

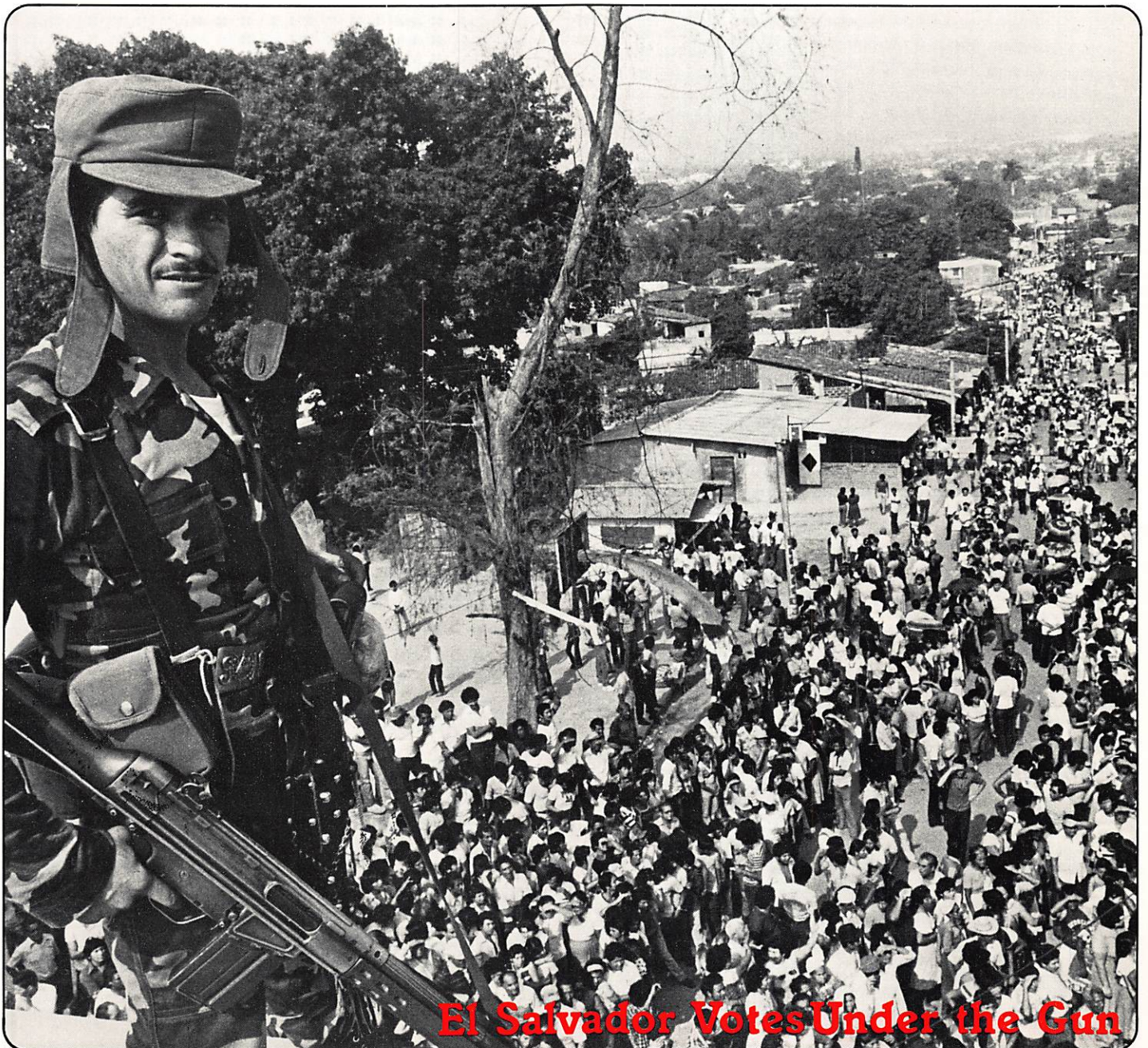
Covert Action

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CIA, the Press and Central America



El Salvador Votes Under the Gun

Editorial

In 1984 it is appropriate to anticipate the latest newspeak of the Reagan administration. The most significant buzzword today is "terrorism," which term has effectively replaced "communist" or "subversive" in the jargon of the guardians of national security. After six years of building a national consciousness attuned to the issue of terrorism, however aberrantly defined through repetition of the word, the administration is playing the final cards in its hand.

On April 3, President Reagan secretly issued National Security Decision Directive 138 outlining new policies in the administration's fight against "terrorism." Details of the secret Directive were first exposed in the April 15 *Los Angeles Times*, although indications of its existence could be gleaned from the April 4 *Washington Post* report of a speech by Secretary of State George P. Shultz to the Trilateral Commission the night before. Shultz stressed the need for "preemptive actions" to stop "state-supported terrorism," and called for a "bold response" to a problem he saw exemplified by the bomb attack that killed 241 U.S. Marines at Beirut airport last October. (Predictably, he saw no need to mention the 2,000 Nicaraguans killed by the CIA's *contras* or the more than 30,000 Salvadoreans killed by the military dictatorship the U.S. arms and trains.) At the moment Shultz was telling his audience about the serious questions raised in a democracy responding to terrorism, he was fully cognizant that his boss had preempted public debate on the subject by unilaterally signing NSDD 138 earlier that day. The cynicism of this administration knows no bounds.

NSDD 138

Even sketchy details of the new Directive, as described in the *L.A. Times*, were chilling. It approves of preemptive strikes against terrorists as well as reprisal raids. Both concepts, of course, are highly illegal—nearly incomprehensible—in the realm of domestic law enforcement. The document also approves of the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary

squads for anti-terrorism actions, and the Defense Intelligence Agency is authorized for the first time in its history to use intelligence agents. A Joint Special Operations Agency has been created under the Joint Chiefs of Staff to coordinate military counterterrorist units in each service. Although the Directive stops short of authorizing assassinations (purportedly banned in 1981 by Executive Order 12333), it does authorize preemptive and retaliatory strikes which could kill not only their targets, but innocent bystanders as well. The Directive contains a "dubious morality," one "senior administration official" conceded.

The entire thrust of the document's discussion of "state-sponsored terrorism" deals only with Warsaw Pact and other socialist nations. And state-sponsored terrorism, Shultz made clear in his speech, is "a contemporary weapon directed at America's interests, America's values, and America's allies." There is never any consideration of even the possibility that U.S. allies might be the perpetrators of state-sponsored terrorism. The bottom line was exposed by a Defense Department official who confirmed that, if all else fails, "raids can be mounted to prevent an attack by killing the would-be terrorists." As the *L.A. Times* noted, "The most significant aspect of the administration's new tactics has been acceptance of the concept that violent preemption of a terror attack is legitimate."

On April 26 the administration dropped the other shoe; four bills were sent to Congress "to help detect and prosecute people involved in international terrorism." The proposed legislation is staggering. The Secretary of State alone is authorized to designate any country or group as "terrorist," a determination which could not then be challenged in the courts. Ten-year prison terms are prescribed for anyone who provides "any logistical, mechanical, maintenance, or similar support services" to a designated terrorist government, faction, or group. The implications, especially for the dozens of well known and completely lawful internationalist support groups in

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Cover: Salvadoran soldier watches over election day confusion, March 1984; photo © 1984 by Ron Kinney, *L.A. Weekly*, used with permission.

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the U.S., are tremendous. Groups that send medical supplies to El Salvador or powdered milk to Nicaragua, for example, could and would be criminalized by the stroke of a pen. As the *New York Times* pointed out, this administration has frequently referred to the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, and many others, as "terrorist."

California Countdown

Domestically, two upcoming events raise the spectre of even greater opportunities for state terrorism here at home. Both the Olympic games scheduled for July in Los Angeles and the Democratic National Convention scheduled for July in San Francisco have been named by federal authorities as likely targets for terrorists, requiring massive "protection." Indeed, more than 17,000 people to "protect" less than 10,000 athletes at the Olympics is so massive a program that it is suspect. Ironically, the primary justification given for the vast security apparatus is the widely scattered sites for the Olympic villages and events. This very set-up was criticized from the start by the Soviet Olympic Committee, which objected to it precisely on such security grounds. Despite lip service given to "preventing terrorism," the government refuses to condemn, much less prohibit, the growing public campaign of a group called the Ban the Soviets Coalition, an association of 165 rabidly anti-communist organizations which have the announced intention of harassing and intimidating Soviet athletes and spectators. Known terrorist groups, such as the vicious Cuban exile organization Alpha 66, are among the Coalition's members.

Another much touted security nightmare is the Democratic National Convention. Federal authorities are using the convention as an excuse for usurping responsibility from the Bay Area security apparatus, to the evident dismay of the local authorities. It is rumored that the FBI may initiate COINTEL-PRO-like provocations to justify a massive round-up of leftists, while government agents attempt to disrupt the convention with violence.

Further evidence of the scope of covert government preparations may be seen in the scientific evidence described to *CAIB* by a California official confirming that the comprehensive helicopter criss-crossing of the state, said to be connected with spraying against the Mediterranean fruit fly, is not that at all. This source told *CAIB* that, since only ground level spraying has long been proved to be effective against the fruit fly, the Blue Thunder-type helicopter flights were apparently designed as surveillance missions to map urban and suburban areas where "terrorists" might flee from expected round-ups.

Who Really Sponsors Terrorism?

The most widespread state terrorism in the world today is that of the United States' client regimes against their own people and their neighbors. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras the populations of those countries and of Nicaragua are being tortured and killed by the thousands with U.S.-made weapons in the hands of U.S.-trained military and paramilitary personnel. In many cases, as we are slowly discovering, the personnel are North American as well. Revelations regarding the bombing and mining of Nicaraguan ports, the reconnaissance flights over El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the resupply missions for the *contras*, discussed in this issue, show the presence of American operatives on the front lines. *CAIB* has also learned that U.S. soldiers have participated in sabotage raids over the Honduran border deep into Nicaraguan territory. If

this is not state-sponsored terrorism, what is?

The U.S. government has chosen to define terrorism in its own way, but its definition is Orwellian doublethink. In the same vein, the government's repetition of a theme eventually finds its way to the front pages of the nation's newspapers as fact. A case in point is the disinformation spread by the conservative and extreme right-wing media (and exposed in *CAIB* Number 19 in an article by William Preston and Ellen Ray) regarding alleged drug trafficking by Cuba. Now the government has coined the word "narco-terrorism," attached the label to Cuba without a single iota of proof, and the story has been accepted *in toto* by the *Wall Street Journal* (April 30).

How the Media Cover It

Therefore, this issue of *CAIB* deals not simply with the role and extent of U.S.-sponsored terrorism, but with the way the U.S. establishment media treat it. As is demonstrated herein, the government line on terrorism is shared, consciously or unconsciously, by most of the leading print media. We study the war against Nicaragua, the sham elections in El Salvador, the coverage of world politics in the newsweeklies, and the operation of Accuracy in Media, a massive disinformation machine in its own right.

If it is true, as a current poll indicates, that a majority of the American people fear the President is getting the country into a Central American war, then this insight has been gained in spite of the major media, not because of them. ●



Grenada: Nobody's Backyard

Historical perspective of U.S. destabilization against Grenada during first year of revolution—events which later led to coup and invasion.

A 16 mm, 60-minute color documentary film. Includes interviews with late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, former Guyanese P.M. Cheddi Jagan, Chilean patriot Isabel Letelier, Workers Party of Jamaica leader Trevor Munroe, and former CIA officer Philip Agee.

Produced by CovertAction Information Bulletin; directed by Ellen Ray. For rental information, telephone (202) 265-3904 or (212) 254-1061, or write to P.O. Box 50272, Washington, DC 20004.

Nicaragua Update:

The War Widens

By Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap

The "revelations" by the U.S. media in early April that the United States is intimately involved in committing acts of war against Nicaragua demonstrate once again the schizophrenia of the U.S. Congress and the painful inability of the American people to analyze what is peddled as "news." Widespread coverage of the CIA's role in the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors and in direct combat and resupply missions against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador, moreover, indicates an underlying, sinister purpose in the establishment's finally allowing this six-months-old information to emerge. A new and frightening stage in the inevitable all-out U.S. war in Central America has been reached.

It is not enough to note the staggering double standard under which the media operate. Eyewitness reports from Nicaragua and El Salvador of direct U.S. involvement in the attacks were ignored for months; then one "leak" from a congressional aide was instantly transformed into front-page "proof" of the same information. It is crucial, therefore, in any analysis of what the Reagan administration plans *before* November for Central America to examine the facts themselves and what the "revelations" really mean.

Public Ignorance and Senatorial Pique

Just what are the leaks intended to accomplish? The public has already been led to believe there is a "civil war" in Nicaragua, oblivious to the fact that the *contras* represent nothing more than the U.S. dollars which created them. By the same token, congressional rage over the mining—particularly in the Senate—was clearly just pique over the failure of the CIA to keep them "fully" informed, rather than real anger over the substance of the activities disclosed. This was the same Senate, after all, which days before had approved \$21 million for continued "covert" activities. As Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge asked, did they think "those millions of dollars were going to be spent to plant flowers and vegetables?"

Thus we have to question the ingenuousness of it all. The leaks could well have been premeditated, designed not to end the CIA war against Nicaragua, but to inure the American people to its expansion in the more capable hands of the Pentagon.

The War Machine

It was not until the enormous and apparently irreversible war machine was firmly entrenched, U.S. troop positions in Honduras and the Caribbean consolidated, and direct American military participation reported and condemned outside the U.S. (even by Margaret Thatcher), that Congress and the media finally got around to letting the American people in on what the rest of the world already knew. Now it is too late.

It was only on April 23 that the *New York Times* clearly and

unequivocally summarized the buildup of American forces in the region and the probable future combat role for those same U.S. forces. (Interestingly, the *Times* article, by Hedrick Smith, was little more than a rewrite of one printed in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* more than a month earlier.)

Why had there been such diversionary media discussions for more than a year, like 97 versus 55 advisers in El Salvador—piddling numbers after all—when we learn suddenly that there are 30,000 U.S. troops aboard 350 ships engaged in the most current "Ocean Venture" maneuvers? (These maneuvers ominously mirror previous Ocean Venture exercises which led directly to the invasion of Grenada.) Is it any wonder that the American people are confused when they learn that 1,800 of the 5,000 "temporary" U.S. troops in Honduras for "exercises" are now permanently stationed there, servicing six U.S.-made airfields, and that the Pentagon plans to keep them there until at least 1988? What can be surmised about the Army Rangers' plans to double in size, and the new "Granadero I" exercises in Honduras focusing on the taking of "hostile" airports?

There are now *more than 3,000* CIA personnel in Central America, supervising more than 18,000 *contras* and training regular Honduran and Salvadoran troops. This is a massive war machine, not a hypothetical one. It is there now, quietly put in place over the last year.

American troops are flying American reconnaissance planes and helicopters in operational combat and resupply missions over Nicaragua and El Salvador. American spotter planes and radar installations direct Salvadoran troop movements. And, of course, as the *New York Times* finally admitted on April 18, CIA officers directed the brutal firebombings of Corinto and Puerto Sandino last October (a story *CAIB* reported in December), and CIA officers directed the mining of those harbors in February, in flagrant violation of international law. Stories abound of American troops participating in, and being killed in, resupply missions to the *contras* and sabotage raids deep into Nicaragua. What follows is a short summary of the events of March and April in the CIA war.

• March 12: The *Los Angeles Times* reported that U.S. Army pilots were flying OV-1 reconnaissance missions over FMLN controlled areas in El Salvador to spot guerrilla units for the Salvadoran Army.

• March 24 (but not reported until April 8 and weeks following): *La Prensa Libre* of Costa Rica reported that a DC-3 plane which was supplying arms to *contras* in Costa Rica crashed into a mountain near Las Delicias, about 100 kilometers from San Jose. The paper reported that eyewitnesses saw armed men take seven bodies from the wreckage, two of which they doused with gasoline and burned. Papers and other documents were also burned and other bodies were taken away from the scene of the crash. Four of the seven dead men were said to



El Nuevo Diario

Townpeople of Corinto being evacuated as fires from CIA October rocket attack rage out of control.

have been North Americans. The London *Observer*, referring to the incident as a "vast CIA cover-up operation," later reported that the four Americans were CIA contract agents.

- April 7: The *Washington Post* announced the CIA's direct role in the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, which they said had begun two months before.

- April 8: The London *Sunday Times* reported that ARDE was receiving CIA supplies through the commercial airport at David, Panama, near the Costa Rican border. It also reported that ARDE operations are supervised by CIA personnel from the U.S. Embassy in San Jose, including a political officer, a military attache, and a Costa Rican employee, who all meet frequently with ARDE leaders.

- April 11: The material and human damages done in Nicaragua at the hands of the CIA and their *contras* were denounced in the International Court of Justice at the Hague in the Nicaraguan complaint filed against the United States. Since 1980, 2,000 Nicaraguans have been murdered by *Somocistas* and other *contras* based in Honduras and Costa Rica. Material losses, including the destruction of bridges, crops, oil pipelines, roads, and factories, are valued at over \$200 million.

- April 12: *La Voz de Nicaragua* carried a report by the Nicaraguan naval chief that the U.S. frigate *Gallery* remained forty miles off the Pacific coast. This was the ship suspected of being the "mother ship" of the mining operations. The Nicaraguan official said that eight soldiers had been injured in the minesweeping operations which had, at that time, found and exploded 28 mines.

- April 12, 13, 14: *La Voz de Nicaragua* reported that *contras* on the Costa Rican border were being supplied by helicopter and plane from within Costa Rica. It later reported that Costa Rican authorities were investigating the existence of a *contra* airport in the province of Guanaste; a secret *contra* hospital was also under investigation. It was also reported by *La Voz de Nicaragua* that a U.S. warship with a crew of 200 was at the Costa Rican port of Limon just before the launching of the ARDE attack on the Nicaraguan border town of San Juan del Norte.

- April 14: According to the *Washington Post* the Reagan

administration told Congress that the mining was a "justifiable use of collective self-defense sanctioned by the U.N. charter." Virtually all legal experts disagreed with this assertion.

- April 22: The *New York Times* reported that the CIA was blackmailing Eden Pastora by threatening to withhold aid if his *contras* did not capture a Nicaraguan port and set up a provisional government, presumably so the U.S. could recognize the Quislings and invade at their request. It was also reported that the CIA was demanding that ARDE unify under a joint command with the FDN, which has *Somocista* leadership. Several reports noted that Pastora's forces had already received hundreds of thousands of dollars (delivered by passengers arriving in San Jose on weekly commercial flights from Miami) from the CIA as well as military equipment which was being airlifted by DC-3s like the plane that crashed on March 24. The *New York Times* also reported that Costa Rican officials claim that ARDE has "penetrated" high levels of the government, bribing public officials with their CIA cash.

Who Is Running the Show?

What is unusual in this war is the high degree of CIA-Pentagon coordination, and even more unusual, the CIA's predominant role. At this stage it is still basically an intelligence war. Many of the regular troops in Honduras are from Military Intelligence. Several hundred operate the two large U.S.-built radar installations; six hundred soldiers from the 224th M.I. Battalion based at Hunter Army Airfield, Savannah, Georgia, now assigned to Palmerola, Honduras, fly reconnaissance missions over El Salvador. There are at least 150 Marines and 160 Army Special Forces troops training the Salvadoran Army butchers in Honduras to circumvent the congressionally imposed limitations in El Salvador.

One of the only differences in this war compared to the early Vietnam War is that there is apparently no "liberal" anti-war wing of the CIA under Director William Casey. In Vietnam, some CIA analysts were in favor of disengagement because of their realistic assessment that the U.S. could not win a guerrilla war there. Here, the CIA is taking a warlike stance on all issues, including political ones like its veto of Nicaragua's ambassador-elect, over the objections of Secretary of State

George Shultz. Indeed the press has been almost gleeful about the way Casey pushes Shultz around, featuring Op Ed pieces on how well the CIA is managing its war. The commentators are split. William Safire (*New York Times*, April 23) calls for "a new brazenness." He says the CIA should run its covert wars more openly, with "unofficial" press secretaries back-grounding the press on the latest war news. CIA veteran Harry Rositzke (*Washington Post*, April 15) says the Pentagon should wage both open and covert wars, in the "American tradition" of military intervention,

War Plans

Casey has been candid in his assessment that the *contras* cannot win a war against the Sandinistas, telling *U.S. News and World Report* that "there's no chance that they [the *contras*] will be able to overthrow the Government. . . . They can't go into the cities." Because of the congressional prohibition against the use of funds to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, Casey's insistence, then, that it would only be a "long shot" to expect the Nicaraguan population to rise up and overthrow the Sandinistas only underscores the U.S. government's intentions to use U.S. combat troops in the final analysis.

Though administration officials have claimed repeatedly that there are no plans whatsoever to invade Nicaragua, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger made this disclaimer on the same TV show on which he stated, "the United States is not mining the harbors of Nicaragua." In the past, these denials led to speculation about a potential role for the Central American Defense Council, CONDECA, reestablished last year on U.S. demand after a decade of dormancy, with troops from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. But it has become increasingly clear that these troops cannot even work together, much less wage a major proxy war for the United States. One of the reasons former Defense Minister Garcia Alvarez of Honduras was ousted was his enthusiastic support for the U.S. training of Salvadoran troops in Honduras.

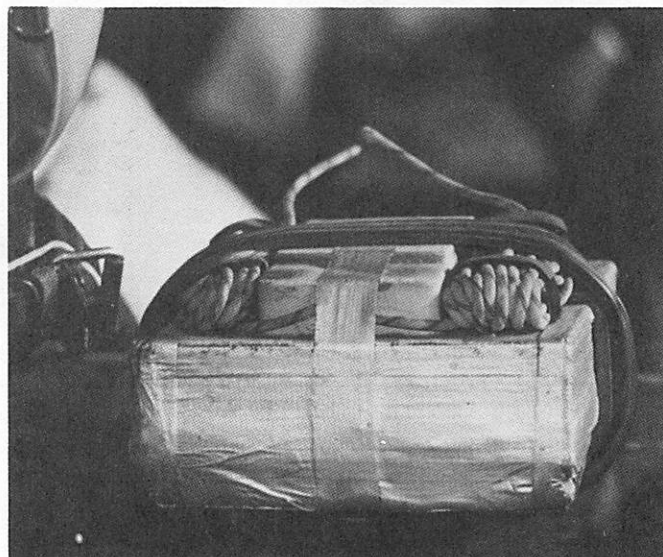
In any event, denials of U.S. invasion plans have come under further scrutiny, and reports like the April 23 *Times* study confirm that the Pentagon is "in a position to assume a combat role in Central America should President Reagan give the order." Despite Weinberger's denials, "other high-ranking Pentagon officials" confided that the Defense Department is already "drafting contingency plans for possible use of combat troops." The U.S. combat role is envisioned "if leftist forces cannot be defeated any other way." And when this language is contrasted with Casey's low opinion of the *contras*, the import is obvious.

The Rationale

The Reagan administration continues, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, to insist that the purpose of its war against Nicaragua is interdicting the flow of supplies to the FMLN in El Salvador. Recently, Congress has been less impressed by this absurd argument, so administration officials decided that President Reagan should "go over the heads of Congress, to the people, to lay out the situation and persuade them that there is an important middle ground between total war and total peace" (*New York Times*, April 20), an astonishing assumption—that there is something wrong with total peace. Apparently officials have decided that it is easier to lie to the people than to Congress. A Republican Senator, David Durenberger of Minnesota, is quoted as saying about Reagan

that he believes, "if push comes to shove in Central America he'll just go on television with his charts and pictures and have them eating out of his hand." Casey is even more offhand. He believes the American people care more about the possibility of a wave of immigrants from Central America than they do about the CIA's mining harbors.

To bolster the shopworn arguments about Nicaraguan aid to the FMLN and to divert attention from the mining allegations,



Bill Schaap

Underwater explosives used by CIA to sabotage Nicaraguan ports.

several unsubstantiated and unattributed stories were leaked by the CIA. In the April 22 *New York Times*, a brief article headlined "Radio Link for Latin Leftists" contained assertions from unnamed "government officials" that interception of coded radio traffic between Nicaragua and El Salvador "proved" that the Sandinistas were helping the Salvadoreans. No examples and no explanations were given, because to do so would "permit the two sides to alter their communication techniques." Two days later the *Times* ran another piece in which "senior officials" cited "intelligence information indicating that Cuba is preparing a large increase in aid to Salvadoran guerrillas to lay the groundwork for a fall offensive." This questionable piece of "intelligence" was said to have come from "a reliable Cuban source." We can only assume that there will be increasing amounts of disinformation in the months to come. A U.S. provocation on the scale of the Gulf of Tonkin incident is also a frightening and realistic possibility.

Conclusion

Indeed, the months to come are what this is all about. Most observers are convinced that the administration will be deterred from acting rashly before the November presidential elections. This is by no means a sure thing. War fever is potent political medicine for a lagging Republican presidential campaign, and this country hesitates to change parties at the outset of a war. Since the U.S. is clearly prepared to fight a war in Central America; since the administration seems sure that its ultimate goal of overthrowing the Sandinista government cannot be obtained by proxies; and since that goal appears inflexible; we cannot rule out the possibility of an open U.S. invasion of Nicaragua a month or two before the election. ●

"Objective" News as Systematic Propaganda: The New York Times on the 1984 Salvadoran and Nicaraguan Elections

By Edward S. Herman*

The U.S. mass media present a diverse picture in their reporting on Central America, ranging from the almost pure dissemination of the administration's line in *Reader's Digest*, *Time* magazine, and many others, to a pattern of generous coverage of the official view plus occasional jarring deviations in much of the rest. The volume of reportage of negatives is substantial, reflecting the division of opinion in the country and widespread feeling that the Reagan policies are misconceived. Even in the media which allow negatives, however, critical reporting on Central America is episodic, frequently hedged with qualifications, and often overwhelmed by officially approved facts and interpretations. It is a notable fact, pointed out by Frank Brodhead and myself in an earlier article in this journal¹, that no matter how awful the savagery of our clients (or ourselves), this violence never generates reporting sufficiently intense and impassioned to move public opinion very deeply. Only system-supportive crimes or ploys produce media campaigns that cover a subject intensively, on a day-in-day-out basis, and with great indignation and calls for action. Polish martial law, Pol Pot, 007, and an alleged Bulgarian-KGB plot against the Pope can elicit such attention; Turkish martial law, 60 torture centers and 20-30,000 murders in Argentina, mass murder in Chile, Indonesia, Guatemala, and El Salvador, do not yield sustained coverage. I would propose a "law of disproportionality" to cover this dichotomy: that crimes committed by friendly clients can exceed those carried out by enemies by an as yet unfathomed large factor without receiving comparable mass media attention or indignation.

An opportunity to test media bias under excellent experimental conditions is provided by the juxtaposition of elections in 1984 in both El Salvador and (prospectively) Nicaragua. The former is a U.S. client, and the election has been organized by the United States itself to demonstrate to its home population that the Salvadoreans want us there and that its rulers are moving toward democracy. Nicaragua, by contrast, is

under U.S. attack and openly sponsored subversion and proxy invasion. An unbiased media would raise the same questions about both elections; a biased media will differentiate according to the propaganda agenda provided by its own government.

In *Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and El Salvador*, Frank Brodhead and I spelled out the symbolic format, the suitable questions that the government wishes to advance, and the unsuitable ones that are to be avoided in its own sponsored elections. It tries to associate the election with democracy; it stresses the rejection of this democratic exercise by the rebels and their attempts to disrupt it; and it makes voter turnout the dramatic denouement of the struggle between the forces of good and evil. The government dispatches observers to watch the vote on election day, to testify to fairness on the basis of long lines, smiling faces, no beatings in the observers' presence, and the assurances and enthusiasm of the U.S. and client state officials. "Off-the-agenda" are the basic parameters that make the election meaningful or meaningless prior to the election-day proceedings—freedom of speech, assembly, organization of intermediate groups; the ability of candidates to qualify and to campaign without fear of murder; and the absence of state terror and a climate of fear among the public. Also off the agenda is the election day "coercion package," that may explain turnout in terms other than devotion to the army and its plans, including any legal requirement to vote and explicit or implied threats for *not* voting. Other issues that must be downplayed in conforming to the government propaganda format are the U.S. government role in organizing and funding the election, the internal propaganda campaign waged to get out the vote, outright fraud, and the constraints and threats to journalists covering the election.

In *Demonstration Elections* we showed that the U.S. mass media cooperated fully in portraying the 1982 Salvadoran election in accordance with the government's agenda. Rebel disruption and "turnout" reigned supreme. Almost no mention was made of a legal obligation to vote, and the background facts of a state of siege and over 700 civilian murders *per month* for the prior 30 months were deemed not relevant to evaluating electoral conditions or turnout. The media's feat in transforming the Salvadoran "security forces," aptly described as "a deranged killing machine," into "protectors of an incipient democracy" is, I believe, a propaganda achievement that totalitarian states might conceivably approach, but never surpass.

1. Frank Brodhead and Edward S. Herman, "The KGB Plot to Assassinate the Pope: A Case Study in Free World Disinformation," *CAIB*, Number 19, Spring-Summer 1983, pp. 13-24.

* Edward S. Herman is a Professor of Finance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. His most recent book, with Frank Brodhead, is *Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and El Salvador*, South End Press, February 1984. He wants to express thanks to Howard Friel for his help in preparing this article.



Mob scene at San Salvador polling place.

We were also able to show that when the Soviet Union sponsored an election in Poland in January 1947, the U.S. press reversed the format of relevant and irrelevant facts. The very *presence* of large numbers of security forces was quickly found to compromise the integrity of the electoral process and rendered the election a farce in advance. Only the security forces of U.S. clients "protect elections"; those of enemy states interfere with the freedom of its citizens to vote without constraint. There were rebels in Poland in 1947 who attempted to disrupt the election, but the U.S. media derided the notion that this was worthy of any publicity, suggesting that it was mainly an excuse for repression. The dissident Peasant Party of Poland was harassed and its press censored, matters dealt with on a daily basis in the U.S. media. The dissident FDR of El Salvador was off the ballot and underground in 1982, with those of its leaders not already murdered on army death lists—but the U.S. mass media never condemned the election as a meaningless fraud because the principal opposition was off the ballot entirely. Nor did the media point out that this exclusion was *by plan*, to isolate the rebels and use them as a dramatic foil in the staged ceremony for public relations purposes. The media

were part of the staging props, and they played their role to perfection.

An ironic feature of the media treatment of Salvadoran elections and their less favorable view of the prospective Nicaraguan election is that both the threat to journalist safety and violations of press freedom are vastly greater in El Salvador than in Nicaragua. Over 30 journalists have been murdered in El Salvador since 1979, and four Dutch journalists were killed only 11 days before the March 1982 election. The foreign press corps was trooped into a morgue by the Salvadoran army to see the bodies, with ripped genitals exposed to media view. This episode was suppressed in the U.S. mass media, led to no large outcries and generalizations about the quality of the Salvadoran government, and may have contributed to the remarkable mass media silence on unfavorable media (as well as other) conditions in the incipient democracy. U.S. reporters can report what they like from Nicaragua without fear of bodily harm. This is not so in El Salvador. But the media cannot admit that in our client state they must adjust reports and reporters because of literal threats of death for improper thoughts. There is the public and self-image to be maintained of a crusading press

that pulls no punches. Furthermore, the U.S. government does not audibly object to violations of press freedom in client fascist states and even apologizes for literal murder and press closings. U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton explained to Michael Massing in 1982 that the two papers closed by security force violence (in one case including murder) had "advocated revolution";² a lie, but even more interesting as an expression of Hinton's commitment to an open society. On the other hand, we can observe the wild indignation of the Washington libertarians at encroachments on the freedom of the press of *La Prensa* in Managua. The media accommodate. And they suppress the facts about their own accommodation to anti-journalist terrorism by "friends."

The New York Times Coverage of the 1984 Elections

I turn now to a comparison of the treatment of the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan elections in news articles in the *New York Times* between February 1 and March 30, 1984. This provides an experimental universe of 28 news articles on the El Salvador election and eight on that to be held in Nicaragua (with one overlapping article, its separate parts included in each of the two sets). Obviously, this is only a small sample of the media and will support only qualified generalizations. I defend it on the grounds that: (1) the *New York Times* is the most important paper in the United States; (2) it and the *Washington Post* are the media leaders, whose choices influence those of other newspapers and TV networks, which are basically followers; and (3) the *New York Times* provides a fuller and more critical coverage of Central American issues than the average paper or TV news broadcast.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the sources used by the *New York Times* in its news articles on the two elections. It can be seen that for the Salvadoran election there was overwhelming reliance on U.S. and Salvadoran officials, amounting to 80% of the source total. In 20 of the 28 articles official sources were not only dominant, they were uncontested by the use of any other cited source. Although the majority of Salvadoreans are peasants, only two of 263 identifiable sources used by the *Times*—under 1% of the total—were peasants. The Salvadoran rebels were cited 27 times, approximately 10% of the source total. But this modest fraction grossly exaggerates the importance of the rebels as a source. In the great majority of cases the rebels were asked about and quoted only on their disruption plans. This is in accordance with the government's dramatic formula, which portrays the rebels as bad guys refusing to participate in this step toward democracy and even threatening to upset it. The rebels were not asked about or quoted on more substantive questions, such as the reasons why free elections were unfeasible in El Salvador. They were several times quoted as describing the election as an "electoral farce," but they were never allowed to expand on the details.³ This made their words mere denunciations by the enemy, without force. The opponents of the Sandinistas, in contrast, were regularly quoted on substantive defects of the electoral plan in Nicaragua.

2. The quote marks are around Massing's summary of what Hinton said to him. Michael Massing, "Central America: A Tale of Three Countries," *Columbia Journalism Review*, July-August 1982, p. 51.

3. A notable exception, though not a news article, was an Op Ed column in the *New York Times* of March 22, 1984 by Guillermo Ungo on "Salvador's Electoral Farce."

TABLE I
Sources Used by the *New York Times*
in its News Coverage of the El Salvador
Election of March 25, 1984*

Source	Number of Times Used**	Percentage of Times Used
U.S. Officials		
Direct***	42	16.0
Indirect	66	25.1
Total	108	41.1
Salvadoran Officials		
Direct	53	20.2
Indirect	50	19.0
Total	103	39.2
Rebels		
Direct	15	5.7
Indirect	12	4.6
Total	27	10.3
Peasants		
Direct	1	0.4
Indirect	1	0.4
Total	2	0.8
Other		
Direct	18	6.8
Indirect	5	1.9
Total	23	8.7
Total	263	100.0

*Based on a study of the 28 articles published by the *New York Times* on the Salvadoran election of March 25, 1984, that appeared between Feb. 1 and March 30, 1984.

**A source is counted once for each identifiable line of argument, fact, or opinion attributed to that source.

***Direct means that the source is quoted rather than paraphrased (indirect).

TABLE 2

Sources Used by the *New York Times* in
its News Coverage of the Forthcoming
Nicaragua Election of November 1984*

Source	Number of Times Used**	Percentage of Times Used
U.S. Officials		
Direct***	14	18.4
Indirect	8	10.5
Total	22	28.9
Nicaraguan Officials		
Direct	6	8.0
Indirect	24	31.5
Total	30	39.5
Nicaraguan Opposition		
Direct	12	15.8
Indirect	12	15.8
Total	24	31.6
Total	76	100.0

*Based on a study of the eight articles published in the *New York Times* between Feb. 1 and March 30, 1984, on the Nicaraguan election to be held in November 1984.

**A source is counted once for each identifiable line of argument, fact, or opinion attributed to that source.

***Direct means that the source is quoted rather than paraphrased (indirect).

On the sources used by the *Times* in dealing with the prospective *Nicaraguan* election, it can be seen on Table 2 that the Sandinistas themselves accounted for only 39.5% of the sources used; critical U.S. officials and the Nicaraguan opposition to the Sandinistas accounted for 60.5% of the citations. The table also shows that the Sandinistas were usually used

only as an indirect source, by paraphrase, which reflects a less authentic, less dramatic, and often more skimpy mode of conveying fact and opinion. Thus, whereas the U.S. sponsors and their on-the-spot managers of the Salvadoran election were given overwhelming space to define the election according to their vision, for Nicaragua both the volume and the quality of sourcing favored the critics of the election, not its organizers.



Salvadoran voters
being "helped" to the polls.

Tables 3 and 4 summarize the topics covered in the *New York Times* news reports on the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan elections. It can be seen that for the El Salvador election the *New York Times* focused largely on the items compatible with the Reagan administration's agenda—i.e., rebel disruption, personalities and political infighting among eligible parties, election mechanics, and turnout. It is even more impressive to see the level of suppression of inconvenient items that are off the government's agenda. Note that there is no mention of fraud in the 1982 election (line 10), although there was considerable evidence in the spring of 1982 that there had been an inflated vote count (election chief Bustamente had even admitted a 10% inflation),⁴ and more recently the current head of the Central Electoral Commission, Dr. Armando Rodriguez Equizabal, acknowledged that fraud might well have affected over 25% of the 1982 ballots.⁵ To acknowledge these claims and admissions would raise questions about the integrity of the election managers. Richard Meislin of the *Times* repeatedly stresses that various devices used in the election such as stamping fingers and transparent voting urns were to "prevent fraud." He never once hints at the possibility that the managers may be less than honest. Suppressing counter-facts about the

recent electoral past helps maintain this aura of electoral integrity.⁶

TABLE 3

Topics Included and Excluded in the
New York Times News Coverage of the El Salvador
Election of March 25, 1984*

Topics	Number of Articles Dealing with Topic	Percentage of Articles Dealing With Topic
Those Compatible With the U.S. Government's Agenda:		
1. Democratic purpose & hopes	6	21.4
2. Rebel disruption	15	53.6
3. Turnout	7	25.0
4. Election mechanics	9	32.1
5. Personalities & political infighting	10	35.7
6. Official reflections on the election	10	35.7
7. The army as protector of the election	5	17.9
Those Incompatible With the U.S. Government Agenda		
8. The public relations purpose	3	10.7
9. U.S. investment in the election	2	7.1
10. Fraud in the 1982 election	0	0
11. The existence of free speech and assembly—legal state of siege	1	3.6
12. Freedom of the press	0	0
13. Organizational freedom	0	0
14. Limits on the ability of candidates to qualify and campaign	0	0
15. Prior state terror and climate of fear as possible electoral negative	3	10.7
16. Power of armed forces, links to candidates and parties, as possible negative factor	1	3.6
17. Legal obligation to vote	4	14.3
18. Legal penalties for non-voting	2	7.1
19. Marking of voters' fingers	1	3.6
20. Stamping identification cards	2	7.1
21. Legal requirement that authorities check within 10 days that voters have voted	0	0
22. Possible non-legal threat to non-voters from death squads and security forces	0	0
23. The use of transparent voting urns	1	3.6
24. The legal right of the security forces to an armed presence at voting stations	0**	0

*Based on a study of the 28 articles on the El Salvador election that appeared in the *New York Times* between February 1 and March 30, 1984.

**Lydia Chavez even made a false statement to the opposite effect—see accompanying box.

The most striking fact about Table 3 is the almost total suppression of any discussion of the basic preconditions of a free election. It can be seen on lines 11-15 that there is not a single mention in 28 articles of the issue of freedom of the press, freedom of organization, or limits on the ability of candidates to qualify and campaign freely. Only one article mentions constraints on free speech and three others hint rather gingerly at state terror as a possible negative influence on voter freedom. This suppression package is thrown into bold light by the fact that it is precisely these issues that the *New York Times* "news" articles feature in the coverage of Nicaragua, as can be seen on lines 4-7 of Table 4. Most dramatic is the dichotomy shown in the treatment of freedom of the press in

6. Rodriguez was perhaps prepared to acknowledge fraud because Salvadoreans were widely aware that it had occurred in 1982; his admitting it showed his distance from the earlier perpetrators of fraud. For Meislin, acknowledging fraud in 1982 would only raise questions requiring painful explanation.

4. See the discussion in *Demonstration Elections*, pp. 130-33.

5. Julian Preston, "1982 Vote Fraud Cited by Salvadoran Officials," *Boston Globe*, Feb. 25, 1984.

the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan elections—the subject is not mentioned once in 28 *Times* articles on the El Salvador election; it is mentioned (and usually addressed in detail) in six of eight articles concerning elections in Nicaragua! As factual background for this dichotomous treatment, it should be noted that serious opponents of the Sandinistas can speak and publish in Nicaragua; no supporter of the rebels can do so in El Salvador, and even liberal papers seeking a middle path have been driven out of existence.

TABLE 4

Topics Included and Excluded in the *New York Times* Coverage of the Nicaraguan Election Planned for November 4, 1984*

Topics	Number of Articles Dealing with Topic	Percentage of Articles Dealing With Topic
Those Compatible with the U.S. Government's Agenda in the El Salvador Election: (Of the 7 items in Table 3, all are blanks except one)		
1. Election mechanics	3	37.5
Those Incompatible with the U.S. Government Agenda in the El Salvador Election**:		
2. The public relations purpose	3	37.5
3. Free speech	2	25.0
4. Freedom of the press	6	75.0
5. Organizational freedom	4	50.0
6. Ability of candidates to qualify and run	5	62.5
7. Power of the armed forces, link to state, as negative factor	3	37.5

*Based on a study of the eight articles on the forthcoming Nicaraguan election that appeared in the *New York Times* between February 1 and March 30, 1984.

**Many of the topics listed on Table 3 under this subheading are not relevant to the Nicaraguan election—all that are covered in the articles examined are listed here.

It can also be seen on Table 3 that the *New York Times* essentially suppresses the election day coercion package. In only four articles does it mention the legal obligation to vote, in two the requisite stamping of the voter's identification card; but these and other elements inducing turnout are never brought together and considered as a whole. In not one article is it suggested that the army-security force interest in turnout, and the army record in dealing with "subversives," might make the legal requirement to vote more compelling. In fact, on almost every occasion where a *Times* reporter mentions a factor suggestive of coercion, he or she immediately puts in a little defensive answer. Thus Lydia Chavez says that, "Under the election process in El Salvador, as in some other countries, citizens are obliged to vote or pay a fine." She goes on to say, "The system of fines has long been used in El Salvador, but no one can remember anyone actually having to pay a fine for not voting." (March 13, 1984.) Notice the little defensive gesture "in some other countries," without specification, and the assertion that the system of fines has "long been used," which gives an aura of acceptability to the practice, especially where the author does not assess the quality of elections in the past. Note also the claim that "no one remembers" a fine being paid. Chavez does not tell us to whom she talked to reach this

conclusion, but in the context one may doubt whether the sample was large and random. More important, Chavez does not go beyond the fines to raise the question of security force discipline as a coercive threat. Is it possible that nobody paid a fine because they were murdered? Charles Clements has testified before Congress that Salvadoran Church workers told him that people unable to show evidence that they had voted have been killed.⁷ Only once did Lydia Chavez link the requirement to vote with the size of the turnout: She explains the insurgents' "softer approach" to the 1984 elections by referring to their awareness "of the problem of trying to persuade people not to cast ballots in a country where voting is required by law." (March 18, 1984.) The rebels may see this, but Lydia Chavez never develops this point as a possible explanation of the electoral turnout in El Salvador.

While Lydia Chavez wrote apologetics, she provided occasional critical facts and between-the-lines hints of unpleasant but undiscussable features of the step toward democracy. Richard Meislin, the other principal *Times* reporter directly covering the 1984 election, provided only straight apologetics. He mentions the newspapers in El Salvador only once in his numerous reports on the election (March 3, 1984), but only to explain their bewildering guidance to the voters and the limits of their distribution in the countryside; he never at any time suggests press constraints, any impediment to free speech (under legal state of siege conditions), or less than democratic devotion on the part of the Salvadoran election managers or security forces. He is the only *Times* reporter to mention the transparent voting urns, but he states immediately thereafter that their function is to prevent fraud (March 25, 1984); he does not mention their possible incompatibility with privacy of the vote. At no point does Meislin ever suggest the possibility that the security force interest in turnout might pose any kind of coercive threat to voters. "In the last election, officials sought to assuage voters' fears that guerrillas might act against them for casting ballots." (March 25, 1984.) This is "objective" propaganda. The official view of voters' fears is taken as corresponding to the real fears of voters; no evidence is given that

Lydia Lies

"Under the country's election law, the military is not permitted to maintain a presence at the voting booths." Lydia Chavez, *New York Times*, March 26, 1984, p. 8.

Salvadoran Election Code:

Article 89: "No armed persons will be permitted to observe the election process with the exception of the members of the army and security forces entrusted with the surveillance of the process of voting."

Article 17: "One of the duties of the President of the Election Council is . . .

[Article 17g] To solicit the help of the armed forces or of the security forces to keep the public order during the development of the voting process."

7. *U.S. Policy in El Salvador*, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization and Western Hemispheric Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, March 17, 1983, p. 620.

Meislin actually attempted to confirm the source of voters' fears.

Meislin does find some electoral fraud in the Salvadoran election in the accumulation of multiple voting cards (*cedulas*). Quoting a Salvadoran official to this effect, he then adds: "Among those with several cards, according to reports here, was Ana Guadalupe Martinez, a top guerrilla leader." (March 24, 1984.) Thus in the only case where Meislin mentions fraud, he manages to put the onus on the guerrillas. But this is

journalistic fraud. Is it not extremely unlikely that any Salvadoran official could know how many *cedulas* a top rebel leader held? Why would a guerrilla leader want extra *cedulas*, given the rebel stress on nonvoting? Note the use of "reports here," unspecified but suggesting more than one source. The *New York Times* is so devoted to truth that it removed the word "indiscriminate" from a news report on the Israeli bombing of Beirut. I would nevertheless give generous odds that the *Times* did not press Meislin to obtain authoritative confirmation of his

Letters to the Editor

Since the coming of the neoconservative revolution to the *New York Times* its letters column has deteriorated sharply in quality, partly reflecting the biased choices described in this article. The bias is difficult to prove scientifically as the rejected letters are not publicly available for comparison with those published. A sequence believed by this writer to be very common is provided below in an aborted series on the Salvadoran election. The third and rejected letter was sent in by the author himself, confident of rejection, but desirous of establishing a documented record. We see, first, a brief letter published on the requirement to vote in El Salvador. A more detailed published reply by a PR spokesman for the State Department follows. This closes the debate for the *Times*. The more detailed letter which follows, rebutting the State Department cliches, and which would have supported the brief opening letter was not allowed to see the light of day. (And there was no other counter-rebuttal published.)

Salvadoran Prod to Vote (April 1)

To the Editor:

A March 27 news story on the elections in El Salvador told us that "voting is compulsory" and that "citizens who have an election stamp on their national identity cards tend to feel more comfortable in their contacts with officials and security forces than those who do not."

Obviously, in a truly democratic election citizens have the right not only to choose among the various candidates but to withhold their votes. In view of the terror being conducted by death squads believed to be linked to Government security forces, the high voter turnout should come as no surprise and, our Administration's claim to the contrary notwithstanding, should not be interpreted as a sign of progress toward democracy.

GLORIA STEVENSON

New York, March 27, 1984

Salvadoran People's Will Freely Expressed (April 5)

To the Editor:

Gloria Stevenson laments in her April 1 letter that voting in El Salvador is "compulsory." Yet it is worth noting that voting is also "compulsory" in other democratic nations, such as Australia. She also derides the high Salvadoran voter turnout and insinuates that one cannot withhold his or her vote as a form of protest. This simply is not correct.

Not only could a voter choose from eight candidates (as opposed to the one-candidate slates in many countries), but he or she also could cast a blank ballot or deface it and thus show displeasure in the selection.

The fact is that the people of El Salvador voted freely in what hundreds of international observers have described as one of the most open and fair elections in Latin American history. If there was a problem, it was that in the attempt to prevent any form of fraud the process became complicated and slowed the voting. Still, all Salvadoran political parties have acknowledged that the elections were a valid manifestation of the people's will.

No one is arguing that El Salvador is a perfect democracy or that the election process did not have its flaws. But to seek to denigrate an event in which 70 to 75 percent of the eligible voters did cast ballots, displaying a degree of patience few of us could have had, is both unfair and a misreading of a very significant event.

JONATHAN S. MILLER

Washington, April 2, 1984

The writer is the State Department's deputy coordinator for public diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Unpublished Letter (April 6)

To the Editor:

The State Department's Jonathan S. Miller contends (April 5) that the legal obligation to vote in El Salvador does not compromise electoral freedom, citing a similar arrangement in Australia. He fails to mention that the Australian "security forces" do not regularly kill large numbers of "subversives" without due process, and that the Salvadoran security forces have strongly urged the populace to vote against subversion. A finger mark and stamped identification card allow every Salvadoran who fails to vote to be quickly spotted.

Miller also points to the existence of eight different parties contesting for office as proving choice. In South Vietnam in 1967 there were 11 different presidential candidates, but the "only mass-based political party" (Douglas Pike) in the country was barred from the election, the second largest popularly based organization, the organized Buddhists, had been crushed by military force, and advocacy of "neutrality" was illegal. In El Salvador in 1984 the most important mass based political organization is off the ballot by threat of murder and official plan, and none of the preconditions of a free election—free speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of organization—are met in advance. Many parties competing within a prescribed and narrow political orbit in a climate of endemic fear provide the form but not the substance of a free election. EDWARD S. HERMAN

University of Pennsylvania

“reports” that a top guerrilla leader had multiple *cedulas*!

Richard Meislin earned his spurs in 1982 by his unremitting focus on rebel disruption. In *Demonstration Elections*, Frank Brodhead and I point out that while Meislin repeatedly asserted that the rebels “vowed to disrupt” the 1982 elections, he never once cited a source and doggedly ignored contrary evidence published in his own paper. His colleague Warren Hoge did the same. For *his* service to official propaganda, Hoge was promoted to chief of the *Times*’s foreign bureau. Meislin was kept on to work the Central American beat. Raymond Bonner, who relied least on official propaganda, and published statements by the rebels on their intention not to disrupt that Hoge and Meislin ignored in favor of official propaganda, no longer reports on Central America. While the rebels were confused and perhaps not totally unified in 1982 (or 1984), Meislin’s unqualified repetition of the vow to disrupt was dishonest journalism. He continued in the same mode in 1984, harping in article after article on this issue, never digging below the surface of alleged rebel actions, never hinting at the convenience of the disruption ploy for the official staged drama, and hiding behind quotes from friendly officials. Meislin fits comfortably into the constraints on journalistic liberty in democratic El Salvador.

Hedrick Smith manned the home front as analyst of the Salvadoran election of 1984 for the *Times*. With long experience in Washington, Smith is one of the select few among *Times* reporters (along with Bernard Gwertzman and Bernard Weinraub) with an advanced degree in official reporting—an M.C., or Master of Conduity—in recognition of distinction in the classic mode of handling an official beat: simply repeating the view of officials as objective news, without batting an eyelash at internal contradictions, let alone applying any critical intelligence to the substantive issues. A deficient intelligence may even be serviceable here in helping avoid the discomfort that might follow from actually recognizing these contradictions.

Hedrick Smith excels at framing an issue in accordance with the official view. Reporting on the return of the official observers from the 1984 elections (“Better Prospects Seen for Raising Aid to Salvador,” March 27, 1984), Smith focuses on the pro-administration observers, their finding that the election was “impressive,” and their view that this will enhance administration prospects for getting money for El Salvador. There is not a word about what the observers *saw*, the substance of the election, or the selectivity of choice of observers by the administration or by Hedrick Smith.

In an article “Clear Choices In Salvador, Murky Plans In Nicaragua” (March 12, 1984), Smith captures in a single article all the essential elements of bias that he and his confreres display usually less comprehensively. He works consistently from the Reagan administration’s perspective. Reagan is taking “a gamble” in El Salvador “by resting so heavily on elections as the cornerstone of his strategy in Central America.” The objective in El Salvador is legitimization; the threat is polarization that is too deep. In Nicaragua, Reagan presses for elections to “relax” the Sandinista grip; the “risk” is that they will relax just enough to win acceptance “without giving up significant power or control.” This frame takes the U.S. right to intervene as a premise. It postulates that the Sandinistas wouldn’t win an election that was truly free. It also transmits major distortions of fact regarding U.S. policy. The “cornerstone” of the Reagan policy in Central America is *force*, not elections. Both in El Salvador and Nicaragua, elections are a public relations cover for a policy of military victory, a point actually made by the administration and its spokesmen, except

where propaganda demands of the moment call for a softer tone.

On what grounds does Hedrick Smith regard choices as “real” in El Salvador? It is because there are several different parties contesting the election, from right to the “left-of-center” Duarte. They bicker, can form coalitions, and thus the electoral outcome is uncertain. But if the real left parties are off the ballot aren’t the choices limited by military force? Smith doesn’t discuss the point. If Duarte himself admitted that in his previous tenure as president he was without power,⁸ serving as a figleaf for the army and United States, is his nominal “left-of-center” position meaningful? Smith doesn’t say. Is it possible that the bickering is superficial and that the army and the United States are the ultimate arbiters? Smith doesn’t address the point. Are there essential freedoms and absence of coercion in El Salvador that are necessary for a truly free election?

It is here that Hedrick Smith shows why he is a Master of Conduity. He talks *only* about substantive electoral conditions in Nicaragua. He provides significant detail on the trials of *La Prensa*, press censorship, the Sandinista monopoly of power, and limits allegedly imposed on opposition candidates. He even gets a bit sarcastic about the “rationed dose of political pluralism” in Nicaragua. Not a word on death squads or civilian murders in El Salvador or legal state of siege. How many journalists have been killed in El Salvador? Papers closed? These are off the agenda in U.S. staged elections and Hedrick Smith therefore ignores them. One would think that he would notice the dichotomous treatment of the same subject in the same article, but as a spokesman for his government Hedrick Smith uses Doublethink with as much insouciance as his leaders.

Concluding Note

The dichotomous treatment of the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan elections by the *New York Times* described above lends powerful support to the hypothesis tested here: that the mass media follow a patriotic agenda, advance certain facts, suppress others, and even tell outright lies. Sometimes the lies are government untruths objectively transmitted; sometimes they are developed independently (see box). The package is impressive and is capable of making a staged fraud carried out in an environment of ongoing mass murder saleable to the public. The 1984 Salvadoran election experience demonstrated, as did Vietnam in 1967 and El Salvador in 1982, that even where the real opposition is off the ballot by force, and none of the essential conditions of a free election are met in advance, the U.S. mass media will always find an election staged by their very own government in its very own client state a “step toward democracy.”

As regards a state in process of destabilization by their own government, the media response is a bit different. It is clear from the propaganda chorus already under way in regard to the Nicaraguan election that there is nothing the Sandinistas could do short of turning their country over to the *contras* in advance that would make their election other than a farce. The media will focus incessantly on U.S. official and Nicaraguan opposition claims of unfairness and abuse, until the Sandinistas are ousted. If a new Somoza is installed in their place, however, we may expect the media to resume the silence on the subject of free elections that prevailed from 1936 through 1978. ●

8. Raymond Bonner’s interview with Duarte, *New York Times*, March 1, 1982, p. 1.

Media Manipulation:

Covert Propaganda in Time and Newsweek

By Howard Friel*

Marshall McLuhan once commented that the presentation of U.S. news is composed of two parts: the bad news, which is the news itself; and the good news, which is the advertising. Both parts serve ideological functions. For example, the advertisements in the *New York Times* place furs and jewels from Saks Fifth Avenue, Tiffany's, and Bloomingdale's in the same field of vision as images of wars in Central America. The advertisements are a cultural buffer between the North American reader of news and, for instance, the struggle of the Salvadoran people, helping to focus on the internal promises of our culture while distracting from the effects of our foreign policy on the rest of the world. Viewed in the context of foreign wars and peasant cultures, the advertisements in the *Times* are symbolic of a "superior" North American culture. The implied ideology of the advertisements is paired with the stated ideology in the news: presuming an inherent U.S. right to manage world events to serve its own, more important purposes.

Advertising and Ideology

Advertising establishes ideological boundaries that are seldom violated. It would not be politically or psychologically consistent to display the wares of American opulence without a perceived U.S. moral authority in world and military affairs. For example, the *Times* is either unwilling or unable to print information detailing U.S. nuclear aggression in the arms race. Each year, the *Times* relays to its readers CIA reports of superior levels of Soviet military spending.¹ In turn, *Times* coverage of related military issues, such as arms negotiations and treaty violations, assumes Soviet aggression in the field of nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the *Times* understates or ignores completely the large body of evidence that points to the following conditions: serious flaws in the CIA estimates; U.S. military spending levels that exceed Soviet levels; the usefulness of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) and Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) negotiations to the Reagan build-up and deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe; and U.S. violations of the SALT I and II treaties.² Like alternative mod-

els to the Ptolemaic universe, U.S. nuclear aggression is not discussed by "responsible" or "serious" scholars. The prescribed conduct for the U.S. military reporter is to function within certain ideological parameters, and, if necessary, to cover one's eyes, ears, and mouth.

tary expenditures. A few are:

—The intelligence agencies use dollar cost estimates of the Soviet military in comparisons with the U.S. military budget. This causes broad overestimations of Soviet defense activity.

—Soviet military wage scales are much smaller than U.S. military wage scales. For example, the base pay for an American soldier is approximately \$570 per month. The base pay for a Soviet soldier is approximately 5 rubles per month, or the rough equivalent of \$8 per month. One way the CIA inflates its estimate of the Soviet military budget is to assign U.S. military pay scales to the Soviet military.

—In comparing U.S.-Soviet military spending throughout the seventies, a comparison that President Reagan used in his 1982 State of the Union address to argue for increased U.S. military spending, the CIA and the Pentagon exclude U.S. expenditures on Vietnam while including Soviet military expenditures along the Chinese border.

—CIA and DIA spending comparisons ignore the spending contributions of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union must pay 90 percent of the Warsaw Pact budget while the U.S. shares its NATO budget with the world's wealthiest industrial democracies. Excluding U.S. and Soviet contributions, in 1980 NATO spent \$94 billion in defense or almost six times more than the \$16.7 billion spent by the Warsaw Pact countries. The Soviets must fund two defense budgets while the U.S. is much more fortunate.

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has called the CIA estimates "a successful propaganda exercise" and "central to the presentation of the threat." Ruth Leger Sivard in *World Military and Social Expenditures 1983*, estimates that from 1960 to 1981 the U.S. outspent the Soviets on defense by over half a trillion dollars (p. 6).

In a March 3, 1983 *NYT* article, Leslie Gelb and Richard Halloran covered the CIA report by focusing on the most superficial aspects of the report with the least damaging implications. Halloran and Gelb report that:

The CIA specialists responsible for the annual reviews of Soviet military spending now say that their previous estimates of increases of 3 to 4 percent each year, after inflation, may be wrong, and that the rate of growth may have been no more than 2 percent.

Their coverage of the CIA report is trivialized further when they write later that "whatever the outcome of the debate, the gap in spending is being closed by President Reagan's large military outlays."

Violations of the SALT I Treaty include the development of the Reagan anti-ballistic missile system, while planned deployment of the Trident ballistic missile system is a violation of the terms of the SALT II Treaty.

For extensive reading on the CIA and DIA estimates see: Franklin Holzman, *Are the Soviets Really Outspending the U.S. on Defense?*, International Security, Spring 1980; *Soviet Military Spending: Assessing the Numbers Game*, International Security, Spring 1982; *Are We Really Falling Behind the Soviets?*, Atlantic Monthly, July 1983; Andrew Cockburn, *The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine*, Random House, New York, 1983; Tom Gervasi, *Arsenal of Democracy II*, Grove Press, New York, 1981, p. 16-18; Frank Ackerman, *Reaganomics: Rhetoric vs. Reality*, South End Press, Boston, 1982, p. 61-64; Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1983*, World Priorities, Washington, D.C., p. 44-45; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Annual Yearbooks, Stockholm, Sweden.

1. In 1983, a CIA report to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee entitled "Hearings on the Allocation of Resources in the Soviet Union and China" stated on page 10 that "in 1981 the dollar costs of Soviet defense activities were 45 percent greater than U.S. outlays." In 1982, a report by the Defense Intelligence Agency before the same Committee stated (p. 24) that "the cost of Soviet military activities in 1980 totaled \$252 billion. U.S. outlays for similar military activities in 1980 totaled \$168 billion."

2. There are numerous flaws in the CIA and DIA estimates of the Soviet mili-

*Howard Friel is a post-graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on leave of absence to write a book on *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. This article represents some of his research on that project.

Advertising in mass circulation journals, such as *Reader's Digest*, *TV Guide*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, presents a slightly different cultural vision where "the choice of what one eats, wears, and drives takes the place of significant political choices."³ On this level, freedom of the shopping mall is news good enough to maintain a docile society, while the bad news is engineered to avoid internal conflicts or contradictions. *Time* magazine, for example, spares the public conscience by writing of the U.S. effort "To Save El Salvador." (See Illustration 1.) Even in the face of nuclear war Americans are told, and our

CENTRAL AMERICA

To Save El Salvador

Fearful of a leftist victory, the U.S. steps up its aid to a beleaguered regime

"There is no mistaking that the decisive battle for Central America is under way in El Salvador."

Said Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas O. Enders last week, as he defended the Reagan Administration's support for the beleaguered civilian-military government of El Salvador before three U.S. congressional committees. Enders' statement was buttressed by the firmly held position of Secretary of State Alexander Haig. The Administration's top diplomat bluntly asserted before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the U.S. "will do whatever is necessary" to prevent the downfall of the Salvadoran regime headed by President Jose Napoleon Duarte. Said Haig: "I am not about to lay out a litany of actions that may or may not take place. We are actively considering a whole range of options—political, economic and security."

Was Haig hinting, as some Congressmen suggested, that the U.S. might want to make substantial troop commitments in El Salvador? The answer to the question, from Deputy White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes, was that "the President has said he has no plans to send troops anywhere." But then Speakes added: "At the moment."

The fact is, there is little if any prospect that President Reagan would send U.S. forces into El Salvador. As Haig himself remarked, Reagan has a visceral reluctance to consider any such idea. But the Administration is moving quickly to help the Duarte government. After a guerrilla raid at El Salvador's principal



Victims of government sweep in El Salvador. Certified progress on reforms.

military airport, Ilopango, the Reagan Administration announced last week that it would rush \$55 million in emergency military aid to the Duarte regime. Much of the money was needed to replace six helicopters and eight airplanes that were destroyed in the guerrilla attack. The replacement helicopters were already on their way to El Salvador last week.

The tough statements by Haig and Enders, and the latest relief measures, came as Congress was reviewing the \$129 million in economic and military support that the U.S. proposes to provide El Salvador in 1982. Troubled by the Duarte government's dismal human rights record, Congress in December demanded that President Reagan certify in writing that the Salvadorans had made a "concerted, significant" effort to eliminate brutality by local security forces, and were also making "continued progress" in carrying out political and economic reforms. Congress also demanded assurances that the Salvadoran regime was making "good faith efforts" to investigate and prosecute the murders there a year ago of four American churchwomen and two American aid officials.

The Reagan Administration duly submitted the required certification, even though the congressional demand was a bit unrealistic. For one thing, assigning

of the U.S. missiles, Russell writes that "the hooliganism provided an ugly backdrop for the arrival of the cruise missiles." In Russell's world, it is not the reckless deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons that is "ugly," but the European opposition to it. One might imagine the fascist press in Germany commenting in a similar way on the "hooliganism" of the Polish resistance to the Nazi invasion of Poland.

Covering Central America, Russell writes that *Operation Goodwill*, a U.S. directed counterinsurgency operation in El Salvador, is a "step in the right direction." Here, Russell not only openly advocates U.S. backed military force as the solution to the conflict in El Salvador, but ignores what he knows quite well, that counterinsurgency operations conducted by Central American military governments under U.S. supervision include psychological warfare, and the organized terror and murder of innocent civilians. The continued massacre of civilians in El Salvador is an important element of the government's program to defeat the insurgents, not the exclusive product of the "renegade" death squads. The primary purpose of the massacres is to terrorize and kill those associated with the insurgents in order to discourage broad based and open support. Chapter Five of the *U.S. Army Field Manual on Psychological Operations*, entitled "Psychological Operations in Support of Foreign Internal Defense" (counterinsurgency), states (p. 5-5) that "the major PSYOP objectives are to discredit the insurgents and to isolate them from the population. The insurgents include the guerrillas and their supporting elements . . . The insurgents must be physically and psychologically destroyed."

International human rights agencies, including Amnesty International, have reported that frequent massacre victims of the Salvadoran Army are women, pregnant women, babies, children, and the aged. One effect is to discourage guerrilla recruits who fear leaving their families defenseless. Another is to create morale problems for those guerrillas in the field who worry about the fate of families left behind. As in El Salvador, U.S. counterinsurgency in Vietnam exploited the separation of NLF guerrillas from their families. There is an abundance of U.S. psychological warfare leaflets from the Vietnam War to illustrate that the splitting up of guerrillas and families is an important focus of U.S. counterinsurgency operations. One of the numerous psywar leaflets in Robert W. Chandler's *War of Ideas: The U.S. Propaganda Campaign in Vietnam*⁴ is JUSPAO (Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office) leaflet number 4385. The leaflet includes side-by-side sketches of a happy family life and an obviously lonely guerrilla in the jungle. The translation of the leaflet reads:

While sitting by yourself in the heart of the forest, did it ever occur to you that:

—Your old parents will soon leave this world. Day and night they long for you, praying to God that you might be in good health, and that you may be spared danger so you can return and see them one more time before they die.

—Your young children play around frivolously for lack of their father's care and guidance.

—Your wife is feeling sorry for herself and feels resentment each time she looks at her friends who have a happier married life by their husband's side.

—What has become of your family life?

In the meantime, U.S. carpet bombing and counterin-

Illustration 1.

President is fond of repeating, God is on our side. Meanwhile the famines in Africa are kept for the most part out of sight, as God, with assistance from Rockwell and General Electric, oversees the construction of the MX Missile at a cost of \$40 billion.

The advertisements in the *Times* serve another function by presenting establishment standards for political success, a standard oriented toward the acquisition of the prizes in advertisements and integration into the advertised culture. In this context, political ideas are given credibility depending on their capacity to generate individual, corporate, or national wealth. Other considerations, such as the threat of nuclear war, are secondary. This is further illustrated by the military advertisements on the Op Ed page of the *Times*, where our attention is focused not upon the destructive capacity of the advertised weapons, but upon the technological achievement of their construction.

News Manipulation in the Newsmagazines

George Russell, an editor at *Time* magazine, demonstrates how bad news is turned into good news for the benefit of the American reader. In a recent article, Russell described the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe in this way: "The first U.S. missiles had arrived. It was now up to the Soviets to make good on their many threats to begin a new and uncertain chapter in the tortuous history of the nuclear arms race." Notice how Russell interprets the actual, physical deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe, not as an act of American aggression, but as an opportunity for Soviet aggression. Commenting on the European demonstrators protesting the arrival

3. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, Penguin Books, London, 1977. p. 149.

4. Robert W. Chandler, *The U.S. Propaganda Campaign in Vietnam*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1981, p. 54.

surgency programs were wiping out old parents, young children, and wives by the hundreds of thousands.⁵ Since the vast majority of *Time* magazine readers do not know the nature and history of U.S. counterinsurgency, there is little opportunity to grasp the degree of deceit and the Orwellian nature of the designation *Operation Goodwill*. Perhaps future counterinsurgency operations in El Salvador will be called *Operations Bliss* or *Ecstasy* in order to tell Americans more good news about U.S. policies in Central America.

Advertising in *Time* and *Newsweek*

The propaganda structure of *Time* and *Newsweek* is designed to be effective at any level of reader involvement, whether one reads the articles or flips through the pages. The writing of George Russell is an example of propaganda in the written text. But equally important are the advertising and photographic images in *Time* and *Newsweek* that normally we only glance at. Illustration 2 was part of a Chevrolet media campaign to sell cars on the coat tails of the born again nationalism in the United States due to the rise of Ronald Reagan. The ad

NO FOREIGN SEDAN CAN GIVE YOU THE ROOM OF THIS CHEVROLET WITH THE MILEAGE OF THIS CHEVROLET.

Chevrolet's 1983 front-wheel-drive Celebrity—a Chevrolet so precisely engineered it gives you twenty cubic feet more total room than the Datsun Maxima Sedan, seven more than Audi 5000.

Celebrity's front-seat leg room nearly equals some of America's biggest luxury cars; its trunk is more accommodating than a Rolls Royce. Yet Celebrity's aerodynamic shape, its standard electronically fuel-injected engine and automatic transmission give you better mileage ratings than some smaller foreign cars: 39 Est. Hwy., 24 EPA Est. MPG.*

Come try the room, the comfort, the quiet, the smoothness, the efficiency of our new-generation 5-passenger sedan. If you haven't seen your Chevrolet dealer, you're not ready to buy a new car.

USA-1 IS TAKING CHARGE Chevrolet

Illustration 2.

5. Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, Vol. I, South End Press, Boston, 1979, p. 304, cite Bernard Fall reports of South Vietnamese casualties to be approximately 150,000 from 1957–1965. The South Vietnamese, in the words of Fall, had been fighting “under the crushing weight of American armor, napalm, jet bombers, and finally, vomiting gases.” On p. 312, the authors cite South Vietnamese casualty figures from the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees at 400,000 dead, 900,000 wounded, and 6.4 million made refugees. The authors note that these are conservative figures. These figures do not include North Vietnamese casualties, and casualties from the U.S. bombing of Cambodia and Laos.

slogan—*USA-1 IS TAKING CHARGE*—ostensibly refers to Chevrolet's determination to maintain or regain its position as the domestic leader in U.S. car sales. But the slogan is designed to allow for other possible meanings. In a news magazine where the focus is placed primarily on world politics and war coverage, the slogan has a political connotation as well.

The political timing and cultural context of an ad campaign such as this are important. Try to imagine Chevrolet contemplating the placement of this ad, for example, during the Iranian hostage crisis. Or imagine a similar advertisement in a magazine from a society where the people are not accustomed to perceiving the world and its people and resources as something to be controlled or “taken charge” of.

Illustration 3 is another Chevrolet advertisement designed to sell a new line of small pick-up trucks. Note the headline cap-



Illustration 3.

tion which reads: *Chevy S-10 Blows Them Away. Again.* Implied in this caption is an “us vs. them” or “good guys-bad guys” situation. Chevrolet is blowing up one of its enemies, while we, the witnesses, are allied with Chevrolet. Apparently, the enemy has been blown up once before, which explains the presence of the “Again” in the caption. Keeping the implications of the caption in mind, look at the image in the ad.

As we examine the explosions pictured on the page we begin to wonder why Chevrolet would choose an exploding truck as the most appropriate image to sell the S-10. An exploding truck with an ambiguous caption would seem to be deficient in the informational content needed to help make an informed and rational purchasing decision. But perhaps it is not the rational



Illustration 4.

mind that Chevrolet hopes to influence. Notice that among the explosions the artist decided to paint a flash that resembles the early stages of a nuclear mushroom cloud. Notice that the mushroom cloud seems to be located, not in the immediate vicinity of the truck, but beyond the truck along the horizon. Consider Chevrolet's chief competitors in the small pick-up truck market: They are Toyota and Datsun, or in other words, the Japanese. On a broader scale, which country represents the primary foreign car threat to domestic automobile sales? The answer is Japan. Which people have been the only people to have had nuclear bombs dropped on them? The answer is the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the Japanese. Who then might the Chevy S-10 be blowing away? . . . Again? The answer is the Japanese, our enemy in automobile warfare.

The theoretical advantage of propaganda such as this is that a message that is not consciously perceived has less chance to be consciously rejected. If a psychologist employed by the Chevrolet ad agency has determined that among a large proportion of potential truck buyers there is a fair degree of racial hatred toward the Japanese and other Asians, then this type of propaganda could be effective in selling trucks. The challenge to the psychological propagandist is to deliver an effective message to the target audience in a way that circumvents the conscious perception of the reader.

As with the previous advertisement, the cultural environment of this ad is relevant to the ad's message. This advertise-

ment would not appear in a society that did not already have historical enmity for Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Indochinese people. When we consider our enemies in the Second World War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War; and the Vietnamese boat people and the Cambodian refugees, many of whom were welcomed to the United States with something less than enthusiasm, the Chevy S-10, as a result of this ad, has a potentially large market of buyers.

The point shown here graphically has also been made in print. George Will, a prominent U.S. propagandist, war-monger, and ideological bully, argued in his syndicated newspaper column for April 12 for the return of the American gas guzzler, since mass transportation systems "hardly save energy," and the scaled down size of big cars in the United States is one of the "dreary aspects of contemporary society." Will discusses his need for a new car and why he will buy American: "It was time for a new American car—American because all automobile-manufacturing nations have annoyed me: Japan and Germany by World War II, England by the Stamp Act, France by being mean to NATO, Sweden by sympathizing with North Vietnam."

R. J. Reynolds—Vicarious Counterinsurgency

Illustration 4 is an advertisement from R. J. Reynolds and another example of psychological propaganda in the advertising industry. R. J. Reynolds is a giant U.S. conglomerate

which is first a cigarette company, but which also owns Sealand, the largest container shipping firm in the world, and Del Monte, the largest vegetable and fruit packer in the United States. In Central America, Del Monte has agricultural production companies in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras. Del Monte is also one of the largest food processing firms in Central America operating in Panama, Costa Rica, and Honduras. In Guatemala, Del Monte (R. J. Reynolds) is the largest U.S. land owner.

In revolutionary Central America the financial interests of R. J. Reynolds are at stake. It has been in the economic interests of R. J. Reynolds to keep Central America as a haven for military governments in order to maintain the political stability necessary for stable investment. In Central America U.S. corporations can find cheap labor with little or no government regulation defining minimum wages or working conditions, and there are few regulations to prevent U.S. corporations from funneling profits out of Central America and back into the United States. One way for R. J. Reynolds to maintain this investment climate is to exert political influence in the U.S. by underwriting political propaganda in the mass media.

Next time you pick up *Time* or *Newsweek* notice who buys much of the advertising space. It is a rare week when R. J. Reynolds does not buy several pages of advertising from both magazines. Considering that one full-page, four-color advertisement in *Time* costs over \$100,000, we begin to realize that R. J. Reynolds alone represents a weekly revenue source for *Time* and *Newsweek* of several hundred thousand dollars, and an annual revenue source in the tens of millions for each magazine.

Many of us have seen the advertisements for Winston cigarettes (an R. J. Reynolds product) that frequently appear in *Time* and *Newsweek*. The ads show rugged looking men situated outdoors, or in the wilderness, and almost always in the presence of a helicopter. The example shown here presents two men standing next to a helicopter, with helmets in the foreground that resemble those of U.S. Army issue. Notice the "Mountain Patrol" logos on the helicopter and on the shirts of the two men. It is necessary to view this ad in the political and military context of the vested interests of R. J. Reynolds in Central America.

As we mentioned, R. J. Reynolds is the largest U.S. landowner in Guatemala. Guatemala has been waging a counterinsurgency war for many years against Guatemalan guerrillas and the indigenous Indian population. Guatemala is also a land of mountainous terrain that makes counterinsurgency impossible without helicopters to patrol the mountains. It is therefore important to R. J. Reynolds that the military government of Guatemala be supplied with helicopters and helicopter spare parts from the United States. If Guatemala cannot maintain its fleet of U.S. helicopters, the large land holdings of R. J. Reynolds in Guatemala would be at risk in the same way that the land holdings of United Fruit were threatened and finally confiscated by the Arbenz Government in the early 1950s. To help prevent the defeat of the present rightist government in Guatemala, it is necessary for those concerned to avoid the helicopter controversy of the Carter administration, and to lobby the public, the Congress, and the President to resume helicopter sales to Guatemala. On January 29 of this year, the Reagan administration agreed to sell Guatemala \$6 million in spare parts for its fleet of American made Huey helicopters. Guatemala's foreign minister said that the parts were needed to restore Guatemala's helicopters so they could be used against

leftist rebels.⁶

Common Corporate, Military, and Media Interests

Perhaps there would not be U.S. intervention in Central America, or such large military budgets, if these policies were not profitable for many U.S. institutions. There is a shared interest among the military establishment, U.S. corporations, and the mass media that goes a long way in explaining the persistent history of these two policies, and why many Americans find them so difficult to reverse. There is a connection between U.S. investment in Latin America and the fact that much of Central and South America has experienced extreme forms of political repression under right-wing military rule. Since 1950, the United States has trained over 52,000 Latin American military personnel to maintain the politically repressive societies that benefit U.S. investment.⁷ In a very real sense U.S. military influence and training provides the network of corporate investors with military backing and support, in effect, guaranteeing these investments over the long term.

Many U.S. corporations are major advertisers in the U.S. media. Since corporate advertising provides the revenue base of the mass media, and since the media reports on the political and social conditions upon which the investments of their corporate clients depend, there would seem to be a serious conflict of interest at a very fundamental level of our corporate mass media system. The media have a huge financial incentive to avoid the type of coverage that might interfere with corporate stability abroad. The fact that the political significance of the U.S. corporate presence in Central America is ignored is in itself compelling evidence of mass media bias in its coverage of the region. Here is a partial list of major U.S. corporations with investments in Central America, which advertise regularly in the U.S. media: Bank of America; Castle and Cooke (Dole bananas and pineapples, Bumble Bee seafoods); Eastman Kodak; Eaton; Exxon; GT&E; General Tire and Rubber; Goodyear; IBM; ITT; Philip Morris; R. J. Reynolds; Sears Roebuck and Co.; Texaco; and Texas Instruments. The symbiotic corporate-media relationship helps to explain the monolithic quality and ideological uniformity of mass media news.⁸

The same type of relationship exists between the defense establishment and the media. The Pentagon needs the technology and capital assets of our big corporations to make their weapons. These corporations need the highly profitable defense contracts. The media cooperate with tolerant coverage of this relationship, and is rewarded with an abundance of advertising revenue. This arrangement creates an ideological compatibility and a motive to maintain a common propaganda system. This has proven to be a highly profitable arrangement. It is no accident that mass media and corporate-military institutions are among the wealthiest institutions in our society, while

6. The raised helicopter gunship consciousness in the United States is not the exclusive product of the Winston cigarette ads. Each of the three major networks has at least one drama series featuring a gunship helicopter. ABC's helicopter is known as "Blue Thunder" and was described by the network as "an incredible armored helicopter crammed with state of the art technology." CBS-TV described its helicopter, the "Airwolf," as "the attack helicopter of the future, an awesome aerial weapon that can travel faster than sound." The "Airwolf" comes equipped with nuclear tipped missiles.

7. See Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, Vol. I, frontpiece.

8. Information on U.S. corporate investment in Central America from Tom Barry, Beth Wood, and Deb Preusch, *Dollars and Dictators: A Guide to Central America*, The Resource Center, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1982.

the world is overburdened with military hardware and nuclear weapons. Here is a partial list of major defense contractors that advertise regularly in the mass media, along with their defense contract awards for 1982: AT&T—\$752 million; Ford Motor Co.—\$896 million; Eaton—\$336 million; General Electric—\$3.6 billion; General Motors—\$689 million; General Tire and Rubber—\$625 million; GT&E—\$567 million; IBM—\$1.2 billion; ITT—\$442 million; Lockheed—\$3.4 billion; Rockwell—\$2.6 billion; Sperry—\$1.1 billion; Texas Instruments—\$839 million; TRW—\$868 million; United Technologies—\$4.2 billion.⁹

The Manipulation of Newsphotographs in Time and Newsweek

Photographs in *Time* and *Newsweek* are manipulated in ways designed to lead Americans to perceive the world in ways useful to the corporate-military establishment. This is what the U.S. Army Field Manual on Psychological Operations (p. I-7) says about the propaganda value of photographs:

Pictorial and Photographic Propaganda. A photograph or picture can often insinuate a derogatory charge more effectively than words. The combination of words and photographs or pictures can be far more effective. . . . selected and composite photographs can be extremely effective.

The examples from *Time* and *Newsweek* that follow illustrate how the combination of words and photographs can "insinuate a derogatory charge more effectively," and how the pages of these magazines often resemble psychological warfare

leaflets.

Illustration 5 is a photograph of former Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, with four Soviet leaders standing behind him. The Soviets are clapping or "slapping" their hands. Two of the Soviet leaders are generals, connoting militarism, or, given the state of relations between the two nations, connoting war or the threat of war. Look at the headline of the story just opposite the Brezhnev photograph: *Beaver Wars: Slaps of Danger in Burgundy*. Now go back to the Brezhnev photo. Notice that the only discernible activity of the Soviet leaders standing behind Brezhnev, the activity of clapping or "slapping" of hands, and that the primary connoted image in the photograph, the military or war image, are referred to in the headline: "Beaver Wars: Slaps of Danger in Burgundy." In addition, the word selection of "wars," and "danger" seems to overdramatize the issue involving the beavers. If we apply the key words of the Beaver headline, i.e., "wars," "danger," and "slaps" to the Brezhnev photo, the headline begins to make sense given the corresponding images in the Brezhnev photograph.

Skim down the text of the Beavers article and notice the words marked. There is a pattern of excessive dramatization clearly not appropriate for the issue of the beavers. Many of the words in the text evoke very strong and explicit images of the Nazi holocaust. The text reads as if it were written by Joseph Goebbels.

xenophobia . . . plot to kill foreigners . . . threaten to contaminate Europe's stock . . . alien, ought to be exterminated . . . restore the purity of the race . . . holocaust . . . threat to racial purity . . .

It would be difficult to argue that these images are designed to characterize the beavers issue, rather than to influence the reader to associate the verbal images in the text with the visual images of the Soviet leaders on the same page. This type of propaganda, repeated and duplicated throughout the media, helps to explain the deeply imbedded anti-Soviet emotions and fears that characterize the mainstream American political consciousness.

Illustration 6 is another example from *Newsweek* which deserves a closer look. The issue discussed in the article is the Pas-

INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE

Beaver Wars: Slaps of Danger in Burgundy

France has a long tradition of xenophobia, but sometimes even Frenchmen think it goes a little too far. Inhabitants of Burgundy have rebelled against an apparent plot to kill off a group of foreigners in their midst. The potential victims: about 20 Canadian beavers.

The affair began innocently enough in 1975, when the government of Quebec presented a gift of four Canadian beavers to French biologist Paul-Henry Plantain. Plantain set the creatures loose in Burgundy, where they quickly built lodges and, just as quickly, multiplied.

Then the trouble began. Some zealous French ecologists began making hypothetical calculations, and concluded that the Canadian animals—with the capacity for rapid proliferation—threatened to contaminate Europe's stock of indigenous beavers. A year ago in Vichy, a conference of ecologists decided that the alien beavers ought to be exterminated "in order to restore the purity of the race," and last January an anti-beaver group in Nevers reportedly plotted a "mopping-up operation" for December 1982.

Plantain has appealed for animal-loving allies to help him save his endangered friends. As he pointed out, "their reproduction has only produced 20 beavers." Plantain's plea moved the influential French newspaper *Le Matin* to run a story last week condemning the "beaver holocaust." It has also stirred Burgundy residents who have taken the cause of the beavers to heart; families who take outings to observe the frisky creatures on weekends say they are quite harmless and very playful. "They are our beavers," insists one local resident. Evoking Burgundy's centuries-old spirit of resistance, the locals have vowed to battle the ecologists if they try to carry out their war against the beavers in December.

Canadian invader. Through "racial purity?"



NEWSWEEK, NOVEMBER 8, 1982



Command performance at the Kremlin: Some impolitic talk about "rudeness" in Washington

SOVIET UNION

Brezhnev and His Generals

Leonid Brezhnev summoned 500 of his top military leaders to the Kremlin last week for a rare command performance: a blunt, 20-minute lecture on international realpolitik. The Soviet president accused the Reagan administration of "adventurism, rudeness and undisciplined egoism" and of pursuing a course that threatens "to push the world into the flames of nuclear war." He warned that Washington had launched "an unprecedented arms race" and a "political, ideological and economic offensive against socialism." And he called for greater combat readiness and a rapid buildup of the best weapons that Soviet military science could provide. Brezhnev promised the generals that the Kremlin's leaders would "meet all your needs."

Signals: Brezhnev and the senior Politburo members—including Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko, who appeared with him—were as intent on reassuring the Soviet military establishment as on standing up to Washington. Brezhnev, 75, can work no more than two hours a day, according to some reports, and the battle to choose his successor is well under way. The military, which has been powerful enough to push the Communist Party hierarchy into policy changes, will play a key role in determining the country's next leader. With that in mind, Brezhnev's Politburo colleagues may have been anxious to strengthen their hand with a promise to give the generals their fill of military hardware. Chernenko sent out additional signals. In a speech two days later, he said that Moscow was still committed to seeking better relations with Washington, and would wait, if necessary, for the "primitive anticommun-

ism" of the Reagan administration to pass. Brezhnev also wanted to impress upon the generals that he is still very much in command. "What's at issue here is a sense by the military that internal and foreign policy is drifting," said one Kremlinologist. "To combat that sense of drift, Brezhnev spoke." In doing so, however, Brezhnev was candid about some of the country's weak spots. He conceded that "not everything goes smoothly"—that there were still industrial bottlenecks in metal, fuel and transport, and "a great deal of work" was being done to improve the efficiency of Soviet agriculture. He also said he would welcome eased tensions on the Sino-Soviet border, where Moscow stations an estimated 500,000 men, so that the money saved there could be used to help the military correct deficiencies in high technology. But he admitted that Moscow's peace feelers toward Peking had produced "no radical changes" in China's foreign policy.

In Washington, Brezhnev's hard-line speech provided the Reagan administration with some timely talking points. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger declared that the Soviet leader had shown why American voters should reject nuclear-freeze resolutions. At a Pentagon news conference, Weinberger said that Brezhnev's challenge had emphasized "the correctness" of "nothing else could" of the administration's five-year, \$1.6 trillion military buildup. That was not the impression Brezhnev wanted to make on Washington. But then nothing seems to be going entirely right for him these days.

ANGUS DEMPING with ROYCE BARNATHAN

REAGAN AND THE RUSSIANS

The President Vs. the Bishops

Despite White House opposition, Catholic leaders press their assault on the arms race.

Midway through last week's meeting of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops in Washington, D.C., each of the 285 delegates to the annual conference received a brown envelope from the White House. Inside was an extraordinary seven-page letter—signed by national-security adviser William P. Clark, himself a Roman Catholic, on behalf of President Reagan and his cabinet—charging the bishops with "fundamental misreadings" of the administration's defense policies. Clark's message was the latest and most direct effort by the Reagan administration to influence a proposed pastoral letter condemning the principles of nuclear deterrence that have guided U.S. defense policy for the last 37 years. "To have the bishops against you is a pretty potent force," acknowledged a senior White House official. "We want to try to defuse it."

The White House has good reason to worry. Although the bishops will not vote on a final draft of the letter until May, the early versions develop a moral analysis of nuclear warfare that runs counter to several pillars of current American foreign policy. It condemns the first use of nuclear weapons and

church—and the nation—to make its voice heard. "Obviously there are differences of opinion," said Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Chicago, chairman of the drafting committee, after reading Clark's letter. But, he said, "we shall see who is misreading whom in due time."

To counter the bishops' offensive, the administration is relying on Catholics such as Clark to defend its policies. Last week Secretary of the Navy John P. Lehman Jr., also a Catholic, published an op-ed article in *The Wall Street Journal* rejecting the bishops' arguments as neither "well informed nor logical." Several independent groups of conservative Catholics issued more stinging assessments, urging the bishops to stick to the pulpit and leave the decisions on defense to military experts. Clark's letter was more subtle; the proposed pastoral letter, he argued, fails to mention the massive Soviet military buildup and "continues essentially to ignore the far-reaching American proposals that are currently being negotiated with the Soviet Union."

William Reagin? The administration's counterattack impressed some bishops. "I don't think his letter was an attempt to intimidate us," said Archbishop John R. Roach of St. Paul, Minn., president of the bishops' conference. The administration, he said, "makes a fairly valid point—that we have not acknowledged the very serious steps made toward negotiations." Archbishop Bernardin listed "a number of changes" that the committee would make in its final draft before the hierarchy votes on it at a special meeting in Chicago next May. Among the points in need of revision, he said, are a "clearer reiteration of the state's 'right



Illustration 5.

9. See Council on Economic Priorities Newsletter, *DoD Top 100: Record Awards Mark Arms Buildup*, New York, Oct. 1983.

article had little to do with the Soviet Union, except by implication. The Soviet Union is mentioned only once in the text. Yet, the headline to the story reads: *Reagan and the Russians: The President and the Bishops*. Also appearing at the top of the page are the Soviet and U.S. flags. One might think from these headlines that it was a Soviet Bishops' Conference and not an American Catholic Bishops' Conference that met to discuss nuclear weapons. Bear in mind that this story followed Reagan administration and *Reader's Digest* campaigns alleging Soviet KGB infiltration into the nuclear freeze movement in the United States. It is interesting, therefore, that the Bishops' support for the freeze would be associated so closely with the Soviet Union in this presentation.

Illustration 7 is a photograph of Brezhnev printed in *Time* the week after his death. The headline above Brezhnev reads in full: *Half a World Lies Open*. But the headline is cropped so that the word "Open" is on the other page while the rest of the headline, *Half a World Lies*, constitutes a semi-autonomous message when placed directly over the head of Brezhnev. In the East-West global struggle, the *Half a World (that tells) Lies* is the Soviet Union, which, the message implies, cannot be trusted, among other things, to negotiate a nuclear weapons

Half a World Lies

Leonid Brezhnev leaves a vacuum greater than the man



Illustration 7.

The Antonov Photo and the "Bulgarian Connection"

In the December 27, 1982 issue of *Time* magazine, a photograph appeared that worked to enhance the public credibility of the alleged Bulgarian-KGB plot to kill Pope John Paul II. (See *CAIB* Number 19 for a detailed analysis.) This theory states that Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turk who shot the Pope, was really the hired hand of the Bulgarian Secret Service, which in turn is the puppet of the Soviet KGB, which at the time was headed by Yuri Andropov. The fact that all the media reports failed to present real evidence of such a conspiracy did not prevent its widespread dissemination and serious discussion. In all of these cases, it was enough to raise the question: "Did the Russians plot to kill the Pope?" in order to raise eyebrows and initiate discussions of Soviet involvement.

The only Bulgarian ever arrested and charged with complicity in the assassination attempt is Sergei Ivanov Antonov, a former Balkan Airlines clerk who worked in Rome. At the time of his arrest, Italian police said Antonov was believed to have more than a remote connection with the shooting, and was accused of being "a very active

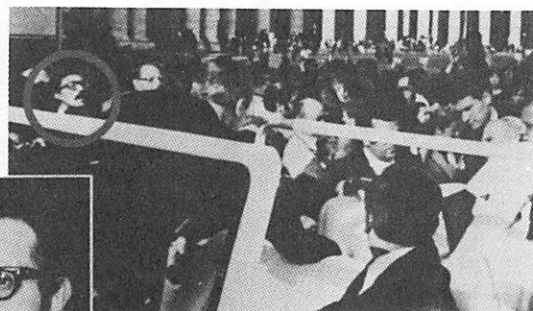
accomplice" of Ali Agca. Efforts by journalists to get more substantive information were useless. Sixteen months after Antonov's arrest, Italian authorities have yet to make public the evidence they claim to have on him.

Within days of the arrest, the photograph shown here, of a man looking remarkably like Antonov, and standing near the Pope at the moment of the shooting, was published throughout Italy. The appearance of the photograph helped discredit Antonov's denials that he had been at St. Peter's Square on the day of the shooting, and helped to discredit the Bulgarian government denials of a communist bloc conspiracy to shoot the Pope.

But several Balkan Airlines employees testified that Antonov was working at his office at the time of the shooting, and Judge Ilario Martella, the Italian magistrate in charge of the investigation, has finally conceded that Antonov was not at St. Peter's Square at the time of the shooting. This leaves the question of the Antonov double open. Who is he? To my knowledge, the man in the photograph has not been identified, and there has been no public discussion of his identity.

If the Antonov double is ever identified then we will all be witness to an event even more astonishing than the shooting or the alleged conspiracy. The statistical probability of an Antonov double already in Rome, at St. Peter's Square, and standing within a few feet of not only the Pope but also Ali Agca, at the precise moment of the shooting, is minuscule. (Examination of other photographs that show Ali Agca shooting the Pope reveals, by using individuals in the crowd as markers, the position of the Antonov double relative to Agca at the precise moment of the shooting. A search of the photographic files at Associated Press and United Press International, and the photo files of a major U.S. newspaper which include photographs other than AP and UPI, did not turn up any other photos which included the

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Antonov after his arrest

A man who looks like Antonov stands in St. Peter's Square at time of shooting. Fascinating allegations, circumstantial evidence, but no convincing proof.

ed to Greece more than three years ago. "I do not doubt for one instant the ing the terrorist Red Brigades. I portedly named as his contact, the Bulgarians implicated in the

treaty because Soviet leaders will cheat and lie on the agreement, a charge that President Reagan has made throughout his administration.

Central America Through the Eyes of *Time* and *Newsweek*

As a general rule, the photographic representations of the people and events in Central America that appear in *Time* and *Newsweek* can be shown to be biased in favor of the right-wing forces. Even the worst butchers and murderers receive near reverent treatment in *Time* and *Newsweek*. Recall the Field Manual's comment that "selected" photographs "can be extremely effective." The best examples of selective biased representation are the photographs of Roberto D'Aubuisson, who was once called a "pathological killer" by former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White.

Major D'Aubuisson is a typical product of U.S. military training for officers of Latin American governments. As a young man, D'Aubuisson studied at private police academies in New York and Virginia, and took courses on "communist infiltration" in Taiwan. Returning to El Salvador, D'Aubuisson became head of the intelligence section of the Salvadoran National Guard, historically one of the world's most feared in-

ternal security forces. According to conventional wisdom inside El Salvador, D'Aubuisson was the head of the White Warrior Union, a notorious Salvadoran death squad. In February 1980, D'Aubuisson went on television in El Salvador to denounce various Salvadoreans as communists and subversives, among them Mario Zamora, a leader of the Christian Democrats. A few days later, Zamora was shot dead by unidentified gunmen. Former Ambassador White testified before Congress that D'Aubuisson ordered the shooting death of Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was head of the Catholic Church in El Salvador and a strong and popular spokesman for social justice until he was killed while saying mass.¹⁰

Despite this and other evidence which shows D'Aubuisson to be a right-wing murderer, *Time* and *Newsweek* have glossed over the evidence of his criminality, preferring to present him through their photographs as a contemplative, inspirational man. D'Aubuisson appears with his hands reverently folded, and paying homage to the American flag in the pre-

10. For details of D'Aubuisson's background, see *NACLA*, "El Salvador Beyond Elections," March-April, 1982, p. 16-17.

Antonov double in the crowd.

Another possibility is that the Antonov double *is* actually Antonov. But for him to be placed at St. Peter's Square, the reported testimony of Ali Agca (see report of Nicholas Gage in the *New York Times*, March 23, 1983), the sworn testimony of several witnesses placing Antonov at his office at the time of the shooting, and the evidence that convinced Martella that Antonov was not at St. Peter's Square, would all have to be re-examined. The explanation, even if more plausible than the existence of a double, is highly unlikely.

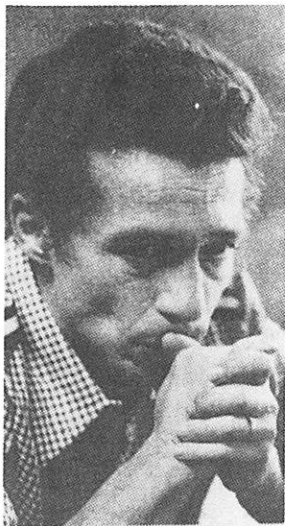
But another possibility exists, that the photograph was faked (with the addition of a genuine photograph of Antonov's face) to place Antonov at the scene of the crime, and that, in view of his confirmed alibi, this photograph has now become a liability to his accusers, thus explaining their silence on the issue of the unidentified double.

The technical capability to fake a photograph this way is widespread. One machine with such a capability is the Hell Chromacom computer, named after its German inventor, Rudolph Hell. In the April 1983 issue of *Discover* magazine, reporter Gary Taubes describes the capability of the Hell computer. In the original photograph of Prince Charles and Princess Diana shown here (top), the computer altered seven features to produce the new photograph (bottom), including the addition of a third guard to the wedding procession. (Although the Hell Chromacom would only be used to generate new color photographs, it demonstrates that seeing should not always be believing, since similar capability exists to manipulate a black and white photo to get similar results.)

Although the capability to fake photographs is not by itself evidence of a fake, the recent history of right-wing espionage, blackmail, and terrorism in the highest circles of the Italian government and intelligence agencies gives one pause. In the desperate effort to create a "Bulgarian Connection," a faked photograph would not be inconsistent with previous operations. ●



sence of a top U.S. official. One caption has D'Aubuisson leading the Salvadoreans "on the road toward democracy." (See illustrations 8, 9, 10.) A February 5 editorial in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* quotes Secretary of State George Shultz



R. Cruz—Gamma-Liaison

Illustration 8.



Ambassador Hinton presents U.S. flag to D'Aubuisson

Illustration 9.

on D'Aubuisson that "he believes in the democratic process."

The government troops in El Salvador receive similarly respectful treatment, while the left-wing forces consistently appear as bloodthirsty, violent, and radical. Illustration 11, from *Newsweek*, shows two government soldiers in a pose reflecting the mutual support and concern which no doubt exists among



D'Aubuisson singing the national anthem
"Starting on the road toward democracy."

Illustration 10.



Ivan C. Montemayor—UPI

Illustration 11.



Salvadoran soldiers help a comrade wounded in the defense of Tenancingo

Illustration 12.

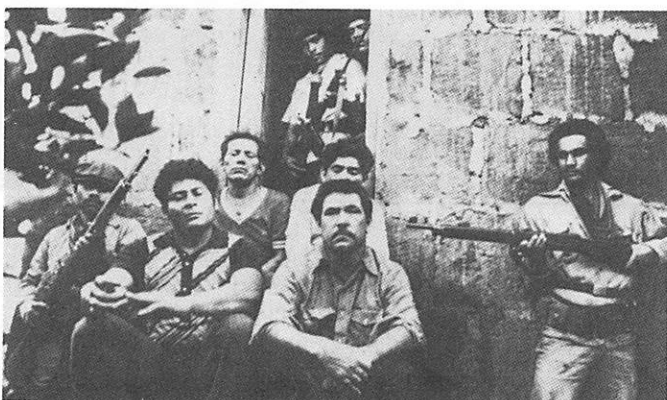
many government soldiers, who, like soldiers of many other countries, are only victims of their government's policies. But the regular depiction of government troops in this way purposely seeks to obscure the government's military mission.

Illustration 12 is a similar photograph from *Time* selected to create the same effect as the photograph just discussed. A common characteristic of the photographs of government troops is the absence of conspicuous or threatening weapons and aggressive postures. Compare the visual characteristics of these two photographs of government soldiers with the visual images selected to represent the left-wing forces (illustrations 13 through 15). In these photographs we observe many visual and cultural elements naturally offensive to the majority of *Time* and *Newsweek* readers. Note the bandanas, the burning government property, the conspicuous, threatening rifles, the absence of uniforms, the strident postures, and the sense of a disrupted society. In contrast to the benign visual qualities of the photographs of the government troops, it is understandable why the average reader of *Time* and *Newsweek* might conclude



Marxist insurgents near Usulután after burning a government truck
The battle under way could become a much bloodier affair.

Illustration 13.



Sandinistas hold guardsmen during the civil war: Can the Somocistas come back?

Illustration 14.

that the "much bloodier affairs" of violence in El Salvador come at the hands of the guerrillas.



Ivan C. Montecinos—UPI

Guerrillas commandeer a bridge: Lightning raids in a new campaign against the Army

Illustration 15.

Illustration 16 is a photograph of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega Saavedra and other Sandinistas apparently celebrating in Moscow the third anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista revolution. This is an important photograph because



Sandinista leaders, including Ortega, left, in cap and glasses, celebrate in Moscow
Strident Marxism, disregard for human rights, and dependence on the Cubans.

Illustration 16.

Ortega's evident decision to celebrate the revolution in Moscow would seem to confirm charges that revolutions in Central America are the work of Soviet influence and expansionist designs. The problem, however, is that the photograph was not taken in the Soviet Union, but in Nicaragua, and was mis-captioned, according to George Russell, as the result of a "type-setting error." The caption, according to Russell, should have read "celebrating in Masaya" not "celebrating in Moscow." In the meantime, the untold number of *Time* readers who read "celebrating in Moscow" probably never saw the correction that *Time* did in fact print in the letters section of a later issue.

If we are ever to witness the reduction of nuclear weapons, and the development of a humane U.S. foreign policy, we will need a free American press that is independent of the vested interests of the corporate-military establishment, and free of the ideology that protects these interests. It is unfortunate, then, for the human race that the institutions of the U.S. media are so dependent upon these interests for survival. The result is the continuation of news coverage that condemns thousands more to die in foreign lands, and news coverage that, in the long run, makes life on earth a short term issue. ●

Inaccuracy in Media:

Accuracy in Media Rewrites the News and History

By Louis Wolf

"We are not for hire," says Murray Baron, president of the controversial group Accuracy in Media (AIM). The Washington-based organization loftily touts itself as "America's only citizen's watchdog of the news media," a mission it pursues with reactionary zeal. Its chairman, Reed Irvine, has picked fights with nearly every major media outlet in the United States, claiming they have strayed from AIM's alleged cause of media "accuracy," "balance," and "fairness."

During 1975, in one of his rare candid moments, Irvine acknowledged that "... almost anything you say in a few words isn't going to be the whole truth of the matter." In AIM's own case, though, Irvine's rhetoric and tactics give his game away. He and his group work tirelessly to convince the public there is a creeping Red menace in much of the U.S. media. Their mass mailing fundraiser reads, "Help us combat the disinformation and false propaganda that is permeating our media."

AIM's Background

Its beginnings were modest. With a reported \$200 initial capital, AIM was formed in September 1969, and incorporated in June 1971. The original national advisory board included, until his death in 1971, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The trio that signed the incorporation document comprised John K. McLean, an investment broker and past publisher of the little-known *Underground Conservative*; Abraham H. Kalish, who worked from 1949-58 with the U.S. Information Agency and from 1958-71 at the U.S. Army's Defense Intelligence School; and **Reed Irvine**.

Reed John Irvine was born in 1922 to Mormon parents in Salt Lake City, Utah, and attended college in Utah and Colorado. During World War II, he served in the Marine Corps as a Japanese language officer in the Pacific, and after the war, from 1946-48, he worked for the War Department as a member of the U.S. Occupation Forces in Japan. After brief academic stints in Washington State and Colorado, he ultimately received a Bachelor of Literature degree from St. Catherine's Society, part of Oxford University in the United Kingdom. His thesis topic was telling—"Unemployed Labour as a Pressure Group in Great Britain: 1919-39." In 1951, Irvine



Reed Irvine.

returned to the U.S. and was hired as an economist by the Federal Reserve System; there he spent what two former co-workers informed *CAIB* was an undistinguished quarter century.

In its early years, AIM was run by Abraham Kalish, who worked for \$100 a year attending press conferences or badgering individual journalists. He cut a bizarre figure in Washington in his fluorescent bow ties, loudly colored shirts, and lizard-skin shoes. In 1971, when Kalish was not rehired at his Defense Intelligence School job, he gradually moved toward a career, albeit unsuccessful, in local politics. Irvine then assumed a larger, more influential role in the workings of the group, while, at first, he still held his Federal Reserve job.

Irvine's new influence was seen as a positive change by foundation and corporate donors. AIM's 1971 tax return showed expenditures of \$5,047.14 and a net worth of \$1,364.57. Then, in 1972, the return reflected a tenfold rise in total expenses to \$51,430.72. There was no looking back.

AIM's Leading Lights

An examination of the roster of past and present officers, directors, and members of the national advisory board confirms AIM's sharp rightward tangent, belying its claim to be non-partisan or, for that matter, its asserted accuracy, balance, or fairness.

● **Murray Baron**, AIM associate since 1972 and president since 1976, has made his living since the 1930s first as a union official with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in New Jersey, and then as a labor and industrial relations consultant to various U.S. and overseas corporations. He was a trustee of Freedom House, the rightwing counterpart to Amnesty International; a member of the CIA-funded Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, and of the arch-conservative Committee of One Million, a defense appropriations lobby; and a co-founder



Murray Baron.

of the CIA-sponsored Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam. In exchange for the many introductions he has made to AIM of various rightwing and corporate supporters, Baron receives a finder's fee of \$1000 a month.

● Vice-president **Wilson C. Lucom**, a long-time anti-communist trooper, is best known for his disinformation campaign during the early 1970s against the President of Chile, Salvador Allende. Lucom collaborated closely with rightwing New York public relations entrepreneur Marvin Liebman who, according to a court statement filed by the Department of Justice, received funds from Chile's United Nations mission to publish *Chile la Verdad* (Chile The Truth), an openly anti-Allende propaganda sheet distributed throughout the United States. After the Chilean Embassy was mysteriously robbed in May 1972, a number of people whose names were on the Embassy's mailing list suddenly began receiving the Lucom publication, and a Justice Department subpoena was issued against him. The subpoena was later withdrawn when pressures were exerted on the Nixon White House by International Telephone & Telegraph, the CIA, and others who had vested interests in the anti-Allende propaganda Lucom and Liebman were grinding out.

● AIM co-founder and communications director since 1974, **Bernard Yoh** was born in Shanghai, China, and emigrated to the U.S. in 1947. He was a personal advisor in counterinsurgency techniques to former South Vietnamese puppet president Ngo Dinh Diem from 1955-62, serving under the CIA's infamous General Edward Geary Lansdale. Yoh participated in covert missions into North Vietnam. He takes personal credit for creating the Sea Swallows, an elite paramilitary and intelligence-gathering unit in the Vietnamese Delta region; he was in fact the conduit through which CIA funds for the program were passed. At least one of their prisoners is known to have died under interrogation, in Yoh's presence. Though Yoh is now generally considered a has-been by Agency stalwarts, he still collaborates with Washington-area rightwing Vietnamese



Bernard Yoh.

exiles, sometimes providing them AIM office space for their meetings. He even discussed with one U.S.-trained Vietnamese munitions officer a proposed 1981 training session in fabrication of home-made explosive devices, ostensibly for use in some Third World country. Yoh was an advisor to Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco and to the Philippine and South Korean governments, and has provided similar services to other governments in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Yoh once even bragged of having designed a machine-gun for the Pentagon. He lectured for some years at the Air War College in Alabama on counterinsurgency and psychological warfare, skills that enhance his current AIM position. He was active in arranging the November 1983 visit to Washington by Holden Roberto, leader of the largely superfluous Angolan anti-government group, FNLA. Like Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA, Roberto has depended upon South African and CIA backing in military campaigns trying to overthrow the Angolan government. Yoh helped circulate a 4-page letter from Roberto to a number of Senators, asking for material aid and for abolition of the 1976 Clark Amendment which prohibits CIA covert activities against Angola.

● Board member **Elbridge Durbrow** joined the State Department in 1930, subsequently holding diplomatic posts in Poland, Romania, the U.S.S.R., Italy, Portugal, and Malaysia, and was Ambassador to Vietnam from 1957-61. Before retiring in 1968, he left the diplomatic field to serve as advisor to the commander of Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. In 1971, he became director of the Freedom Studies Center set up by the far right American Security Council and the now defunct Institute of American Studies. Now 81, Durbrow still keeps a hand in AIM affairs.

Other AIM advisory board members include:

- **Claire Boothe Luce**, former ambassador to the Vatican and, at 80, the unchallenged duchess of rightwing philanthropy, supporting AIM financially since 1972. For over three decades, she has also kept amiable relations with the CIA and DIA and Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Reagan have relied on her to serve on their rubberstamp Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. She is also a science advisor to the Defense Intelligence Agency.

- **Marx Lewis**, a former trade union official, who claims he has been fighting communism since 1917. At 85, he is still engaged in that preoccupation as chairman of the Council for the Defense of Freedom (formerly the Council Against Communist Aggression established in 1951). This organization sends mass mailings to public libraries, universities, media outlets, and various government agencies, and lobbies Congress. CDF publishes and distributes, jointly with AIM, a free, weekly 8-page sensationalist tabloid called *The Washington Inquirer*. (Some readers unwittingly pay a \$20 or \$30 annual subscription.) Not surprisingly, at least ten individuals associated with Accuracy in Media, including Murray Baron, Reed Irvine, *Inquirer* editor Wilson Lucom, and Bernard Yoh, sit on CDF's national board and national committee.

- **Eugene Lyons**, a former senior editor of *Reader's Digest* who sits on the board of the extreme right Young Americans for Freedom and has served on the American Conservative Union board.

- **Frank Newton Trager**, formerly a National War College professor, since 1966 head of the National Strategy Information Center in New York and Washington. NSIC performs classified "research" for the Pentagon and the CIA, and produces conferences and occasional pamphlets about multinational business, national security, and intelligence issues.

- Retired Admiral **Thomas H. Moorer**, former Chief of Naval Operations and Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman during the Nixon administration. He was a Nixon and Kissinger loyalist viewed by his Pentagon colleagues as a superhawk, especially while a member of Kissinger's top-level "40 Committee," overseeing the multifaceted and most secret operations of the intelligence apparatus, particularly the key covert actions against Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Chile.

- Retired Marine Corps General **Lewis W. Walt**.

- Retired Rear Admiral **William Chamberlain Mott**, former special assistant to the Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman, and now president of the avowedly conservative Washington-based Capital Legal Foundation. Mott is also vice-president of Trager's National Strategy Information Center.

- **William E. Simon**, former Treasury Secretary and energy czar in the Nixon and Ford administrations; Heritage Foundation trustee; and wealthy funder of rightwing causes, in part via the John N. Olin Foundation of which he has been president since 1977. Called the "Billy Graham of capitalism" by a columnist, Simon has personal assets reportedly well over \$20 million and owns a stable of racehorses. He worked in and was a major contributor to Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign. One immediate reward was his appointment as president of the U.S. Olympic Committee.

- **Dr. William Yandell Elliott**, onetime Harvard University government professor who was on the National Security Council's planning board and was a trustee of Radio Liberty, long sponsored by the CIA.

- **Dr. Eugene P. Wigner**, 81 year-old Hungarian-born recipient of the 1963 Nobel Prize for physics, advisor to the Atomic Energy Commission for over ten years, chairman since

at least 1976 of the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences, a front organization of Reverend Sun Myung Moon, activist on behalf of pro-nuclear and fallout shelter lobbies.

- **Dr. Frederick Seitz**, president of Rockefeller University in New York City, former vice-chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Science Board, executive committee chairman of the newly formed pro-nuclear New York-based Scientists and Engineers for Secure Energy, Inc., busily involved since the mid-1970s with Rev. Moon's probes to establish credibility in the science field.

- **Dr. Harry David Gideonse**, once chancellor at the New School of Social Research and chairman of the Freedom House board of directors.

- **Alphons J. Hackl**, formerly AIM vice-president and now board member, founder in 1965 and president of the Acropolis Books publishing house in Washington. Acropolis, rather than a major publisher, was selected to produce three books of tremendous importance to the CIA. In 1975, Acropolis peddled 10,000 copies of "To Build A Nation," a crude propaganda tract for Korean dictator Pak Chung Hee, whose unmistakable purpose was to paint a picture of tranquility and democracy, without mentioning the systematic brutality of Pak's police state under the CIA-created KCIA. Then in 1976, Acropolis marketed "Secrets, Spies and Scholars: Blueprint of the Essential CIA," by Ray S. Cline, who spent nearly three decades in the Agency. The book sought to paint a glamorized picture of the Agency's work here and abroad. In 1981 Acropolis also published Cline's "The CIA Under Reagan and Casey: The Evolution of the Agency from Roosevelt to Reagan," a recycled and updated version of his first book.

Who Bankrolls AIM?

It is evident from the professional experience and political composition of the flock clustered around AIM that these people mean business and such business costs big money. As noted earlier, the fortunes of the organization began to improve in 1972. Then, for several years, the annual budget was in the \$60,000-100,000 range. In 1977, it exceeded \$200,000; in 1979 it was up to about \$513,000; and by 1981, the budget had risen sharply to over \$1.1 million. Knowledgeable sources have told *CAIB* that the current annual budget is over \$1.5 million.

Part of the difficulty in assessing AIM's funding arises from the wall of secrecy they attempt to maintain around this aspect of the operation, particularly the identity of major donors. Their statistics on the number of subscribers to the twice-monthly *AIM Report* vary. In 1981, AIM's direct mail sales pitch claimed the figure was "over 30,000." But in a November 1982 Denver speech, Irvine offered a lower, 25,000 figure, and currently, they say, they print between 30,000-40,000 per issue, depending on the topics covered. In any event, many copies are given away free.

In an interview with *CAIB*, Elizabeth Doherty of the National Council of Better Business Bureaus in Arlington, Virginia, stated categorically that Accuracy in Media does not meet two specific Bureau standards. First, AIM's audits are conducted only on a cash basis, not on the required accrual basis, a practice she said "is not in accordance with generally accepted accounting procedures." Also, the audits do not break down into categories sufficient to verify actual expenses. Thus far, despite three letters from the Better Business Bureau requesting AIM's 1983 audit, Ms. Doherty said AIM has not

even replied. Further, Bureau standards for non-profit organizations stipulate that no more than 20% of the board members should receive compensation. In AIM's case, three of the twelve board members receive payment from AIM.

AIM rewards its largest benefactors with a seat on its national advisory board. **Shelby Cullom Davis** has been a successful New York investment banker since 1947, except for 1969-75 when he was U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland. He joined AIM's board in 1972, and sits on the boards of the Heritage Foundation and the anti-union National Right to Work Foundation to both of which his personal foundation also contributes generous sums. Examination of Davis's New York foundation tax returns reveal the high level of support for AIM. Between November 1975 and February 1983, the recorded AIM contributions, all tax-deductible, totalled a whopping \$448,000.

Robert H. Kriebel, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Loctite Corporation in Connecticut, which manufactures paints, sealants, and industrial machinery, has made substantial contributions to AIM since 1978. He received more than the usual national advisory board seat; Murray Baron and Reed Irvine purchased 200 shares of Loctite Corporation common stock worth about \$10,000.

AIM contributor and board member **Henry Salvatori** is the founder and retired head of Western Geophysical Company, a Houston-based Litton Industries subsidiary specializing in seismic petroleum exploration by over 120 crews with 4,000 employees in Latin America, Africa, and Europe. Salvatori has for years been involved with various far right organizations having an international and/or strategic thrust.

Karl Robin Bendetsen, who during World War II commanded Japanese internment camps in the U.S., is a lawyer. He retired in 1972 as chairman of the Connecticut-based Champion International Corporation. Owning 3.5 million acres of prime timberlands and more than 100 plants in 18 states, Champion still pays Bendetsen over \$10,000 monthly in benefits. He retired during a price-fixing controversy after which Champion was forced by the government to pay \$47 million in damages and fines. Bendetsen has made frequent large donations to AIM.

Sir James Michael Goldsmith, 51 year-old rightwing British industrialist, is publisher of the French magazine *L'Express*, and the subject of numerous lawsuits in Britain arising out of his multi-faceted financial enterprises, many of which have reportedly nibbled at the fringes of Her Majesty's monetary laws. (See *CAIB* Number 13 on Goldsmith's Guatemalan oil dealings with former CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters.)

Lloyd Hilton Smith, director and chairman since 1949 of the independent Paraffine Oil Corporation, is also a fairly large contributor.

Board member **Lawrence Fertig**, 85 year-old conservative author and economist in New York City, has given funds to AIM through his Lawrence Fertig Foundation, Inc.

Reed Irvine proudly announced (*AIM Report*, April [A] 1984) that a man who wished to remain anonymous had written a check for \$100,000 to launch an "endowment fund" so AIM could have "some permanent income." Irvine added ambitiously, "We would welcome bequests. . . . You may also wish to consider donating assets while you are still alive and arranging to receive the income from those assets as long as you live. There are tax advantages in this procedure and we can advise you on it if you are interested."

Perhaps the most significant spoke in AIM's wheel of fortune is **Richard Mellon Scaife**. The Scaife Family Charitable Trusts doled out a \$150,000 grant to AIM in January 1982 according to *Group Research Report*, which monitors the right wing in the United States. Most recently, according to the *AIM Report* (March [B] 1984), Scaife's Carthage Foundation gave \$50,000. Altogether, Scaife has steered approximately \$433,000 to AIM since 1977. Based in Pittsburgh, Scaife is, at 51, a very busy philanthropist and kingpin of both Old Right and New Right media projects. He was a witting partner with the CIA in creating and maintaining the Agency's London-based propaganda front, Forum World Features, until it was exposed in 1975 by European and American journalists. If ever the CIA wanted to channel financial assistance to Reed Irvine and company, the chances are better than even that laundryman Scaife would be in a position to supply the soap.

Since 1973, assorted conservative causes and institutions have received a grand total of over \$37 million from Scaife's foundations. The \$150,000 grant to AIM is to our knowledge the largest ever bestowed upon it. [The best in-depth work on Scaife is "Citizen Scaife," by Karen Rothmyer, *Columbia Journalism Review*, July/August 1981.)



Richard Mellon Scaife.

David E. Koskoff.

Buttering Up the Boardrooms

There is a correlation between some of the issues AIM takes up in the *AIM Report*, letters to newspapers or TV editors by Irvine and others, and some of the corporate money it receives. *Soho News* (July 15, 1981) revealed the first hard facts on the funding AIM was receiving from the oil companies. A Mobil Oil spokesman confirmed that the company doled out \$10,000 to AIM in both 1980 and 1981, and at least \$20,000 has been given since by the company. Irvine took up Mobil's case with

the media on several occasions. In June 1980, he wrote to the board chairman of RCA, which owns NBC, claiming the network was guilty of an "anti-business" leaning, and unabashedly setting forth what must have been Mobil's own bottom line: "One solution would be to permit businesses such as Mobil to air opinion programs." In June 1981, at AIM's annual

meeting, Mobil Oil was given an AIM award praising the firm for its hard-hitting television and newspaper advertising offensive, concluding that "corporations need not be timid."

Bernard Yoh admitted in 1981 that Mobil was at the top of AIM's corporate donor list. The same year, the Texaco Philanthropic Foundation gave AIM \$7,000 for what it called "unre-

Who Feathers AIM's Nest?

Fundamental to an analysis of the program and personalities involved in Accuracy in Media is a grasp of who pays for it. *CAIB* spent several months examining Internal Revenue Service filings, foundation records, interviewing some corporate and foundation officers, and reviewing and double-checking information from sources both close to and inside AIM. While by no means comprehensive, the following is a compilation of the data available to *CAIB* on AIM's funding, representing perhaps two-thirds of the total funding.

Foundations and Corporations

- Allied Educational Foundation and/or Union Mutual Foundation—Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (date and place of founding unknown) [including grants from George D. Barasch—see text]
- Shelby Cullom Davis Foundation—New York City (incorporated 1962 in New York)
- Scaife Family Charitable Trusts and/or Carthage Foundation—Pittsburgh (incorporated 1964 in Pennsylvania)
- Adolph Coors Foundation—Denver (incorporated 1975 in Colorado)
- Parker Foundation—San Antonio (incorporated 1957 in Texas)
- Loctite Corporation—Newington, Connecticut
- Henry and Grace Salvatori Foundation—Los Angeles (incorporated 1960 in California)
- Schultz Foundation—Clifton, New Jersey (incorporated 1966 in Delaware)
- O'Donnell Foundation—Dallas (incorporated 1957 in Texas)
- Dodge Jones Foundation—Abilene (incorporated 1954 in Texas)
- American Financial Corporation Foundation—Cincinnati (founded 1971 in Ohio)
- Mobil Foundation, Inc.—New York City (incorporated 1965 in New York)
- [Maurice H.] Stans Foundation—Pasadena, California (incorporated 1945 in Illinois)
- American Continental Corporation—Phoenix, Arizona
- Thomas J. Lipton Foundation, Inc.—Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey (incorporated 1962 in Delaware)
- Horizon Oil and Gas Company—Dallas, Texas
- Milliken Foundation—New York City (founded 1945 in New York as the Deering-Milliken Foundation)
- Texaco Philanthropic Foundation, Inc.—New York City (incorporated 1979 in Delaware)
- Grand Union Company—Elmwood Park, New Jersey (French-owned)
- DeWitt Wallace Fund, Inc.—New York City (incorporated 1965 in New York)
- Gordon Fund—New York City (established 1954 in New York)
- Henderson Foundation—Boston (founded 1947 in Massachusetts)
- Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company—Akron, Ohio
- E. L. Craig Foundation—Joplin, Missouri (incorporated 1960 in Missouri)
- Henderson Foundation—Marshalltown, Iowa (date and place of founding unknown)
- Champion Spark Plug Company—Toledo, Ohio
- Earle M. and Margaret Peters Trust—Pittsburgh (founded 1953 in Pennsylvania)
- Sidney Frohman Foundation—Sandusky, Ohio (founded 1952 in Ohio)
- Texas Educational Association—Fort Worth (founded 1949 in Texas)
- Lawrence Fertig Foundation, Inc.—New York City (founded 1956 in New York)
- Ingersoll Foundation—Rockford, Illinois (founded 1948 in Illinois)
- Grace Jones Richardson Testamentary Trust—Greensboro, North Carolina (founded 1962 in Connecticut) [and]
- H. Smith Richardson Charitable Trust—Greensboro (founded 1976 in North Carolina)
- Reader's Digest Foundation—Pleasantville, New York (founded 1938 in New York)
- Inman-Riverdale Foundation—Inman, South Carolina (incorporated 1946 in South Carolina)
- J. B. Reynolds Foundation—Kansas City, Missouri (incorporated 1961 in Missouri)
- Sanford Foundation—Nashville (founded 1964 in Tennessee)
- Barbara Perkins Foundation—Los Angeles (date and place of founding unknown)
- Harsco Corporation Fund—Camp Hill, Pennsylvania (founded 1956 in Pennsylvania)
- Ox Hollow Foundation, Inc.—New York City (incorporated 1965 in New York)
- Schlitz Foundation—Milwaukee (founded 1942 in Wisconsin, dissolved 1982)
- Citicorp [owner of Citibank]—New York City
- Coleman Foundation—Chicago (founded 1953 in Illinois)

*Including \$100,000 anonymous contribution, 1984.

Other Corporations That Have Given Substantial Contributions to AIM Include:

- Exxon USA • Getty Oil • Phillips Petroleum • Chevron (owned by Standard Oil Company of California) • Sun Oil Company • Union Carbide • IBM • Pepsico • American Medical Association • Nestlé Coordination Center for Nutrition, Inc. • Ciba-Geigy Corporation • Alabama Power Company • Illinois Power Company • Dresser Industries, Inc. • Bethlehem Steel Corporation • Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation • Quaker Oats Company • U-Haul Company International • Panax Corporation (see text about John P. McGoff)

Contributions Known Given to AIM

\$550,000 since 1978
\$448,000 since 1975
\$433,000 since 1977
\$130,000 since 1978
\$103,000 since 1978
\$91,000 (including stocks) since 1978
\$73,000 (including stock sale proceeds) since 1976
\$65,550 since 1976
\$65,000 since 1979
\$55,000 since 1978
\$50,000 since 1980
\$40,000 since 1978
\$38,000 since 1979
\$25,000 since 1981
\$24,000 since 1980
\$22,000 since 1979
\$20,500 since 1975
\$15,500 since 1980
\$15,000 in 1982
\$12,600 between 1976-81
\$8,500 between 1976-81
\$8,000 between 1976-80
\$7,500 in 1980
\$6,000 since 1980
\$5,000 since 1980
\$4,000 in 1981
\$4,700 during 1980 and 1981
\$3,500 between 1976-82
\$3,000 between 1978-80
\$2,550 between 1976-80, 1983
\$2,500 in 1982
\$2,400 between 1979-81
\$2,100 during 1981 and 1982
\$2,000 since 1982
\$2,000 during 1981 and 1982
\$1,800 since 1976
\$1,750 since 1978
\$1,600 between 1980-82
\$1,500 during 1976 and 1977, 1980
\$1,300 in 1981
\$1,000 in 1983
\$1,000 in 1975
TOTAL=\$2,449,850*

stricted support" and has given more since. Exxon, Chevron, Getty, and Phillips have also contributed substantially, as have a number of smaller oil exploration firms.

Irvine and friends like to project a populist image of themselves as advocates for the common people against what AIM calls "the media Goliath." In February 1976, during a gasoline price crisis, NBC's New York City affiliate aired a 5-part series on the issue. In April, beneath the headline, "NBC Zaps the Oil Companies," *AIM Report* said the program showed an "antipathy toward business." Highlighting statements by Mobil and Exxon, AIM bleated that the oil companies, which it called "victims," should be given a right of reply under the fairness doctrine.

In August 1982, Bill Moyers did a two-part investigative story on the CBS-TV Evening News about the use in New York and Florida of the pesticide Temik, manufactured by Union Carbide. In a long letter to CBS president Van Gordon Sauter, Irvine acknowledged that Union Carbide had stopped selling Temik in New York when contaminated ground water was discovered on Long Island, but accepted at face value Union Carbide's claim that Florida soil conditions were different and that Temik decomposed there before getting into the ground water. AIM simply red-baited the two State University of New York scientists who had discussed on camera the ill effects of Temik, railing about their being members of the progressive organization Science for the People, and ignoring their scientific evidence.

Irvine's letter to CBS was liberally sprinkled with Union Carbide's position on every aspect of the story, including the company's own alleged scientific data attempting to show that Moyers was out to get the company and the orange growers. What emerges more clearly from the letter is that Irvine was out to get Moyers. Though he didn't respond directly at the time, Moyers spoke candidly in 1983, saying Irvine "is to accuracy in media what Cleopatra was to chastity on the Nile."

The negative utility of AIM's material was also illustrated after *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporters won a Pulitzer Prize for an April 1977 4-part series on the police brutality rampant in the city at the time. Much of what happened in the stories had appeared in television news footage graphically showing police beating and kicking defenseless citizens, nearly all of whom were black. Nevertheless, Irvine produced an impassioned but highly questionable acquittal of the Philadelphia police (*AIM Report*, August [II] 1978), predictably blaming the newspaper for reporting the story the way it did. Mayor Frank Rizzo bought 100 copies of the *Report* and put together a press packet to argue that the newspaper was misguided and his police force humane.

AIM Recolors Agent Orange

In Vietnam and Laos, thousands of mothers are today bearing stillborn and monstrously deformed babies with two heads, with limbs growing from abnormal parts of the body, eyes facing inward, and so on (see *CAIB* Number 17). In the United States, over 20,000 Vietnam veterans have filed disability claims because of the effects they believe resulted from exposure to Agent Orange and other defoliants which the U.S. sprayed in Indochina. These include birth defects, liver failure, testicular cancer, skin diseases, tumors, bone deterioration, hearing and memory loss, headaches, speech impediment, and personality change. In frustration and fear, 90,000 Vietnam veterans have signed the computerized Veterans Administration "Agent Orange Registry" for medical screening. Most recently, even the conservative American Legion has come down firmly on the side of the veterans, trying to press the government to deal forthrightly with the issue.

AIM has ignored all these developments; instead, *AIM Report* and *The Washington Inquirer* have featured several denunciations of the widespread questions about Agent Orange. An AIM-sponsored February 1983 luncheon meeting in

Some Major Individual Contributors to AIM:

- **Richard M. Nixon**—former President.
- **Spiro T. Agnew**—controversial former Vice-President under Nixon, indicted for illegal transactions in his home state Maryland.
- **Walter H. Annenberg**—multimillionaire, publisher of *TV Guide* and the horseracing paper, *Daily Racing Form*, close and loyal confidante-friend of Presidents Nixon and Reagan.
- **Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo**—Key Biscayne, Florida, banker, reportedly one of Nixon's closest friends whose yacht served as a frequent refuge during Watergate, alleged to have Mafia links by way of his extensive interests in the Resorts International gambling empire and his dealings with international fugitive Robert Vesco.
- **William E. Simon**—millionaire financier and investments lawyer-consultant, former Treasury secretary, current U.S. Olympic Committee president.
- **William Joseph Casey**—CIA Director, millionaire, has contributed to AIM since 1976 including most recently in December 1983 on a "private" basis via his Long Island, New York estate.
- **Claire Boothe Luce**—see text.
- **Sir James Michael Goldsmith**—see text.
- **Karl Robin Bendtsen**—see text.
- **Maurice H. Stans**—76, business consultant in Los Angeles, former Commerce secretary under Nixon, finance chairman of the infamous CREEP (Committee to Re-elect the President) that was implicated in the Watergate scandal.
- **Edward Wyllis Scripps II**—board chairman of Scripps League of Newspapers (where he has been since 1931), a director of the Inter-American Press Foundation (see *CAIB* Numbers 7 and 10), lives in Charlottesville, Virginia, with a home in Nassau.
- **David Packard**—co-founder and chairman of the electronics and minicomputer giant, Hewlett-Packard, former Secretary of Defense under Nixon.
- **James G. Schneider**—savings and loan executive in Illinois, delegate to Republican national conventions in 1976 and 1980.
- **Willard Carlisle Butcher**—chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank where he has been since 1947, trustee of the American Enterprise Institute thinktank, a director of the multinational corporation ASARCO.
- **William and Ellen Clayton St. John Garwood**—at 88 he is still a lawyer, a former Texas State Supreme Court judge.
- **Dr. Edward Teller**—Hungarian-born physicist known as the "Father of the H-Bomb," former member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.
- **Henry H. Hurt**—Maryland insurance agent, 76, longstanding follower of Reverend Sun Myung Moon, admitted to the *Wall Street Journal* (February 3, 1982) that he fronted for the Moon-owned U.S. Foods Corporation in McLean, Virginia. In a November 18, 1976 letter to Moon's closest associate, Colonel Bo Hi Pak, published in a congressional report, Hurt wrote, "The Leader [Moon] is the spiritual and financial strength." Still a board member of the Moon front group, the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, Inc., Hurt told *CAIB* he is "an enthusiastic supporter" of AIM. He also said that in past years, he has given "hundreds of thousands" of dollars to various conservative organizations.
- **Harold W. Siebens**—president of Worldoil (Panama), lives in Toronto and Nassau.

Washington starred retired Air Force Colonel Charlie Hubbs, who was involved in Operation Ranch Hand, the Air Force program which drenched the rice paddies, forests, streams, and people of Vietnam with 12 million gallons of Agent Orange. He claimed that in Vietnam, he would "slurp the stuff to demonstrate its harmlessness," and that his crews were often "doused thoroughly" with the defoliant.

Two years earlier, the April 1981 *AIM Report* glibly dismissed "the Agent Orange scare." The *Report* also reiterated attacks, first made in 1974 and 1978, against a February 1974 *New York Times* article by scientific reporter Richard Severo about the effects of U.S. defoliation on Vietnam's environment. Based on a study by the National Academy of Sciences which suggested it would take 100 years for the forests to recover, the report was branded by AIM "the study that never was" simply because it was a draft leaked to the *Times*.

Irvine responded to four other Agent Orange articles written by Severo in May 1979 and March 1981, saying some "were constructed in a way that was bound to spread fear and suspicion," while others were not "balanced" and created a "gross distortion." "The *New York Times* has a long record of misinforming its readers" about Agent Orange, Irvine insisted. He finally admitted he "got help from the VA" in his critique. The Veterans Administration actually assisted him in research and in writing the *AIM Report*, which they then purchased and sent out to the media under the VA letterhead, and for months, it was handed to veterans applying at VA offices for Agent Orange-related disability status.

AIM's partiality on this issue was further demonstrated in October 1983 when Reed Irvine spoke to the 29th annual meeting of the Southern Agricultural Chemicals Association. Asserting that it was the media, not the chemical industry that was polluting our society, Irvine told his listeners that Agent Orange was good for agriculture and the lumber industry. Suggestions to the contrary in the media, he told his happy audience, have been part of a large propaganda and disinformation campaign. SACA members not already funding AIM were told they should do so and thereby "fight the media."

A medical study of Operation Ranch Hand pilots just released by the Air Force concedes a statistically significant number of birth defects, infant deaths, skin cancers, circulation problems, and liver disorders. *The Washington Inquirer* (March 2, 1984) immediately twisted the study's conclusions to fit AIM's recurrent theme, using the headline: "Agent Orange Exonerated."

AIM Disinformation

In full-page newspaper advertisements for the 1981 book by AIM employee James L. Tyson, Jr. titled "Target America: The Influence of Communist Propaganda on U.S. Media," readers were asked to ponder: "Did the Kremlin cook up that story you read in this morning's paper? . . . did the KGB concoct that item you saw on last night's news? . . . are you reading what your Soviet enemies want you to read? The *Chicago Tribune* called the book "witless and unpersuasive." Undiscouraged, AIM reissued the book in 1983 in condensed form as a paperback.

Reed Irvine's preoccupation with the creeping communist menace is legendary. In February 1983, as a conference on "The Lessons of Vietnam" was convening at the University of California, he branded former *New York Times* correspondent and author Harrison Salisbury a "purveyor of disinformation" for the views he expressed about the American role in Viet-



nam. Irvine's colleague Cliff Kincaid accused Don Luce, former volunteer aid worker in Vietnam and longtime peace advocate, of fabricating "the false story" about Vietnamese prisoners being held in what became known as "tiger cages." It was false to Kincaid despite photographs of the cages by Luce and a Member of Congress, and documents proving that the small cages were designed and built under Pentagon contract. Luce was also credited by AIM with undermining the rule of the Shah of Iran, helping "pave the way" for Ayatollah Khomeini, simply because he had visited Teheran shortly before the Shah was finally deposed and published a trenchant article on his trip.

Three days after the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down, *Washington Post* writer Michael Getler wrote a story citing government and private sources which suggested U.S. intelligence involvement. (See *CAIB* Number 20 for a lengthy analysis of the incident.) Irvine shot off a letter to the *Washington Times* snidely suggesting that Getler "seems to have planted ideas in the heads of the Russians," even though the Soviet news agency had stated that the Korean plane was used "to attain special intelligence aims" the day before Getler's article appeared. Getler scolded Irvine, saying the "planted ideas" allegation was "an ugly, incorrect, ideological smear not befitting someone who is supposed to be concerned with accuracy in media."

One of Irvine's more bizarre observations, still heard today in his speeches, is to blame the media for the Watergate scandal, claiming it caused the American military defeat in Indochina and the deaths of thousands of Americans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians.

One CBS executive said Irvine and AIM are "specialists in tunnel vision." This was personified in a letter Irvine wrote to the *Washington Post* (July 24, 1982) about Walter Cronkite, who he had previously implied was serving the communist cause by some of his CBS evening news reportage. Stating that he wanted to avoid any impression that he was fingering Cronkite as a communist "dupe" or worse, he then proceeded to do just that. He claimed that "two distinguished journalists" (more than likely Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss, who are incessantly quoted by AIM) told him that "any correspondent who spends any length of time in Moscow and comes away not expressing revulsion for the communist system must be suspected of having been recruited." Cronkite was the CBS Moscow bureau chief from 1946-48.

Like J. Edgar Hoover, Jesse Helms, and a half-dozen right-wing groups, AIM believes Martin Luther King, Jr. was part of the grand communist conspiracy rather than a fighter for civil rights and justice. In February 1981 Irvine applied to the Department of Justice for the FBI's massive collection of tape recordings of wiretaps of King's home and office telephones. Conscious of the potential for widespread negative reaction against the FBI and Reagan, the FBI has thus far not released them to Irvine.

The world Anti-Communist League recently disclosed in its

newsletter that its "psychological warfare committee" had met with Irvine. WACL is an association of extreme "professional" anti-communists, widely reported to have long-standing links to Latin American death squads.

To gain a grasp of the methodologies used by Accuracy in Media, it is helpful to examine two major news themes it has given a high profile and where its activities were critically important.

The Re-Assassination of Letelier and Moffitt

On September 21, 1976, the explosion which shook Washington's Sheridan Circle was heard around the world. Exiled Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Karpen Moffitt had been killed by a bomb in their car as they drove to work.

Two months later, Jack Anderson and Les Whitten wrote a nationally syndicated column, the first link in a chain of disinformation calculated to discredit Letelier and the cause of freedom in Chile, while deflecting attention from the dastardly crime itself. Anderson and Whitten had been leaked some papers purportedly from Letelier's briefcase. The documents, translated and analyzed, were delivered to them by members of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO). Anderson and Whitten have since publicly admitted that they never questioned the documents or the motives of the leakers. Instead, they rushed to press with a story alleging that letters in the briefcase from Salvador Allende's daughter, Beatriz, who was living in exile in Cuba, "prove" Letelier was on a Cuban payroll. The funds sent to Letelier and mentioned in Beatriz Allende's letters came in fact from the Popular Unity coalition and were funds that had been raised in Western Europe from religious, trade union, and democratic forces throughout the world which condemned the violent, CIA-engineered overthrow of Chile's duly-elected government.

The disinformation campaign that followed depended upon a consciously repeated misinterpretation and mistranslation of the documents. Reed Irvine began by writing congratulatory letters to the more than 400 newspapers that carried the Ander-

son-Whitten column. Others in the tight circle of columnists who simultaneously began receiving packets of the alleged briefcase contents put them right into the media hopper. They included Irvine; William F. Buckley, Jr., publisher of *National Review*, and Jeffrey Hart, one of its columnists; *Washington Star* veteran Jeremiah O'Leary, later with the National Security Council under Alexander Haig, and now with the *Washington Times*; Ralph de Toledano, a longtime media asset of J. Edgar Hoover and for many years close friend and confidante of former high CIA operative and AFIO founder David Atlee Phillips, who headed the Agency's destabilization team against Chile; Robert Moss, who lived and worked in Chile, and wrote with CIA help the anti-Allende book, "Chile's Marxist Experiment," which was financed by the CIA and given away free by the Chilean Embassy in Washington; and conservative syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. On top of this media blitz, rightwing congressman Larry McDonald (Dem.-Ga.) placed the letters in the *Congressional Record* in July 1977.

Though not on the leak list, *Washington Post* reporter Lee Lescage scrutinized the documents closely (they were generally "available" in Washington), and judged that the allegations based upon them in the columns "followed the darkest possible interpretation of the scanty material." Finally, on December 13, 1978, the federal prosecutor, Eugene Propper, put on record in a court hearing that the FBI "had gone over the briefcase papers carefully and found no evidence Letelier is or ever has been an intelligence asset of the Cuban Government."

Reed Irvine was not deterred from his chosen course. Insisting that Letelier was a Cuban agent, he charged an FBI coverup, and asked his readers, "Now the question is, will the media tell the truth about Letelier even if the FBI won't?" (*AIM Report*, October [I] 1980). When the *Boston Globe* wrote a story skeptical of the AIM interpretation of the documents, Irvine wrote them, insisting on "corrections." When the *Globe* refused, Irvine crossed the street and placed an advertisement in the *Boston Herald American*, an abrasive act in media circles.

The Letelier Legend Lives On

Reed Irvine

Recently there have been several articles published in journalism magazines and elsewhere defending and even extolling the practice of giving the enemies of the United States a "fair shake" in our news media.



Those who have criticized journalists in El Salvador for seeming to transmit the propaganda of the Marxist guerrillas are reminded that our press is "objective." It believes in giving both sides, we are told, even if that means giving the enemy's side of the story in wartime.

However, it is extraordinary how quickly this devotion to objectivity can sometimes vanish when the "other side" involves exposing the seamy side of the leftists. For example, when Orlando Letelier, the Chilean cabinet officer in the Marxist Allende government was assassinated in Washington, D.C. in 1976, documents found in his briefcase showed that he was taking money from Cuba. These funds were being used to finance the so-called "human rights" work that he was doing in this country.

Correspondence in the briefcase also revealed that Letelier did not want the Cuban connection to be known to the "liberals" (his quotation marks), who were lending him their support. He was afraid that they would desert him if they

quick to tell this side of the Letelier story when the documents from the briefcase found their way into the hands of reporters. The television networks have said a lot about Letelier, but they have never to this day mentioned his Cuban connec-

Accuracy In Media

knew that he was being supported by Castro.

That, of course, helps explain why Letelier did not bother to comply with the law that requires foreign agents to register with the Justice Department. He could not have been nearly as effective in his lobbying of members of Congress if he had been publicly identified as a paid Cuban agent. People would have asked what kind of human rights organization he and his wife, Isabel, were operating if it was being funded by the worst human rights violator in the hemisphere.

"Objective" media organizations such as The New York Times, The Washington Post, CBS, NBC, ABC, the AP and UPI were for some reason not

tion. The AP reluctantly provided its clients with a story only after an editor of one of the client papers insisted that they do so.

And so when I saw an article on Isabel Letelier in the May/June issue of *Graduate Woman*, the publication of the American Association of University Women, I was not too surprised that there was not the slightest hint of the Cuban connection. The story mentioned that Mrs. Letelier is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, but there was no identification of that organization. The IPS is well known in Washington as a leftwing think-tank. Last year, The New York Times Magazine ran a story about it titled "The Think Tank of the Left." IPS describes itself as a center for "radical

scholarship." A publication which it helps put out in Europe, *Race and Class*, has, according to The Times, praised China, Cuba, and North Vietnam as "the forces of liberation."

The *Graduate Woman* article had three authors, Kathy Linse, assistant editor of the magazine, Johanna Mendelson, AAUW director of Public Policy, and Tricia Smith, Public Policy associate. Since they are all located in Washington, I wondered whether they had been so cloistered as to have failed to notice the far-left political coloration of Mrs. Letelier's employer. I was also curious as to whether they were as ignorant of the Letelier Cuban connection as their article implied.

Johanna Mendelson told me that she had heard "speculation" about Orlando Letelier's receipt of Cuban money to fund the human rights work of Mr. and Mrs. Letelier. She did not see any relevance between this and the article on Mrs. Letelier's "human rights" work. She also said she knew that the Institute for Policy Studies was leftwing, but she saw no need to point that out in the article. She also knew what Mrs. Letelier's politics were, that she was a leftist. But objectivity did not require that the 2,500-word glorification of Isabel Letelier be spoiled by sharing these facts with the readers.

Washington Inquirer—May 28, 1982.

AIM's access to what, after all, was government evidence in a murder case, was surprising. Even as the document packets were widely dispersed to chosen rightwing media personalities, Orlando Letelier's widow, Isabel, was unable to obtain the briefcase contents for many months, and then only after repeated demands from her lawyer. Irvine bragged in October 1980 that AIM "has had copies of many of the documents found in Letelier's briefcase since early 1977," as well as his appointment diary and address book, "a copy of which we have long had." His devotion to "accuracy" has led him to write more than 55 separate stories on the case since 1976, more than any other single topic since AIM's founding. He and other members of the circle to whom the documents were leaked in the first place continue to this day dragging out their weary and spent disinformation fraud, each time hoping to kill Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt once more.

The Ray Bonner Operation

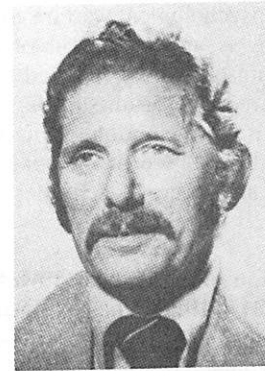
Whenever the major media come up with a hard story on U.S. military or intelligence agency operations, at home or abroad, AIM cries "disinformation." Witness AIM's treatment of Ray Bonner, the *New York Times* correspondent formerly based in El Salvador. Bonner had been reporting consistently on deepening U.S. involvement there, on the heinous activities of the death squads, and about bloody wholesale massacres perpetrated by U.S.-trained armed forces and police. His penetrating coverage helped him develop sources that no other journalist on the scene could command. According to Reed Irvine, Bonner was "worth a division to the communists in Central America."

On January 11, 1982, the *Times* published Bonner's front-page account of the presence of U.S. Special Forces personnel during the brutal torture by Salvadoran soldiers of persons accused of being guerrillas, based on an extensive interview by Bonner with Carlos Antonio Gomez Montano, a 21 year-old Salvadoran Army deserter present during the tortures. (See *CAIB* Number 16 for selections from an interview with Gomez.)

Other articles by Bonner dealt with the controversial 1982 election, the virtual gutting by the Roberto D'Aubuisson regime of the then already shallow land reform program, and the widespread corruption in the government and armed forces fed in large part by the massive influx of American aid being diverted into the hands of a few ministers and generals.

Accuracy in Media quickly took Bonner on, issuing six different stories in the first half of 1982, denigrating him and accusing him of "conveying guerrilla propaganda." The nature of AIM's research became apparent, however, when it disclosed (*AIM Report*, July [II] 1982) that the 51 articles written by Bonner in the *New York Times* from January to June 1982 had been "analyzed" for AIM by Daniel James, described by AIM as "an author, editor, foreign correspondent and lecturer who has specialized in Latin America, Communism, and Soviet affairs for three decades."

James, the former managing editor of the rightwing magazine *The New Leader*, had acknowledged his CIA ties in a *New York Times* interview on December 25, 1977. He lived for many years in Mexico and said that in 1968 he was acquainted with Winston MacKinley Scott, a CIA veteran since 1950 who at the time was CIA Chief of Station in Mexico City. James told *Times* reporter John Crewdson of asking Scott for "anything that they could get for me or help me with," and affirmed, "I did get information from them." According to a



Daniel James.

CIA official quoted by Crewdson, the Agency had given James "material and background" for what at the time was called a "translation" of Che Guevara's diary.

James's analysis of Bonner concludes: "[O]ne of his main objectives was to discredit the government and the military forces that were standing in the way of a communist takeover of El Salvador." The Irvine-James line on Bonner portrayed his news sources as "discredited," though they were consistently acceptable to Bonner's superiors in New York, who must necessarily be sticklers about so-called leftist sources. AIM read treachery into the fact that the majority of Bonner's sources were not identified in his stories, although the life expectancy of Salvadoreans who speak on-the-record of massacres by the military, election irregularities, or official corruption definitely tends to be on the low side. (And, as noted above, Irvine's attack on Walter Cronkite, for example, also cited unidentified sources.)

Bonner himself earned a top spot on a "death list" of journalists circulated around San Salvador by one of the many busy death squads there. But while some on the list abruptly left the country, he decided to remain. Irvine and AIM feign skepticism when they refer to "death squads," whatever they may be." (*AIM Report*, November [I] 1982.) Have they queried the surviving relatives of the thousands of victims in any one of 15 U.S.-supported countries where death squads ply their murderous trade?

The unremitting anti-Bonner campaign finally achieved its goal. Hundreds of *AIM Report* readers did what Irvine exhorted them to do, writing to the *New York Times* and its advertisers to complain about Bonner. In June 1982, Murray Baron and Reed Irvine got *Times* executives Arthur Ochs Sulzberger and Sydney Gruson to meet with them about Bonner. The meeting came on the heels of a public statement in San Salvador by Ambassador Deane Hinton that Bonner "does not hide the fact that he's engaged in advocacy journalism." If the statement sounded familiar to *AIM Report* readers, it was no coincidence. *CAIB* learned that Irvine had gone to considerable lengths to deliver AIM's views on Bonner to Hinton and other U.S. officials in San Salvador and Washington.

In October, after more cries from Irvine of "disinformation" and "advocacy journalism," and more streams of AIM-generated letters about Bonner, the *Times* had had enough. Irvine gloated when he announced: "Here is some good news. You can quit writing Mr. Sulzberger at the *New York Times* about Raymond Bonner. Bonner is no longer the correspondent for the *Times* in Central America." (*AIM Report*, October [II] 1982.) Claiming Bonner's was merely a normal personnel

transfer, the *Times* front office pushed him back to the business desk. Recently, due no doubt to the ever-expanding U.S. role in the region and to his singular knowledge of the situation in El Salvador, Bonner has been assigned intermittently to part of the Central America beat.

Other AIM Attacks

It isn't surprising, therefore, that the Reagan administration actively collaborates with AIM in trying to counter what the media say about U.S. involvement in Central America. In April and May 1983, for example, CBS showed reports of the murder, torture, and disappearance of doctors, nurses, and other public health personnel in El Salvador. AIM worked closely with at least three Agency for International Development staffers to produce an October "AIM Research Report" titled "CBS Distorts the Medical Situation in El Salvador."

AIM was jubilant about the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Though even President Reagan first called it an invasion, later renaming it a "rescue operation," Reed Irvine took his cue early on terming the operation a "rescue mission," a "liberation," and a "firm action," yet slipping once in an *AIM Report* by calling it "the American invasion." Perhaps the most telling aspect of Irvine's Grenada stance was his support for the administration policy of keeping the media from reporting until more than two days after the invasion began. Irvine impugned dishonorable motives to NBC's John Chancellor and CBS's Dan Rather for their pointed criticisms of the policy, even suggesting that many journalists verge on being traitorous. Hence, it is no wonder that AIM's newest gimmick is a red-white-and-blue bumpersticker, available for \$1.00, which AIM calls a "work of beauty." It reads: "GRENADA—MEDIA DEFEAT." Apparently to AIM, the best media is no media at all.

AIM's style is often marked by sensationalism, as in these *AIM Report* headlines: "CBS Undermines Central America" about the September 1, 1982, documentary, "Guatemala," in which reporter Ed Rabel showed the effects of government-sponsored terror on the population of that country. AIM claimed that the CBS documentary pulled the wool over the eyes of the American people.

"Soviet Terror Links in Lebanon" and "Lies About Lebanon" related to Israel's June 1982 invasion and aerial bombing, with AIM charging that the media coverage was distorted and that the Israelis had captured PLO documents proving Soviet support for terrorism in Lebanon. This disinformation, reported only by AIM, was similar to the discredited El Salvador "White Paper" of the State Department. The "documents" were given by the Israeli Embassy in Washington to AIM's sister publication, *The Washington Inquirer*, though refused to *CAIB* by the Israelis, when requested.

AIM also asserted vociferously that the full-page ads in major newspapers condemning "Death and Devastation in Lebanon . . . terror bombings, with consistent death and dreadful injury among the most vulnerable of the civilian population—women and children, the elderly and the ailing" were part of what they called "The PLO Disinformation Campaign." Irvine disputed a UPI story from Beirut about Israel's use of anti-personnel phosphorus shells, which described the incredible agony of victims. He called the report "inflammatory." AIM then quoted unidentified Israeli authorities as saying phosphorus shells have long been used by armies as "markers" for artillery strikes and are not anti-personnel weapons. Irvine soon had to print a correction, however—which he does

rarely—after retired U.S. Army officers wrote to AIM saying the Israelis were lying. Yet Irvine had willingly disseminated the lie despite television coverage showing phosphorus in use against heavily-populated West Beirut.

Other AIM topics have included "The Bulgarian-KGB Plot," "The Journal's Kwitny Never Quits," "NBC Aims Soviet Propaganda," "Bill Moyers Plays Left Field," "Donahue Indoctrinates the Housewives," "Who's Behind the Freeze?" and "ABC Smears J. Edgar Hoover."

A source close to Accuracy in Media has shared with *CAIB* a very curious AIM internal document. It is an outline of the priority of themes, in both the domestic and foreign sphere,

Accuracy In Media	
777 14TH STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005	
<u>Domestic</u>	<u>Foreign</u>
2 Watergate	Chile - Letellier
3. Chippewa	Mexico
2 Jim Jones	Vietnam
I 1st Amendment	China
5 1st 5	Human Rights
6 Nuclear	
4 60 Min	

which AIM should feature in its publications and speechmaking. Though undated, it appears to have been written in early 1979, and demonstrates that AIM's program works along specific theme lines. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the CIA's own media and propaganda operations (see the extensively-documented article by Fred Landis in *CAIB* Number 16 on the Agency's media thrust to destabilize Chile under Salvador Allende, Jamaica under Michael Manley, and present day Nicaragua) are also conducted along selected theme lines.

In January 1983, a reliable *CAIB* source, while visiting AIM's offices in downtown Washington, heard an employee answer the phone, ask if a certain person was in the office, and be told, "He's not here. He had to drive out to the CIA for a pickup." Real journalists don't generally go to the CIA except for an occasional "briefing," and then only under very special arrangements. It was obvious this wasn't a briefing at all, but a trip to the CIA to pick up something for AIM, perhaps a story or a "leak" for the next *AIM Report* or *Washington Inquirer*.

How AIM Takes Aim

Despite its many revelations, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence under the late Senator Frank Church barely scratched the surface with its voluminous reports on the activities of the CIA, the National Security Agency, military in-

telligence, the FBI, and the IRS. The sordid history of the CIA's secret interventions around the world was discussed only in very broad and imprecise generalities. While the Church Committee studied in depth the CIA's covert role in eight different countries, a deal was struck whereby the CIA would accede to the release of the volume on Chile if the other seven reports were kept secret. Yet even before the body had been established, Jack Anderson had written a column (November 5, 1974) discussing a confidential Library of Congress study on the CIA in Chile which had reached his desk. Anderson cited the government's "secret economic war" against Chile, stating correctly that "the policy amounted to financial strangulation."

AIM then went to bat, as it frequently does, for the CIA. Asserting that both the Library of Congress and Anderson were "in error," AIM blamed Chile's pre-coup difficulties on Allende's "mismanagement." On February 18, 1975, AIM placed a full-page ad ("The Post-Anderson Cover-Up") in the *Washington Post*, with a rehash of the familiar myths about Chile.

Reed Rushes In

There is probably nothing Reed Irvine does for AIM with greater speed than to jump to the defense of the U.S. intelligence apparatus. When the Church Committee published in 1975-76 its study of some of the abuses of the U.S. intelligence complex, AIM's pages brimmed over with attempts to discredit Senator Church, the committee, and its findings.

AIM blames the CIA's problems on the few former operatives who have left the Agency and have become publicly critical of its past and present activities. These include Philip Agee, John Stockwell, Ralph McGehee and Victor Marchetti. As for the FBI, Irvine has published frequent articles extolling the memory of J. Edgar Hoover, whose 48 years at the Bureau under ten presidents remain extremely controversial, even by the most charitable assessments of past and present FBI officials. *AIM Report* articles have included titles such as "ABC Smears J. Edgar Hoover," "NBC To Savage J. Edgar Hoover," and "NBC Trashes J. Edgar Hoover."

Irvine's single-minded vindication of the intelligence agencies goes beyond the pages of the *AIM Report*. He speaks often at CIA and FBI alumni meetings, including of the Central Intelligence Retirees Association, the Committee to Help the FBI, and, most recently, at the October 1983 Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI convention in Denver.

CAIB has learned that in November 1983, AIM typed up, had printed, and mailed out, under the Society's own blue letterhead, a letter to 400 major corporations on AIM's priority list of major advertisers. The recipients were targeted in hopes of getting them to withhold advertising from programming that is in the least critical of U.S. intelligence agencies or that examines any public domestic or foreign policy issue in a manner which is not consistent with AIM's well-varnished viewpoint. ●

A frequent AIM tactic is to purchase small amounts of stock in the major print and electronic media organizations, to attend stockholder meetings, and to stage confrontations with corporate officers. This provides lively copy for the next *AIM Report*, with the suggestion that David has stood up to Goliath. On April 18, Irvine attended the CBS shareholders' annual meeting in Philadelphia, at which he nominated AIM's James Tyson to replace Walter Cronkite on the Board of Directors. Irvine later sadly related that Tyson was "nosed out" by Cronkite.

AIM's stockholder tactics have not always been legal. In April 1975, they spent nearly \$13,000 on a *Wall Street Journal* advertisement urging CBS and RCA stockholders to vote for AIM resolutions. The Securities and Exchange Commission informed AIM that this amounted to an illegal effort to secure proxies and furthermore that the ad itself was misleading. AIM had to agree it would abide by a court order not to violate SEC's proxy rules again, and would return all the \$15 donations people had sent in response to the ad.

In February 1983, perhaps mindful of the 1975 episode, the SEC rejected AIM's request for the inclusion of two proposals in CBS proxy notices sent to stockholders in advance of the annual meetings. AIM's proposals related to the \$120 million suit by retired General William Westmoreland arising out of a January 1982 CBS program, "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception." AIM is actively raising money for Westmoreland's defense, and their administrative appeal of the SEC's decision was denied. Though Irvine blustered at the time that AIM would challenge the SEC ruling in court, no suit has yet been filed.

In March of this year, Reed Irvine declared to his readers that AIM had been given "a substantial gift of RCA stock." He continued, "We will be happy to sell any AIM member as little as a single share to qualify you to attend the RCA [NBC] annual meeting," on May 1. When reached for comment by



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1975

Dear Mr. Irvine:

Responding to yours of October 30, the story I told Senator Goldwater on the way to China was told to me by a journalist in Washington who said he got it from diplomatic sources of a foreign nation.

I have no evidence whatsoever that there is any truth to the story. Mr. Chandler informed you quite accurately when he wrote you that "The Vice President gave little credence to the report, mentioned it as gossip, and didn't at any time include it or have any intention of including it in his report (on CIA domestic activities)."

Unless and until something more substantial turns up, I think the major media have demonstrated good judgment in ignoring this story.

Sincerely,

Mr. Reed J. Irvine
Accuracy in Media, Inc.
777 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

CAIB, a senior SEC official observed that the statement was "rather irregular," and its legality "may warrant an investigation by our enforcement branch."

In April 1975, during the last days of the Vietnam war, Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller and Senator Barry Goldwater were on a flight together to attend the funeral of Taiwanese ruler Chiang Kai-shek. Rockefeller told Goldwater of a comment to him by an unnamed journalist that the KGB had infiltrated the offices of a number of senators. Goldwater repeated this on a television program, adding confidently though mistakenly that Rockefeller would include it in his imminent report on CIA domestic activities. AIM rushed into print with it. Then, the Vice-President—not known for being soft on communism—protested in a letter to Irvine, "I have no evidence whatsoever that there is any truth to the story." Nevertheless, Irvine forged ahead with two more articles repeating the story, never mentioning the letter from Rockefeller.

While Rockefeller wasn't convinced there was a communist under every congressional desk or manipulating every journalist's pen, AIM remains certain. In Bernard Yoh's own words, "What's wrong with McCarthyism?" (*Fairfield County Advocate*, Connecticut, November 23, 1983.) Yoh stated recently in Fresno, California, that the *Los Angeles Times* is leftwing while the avowedly conservative *Manchester, New Hampshire, Union-Leader* is the best newspaper in the country.

The Giveaway Derby

A prominent feature of the AIM operation is their use of various gimmicks to build their audience. They place expensive full-page advertisements in newspapers with coupons soliciting money and subscriptions; the ads, they claim, pay for themselves. AIM also sends out computerized mailings to various right-wing lists.

AIM apparently manages financially to offer hardcover books free or at great discounts to new *AIM Report* subscribers, including: "The Spike," by Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss (retail price \$12.95); "Target America," by James L. Tyson, Jr. (\$12.95); "Murder of a Gentle Land," by John Barron and Anthony Paul (\$9.95); "The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear," by Petr Beckmann (\$5.95); "The Terrors of Justice," by Maurice Stans (\$10.95); "Festive Fruitcakes," by Kae Lucas (\$3.95); "At the Eye of the Storm: James Watt and the Environmentalists," by Ron Arnold (\$14.95); and the just-published "Media Mischief and Misdeeds," by Reed Irvine (\$9.95).

Either an AIM benefactor purchased the books wholesale; conservative publishers made the books available at unusual discounts; or, as appears may be the case with some of them, the CIA or some other entity secretly subsidized the books.

Irvine sends out a weekly syndicated column, "Accuracy in Media," to about 100 smalltown newspapers around the country for a token \$1 each. Irvine and friends began in July 1978 to produce a daily taped 3-minute radio broadside echoing *AIM Report* and *Washington Inquirer* called "Media Monitor," presently aired on some 80 stations in the U.S., provided free to them by AIM "as a public service." The program was originally done by Irvine and Lester Kinsolving, a caustic Washington-based media personality who was once expelled by the organization of journalists covering the State Department because he accepted South African and Rhodesian funds for trips there. He parted ways with AIM in 1980 following bitter financial and political bargaining. The radio tapes are now

co-produced with Cliff Kincaid, now in the number two editorial position at the rightwing *Human Events*, which President Reagan once called his favorite newspaper.

Since 1976, AIM has sponsored at least six conferences to project the organization's ideological views of media coverage, urging its corporate donors then to assert themselves in the media, and bestowing awards on those journalists it agrees with most. The conferences bear aggressive, alarmist titles, AIM trademarks: "The Media and the Present Danger" (1979), "Confrontation PR" (1981), "Biting the Hands That Feed Them" (1983), and "The Media: Whose Side Are They On?" (1983). The latter gathering, held in Houston, cost \$18,000. The theme of the next conference, to be held in San Diego in June, is "Media Wars: Battleground of Ideas."

AIM's Teamster Ties

Reed Irvine announced in December 1980 that an organization called the Allied Educational Foundation had given AIM a \$50,000 grant to send "top drawer" AIM speakers (see Sidebar) around the United States free of cost. In both 1982 and 1983 it gave \$125,000 to AIM, and so far in 1984 has given \$100,000. Since 1978, the Allied Educational Foundation has managed to give AIM at least \$550,000.

Such big money has been a boon to the work of AIM. The grants represent a masterstroke of AIM president Murray Baron. He laid the groundwork for it by contacting his old friend and union crony, George D. Barasch, who became administrator of the foundation. Barasch, born in 1910, has on different occasions stated he was born in the Soviet Union, France, and the United States. He was past president of the Allied Trades Council and former secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 815 in New Jersey, which covers Teamster members in the warehousing, drug, and chemical industries in New York and New Jersey.

Barasch's past is not untainted. In 1965 Senator John McClellan's Subcommittee on Investigations charged him and several Teamster associates with having misappropriated almost \$5 million in union and welfare pension funds. The monies had been shifted by Barasch to shadow corporations in the U.S., Puerto Rico, and Liberia, run by him and his brother-in-law. When Barasch suddenly retired during the McClellan inquiry, investigators estimated his income from these dealings at almost \$800,000. In the June and July 1965 hearings, Barasch invoked the Fifth Amendment several hundred times, even when asked what his occupation was.

CAIB asked the Allied Educational Foundation, in Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, for some clarifications. An employee, Joe McCarthy, was cordial but not very communicative. He said that Barasch is "a sort of consultant" to the foundation trustees, whom he refused to name. He did say they comprised a former U.S. Marine Corps general, a National Guard member, an attorney, and a professor. He described the organization as "a charitable educational foundation" which "works on anything that violates the Constitution," but wouldn't explain what kinds of violations he was referring to. He stressed that the Allied Educational Foundation "has no direct connection with Accuracy in Media," a statement directly contradicted in AIM literature and mailings.

The installation of Jackie Presser, 58, as Teamsters president has undoubtedly been helpful to AIM. *CAIB* was told by two highly knowledgeable sources that Accuracy in Media already functions in part as "a Teamster public relations front."

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Counsel, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE BARASCH, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MARTIN J. McNAMARA, JULES RITHOLZ, AND HAROLD KRIEGER—Resumed

Mr. ADLERMAN. Mr. Barasch, I think I was asking you about your early affiliations with unions and what unions you first became affiliated with.

Could you state for us and give us a list of the unions that you were an officer in or trustee in or an executive of, or an organizer in, at one time or another.

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Have you ever been a president of the Allied Trades Council, or secretary-treasurer of that organization?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are you presently honorary president of that organization?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Is that organization affiliated or was it affiliated with the International Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Were you formerly secretary-treasurer—that is the highest office, I believe of Local 815 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are you president and director of Cromwell Research Foundation, Inc.?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are you president or a director of the Chemical Research Foundation, Inc.?

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Are you an officer of the Caribbean Educational Association in Puerto Rico?

Mr. BARASCH. The same answer, sir.

Mr. ADLERMAN. Were you also a trustee of the Caribbean Educational Association?

Mr. BARASCH. The same answer, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's have the same answer repeated.

Mr. BARASCH. I respectfully decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Senator CURTIS. May I ask a question right there?

What salary or salaries have you drawn, and from whom, in the last five years?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

U.S. Senate hearing—June 29, 1965.

CAIB has also learned that AIM president Murray Baron worked directly with Jackie Presser during the 1950s and 1960s, a period during which the union was riddled with organized crime figures. Where do Murray Baron and Reed Irvine fit in to the scheme of things with Presser at his new half-million dollar post? Though there are AIM issues and themes of little interest to the Teamsters, some, such as the public relations battle on behalf of Big Oil interests, ought logically to have great significance to the union, because of the bearing these developments have upon future retail petroleum prices in the U.S.

It was Jackie Presser's spirited speech before the Teamsters 1980 executive board meeting which delivered to Ronald Reagan his sole major trade union endorsement. Reagan was quoted as saying: "I will not forget what he meant to our campaign." In August 1983, according to the *Washington Post*, White House counsel Fred Fielding warned the administration to keep "an arms-length relationship" with the 300-pound Presser because the Labor Department was examining his involvement in a Cleveland embezzlement scandal. Nevertheless, even as an associate remarked that Presser "should have been in jail dozens of times," the White House continued to maintain what one official calls "cozy" ties to him. Particularly timely is Presser's public expression of support for

Reagan's Central America policies. Presser took time out from other Teamster duties last September to write a piece for the *Washington Inquirer* urging that Congress should be "getting behind the President's program" in El Salvador.

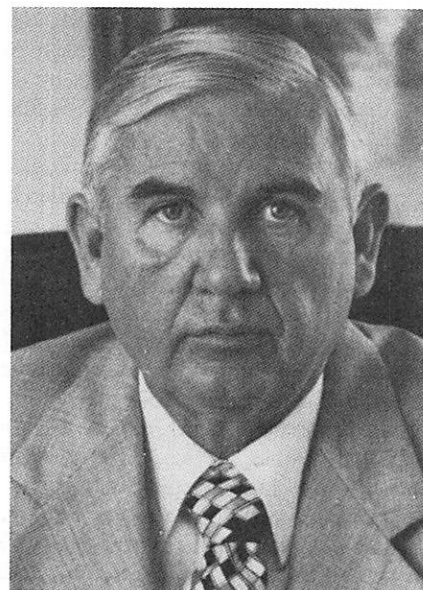
Moon Shines on AIM

In July 1982, the *Washington Times*, owned by Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, announced it was sending invitations to some 200 editors and journalists throughout the U.S. to attend the October "World Media Conference" in Seoul, South Korea, all expenses paid, including spouses'. This was the fifth such meeting organized and financed by Moon and his growing empire. Only about a dozen of the U.S. invitees accepted, including Reed Irvine and fellow AIMers Allan Brownfeld and Petr Beckmann. Other attendees included Ralph de Toledano, a propagandist for Taiwan, Israel, and South Africa; *National Review* publisher and conference chairman William Rusher; Jay A. Parker, the extremely conservative founder of "Blacks for Reagan" and frequent visitor to and registered agent for South Africa; and longtime CIA and Rand Corporation Vietnam "expert," University of California professor Douglas Pike.

The gathering, with an agenda on disinformation and media control, was addressed by Reverend Moon and by his deputy and high KCIA operative Bo Hi Pak, by defeated Vietnamese strongman Nguyen Cao Ky, by retired U.S. Navy Commander Lloyd Bucher, and by retired U.S. Army General John Singlaub.

The AIM-Moonie links go considerably deeper than attendance at this conference. Dan Holdgreiwe, a dedicated Moonie who was associate editor of the defunct Moon paper, *The Rising Tide*, is now managing editor of the *Washington Inquirer*, which shares offices with AIM. Reed Irvine also has a regular column in the Moon-owned *Washington Times*.

In an analysis of the New Right, the Republican Party's semi-liberal Ripon Society quoted Unification Church official Jeremiah Schnee saying that Moon's "Project Volunteer" is one channel whereby the Moonies "work closely" with AIM (*Ripon Forum*, January 1983). Bernard Yoh denied Ripon's



John P. McGoff.



Teamsters office, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Headquarters of George Barasch and Allied Educational Foundation.

The Speakers' Bureau

The Accuracy in Media-Allied Educational Foundation Speakers Bureau organized and supplied speakers for over 270 different occasions in 1982, and 500 in 1983. Speakers include Irvine, Baron, Yoh, Kincaid, and James, and some 25 other individuals such as:

- **Phillip Abbott Luce**—onetime communist who according to his AIM biography "... worked with the Marxist-Leninist terrorist underground in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Helped escalate the inner city riots. He met with Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and leading Viet Cong and Bolshevik leaders from around the world." In 1965 he changed heart and "became a spokesman for freedom."

- **W. Raymond Wannall**—intelligence veteran of 30-plus years, former assistant FBI director as head of the intelligence division, FBI representative on the U.S. Intelligence Board, given a special citation by the CIA upon retirement in 1976, presently chairman of the board of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, crusades across the country for greatly expanded domestic surveillance "to maintain freedom."

- **Karen McKay**—head of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, agriculture graduate who joined the U.S. Army in 1967, spent four years training in "unconventional warfare and foreign military operations," lived nine years in Greece and Israel as a "freelance journalist," and is now a Major in the U.S. Army Reserve in an active unit within the Rapid Deployment Force.

- **Lt. Col. Leith Corbridge**—U.S. Army combat veteran in Korea and Vietnam, former member of the Military Assistance Group in Nicaragua during Somoza's rule.

- **Dr. Lewis A. Tambs** [on leave while serving in government]—hardline rightwing activist on Latin America, former history professor, recently consultant to the National Security Council, now Ambassador to Colombia. (See CAIB Number 18 for an analysis of a military document he co-authored on El Salvador.)

- **Allan C. Brownfeld**—syndicated columnist, writer, AIM Report and Lincoln Review associate editor, frequent lecturer at the Freedoms Foundation in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, and former Senate Internal Security Commit-

tee staff member, with a close working relationship to the South African establishment, including its intelligence and legal apparatus. In 1982, a small South African delegation visited Washington to investigate the activities of U.S. churches against apartheid; Brownfeld acted as their guide and liaison. He is the author of a pamphlet, "The Untold Story of South Africa: Its Importance to the Free World." In October 1983, he wrote from Pretoria: "South Africa is moving rapidly in the direction of reform . . . in a peaceful and democratic process."

- **Philip C. Clarke**—journalist and commentator for over 35 years with Associated Press, Newsweek, and the Mutual Broadcasting System, specializing on military and national security issues. In later years until 1980, he was communications director of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and the American Security Council.

- **Francis M. Watson**—retired U.S. Army career officer who specialized in psychological warfare and counterinsurgency, consultant on terrorism and radical organizations to various government agencies, multinational corporations, and private groups including the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, whose director Brian Crozier for years accepted substantial CIA funds for the Agency proprietary news service, Forum World Features.

- **Emilio Adolfo Rivero**—Cuban-born anti-Castro activist, sentenced in 1961 to 30 years in prison but released in 1979, now lives in the U.S., lectured to Latin American trainees at the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development, travels often to Latin America meeting with anti-communist operatives in government, business, and labor sectors.

- **Dolf Droge**—one of AIM's featured speakers even though since June 1983 he has been assigned to the White House's controversial Working Group on Central America Outreach mobilizing rightwing groups in helping to sell Reagan policies in the region to the American public, an employee with the Agency for International Development since 1966 including six years detailed to the National Security Council, worked for the U.S. Information Agency in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Japan and Poland.

charge that AIM receives volunteers or "low-cost workers" from the Moon organization. However, two AIM national advisory board members, defense hardliner Dr. Eugene P. Wigner and academic ethics theorist Dr. Frederick Seitz, have worked on Moon international conferences and with known front organizations since at least 1976.

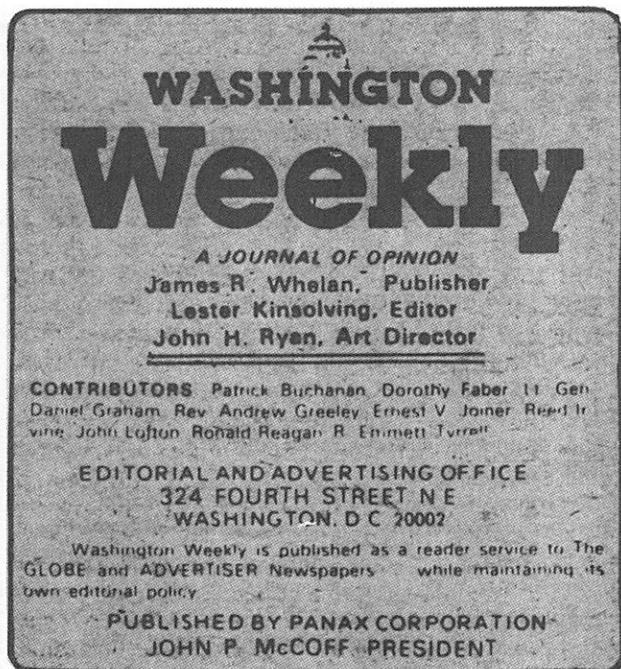
The current editor of the *Washington Times*, James R. Whelan, who says he is not a Moon church member, was the *Inquirer* publisher in 1979. From 1977 to 1980 he was vice president and editorial director of the Michigan-based newspaper conglomerate Panax Corporation, then owned by John Peter McGoff, who sold it in 1982 to Richard Mellon Scaife. McGoff, who sits on the *Washington Times* 9-member editorial advisory board, solicited and used huge sums of South African money in 1974 in efforts to purchase a number of major U.S. newspapers, including an unsuccessful bid to obtain the now-expired *Washington Star*.

Since 1978, the Justice Department has been investigating his clandestine dealings with the South Africans, but little is expected on that front in light of Reagan's South Africa policy. The majority of McGoff's political activity is conducted in seclusion and secrecy. Most surprising therefore was his open sponsorship in 1979 of the *Washington Weekly*, listing his name as publisher on the masthead alongside "contributors" Reed Irvine and Ronald Reagan.

Conclusion

Whether viewed from Accuracy in Media's own narrow perspectives and priorities or from an independent, impartial standpoint, AIM has achieved a substantial impact both upon its limited following, and upon the print and electronic media which it targets with perpetual intensity. In light of the varied data compiled in this report, several questions need to be asked of Reed Irvine, Murray Baron, and their major benefactors. Are they more interested in accuracy in the media or in coercing media to propagate a one-sided presentation of the news ideologically acceptable to AIM? Is AIM so wedded to its large corporate and philanthropic donors that its daily work has to a large degree turned into performing propaganda tasks which serve the donors' vested political and/or financial interests? Does AIM consider itself a judge or a jury of the media or both?

In March 1981, National Public Radio aired a spoof, an attempt to guess how a speech supporting certain Reagan policies might sound. True to form, Irvine lashed out at NPR. The then NPR president, Frank Mankiewicz, replied that Irvine is "a hatchet man for his own brand of radicalism. . . . You have to wonder what Reed Irvine would have said about Will Rogers, who made fun of Congress and the president every day. Will Rogers never met a man he didn't like. But then I guess Will never met Reed Irvine."



Washington Weekly masthead, January 18, 1979.
Note: Publisher McGoff and Contributors Irvine and Reagan.



Elaine Osofski.

Publications of Interest

Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, "Demonstration Elections: U.S. Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador," South End Press, Boston, 1984; \$8.00. This book could not be more timely or important, given the large-scale U.S. engineering and financing thrown into the El Salvador "election" in March and the so-called "presidential runoff election" on May 6. The work is a masterful study of the perverse machinery Washington uses to "make democracy work" in showcase situations. Included are two valuable compilations: (a) a "Glossary of Current Orwellian Usage," and (b) tables showing numbers and social categories of political assassination victims whose deaths in effect have paved the way for U.S.-imposed "democracy."

Stuart Holland and Donald Anderson, "Kissinger's Kingdom: A Counter-report on Central America," Russell Press, Nottingham, United Kingdom, 1984; \$2.25 [available from Common Concerns Bookstore, 1347 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036, \$4.50 plus \$.75 postage]. The result of a December 1983 fact-finding tour by the authors, both Labour Party members of the British Parliament, to El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua examining the realities of each country and of U.S. intervention. An incisive retort to the Kissinger Commission's predictable conclusions.

Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America [PACCA], "Changing Course: Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean," Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, 1984; \$5.00. The collaborative result of editorial and research efforts by 44 people, this work examines in broad outlines the nature of U.S. interventionism in the region, and sets forth a blueprint of a new policy for regional peace and human development.

Judy Lawton Joyal and Kathy Kovalec (eds.), "Human Rights in Latin America: 1983," Council on Hemispheric Affairs [COHA], Washington, DC, 1984; \$9.50. COHA'S eighth annual human rights review, this one should be read by anyone desiring to know the state of human rights in the 25 countries of the region.

Amnesty International, "Torture in the Eighties," Amnesty International, London, 1984. [Available from Amnesty International USA, 304 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019; \$5.95 plus \$1.50 postage.] "All I can remember is seeing myself dead," the words in this vital book of one victim that communicate the intense physical and psychological pain of torture. A fact-filled study of barbarity in 66 countries, this is

must, though not easy, reading. Includes some photographs and Amnesty International's 12-point program for the prevention of torture.

Wilfred Burchett, "The China-Cambodia-Vietnam Triangle," Vanguard Books, Chicago and Zed Press, London, 1982; \$6.95. This was the thirty-second book in a long and colorful journalistic career that ended recently when Burchett died. After reviewing from firsthand personal knowledge the long history of the national anti-colonial and liberation movements of Indochina and the fraudulent U.S. role at the 1954 Geneva conference, Burchett gives unique insights into the Kampuchea of Pol Pot, of postwar Vietnam, of China, and of the relationships between the three nations and peoples.

Jim Messerschmidt, "The Trial of Leonard Peltier," South End Press, Boston, 1983; \$7.50. This well-documented book examines the grueling injustice to which Native American leader Leonard Peltier has been subjected by the FBI since 1975 in a trumped-up murder case, and sheds important new light on operational methods of both the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The volume also traces the ugly history and current status of corporate expansion and takeover of Native American lands and resources with the consequent hazards for physical survival and for historic Indian cultural traditions.

Angus Mackenzie, "Sabotaging the Dissident Press: How the U.S. Government Destroys Newspapers and Controls What You Read," Center for Investigative Reporting, 54 Mint Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, CA 94103; \$1.95, bulk rates available. A new and informative collection in pamphlet form of articles which have appeared in *Columbia Journalism Review*, *The Progressive*, *The Nation*, and *The Society of Professional Journalists' FOI '82*.

ENVIO, a monthly publication that provides valuable analysis of news and events involving Nicaragua, including military, political, and social issues. Edited by Instituto Historico Centroamericano in Managua, and published in English, Spanish, and German. From: ENVIO, Central American Historical Institute, Intercultural Center, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057; \$25/year.

inseh, a Spanish journal of news and developments in Honduras. With photographs and reliable analysis of the sharply expanding U.S. military role in the country and the other forces at work there. Published by Instituto de Investigaciones Socio-Economicas de Honduras. From: INSEH, Aptdo. Postal

#20-057, Col. San Angel, Mexico, D.F. 01000, Mexico.

The Progressive, May 1984, has an extremely important and detailed article on the CIA's connections to the Central American death squads. Order from publishers at 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703, for \$2.00.

BARRICADA International, weekly international edition of the Sandinista newspaper. Available in English and Spanish. Provides useful coverage of CIA-Pentagon actions against Nicaragua, including exclusive photos and interviews. From: BARRICADA International, Aptdo. No. 576, Managua Nicaragua Libre; \$12.00/year airmail to U.S., \$9.60 to Central America, \$19.20 to Canada and Europe, \$24.00 to rest of the world.

El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis, newsletter of the Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid, Research, and Education Foundation (SHARE). Established to research numbers, locations, conditions, and needs of Salvadoran refugees in Central American countries, and to aid them financially and materially. From: SHARE, P.O. Box 53372, Washington, D.C. 20009; \$.35 per issue, contributions welcome.

Caribbean Basin Report, a bi-monthly publication that is especially useful because it gathers in one place an entire range of news clippings not readily accessible. Gives progressive coverage of the English-speaking Caribbean, Central America, Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. From: Caribbean Basin Report, P.O. Box 1323, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Cathy Sunshine and Philip Wheaton, Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action [EPICA], "Death of a Revolution: An Analysis of the Grenada Tragedy and the U.S. Invasion." A detailed, well-researched background to the events of 1983, the shallow pretexts employed by Washington for the intervention, and the key implications both for the Caribbean and for overall U.S. policy. Includes many unique photographs. Published in a bi-lingual English-Spanish edition. From: EPICA, 1470 Irving Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010; \$3.50 plus \$.75 postage in U.S. or \$1.00 overseas; bulk rates available.

"Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series), Volume XIII, Part 1, 87th Congress, First Session, 1961," Washington, 1984. A volume of secret testimony and hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee made public by the Committee on the 23rd anniversary of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba of April 1961. The transcripts reveal that Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman General Lyman Lemnitzer and CIA Director Allen Dulles gave sharply different testimony to the Senators about the true intent of the operation and its likelihood of success. The volume also covers other U.S. interventions then underway in Laos and the Congo. From: Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Pamela Cohen and Jose Ponce, "In the Name of Democracy: Life, Death and Elections in El Salvador." A new 16mm, 31-minute color documentary film about the U.S.-sponsored election in 1982 and the events through early 1984 leading up to the recent election. Containing unique footage,

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Deborah Shaffer, Pamela Yates and Thomas Sigel, "Nicaragua: Report From the Front." A 30-minute, 16mm color film. A dramatic documentary showing the true nature of the "covert" and overt U.S. offensive against the people and government of Nicaragua. Unique footage of *contras* at a Honduran base camp using American weapons, and of a cross-border *contra* infiltration patrol. This is contrasted with a Sandinista army battalion in battle with *contras* in the same border region. Residents speak of the human effects of the war and of their resolve to not let the *contras* pass. Also shown are interviews with and statements by Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel d'Escoto, former U.S. ambassador to Cuba Wayne Smith, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Ronald Reagan. From: First Run Features, 144 Bleecker Street, New York, NY 10012. 212-673-6881. \$60 rental, \$495 sale.

Peter Kinoy, Pamela Yates and Thomas Sigel, "When The Mountains Tremble." An 85-minute, 16mm color film; in Spanish, English, and indigenous languages, with English subtitles. A stirring human statement of Guatemala's bloody history beginning with the CIA-led overthrow of Arbenz in 1954, tracing down through the 1970s the string of U.S.-supported military dictatorships and the popular mass movement that grew up in resistance. With the increase in repression, a clandestine struggle further developed, and the intensified military campaign took on a renewed genocidal character, particularly with respect to the majority Indian population. Describes the key U.S. role in the country. From: Skylight Pictures, 330 West 42nd Street, 42nd Floor, New York, NY 10036. 212-947-5333. Inquire for prices.

"Guide to Films on Central America." Extremely useful comprehensive listing and description of 40 films, as well as a short list of publications and speakers. From: Media Network, Center for the Study of Filmed History, 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011; (212) 620-0877; \$2.00 plus \$.50 postage. Bulk rates available.

Nicaraguan Perspectives, progressive quarterly magazine on Nicaragua and the rest of Central America. Contains good, up-to-date information from the region. From: Nicaragua Per-

spectives, P.O. Box 1004, Berkeley, CA 94704.

Honduras Update, a monthly publication of developments in Honduras and the U.S. From: Honduras Information Center, 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. 617-497-0150.

El Salvador Alert, a monthly newspaper on El Salvador, Central America, and the popular movement in the U.S. against intervention. From: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador [CISPES], P.O. Box 50139, Washington, DC 20004. 202-887-5019.

Guatemala Network News, a newsletter on developments in Guatemala and on the movement in the U.S. in support of the people there. From: Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala [NISGUA], 930 F Street, NW, Washington, DC

20004. 202-483-0050.

Central America Writers Bulletin, a bi-monthly annotated bibliography of various journal articles on Central America. From: Central America Resource Center, 600 West 28th Street, Suite 102, P.O. Box 2327, Austin, TX 78710; 512-476-9841.

Peter Davis, "Amandla." New 34-minute documentary in slideshow, filmstrip, and videotape versions. Links the mounting struggle against apartheid in South Africa today with the long history of oppression in that country. Showing pictures rarely seen before, it shows the deep spirit of resistance against the evil system of legalized racism. Comes with cassette tapes, script and teacher's guide. From: Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund, 1532 Swann Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. For rent or sale, prices on request. ●

Footnote:

How The "Mighty Wurlitzer" Works

The machinery of the CIA's worldwide disinformation network is so well oiled that sometimes it seems to function automatically, without the need even for someone to be in charge. All that is required is an opportunity to smear a socialist or Third World "enemy" government or leader. An exceptionally instructive case from last year shows how this works.

When *Stern* magazine and Rupert Murdoch's gutter press trumpeted the "Hitler diaries" as the find of the century, certified as genuine by Hugh Trevor-Roper and other authorities, other media were at first mildly skeptical. But when serious doubts about their authenticity started to emerge, Frank Wisner's Mighty Wurlitzer, the CIA propaganda machine, switched on. Front pages were drenched with lurid tales of an East German forgery mill in Potsdam whose fiendish purpose is to generate a flood of faked Nazi era documents linking Western governments and leaders to Hitler's Germany in order to discredit them. These stories were linked to speculation that the Hitler diaries were part of a diabolical Soviet-inspired plot against West Germany and the United Kingdom.

Neglecting the fact that no one needs any fraudulent papers to document the Nazi links of current and past West German leaders and powerful U.S. and British political and financial figures, the stories were odd in that they all strove, without a shred of evidence, to establish a communist origin for the diaries, and after a few days the existence of the Potsdam facility and the assumption that it was their likeliest source were virtually taken for granted by some writers.

Finally the truth came out. The forger was Konrad Kujau, a dealer in Nazi memorabilia whose idea of a good time was to strut around Stuttgart night spots in an old SS uniform while viciously Jew-baiting business proprietors and barking orders to waiting lines of prostitutes.

Was an apology or retraction forthcoming from the originators of the "Potsdam forgery mill" hoax after it was firmly established that the "Hitler diaries" were nothing but a crude attempt by a jackbooted Nazi to idolize his hero and to whitewash Hitler's memory as well as to get rich quick? Not at all, nor are we likely to see one. ●

DEADLY DECEITS

My 25 Years in the CIA

By Ralph W. McGehee

Ralph McGehee spent 25 years in the CIA, much of it as a case officer in southeast Asia. He saw the folly of the Vietnam War and argued, to no avail, with the likes of William Colby. This is his timely story of how the CIA distorts reality to conform to the political line coming from Washington.

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SOURCES AND METHODS

(continued from page 44)

industry and government out of 450 million Swiss francs (about 200 million U.S. dollars at current exchange rates). It was a variation on an age-old confidence game, usually called "dowsing," in which the hustler claims the ability, often with the aid of a mysterious device (such as a "divining rod"), to locate hidden sources of water or some other commodity.

The "sniffer planes" scandal was a high-tech adaptation of the old dowsing scam. Alain de Villegas, a Belgian Count with an engineering degree, claimed to have invented a device that could locate petroleum deposits from an airplane flying 20,000 feet above the earth's surface and a companion device which, placed at the site of the discovery, would tell the precise depth and extent of a deposit. A potential military adaptation, the ability to locate submarines undersea, provided Villegas a pretext for secrecy and, therefore, a shield against critical scrutiny of his Selective Guided Vision device.

With connections to leading European businessmen, the president of a large Swiss bank, a couple of former French intelligence officers, and certain key politicians, Villegas and his colleague Aldo Bonassoli (who calls himself "Professor of Nuclear Physics" but is not) had no trouble selling their gadgetry to former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and the state-run oil company Elf-Aquitaine in 1976.

Thus the bait was not only an oil company's dream, a system that would drastically reduce the high cost of oil exploration, but an offer to help French political leaders steal a march on the United States and Great Britain, both economically and militarily. Even after the hoax was discovered in 1979, the security classification was retained to protect Giscard and his aides from embarrassment. But in January the facts began to unfold, Watergate style, after an initial disclosure in *Le Canard Enchaîné*.

On January 21, *Le Monde* elaborated "the American connection" to Villegas, his trusted aide and a "key figure" in the "sniffer planes" case:

"Daniel Boyer, an American national ('since the end of the '50s') was born Daniel Javanovic in 1925 in Belgrade. He came from a family of lawyers and teachers. As a child he lived in France and in Yugoslavia and was educated by the Christian Brothers, although he is Orthodox.

"In January 1944, the adventure began in a sinister way with his arrest by the Gestapo. He says he was tortured to the point of having today only a 'plastic' face (not the skin, but underneath) and not being able to remember details without the help of a notebook.

"He was first taken to an abandoned mine in Germany. He escaped by digging himself out and fled to France, helped by farmers, and joined the Resistance near Verdun.

"When the war ended—he was not yet 20—he joined the Institute of Diplomatic Studies run by René Cassin, the first civilian to join de Gaulle in London, and Nobel Prize winner in 1968. Two of the Institute's founders were the now celebrated Jean Violet and Father Dubois ('I think he was some sort of grey eminence of the Church'). Boyer the student became an activist in the Jeunesse Socialiste. Towards 1951, he left for the United States, taught and followed courses at Yale and Columbia. He went into business, worked for the Encyclopedia Britannica, founded with two other partners a company for turning out learning machines for use in the Third World, did a documentary on Algerian independence for NBC and acted as

agent in France for two big American publishers."

Boyer told *Le Monde* that he met Villegas in June 1978 and became involved in his project the following January; Villegas trusted him "because I'm American, but they also knew I was a friend of France. . . ." Boyer met with the president of Elf-Aquitaine "who was a bit skeptical but enthusiastic nonetheless."

Once the hoax was uncovered, Boyer negotiated the contract by which the arrangement involving Villegas, Elf-Aquitaine, and the Union des Banques Suisses was ended. Villegas subsequently dropped out of sight, and Boyer wound up the owner of Villegas's companies worth million of francs.

Le Monde got Boyer to admit connections with associates of Villegas going back ten years. Boyer denied having Vatican connections but *Le Monde* pointed out that a publishing house he owns issues French art books on the Vatican collections. Asked if he's got connections to SDECE, the French secret service, he incredibly answered, "Don't know." But the charge Boyer says is most harmful is the allegation that he's in the CIA.

Nevertheless, when pressed he admitted having met Jonas Savimbi, head of UNITA, the Angolan group backed by the CIA and the government of South Africa, and later having urged "a highly influential senator" to back Savimbi, strange behavior for a man who describes himself as "a Democrat, rather of the party's left wing."

But then the association with Villegas is itself curious for a self-proclaimed liberal with a socialist past, since Villegas is connected to an ultra-right anti-communist group in Brussels. On the other hand, if Boyer's political affiliations are protective coloration or for the sake of infiltration and influence, his actions may make perfect sense, especially if *Le Monde's* suspicions about a CIA connection are valid.

In that case, the outstanding question would be, why was the CIA involved in the "sniffer plane" flim-flam? The most benign answer would be that, as always, the Agency was spying on the activities of a friendly government. But there may be more to it, especially considering that, while any number of people from Giscard on down have been embarrassed or disgraced by the disclosures, Boyer seems relatively unscathed, and financially a winner.

Writing in the February 25 issue of *The Nation*, Daniel Singer raised some interesting questions, though he did not consider the possibility of CIA involvement. The answers to some of them might be even more interesting in this light: "What happened to the money? Not all the government funds were spent on equipment or expenses, so where did the rest of it go? To shady 'anti-communist crusaders' abroad? To French political parties?"

Then, after noting that, while the government's own copies of the documents on the "sniffer plane" fiasco had been destroyed before Giscard left office, he and his former prime minister had kept copies for themselves, Singer wondered, "Does the right consider the state its personal property and the Socialists intruders who are not even entitled to see secret documents?"

Of course it does, and when it falters, it can always rely on the CIA's helping hand. It might be difficult under those circumstances to get an emergency appropriation from Congress for such a needy cause, but then the proceeds from a tried and true world-class bunco operation could come in pretty handy.

On some occasions the weapon of choice may be a divining rod. ●

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Sources and Methods:

Flim-Flam

By Ken Lawrence

In addition to its well known involvement in murder, torture, kidnapping, narcotics traffic, black markets, media manipulation, and the destabilization and overthrow of governments, the Central Intelligence Agency keeps its hand in a variety of flim-flams.

CIA-sponsored research into occult topics ranging from clairvoyance to flying saucers keeps believers in these phenomena busy "proving" the "truth" of their reality by pointing to the admitted existence of classified files on these subjects which the Agency refuses to release in their entirety.

From time to time columnist Jack Anderson fans these flames by quoting secret intelligence sources and documents alleging, naturally, a Soviet lead in the "psychic research gap." In a recent article on this topic, Anderson promotes "remote viewing—the claimed ability of some psychics to describe scenes thousands of miles away.

"The CIA and the Pentagon have an obvious interest in this phenomenon. If they could get psychics to throw their minds behind the Iron Curtain, there'd be no need to risk the lives of human agents." And to make sure all bases are covered, "the CIA is now seriously pondering the possibility of raising 'psychic shields' to keep Soviet remote viewers away from our secrets."

According to Anderson, this research, codenamed "Grill Flame," was carried out by "two respected academics: Harold

Puthoff, formerly with the National Security Agency, and Russell Targ, formerly with the Stanford Research Institute in Menlo Park, Calif." Perhaps for lack of space, Anderson failed to mention that CIA researchers Puthoff and Targ are best known for their promotion of Israeli psychic Uri Geller (in *Nature*, October 18, 1974), later shown to be a hoax (see James Randi's book, "The Magic of Uri Geller"). Opinion among scientists is divided as to whether Puthoff and Targ are knowing participants in the fraud or extraordinarily gullible dupes of a clever trickster.

As far as the CIA is concerned, however, it is more likely that the bulk of projects like these are cynically contrived to furnish cover for more insidious schemes whose paranormal facades camouflage the usual chamber of horrors. Puthoff and Targ, for example, are both laser specialists; Puthoff is the inventor of a tunable laser, and Targ designed a microwave frequency plasma oscillator. It takes considerable mind-bending to suppose that the CIA hired men with these skills to try to read the Kremlin's classified Zener cards.

Nevertheless, the possibility exists that the CIA may have found other uses for the occult. French press accounts indicate that the Agency may have been in the thick of a different kind of racket, a clever swindle that fleeced top officials of French

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