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THE COMMONWEALTH

## "CIA & FBI Are Undermining the Rights of the People They Are Supposed to be Protecting," says Halperin

FRIDAY FLASHES — MAY 6th  
 From Address by  
 DR. MORTON HALPERIN, Director,  
 Project on National Security and Civil Liberties

"The topic of my address today is the crimes of intelligence agencies. I will be talking about some of their activities which are in my view in clear violation of the laws of this land and of the Constitution. People of the intelligence agencies feel that these subjects should not be discussed. They describe these matters as 'state secrets' which if released, they say, would injure the national security of the United States.

### Constitutional Violations

We have found that the information which is to be kept secret is information which is readily available to foreign governments, to our potential enemies, and is in fact being kept only from the American people.

It is important to understand that the U.S. intelligence agencies and the law enforcement agencies which are supposed to be protecting our security in fact engage in deliberate and systematic violations of our Constitutional rights.

The FBI engaged in a series of illegal and unconstitutional programs. It engaged in wiretaps without warrants against people who were being investigated for criminal activities. It engaged in burglaries

called 'black-bag jobs.' In defending these activities within the Bureau, senior officials of the FBI said that these activities were clearly illegal, but they were useful and should have been carried out.

### WLM-Subversive?

The FBI had a program of infiltration and surveillance of political organizations in the U.S., for example, Klu Klux Klan, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and many others. This infiltration and surveillance were not based on the belief that these organizations were breaking the law. It was based on the belief that the FBI had a right and a patriotic duty to investigate people whose politics the Bureau disapproved of, or whose political activities might be of interest to the Communist Party in the U.S., or political activity which the Bureau thought jeopardized the status quo within the U.S.

One of the groups which came to the attention of the FBI was referred to as the WLM, the Women's Liberation Movement. Mr. Hoover sent out a directive saying that the Bureau had decided that the Women's Liberation Movement should be infiltrated and put under surveillance. As a result, many memorandums were sent out including one from the office in New

(Continued on next page)

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**"FBI DECLARED WAR ON MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR."**

HALPERIN (Continued from preceding page)

York which said as far as the Bureau office could determine, there was no such organization as the WLM. Instead, it seemed to be a group of different organizations of women who were dissatisfied and protested their situation. The New York office and several other offices said that they did not feel this activity justified FBI intervention. With that came a memorandum from Mr. Hoover saying that this activity was subversive and therefore the Bureau would place the Women's Liberation Movement under surveillance.

Therefore, whenever women gathered in this country, even in groups of five or six, the Bureau was there conducting surveillance. Whenever environmentalists gathered, the Bureau was there. When the ACLU had its bi-annual meetings, the Bureau was there. In fact, we have not yet discovered any major political organization which has not received attention of the FBI through infiltration, surveillance, and in many cases, wiretappings and burglaries.

The Bureau was not content to gather information. It moved on to a program called 'co and tell pro,' the manipulation of organizations whose politics the Bureau did not like.

**'Co and Tell Pro'**

The Bureau had been confronted by the fact that in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Supreme Court issued a series of opinions which in effect said that individuals could not be prosecuted for engaging in political activity. Only individuals who advocated violence and breaking the law could be prosecuted. The Bureau knew of a number of organizations which it considered subversive, and yet there was no point in bringing this information to the attention of the Justice Department.

Therefore, the Bureau took the law into its own hands and started its 'co and tell' operations. It began with the Communist Party and moved to the Socialist Workers Party. From there it moved to the anti-war movement and the black nationalist movement. Against each of these movements, the Bureau engaged in efforts to undermine the lawful activities and to move these organizations in a violent direction so that they would be discredited.

**Anti-War Movement**

One of these campaigns was directed at Martin Luther King, Jr. You will recall that Martin Luther King gave a speech at the Lincoln Monument in Washington which he talked about a dream for America, a peaceful integration of American society. Most Americans were moved and touched by the speech. The FBI was outraged. The Bureau held an all-day meeting in which, according to one of the participants, the FBI declared war on Martin Luther King. His hotel rooms were bugged, his telephones were bugged and his organization was infiltrated.

The Bureau also moved against the anti-war movement. It infiltrated people who would propose to move from peaceful protest to violent activity. According to FBI memos, its motive was to destroy the respectability, credibility and cohesion of the organizations.

**Surveillance Continues**

The FBI claims that the 'co and tell pro' operations have come to an end. It admits that it continues to conduct political surveillance of organizations in the U.S. It predicates this surveillance on the assumption that these groups may someday break the law, or if it believes that the organizations are in some way connected with a foreign power.

*(Continued on next page)*

**FRIDAY, MAY 27th, 12 NOON      GOLD BALLROOM, SHERATON-PALACE HOTEL**  
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## Halperin Discusses CIA's Role in Chile and the Congo

HALPERIN (Continued from preceding page)

The CIA was set up by Congress in 1947 to conduct intelligence activities abroad. From the first day of creation, it engaged in two kinds of activities, neither were authorized by the Congress. The first activity was the surveillance of American citizens when they were traveling abroad, or if the CIA thought these citizens posed a threat to its physical facilities or its information. That led the CIA to infiltrate an organization called The Women's Strike for Peace. We also know that reporters have been subjected to surveillance. The CIA also conducts surveillance under the guise that it is going to hire a particular person.

All of these programs are going on right now under the authorization of the Executive Order issued by President Ford allegedly to control the intelligence agency.

The second activity that the CIA has carried out since its creation is covert operations—operations designed to interfere with foreign governments. Americans were told that the CIA was a tool of the government, supporting U.S. policy of seeking to promote democracy and freedom throughout the world. In fact, however, the CIA programs were designed to undermine the principles that the U.S. stands for in the world.

### CIA's Role In Chile

Let us focus our attention on what the CIA did in Chile, at the direction of several Presidents. The CIA worked for one objective—to prevent Allende from coming to power. When Allende received the most votes in a free election, there was a meeting of the Forty Committee, which runs the CIA covert operations. The meeting began with Mr. Kissinger, who was then the President's National Security Adviser, stating the policy of the U.S. with regard to Chile. He said, 'I do not see why we need to stand by and permit a country to turn to communism due to the irresponsibility of its own people.'

The CIA then launched its campaign against Allende. The CIA said that the only way to prevent Allende from coming to power was a military coup. It began plotting with right-wing groups in Chile

to kidnap the Chilean Chief of Staff, in order to justify a military coup. The Chilean military was told that the U.S. was interested only in keeping Allende out of power. The Chilean military was told that as long as Allende was in power, there would be no military aid to Chile from the U.S. and that the country would be economically forced to starvation.

The military finally acted, the Chief of Staff was kidnapped and killed. Later, a coup overthrew that government with the active support of the CIA.

### Lumumba Assassination

Less attention has been focused on the CIA's activity in the Congo. Its role there is equally revealing of the way in which the CIA has been used by our presidents. In 1960 in the Congo, Lumumba had been the prime minister and was removed by a coup. There was a discussion in the Forty Committee with President Eisenhower about Lumumba. As a result, it was decided that the CIA should assassinate Lumumba.

A cable was sent to the CIA station in the Congo explaining why Lumumba had to be assassinated. It said that he was a threat to American policy in the Congo and in all of Africa. The cable went on to say that whenever Lumumba spoke, people listened and tended to follow him. Therefore, the CIA station was instructed to keep him from speaking until he was assassinated so that he could not regain support. The cable explained that there was grave danger in the Congo that the freely elected parliament of that country would reconvene. According to the cable, if the parliament reconvened, it would reelect Lumumba as prime minister. Since it is messier to assassinate a sitting prime minister than a former prime minister, the CIA was instructed to see to it that the parliament did not reconvene until Lumumba was assassinated. A hired thug was sent by the CIA to the Congo for the purpose of carrying out the assassination.

These activities are in the past, but again I say that none of them have stopped. We learned just a few days ago of the CIA directive from Mr. Kissinger to infiltrate the Micronesian government. Micronesia is a trust territory of the U.S.,

(Continued on next page)

**"CIA: THE PRESIDENT'S SECRET ARMY"**

HALPERIN (Continued from preceding page)  
 placed under American control by the United Nations with the responsibility to guide that territory toward independence. After a free election in Micronesia, a government was elected which appointed a committee to negotiate with the U.S. the future status of that territory.

**Record Is Clear**

The U.S. government decided that it was not prepared to engage in open and honest negotiations and so it infiltrated the negotiating team. It also bugged the rooms of the negotiating team. It sought to subvert their policies so that the negotiations would result in favor of the U.S.

We have a clear record that the CIA has been used by our presidents to carry out those activities which go against the American ideals and values—policies which could not be carried out if they were made public. The CIA has been a secret army of the President.

It is startling to me that absolutely nothing has been done to rectify this situation. The CIA and the FBI cannot change their perspective on their rights and obligations, and the fact that they operate beyond the Constitution. The new director of the CIA thinks he has a public relations problem and is trying to restore the good name of the CIA instead of trying to eliminate the activities which violate Constitutional rights.

**FBI Morale**

The director of the FBI, Mr. Kelley, has complained because last month for the first time an official of the FBI was indicted for criminal activities. Mr. Kelley was not proclaiming that this individual was innocent, his claim is that to indict an official of the FBI is to undermine the morale of the FBI.

In my view, that is an absolutely outrageous statement. Mr. Kelley is suggesting that unlike other Americans who are subject to indictment by trial, the FBI agent should have immunity. The FBI seems to have learned nothing from its experiences and continues to believe that it has a right to operate above the law.

This situation cannot be allowed to continue. What is needed is comprehensive legislation to establish the principle that the intelligence agencies are not above the Constitution.

**Strip Away Secrecy**

The FBI should limit itself to investigating criminal activity and should not engage in manipulation and infiltration of political organizations. The CIA should be limited to intelligence evaluation and producing the kinds of intelligence analysis that the President and senior officials need. It should not be engaged in the overthrow of governments.

We need to strip away much of the secrecy which surrounds the intelligence agencies. Their budgets and functions should be made public.

We also need a special prosecutor to deal with the crimes of the intelligence organizations. The Attorney General of the U.S. who uses the intelligence agencies to carry out his duties is simply not in a position to decide to indict officials of the intelligence agencies. We need to put that job in the hands of an independent prosecutor.

*(Continued on page 199)***PHONE CALL LUNCHEON****Wednesday, May 18th, 12 Noon**CONCERT ROOM, 1st Floor  
SHERATON-PALACE HOTEL**"Can the City Avoid A Fiscal Crisis  
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### "CIA Covert Operations Are Controlled by the Forty Committee — Not Congress nor the Executive Branch"

HALPERIN (Continued from preceding page)

We need to strengthen the rights of citizens to go into court and to sue in protest of violations of their constitutional rights.

We are all in the position, if we cherish the Bill of Rights, to work for effective controls on the intelligence agencies so that they are brought under the Constitution, so that they fulfill the role of protecting us, and yet leave us free to engage in the lawful political activity which is the cherished right of all of us in a democratic society." (JMR)

#### Answers to Written Questions from Floor:

**Q:** Have you ever been a target for illegal activities of an intelligence agency? **A:** Yes. My home telephone was wiretapped for a period of 21 months, 1967-71. It was done by the FBI under a directive from the Nixon White House. The American Civil Liberties Union brought a suit on my behalf. A federal district judge in Washington ruled that the wiretapping was illegal and unconstitutional, and has held that Nixon, Halderman and Mitchell are liable for damages.

**Q:** How long did it take you in government service to realize that illegal activities were being conducted? **A:** I was not aware of illegal activities. The secret activities are conducted within a secret sub-government. Covert operations, for example, are conducted through the Forty Committee. We knew that it met, but did not know what activities it was engaged in. That continues to be the case. These activities are not under the control of Congress or most of the people in the Executive Branch.

**Q:** What are the sources of your information? **A:** Most valuable sources are the reports of the Senate Committees and information which has been revealed through various law suits.

**Q:** Are there any circumstances that would warrant illegal measures? **A:** No. The essence of our Constitution is that it is meant to work in times of grave stress to the security of the nation. The Constitution was drafted by people who lived in very troubled times. There is enough flexibility within the Constitution to protect our interests without violating people's constitutional rights.

**Q:** Will you concede to the fact that the intelligence agencies provide a vital role in national defense? **A:** Yes, if the questioner will concede that the CIA has done things that are illegal and unconstitutional. The CIA's function is to evaluate intelligence information in order to provide the President with the best possible estimates as to what

is going on in the world. That is an extremely important and necessary function. The function of the FBI is equally clear—to assist in solving crime. But when the CIA and FBI stray from those specific functions, they are undermining the very people they are to protect.

**Q:** Can Howard Hunt's conviction be upheld if similar activities of the FBI do not result in convictions? **A:** Any official of the government should be subject to indictment. It is unfortunate that only the friends of Richard Nixon, with the exception last month, have been indicted. It reflects the power of the intelligence agencies. The White House officials were indicted but the officials in the CIA who participated equally were not.

**Q:** Is the recent takeover of Ethiopia by the Marxists a result of the failure of the U.S. to support its CIA? **A:** No idea. In any case, it is wrong for the U.S. to think it has the power or the responsibility to dictate the type of government a country should adopt.

**Q:** Do you think the ethics package President Carter has requested of Congress will prevent illegal activities by the intelligence agencies? **A:** Package does not touch intelligence agencies. (JMR)

← NOTE



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