

STATINTL



# The Herald of Freedom

For God  
And Country

BOX 3 ZAREPHATH, N. J.

NOVEMBER 24, 1972

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## THE KAPLANS OF THE C. I. A.

STATINTL

One of the most bizarre accounts of covert CIA financing, espionage, Communist activities and murder involves Jacob Merrill Kaplan or his nephew Joel David Kaplan.

Jacob M. Kaplan was born in Lowell, Mass. on December 23, 1893, the son of David Kaplan and the former Fannie Gertz (a 1938 biography refers to his mother as Fannie Levin). After attending public schools in Massachusetts, Kaplan spent ten years in semi-tropical Latin American sugar-producing countries. On June 20, 1925 he married Alice Manheim and they had four children: Joan Felice (Mrs. C. Gerard Davidson), Elizabeth (Mrs. Gonzalo Fonseca), Richard David, and Mary Ellen.

In 1920 Jacob Kaplan organized the Oldetyme Molasses Company and served as its president until it was merged with Dunbar Molasses Company in 1924. In 1928 he sold the entire company and became president of J.M. Kaplan and Brothers, Inc. and later the Kaplan Holding Corp. In 1934 he established the Molasses Products Corp. He and his half-brother, Abrim Isaac Kaplan, became millionaires known as the "molasses kings."

In the hearings known as Appendix IX of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. Congress, page 1085, it was revealed that J.M. Kaplan was affiliated with the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Biro Bidjan (in the Soviet Union). This organization was cited as a Communist front which had its own worldwide propaganda campaign for the purpose of getting Jews to emigrate to a province of the Soviet Union. The organization was subsequently cited as subversive by an Attorney General of the U.S.

By 1932 Jacob Kaplan was president and chairman of the board of Hearn Department Stores, Inc.; he became president of the American Dry Ice Corp. the following year, and in 1945 became president of Welch Grape Juice, Inc. of New York. He was also an

official of the Ronier Corp., Jemkap Inc., and Southwestern Sugar and Molasses Co., Inc. He was a director of the New Mexico Lumber and Timber Company and president and director of the J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., which he originally started in 1942.

Jacob Kaplan received considerable publicity when it was disclosed that through his J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc. of 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City, at least a million dollars of CIA funds were dispensed to such leftist organizations as the Institute of International Labor Research, Inc. This outfit which has also been known as Labor Research, Inc., maintains an office at 113 East 37th Street, N.Y.C. It was headed by the late Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States, at the very time CIA turned over nearly \$1 million to it for the purpose of financing what the New York TIMES of February 22, 1967, described euphemistically as "17 left-of-center parties throughout Latin America."

Secretary-Treasurer of the Institute of Labor Research was Sacha Volman, who set up radically leftist "institutes" in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. According to Otilia Ulate, former President of Costa Rica, the San Jose Institute supported only those Parties which "have the characteristic features which make them identical in doctrine and homogenous in political and social attitudes with Russian Communism." Ulate said that all democratic parties opposed to the Marxist regime in Cuba were excluded from this offshoot of the Norman Thomas and Sacha Volman Institute.

Through the Dominican Institute, using CIA funds, Volman promoted political careers for such key Communists as the notorious Juan Bosch. Sacha Volman had close ties with comrades throughout Latin America and was neck-deep in the Marxist Leninist "Center of Research in Economic and Social Development" at Santo Domingo. This organization

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STATINTL



The Dominican Republic: Rebellion + Repression

CIA - Dom. Rep.

**The Dominican Republic: Rebellion and Repression by Carlos María Gutiérrez**

A Hungarian adventurer who has created at least seventeen political parties with CIA funds; the American Institute for Free Labor Development, organized by Lovestone and Meany and administered by top executives of W. R. Grace & Co., Pan American Airways, Anaconda Copper, etc.; a murder plot with assassins recruited by the CIA and approved by Kennedy in the White House—these are ingredients of the almost direct rule of Washington over the Dominican Republic. Gutiérrez names persons, organizations, dates, and places in this comprehensive portrait of the country from the U.S. invasion of 1965 to the present.

This is a vivid first-hand and thoroughly researched account, describing both the oligarchy and the growing opposition to it.

Translated by Richard E. Edwards. LC 72-81763, 144 pp.

\$6.95/£2.75 (cloth)      January      CL2377

# Was the Dominican Operation Typical and Not an Accident?

By RAGNAR LANGE

This is a very unsettling book. Just as we are being told that the Vietnamese War will soon be over and that we can look forward to a generation of peace, Abraham Lowenthal of the Ford Foundation puts us on notice that such a rosy forecast may be just a few shades too optimistic.

The reason: a detailed analysis of the 1965 U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic has convinced him that the landing of 22,000 American troops in that small Caribbean nation was not the result of a coherent U.S. policy but rather the logical outcome of a series of preconceptions, misunderstandings and ineptitudes that operated in lieu of policy.

LOWENTHAL MAINTAINS that the conventional foreign policy model which considers foreign policy occurrences to be the "purposive acts of national governments, conceived as unitary rational agents" is far removed from reality. Citing U.S. participation in the Dominican crisis as an example, he argues that the very outcome to the situation which U.S. officials sought to avoid ("another Cuba") was made more probable in the long run by the

course of action which the U.S. government adopted in order to prevent it. U.S. government activity, therefore, was not only irrational, it was anti-rational.

Such errors occur, according to Lowenthal, because of the ingrained tendency of American foreign policy officials to see present events in terms of past experience. The Dominican Republic was seen as potentially "another Cuba" rather than as a nation with unique history, idiosyncratic problems and a political climate very different from that prevailing in Cuba at the time of the 1959 Revolution.

In order to make the Cuban analogy complete, the only element lacking was someone to play the part of Castro, and so it must have been to Washington's infinite delight that, a week into the crisis, President Johnson's special envoy, John Bartlow Martin, discovered that Constitutionalist leader Col. Francisco Caamano Deno, could be cast in the role. Caamano, Martin reported back to the White House, was capable of becoming "his country's Castro."

As if this possibility (or fantasy) were not sufficient cause for alarm, the CIA was in the meantime busy reporting on the activities of the Communists who were considered so dangerous that Ambassador Bennett

THE DOMINICAN INTERVENTION.

By Abraham Lowenthal. Harvard.  
246 pages. \$10.95.

kept pleading for U.S. Marines to land in order to prevent their seizing the country. The reason the activities of these Communists was so salient in the Washington discussions, Lowenthal explains, was that the CIA, being blind to all colors other than red, could not provide any information on the leading figures in the Constitutionalist group because they were non-Communists and had therefore never come to the attention of the CIA Station. Consequently, when asked to report on the situation, CIA operatives began churning out lengthy accounts of the reactions and plans of members of the various Marxist groups who, as it turned out, had practically no connection with the pro-Bosch military movement beyond trying to figure out how they could turn the situation to their advantage. (Happily for them, by landing the Marines, the U.S. government provided the answer to their question.)

Lyndon Johnson, having just recently initiated a massive build-up of American troops in Vietnam, decided that he could not risk the threat of "a Communist takeover" in the Caribbean. The preponderance of information on Dominican Communists plus a number of reports of atrocities supposedly committed by the Constitutionalist military rebels — all of which Lowenthal found to be completely unsubstantiated — were sufficient to convince him that the U.S. was about "to lose the Dominican Republic to Communism," and he therefore authorized the disembarkation of the Marines.

THE WORD "authorize" is important because — and this is one of the most frightening revelations of this book — the Marines had apparently started to land prior to the President's decision. Senators who are interested in limiting the President's authority to send U.S. troops into foreign countries without Congressional approval might also investigate what appears to be U.S. ambassadors' authority to call them into a foreign country without any approval, Presidential, Congressional or otherwise.

In the case of the Dominican Republic it seems that Ambassador Bennett not only managed to get

Marines on the scene before President Johnson had been able to consider his request for armed intervention, he also gave them orders to shoot "if necessary". When the White House was informed of Bennett's directive it sent him a strongly worded message reminding him that only the President could order the participation of U.S. troops in offensive action. But by then more than 12 hours had elapsed and it was purely fortuitous that a large-scale bloodbath had not been precipitated in the interim.

The Ambassador's readiness to take the initiative in turning American guns on Dominican citizens was unfortunately not matched by any zeal for attempting to promote a peaceful solution to the crisis. Lowenthal cites 10 specific instances in which the Embassy expressly turned down opportunities to "participate in the Dominican crisis in relatively minor ways which might well have obviated the need later felt for military intervention." The U.S. refusal to let the Embassy be used for talks between the rival factions, Bennett's decision not to speak by telephone with Juan Bosch, and a series of other puzzling actions which Lowenthal attributes to the U.S. desire to "minimize American involvement" had the cumulative effect of creating a situation which President Johnson perceived as requiring massive U.S. military intervention. All of which seems to boil down to the fact that in the Dominican case U.S. foreign policy actions were one hundred percent self-defeating.

Now that LBJ is back at the ranch, can we breathe a sigh of relief and reassure ourselves that the days of anti-rationality are behind us and that future U.S. foreign policy activities will bear more relation to the objectives they are supposed to achieve? According to Mr. Lowenthal, the answer is a definite no.

He concludes that the intervention in the Dominican Republic "should not be attributed mainly to individual incompetence, momentary fright, mere accidents of timing or personality, nor to a particular ambassador or president" but rather to assumptions and attitudes that are deeply entrenched in the U.S. foreign policy-making apparatus. Consequently, what happened in the Dominican Republic not only can, but, in all probability, will happen again.

A generation of peace?

Ragnar Lange is a specialist in Latin American studies.

10 MAY 1972

# Repression hits Dominican Republic

By Francisco Ramirez

When Rafael Leonidas Trujillo was gunned down on May 31, 1961, many people thought a new chapter would open in the history of the Dominican people.

But 11 years after the dictator's death a man from the same mold still holds the presidency: Joaquin Balaguer, a political veteran who has been described as more of a Trujillo than Trujillo himself.

In his six years of rule, Balaguer has used the same tactics of terror and corruption as those which earned Trujillo's regime notoriety as one of the most hated dictatorships in Latin America.

While the CIA and U.S. State Department brought about the execution of Trujillo, they succeeded in maintaining his henchmen in the army, police and ruling class.

The very same people who worked with Trujillo continue to fill top jobs in the armed forces, government ministries and diplomatic services. What is more they have won back their confiscated property.

Trujillo, who had ruled the country over 30 years, was murdered by some of his own political allies to prevent a popular revolution against the dictator. Trujillo was replaced by Balaguer, who was supported by the U.S. But the Dominican people soon began to rally against the continuation of the dictatorship. General strikes and mass demonstrations from November 1961 to January 1962 forced Balaguer out of office and made gains in democratic rights.

In elections held in December 1962, Juan Bosch, candidate of the liberal Dominican Revolutionary party, won on a program of strong social reform and, the next year, he proposed a new reform constitution.

But on September 25, 1963, Bosch was overthrown by a military junta led by Donald Cabral and Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin. The Dominican people began a powerful struggle to defeat the reactionary forces but in April 1965 thousands of U.S. Marines were sent into the country to protect the military regime. After one year of fighting the "constitutionalists" were forced to sign a "peace pact" drawn up by the U.S. and elections were held, controlled by the Pentagon and U.S. State Department, which resulted in the "victory" of Balaguer over Bosch.

Balaguer has again established a regime of terrorism and brutality.

## Chain of abuse

The government has distinguished itself by an almost unbroken chain of abuses, political repression, mass evictions, and massive peasant evictions.

The beneficiaries of these policies, as always, are the large U.S.

corporations which dominate the country. The most brazen of these has been the Gulf and Western Company whose interests have been exempted from taxes for 20 years by Balaguer. Gulf and Western have been given almost 1 million square kilometers in the eastern part of the country through its local front "Corporacion Financiera S.A." The company controls many Dominican industries, especially tobacco.

Other companies are also cashing in on Dominican resources, while 50 percent of the people remain unemployed. Meanwhile there continues to be a drop in agricultural production and exports coupled with a major jump in imports, particularly of luxury goods. The overseas debt has risen to \$400 million.

Balaguer gives support to ultra-right groups which are carrying out a violent campaign against the poor in areas which backed the constitutionalist revolution of Col. Francisco Caamano in 1965, a struggle that was smashed with the aid of U.S. troops. An armed group known as "La Banda" carry out day and night house searches, kidnaps and murders of opposition leaders.

The 1965 revolution, besides demonstrating the people's willingness to fight for their rights, also allowed the security police to identify left militants. Since then, the government has been systematically trying to assassinate leaders of the 1965 struggles.

## Left forces ineffective

The hard-pressed Dominican left seems unable to make an effective reply to the imperialist plan to make the Dominican Republic a strategic strongpoint for colonialism, Puerto Rico style.

There are more than ten left groups each of which accuses the others of complicity with the CIA and engages in nothing more active than polemics.

Meanwhile Balaguer has stated that he may run for the presidency again. If he wins it will be his third term in office since 1966 when by means of fraud, police terror, and Organisation of American States diplomacy, he first was placed in what he calls the hot seat.

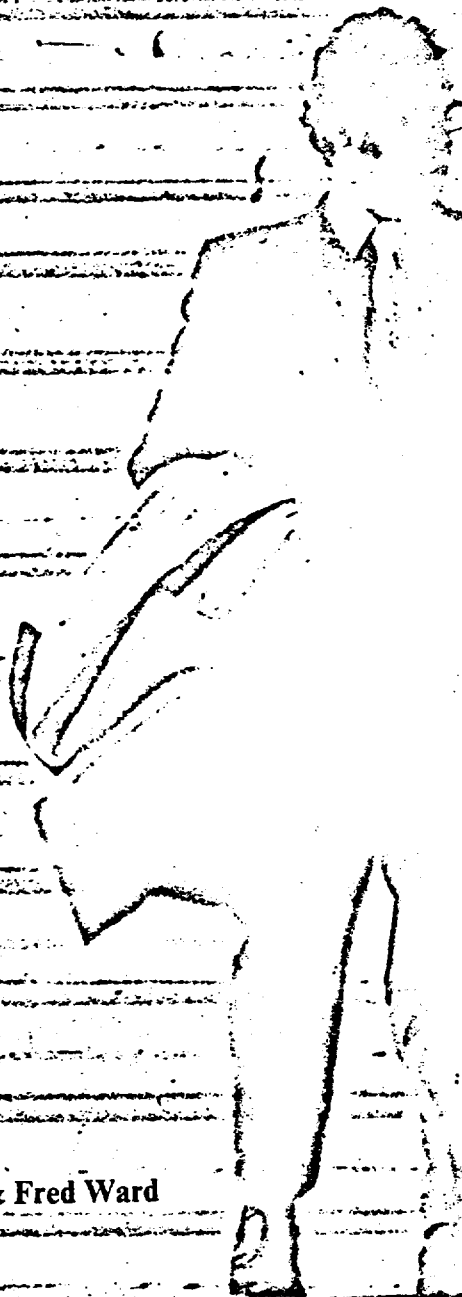
It looks as though the heat is affecting him. He already has told his supporters to put forward his application for the 1974 elections.

By openly entering the lists, Balaguer has increased political tension on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the 1965 revolution.

In 1972 the Dominican Republic finds that time has stood still for four backward decades. But things have changed in Latin America after Cuba and Chile.

The Balaguer government, with massive U.S. backing, claims it is enjoying "unprecedented prosperity." Grave contradictions, however, lie beneath the surface of Dominican society. Seven years ago they came suddenly to the surface, and all the Americas were disturbed by the shock waves.

# THE SELLING OF



**Text by Morton Kondracke**

**Photography by Dennis Brack & Fred Ward**

# A Short History of CIA Intervention in Sixteen Foreign Countries

In July, 1947, Congress passed one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the history of America in peacetime. The National Security Act of 1947 created The National Security Council, the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the United States Air Force and, not least of all, the CIA. This act provided the Agency with five principal duties:

1. To advise the National Security Council on matters concerning intelligence.
2. To make recommendations for the coordination of such intelligence matters.
3. To correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to national security and disseminate it to other government departments.
4. To perform "such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally."
5. To perform "such other functions and duties as the NSC would direct."

In 1949 Congress passed the Central Intelligence Agency Act, allowing the agency to disregard laws that required disclosure of information concerning the organization, to expend funds without regard to laws and regulations governing expenditures with no other accounting than the Director's vouchers, and to make contracts and purchases without advertising.

With such unprecedented authority, with unlimited access to money, with liberty to act without regard to scrutiny or review by either civilian or governmental organizations, the CIA has become a self-contained state. One observer ranks the CIA as the fourth world power, after the U.S., Russia, and China.

Partly because of the CIA's special "secret" status and partly because of the laziness of the press, the total history of CIA intervention in foreign countries has never been reported. What you read instead are fragments—an attempted bribe in Mexico last July, an assassination in Africa last November.

What emerges here is an atlas of intrigue but not a grand design; on the contrary, the CIA's record is as erratic and contradictory as that of any bureaucracy in the Federal stable. But you do begin to comprehend the enormous size of the CIA and its ruthless behavior. The rules permit murder, defoliation and drug addiction for political ends. Look at the record:



SAN DIEGO, CAL.

UNION

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M - 139,739

S - 246,007

# Halt Of U.S. Aid Worries Latins

By WILLIAM GIANDONI  
Copley News Service

Latin Americans are more convinced than ever that the United States is abandoning them to their fate, whatever it may be. A few extremists applaud the possibility, but most Latins are worried by it.

Even though most Latin commentators predicted that a new U.S. foreign aid program would be worked out, they were appalled by the U.S. Senate's disapproval of the foreign assistance bill and the further retreat into isolationism that it signals.

From Mexico, which prides itself on never having relied on U.S. foreign aid grants, to Brazil, the No. 1 recipient in Latin America, the reasonable reaction to the Senate vote on foreign aid was one of shocked disappointment.

The newspaper O Estado, Sao Paulo, Brazil, used President Nixon's comment that the vote was "a highly irresponsible action" as the title of its editorial analysis.

El Sol, Mexico City, said bitterly "The United States most aids its enemies and there is no reason to put on a long face because it suppresses aid to friendly countries.

"What should be done, rather than give free rein to

wrath, is to structure the economy of each country independently of North American, Soviet or Chinese aid. No great power is and has been unselfish and the one that does not want a slice of the profits, wants political concessions."

O Estado declared that the U.S. Senate suspension of foreign aid had the effect of thwarting President Nixon's foreign policy, which, the paper said, "was conceived in terms that could meet the demands of pacifist, neo-isolationist and anti-interventionist circles, so eloquently represented by activist members of the press, the academic community and the Senate."

O Estado said that the United States is running the risk of alienating what friends it has left in the world.

"Decisions like that of the Senate contribute to the evaporation of credibility in U.S. promises and guarantees and undermine the very foundations of United States leadership."

The bitter comments of newspapers like O Estado and El Sol were typical of the reactions of those who are generally considered friendly

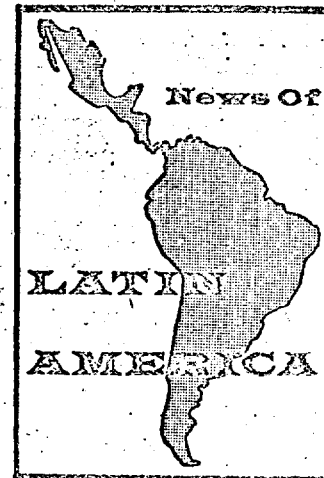
toward the United States.

On the other hand, men like Juan Bosch, former president of the Dominican Republic who has been speaking and writing against the United States for a good part of the last decade, professed pleasure at the possibility that U.S. foreign aid would end.

Latin America "has been suffering an aid (program) that has only served to sustain, guarantee and strengthen the oligarchies," Bosch said.

Bosch's bias is not hard to understand if one remembers that, despite his earlier connections with a Latin American institute for political education supported by the Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 thwarted a revolution intended to return him to the Dominican presidency.

But what virtually all Latin Americans thought they recognized in the Senate vote Oct. 29 was a return to U.S. isolationism. As the Latins see it, the United States has convinced itself that the military and financial responsibilities it assumed during the protracted conflict, long known as the 'Cold War,' are too great, and it is dropping



out of the foreign aid race.

The end of or a drastic slash in the U.S. foreign aid program would not mean the economic collapse of Latin America. In fact, recently released statistics on the distribution of development assistance to Latin America for the 1961-1970 period suggest that most of the \$12.133 billion in U.S. aid to the hemisphere nations in the decade of the Alliance for Progress was in form of tied loans.

Tied loans are those made for the purchase of U.S. goods and services, that is to say things that represent jobs for U.S. workers and sales for U.S. business and industry. A report prepared by the staff of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, indicates that those U.S. government loans amounted to \$10.862 billion over the 10-year period. The grants and "soft" loans for Latin America totaled \$1.269 billion.

A Spanish version of this dispatch appears elsewhere on this page.



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SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

EXPRESS

M - 78,259

EXPRESS-NEWS

S - 120,347

SEP 21 1977

## Spy Business Overhaul Due

It seemed inevitable that the Pentagon would have to remodel its intelligence apparatus. The storm of protest that followed disclosure that military intelligence agents were spying on American civilians, including political figures, sparked a detailed survey of the operations. The study was ordered by President Nixon.

That episode came on the heels of a series of miscalculations involving the military intelligence, the CIA and the evaluation and interpretation of each. The record was bad: intervention in the Dominican Republic (a deed later repudiated by President Johnson because, he noted, it was based on an intelligence error); Vietnam policy; and a series of intelligence reports on "missile gaps" that appeared most dramatically at budget time.

The proposed cure is valid only because it will represent a new look at an old and necessary practice. The proposed plan is to install a civilian chief of military intelligence, in an effort to streamline and improve. The plan also calls for retention of the military chief of intelligence with access to the Secretary of Defense.

It's probably naive to assume the intelligence staff will be substantially reduced, though for the sake of appearances a stab at a tighter budget will likely be made. Reason for the reorganization, as reported, is that the apparatus is too big, too costly and too ineffective.

## Douglas Hits Latin Policy In New Book

New York Times News Service

NEW YORK—Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in a new book criticizes President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision to send U.S. forces to the Dominican Republic in 1965 as "an obnoxious form of intervention" from which hemisphere relations have yet to recover.

Douglas cites the decision as an illustration of the central theme of the book: That the hostility of the United States to revolutionary change condemns Latin America to "an intolerable status quo."

The book, "Holocaust or Hemisphere CO-OP: Cross Currents in Latin America," is the third of four volumes the 72-year-old justice is writing on dissent and rebellion in the modern world. The 216-page book will be published by Random House on Oct. 4.

The second book, "Points of Rebellion," published in February 1970, was designed to explain the causes of political dissent in the United States. Douglas's suggestion that violence "may be the only effective response" to intolerable conditions set off demands in Congress for his resignation.

In his new book, Douglas attacks the influence of the Central Intelligence Agency and "conservatism" in Washington's policies in Latin America.

Douglas sees the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, ostensibly to crush a Communist uprising, as one of two crucial moves that undermined Latin American confidence in the political and social reforms promised by President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program.

"No principle of international law," Douglas writes, "permits one nation to invade another, without a state of war between the two."

"What the United States did in the Dominican Republic was, like our action in Vietnam, an obnoxious form of intervention in the internal affairs of another nation."

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complishments of Mr. Hall in his service to the N.C. Pharmaceutical Association stressing that he had done things not to seek recognition but for the good it would do the association and others.

George P. Hager, Dean of the School of Pharmacy of UNC-CH, pointed out that as a student at UNC, Bob not only learned to be a good pharmacist but also a good leader.

"In his work with the state association and as a trustee of the university, Bob is not only able to define the problems but actively works for their solutions. His works conform with his words", said Dr. Hager.

The presentation of the award was made by B. Cade Brooks of Fayetteville, immediate past-president of the N.C. Pharmaceutical Association.

The Mortar-and-Pestle Award is presented annually for distinguished service in the fields of pharmacy, public health, education and welfare.

Three other state winners in other fields from Mocksville were recognized:

Miss Jo Cooley as the "N.C. Handicapped Woman of the Year."

Dr. Clyde Young as a former "Veterinarian of the Year."

Dr. Ramey F. Kemp as a former "Chiropractor of the Year."

W. J. Smith, Executive Director of the N.C. Pharmaceutical Association, read messages of congratulations from Dr. William Friday, President of the University of N.C., and George Watts Hill, President of Central Carolina Bank and chairman of the board of trustees, UNC-CH.

The career highlights of Mr. Hall are as follows:

A native of Wayne County and resident of Mocksville since early youth; education in the Mocksville Schools and at the University of North Carolina. Member of Phi Delta Chi Fraternity.

Returned to work with his father at Hall Drug Company upon graduation and is now owner and operator of the pharmacy.

Served in the Army Air Force during World War II.

In his community he has served as secretary and vice-president of the Jaycees; Chairman of Heart Fund Drive; Director of the Rowan-Davie Heart Association; Director of Mocksville Rotary Club; Member Davie County Morchhead Selection Committee; On committees of the area Girl Scout Council and Uwharrie Council for the Boy Scouts; Director of Northwestern North Carolina Economic Development Commission. He is presently a member of the Mocksville Sewings and Loan, and a member of the Board of the Davie-Yadkin-Wilkes Health Department.

In the First Baptist Church he has served as trustee and chairman of the Board of Deacons as well as president of the Brotherhood; he is currently serving as a member of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Hall is past-president of the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association and the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Research Foundation. He continues to serve on the Board of Directors of the Foundation. He is Chairman of the Consolidated Pharmacy Student Loan Fund; member of the Academy of Pharmacy, and a charter member of the Academy of General Practice of Pharmacy.

He was recently elected for a second term as Trustee of the Consolidated University of North Carolina and serves on the Committee on Health Affairs which encompasses Schools of Pharmacy, Dentistry, Public Health, Medicine, and Nursing.

Mr. Hall is married to the former Sara Hope Fitchett of Dunn; they have a daughter, Hope Fitchett, and two sons, Robert Buckner, Jr. and Carl Stacy.

## THE TRAGEDY OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

HON. BERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, the events of the last 6 years have proven to be the unwarranted and ill-conceived intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic in 1965, and the 18-month military occupation which followed, was a tragic mistake of the greatest proportions. The chaos, corruption, political instability, social and economic dislocations which have ensued are almost impossible to describe. The suppression of civil liberties, the stifling of the voices of constructive dissent, intrigues, deaths, and disappearance are occurring in the classic manner of a dictatorial regime. It is reported that, in recent years, more political murders have occurred in the Dominican Republic than in any comparable period during Trujillo's dictatorship. In 1970 alone there were some 186 political murders and 30 unexplained disappearances.

In a recent issue of the New York Review of Books the noted Latin American authority, Norman Gall, has reviewed two books relating to the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and its aftermath. Moreover, Mr. Gall presents a very penetrating and well-documented study of the current reign of terror in this Caribbean Republic and the complicity of certain U.S. personnel in some of the events connected with it.

A particularly frightening feature of this terrorism is the fact that many of the victims are the poor, repressed inhabitants of Santo Domingo's barrios. Furthermore, the executions and other acts of terrorism are frequently conducted by roving, paramilitary "death squads" organized by the armed forces and the police—organizations receiving U.S. training and equipment.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Mr. Gall has performed a valuable service in bringing this situation into focus and in revealing to the public facts which have been hidden too long. His well-written and perceptive essay and review should be given our fullest and most careful consideration—particularly as we will soon be acting upon the Foreign Assistance Act. I present it herewith for inclusion in the Record and commend it to our colleagues' attention:

SANTO DOMINGO: THE POLITICS OF TERROR

(By Norman Gall)

We know that many who are now in revolt do not seek a Communist tyranny. We think it's tragic indeed that their high motives have been misused by a small band of conspirators who receive their directions from abroad. To those who fight only for liberty and justice and progress, I want to join in . . . appealing to you tonight to lay down your arms and to assure you that there is nothing to fear. The road is open to you to share in building a Dominican Democracy and we in America are ready and anxious and willing to help you. —Lyndon B. Johnson, May 2, 1965.

President Johnson's military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 was as momentous as it was cruel and politically mistaken. We can see it, along with our enlargement of the Vietnam war in the same year, as part of a disastrous expansion of the powers of the American Presidency and of its sense of "global responsibilities." When a force of 23,000 US troops landed in Santo Domingo in May to reverse the course of the Santo Domingo civil war they served to rescue a repressive military establishment from an apparently successful popular revolt that was trying to restore constitutional rule. We can now see that the high priority the US gave to social progress in Latin America, an idea implicit in the Alliance for Progress, has been replaced by what appears to be an expanding and recurrent pattern of control by terror.

Professor Jerome Slater's political study of the 1965 intervention and the eighteen-month US military occupation that followed is derived from his use, on a not-for-attribution basis, of "a great number of papers, memoirs, and documents which are not now in the public domain," as well as off-the-record interviews with US and OAS officials. However, all this new material adds little or no support to the official rationale for the intervention—that the Dominican Republic was at the brink of a possible Communist takeover. Instead it provides further evidence of double-dealing and cruelty after the US troops were sent in.

Because he relies so much on classified official documents, and because of his otherwise limited knowledge of Dominican affairs, Slater tends at times to bend over backward to give credence and legitimacy to the official US view in a number of, at best, highly doubtful instances. Nevertheless, he concludes that although "there was some risk that out of an uncontrollable revolutionary upheaval Castroite forces might emerge victorious . . . the risk was not yet sufficiently great to justify the predictably enormous political and moral costs that the intervention entailed."

The effect of the intervention was to restore to power in Santo Domingo the political *apparatchiks* of the long and brutal dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (1930-61). Of the costs Slater writes at the end of his book:

" . . . the steadily worsening political terrorism . . . has recently [1970] reached crisis proportions. Scarcely a day goes by without a political murder, a "suicide" of a jailed political prisoner, the disappearance of a political activist, or, at the very least, a case of police harassment of the political opposition. Most of the victims are Communists or Castroite radicals, PRD activists [of ex-President Juan Bosch's *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano*], or former constitutionalists, although recently even anti-Balaguercists on the right have been attacked.

"While there has been a rise in leftist counter-terror, with machine-gunnings of isolated police and soldiers increasingly common, the main culprits appear to be unregenerates in the police and, to a lesser extent, the armed forces. It is not clear what [President Joaquin] Balaguer's role is in this, but although he has condemned what he calls the "uncontrollable forces" behind the violence and on several occasions has shaken up the police leadership, there is a growing feeling among moderate Dominicans that he is encouraging the rightist terrorism or, at best, has been inadequate in his response to it."

In recent years there have been more political murders in the Dominican Republic than in any comparable period during Trujillo's dictatorship, with the sole exception of the reign of terror that followed the swiftly

STATINTL

# Santo Domingo: The Politics of Terror

**Intervention and Negotiation:  
The United States and the Dominican  
Revolution**

by Jerome Slater,  
with a Foreword by  
Hans J. Morgenthau.  
Harper & Row, 254 pp., \$7.95

**Barrios in Arms:  
Revolution in Santo Domingo**  
by José A. Moreno.  
University of Pittsburgh,  
226 pp., \$8.95

**Norman Gall**

We know that many who are now in revolt do not seek a Communist tyranny. We think it's tragic indeed that their high motives have been misused by a small band of conspirators, who receive their directions from abroad. To those who fight only for liberty and justice and progress, I want to join in... appealing to you tonight to lay down your arms and to assure you that there is nothing to fear. The road is open to you to share in building a Dominican Democracy and we in America are ready and anxious and willing to help you.

-Lyndon B. Johnson  
May 2, 1965

President Johnson's military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 was as momentous as it was cruel and politically mistaken. We can see it, along with our enlargement of the Vietnam war in the same year, as part of a disastrous expansion of the powers of the American Presidency and of its sense of "global responsibilities." When a force of 23,000 US troops landed in Santo Domingo in May to reverse the course of the Santo Domingo civil war they served to rescue a repressive military establishment from an apparently successful popular revolt that was trying to restore constitutional rule. We can now see that the high priority the US gave to social progress in Latin America, an idea implicit in the Alliance for Progress, has been replaced by what appears to be an expanding and recurrent pattern of control by terror.

Professor Jerome Slater's political study of the 1965 intervention and the eighteen-month US military occupation that followed is derived from his use, on a not-for-attribution basis, of "a great number of papers, memoirs, and documents which are not now in the public domain," as well as off-the-record interviews with US and OAS officials. However, all this new material adds little or no support to the official rationale for the intervention—that the Dominican Republic was at the brink of a possible Communist takeover. Instead it provides further evidence of double-dealing and cruelty after the US troops were sent in.

Because he relies so much on classified official documents, and because of his otherwise limited knowledge of Dominican affairs, Slater tends at times to bend over backward to give credence and legitimacy to the official US view in a number of, at best, highly doubtful instances. Nevertheless, he concludes that although "there was some risk that out of an uncontrollable revolutionary upheaval Castroite forces might emerge victorious... the risk was not yet sufficiently great to justify the predictably enormous political and moral costs that the intervention entailed."

The effect of the intervention was to restore to power in Santo Domingo the political *apparatchiks* of the long and brutal dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (1930-61). Of the costs Slater writes at the end of his book:

... the steadily worsening political terrorism... has recently [1970] reached crisis proportions. Scarcely a day goes by without a political murder, a "suicide" of a jailed political prisoner, the disappearance of a political activist, or, at the very least, a case of police harassment of the political opposition. Most of the victims are Communists or Castroite radicals, PRD activists [of ex-President Juan Bosch's *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano*], or former constitutionalists, although recently even anti-Balaguerists on the right have been attacked.

While there has been a rise in leftist counter-terror, with machine-gunnings of isolated police

and soldiers increasingly common, the main culprits appear to be unregenerates in the police and, to a lesser extent, the armed forces. It is not clear what [President Joaquin] Balaguer's role is in this, but although he has condemned what he calls the "uncontrollable forces" behind the violence and on several occasions has shaken up the police leadership, there is a growing feeling among moderate Dominicans that he is encouraging the rightist terrorism or, at best, has been inadequate in his response to it.

In recent years there have been more political murders in the Dominican Republic than in any comparable period during Trujillo's dictatorship, with the sole exception of the reign of terror that followed the swiftly crushed invasion from Cuba in 1959, organized by Fidel Castro.<sup>1</sup> The Santo Domingo newspaper *El Nacional* last December 30 filled a page and a half of newsprint with the details of 186 political murders and thirty disappearances during 1970.<sup>2</sup> The Dominican terror resembles the current wave of political killings in Guatemala (see my "Slaughter in Guatemala," *NYR*, May 20, 1971) in that the paramilitary death squads are organized by the armed forces and police, which in both cases over the years have been given heavy US material and advisory support. The death squads themselves are partly composed of defectors from revolutionary political factions.

The political terrorism in Santo Domingo, however, seems now to be directed not so much against well-known politicians, as is the case in Guatemala. Rather it is used to control the Santo Domingo slum population, which was the main force that defeated the Dominican military in the 1965 revolution. In the proliferating ramshackle slums and squatter settlements that spread northward from the ancient churches and plazas of downtown Santo Domingo, there is continual patrolling by uniformed military and police units, as well as by plain-clothes agents on motor scooters. Each barrio has been infiltrated by government intelligence organizations. (More

STATINTL

29 MAR 1971

Latin using them to ease rough situations

## 'Plots' on the rise in Americas

STATINTL



By VIRGINIA PREWETT

THAT hoary chestnut, the "international plot," is popping up all over in Latin America these days. From "Papa Doc" Duvalier in Haiti to President Salvador Allende in Chile, Latin Americans are falling back on this device to help them over rough places.

Dr. Allende has an "imperialist plot" with CIA trimmings going strong in Chile. He may be whipping up emotion that he hopes will carry his already troubled administration to victory in important April 5 municipal elections.

But leftists in both Peru and Bolivia in recent times exploited international plot charges just before they seized U.S. oil properties. So there is speculation that Dr. Allende wants to announce Chile will pay little or nothing for U.S. copper properties he is about to take over — and wants nationalistic feeling running high when he does.

"Papa Doc," Dr. Allende, former President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, factions in Costa Rica, sectors of the Panama press and Ecuadorian officials have rung the changes recently on the plot theme.

No matter how much you may doubt the curative value of Dr. Allende's Marxist-Leninist prescriptions for Chile's ills, it must be recognized that he came into the presidency with much personal respect. His manipulations of the old plot ploy may very well shrink this international image.

## FATAL PROCESS

"Papa Doc" traditionally punishes "plotters," a process often fatal for those accused, after he has had a reverse of a spell of increased physical weakness. He is now attempt-

ing to strengthen his regime of terror by charging 37 people, some of them army officers, with complicity in a May, 1968, invasion attempt. Some of the accused have been in jail nearly a year in connection with a later incident and their prospects are not bright, judging from the record.

In the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch recently tried to inflate a localized political conflict into a runaway national crisis with charges the CIA is responsible for mysterious murders of Dominican leftists — with President Joaquin Balaguer in effect winking at it all. A more firmly-based national quarrel with Haiti stole his thunder, however.

## ASKED WITHDRAWAL

In February, Panama's military rulers, frankly piqued because U.S. narcotics investigators gathered evidence in Panama without official permission, asked our Peace Corps to withdraw after the U.S. also arrested a Panamanian in the Canal Zone on drug charges. Press sharpies and the rumor mill said our Peace Corps was in a plot with the CIA, and connected the events.

Ecuadorians, including officials, have freely speculated that the recent concentration of an extra-large fleet of U.S. tuna boats off Ecuador — a circumstance that led to numerous arrests and a U.S.-Ecuadorian controversy over sea limits — was "plotted" as a provocation by the U.S. tuna industry.

In a sub-plot, former President Alfredo Ovando of Bolivia is being accused of having his long-time partner, the late President Rene Barrientos, and four others mysteriously murdered. The charge is that Messrs. Ovando and Barrientos were in a deal to smuggle arms to Israel and Mr. Ovando arranged all the deaths because he feared the dead four would reveal this. Mr. Barrientos died in a flaming helicopter crash in April, 1969.

AMERICAN OPINION

Jan 1971

# NO INTELLIGENCE

## A Worried Look At The C.I.A.

Frank A. Capell is a professional intelligence specialist of almost thirty years' standing. He is Editor and Publisher of the fortnightly newsletter, The Herald Of Freedom, has contributed to such important national magazines as The Review Of The News, and is author of Robert F. Kennedy - A Political Biography, The Untouchables, and other books of interest to Conservatives. Mr. Capell appears frequently on radio and television, lectures widely, and never fears controversy. He lives in New Jersey, is an active Catholic layman, and father of seven sons.

THE Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947 after its wartime predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.), was exposed as thoroughly infiltrated by the Communists. Let us examine some of that O.S.S. personnel.

In 1948, former Communist spy Elizabeth Bentley appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. On Page 529 of the formal report of those Hearings is the record of Miss Bentley's testimony about intelligence she received from Comrades inside O.S.S. while she was operating as a Soviet courier:

All types of information were given, highly secret information on what the OSS was doing, such as, for example, that they were trying to make secret negotiations with governments in the Balkan bloc in case the war ended, that they were parachuting people into Hungary, that they were sending OSS people into Turkey to operate in the Balkans, and so on. The fact that General Donovan [head of O.S.S.] was interested in having an exchange between the NKVD [the Soviet secret police] and the OSS.

That's right, O.S.S. and the N.K.V.D. were working very close indeed.

When asked what kind of information Communist O.S.S. operative, Halperin gave her to be forwarded to the Soviet Union, Miss Bentley testified:

"Well, in addition to all the information which OSS was getting on Latin America he had access to the cables which the OSS was getting in from its agents abroad worldwide information of various sorts and also the OSS had an agreement with the State Department whereby he also could see State Department cables on vital issues." Halperin was Chief of the O.S.S. Latin American Division at the time when, as Miss Bentley has sworn, he was one of her contacts in a Soviet espionage ring.

Carl Aldo Marzani was Chief of the Editorial Section of the O.S.S. Marzani has been several times identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Using the most highly classified information, he supervised the making of charts on technical reports for higher echelons of the Army, the Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the O.S.S. Comrade Marzani made policy decisions and was liaison officer between the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army and the Office of the Undersecretary of War.

When questioned before a Congressional Committee, Irving Fajans of O.S.S. took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit to his Communist Party membership and long history of activities on behalf of the Soviets. Comrade Fajans was a key O.S.S. operative despite the fact that he was known to have been a member of the Communist Party and have served in the Communists' Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain during the years 1937-1938.

Robert Talbott Miller III was another contact of Soviet courier Elizabeth Bentley. An O.S.S. employee assigned to the State Department, he was Assistant Chief in the Division of Research. On a trip to Moscow, Comrade Miller married a member of the staff of the *Moscow News*.

Leonard E. Mins, a writer who had worked for the International Union of Revolutionary Writers in Moscow and had written for *New Masses*, was also on the staff of the top secret O.S.S. Comrade Mins took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit to his Communist Party membership in the Communist Party. He refused to deny that he was a Soviet agent ever

STATINTL

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### *A CIA link?*

The suggestion that Justice William O. Douglas may have acted on behalf of the CIA in a 1963 trip to the Dominican Republic could prove more damaging than the attempt at impeachment itself.

It is presumed that it was the justice's defenders who have hinted at the CIA activity.

Such a charge might have been expected from his enemies. After all, impeachment is either sustained or dismissed.

But a link to the CIA might prove more than a free spirit like Justice Douglas can bear!

# Douglas Suggests He Feels Impeachment Issue Is Closed

By ADAM CLYMER  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, Dec. 16—Justice William O. Douglas today said he was satisfied with a congressional investigation of himself, suggesting he considered the impeachment issue closed.

The justice, however, declined to answer any questions about matters contained in a House judiciary subcommittee's 924-page report, which dealt at length with his financial ties to Albert Parvin and the Albert Parvin Foundation, an educational trust financed indirectly but in large part through Nevada gambling income.

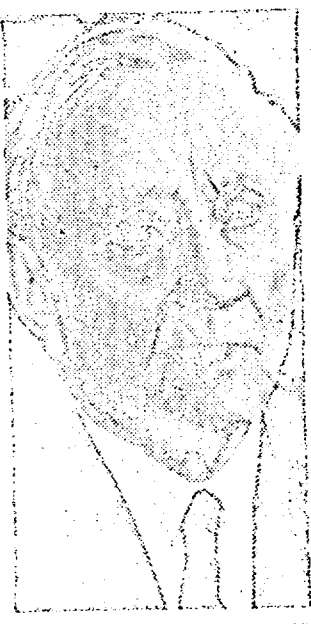
Addressing reporters and television cameramen at the Supreme Court, the white-haired justice said "the select committee has now performed its constitutional duties, and I will try to continue to perform mine as a member of the court."

### Jacobs Criticizes Panel

The full Judiciary Committee has still not scheduled a meeting to consider the report, which, on a party-line vote, recommends against impeachment.

The subcommittee was criticized today by liberal Representative Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D., Ind.), who introduced the impeachment resolution in April to keep the matter out of the hands of a special committee, which was favored by Republican and Southern Democrats. "The issue is behavior, not the interpretations of a document, and demeanor. Live testimony under oath, is indispensable," he said. The committee took no sworn testimony.

It also developed today that Justice Douglas was apparently unaware of the Central Intelligence Agency's connection with an education television literacy project that the foundation—which he headed—worked on in the Dominican Republic in 1963.



JUSTICE DOUGLAS AP

That project was run locally by Sacha Volman, identified fairly clearly in the report yesterday as a CIA agent.

The subcommittee also has in its files a letter sent by Justice Douglas on May 23, 1966, to Gov. Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico. In that letter he appealed to Mr. Munoz Marin to warn former President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic about Mr. Volman, with whom he had had a falling out in 1964.

"When Bosch was President, I was there and he was very closely tied to Sacha Volman, I am sure he did not know that Volman at the time was on the CIA payroll. Volman may or may not be at the present time, but I would think the chances are great that he is," Justice Douglas wrote.

The Dominican incident came up because Republicans suggested that the literacy project was insubstantial and merely a front for efforts to get gambling concessions for associates of Mr. Parvin. Justice Douglas

also made the charge about Mr. Volman in a letter to Mr. Parvin, one of a thick stack of "Dear Al" and "Dear Bill" letters that lie in the committee files.

### "Most Beautiful Nation"

While Justice Douglas was unwilling to discuss the contents of the report, he did hold forth on his views of America, which he called "the most beautiful nation in the world, if we can just keep it from being polluted."

He called pollution "our big No. 1 problem," and said that "No. 2 is the problem of civil rights." While racial, religious and ideological tensions are not peculiar to the United States, he said, the United States has "the Bill of Rights and the political means to solve them."

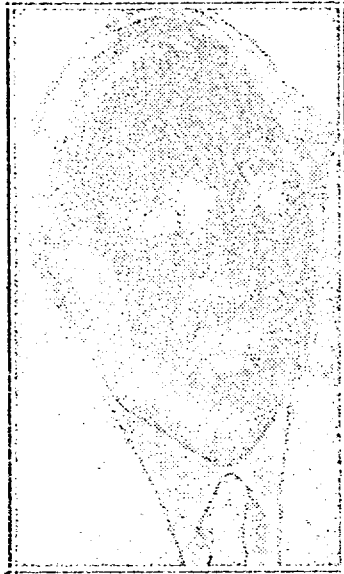
The 72-year-old jurist continued, "And so, to this younger generation in whom I have unbounded confidence, let me say this: 'In those two areas you can do a lifetime of powerful and creative work and produce what I think will be a great renaissance which will challenge and invigorate all of civilization... keep the faith.'"



# Douglas Says He Will Stay On the Court

Washington, Dec. 16 (News Bureau) — Justice William O. Douglas, cleared of impeachment charges by a special House subcommittee, said today he intended to stay on the Supreme Court, which he said "always has been and always will be stoutly independent."

The 72-year-old Douglas told an unusual early morning press conference on his case, but that



Associated Press Wirephoto

Justice William Douglas: "I have always been proud to be a member of the court."

he had made available to the panel "all my files relevant to the inquiry, with no restraint as to privilege or immunity."

"The committee has now performed its constitutional duties and I will try to continue to perform mine," Douglas said, reading from a four-paragraph prepared statement. "I have always been proud to be a member of the court, an institution which I think all will agree is distinguished at least in one respect—it always has been and always will be stoutly independent."

Then, in a postscript to his formal statement, the white-haired justice, who has been a member of the court since 1939, called on the nation's youth to "keep the faith" and initiate "a great renaissance" in the world by attacking the problems of pollution and civil rights.

## Praises Burger, Blackmun

Douglas appeared to lay to rest any rumor that he might step down from the court when, in his formal statement, he went out of his way to compliment President Nixon's two appointees — Chief Justice Warren E. Burger ("a pleasure to work with") and Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun ("a 'stout fellow'... there's no higher compliment").

The subcommittee's report may not, however, mean the end of the attempt to impeach Douglas. House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford (Mich.), who led the effort this year, branded the panel's findings a "whitewash" and said he probably would try again next year.

In addition, Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D-Ind.), the liberal who brought the charges against Douglas last April in a move to head off a conservative-led investigation, said he felt the subcommittee must hold hearings at which witnesses would testify under oath before its work is finished.

The subcommittee's voluminous report brought to light a number of details about Douglas' controversial relationship with Los Angeles businessman Albert Parvin and the Parvin Foundation. One such was a hint that the Central Intelligence Agency may have been involved in backstage maneuverings in the Dominican Republic in the early 1960s and that Douglas somehow may have been linked to the agency, at least indirectly, through a Parvin Foundation-sponsored TV literacy project.

STATINTL

STATINTL

# CIA Backing Linked To Trip By Douglas

## Connection Drawn In Report By House Panel Which Rejected Charges Against Justice

By ADAM CLYMER

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, Dec. 15—Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court was working on a project backed by the Central Intelligence Agency during a Latin American trip cited by his foes as a cause for his impeachment, a house subcommittee report indicated today.

It was not clear whether Justice Douglas knew at the time that the CIA supported the program to teach reading through educational television. The CIA, through various conduit foundations, was supporting institutions and individuals also working on the project.

### Hint Of Wrongdoing

Representative Gerald R. Ford (R., Mich.), the House minority leader, hinted in April that Justice Douglas's 1933 trips to the Dominican Republic were connected with efforts by organized gamblers to get concessions there.

The subcommittee rejected this suggestion and all others that were made by congressmen against Justice Douglas. It said there was no "creditable evidence" that he should be impeached.

The subcommittee rejected allegations that Justice Douglas had associated with professional gamblers, acted improperly—including giving legal advice—in respect to an educational foundation he headed, or had advocated revolution in his recent book, "Points of Rebellion."

The foundation was financed indirectly, but most of the money came from Nevada gambling income.

The conclusion—that the justice had not done wrong—was the view of the subcommittee's Democratic majority which included Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) and Representatives Jack Brooks (D., Texas) and Byron G. Rogers (D., Colo.).

The vote was announced last week, but the report was only released today. In it, Representative Edward H. Rostenkowski (D., Ill.), a dissenter, complained that the committee should have taken testimony under oath.

He said that an inquiry should focus on charges that the justice gave legal advice to the Albert Parvin Foundation and to the government of the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Hutchinson said the committee also should have considered whether censure or some other action short of impeachment—which requires a majority in the House and a two-thirds Senate vote—was warranted by the record.

### Case Significant

He said he also thought a case where Justice Douglas wrote immigration authorities on behalf of an Iraqi Kurd whom the justice did not know was significant.

Representative William M. McCulloch (R., Ohio), the fifth member of the subcommittee, abstained. He said last week that he favored further probing.

The subcommittee plainly hoped that its report would bury the controversy over the outspokenly liberal, four-times-married justice, who is 72 and has been on the high court since 1959.

But Representative Ford immediately denounced the report as a "whitewash" and said he would support an investigation by another panel when Congress reconvenes January 21.

### Douglas To Respond

Justice Douglas's office announced he would issue a statement on the report tomorrow. His attorneys had no comment today.

The report is to go to the full Judiciary Committee, but that panel, also headed by Mr. Celler, has no meetings scheduled this week. It got control of the issue after a series of impeachment resolutions were introduced last winter and spring by conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats.

They had asked for a special investigative committee. But Representative Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D., Ind.), a liberal, introduced a successful resolution of his own which referred the case to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Jacobs, however, while saying he is neutral on the issue of Justice Douglas's fitness, is also critical of the subcommittee for not taking sworn testimony in public.

### Centered On Parvin

The justice's varied off-the-bench activities were studied in considerable detail in the 924-page report, though most of the attention concentrated on his ties to Albert Parvin and the Albert Parvin Foundation.

The foundation, which he left in 1969, paid him \$93,669 between 1969 and 1969. In the same period his salary as a justice totaled \$389,749.26, and his net income from writing and lecturing was \$377,230.19.

Among the items disclosed in the report, which Mr. Celler said was a distillation of 599,690 documents examined by the subcommittee staff, were:

1. That President Johnson, according to a letter from the justice to Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, spent two hours with Justice Douglas June 8, 1955, most of the time devoted to discussing Vietnam, and gave the justice "a very simple recipe for resolving the Vietnam conflict," which the justice did not feel free to disclose.

### Sought Loan

2. That Justice Douglas approached Mr. Parvin about an \$8,000 loan in 1963 to buy some land adjacent to his summer home at Goose Prairie, Wash.

Mr. Parvin warned him against "the resulting innuendos or repercussions as a result of a personal loan from me." The justice then borrowed the money from his regular bank.

3. That Justice Douglas apparently believed that the first newspaper article connecting him to the Parvin Foundation and to gambling by Ronald J. Ostrow, of the Los Angeles Times, in October, 1966, was stimulated by an FBI leak designed to force him out of a Supreme Court case concerning Fred E. Black, an associate of Robert L. (Bobby) Baker. (Mr. Black, in attacking his conviction, assailed the FBI for "tagging" his hotel suite.)

### No Contacts

Justice Douglas asserted the "FBI-leak theory" October 17, 1966, in a letter to Mr. Parvin, adding that he had "had nothing to do with Black, Bobby Baker, or Levinson, who will shortly be indicted, according to common rumor here."

Mr. Baker was indicted in January, 1967. Edward Levinson was indicted in May, 1967, and convicted in 1963 on a charge of "skimming" Las Vegas gambling profits before paying taxes.

But the CIA-Dominican Republic affair was the most interesting to the investigators, and apparently gave the subcommittee the most difficulty.

The report shows that the Parvin Foundation gave money to the Inter-American Center for Economic and Social Studies in Santo Domingo. The money was to be used in connection with the literacy project, in which Justice Douglas took a considerable personal interest in 1963.

### CIA Secretive

The report records the CIA's refusal, despite repeated urging from the committee, to indicate the relation of Sacha Volman, a representative of both the foundation and the inter-American center, to the CIA.

Mr. Volman, a Romanian refugee, is identified elsewhere in the report in terms which make it appear that he was a CIA agent, assisting President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic before the latter's overthrow in late 1963.

In 1954 a House probe into foundations disclosed that another group Mr. Volman ran got money from the CIA through a foundation, the J. M. Kaplan Fund.

John Bartlow Martin, who was U.S. ambassador in Santo Domingo at that time, said today in a telephone interview that he recalled Justice Douglas's interest in the literacy project, which also involved the National Association of Broadcasters, the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development.

### "Was Involved"

"I was very involved and so was Juan Bosch, Volman was involved in everything," Mr. Martin said, indicating that when Mr. Bosch was overthrown September 25, 1963, Mr. Volman rescued the television tapes.

Asked if he knew then that Mr. Volman worked for the CIA, Mr. Martin replied, "I don't think I can answer that." He also said

STATINTL

# Justice Douglas Cleared by Majority on Panel

## Three Democrats Report No Evidence of Wrongdoing; Republican Member Dissents

BY THOMAS J. FOLEY

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The three-man Democratic majority of a House subcommittee that investigated Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said Tuesday they found no evidence that he associated with gamblers, advocated revolution or misused his office by practicing law.

A Republican member, Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), charged in a minority dissent that the Democratic majority closed the investigation before all the evidence was in.

The other GOP member of the five-man group, Rep. William McCulloch of Ohio, declined to sign either report.

### Called Whitewash

Several hours after the reports were made public the Supreme Court Information Office announced that Douglas would appear at the court this morning to read a statement. The office said Douglas would not answer questions.

The majority report absolving Douglas of impeachment charges was branded a "whitewash" by House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.), whose allegations against the justice prompted the House judiciary subcommittee inquiry. He said documents included in the report "condemn his conduct and cry for more searching inquiry."

Douglas' "extensive extrajudicial earnings and activities have impaired his usefulness and clouded his contribution to the United States Supreme Court," Ford said.

Both Hutchinson, whose report called for "a more exhaustive investigation," and Ford said no final conclusions could be made until the evidence has been tested under oath with cross-examination permitted.

The majority report was signed by Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) and Rep. Byron Rogers (D-Colo.). Their recommendation against impeaching Douglas was made public two weeks ago.

Rep. Louis Wyman (R-N.H.), who sponsored legislation to set up a select committee to study the charges against Douglas, has said he would reintroduce a similar resolution as soon as the new Congress convened next month.

The majority report documented Douglas' ties with the Albert Parvin foundation from 1960 until he resigned his \$12,000-a-year position as its president in May, 1969. It showed that the institution was under the scrutiny of first the FBI and then the Internal Revenue Service almost from its inception because of the source of most of its funds.

### Point by Point

Most of the foundation's resources stemmed from its share of receipts from a first mortgage on a Las Vegas gambling casino.

The majority report, in a point-by-point refutation of charges by Ford, said that Parvin but not Douglas had associations with known gamblers, that charges Douglas advocated revolution in his book "Points of Rebellion" came

tions, and that his "advice" did not constitute the practice of law but only the ministrations of a foundation officer.

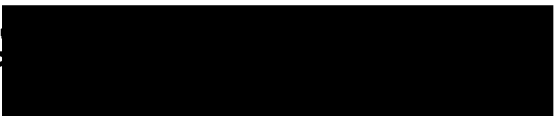
The subcommittee report also disclosed that it sought information from the Central Intelligence Agency during its investigation of Douglas.

In a letter written April 11, 1968, to Sacha Volman, serving as an adviser to Dominican Republic President Juan Bosch, Douglas analyzed a development contract Bosch had signed with a Swiss consortium.

Among other things, Douglas told Volman that consortium Director Robert Greiff's 10% fee was "utterly unconscionable," as was a requirement that the Dominican Republic pay all survey costs. He said he would try to find someone who would be a "honest, reliable and dedicated adviser in financial affairs" for Bosch.

The committee report said an examination of material submitted by Douglas "indicated that activities described by Rep. Ford in his April 15 speech, particularly those activities that related to the Dominican Republic, involved representatives from the Central Intelligence Agency."

Supreme Court Justice Douglas apparently was cooperating with the Central Intelligence Agency in one of the activities for which his House critics sought to impeach him. A report of a special House panel that investigated Douglas indicates that two men associated with him in a Dominican Republic literacy project had some connection to the CIA. The exact connection isn't clear, however, because the CIA refused to open its files.



# Douglas' Off-Bench Income Exceeds Court Salary

STATINTL

By John P. MacKenzie  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Justice William O. Douglas has earned more money off the bench during the past decade than he was paid as a member of the Supreme Court, a special House subcommittee reported yesterday.

In a 924-page report that concluded there was no basis for impeaching the 72-year-old justice, the subcommittee disclosed that between 1959 and 1969 Douglas topped his court salary of \$389,749 with earnings of \$377,260 from writings and lectures and \$86,630 as salaried president of the controversial Parvin Foundation. The House document itself became an immediate subject of controversy, as Minority Leader Gerald P. Ford (R-Mich.) promptly labeled it a "whitewash" of his charges that Douglas—an associate justice since 1939—had demeaned the bench and should be removed.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) said the Douglas investigation had produced a "mountain of evidence" that would lay the charges to rest. Ford insisted that the report's contents, rather than its conclusions, "condemn his conduct and cry out for a more searching inquiry."

It appeared that the full committee would not meet, much less tackle the Douglas matter, before the close of the 91st Congress and the automatic death of the resolution authorizing the investigation. Rep. Louis C. Wyman (R-N.H.) vowed to reopen the case in the next Congress with a new bid for an investigation not controlled by Celler, and Ford said he would "support" the move.

Douglas, who has known the nature of the subcommittee report for several days, planned to make a brief statement at the Supreme Court today. A court spokesman said he would not answer questions.

The report, signed only by the three Democratic members of the subcommittee, made these conclusions and disclosures:

- Douglas committed "no wrong" in submitting an article on folk singing to a publication owned by Ralph Ginzburg, central figure in several obscenity cases handled by the high court, and had "no duty" to disqualify himself when Ginzburg petitioned unsuccessfully to overturn a huge libel verdict won by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.).

- The justice has been careful, rather than insensitive, about "problems of disqualification" from certain cases.

- Charges that Douglas preached subversion in his book, "Points of Rebellion," are based on "distorted" readings and Douglas bore no responsibility for publication of one of its chapters, in the Evergreen Review or for its placement between a cartoon of President Nixon and a collection of photographs of nude women.

- Douglas has had no personal connection with underworld figures, and financier Albert Parvin, the alleged link to such persons, has been cleared of criminal charges after a massive Internal Revenue Service investigation known as "Operation Complex" that involved 41 agents working 39,317 man-hours in eight states and the District of Columbia.

- Nothing Douglas did as head of the Parvin Foundation, which worked for international understanding amounted to the illegal "practice of law." The foundation had its own lawyers, one of whom was Carolyn Agger, wife of former Justice Abe Fortas.

- There was no connection between a 1933 visit by Douglas to the Dominican Republic and visits there by underworld personalities or former Senate Majority Secretary Bobby Baker about the same time. "Lack of cooperation" by the Central Intelligence Agency left dangling and intriguing inquiry into whether a Parvin Foundation employee named Sacha Volman was a CIA agent involved in the overthrow of Dominican President Juan Bosch, a long-time friend of Douglas.

Joining Celler in the subcommittee findings were Reps. Byron G. Rogers (D-Colo.) and Jack Brooks (D-Texas). Rep. William M. McCulloch (Ohio) abstained and Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.) filed a two-page dissent.

Hutchinson said the subcommittee had failed to gather all the necessary evidence and could not consider its work complete without testimony and cross-examination of Douglas and other principals. He also objected to the majority's apparent conclusion that an impeachable offense must amount to a criminal act.

Hutchinson said the investigators also should have cleared up the question of why Douglas intervened with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on behalf of Mustafa Salih Abdulrahman, a Kurdish teacher from Iraq who was fighting deportation to his home country. Douglas wrote the INS that he did not know Abdulrahman but could support the claim that he and other Kurds faced persecution in Iraq.

"Someone must have asked Justice Douglas to intercede," said Hutchinson, demanding to know who it was. Yesterday Shafiq Qazaz, a 36-year-old doctoral candidate at American University, told The Washington Post that he had written Douglas last February asking his help on the basis of "oral meetings at international gatherings."



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# Douglas Cautioned Bosch About Man With Link to CIA

By IYLE DENNISTON  
Star Staff Writer

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas took special steps in 1966 to warn Latin American political figure Juan Bosch not to deal with a man Douglas believed to be on the Central Intelligence Agency payroll.

The incident, disclosed in still-unpublished letters, was a sequel to a CIA mystery uncovered but not solved by a special House Judiciary subcommittee in its investigation of Douglas' out-of-court activity.

Release today of the subcommittee's 924-page report brought a wide array of disclosures about Douglas. Earlier, the panel had concluded — by a party-line vote of 3 to 1 — that none of its findings justified impeachment.

The panel report still has not been considered by the parent Judiciary Committee, and aides said the earliest that could be done would be next Tuesday.

Among all the disclosures, only one is left in an uncertain state in the report: The suggestion that the CIA was involved somehow in secret maneuvering in the Dominican Republic in the early 1960s, and that Douglas may have had at least an indirect role.

The subcommittee says it could not get full details because the CIA did not make a "satisfactory response" to its inquiries.

It is not clear, from documents in the report, whether Douglas knew at the time that the agency was in any way involved with a project to teach Dominican Republic adults, via television, to read and write.

That project was partly financed by the Albert Parvin Foundation, which Douglas headed as president from 1961 to 1969. Other financing came from the State Department, and the project apparently had strong White House support in the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

It has been learned that the subcommittee has in its files, though it did not put them in its report, letters which showed that, by 1963, Douglas had become aware of a possible CIA connection, and this is what

prompted the warning he sought to give to Bosch, an old friend who was then trying to make a political comeback in the Dominican Republic.

## Warning Against Volman

The man he was warning Bosch against was Sacha Volman. A Rumanian refugee who had long been Bosch's political ally in Latin America, Volman had been in charge of the literacy project financed by the Parvin Foundation and the U.S. government.

While the Trujillo dictatorship still was in power in the Dominican Republic, Bosch and Volman worked together to train a "government in exile." When Trujillo was assassinated in 1961, Bosch and Volman brought their political forces to the Dominican Republic, and Bosch was elected president.

Apparently, Bosch asked Justice Douglas for help with an adult literacy program, and Douglas arranged for the Parvin Foundation to support it. Its money, and that put up by the U.S. Agency for International Development, was channeled to a foundation headed by Volman — the Center for Economic and Social Studies.

But Bosch was overthrown in 1963 by a military junta, before the literacy project could be fully arranged. A year later, in 1964, Volman turned up in New York as the head of an organization named the Institute of International Labor Research.

At that time, a House hearing disclosed that the institute had gotten \$395,000 from the J. M. Kaplan Fund and that the fund had been a "secret conduit" through which the CIA channeled funds into overseas activity. Volman was quoted in the New York Times as saying he the money his institute got from the fund.

Warned Bosch in 1966

In 1966, Bosch was trying to return to leadership in the Dominican Republic. Justice Douglas, apparently aware by then of Volman's background, sought to warn Bosch about him.

On May 23, 1966, Douglas wrote a letter to another old friend, former Puerto Rico Gov. Luis Munoz Marin. Saying he did not trust communications in the Dominican Republic, the justice asked Munoz Marin to relay a "message" to Bosch.

Referring to the earlier Bosch-Volman association, Douglas wrote: "I am sure he (Bosch) did not know that Volman at the time was on the CIA payroll. Volman may or may not be at the present time, but I would think the chances are great that he is."

On May 31, Munoz Marin wrote back, advising Douglas that he would get word to Bosch of "the situation."

Besides writing to Munoz Marin, Douglas had conveyed his thoughts about Volman to Albert B. Parvin, the Los Angeles businessman who founded the Parvin Foundation in 1961 and asked Douglas to head it.

"Sacha Volman is back in the State Department or somebody's payroll, probably the CIA," Douglas wrote to Parvin on May 25, 1966. Recalling what he described as a "bitter experience" with Volman's handling of the literacy project, Douglas said the foundation would "not want to get tied up with him again." These letters are not mentioned in the subcommittee report. However, the report does include materials showing that Douglas was personally involved with the literacy project and other political and economic activities in the Dominican Republic.

Prior to the coup that overturned Bosch's government, a new constitution was written for the Dominican Republic. Letters in the subcommittee report show that Douglas has acted as an adviser to the assembly which drafted that document. He acknowledged this in a letter dated June 18, 1963, to a Dominican government leader.

Douglas also gave advice, relayed in a letter to Volman on April 11, 1963, on a contract affecting construction of dams and other economic development projects in the Dominican.

## Discussed Foreign Affairs

But, according to the subcommittee report, the justice did not divulge to those of the Dominican Republic.

A letter written by Douglas on June 9, 1966, reveals that he spent three hours the night before discussing Asian affairs and the Vietnam war with President Lyndon Johnson.

Douglas says he got Johnson's approval for an international conference — partly financed by the Parvin Foundation, and managed by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which Douglas also headed — that would attempt to get both Red China and North Vietnam to talk over Asian problems with Western government and private leaders.

During the conversation with Johnson, Douglas relates, an hour and a half was taken up when Johnson "held on various aspects of Viet Nam, which I will not summarize at this time. He did, however give me a very simple recipe for resolving the Vietnam controversy. . . ."

That "recipe" is not described in the letter or the subcommittee report.

Among other reasons Douglas had for seeing Johnson, he indicated, was to get the President's clearance for a visit to Hanoi by two Americans — Harry Ashmore and William Baggs — to talk to Ho Chi Minh, the North Vietnamese leader, about attending the Asian conference.

## Other Disclosures

The subcommittee report, besides detailing these activities involving Douglas, also contains these other disclosures:

- o In the years 1960-69, Douglas earned more from off-bench activity than from his Supreme Court salary. His total salary was \$339,749.26 while his non-court income was \$473,940.19.

- o Of his outside income, Douglas received \$93,680 for his service as president of the Parvin Foundation, and \$377,269.19 from "writing and lecturing," according to the justice's income tax returns. Another document in the report shows the foundation paid him \$101,000, plus \$705.20. There is no explanation of the differing figures. Still another shows that the part of his income which came from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions was \$10,350 in honorariums and \$13,770.36 in reimbursed expenses.

- o The report shows that Douglas' ties with Albert Parvin extended well beyond the Parvin Foundation. Documents show that Parvin's furnishings supply company sold the Douglas a table and chairs for their vacation home in Goose Prairie, Wash., that Parvin sent to the

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## '65 Intervention Boosted Foes

# Dominican's Bosch Remains Bitter At U.S.

By GEORGE ANNE GEYER

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic (CDN) — The bitterness and trouble etched in the craggy face of Juan Bosch are like canyons in an ancient wilderness. If he were not so much a man, he would be the essence of the woman scorned.

He is back in his native land after three weary years in exile.

He lives in his sister's home near the blue sea that edges this tropical city, and he seldom goes out.

Each day, this troubled-looking man with the clipped, white hair cries out to his countrymen. His early afternoon radio broadcasts, with their homey parables about Dominicana, love, politics and life, reach into every corner of this convulsive green island, enlivening a torpid existence by asking questions that only God could answer.

Yet Bosch — the mystical, temperamental, tough core of so much of the torment of this island, is a different man today than he was five years ago, when 23,000 American troops landed to put down a revolution that would have returned him to power.

Though he is only 61 and

looking fit and splendid, he is painfully aware of his age. He is looked upon as conservative by many of the youth, and this spring he played a key and generally unknown role in stopping what probably would have led to another civil war.

He is the democrat betrayed; he now has turned his Cartesian mind to the delineation of a "solution" for his country that he obscurely calls "dictatorship with popular support."

Bosch rarely sees American Journalists these days — they are all "CIA agents" to him — but he remains a perfect gentleman. So why did he want to see him after the May 16 election, which returned his

old enemy Joaquin Balaguer to power for another four years, he chatted cordially.

"Every day people here have less and less interest in representative democracy," he began. And I thought back to the time when he was Mr. Democracy in the Caribbean. "Even in the United States, it doesn't work.

"Luckily, the American intervention opened the eyes of our people," he went on, rocking gently in a rocker on the open porch of the attractive modern house. "If not, we might have gone years without realizing that representative democracy would never work for us."

I meant only to be wry when I asked, "Dr. Bosch, are you suggesting we did you a favor?"

"Yes," he answered. "That is the way history works."

He paused. "For two years after the intervention, I was very confused. I had never expected the U.S. to intervene. I thought the United States was a democracy. At base, I thought it was very good. Then I saw the real face of the United States."

He put his hand to his own face and drew it over his features as though removing a mask.

"There is a picture in the world that shows the United States on the side of the weak and the helpless, on the side of right. We believed that propaganda." He paused, and none of the dozen family and friends who sat there quietly listening moved in the slow afternoon heat.

"We were wrong."

It is easy to believe that Bosch, a tortured man even when things were going well, had spent a good two years after the 1965 revolution almost in a state of shock.

He had been elected president of this largely mulatto nation of some 4.5 million per-

sons in 1962 after the assassination of the brutal dictator Rafael Trujillo. Bosch, a well-known writer, was the first elected president in 31 years.

"Democracy in the Caribbean," as the Kennedy people idealistically dubbed the Bosch experiment, lasted only seven months before the Trujilloite military, considering anyone not immediately out of the slaughterhouse of dictatorship a "Communist," overthrew the liberal Bosch.

The United States took no action at this time, but when civilian and military Boschists staged a civil war in April, 1965, which was destroying the old military, President Johnson landed the troops here. Suddenly "democracy in the Caribbean" was being labeled "communism in the Caribbean."

After seemingly endless circumlocutions, during which American troops helped wipe out many of Bosch's forces and American officials helped destroy his chances for re-election, Bosch was defeated in the 1966 elections by Balaguer, who had been Trujillo's righthand man.

Bosch went into self-exile in Spain, until this spring, when he came back for a purpose. He came back with an answer to the humiliation and deceit he feels he has suffered at the hands of the United States. His answer is a new system for the Dominican Republic.

What the country needs, he said, is a new conglomerate of political elements, which he calls "popular dictatorship" or "dictatorship with popular support."

Bosch has always been a mystic, and he is mystically obscure about this "new system," particularly about how it will be effected.

"How would it come to pass?" I persisted.

He shook his head with typical Boschist impatience at demands for details.

"You never know how things are going to happen," he said. "When the American Revolution occurred, no one knew that it was going to end in a federal republic. Castro did not know his revolution would end in Marxism, and Marx did not know how his theories would end. I know that when the people of a country are ready for a change that change comes through whatever route."

"But what controls would there be in such society?" I asked.

"The people will provide the controls. If it is a dictatorship of the people, then the people protect it. If the people are against it, then you need repression."

"Is there any government in similar to what I am talking about. What is most similar is North Vietnam, a front which unites all the classes. But there it is directed by a party. Here there would be no party but an administrative corps."

Bosch then embarked upon an enthusiastic, emotional description of North Vietnam which, along with China and North Korea, he recently visited.

"To visit North Vietnam is the greatest experience that a person could have in the world," he said. "It is incredible . . . incredible. Every house has five persons and five arms. And they never use them to kill a Vietnamese."

But when I asked him whether the North Vietnamese system could work in Latin America, he said very strongly: "No. This is another world. Vietnam is very organized; it is ancient."

It is easy enough simply to dismiss Bosch's mystic utterances, and Bosch himself — temperamental, a bad admin-

8 1 MAY 1970



# Bosch Five Years Later Disillusion With Democracy

SANTO DOMINGO

The bitterness and trouble etched in the craggy face of Juan Bosch are like canyons in an ancient wilderness. If he were not so much a man, he would be the essence of the woman scorned.

He is back in the Dominican Republic, his native land, after three weary years in exile, so angry at the United States that he sometimes seems all by himself to be a chorus of Greek furies.

He lives in his sister's home near the blue sea that edges this tropical city, and he seldom goes out.

Each day, though, this troubled-looking man with the clipped, white hair cries out to his countrymen. His early afternoon radio broadcasts, with their homely parables about Dominicana, love, politics and life, reach into every corner of this convulsive green island, enlivening a torpid existence by asking questions that only God could answer.

Yet Bosch, the mystical, temperamental, tough core of so much of the torment of this island, is a different man today than he was five years ago, when 23,000 American troops landed to put down a revolution that would have returned him to power.

Though he is only 61, and looking fit and splendid, he is painfully aware of his age. He is looked upon as conservative by many of the youth and this spring he played a key and generally unknown role in stopping what probably would have led to another civil war.

He is the democrat betrayed, so betrayed he now has turned his Cartesian mind to the delineation of a "solution" for his country that he obscurely calls "dictatorship with popular support."

Bosch rarely sees American journalists these days—they are all "CIA agents" to him—but he remains a perfect gentleman. So when I dropped by to see him after the May 16 election, which returned his old enemy Joaquin Balaguer to power for another four years, he chatted cordially.

Much of the fascination in Bosch is that he is a man who weaves perfectly constructed, slim and shiny theories about his Dominican country (a most random and undisciplined world) with the natural, even thoughtless, and unprovoked worm spins silk.

So it was no surprise to me, having helped destroy his chances for reelection, Bosch was defeated in the 1966 elections by Balaguer, who had been Trujillo's right-hand man. Bosch went into self-exile in Spain, until this spring, when he came back for a purpose. He came back with an answer to the humiliation and defeat he feels he has suffered at the hands of the United States. His answer is a new system for the Dominican Republic.

"Every day people here have less and less interest in representative democracy," he began. And I thought back to the time when he was Mr. Democracy in the Caribbean. "Even in the United States, it doesn't work."

"What the country needs, he said, is a new conglomerate of political elements, which he calls "popular dictatorship" or "dictatorship with popular support."

"Luckily, the American intervention opened the eyes of our people," he went on, rocking gently in a rocker on the open porch of the attractive modern house. "If not, we might have gone years without realizing that representative democracy would never work for us."

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After seemingly endless circumlocutions, during which American troops helped wipe out many of Bosch's forces and American officials

Nevertheless, there is a certain receptiveness all over Latin America and elsewhere in the underdeveloped world to the idea of "popular dictatorship." Basically, it is a mixture of Mussolini corporativism, Nasseristic military insurrection as a road to power, Marxist utopian-

What the country needs, he said, is a new conglomerate of political elements, which he calls "popular dictatorship" or "dictatorship with popular support."



STATINTL

# LIBERTY LOWDOWN

A CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON REPORT SUPPLIED ONLY TO LIBERTY LOBBY PLEDGERS

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## THUNDER OVER THE POTOMAC

At Great Falls, a few miles above the Nation's capital, the Potomac is a narrow shining ribbon of water twisting and winding between its palisades as seen from 20,000 feet. It is here that the great procession of mighty thundering jetliners begin their descent as they head toward National Airport. It is challenging to pilot to keep in the narrow twisting corridor above the river, where he is required to remain because the thundering roar of his aircraft is unwelcome to the residents of the District of Columbia and Virginia on the land below. Apparently the residents of Georgetown in the District of Columbia have more political influence, for as a result of their complaints pilots make sure that when they stray from over the river, it is on the Virginia side. As the planes thunder over Langley, Va., passengers look out upon the roof of a tremendous office complex, a massive white building with two gigantic bean-shaped parking lots--the imposing headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.).

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## MYSTERY FOR A SHROUD

Intelligence is generally thought of as a cloak and dagger hush-hush business, shrouded in mystery, and much is made of how secret the C.I.A. operation is. But the iceberg has a big tip--the building in Langley, the recruiters on college campuses, and operations such as the U-2 overflights of Russia, and the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

Most people recognize the need of governments for accurate intelligence, necessary for the protection of their nationals. Things that are really subject to question by the layman are the concept of this operation being a world wide network, computerized, and mass-produced with a massive bureaucracy, and the quality and orientation of the personnel involved. Of course, the size of the budget to sustain all this should be a justifiable question for taxpayers. This is particularly important as the budget of the C.I.A. is secret--even the Congressmen who vote the funds are not supposed to know the amount of the agency's budget. The allotments are concealed in appropriations for other agencies of government. If, however, the C.I.A. gets the reputed amount of \$4 BILLION a year, and this amount can be hidden in the budget, it would certainly cause taxpayers to wonder if the federal budget is not leakier than the New York City water system.

One thing is certain--anybody who recruits on college campuses should know what he is hiring--for the students who get honors these days are those who please their

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 NEWS & OBSERVER  
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## Two Are Indicted In Firearms Case

BY JIM LEWIS  
 Staff Writer

A Fayetteville gun shop operator and a New York man have been indicted here on charges of violating federal firearms laws.

The grand jury of U. S. Eastern District Court returned the bills of indictment in Raleigh Monday against Earl V. Redick operator of Pine State Gun Shop at Fayetteville, and George DeMeo, a reputed weapons dealer whose address has been listed as Yonkers, N. Y.

Both Redick and DeMeo were indicted on charges of failing to register as an arms dealer; neglecting to register the weapons they offered for sale; and failing to obtain a license to sell explosive devices. In addition, Redick, a 45-year-old former enlisted military man, was indicted on a separate count of failing to maintain records and receipts of firearms.

A Senate investigator disclosed last October during a probe of the activities of retired Army Major Gen. Carl Turner that Turner had sold arms to the Fayetteville gun shop. The weapons were allegedly destined for rebels in Haiti. There was a subsequent report that the firearms were to be shipped to the West African nation of Chad. More recently, it was reported the guns were headed for the Dominican Republic. There were unconfirmed reports of Central Intelligence Agency involvement.

Charges against Redick and DeMeo followed a raid last June 27 of a warehouse at Redick's home about 10 miles south of Fayetteville. Federal officials seized a five-ton cache of arms in the raid.

However, the indictments returned by the federal grand

jury here did not involve the arms cache. Rather, the charges involved weapons left for repair at Redick's downtown Fayetteville gun shop.

"There is no involvement with the CIA in any of these cases. It is not an issue in any one of these cases against the men," J. C. Proctor, an assistant U.S. attorney, said here Tuesday.

Proctor said Redick and DeMeo would be arraigned at the next term of federal court in Fayetteville which begins Feb. 2. He said the date of their trial also would be set then.

Listed as the weapons on which the charges were based were a .30-caliber Cabors Faktori automatic rifle; a .30-caliber Browning automatic rifle; an M-2 rifle; and quantities of explosives commonly used in military operations.

During cloak-and-dagger efforts to initiate delivery of the big cache of weapons found in Redick's warehouse last year, DeMeo and Redick reportedly became concerned that the arms would fall into the wrong hands. They subsequently contacted a highly placed United States official in Washington.

Neither Redick, DeMeo nor a spokesman for Redick have confirmed or denied that their gun shipment was linked to the secretive CIA. But during interviews Redick and others left the clear impression that the U. S. official was employed by the CIA.

19 APR 1970

# Dominican Republic Ripe for Reds

By DON ROHNING  
Herald Latin America Editor

An increasingly volatile political climate in the Dominican Republic has once again provided Communist extremists with a situation ripe for agitation and exploitation.

Just five years ago this month they seized upon the chaos created by an attempted military coup to exert an influence far beyond their numbers in the bloody civil war that followed.

The threat of a Communist takeover of the country at the time prompted President Johnson to order the controversial intervention by 23,000 U.S. troops.

TODAY, however, the Dominican Communist movement is as badly splintered as every other group or institution in the troubled Caribbean island country.

The U.S. State Department, in its 1969 edition of "World Strength of the Communist Party Organization," estimates the hardcore Dominican Communist membership at little more than 1,000 divided among a half dozen tactically and ideologically disparate groups.

Other sources put it perhaps as high as 2,000 but certainly no more.

COMMUNIST activities have been officially prohibited since 1963.

Still, their activities have been tolerated to a degree, and it is not unusual to see news stories in Dominican papers stating the various parties' position regarding specific events.

Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer himself has said that "only when the Communists take action that can be considered subversive, or try to upset order and the peace of the land do the authorities intervene."

**MOST MILITANT** of the country's extremist groups is the Dominican Popular Movement headed by Maximiliano Gomez, a 26-year-old Dominican known as "El Moreno."

Gomez, who returned to the Dominican Republic after receiving guerrilla training in Cuba in 1963, was one of 21 prisoners released by the government and sent to Mexico last month in exchange for Donald J. Crowley, the kidnaped U.S. Embassy air attache.

Here is a thumbnail sketch of the various Dominican Communist groups, including their estimated numerical strength, ideological orientation and background:

• **DOMINICAN Communist Party.** Oldest, best-disciplined and most sophisticated. Membership largely bourgeois and intellectual. Founded in the mid-1940's by Spanish exiles. Has become increasingly nationalistic since 1965 when young turks seized control from entrenched older leadership. Active membership is now about 200.

Probably closest to Cuba ideologically. Moved from a basically pro-Moscow orientation under old leadership to more revolutionary position. Condemned Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and refused to sign document of world Communist Party organizations at Moscow summit conference last June. Openly supports the "popular dictatorship" thesis of ex-president Juan Bosch and his Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD).

• **DOMINICAN Popular Movement (MPD).** Greatest "action" capability of any of the extremist groups. Loosely described as pro-Cuba, pro-Peking and anti-Moscow. Ability to incite in poorer

neighborhoods of Santo Domingo and also active among campesinos. Utilizes terrorist tactics including bombings, assassinations and robbery. Founded in 1956 in Cuba by Maximo Lopez Molina (who has since broken away). Communist orientation since its inception. Established in the Dominican Republic shortly after May 1961 assassination of late dictator Rafael Trujillo.

• **FOURTEENTH of June Movement (MR-1J4).** Takes name from Cuban-inspired June 14, 1959, invasion of Dominican Republic by anti-Trujillo exiles. Founded during Trujillo era as clandestine nationalist organization. Widespread support from middle and upper class youth in period after Trujillo's death. Communist and pro-Castro elements gained influence by late 1962 and by 1963 leadership of party under Communist control. Proclaimed itself Marxist-Leninist Party in 1966.

Probably now has less than 100 hardcore activists. Badly factionalized. Still some influence in university and secondary school federation.

• **COMMUNIST Party of the Dominican Republic (PCRD).** Commonly known as "Pacoredo." Founded in 1966 as splinter from the Dominican Popular Movement. Generally follows Peking-line although condemned kidnaping of Crowley. Active membership about 100. Increasing in significance. Active in university student affairs through its youth arm, Juventud Comunista.

• **POPULAR Socialist Party (PSP).** Staunchly pro-Moscow. Small, with perhaps 50 active members. Resurrected in 1967 by old guard leadership of Dominican Communist Party who were expected since more nationalistic younger mem-

• **ORTHODOX Communist Party (PCO).** Tiny and virtually inactive party. Founded in 1966 as spin-off from MPD. Pro-Peking.

• **VOZ PROLETARIAT (VP).** Founded in mid-1968 as pro-Peking group by dissidents from Dominican Popular Movement. Small but relatively active until December 1968, when it publicly announced it had tried, executed and cremated its secretary-general, Caonabo Elpidio Jorge Tavares for being an alleged CIA informant.

# Dominican Embassy Bugged In '61, Baker Data Shows

*Republic*

STATINTL

By ROBERT WALTERS  
Star Staff Writer

U.S. intelligence officials, concerned about the political crisis in the Dominican Republic after the 1961 assassination of the long-time dictator Rafael Trujillo, tapped the telephone lines of the Dominican Embassy here, government sources reported yesterday. They said the tap was installed and maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on orders of the State Department and White House.

Disclosure of the tap came as a result of documents presented last month in U.S. District Court here during the pre-trial hearing on criminal charges against Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, former secretary to the Senate Democrats.

Baker faces trial next month on nine counts of theft, tax evasion and conspiracy to defraud the government.

### Evidence Suppression Asked

During the pre-trial hearing, his attorney, Edward Bennett Williams, asked that government evidence be suppressed on the grounds that it was obtained illegally - through wire-tapping and "bugging."

Government prosecutors acknowledged that some of Baker's conversations had been recorded clandestinely, but insisted that none of the information obtained related to the criminal indictments against him.

In an effort to prove that point, the government produced for Judge Oliver Gasch transcripts of all the tapped and "bugged" conversation involving Baker.

Partial transcripts of conversations recorded by three hidden microphones were introduced in evidence during the hearing.

### Hidden in Three Offices

According to government testimony, those microphones were hidden in the offices of three Baker associates—Fred Black in Washington, Edward Levinson in Las Vegas and Benjamin Sigelbaum in Miami.

A search of FBI and Justice Department records also showed that some of Baker's conversations appeared in transcripts of tapped telephone conversations at the Dominican Embassy.

At a conference in Gasch's chambers early in the hearings, Williams and Justice Department attorney William O. Bittman agreed to seal the documents pertaining to the Dominican Embassy and not discuss them in public sessions.

No mention was made of them, but on Friday syndicated newspaper columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson disclosed the existence of the tap and said:

"Secretary of State Dean Rusk was so alarmed over the eavesdropping that he sent an anguished appeal to the courts to suppress the evidence. Accordingly, Judge Gasch sealed the evidence and directed Baker and his attorneys not to mention the embassy wire taps."

### Intervention Denied

In the only subsequent public comment on the disclosure, State Department Press Officer Robert J. McCloskey said Friday: "It is not true that Secretary Rusk or anyone else in the department made an intervention in this case as alleged in this column."

McCloskey refused to comment on the report of the tap on the grounds that it was "a matter for the Justice Department and I don't want to get into any discussion of substance of a case that is now before the courts."

But other government sources confirmed that shortly after the May 30, 1961, assassination of Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic for 30 years, U. S. intelligence officials decided to

tap the phone lines at the Washington embassy.

High level officials at both the White House and State Department are said to have agreed that such a move would be valuable to provide needed intelligence information at a time when the Dominican government was in turmoil.

### Executive Had Authority

The decision was made under terms of an executive order which allows government wire-taps in cases of "national security."

The tapped conversations apparently produced a good deal of information valuable not only to the State Department but also to the FBI, Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence sources.

Baker, whose extensive outside business interests led to a Senate investigation, apparently called the embassy several times to determine the status of Dominican business operations in which he was interested.

Government officials said phones at the Dominican Embassy had been tapped intermittently over a period of 10 to 15 years.

They said other embassy telephone lines in Washington also have been tapped at various times in the interest of "national security" but emphasized that the practice is part of a widespread pattern of international espionage and other nations probably "bug" and tap U. S. embassies with far greater frequency than this country does.