxist control or operation. In addition, it appears that the whole Fifth Estate setup has close ties with other leftist or radical groups, some of them, at least, Communist controlled or infiltrated.

5. The following attachments, numbered I, II, III, IV, V, & VI, are submitted as partial evidence of statements made in Paragraphs 3 & 4 above. (See attachments numbered I, II, II, IV, V and VI.)

I. "We're Looking For Someone Like You" history, objectives, chief personalities, etc. of Intelligence Documentation Center, located in same suite with Fifth Estate, its founder, at Suite 403, 2000 P St., N.W., Wash. DC 20036, Telephone: 202/785/8385. (Fifth Estate moved there recently from its previous location: a cluttered office at 519 Dupont Circle Bldg., Wash. DC 20036.)

II. "Fifth Estate Annual Report" (1974-75) - "growth", "research and education" and "Prospectus for 1975". This report also is found on Pages 53, 54 & 55 of Winter issue of "Counter-Spy".

III. "Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community" also located in same suite with Fifth Estate and Intelligence Documentation Center, Suite 403, 2000 P St., NW, Wash. DC 20036. Winston Peck, one of five principals in Fifth Estate (listed in I. above), claims speakers from this project have appeared on "hundreds" of US campuses in last two years, and presently "about 150 people" are working in "research groups" on many campuses "studying government abuses of power, specifically among security agencies, in their areas".

IV. "Threats to the Constitution", a promotional booklet for speaking engagements from Fifth Estate's Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community".

(more)

V. "Keep On Keepin' On...."-promotional circular for "Counter-Spy" subscriptions, principally on college campuses. It contains Fifth Estate "recommendations" how subscribers can get in "on the action".

VI. "The CIA and You", a promotional booklet from Lordly & Dame, Inc., 51 Church St., Boston, Mass. 02116 (Tel. 617/482/3592), presumably a speakers' bureau, to line up speeches for K. Barton Osborn and Anthony J. Russo. According to Winston Peck, Russo is no longer available as a Fifth Estate speaker as he is now living on the West Coast. Peck described Osborn as an ex-US Army Intelligence Sergeant, a volunteer, who served one year in Vietnam working with the CIA's Phoenix Program. 25X1

6. All of the above Fifth Estate material listed in Paragraph 5. above, and attached as exhibits, was obtained on a personal visit to Fifth Estate's new office-temporary, it is claimed, at the Intelligence Documentation Center, 2000 P St., NW, Wash. DC 20036. The following material also was obtained from that office:

VII. Suggested sample letter to request information under new Freedom of Information Act. Letter sponsored by Project on National Security and Civil Liberties (Martin Halperin, director), formerly known as Freedom of Information Project; the American Civil Liberties Union, and Fifth Estate. The Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, it should be noted, is sponsored by the Fund For Peace, which also sponsors the Center for National Security Studies, the Center for Defense Information and In the Public Interest, a nationwide radio program geared to peace issues. All are housed at 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C., Washington DC 20002. This building was bought last year for \$225,000 by Stuart Mott, the eccentric, anti-military philanthropist, who also maintains offices there. He is a principal financial contributor to the Fund for Peace.

VIII. "CIA Covert Action-Threat to the Constitution"-an anti-CIA pamphlet published by the Center for National Security Studies. (FOREIGN POLICY)

IX. "CIA Covert Action-America's Secret Weapon", another anti-CIA pamphlet published by the Center for National Security Studies. It lists "Selected Cases of Covert Action" by the CIA, and leans heavily on material from Philip Agee, John Marks, Victor Marchetti, Fred Branfman-leftist former director of IndoChina Resources Center here (now with Tom Hayden's political campaign in California), and the Communist, anti-American Australian writer, Wilfred Burdett, a chief propagandist for the North Vietnamese Communists.

X. Anti-Senate Bill No. 1 (Comprehensive Crime Bill) brochure put out by National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly the Communist-controlled National Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC. The brochure lists alleged reasons why S.1 should be opposed and defeated.

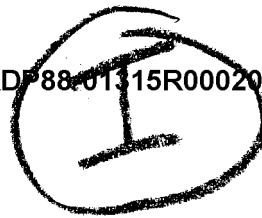
7. Two other Fifth Estate spin-offs-the Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community, which is attempting to organize "research groups" on many college campuses, according to Winston Peck, to "study intelligence abuses in this country" and the Fifth Estate Security Information project -to "study terrorism, repression, assassination, etc.", also are located in Suite 403, 2000 P St. NW, Wash. DC 20036.

8. Financially, Fifth Estate is crying "poor", but this is seriously doubted because of the extent of its operations and also because of its nicely furnished offices at 2000 P St. NW, Wash. DC 20036. Winston Peck claims Fifth Estate is supported, in part, by a "Stern Foundation" (he may mean the Philip M. Stern Foundation, Approved for Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200470001-4). Peck also claims that most of its financing comes from subscriptions to "Counter-Spy" and private donations.

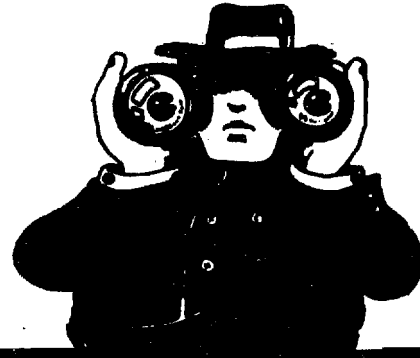
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WE'RE LOOKING  
FOR SOMEONE  
LIKE YOU



Dear Friend,

The Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC), an independent research group on the intelligence community, is accepting applications for five intern positions this Spring. The session will begin January 30 and terminate April 30. If you are interested in gaining research experience in a politically conscious environment, the IDC program may be what you're looking for.

To assist you in your decision, the following explanation of the IDC 1976 intern project has been prepared by five student interns who worked at IDC this past fall. We think students should receive school credit for the three-month project, but we expect you to initiate a credit agreement with you school or professor(s). Most students have found they can receive a full semester's credit for working full time at IDC.

The program is designed to train young people in highly specialized areas of research methodology. Sociology, history, political science, and economics are all areas in which you can expect to gain much knowledge from your work with IDC.

THE  
INTELLIGENCE  
DOCUMENTATION  
CENTER

IDC is a non-profit, tax-exempt library and research group which was founded by members of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate. IDC now functions as an independent organization.

IDC was established as a direct result of people's growing concerns over government security agencies and their activities. Recent revelations which have exposed illegal wiretapping, mail surveillance, and dossier files on thousands of American individuals have led many people to believe that such activities threaten the basic principles on which our country was built. If these fundamental rights established in the Bill of Rights are indeed crumbling, IDC believes the public has the right to know. We think our primary responsibility is to increase public awareness in this area, and we believe the intern program is one way of accomplishing this goal. We hope to build our IDC resource center, to be utilized by all, with the knowledge and experiences gained by students and staff during this program.

We recently received a grant from a New York foundation to conduct a year-long study of the effects of repression and surveillance on movements for social change in the U.S. We have determined certain sectors of society which we think require special attention and we approach our research within a framework of class-analysis. We are trying to determine what movements exist now or have existed in the past, what the goals and tactics are or were, and how or whether government and corporate efforts were made to suppress or coopt such movements. This is the area in which interns will do most of their research. IDC hopes that, after we evaluate the effects of such activities, a book will be published combining much of the research.

The five IDC staff members offer a wealth of experience, not only in research methods, but in government agencies as well.

Winslow Peck worked in the National Security Agency for four years and has been actively researching the intelligence community for five years.

Doug Porter has done extensive research in the areas of intelligence and right-wing terrorist organizations.

Eda Gordon was Senior Editor for four years of Trial magazine, published by the Association of American Trial Lawyers. She was also an investigator for the Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee in South Dakota in 1974-75.

Tim Butz brings his experience in Viet Nam Veterans Against the War and the Winter Soldier Investigation to IDC. He was a military intelligence expert for the Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee. He has done ex-

tensive inquiries into the numerous Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams around the country.

Margaret Van Houten, who has a degree in Sociology from the University of Buffalo, has researched the intelligence community for the past year in Washington. She is presently coordinating a public education project on intelligence agencies which includes dozens of campus teach-in programs around the country, at which the IDC staff members often speak.

THE  
INTERN  
PROGRAM

Although IDC is a research center on the intelligence arena, one of the most valuable experiences for the intern is participation in the collective. The IDC does not function as a hierarchy, which makes it necessary for all members to guide and help each other, yet develop self-direction and to maintain an honest and open attitude towards criticism and advice. The idea of a collective is that it functions as a unit; we work together to combine all our skills into one.

The following is a rough outline of the three-month spring schedule. It is only an outline, because we want to invite input from the interns themselves.

Orientation

This is a two-week period in which everyone can adjust to one another and read the basic works on the intelligence community. It's also a good time to arrange living situations for those who need them. The first readings on the list will be discussed. (See enclosed reading list.)

Seminars

The staff will present seminars on the intelligence agencies and related topics such as Red Squads, investigative techniques or current events. Weekly visitor seminars will be presented by individuals studying different areas in different research organizations. We have invited individuals who research such areas as the Middle East, Africa, and the JFK assassination to come and explain their findings to us. If interns show interest in any such areas, experts can be invited to speak.

Projects

While the interns are familiarizing themselves with the subject, they will be asked to choose a specific sector of society, on which to focus their attention. In the time remaining, interns research their area using all types of research methods.

An intern, for example, focusing on labor would talk to authors of books on labor, trade union officials, labor supporters, and workers. Books on the

history of labor and labor unions would need review. Periodicals published by both management and labor as well as government would require examination. One might even venture out into the factories or docks and talk to workers on the job. There are many different angles and sources the intern must examine.

Guidance from the staff, as well as mutual assistance from the other interns, builds the cooperative spirit we want to maintain. These projects not only serve to enhance one's research techniques, but provide rare opportunities to meet people of varying backgrounds and political persuasions. At the same time, the intern program serves to train students in leadership skills. You'll find it is a course in assertiveness as well.

TO  
APPLY  
FOR THE  
INTERNSHIP

Send us a list of your job experience, travel, education (both formal and informal), and any organizations in which you have worked. Outlining those experiences which have influenced you the most, write us a letter tracing the evolution of your political thought. Be sure to include an explanation of why you want to work at IDC, as well as your present academic status.

SCHOLARSHIPS

*Deadline: Jan 1, 1976*

IDC offers scholarships for those who feel they need financial assistance during the program. If you are interested in applying for this \$600 fellowship simply explain your financial status in your letter to us. Paid internships are rare and therefore, we feel it necessary to offer a scholarship to those students who otherwise couldn't consider such programs in Washington DC.

With careful budgeting, we have found that one can live in this relatively expensive city for approximately \$200-\$275 a month. The first month, if you need to find housing, is likely to cost more.

Though not impossible to find, housing usually means a tedious and difficult search. IDC staff will find a place for you to stay temporarily when you arrive and will assist you in finding permanent living quarters.

If you can be partially financed during the program, tell us what you feel you need to supplement your income. If you can get no financial assistance from your school or home, explain those circumstances too.

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Send your letter of application to Doug Porter, C/o IDC, 2000 P St., Suite 403, Washington DC, 20036. For more information call: (202) 785-8385. On the bottom of the envelope write: RE: Internship Program. You will hear from us soon.

The following is a sample from the IDC Intern reading list:

THE CIA AND THE CULT OF INTELLIGENCE, Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, Dell Publishers, 354pp. \$1.75

INSIDE THE COMPANY: CIA DIARY, Phillip Agee, Stonehill, 597pp. \$10.00

COUNTER-SPY, a magazine published by the Fifth Estate. Send for a copy. Write The Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington D.C. 20044

INVESTIGATING THE FBI, Sherrill, Marshall, Navasky, et al. A Collection of Essays. 470pp. available at libraries or at cost \$9.95 (also paperback)

HIGHER CIRCLES, William G. Domhoff, Vintage Books, 353pp. \$1.95

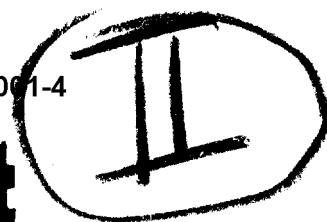
THE IRON FIST AND THE VELVET GLOVE, Center for Research on Criminal Justice. Available from the Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington D.C. , 20044

THE SECRET TEAM: THE CIA AND ITS ALLIES IN CONTROL OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD, Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, Prentice Hall, \$8.95

BASIC ELEMENTS OF INTELLIGENCE , Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Write LEAA, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C.

ARMY FIELD MANUAL 19-20 Criminal Investigations 1973. Write U.S. Department of the Army, the Pentagon, Washington DC





Fifth Estate

# Annual Report

This past year has witnessed great and sudden changes in world politics. Aside from the recent changes in the Federal government the most obvious effect of these changes has been spiraling inflation and now massive unemployment. Most Americans, according to the latest polls, fear this depression will be as terrible as the great one of the thirties. No one knows for sure what 1975 will bring for American pocketbooks. But the portents are for even more dramatic changes than in 1974.

In this atmosphere of economic depression and constant political change, the Fifth Estate has managed to achieve substantial results. There hasn't always been enough money—there still isn't—nor has public support for our effort been vigorous. But with hard work and a little faith in our knowledge and approach, we have managed to overcome the obstacles of 1974. In many ways the Fifth Estate has grown in numbers and influence; it has monitored the most dangerous trends in the security community; it has provided the public with information on these trends and has joined with them to oppose abuse of power in government. With your support, 1975 can be as equally effective and gratifying.

## GROWTH

Despite severe funding limitations, members of the Fifth Estate toured the nation this fall, covering over 25 cities coast-to-coast. The Fifth Estate multi-media presentation was followed by workshops in many cities for those interested in initiating local projects. The Fifth Estate also sought to establish liaison with organizations and individuals in other localities whose work is related to the focus of the Fifth Estate. Among the many conferences attended by the Fifth Estate were: the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) conference in the spring; the National Lawyer's Guild Conference (with whom we work closely); the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP); and the American Industrial Security Association (AISA). The Fifth Estate also participated in a conference on covert action sponsored by the Center for National Security Studies.

## RESEARCH and EDUCATION

Throughout 1974, the Fifth Estate attempted to collect data in as many areas as was possible, concentrating on those areas of vital concern. Most of this work was performed by two of the autonomous, independent and non-profit groups within the Fifth Estate; the Intelligence Documentation Center, and Fifth Estate Security Education. Both are located in the nation's capital.

Research has concentrated on the following issues:

The Terrorist Information Project (TIP) was launched with the rise of the SLA. Working with reporters and other investigators, our investigation revealed that SLA member Donald DeFreeze, aka Cinque, had, in the past, been a police informant and agent provocateur. This phenomenon raised the spectre of government agencies using terrorism as a catch-all for repressive domestic operations. Additionally, we examined the activities of two less well-known groups—the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), which claims to be a left wing group; and IDENTITY, a paramilitary right wing group using a church as a cover. Although lacking funds, TIP will continue to receive the attention of the Fifth Estate, due to the increased focus of security groups on countering terrorism.

The Fifth Estate also undertook a painstaking analysis of the FBI COINTELPRO memos released through the Freedom of Information Act, and we are working with several attempts to discover how widespread COINTELPRO operations were and if they are still continuing. COINTELPRO was the FBI plan to disrupt and neutralize various political groups. COINTELPRO authorized illegal actions.

We initiated a major research effort into the relationships of international labor organizations with the CIA.

The Fifth Estate also uncovered an intelligence network operating in the United States run by the Saigon government, gathering information on both Americans and Vietnamese citizens in this country opposed to this obviously corrupt dictatorship.

We explored the role of the Defense Intelligence Agency in the coup which overthrew Salvadore Allende in Chile.

Memos obtained by the Fifth Estate revealed that local utilities were sponsoring intelligence gathering operations aimed at foes of nuclear power plant construction.

We also exposed a confidential study prepared for LEAA on methods of stopping the flow of illegal aliens into the United States, suggesting a variety of Orwellian methods and blaming aliens for virtually all of the social ills of the United States.

We also explored the incidents of cooperation between the CIA and Soviet KGB which have come to our attention.

The Kent (Ohio) Committee for a Fifth Estate uncovered the existence of a proto-type "Master Plan" for political surveillance of campus groups and activists in Ohio.

And our field project, undertaken in conjunction with the Wounded Knee Legal Offense/Defense Committee, demonstrated the continuing trend towards militarization of domestic law enforcement agencies. Our research showed that the 71 day standoff between Indians and the Justice Department in May, 1973, was, in fact, a classical commitatus act of 1887. Recently, a high level FBI official commented that the documents the Fifth Estate

helped to procure at the trials were more important than the Pentagon Papers.

In disseminating our research and providing educational materials for the public, the Fifth Estate worked with a wide range of the Fourth Estate (media). We were either interviewed on, helped produce, or otherwise aided news stories on over 25 radio stations; 10 local television stations, all the national networks (as well as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the Broadcasting Corporation of Finland); numerous daily newspapers throughout the country and abroad; and throughout the alternative media. Although our educational work through the mass media has been limited by financial considerations, we feel that we have successfully stimulated response by the public on many important issues.

### PROSPECTUS FOR 1975

During 1975, the Fifth Estate hopes to initiate and work with already existing groups, to continue to build a nationwide network of citizen's research and educational groups on questions of security. Contacts and key organizers for such groups already exist in over 30 cities

At the present time, there are two research and educational projects being conducted by Fifth Estate Security Education. The Labor Education Project hopes to conduct extensive research into the ways in which labor organizations have been targeted by various intelligence agencies. The project will concentrate on providing information to rank-and-file workers on CIA-labor operations. For more information contact: Winslow Peck.

During 1975, we hope to begin a pilot training program to train para-legal workers in basic investigative techniques. This program grows out of our experiences working with the Wounded Knee trials. For more information contact: Margaret Van Houten.

The major problem for the Fifth Estate is, as we have said, financial. We have an adequate analysis of the ways and means power is abused in the security community. We have an enormous potential human force. And we have a successful program. But we just do not have enough money.

Some of our financing has been provided by a few foundations and concerned individuals, such as Norman Mailer. We have also raised funds through several events, and subscriptions for *Counter-Spy* are increasing. But this is just not enough.

Therefore we wish to encourage all citizens concerned with the problems we raise to investigate us and our program, and if you then believe that we are providing a vital service to you and your neighbors, please pledge a regular donation for a specific area of Fifth Estate work, on either the national or local level.

With your participation in the Fifth Estate, 1975 can prove to be even more successful than 1974.

The Quarterly Journal Of The Fifth Estate

# COUNTER-SPY

P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

*Counter-Spy* is a journal of research, analysis, and opinion on the abuses of power by those in our nation's security forces. The journal is educational and, we hope, provides information and analysis otherwise unavailable to American citizens.

*Counter-Spy* is produced by the Fifth Estate Security Education, an autonomous research and educational group within the umbrella of the Fifth Estate. The Fifth Estate is an attempt by researchers, former government employees, educators, and activists to develop an alternative intelligence community serving the needs of the American public. With the Fifth Estate active in many communities across the country, we believe that abuses of power can be demonstrated to the public and that the public can take action to terminate them and prevent their reoccurrence.

*Counter-Spy*, and the Fifth Estate believe that abuses of power occur in three areas. We will expose violations of civil, democratic and humane rights. We will expose corruption and criminality. And we will expose conscious efforts to create some new form of

totalitarianism—what we call technofascism—in America. If the military, police or intelligence services are abusing their power in any of these ways, the Fifth Estate will be watching them.

We encourage all citizens to become involved in monitoring their local and national security forces.

Enclosed is \$6. Please send me *Counter-Spy* for the next year.

I'd like to see a sample issue of *Counter-Spy*. Enclosed is \$1.50.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Checks should be payable to the  
Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate.

**Public Education Project On The Intelligence Community**

2000 P Street, NW. Suite 403 Washington, D.C. 20036 202-785-8385

In order to bring issues related to the intelligence-gathering agencies into the public arena and to create a climate conducive to legislative change during this year of Congressional investigations, a nation-wide teach-in effort has been growing on campuses throughout the country. Programs focusing on such inter-related topics as multinational corporations and their relationship to the American economy, political assassinations both foreign and domestic, police repression including the growing utilization of S.W.A.T. teams, the continued subversion of activist organizations, and the invasion of individual privacy via surveillance and computer technology have been presented on campuses in Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The series will continue through the 1976 academic year and build towards the coming presidential elections. The overwhelming concern on the part of college students with the systematic violations of civil and human rights by the intelligence gathering agencies is reflected in a recent article about the Ann Arbor Conference:

# 8,000 at U-M teach-in

ANN ARBOR, Nov 10 (MFP) — In the largest mass political event here in recent memory, thousands of students and working people and more than 25 speakers took part in a three-day teach-in here last week, "The Bicentennial Dilemma: Who's in Control?"

Although the keynote speaker of the teach-in — Pakistani emigre and anti-imperialist intellectual Eqbal Ahmad — appeared at the end, not the beginning, of the three-day gathering, the teach-in's functional theme emerged clearly as broad-based opposition to US imperialism in America and in the Third World.

Speakers on virtually every topic were enthusiastically applauded as they stressed that each instance of CIA subversion or police violence is not an isolated issue, but one aspect of the larger system of US imperialism.

And each of the speakers was again warmly received for their emphasis on the importance of following up the information and analysis set in motion through the teach-in with sustained, determined political action.

In his closing statement Eqbal Ahmad said:

The university is like a mini-corporate-government, where there has been a huge amount of training in how not to deal with relevant issues. But a good education should make manifest the organic, living links between abstract principles and individual and group behavior. So when you talk of democracy, you practice it. When you talk of freedom, you live it. Because the function of good intellectual work is to apprehend reality, in order to change it.

**What Types of Programs Are Available?**

Depending upon individual needs, there are several program formats available. Individual speakers can be obtained for general lectures and would also be available for more focused discussions in classroom settings. Seminars of several days can be arranged in which three or more speakers would be on campus for lectures and workshops. The Public Education Project will also act as a referral service for film presentations available on the subject. The speakers available through this project represent a broad spectrum of expertise on the intelligence community and greatly enhance the flexibility of programs that can be set up.

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Washington, D.C. 20036

# Threats to the Constitution:

## Cointelpro:

The FBI counterintelligence plan targeted against domestic political groups and individuals.

## Chaos:

The CIA's domestic spying operation which compiled some 13,000 files on 7,200 American citizens.

## Cable Splicer:

Part of an overall military contingency plan (Garden Plot) to "lift" constitutional guidelines in the event of massive civil unrest.

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# Operation: Truth & Light

**Public Education Project on the Intelligence Community**

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200470001-4

The Public Education Project is sponsored by the Youth Project, Inc. of Washington, D.C. and is a year-long effort designed to create informed public discussion. The project will assist in setting up campus and community forums throughout the country and will act as a referral service for educational materials and resource groups.

All speakers participating in this project will be donating their time, energy, and fees to the Public Education Project in order to ensure its survival.

**Why is a Public Education Project Needed?**

The CIA and other components of the intelligence community have come under Congressional scrutiny a number of times, but never before have the abuses of power been brought so clearly to light. As the pattern of violations of civil and human liberties has begun to emerge, from the Rockefeller Commission Report to the forthcoming findings of the House and Senate Select Committees on Intelligence, concerned observers have agreed that it is a time for informed public discussion about our intelligence agencies at home and abroad. Only the pernicious or the foolish could now suggest that the CIA and other intelligence agencies can continue to operate on trust.

The U.S. Intelligence Community which includes:

- Central Intelligence Agency
- National Security Agency
- Defense Intelligence Agency
- Army Intelligence
- Naval Intelligence
- Air Force Intelligence
- State Department (Bureau of Intelligence and Research)
- Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Atomic Energy Commission (Intelligence Division)
- Treasury Department

And 63 other agencies with intelligence gathering functions must be studied and discussed in the public arena in order to determine public opinion in the following critical areas:

- The legitimate governmental purposes that intelligence both foreign and domestic should serve.
- The viability of a joint oversight committee of Congress in view of past performances.
- The investigations of the House and Senate Select Committees on Intelligence to determine their thoroughness and the possibilities of their leading to positive legislative change.
- The massive abuses of civil and human rights and their implications for people in free society.
- The cooperation that continues to exist between agencies on federal, state, and local levels.

During this critical year of revelations a climate conducive to legislative change can and must be created in campus and community forums.

**“And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.”**

[inscribed on the marble wall of the main lobby at CIA headquarters, Langley, Virginia]

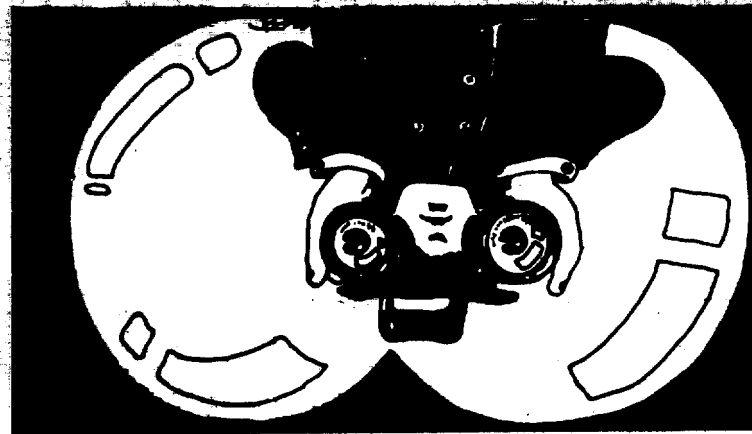
Some of the foremost experts on the intelligence community have agreed to participate in this program. Speakers include:

- Jerry Berman** Director, Internal Security Project of Center for National Security Studies. Co-editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Public-interest lawyer, formerly co-director of a project on the Administration of Justice under Emergency Conditions.
- Robert Borosage** Director, Center for National Security Studies. Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Public-interest lawyer and author of numerous articles on the CIA and national security questions.
- Timothy Butz** Associate of Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on military intelligence. Currently researching the growing utilization of SWAT teams.
- Cortland Cox** Associate of the Center for National Security Studies. Expert on CIA manipulation of third world countries.
- Frank Donner** Director, ACLU Political Surveillance Project. Author of numerous works on the F.B.I.
- Morton Halperin** Director of ACLU Project on National Security and Civil Liberties. Co editor of *The Abuses of the Intelligence Agencies*. Currently in litigation involving an alleged national security wiretap placed on his phone. Former Assistant Deputy Director of Defense.
- Victor Marchetti** Co-Author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former executive assistant to the Deputy Director of the CIA.
- John Marks** Co-author of the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Former staff assistant to the State Department Director of Intelligence.
- K. Barton Osborn** Consultant to Intelligence Documentation Center. Former military intelligence agent and consultant to the CIA. Testified before Congress on the Phoenix Assassination Program. Author of numerous articles on the intelligence community.
- George O'Toole** Former CIA technical specialist. Author of *The Assassination Tapes*.
- Winslow Peck** Associate of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Founding member of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate and co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on CIA and labor. Former analyst for the National Security Agency.
- Douglas Porter** Director of the Intelligence Documentation Center. Co-editor of *Counter-Spy*. Author of numerous articles on right-wing terrorism and domestic repression.
- Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (Ret.)** Former military liaison to CIA. Author of *The Secret Team* and numerous articles on the intelligence community.
- Marcus Raskin** Co-director of Institute for Policy Studies. Among his books are *Being and Doing* and *The Viet-Nam Reader*. Member of the Special Staff of the National Security Council in the Kennedy Administration.
- Ron Ridenhour** Freelance journalist currently researching military contingency plans for martial rule in U.S. Helped to expose the My Lai massacre.
- Anthony Russo** Co-defendant in Pentagon Papers trial. Former analyst for Rand Corporation.
- Kirkpatrick Sale** Author of *SDS* and *Power Shift*. Authority on multinational corporations.
- Patrick Saunders** Former Federal Drug Enforcement Agency Intelligence Officer. Author of numerous articles on DEA.
- Ralph Stavins** Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Co-author *Washington Plans an Aggressive War* and numerous other works.
- William Turner** Former special agent for the FBI. Author of several works on the FBI.

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 The events of the last decade have graphically shown that the CIA operates beyond the scope of common decency, international law, and its legally mandated mission. We hope that you will join in the struggle to abolish the CIA, a task that is not beyond the capabilities of the American people. Just as millions of people were mobilized over the years to stop American intervention in Indochina, millions can be mobilized for this important task.

“Keep On Keepin’ On”



**RESOURCE CENTERS**

The Fifth Estate  
 P.O. Box 647  
 Washington D.C. 20044  
 (202)785-8330

Center for National Security Studies  
 122 Maryland Ave NE  
 Washington D.C. 20002  
 (202)544-5380

Freedom of Information Clearinghouse  
 P.O. Box 19367  
 Washington D.C. 20036

ACLU Political Surveillance Project  
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 South Norwalk, Conn. 06854

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 Washington D.C. 20002  
 (202)543-7659

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 Washington D.C. 20036  
 (202)785-3111

North American Congress of Latin America  
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 Cathedral Station  
 New York, NY 10025

EPICA (Latin America)  
 1500 Farragut St. NW  
 Washington D.C. 20011

Southern Africa Committee  
 244 West 27th St. 5th Floor  
 New York, NY 10001

Middle East Research and Information Project  
 P.O. Box 3122  
 Washington D.C. 20010

Friends of the Filipino People  
 11 Garden St.  
 Cambridge, Mass 02138

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**COUNTERSPY**

**The Quarterly Journal Of The Fifth Estate**

**Counter-Spy** is a journal of research, analysis and opinion on the activities of all government intelligence agencies, from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). **Counter-Spy** is published by the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, an organization dedicated to exposing and stopping the technofascist tactics of "Big Brother."

If you would like to know more about the Fifth Estate, feel free to drop us a line at: P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

- Enclosed is \$6. Please send me **Counter-Spy** for the next year.
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Contributions should be payable to the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate.

## KEEPING INFORMED...

A BASIC UNDERSTANDING of U.S. intelligence operations can be gathered from a number of books available in libraries or in paperback format. Books such as **CIA and the Cult of Intelligence** by Victor Marchetti and John Marks, **The Invisible Government** by David Wise, and **The Secret Team** by Fletcher Prouty are three important books that will give the reader a sense of the depth, form, and history of U.S. intelligence operations. For a more complete listing of books available, write the Fifth Estate, Box 647, Washington D.C. 20044.

**FORMER CIA OFFICER PHIL AGEE's** book **Inside the Company: CIA Diary** is a firsthand account of CIA operations in Latin America. The book is currently unavailable inside the U.S., but can be legally sent to you by friends in Canada or Great Britain. CIA Director William Colby has threatened to bring criminal charges against Agee because of the accuracy and content of this important and informative book.

**ORGANIZED TEACH-INS AND SEMINARS** sponsored by student-faculty groups, labor unions, and community organizations have occurred throughout the country this spring with thousands of people participating. Just as the teach-in effort was an integral part of building the civil rights and anti-war movements, they can also be valuable in marshalling public sentiment against repressive police and intelligence agencies operations. Resources for one to three day conferences are plentiful, and a partial listing of resource organizations is included in this pamphlet.

**LOCAL RESEARCH/ACTION TEAMS** can conduct investigations and political work around a number of crucial areas. Campus based teams, for example, could begin to identify the CIA recruiting officer/professor at their school, or the ties between collegiate institutes and the CIA. Community based teams could begin to investigate the workings of local "red squads" and political intelligence units. The Fifth Estate stands ready to help with the formation and training of such groups when help is requested. It is our hope that every intelligence unit, no matter how "small" will experience a thorough "citizen's examination" of their operations.

## ...TO BUILD FOR ACTION

**EXPOSE AND CONFRONT INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY RECRUITERS** when they appear on your campus: both the CIA and the National Security Agency have adopted a policy of "open recruitment", although the CIA also maintains a network of "old boy" recruiters on major campuses. Just as confronting Dow Chemical and other war profiteers was a successful tactic for raising the question of government-corporate-academic cooperation during the '60s, confronting CIA and NSA recruiters can raise these same points of government-corporate-academic cooperation during the '70s.

**ORGANIZE COALITIONS TO WORK FOR POLICE BUDGET CUTS.** Recent exposes of illegal operations by local police departments can provide a fulcrum for forcing the city council to cut funding to police departments for spying activities. As has been shown in New York, Chicago, and Washington D.C., the targets of police intelligence have been a broad spectrum of liberal and radical organizations. Perhaps the abolition of police political intelligence work is one area that these groups can unite upon.

**A LEGISLATIVE FOCUS ON INTELLIGENCE:** The Congress currently has four separate committees working on intelligence investigations. Additionally, state and county legislatures are conducting similar investigations, or can be pressured to do so. We suggest that you write or visit your local representatives and express your viewpoints on abuses of power by the intelligence community. For a complete listing of Congressional investigative committees and their members, write the Fifth Estate or the Center for National Security Studies.

**WRITE FOR YOUR FILE:** Under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, you can now contact the FBI, CIA, or other Federal agencies and request copies of files they may have on you. Although certain items may be legally deleted from your file prior to its release, you can get an idea of the depths of government spying on your life. Different agencies require different pieces of information in order to search their files, and further information on procedures can be obtained from the Fifth Estate, Center for National Security Studies, The Freedom of Information Clearinghouse, or your local ACLU.

**MOBILIZE FOR THE FALL:** Plans are now underway for demonstrations against the CIA and transnational corporate intervention in the sovereign affairs of other nations. Suggested sights for the demonstrations are Washington D.C., Chicago, and a west coast city: the most probable date for these actions will be Sept. 11th, the second anniversary of the coup d'etat in Chile. For further information concerning these mobilizations, contact the Fifth Estate. **Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200470001-4**

ABOUT THE PRESENTERS OF "CIA AND YOU"

**K. Barton Osborn**

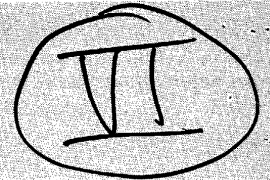
Having worked for years in illegal intelligence programs for the Army and the CIA, K. Barton Osborn speaks from experience. The former director of political agent operations for the infamous Phoenix Program brings a wealth of expertise to the platform. A witness before House and Senate Committees, founder of the Intelligence Documentation Center, and analyst of the Intelligence Community (articles in *Harper's* and *Playboy*), the thirty-one year old Osborn believes the best way to bring government spying under responsible control is to publicize it.



**Anthony J. Russo**

Anthony Russo earned a national reputation for helping Daniel Ellsberg photocopy the Pentagon Papers. . . and for going to jail for it. Work with the RAND Corporation's Viet Cong Motivation and Morale Project gave him a first-hand view of intelligence activities. His opposition to the war after his return to the U.S. in 1968 made him the object of intense government surveillance and general harassment. An expert on American intelligence methods, he has been personally wiretapped, beaten up, and jailed.

# THE CIA AND YOU:



**The Intelligence  
Community in U.S.  
Internal Affairs**





# THE CIA AND YOU:

## The Intelligence Community in U.S. Internal Affairs

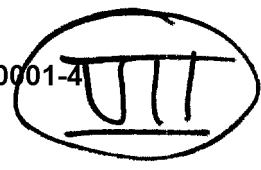
In the United States, there are more persons working actively in the Intelligence Community than there are farmers. The financing of their activities is scaled greater than the coal-mining industry. At the center of this conglomerate stands the CIA, employing between 10,000 and 15,000 people who devote a substantial part of their time to gathering and collating information on private American citizens, in ways that are often illegal and always a threat to individual liberty.

How much do we know about the far-flung empire we call the Intelligence Community? It encompasses the intelligence arms of various offices of the Executive branch, including the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. With a history as long as that of the nation itself, it has grown and developed over the past two hundred years in an environment of maximum secrecy. Supposedly a servant of our country and our government, it has a life of its own, so that very few people have any understanding of what principles and goals govern its actions. The CIA, for example, follows its own

foreign policy—unexplained, inexplicable, and responsive only to forces that remain a mystery to our citizenry. Few people even know what the Intelligence Community is authorized to do, much less what it actually does.

Information about the Intelligence Community is information no citizen can afford to do without. What is the structure of the Intelligence Community? How do its components interact and how do they work against each other? What is Covert Action? How does the CIA relate to the multinational corporation? How do the activities of the Intelligence Community affect our daily lives? We should try to answer these questions as if our lives depended on it, because they do.

These questions are some of the major points in the program developed by two former intelligence operatives in cooperation with the Fifth Estate and the Center for National Security Studies. Anthony Russo or Barton Osborn will present a lecture illustrated with film that can equip the modern citizen with the knowledge necessary to understand the Intelligence Community and, perhaps, to deal with it.



REPRINT AND DISTRIBUTE THIS LEAFLET

\_\_\_\_\_  
Your Address

\_\_\_\_\_  
Your Phone Number

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Mr. Clarence Kelley, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
10th and Pennsylvania, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Sir:

This is a request under the Freedom of Information Act as amended (5 U.S.C. Sec.552).

I write to request a copy of all files in the Federal Bureau of Investigation indexed or maintained under my name and all documents returnable by a search for documents containing my name. To assist you in your search. I have indicated my social security number and date and place of birth below my signature.

As you know, the amended Act provides that is some parts of a file are exempt from release that "reasonably segregable" portions shall be provided. I therefore request that, if you determine that some portions of the requested information are exempt, you provide me immediately with a copy of the remainder of the file. I, of course, reserve my right to appeal any such decisions.

If you determine that some or all of the requested information is exempt from release, I would appreciate your advising me as to which exemption(s) you believe covers the information which you are not releasing.

I am prepared to pay costs specified in your regulations for locating the requested files and reproducing them.

As you know, the amended Act permits you to reduce or waive the fees if that "is in the public interest because furnishing the information can be considered as primarily benefiting the public." I believe that this request plainly fits that category and ask you to waive any fees.

If you have any questions regarding this request, please telephone me at the above number.

As provided for in the amended Act, I will expect to receive a reply within ten working days.

Sincerely yours,

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Social Security No.      /      Date of Birth

\_\_\_\_\_  
Place of Birth

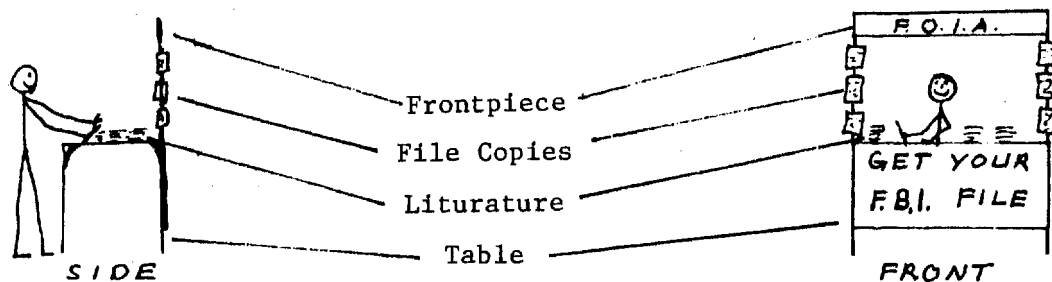
(Write - - "Attention: Freedom of Information Act Unit" on envelope. Attach additional Information)

The FBI has admitted gathering files on thousands of Americans involved in anti-war or civil rights organizations. Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200470001-4 as a "Security Index" which has named up to 15,000 people targeted for arrest in case of a national emergency. Started in the 1950's and ruled unconstitutional, the list is still maintained by the FBI. The FBI has also admitted to breaking into people's homes, establishing mail covers, and launching disruption and harrasment campaigns against individuals and political organizations under its infamous COINTELPRO operations.

CLARENCE KELLEY SAYS, "KEEP THOSE CARDS AND LETTERS COMING, FOLKS."

The FBI says its is recieving only 1400 requests a month from citizens asking for thier personal files. Actions in court by many Americans who faced the full force of FBI repression many help to force FBI compliance with these requests. But at this point in the struggle, it is apparent that the FBI is only partially fullfilling its obligations under the Freedom of Information Act. What is needed now is a mass movement of tens of thousands of citizens requesting their files. FREE YOUR FILE! By writing for your file you can actively demonstrate your opposition to FBI wrong doing. You can say NO to FBI harrasment. You can say NO to FBI crimes. You can say no more FBI political files. And from the coorespondence and files you recieve you will have tangible proof of your struggle against repression. If tens of thousands of Americans write for their file, the FBI will be forced to change its procedures for handling the requests. We can make it so costly and unmanageble for the FBI to maintain political files that the practice may be curtailed. Write Clarence Kelley today!

Reprint ( both sides ) and distribute this leaflet by the thousands on your campus or in your community. You can construct a Freedom of Information Booth on your grounds or your neighborhood corner. The booth can just be a table with a frontpiece displaying copies of files you have obtained, pictures of FBI agents, documents, etc. Copies of this leaflet and other liturature can be handed to passerbys who can be encouraged to write for their files. Just file in the form letter on the other side and mail it today to the FBI.



The FBI requires the name, address, date and place of birth, and social security number of a requestor. You may also include other data which you consider helpful. As of May 1, 1975, the FBI had recieved some 2,500 requests of which eighty percent were for personal files. This is not enough. But about 450 of the requests have been processed, with a backlog weeks overdue. The Bureau is routinely requesting extensions beyond the 10 day limit. If this campaign grows, we can expect even longer backlogs and extensions. FBI spokesmen state that they conduct a torough search of all Bureau files. They also claim that all data compiled in field offices is automatically included in records kept at national headquarters. It is advisable, however, to state that you would like a search conducted in the field offices of any cities in which you may have lived. For this purpose, you should include the names of the cities in which you resided and the dates of residence. You should also request the FBI to conduct a search of its Electronic Surveillance Index for information on you. The FBI will estimate the number of pages to be duplicated upon location of the records. If the cost exceeds \$25.00, the requestor is so advised. The FBI will accept payment of one-fourth the total amount and release the records upon agreement to pay the remainder as soon as possible. The FBI has refused to waive fees in the public interest and is charging some of the highest rates of any agency of department. For more information on the Freedom of Information Act or obtaining information from other agencies write to the Freedom of Information Project, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Wash., D.C. 20002 or the ACLU, 22 East 40th St. N.Y., N.Y. 10016 or to the Fifth Estate, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Wash., D.C. 20044

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NOTE:

No. VIII  
MISSING

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IX

ment Deception, Secrecy, and Power (New York: Vintage Books, 1973) pp 239-62.

<sup>21</sup>(Viet Nam) Wise and Ross, op cit. pp 155-64; Gelb et al, *U.S.—South Viet Nam Relations, 1940 - 68* (The Pentagon Papers) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), (BEA) II, pp 648, (BEA) I, p. 582; (Washington: 1971 Government Printing Office) (GPO) v 11, p 18, (GPO) v 12, p 483 and Bantam Press, pp 123-24.

<sup>22</sup>(Laos) Fred Branfman, *The CIA in Laos*, unpublished paper available from the Center for National Security Studies and presented at the Center's conference on Covert Action in Sept. 1974.; Hilsman, op cit. p 115-6; and Pentagon Papers, op cit. (BEA) II p 456, (BEA) III p 536 and (BEA) II p 344.

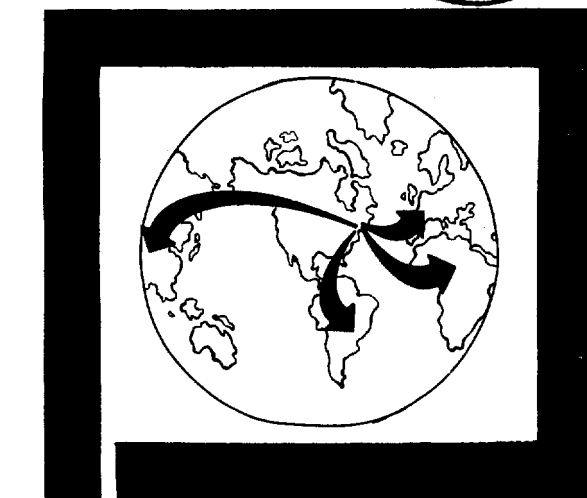
<sup>23</sup>(Cambodia) Wilfred Burchett, *My War With the CIA: Memoirs of Prince Norodom Sihanouk* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

<sup>24</sup>(Philippines) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p 129; and memo of April 21, 1964 from Allen Dulles to General Counsel of the CIA which is on file at the Center.

<sup>25</sup>(Indonesia) Wise and Ross, op cit. p 136-46; Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p 62 and pp 150-151; Barnett, op cit. pp 236-7.

**For More Information  
contact:**

**The Center for National Security  
Studies  
122 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 544-5380**

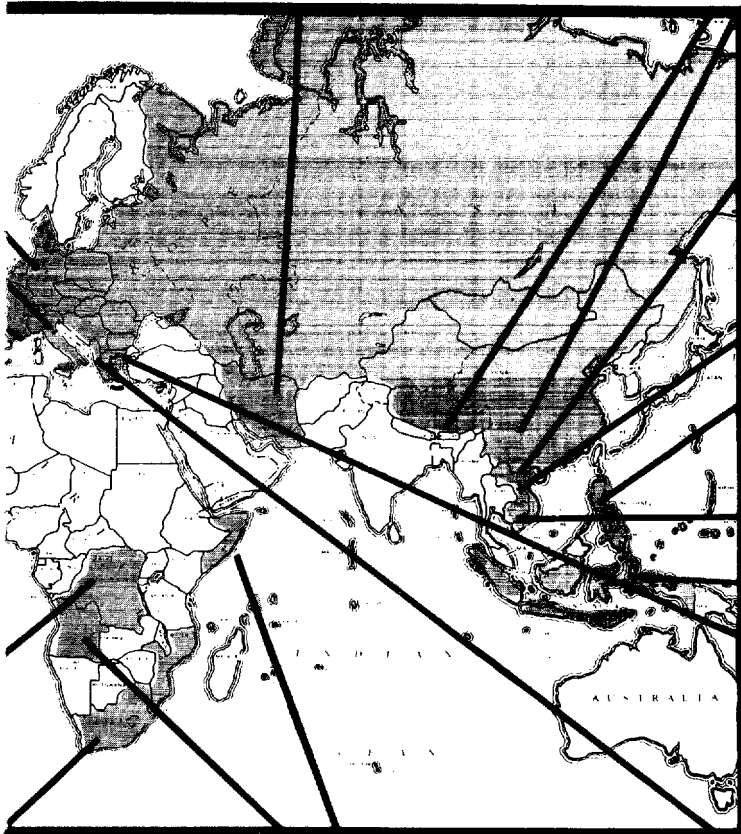


**CIA- COVERT  
ACTION:**

**AMERICA'S  
SECRET  
FOREIGN  
POLICY**

# of Covert Action

**Iran**—CIA sponsored coup overthrows the government of Mossadegh in 1953, and reinstalls the Shah. Former CIA director Richard Helms is appointed ambassador to Iran in 1973.



**Somalia**—Secret financing of candidates for 1967 elections backfires two years later when the politicians are thrown out by a left-leaning military coup which accuses them of being subservient to "foreign intelligence agencies".

**Angola**—CIA secretly sells B-26 bombers to Portugal for use against local insurgents in Angola and its other African colonies. At the same time, it supports one of these groups, the F.N.L.A., headed by longtime CIA agent, Holden Roberto.

**China**—CIA-sponsored propaganda and guerrilla raids from 1949 through the mid 1960's are largely unsuccessful. In 1967 CIA organizes a disinformation campaign of false propaganda and radio broadcasts directed at exacerbating the cultural revolution.

**Tibet**—From 1959 through the mid 1960's, CIA equips and trains Tibetan exiles in their struggle against the Chinese.

**Viet Nam**—CIA helps consolidate Diem's power in 1955, launches sabotage and guerrilla raids against the North and pacification programs in the South. After the overt escalation of the war upon the Tonkin Gulf incident (in which a CIA raid likely played a role), the CIA starts its Counter-Terror program in 1965 in imitation of Viet Cong terror tactics, begins its Phoenix Program in 1967 which kills tens of thousands of innocent persons as well as Viet Cong, and continues political manipulation and other covert action after the cease-fire agreement.

**Laos**—CIA organizes and directs a Secret Army (secret from the U.S. Congress and the American people) from 1962 to 1973, employing 35,000 Laotian and 17,000 Thai mercenaries and having control over a large part of the U. S. military within the country for bombing and other support.

**Philippines**—CIA helps put down the communist Huk insurgency in the early 1950s.

**Cambodia**—CIA plays a role in a coup which topples Prince Sihanouk in 1970, which paves the way for the U. S. military invasion of Cambodia in the same year and which results in the civil war being waged to this day.

**Indonesia**—CIA, through the supply of money, arms and a secret airforce of B-26 bombers, is unsuccessful in attempt to overthrow Sukarno in 1958.

**Greece**—CIA's massive and continuous political intervention leads to the 1967 coup which overthrows the civil government. Papadopolus heads the repressive military regime until overthrown in the 1973 coup. He and his successor, Brig. Gen. Ioanides, had long been receiving CIA financial support, and their military regime falls, literally overnight, in 1974 when American displeasure is made known during the Cyprus crisis.

**Albania, Ukraine, Poland**—CIA sponsors para-military underground movements in an effort to "roll back communism" after WW II. All of these operations fail completely.

**Eastern Europe**—CIA's "Operation Splinter Factor" through misinformation and political manipulation, contributes to Stalinist purge of nationalist party members independent of Moscow around 1950. The operation's purpose is to make Moscow's rule of Eastern Europe so heavy-handed as to stir up active revolt, but its result is to tighten the USSR's grip on

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>(United States) *N.Y. Times* (N.Y.:12/22/74) original charges; *N.Y. Times* (N.Y.:1/16/75) verification by CIA director William Colby in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Intelligence Subcommittee; John Marks and Victor Marchetti, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974) pp 146–164, good background discussion of the CIA's domestic operations; *Baltimore News American* (Baltimore:1/12/75), an interesting example of the CIA-local police relationship can be found buried in this news report, and several following it.
- <sup>2</sup>(Cuba) Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *A Thousand Days: J.F.K. in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965) pp 233–297; Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation: the Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of J.F.K.* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), pp 78–82; and David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964) pp 23–73.
- <sup>3</sup>(Guatemala) Wise and Ross, op cit, pp. 165, 183; Susanne Jonas and David Tobis & N.A.C.L.A. *Guatemala* (Box 226, Berkeley CA 94701:N.A.C.L.A.; 1974); Richard J. Barnet *Intervention and Revolution: The United States and the Third World* (New York and Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1968) pp 232–234.
- <sup>4</sup>(Equador) Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), discussion of Agee's experiences as a CIA officer in Equador in the early '60's; Roger Morris, "The Aftermath of CIA Intervention," *Society* Vol. 12, no. 3 (March/April 1975).
- <sup>5</sup>(Peru) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 138–9.
- <sup>6</sup>(Bolivia) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 139–45.
- <sup>7</sup>(Brazil) Agee, op cit; and Morris, op cit.
- <sup>8</sup>(Chile) Marlise Simons, "The Brazilian Connection" *The Washington Post*, (Washington:1/6/74); Letter by Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass) on the testimony of CIA Director William Colby on file at the Center for National Security Studies
- (included in the information packet and summarized in the *New York Times* on 9/8/74).
- <sup>9</sup>(Uruguay) Agee, op cit.
- <sup>10</sup>(Zaire) Morris, op cit; Marchetti and Marks op cit. p 139; Hilsman, op cit., pp 245–267; Barnet, op cit., p 248.
- <sup>11</sup>(Somalia) Morris, op cit.
- <sup>12</sup>(Angola) Marks and Marchetti, op cit. p 155; David Welsh, "Flyboys of the CIA," *Ramparts*, Dec. 1966 p 12; Bazil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1972), p 239.
- <sup>13</sup>(South Africa) Information generally known to be true and confirmed by former members of the National Security Council Staff. For a good general discussion see, Tad Szulc, "Why Are We In Johannesburg?," *Esquire*, Oct. 1974.
- <sup>14</sup>(Iran) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. pp 46, 49, and 51; Wise and Ross, op cit., pp 110–114.
- <sup>15</sup>(Albania et al) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p. 46.
- <sup>16</sup>(Eastern Europe) Steven Stewert, *Operation Splinter Factor* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1974).
- <sup>17</sup>(Greece) *New York Times*, 8/7/75; Stanley Karnow, "America's Mediterranean Bungle," *Atlantic Monthly*, 2/75 Vol. 235, No. 2.
- <sup>18</sup>(Western Europe) Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post* 5/20/67; Memo from Allen Dulles to the general counsel of CIA dated April 21, 1964 on file at the Center; Ronald Radosh, *American Labor and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1969) pp 438–9.
- <sup>19</sup>(China) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 127–9 and 165–9.
- <sup>20</sup>(Tibet) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. pp 127–9; and P. H. Renshaw, *The Politics of China's Government*

**United States**—Political surveillance, particularly of radicals with international connections; close working relationship with local police forces in which the CIA is offered "cover" and returns the favor by teaching informal classes in illegal intelligence techniques such as break-ins and wiretapping; CIA participation in civil disorder planning and operations. CIA ownership of hundreds of "proprietary", or front corporations. CIA operatives on over 100 U.S. college campuses for recruitment of foreign students and other clandestine purposes.

**Cuba**—CIA organized military invasion in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs fails to overthrow the Castro government. Throughout the 60's, the CIA sponsors regular armed incursions by Cuban exiles directed out of Miami.

**Guatemala**—CIA directed invasion overthrows Arbenz government in 1954, establishing a quasi-military dictatorship. Heavy CIA manipulation of domestic Guatemalan politics continuing until present.

**Ecuador**—Extensive CIA covert political intervention in the early 60's destabilizes two civil governments which refused to break relations with Cuba. The resultant political chaos leads to military rule.

**Peru**—CIA trains a secret counter-guerrilla force in the mid-60's which wipes out the local insurgency movement.

**Bolivia**—CIA counter-insurgency advisors organize and direct the tracking down of Che Guevara and his guerrilla force in 1967.

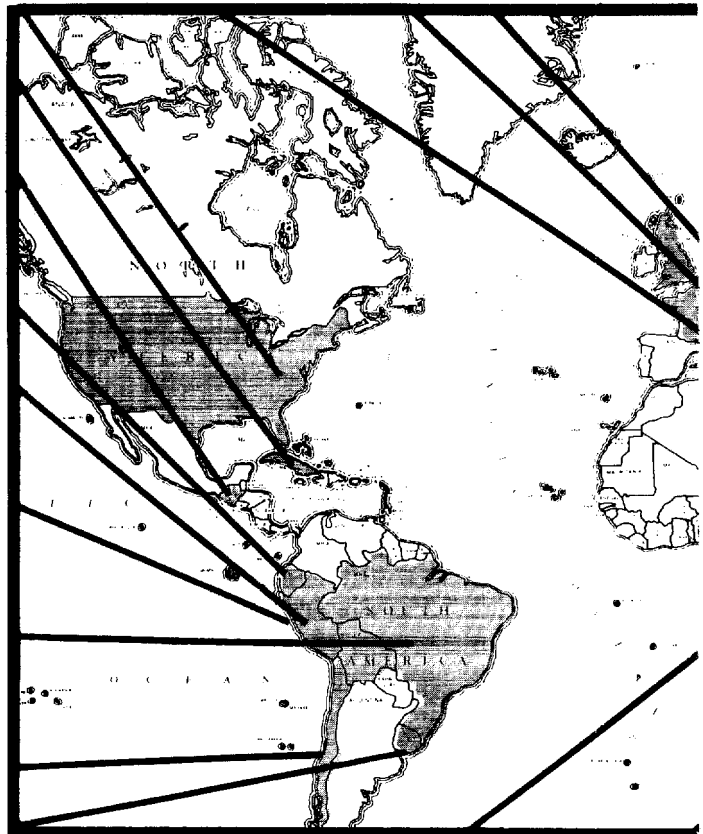
**Brazil**—CIA funds unsuccessful candidates in opposition to President Goulart who moves to expropriate ITT and maintain relations with Cuba. CIA then orchestrates anti-government operations by labor, military, and middleclass groups, including courses in "labor affairs" in Washington D.C. The resultant coup in 1964 establishes the repressive military dictatorship still in power.

**Chile**—CIA secretly funds anti-Allende political forces in 1958, 1964, and 1970 elections. Having failed to block Allende's election to the presidency in 1970, CIA directs a destabilization of the economic-political order which leads to the military coup in 1973. A half century of democracy is ended, and one of the most brutal Latin American military dictatorships installed.

**Uruguay**—CIA manipulates Uruguayan politics throughout 1960s and, according to the first-hand testimony of ex-CIA operative Phillip Agee, pressures the government to accept an AID police training mission which provides cover for CIA case officers who secretly finance and train the local police and intelligence services.

## Selected Cases

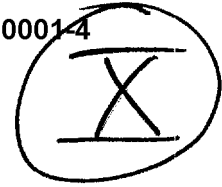
**West Europe**—CIA subsidizes political parties individual leaders, labor unions, and other groups after WW II and into the fifties, particularly in West Germany, Italy, and France.



**Zaire (Congo)**—CIA escalates its political manipulation to para-military operations in 1964 against local rebel forces. Supplies mercenaries and an "instant air-force" with surplus B-26's flown by Bay of Pigs veterans. CIA currently maintains a major station in Zaire for its operations in Africa.

**South Africa**—CIA maintains close liaison and cooperation with South African secret police.





"HEY, THAT THING'S LOADED!"

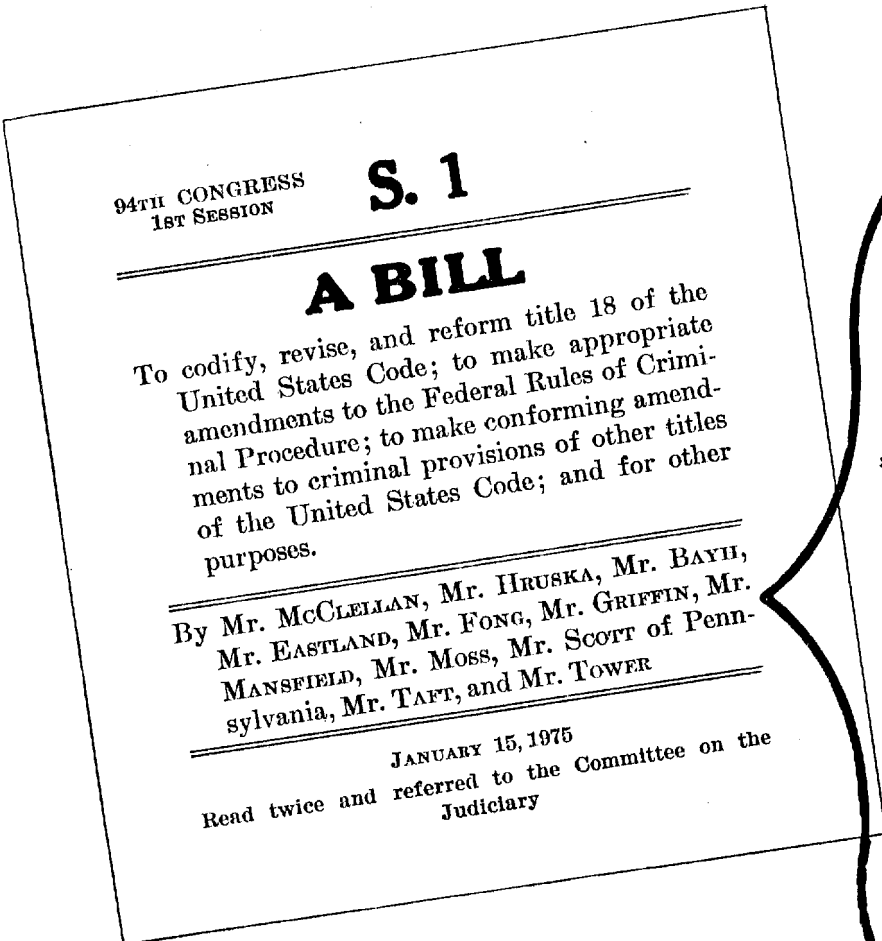
Fort Worth, Texas — *Star-Telegram*

**Are we to enter  
our third century  
under Richard Nixon's  
criminal code?**

# Dangerous S.B. 1

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200470001-4

**Senate Bill 1— a 753-page legislative legacy of the Nixon Administration’s fearful & corrupt policies — is moving toward final action by the U.S. Senate. Drafted in major part under Attorneys General Mitchell & Kleindienst and titled the “Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975,” — its enactment would constitute an unparalleled disaster!**



## These powerful Senators sponsor S. 1:

- John McClellan (D, Ark.) Chairperson, Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures; Chairperson, Appropriations Committee
- Roman Hruska (R, Neb.) Ranking Minority Member, Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures
- Mike Mansfield (D, Mont.) Majority Leader
- Hugh Scott (R, Pa.) Minority Leader
- James Eastland (D, Miss.) President, Pro Tem; Chairperson, Judiciary Committee
- Robert Griffin (R, Mich.) Minority Whip
- \* Birch Bayh (D, Ind.) Chairperson, Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments
- Hiram Fong (R, Ha.) Ranking Minority Member, Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments
- John Tower (R, Texas) Second Ranking Minority Member, Armed Services Committee
- Frank Moss (D, Utah) Chairperson, Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee
- Robert Taft, Jr. (R, Ohio) Member, Armed Services Committee

A companion measure, H.R. 3907, has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the ranking minority member of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Charles Wiggins of California.

\*“The more people I talked with around the country about this bill, the more I became convinced that my initial judgment was wrong.”

*Statement by Senator Birch Bayh withdrawing from sponsorship of S. 1 — August 19, 1975*

**President Nixon’s ‘law & order’ becomes President Ford’s ‘domestic tranquility!’**

“There are those who say that law and order are just code words for repression and bigotry. This is dangerous nonsense. Law and order are code words for goodness and decency . . . the only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people—without pity.”

**Statement by President Richard Nixon,** introducing original draft of S. 1 (S. 1400, 93rd Cong.) March 14, 1973

“I do not talk about law and order . . . I turn to the constitutional guarantee of domestic tranquility. . . . S. 1 . . . is not vindictive punishment of the criminal . . . I call upon the Congress to act swiftly . . .”

**Statement by President Gerald Ford,** endorsing the consolidated S. 1 (94th Cong.) June 19, 1975.

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**The long nightmare of Watergate is over???**

# Look at these repressive features of Senate B

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The following highlight the repressive features of S. 1:

WIRETAPPING. Reaffirms the 1968 law, including the ambiguous Presidential authority to wiretap domestic activities where a "danger to the structure" of the government is involved. By virtue of incorporating the multiple changes in existing statutes, S. 1 expands the areas where wiretapping is permitted as part of the investigatory processes. Directs telephone companies and landlords to cooperate "forthwith" and "unobtrusively" with government wiretappers, and provides for compensation for such cooperation. (Chapt. 31, A; pp. 206-18)

DEATH PENALTY. Attempts to circumvent the 1972 (*Furman v. Georgia*) Supreme Court decision which held that capital punishment was cruel and unusual punishment because it had been "so wantonly and so freakishly imposed." (Mr. Justice Stewart, concurring.) Would provide *mandatory* executions for certain crimes under certain conditions. (Italics mine.) (Chapt. 24; pp. 194-98)

"LEADING" A RIOT. Redrafts 1968 law. Provides for up to three years in jail and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for "movement of a person across a state line" in the course of execution or consummation of a "riot." A "riot" as defined could involve as few as "ten" participants whose conduct "creates a grave danger of imminently causing" damage to property. Invokes comprehensive federal jurisdictional involvement down to the level of barroom affrays. (Sec. 1831; p. 173)

ENTRAPMENT. Permits conviction of defendants for committing crimes which they were induced to commit by improper pressures of police agents. Puts burden on defendant to prove that he was "not predisposed" and was subject to "unlawful entrapment." (Sec. 551; p. 59)

CONTEMPT. Penalty for refusal to cooperate with congressional committees, e.g., Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is increased from one year in prison and a thousand-dollar fine to three years and/or one hundred thousand dollars. (Sec. 1333; p. 93)

SECRECY. Reverses democratic decision-making under the Constitution by substituting government secrecy for the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment. Provides for penalties ranging from up to three years' imprisonment and/or up to one-

hundred-thousand-dollar fine to death penalty to prohibit public access to "national defense information." S. 1 would vastly expand the scope and severity of criminal sanctions to enforce the administrative classification of documents. There are more than fifteen thousand federal employees in forty-seven executive departments authorized to classify documents, and an estimated billion pages of data already classified. With the definitions provided under Sec. 1128 for "classified information" and "national defense information" so vague as to defy precise description, S. 1 codifies what can best be described as an official secrets act. Sec. 1121 provides for life imprisonment, or the death penalty, "in time of war or during a national defense emergency" for collecting or communicating "national defense information" with the knowledge that it "may be used to the prejudice of the safety or interest of the United States, or to the advantage of a foreign power." (p. 69) (Would the exposure of government corruption render a government employee or a news reporter subject to the law?)

Sec. 1122 provides from seven to fifteen years in prison and up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for communicating "national defense information" to a person "who he knows is not authorized to receive it." (Daniel Ellsberg and Tony Russo?)

Sec. 1123, under the euphemism "Mishandling National Defense Information," provides for up to seven years in prison and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for a person who receives "national defense information" and "fails to deliver it promptly" to a federal agent. (pp. 69-70) (*The New York Times* or Unitarian-Universalist *Beacon Press* re Pentagon Papers?)

Sec. 1124 would extend the suppression of information to its ultimate length, providing three to seven years' imprisonment and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for passing "classified information" to a person who is not authorized to receive it." (p. 70)

SEDITION. Redrafts 1940 Smith Act, "made inoperative by 1957 Supreme Court decision (*Yates v. U.S.*). Provides up to fifteen years' imprisonment and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for allegedly inciting "other person to engage in imminent lawless conduct that would facilitate" the destruction of the federal or any state government; and, up to seven years' imprisonment and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine for participation as an active member in a group that the defendant "knows" has such a purpose. (Sec. 1103; pg. 64) When combined with the criminal conspiracy and solicitation sections, the

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jeopardy to protected speech is further increased. (Secs. 1002-1003; pp. 60-61)

MARIJUANA. Possession of the slightest amount for personal use entails thirty days' imprisonment and/or ten-thousand-dollar fine; second offense increases to six months and/or ten-thousand-dollar fine.

ILLEGAL EVIDENCE. S. 1 incorporates provisions designed to make "voluntary" confessions admissible even if obtained by secret police interrogation in the absence of counsel and warning prescribed in the Miranda case, and provisions designed to assure admissibility of eyewitness testimony regardless of prior police irregularities in suggesting identification. (Secs. 3713-14; pp. 273-74)

HANDGUNS. In line with President Ford's recent message on crime, S. 1 eschews the Brown commission's recommendation to establish effective national control of handguns. Instead, the bill makes the use of a dangerous weapon in committing a crime a separate offense entailing penalties in addition to those provided for the underlying crime. Such a proposal might make sense in connection with a system that did not otherwise contemplate more severe treatment of armed offenders.

It is absurd to add a mandatory five-year penalty to a life sentence or to ten or twenty years, and to suppose that this will have any noticeable effect on the use of weapons by individuals who have already demonstrated their defiance of much greater threatened punishment. (Sec. 1823; pp. 171-72)

NURENBERG DEFENSE. Would inhibit prosecution of wrongdoing by "public servants" if illegal conduct is result of "mistaken" belief that it was "required or authorized," or based on "written interpretation issued by the head of a government agency" (e.g. from a President?). (Secs. 542, 544, & 552; p. 57-59)

OBSCENITY. Freezes into statutory law recent restrictive decisions of the Supreme Court in this area. S. 1 would permit the invocation of federal law enforcement against the most trivial local transactions. It precludes as a defense that the material in question might be lawfully produced and distributed under the relevant state laws. (Sec. 1842; pp. 177-78)

INSANITY. S. 1 represents an important regression from existing law. It admits insanity as a defense only if the insanity caused a lack of "the state of mind

required as an element of the offense charged. Mental disease or defect does not otherwise constitute a defense." To fail to accord such a defense is to ignore the relevance to guilt of moral responsibility and power to choose.

SENTENCING. Contrary to the Brown Commission's recommendations, S. 1 provides for very high maximum penalties, a parole component in addition to the prison maximum, and fewer limitations on the use of consecutive sentences. S. 1 also makes parole and probation harder to obtain and requires mandatory minimum sentences in certain instances, thereby eliminating judicial discretion and exacerbating the problems resulting from high maximum sentences. (Part III, pp. 182-194, also Sec. 1811, p. 166 & Sec. 1823, p. 171.)

SABOTAGE. Provides the death penalty or life imprisonment in some cases, up to twenty to thirty years in prison and/or up to one-hundred-thousand-dollar fine in others, for activity that "damages, tampers with..." almost any property or facility "used in or particularly suited for national defense" or service that is or might be used in the national defense, with intent to "interfere with or obstruct the ability of the U.S. or an associate nation to prepare for or engage in war or defense activities." Clearly, such language would make every public demonstration, no matter how peaceful and orderly, subject to potential criminal sanctions. (Sec. 1111; p. 64)

DEMONSTRATIONS. Virtually every kind of civil rights, peace, and other protest action would be threatened with severe penalties under a series of vaguely drafted infringements on the right of assembly, including restrictions on the right to demonstrate adjacent to wherever authorities may declare to be the "temporary residence" where the President may be staying. (Sec. 209; p. 391. For other sections see: Sec. 1112, 1115, 1116, & 1117 — pp. 65-68; Sec. 1302 — p. 82; Sec. 1311 — p. 83; Sec. 1328 — p. 91; Sec. 1334 — p. 94; Sec. 1861 & 1863 — p. 180-181)

*"Do you think Congress will vote for S-1?" I asked.  
"Why not? If they're dumb enough to propose it,  
they're dumb enough to pass it."  
—Art Buchwald*

## Legislative History of the Bill

To understand the repressive features summarized below of S. 1 (H.R. 3907) it is necessary to review its legislative history. The present U.S. Criminal Code is an archaic collection of laws, replete with contradicting redundancies. It was last updated in 1909. The problem has been long recognized by legal scholars, and in 1966 a National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws was appointed by President Johnson pursuant to a statute that required it to be bipartisan. The Commission of twelve consisted of three senators, three representatives, three federal judges, and three members at large. Former California Governor Pat Brown was named chairperson. An advisory committee of fourteen with wide experience in criminal law was also named. It was headed by former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Tom C. Clark.

The Brown commission, as it became known, labored for five years and achieved a remarkable degree of consensus. Significantly, the three Senate members of that commission — McClellan, Hruska, and Sam Ervin — frequently found themselves outvoted.

The Brown commission completed its study draft in 1970, and submitted its final report on January 7, 1971, to President Nixon and the Congress. In the ensuing two years, two critical developments occurred. First, in their capacity as the leadership of the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the outvoted Senate members of the bipartisan Brown commission had their way, and on January 4, 1973, introduced their dissenting views as S. 1 of the ninety-third Congress. In the judgment of Louis B. Schwartz, Benjamin Franklin Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Brown commission, their legislation represented "an outright rejection of the commission's basic approach to criminal law."

Second, President Nixon, in disagreement with both the Brown commission and the dissenting senators, called upon Attorney General John Mitchell and later, his successor, Richard Kleindienst, to rewrite the bipartisan commission's Final Report, and on March 14, 1973, he called upon Senators McClel-

lan and Hruska to introduce the Administration's "Criminal Code Reform Act of 1973," as S. 1400. According to Professor Schwartz's judgment at the time, "The Nixon program contradicts in every respect . . . the recommendations of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. . . . The President has taken a position far to the right of the Senate subcommittee's proposal . . . widely regarded as 'very tough' . . . a program of primitive vengefulness."

Thereafter, Senators McClellan and Hruska held hearings to consolidate S. 1 and S. 1400. Altogether, some eight thousand pages of testimony, much of it critical, were taken before the subcommittee terminated its hearings in August, 1974. With the nation's attention focused on the scandals of Watergate and then the articles of impeachment, the press all but ignored the developing issue. On October 21, 1974, with assistance from the Department of Justice under President Ford, the consolidation was announced as complete. With minor amendments, it was this legislation which was then introduced with such broad and powerful sponsorship on January 15, 1975, as S. 1 — the "Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975."

"S. 1 expresses the view that the crime problem can be solved by extending government's power over individuals. This extension can take the form of wire-tapping and other secret surveillance, of giving broad discretion to officials in decisions about punishment, of authorizing exceptionally severe sentences, or of restricting access to critical information about government operations. The other school of thought, represented by the Brown commission, is skeptical about the gains in law enforcement that can be expected from such measures, and more concerned about impairing the quality of civic life by needless restraints on liberty."

Louis B. Schwartz

Benjamin Franklin Professor of Criminal Law,  
University of Pennsylvania; Director, National  
Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws.

# What Constitutional Authorities think of the Bill!

"In our judgment the enactment of S. 1, the pending bill to revise the Federal Criminal Code, would constitute an unparalleled disaster for the system of individual rights in the United States. Furthermore, we believe that the bill is inherently unamendable and should be recommitted for complete overhaul and redrafting.

"Our conclusion that S. 1 cannot be satisfactorily patched up by the amendment process is based primarily upon two essential features of the present bill:

"(1) The bill contains too many chapters, sections, subsections, clauses, words, and definitions that would have to be changed. It is impossible to enumerate all the danger points in S. 1, but some idea of their extent can be seen from a partial listing of these areas that urgently need revision. They include provisions dealing with the handling and publication of "national defense information," advocacy of overthrow of government by force (the Smith Act), obstructing government functions by fraud, statements impairing military effectiveness, riots, disorderly conduct, contempt, and obligation to give testimony, entrapment, wiretapping and electronic surveillance, the death penalty, conspiracy, [criminal] attempts, the insanity defense, obscenity, responsibility of public officials for violation of law, penalties for criminal offenses, probation and parole, and complicated problems of federal jurisdiction.

It would be naive to believe that these countless provisions could be restructured and redrafted, one by one, through the procedure of motion to amend, amendments to the amendment, debate, and vote, either in committee or on the Senate floor. Long before such a process could be completed the pressures would be irresistible to make a few changes and let the rest go through.

"(2) S. 1 was designed and drafted upon the basis of philosophical, ethical, and political goals that were repudiated by the American people in the

Watergate scandals. The bill is the product of the Nixon Administration, prepared under the aegis of Attorneys General Mitchell and Kleindienst, and put into concrete form by a group of lawyers in Nixon's Department of Justice. The objective of the draftsmen was to incorporate into the criminal code every restriction upon individual liberties, every method and device, that the Nixon Administration thought necessary or useful in pursuit of its fearful and corrupt policies. As such, the bill is permeated with assumptions, points of view, and objectives, finding expression in numerous overt or subtle provisions, that run counter to the open and free spirit upon which American liberties are based. This pervasive taint cannot be amended out.

## "Inherently Unamendable"

"We do not oppose revision of the Federal Criminal Code. It must be recognized, however, that the task is an enormously complex one, involving decision on literally thousands of provisions of law that vitally affect every citizen. Congress should start with a bill that has been drafted by people who are committed to preserving American rights. It can then effectively proceed to debate and amend those particular parts of the legislation where policy changes are thought desirable. But it must have a solid foundation, firmly fixed in the tradition of American democracy, to begin with. S. 1 does not supply such a foundation."

— *Professor Vern Countryman*  
*Harvard Law School*

— *Professor Thomas I. Emerson*  
*Yale Law School*

"S. 1, in its present form, is a hideous proposal which merits the condemnation of everyone who believes in due process of law and a free society. . . . S. 1 is simply atrocious and would establish what is essentially a police state."

**Former U.S. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr.,**  
North Carolina

Co-sponsor, original S. 1 (93rd Cong.).

## Statement by Society of American Law Teachers

Prepared by Professor Carole E. Goldberg  
University of California at Los Angeles Law School

S. 1 purports to provide a more rational, uniform, and precisely stated federal criminal law. SALT believes that the federal criminal code requires such revision. Criminal legislation has proliferated in an unsystematic fashion over the past several decades. Court decisions necessary to fill in substantive gaps have not been standardized by the overworked Supreme Court. Nevertheless, SALT finds serious fault with the codification offered in S. 1.

The bill disregards many of the sound recommendations of legal experts embodied in the Report of the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws (Brown Commission), particularly those relating to the structure of criminal sentences, the availability of defenses, and the crime of conspiracy.

The bill is so riddled with defects, SALT has grave doubts whether it is amenable to piecemeal improvements; many of its provisions must be redrafted from scratch.

# What the nation's press thinks about S. 1: Putting Freedom Against the Wall

## Los Angeles Times

Legislation now pending in Congress to revise the federal criminal code should be junked.

Senate Bill 1, a massive and complicated measure 753 pages long, is so pervasively and fatally flawed that it lies beyond the scope of any rational amending process.

## Baltimore Afro-American

"A full employment policy is still the best anti-crime measure. It's a mistake to stuff a sensible codification of the existing law with all sorts of provisions that trample on the constitution without making our streets safer."

— Vernon Jordan, Jr, Exec. Dir.,  
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE



"S. 1 is a bill which is unamendable - it needs to be killed, for under the protection of law the dark days of the Nixon years could return again with possible disastrous consequences."

## MEAT CUTTERS and BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA AFL-CIO

"Senate Bill 1 is a monstrosity such as was ever introduced in the Congressional halls of our United States. I don't know any way to keep this country from going fascist except fighting fascism."

— PATRICK E. GORMAN, Secty. Treas.

## Chicago Tribune

"Lest we sound like a frenzied Paul Revere wearing a press hat, let us put this bill in its best perspective . . . there is a chronic vagueness throughout . . . An executive branch, given the formidable powers of S. 1, might turn such powers against Congress as well as against the media and the public."

## THE MIAMI NEWS

"Congress once again is being asked to limit the public's right to know. . . ."

## The New York Times

"A grave danger to freedom of the press. . . . The United States has no need for a law that would help officials conceal their mistakes far more often than it would hide anything of importance from a foreign enemy."

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Published since 1889 by  
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.

"Sleeper . . . S. 1 quite laudably advanced as an effort to 'codify, revise, and reform' federal criminal law, actually goes far beyond that rather innocent description and proposes a number of far-reaching changes that raise some very real threats to civil liberties. . . . It's probably necessary to keep ringing the alarm bells loud and often. . . . Senator Bayh says he signed on so as to be in better tactical position to amend the measure — an explanation that for credibility has to rank with Nelson Rockefeller's statement that he didn't oppose the Vietnam war all those years for fear of hurting New York State's chance for federal financial aid."

— Alan L. Otten

## Atlanta Journal

"Some are willing to sell their birthright for a police state. A bill now before the U.S. Senate is a sign that that kind of a disease did not disappear with the departure of Richard Nixon from the White House."

## The Providence Journal

"There is no need for codification of old laws so great as to saddle the nation with bad new laws."

# NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION (NCARL)

formerly National Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC (House Committee on Internal Security)

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## Here's what you can do:

- 1 Urge your U.S. Senators to work to defeat S. 1 and send it back to committee for total redrafting!**

*WARNING: Reacting to mounting national protests against this legislation, some Senate sponsors of S. 1 are submitting amendments: while purportedly aimed at answering the criticisms raised, they do not substantially alter the repressive thrust of the legislation; others do attempt genuine corrections. However, constitutional authorities state that these belated efforts at this stage in the legislative process bear out their charge that S. 1 is inherently unamendable.*

- 2 Urge your U.S. Representative to be alert against S. 1 and those who under the guise of reforming the archaic U.S. Criminal Code, would turn back the clock of justice!**

- 3 Contribute generously to the campaigns of NCARL and other organizations working to defeat S. 1!**



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flexibility? Why should not the same variance apply to my area where steep slope mining takes place. If this inconsistent treatment is not corrected, mountain top mining will have a substantial economic advantage over my State and other States which principally mine on steep slopes.

Nationwide, this bill will cause certain problems and dislocations, particularly for the short run. It should be made to strike an appropriate balance between energy and environmental values.

Approximately 2 1/2 million tons of high quality coal moves from southern Appalachian coal fields to electric utilities each year. The reliability of these utility systems is based upon the continued ability of these coal fields to continue to produce and strip coal. If this source is seriously affected, as I think it could be under this bill, not only will this worsen the current energy imbalance, it could well result in brownouts and blackouts in the Eastern United States. Not to mention the substantial increases in electric rates which will result as these coal supplies are lost.

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A FIFTH ESTATE

HON. LARRY McDONALD  
OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 19, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on March 13, 1975, my colleague Mr. DELLUMS entered into the RECORD a letter from an organization known somewhat obscurely as the Organization Committee for a Fifth Estate—OC-5—which I had on February 20 characterized, with two other groups, as being among those attacking the security services of the United States.

In their somewhat hysterical "Dear Ron" letter, the OC-5 attempted to throw out a smokescreen of denial based on misquotations, evasions and lies. Because of this, I believe that it is desirable to add some specifics to my earlier statement.

The OC-5 letter states Perry Fellwock has been using the alias of Winslow Peck "to protect himself from potential harassment from Government intelligence agencies." This is in direct contradiction to Peck's January 16, 1972 statement to the New York Times which quoted him as saying:

I know the FBI knows who I am. I'd like to avoid publicity but I'm willing to go through trial, and, if I have to, I'll go to jail. . . . But I no longer feel the oath that I made when I was released from duty to never say anything about what I did is binding on me.

Perhaps Fellwock's desire for an alias was prompted by more mundane reasons, such as avoiding rental payments after taking legal responsibility as a lease signer for antiwar movement office space; or avoiding any potential charges for planning disruptive, potentially violent street demonstrations like the

YORK CITY'S financial district.

Certainly Fellwock would not need an alias for such juvenile activities as pasting up posters in the Capitol Hill area during July 1973, entitled "Colby, W.E." which read, "Wanted for crimes in connection with the Phoenix murder plan which resulted in the first-degree murder and/or torture of 49,565 Vietnamese. Consider him dangerous."

And I notice with interest that Fellwock/Peck does not deny that at about 2:15 p.m. on Saturday, October 23, 1971, at the First Congregational Church, 10th and G Streets NW., Washington, D.C., he was prevented from speaking about his alleged NSA activities because he was exhibiting many symptoms of drug abuse. In the words of his peer group, which at that time included Bill Kiltridge, Karen Menconeri, John Boldt, Joel Beatty, Gordon Finch and others, Fellwock/Peck was "stoned out of his mind."

In the OC-5 letter, Timothy Charles Butz, a native of Munroe Falls, Ohio, states he was not an organizer for Kent State SDS. I agree, and stand by my original statement that Butz was an "SDS activist at Kent State," and an organizer for Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Butz must know that the leadership cadre at Kent State University included Colin "Sunshine" Neiburger, later a "gay Mayday" activist in Washington in 1971; Joyce Cecora; Mark Lencl; Terry Robbins, killed in the explosion of an SDS Weatherman bomb factory in New York in March, 1970; Howie Emmer; and Lisa Meisel, now the wife of Robert "Bo" Burlingham, a former editor of Ramparts magazine indicted in 1970 and 1972 on Weatherman bombing conspiracy charges and now with the Cambridge Policy Studies Institute. Butz must still recall that he was not invited into the SDS leadership cadre.

OC-5 also seeks to explain away a Berkeley Barb article relating to OC-5 representative Douglas Ethan Allen Oliver Porter, Jr.'s claim of OC-5 possession of stolen documents. Attached at the end of these remarks is the full text of the news item.

OC-5 also paid me a dubious compliment by alleging I was in receipt of either CIA or FBI files on their organization. This is not true. The OC-5 cabal forget that earlier in their letter they admit that "the history of the Fifth Estate is a matter of public knowledge." That is true, and the founding members of OC-5 must know that all my statements relating to their actions and words are in reference to their public, albeit scandalous, behavior. I have made no mention of their covert activities.

Incidentally, I wish to congratulate the OC-5 editors who now have apparently agreed on a standard spelling of the term "technofascism."

The OC-5 members must consider themselves fortunate that I number among my constituents honorable, patriotic Americans who have not only long memories and document collections but

to divulge to their Representative.

-I am convinced that the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate is a potential threat to both internal and international security operations; and as OC-5 makes a point of its "openness," I would urge my colleagues on the House Judiciary Committee who now have jurisdiction over matters of internal security, to invite the OC-5 group to testify under oath on their activities. At such a hearing I would be happy to present a documented history of their endeavors in detail.

The following item appeared in the Berkeley Barb, January 3-9, 1975, page 7.

SPYING ON BIG BROTHER

(By Steve Long)

"We want a classified memo a day to leak." The speaker was Doug Porter, a young bearded former underground reporter who is now with the Washington-based Fifth Estate.

The Fifth Estate was described by Doug Porter as a "non-profit, non-partisan, non-polluting organization dedicated to spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community. Our only consumers of information are the American public."

Doug Porter was recently in Berkeley to present a slide show on US foreign and domestic strategy, and this reporter talked with him about the origins of the Fifth Estate. The parent organization out of which the Fifth Estate grew was known as the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC).

CARIC was the source for one of the first Watergate stories by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of The Washington Post. CARIC also provided opposition witnesses to the confirmation hearings of CIA Director William Colby, thereby bringing out new information on the infamous Operation Phoenix (a CIA program to destroy the NLF infrastructure in South Vietnam). A final accomplishment of CARIC was the smashing of the Washington, D.C. "red Squad" in 1973. CARIC convinced a D.C. police informer, Bob Merritt, to "turn over"—to quit the police and talk about his experiences, thus exposing the key agents in the D.C. red squad.

At the same time that CARIC was operating early in 1973 author Norman Maller established another organization with the same purpose. Maller announced at his 50th birthday party, attended by New York's elite, that as his birthday present to the American people he was going to do something about the level of paranoia in the US—he was going to create an organization, to be called "the Fifth Estate," to watch the other four estates (the three branches of the Federal government plus the media).

Maller proceeded to speak on college campuses for the next six months about his new organization, at the end of which time he had a mailing list and little else except a paper organization.

CARIC and Maller's Fifth Estate merged as a result of a "Dear Norman" letter by Nat Hentoff in the Village Voice. Hentoff wrote that CARIC was doing effective work, so why not merge the two organizations? Maller agreed, and the merger was effected in March, 1974. The name of Maller's organization, the Fifth Estate, was retained after the merger.

"The effect of the merger is that Norman gives us money and uses his good name on our behalf, and we do the work," Doug Porter said.

Doug said that there are currently three major projects of the Fifth Estate. The first project is "mass outreach," oriented toward

college students (Berkeley). Fifth Estate speakers are touring 25 cities across the country this fall, "to let people know the Fifth Estate wants to work with them and for them," Doug said, adding, "It's not an elitist thing, we want to have tentacles everywhere."

A second major project of the Fifth Estate over the next two years is the Labor Education Project, which involves "researching the infrastructure between the CIA and organized labor in this country," Doug said. This will be the main topic of forthcoming issues of Counter-Spy, the Fifth Estate's quarterly journal, over the next year. "We're trying to get this information to rank-and-file groups," Doug added. There are plans for a book to be published next year on the labor project.

The third on-going project is the building of the Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC). "It is a library—a data base—located in Washington, D.C., so that researchers can have it readily available for their use. It always has more materials available on the intelligence community than the Library of Congress." The IDC consists not only of books, but files—press clippings, debriefings we have done, government reports, corporate reports, and stolen documents," Doug said.

A book to be published next year will be based on the IDC. The book is The Whole Spy Catalog, described by Doug as "a compendium of everything we know about the intelligence community, and some helpful hints on how people can fight back."

The Fifth Estate is very conscious that the government might conduct counter-intelligence operations against it, so it has an office with 24-hour security. There is also an active Advisory Board, which includes such people as Victor Marchetti, a former high-ranking CIA official, and authors Marcus Raskin, Kirkpatrick Sale, William Turner (also a former FBI agent), and Tony Russo (of Pentagon Papers fame). "One of the reasons for the Advisory Board is to prevent us from being used as a conduit for misinformation," Doug said.

In his slide show and talk on US foreign and domestic strategy since World War II, given two weeks ago on the U.C. campus, Doug Porter said that over-all US strategy has been to encircle the socialist world. There have been four readjustments of US strategy.

The first readjustment, during the 1949-1950 period, grew out of the Truman Doctrine. It involved such clandestine activities as CIA infiltration of European labor unions, and "Operation Splinter Factor," a project that fed Stalin erroneous information.

The year 1950-1960 were the height of the Cold War, and US global strategy was based on the doctrine of massive retaliation. The CIA carried on significant clandestine activities in Indochina, Korea, Iran (a coup in 1953), Guatemala (a coup in 1954), Egypt, Costa Rica, Indonesia (the attempted overthrow of Sukarno in 1958), and Laos (creation of the "secret army"). This period of the second readjustment of US strategy also saw the development of U-2 spy planes, and the use of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (both CIA-sponsored) to contribute to the 1956 Hungarian uprising.

In the third period, 1961-1968, US strategy was known as "strategy for peace," and saw the development of Kennedy's "flexible response" doctrine and LBJ's escalation policy in Indochina. The CIA carried on significant clandestine activities in Indochina, Israel (massive clandestine aid), Cuba (Bay of Pigs), Bolivia (the murder of Che Guevara in 1967), the Congo (some of the Cuban mercenaries used in the Bay of Pigs were used), and the Dominican Republic (overt US military intervention in 1965). A Tibetan mercenary army was trained in Colorado. But in spite of these clandestine CIA activi-

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ward the Third World. The fourth and final period of readjustment of US global strategy, from 1969 to the present, is the period of the Nixon Doctrine, also known as the "new strategy for peace." In Indochina, South Vietnam is still a US neocolony. The Thieu government is now being "destabilized" with the covert aid of the CIA. Vietnamization is a way to prolong the war, not to end it, and Vietnam has been used as a testing ground for such US techniques as the electronic battlefield.

The CIA and US military intelligence are also being used to aid US allies. British special air service troops (their Green Berets) are being trained in North Carolina to fight in Northern Ireland. The CIA has recently increased the number of its agents in Great Britain with the hope of undermining the strikes of British industrial workers. The CIA is currently aiding proto-fascist groups in Italy, and U.S. military intelligence agencies are being used to spy on German and Japanese citizens.

The recruit coups in Cyprus and Greece were CIA-sponsored, Doug believes. In Africa, retiring U.S. Green Berets are now being recruited to fight liberation movements in Mozambique and Rhodesia. The CIA, in spite of a recent public relations campaign, is still up to its old "dirty tricks."

Anyone interested in more information on the Fifth Estate in subscription to Counter-Spy (\$6 per year) should write the Fifth Estate, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

## LET'S NOT RESTORE RELATIONS WITH CUBA

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1975

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, sometimes we must all sit back and reflect on what is happening to the world. What I see today frightens me a great deal. The newspapers are full of stories about the eminent fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia to the Communists, and President Ford is warning anew that the domino theory about the fall of free nations in Southeast Asia may, indeed, be valid.

I have traveled to the Soviet Union and to many countries, socialist Iron Curtain countries, and I have been chilled by what I saw. Most Americans cannot appreciate what it is like to live under a Communist dictator regime. Most cannot even comprehend what life is like there and it is strange that they cannot recognize communism for what it is. I have seen it in action and it scares me. What frightens me most is the number of nations that are becoming Communist, and the present policies our country is following to enable even more to become Communist.

Probably the most frightening is the likelihood of normalization of relations with Castro's Cuba. The April 1975 meeting of the Organization of American States foreign ministers in Washington could produce a hemispheric policy change toward Cuba.

In every official pronouncement Castro has continued to reaffirm adherence to

extending the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba, by force or threat of force, by aggressive or subversive activities to all parts of the Western Hemisphere.

The terrorism of recent years—bombed buildings, hijacked airplanes, and police shootouts—have quieted down, but we can all be sure that if relations with Cuba are normalized they will flare up again as Castro proceeds with the master plan for world communism.

Regrettably few Americans take seriously the threat of world communism. It is a matter of having cried "wolf" too often, and when the "wolf" is actually there, no one comes to save the victim. However, a look at the world map of 1950 and the world map of 1975 shows clearly that Communist countries are increasing—not only in Asia, but in Africa and in our own Western Hemisphere.

A few of my colleagues in the House and in the other body have called for resumption of normal relations between the United States and Cuba. In fact I recently read an article which summarizes events between the United States and Cuba which point toward normalization. The article is entitled "Our Men in Havana?" It is written by Peter Hughes and Chris Hughes. Peter Hughes is a legislative assistant to Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Jr., who concurs with my opposition to normalization of relations with Cuba. The article was written for the April 1975 issue of the Alternative:

OUR MEN IN HAVANA?

(By Peter Hughes and Chris Hughes)

In 1962, the year of the Soviet-American confrontation in the Cuban missile crisis, Congress passed legislation designed to prevent "the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of the Western hemisphere." Congress also passed legislation prohibiting American assistance to Cuba or any country which assisted Cuba. In a further effort to isolate Cuba the Organization of American States voted to expel Cuba from its membership, and the OAS countries also voted to sever all trade and diplomatic relations between member states and Cuba. Until recently all OAS members but Mexico complied with the decision.

During the intervening years, however, changing global power relations and particularly the alleged change in relations between the world's superpowers, have given new momentum for a change in U.S.-Cuban relations.

Since 1971 a number of Senators, including Fulbright, Church, Mathias, Kennedy, and Pell, and Congressmen including Massachusetts Democrat Michael Harrington, have introduced legislation seeking a normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba.

Speculation that a change in U.S.-Cuban relations was imminent increased further in 1974 when Gerald Ford became President. The pundits suggested that President Ford might want to initiate some major foreign policy overture of his own; he needed to escape from the shadows of Nixon's diplomatic legacy, and Cuba was the logical choice. The new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, John Sparkman (D-Ala.), has recently added his voice to those calling for such overtures. Moreover, other countries in the hemisphere, for reasons of their own, seemed to want normalized relations with Cuba. An indication of their shift in attitude

dian health programs not be allowed to fade away.

The Seattle Indian Health Board Clinic has had to rely on almost a dozen different funding sources, some of which—such as section 314(d) funds and regional medical program funds—have been eliminated by Congress or cut back by the administration. The appropriation moneys are simply a replacement of those Federal funds by the Indian Health Service.

With the lack of previous Indian involvement in the health services, the Seattle Indian Health Board is providing a ray of light in the confusion that exists for Indians when they attempt to confront the mind-boggling problems that are evident in the delivery of health care.

to urban Indians. This, of course, takes others, but we must continue funding this vitally needed item. Recently the Seattle clinic expanded, and they have hopes of offering more complete services to urban Indians. This of course takes money.

As one member of the Seattle Indian Health Board said:

It's working and we just want it to work more.

Such a successful program certainly deserves more congressional support.

**BIG BANKERS ARE GETTING RESTLESS AGAIN AND WANT EXCUSES TO EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES RETURNED NOW**

**HON. WRIGHT PATMAN**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the big banks are apparently getting ready to head out for another year of record-high profits while the Nation struggles to recover from the worst recession since the Great Depression and 8.5 million people are without jobs.

First National City Bank of New York, the Nation's second largest, announced on July 11 that it was raising its prime rate from 7 percent to 7 1/4 percent. Three days later, First National Bank of Chicago, Continental Illinois of Chicago, Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh, Crocker National Bank of San Francisco, and Union Bank of Los Angeles quickly jumped on the old, familiar bandwagon by announcing they too were raising their interest rates for their best customers, the big corporate borrowers. All the other large commercial banks across the country will undoubtedly play "follow the leader" again in what will be another round of inflation pumping interest rate increases applied to small as well as big borrowers.

It is axiomatic that when the prime rate climbs, other types of loan rates—automobile, consumer, residential mortgage—small and medium size business—either remain at intolerably high levels or move in that direction. It is a phenomena that coupled be called "The Bankers Rule of Maximizing Profits Regardless of Cost to the Economy."

leaders of the banking industry rationalize their actions was articulated a few days ago by Richard L. Thomas, vice chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Chicago. In reporting this current round of prime rate increases, the New York Times quoted him as saying:

**BIG BANKERS ARE GETTING RESTLESS AGAIN AND WANT EXCUSES TO EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES RETURNED NOW**

"We are confident that this a forerunner" of further interest rate increases. He told the Times that his bank raised its prime rate because of recent increases in interest rates paid by the bank for short term funds.

But he added that the prime rate was also raised because of "pretty good loan demand." In other words, First National of Chicago is not going to betray its principles by failing to capitalize on the struggle to increase investments and develop some strength in what has been and still is a sick economy.

Mr. Thomas frosted the bankers cake, as it were, by going on to say that if the economy strengthens over the rest of the year, "we think the trend [in interest rates] will be upward."

Mr. Speaker, the bankers are obviously growing restless again. It's been more than a year since the prime rate was at an historic high of 12 percent and they have been away from that level too long.

On the same day that the Times was reporting this new round of prime rate increases, the Wall Street Journal disclosed that "more large banking concerns reported sizeable earnings gains for the second quarter."

These included BankAmerica Corporation, parent bank holding company of Bank of America of San Francisco, the nation's largest bank, which had second quarter income increase of 25.7 percent over the corresponding period of 1974; Chase Manhattan Corporation, holding company for Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, with an increase of 38.7 percent; Manufacturers Hanover Corporation, parent bank holding company of Manufacturers Hanover Bank, which had an 18.6 percent increase in net operating income; the Charter New York Corporation, bank holding company for Irving Trust, with an 18.7 percent increase; Mellon National Corporation, parent of Mellon Bank, with an 8.4 percent increase; and First Chicago Corporation, parent of First National Bank of Chicago, up 10.6 percent.

The Journal reported that "as with other banks that previously have reported first half results, the latest gains chiefly reflect an improvement in interest net income."

Mr. Speaker, it looks as though the big banks can look forward to even better profits in the third quarter and fourth quarter of the year at the expense of slower economic recovery and high unemployment.

**THE ASSAULT ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR THE FIFTH ESTATE**

**HON. LARRY McDONALD**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, among the most vociferous critics of the Central Intelligence Agency and other branches of the American intelligence community is the Organizing

the Fifth Estate—OC-5—which describes itself as "dedicated to spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community."

The OC-5's current campaign demands the total abolition of the CIA; its corollary aim is to provide support for defectors from that and other Federal and local agencies.

OC-5's current staffers include Timothy Charles Butz, a former Washington organizer for the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization; Perry Fellwock, who uses the alias Winslow Peck; Douglas Ethan Allen Oliver Porter, Jr.; and Margaret Van Houten. It is noted that background reports on the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate were provided for the benefit of my colleagues on February 20, 1975, and March 19, 1975, in my Extensions of Remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate publication Counter-Spy serves as a clearing house for the many groups involved in attacking aspects of Federal and local intelligence agencies and programs.

In light of the question, who benefits from the exposure and destruction of American intelligence operations, it is both relevant and appropriate to examine the backgrounds and affiliations of the OC-5 advisory board.

As listed by the most recent issue of OC-5's quarterly journal, Counter-Spy, they include:

**LISTINGS IN THE COUNTER-SPY**

- Philip Agee, former CIA case officer.
- Fred Branfman, Co-Director, Indochina Resource Center.
- Sylvia Crane, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.
- David Dellinger, Institute for New Communications.
- Frank Donner, ACLU Political Surveillance Project.
- Robert Katz, Assassination Information Project.
- Mark Lane, Citizen's Commission of Inquiry.
- Dr. Ralph Lewis, Criminal Justice Research Director, Michigan State University.
- Victor Marchetti, former CIA official.
- Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (ret.), former military liaison to the CIA.
- K. [Kenneth] Barton Osborn, former MI agent and consultant to the CIA.
- Marcus Raskin, Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies.
- Tony Russo, former RAND Corp. employee.
- Kirkpatrick Sale, author.
- Stanley Sheinbaum, American Civil Liberties Union.
- Rev. Phillip Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action.

Philip Agee, 40, after 13 years as a Central Intelligence Agency employee principally in Latin America, announced his conversion to "revolutionary socialism." Agee is notorious for his detailed exposé of his former employer entitled "Inside the Company: CIA Diary."

Agee has admitted to the mass media that he made some half dozen trips to Cuba during the writing of his exposé, and that he frequently was in touch with officers from Cuban embassies in Europe. Agee has stated, "Quite frankly, I don't care whether they're intelligence officers or not," and has expressed the hope that

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his disclosures "will provide the first steps toward the abolition of the CIA."

In his acknowledgements section in "Inside the Company," Agee stated his book could not have been written without the encouragement of representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba, the resources of the Cuban Government, and information provided by staffers of the North American Congress on Latin America, an anti-U.S. research group with close ties to the Cuban Government.

Frederick Robert Branfman, 33, was active with the International Voluntary Service in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Upon his return to the United States in 1971, Branfman immediately took a leadership role in the ranks of the so-called "antiwar" propagandists supporting the North Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian Communist insurgents. On May 4 in Washington, D.C., Branfman joined with Arthur Kinoy, David Dellinger, and other leaders of the revolutionary National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People for a Lafayette Park "celebration" to honor the bloodstained Communist victory in Vietnam.

Sylvia E. Crane was one of the founders and is currently a national officer of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly the National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee/ House Internal Security Committee. Under its original name, this organization was cited, after extensive investigation, as a Communist front. The organization is still headed by identified Communist Frank Wilkinson.

David Dellinger, who described himself in an SDS radical education project brochure in 1969 as a "Communist, although not of the Soviet variety," has however clearly demonstrated his support of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Cuban varieties of Marxism-Leninism. His Institute for New Communications is the publisher of a new radical newsweekly, Seven Days, currently in the "preview" edition stages.

Frank J. Donner, in addition to his present position as head of the ACLU's political surveillance project at Yale Law School, has the dubious distinction of having been thrice identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He was identified twice as a member of a Communist Party cell in the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D.C., which employed him in its litigation section from 1940 until 1945.

Called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956 and confronted with a Civil Service Commission questionnaire on which he had answered "no" to membership in a Communist organization, Donner invoked the fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination when asked if his statement had been truthful.

In 1959, Donner was a member of the law firm of Donner, Sacher, Perlin & Freedman, as was Arthur Kinoy. Harry Sacher has also been identified as a member of the Communist Party. During the 1960's, Donner was general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, a Communist con-

trolled union expelled from the CIO in 1950. He has been associated with such identified CPUSA fronts during the 1950's and 1960's as the National Lawyer's Guild, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Since the late 1950's, Frank Donner has devoted much of his energy to counter-security activities. His 1961 book, "The Un-Americans," served to create major publicity for the initial stages of the Communist Party's Operation Abolition attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities—HCUA—and later the House Internal Security Committee.

The HCUA report, "Communist Legal Subversion: The Role of the Communist Lawyer," in 1959 noted that "Speaking on such topics as 'Informers as a Means of Suppression,' and 'Informers as Tools,' Donner has excoriated all individuals who have been of assistance to congressional committees."

During more recent years, since heading up the ACLU's antisurveillance operation, Donner has used such left-leaning forums as the Nation, a magazine characterized by HCUA as "Communist-line" in 1961 and whose editor the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities noted, has participated "in the activities of the Communist Party itself"; ACLU's the Civil Liberties Review; and the New York Review of Books; to argue for the dismantling of the American intelligence community.

It was Frank Donner who was sought for comments—of a scatological nature—on my CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reports on current U.S. revolutionary activity by the rock music and counter-culture magazine, Rolling Stone. To avoid an impression of partisanship, Rolling Stone might obtain comments from other than Communists and National Lawyers Guild members, no matter what other positions they may hold.

Robert Katz' Assassination Information Bureau is one of the many groups investigating allegations of conspiratorial theories behind several murders of political figures, including that of President Kennedy.

Mark Lane, an attorney and activist since the early 1950's with the National Lawyers Guild, has been involved in defense work with the American Indian movement in the Wounded Knee cases. In view of his more serious activities with the National Lawyers Guild, "legal bulwark of the Communist Party," and with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Mr. Lane should not be needed for his "investigation" of the assassination of President Kennedy, an investigation which resulted in a lucrative and best-selling book.

Dr. Ralph Lewis, a sociologist holding a doctor of education degree, has a key role in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—LEAA—funded programs at Michigan State University where he is criminal justice research director. A former assistant director of the Lumburg Center for the Study of Violence, Dr. Lewis has worked with police departments in Portland, Oreg.; Miami

and Boston as an expert in the area of civil disorder.

Currently teaching a course entitled "Project Planning and Evaluation"—MSU program 833—Dr. Lewis' association with the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate, while in no way covert, has a damaging potential for police departments who look to LEAA for funding assistance.

Victor Marchetti, coauthor with John Marks, a former State Department intelligence analyst, of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," has been active in a number of anti-intelligence seminars and meetings. On April 5, 1975, Marchetti and Marks were slated to appear at a Yale Law School "Inquiry" into the CIA featuring Mrs. Hortensia Bussel de Allende. Others involved with the seminar were CPUSA members Frank Donner and Ernest De Maio; Fred Branfman; Kirkpatrick Sale; Daniel Ellsberg; and Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the CPUSA front, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

L. Fletcher Prouty, 57, was recently reported by columnist Mary McGrory to be a public relations executive with Amtrack. Retired from the Air Force in 1963, Prouty has another hat to wear in addition to his OC-5 advisory board role—that of Washington, D.C., editor of Genesis, the "magazine for men." Spread over many pages of that pornographic publication was Prouty's April issue article, "Curbing the CIA," no doubt to lend some semblance of social significance to the magazine.

Kenneth Barton "Bart" Osborn was one of the founding members of the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate.

Marcus Raskin's Institute for Policy Studies was accurately characterized by Paul Dickson in "Think Tanks" as attempting to lay the groundwork for the new society that will replace the present one. It not only has dedicated itself to ushering in the new society by inquiry and experimentation but is also doing what it can to hasten the demise of the present one. Raskin, long a disarmament advocate, was the founder of the New Party in 1968, now called the People's Party, a self-stated Socialist organization. For the past 15 years, Raskin has consistently supported the total dismantling of the Armed Forces; disarmament of not only the Armed Forces, but of police and civilians; and an end to U.S. opposition to foreign guerrilla insurgencies.

Anthony J. "Tony" Russo, Jr., a former defendant in the Pentagon Papers case, testified on behalf of Karleton Armstrong, an admitted member of the New Left terrorist New Year's Gang which killed a graduate student August 24, 1970, in the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison. The New York Times reported Mr. Russo's "mitigation of sentence" testimony for Karl Armstrong as follows:

In his testimony, Mr. Russo said that after one trip back to the United States from Vietnam in 1968, when he was employed by the Rand Corporation, a "think tank" with gov-

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Government research  
grenade back.

I was angry, very angry, he said over the continuing escalation of the war. "I walked down the halls of Rand to the computer room and wanted to toss it in there. I thought I had to do this for mankind." He said that he finally threw the grenade off a pier at Santa Monica, Calif.

Mr. Russo was also quoted as saying that he didn't have the strength to use the grenade; however, Had I been younger I would have done it.

Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the revealing radical history of the Students for a Democratic Society, entitled SDS, according to the Daily World was involved with the anti-CIA conference on April 5 at Yale Law School which featured Mrs. Hortensia Allende, widow of the deposed Marxist President of Chile and a vice president of the internationally active Soviet front, the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Rev. Philip Wheaton of the National Council of Churches—funded Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communications and Action—EPICA—is active with the Common Front for Latin America—COFFLA—an organization which shares his 1500 Farragut Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20011 office address. COFFLA sponsored the local appearance of the Quilapayun folk music group, the cultural group of the Young Communist League of Chile. Another COFFLA member, Mary Harding, a former Maryknoll nun, admitted she was a member and recruiter for the Bolivian ELN guerrillas founded by Che Guevara, and is sponsoring the Vencemos Brigade's Committee for the 26th of July events in support of the Cuban Communist regime.

The current edition of Counter-Spy suggests a series of fall campus demonstrations against CIA and National Security Agency recruiters and against various local CIA offices.

In an editorial letter, OC-5 writes:

As spring approached and the thaw developed around the once invincible fortress of national security, we were fighting for our very existence. A series of financial pledges withered away simultaneously with attacks from the far-right, elements of the intelligence community and other government agencies. Slanderous and distorted information was placed in the Congressional Record by Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald, a member in good standing of the John Birch Society, and a leader of that outfit. McDonald was challenged by us to make the same allegations in a forum where Congressional immunity from lawsuits did not apply, but like other demagogues in the past, he prefers to hide in the pages of the Congressional Record. During the same week of McDonald's ravings we were red-baited to a few of our friends in the press by some of the 'old boys.' Rumors reached us that the CIA considers us 'Cuban agents', an unbelievably absurd charge. And then our financial base was all but destroyed during the same period.

Taking into account OC-5's contacts with foreign intelligence operations, such as Philip Agee's membership on the OC-5 advisory board, the "Cuban agents" charge may be taken as an investigative lead as to the true operation of the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate.

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PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION PROCEDURE FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. JOEL PRITCHARD

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Speaker, as you may be aware, the Social Security Administration—SSA—has made clear it intends to require States and local governments to make monthly, instead of quarterly, deposits of social security contributions for their covered employees.

The voluntary agreements between the States and SSA under section 218—of the Social Security Act—were made with the mutual understanding that social security contributions were to be paid quarterly, as they have been without question since public employees were first covered in 1951.

Under the terms of each joint Federal-State agreement, each State is responsible for administering its own social security program and must bear the cost of its administration. The proposed change promises to greatly increase each State's administrative costs while eliminating any opportunity the States have to offset the costs of administration with interest earnings from the funds. In the aggregate, the States will lose about \$120 million in interest annually—at a time when they will be required to incur even greater administrative expenses.

Each State now files form OAR-S1 with SSA each quarter to report social security tax information. In addition, each State must also file a form OAR-S3 somewhat equivalent to form 941-A of IRS—each quarter containing wage information on each employee. When you realize that there are about 62,000 State and local government reporting entities with almost 9 million employees, you can readily appreciate the concern of State and local administrators that money and paperwork have to be handled three times more often.

Because of the proposed change, several States have considered terminating their Federal-State compact—denying social security coverage to their public employees. The States justifiably view the joint agreement as a two-way street—and they have made it clear that they will resist attempts to have added expenses unilaterally thrust upon them by moving for termination. The proposed shift, which was never agreed to by the States, surely violates the spirit of the section 218 agreements if not the actual language.

Prior to their entrance into the State-Federal agreement, many States had to obtain enabling legislation from their legislatures. Because this legislation contained the guidelines under which the State agency would operate, including in some cases the quarterly deposit procedure, the implementation of SSA's proposed regulation would require action by the State legislature in some States.

In order to add on new employees to

handle the monthly deposit procedure, administrators will have to go to their legislatures to obtain exceptions to budget ceiling laws or to statutory ceilings on the hiring of new personnel. Compounding this problem is the fact that many State legislatures operate on a biennium—and meet once every 2 years.

If deposits are made monthly and reports filed quarterly—or annually as proposed by the SSA—further problems arise. Many State and local financial procedures—in order to comply with State statute and constitutional provisions—will not allow money to be paid out of the State treasury which is based upon estimates.

Making a switch to a quarterly deposit procedure even more complex is the fact that all but two States have institutionalized the quarterly deposit procedure for their State retirement systems. Under the current system, the coincidence of deposit dates substantially reduces the cost of administration of the State retirement systems. A monthly deposit procedure for social security contributions promises to impose additional costs on the administration of State retirement systems.

The Federal proponents of stepping-up the periodic deposit procedure do not believe that they are imposing any additional burden on State and local governments, because, in the words of the Treasury Secretary:

Most local units of government have highly sophisticated accounting procedures . . . and equipment.

In fact, the majority of local governments—towns, cities, and counties—in most States do not have centralized payroll systems, do not have modern accounting equipment, do not have full-time paid officials, and in many cases do not even have actual office quarters. One State social security administrator informed me that many times he receives quarterly written-out on notebook paper and even on a brown paper sack in a few instances.

The SSA argues that the current . . . deposit system is no longer justified in that large sums of money are lost to the Social Security Trust Fund . . . and . . . this loss must be made up by all . . . taxpayers. Economists have told me that because taxpayers pay both State and local taxes, the net effect is zero. The issue is clearly whether the Federal Government will reap windfall interest income—about \$120 million—at the expense of the States.

No further action by SSA will be taken until both they and the Subcommittee on Social Security have had an opportunity to review the results of an SSA questionnaire and a State-by-State analysis of statistics being assembled by the National Conference of State Social Security Administrators.

However, the SSA—at the behest of the Office of Management and Budget, the HEW Secretary and the Treasury Secretary—have made clear that they intend to implement the more frequent

...credible that it took the long to discover common  
 ...programs, however, are vulner-  
 ...ripoffs. That's why an income-supple-  
 ...program, providing poor families with  
 ...ough cash to buy food without stamps,  
 ...ould be preferable.  
 But as long as we're budgeting billions for  
 food stamps each year, Congress should insist  
 the money be spent only for those who are  
 in real need.

**THE ASSAULT ON INTELLIGENCE  
 GATHERING: WHO BENEFITS?**

**HON. LARRY McDONALD**  
 OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Wednesday, February 19, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, for the past several years there has been a sustained effort to destroy America's security and intelligence services. In recent months these efforts have escalated to weaken and dilute our loyalty and security programs to such an extent that small cabals of malcontents can, with apparent immunity, scheme and conspire to create a climate where espionage, treason, sedition and revolutionary violence can develop and flourish.

Both locally and nationally, the intelligence community is being pilloried by Marxists and their willing liberal dupes for having exercised their missions of maintaining our national security and preserving public order and safety.

Daily in the news media, we learn of the near total preoccupation of many elected officials with witchhunting among the files of police departments from Baltimore to Houston. Inspired by complaints and leaks for alienated and disgruntled employees, Members of our 94th Congress have tabled bills seeking to rigorously curtail the legitimate activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

And while the target of these attacks are our security services, little or nothing is said about those groups who, historically, have proclaimed their intention to destroy the American system of free enterprise and democracy and who have the most to benefit from these attacks.

Doubtless my colleagues will seek to play down my concerns by saying that this is the era of détente, of peaceful co-existence. To them I would quote the general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—CPUSA—Gus Hall, who in December, 1973, told his Central Committee:

There is no peaceful coexistence in the field of ideology—in domestic affairs there is no peaceful coexistence, in the fields of economics, politics or ideology. There is no peaceful coexistence with the ruling class. Anything that softens up that idea is a serious mistake. We have nothing but the class struggle.

While it is only too apparent that the Communist Party and the Trotskyist Communist Socialist Workers Party—SWP—have much to gain from a weak-

ening of the intelligence community and have been taking a strenuously vocal role in the general attack, there are other less-well-known organizations with the specific intent of "spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community," with the hope that by so-doing legitimate law enforcement activities can be curtailed.

It is time that some of these organizations were brought into sharp focus: they include the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate, the Committee for Public Justice, and the Center for National Security Studies.

The Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate—OC-5—which operates from Room 523, the Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-785-8330), originated as the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community—CARIC—at a November 1972, gathering of the Communist Party-dominated People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Developed with the active assistance of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization—VVAW/WSO—a violence-prone organization which follows principles of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought" and attempts to subvert active-duty GI's and veterans, CARIC organizers realized the "legitimizing" potential of association with liberals and linked themselves to an embryonic organization formed by writer Norman Mailer, the Committee for the Fifth Estate.

Among those who take an active role in OC-5 are Perry Douglas Fellwock, who in a July 1972, Ramparts article, "U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir," claimed that "for love of the Indochinese people," he was revealing classified information he had obtained while a member of the military attached to the National Security Agency.

Fellwock, who prefers to use the name Winslow Peck, did not make a sudden decision to "tell all." During 1971 he was a familiar figure in the Washington area, spending his time with one or more radical groups, "moping and dopping," and being compulsive with his confessions. In fact, Fellwock/Peck had planned to reveal the secrets of NSA, if not the universe, at an October 1971, antiwar gathering, but was prevented from speaking by Rennie Davis—not because Mr. Davis was then working for a Government agency himself, but because Peck was so obviously "tripping" on LSD that he might not have been taken seriously. Unfortunately, neither the New York Times nor Ramparts editors shared Davis' perceptions.

And in the context of the ill-informed criticism directed against law enforcement for "spying" on innocuous groups, it should be noted that in 1972, Fellwock/Peck joined the staff of the National Welfare Rights Organization as a paid staff member to work on coordinating a mass demonstration, the Children's March for Survival.

Working with Fellwock/Peck are several people who also claim a prior involvement with intelligence gathering groups. They include Timothy Charles

Butz, a former SDS activist at Kent State and one-time Washington organizer for VVAW/WSO who was employed by a funded offshot of the American Friends Service Committee; and Douglas Porter.

Recently Douglas Porter spoke to a California underground newspaper about OC-5 and stated that the OC-5 Washington offices contained "not only books, but files—press clippings, debriefings we have done, Government reports, corporate reports, and stolen documents."

OC-5's advisory board includes former high-ranking CIA official Victor Marchetti; former FBI agent William Turner who is once again being employed by a Federal agency; Tony Russo of Pentagon Papers notoriety; and Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies—IPS. Hopefully these advisers will now exercise their responsibility and repudiate their ties with an organization that boasts of its stolen property.

The Center for National Security Studies—CNSS—a project of the Fund for Peace which operates from 122 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C. 20002—202/544-2380—made its public debut in September 1974, sponsoring a 2-day Capitol Hill conference, "The Central Intelligence Agency and Covert Activities." Sponsored by Senators Brooke and Hart, the CNSS conference was opened by Senator Hart saying that Congress should be "indebted to them \* \* \* for their serious efforts to unravel problems."

Among those at the conference making "serious efforts to unravel problems," to whom the Michigan Senator says we should be grateful, were Robert Borosage, CNSS's director, an active member of the National Lawyers Guild and a former employee of the Institute for Policy Studies; thrice-identified Communist Party, U.S.A., member and now head of the American Civil Liberties Union's antisurveillance project, Frank Donner; Bart Osborn of OC-5; CNSS staffer John Marks, a former State Department intelligence analyst; Ivanhoe Donaldson, a former leader of the violence-prone Student Non-Violent—now National—Coordinating Committee—SNCC—and an IPS employee; Daniel Ellsberg; and Fellwock/Peck of OC-5.

Naturally the CNSS meetings provided participants with the opportunity to denigrate the activities of the CIA. Using this platform, IPS founder Richard Barnet asserted that all U.S. covert action and clandestine collection of information, except by satellite, "could be abandoned unilaterally with a net gain in security for the American people."

Barnet paid special attention to détente, arguing that the monitoring of détente was unnecessary because "spies in the Kremlin are unlikely to produce reliable information and the effort to gain it only jeopardizes the détente." "Monitoring," he continued, "is a mission for diplomats with analytical skills, not spies."

It is of particular interest that the Center for National Security Studies was set up by the Fund for Peace, formerly the Fund for Education in World Order, which numbers among its trustees a

Louise R. Berman of San Francisco. Louise R. Berman was the subject of intense congressional investigation in the 1940's and 1950's. Summing up the record, *Combat* of December 15, 1969, wrote:

Mrs. Louise Berman, who is also known as Louise Bransten was born Oct. 10, 1908. She is the former wife of Richard Bransten, also known as Bruce Minton, former owner of New Masses. During the water-front strike in San Francisco, Louise and Richard Bransten carried out assignments for the Communist Party, working with Earl Browder and Gerhart Eisler. In 1944 Louise Bransten made a loan of \$50,000 to the People's World, which is the west coast organ of the Communist Party.

Hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities carry much more information, and testimony implicates her in activities of several known Soviet espionage agents. She was, for instance, in contact in Hollywood with J. Peters (also known as Alexander Stevens and half a dozen other names); a leading figure in the underground American CP and in Soviet intelligence work; she was an associate of Steve Nelson, long time Communist organizer and ring leader of a group that penetrated the research facilities of America's atomic bomb laboratory at Berkeley.

Mrs. Berman (Bransten) has been named as a CP member in Congressional testimony; her husband has been named as a CP official. She invoked her 5th Amendment privilege in two appearances before Congress.

I would also note that the name of Mrs. Louise R. Berman of San Francisco appeared as a sponsor of the recent Second National Conference in Solidarity with Chile, a Communist Party operation, in Chicago.

Doubtless during the coming weeks the Center for National Security Studies will be in the forefront of those attacking our security services. And I trust we will examine their public activities in light of the records of those who are in positions of influence with them. While the CNSS appears to be concentrating on discrediting the CIA, the Committee for Public Justice—CPJ—has singled out the FBI as its main target since 1970.

The Committee for Public Justice, with offices at 22 E. 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016—212-686-1245—according to a *Washington Post* article, was formed in November 1970, with playwright Lillian Hellman being the "principal organizer of the group." The *Post* did not remind its readers that Hellman had been identified in sworn congressional testimony as a member of the CPUSA in the 1930's and had used her fifth amendment privilege when questioned about this membership by HCUA in 1952. Neither did the *Post* inform its readers that in 1956 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee included her name in its list of the 82 most active and typical sponsors of Communist fronts.

The Committee for Public Justice, in its book, "Investigating the FBI," an account of a 1971 conference it held at Princeton University, calls for the creation of a board of overseers for the FBI "composed of public and private persons with power to review Bureau policymaking, guard against threats to civil liberties, and keep the public informed."

The CPJ also indicates it supports removing the responsibility for counter-espionage activities from the FBI, and in the loyalty-security area has stated:

The Bureau's responsibilities here must be narrowly defined and carefully weighed against competing societal interests in privacy and freedom.

In May 1974, several officials of the CPJ met with FBI Director Clarence Kelley to present their views to him and to some of his assistants. Reporting on this meeting in the *New York Review of Books*, the CPJ representatives concluded that "the FBI's leading officials appear to be zealous advocates of the cold war ideology of the 1950's." CPJ's criticisms continue.

The groups I have identified have a common goal of diminishing and curtailing the functions of the intelligence community. For the future of the country, I hope they will not succeed. Nevertheless, there are many indications that there will be major changes in current operations and structure; especially in that the executive branch of Government seems to be prepared to dismantle the intelligence services.

For example, it is possible that the CIA's role will be diminished to that of evaluation of information obtained overseas by diplomats and embassy military attachés—a turning back of the clock to pre-OSS days of World War II.

There are also proposals to open the files of the FBI to all comers, a practice which would jeopardize our entire internal security program; and a "freedom from surveillance" bill before this Congress would make illegal the governmental maintenance of files on any political activist, as well as prohibiting surveillance of any citizen unless he or she were the subject of a criminal investigation or a Government job application check.

A climate is being created which will enable the enemies of America both foreign and domestic, to operate with immunity from investigation. Indeed, those who seek to hinder their activities will be penalized.

It is high time that responsible elected officials recalled the words of former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg that—

The Constitution of the United States is not a suicide pact. The Nation has the right and duty to protect itself from acts of espionage and sabotage, and attempts to overthrow the government by force.

#### ACCELERATED CAPITAL FORMATION ACT

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1975

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, today I have reintroduced the Accelerated Capital Formation Act with additional authorship. I have previously entered remarks on it in this RECORD. I especially appreciate my cosponsoring colleagues interest and enthusiasm for the ESOT concept.

Because ESOT financing is being heavily promoted on a nationwide basis, there may now be some danger that the concept will be overenthusiastically merchandised. The concept is simple, but

the execution of an ESOT complex, and the rights of all participants carefully protected.

To insure such protection, it is necessary for me to introduce amendments to the original bill.

It is my hope that hearings on ESOT will be held this year, so both the Congress and the public can be better informed about this newly popular technique of capital accumulation and expanded capitalism.

#### J. MASON BREWER DIES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1975

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the internationally acclaimed black folklorist J. Mason Brewer died last month in Dallas at the age of 78. Mr. Brewer, born the son of a rancher in Goliad, Tex., was buried in Austin, where he had lived for many years.

At the time of his death, Mr. Brewer was serving as distinguished professor of English at East Texas State University, Commerce, Tex.

He attended public schools in Austin and was graduated from Wiley College in Marshall, Tex. He served with the AEF in World War I.

After the war, Brewer began his career as a teacher and writer. He received a master's degree from Indiana University and was also granted an honorary doctorate from Quinn College, Waco.

Brewer was widely acknowledged by scholars as the finest writer of Negro folklore. He published numerous collections of folktales and his work appeared in 14 national and regional journals. His most famous book, "Word on the Brazos," published by the University of Texas, is now in its fourth printing.

Professor Brewer was the first black to join the Texas Institute of Letters. He was a vice president of the American Folklore Society.

While teaching at Huston-Tillotson College in Austin in the 1950's, Brewer published a pamphlet entitled, "The History of Negroes in Travis County."

Besides his interest in folklore, Brewer also taught French and published several books of poetry and prose.

The late J. Frank Dobie, former folklorist at the University of Texas, said Brewer was the greatest storyteller of Negro folklore in America.

Though he was a prolific writer, Brewer was probably even a better raconteur. He was a guest lecturer at Yale, UT, University of Southern California, and also on an international basis.

One of his last lectures was in Austin last October 11. I enclose an account of that lecture:

[From the Austin (Tex.) American-Statesman, Oct. 14, 1974]

STORYTELLER SPINS YARNS—FOLKLOREST VIEWS  
ART AS CREATING LITERATURE

(By Jim Lewis)

With halting progress, Dr. J. Mason Brewer, America's most distinguished Negro folk-

March 11, 1975

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Take a modern mill, with two electric furnaces, that turns out 630,000 tons of steel a year.

To remove the first 87.8 per cent of dust from its smokestacks costs 4 cents a pound. The next 9.5 per cent costs 46 cents a pound. Squeezing out another tenth of 1 per cent would cost \$33.26 a pound.

But EPA once proposed standards that would have required steel mills to do just that. (It later modified the proposal.)

LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

Should federal agencies be required to put a price tag on their edicts?

At their last session, several Congressmen said they thought so.

One was Rep. Vernon W. Thomson (R.-Wisc.). "We all recognize," he told his colleagues, "that the mammoth federal budget has contributed mightily to inflationary pressures in the economy."

What often isn't realized, he added, is that some laws and most administrative rulings also impose tremendous costs. Not all are bad or wasteful, he said—many provide real benefits. But Americans should know what they'll have to pay for them.

He introduced a "look before you leap" bill. It would require that the real cost to the public of any law or regulation be calculated—and published—before it is imposed on them.

Some on Capitol Hill thought this was an idea whose time had come. But possibly not the voters.

Rep. Thomson was defeated when he ran for reelection.

CIA DEFECTOR AGEЕ CREDITS EXPOSED TO CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND NACLA

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 11, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in the acknowledgments section of his book of revelations of covert Central Intelligence Agency work in Latin America, former CIA agent Philip Agee gives thanks to those persons and organizations without whose help Inside the Company: CIA Diary could not have been produced.

Agee admits that Biblioteca Nacional Jose Marti and the Casa de los Americas in Havana, Cuba, "provided special assistance for research and helped find data available only from Cuban Communist Government documentation.

Agee further reveals:

Representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba also gave me important encouragement at a time when I doubted that I would be able to find the additional information I needed.

This defector to the Communist cause includes "among the people who especially helped" in the preparation of the book several U.S. radicals with close connections to the Cuban Government and Cuban intelligence services. Agee writes:

John Gerassi, Nicki Szulc and Michael Locker of the North American Congress for Latin America (NACLA) obtained vital research materials in New York and Washington, D.C. . . . Without these people and institutions this diary would be far more incomplete than the present form and probably still unwritten.

The security and intelligence services of the United States have been under attack from a wide variety of sources. All too many of these attackers have close connections with domestic and foreign Communist parties and regimes which are obviously the direct and principal beneficiaries of the exposure of covert U.S. information collection and counter-intelligence activities.

In the past weeks I have provided brief reports on some of those anti-intelligence groups for the information of my colleagues. They have included the Socialist Workers Party, the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, the Committee for Public Justice, and the Center for National Security Studies.

NACLA staffer Nicole Jeanne Szulc is now a staff member of the Center for National Security Studies. In September 1974, she took an active role in setting up the CNSS conference held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, "The CIA and Covert Activities."

Participating in the anti-CIA conference were Nicki Szulc's coworker in NACLA, Nancy Stein, a Venceremos Brigade veteran and former member of the Weatherman faction of SDS; Winslow Peck, aka Perry Fellwock, a founder of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, which states it wants a classified document a day to leak; Frank Donner, an identified member of the Communist Party who now heads the ACLU's Privacy Project; and her father, journalist Tad Szulc.

Also participating in the NCSS anti-CIA conference were many current and former associates of the Institute for Policy Studies—IPS—an "independent research organization" characterized in "Think Tanks" by Paul Dickerson as "attempting to lay the groundwork for the new society that will replace the present collapsing one." He said:

It not only has dedicated itself to ushering in the new society by inquiry and experimentation but it is also doing what it can to hasten the demise of the present one.

Among the IPS stable present and participating in the conference were Robert L. Borosage, a member of the National Lawyers Guild and former IPS codirector; Ivanhoe Donaldson, a former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC, and IPS fellow; Marcus Raskin, IPS codirector; Earl Ravenal, formerly a member of the office of the Secretary of Defense and IPS fellow who is currently a professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; and Roberta Salper, an IPS resident fellow and former writer for the Maoist communist Guardian newspaper, and for Claridad, the publication of the self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard Puerto Rican Socialist Party—PSP—on whose U.S. Zone Central Committee she has served.

It is noted that several NACLA activities have also been IPS associates. These include Joe Collins, a vocal supporter of the former Marxist regime in Chile; Michel Klare and Saul Landau, a maker of pro-Cuban propaganda films.

leader Carl Davidson as the "intelligence gathering arm" of the New Left, NACLA states it was formed in 1966 in opposition to the 1965 U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

NACLA was set up by the SDS Radical Education Project, and a REP brochure at that time clearly set out NACLA's mission as an intelligence apparatus:

REP is assisting the development of a network of people, in the U.S. and abroad, closely tuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop—and before.

The REP brochure continued by spelling out the targets for recruitment into the network, "scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, and so forth."

REP then said it had already established "contacts in Latin America, Japan, most European countries and Canada," as well as with communist Vietcong guerrillas in South Vietnam, with various African terrorists, and with Guatemalan guerrillas.

NACLA staffers have produced a river of propaganda articles and reports praising Castro's Cuban Communist regime, and various Castroite terrorist bands active in Latin America. One of these, the Tupamaros urban guerrillas of Uruguay, was the subject of a NACLA comic book.

NACLA propaganda consistently interprets any and all U.S. involvement in Latin America as "exploitative" and against the interests of Latin American countries. NACLA states that each report is a "chapter in the story of U.S. domination in Latin America—naming names, corporations, foundations, lobbies, names, corporations, foundations, lobbies, Government agencies, universities, et cetera."

It is of interest that many of these NACLA publications have been printed bearing the union "bug" 209 of Prompt Press. Prompt Press has printed for more than three decades "the bulk of the literature issued by the Communist Party and its affiliates and is reliably known to be owned by the Communist Party." Among the better known NACLA publications bearing Bug 209 insignia is the NACLA research methodology guide which is the basic text for all the new left research groups.

Corporations and Government agencies "exposed" as targets for agitation by NACLA have been subjected to bombing attacks by the Weather Underground and other new left terrorist groups.

The documented pro-Cuban Communist research and propaganda activities; the many trips to Havana where NACLA associates have been in contact with the Cuban Communist functionaries of ICAP, and OSPAL, Castro's "tricontinental" apparatus for the export of revolution; the close associations with violence-prone, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations in the United States; and now its work for Philip Agee indicate that the North American Congress on Latin America is potentially a serious threat to U.S. security.

I urge the appropriate committees of the House and the executive branch to take appropriate action in this matter.

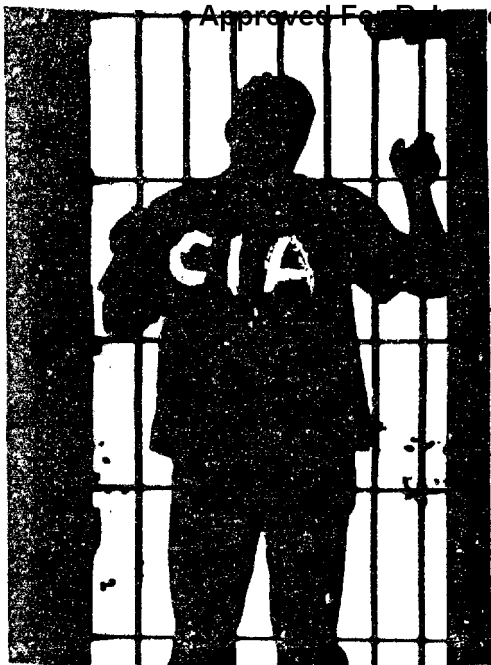


13 Sep 17

CONFERENCE

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8/20/77 FIFTH ESTATE



# Jail the CIA!

It's high time to put an end to the Central Intelligence Agency's meddling around the world. The secret armies, pacification programs, coup d'etats, assassinations, and manipulations of the CIA are actually working against our national interests.

Tens of thousands of people have been killed, millions have been denied the right of self-determination, and people throughout the world--rightfully so-- think of us as "ugly Americans". History will record the CIA as being the most heinous gang of liars, thieves, cutthroats, and fascists since Hitler's SS.

Abolition of the CIA's clandestine operations function is not enough. The men and women of that agency will not stop plying their trade simply because there is not official government support of their operations. Through private and corporate enterprises, these individuals will continue their clandestine activities. Others will find work as mercenaries for foreign dictatorships. Currently, CIA officials are helping soldiers displaced by the disbanding of Special Forces get jobs with the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa.

The personnel of the CIA must be neutralized if the dirty tricks are to be stopped. The records of the CIA need to be examined for evidence of criminal activity. CIA personnel implicated must be brought to justice, through a Special Prosecutor or other appropriate legal mechanisms.

The end of the CIA is inevitable. If the people of the United States do not act, then history will record that the CIA was neutralized by other means. American citizens will find themselves in a position similar to that of the German people after World War Two.

History is watching. The Whole World is watching. We must act.

STAT

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dian health programs not be allowed to fade away.

The Seattle Indian Health Board Clinic has had to rely on almost a dozen different funding sources, some of which—such as section 314(d) funds and regional medical program funds—have been eliminated by Congress or cut back by the administration. The appropriation moneys are simply a replacement of those Federal funds by the Indian Health Service.

With the lack of previous Indian involvement in the health services, the Seattle Indian Health Board is providing a ray of light in the confusion that exists for Indians when they attempt to confront the mind-boggling problems that are evident in the delivery of health care.

to urban Indians. This, of course, takes others, but we must continue funding this vitally needed item. Recently the Seattle clinic expanded, and they have hopes of offering more complete services to urban Indians. This of course takes money.

As one member of the Seattle Indian Health Board said:

It's working and we just want it to work more.

Such a successful program certainly deserves more congressional support.

#### BIG BANKERS ARE GETTING RESTLESS AGAIN AND WANT EXCUSES TO EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES RETURNED NOW

### HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the big banks are apparently getting ready to head out for another year of record-high profits while the Nation struggles to recover from the worst recession since the Great Depression and 8.5 million people are without jobs.

First National City Bank of New York, the Nation's second largest, announced on July 11 that it was raising its prime rate from 7 percent to 7¼ percent. Three days later, First National Bank of Chicago, Continental Illinois of Chicago, Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh, Crocker National Bank of San Francisco, and Union Bank of Los Angeles quickly jumped on the old, familiar bandwagon by announcing they too were raising their interest rates for their best customers, the big corporate borrowers. All the other large commercial banks across the country will undoubtedly play "follow the leader" again in what will be another round of inflation pumping interest rate increases applied to small as well as big borrowers.

It is axiomatic that when the prime rate climbs, other types of loan rates—automobile, consumer, residential mortgage, small and medium size business—either remain at intolerably high levels or move in that direction. It is a phenomena that coupled be called "The Bankers Rule of Maximizing Profits Regardless of Cost to the Economy."

The cold reasoning by which many leaders of the banking industry rationalize their actions was articulated a few days ago by Richard L. Thomas, vice chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Chicago. In reporting this current round of prime rate increases, the New York Times quoted him as saying:

**BIG BANKERS ARE GETTING RESTLESS AGAIN AND WANT EXCUSES TO EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES RETURNED NOW**

"We are confident that this a forerunner" of further interest rate increases. He told the Times that his bank raised its prime rate because of recent increases in interest rates paid by the bank for short term funds.

But he added that the prime rate was also raised because of "pretty good loan demand." In other words, First National of Chicago is not going to betray its principles by failing to capitalize on the struggle to increase investments and develop some strength in what has been and still is a sick economy.

Mr. Thomas frosted the bankers cake, as it were, by going on to say that if the economy strengthens over the rest of the year, "we think the trend [in interest rates] will be upward."

Mr. Speaker, the bankers are obviously growing restless again. It's been more than a year since the prime rate was at an historic high of 12 percent and they have been away from that level too long.

On the same day that the Times was reporting this new round of prime rate increases, the Wall Street Journal disclosed that "more large banking concerns reported sizeable earnings gains for the second quarter."

These included BankAmerica Corporation, parent bank holding company of Bank of America of San Francisco, the nation's largest bank, which had second quarter income increase of 26.7 percent over the corresponding period of 1974; Chase Manhattan Corporation, holding company for Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, with an increase of 38.7 percent; Manufacturers Hanover Corporation, parent bank holding company of Manufacturers Hanover Bank, which had an 18.6 percent increase in net operating income; the Charter New York Corporation, bank holding company for Irving Trust, with an 18.7 percent increase; Mellon National Corporation, parent of Mellon Bank, with an 8.4 percent increase; and First Chicago Corporation, parent of First National Bank of Chicago, up 10.6 percent.

The Journal reported that "as with other banks that previously have reported first half results, the latest gains chiefly reflect an improvement in interest net income."

Mr. Speaker, it looks as though the big banks can look forward to even better profits in the third quarter and fourth quarter of the year at the expense of slower economic recovery and high unemployment.

#### THE ASSAULT ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR THE FIFTH ESTATE

### HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, among the most vociferous critics of the Central Intelligence Agency and other branches of the American intelligence community is the Organizing

Committee for the Fifth Estate—OC-5—which describes itself as "dedicated to spying on Big Brother, the American intelligence community."

The OC-5's current campaign demands the total abolition of the CIA; its corollary aim is to provide support for defectors from that and other Federal and local agencies.

OC-5's current staffers include Timothy Charles Butz, a former Washington organizer for the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization; Perry Fellwock, who uses the alias Winslow Peck; Douglas Ethan Allen Oliver Porter, Jr.; and Margaret Van Houten. It is noted that background reports on the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate were provided for the benefit of my colleagues on February 20, 1975, and March 19, 1975, in my Extensions of Remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate publication Counter-Spy serves as a clearing house for the many groups involved in attacking aspects of Federal and local intelligence agencies and programs.

In light of the question, who benefits from the exposure and destruction of American intelligence operations, it is both relevant and appropriate to examine the backgrounds and affiliations of the OC-5 advisory board.

As listed by the most recent issue of OC-5's quarterly journal, Counter-Spy, they include:

#### LISTINGS IN THE COUNTER-SPY

- Philip Agee, former CIA case officer.
- Fred Branfman, Co-Director, Indochina Resource Center.
- Sylvia Crane, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.
- David Dellinger, Institute for New Communications.
- Frank Donner, ACLU Political Surveillance Project.
- Robert Katz, Assassination Information Project.
- Mark Lane, Citizen's Commission of Inquiry.
- Dr. Ralph Lewis, Criminal Justice Research Director, Michigan State University.
- Victor Marchetti, former CIA official.
- Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (ret.), former military liaison to the CIA.
- K. [Kenneth] Barton Osborn, former MI agent and consultant to the CIA.
- Marcus Raskin, Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies.
- Tony Russo, former RAND Corp. employee.
- Kirkpatrick Sale, author.
- Stanley Sheinbaum, American Civil Liberties Union.
- Rev. Phillip Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action.

Philip Agee, 40, after 13 years as a Central Intelligence Agency employee principally in Latin America, announced his conversion to "revolutionary socialism." Agee is notorious for his detailed exposé of his former employer entitled "Inside the Company: CIA Diary."

Agee has admitted to the mass media that he made some half dozen trips to Cuba during the writing of his exposé, and that he frequently was in touch with officers from Cuban embassies in Europe. Agee has stated, "Quite frankly, I don't care whether they're intelligence officers or not;" and has expressed the hope that

his disclosures "will provide the first steps toward the abolition of the CIA."

In his acknowledgements section in "Inside the Company," Agee stated his book could not have been written without the encouragement of representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba, the resources of the Cuban Government, and information provided by staffers of the North American Congress on Latin America, an anti-U.S. research group with close ties to the Cuban Government.

Frederick Robert Branfman, 33, was active with the International Voluntary Service in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Upon his return to the United States in 1971, Branfman immediately took a leadership role in the ranks of the so-called "antiwar" propagandists supporting the North Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian Communist insurgents. On May 4 in Washington, D.C., Branfman joined with Arthur Kinoy, David Dellinger, and other leaders of the revolutionary National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People for a Lafayette Park "celebration" to honor the bloodstained Communist victory in Vietnam.

Sylvia E. Crane was one of the founders and is currently a national officer of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, formerly the National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee/House Internal Security Committee. Under its original name, this organization was cited, after extensive investigation, as a Communist front. The organization is still headed by identified Communist Frank Wilkinson.

David Dellinger, who described himself in an SDS radical education project brochure in 1969 as a "Communist, although not of the Soviet variety," has however clearly demonstrated his support of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Cuban varieties of Marxism-Leninism. His Institute for New Communications is the publisher of a new radical newsweekly, Seven Days, currently in the "preview" edition stages.

Frank J. Donner, in addition to his present position as head of the ACLU's political surveillance project at Yale Law School, has the dubious distinction of having been thrice identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He was identified twice as a member of a Communist Party cell in the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D.C., which employed him in its litigation section from 1940 until 1945.

Called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956 and confronted with a Civil Service Commission questionnaire on which he had answered "no" to membership in a Communist organization, Donner invoked the fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination when asked if his statement had been truthful.

In 1959, Donner was a member of the law firm of Donner, Sacher, Perlin & Freedman, as was Arthur Kinoy. Harry Sacher has also been identified as a member of the Communist Party. During the 1960's, Donner was general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, a Communist con-

trolled union expelled from the CIO in 1950. He has been associated with such identified CPUSA fronts during the 1950's and 1960's as the National Lawyer's Guild, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Since the late 1950's, Frank Donner has devoted much of his energy to counter-security activities. His 1961 book, "The Un-Americans," served to create major publicity for the initial stages of the Communist Party's Operation Abolition attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities—HCUA—and later the House Internal Security Committee.

The HCUA report, "Communist Legal Subversion: The Role of the Communist Lawyer," in 1959 noted that "Speaking on such topics as 'Informers as a Means of Suppression,' and 'Informers as Tools,' Donner has excoriated all individuals who have been of assistance to congressional committees."

During more recent years, since heading up the ACLU's antisurveillance operation, Donner has used such left-leaning forums as the Nation, a magazine characterized by HCUA as "Communist-line" in 1961 and whose editor the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities noted, has participated "in the activities of the Communist Party itself"; ACLU's the Civil Liberties Review; and the New York Review of Books; to argue for the dismantling of the American intelligence community.

It was Frank Donner who was sought for comments—of a scatological nature—on my CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reports on current U.S. revolutionary activity by the rock music and counter-culture magazine, Rolling Stone. To avoid an impression of partisanship, Rolling Stone might obtain comments from other than Communists and National Lawyers Guild members; no matter what other positions they may hold.

Robert Katz' Assassination Information Bureau is one of the many groups investigating allegations of conspiratorial theories behind several murders of political figures, including that of President Kennedy.

Mark Lane, an attorney and activist since the early 1950's with the National Lawyers Guild, has been involved in defense work with the American Indian movement in the Wounded Knee cases. In view of his more serious activities with the National Lawyers Guild, "legal bulwark of the Communist Party," and with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Mr. Lane should not be needed for his "investigation" of the assassination of President Kennedy, an investigation which resulted in a lucrative and best-selling book.

Dr. Ralph Lewis, a sociologist holding a doctor of education degree, has a key role in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—LEAA—funded programs at Michigan State University where he is criminal justice research director. A former assistant director of the Lemburg Center for the Study of Violence, Dr. Lewis has worked with police departments in Portland, Oreg.; Miami

and Boston as an expert in the area of civil disorder.

Currently teaching a course entitled "Project Planning and Evaluation"—MSU program 833—Dr. Lewis' association with the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate, while in no way covert, has a damaging potential for police departments who look to LEAA for funding assistance.

Victor Marchetti, coauthor with John Marks, a former State Department intelligence analyst, of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," has been active in a number of anti-intelligence seminars and meetings. On April 5, 1975, Marchetti and Marks were slated to appear at a Yale Law School "inquiry" into the CIA featuring Mrs. Hortensia Bussl de Allende. Others involved with the seminar were CPUSA members Frank Donner and Ernest De Maio; Fred Branfman; Kirkpatrick Sale; Daniel Ellsberg; and Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the CPUSA front, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

L. Fletcher Prouty, 57, was recently reported by columnist Mary McGrory to be a public relations executive with Amtrack. Retired from the Air Force in 1963, Prouty has another hat to wear in addition to his OC-5 advisory board role—that of Washington, D.C., editor of Genesis, the "magazine for men." Spread over many pages of that pornographic publication was Prouty's April issue article, "Curbing the CIA," no doubt to lend some semblance of social significance to the magazine.

Kenneth Barton "Bart" Osborn was one of the founding members of the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate.

Marcus Raskin's Institute for Policy Studies was accurately characterized by Paul Dickson in "Think Tanks" as attempting to lay the groundwork for the new society that will replace the present one. It not only has dedicated itself to ushering in the new society by inquiry and experimentation but is also doing what it can to hasten the demise of the present one. Raskin, long a disarmament advocate, was the founder of the New Party in 1968, now called the People's Party, a self-stated Socialist organization. For the past 15 years, Raskin has consistently supported the total dismantling of the Armed Forces; disarmament of not only the Armed Forces, but of police and civilians; and an end to U.S. opposition to foreign guerrilla insurgencies.

Anthony J. "Tony" Russo, Jr., a former defendant in the Pentagon Papers case, testified on behalf of Karleton Armstrong, an admitted member of the New Left terrorist New Year's Gang which killed a graduate student August 24, 1970, in the bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison. The New York Times reported Mr. Russo's "mitigation of sentence" testimony for Karl Armstrong as follows:

In his testimony, Mr. Russo said that after one trip back to the United States from Vietnam in 1968, when he was employed by the Rand Corporation, a "think tank" with gov-

ernment research contracts, I brought a grenade back.

I was angry, very angry, he said over the continuing escalation of the war. "I walked down the halls of Rand to the computer room and wanted to toss it in there. I thought I had to do this for mankind." He said that he finally threw the grenade off a pier at Santa Monica, Calif.

Mr. Russo was also quoted as saying that he didn't have the strength to use the grenade; however, Had I been younger I would have done it.

Kirkpatrick Sale, author of the revealing radical history of the Students for a Democratic Society, entitled SDS, according to the Daily World was involved with the anti-CIA conference on April 5 at Yale Law School which featured Mrs. Hortensa Allende, widow of the deposed Marxist President of Chile and a vice president of the internationally active Soviet front, the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Rev. Phillip Wheaton of the National Council of Churches—funded Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communications and Action—EPICA—is active with the Common Front for Latin America—COFFLA—an organization which shares his 1500 Farragut Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20011 office address. COFFLA sponsored the local appearance of the Quillapayun folk music group, the cultural group of the Young Communist League of Chile. Another COFFLA member, Mary Harding, a former Maryknoll nun, admitted she was a member and recruiter for the Bolivian ELN guerrillas founded by Che Guevara, and is sponsoring the Vencemos Brigade's Committee for the 26th of July events in support of the Cuban Communist regime.

The current edition of Counter-Spy suggests a series of fall campus demonstrations against CIA and National Security Agency recruiters and against various local CIA offices.

In an editorial letter, OC-5 writes:

As spring approached and the thaw developed around the once invincible fortress of national security, we were fighting for our very existence. A series of financial pledges withered away simultaneously with attacks from the far-right, elements of the intelligence community and other government agencies. Slanderous and distorted information was placed in the Congressional Record by Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald, a member in good standing of the John Birch Society, and a leader of that outfit. McDonald was challenged by us to make the same allegations in a forum where Congressional immunity from lawsuits did not apply, but like other demagogues in the past, he prefers to hide in the pages of the Congressional Record. During the same week of McDonald's ravings we were red-baited to a few of our friends in the press by some of the 'old boys.' Rumors reached us that the CIA considers us 'Cuban agents', an unbelievably absurd charge. And then our financial base was all but destroyed during the same period.

Taking into account OC-5's contacts with foreign intelligence operations, such as Philip Agee's membership on the OC-5 advisory board, the "Cuban agents" charge may be taken as an investigative lead as to the true operation of the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate.

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY QUARTERLY DEPOSIT PROCEDURE FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. JOEL PRITCHARD

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1975

Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Speaker, as you may be aware, the Social Security Administration—SSA—has made clear it intends to require States and local governments to make monthly, instead of quarterly, deposits of social security contributions for their covered employees.

The voluntary agreements between the States and SSA under section 218—of the Social Security Act—were made with the mutual understanding that social security contributions were to be paid quarterly, as they have been without question since public employees were first covered in 1951.

Under the terms of each joint Federal-State agreement, each State is responsible for administering its own social security program and must bear the cost of its administration. The proposed change promises to greatly increase each State's administrative costs while eliminating any opportunity the States have to offset the costs of administration with interest earnings from the funds. In the aggregate, the States will lose about \$120 million in interest annually—at a time when they will be required to incur even greater administrative expenses.

Each State now files form OAR-S1 with SSA each quarter to report social security tax information. In addition, each State must also file a form OAR-S3 somewhat equivalent to form 941-A of IRS—each quarter containing wage information on each employee. When you realize that there are about 62,000 State and local government reporting entities with almost 9 million employees, you can readily appreciate the concern of State and local administrators that money and paperwork have to be handled three times more often.

Because of the proposed change, several States have considered terminating their Federal-State compact—denying social security coverage to their public employees. The States justifiably view the joint agreement as a two-way street—and they have made it clear that they will resist attempts to have added expenses unilaterally thrust upon them by moving for termination. The proposed shift, which was never agreed to by the States, surely violates the spirit of the section 218 agreements if not the actual language.

Prior to their entrance into the State-Federal agreement, many States had to obtain enabling legislation from their legislatures. Because this legislation contained the guidelines under which the State agency would operate, including in some cases the quarterly deposit procedure, the implementation of SSA's proposed regulation would require action by the State legislature in some States.

In order to add on new employees to

handle the monthly deposit procedure, some State administrators will have to go to their legislatures to obtain exceptions to budget ceiling laws or to statutory ceilings on the hiring of new personnel. Compounding this problem is the fact that many State legislatures operate on a biennium—and meet once every 2 years.

If deposits are made monthly and reports filed quarterly—or annually as proposed by the SSA—further problems arise. Many State and local financial procedures—in order to comply with State statute and constitutional provisions—will not allow money to be paid out of the State treasury which is based upon estimates.

Making a switch to a quarterly deposit procedure even more complex is the fact that all but two States have institutionalized the quarterly deposit procedure for their State retirement systems. Under the current system, the coincidence of deposit dates substantially reduces the cost of administration of the State retirement systems. A monthly deposit procedure for social security contributions promises to impose additional costs on the administration of State retirement systems.

The Federal proponents of stepping-up the periodic deposit procedure do not believe that they are imposing any additional burden on State and local governments, because, in the words of the Treasury Secretary:

Most local units of government have highly sophisticated accounting procedures . . . and equipment.

In fact, the majority of local governments—towns, cities, and counties—in most States do not have centralized payroll systems, do not have modern accounting equipment, do not have full-time paid officials, and in many cases do not even have actual office quarters. One State social security administrator informed me that many times he receives quarterly written-out on notebook paper and even on a brown paper sack in a few instances.

The SSA argues that the current ". . . deposit system is no longer justified in that large sums of money are lost to the Social Security Trust Fund . . ." and ". . . this loss must be made up by all . . ." taxpayers. Economists have told me that because taxpayers pay both State and local taxes, the net effect is zero. The issue is clearly whether the Federal Government will reap windfall interest income—about \$120 million—at the expense of the States.

No further action by SSA will be taken until both they and the Subcommittee on Social Security have had an opportunity to review the results of an SSA questionnaire and a State-by-State analysis of statistics being assembled by the National Conference of State Social Security Administrators.

However, the SSA—at the behest of the Office of Management and Budget, the HEW Secretary and the Treasury Secretary—have made clear that they intend to implement the more frequent

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# FIFTH ESTATE

P.O. BOX 647, BEN FRANKLIN STATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20044  
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The Congress of the United States  
Washington, D.C.  
U.S.A.

Legal Counsel  
Alan Dranitzke  
*Forer and Rein*  
Washington DC

Dear Senators and Congressmen;

I am sending to each of you, via the Fifth Estate, a copy of my book about my work in the Central Intelligence Agency. With this, may I also express my support for your decisions to investigate the Agency's activities.

Some of you may disagree with the way I have proceeded outside the country to write and publish this book, to have revealed the names of so many agents and collaborators of the CIA, and in doing so to have set aside the secrecy agreement I signed as an Agency Employee.

I ask you to weigh these objections against the effect that CIA's support to repressive regimes in many countries has on millions of people; against the contribution this book can have to the current national debate on secret intelligence activities of the Executive; against the failure of successive Congresses to monitor abuses by the CIA; and against the value to the American people of other recent unauthorized revelations of far greater importance such as the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate coverup.

There are signs that the CIA is trying to prevent publication of this book in the United States, even though it is available in the rest of the world. Some of you may feel that the American people should not be deprived of an inside view of the Agency's foreign operations. I ask your help in preventing suppression of publication.

Best regards,

*Philip Agee*  
Philip Agee

**Advisory Board\***  
Philip Agee

- Former CIA case officer*
- Fred Branfman, Co-Director, Indochina Resource Center
- Sylvia Crane, Author, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation
- David Dellinger, Institute for New Communications.
- Frank Donner, Author, Director, ACLU Political Surveillance Project.
- Mark Lane Author Citizen's Commission of Inquiry
- Dr. Ralph Lewis, Criminal Justice Research Director, Michigan State University.
- Victor Marchetti, Author, Former CIA Official.
- Col. L. Fletcher Prouty (ret.), Author, Former military liaison to CIA.
- K. Barton Osborn Former CIA Consultant
- Marcus Raskin, Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies.
- Tony Russo, Author, Former RAND Corp. Official.
- Kirkpatrick Sale, Author.
- Stanley Sheinbaum, American Civil Liberties Union
- Rev. Phillip Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action.

\*Organizations for identification purposes only.

cc: John Greaney, 16 June 1975

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## On the Assassination of a CIA Station Chief in Athens

The Fifth Estate, an organization of former intelligence agents, reported the fact that Richard Welch was a CIA agent in their publication, *Counter-Spy*. Welch was assassinated in Athens on December 23. William Colby and others have denounced those who expose "secrets" of the CIA. An investigation by the Justice Department has been launched. The following is the Fifth Estate's reply. The Fifth Estate's address is POB 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC 20044.

The attempts of CIA officials, both current and retired, and their supporters to cast the Fifth Estate with even partial responsibility for the death of the CIA Station Chief in Athens, Greece, is an attack on all Americans who have had the courage to voice opposition to this secret police force and the anti-democratic corporate empire it serves. In an hysterical campaign, similar to classical CIA propaganda operations abroad, the CIA is attempting to shift the onerous history of 30 years of villainous rampage against the people of the world to those who have exposed the truth of CIA murders and lies.

Reactionary elements of the Press have been stampeded into thoughtless commentary in contradiction to the facts known to their own journalists. Right-wing thugs have threatened to kill members of the Fifth Estate, Congress and a Presidential candidate. Even the President has lent his support to this campaign. But the Press overreacting to confusing events is nothing new or unmanageable. The ravings of rightest cowards rarely initiate political change. And we doubt if this is the first or last time Jerry Ford will be deceived by the CIA.

We are not intimidated and this campaign will ultimately fail.

We are grieved that Mrs. Welch is now a widow and her family is without a father. We do not condone or support this shooting. But we do understand why Mr. Welch was killed. This CIA Station Chief died as a direct result of world-wide hostility which the CIA has helped generate against the United States. As a CIA operative, Welch knew that his role in coordinating covert operations to secure the exploitative investment climate for multinational corporations could, someday, lead to his death. Throughout the world people are demonstrating that the age of economic exploitation and political repression brought by CIA assassinations, coups d'etat, secret wars, massive illegal domestic spying, lies and deception must now come to a close. The possibility of violent retribution for this exploitation and repression must now be a fact of life with CIA agents.

For many Greeks, the name of the CIA brings horrid memories of US supported torture, brutal imprisonment, and death from a CIA-installed military dictatorship. These memories are freshened by Greek anger at CIA intervention recently in Cyprus. Such emotions based on political fact are felt by many throughout the world. In Greece, these emotions led to months of demonstrations and official denouncements before this shooting.

However, if anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death, it is the CIA that sent him to Greece to spy and intervene in the affairs of the Greek people and to rendezvous with a death symbolic of the horrible essence of the CIA. When the *Athens News* publicly identified

him, there was no excuse for the CIA to keep him there. The blood of Mr. Welch is on the hands of the CIA and its supporters and not on the pages of *Counter-Spy*.

*Counter-spy*, the quarterly journal of the Fifth Estate, has a policy of publishing names of CIA operatives in its feature "CIA Around the World: We Thought You'd Like to Know." Any names of CIA officials published by the foreign or American press will be reprinted in *Counter-Spy*. We reprint the names to demonstrate to the American people the pervasiveness of CIA activities. Reprinting names reinforces political fact and demystifies the power of the CIA. The Station Chief in most countries is well known to both the governments, political parties, foreign press as well as those opposed to the CIA presence in their countries. Only those who live in the United States are denied this information. We believe Americans have a right to know what acts are being committed in our name and who are the perpetrators of these acts. Reprinting these names is one way for us to protest the existence of the CIA and the covert actions it implements without sanction from the American people.

Richard Welch was identified first in 1967 in a German book, *Who's Who in the CIA*, which has been widely distributed throughout the world. More recently his name appeared in Spanish language newspapers in Peru. Maryknoll priests while in Peru jotted his and other CIA operatives names down and during a visit to Washington, DC asked us for confirmation that Welch was indeed with the CIA. By using documents published by the Department of State and freely available to the public, we made this confirmation and reprinted his name in *Counter-Spy*. But his move to Greece was unknown to us and we have had no contact with the Greek newspaper that identified him. It is a fragile coincidence that links *Counter-Spy* to these tragic events.

If the CIA believes it can continue this charade of focusing blame on its opposition, it is foolish. The questions which will be asked once the hysteria has dissipated are: "Why was Richard Welch recently transferred to Greece? What has the CIA planned for the people in that region of the world? What is the CIA doing there now? What was Richard Welch, and what are those who have replaced him, doing in Peru?"

If the CIA continues to intervene in the affairs of all countries, including Greece and Peru, or to suppress national patriotic liberation movements and the popular opposition to the CIA and its corporate masters, similar events will undoubtedly occur. The movement against the CIA is not responsible for these occurrences. The CIA, with its murderers and torturers has now added the blood of one of its own to the long list of victims it has denied life.



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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE June 28, 1976

the federal government and intended to benefit bona fide family farmers.

Westlands, the country's largest water district, will receive a total of \$658 million in federal subsidies according to a present value computation of the 40-year, \$3 billion subsidy. That calculation was contained in an earlier GAO report to Senators Nelson and Haskell.

Private landowners who receive federal water and own more than 160 acres must contract with the federal government to dispose of all land in excess of 160 acres within 10 years. The 1928 Omnibus Adjustment Act provides that such excess lands "shall be appraised in a manner to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and the sale prices thereof fixed by the Secretary on the basis of its actual bona fide value at the date of appraisal without reference to the proposed construction of the irrigation works." GAO found that "the Bureau does not adequately support its basis, or give consideration to all appropriate factors, in establishing land values without project benefits."

Critics of the Bureau contends that it has allowed excess land holders to inflate approved sale prices by including as a condition of sale farm facilities and equipment, leasehold rights, corporate stock, and in one extreme case, an airplane landing strip. The GAO report said that the Bureau should evaluate the value of these extras on the basis of their usefulness to the purchaser, particularly one who chooses to operate a small farm.

Haskell and Nelson stated, "The GAO findings on the Bureau's price approval practices substantiate our concern that family farmers interested in actively operating their own farms are being precluded from obtaining low cost excess land. Congress never intended the benefits of federal irrigation projects to go to groups of paper farmers who purchase large blocks of excess land and lease it to large operators."

Nelson and Haskell noted that they are currently drafting legislation which would include the major provisions recommended by GAO to assure that the benefits of federal irrigation go to family farmers.

Official Digest of Report Follows. The full report is available from S.B.A. & G.A.O.

[Comptroller General's Report to the Select Committee on Small Business and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (Westlands Hearings) United States Senate]

#### Digest

(Appraisal Procedures and Solutions to Problems Involving the 160-Acre Limitation Provision of Reclamation Law, Department of the Interior)

Reclamation law limits to 160 acres the land on which any one owner is entitled to receive water from a Federal water resources project. Owners of more than 160 acres in the Westlands Water District may receive water on such excess land from the Bureau of Reclamation's Central Valley Project if they sign recordable contracts agreeing to sell such excess lands within 10 years to eligible buyers at prices based on the actual bona fide value of such lands without reference to the construction of the Federal project.

GAO reviewed Bureau appraisal techniques for assessing the value of excess land without project enhancement and believes such techniques need improvement. The Bureau does not:

Adequately support its basis, or give consideration to all appropriate factors, in establishing land values without project benefits.

Consider the usefulness to the purchaser of farm facilities and equipment in estimating their value.

Adequately document the basis for its independent evaluations.

In addition, GAO believes that to improve management control there is a need for written Bureau guidelines, and for periodic internal reviews, applicable to the Bureau's excess land appraisal activity.

To improve the management of the appraisal activity and to insure that appropriate factors are considered in establishing the sale price of excess lands without project enhancement, the Secretary of the Interior should require the Bureau to:

Undertake a formal study in the Westlands Water District designed to ascertain the value of excess lands, by class and location, without project enhancement, giving consideration to the decreasing ground water supply that would have resulted if the Federal project had not been constructed.

Obtain from the seller supporting data for values assigned by the seller and to document in the sales file the basis for the valuations assigned by the Bureau's appraiser.

Issue detailed Bureau guidelines setting forth the criteria and procedures for evaluating excess land sales.

GAO recommends also that the Secretary have his internal audit staff schedule reviews of the appraisal activity in the various Bureau regional offices.

GAO also evaluated the practicality of three proposed solutions to the following problems.

Bureau-approved sales of large minimum acreages of excess lands which are sold in units to groups of purchasers with requirements to buy all facilities and equipment reportedly hamper small family farmers in their attempts to buy excess lands.

Various arrangements such as trusts, partnerships, corporations, and leases reportedly allow one farm operator to receive low-cost Federal water for large tracts of land he does not own and hamper small family farmers from owning and operating land in the Westlands Water District.

The three proposed solutions to these problems were reconstituting a residency requirement, establishing a commission to insure that family farmers are given priority in the purchasing of excess land, and establishing a system for purchase of the excess land by the Government for resale to family farmers.

GAO believes that all of the proposed solutions could contribute to a reduction in the magnitude of the problems. The solution, however, that probably has the potential for being most effective is establishment of a system for purchasing the excess land by the Government for resale to family farmers. This solution would be more effective if the 160-acre limitation provision were made applicable to an owner-operator of land receiving water from a Federal project rather than, as present, being applicable only to the owner of the land.

Because of the time that would be required, the lack of basic data, and the subjective considerations involved, GAO did not attempt to ascertain the Federal costs that might be required to implement the three proposed solutions to certain perceived problems in administering the 160-acre limitation provision.

GAO discussed its findings and conclusions with Bureau of Reclamation officials, but as requested, GAO did not obtain written commitments from the Bureau or for the Department of the Interior.

#### TRIBUTE TO INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, for many years, the present Cuban regime has been in the habit of aiding terrorism and vio-

lence throughout the world. The United States has always opposed such activities, and Secretary Kissinger's warnings to the Cuban regime would seem to make the administration's position clear on this subject. However, more disturbing than Castro's subversive interference in the domestic affairs of foreign countries is his fomenting of underground terrorism in our own country. Leading the efforts to expose and document such activities is the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate. As the subcommittee has demonstrated, the Castro regime uses Puerto Rico as an infiltration base into our country. Agents trained by Cuba operate in major U.S. cities such as Chicago and New York, where Cuban-trained terrorists cause the January 24, 1975 bombing explosion of Frances Tavern, killing five persons and injuring 56 others. Facts such as these would not be known by many people were it not for the diligent efforts of subcommittee investigators like Al Tarabochia and Dave Martin.

Exemplifying the opinion held of the subcommittee by law enforcers throughout the country, is a recent resolution adopted by the International Association of Bomb Technicians and Investigators, expressing "the appreciation of our organization to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security for the valuable information on terrorism which it has compiled and published and for its efforts to promote better public understanding of the importance of adequate law enforcement intelligence in combating terrorism."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a letter which Capt. Tom Brodie, advisory committee member of the IABTI and a leading Dade County, Fla., law enforcement officer, wrote to me, enclosing a copy of the resolution along with an accompanying letter to Chairman EASTLAND. Captain Brodie expresses his concern and that of fellow law enforcers over reports of efforts to eliminate the Subcommittee on Internal Security. IABTI officers and members believe that the information published by the subcommittee has been extremely useful to law enforcers in their work against terrorism. As is pointed out in their letter to the chairman, it is especially important that the subcommittee continue its investigations during these troubled times, when terrorism is on the rise at home and abroad.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MIAMI, Fla.

DEAR SENATOR STONE: As you know, I have for a number of years now, served as bomb expert to the Dade County Public Safety Department. I am still grateful to you for the very generous introduction you gave me when I testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security last September, together with three other bomb experts from different parts of the country.

I also serve as a member of the Advisory Committee of the International Association of Bomb Technicians and Investigators and that is why I am writing this letter. The purpose of this letter is to convey to you the text of a resolution unanimously adopted by the IABTI at its recent convention in

June 16, 1976

ent are commemorating the 35th anniversary of the mass deportations of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians to Siberia which took place on June 14-15, 1941. During these first arrests, 100,000 persons were deported to various places in Asia Siberia. This was done to subvert the Baltic States, which had been illegally occupied by the Soviet Union against the will of the people.

The Soviet Government began planning for mass extermination of the Baltic people soon after the conclusion of the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. The clear evidence of this is found in N.K.V.D. Order No. 01223 regarding the "deportation of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia." According to data collected by the Lithuanian Red Cross, 34,260 persons were deported from Lithuania, 35,102 from Latvia, and 33,500 from Estonia.

Statistics on age groups and professions have also been provided from a list of 20,974 persons. There were 1,626 infants; 2,165 children from the ages of 1 to 10; 2,587 persons from the ages of 10 to 18; 3,986 from the ages of 18 to 30 years; 7,778 persons from the ages of 30 to 50; 1,681 from 50 to 70 years; 127 over 70 years of age; and the remainder of undetermined age.

The largest groups were elementary and secondary school students: 6,378. There were 3,389 farmers, 1,865 housewives, 1,591 government employees, 1,098 teachers, 879 workers, 622 servicemen, and 416 university students.

All of these people were loaded into freight cars with 50 to 60 persons in each car. The windows of the cars were boarded over, husbands separated from wives, and children separated from parents. They all were locked in the cars lacking air, food, and water.

The long journey from the Baltic States to Siberia killed many weak and sick. Some dead children were thrown out of the cars by guards and left by the railroad, disregarding the enormous grief of their mothers.

In the following years, many other deportations took place. Baltic deportees were transported to northern Russia, western and eastern Siberia, and Kazakhstan. They were used for slave labor and many of them perished in the mines and forests, or they were annihilated by the cold, the starvation, and diseases because they lacked proper clothing, food, and medical attention.

Some managed to survive. A few even reached the United States, and readily testified to the inhuman conditions of life and to the cruelty of their imprisonment. Even Alexandr Solzhenitsyn in his book "Gulag Archipelago" witnessed how Baltic deportees were tortured and forced to live under inhuman conditions.

Four young Lithuanian girls, who were deported to Siberia, have secretly written a prayerbook, which through underground channels, has been smuggled to the Western World. It was published in English, and entitled: "Mary Save Us."

These young girls wrote: The day has closed its eyes. Fatigue closes my eyes. My feelings have dried up, my strength has left me . . . with icy lips, with tear-filled eyes, tormented by despair, we fly

to your straw-covered crib, O Holy Babe . . . We are drained of strength, our feelings have faded away, our hearts are benumbed thoughts we cannot control . . . Jesus help those who die in foreign lands without consolation of the Church or their dear ones, without the comfort and aid of their friends.

The Soviet Union also deported people from the Baltic States in following years. A Lithuanian woman, Barbara Armonas, was deported in May of 1948, but after many years of slavery, she managed to emigrate to the United States of America. She describes her deportation from Lithuania in her book: "Leave your tears in Moscow":

About four o'clock in the morning of May 22nd (1948), I heard a knock on my door . . . I opened the door and froze with fear . . . There was a whole detachment of soldiers, about thirty altogether, all with heavy weapons. In the yard, a machine gun had been set up. The officer pushed me aside, went into the house, and demanded my passport . . . He took a letter from his pocket and read in a monotonous voice that the state had decided to deport me from Lithuania to other Soviet states . . . I had only a half hour to prepare myself for the deportation journey. Awakened by the noise, my son started to cry . . . I was told that I could take no suitcases, but must pack everything into a potato sack . . .

When the half hour was up, my son, myself, and our belongings were put into a buggy and escorted under heavy guard to the neighboring village . . . Some twenty-five families had been collected . . . Each family sat on their sacks in a group. No one talked.

Some two hundred families had been collected and put into trucks, each guarded by four Russian soldiers with guns. These trucks were nearly all American Lend-Lease equipment . . . At first, I thought all Lithuanians were being deported . . . The village of Auksttuolai was left completely empty.

At the railroad station, we were put into cattle cars, about forty to sixty people to a car. The train stood in the station at Panevezys for two full days. We were given no food . . . Our transport consisted of sixty cars, so it can be estimated that it contained about 2,400 persons . . . The feeling of human beings herded into cattle cars are impossible to describe. No one knew where we were going or what could be expected . . . In one car, a woman with two small children whose husband was in prison, went mad, jumped from the moving train, and was killed . . . The biggest problem in our car was an 83-year-old paralyzed lady . . .

After about fifteen days, we stopped in a station about 160 miles from Irkutsk, the largest city in Siberia . . . We were ordered to get out . . . We stood there for about four hours in a cold rain mixed with snow. The children cried all the time . . .

The deportees were placed in barracks with broken doors and windows in company with many thieves, and Mrs. Armonas writes:

It was clear to everyone that we had been sent here to die.

On starvation rations, they were forced to cut trees in the forests 5 miles away from the barracks. The work norms were very high, and they had only primitive tools. The regime for prisoners was severe. Mrs. Armonas writes:

I was always hungry. We were not allowed to wear shoes in our rooms. We could not sit on the beds.

Fortunately for Mrs. Armonas, Khrushchev's amnesty released her from the

slave labor camps, but there are still tens of thousands of Baltic deportees in Siberia, and tens of thousands buried there in unmarked graves.

The Communists murdered or deported about 350,000 people from Lithuania, the total exceeding 10 percent of the population, and these figures are also the same for Latvia and Estonia.

ENEMIES OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY CONTINUE THEIR ATTACKS.

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 1976

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, publishers of the magazine Counterspy, has recently released the latest issue of their magazine. As I have pointed out previously, the function of OC-5 and Counterspy is to serve the Soviet and Cuban Communist intelligence services by attacking the American intelligence community. Former CIA Director, William Colby, has accused OC-5 of being in large part responsible for the murder of Richard Welch, the CIA station chief in Athens, Greece.

The latest issue of Counterspy, dated spring 1976, carries a full page of names of alleged CIA agents in Africa. The names had been provided by the left-wing Paris newspaper, Liberation, and by the Black Panther Party.

Another full page of names were alleged to be CIA agents in London. This list which included U.S. Embassy staff members, including young secretaries, revealed the home addresses of the intended victims. The London list had been provided by the International Marxist Group in England, the British section of the Trotskyite terrorist Fourth International. The leader of the IMG, Tariq Ali, is also a member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. According to the Socialist Workers Party, Tariq Ali has publicly taken a position, "very favorable to the use of terrorism."

The Socialist Workers Party is the American section of the Fourth International. The SWP has also revealed that their British comrades in the IMG have been the major support for a terrorist group called Saor Eire which has committed murders and done bombings in both England and Ireland. The collaboration of OC-5 with such people in identifying alleged CIA agents is tantamount to setting up assassinations.

The same issue of Counterspy also carried an attack on this Member of Congress. I became the subject because a member of my staff is married to a man who publishes a newsletter called Information Digest which OC-5 finds objectionable. Counterspy refers to John Rees and his wife, Louise, who is employed on my staff as "extremely dangerous people." Is this another invitation for physical attack by the violence prone leftwing?

March 3, 1976

Mr. M. H. Blum  
President & General  
Manager  
Annapolis Broadcasting Corporation  
P. O. Box 631  
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Dear Mr. Blum,

Thank you very kindly for the tape forwarded through Mr. Lanphear of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Annapolis. We do not wish to take advantage of your kind offer to reply to the program.

Sincerely,

*[Signature]*

Angus MacLean Thuermer  
Assistant to the Director

kss

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This information was  
handed out at a

press conference

by Fifth Estate

on 24 JAN 75

KALAMAZOO, MICH.  
GAZETTE

E - 58,086  
S - 60,100

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JAN 29 1976

# Little Brother Is Watching

## Fifth Estate Keeps Its Eye On CIA, FBI

By ART SILLS, Gazette Staff Writer

It began, in February of 1973, at the 50th birthday party of Norman Mailer. There were 500 people at the Four Seasons in New York and they paid \$30 each and some very stiff drinking was in evidence. Mailer stood up and told the crowd where its money was going. The money would create a tax - free foundation called "The Fifth Estate," he said.

The Fifth Estate would be "a democratic secret police, a people's FBI and a people's CIA to investigate those two," he said. "If we have a real democratic secret police to keep tab on Washington's secret police, which isn't democratic, but bureaucratic, we'll then be able to see how much of our paranoia is justified," he said.

Wednesday night, Tim Butz of The Fifth Estate sat in a lecture room at Western Michigan University and talked about how the work is going. "The CIA now is on the run," he said. But the job is not done, he said. "We have one hell of a job on our hands," he said.

This has all become a matter of newspaper headlines. Butz is co - editor of The Fifth Estate's quarterly newsletter, Counter - Spy. When CIA station chief Richard Welch was gunned down last month in Greece, the newsletter was blamed for blowing his cover.

Butz is 28, a veteran of 19 months in Vietnam who came home in 1966 to Kent State University in Ohio and the antiwar movement. He is a stocky guy with a light brown beard. On Wednesday night, he wore a blue leisure suit. A red tie was pulled loose at the collar. His right hand waved a pencil in small arcs as he spoke.

He said the CIA has a 30 - year record of "murder, carnage, infiltration, subversion and 10,000 other forms of horror throughout the world." The record is continuing in the war in Angola, he said.

Once, when the newspaper datelines said Saigon, war was a topic that cut across college campuses and swelled into giant rallies. On Wednesday night, the crowd count at Read Field House was 10,519 for a

*Once war was a topic that cut across college campuses and swelled into giant rallies. On Wednesday night the crowd count at Read Field House was 10,519 for a basketball game. Butz spoke to 66 persons in Room 2302, Sangren Hall.*

basketball game. Butz spoke to 66 persons at Room 2302, Sangren Hall.

The talk was sponsored by two campus groups, The Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy and the Southern African Liberation Committee. Chris Root, a Washington, D.C., lobbyist, and Barbara Marsh, of the Michigan Free Press, a counter-culture newspaper in Ann Arbor, also spoke.

Miss Root recited the history of Angola. "The history of oppression, and its result in Angola, is indeed a very long one," she said. "Colonialism means different things in different countries, and in Angola, it was an especially harsh one."

The war in the African country is between those that would have "neo - colonialism" and those that want "true independence," she said. She said the MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is fighting for the "self-determination of Angola."

The MPLA has Soviet backing. The U.S. monies have been going to the other side, she said. For the CIA, Butz said, "Angola is just going to be one more along a long, long list." For the CIA, Butz said, it is another attempt to make the world safe for the "multinational corporations."

The talk went for more than two hours and then there were audience questions and Butz said there was a big job of public education to do.

He spoke to a lecture room of students who grew up with a war on nightly television. We must work, Butz said, to clear away "the bleakness that we see in our lives in the 1970s."



**PANELISTS AT WMU DISCUSS CIA AND ANGOLA WAR WEDNESDAY**  
Sangren Hall Program Led By, From Left, Chris Root, Tim Butz and Barbara Marsh —Gazette photo

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 RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W.

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Nine in the Morning

STATION WTOP TV  
 CBS Network

DATE January 16, 1976 9:00 AM

CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT An Interview With Peck, Marchetti, Marks and Stern

RENE CARPENTER: Let me introduce my guests to you: Winslow Peck, the editor of Counter-Spy. Victor Marchetti, former high-level CIA official and coauthor of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," along with John Marks. And Larry Stern, national affairs writer covering the Church Committee.

Winslow, maybe we could start out with Counter-Spy magazine. What is it? What's its link to the Fifth Estate? What is the Fifth Estate?

WINSLOW PECK: Counter-Spy is the organ of the organizing committee for the Fifth Estate. The Fifth Estate is a community of citizens that are concerned about abuse of power in our national security bureaucracy.

CARPENTER: Who are they?

PECK: Well, the center of the community is a network of researchers who are on college campuses across the country that are looking into abuse of power on the national as well as the local level. And we are opposed to abuse of power in several areas: first, the massive corruption and criminality that we see, not only in the security bureaucracies, but in many levels of our government.

CARPENTER: Why do you publish the names of CIA agents?

PECK: We publish the names of CIA agents to reinforce the political fact of what the CIA is and what they do in our name, that they are a secret police force that has never acted in the interests of the American people. Publishing the names demystifies the power of the CIA.

JAN 10, 1976

*'Beleaguered Amateurs' or 'Almost Professional'***The Fifth Estate and a CIA Agent's Death**By Robert W. Merry  
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

**"I GET REALLY upset,"** says Tim Butz, his jaw taut and his voice firm, "that the American people don't understand that the CIA has seen fit to unilaterally exercise some of the most serious violations of their rights. Well, if the agency wants to break the law, they will simply have the whistle blown on them."

He pauses just a second, relaxes just a bit. "That may sound like boisterous talk, given the resources of the Fifth Estate, but we know what effect we've had and we know what effect we will have."

That might indeed sound like boisterous talk; then again, it might not. After all, Tim Butz is a top organizer at the Fifth Estate, the dissident organization that publishes a once-obscure quarterly magazine called Counter-Spy. And some people believe that Counter-Spy is at least partly responsible for the death of Richard S. Welch, the Central Intelligence Agency's Athens station chief, who was gunned down outside his home just before Christmas.

**Antiwar Remnant**

The Welch assassination came less than a year after Counter-Spy identified Welch, who normally worked under a State Department cover, as CIA station chief in Lima, Peru. Subsequently transferred to Greece, he was fingered by an English-language newspaper in Athens about a month before his death.

The incident immediately yanked the Fifth Estate, Counter-Spy, and Butz from the closet of obscurity in which they had been operating quietly the past three years. And it quickly became clear that they represent one of the most significant remnants from those fervid antiwar years of the 1960s and early '70s.

"The Fifth Estate has been passing itself off as a beleaguered amateur group," says David Atlee Phillips, former CIA agent and one of the country's leading defenders of the agency, "but the degree and depth of their efforts to identify CIA people have shown them to be almost professional, in my view."

**Common Knowledge**

Butz, a bearded and burly veteran of the antiwar legions, vigorously rejects the notion that there's any connection between Counter-Spy and Welch's death.

"The allegation is ridiculous," says Butz, sitting in his fourth-floor office in downtown Washington. "The CIA talks as though we printed a definitive book on all CIA operations in the world. All we've really done is make available to the American people knowledge that is common in these foreign countries. Station chiefs are known in all the cities where they operate; the only place they aren't known is in the United States."

Butz and others believe CIA Director William Colby, who acknowledged Welch's CIA connection and denounced the Fifth Estate almost immediately after the shooting, is attempting to draw a connection between the Welch killing and Counter-Spy to dampen more-conventional efforts to expose CIA abuses. "Who are they out to silence?" asks Butz. "Going after us is like calling in a B-52 strike to wipe out a couple pesky mosquitoes. I think the target is broader than the Fifth Estate; it includes Sen. [Frank] Church's Senate investigation [of CIA abuses] and the House investigation as well."

**Attack From the Post**

But the Fifth Estate's critics aren't confined to traditional CIA defenders. Some of the severest criticism was found last week on the editorial page of the Washington Post, that tribunal of tough-minded liberalism. Declaring that disclosure of Welch's name was "tantamount to an open invitation to kill him," the Post added: "Here are some American foes of the CIA adopting the morality and even abetting the technique—indirect assassination—which they have so often described as characteristic of the agency itself."

The Counter-Spy controversy left many wondering just what this Fifth Estate organization is, who runs it, what it does, and who finances it. The group's most important patron, it turns out, is Norman Maller, the author and gadabout of leftist causes, who began supporting Butz's efforts in early 1973.

At that time, Butz and a friend named Winslow Peck were trying to initiate an organization to heighten awareness of U.S. security agencies. Butz, "an idealistic Kennedy liberal" when he first shipped out to Vietnam as an Air Force enlisted man in 1966, had been an antiwar activist since 1969. Peck's background, which was similar, included a stint in the Air Force Security Service.

**'Largest Sustainer'**

In addition to publishing Counter-Spy, the organization is involved in "public education" (teach-ins, speaking tours, and the like) and in "independent research efforts." Included under the latter category is the formation of a research library called Intelligence Documentation Center (IDC), financed through a \$50,000 grant from the Stern Foundation of New York City. Butz emphasizes that the IDC is not connected with Counter-Spy.

The magazine, which has a circulation of about 3,000, is sustained by subscription fees and contributions from a network of patrons, or "sustainers," according to Butz. Maller is "probably the largest" sustainer, says Butz; another Fifth Estate official says Maller's contribution has been as much as "several thousand a year."

Butz says the publication is an "off hours" operation. Staff members, who aren't salaried, are maintained financially through other endeavors, including bartending, the GI Bill (Butz himself is an undergraduate student), and "outside consulting." Some Fifth Estate officials also draw salaries from the \$50,000 Stern grant.

Guiding the publication is an advisory board, which reads like a mini-Who's Who of old antiwarhorses. And at the top of the list is Philip Agee, the former CIA case officer whose recent book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, was sprinkled with names of old agency colleagues.

David Phillips, the CIA defender, calls Agee "the granddaddy of the idea" of exposing CIA agents abroad. The Fifth Estate, he says, is the first American group to follow up on the idea.

The same Counter-Spy issue identifying CIA station chiefs contained an article by Agee in which he advocated "the identification, exposure, and neutralization" of CIA agents abroad. He added: "Having this information, the peoples victimized by the CIA . . . can bring pressure on their so-often compromised governments to expel the CIA people. . . . And in the absence of such expulsions . . . the people themselves will have to decide what they must do to rid themselves of CIA."

continued



# CIA Agent Welch Buried

## Ford, Kissinger Among Mourners at Arlington

By Laurence Stern

Washington Post Staff Writer

Richard S. Welch, who spent most of his life in the cold and anonymous world of international espionage, was buried in Arlington National Cemetery yesterday with a show of pomp usually reserved for the nation's most renowned military heroes.

President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger stood as mourners while the flag-draped coffin of the slain Central Intelligence Agency official was carried by eight Marines to a horse-drawn caisson for the trip to the knoll where Welch was laid to rest.

The funeral was a rare and glittering tableau of the American national security establishment with several generations of diplomats and spies gathered on the grassy slopes of Arlington to pay tribute to Welch and the institution he served.

Although the Welch family requested that reporters be barred from the chapel where the funeral service was performed, provision was made for news coverage of what the Ford administration clearly conceived of as an important event.

The family was reported by friends to hold a grievance against some members of the press for contributing to a "climate of

opinion" that may have resulted in Welch's murder Dec. 23 in Athens. The CIA has maintained a large and controversial presence in Athens since the Greek civil war in the late 1940s.

Welch's murder came at a time when the public stock of the CIA was at the lowest point in its 27-year history. Two congressional committees, as well as the administration, are preparing new bureaucratic blueprints for reorganizing the agency to prevent future abuses of the sort that have resounded through congressional hearing rooms for months.

The ceremony was conducted with full military honors in freezing temperatures under a bright sun. President Ford and Kissinger arrived shortly before the beginning of the service, at 11:30 a.m. Security personnel swarmed in unusual profusion through the crowd that gathered at the entrance to the chapel.

President Ford sat in the new, modernistic Ft. Myer chapel between CIA Director William E. Colby and Kissinger. George Bush, who has been nominated to succeed Colby, sat two rows behind. Brent Scowcroft, the President's special assistant for national

security affairs, sat in the row behind Mr. Ford.

Not once during the simple ceremony was Welch's name mentioned. There was a short eulogy, but no sermon. At one point, the officiating chaplain, Col. Duncan C. Stewart of Ft. Myer, asked that Welch's "devotion to duty and to country" be uppermost in remembrance of him.

At the end of the service, as the Army band played "Abide With Me," President Ford said a few words of condolence to Welch's widow, Maria Cristina, and then was introduced by Colby to the slain CIA officer's father, two sons and daughter.

It was at the President's insistence that Welch was buried in Arlington, which is now restricted to those who die while on active duty in the armed forces, veterans who held high government office or dependents of those buried in Arlington.

Welch, 46, had served in Europe and in Latin America and was reputed to be one of the CIA's most respected operatives.

Although he was in official biographical lists as being both a military and a diplomatic officer—common

covers for CIA operatives—he had served as an intelligence officer for more than 20 years.

He was a classic major at Harvard and would, according to one former colleague, spice his dispatches to Washington with references to Thucydides and quotations from Sophocles. He worked in Guatemala, Guyana, Cyprus and Peru—where the CIA has, from time to time, mounted intensive operations.

Among the groups under suspicion in Greece for the murder of Welch, according to one U.S. official, are Greek-Cypriot extremists in Athens. In Cyprus during the 1960s the CIA had close contacts with right-wing elements in Archbishop Makarios' government.

In the crowd of mourners that spread about the grassy burial ground were friends and colleagues from the CIA, State Department and other branches of government. It was probably the largest public gathering of American intelligence agents in Washington's history.

Among them were veteran operatives such as Thomas Karamessines, retired director of CIA clandestine services who managed U.S. intelligence activities in Greece during its civil war

and helped organize the CIA's counterpart organization in Athens.

Another was Mike Ackerman, who served under Welch in Guyana. Ackerman handed a reporter an index card bearing what he described as Plato's definition of the Republic's ideal guardian.

"The nature required to make a really noble guardian of our commonwealth," Ackerman's quotation said, "will be swift and strong spirited, and philosophic. Those, he said, were the qualities of Welch."

The mourners included at least two staff members of the Senate intelligence committee, whose members were invited to attend the funeral by the administration.

One postscript to the funeral was the CIA's acknowledgement that it has asked the Justice Department to investigate whether federal laws were violated in publication of Welch's name by a Washington-based group called Fifth Estate.

Welch was named in two editions of the organization's magazine, Counter-Spy, as CIA station chief in Lima, Peru.

As has President Ford, David Phillips, of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, linked Welch's assassination to publication of his name in Counter-Spy and an English-language newspaper in Athens.

Members of Fifth Estate have previously said that Welch's name first appeared in a Peruvian provincial newspaper that two Maryknoll missionaries brought to Washington. His name also appeared eight years ago in the book "Who's Who in the CIA," an unreliable compendium of names reported to have been gathered and published by Communist intelligence services.

Fifth Estate would not comment on the matter yesterday.

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4435 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W.

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Evening Edition (M. Agronsky) STATION WETA TV  
PBS Network

DATE January 7, 1976 7:30 PM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Full Text

MARTIN AGRONSKY: Yesterday, about a mile from this public broadcasting studio, the body of Richard S. Welch was buried with full military honors in the Arlington National Cemetery. President Ford, his Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, and the CIA Director, Mr. Colby, all honored Welch's memory by personally attending his funeral.

Welch was the CIA's top man in Greece. He was gunned down by three masked assassins outside his home in Athens during Christmas week. Mr. Welch's name and CIA connection were disclosed, among other places, in a magazine called Counter-Spy published by an American group called the Fifth Estate. This is the magazine, Counter-Spy.

Tonight on Evening Edition, a discussion of this Welch affair with Barton Osborn of the Fifth Estate and [redacted] a former CIA official who now runs the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers.

[redacted] you were a close personal friend and colleague of Mr. Welch. And I think, under those circumstances, you might like to begin, in terms of how you feel about his murder.

[redacted] Well, obviously, Martin, I look at it with some emotion. He was a close friend; I knew him for 20 years, knew him well for 10 years. I received a letter from him just four days before his death, in which he invited me and my wife to visit him in his home in Athens; and in the letter he described it as pleasant but somewhat notorious. I didn't know what he meant then; now I know.

Dick Welch was an exceptional man. He was articulate and

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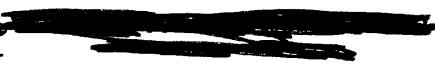
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MR. ANGUS THUERMER,  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
20505

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# Meanwhile, the anti-CIA brigade turns on the heat

Peter Pringle reports  
from Washington

POLICE surrounded a seven-storey office block in central Washington on Friday after an anonymous telephone caller threatened to speed past in his car and spray the fourth floor with bullets.

His ambitious aim was to liquidate seven people working in Suite 403 for the Fifth Estate, an organisation active in America's growing "alternative" intelligence movement. The Fifth Estate is currently accused by the CIA of aiding and abetting the assassination of Richard Welch, the chief undercover agent in Athens, by publishing his name in their quarterly magazine Counterspy.

The caller did not appear, as was expected, and the Fifth Estate and the police logged the incident with a growing number of death threats made to it—and several liberal senators—since the CIA's accusations. But the event illustrates the extreme reaction now building up against the anti-intelligence groups, including Congressional committees, that have been nibbling away at the CIA.

Retired intelligence officers have formed an "old boys" association to promote and pro-

tect their still active colleagues. In Welch the association has its first martyr. President Ford will attend the burial in Arlington Cemetery on Tuesday.

The people prising open the CIA's dirty tricks bag have made the running so far against others who would keep it shut. The old boys association has made little impact since its formation in July. But in the wake of Welch's death and CIA Director William Colby's plea to Congress to help turn the heat off his men, the work of tiny groups like the Fifth Estate and its hitherto little-known publications (Counterspy has a circulation of only 3,000) are under inspection, too.

But who is the Fifth Estate and what did it do with Welch's name? It is a group of people of Left-wing views, some of whom used to work in intelligence and are now regarded by their former colleagues as, at best renegades, and at worst Russian spies. One of the group's mentors, for example, Philip Agee, an ex-agent in Latin America

who has written a book about his intelligence work called Inside the Company: CIA Diary, is seen by the old boys as an agent of Russia's KGB.

The group's aim is to foster a new force "capable of penetrating the excessive secrecy rampant in politics today," a phenomenon which they call "technofascism," covering any clandestine government or corporate action—by the White House, the army or the police. Since it was formed, three years ago, however, the group has concentrated on the more extreme activities of the CIA.

This is fully approved of by backers like the writer Norman Mailer. He says: "In this context the Fifth Estate is homeopathic medicine—one small drop for a large disease, but at least it is an instrument by which people interested in a participatory democracy may begin to create the possibility of centres of alternate intelligence staffed by citizens for the use of citizens."

In the spring issue of Counterspy, almost 100 people the Fifth Estate had deduced to be CIA

agents from their foreign service records were named, of whom 59 were in London. Richard Welch was listed as attaché in the US Embassy in Lima. It was the first and last time Counterspy mentioned his name. The editors of the magazine did not know he had moved before the news broke that he had been gunned down in Athens.

In the winter issue of the magazine Philip Agee explains the policy behind naming the agents. "The most effective and important systematic efforts to combat CIA that can be undertaken right now are, I think, the identification, exposure and neutralisation of its people working abroad." Mr Agee was working on past experience. In October 1974 he revealed the names and addresses in Mexico City of 35 official (embassy) CIA agents and two non-embassy ones. Within a few days two of those named, the station chief and his deputy, were withdrawn.

An editorial in the magazine expresses regret over the focus on the CIA, particularly over the current wave of "myopic rage" about the agency. "We believe that the whole system,

not merely its most mystifying appendage is worthy of examination," it declared. But of the list of 150 station chiefs printed inside it said: "This is certainly information that the American public should have in order to understand how the CIA works."

The Fifth Estate says that it has not been difficult to compile these lists: one of the simplest ways is to note all those foreign service officers who have been attached to the "Office of Special Assistance to the Ambassador." That is diplomatic language for the CIA, it says. But spotting US "spooks" abroad is not a new pastime. A small volume entitled Who's Who in the CIA appeared in Germany in 1967, but no one took it very seriously.

Senator Frank Church, the champion CIA exposé of the Senate intelligence committee, was listed. So was Lyndon Johnson. But so was Richard Welch. Then in November 1974 in the Washington Monthly John Marks, a former State Department intelligence officer, wrote an article uncompromisingly entitled: How to Spot a Spook.



Richard Welch



Philip Agee



William Colby

# No power to ban C.I.A. naming

By Our Staff Correspondent in Washington

**T**HE American Government is powerless to prevent an organisation opposed to the Central Intelligence Agency going ahead with plans to publish the names of about 70 C.I.A. agents in Europe and Africa.

The group, called Fifth Estate, says it will include the names in the February issue of its magazine *Counterspy*.

The magazine first disclosed the identity of Mr. Richard Welch, head of the C.I.A. operations in Greece, who was shot dead outside his home in Athens on Dec. 23. President Ford has said that publication of Mr. Welch's name was partly responsible for his assassination.

The disenchanted former C.I.A. officials and former anti-Vietnam militants who run Fifth Estate say disclosure of Mr. Welch's identity had nothing to do with his death as he was working under "light cover" and was already well known to the C.I.A.'s enemies.

## Congress move

Names to be published in the next issue of *Counterspy* include those of agents in France, Sweden and Angola, says Mr. Douglas Porter, co-editor of the magazine.

Mr. Larry McDonald, a Georgia Democrat in the House of Representatives, has urged

the Justice Department to investigate the Fifth Estate. His staff conceded yesterday that the Government has no power to keep the magazine quiet.

"We have checked and found there is nothing illegal about publishing the names of C.I.A. agents," said Mr. Kenneth MacKenzie, Mr. McDonald's legislative assistant.

## Protecting sources

"If you leak information about Agriculture Department crop reports it is a criminal offence, but there is nothing in the law about naming people who work for the C.I.A. The C.I.A. director is charged with responsibility to protect the agency's methods and sources but is given no corresponding authority.

"In effect, the protection that has been afforded C.I.A. agents so far is honorary."

Mr. William Colby, the agency's Director, is envious of the British Official Secrets act and has urged Congress several times to pass similar legislation to protect the C.I.A. But congress has been more interested in exposing the agency's covert activities and Mr. Colby's pleas have been disregarded.

Mr. McDonald thinks the murder of Mr. Welch may have changed the mood in Congress, which is now in recess. He plans to offer legislation to include intelligence matters under existing laws prohibiting disclosure of defence secrets.

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# Column 1

## The outfit that spies on the CIA

### Behind closed doors at the 'Fifth Estate'

By John Maclean

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—The telephone calls are handled with a minimum of identification. "Yes," answers a girl's voice.

And after a four-flight ride in an anonymous box elevator, someone calls out from behind a locked door, "Who is it?"

Amid the dinginess of Washington's DuPont Circle neighborhood, the Fifth Estate was just another trendy public interest group. Dreaming dreams of Nader's Raiders, they called themselves "spywatchers" and gathered a mantle of conspiratorial enterprise around themselves to keep off the chill when the rent fell due.

BUT SUDDENLY, THE Fifth Estate was pushed into a harsh spotlight. First, the Central Intelligence Agency and then President Ford fixed responsibility on it for the murder of Richard Welch, the CIA station chief in Athens.

"The CIA is trying to get at its enemies in Congress and in the press by attacking us," says Douglas Porter, a bearded, 25-year-old researcher for Fifth Estate who used to be an anti-war activist.

A statement by the Fifth Estate turns the blame back onto the CIA. "If anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death, it is the CIA that sent him there to spy and perhaps even to intervene in the affairs of the Greek government."

WHAT FIFTH ESTATE did that so infuriated the CIA was to identify Welch as a CIA man in their occasional journal, Counter-Spy, and in an accompanying article to call for the "neutralization" of CIA men abroad.

The "blowing" of Welch's cover CIA spokesmen said, marked him for the three unidentified gunmen who shot him down last week. Even the liberal Washington Post editorialized that the Fifth Estate action may have "set Mr. Welch up for the hit."

But Porter doesn't see it that way. "Welch's cover was blown eight years ago," Porter said, referring to a listing of Welch's name in "Who's Who in CIA," a book published in East Germany in 1967 and generally attributed to the Soviet KGB.

is to report the names of CIA men only after they appear in foreign journals, and never to be the first to blow a cover identity.

"Cover is a very scary game," Porter said. "We won't blow cover the first time."

Welch's murder appeared to vindicate claims by CIA officials that disclosure of their agent's identities would result in killings, and a less effective CIA. This has been a principal concern since former agents like Philip Agee, and congressional committees, like that of Sen. Frank Church [D., Idaho], began attaching names to CIA deeds.

BUT PORTER argues that CIA station chiefs are well known abroad, and only citizens of the U. S. are denied information about their identities. Welch, for example, was identified as CIA station chief in Peru by a Peruvian newspaper [he later was transferred to Greece] before his name was listed in Counter-Spy.

Station chiefs usually operate under "light cover" when attached to embassies abroad, and often can be found in the embassy directories under the listing "office of special assistant to the ambassador," as was Welch. The light cover is an advantage when potential defectors, political activists, and others want to approach the CIA.

But Porter admits using the word "neutralization" in discussing CIA personnel abroad was going too far.

"IF WE PRINTED it today, we wouldn't use the word neutralize," Porter said. "We never figured we were going to have to deal with this kind of flak."

The summer issue of Counter-Spy, in which the Fifth Estate published a list of CIA station chiefs, also included a commentary by Philip Agee.

"The most effective and important systematic efforts to combat CIA that can be undertaken right now are, I think, the identification, exposure, and neutralization of its people working abroad," Agee wrote. "The people themselves will have to decide what they must do to rid themselves of CIA."

PORTER ARGUES THAT Agee merely meant that agents' identities should be exposed. But a 7-year-old with some knowledge of television spy jargon could infer Agee meant kill.

Counter-Spy, which circulates about 3,000 copies among academics and intelligence enthusiasts, carries a regular feature "We Thought You'd Like to Know: CIA Around the World" which includes names, job descriptions, and sometimes photographs of CIA personnel in the U. S. and abroad.

The magazine also has carried articles on CIA's labor ties, the Phoenix program—a CIA-rum program of "interrogation" of Viet Cong suspects, which critics charge was really an assassination program—and other publicly discussed CIA actions.

a "democratic secret police" in the words of the man who collected the seed money, Norman Mailer, the New York City writer.

THE STAFFERS SAY the magazine is not their main enterprise. Fifth Estates Mailer announced the formation of Fifth Estate in an admittedly drunken moment at his 50th birthday party in 1971. The occasion caused more derision



AP Wirephoto

Doug Porter, coeditor of Counter-Spy, says the magazine is not responsible for the murder of CIA agent Richard Welch and plans to print the names of 70 other CIA agents.

than serious discussion, but nonetheless Fifth Estate has kept running for 2½ years since then.

Operating on a budget of less than \$20,000 a year, the organization gets heavily into debt each time Counter-Spy is published, then recoups financial strength from subscriptions [\$6 a year], and direct mail appeals. Mailer donated about \$9,000 over the years, as well as an article titled "The CIA vs Democracy."

ITS THREE ORIGINAL researchers, including Porter, hold other jobs, like bartending. Times got so bad at one point they moved their printing operation in one staff member's basement.

Through it all, journalists dropped by to trade information on the seamy underside of the intelligence world [Porter said the list of station chiefs came from one journalist]. Former intelligence operators who wanted to come out of the closet did so through the Fifth Estate.

The Fifth Estate intends to "hang tough" on the CIA, in Porter's words. Their next issue of Counter-Spy is said to contain names of CIA agents in Angola, France, and Sweden.

"We want to make this issue of intelligence operations endure beyond the chicness of it all," Porter said.

With the murder of Welch, a lot of chicness wore off.

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Form of official secrets act needed

# Law's laxity helped point gun at CIA agent in Athens

By COL. R.D. HEINL JR. USMC (Ret.)  
News Military Analyst

Opinion Page

WASHINGTON — On a marble wall to the right as you enter Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) headquarters at Langley, Va., is a bank of nameless stars — two rows so far: one dedicated to each CIA employe killed in line of duty since 1947. Until Dec. 23 there were 31 stars. Now there will be 32.

Unlike its 31 predecessors, star No. 32 will be forever associated with a name known to the general public. Richard Skeffington Welch, CIA station chief in Athens, was murdered before his wife's eyes by foreign terrorists after having been exposed by a sordid consortium of fellow Americans calling themselves "Fifth Estate" and who devote themselves to the exposure of United States intelligence officers and operations throughout the world.



Col. Heindel

FIFTH ESTATE'S PRINCIPAL medium for unmasking American intelligence is a nasty quarterly pamphlet entitled CounterSpy. CounterSpy, with the aid of CIA defector Philip Agee, who heads Fifth Estate's advisory board, has to date published the identities of 225 CIA agents or officers as well as those of 150 agency station chiefs — such as Welch — now serving overseas.

Agee, who has publicly admitted ties with the Cuban Communist Party, is author of "CIA Diary," a KGB-supported expose of the CIA. He is by his own admission staying abroad to avoid U.S. prosecution.

Besides Agee, Fifth Estate's squalid roster (see the accompanying box) presents a choice selection of some of the gamiest names long associated with what the group describes as "adversary efforts" of the new left. In all cases, the adversary they are attacking is the United States.

The U.S. agencies and functions these persons have consecrated themselves to destroying or dismembering are those broadly dedicated to the common defenses: the intelligence community, the armed forces and the so-called "military-industrial complex," which in better times Franklin Roosevelt called "the arsenal for democracy."

It is hardly accidental that the prime targets of these individuals and the ceditious organizations they are associated with are, likewise, prime targets of the Kremlin and Russia's KGB, with whom Agee has been linked.

It would be easy and simplistic, but in no way unfair or untruthful, to blame Fifth Estate and its people and their faceless backers — all of them, save by technicalities of the law, classifiable in the common understanding of the word, "traitor" — and leave this horrible crime on their doorstep, where it belongs.

After all, it was Fifth Estate which has intentionally published what its principals well knew was a "hit list." Richard Welch was on the list. He was hit.

But the blood of Richard Welch spreads a lot farther. It spreads to Capitol Hill, to some members of the U.S. judiciary, to influential segments of the media.

Ever since Dec. 22, 1974, when the New York Times declared war on the intelligence community through a series of shotgun charges by its anti-defense correspondent, Seymour Hersh, the last year has been open season against the intelligence organizations and capabilities of the United States, with the CIA being fed through the shredders of publicity-hungry congressional investigators, staffs and members of both House and Senate.

In a disgusting series of exposures for exposure's sake — different in motive but not in principle from Fifth Estate — the sanctimonious Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, and his Democratic colleagues have bartered state secrets, including identities of CIA personnel, for partisan political advantage in an election year. Rep. Otis Pike, CIA's tormentor in the House, along with that congressional "Broomhilda," Bella Abzug, is only better than Church in his refreshing lack of hypocrisy and sanctimony.

Among the judiciary (who are going all out to gag publication of news regarding criminal trials) may be included two U.S. district judges, Albert V. Bryan and Gerhard Gesell, both of whom, despite anguished pleas, stripped away the classification and authorized publication of intelligence names, techniques and secrets either in commercial print or legislative reports.

Judge Bryan's decision is a hit list in itself.

One organization the public would tend to blame for the Welch murder should, paradoxically, be acquitted. Veteran intelligence officers would be highly surprised if the KGB had any direct hand in wiping out Welch. "We and the KGB don't kill each other," explained one experienced agent. "It causes unnecessary difficulties both ways and just makes the game too risky."

There is one final lesson to be derived from this contemptible crime. That is the immediate need for legislation to protect the intelligence community and its people and its secrets from betrayal.

THE UNITED STATES IS THE only major country — the only Western democracy, for that matter — in the world without some type of official secrets act, the title of the British statute governing such matters. Whether we need or would want to live with a comprehensive law modeled even on that of fair-minded Britain is a larger question.

There is no question at all, however, that specific protection is urgently required in law to deal with despicable provocateurs, such as those of Fifth Estate, and to draw lines of responsibility beyond which Congress, courts and media must learn to exercise common discretion.

How many more names on Fifth Estate's, or Sen. Church's, or Judge Bryan's hit lists have to be murdered before Congress and the country decide to act?

# THE FRONT PAGE

By Rudy Maxa

## AFTERMATH: THE FIFTH ESTATE

"We must see how far our paranoia is justified," mumbled a "hint too drunk" Norman Mailer at a raucous Manhattan party nearly two years ago. The occasion: the macho scribe's 50th birthday and the birth of a new organization, the Fifth Estate, which would uncover the extent of the intelligence community's role in America. In fact, despite its shaky beginning, Fifth Estate did headquarter in Washington and did begin a quarterly magazine that only stopped publishing this year when funds ran low. Then the research arm of the group formed a separate non-profit group, the Intelligence Documentation Center, which has—through successful Freedom of Information Act requests—brought

you news recently of Navy Intelligence's spying on civilians and the military's quiet role handling the siege at Wounded Knee.

Footnote: Fifth Estate's finances have improved and Porter says its magazine will reappear next month. On the group's board: Intelligence hounds Victor Marchetti, retired Col. Fletcher Prouty, Philip Agee, Marcus Raskin, Mark Lane and William Turner.

And you thought he was famous: at the Pacem In Terris conference a few weeks ago, a dinner table partner asked the CIA's high spy: "And Mr. Colby, what do you do for a living?" . . .

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# CIA Agent's Murder Spurs Accusations

By Laurence Stern  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The murder of Central Intelligence Agency station chief Richard S. Welch in Athens on Tuesday touched off an exchange of accusations yesterday between CIA Director William E. Colby and a Washington-based intelligence muckraking organization, Fifth Estate.

Responding to attacks by former CIA agent David Phillips, Fifth Estate said yesterday that "if anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death, it is the CIA that sent him there to spy, and perhaps even to intervene in the affairs of the Greek government."

Colby's only public statement on the Welch murder was a response to the Fifth Estate's mimeographed statement issued at its headquarters in the Dupont Circle area.

"The so-called Counterspy of the Fifth Estate, without even an expression of human sympathy," said Colby, "has issued a statement which can only be called a shocking attempt to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible and paranoid attack on other Americans serving their country here and abroad."

"I am sure that true Americans will repudiate this cynical statement," Colby said.

Other intelligence officials cited the publication of Welch's name in the organ of the Fifth Estate, "Counter-

Spy", as chief of station in Lima, Peru. Welch's name was mentioned in the spring, summer and winter issues of Counter-Spy.

"This was a hit list," said one official. "It is the first time one American fingered another to be rubbed out."

In the marble entrance hall at CIA headquarters in Langley there are 31 stars on display representing that many employees who have lost their lives in the line of duty since the establishment of the agency in 1947. Few, if any, of them were of Welch's high rank.

Welch was shot to death by three masked gunmen outside his home after returning from a Christmas party at the residence of U.S. Ambassador Jack B. Kubisch. As of last night U.S. officials reported no progress in finding the assassins.

"It was a symbolic assassination," said one U.S. diplomat, suggesting that the target might have been anyone in the American establishment.

Welch's name, along with that of other embassy officials was published on Nov. 25 in the Athens Daily News, an English-language publication. In that list, Welch was identified as a CIA agent. The CIA station chief's residence is well known in Athens.

In Washington as the President and State Department issued statements of regret there were efforts at various levels to link the murder of Welch with prior publication of his name in Counter-Spy as well as with general criticism of the agency.

There was also the expectation that the murder of Welch could create a backlash of reaction to criticisms of CIA activities by the congressional select committees looking into CIA excesses.

Tim Butz, a spokesman for the Fifth Estate, said yesterday that the name of Welch had first been brought to the attention of his organization by two Maryknoll missionaries who saw it in a Peruvian provincial newspaper last year.

They checked the name in the State Department biographic register and became convinced from the pattern of Welch's assignments and his Foreign Service status that he was a CIA officer.

He was listed in the winter, 1975, edition of "Counter-Spy" as CIA chief of station in Lima, Peru. His address was given as the U.S. embassy in Lima.

A large number of the names of CIA officials which come to the organization, said Butz, are taken from foreign newspapers and are checked out by the research staff of Fifth Estate.

There is no one around here doing any victory dances today," Butz said of the group which attacked his



RICHARD S. WELCH  
...slain in Athens

want to see anyone shot. But our purpose is to give people an idea of the strength and influence of the CIA as it moves people from country to country."

Fifth Estate describes itself as "an adversary organization" to the U.S. intelligence establishment which is devoted to "discovering abuses of power" by police and intelligence authorities.

David Phillips, head of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers and a friend of Welch, was critical not only of the publication of names in Counter-Spy but also of the activities of Philip B. F. Agee, former CIA clandestine operations officer who described the activities and identities of CIA operatives in his book, "Inside the Company."

Agee is quoted in the winter Counter-Spy as saying that "the most effective and important systematic efforts to combat the CIA that can be undertaken right now are, I think, the identification, exposure and neutralization of its people working abroad."

Fifth Estate has already published the names of some 225 CIA employees, including lists of operatives released by Agee in England, where he resides. It compiled and listed the names of 150 station chiefs around the world this year.

Its next publication will include the names of CIA officials serving in Angola, in the large Paris station and in

The Danish newspaper Information last July published a list of U.S.

Neither the CIA nor the Fifth Estate could state yesterday that the list published in the Athens Daily News last month was derived from Counter-Spy. A spokesman for the newspaper said it came from an organization calling itself "The Committee of Greeks and Greek-Americans."

The CIA has played a controversial role in Greek domestic politics since the days of the civil war in the late 1940s. American intelligence officials were influential in forming the Greek counterpart of CIA, known by its initials KYP.

The CIA was strongly identified in Greece with the military junta that seized power in 1967 and ruled until July, 1974. Although no direct links were ever established between the CIA and the April, 1967, coup, most of the coup leaders were high-ranking members of KYP.

Welch had served in Cyprus in the early 1960s but is not believed to have previously served in Greece.

Some six months ago he replaced Stacey Hulse Jr. as chief of station in Athens. Hulse has previously been identified in public media and his professional identity was known to Greek governmental and political insiders.

LOS ANGELES TIMES  
25 December 1975

# Colby Confirms Slain Diplomat Was CIA Agent

From Times Wire Services

Outgoing Central Intelligence Agency Director William E. Colby Wednesday described an intelligence agent murdered in Athens as a "dedicated American" and criticized as "paranoiac" those who had revealed his identity.

Colby released an unusual statement in Washington in response to one from an obscure Washington publication, Counterspy, which recently identified Richard S. Welch as a CIA station chief.

Welch, officially listed as a diplomat with the U.S. Embassy, was shot to death outside his home Tuesday night.

Welch's name, Athens address and home telephone number were published recently in the English-language Athens news along with the identities of other alleged CIA agents in Greece.

In the past, the CIA has never said who works or has worked for it in covert operations, but Colby's comment confirmed that Welch was one of those persons.

The editors of Counterspy, in a statement, denied allegations from the U.S. intelligence community that the publication was responsible for Welch's death. They said more such incidents may occur "if the CIA continues to intervene in the affairs of other countries."

Colby said this was a "shocking attempt to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for... irresponsible and paranoiac attacks" against intelligence operatives.

In Athens, meanwhile, Greek authorities posted extra guards to protect all American and Russian diplomats. Police sources said there were no clues to the identity of the three masked killers.

All border points and international airports were put under tight surveillance for any attempt by Welch's assailants to leave the country.

Welch was shot at almost point-blank range as he stepped from his official embassy car in front of his suburban Athens villa. He and his wife were returning from the ambassador's Christmas party.

The driver of his car, told police that one of the gunmen, who wore handkerchiefs over their faces had spoken briefly to Welch in Greek before shots rang out and Welch fell to the ground.

He was taken to a hospital but died shortly after his arrival. His wife, Maria, and his driver, Evenghelos Chrysochoas, were unharmed. Police took the driver to Athens International Airport to look over departing passengers.

Counterspy, which an organization called Fifth Estate created three years ago as an anti-Vietnam war publication, said it had identified Welch as a CIA station chief in Lima, Peru, but that "his subsequent move to Greece was unknown to us and we have had no contact with the Greek newspaper that identified him."

"Mr. Welch died as a direct result of the worldwide hostility that the CIA has helped generate against the United States," Counterspy said. "As a CIA agent, he knew that his role in coordinating CIA operations, be they in Peru or Greece, could some day lead to his death. It is a fact of life in such organizations."

"If anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death, it is the CIA that sent him there to spy and perhaps even to intervene in the affairs of the Greek government."

Colby responded: "The so-called Counterspy, of the Fifth Estate, without even an expression of human sympathy, has issued a statement which can only be called a shocking attempt to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible paranoiac attacks."

"I am sure that true Americans will repudiate this cynical statement."

Other U.S. intelligence sources said

Counterspy's identification of Welch had "set him up" for murder.

"It was not difficult to link Welch's former Lima CIA connection with his more recent post in Athens," one source said. "So, he was a marked man."

Another source said bitterly: "He was fingered."

David A. Phillips, a CIA veteran who worked with Welch in South America, said:

"Welch was a brilliant multilingual officer and scholar. Without question he was one of the most prominent of the younger senior officials in the agency. All indications were that he was destined to be one of the very senior officials in the agency."

Phillips, head of the Assn. of Retired Intelligence Officers, was critical not only of the publication of names in Counterspy but of the activities of Philip B. F. Agee, a former CIA clandestine operations officer who described the activities and identities of CIA operatives in his book, "Inside the Company."

Agee is quoted in the winter Counterspy as saying that "the most effective and important systematic efforts to combat the CIA that can be undertaken right now are, I think, the identification, exposure and neutralization of its people working abroad."

Fifth Estate has already published the names of 225 CIA employees, including lists of operatives released by Agee in England, where he resides. It compiled and listed the names of 150 station chiefs around the world this year.

Welch's death added new fuel to a bitter controversy that has raged for months over how far congressional investigative committees should go in disclosing what they have found out about the activities—many of them admittedly highly questionable—of the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

Last month, the Senate Intelligence Committee, in an interim report detailing CIA involvement in foreign assassination plots, named some of the persons involved despite a last-minute appeal from Colby that it could endanger them.

Welch was not among those named in the report.

# Greeks' Search for Killers Of C.I.A. Man Unfruitful

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATHENS, Dec. 24—The Greek Government apparently made little progress today in the search for the killers of Richard S. Welch, the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency in Greece.

Mr. Welch was shot down last night in front of his home in suburban Athens after returning from a Christmas party given by Jack B. Kubisch, the American Ambassador here. Well-informed sources described the attack today as a "professional job." There were few clues to the assailants' identity.

Mr. Welch's driver reportedly told the police that the killers had addressed him in Greek before opening fire, but the driver later said he was not sure.

Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis interrupted his Christmas vacation on the island of Corfu and ordered an intensive investigation of the crime. The Prime Minister has been trying to dampen anti-American sentiment here, partly because Greece wants to attract American tourists and investment.

The Greek Government issued a statement that said:

"The cowardly murderers do not belong, at least spiritually, to the Greek people, whose honor and national interests they aimed to offend."

**U.S. Blamed for Military Rule**

Anti-American feelings here are rooted in the pervasive belief that Washington in general, and the C.I.A. in particular, helped install and support the military regime that ruled Greece for more than seven years. Many Greeks also believe the United States helped to organize the coup d'état against President Makarios of Cyprus in July 1974, and blame Washington for not stopping the Turkish invasion of Cyprus that followed.

Even some Americans who share the Greek criticism of Washington's foreign policy were bitter and angry today. Some expressed the view that Greece's tendency to blame outsiders for all its problems was not only inaccurate and unfair but helped create a climate that contributed to the murder of Mr. Welch.

In the absence of specific information about the slaying, speculation was rampant. Greek newspapers received phone calls from a group that said it was made up of rightist military officers and that it was responsible for the crime. The police seemed unimpressed, however.

Other analysts suspected leftist elements, and pointed out that newspapers here had recently received, and published, a list of C.I.A. agents in Athens with their addresses and phone numbers.

Andreas Papandreou, the Socialist leader, and several newspapers said today that the killers were probably persons trying to provoke trouble between the United States and Greece. Others linked the crime with the assassinations of two Turkish ambassadors several months ago or with the kidnaping of oil ministers in Vienna this week.

**Conflicting Accounts**

The two witnesses — Mrs. Welch and the driver — apparently gave conflicting accounts. One said the killers had followed the Welch car, the other thought that an ambush had been set up at the house. They apparently agreed that three masked men had approached Mr. Welch as he got out of the car, that he was shot with a pistol and that the killers sped away in a dark-colored car.

Mr. Welch, who was 46 years old, had three children, aged 21, 20 and 17. Two were studying in Britain and the other in the United States.

The intelligence officer was officially listed as a special assistant to the ambassador, but his identity as the chief C.I.A. official here was widely known. After graduating from Harvard in 1951, he apparently joined the intelligence agency and served here during the 1950's. Mr. Welch was stationed in Cyprus from 1960 to 1964 and then spent 11 years in Latin America before returning to Greece last summer.

A witty and scholarly man, Mr. Welch was known for his familiarity with the classics and his fluency in both ancient and modern Greek. At a recent party, a woman told him that he was supposedly the second-best speaker of Greek in the American Embassy.

"Excuse me," he replied, "I am not second best, I am the best."

**Ford Extends Sympathy**

VAIL, Colo., Dec. 24 (Reuters) — President Ford today sent his condolences and sympathy to Mrs. Welch in Athens.

In his message, the President told her: "His dedicated service to his country and faultless contribution to United States foreign policy objectives throughout his career will never be forgotten."

"In your time of grief, you have the deep sympathy of a grateful American people and their President."

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger also sent a message of condolences to Mrs. Welch.

**C.I.A. Blamed for Death**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24 — A group called The Fifth Estate issued a long statement today charging that "if anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death it is the C.I.A. that sent him there to spy, perhaps even to intervene in the affairs of the Greek Government."

The Fifth Estate is a three-year-old organization of former intelligence agents and others now associated with the anti-war movement who have dedicated themselves to "exposing the criminality" of clandestine C.I.A. operators around the world.

Last winter The Fifth Estate's occasional publication, called Counterspy, identified Mr. Welch as a leading C.I.A. agent.

William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, denounced The Fifth Estate's statement today as "shocking." In an unusual declaration — the C.I.A. has traditionally refrained from naming its clandestine agents in public even after their deaths — he said:

"The so-called Counterspy of The Fifth Estate, without even an expression of human sympathy, has issued a statement which can only be called a shocking attempt to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible and paranoiac attack on other Americans serving their country here and abroad."

# Colby, Critics Trade Charges in Blame for Welch's Slaying

By Norman Kempster  
Washington Star Staff Writer

Although Athens police have been unable so far to identify the three gunmen who murdered CIA station chief Richard S. Welch outside his home near the Greek capital, CIA Director William E. Colby and an anti-CIA group called Fifth Estate have blamed each other for the killing.

Welch's body will be flown to the United States for burial in the Washington area, although just where is in doubt. The agency wants to use Arlington National Cemetery but the Pentagon is reluctant to permit that because Welch was not in the regular military service.

A spokesman for Joseph Gawler's aid yesterday the funeral directors had been asked by the State Department to handle arrangements. But he said no cemetery had been selected.

ALTHOUGH WELCH was the CIA's top operative in Greece, he was carried on government records as an assistant to Ambassador Jack Kubich. Most top CIA officers abroad use such "light cover," posing as

diplomats. Usually the CIA refuses to even acknowledge that they are agency employes.

Welch was killed Tuesday night, just nine days after his 46th birthday. He leaves his wife, two grown sons and a teen-aged daughter. But such details seem far removed from the dispute that treats his death as symbolic rather than personal.

"Mr. Welch died as a direct result of the worldwide hostility that the CIA has helped generate against the United States," Fifth Estate said in a statement. "As a CIA agent, he knew that his role in coordinating CIA operations, be they in Peru or Greece, could someday lead to his death. It is a fact of life in such organizations."

Colby responded with a statement of his own: "The

Fifth Estate, without even an expression of human sympathy, has issued a statement which can only be called a shocking attempt to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible and paranoid attack on other Americans serving their country here and abroad."

IT IS UNUSUAL, although not unprecedented, for a CIA director to issue a press release on any subject. It is still rarer for him to reply by name to an obscure organization which is virtually unknown beyond the intelligence community and its most dedicated critics.

Fifth Estate operates out of a small and cluttered suite of offices near Dupont Circle. It is avowedly opposed to many of the activities of the CIA, FBI and other intelligence agencies. It publishes a quarterly journal called "Counter-spy," which is dedicated to exposing the methods employed by the agencies.

Fifth Estate has an "advisory board" that includes Philip Agee, the self-exiled former CIA officer who wrote a book naming CIA officials and exposing foreign officials who have cooperated with the agency; Anthony Russo, the former RAND Corp. employe who helped Daniel Ellsberg leak the Pentagon Papers; Victor Marchetti, co-author of "CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," David Dellinger, the Vietnam war critic and Chicago Seven defendant, and Mark Lane, one of the earliest critics of the findings of the Warren Commission.

In its issue a year ago, Counter-spy published the names of the CIA chiefs of station in more than 100 cities from La Paz to Kathmandu. At that time, Welch was chief of station in Lima, Peru.

SEVERAL WEEKS ago, an English-language newspaper in Greece, the Athens News, published the names of several CIA operatives in Greece. Welch was among them. There is no known connection between Fifth Estate and the Athens News.

Shortly after Welch was killed, David A. Phillips, a retired CIA official who often reflects the views of the agency, said the death "represents the tragic kinds of occurrences which became inevitable when Mr. Agee initiated and others associated themselves with the sordid practice of identifying American intelligence officers overseas."

Fifth Estate issued its statement in response to Phillips and the agency sources.

"If anyone is to blame for Mr. Welch's death, it is the CIA that sent him there to spy and perhaps intervene in the affairs of the Greek government," Fifth Estate said. "After the Athens

News publicly identified him, there was no excuse for the CIA to keep him there. The blood of Mr. Welch is on the hands of the CIA and not on the pages of Counter-spy."

"If the CIA continues to intervene in the affairs of other countries, similar events may occur. We are not the people responsible for those occurrences, however. The CIA, with its murderers and torturers, has now added the blood of one of its own to the long list of victims."

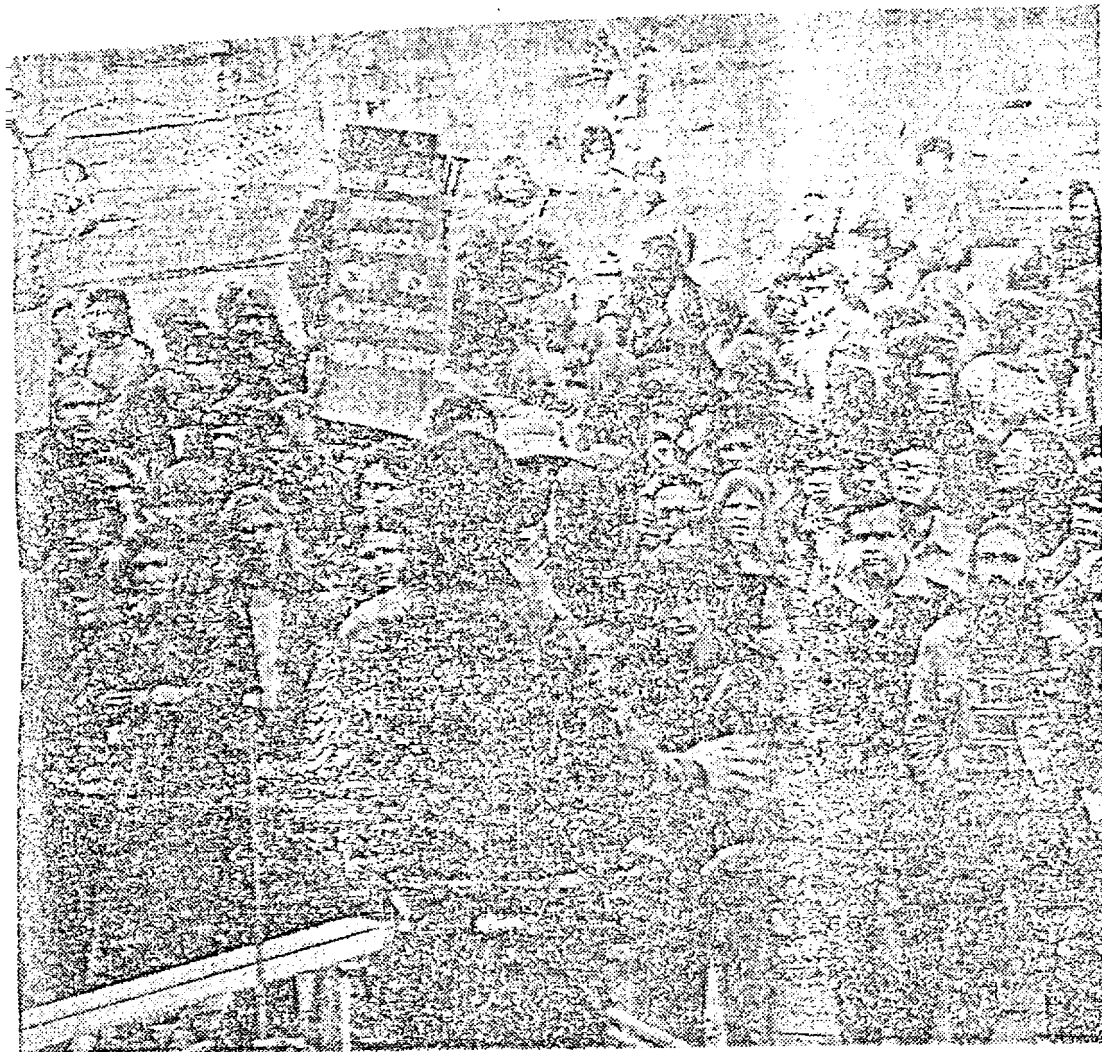
THE CIA is not popular among large segments of the Greek population because it is widely suspected of working closely with the dictatorship that was deposed in the summer of 1974. For this reason, the Athens station chief may have more reason to hope to preserve his "cover" than operatives in other cities.

But sources familiar with the operations of the CIA said the station chief is usually known to enough officials of the host government to make perfect secrecy impossible.

The CIA is usually much more concerned with protecting the identities of spies who are posing as businessmen or even as officials of another government. These individuals, known as "deep cover" agents, are known to far fewer people outside of the agency than the station chief.

THE MICHIGAN DAILY

12 November 1975



Daily Photo by PAULINE LUBENS  
A RED SMOKE FLARE floats over the protestors at yesterday's anti-CIA rally while former military intelligence employe Gary Thomas addresses the crowd. Nearly 500 people assembled on the Diag for the demonstration which was organized by the Ann Arbor Teach-In committee and the Fifth Estate.

## NOON RALLY FILLS DIAG:

# 500 protest CIA

By DAVID GARFINKEL

A noon rally drew over 500 persons to the Diag yesterday to protest the CIA, National Security Agency (NSA), Senate bill S-1 and police surveillance of civilians.

Hailed by its organizers as "the first visible sign of a new student movement," the demonstration was designed to coincide with the CIA's campus recruitment scheduled to begin yesterday. The CIA cancelled,

ned.

ATTEMPTS by several persistent hecklers to disrupt the demonstration failed to fluster the five speakers or antagonize the largely receptive crowd during the hour-long rally.

Opening the event, rally spokeswoman Collen Chavin said, "We've noticed that there are men in suits tearing our

She reported that applications for the CIA have risen 200 per cent over the last two months

and accused the agency of exploiting the nation's high unemployment rate by taking advantage of the jobless public.

"WE DON'T want to have anything to do with them" she said, drawing applause from the crowd.

Chavin was followed by Gary Thomas, a former employe of the U.S. military intelligence in Germany and Vietnam, who said of his previous work, "It was the grossest exploitation of people I've ever seen."

"This clandestine mentality is a historical phenomenon — it didn't develop in a vacuum, it didn't develop overnight," Thomas added, while a red smoke flare set off during his speech floated over the Diag crowd.

JEFF LARK, SOC representative and member of the Student Organizing Committee (SOC) focused on the University's relations with the CIA, criticizing that alliance and the University's order of priorities.

"I'd say we reorder our priorities to put education at the top of the list, not research," he said.

Lark said University officials with whom he has spoken have answered his policy questions by terming them necessary to maintain the University's prestige.

"PRESTIGE?" Lark asked, after reciting a long list of his own definitions, "That's having the balls to tell the CIA and the NSA we don't want you on our campus."

Diana Autin of the Coalition to Stop S-1 spoke after Lark and called the Senate bill "anti-parole, anti-probation and pro-imprisonment."

The proposed act, which she said greatly increases the scope of law enforcement practices, is particularly dangerous since "the CIA and the FBI always go about ten legal steps beyond the law."

WINSLOW PECK, a former employe of the NSA, followed Autin and elaborated on S-1 saying, "If this law is passed, everyone here could be put in jail."

Peck classified the CIA and the NSA as "part and parcel of an organization that is waging an imperialist war against the people of the world . . . against you."

Peck said the University has a long history of co-operation with the U.S. intelligence community.

Last on the list of speakers was Dave Riddle, of the Citizens Committee to End Political Surveillance, who discussed local police surveillance, particularly in Detroit.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER  
15 October 1975

## A Gadfly Buzzes In To Bug Police, Etc.

Timothy C. Butz, alias Tim Butz, 28, an unlikely looking gadfly on the quivering flank of the intelligence community, came here yesterday to pester the CIA, FBI and "police-political intelligence operations."

Butz, a founder of Fifth Estate, publishers of Counter-Spy magazine, says the Central Intelligence Agency ought to be dismantled.

Here on a speaking tour, Butz said in an interview yesterday that neither the nation nor the world needs more "covert operations" like the attempted destabilization of Chile.

Butz, according to his FBI dossier, is 5-7½, 185 pounds, brown hair, blue eyes, Caucasian, born 11-29-47 in Akron, Ohio.

He was at Kent State University when four fellow students were killed by National Guard units, and he has been associated with the antiwar movement ever since.

In addition to a quarter-inch-thick dossier, the FBI has advised him it has 151 other files which mention Butz.

The bureau's information includes records of his trip to South Vietnam in 1970 for a pacifist group, and to Cuba in 1972 to attend the "Third Symposium Against U.S. Genocide in Vietnam."

The CIA, for its part, has amassed intelligence information on Butz which he says is an example of the kind of domestic spying he wants stopped.

A document Butz says he got from the CIA under the Freedom of Information Act says Butz carried out most of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War organizing for capital demonstrations on inauguration day, 1973.

Why the CIA was gathering domestic intelligence on President Nixon's inauguration has not been explained, says Butz, who adds the report itself is not wholly accurate.

Butz says Fifth Estate has a budget of about \$50,000 a year — from subscriptions to Counter-Spy and from financial angels who include Norman Mailer — and a paid (\$100-a-week) staff of six in Washington, D.C.

Using recruiting and security clearance techniques which are standard with the intelligence agencies it criticizes, Fifth Estate has established a national network of about 250 "contacts" who perform local research on intelligence activities.

Their current assignment — gather all data on police intelligence and special weapons and tactics teams, he says.

Butz says Fifth Estate now will probe domestic police operations, because of their "increased militarization" and their use in labor disputes.

FBI training of 400 teams of local police in the nation reflects a trend toward "military solutions for law enforcement problems," he says.

Butz was brought to Seattle by the National Lawyers Guild, whose local chapter he'll address tomorrow at 7:30 p.m. at the University Congregational Church.

He speaks to the public tonight at 7:30 at the Central Area Motivation Project Firehouse, 722-18th Ave.



HUMAN EVENTS  
30 August 1975

Many Americans Lend Support

## Will Worldwide Communist Drive Overthrow Chilean Government?

By VICTOR LASKY

25X1

The worldwide Communist movement, in a propaganda offensive directed from Moscow, has launched a major campaign aimed not only at toppling the military junta currently ruling Chile but seeking to reinstate the same kind of Marxist-Leninist leadership which brought that South American nation to the brink of economic and social chaos.

In this campaign, the Communists as usual have allies in so-called "progressive forces" in the Western world ranging from knee-jerk liberals in the media and elsewhere to influential members of both houses of the United States Congress. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to brand all these critics as "enemies of Chile" or Marxists. Many are honestly confused by clever propaganda.

And the counter-Communist message of the Chilean government rarely gets through to the peoples of the world.

The Communist campaign has already scored some phenomenal successes. Top Chilean Communists or their fellow travellers have been cleared for admission to this country as "refugees," despite the fact that federal immigration statutes specifically bar aliens with Communist backgrounds from coming here. After all, as the writers of these statutes had reasoned, we have enough Communists in this country without importing more exotic varieties.

It's not as if these "refugees" have no other place to go. But for some reason they'd rather come to this citadel of fascist imperialism" and enjoy bourgeois delights than settle in what presumably are their spiritual homelands behind the Iron Curtain. After all, it's much easier to mount a propaganda campaign against the Chilean government from New York than it is from Moscow.

But probably the greatest success scored by the anti-Chilean lobby has been the pressuring of the State Department into adopting positions antagonistic to the interests of the counter-Communist leadership of that country.

The feeling among the bureaucrats in Foggy Bottom is that Chile has not gone far enough in restoring full democratic rights to its people. Moreover, Henry Kissinger is constantly being reminded of his role in helping bring down the pro-Soviet regime of Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens. Exactly how much of a role Kissinger (and, for that matter, the United States) played in the events of September 1973 is still subject to dispute. The secretary was reliably quoted as having said, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch Chile go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

Kissinger, who was then national security adviser to President Nixon, made that statement at a White House meeting of the super-secret Forty Committee, an interdepartmental panel re-

activities. The date was June 27, 1970. Kissinger was then riding high.

Less than five years later, there was a sharp turn in public opinion. As a result of the debacle in Vietnam and Watergate, a considerable body of influential liberal opinion, including media elements, turned against the Harvard professor whose meteoric rise to supercelebrity status had astonished even him. Chinks in the Kissinger armor were now constantly being explored. A major issue raised against Kissinger—by now secretary of state—was Chile. The argument was that, because of Kissinger's machinations, authoritarian rule had taken over in Santiago, the capital of Chile.

And this has caused Secretary Kissinger extreme anguish. The secretary just can't abide criticism, particularly from outspoken liberals. Concerned over their reproaches, the guilt-ridden secretary has adopted a stern posture towards Chile's anti-Communist leaders who, he contends, should begin easing their admittedly tough treatment of revolutionaries. Thus, under his direction, the State Department made a unilateral decision to bar Chile from making cash purchases of certain much-needed military items.

Now, there can be no argument about the fact that Chile's ruling junta now headed by Army Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte did suspend much of the nation's civil liberties following the military takeover. And for good reason, according to official spokesmen. The nation was riddled with left-wing guerrillas, many of whom had stashed away vast stores of Soviet-bloc arms smuggled in from Cuba.

# Critics 'declare war on the CIA

By Col. R.D. HEINL JR.  
(USMC-Ret.)  
News Military Analyst

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the entire American intelligence community is under siege by articulate, loosely affiliated groups whose theme is "the CIA must be abolished."

The objective was stated recently by Philip Agee, a CIA officer for 12 years who now lives abroad, possibly in fear of prosecution because of his exposure of CIA personnel and operations in Latin America. He made his statement over the British Broadcasting Corp.'s TV network.

In addition to Agee, whom U.S. intelligence officers now describe as "a defector," the anti-CIA coalition includes other ex-CIA officers, ex-government officials, congressmen, journalists, lawyers and an anti-establishment fringe.

The attacks by members of this faction are supported in varying degrees by a range of organizations including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), anti-military "think tanks" and one group calling itself the "Fifth Estate," devoted to exposing CIA operations where possible.

Short of abolishing the CIA, the agency's attackers demand full disclosure of all information, however sensitive.

The reason most advanced, at least in public, by the critics who want to eliminate the CIA is that the agency is on the wrong side in a struggle between "reactionary" U.S. policies that frustrate "revolutionary" efforts in the Third World and forces they describe as socialist.

If the CIA had not been as successful in its operations, it presumably would not today be under such attack:

At a Washington press conference last week, Winslow Peck, once a U.S. code-breaker and now an official of Fifth Estate, said that the CIA "has far surpassed" Russia's KGB in the "enormity", scope and success of its worldwide operations.

Possibly because of its successes, the CIA always has been the target of Communist propaganda around the world and a target of Third World leaders and opposition groups.

It provides what a Brookings Institution fellow, Dr. Ernest M. Lefever, has called "a convenient devil image for their problems and frustrations."

The central actors in the present CIA campaign appear to be two ex-agency officers and authors of anti-CIA books, Philip Agee and Victor Marchetti; Rep. Michael J. Harrington, D-Mass. (whose security clearance the House Armed Services Committee last week suspended); journalists Seymour Hersh and Tom Wicker; and former National Security Council analyst Seymour Halperin, who this year taught at the Kremlin's American Studies Center.

The anti-CIA constituency in Congress, which attacked Rep. Lucien Nedzi, D-Detroit, for refusing to publicize debarable though long-past agency practices, includes Reps. Bella Abzug, Elizabeth Holtzman, Herman Badillo, Mario Biaggi, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Robert N. Giatino, Edward I. Koch and Ronald Dellums.

Dellums last week co-sponsored a Washington prepublication briefing dealing with the forthcoming American edition of Philip Agee's "CIA Diary," to which the California Democrat invited all 435 House members. None attended.

The apparent collaboration among CIA critics began to take shape in late 1974. The opening was the unauthorized disclosure (now the subject of investigation by the House Ethics Committee) by Rep. Harrington of secret congressional testimony by CIA Director William E. Colby.

Colby's information, dealing with CIA activity in Chile, was then leaked to reporters Laurence Stern (Washington Post) and Hersh (New York Times).

Harrington's CIA exposures in September, 1974, were timed to precede by one week the Washington "Conference on the CIA and Cover Actions."

This symposium was sponsored by the anti-CIA Center for National Security Studies, which is funded by three left-leaning foundations, Field, Stern and Abelard, as well as the Fund for Peace.

The center also co-sponsored the widely attended and publicized conference "CIA and World Peace," held at Yale in April, starring Rep. Harrington and Marchetti and the widow of Chilean President Salvador Allende, who committed suicide when the military overthrew his Marxist regime.

The New York Times in December ran three weeks of charges (mainly of allegedly illegal and massive domestic espionage) by Hersh. These articles sparked the Rockefeller Commission and pending investigations of the CIA in Congress.

About the same time as the Hersh stories came two highly damaging anti-CIA books.

They are Victor Marchetti's "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," a 397-page exposure the agency was partially successful in fighting through the courts, and Agee's "CIA Diary," published in Britain.

What the anti-CIA coalition seems to be trying to do may be summed up as follows:

○ To expose the agency, its operations, its people and its friends; and, by exposure, to embarrass, frustrate and endanger it.

○ To defame the CIA, weaken its reputation and standing both abroad and at home, and — using a favorite word and concept of the KGB — to "disinform" both this country and the world about the CIA.

○ As an ultimate objective, to displace the CIA as an effective "third arm" of the United States in conduct of defense and foreign policy.

One of the agency's defenders, columnist William F. Buckley Jr., recently wrote of the anti-CIA faction that "what they are seeking to do to the CIA is what the KGB would like to do to the United States of America, namely humiliate her."

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8 APRIL 1975

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# CIA's 'ball of wax' melts

By ALAN HIGBIE

and  
BRIAN BRANAGAN  
of the Cardinal Staff

The CIA sent at least one intelligence officer to the University "spot potential people to recruit," according to former high-ranking CIA operations officer Phillip Agee.

Agee said that L. Keith Gardner, a CIA operations officer in Brazil during the mid-1960's, told him in early 1972 he was being sent to the University of Wisconsin to head the agency in the fall of 1972. He was apparently the first deputy Director of Planning (DDP) officer to be sent back for further university study.

UNIVERSITY RECORDS show that Gardner received a Master's degree in Ibero-American Studies in May, 1973.

When phoned at his Falls Church, Va. home for comment, Gardner said, "I'm sorry, I just can't talk about it without undoing the whole ball of wax."

Agee is the author of CIA Diary, a personal history of covert activities undertaken by the CIA in Latin America. He said Gardner was sent to Paris in 1972 by former CIA Director Richard Helms to discourage him from writing the book. Agee and Penguin Books have not yet published the book in the U.S. because they fear it will be censored.

Agee wrote of Gardner's visit, dated January, 1972: "I decided to develop a bluff that might convince the Agency that there is nothing they can do to stop publication of the book. I told Gardner that I have completed an oversized draft that I am now sitting down to appropriate size—the truth being that I have completed less than one-third of my research . . .

"Gardiner told me that in September of this year he will enter the University of Wisconsin for a Master's Degree in Latin American studies—the first time a DDP operations officer has been sent for higher university study that either of us can remember. Then, again pointedly, he asked if I might reveal his name so as to expose him at the university. I assured him I wouldn't and suggested that while studying he keep in mind the possibility of

joining the fight against the CIA and American imperialism."

CONTACTED IN Cornwall, England, Agee said, "There have been others that have been sent, other than Gardner, to infiltrate university area studies departments. They study there so they can do the work in their assigned area that much better—they are also assigned to spot potential people to recruit for the CIA. Not necessarily as career people, but that would be included."

He said Gardner's value to the CIA during his stay in Madison would be as much in "spotting" as in academic work.

Doug Porter, of the Fifth Estate (a CIA watchdog group), said the CIA has made an attempt in recent years to utilize university area studies programs as a cover because the old State Dept. cover "is wearing thin."

He added that the new academic cover could serve two purposes. "It will give the CIA an entry into field of information that they can't get at Langley (CIA headquarters), and allow them to watch for potential recruits and dissidents among the foreign students," Porter said.

The Center for National Security Studies said approximately 75 per cent of the State Dept. Foreign Service Reserve officers during the 1960's were CIA intelligence officers.

GARDINER IS identified in the Foreign Service List as a Foreign Service Reserve officer (FSR), serving in the political section of the U.S. Embassy in Brazil from Nov., 1962 through late 1966, with several return trips to the U.S. from 1967 through 1970. There is no record of his activities from 1970 to 1972.

The State Dept. Personnel Office lists his resignation date as August 5, 1972. However, Gardner claims he is still working for the State Dept.

Most of Gardner's professors and classmates that were contacted said he was a very good student who spent a lot of time studying.

Political Science Prof. Alexander Wilde, who said on Gardner's MA committee, said.

"He was a well-informed but I can't remember him anything that would I wonder where he got formation.

"HIS POLITICS were would suspect from a SI type—pragmatic and li wasn't a hard-line, right

Prof. Maurice Zeillin that Gardner "showed that he belonged to the then if he was a mi shouldn't."

He added that he Gardner at sever American Association "I'm damned sure tha every Latin American before he left," Zeillin

Mike Gudger, a student specializing American studies remember much about "except that he see ticularly well informed Brazilian military."

DON JACKSON, classmate, when in Gardner's apparent affiliation, said, "I believe it." He said that the department was probably vulnerable to CIA infiltration because of the CIA's involvement in Latin America. "He came across as being pretty liberal, a pretty smart guy . . . and a pretty poor tennis player. That's about all I knew about him," Jackson said.

Gardiner would make no comment on questions relating to the CIA or his relationship with Phillip Agee. He said he was presently a State Dept. employee and as such had had "some contact in Latin American affairs, but I don't think that's pertinent."

When asked if his tennis game has improved since he left Madison, Gardner laughed and replied, "I guess it's still as bad as it was."

Gardiner's record places him in Brazil at the time of the military overthrow of the democratically elected Joao Goulart government.

AGEE SAID, "I don't know just what Gardner did. When he went to Rio (Nov., 1962), that was during a period of very great and fast and furious build-up of the CIA all over Brazil for the 1962 election operation, where we backed hundreds of candidates.

"And then for all the propaganda and agitation and political actions leading up to the overthrow of Goulart in March of

the operations which are being undertaken by those services," Agee speculated.

The assistant press secretary for the CIA said it was not unusual for any federal agency to send employees to universities. "If you're trying to treat this as a super secret operation you're on the wrong track. I'm sure that there are people from the Dept. of Defense, the Pentagon, and probably the CIA at your university right now."

DEAN OF STUDENTS Paul Ginsberg said there was no formal University admissions arrangement with federal agencies. He said, "The only time the University would know if a student was being sponsored by a federal agency would be if a grant were administered through the normal University agencies: And I would be very much surprised if any admissions people would check foreign service records or anything like that. Just academic records determine eligibility."

Ginsberg said he did not foresee the University changing that policy.

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