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# SUSPICIONS

Where can someone find previously classified documents that are so often quoted in the press? Details about the Glomar Explorer project, the wiretapping of civil rights leaders and other activities appear with some frequency in newspaper articles but no library seems to have the background documentation.

Many of these papers were obtained by reporters or researchers filing requests under the provisions of the Freedom of Information or Privacy acts. Anyone has a right to ask for information under the acts. One central source for such information is the Washington-based Center for National Security Studies. For a nominal charge, the organization makes available an array of once-secret government documents.

CIA 2-05.1 FOIA

orig Center for

~~NATIONAL Security~~

Studies

ROBINSON, Timothy  
CIA 4-01 Domestic Spying  
CHAOS

# At CIA, Domestic and Foreign Spying Had Equal Priority

By Timothy S. Robinson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Central Intelligence Agency considered its spying on American political and civil rights leaders such as Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as having the same high priority as its intelligence-gathering on the Soviet Union and Communist China, according to CIA files.

The previously undisclosed files, obtained by The Washington Post last week, were declassified about two years ago by the CIA and turned over to plaintiffs in a civil lawsuit challenging the legality of the CIA's "Operation Chaos" domestic spying program in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The documents obtained by The Post are among approximately 200 pages of such material scheduled for public release this week.

The documents, being released by the Center for National Security Studies, a private group exploring alleged intelligence service abuses, include some that might not have been disclosed to two government entities that probed Chaos after it was made public in late 1975, according to lawyers familiar with those investigations.

Persons who have had access to all the documents turned over to the plaintiffs said that while much of the material is not new in terms of basic information, it places many elements of the program in a new light and details for the first time the extent of opposition within the CIA itself to the domestic spying activity and the priority given the mission.

For example, the CIA's inspector general reported in a memorandum that Chaos cable traffic to one CIA post "was destroyed immediately after reading so as to avoid any possibility of its somehow falling into the hands of a black officer" who might object to the program.

Various CIA officials questioned the legality of the program at the time, and voiced their concerns at the highest levels of the agency.

However, according to another memo, CIA Director Richard Helms decreed that it should not be stopped "simply because some members of the organization do not like this activity."

Operation Chaos was begun in 1967 when President Johnson asked the CIA to determine whether antiwar activity was being financially or otherwise backed by foreign countries. It was disclosed publicly in The New York Times in late 1975, and was probed at length by a presidential commission headed by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and a Senate select committee headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho).

The program apparently intensified in May 1969, when Helms instructed that "operational priority of MHCHAOS (the CIA code name) activities in the field is in the highest category, ranking with Soviet and Chicom (Chinese Communist) data," according to a CIA memo.

The CIA has contended that the Chaos program was always a minor part of its activities, with later CIA Director William Colby once describing it to President Ford as a "low-cost collection program."

Within a year after the Helms high-priority instructions, a CIA field office head informed superiors that "I

do not think it is the sort of thing that we should be involved in," according to a CIA memo.

He said that even if it were considered "passive" intelligence collecting, "there is a natural tendency when an interesting report is received to request additional details, then the action begins." He said the domestic collection of data on U.S. citizens is "clearly the function" of the FBI and not the CIA, and "I think we would find it difficult to justify what we're doing."

The CIA inspector general's report two years later re-emphasized what it called "numerous signs of uneasiness

over the agency's role" because CHAOS "appeared to constitute a monitoring of the political views and activities of Americans not known to be or suspected of being involved in espionage."

"Some rather strong language was used in describing what was understood to be the thrust of MHCHAOS and several officers said they wanted no part of it," the inspector general said. He said many officers felt that the agency would "find itself confronting a major crisis" if the program became known publicly.

Helms' reaction, according to another CIA memo, was to suggest that the person heading the program "become identified with the subject of terrorism" rather than domestic spying activities, while continuing the same operation.

There have been previous reports that the CIA kept files on 10,000 Americans and some data on 300,000 others. The recently disclosed materials appear to confirm for the first time the names of some of those watched.

Among those listed in a computer printout were former House member Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), as well as Kennedy and King.

In addition to the names located on the computer, the CIA also maintained what it called "sensitive files" on Abzug concerning her anti-Vietnam War activities in Europe, on King and on King's widow, Coretta.

An attempt by the plaintiffs to make these documents public in January 1977 was blocked by a federal judge when she was informed that they planned a press conference concerning the material.

The plaintiffs, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, had U.S. District Court Judge June L. Green reversed by the U.S. Court of Appeals, which said her order preventing disclosure of the materials presented serious First Amendment problems.

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Center For National Security Studies

CIA 4.01 Domestic Spying

CIA 2.05.1 FOIA

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION  
23 July 1979

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# Documents Reveal CIA Probed U.S. Students

WASHINGTON

Newly released documents reveal that Walt W. Rostow commissioned a Central Intelligence Agency investigation of domestic student dissidence in the 1960's while he was President Johnson's national security adviser.

The documents, known within the agency as the "Family Jewels" because of their sensitive nature, were prepared in response to a 1973 request by James Schlesinger, who was then director of the C.I.A., for reports on all activities that might be considered beyond the agency's legislative charter. The charter limits the C.I.A.'s activity to conducting foreign intelligence operations.

## 1968 Report

The 1973 documents were obtained last week under the Freedom of Information Act by the Center for National Security Studies, a privately financed research group whose purpose is to reform activities of the intelligence agencies.

According to the Family Jewels, a report on worldwide student unrest entitled "Restless Youth" was commissioned in 1968 because, "confronted by tumult at campuses like Columbia and mindful of the violence accompanying student outbursts at Berlin's Free University and elsewhere, Rostow sought to learn whether youthful dissidence was interconnected."

One section of the "Restless Youth" report "drew heavily on overt literature and F.B.I. reporting

on Students for a Democratic Society and affiliated groups," the document said. "Because S.D.S. was a domestic organization, the full paper 'Restless Youth,' including the essay on worldwide dissent, went only to nine readers."

The Center for National Security Studies said, "The documents reveal for the first time that satellite photography was used by the C.I.A. to analyze domestic disturbances." It reached that conclusion because satellite spying was mentioned along with other reports of C.I.A. spying on U. S. dissident groups, including statements that:

▶ "D.C.S. [the Domestic Contact Service] collects information on foreign students studying in the U. S."

▶ "D.C.S. collects information on physicians practicing in the U. S. who have studied abroad (mostly foreign nationals)."

▶ "O.C.I. [the Office of Current Intelligence], in 1967 and 1968, prepared intelligence memoranda on possible foreign connections with the U. S. anti-war movement and worldwide student dissidence (including the S.D.S.) at the request of the White House."

In the same section, the report said, "N.P.I.C. [the C.I.A. National Photographic Interpretation Center] and COMIREX [the National Foreign Intelligence Board's Committee on Imagery Requirements and Exploitation] "review satellite imagery from N.A.S.A. programs to identify photography too 'sensitive' for public release."  
—CATHERINE MYERS

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IN PAGE A-10

NEW YORK TIMES  
17 JULY 1979

CIA 2.05.1 FOIA

CRAL Center For  
National Security  
Studies

## C.I.A. Used Satellites for Spying On Antiwar Protesters in U.S.

CIA 4.01 Domestic  
Spying

CIA 1.03 Protests

WASHINGTON, July 16 (UPI) — The Central Intelligence Agency used intelligence satellites in the late 1960's to spy on American students engaged in antiwar demonstrations, a series of formerly classified documents disclosed today.

The papers revealed the C.I.A. also monitored foreign broadcasts of antiwar activities by Jane Fonda, the actress, and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

The C.I.A. papers said the questionable spying on Americans — ordered "at the request of" President Johnson's White House — was an attempt to check "possible foreign connections with the U.S. antiwar movement."

The C.I.A. eventually conceded the spying — a possible violation of the agency's charter — had failed to find any links between foreign institutions and American antiwar activists.

The Center for National Security Studies, a privately financed research organization generally critical of American intelligence activities, obtained the documents under a Freedom of Information Act request.

The C.I.A. collected the documents, known colloquially as the "family jewels" because of their closely guarded, sensitive nature, during an in-house investigation ordered by James R. Schlesinger, the agency's Director at the

time.

Mr. Schlesinger, now Energy Secretary, requested a report on all C.I.A. activities that might be considered outside the agency's authority. The agency's charter forbids the it from engaging in domestic intelligence activities.

The key document in the package — a May 8, 1973, memorandum to Mr. Schlesinger from Edward Proctor, then deputy director for intelligence — provided a list of activities "possibly outside C.I.A.'s legislative charter."

The area garnering the most interest was the spying from space on American students, called in the documents a "review of satellite imagery from NASA programs to identify photographs too 'sensitive' for public release."

The document did not indicate whether the pictures were used to estimate the size of demonstrations or were enlarged to identify individuals taking part.

The cameras on the American spy satellites, which operate at altitudes higher than 100 miles, are said to be accurate enough to record objects the size of a suitcase.

The C.I.A., according to the documents, also kept unclassified files — mostly newspaper clippings — on "extremists" such as H. Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver, the black activists.

# CNSS NEWS

Approved for release 04/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100660001-4

TOP SECRET  
Security Studies  
CIA 2-05.1  
FOIA  
(original ORQ)

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For Release Monday,  
July 16, 1979, a.m. papers

## CIA SPIED ON ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS

The CIA was provided information gathered by the top-secret National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) and used it for spying on domestic demonstrations during the late 1960's, according to documents made public today by the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS). The documents reveal for the first time that satellite photography was used by the CIA to analyze domestic disturbances. The NRO, a highly classified agency whose very existence was unknown until it was inadvertently mentioned in a 1973 Senate report, operates all overhead reconnaissance programs for the entire intelligence community, and has the largest budget of any intelligence agency.

The CIA documents, part of what is known as the "Family Jewels," were prepared in response to then-DCI James Schlesinger's 1973 request for reports on all activities which might be considered to be outside the CIA's legislative charter, and were obtained by CNSS under the Freedom of Information Act. In addition to the satellite surveillance of demonstrations, the documents reveal that the CIA monitored the foreign radio broadcasts of anti-war activist Jane Fonda and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and collected intelligence on the possible foreign connections of the anti-war movement (Tab A).

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Despite being limited by its legislative charter to conducting foreign intelligence operations, the Family Jewels contain clear evidence that the CIA knowingly exceeded its charter in several areas:

- In another previously unknown CIA domestic study, the documents show that the CIA analyzed black radicalism in the Caribbean with a view towards linking it with the black movement in the United States (Tab B);
- A report on worldwide student dissidence entitled, "Restless Youth," was commissioned by Walt Rostow in 1968; when the paper was later disseminated to Cabinet members all references to the SDS and other student radicals in the U.S. were carefully sanitized from the report (Tab C);
- The CIA library maintained unclassified "extremist files" for reference purposes. Dossiers were maintained on dissidents such as Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver, and it was noted that "any sort of extremism was grist for these particular files." (Tab D);
- Widespread domestic surveillance of the anti-war movement was conducted to determine whether any links existed between it and international communist elements (Tab E).

These excesses of authority by the CIA point up the need for a well-defined legislative charter that would prohibit CIA domestic surveillance.

The activities of the Center for National Security Studies are jointly sponsored by the Fund for Peace and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation.

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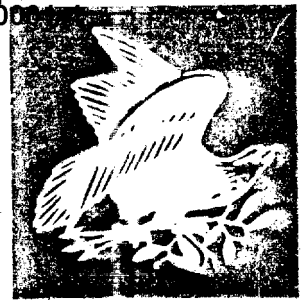
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# Intelligence Report



CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES — WASHINGTON, D.C.

Volume 1 No. 1

## CIA'S SECRET WAR IN ANGOLA

*"We are most alarmed at the interference of extra-continental powers who do not wish Africa well and whose involvement is inconsistent with the promise of true independence."*

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger  
September 24, 1975

The United States is today deeply involved in a brutal war in Angola. Like the Vietnamese and Laotian conflicts in their early years, the Angolan war is — as far as the public and most of the Congress are concerned — a secret war run by the CIA. As was true in Indochina, the President himself is making the key decisions. In fact, at about the same time that the Indochina war was finally ending last spring, President Ford personally authorized the CIA to provide covert money and arms to African independence groups in Angola.

Although the Ford Administration has repeatedly stated that the United States will not become militarily involved in Angola, official sources reported on December 12 that the CIA is now spending \$50 million on the Angolan war, and has already sent five artillery spotter planes piloted by Americans into the Angolan battle zones. According to these sources, U.S. Air Force C-141 transport jets, flying in behalf of the CIA, regularly land at the airport in Kinshasa, Zaire (formerly the Congo), disgorging tons of military supplies including rifles, machine guns, light artillery, rocket launchers, and ammunition; these supplies are in turn being flown into Angola by small plane. In addition, the *International Bulletin* reported in its December 5 edition that U.S. mercenaries are now fighting in Angola. David Bufkin, a Vietnam veteran who is recruiting mercenaries in New York, Chicago, and California, has admitted the existence of a nation-wide recruitment effort.

The evidence of large-scale CIA intervention is now clear (as is the intervention by the Soviet Union, Cuba, South Africa, Zaire, and other powers). The CIA's involvement was first reported by Leslie Gelb in the *New York Times* of September 25, 1975. On November 8 and 9, Gelb and Walter Pincus of the *Washington Post* both reported that CIA Director William Colby and Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco briefed a closed session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the involvement. An independent investigation by the Center for National Security Studies has now confirmed these reports and uncovered the details of President Ford's decision to send the CIA into action.

### The Decision to Intervene

President Ford was not so much faced with a decision to intervene in Angola last spring as he was with the question of whether or not to support and increase a long-standing covert CIA involvement there. The CIA had been funding the FNLA and Holden Roberto since 1962, according to five different Administration sources. Two other government sources report that Roberto's brother-in-law, President Mobutu of Zaire, started receiving secret CIA funds and other aid soon after Zaire gained its independence in June, 1960. In Angola, like Zaire more than a decade ago, the CIA provides large amounts of secret money and arms to its local allies who are fighting against groups backed by the Soviet Union.

The CIA's involvement in Zaire grew steadily during the Kennedy and early Johnson administrations. During those same years, the policy toward the nearby Portuguese colonies, including Angola, was to "play all ends against the middle," according to an ex-White House aide. This policy meant providing Portugal with some military and political support, and taking a public stance in favor of nonviolent change in the colonies. In secret, however, the CIA subsidized independence groups committed to armed revolution against Portugal, but never with enough support to turn the tide. According to the White House source, "The CIA had the habit of picking out single individuals and making them our guys, somehow assuming they would turn out all right. It was mainly a cash-in-the-envelope kind of thing, conscience money to show American good intentions." The CIA funded various liberation movements from 1960 on, and FNLA's Holden Roberto was a major recipient.

In 1969, the Nixon Administration decided to end the secret "program aid" to the independence groups as part of a larger policy decision to improve American relations with the white regimes in southern Africa (Portugal's colonies, Rhodesia, and South Africa). According to State Department aides, the CIA did not totally drop Roberto but kept him on the payroll as an intelligence source. Five years later,

when it became clear that Angola would receive independence from the new government in Portugal, it was a relatively simple matter, as one Administration official puts it, for the CIA "to turn Roberto back on."

Thus, with Roberto already safely inside the American camp, President Ford's key decision last spring turned on whether to start funding a second independence group, UNITA. The 40 Committee, chaired by Henry Kissinger, had already approved \$300,000 in secret subsidies for Jonas Savimbi, head of UNITA, and the President personally approved that action, according to an Administration official

interviewed by CNSS. The source stated that both the President and Kissinger were aware that adding UNITA to the U.S. account constituted a major step, close to a commitment that the United States would not allow the MPLA to control Angola.

The source recalled that Kissinger pushed hard for the increased CIA intervention. "Henry wanted to be told why we should intervene," said the official, "not why not." Many within the government were opposed, including Nathaniel Davis, then the State Department's highest official for African affairs and formerly ambassador to Chile during

## THE ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

On November 11, 1975, Angola became a free country after 500 years of Portugese colonialism. But independence so far has meant only a violent civil war for Angola, as three competing African liberation movements, each massively supported by outside powers, vie for power in the country. Indeed, foreign intervention has turned the Angolan civil war into a potentially explosive cold war confrontation. The actual conflict in Angola, however, does not easily reduce itself to an ideological struggle between communists and capitalists. All three movements say they favor some form of socialism, and each has stressed the primacy of national reconstruction and independence.

The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) led by Agostinho Neto, is generally recognized as the strongest and most radical of the three. The MPLA was founded in the mid-1950's and began armed resistance to the Portugese in 1961. It draws its primary support from the Kimbundu people, who make up about 23% of the country's population. Urban based, with a socialist orientation, the MPLA seems to have considerably more support across tribal lines and among educated Angolans than the other two groups. Its forces currently hold the central portion of Angola, including the capital city of Luanda, where it declared itself the legitimate government of the country on independence day.

The Soviet Union, Cuba, Algeria, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau all recognize the MPLA's claim to legitimacy, and all have furnished it with military assistance. The MPLA started receiving modest amounts of Soviet aid in the early 1960's to fight Portugese domination, after first having been refused support by the United States. However, it was not until after the April 1974 revolution in Portugal, and most recently since the spring of 1975, that the Soviets began providing truly large quantities of assistance. Soviet

guns, and ammunition to armored vehicles, mortars, anti-aircraft guns, and ground-to-ground missiles. Additionally, U.S. intelligence sources report that about 3,000 Cuban advisors have been fighting with the MPLA since mid-fall.

The FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) is led by Holden Roberto, and based almost solely among the Bakongo people, who make up about 13% of the population. Roberto is closely allied with his brother-in-law, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, and has spent most of his adult life outside Angola in Zaire. Most of the territory controlled by the FNLA is in the north, along the Zairian border. On November 11, the FNLA and the third independence group, UNITA, formalized a shaky alliance by declaring themselves to be the legitimate government, with their capital in the southern Angolan city of Huambo.

Most of the FNLA's aid over the years has flowed through Zaire, with the United States furnishing the majority of outside support. The FNLA is now also receiving aid from Belgium, West Germany, France, Zaire, and South Africa. The Chinese provided assistance to Zaire and the FNLA until a few months ago, when they began withdrawing their support, and by the end of October all their advisors were out.

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was formed in 1966 under its current leader, Jonas Savimbi. Its base is among the Ovimbundu people, who comprise 38% of the population. UNITA's strength is in the southern part of Angola.

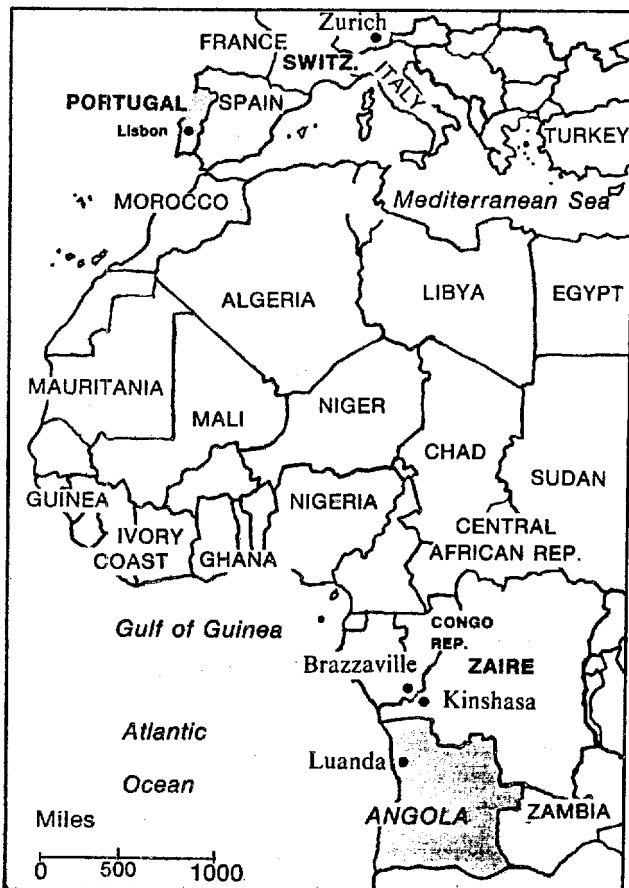
UNITA did not receive significant outside help during its nine years of struggle for independence until earlier this year, when Savimbi, in the words of a government source, "went begging to any embassy that would give him some money." Since then, UNITA has received help from the United States, Britain, Zambia, and South Africa.

the 1973 coup. State's African bureau in June recommended almost unanimously that the United States stay out of Angola. Moreover, Davis, according to an official directly involved, warned that "neither Savimbi or Roberto are good fighters — in fact, they couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag. Its the wrong game and the players we got are losers."

Since President Ford's decision, the United States has maintained a "two-track" policy toward events in Angola. Secretary Kissinger continues to publicly decry Soviet and Cuban intervention, supporting the call of the Organization

for African Unity for negotiations between the combatants and an end to outside interference. On the second track, the U.S. government itself intervenes by sending funds and arms to UNITA and FNLA. In addition to this covert assistance, the Administration is requesting an unprecedented increase in open aid to Zaire in FY 1976, as the graph below indicates. The Administration has come close to admitting that this assistance will be used in Angola, in spite of a congressional prohibition on providing aid to countries which pass it on to other parties or use it for non-defensive purposes — both of which Zaire has been doing in behalf of the FNLA.

### ANGOLA: BACKGROUND NOTES



*Population:* Approximately 6 million people, with population centers in the west coastal and plateau regions.

*Ethnic Groups:* Angola's three primary ethnic groups are the Bakongo in the north; the Kimbundu and the Ovimbundu in the south.

*Resources:* Angola produces coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other foodstuffs. The country is considered to be potentially one of the richest in southern Africa, with large resources of oil, diamonds, and iron ore.

*History:* Angola, a Portugese colony for 500 years, was granted independence on November 11, 1975.

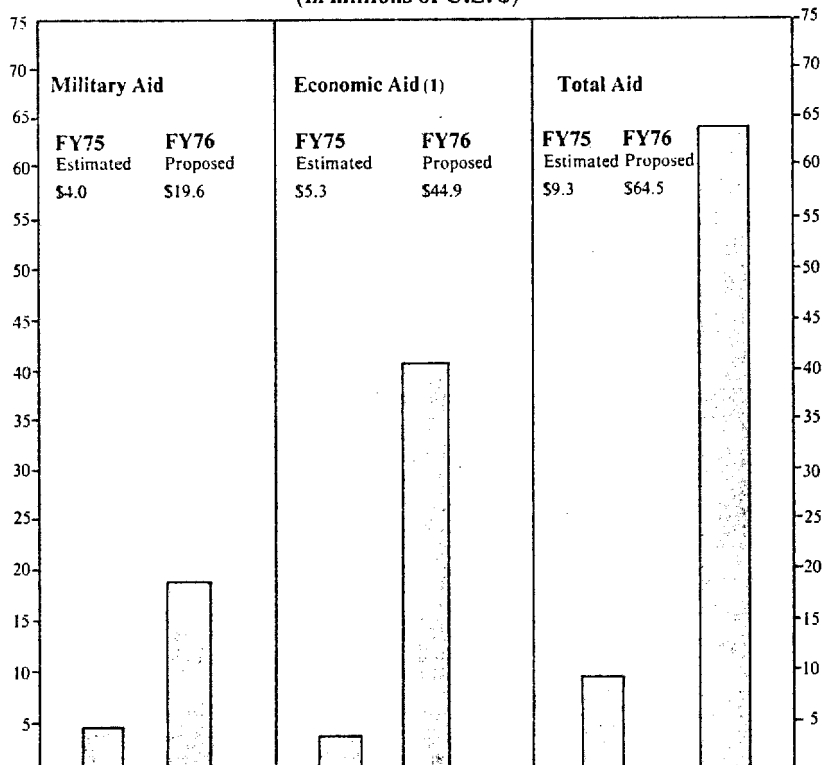
*Strategic importance:* Angola is strategically located in southern Africa. Its major ports provide the primary outlet into the Atlantic Ocean for Zambia and Zaire, and its railroads provide the major outlet for Zambian and Zairian copper. It is also located north of Namibia (Southwest Africa), the colony of South Africa, which the United Nations and the World Court have ruled is held illegally by South Africa.

*per capita income:* Approximately \$200 per person (1973 figure)

*Size:* With over 481,000 square miles, Angola is twice the size of Texas. Angola lies on the southwest coast of Africa, bordered by Zaire, Zambia, and Southwest Africa (Namibia). Included in its territory is Cabinda, a small coastal area north of the Congo River estuary bordered by Congo and Zaire.

*Foreign Investment:* The Portugese lead in foreign investments in Angola. American corporations have approximately \$240 million capital investment in Angola, almost 90% by Gulf Oil Company which has the rights to the oil in Cabinda. Texaco has a marketing operation in Angola, and other oil companies have some operations there.

### U.S. AID TO ZAIRE FY75-76 (in millions of U.S. \$)



Source: (unless otherwise indicated)  
"Foreign Assistance and Related Appropriations."  
*Senate Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations FY 76 p. 1467.*

(1) Economic Aid—  
Breakdown of FY 76 figure as follows: (in millions of U.S. \$)

8.0 PL 480 (Food For Peace)  
.6 Population Grant  
22.7 Security Assistance  
11.0 Commodity Credit Corporation Credits  
(Source: Zaire, Desk, State Department)  
2.6 Other

N.B. Total FY 76 Figure

*Does Not* include a requested \$20 million from Ex-IM Bank. This figure is down from \$56 million in FY 75, due to "severe liquidity problems" in Zaire, according to an official at Ex-IM Bank.

### THE ZAIRE / ANGOLA CONNECTION

The following exchange took place between Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger before the Senate Appropriations Committee on November 20, 1975:

*Inouye:* "Is Zaire providing military or economic assistance to any of the warring factions in Angola?"

*Kissinger:* "I think Zaire has a major national interest in the future of Angola since its major outlet to the sea goes through Angola, and, therefore, the orientation that controls Angola will have a sort of stranglehold on Zaire, too. So I believe that it is certainly giving some economic assistance."

*Inouye:* "If that is the case, would you say that we are providing some indirect subsidies to Angolan insurgents?"

*Kissinger:* "I think that would be correct."

### PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF FUNDS

*Sec. 505 — Conditions of Eligibility* of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as Amended, is excerpted below:

(a) In addition to such other provisions as the President may require no defense articles shall be furnished to any country on a grant basis unless it shall have agreed that -

- (1) it will not, without the consent of the President -
- (A) permit any use of such articles by anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of that country,
  - (B) transfer, or permit any officer, employee or agent of that country to transfer such articles by gift, sale, or otherwise, or
  - (C) use or permit the use of such articles for purposes other than those for which furnished;

## South African Intervention

The outside power with the largest direct involvement in Angola currently is white supremacist South Africa. South African troops entered Angola as early as August, and on September 9 South African Defense Minister Botha admitted that the country's troops had secured the Ruacana Falls hydroelectric project inside the Angolan border, across from South African-controlled Namibia. The South Africans then escalated considerably in late October, according to reliable U.S. intelligence sources, and their forces started to move deep into Angola. There are now two separate mechanized South African units, with a strength between 1,000 and 1,500 men, operating inside Angola. Additionally, the South Africans have equipped and otherwise supported yet another armored column of about 1500 Africans and 500 white mercenaries which has driven the MPLA out of many key positions in southern Angola, ostensibly on behalf of UNITA and FNLA. The South African government has censored its own press concerning its involvement in Angola, but on November 29, *Die Burger*, the official paper of the ruling National Party, reported that the fighting in Angola has become a "mobile conventional war", in which South Africa is providing "brain power, advice and supplies" to the two Western backed independence groups. A November 23 article in the *Washington Post* reported that not only were South African regular troops fighting hundreds of miles into Angola, but that these forces were supplied from permanent South African military bases on the South-West African border with Angola, from which "regular airlifts of military equipment were made deep into Angola by C-130 transport aircraft."

## United States-South African Collaboration?

The extensive South African and U.S. intervention in Angola places the United States in a *de facto* alliance with the apartheid regime, raising the possibility that the governments are secretly cooperating. Certainly, the South African leadership hopes to bring the United States into open support of its position in Angola, as it has already proposed. When the South African-backed troops driving northward towards Luanda were reportedly stalled in their efforts, the South African press began to call on the

Western powers to begin open support of their allies in Angola. An MPLA counter-offensive would force the South Africans to ask for even greater intervention.

United States and South African cooperation in southern Africa is not unknown. In the early 1960's, South African intelligence worked closely with the CIA to recruit mercenary forces for the Congolese civil war, according to intelligence sources. This collaboration was part of what three independent Administration sources describe as a "close" liaison relationship which the CIA has maintained with South African intelligence for years.

Administration spokesmen deny any connection with South Africa. One State Department official noted as the reason for State Department opposition to intervention in Angola that the United States will certainly "be tainted with the South African brush." He also noted that the United States is building up an increasing debt to the South Africans who "are not at all adverse to calling in their markers."

However close the cooperation between the United States and South Africa, the extent of South African intervention in Angola has already caused tremors throughout Africa. Uganda's President Idi Amin who had severely criticized the Soviet intervention in Angola, warned the FNLA and UNITA that the African states "may have to review their positions on the Angolan situation and their attitude to your two parties in particular," because of the reports of South African assistance in the fighting.

Both Nigeria and Tanzania, important African states, now recognize the MPLA government, having changed their position of neutrality after learning of the South African role. Ethiopia has announced that it may also alter its position. The Organization of African Unity has called a foreign minister's meeting on the Angolan situation for December 18, 1975.



## THE IMPLICATIONS OF COVERT ACTION

The intervention in Angola is a CIA covert action program. It need not have been: the President could have acted openly, come before the Congress and made the case for intervention. The decision to act in secrecy was not simply a tactical choice; it has broad consequences for American policy in Angola.

### Hidden from Whom?

The CIA intervention in Angola is not a secret to the combatants there, to the leaders of other African countries or to the USSR. The primary victims of secrecy are the Congress and the American people. Covert intervention enables the President to avoid submitting his policy to the public and Congressional scrutiny which open policies must endure.

Generally, a President faced with a hard or controversial choice in foreign policy must address many audiences. Within the bureaucracy, opponents of the policy have their day in court. New commitments of resources require Congressional approval and come under debate in the Congress, the press and the public. One result is that public policies generally do not stray too far out of touch with what the public will condone.

All of this is avoided with secret policies. Covert action projects usually originate in the Clandestine Services branch of CIA, and are approved by the 40 Committee, an inter-departmental committee of five members. Generally the appropriate intelligence analysts in the CIA and country desk officers in the State Department are not consulted or informed. Any disagreement within the bureaucracy is closely guarded and severely restricted. Finally, a covert policy simply avoids Congressional and public discussion.

In a Lou Harris poll released November 21, 1975 at the Democratic Issues Conference in Louisville, Kentucky, the following opinions of the American people were reported:

\* A solid majority, 75% - 18%, believe it would be wrong for the U.S. to commit soldiers to another war like Vietnam.

\* 72% of the people feel this country should avoid all guerrilla-type wars in the future, and involvement where it appears we are participating in civil wars in another country.

The ability to act secretly has policy consequences. A President is much more likely to decide to intervene simply because it can be done without expending the time and effort to gain public support and congressional approval. Proponents of covert action often argue, as William Colby did in his statement to the *Pacem in Terris IV* convocation on December 4, 1975, that although covert action was misused in the past, "Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100660001-4

situations truly important to the country" in the future. By their very nature, however, clandestine operations are most attractive not for situations clearly important to our defense, but precisely in those instances in which the intervention would be controversial, the national interest unclear.

The decision to intervene in Angola illustrates this clearly. Angola presented a situation in which a national liberation movement equipped and armed by the USSR was competing with other movements for power in a country not of vital concern to the United States. The response could have been to intervene, to protest Soviet intervention or to do nothing. The African bureau of the State Department was almost unanimously opposed to intervention. Since Secretary Kissinger was ardently in favor of intervention and served as chairman of the 40 Committee, it is difficult to believe that the objections received much consideration.

President Ford chose to intervene, supporting FNLA and UNITA with \$50 million. Given the current absence of consensus on foreign policy, it is at least doubtful that he would have made the same decision if he had been required to win Congressional approval for the funds. Finally, it is unlikely that the Congress, struggling with the domestic economy and sharing the public disenchantment for U.S. intervention in Indochina, would have appropriated the funds to intervene in the civil war in Angola.

### Secret Commitments

President Ford was not faced with a decision to intervene for the first time in Angola. He was presented with a 40 Committee recommendation for a covert action program in support of a longtime American client facing increasing pressure from a Soviet-supported group. The secret commitment of the CIA to Holden Roberto and FNLA significantly altered the bureaucratic perception of the situation in Angola. The Soviet assistance to MPLA was viewed as a "test" of American mettle primarily because the CIA had long supported Holden Roberto in Angola.

In Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the Soviet Union also provided extensive aid to marxist liberation groups, but this did not trigger American involvement. In Angola, the administration's response reflected the established secret commitment to Roberto and the ties with Mobutu in Zaire. Without these, the dramatic increase in Soviet assistance to MPLA might have produced private American remonstrations to the USSR, or even a visible effort to align African and international opinion against Soviet interference, but direct covert intervention would have been

The CIA is, as its director William Colby suggests, "merely an instrument of American foreign policy," but its activities and capabilities may create or foreclose options which greatly influence substantive decisions. The CIA, like the inexpensive handgun known as the "Saturday Night Special," is an instrument more likely to be used simply because it is there.

### Angola — A Congressional Oversight

In December, 1974, Congress passed the Hughes-Ryan Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act (P.L. 93-559). The amendment prohibits the expenditure of any funds for any covert action project "unless and until the President finds that each such operation is *important to the national security* of the United States." [emphasis added]

CIA Director Colby testified in executive session that the United States has no strategic interests in Angola. His statement was supported by NSSM 39, a 1969 National Security Council analysis of American policy toward southern Africa which concluded that "the United States does not have vital security interests" in the entire area of southern Africa, much less in Angola alone. Only the most expansive definition of "national security" could provide the basis for the finding required by law. According to congressional sources, President Ford has made that determination.

The Ryan Amendment also requires the President to report the details of any covert action project "in a timely fashion" to six committees of Congress. Introducing the amendment to the Senate on October 2, 1974, Senator Hughes (D-Iowa) called it the "beginning . . . of imposing some order and structure to . . . exercise a measure of control over the cloak and dagger operations of the U.S. government."

After the act was passed, each of the six oversight committees—the Armed Services, Foreign Relations, and Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate — delegated the authority to receive briefings to a handful of senior members. To brief six committees, CIA officials had only to inform about fifteen representatives about the agency's covert actions abroad. These few, bound by secrecy regulations and fearful of leaks, have neither informed their colleagues nor curtailed the CIA's activities abroad.

When Senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, heard about the Angolan intervention, he demanded a briefing for the entire Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Although only three or four Senators appeared for the briefing, those present expressed serious objections to the enterprise. Senator Clark now states that his hands are tied. He cannot go public with the information, he informed CNSS Associate John Marks, because "if I were to tell you that the United States was involved in covert activities in Angola, I could be kicked out of the Senate." In theory, he cannot even inform his colleagues in the Senate without exposing himself to similar

sanctions. Learning about the activities in executive session has severely circumscribed his freedom of action.

Senator Clark's experience demonstrates the limits of congressional oversight of covert operations. The 1974 Act which many hoped might limit covert operations abroad may serve only to make the Congress complicitous in acts which it neither initiates nor can hope to control.

In 1974, Congress also passed the War Powers Act to control Presidential war-making. According to the Administration, however, the Act does not apply to the CIA or to civilian or mercenary troops engaged in conflicts. Thus the Act is said not to apply to American pilots reportedly flying Forward Air Control planes (FAC's) in combat operations in Angola. As a result a covert CIA operation enables the President to avoid the reporting requirements of the Act, further diluting the ability of Congress even to learn about American intervention, much less to control it.

### WHO DECIDED TO INTERVENE IN ANGOLA?

Approval for a clandestine operation is given by the top-secret "40 Committee", which is directly accountable to the President. At the time of the decision to escalate CIA involvement in Angola, the "40 Committee" was made up of the following individuals:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Henry Kissinger, Chairman<br>Assistant to the President for<br>National Security Affairs | Gen. George Brown<br>Chairman of the<br>Joint Chiefs of Staff |
| William Clements<br>Deputy Secretary of Defense  | William E. Colby<br>Director, CIA                             |
| Joseph Sisco<br>Under Secretary of<br>State for Political Affairs                        |   |

### Open Secret

The CIA intervention in Angola is no longer secret. That it continues in spite of being revealed suggests that its secrecy was not directed at the Angolans. "Overt covert action" may become a new weapon in the President's arsenal. It enables the President to retain a closed decision-making process and to act unilaterally, and later allow the Congress and the public to know about the policy. The President can then claim that congressional and popular acquiescence ratifies the policy. Congress, of course, is always more reluctant to interfere with an on-going operation than to



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## WHY ARE WE IN ANGOLA?

*Ever since the end of World War II, we have justified our mindless meddling in the affairs of others on the ground that since the Russians do it, we must do it too. The time is at hand to re-examine that thesis.*

*Senator Frank Church  
Speech on "Covert Action:  
Swampland of American Foreign Policy"  
Pacem in Terris Convocation*

Angola, like Vietnam before it, is of little intrinsic interest to the United States. As noted above, the 1969 National Security Council study, NSSM 39, concluded that, "Although the United States has many interests in southern Africa, it has none which could be classified as vital security interests." Secretary of State Henry Kissinger reiterated this view in his press conference on November 10, 1975, noting that "We have no United States interest to pursue in Angola." The outcome of the struggle in Angola is simply unrelated to our nation's defense.

Administration spokesmen are now fond of offering economic rationales for many American defense policies. Angola has great wealth in resources, but the present total value of fixed American investment is quite small, the vast majority of it held by one company, the Gulf Oil Corporation. Ironically, Gulf officials do not share the Administration's fears about the MPLA. On November 15, Gerald Bender reported in the *Los Angeles Times* that Gulf officials had communicated their reservations about American intervention to the State Department. Direct American economic interests are not at stake in Angola, and any Angolan government will encourage trade relationships with the United States.

The defense of democratic freedoms is also not at issue. The suppression of democratic liberties in Angola did not stimulate significant American concern during the years of Portuguese colonialism. It is also unclear which, if any, of the three competing movements would establish a constitutional democracy in Angola.

Why are we in Angola? CIA Director William Colby informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the primary reason the Administration is intervening in Angola is that U.S. assistance is the only way to prevent the Soviet-backed MPLA from forcefully taking control of the country. Two inter-related explanations are offered for the concern generated by the prospect of an MPLA victory.

### A Soviet Satellite?

One version rings with traditional Cold War fervor, rather than the softer tones of detente. Put simply, the charge is that the Soviet Union intends to "colonize Africa," as Daniel P. Moynihan informed the *Pacem in Terris* convocation on December 2. In this perspective,

MPLA would establish a "Soviet satellite" in Angola which would, as U.N. Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan claims, "considerably control the oil shipping lanes from the Persian Gulf to New York." The explanation makes three major assumptions: that the USSR intends to establish a satellite in Angola; that MPLA would follow Soviet dictates; and that a Soviet satellite would constitute a threat to the United States.

The intentions of the USSR in Angola are far from clear. The Soviet Union has been the prime source of support for most of the anti-colonial movements in southern Africa, and has given aid to MPLA for years. In the fall of 1975, Soviet aid to MPLA began to increase significantly, and has escalated rapidly over the past months. The initial Soviet escalation may have been a response to the supplies and reinforcements which Holden Roberto and the FNLA were receiving from Zaire. Indeed, many Administration sources state that the June decision by Ford and Kissinger to escalate aid to FNLA and UNITA sparked the Soviet intervention. The massive Soviet reaction in turn triggered a response by the CIA, Zaire and South Africa. By September, MPLA faced the intervention of the South Africans in the south. Spokesmen in the State Department agree that some of the Soviet assistance, and the recent arrival of Cuban advisors, may have been a reaction to the intervention of South Africa.

Whatever the intention of the USSR, the tragic reality is that all of the competing groups in Angola are now receiving and using far more deadly weapons to fight one another than were ever available to oppose Portuguese colonialism.

Even assuming rapacious Soviet designs, the belief that a victorious MPLA would serve as a Soviet satellite is contradicted by the stance of the MPLA, and the Soviet experience in Africa and elsewhere. MPLA is an independent, socialist movement with a national base, not merely a Soviet puppet. According to Kenneth L. Adelman writing in *Foreign Affairs* in February, 1975, Agostinho Neto of MPLA is personally close to Mario Soares, currently the American favorite in Portugal, and certainly an ardent anti-communist.

MPLA spokesmen have repeatedly stated that they intend to establish a non-aligned and independent government. Adelman reports that Neto went to the USSR for aid only after being refused by the United States. In an October interview with members of the Southern Africa Committee, Paulo Jorge, part of the MPLA delegation to the United Nations, stated that, "We can assure you that we have fought for 14 years for the complete independence of the Angolan people, not to be under the umbrella of another power or another country." The *Washington Post* reported on November 15 that MPLA had turned down a Soviet offer for a major arms airlift to Luanda.

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This stance is supported by the history of other Soviet-supported liberation movements in Africa. Both Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique are now run by Marxist, Soviet-aided national liberation movements, but neither serves as a Soviet satellite. Prime Minister Joachim Chissano of Mozambique has refused to allow Soviet warships the use of that country's ports. David Ottaway of the *Washington Post* recently reported on December 3 that Chissano publicly rebuked the USSR for placing too much pressure on his government. Similarly, Uganda's Idi Amin, a recipient of large-scale Soviet military assistance has bitterly criticized the USSR's activities in Angola, and recently sparked a rupture between the two countries.

Historically, the USSR has had little success in dominating any movement which has come to power with an independent national base. As Richard J. Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies notes, "Every revolutionary government that has come to power without the Red Army has turned out to be ambivalent, cool or even hostile to the Soviet Union," including China, Yugoslavia, North Vietnam, Albania, and Cuba.

If our concern were actually to avoid the creation of a Soviet satellite in southern Africa, our policy might more profitably support MPLA's independence, rather than force greater dependence on Soviet aid and assistance by intervening on the other side. CIA Director William Colby suggested in his executive session testimony that our purpose in Angola was to force a negotiated settlement between the three independence groups. Thus far, however, our intervention has caused, as one well-placed State Department official noted, "a mutual ante-raising, an inconclusive situation, and a hell of a lot of dead Angolans."

Even if MPLA were to act as a Soviet satellite in southern Africa, it would still not constitute a threat to our defense. Some suggest that the USSR would use air and sea bases in Angola to threaten sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope, endangering our access to oil. A good geopolitical imagination can develop several other possibilities. Yet the threat seems plausible only in the event of a lengthy conventional war between the United States and the USSR, an extraordinarily unlikely prospect for two Great Powers armed with nuclear weapons.

*There was no need for the United States to choose sides. Angola provides the United States with an opportunity to set a more worthy example in foreign policy. To this end Washington could declare its readiness to establish relations based on the principle of mutuality of interest with whomever ends up governing Angola. It could seek from the Soviet Union a mutual agreement not to engage in an Angola war by proxy. It could prove to itself and the world that it did learn something in Vietnam.*

John Marcum  
President African Studies Association  
Address to its 1975 annual conference

## The Nixon Doctrine in Africa

The more sophisticated justification for Administration concern with Soviet intervention has been outlined by Secretary of State Kissinger. Kissinger chastized the USSR for having "introduced great-power rivalry into Africa for the first time in 15 years," and views Soviet intervention as a violation of the rules of the game in Africa, a violation "incompatible with the spirit of relaxation of tensions." Soviet intervention becomes a test of American will, and "the United States cannot be indifferent while an outside power embarks upon an interventionist policy . . ."

The Kissinger explanation reveals the basic principles of current American policy abroad, reflecting the bureaucratic lessons drawn from Vietnam. Since the much heralded "great debate" about foreign policy has not yet taken place, these lessons are still best formulated in the Nixon Doctrine, outlined in the first State of the World address on February 18, 1970. The fundamental premise of the Nixon Doctrine was that the United States would retain all of its commitments, and continue to define and police an international order in various regions of the world. The USSR and nationalist movements are still viewed as the major threat to that order. In this context, detente is the attempt to encourage the Soviet Union to accept the American definition of order in exchange for a relaxation of tensions.

The Vietnam debacle forced a change only in the strategy of effecting this objective. The lesson drawn by the national security bureaucracy from the war was simply that the American people would not support a lengthy intervention costly in American treasure and lives. The Nixon Doctrine announced that the U.S. would "look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing manpower for its defense." It was necessary, as U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker said about Vietnamization, to "change the color of the corpses."

The Nixon Doctrine does not exclude the possibility of direct American military intervention. Indeed, a world power must periodically use force to demonstrate the continued will to do so. The lesson from Vietnam was that intervention could not be gradual or depend upon large numbers of American troops. Current theory would begin with a massive application of American airpower. The Forward Air Controllers (FAC's) now in Angola were used in Vietnam to target bombing missions.

Angola may represent a "test case" for the Nixon Doctrine. Faced with Soviet violation of the rules of the game, the U.S. has reacted by providing large covert military assistance to the FNLA and Zaire. It looks to Zaire — and ultimately to South Africa — to enforce regional stability. If covert assistance is insufficient the country will face the prospect of further escalation.

## The Global Policeman

There is, of course, an alternative to the Administration's imperial perspective. In an area in which the U.S. has no vital defense interests, the President could react to Soviet escalation by rallying African and international opinion to condemn outside interference. By encouraging others to act collectively, the United States would share the right to define and enforce the "rules of the game." The United States would thereby avoid tragic entanglements in conflicts unrelated to the nation's defense. The Chinese adopted this position in late October, terminating assistance to Zaire and

FNLA and joining with the OAU to condemn the involvement of outside powers.

The secret intervention in Angola demonstrates that, in spite of the defeat in Indochina and the chaotic situation at home, our national security managers still assume that the United States must police a self-defined order in regions of the Third World. For the United States, the implication is that we may once again be involved in a costly conflict in a distant land. For Angola, the result is that the United States and the Soviet Union may be prepared to fight a proxy war, down to the last Angolan.

# CONGRESSIONAL UP-DATE

Because of growing concern in Congress about the use of covert funds in the Angola war, several bills have been offered prohibiting the expenditures of such funds and limiting the President's ability to wage an undeclared war. The following is a brief summary of legislation concerning Angola:

### *Senate*

- The Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance unanimously approved a Clark amendment on December 16 stating that no U.S. funds can be used for covert military assistance to any party in the Angolan conflict, unless the President submits a written report stating the amount and justification for his requests. In any case, the President cannot authorize Angola aid until 30 days after his request, by which time Congress, by simple majority, can vote against it. This Amendment, originally offered by Senator Dick Clark (D-Iowa), to the Security Supporting Assistance Act of 1975 will not be voted on by either house until after the Christmas recess, and probably not until early February 1976.

- Senator John Tunney (D-Calif), along with Senators Alan Cranston, Dick Clark, Edward Kennedy and others, has offered an amendment to the Defense Appropriations bill, which, if adopted, would prohibit any covert money within that bill for any activities other than intelligence

gathering purposes in Angola. Nevertheless, even quick passage of this amendment would not cut off CIA funding of the Angolan conflict because money appropriated in other bills could still be used.

- Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo) has offered an amendment to the Security Supporting Assistance bill that would prevent the Administration from sending civilians into "paramilitary operations" as has been done in Angola. This amendment would close a loophole left by the War Powers Act of 1973 which bars the President only from sending military personnel into combat situations without prior consultation with Congress.

### *House of Representatives*

- Cong. Don Bonker (D-Wash) and Cong. Michael Harrington (D-Mass) have introduced legislation to the Security Assistance bill. One amendment would bar aid to Zaire "unless and until the President determines and certifies to Congress that Zaire agrees not to furnish such assistance to any group claiming governmental powers in Angola." The second amendment would bar any assistance, directly or indirectly, to Angola.

- The Congressional Black Caucus made a statement opposing the intervention of non-Angolan powers in the civil war, and deplored the apparent alignment of the United States with South Africa.

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**Organizations to Contact**

For further information on the Angola situation, contact the following organizations:

Project on Southern Africa  
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American Committee on Africa  
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Southern Africa Magazine  
Southern Africa Committee  
Fifth Floor  
244 West 27th St.  
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**CIA- COVERT  
ACTION:**

**AMERICA'S  
SECRET  
FOREIGN  
POLICY**

Center for National Security Studies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

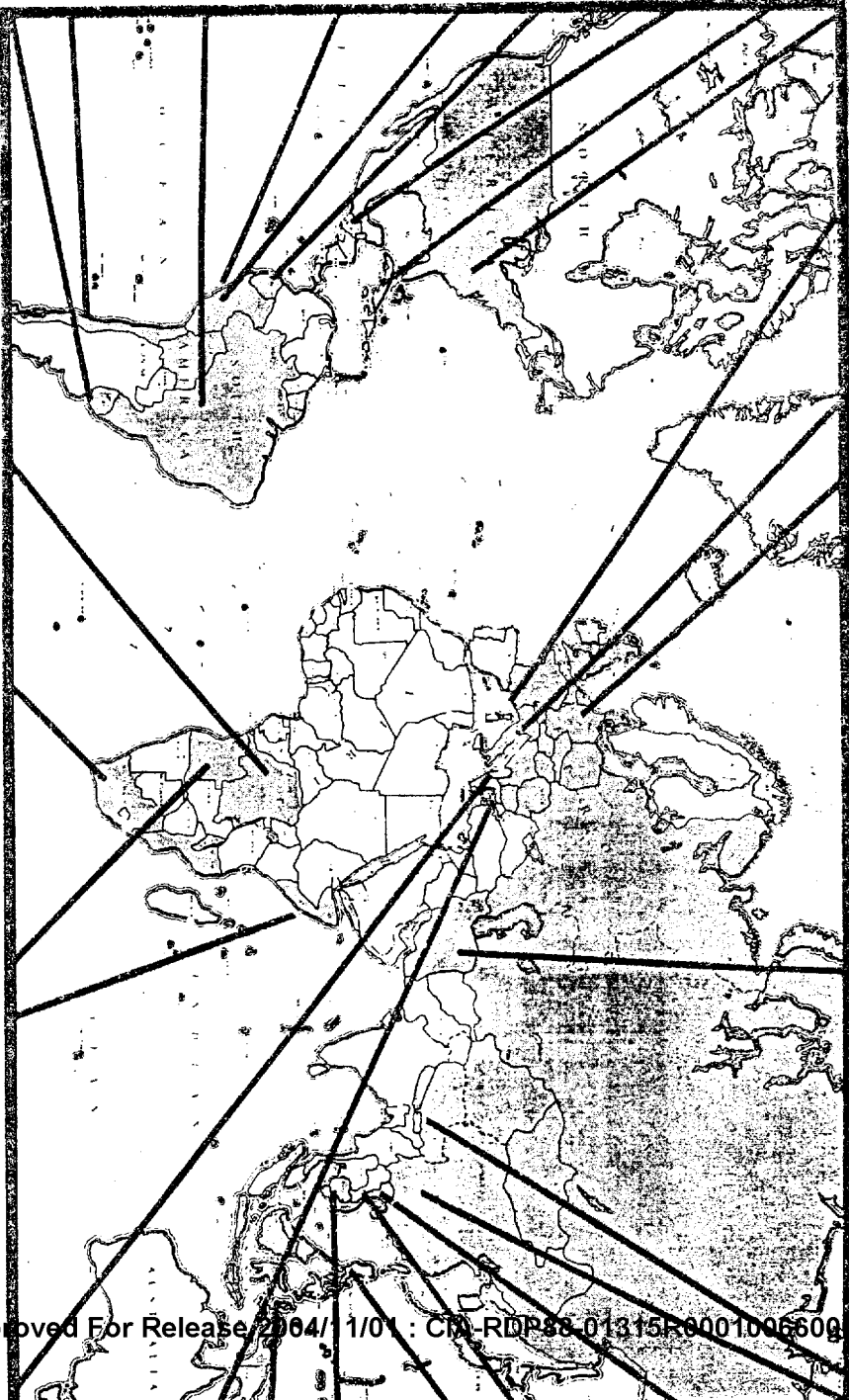
**Chile**—CIA secretly funds anti-Allende political forces in 1958, 1964, and 1970 elections. Having failed to block Allende's election to the presidency in 1970, CIA directs a destabilization of the economic-political order which leads to the military coup in 1973. A half century of democracy is ended,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

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

# Selected Cases of Covert Action

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

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



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

**South Africa**—CIA maintains close liaison and co-operation with South African secret police.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FOOTNOTES

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- <sup>4</sup>(Equador) Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), discussion of Agee's experiences as a CIA officer in Equador in the early '60's; Roger Morris, "The Aftermath of CIA Intervention," *Society* Vol. 12, no. 3 (March/April 1975).
- <sup>5</sup>(Peru) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 138-9.
- <sup>6</sup>(Bolivia) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 139-45.
- <sup>7</sup>(Brazil) Agee, op cit; and Morris, op cit.
- <sup>8</sup>(Chile) Marlise Simons, "The Brazilian Connection" *The Washington Post*, (Washington:1/6/74); Letter by Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass) on the testimony of CIA Director William Colby on file at the Center for National Security Studies (included in the information packet and summarized in the *New York Times* on 9/8/74).
- <sup>9</sup>(Uruguay) Agee, op cit.
- <sup>10</sup>(Zaire) Morris, op cit; Marchetti and Marks op cit. p 139; Hilsman, op cit., pp 245-267; Barnet, op cit., p 248.
- <sup>11</sup>(Somalia) Morris, op cit.
- <sup>12</sup>(Angola) Marks and Marchetti, op cit. p 155; David Welsh, "Flyboys of the CIA," *Ramparts*, Dec. 1966 p 12; Bazil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1972), p 239.
- <sup>13</sup>(South Africa) Information generally known to be true and confirmed by former members of the National Security Council Staff. For a good general discussion see, Tad Szulc, "Why Are We In Johannesburg?," *Esquire*, Oct. 1974.
- <sup>14</sup>(Iran) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. pp 46, 49, and 51; Wise and Ross, op cit., pp 110-114.
- <sup>15</sup>(Albania et al) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p. 46.
- <sup>16</sup>(Eastern Europe) Steven Stewert, *Operation Splinter Factor* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1974).
- <sup>17</sup>(Greece) *New York Times*, 8/7/75; Stanley Karnow, "America's Mediterranean Bungle," *Atlantic Monthly*, 2/75 Vol. 235, No. 2.
- <sup>18</sup>(Western Europe) Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post* 5/20/67; Memo from Allen Dulles to the general counsel of CIA dated April 21, 1964 on file at the Center; Ronald Radosh, *American Labor and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1969) pp 438-9.
- <sup>19</sup>(China) Marchetti and Marks, op cit., pp 127-9 and 165-9.
- <sup>20</sup>(Tibet) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. pp 127-9; and David Wise, *The Politics of Lying: Govern-*



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

- <sup>21</sup>(Viet Nam) Wise and Ross, op cit. pp 155-64; Gelb et al, *U.S.—South Viet Nam Relations, 1940 - 68* (The Pentagon Papers) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), (BEA) II, pp 648, (BEA) I, p. 582; (Washington: 1971 Government Printing Office) (GPO) v 11, p 18, (GPO) v 12, p 483 and Bantam Press, pp 123-24.
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- <sup>24</sup>(Philippines) Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p 129; and memo of April 21, 1964 from Allen Dulles to General Counsel of the CIA which is on file at the Center.
- <sup>25</sup>(Indonesia) Wise and Ross, op cit. p 136-46; Marchetti and Marks, op cit. p 62 and pp 150-151; Barnet, op cit. pp 236-7.

**For More Information**

contact:

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

*OSG) Center for NATIONAL  
Security Studies*

# CIA on CAMPUS



## HOW THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES CAN HELP YOU

For more information . . .

Send for the CNSS CIA On Campus study packet, which includes articles documenting CIA practices on college campuses, excerpts from the Senate Select Committee, and resolutions already passed by student and academic groups \$1.00

Schedule speakers to discuss the issue

## WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR THE CENTER

Keep us informed of your activities, and any resolutions passed, or articles written on the subject of CIA and universities.

### FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING FORM

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed please find \_\_\_\_\_ for material and send to

CHRISTY MACY  
CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
(202) 544-5380

(and what you can  
do about it)

### FACTS YOU SHOULD KNOW

#### THE CIA RECENTLY ADMITTED TO THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

that *hundreds* of professors, administrators, and graduate students on over a *hundred* college campuses across the country are secretly hired to:

- travel overseas and spy for the CIA in foreign countries
- conduct secret research projects for the CIA, in which even research assistants do not know the true sponsor
- help secret recruitment of students for the CIA

#### IN ADDITION, THE CIA

- uses students and professors unwittingly for its own purposes
- has written thousands of books and articles, giving no indication that they are CIA funded, or express CIA analysis
- uses academic research and academic exchange programs overseas as cover for CIA operations
- secretly recruits foreign students on U.S. campuses to become spies for the CIA
- conducts investigations of students "as potential employees" without their knowledge or approval



THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE recently released a report on CIA clandestine ties with universities, which was heavily censored by the Agency. The report did acknowledge that such activities "can only prejudice, if not destroy" academic integrity and fruitful exchange. The Committee did not stop these practices. Instead, it states:

"It is the responsibility of private institutions and particularly the American academic community to set the professional and ethical standards of its members."



The university should be a place where students and professors can exchange ideas in an atmosphere of openness and trust. The secret presence on campus of the CIA is contrary to this openness and makes a mockery out of the trust needed for learning and growth.

Students should not be deceived by professors who secretly work for the CIA. Students should not have to participate in research on subjects like controlling human behavior, without knowing the CIA is sponsoring the experiment. Students and professors travelling abroad should not have to risk being labelled as CIA agents as a result of the CIA's insistence on concealing operatives under "academic cover." Foreign students who have come to our universities in good faith should not have to fear the scrutiny of teachers who secretly look them over as potential traitors to their home countries.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence officially documented these practices but left it to the academic community to clean its own house. Student governments should accept this challenge

and make the CIA a subject of intense debate on campus.

One method is the introduction of a resolution in student governments (sample text on next page) which allows students to go on record against the CIA's secret use of universities. Passage of such a resolution at your school will pressure the administration to require the CIA to openly identify its local representatives and activities. Passage at scores of schools will force Congress and the President to take action.

The CIA is an organization that directly affects students. Now, if students act together, they can have an effect on the CIA.



## A CAMPAIGN TO END CIA ABUSE OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

The Center for National Security Studies, a non-profit public interest group, in cooperation with student organizations, academic associations, college presidents and concerned individuals, is launching an educational campaign around the issue of CIA's continued subversion of the American academic community.

### JOIN US

Due to CIA's refusal to end its secret ties with the academic community, and in response to the Senate Committee's recommendations, the Center is calling on you to join the campaign. The American Association of University Professors and the National Student Association have already passed resolutions condemning the CIA's secret campus activities. Your school can do the same.

1) DISCLOSE any CIA-related activities or covert relationships on campus and seek assur-

### PROFESSORS:

- ask faculty ethics committees to set ethical and professional standards prohibiting secret CIA connections
- pass resolutions within faculty senates prohibiting members from carrying out secret operations for CIA
- send letter to CIA Director George Bush demanding an end to the use of academic exchange and research programs as cover for CIA covert operations abroad

### STUDENTS:

- pass resolutions of student body calling for an end to spying and secret relationships on campus (see opposite page)
- distribute educational material, bring a speaker to address students at the university

### COLLEGE PRESIDENTS:

- file a Freedom of Information request to the CIA requesting all past and present CIA ties to their university
- make such information public to students and faculty

### ALUMNI:

- write to college presidents demanding an end to such practices

### STUDENT NEWSPAPER REPORTERS:

- investigate and expose CIA's secret presence on campus



local press.

<b>TRANSMITTAL SLIP</b>		DATE
		4.10.77
TO: <i>HH, DTB</i>		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
REMARKS		
<p><i>Cindy:</i> This pamphlet is being distributed at the campus of Georgetown University. (Today is "hate CIA day" complete with signing petitions etc.) I thought someone in your office may be interested...</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i></p>		

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

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P-King, Larry  
CIA 1.03 Hetu, Herbert  
CIA 1.04 Agee, Philip  
CIA 1.03 Lapham, Anthony  
CIA 1.04 Greaney, John  
Orig. Center for Natl. Sec. Studies (Movie)  
(Original under Wolf)

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Larry King Show

STATION WTOP Radio  
Mutual Network

DATE December 18, 1978 12 Midnight CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Interview with Louis Wolf

LARRY KING: Our special guest tonight is Louis Wolf. He is coauthor, along with Philip Agee, of "Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe," that is published by Lyle Stewart.

Lyle Stewart, our good friend, has published an extraordinary book, a very high-selling book, \$24.95, now in a second printing. And this book is coauthored by Philip Agee, who, as it says, was to the CIA what Spartacus was to Rome, and our guest, Louis Wolf. Mr. Wolf, a journalist who has done intensive research on the American intelligence community, spent more than two years of painstaking analysis on this book alone. He ferreted out many of the names, compiled the biographies, and checked, double-checked, and triple-checked his findings with official government publications, as well as with Agee. The result, "Dirty Work," is a major, unprecedented expose of the CIA, what it does and who does it, on a scale never seen before.

The last time Mr. <sup>STUART</sup> Stewart was on to discuss mostly the publishing business and the concept of publishing a book like this -- since then we have had Mr. Hetu on from the CIA, discussing that agency's reaction to it. And we expect to invite the CIA back. And maybe one night we'll get them all together and we'll have a lot of laughs. In fact, we could look right over, and if they'll hop out, they could drive over now.

We welcome to our microphones Louis Wolf.

How did you get started as an investigative journalist? That always interests me.

LOUIS WOLF: Well, I got interested in journalism by having come into contact with the problems of people in Southeast

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ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 15

NEW TIMES  
13 NOVEMBER 1978

P-Samuels, Dorothy  
ORGI Academics

# THE INSIDER

## REMEDIAL SPYING

### CIA HOLDS CRASH COURSE FOR COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

The CIA, under pressure to stop its admitted widespread covert activities on American college campuses, has initiated a series of seminars to woo leading university administrators. In the past nine months, seven university presidents have visited CIA headquarters in Langley, Va. for day-long briefings, according to CIA spokesman Dale Peterson, "to talk about our many common interests."

This latest goodwill gesture comes in the wake of a flood of requests from some 80 universities for agency files concerning clandestine recruitment of students and faculty by CIA operatives. Admitting only to the covert recruiting of foreign students on American campuses, Agency Director Admiral Stansfield Turner has openly refused to give any assurance that he will comply with strict guidelines proposed by Harvard University President Derek Bok to limit the Agency's campus activities.

The CIA's uncooperative attitude has irritated Bok and other academic leaders, but the Agency is encouraged by attendance at the seminars which took place in March and June of this year. Agency spokesman Peterson says such topics as clandestine activities on campus, university-agency relations and research were discussed at the two meetings.

They're [the college presidents] doing it because they see some mutual benefit."



Turner: There's no limit

turned out very beneficial so far. That's why we're proceeding and are planning to have some more."

Peterson refused to give us the names of the presidents who attended, insisting that to do so would be "an invasion of their privacy." Meanwhile, the Center for National Security Studies has filed a Freedom of Information request to find out more about the college presidents and the secret Langley pow-wows.

—Joel Kotkin and  
Dorothy Samuels

CIA 1.04 Peterson,  
Dale

ORGI Center for  
National Security  
Studies

CIA 2.05.1 FOIA

# Conference Age

INSTITUTE for  
Policy Studies  
~~Center for National~~  
Security Studies  
CIA 104 Jordan, Donald  
Snepp, Frank  
(orig under INSTITUTE)

## Friday Evening - May 19

Room B338 Rayburn Office Bldg., Independence & S. Capitol St

- 6:00 Registration
- 6:00 Sandwiches & coffee served
- 7:00 Introduction and welcoming remarks by Ralph Stavins, Director,
- 7:15 *Safeguards for the Whistleblower*, Remarks by U.S. Senator co-sp
- 7:30 Keynote address by Daniel Ellsberg: *Whistleblowing and Risk Tak*
- 8:15 Film—*The Case Officer*. Director, Saul Landau. Filmed by Haske
- 8:45 John Stockwell, former CIA employee and subject of *The Case Officer* takes questions from audience.
- 9:00 Panel: *Blowing the Whistle on the CIA*
  - Donald Jordan  
former Chief Intelligence officer  
CIA's San Diego Office
  - Frank Snepp  
former CIA analyst  
author, *Decent Interval*
  - Moderator: Mark Lynch  
Attorney, ACLU

## Saturday Morning - May 20

International Inn, 10 Thomas Circle N.W.

- 8:30 Continental Breakfast. Guest Speaker: Robert Borosage, Director, Institute for Policy Studies  
*Freedom of Speech in National Security Agencies*
- 9:30 Panel: *Personal Experiences and Object Lessons in Blowing the Whistle*
  - Raymond Connolly  
former analyst  
Army Security Agency
  - Mike McDougal  
former U.S. Army Officer
  - Lt. Ronald McRae  
U.S. Navy
  - Renault Robinson  
officer, Chicago Police Dept.
  - Sgt. Leah Wainwright  
U.S. Army
  - Moderator: Christopher Pyle  
professor, and formerly with  
Army Intelligence
- 10:30 Coffee Break
- 10:40 Panel: *The Nuclear Threat*
  - Mr. John Bennett  
nuclear technician  
U.S. Navy
  - James Conrad  
Nuclear Regulatory  
Commission
  - Dr. Tom Mancuso  
nuclear scientist, formerly with  
Atomic Energy Commission
  - Moderator: Dr. Ted Taylor  
professor, Princeton University  
project director, N.R.C.  
Safeguard Study, 1975
- 12:00 Luncheon—Guest Speakers  
James Abourezk, U.S. Senator: *Protective Legislation for National Security Employees*  
Daniel Schorr, author and TV commentator: *Journalist as Whistleblower or Source*

## Saturday Afternoon - May 20

International Inn, 10 Thomas Circle N.W.

- 1:15 Workshops:
  - Caring for the Personal Needs of the Whistleblower*
  - The Legal Options for the Whistleblower*
  - The Congressional/Executive Connection*
- 2:30 Panel: *Personal Conscience and National Security*
  - Charles Brennan  
former Director of  
Domestic Intelligence  
FBI
  - Adm. William P. Mack  
former Commander  
7th Fleet, Vietnam
  - Marc Raskin  
political philosopher  
Institute for  
Policy Studies
  - Emory Swank  
former U.S.  
ambassador  
to Cambodia
  - Moderator: Gloria Emerson  
journalist and author  
*Winners and Losers*  
National Book Award
- 3:30 Workshop Reports



# A chance to take a 66 pot shot at the CIA

*There are no rules in such a game. Hitherto acceptable forms of human conduct do not apply ... longstanding American concepts of "fair play" must be reconsidered. We must learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us.*

Secret introduction to the 1954 Hoover Commission Report on the CIA.

## SAN FRANCISCO

WHILE THE the U.S. media was busy looking for Communists under every bed the world's most ruthless spy organization was at work infiltrating and subverting governments and mass movements throughout the world and at home.

Since its establishment in 1947 the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been a law unto itself, acting without restraint and in total secrecy. Acting as the clandestine wing of a U.S. foreign policy directed against all progressive movements on the globe the agency has altered the course of history by means of assassination, infiltration, extortion, bribery and paramilitary operations.

Revelations on CIA misuse of power broke during the Vietnam war and like the opening of a floodgate more and more outrageous reports of the agency's activities came out—from drug dealing in Asia and Latin America to the overthrow of democratically elected governments, to massive assassination operations in South Vietnam.

Hardly a nation in the world has not been victimized by the CIA. Millions of deaths can be attributed to direct and indirect CIA activities. There is even some question as to the role of the CIA in the assassinations of President John Kennedy and his brother Robert.

Now, for the first time in the agency's history it is seeking legal authority to carry out its covert operations when Congress votes on a new legislative charter for the CIA this year.

AT ISSUE is not whether the government should be kept informed about what is happening around the world, but whether the CIA should continue to engage in secret manipulations of world events.

Although President Carter pledged in his inaugural address last year, "We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that this trust which our nation earns is essential to our strength," he now says he favors covert operations, and says he will take "personal responsibility" to insure the agency "obeys the law."

This position is no different from that of past Presidents who have used the CIA without the knowledge or consent of the elected government. It also contradicts Carter's so-called human rights policy, considering the agency's past history.

According to former National Security staff member Roger Morris, "One searches in vain for evidence that the Agency (CIA) has intervened anywhere in two decades on behalf of human rights."

An increasing number of organizations in the U.S. agree there must be an end to secret interventions abroad, and they are calling on citizens to demand Congress put an end to covert operations by the CIA as a means of conducting foreign policy.

THESE GROUPS have called for total support of HR 6051 which will be introduced in Congress some time this spring. The bill is sponsored by a group of 24 Congressmen, led by Rep. Herman Badillo (D-NY).

HR 6051 is a comprehensive bill designed to reform both domestic and foreign intelligence operations, and would prohibit all covert intervention abroad by the CIA.

And the bill would dismantle the CIA's Clandestine Services (responsible for covert activities) and limit the CIA to its function of intelligence assessment.

A booklet put out by the Center for National Security Studies says that even if the Badillo bill fails to pass, Congress should be forced to prohibit all covert intervention designed to manipulate events.

The Center says the CIA should end all penetration and manipulation of independent institutions in foreign nations, including strict prohibitions against any interference in elections (such as the recent Italian elections), and any penetration of independent institutions, particularly churches, trade unions, the press and universities.

They also say demands should be made to end all paramilitary and police support operations, covert or overt, including the trading of police weaponry and the training of foreign police. The U.S. should also get out of the business of internal policing of other countries, the Center says.

Finally, they say demands should include exposure of all activities of the foreign intelligence services in the U.S.

The booklet declares, "For citizens concerned with human rights and American foreign policy, the upcoming decision is a crucial test and a unique opportunity. An active citizens' campaign around the country could be instrumental in ending the CIA's covert activities abroad, and thus dismantling a major cause of suffering and repression around the world."

1  
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N 9710041

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CIA 4.01 Covert Operations  
(Confidential)

# CIA'S COVERT OPERATIONS

VS

# HUMAN RIGHTS

## INSIDE

Covert Action: How it Works

Foreign Secret Police

Map of Covert Operations  
around the World

Violations of Human Rights  
in the U.S.

CIA's Domestic Crimes

Resources and Organizations



# 1978

## A TIME TO CHOOSE

Will the United States stop intervening secretly abroad? Congress must decide the answer to this question this next year, because for the first time in thirty years, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is seeking legal authority to carry out covert operations overseas. At issue in this debate is not whether our government should be kept informed about what is happening around the world, but whether the CIA should continue to engage in secret manipulation of these events.

In spite of his "absolute commitment to human rights," President Carter has indicated that he favors continued use of covert operations, the results of which inevitably violate these rights. The President has pledged that he would take "personal responsibility" for CIA operations to insure that the Agency "obeyed the law." Yet this policy keeps in place a secret network of CIA operatives throughout the Third World whose activities violate both local and international law.

This year, the Congress will vote on a new legislative charter for the CIA which will define its authority. **The outcome of this vote will be a true test of this country's commitment to human rights.** A foreign policy concerned with fostering human rights abroad must begin by ending direct U.S. violations of these rights. Through its secret manipulation of democratic institutions in foreign countries, as this pamphlet will show, the CIA tramples on human rights to further American interests abroad. Throughout its history, the CIA has served as a primary instrument for the export of repression and violence. A complete prohibition on covert operations

would thus give dramatic evidence of this country's respect for human rights.

Also at issue in the upcoming debate is the future direction of American foreign policy. The Vietnam war showed that the American people would not support an interventionist, militarist foreign policy. President Carter has earned much public support by calling for a new foreign policy reflecting our democratic traditions and ideals, based upon cooperation with other countries.

The CIA offers policy makers the alternative. An interventionist foreign policy carried out in secret through the CIA, through proxies in different regions of the world, through trade in police and military weaponry, and through economic manipulation.

This spring, the American people will have their first opportunity to end the CIA's ability to conduct covert operations abroad. For thirty years, the CIA has operated on the orders of the President, without Congressional authority. Now, under severe criticism for its abuses at home and abroad, it is seeking Congressional sanction for its activities. If the CIA succeeds in gaining legal approval for covert operations, it may well slip back behind its veil of secrecy and non-accountability for another thirty years.

For citizens concerned with human rights and American foreign policy, the upcoming decision is a crucial test and a unique opportunity. **An active citizen's campaign around the country could be instrumental in ending the CIA's covert activities abroad, and thus dismantling a major cause of suffering and repression around the world.**

## COVERT ACTION: A "ROUTINE" ACTIVITY

Covert action, termed "special activity" in the current Executive Order on foreign intelligence, is a secret intervention into another country's affairs which is designed to influence events. American covert action techniques include sabotage, propaganda, election bribery, economic warfare, extortion, kidnapping, para-military intervention, use of mercenaries, murder and a broad range of other activities generally considered crimes both here and abroad.

For the United States, covert action is carried out primarily by the CIA's Clandestine Services, its largest and most favored branch. Soon after the CIA was established in 1947, the Clandestine Services division was secretly directed to do the unspeakable—figuratively—for the CIA was designed to do the vicious and unsavory things U.S. leaders wanted to do abroad without admitting responsibility; and literally, in that no one was to speak about its activities. Although hidden from the Congress and the American people, its mission was clearly understood within the Executive, and justified by the Cold War. As a secret introduction to the 1954 Hoover Commission Report summarized:

*There are no rules in such a game. Hitherto acceptable forms of human conduct do not apply. . . . longstanding American concepts of "fair play" must be reconsidered. We must . . . learn to subvert, sabotage, and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us . . .*

Initially, the Agency directed its attention to Western Europe, running a clandestine "Marshall Plan" parallel to the public one. At the same time, the CIA was targeting operations against communist regimes in China, the USSR and Eastern Europe. These latter efforts were almost universally unsuccessful. To this day, the CIA has had meagre results in seeking to "penetrate" these countries, either for intelligence or operational purposes.

In the early 1950's, the Agency turned its resources to more fertile fields—the vulnerable and fragile governments of the Third World, in which money and stealth can play a far larger role in determining the course of events. The Agency flourished. By 1953 it had grown to over

15,000 employees and, according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (the Church Committee), "there were major covert operations underway in 48 countries, consisting of propaganda, para-military and political action projects," in a "routine American program of influencing governments and covertly exercising power." From 1961 to 1971, the CIA ran over 800 major covert operations and these constituted less than one-fifth of the "several thousands" which the Senate Committee found were undertaken in that period.



*"We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that this trust which our nation earns is essential to our strength."*

**President Jimmy Carter**  
Inaugural Address  
January 20, 1977

Although the CIA was initially justified as a defensive measure to counteract communist subversion, it was quickly turned into an offensive instrument designed to further American interests abroad. By the 1960s the official definition of covert action was "any clandestine activity designed to influence foreign governments, events, organizations or persons in support of United States foreign policy."

## COVERT ACTION: HOW IT WORKS

In almost every country of the world—friend or foe, dictatorship or democracy, powerful or weak—the CIA runs a secret network of individuals—officials, journalists, union leaders, policemen, corporate executives—who follow the CIA's orders. These "agents of influence" supply information to the CIA and are available, on command, to perform covert actions of various types. During its 1975-6 investigation of the various intelligence agencies, the Senate Committee found:

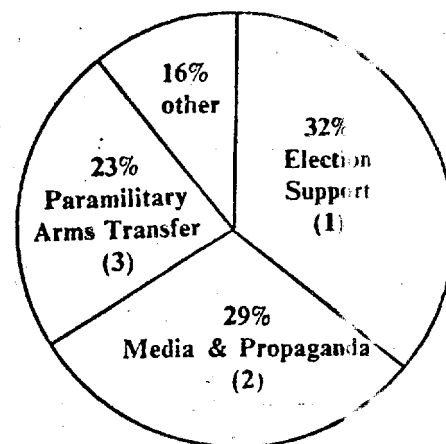
*There is no question that the CIA attaches great importance to the maintenance of a worldwide clandestine infrastructure—the so-called "plumbing in place." During the 1960s the Agency developed a worldwide system of standby covert action "assets," ranging from media personnel to individuals said to influence the behavior of governments.*

The CIA's operations are based upon this secret "penetration" of the different instruments and associations in a given country. Political parties, unions, newspapers and news services, churches, corporations, universities and schools, the police—all are routine targets for CIA's foreign agents. With this network of agents, the clandestine operator then becomes something of an orchestra conductor when running a covert operation. He pulls the strings here, unleashes the brass there, and thus manipulates the elements of the society to achieve his purpose.

Covert operations require that the CIA subvert free institutions and organizations in another country. Indeed the success which the CIA has had in the Third World has been attributed by Agency experts to the presence of independent institutions and democratic associations which can be penetrated. In a secret briefing before a closed session of the Council on Foreign Relations in 1968, Richard Bissell, former CIA Director of Clandestine Services talked about the vulnerability of Third World governments:

*Simply because (their) governments are much less highly organized, there is less security consciousness; and there is apt to be more actual or potential diffusion of power among parties, localities, organization and individuals outside the central government.*

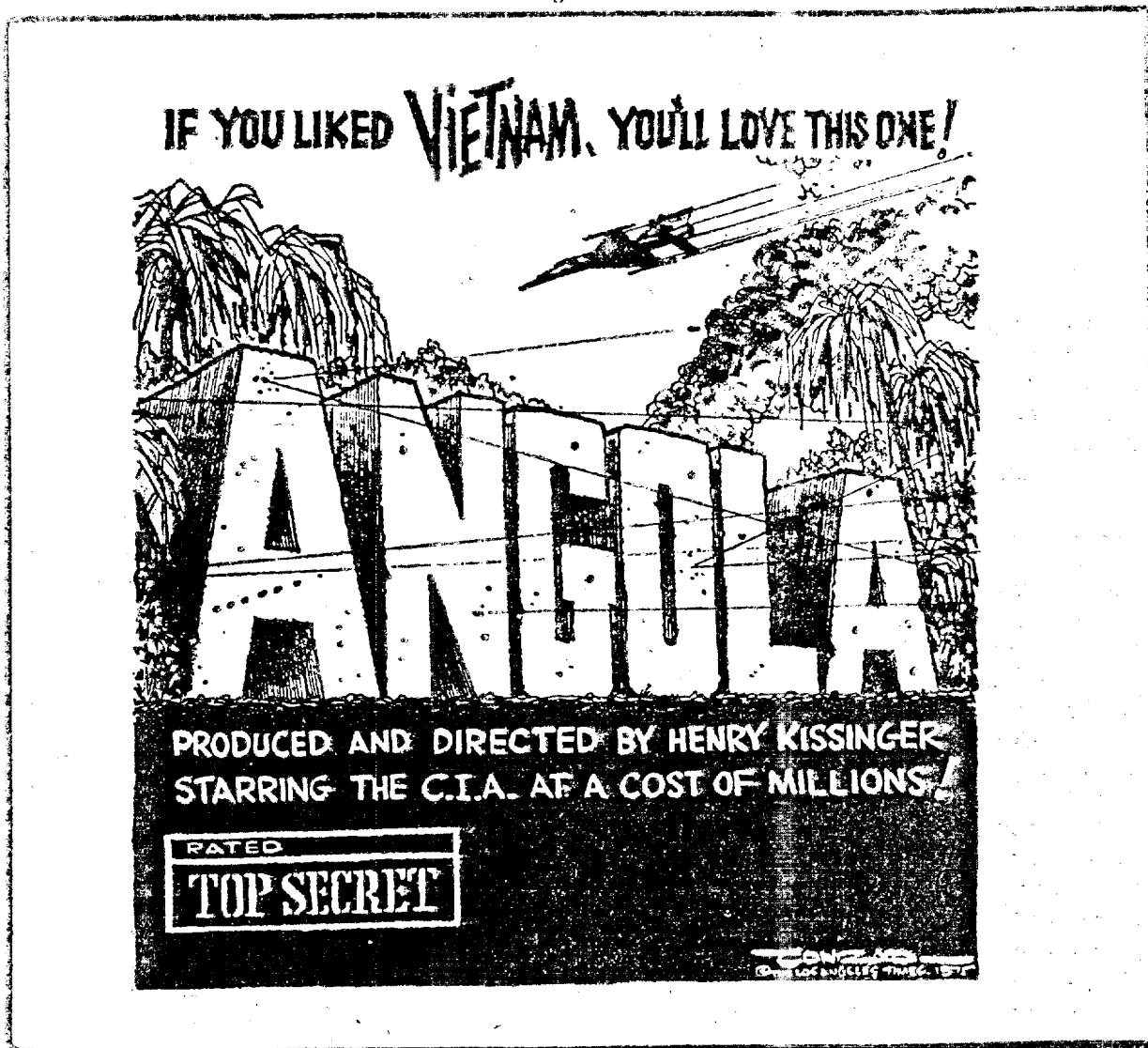
According to the House Select Committee's report, as reprinted in the *Village Voice* on February 16, 1976, covert action abroad falls into the following main categories:



(1) "This is the largest covert action category, and its funding has occurred in large part in the developing countries . . . One Third World leader received some \$960,000 over a 14-year period."

(2) "Activities have included support of friendly media, major propaganda efforts, insertion of articles into the local press, and distribution of books and leaflets."

(3) "The 23 percent approvals in this category from 1965 to 1975 have taken one of essentially four forms: secret armies; financial support to groups engaged in hostilities; paramilitary training and advisers; and shipment of arms, ammunition and other military equipment."



## SUBVERTING HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD

The first principle of any human rights policy, is to respect and foster the rights of others. In foreign policy, this entails respect for national sovereignty and the attempt, by example and practice, to encourage the growth of democratic freedoms and institutions. President Carter told the American people, "We are confident that democratic methods are the most effective, and so we are not tempted to employ improper tactics at home or abroad." The CIA's covert operations stand in flagrant contradiction to this sentiment.

CIA covert operations can be divided into two general categories. The vast majority are routine, minor operations run on a day-to-day

basis by the CIA "station chief" in a country. These include the staff bribe, the planted story, the minor meddling which keeps the network, or "infrastructure" active, and which over time can do much to determine the political direction or stability of a Third World government. These operations are carried on without specific approval or review in Washington—as they are not judged politically sensitive.

The second category is the major covert action program which is approved in Washington by a small committee, now known as the Special Coordination Committee. The programs passed by this select group involve operations of some magnitude against a country.

These major operations fall into four general categories. The House Committee on Intelligence reviewed the major CIA covert action programs from 1965 to 1975, and found that the vast majority of the CIA programs conflict directly with human rights concerns abroad. About one-third prey upon the existence of democratic elections, in order to subvert them. Another third involves the use of manipulation of the free press, to plant propaganda and misleading stories. Another fourth abuse independent associations by penetrating them with "agents of influence." And a final fourth are the direct export of violence—paramilitary operations, mercenaries, arms and ammunition. As former National Security staff member Roger Morris concluded, "One searches in vain for any evidence that the Agency (CIA) has intervened anywhere in two decades on behalf of human rights."

## The Result

CIA's operations have repeatedly fostered the growth of repression and dictatorship abroad. The repressive regimes in Iran, Guatemala, Zaire, Brazil, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and Chile are the direct progeny of CIA covert operations. Former CIA Director William Colby defended the CIA's "destabilization" program in Chile as an attempt to "preserve democratic elements, looking to the free elections in 1976." But the program produced a coup d'etat that destroyed democracy in Chile for the first time in 180 years.

The CIA is not an autonomous evil bureaucracy. It generally acts, as CIA Director Stansfield Turner stated, as "an instrument of American foreign policy." Its cloak of secrecy, however, always tempts U.S. policy makers to use the CIA to accomplish objectives they would not dare to seek publicly. No assassination program could be done overtly. No "destabilization" programs could be waged against a democratically-elected government without great public outrage. None of the heinous programs of the CIA—the poisoning of crops and pigs in Cuba, the testing of drugs and behavior control techniques on unwitting citizens, the systematic program of murder called the Phoenix program in Vietnam—could be done openly and withstand public condemnation.

### CIA' OPERATIONS: NOT MISSIONARY WORK

*The House Committee on Intelligence revealed the following example of the callousness of CIA's covert operations. In 1974, at the behest of the Shah of Iran, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger ordered the CIA to channel some \$16 million to aid the Kurds in their rebellion against the government of Iraq. The Shah was involved in a border dispute with the Iraqis and cynically used the Kurds to keep the pressure on. The Kurds were massively aided by the Shah, but U.S. aid served as a guarantee that they would not be summarily dropped.*

*Yet three years later the Shah and the Iraqi government settled their differences. The Shah and the CIA abruptly cut off all aid to the now exposed Kurdish rebels; at the same time, Iraq launched an all-out search and destroy campaign against them. The Kurdish autonomy movement was destroyed, leaving over 200,000 refugees. Despite the pleas of the Kurdish leadership, Kissinger refused to authorize humanitarian aid for the refugees. He informed the committee staff that "covert action should not be confused with missionary work."*

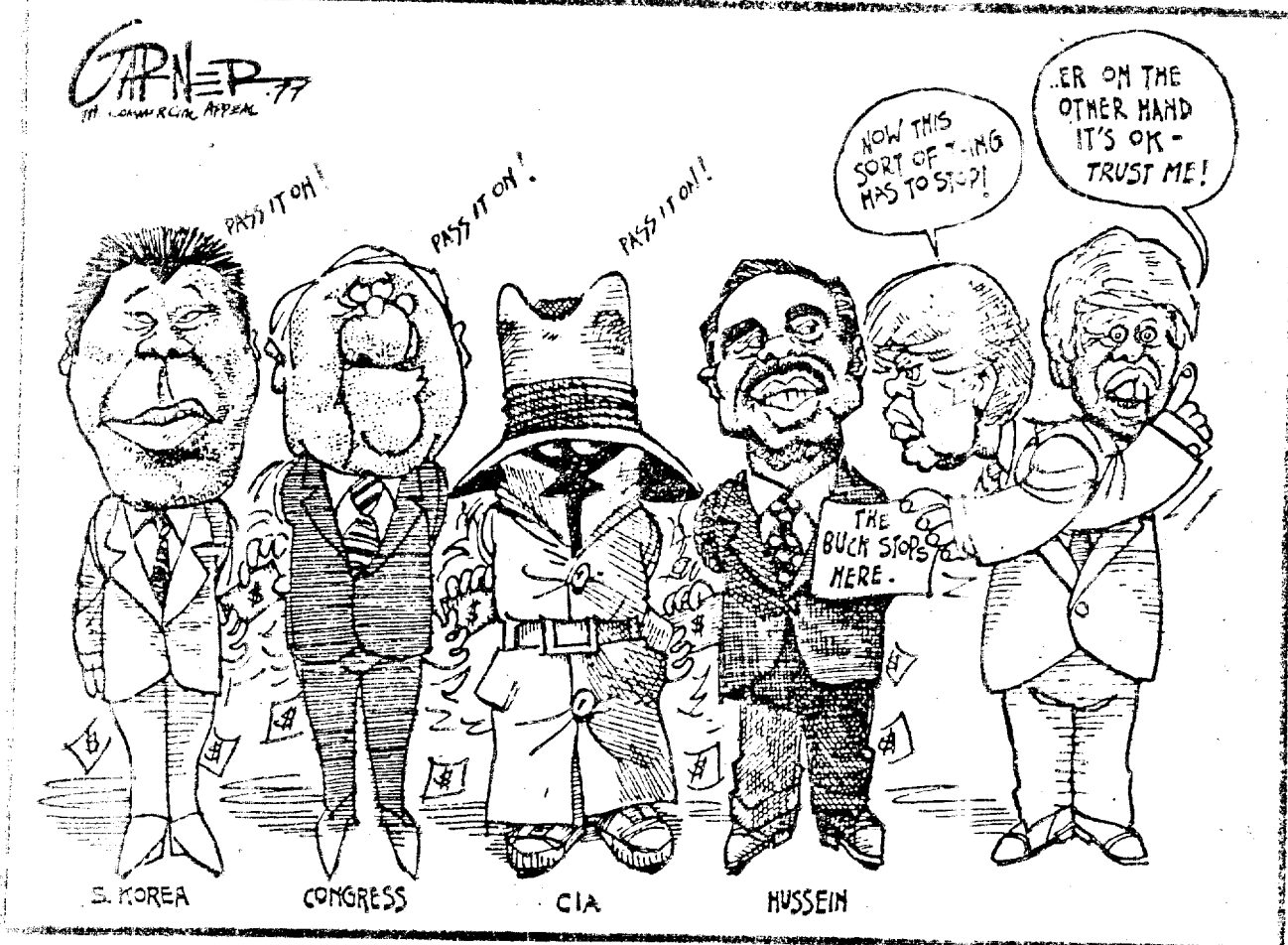
*-- House Committee Report, reprinted  
in 2/16/76 issue of Village Voice*

### THE SPECIAL COORDINATION COMMITTEE'S MEMBERS

**Chairman:** Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski

**Members:** Secretary of State Cyrus Vance  
Secretary of Defense Harold Brown  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Admiral Turner  
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
George S. Brown  
Director of the Office of Management and Budget James McIntire





## PRESIDENT CARTER'S POSITION ON THE CIA

During his campaign, Jimmy Carter spoke repeatedly about the "shocking revelations" concerning the CIA, and the need for reforms. He pledged that "if the CIA ever makes a mistake, I'll be the one, as President, to call a press conference, and I'll tell you and the American people, this is what happened . . ."

Yet, once he became President, Carter's position changed. On February 14, 1977 Carter learned that the *Washington Post* planned to reveal that the CIA had paid millions of dollars to King Hussein of Jordan, and to other leaders around the world. CIA officials, viewing the payments as bribes, had reported the program to the Intelligence Oversight Board, established by President Ford to review the legality of CIA operations. The Board determined the payments—amounting to \$750,000 in 1976—were "improper," and reported the matter to Ford. Ford took no action, leaving the decision to President Carter.

Carter's reaction mocked his campaign promises. On February 16, he met with the *Washington Post* editor and newspaper reporter, requesting that the story not be published. He in-

dicated that the payments had been stopped.

When the *Post* published the story, the President announced a new policy "not to comment on—either to confirm or deny—any stories concerning alleged covert activities." Privately Administration sources indicated that the payments had been stopped.

Six days later, President Carter met with congressional leaders and denounced the *Washington Post* as "irresponsible." He expressed concern about leaks, and wanted the Congress to help reduce the number of persons with access to information about the CIA. On February 23, President Carter at a press conference reversed his position completely. He announced that he had "reviewed" the revelations, and that "I have found nothing illegal or improper," and ended by condemning those who would reveal "these kinds of operations which are legitimate and proper."

The bribes which President Ford's Oversight Board found improper were suddenly "legitimate and proper" activities which continue to this day. Why the change? Senator Daniel Moynihan suggested that President Carter had discovered that it was his CIA



## It Still Goes On

Covert operations continue to this day. The Church Committee reported that in 1975, covert operations consumed some 37% of the CIA's annual budget, and the figure has not dropped significantly since. In 1976, Senator Gary Hart admitted that the Senate Oversight Committee had reviewed six major covert operations which were cur-

rently underway. (The Senator refused to identify the targets.) Although there has been no similar leak since that time, there is no reason to believe the number of operations being approved has dropped. As the Church Committee concluded, "the rationale remains the same and the operational capability is intact."

"UH—THESE ARE SORT-OF SECRET ORGANIZATIONS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HIRES TO SEE THAT WE ENJOY THE RIGHT KIND OF -UH- LIBERTY"



## FOREIGN SECRET POLICE: CIA'S GLOBAL LEGACY

Since the CIA helped to establish many of the present repressive regimes around the world, it has naturally been intimately involved in setting up and training the secret police forces necessary to keep these unpopular governments in power. These include:

**SAVAK, Iran's secret police**, was founded in 1957, four years after a CIA-sponsored coup placed the present Shah in power. This feared organization reportedly employs 40,000 agents, who, according to Amnesty International, permeate all levels of Iranian society. SAVAK carries out its suppression of Iranian dissidents "with extreme ruthlessness," according to Amnesty, and severe maltreatment and torture is commonplace. Although the Shah says there are about 3,000 political prisoners in Iran, informed estimates by foreign journalists place the number between 25,000 and 100,000. Since 1972, there have been well over 300 executions of political prisoners in Iran, a country in which there is no freedom of speech, association, or the press, where trade unions are illegal, and academic freedom is non-existent. In addition to supplying Iran with conventional arms (over \$18 billion worth since 1972), the U.S. government has also sold millions of dollars worth of sophisticated computer surveillance equipments to Iran over the past few years, including a \$500 million electronic intelligence gathering system called IBEX. Exemplifying the close relationship between the Iranian government and the U.S. intelligence community was the appointment in 1973 of Richard Helms, former Director of CIA, as U.S. Ambassador to Iran.

**The KCIA, the secret police of South Korea**, is modelled and named after its American counterpart. Founded in 1961, it employs up to 50,000 agents in a country where it is a crime punishable by imprisonment or death to damage the "national security, national interest or prestige" of Korea. **The KCIA, according to the New York Times**, is "one of the most brutal and venal security services in the world." Made up of eight different bureaus, the KCIA, like the American CIA, has one bureau almost exclusively in charge of "dirty tricks" like sabotage and assassination.

**The DINA, Chile's secret police**, was established immediately after the CIA helped to orchestrate the 1973 coup in Chile which ousted the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. According to the UN Commission on Human Rights, the DINA's work is "based almost exclusively on methods of torture as a means of eliminating embarrassing witnesses or evidence." Since the coup, at least 100,000 people have been subject to arrest and detention, and more than 5,000 have been executed. Also since the coup, 1500 people have disappeared, their fates a mystery to their families and friends.

In an effort to improve its tarnished image, the Chilean junta released 300 political prisoners in November 1976 and disbanded DINA in August 1977. DINA was immediately replaced with the National Center of Information (CNI), however, whose operational and founding decrees are almost indistinguishable from its predecessor. According to Amnesty International's 1977 report, "serious and systematic violations of human rights continue," and "torture is still a systematic practice."

## U.S. TRAINS AND ARMS FOREIGN POLICE

Over the past five years, the U.S. has trained approximately 12,000 foreign police officers and military advisers through various U.S. agencies. Thousands of foreign police were trained in the skills of repression at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. until it was forced to close in 1975 due to public outcry. Many of the graduates went on to training programs at International Police Services, Inc., a CIA front also situated in Washington.\* Between 1970 and 1975, the U.S. School of the Americas in the Panama Canal—a counter-insurgency training ground

run by the U.S. Army—has graduated over 1200 military police—including 235 Uruguayans and fifty Chileans. To circumvent congressional prohibitions against training secret police, the Drug Enforcement Agency has taken up the slack. In 1976, DEA “mobile training teams” visited 22 countries, providing training to over 12,000 foreign officers. To carry out the training, the D.E.A. hired 53 former CIA agents in 1975 as

agents and analysts.

Once established, foreign police forces are armed to the teeth by the U.S. government and by private American arms companies. Over the past three years alone, U.S. arms manufacturers have sold more than 50,000 hand guns, 10,000 machine guns, 150,000 gas grenades, 296 armored cars, and over 6,000 canisters of mace to police organizations in the Third World.

## TERRORISM IN THE U.S.

The U.S. itself has become a target for covert operations, as many foreign agents and secret police that the U.S. has trained and armed abroad now actively violate the human rights of foreign nationals in the United States. Agents from Chile, Iran, Korea, Taiwan, South Africa, and other repressive regimes harass and spy on their own citizens here much as they do back in their own countries, and often with the approval or assistance of the U.S. intelligence agencies.

According to the Shah himself, there are SAVAK agents in the U.S. to check up on “anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country.” Iranian students are the major targets of the SAVAK. Likewise, former State Department official Donald Ranard stated before a Congressional hearing that “at least 85%” of the KCIA’s efforts here are “directed towards the intimidation of Korean residents in the U.S.” There were reportedly 23 KCIA agents in the U.S. in 1976, with an unknown number of informants, and as many as 200 SAVAK agents and their informers among the Iranian student population.

The tactics utilized by these foreign agents are generally the same, as their purpose is to intimidate. Midnight phone calls, threats against families at home, beatings, kidnappings, burglaries, attempts to close down anti-government newspapers and radio programs, verbal threats, even arson—all these to keep foreign nationals from becoming politicized in the U.S. and speaking out against the repression in their homelands.

These agents, who usually use diplomatic cover and thus reside in embassies and consulates in places like Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and New York, are in this country illegally. Yet their identification and their actions against foreign dissidents are generally known to the FBI and the CIA. The CIA, for example, knew about the millions of dollars worth of bribes being secretly given to members of the U.S.

Congress by the KCIA to influence their votes on aid to Korea, but decided to keep quiet about the scandal. According to Jack Anderson, moreover, “SAVAK agents hound and harass Iranians with the full knowledge and sometimes assistance of the CIA.” The CIA, the State Department, and SAVAK all worked together, for instance, in an effort to stop publication of *The Iran Free Press*, an anti-Shah newspaper printed in Arlington, Virginia. Most recently, during the Shah’s visit to the United States in December, 1977, SAVAK agents reportedly bribed and threatened Iranian students from around the country to come to a planned pro-Shah demonstration outside the gates of the White House. Iranian dissidents were refused a permit to demonstrate in the area.

The U.S. does not throw the foreign agents in this country out, no matter how much they terrorize and threaten their own people. The reason is simple. Expulsion of agents here would mean similar treatment for CIA agents overseas, due to the liaison agreements between the U.S. and foreign governments. An article in the *New York Times* in 1976 explains the relationship of give and take between the CIA and its Korean counterpart:

*Because the American CIA does not wish to have its hands tied in operating in South Korea, there is no formal agreement between Washington and Seoul on how many intelligence agents each side may maintain in the others country, and the U.S. has, in fact, tended to be unusually tolerant of South Korea’s intelligence activities here in general.*

Until the U.S. is willing to remove its covert action apparatus of spies and operatives from countries around the globe, foreign citizens in this country will have their civil and constitutional rights violated again and again by foreign agents who are here with the approval and assistance of the U.S. government.

## IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Why does the President continue to defend the maintenance of this covert apparatus? The CIA's programs at home and abroad are commonly justified as necessary for our national security. Covert action is said to be the alternative between an official diplomatic protest and sending in the Marines.

HOWEVER . . .

Even ardent supporters of CIA's covert operations in the past do not claim that it is now necessary to our nation's security. In 1975, CIA Director William Colby stated that abandoning covert action "would not have a major impact on our current activities or the current security of the United States."

Defense from external attack rests upon our military and economic prowess. Our security from economic dislocations and political isolation depends upon a wise and prudent foreign policy. Our ability to spread freedom and liberty in the world depends upon the example we set in our own behavior. The CIA's covert operations have nothing to do with the first; make the second more difficult; and directly contradict the third.

Over the years, the cost to the U.S. in terms of international stature has been incalculable. Former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee in 1975:

*The knowledge regarding such operations has become so widespread that our country has been accused of being responsible for practically every internal difficulty that has occurred in every country in the world.*

The Senate Committee concluded that the CIA could not undertake a major covert action operation now without its eventual exposure and resulting shame to the U.S.

Moreover, the covert commitments which are made through covert operations often limit our foreign policy options later on. The Senate Committee concluded that our covert commitments often limited our policy "by creating ties to groups and causes that the United States can not renounce without revealing the earlier covert action." Examples include CIA's ties with the Cuban exiles it trained to fight against Castro government during the 1960's, and who are now carrying out terrorist activities all over Latin America and within the U.S. Furthermore, the Senate Committee concluded that paramilitary interventions often lead to broader military interventions and involvements.

Defenders of covert action claim that it is important to maintain a world-wide covert infrastructure at home and abroad for the future possibility that it may be justified in certain situations. This is a bogus argument. In the United States, an individual has the right of self-defense; the same is true for the country. Under the Constitution, the President already has the right—in time of true national emergency—to act unilaterally, even secretly, to defend the lives of Americans. That Constitutional power, however, has been carefully limited by Congress. The President is required to report his action to the Congress and the people for ratification or censure. A President who directs a clandestine and covert intervention of another country, with no discernable relationship to any national emergency, is in violation of the basic tenets of the Constitution.



Covert action advocates claim that the secret apparatus provides necessary intelligence information. But in past years intelligence gathering has simply been the CIA's cover story for their secret operations. Intelligence analysts generally agree that espionage is increasingly outmoded, and now supplies only 10% of all intelligence data, much of that too unreliable for use. Moreover, since the secret network is based in the Third World, very little of the information which is collected has anything to do with the defense of the United States; it is basically useful as tactical intelligence for new covert action operations. Given the great cost to our democracy and to human rights generally, our security would be better served by dismantling the entire covert network.

30 YEARS of

United States  
As part of CIA's Operation CHAOS, the CIA spied on the anti-war movement and infiltrated domestic peace groups during 1960's and early 1970's; has close working relationship with local police, including CIA training courses in covert techniques; CIA ownership of hundreds of front or dummy corporations, called "proprietarys," used to provide cover for its operations agents; CIA having hundreds of teachers and graduate students on over 100 campuses around the country working secretly for CIA for recruitment, writing, propaganda, and covert operations purposes.

**Cuba**

The CIA organized a military invasion in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs in an effort to overthrow the Castro government, and planned assassination attempts on Fidel Castro on at least eight different occasions. Throughout the 1960's, the CIA sponsored regular armed incursions and sabotage raids by Cuban exiles directed out of Miami and other points in the Caribbean.

**Guatemala**

CIA-directed invasion overthrew Arbenz government in 1954, establishing military dictatorship. Heavy CIA manipulation of domestic Guatemalan politics continues up to present.

**Ecuador**

Extensive CIA covert political intervention in the early 60's destabilizes two civilian governments which refuse to break relations with Cuba. The resulting political chaos leads to military rule.

**Peru**

CIA trained a secret counter-guerilla force in the mid-1960's which wipes out the local insurgency movement.

**Bolivia**

CIA counter-insurgency advisors organized and directed the tracking down of Che Guevara and his guerilla force in 1967. CIA funnelled moeny into a number of different anti-communist parties in the 1966 Bolivian election, including Rene Barrientos, who won the election.

**British Guyana**

CIA funded strikes and riots that crippled Guyana in 1962 and 1963, and led to overthrow of Jagan's governing People's Progressive Party. CIA funnelled its secret payments that placed Forbes Burnham in power through the AFL-CIO and AFSCME.

**Brazil**

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

**Chile**

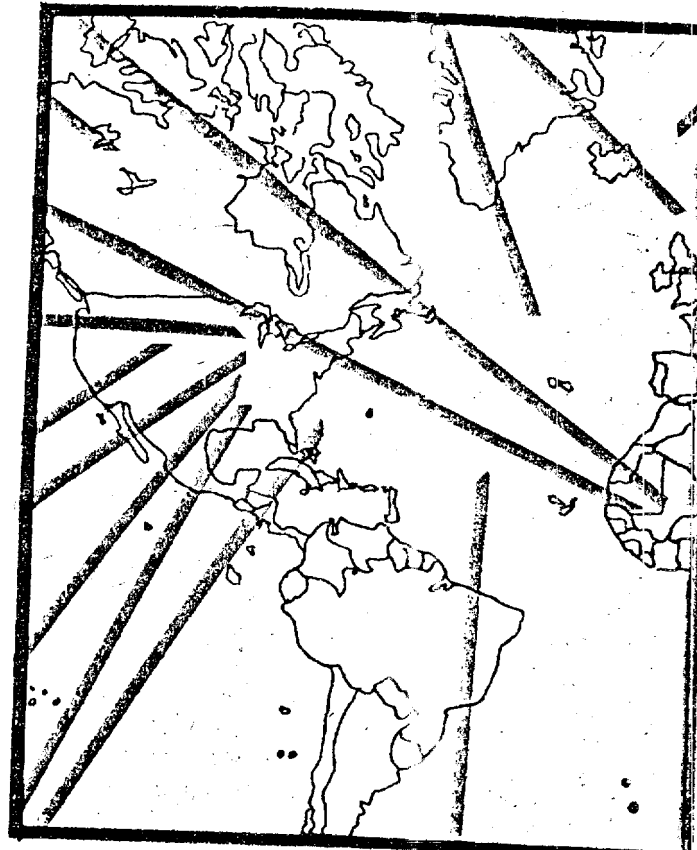
CIA secretly funded anti-Allende political forces in 1958, 1964, and 1970 elections. Having failed to block Allende's election to the presidency in 1970, CIA directs a destabilization of the economic and political

**West Europe**

CIA subsidized political parties, individual leaders, labor unions, and other groups from World War II up to at least 1976. CIA spent \$10 million in 1972 election in Italy to back the Christian Democrats. Millions of secret dollars were poured into both Socialist and anti-communist parties in Portugal, France, West Germany, among others.

**Eastern Europe**

CIA's "Operation Splinter Factor" through misinformation and political manipulation contributed to Stalinist purge of nationalist party members independent of Moscow around 1950.



order which leads to the military coup in 1973, which places brutal military dictatorship in power. CIA also assisted in the assassination of army chief of staff, Rene Schneider.

**Uruguay**

CIA manipulates Uruguayan politics throughout 1960's, pressuring the government to accept an AID police training mission which provides cover for CIA case officers. Their job—to secretly finance and train the local police and intelligence services.

**Angola**

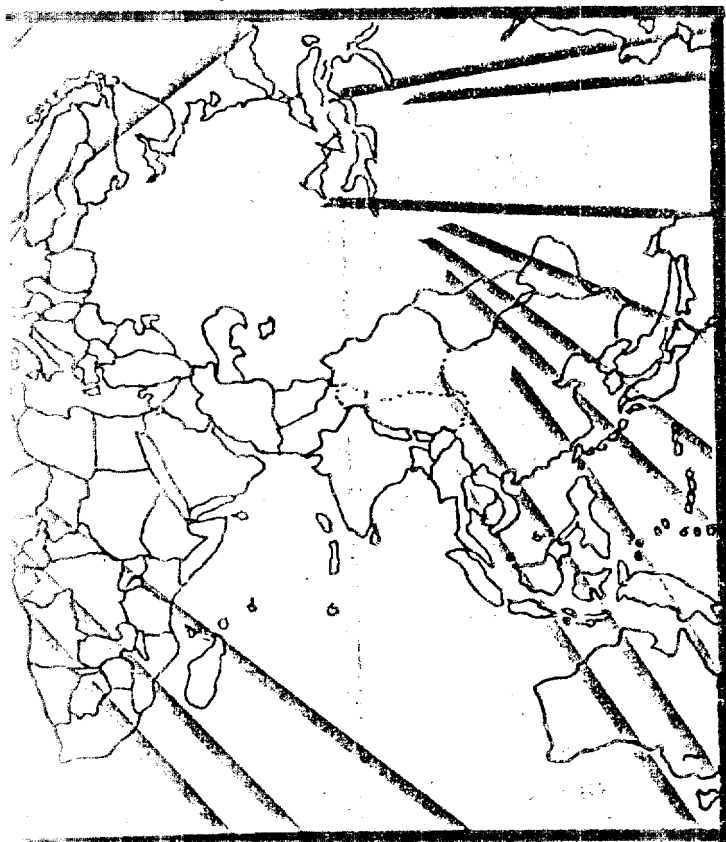
Beginning in 1960, the CIA placed Holden Roberto, head of one of the Angolan groups, on its payroll. In 1975, the CIA intervened in a civil war in Angola in support of two factions against the MPLA, backed by the USSR. CIA spent millions on ammunition, air support, and mercenaries.

**OVERT ACTION****Iran**

CIA organized a coup overthrowing the government of Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953, and reinstating the present Shah in power. CIA helped set up SAVAK, Iran's secret police. Former CIA Director Richard Helms was appointed U.S. Ambassador in 1973.

**Israel**

CIA works closely with Israeli intelligence, and since 1957 has given \$80 million in secret payments to Israeli intelligence for use in penetrating the independent states of black Africa, and running covert operations there.

**Zaire (Congo)**

CIA escalated its political manipulation to paramilitary operations in 1964 against local rebel leaders. Supplied mercenaries and an air force of B-26's flown by Bay of Pigs veterans. CIA attempted to assassinate Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese charismatic leader of the 1950's, and had in fact been working with the African dissidents who murdered him in 1961. CIA currently maintains a major station in Zaire for its operations in Africa.

The CIA has given the President of Zaire, Sese Seko Mobutu, secret cash payments, and has helped recruit mercenaries to fight in his wars.

**South Africa**

CIA maintains close liaison with South African secret police, known as BOSS. CIA secretly collaborated with the South African government in the Angolan civil war in 1975.

**China**

CIA sponsored propaganda and guerilla raids from 1949 through the mid-1960s, and in 1967, organized a disinformation campaign of black propaganda and radio broadcasts directed at exacerbating the cultural revolution's political upheavals.

**Tibet**

From 1959 through the mid-1960s, the CIA equipped and trained Tibetan exiles in sabotage and ambush raids against the Chinese. The CIA also provided air support for these operations. A number of Tibetan guerilla fighters were trained by the CIA in a secret base in Colorado during that period.

**Vietnam**

CIA helped consolidate Diem's power in 1955, and launched sabotage and guerilla raids against the north and pacification programs in the south. CIA later encouraged a coup against Diem and his brother in 1963, in which they were both killed. After the overt escalation of the war after the Tonkin Gulf incident (in which a CIA raid likely played a role), the CIA started a Counter-Terror program in 1965. In 1967, CIA begins the Phoenix Program, an assassination program that tortures and murders thousands of Vietnamese.

**Laos**

CIA organized and directed a secret army from 1962 to 1973, employing 35,000 Laotian and 17,000 Thai mercenaries. CIA had control over a large part of the U.S. military in the country, for bombing and other support for its paramilitary operations.

**Cambodia**

CIA played a role in a coup which topples Prince Sihanouk in 1970, which paved the way for the U.S. military invasion of Cambodia that summer. CIA continued to carry out covert operations there until the end of the war in summer 1975.

**Philippines**

CIA helped the Philippine government put down the Huk insurgency movement in the early 1950s, and then helped place Ramon Magsaysay in power in 1953. It has kept close ties with the present dictator, Ferdinand Marcos.

**Indonesia**

CIA sent money, arms, and a secret airforce of B-26 bombers in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Achmed Sukarno in 1958.

**Micronesia**

In 1973, the CIA began intelligence operations against the independence movement there, and the CIA later bugged the room in which talks were being held on treaties between the U.S. and Micronesia.

**Greece**

CIA's massive and continuous political intervention leads to the 1967 coup which overthrows the civil government. Papadopolus heads the repressive military regime until overthrown in the 1973 coup. He and others in his regime had long been receiving CIA financial support.

**Australia**

CIA manipulated the leadership of Australian labor unions, infiltrated them, and suppressed their strikes for a number of years.

## WHO KILLED ORLANDO LETELIER?



—Washington Star Photographer John Bowden

**Mourners and demonstrators walk down Connecticut Avenue behind the hearse carrying the body of Orlando Letelier to services at St. Matthews Cathedral.**

On the morning of September 21, 1976, a bomb exploded in a car killing Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean Ambassador to the United States under Salvador Allende, and an outspoken critic of the military junta now in power. Also killed was an American woman, Ronni Karpen Moffitt, who worked with Letelier at the Institute for Policy Studies, in Washington, D.C. They were both on their way to work.

After months of investigation into the murder, the Justice Department announced in early 1977 that the assassination had been carried out by Cuban exiles who were reportedly acting on direct orders from the junta in Chile. There has been little reported progress since that time, and no one has been indicted for the murders.

During that same period, in February 1977, a secret memo surfaced that had been written by the head of the DINA, Chile's secret police, requesting additional government funds for the "neutralization of the principal opponents of the government junta

abroad, especially in Mexico, Argentina, Costa Rica, United States, France, and Italy. Moreover, reports in the *Washington Post* exposed the fact that the DINA had tried to recruit a number of Cubans to assassinate Salvador Allende's nephew and perhaps other members of the former President's cabinet. A number of Cuban exiles, many of whom were trained by the CIA in the 1960's, have been staying in Chile and receiving financial and other kinds of aid from the military government there.

The CIA's officially condoned terror has come full circle in the Letelier/Moffitt murder. The CIA trains thousands of Cubans in the techniques of sabotage and assassination to fight its secret war against Fidel Castro in the early 1960's. Almost a decade later, CIA "destabilization" efforts in Chile led to a coup in which the popularly elected government of Salvador Allende is ousted, and replaced by a fascist military junta. With the Cubans serving as "hit men," and the DINA giving the orders, the offspring of the CIA join together to produce bloodshed in the streets of Washington on September 21, 1976.



# THE DOMESTIC PRICE: HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE U.S.

It is not possible for a nation to commit crimes and abuses abroad without eventually undermining its own laws and values at home. The CIA's covert operations have had a cancerous effect upon free institutions in this country. When the CIA was created in 1947, Congress feared that it might grow into a domestic "gestapo" so it passed one major limitation on the CIA's activity: the Agency was to have no "police, subpoena, or law-enforcement powers or internal security functions." Yet from its first hours, the CIA has used and abused American institutions and associations. It has penetrated American groups; spied upon American citizens and violated the American constitution.

## THE SEARCH FOR COVER

A secret agency needs to hide the true activities of its agents and provide plausible explanations for their presence abroad. A false identity, a cover story, is invented to disguise an agent. Cover requires the use of otherwise independent institutions, implicating them in the CIA's dirty tricks. Over the years, the CIA has developed relations with and secreted agents in virtually every major independent association in American society.

## THE PRESS

The CIA has used the press in four separate ways. CIA agents have used journalist status as a cover. The CIA has employed actual journalists to gather information or carry out operations. The Agency has also controlled newspapers, magazines and news services to spread propaganda. Finally, the Agency has used its close ties with American publishers to suppress stories it did not want published.

After scandalous revelations of the CIA's use of journalists as spies, the Agency announced that it would stop using "accredited" reporters as agents. The Church Committee later found that the CIA was still using more than twenty-five unaccredited American journalists, and uncounted foreign journalists. Recently the CIA issued another set of regulations; but the wording is still limited and the effect still unclear.

The Church Committee found that the CIA had published over 1,250 books without identifying the identity of the author. The CIA has owned and subsidized magazines, newspapers, and radio and television services. The Senate Committee suppressed the fact that the Agency still controlled over 230 news services around the world. These outlets are often picked up in the United States and CIA propaganda becomes our news. For example, some of the CIA's propaganda in Chile before the 1973 coup was unwittingly picked up and reprinted as news in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. The domestic "fallout" is so great that the CIA has established formal safeguards to insure that high level U.S. officials are not misled by CIA "black propaganda."

The Agency has frequently colluded with publishers and journalists to keep stories out of print. The *New York Times* agreed not to print a story about the up-coming Bay of Pigs invasion. More recently, CIA Director William Colby convinced some 15 different newspaper owners and editors to suppress the story of the CIA's multi-million dollar bungle of the effort to raise a Soviet submarine from the sea. Finally, Jack Anderson broke the story on the radio, revealing that the CIA had contracted with Howard Hughes to build the *Glomar Explorer* for the job. The story damaged the CIA's myth of expertise; it had no effect on the nation's security.



## CHURCHES AND MISSIONARIES

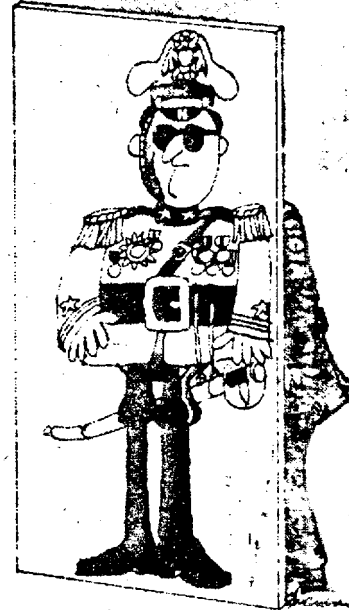
The Senate Intelligence Committee confirmed that the CIA has been using missionaries and church personnel in operational activities and as intelligence sources. In Bolivia, for example, missionaries were recruited in the 1950's to report on dissident groups. In South Vietnam, a Catholic bishop was placed on the CIA payroll. In Colombia, missionaries organized radio broadcasts and anti-communist propaganda campaigns for the CIA. In Chile, Jesuit priest Roger Vekemans was the conduit for millions of dollars in political actions funds in the early 1960's. Although the Senate Committee reviewed and deplored such CIA practices, it did nothing to put an end to it. Former CIA Director Bush, however, did issue a statement in 1976 that the CIA would no longer employ members of the Church as operatives. The loopholes in the statement were wider than a stained glass window.

## LABOR UNIONS

From its first days, the CIA has worked closely with the international wing of the U.S. labor movement, both to weaken left unions overseas and where possible, to destroy them. The AFL-CIO helped funnel Agency money to docile company unions in Europe after the war, and AFSCME's international program served as a principle CIA instrument in fomenting strikes and an eventual coup in British Guiana in 1962. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has always been an active collaborator with the CIA, primarily in Latin America. As recently as last year, the CIA was accused of manipulating the labor movement in Australia. Often the cooperation between American unions and the CIA results in military dictatorships, like in Chile and Brazil, whose first acts are to ban all labor unions.

## ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

The CIA has used universities to provide cover and personnel for its covert operations. For example, an enormous section of the University of Miami's southern campus was set aside as a CIA base for its terrorist raids on Cuba throughout the 1960's. A program sponsored by Michigan State University in the mid 1960's was



used to provide cover for CIA operatives in south Vietnam.

The CIA also enlists hundreds of university professors in its secret research programs, which range from social science work to very technical experimentation. CIA's MKULTRA drug testing and behavior modification alone involved the secret use of over 80 different universities and institutes. Often students and professors work on CIA contracts without being told that the CIA is the sponsor. Moreover, countless books, papers, and scholarly journals have been written by the CIA, or under CIA contract, and yet read unwittingly by the academic community as legitimate and independent work.

The Agency still has hundreds of "spotters" on hundreds of campuses who identify possible recruits among university students, primarily foreign students. The CIA undertakes secret background checks of these potential employees, obviously without the knowledge or approval of the individuals involved. The file created on the student can be updated and added to for a limitless period of time, regardless of whether the CIA ever hires the person or not.

The Church Committee allowed the CIA to censor its report on CIA ties with the academic community, but it did reveal that the Agency's secret relations with hundreds of university professors, administrators, and graduate students were sufficient to "prejudice, if not destroy" the integrity of American academic institutions.

## CORPORATIONS

The CIA makes wide use of multi-national corporations both as cover for their personnel overseas, and as conduits for secret Agency funds to carry out covert operations. Companies known to have concealed CIA personnel on their payrolls are ITT, Pan Am, and Grace Shipping Lines. In 1974, former CIA Director Colby told reporters that over 200 CIA operatives worked under corporate cover overseas. Large corporations and the CIA work closely together, especially in Third World countries, as their interest in keeping pro-American governments in power is the same. ITT offered \$1 million to the CIA to keep Salvador Allende from power in Chile, a clear example of this collusion. In addition to using other companies for cover, the CIA also has created its own dummy corporations, known as proprietaries, which employ CIA personnel and operatives.



## THE RESULTS

Over the past years, no American institution has escaped the stigma of a CIA connection. Not surprisingly, American journalists, academics and students find themselves quarantined from certain countries around the world, due to widespread suspicion that they could be spies for the CIA. Such suspicious hostility is measurably increased for U.S. missionaries and union leaders. U.S. citizens who join independent associations—laborers, students, professors, journalists, missionaries—can no longer be certain that their institution is not secretly cooperating with the CIA, or that their work might be used—without their knowledge—by and for the CIA.

## THE KING'S MEN AND THE CONSTITUTION

The Church Committee reported that it was "struck by the basic tension—if not incompatibility—of covert operations and the demands of the constitutional system." Here are some of the reasons.

**The Constitution requires that the Congress make the laws, and establish the different offices of the government. But to this day, the authority of the CIA to commit covert operations comes not from a law passed by Congress, but from secret executive orders issued by presidents over the past two decades. Only a part of the CIA's "secret charter" has been revealed to the public as a result of a Freedom of Information request.**



**The Congress has the power to declare war under the Constitution. CIA's para-military interventions, as well as its use of mercenaries, is in direct conflict with that Congressional authority. After the Vietnam debacle, Congress passed the War Powers Act to reassert its powers, but the act did not include the CIA's secret operations. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger admitted that this omission contributed to his and President Ford's decision to intervene covertly in Angola in 1975, thus avoiding a public debate they knew they would lose.**



**That the Senate must consent to international treaties is another Constitutional mandate. But by using the CIA to support a certain faction or government abroad, a President really makes a large, secret commitment without the consultation or the approval of the Senate. Furthermore, the fact that the CIA has "liaison" agreements with many foreign intelligence agencies which are similarly kept secret from Congress is another violation of the Constitution.**

**The Constitution requires that a public accounting be given of all government expenditures, so that the people know what their taxes are being spent on. Yet the CIA's budget has never been published. It is hidden in false categories of the Defense Department's budget. Although the Rockefeller Commission recommended that the CIA's budget be published, neither the Administration nor the Congress has adopted this stance. The CIA claims that publication would be helpful to the USSR, suggesting that the Russians would derive what Rep. Otis Pike concluded were "obscure understandings" from the publication. Yet former CIA Director James Schlesinger admitted that the Soviet Union knows much more about the CIA budget than the American people.**



**An important aspect indeed of our democratic system is the Constitutional protections for a free press and free speech. As noted above, the CIA suppresses stories it does not like, and molds the contents of the news when it can, both at home and abroad. But the CIA has gone beyond collusion and manipulation of the press. In 1974, the CIA won an unprecedented judicial order, allowing the censorship of a book critical of the Agency, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by Victor Marchetti and John Marks. The Agency is now seeking Congressional approval of this extraordinary power to enjoin the free press. It also seeks an Official Secret Act to get the power to prosecute Agency officials who leak information, even if that information concerns evidence of criminal conduct, and has nothing to do with damaging our national security.**

"WE CAN'T RUN THE RISK OF HAVING IT LEAK OUT  
TO THE U.S. TAXPAYERS"



© 1976 by Herblock in the *Washington Post*

## THE SPY IN OUR CLOSET: DOMESTIC CRIMES OF THE C.I.A.

For nearly 30 years, the CIA has carried out operations against American citizens within the United States, in direct violation of both its charter and the laws of the country. It has listened in on their phone conversations, burglarized their offices and homes, infiltrated their political organizations, read their mail, and conducted behavior modification experiments on them. And all of this was justified in the name of national security.

### OPERATION CHAOS

President Lyndon Johnson, and later President Nixon, believed that the anti-war movement was a subversive plot inspired by foreign elements. So in 1967, on orders from the White House to ferret out the foreign connection, the CIA set up a domestic spying operation known as Operation CHAOS. By 1973, when the project was terminated, the CIA had cross-indexed over 300,000 Americans in its files, had created 1,000 new files on domestic "protest organizations," and had written 7,000 detailed personality reports on U.S. citizens. Operation CHAOS agents were also assigned to infiltrate many anti-war and civil rights groups in Washington, D.C., like Women Strike for Peace and Congress for Racial Equality. One agent became an appointed official within his organization, and another became a staff member of a congressional campaign. Other activities by agents of Operation CHAOS include:

- photographing individuals attending anti-war demonstrations
- following people to their homes and collecting information on their private lives
- preparing reports on various protest organizations and leaders
- following and harassing Americans travelling overseas.

### MAIL OPENING

For over twenty years, the CIA intercepted and read the overseas mail of U.S. citizens, sharing the contents with the FBI and other federal agencies. Political activists, writers, members of Congress, and even a president of the United States, were on "watch lists" to have their mail opened. Awareness that the project was "illegal as all hell" (as one CIA operative put it) led to the development of extreme secrecy measures and elaborate cover stories. When the program was finally ended in 1975 due to the fear that the

would be exposed, the CIA had reviewed over 28 million pieces of mail, photographed over 2 million letters, and opened more than 215,000 pieces of correspondence.

### MIND CONTROL

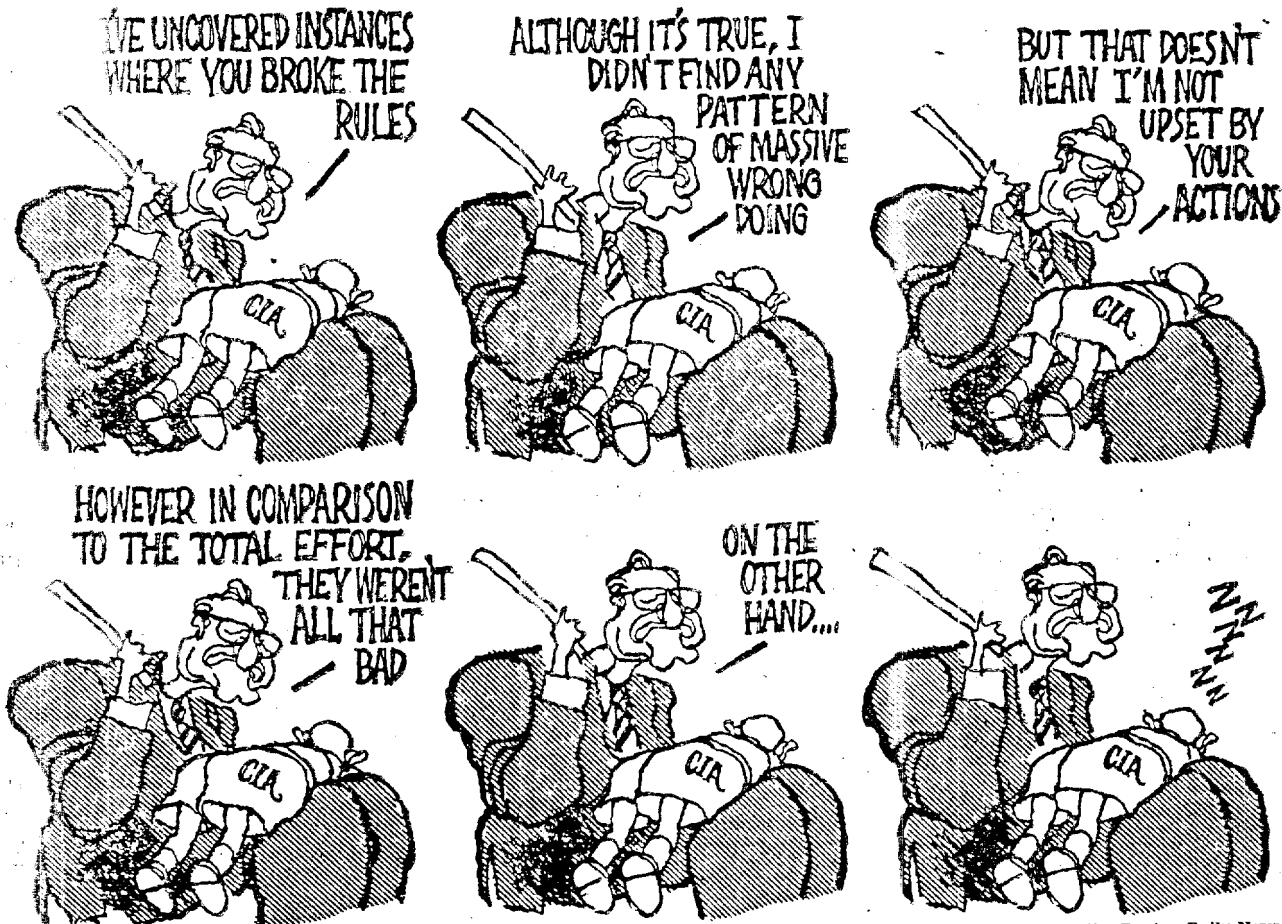
The CIA spent at least \$25 million over 25 years on no less than 149 separate "mind control" projects, which included the use of drugs, hypnosis, electric shocks, and sensory deprivation. Many of the unwitting victims of these programs were mental patients, prisoners, or people taken randomly off the streets. Activities carried out as part of MKULTRA, CIA's major behavior modification project, included:

- An operation called "Midnight Climax," in which the CIA hired prostitutes in New York and San Francisco to bring unsuspecting clients off the streets and give them doses of LSD. CIA agents watched the people's reaction to the drug from behind two-way mirrors.
- Experimentation on 142 "sexual psychopaths" at the Iona State Hospital in Michigan, primarily on the effects of LSD.
- Experiments on unwitting subjects at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, and mental patients at Butler Memorial Hospital in Providence, R.I.
- At least one death, by suicide, of a civilian employee of the Army, Frank Olsen, who had been administered LSD in his drink without his knowledge.

### Other Illegal Acts by the CIA

- the preparation of a psychological profile of Daniel Ellsberg for use by the White House in its attempts to discredit the anti-war activist suspected of leaking the Pentagon Papers
- the provision of disguises, wigs, concealable tape-recorders, and cameras, as well as other material, to E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy of Watergate fame.
- placing wiretaps on three different newsmen in the 1960's, and more recently, in 1971, assigning as many as 16 agents per day to watch and spy on political columnist Jack Anderson.
- illegal entries, burglaries and bugging of foreign consulates and embassies in Washington, D.C.
- extensive training of local police forces in cities around the U.S., and provision of personnel and equipment to local police forces in their efforts to control anti-war and civil rights demonstrations in Washington and elsewhere.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE



By Mike Peters for the Dayton Daily News

### THE ADMINISTRATION'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS ON THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

Congress begins consideration of the CIA's charter in this session. The Carter Administration's position is reflected in the President's executive order on intelligence, which authorizes continued routine covert intervention abroad. If the administration's position is adopted by the Congress, it will mean:

1. *New Authority for Covert Action:* The administration assumes that covert action—called "special activity"—will continue routinely and would give the CIA legal authority to intervene. This would make the U.S. the first country to declare itself by law to be committed to the secret interference in the international affairs of other nations.

2. *New Authority for Secret Military Intervention:* The Carter Executive Order authorizes any national security bureaucracy to do covert

operations abroad. This enables the military to get into covert intervention, in essence providing legal authority for future secret Cambodia bombings. Inevitably, each military branch will develop a covert arm of its own.

3. *No restrictions on*

- bribery of government officials abroad;
- interference in free elections abroad;
- penetration of independent institutions;
- subversion of the media through black propaganda.

The Carter executive order includes a ban on assassination, but provides no other restrictions on the CIA. It authorizes the continuation of the CIA's covert manipulation of independent institutions at home and abroad.

4. *False claims of oversight control:* Already the Administration's order is being hailed for

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placing new controls on the CIA, primarily because it orders the Attorney General to review all of the agency's plans. Yet both Robert Kennedy and John Mitchell reviewed CIA covert operations while serving as Attorney General. The only notable effect was that each found it easier to approve the use of covert techniques at home, including wiretaps, break-ins, COINTELPRO disruptions.

Congressional oversight has similarly failed over the years. Upon his retirement as chairman of the new Senate Intelligence Oversight Com-

mittee in December 1977, Senator Daniel Inouye boasted of the committee's performance, emphasizing its protection of the CIA's secrets. Inouye concluded with a quote from novelist John Le Carre, that "the world of intelligence activities spill over into almost every area of public life; its viability depends upon our tolerance, upon our money and to a sizable extent, upon our complicity."

In the past congressional oversight has only given the CIA insulation for covert abuses. Oversight is not enough; distinct limits must be placed on the intelligence agencies.




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## WHAT YOU CAN DO

A range of groups are now forming together to demand an end to secret interventions abroad. The resource page tells you how to get in contact with them. What is needed is for citizens to tell the Congress that they want an end to covert intervention abroad.

### 1. Support H.R. 6051

Twenty-four congressmen, led by Rep. Herman Badillo (D-NY) have sponsored comprehensive legislation to reform the intelligence agencies, entitled H.R. 6051. The bill, which deals with domestic and foreign intelligence operations, would prohibit all covert intervention abroad by the CIA. H.R. 6051 would dismantle the CIA's Clandestine Services completely, ending both covert action abroad and secret spying (espionage). It would limit the CIA to its proper function of intelligence assessment.

### 2. Demand an End to Secret Foreign Intervention

Even if H.R. 6051 does not pass, Congress should be forced to prohibit all covert intervention abroad designed to manipulate events. All penetration and manipulation of independent institutions in foreign nations should be ended, including strict prohibitions against:

(a) any interference in elections

(b) any penetration of independent institutions, particularly the unions, churches, the press and universities

### 3. Demand an End to All Paramilitary and Police Support Operations, covert or overt

The Church Committee recommended that covert paramilitary interventions and arms transfers be prohibited. In addition, Congress should be pressured to end the trade in police weaponry and the training of foreign police. The United States should get out of the business of internal policing in other countries.

### 4. Demand Exposure of the Activities of the Foreign Intelligence Services in This Country

The Congress must end the intelligence agencies' complicity with foreign intelligence services, and hold open hearings exposing the level of foreign intelligence operation in this country. We must act to protect the right of foreign and Americans citizens residing in this country from the long arm of dictators.

## RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Although this list is by no means complete, it does include many of the organizations and their resources which relate to the issues of reforming the intelligence agencies and improving human rights both in the U.S. and around the world.

### Organizations Concerned With the Intelligence Community

**American Civil Liberties Union**, 600 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 publishes *Civil Liberties Alert*, a legislative newsletter.

**Campaign to Stop Government Spying**, 201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, organizes nation-wide opposition to domestic government spying and harassment, and covert operations abroad. They publish a monthly newsletter titled *Organizing Notes*.

**Center for National Security Studies**, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, is a research organization focusing on the issue of national security agencies and their abuses. Resources include pamphlets on CIA and Covert Action, CIA on Campus, and the FBI. Books include *Lawless State* (Penguin) and *CIA File* (Grossman). CNSS publishes, with ACLU, *First Principles*, a monthly newsletter concerned with the ways the intelligence agencies infringe on civil liberties, and the problems of reform in that area.

### Organizations Concerned With Human Rights-General

**American Friends Service Committee**, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, has a wide range of resources on human rights including speakers, films, slide shows, reports, and organizing materials available through its Human Rights Program.

**Amnesty International**, Room 309, 2112 Broadway, New York, NY 10021. AI is a world-wide human rights organization working for the release of political prisoners. They publish reports on human rights conditions in various countries. *Amnesty International Report '77* now available.

**Center for International Policy**, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, publishes a monthly report on issues of foreign policy and human rights, entitled *International Policy Report*. An IPR specifically on CIA issues entitled *Toward Detente With Cuba: Issues and Obstacles*.

**Clergy and Laity Concerned**, Human Rights Coordinating Center, 1114 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. CALC monitors human rights legislation, provides resources on human rights, and publishes a regular compilation of news articles and resources on human rights. Pamphlet entitled *DINA, SAVAK, KCIA: Our Allies' Secret Agencies Have Come to the United States*, available from CALC.

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**, 120 Maryland Ave NE, Washington, DC 20002. The Coalition unites nearly 40 national religious, peace, labor, professional and social action organizations in an effort to develop a peaceful, non-interventionist humanitarian and open U.S. foreign and military policy. Its resources include the *Human Rights Action Guide*, *The Disarmament Action Guide*, *Priorities Action Guide*. The Coalition sends out action alerts and special reports on impending legislation.

**Institute for Policy Studies**, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009. IPS deals with a wide range of issues, including human rights and exportation of arms, training of police, etc. Publications include *Export of Repression: U.S. Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad*, by Michael Klare, *Human Rights and Vital Needs by Peter Weiss*, and *Letelier/Moffitt Murders: This Is How It Was Done*.

### Organizations Concerned With Human Rights-In Specific Countries

**American Committee on Africa**, 305 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017.

**Argentina Information and Service Center**, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010 and 2700 Bancroft, Berkeley, CA 94704 publishes *Argentina Outreach*, a monthly bulletin on Argentina and U.S. policy towards the Videla regime.

**Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran**, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

**Friends of the Filipino People**, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002. FFP publishes *FFP Bulletin*, a monthly newsletter, and monitors legislation on U.S. aid to the Philippines.

**Iranian Students Association in the United States**, PO Box 268, College Park, MD 20740 publishes *Resistance*, a quarterly newsletter on repression of Iranian students in the U.S. and Iran.

**National Chile Center**, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010 distributes resources and organizes nation-wide activities in support of a free Chile.

**National Council of Churches**, Office of Haitian Refugee Concerns, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

**North American Coalition on Human Rights in Korea**, 15th Floor, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027. Works with the religious community on human rights in Korea.

**Southeast Asia Resource Center**, PO Box 4000 D, Berkeley, CA 94704 publishes the *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, a monthly report on political and social developments in the region.

**TAPOL/USA—Campaign for Political Prisoners in Indonesia**, PO Box 609, Montclair, NJ 07042 publishes a monthly news magazine on political prisoners and U.S. policy towards Indonesia.

**U.S. Korea Research and Action Committee**, PO Box 24175, Oakland, CA 94623, publishes *Korea Commentary*, a monthly newsletter about Korea and U.S. policy towards the Park regime.

**Washington Office on Latin America**, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, publishes *Latin American Update*, a bimonthly review and analysis of U.S. policy towards Latin America.

**Washington Office on Africa**, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, publishes *Washington Notes on Africa*, a quarterly newsletter on U.S. policy toward Africa, and *Africa Action*, bulletins of Congressional legislation.

This pamphlet was prepared by Robert Borosage and Christy Macy in cooperation with the staff of the Campaign to Stop Government Spying and with the Intelligence Subcommittee of the Human Rights Working Group. Typeset by Teri Grimwood.



**Center for National Security Studies**  
**122 Maryland Avenue NE**  
**Washington DC**

**20002**

**Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Organization** \_\_\_\_\_

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THE WASHINGTON POST  
30 March 1978

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P-Richards, Bill  
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CIA 4.01 Merrimack  
L RESISTANCE

# CIA Infiltrated Black Groups In Washington During the '60s

## CIA Infiltrated Black Groups Here in the '60s

By Bill Richards

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Central Intelligence Agency infiltrated black groups, the Resurrection City encampment here and the D.C. public school system in the late 1960s despite its own internal findings that "black militant" groups at the time posed no physical threat to the agency.

Documents released by the CIA under the Freedom of Information Act to the Center for National Security indicate that in March 1969 the agency had an informer planted within the D.C. public school system who was warning of growing militancy among blacks in the city schools.

The informer, who is not identified in the CIA documents except as "a teacher and head of department," told his CIA contacts that many high school students were carrying firearms "and will probably use these weapons at the slightest provocation."

In addition, CIA informers also reported to the agency's Langley, Va., headquarters from the Resurrection City encampment here in 1968 and took photos of a speaker at a Malcolm X Day rally in the District during the same period. The intelligence agency also maintained an almost minute-by-minute log of street activity in the riot areas during the 1968 disturbances following the death of Martin Luther King Jr., according to newly disclosed CIA documents.

CIA officials told both the Rockefeller Commission and the Senate Intelligence Committee investigating CIA abuses that they undertook certain domestic surveillance activities under the code headings of Project Merrimack and Project Resistance to protect the intelligence agency's property and personnel.

The Rockefeller Commission noted in its report in 1975 that "the agency's infiltration of dissident groups in the Washington area went far beyond steps necessary to protect the agency's own facilities, personnel and operations and therefore exceeded the CIA's statutory authority."

In its report a year later the Senate committee said the surveillance "illustrated fundamental weaknesses and contradictions in the statutory definition of CIA authority."

Neither report indicated the extent of the CIA's surveillance of black groups or the disavowal of any threat they posed.

Protective surveillance by the CIA was allowed under federal law at the time and is still allowed under the presidential order regulating the U.S. intelligence community signed by President Carter. Legislation proposed by the Senate Intelligence Committee would limit protective surveillance in the future to the immediate vicinity of CIA facilities.

Among the documents released by the CIA was one analysis prepared by the intelligence agency for the head of its special activities division, which was overseeing the Merrimack and Resistance projects.

The document, which was prepared in January 1969, cites source material gathered from local, state and federal governmental agencies as well as news reports to conclude that they "do not indicate that CIA and/or its personnel and installations are considered at this time to be a primary or sole target by any of the numerous black militant organizations or by individual black activists."

Another 1967 CIA memorandum whose contents were made available to The Washington Post notes that growing hostility toward the CIA by some black power groups at the time posed "a new threat to its operations abroad and its image in the United States."

The memo does not mention any threat to CIA property or personnel by the groups, but notes that the agency had compiled lists of black

militants and organizations "which must be of our official concern."

Nevertheless, the CIA cited potential threats to its property and employees as the reason for broad surveillance and infiltration in the late 1960s of black groups.

The scope of the CIA's domestic surveillance was spelled out in a 1968 memorandum on Project Resistance prepared for "headquarters" by a senior agent in one of the intelligence agency's West Coast domestic offices.

"While the original intent of the project, which was to gather information in support of our recruiters, seems to have developed into a desire to gather as much information as possible pertaining to racial, student and subversive organizations," the agent wrote, "obviously we are only scratching the surface generally in this effort at the present time."

Officials of the District school system said yesterday they were not aware of any CIA informer on the staff.

Former school board member Charles Cassell, who is named in one report by the informer as being active during a period of turmoil in several schools, said yesterday he was not surprised by the penetration of the CIA into the local school system.

"I wouldn't be surprised at this point to hear they had informants anywhere," said Cassell. "I'm honored to be in the company of many people I respect and admire who are in their files."

P-Zacchino, NARDA  
Robert  
Orig. U of California  
(UCLA)  
CIA 2.05.1 FOIA  
Orig. Center for Natl  
Security Studies  
Gardels, Nathan  
Bolton, Earl Clinton  
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LOS ANGELES TIMES  
19 February 1978

# CIA Papers Show Long History of UC Contacts

BY NARDA ZACCHINO and ROBERT SCHEER

Times Staff Writers

A long history of contacts between the Central Intelligence Agency and the University of California—highlighted by a UC vice president's tour of duty with the CIA during the height of student unrest is revealed in documents released by the CIA.

The documents, about 800 pages dating from the late 1950s through 1977, have been released under the Freedom of Information Act and made available to The Times.

They cover a wide range of cooperative activities between the university, several of its nine campuses and the intelligence agency, including:

—The UC vice president's tour with the CIA during which he apparently advised the agency on such matters as student unrest, recruiting UC students, academic cover for professors doing research for the CIA and improving the agency's public relations image on the UC campuses.

—A series of CIA-sponsored seminars in Berkeley and other locations with select professors thought to be friendly to the agency, to share information.

—Providing a steady flow of CIA materials on China and the Soviet Union to CIA-approved professors.

—At least one instance in which a CIA staff person asked a Berkeley political science professor to use his influence to get a CIA agent admitted to

Berkeley's political science graduate school. Apparently, the agent's only interest was to pursue academic studies.

The Freedom of Information request on the CIA's relations with the University of California was originally filed in May, 1976, by Nathan Gardels, a political science graduate student and research assistant at UCLA. The request was endorsed by a number of UC's student and staff groups.

But the CIA has released only a portion of the documents, and the private Center for National Security Studies in Washington, D.C., joined Gardels to file appeals. The center is expected to file a lawsuit this week to force the CIA to release the remainder of the documents.

As is the government's practice in releasing documents under the Freedom of Information Act, the names of principal parties are blanked out. An investigation by The Times determined that it was former UC Administrative Vice President Earl Clinton Bolton who served an active tour of duty with the CIA in the summer of 1968.

Interviews also established the names of several professors referred to in the documents.

Bolton's service with the CIA also was confirmed by Vice Adm. Rufus B. Taylor, former deputy-director of the CIA, who said Bolton was "brought in because of his expertise in administrative matters involving the knowledge of student affairs."

University officials contacted by The Times expressed concern over the documents relating to the role of Bolton, who used letterhead stationery to correspond with Taylor.

UC President David Saxon said Bolton violated university policy by using the letterhead, while Saxon's executive assistant, David Wilson, said Bolton used "poor judgment" in his work with the CIA.

As vice president for administration, Bolton's duties included supervising the university's Washington, D.C., office and maintaining liaison with headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission, with the AEC's field agencies and major AEC labs and conducting negotiations for the renewal of the three major AEC contracts with the university.

Bolton retired from the university in 1964 and is now a resident in the Los Angeles office of Booz Al-

## Other sources confirmed Bolton's stay at the CIA's Langley, Va., headquarters.

ten and Hamilton, an international management consultant firm. He said he would "neither confirm nor deny" that he spent those two weeks with the CIA at its Langley, Va., headquarters in the summer of 1968.

But his presence in Langley at that time has been confirmed through other sources.

In 1968 Bolton, then third in command of the University of California, also was a captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve. According to Naval records in Washington, he served two weeks of Naval Reserve training in 1968 at the CIA base on loan from the Naval Intelligence Command.

Bolton's university connection with the CIA began in June, 1968, when, as a university administrator plagued with the problem of student dissidence, he wrote a letter to an old friend, Vice Adm. Taylor, then deputy director of the CIA, indicating that he was available for an assignment in the field of intelligence.

Taylor responded June 25, 1968, noting in his letter: "After some discussion here in the agency, we have come to the conclusion that we could keep you interested . . . if you are willing to serve with us."

Taylor continued that the areas which the CIA officials "want you to work upon would be the following: student unrest, contracts for R and D (research and development), contracts for substantive research in universities, collection of overt information, supplying substantive material to scholars, revolutionary strategy, contacts with foreign scholars, academic cover and related matters."

Taylor, reached by telephone at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, said Bolton "normally did his two weeks annual training somewhere in Naval intelligence or intelligence activities associated with it . . . We decided because of his knowledge as vice president of the University of California he might be able to make some contribution."

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WASHINGTON POST  
2 JANUARY 1978

*Center for National  
Security Studies*

*Halperin, Morton*

## Intelligence Reform Lags, Halperin Says

United Press International

The Carter administration did little during its first year in power to reform American intelligence agencies despite congressional investigations revealing abuses, a private group said in a report released yesterday.

The report was issued by the Center for National Security Studies, an organization that has taken an adversary position to the Central Intelligence Agency and the FBI.

While official sources say the administration is moving to safeguard Americans against intelligence agency violation of their rights, Morton Halperin, the center's director, said there has been "little sign of effective reform."

Halperin noted that Carter campaigned on a platform that included ending illegal intelligence activities and reducing secrecy on national security policies.