

Covert Action

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Special: U.S. Links to Mercenaries



Editorial

Government Issue Mercenaries

Once it appeared impossible to cover up the origin of the aircraft involved in the maneuvers of the Civilian-Military Assistance group, the public was fed a flurry of articles about how Air Force property could work its way into the hands of private, civilian mercenaries. This was a good example of the CIA and the Pentagon trying to cut their losses. Absent from the ensuing discussion was any explanation of the government's deep ties to the CMA crowd and the other mercenaries reportedly in Honduras and Costa Rica with the *contras*. They were not so independent of the U.S. government as the press secretaries would have us believe. Can anyone really believe that private American citizens could fly in and out of El Salvador and Honduras with tons of weapons and supplies without active, not passive, U.S. government assistance?

In this issue we report at length on the history of U.S. involvement with mercenaries and on the leading mercenary public relations organization, *Soldier of Fortune*. We report painstaking inside investigations into the mercenary outfits and their Pentagon and CIA links. Taken together, the stories confirm substantial and direct connections between the mercenaries in Central America, the CIA, and the Pentagon.

In this issue we also show that the U.S. Army is not only training mercenaries to fight like soldiers, it is also training soldiers to fight like mercenaries. Active duty U.S. troops, as well as American civilians, are fighting and dying with the *contras*; the Special Forces are engaged in large scale training in guerrilla combat, small unit maneuvers, and use of outmoded and surplus equipment—moves which can only suggest working with, or as, mercenaries, something the American people ought not condone or finance.

Additionally, we present an analysis of the "privatization" of part of the war against Nicaragua and against the FMLN, the use of ostensibly religious or humanitarian groups to funnel

materiel and supplies to the combatants.

We also present an analysis of the administration's use of terrorism as an excuse for the virtual imposition of a police state mentality on its foreign policy. And we look in some detail at two places where U.S.-sponsored terrorism is at its most active, southern Africa and Nicaragua.

Manuel Buendía

On May 30, 1984, Mexican journalist Manuel Buendía was gunned down in a Mexico city parking lot. For 30 years, Buendía had relentlessly exposed corruption and dirty tricks on the Mexican political scene, most recently in his widely read column *Red Privada* (Private Network) in the influential daily *Excelsior*.

Buendía was an expert on the CIA, its activities in Latin America, and especially its interferences in Mexico. We were honored to have corresponded regularly with him since the founding of this magazine. His assassination, which most observers consider a terrorist action involving both CIA and right-wing forces, is a blow to the ongoing movement to expose the machinations of the CIA. Only a month before his death, *La CIA en México*, a collection of his speeches and columns on CIA intervention, was published—a partial memorial to his life's work.

Please Come Out of the Closet

In recent months two former CIA employees, one a contract analyst and the other a veteran case officer and former Chief of Station, have openly attacked the shocking lack of objectivity in CIA analyses under Director William Casey.

In June, David MacMichael, a well known academic who had spent two years as a CIA analyst specializing in Central America, publicly denounced as distorted and manipulative the government's assertions that Nicaragua was a major source for

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Cover: Sandinista soldiers probe wreckage of CIA-*contra* plane shot down inside Nicaragua. Credit: *El Nuevo Diario*.

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the flow of arms to the FMLN in El Salvador. MacMichael asserted that the CIA's research on the subject, which he had been privy to, and had analyzed, did not support the conclusions publicly expressed by high administration figures. There was no proof of such an arms flow, he said, and when the CIA refused to consider his protestations, neither was willing to renew his contract with the Agency.

In September, John R. Horton, former Chief of Station in Mexico and in Uruguay, and Deputy Chief of the Latin American Division at Headquarters, first spoke publicly of his resignation from the CIA in May, after having been recalled from eight years of retirement in 1983. Horton's falling out with Casey had to do with the Director's refusal to accept the conclusions of Horton's analysis of conditions in Mexico, his refusal in particular to emphasize any threat to the national security of the United States from that quarter.

It seems clear that the CIA under the Reagan administration is affected more than ever with the same disease which encouraged so much disillusion in the late 1970s: the refusal to tailor policy recommendations to the facts and the insistence on misrepresenting the facts in order to jibe with policy. This is a major reason why U.S. foreign policy is such a disaster.

We can only hope that more officials and former officials will demonstrate the courage shown by MacMichael and Horton. Only a chorus of such revelations will change current policies.

Grenada, One Year Later

It is one year since the murder of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues and the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Reports suggest



In Memoriam

that conditions on the island, particularly in the areas of employment and education, have greatly deteriorated. Elections are scheduled for December 3, under U.S. occupation and supervision, with a highly financed strongly pro-West coalition carrying the U.S. banner. Despite restrictions on public gatherings and political activity, supporters of the slain Prime Minister, led by former NMJ leaders Kenrick Radix, George Louison, and Einstein Louison, are leading a slate campaigning in the name of the memory of Maurice Bishop. If the undiminished popularity of that memory can overcome the oppressive atmosphere of a year of occupation (300 U.S. troops are still there), the U.S. administration could be in for a surprise

First Principles?

We rarely criticize our colleagues in the pages of *CAIB*, because we have never believed infighting of any kind to be helpful in the struggle against U.S. covert operations. However, we must comment on an article in the May/June 1984 issue of *First Principles*, the journal of the Center for National Security Studies.

The piece, by Jay Peterzell, entitled "Identities Law Does Not Impair Or Impede Press," is, in our opinion, scandalous. For some reason—one which it is not difficult to guess—the national security project of the American Civil Liberties Union has chosen to proclaim at length the alleged failure of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act to "chill" anyone except the *CovertAction Information Bulletin*.

The gist of the argument is a textbook example of a logical fallacy. It is that, since several articles exposing intelligence identities have appeared in the major media over the past two years, and since a few macho journalists have announced (with no evidence) that no law is going to stop them from doing whatever they want, therefore no one is being chilled from researching, writing, or publishing exposures which include the identities of undercover intelligence operatives. That, we submit, is so much eyewash.

The few articles cited as proof of the author's thesis are all from the major, establishment media, but even they do not prove that the *New York Times* or anyone else has not been chilled. Most of the stories cited deal with old events; not one of them identifies a particular individual as a CIA officer undercover in a U.S. Embassy or elsewhere. We cannot tell, of course, what has been left out of a story; we can only see what has been left in. But these are just quibbles. The real point is that failure to chill the *New York Times* is no proof of failure to chill thousands of less prestigious publications, writers, researchers, academics, historians, and the like. Peterzell concludes that this is one of those laws "that accomplish a narrow purpose by being enacted." He misconstrues that purpose, however, and he does the progressive community a disservice by the publication of this unabashedly self-justifying article.

The reason for the ploy seems clear. The ACLU is under strong attack for its new policy of legislative compromise in favor of court-room absolutism, a policy it believes is justified by the conservative nature of the current Supreme Court. The ACLU-CIA deal-making on the Intelligence Identities Protection Act was just the beginning of the institution of this new policy. The latest example, one for which the ACLU also received widespread criticism, is its capitulation to the CIA's demand for the exemption of its operational files from the coverage of the Freedom of Information Act.

Moreover, one of the formulators and leading practitioners of that new policy is running for high ACLU office. It therefore behooves the promoters of compromise to try to show that their most notorious compromise wasn't so bad after all. Since that is not even true, the spread of this disinformation is doubly wrong.

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Pentagon Moves on "Terrorism"

By Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap

To understand the increasingly confusing public debate over "terrorism," it is essential to acknowledge the ideological semanticism inherent in defining the term, particularly within the Reagan administration. In its 1980 report on the subject, the CIA defined terrorism as "the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for, or in opposition to, established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims." A more precise definition was put forward recently by former CIA Director William Colby in a *New York Times* Op Ed piece (July 8, 1984). His ensuing discussion of terrorism, however, suggested that he did not comprehend his own meaning.

Colby noted that terrorism "is a tactic of indiscriminate violence used against innocent bystanders for political effect—and it must be distinguished from the selective use of violence against the symbols and institutions of a contested power, which is unfortunately a norm of international life." This is an accurate statement as far as it goes, although, as international law professor Alfred P. Rubin noted in a letter to the Editor of the *New York Times* responding to Colby (July 11, 1984), it would be clearer to define terrorism as "acts committed in time of peace that, if committed by a soldier in time of war, would be war crimes."

Colby demonstrates an utter failure to grasp his own definition. He says the distinction is necessary "to distinguish 'your' terrorist from 'my' freedom-fighter or to differentiate aid to terrorists from covert support of friendly forces like the Nicaraguan *contras*, or counterrevolutionary fighters. Aid to friendly guerrilla forces, from the American colonists to the Afghans today, is a regular part of the international contest, whereas the indiscriminate use of violence can be denounced on a solid moral basis."

In a burst of unmitigated hypocrisy, Colby glosses over the most important issue: Suppose the "friendly forces" one aids are using indiscriminate violence as a part of their struggle? Columnist Carl T. Rowan focused on the discrepancy in the *Chicago Sun-Times* (April 30, 1984): "In the eyes of officials and citizens of a given country, a 'terrorist' is someone who is killing friends, but the murderer of political enemies is labeled a 'rebel' or a 'freedom fighter.'"

Rowan's remarks were made in the context of examining the deeply ingrained double standard which infects virtually all the establishment media in this country. The bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut and the shooting at passersby from the Libyan Embassy in London received massive coverage in the U.S. But, Rowan notes, two days after the London incident, UNITA guerrillas, supported overtly by South Africa and covertly by the United States, drove a car bomb into a government building in Huambo, Angola, killing 20 Cubans and 10 Angolans. The massacre was unreported for three days, and then was given barely an inch or two in the U.S. press. A more recent example is the Reagan administration's vituperative condemnation of the alleged Libyan mining of the Red Sea contrasted with the same administration's contorted justifications for its own CIA mining of the harbors of Nicaragua.

Terrorism as War

The administration has compounded public misunderstanding by describing "international terrorism" as a war being waged against the U.S. In addition to advancing the totally unwarranted assumption that all (or even most) terrorists are on the "enemy" side, it also confuses conventional warfare with war crimes. The administration, Brian Michael Jenkins of RAND Corporation noted in *Newsday* (May 6, 1984), "has shown a tendency to define terrorism in extremely broad terms, encompassing within the term both suicide drivers in Lebanon and Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador. But if the United States treats terrorism as a component of its global contest with the Soviet Union, or of its involvement in regional conflicts in the Middle East or Central America, it risks alienating allies who might be willing to cooperate in combatting terrorism but who differ with U.S. policy and methods for dealing with Marxist guerrillas, or who, for political or economic reasons, are reluctant to participate in America's battles."

In fact, when the Western nations met in London in early June to discuss "international terrorism," President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher suffered a setback in their plan for the conference to condemn the Soviet Union as the source of terrorism. They also failed to get agreement on establishing coordinated policies for exchanging intelligence and technical information, passing unified legislation on dealing with terrorism, or expelling large numbers of diplomats thought to be involved in terrorism.

State and Mercenary Terrorism

Indeed, right-wing ideologues have begun to speak of terrorism as if it is identical with leftist guerrilla warfare and liberation movements in general. In reality, however, the two most significant types of terrorism—state terrorism and mercenary terrorism—are in the vast majority of instances supported, or at least condoned, by the United States government.

State terrorism—government by the imposition of terrorism upon its own people—is the norm for many present and past U.S. allies, although their excesses are excused as merely "moderately authoritarian" by Reagan administration officials. Chile under Pinochet, Haiti under the Duvaliers, Paraguay under Stroessner, and Guatemala, Uruguay, and El Salvador under all of their recent regimes are the most obvious examples in our hemisphere. It is also the rule in South Korea, Zaire, the Philippines, South Africa (with respect to the non-white majority), Turkey, and elsewhere.

Mercenary terrorism is a less obvious phenomenon, but one which bears the U.S. stamp. "Soldiers of fortune" everywhere commit atrocities against populations struggling to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

Because of the administration's carefully orchestrated publicity campaign—devised by the intelligence complex and its media friends—public hoopla about terrorism fingers the Soviet Union as its source, followed closely by Cuba, Libya, and Bulgaria. It is interesting that little mention is made of two unassailable facts: First, within the U.S. there has been a considerable decline in what the FBI calls "domestic terrorist" in-

cidents, and they were never plentiful in the first place. And, second, the major "terrorist" attacks which have taken place internationally, particularly in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East, have actually been nationalist and even religious in nature, not terrorist. Both Palestine and parts of Lebanon have been occupied by Israel, and the warfare being waged against that occupation and its American supporters is just that, war. We call the other side terrorists simply because they are the other side. How can anyone call the U.S. Marines innocent bystanders? American aid to and support for Israel and its annexationist policies cannot be taken as innocent, nor can the military enforcers of that policy be viewed as bystanders.

Moreover, as the war escalates in the Middle East and the U.S. role deepens, it is inevitable that attacks on U.S. targets will proliferate. A look at the Middle East escalation bears this out. In the 1960s U.S. ambassadors and other officials were targeted; in the 1970s there were demonstrations and occupations of embassies; and in the 1980s the attacks have involved massive armed actions against embassies, missions, and military installations.

In his first press conference, on January 28, 1981, Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that "international terrorism will take the place of human rights [as] our concern, because it is the ultimate . . . abuse of human rights." This became, in a way, a self-fulfilling prophesy.

The Israeli Model

All of these developments, including the truck bombs, can be seen as developments which parallel U.S. support for Israeli

policies. This year the Reagan administration is considering emergency aid of at least \$1 billion on top of \$2.6 billion already approved by Congress for the new "unity" government of Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Far more than half of that aid is earmarked for military use.

Additionally, the Reagan administration is fashioning its policies—in military training, in criminal law, and even in constitutional theory—on Israeli models. (See sidebar on the Jonathan Institute conference.) There is simply no comprehension by the U.S. government of the fact that adopting Israel's "ten eyes for an eye" rhetoric and military policy will assure the U.S.'s future as a legitimate target of the national aspirations of the victims of Israeli aggression.

This is not a hypothetical point. The Reagan administration, embarrassed and frustrated by the bombing of the Marine barracks in October 1983, not only used the Grenada invasion as a scapegoat for our "lost honor," but also ordered the battleship *New Jersey* to fire into Druse villages, tolerating, in the words of conservative terrorism expert Robert Kupperman, "killing hundreds of people who had nothing to do with the bombings." (*U.S.A. Today*, April 20, 1984.) Kupperman was not commenting on the morality of this retaliation, only noting how much simpler it would have been to allow the direct assassination of people thought to be involved in such bombings, "preemptive retaliation," for which the administration has since announced its wholehearted support. The London conference also discussed preemptive retaliation, but according to the *Washington Post* (June 10, 1984) these "Western democracies" produced no resolution on it because "the issue is con-

The Jonathan Institute

Amid heavy security checks by Israeli and American bouncers—an unusual feature for a genteel, intellectual gathering—the Second Conference on Terrorism of the Jonathan Institute got under way in a Washington hotel on June 24, 1984.

The Jonathan Institute, a joint U.S.-Israeli organization with offices in Washington, was founded in 1979 and is named after Jonathan Netanyahu, an Israeli commando who died in the Entebbe Airport raid in Uganda in July 1976. It held its First Conference on Terrorism in Jerusalem in 1979. As arch-conservative Congressman Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) reminded the audience at the second go-around, "It is to their credit that the 1979 conference first set aside the polite niceties of the detente era and identified the Soviet Union's sponsorship of terrorism."

The Institute's preoccupation with the Soviet Union and its insistence that all terrorism evolves from the left were also points emphasized by another speaker, former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He told the conference, "The United Nations cannot present the framework within which such an organization [to combat terrorism] can be created, because of the membership of the Communist bloc and other countries that encourage and support terrorism."

Little doubt remains after reviewing all the conference literature and speeches, including those of Secretary of State George Shultz and other top U.S. officials, including Presidential counsellor Edwin Meese, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, that the U.S. has accepted Israel's proposition, that virtually

the entire Islamic world and anyone else who questions Israel's occupation of her neighbors' territory, is a terrorist or terrorist supporter.

Conference speakers included a bevy of leading disinformationists like Arnaud deBorchgrave, Michael Ledeen, Midge Decter, and Claire Sterling, as well as an international right wing, with Lord Chalfont of the United Kingdom, Vladimir Bukovsky formerly of the Soviet Union, leading the pack.

The level of scholarship and ideology was demonstrated by Walter Berns of the American Enterprise Institute, who asserted that the President should be tougher and exercise his powers more freely. After all, he added, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus during the Civil War. A member of the audience, conference participant and former Justice of the Supreme Court Arthur Goldberg, reminded Berns that Lincoln's action had been declared unconstitutional, in a famous Supreme Court decision. Berns was unruffled by this rebuke. "That was later, after the war was over," he said.

The conclusions of the conference were predictable. International terrorists are attacking "democratic regimes and free institutions;" they are not "freedom fighters." "Soviet Russia and its satellites are playing a leading role in the sponsorship and sustenance of terrorist organizations."

The Institute could not support mere passive defense; "active measures against terrorist groups and states must be not only preemptive but punitive." This was little more than an *ex post facto* justification of existing Israeli policies.

CAIB Investigates Special Forces Camps

After the news reports appeared describing the numerous secret military commando units discussed in this article, *CAIB* asked a military training expert to investigate. His observations confirm the growing Pentagon participation in covert paramilitary planning and operations—a field which was previously considered the province of the CIA and its agents and secret armies.

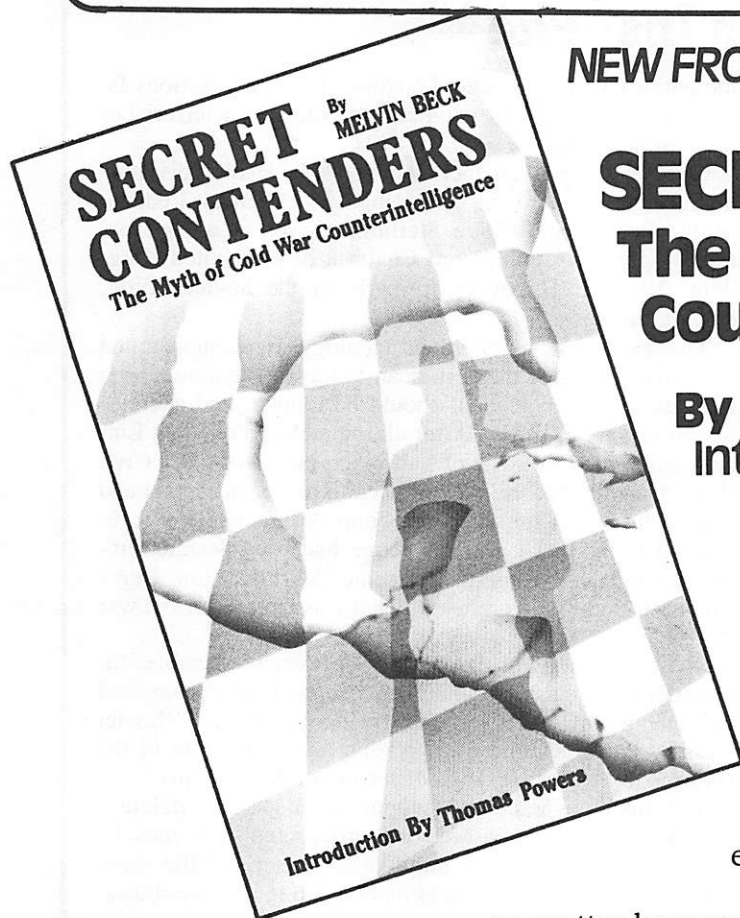
As the *New York Times* explained (June 8, 1984), "Some of the units were created to fight terrorism but have acquired broadened mandates and training for missions against insurgencies in developing countries in Central America, Africa, and Asia. . . . In a few instances, including operations in Central America, these new units have worked in conjunction with CIA covert activities. . . ." While the degree of Pentagon-CIA cooperation varies from case to case, what emerges is a picture of deep U.S. military involvement in what have been thought to be purely mercenary or "indigenous" operations. At all three major Special Forces bases, Ft. Bragg, North Carolina; Ft. Benning, Georgia; and Ft. Lewis, Washington, civilian mercenaries and foreign forces are being trained to fight like soldiers, but, more remarkably, U.S. military personnel are also being trained to fight like mercenaries—and to look like them and act like them, too.

On the one hand, it is now clear that "private" mercenaries, like the team from Civilian-Military Assistance, are receiving some Ranger training, particularly at Ft. Ben-

ning and Ft. Bragg. (The two CMA members killed in September in Nicaragua had received training at Ft. Bragg only a few months previously.) They are trained in small unit maneuvers, demolitions, communications, and use of older, surplus weapons. In addition, although it is well known that Salvadoran troops are being trained at Ft. Bragg, *CAIB* has learned from a high ranking soldier stationed at Ft. Bragg that the trainees include "death squad" members, a startling fact.

At Ft. Lewis there are units being trained to resemble private mercenary groups, including such unusual aspects as use of outmoded airplanes like C-46s, C-82s, and C-119s, which are no longer used by the regular airborne units, but which are frequently used in Central America, by the CIA-equipped *contras*, and by some local armed forces.

The implications of these developments are clear. Even if an open U.S. invasion is not "convenient" in the near future, an invasion is already taking place. Not only is the U.S. training, financing, and leading the *contras* and, it seems, the death squads, it is also infiltrating active duty troops into the mercenary battle field in unknown numbers. U.S. soldiers, *CAIB* has learned, are being killed and wounded. The bodies are being taken back to Honduras and families are told of "fatal traffic accidents" in Honduras. How long can the pretense be kept up that there is no direct U.S. troop involvement? ●



NEW FROM SHERIDAN SQUARE:

SECRET CONTENDERS: The Myth of Cold War Counterintelligence

By Melvin Beck
Introduction by Thomas Powers

The first in-depth analysis of the world of counterintelligence. Melvin Beck examines, as only an insider can, the battle between the CIA's Clandestine Services and its Soviet counterparts, the foreign directorates of the KGB and the GRU. Beck provides a rare insight into the efforts of the CIA to show the people at home that the U.S. is engaged in a war against an implacable enemy, to serve U.S. policy by justifying any action, no matter how unconstitutional, wasteful, or counterproductive.

sidered too sensitive for public discussion.”

“Pro-active” Measures

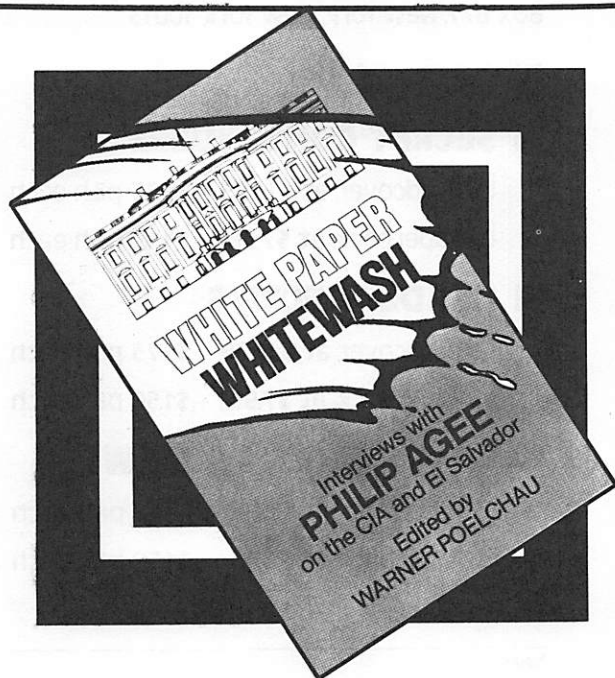
The “latest buzzword in security circles,” *Time* Magazine called it (April 30, 1984). Pro-active, the opposite of reactive, is how the administration wants to respond to terrorists. Instead of waiting for them to commit a terrorist act, they should be attacked, and if necessary killed, *before* they have a chance to commit the act. The practice of such a theory ought to require omniscience, but that does not seem to bother U.S. officials. As one told Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times* (April 15, 1984), “If we knew the whereabouts of Carlos, I’d recommend to the President that we go after him. I’d worry later about what we’d call it” if Carlos were killed in the process. This is from a representative of the same intelligence officialdom which loudly and repeatedly pays lip service to the regulation which prohibits assassination.

CIA Director Casey was rather blunt in his adoption of a strong retaliatory stance. In a *U.S. News & World Report* interview in April he said:

“There’s a question of deterring terrorism by sending the message that if the terrorists attack there will be retaliation. The Israelis, for example, send the message: ‘If we’re hit from your territory, that’s your responsibility and we’re going to kick you in the teeth somehow.’ I think you will see more of that—retaliation against facilities connected with the country sponsoring the terrorists, or retaliation that just hurts the interests of countries which sponsor terrorism.”

Developments in the U.S.

The use by the Reagan administration of an amorphous pub-



WHITE PAPER? WHITEWASH! Philip Agee on the CIA and El Salvador

lic fear of terrorism to justify its increasingly repressive government has grown in leaps and bounds. For the last four years a succession of laws, regulations, Executive Orders, and administrative actions, involving particularly the Pentagon and the CIA, have been put in place.

The Intelligence Support Activity

The first serious development commenced even before the new administration took office. In late 1980, in the wake of the abortive hostage rescue attempt in Iran, the U.S. Army established the super-secret Intelligence Support Activity (ISA). According to the *New York Times* (June 8, 1984), the ISA was formed “without the knowledge of the Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intelligence or Congress.”

This group was to collect intelligence for “special operations”—a synonym for covert actions—and soon developed the capability to conduct them. According to the *Times*, the ISA then “became involved in supporting CIA covert activities in Central America, including aid to Nicaraguan rebels.”

The Joint Special Operations Command

Around the same time that the ISA was created the Pentagon established the Joint Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, ostensibly to coordinate counterterrorist activities. It has, according to the same *Times* article, “a core force of elite troops” to supplement Special Forces personnel. It also reportedly has “a separate budget for the development and procurement of special assault weapons.” These special units have been providing “both equipment and personnel to the CIA for its covert operations in Central America.” (See sidebar.) The command is headed by Brig. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes.

In 1982 there were also significant developments in arms transfers. The Special Defense Acquisition Fund was created to stockpile arms and equipment for quicker transfers to Third World allies. In fact, the U.S. now supplies about 40% of the Third World’s arms, to the tune of \$9.5 billion in 1983. (*Washington Post*, June 10, 1984.)

Executive Order 12333

In December 1981, President Reagan signed Executive Order 12333 on foreign intelligence gathering. (See *CAIB* Number 16, page 29, for a summary of E.O. 12333.) This continued the trend toward increasing CIA power and White House support. In particular, it authorized the infiltration, manipulation, and disruption of domestic organizations by the FBI and the CIA even in the absence of any evidence of wrongdoing. It also authorized the broad use of warrantless electronic and other surveillance, taking the position that constitutional warrant requirements did not apply whenever the government said it was acting for intelligence gathering purposes rather than for law enforcement purposes.

Subsequent to the promulgation of E.O. 12333, the CIA established antiterrorist attack teams and the Pentagon created a counterterrorism strike force, reportedly of about 100 to 150 personnel (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 22, 1984). Coordination between these two operations seems likely in view of a secret memorandum reportedly prepared by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger for President Reagan sometime in 1983.

The Secret Weinberger Memorandum

The memorandum informs the President of a pledge by the Pentagon to “provide a wide range of logistical support and manpower to assist CIA covert operations in Central America,

including support of Nicaraguan rebels" (*New York Times*, June 8, 1984).

Apparently both the House and the Senate intelligence committees investigated whether the function of this memorandum was to circumvent congressional restrictions on spending levels for covert operations in Central America. However, the "surprise" expressed over the discovery that the planes used by the Civilian-Military Assistance mission in Nicaragua (see articles in this issue) had been given by the Pentagon to the CIA and by the CIA to CMA suggests that no such investigations had been completed—or if they had, that the results were ignored.

By late 1983 it had become apparent that the CIA had upgraded its war against "terrorism" to a new level, emphasizing the infiltration and penetration of suspect groups. But, as the *Philadelphia Inquirer* pointed out, the problems raised by infiltration "may skirt the edges of the law and raise new controversies for the frequently embattled CIA." It is a logical enough argument from their point of view that to obtain the best information about an organization one must infiltrate it, but left unspoken is what the CIA must *do* to infiltrate such a group. An infiltrator participates, to establish his or her *bona fides*. Thus to learn about terrorism, the CIA will be participating in—and in some instances instigating—terrorism, a role in which the CIA has excelled in the past.

A "longtime intelligence specialist" confided to James McCartney of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (April 22, 1984), "Some of our people may have to be a part of low-level assassinations and we will have to keep their mouths shut to protect their cover." Low-level assassinations, whatever they are, is not all they may have in mind. A congressional source told McCartney that Cuban President Fidel Castro, "once a specific target of CIA assassination attempts, may again be a potential

target, this time of non-Americans but possibly with the unspoken acquiescence of the CIA."

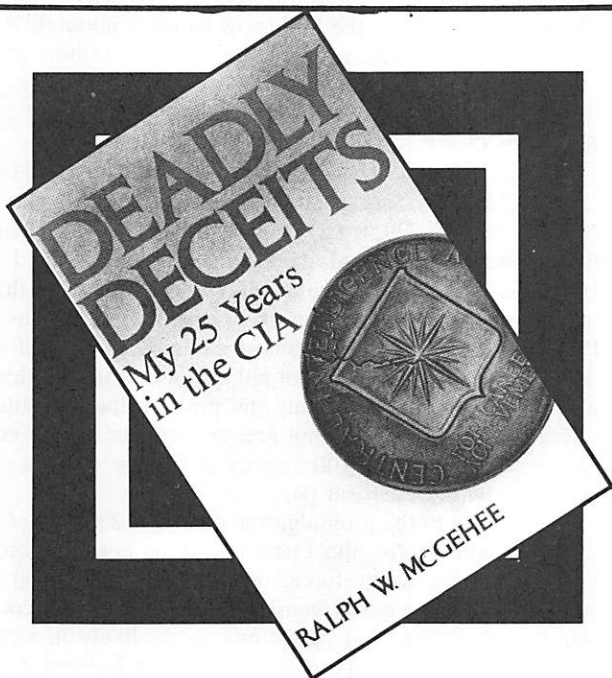
Command Centers

For twelve years the coordination of CIA counterterrorist activities has been the purview of the Global Issues Staff, responsible for intelligence collection and analyses and for related covert operations.

The Army formed the First Special Operations Command in 1982 to coordinate Special Forces activities, and the Air Force created a similar unit, the 23rd Air Force, in 1983. Then, in January of 1984, the Pentagon established its own unit for coordination of "special forces operations and war plans against terrorists." This unit, the Joint Special Operations Agency, is headed by Marine Corps Maj. Gen. Wesley H. Rice. According to the Defense Department, there is a "shortfall . . . in doctrinal development" for guerrilla wars, a problem this Agency is "moving to correct." (*Washington Post*, June 10, 1984.) This Agency also reportedly manages a top secret commando unit with personnel from all four services. General Rice is not looking for publicity, either. He offended the members and staff of the House Intelligence Committee when he told a subcommittee in April that he did not view his organization "as an agency of interest to the intelligence oversight committee."

The 1984 Offensive

The first half of 1984 saw major offensives in both the legislative and the executive arenas. In Congress, a package of in-



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credible antiterrorism laws was introduced by Senators Denton and Thurmond, at the request of the White House. The two most significant bills create the offense of terrorism and the offense of assisting terrorist governments, factions, or groups. (See sidebar for excerpts.) The only thing clear about these proposed laws is that they would be used selectively, against supporters of the administration's enemies, not against the backers of its friends.

National Security Decision Directive 138

NSDD 138, a classified directive, was signed by President Reagan on April 3, 1984. In our last issue we described some of the highlights of NSDD 138. In addition to approving both preemptive and retaliatory raids against terrorists, it approves the creation of FBI and CIA paramilitary squads for anti-terrorist operations, and authorizes the Defense Intelligence Agency to have its own contract intelligence agents, for the first time.

The Directive also calls upon 26 federal agencies to draft their own counterterrorism plans, presumably for coordination with the already burgeoning military and civilian units noted above.

But there are many ambiguities and problems. It is unclear, for example, what kind of conduct will prompt either preemptive action or a reprisal. Moreover, in addition to the moral questions noted above, there is a serious question whether either preemptive or retaliatory strikes can be reconciled with the War Powers Act, or Congress's exclusive power to declare war. Furthermore, in most cases there are real questions about

whom to strike. U.S. intelligence, both military and civilian, is still not certain who was responsible for the Beirut car bombs, and one can only assume that intelligence for preemptive purposes would be even worse.

The administration's faulty identification of terrorists was highlighted recently when an obscure State Department division, the Office for Combatting Terrorism, released its list of organizations around the world that had engaged in the taking of hostages. The list included a small, peaceful political party in Paraguay, the leaders of which were surveilled and harassed after the listing, and a newspaper which had interviewed leaders of that party was shut down. Only protests by human rights groups obtained the removal of the party from the list.

Conclusion

It is not only because of the administration's blatant double standards that we should worry about the sanctimonious campaign against terrorism; it is not simply that they disapprove of terrorism in Lebanon but approve of it in Nicaragua. It is also that they do not understand—or if they do, they are decidedly disingenuous—the causes and meaning of what they call terrorism, either historically or contemporarily. As history Professor Thomas Goldstein put it in a letter to the *New York Times* (June 17, 1984), "Modern terrorism . . . is the modern individual's rejection, under desperate provocation, of psychically intolerable infringements of his rights. . . . What keeps our present world in turmoil . . . is that during the last century the West has spread its gospel of individual self-assertion clear around the globe." ●

The Anti-Terrorist Bills

The proposed legislation creating the new offense of terrorism, S.2469, makes criminal "the knowing use of force or violence against any person or property in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State, territory, possession, or district, with the intent to intimidate, coerce, or influence a government or person in furtherance of any political or ideological objective." If a death results from the commission of an act of terrorism, the punishment is to be death; otherwise, twenty years to life, "without possibility of parole." An attempt to commit such an act of terrorism is also punishable by death, if a death occurs, or by ten to twenty years' imprisonment otherwise. It is also a crime to "threaten" to commit an act of terrorism, though that is punishable only by five to ten years in prison.

This bill is incredible for a number of reasons. First of all, it recriminalizes acts which are already crimes—although it does not require conviction of the underlying offense in the appropriate jurisdiction—so that a federal prosecution could also determine whether one would have been found guilty in the other court. Secondly, its scope is enormous. If any offense is committed involving "force or violence" for the purpose of influencing anyone, what might otherwise be a minor, and common, offense, is converted to one with a long mandatory sentence.

Virtually all forms of protest and civil disobedience would fall within the purview of this bill. All such actions, from picket lines to massive demonstrations, are intended to influence someone. Otherwise they would be meaningless.

Of course, the term "political or ideological objective" is not defined, and might well exclude common robbery, though perhaps little else.

The bill to "prohibit the training, supporting, or inducing of terrorism," S.2626, is even more bizarre. It allows the Secretary of State to designate any foreign government, faction, or international group as "terrorist." This designation is made unchallengeable in the courts. It is then made a crime to "serve in, or act in concert with, the armed forces or any intelligence agency" of such a designated group; to "provide training in any capacity to the armed forces or any intelligence agency, or their agents," of such a designated group; to "provide any logistical, mechanical, maintenance, or similar support services to the armed forces or any intelligence agency, or their agents," of such a group; or to "recruit or solicit any person" to do any of the foregoing.

Who exactly might be the agents of the intelligence agency of an international terrorist group is left to our imagination, but it is not hard to see that the intention of the bill is to make it difficult, if not impossible, for Americans to participate in solidarity organizations which support groups with whom the administration does not agree.

Another bill which appears likely to become law shortly provides for rewards up to \$500,000 for information leading to the capture of terrorists. That level of incentive can only lead to flimsy and reckless accusations. ●

From the Hessians to the Contras:

Mercenaries in the Service of Imperialism

By Ken Lawrence

The use of mercenaries to fight unpopular wars is not new. Almost every schoolchild in this country has been taught about the 20,000 Hessian soldiers hired by King George III to fight against his rebellious North American subjects in 1776.

Mercenaries are soldiers recruited one way or another for pay in order to fight wars that cannot be justified politically, in a popular sense, in the countries on whose behalf they fight.

The two classic models of mercenary forces employed by modern imperialism are the so-called "martial race"—the best known example is probably the Gurkha army, most recently used by the British in the Falkland/Malvinas War against Argentina—and the "dregs of humanity"—typified by the French Foreign Legion, which has been deployed in Chad and Zaire over the past few years.

The latter army is recruited from the criminal class of every country on a "no questions asked" basis. In exchange for a fixed term of rugged and ruthless military service, each soldier is rewarded with *de facto* immunity from prosecution, plus money, a new identity, occupation, nationality, personal history, and papers.

The powers employing the mercenaries advertise them in ways that are calculated to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. Thus the British have disseminated worldwide their racist caricature of the Gurkhas as exceptionally bloodthirsty and ferocious, who will kill without a moment's hesitation, preferably at close quarters with primitive weapons. Similarly, the Foreign Legion is universally portrayed as the baddest of the bad, so horrible that they cannot be permitted contact with civilized society and must carry along their own brothel when they march off to war.

The reason for employing mercenaries is always the same. If the British had attempted to build and maintain an empire solely on the conquests of the British professional army and impressed navy, it would have been far smaller and less significant historically. No conscripts could have maintained French sway in Algeria as long as the Legionnaires did.

Even a country whose population generally accepts its government's jingoism and supports aggressive military policies politically may require mercenaries for some wars. This is especially true when a government's actual policy conflicts with its declared policy. In the seventies, U.S. official policy in Southern Africa was opposed to the racist Rhodesian government of Ian Smith, but secretly the CIA and U.S. Army were recruiting mercenaries to fight for Smith against the Zim-

babwe liberation forces. And nearby in Angola, Nixon and Kissinger intervened by sending CIA mercenaries and by backing indigenous surrogates because the fresh memory of Vietnam would have blocked any overt attempt on their part to send U.S. troops.

Similarly in the Middle East, despite Reagan's ill-fated attempt to commit U.S. Marines, the most persistent U.S. presence before and since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has been the force of North American mercenaries in the various right-wing Lebanese "Christian militias."

Mercenaries are also employed to use military methods that cannot be justified domestically or internationally, such as the application of torture, the massacre of civilian populations, the murder of prisoners, and other crimes proscribed by international law.

The Central Intelligence Agency has adopted and adapted both basic models of mercenary warfare.

A "martial race" is a subservient ethnic group assigned to full-time military service by an imperial power. If successful, the military profession is promoted over time to the extent that it becomes a defining aspect of that people's ethnicity and is internalized. (A full treatment of the subject is contained in Cynthia Enloe's book *Ethnic Soldiers*.)

An example of the CIA's adaptation of this approach was its secret war in Laos. While the main burden of the U.S. war effort in Indochina was borne by soldiers, sailors, and fliers of the U.S. and South Vietnamese armed forces, the CIA employed the Hmong people under the command of General Vang Pao to conduct its clandestine war in Laos.

The methods by which the CIA first recruited the Hmong as mercenaries and later coerced them to fight once the going got rough are now understood in ways that can be modified and applied in other, very different contexts.

The first necessity was to create an economic dependency. In the Hmong case the CIA accomplished this easily by taking over and operating the Hmong's opium trade, marketing their crop for them (undoubtedly at a handsome profit to the Agency's proprietary airlines and banks). The dependent Hmong were then armed and trained by U.S. specialists and sent into battle against the CIA's enemies.

But gratitude to the CIA for peddling their dope went only so far, and eventually some Hmong resisted the escalating pressure to expand the U.S. war against other Laotians. At that point the CIA's ruthlessness became evident. Food and

supplies, which had previously been delivered to the Hmong villages, were now air dropped many miles away, in contested areas of Laos; so Hmong soldiers had to attack just in order to keep themselves and their families alive. The CIA's message to them was clear: Fight or starve.

The CIA is currently applying both mercenary models to its war in Central America: sending in a band of cold-blooded professional sadists and cutthroats in one region; luring an indigenous tribal people, through a sector of its leadership, into economic dependence, arming and training its young men, then compelling them to fight, in another.

The criminals and right-wing fanatics include white racists from the southern U.S. and veterans of the many wars for white supremacy in Southern Africa, particularly men who fought for the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith; gangsters from the Batista era in Cuba, and members of various anticommunist Cuban exile terrorist organizations; former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard and secret police during the Somoza dictatorship; and other assorted desperadoes eager to kill for bloodlust and money.

These mercenaries are fighting mainly against the people of northwestern Nicaragua, and to a smaller extent in El Salvador. Their task is to terrorize, not to win hearts and minds. They kidnap, torture, and massacre; sometimes they murder men before their wives and children, then mutilate the corpses.

In striking contrast is the CIA's mercenary war against Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, where the Agency has had some success applying its Laotian Hmong approach among some Miskito Indians.

The initial foothold was gained by securing the allegiance of one Miskito leader, Steadman Fagoth Muller (a police agent during the years of Somoza's tyranny), making Fagoth the Miskito equivalent of Vang Pao, and by exploiting friction that had developed between Miskitos and Spanish Sandinistas early in the war when overzealous Sandinista officials failed to exhibit proper respect for Miskito needs, aspirations, and cultural autonomy.

The Miskitos had no narcotics for the CIA to administer, so a different approach was taken to foster economic dependency. Counterrevolutionary attack forces concentrated on critical economic targets, making it dangerous or impossible for Indians to fish or tend their crops. Large sawmills at Prinzapolka and Sukat-pin were leveled; both had been economic mainstays of the Miskitos, not only because they furnished hundreds of jobs to village residents, but also because they provided the main source of foreign exchange for the entire region.

At the same time, *contra* attacks on civilians, though harsh (young men were kidnapped, and shot if they refused to go), were restrained in comparison to the unbridled terrorism unleashed by the CIA in the west. Anti-Sandinista propaganda was spread by word of mouth rumor and clandestine radio broadcasts.

At first the CIA efforts were successful. Thousands of Miskitos, believing that the Sandinista government could not or would not provide them with food and safety, fled to Honduras. Many were recruited into the *contra* force armed and trained by the CIA. But it is doubtful that this endeavor can be sustained. The CIA has not been able to escalate the level of coercion to that applied against recalcitrant Hmong in Laos, and many Miskitos, disillusioned with the reality of CIA mercenary life, have returned to their homes under the terms of the amnesty declared by the Sandinistas.

Mercenaries sometimes precipitate the very defeat they are

employed to prevent. When Britain sent the Hessians to shore up its rule in North America, many colonists who previously had supported the Tories or had been indifferent shifted their allegiance to George Washington's Continental Army, enabling Washington to inflict a humiliating defeat on the Hessians as they celebrated Christmas of 1776 at Trenton.

In Nicaragua, the realities of the U.S. sponsored mercenary war have evoked almost universal revulsion, even among people who have complaints about the Sandinista government.

Miskito Indians in the village of Wount told a *Navajo Times* reporter that the *contra* force that attacked and occupied their town last October consisted of Miskitos, Blacks, and Spanish, led by "strange Chinese," and "Chinese" mercenaries have been reported attacking other Miskito villages as well. (Not surprisingly, *Soldier of Fortune* employee Steve Salisbury, who participated in one of the raids into Nicaragua with Fagoth's men, made no mention of Asians in his report in the November 1984 issue of the magazine.)

Earlier last fall, British papers reported that international mercenary recruiters in Europe were concentrating their efforts on Indochinese exiles. It seems likely that the CIA has imported veterans of its Asian mercenary wars, perhaps remnants of Vang Pao's Hmong army, to shore up its faltering efforts in Central America, but at a costly price.

The introduction of foreign mercenaries in command positions has effectively put the lie to Washington's propaganda that has tried to portray one element of the CIA's covert war as an indigenous insurgency.



Grenada: Nobody's Backyard

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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.

Soldier of Fortune's Robert K. Brown

By Ward Churchill*

There is a law in the United States (Title 18 U.S.C. Sec. 959) popularly known as "The Neutrality Act." It reads in part: "Whoever, within the United States . . . retains another . . . to go beyond the jurisdiction of the United States to be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince, state, colony, district or people as a soldier or a marine . . . shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than 3 years or both."

Robert K. Brown, editor and publisher of a publication entitled *Soldier of Fortune: The Journal of Professional Adventurers*, based in Boulder, Colorado, says he is not in violation of this law, nor of others such as 22 U.S.C. Sec. 611, *et seq.*, "The Foreign Agents Registration Act." It holds that individuals within the United States who directly represent the interests of other governments must clearly and officially acknowledge the fact through a formalized public recording process.

In combination, the body of legislation represented by the two acts was designed to preclude private actions—as well as the advocacy and organization of such actions—by individuals or organizations in the United States which would tend to undermine or supplant formal foreign policy mechanisms such as the State Department and Congress. In practical effect, one of the things the legislation is intended to prevent is what is commonly referred to as "mercenarism" by U.S. nationals and others falling under U.S. jurisdiction.

Yet, since 1975, Brown has been running classified advertisements in his magazine such as the following:

EX ARMY VET, Viet 65-66, 2/7 Cav., 37 yrs. old, seeks job as merc or security. Combat experience. Good physical condition. Will travel worldwide. You pay expenses.

He has also run full-page display ads (outside, rear-cover, prime placement) featuring color reproductions of official Rhodesian National Army recruitment posters on a *gratis* basis and interviews with individuals like Major Nick Lamprecht, former Rhodesian National Army Recruitment Officer. Earlier, he financed the start-up of his magazine through the sell-

ing of "overseas employment opportunity packets"—consisting of enlistment materials for the armies of Rhodesia and Oman—through classified ads run in periodicals such as *Shotgun News*.

Despite the apparent conflicts with official U.S. policy inherent in such activities—the United States was supposedly engaged in a formal sanctioning of Rhodesia at the very time Brown was most busily promoting military service there—he has suffered no adverse consequences as a result of his con-

*Ward Churchill is an active member of the American Indian Movement who works at the University of Colorado. Several years ago he successfully infiltrated the *Soldier of Fortune* inner circle. His experiences on the magazine's staff and much of what he learned are told in his 1980 *Africa Today* article, "U.S. Mercenaries in Africa: The Recruitment Network and U.S. Policy."

duct. In part, this may be due to a wide-spread public impression that the man is more buffoon than menace.

Bob Brown in Person

Leaning back in a desk chair beneath a poster captioned "Kill 'em all: Let God sort 'em out," and wearing a tee-shirt stenciled with a death's head and the legend "Kill a Commie for Mommie," an obviously aging Bob Brown struggles valiantly to hide the facts. Spitting out a cud of Skoal, he arranges his sagging features into a best-effort imitation of Clint Eastwood's celluloid scowl, forces a near-glint into the fading blue eyes peering owlishly from behind coke-bottle lenses and "explains" the situation.

"I do not recruit. I market information. If somebody goes

weapons have been manufactured by Replica Arms, as has turned out from time to time.

The magazine itself bears the indelible stamp of its owner's eccentricity. Long on blood-and-guts color photography and short on the real meat-and-potatoes information which would allow anyone to stay alive in irregular combat situations, *Soldier of Fortune* might rightly be viewed as the stuff of armchair rather than active warriors. As one highly decorated veteran of Korea and Vietnam recently put it, "I don't read the thing. Who needs a picture of a half-naked woman wearing tiger fatigues to sell an obsolete machine-gun?"

But there is another aspect to Brown and his enterprise which tends to be overlooked when he is dismissed as an objectionable, though thoroughly frivolous, phenomenon. For starters, two of *Soldier of Fortune's* staff editors have been killed while performing what can only be regarded as outright mercenary activities in the field. George W. Bacon III, the



An ageing Robert K. Brown with a Salvadoran commander.

there because they get an information packet . . ." Allowing the thought to dangle, Brown breaks into a self-congratulatory smile and continues, "... some State Department official stated something to the effect that Mr. Brown was staying within the bounds of the law, but not the spirit of it. Well, that's tough shit. I didn't do anything illegal."

The aura of *Soldier of Fortune's* proprietor is, on its face, so absurd as to virtually command dismissal by the serious-minded. The notion of a middle-aged man with a congenital back defect and a hearing impairment scurrying about the streets of Boulder—the veritable buckle of the granola belt—wearing the latest in camouflage fatigues (to blend in with all the brick and tinsel?) and military berets is immediately laughable. Similarly, his propensity to posture at every given opportunity, sporting esoteric looking armaments, has tended to be treated as little more than a sick joke—especially when the



George W. Bacon III with Hmong soldiers in Laos.

magazine's underwater combat editor, died in a 1976 ambush, an unabashed combatant fighting for Holden Roberto's CIA-sponsored FNLA in Angola. Michael Echanis, martial arts director, was killed in a bomb blast aboard an aircraft in Nicaragua while serving as military advisor to Anastasio Somoza—and as tactical commander of the dictator's infamous National Guard in late 1978.

Shortly after Bacon was killed, and while the State Department was still denying that U.S. citizens were serving as mercenaries in that country, another American was captured by the winning MPLA forces. Daniel Gearhart was tried by the new Angolan government under Organization of African Unity anti-mercenary covenants, convicted, and executed. He had secured his employment through an ad placed in *Soldier of Fortune* during the summer of 1975.

The Sandinista bomb which claimed Echanis also killed his assistant, a U.S. national named Charles Sanders, and a Vietnamese on U.S. green card alien status, euphemistically known as "Nguyen Van Nguyen" (approximately the equivalent of "Smith, John Smith"). Nicknamed "Bobby," he had long worked for the CIA and Special Forces, and had accompanied Echanis and Sanders to Nicaragua to work with the other person killed by the blast, National Guard commander Brigadier General José Ivan Allegrett Perez.

Around *Soldier of Fortune* they showed copies of a cable from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to Echanis asking that he



Mike Echanis posing with his collection of hand-to-hand combat weapons.

be careful to spare noncombatants in the course of performing his duties. Echanis's reply, if any, is unknown.

Investigations Thwarted

This combination of circumstances was enough to lead Colorado Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder and others to call for an investigation into the activities of Brown and those associated with his publications, all subsidiaries of another Brown-headed company, Omega Group, Ltd. It is apparently named after the anti-Castro Cuban terrorists' group, Omega Seven, which shared responsibility for the assassination of Allende-era Chilean diplomat, Orlando Letelier, and his colleague Ronnie Moffitt, in Washington, D.C.

Brown and Omega Group, including Robert Himber, one-time Army Intelligence operative attached to the CIA's Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam, ran feature articles on the deaths of Bacon and Echanis in the magazine.

Schroeder's investigation's demands, made in 1976 and again in 1979, have met with a rather curious response from the U.S. Department of Justice. In effect, Justice informed Schroeder that Brown and his cohorts had indeed been placed under investigation, and that the investigation would continue until the activities being investigated stopped. Details of any ongoing criminal investigation could not, of course, be divulged. Hence, the net result of Schroeder's attempts to bring the doings of the Omega Group into the light of day has been to clamp the mantle of official secrecy tightly about the individuals and organizations involved. This situation has prevailed consistently under both the Carter and the Reagan administrations, despite the supposed ideological "changing of the guard" that the switch in executives entailed.

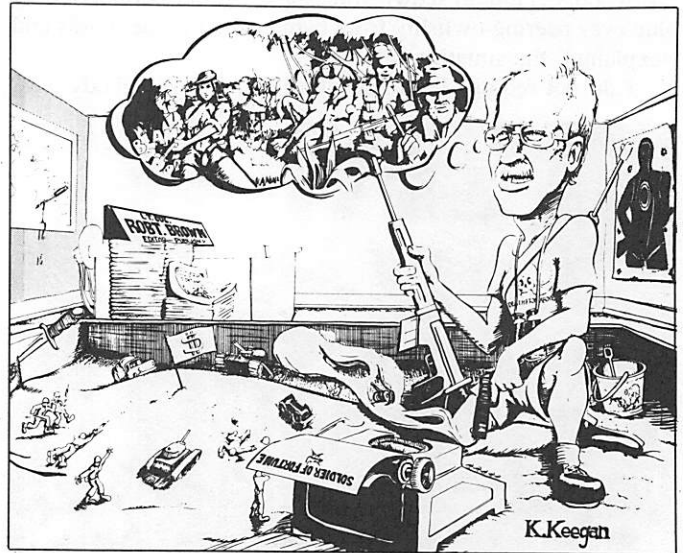
It goes without saying that such a leak-free, Catch-22 environment at this level of government is not typical. Such a rigid application of the supposed safeguards of citizens' rights to privacy has historically been reserved only for domestic covert intelligence operations and operatives (e.g. the FBI's COINTELPRO and its successor, COMTEL) and the more internationally oriented clandestine activities of Military Intelligence, the National Security Agency, the CIA, and so forth.

Links to the CIA

Brown is particularly touchy on this subject, branding it "pure bullshit" and often terminating conversations when questions drift toward possible associations between his organization and the CIA.

When Brown is denying a CIA connection, it helps that he numbers among his longtime personal friends such prominent "liberals" as Paul Danish, a member of the Boulder City Council and former advisor to top administrators at the University of Colorado. Danish was an early (but unlisted) member of the *Soldier of Fortune* editorial board.

A long-time Boulder anti-mercenary activist says, "There is more than one level to what is going on at *Soldier of Fortune*. These guys go out of their way to come across as clowns to



people who might otherwise tend to oppose them. It's a tactic designed to defuse the potential of effective criticism.

"Meanwhile, there's a very effective gray propaganda operation being conducted right under our very noses. A whole range of the American public is now being conditioned to accept the notion that mercenaries and small, contained, privately fought 'brushfire wars' are not only okay, but somehow glamorous. *Soldier of Fortune* did that. It's not that they're managing to get large numbers of people to run off and be mercenaries—although they are attracting some, and that factor shouldn't be underestimated—but they are managing to convince an ever increasing number of people that there's nothing fundamentally wrong when others do.

"In the post-Vietnam era, when the commitment of any sort of official U.S. advisory, never mind *combat* presence is apt to draw so much domestic heat—as it is in El Salvador—that it's simply not viable, having a small but effective 'private' army of mercenaries who *are* accepted by the public is a very important paramilitary counter for any administration to possess.

"Of course, it's all highly illegal under U.S. law, but what else is new? When you get to the level of the reality of foreign policy things cannot really be considered in terms of their legality, but rather in terms of their packaging (as with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution or the Grenada invasion) or their deniability (as with the Cambodia/Laos bombing or current operations in Honduras).

"The mercenary activities revolving around *Soldier of Fortune* and Omega Group are being handled both ways, packaged *and* hidden. It's a very sophisticated operation in its way, and you just don't get this sort of finesse from a bunch of apparent rum-dums in the private sector. The whole thing smacks of a CIA operation, although admittedly a very weird one."

To be sure, both the intelligence community and Brown vehemently deny that any linkage between them exists, or has existed in the past. The record, however, shows something rather different. For example, a 1962 letter written by Brown and recently obtained from the archives of an archconservative California-based institution reveals that he spent the period from 1954 to 1957 as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army's highly selective and very secretive Counterintelligence Corps. Not to be confused with the larger and more diversified Military Intelligence units, Counterintelligence has always had extremely close linkages (indeed, major overlaps) with the CIA.

Much of Brown's life was spent drifting from job to job—Brink's truck guard, timber cutter, and ranch hand—mostly in and around Boulder. He has boasted of setting up connections in the international arms traffic, and occasionally he dabbles in South African diamonds and precious metals.

After this first stint in the Army, Brown undertook a master's degree program in political science at the University of Colorado at Boulder. His studies led him—naturally, if you accept his version of events—to a deep and abiding sympathy for the cause of Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement. In any event, he trekked to Cuba to do research on a thesis which eventually was completed under the title "Communist Penetration and Takeover of the Cuban Labor Movement," attempting to hook up with the guerrilla commanders Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos in the Sierra Maestra once there.

Evidently, the guerrilla leadership held certain doubts as to the student's bona fides, avoiding infiltration by denying him access to their ranks. (A number of U.S. journalists were allowed into the mountains at the same time Brown was being shut out.) Their precautions turned out to be rather well founded, as Brown surfaced again shortly after the revolution, engaged in training Batistaite groups in the Florida Everglades to conduct raids against their former homeland.

Although he did not participate in any of the exile actions against Cuba underwritten by the CIA during the early 1960s—he always managed to be sick or otherwise disposed when the missions departed—he was already engaged in investigating possibilities for the application of other sorts of covert U.S. force to sensitive areas of the world, both at home and abroad.

Brown's 1962 letter was written to Marvin Liebman, then head of the New York based "American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters," a CIA front group engaged in drumming up sympathy and organizing material support for the so-called "5 Commando" of European mercenaries active during the Congo Civil War. In credentialing himself to Leibman, Brown revealed that he had been a domestic undercover operative, infiltrating "Fair Play for Cuba" committees for the notorious Chicago Police Subversive Squad. He then inquired as to whether Leibman had information concerning how American nationals might circumvent the provisions of the Neutrality Act in order to become mercenary combatants in places like the Congo.

Brown re-entered the Army during the second half of the 1960s as a Special Forces captain. Posted to the Pleiku region of Vietnam's Central Highlands, he headed a detachment supporting a Special Forces/CIA joint venture code-named "Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, Studies and Observations Group." Actually, MACVSOG—or "the sog," as it was called—stood for "Special Operations Group." The unit was responsible for direct intelligence gathering, and ran highly secret missions into Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam, and—some say—southern China, during the Vietnam War.

Brown's detachment was also involved in NLF/NVA political cadre identification for liquidation by the assassins of the CIA's "Operation Phoenix." The captain himself, of course,

Marvin Liebman

Bob Brown's mentor, Marvin Liebman, was a member of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in the late 1930s and early 1940s. If his beliefs then were legitimate, he made a 180 degree ideological turn in 1951, working for the CIA-assisted refugee network, the International Rescue Committee. In 1957, with initial financial backing from then New Jersey Governor Charles Edison, he set up Marvin Liebman Associates, to provide public relations, fundraising, program organization, and management services "at the disposal of the Conservative and anti-Communist movement." He became an expert in anti-communist propaganda working with more than 50 front organizations. From 1969 to 1974 he took an unexplained leave from this career to produce for the stage, screen, and television in London. In 1974 he returned to New York and "public relations," as president of Marvin Liebman, Inc.

In 1975 he joined with William F. Buckley, Jr. in forming the highly controversial American-Chilean Council (ACC). He wrote in a confidential June 1977 memorandum that the group "serves as a spokesman for Chile," claiming that ACC "has been phenomenally successful in making a real impact on American thinking on behalf of Chile." ACC was closed down in 1978 after repeated violations of Justice Department regulations for foreign agent registration.

In February 1982 Liebman was named public relations director of the federally funded National Endowment for the Arts.

Among the many far right efforts he either founded or served are:

- American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters.
- American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc. (which reprinted and distributed a speech by the South African Foreign Minister and sent "fact-finding tours" to Rhodesia). The group exists today as the American-African Educational Exchange, Inc.
- World Anti-Communist League.
- Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, and its affiliate, Friends of Free Asia.
- World Youth Crusade for Freedom.
- Young Americans for Freedom.
- International Youth Crusade for Freedom in Vietnam.
- Committee for the Monroe Doctrine.
- People's Emergency Committee to Defend Freedom Against Communist Aggression.
- The American Friends of Portugal (supporting Portugal's then "overseas territories").
- William F. Buckley for Mayor of New York City Committee.
- Goldwater for President.
- Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

was responsible for liaison with CIA personnel, given his unit's operational capacity.

Brown's Publications

In the early 1970s, having mustered out of the Army for the second time—he was “retired” due to physical infirmities including scoliosis (a congenital spinal disease) and deafness in one ear for which he claims to have been awarded the Purple Heart—Brown set out to establish his mercenary clearing house operation and accompanying trade journal. One of the steps he took along the way was to resume a career as publisher he had undertaken in partnership with a Coloradan named Peder Lund before his last military enlistment.

Together, Brown and Lund had founded a company called “Panther Press.” The purpose of this venture was to reprint army weapons and field manuals (obtainable free of charge from appropriate government agencies at the time) for sale to the public. Involvement in Panther Press resulted in one of the few times Bob Brown was brought to court by the government, but not for the act of “borrowing” government publications in this fashion. Rather, the government was concerned that—because of its name—the enterprise was an undertaking of the Black Panther Party. Once it was firmly established that the press was a rightwing rather than leftwing activity, the case

was quietly dismissed.

In any event, according to various versions of events he has told, either publicly or privately, Brown then proceeded to sell his share of Panther Press (renamed Paladin Press), market his Oman/Rhodesia “employment packets,” and/or obtain a loan from his mother in order to actualize *Soldier of Fortune*. By his account, Brown founded the credibility of his new endeavor upon the active involvement of a number of former “super soldiers.” Again, the facts belied his claim.

For example, editor George Bacon, before his death consistently portrayed as a former Green Beret, turned out actually to have been a member of the CIA field station in Laos and winner of the country's highest clandestine decoration, the Intelligence Star.

Similarly, Mike Echanis was never a member of Special Forces, albeit as a civilian he provided martial arts instruction to elite units such as the Ranger Groups, SEAL Teams and Green Berets. Rather, during his period as an editor of the magazine, he was a CIA contract employee. According to the CBS television program *60 Minutes* and other sources, he was involved in Edwin Wilson's ill-fated CIA mission in Libya before going to Nicaragua.

David Bufkin, a self-proclaimed mercenary recruiter who, although not an official member of the *Soldier of Fortune*

No Help for Vets

Robert K. Brown and his associates at Boulder's *Soldier of Fortune* magazine have periodically thrashed about in the bushes of Southeast Asia for some time now, running “secret missions” attempting to recover some sort of proof that the North Vietnamese dupes of “Soviet aggression” have been using chemical warfare agents against the populations of Laos and Kampuchea.

When their “samples” of so-called “yellow rain” turned out to be the excretions of tropical bees, they resorted to offering substantial rewards to anyone able to come up with the real thing. There have been no takers.

Meanwhile, Brown and friends marched—in their minds, at least—to the forefront of Vietnam veterans' rights advocacy, using their magazine as a vehicle upon which to demand stridently that the gracefully somber Vietnam Memorial be scrapped before it was constructed. In its stead they called for yet another kitschy ode to the glories of war, such as the gigantic statue of World War II's Iwo Jima flag-raising in Washington, DC.

Oddly, the concerned humanitarians of *Soldier of Fortune* need not have gone to such lengths to discover proof of practiced chemical warfare against Southeast Asians. They need only have turned to the Pentagon's official HERBS tapes to have proved that the United States dumped hundreds of thousands of gallons of defoliants—Agents Blue, White, Green, Purple and Orange—across the Indochinese countryside in the ten years between 1961 and 1971.

All of these herbicides are known to have been contaminated with dioxin, the most toxic chemical ever synthesized by humans, a substance which is not only a proven carcinogen, but which has been estimated to be about 100,000 times more mutagenic than thalidomide.

If *Soldier of Fortune* were in any real way concerned with the effects of chemical warfare upon the masses of people in

Southeast Asia—a matter Brown has long and proudly proclaimed motivated his expeditions—the magazine would long ago have adopted a stance of calling upon the United States to assist the Laotian, Kampuchean, and Vietnamese multitudes it has obviously poisoned with dioxin . . . and then walked off and left.

But on this subject, “The King of the Mercenaries” has maintained an absolute silence.

Similarly, rather than pouting and puffing about an abstraction such as the symbolic content of the memorial by which America will remember its Vietnam veterans, if Brown were *really* concerned with the fate of the men who fought in Vietnam he might have addressed their *real* problems both journalistically and editorially.

For example, it is known that thousands of Vietnam veterans are suffering from the same chemical contamination afflicting the Indochinese. The effects of dioxin poisoning include the deformation of offspring, rampant chloracne, neurological degeneration and a variety of unusual cancers. The veterans in question—and there are a lot of them—are, in effect, slowly rotting to death before our very eyes.

Again, *Soldier of Fortune* has stood mute, not bothering to criticize the Veteran's Administration for failing to provide even perfunctory services to these inside victims of the military mentality Brown so loves to laud.

None of these matters are so obscure as to have gone unnoticed by the editor/publisher of “the journal of professional adventurers.” Rather, his has been a conscious choice to ignore them.

In the final analysis, nothing could so dramatically illustrate the cynicism and ideological hucksterism marking the real meaning of *Soldier of Fortune* than Robert K. Brown's figurative abandonment of both the people he says he fought to save, and the men he says he fought beside. ●

Omega Group circle, is a close friend of Brown, and who "handled" the Americans killed in Angola, claims to have been a CIA employee for a long time now.

Another, more circumstantial link between Brown and the most secretive elements of U.S. officialdom has been his treatment by the Army since he went on reserve status. It is axiomatic that a criminal investigation, or an investigation centering upon tangible conflict with U.S. foreign policy, spells the effective end of an Army officer's career. The case of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is perhaps the most famous of this principle in practice.

Yet Brown, who left the Army a mere captain, has been promoted not once, but twice—first to major, then to lieutenant colonel—since coming under investigation for violation of the Neutrality Act. Further, rather than being shunned by the military establishment, as have officers such as Lt. Colonel Anthony Herbert (whose "crime" was blowing the whistle on atrocities committed by the military in Vietnam), Brown has been selected repeatedly to receive the honor of addressing the Army's prestigious War College. His subject has been mercenaries and their implications for U.S. irregular warfare doctrine.

Expanded Activities

Since the rebuff of Schroeder's inquiries by the Justice Department effectively proved that domestic criticism can be contained, and that the potential for prosecution under U.S. statutes (a la Edwin Wilson) can be forestalled, Brown and Omega Group have become increasingly brazen. For instance, the magazine has featured an article by former managing editor Bob Poos recounting how a team of *Soldier of Fortune* "journalists" ran a full combat patrol—"to kill a last few terrors"—in Zimbabwe the very night before the election marking transition from white minority to black majority rule in that country.

There have also been a spate of "I was there" stories by U.S. nationals who served in the Rhodesian National Army, despite ongoing and "official" State Department denials that evidence has been obtained that American citizens were involved in the fighting in Zimbabwe. Several of these individuals—Major Mike Williams and Captain John Early, among others—have now been added to the *Soldier of Fortune* roster.

In 1980, the magazine began to sponsor a series of annual conventions, bringing together the faithful a thousand at a time. Staged in Columbia, Missouri, the first convention presented a "Bull Simons Freedom Award" to Vang Pao, former head of the CIA's clandestine Hmong guerrilla army in Laos during the late 1960s. The late Arthur D. "Bull" Simons headed the first CIA-sponsored Special Forces mission into that country, later worked as a SOG commander and led the unsuccessful Special Forces raid on North Vietnam's Son Tay POW camp in 1970. (Promoting the quest for the return of mythical "live POWs" by the Vietnamese is another activity *Soldier of Fortune* excels at.)

Says Illinois left activist, Bob Sipe, who attended the first conference, "It was what I always thought sitting in on an SS reunion would be like, except the people were younger at this one. It was amazing. Some of these guys were even wearing the *totenkopf* (SS death's head insignia) on their berets."

Another indication of the magazine's new freedom of action has been a virtual rash of *Soldier of Fortune* clones across the face of American periodical literature. Omega Group has launched a new glossy monthly entitled *Survive*. And then there is *Gung Ho!*, edited and published (and, reputedly, al-

most entirely written) by former *Soldier of Fortune* editor Jim Shultz. Other recently added magazine titles in this genre include *New Breed*, *Eagle*, *Combat Illustrated*, *Special Weapons and Tactics* and *Combat Ready*.

Omega Group retains an active interest and presence in southern Africa. For example, editor Jim Graves was in contact with the two American participants—Charles William Dukes (formerly of the Rhodesian National Army's elite Special Air Service) and Barry Francis Briggon (formerly of the Rhodesian Light Infantry)—in the abortive 1981 attempt by a mercenary force to stage a coup in the Seychelles Islands. (See *CAIB* Number 16.) The strike force, led by Colonel Mike Hoare (commander of 5 Commando in the Congo twenty years earlier), was launched from South Africa, where Graves just happened to be visiting at the time. He later acknowledged that he had been aware of the planned coup attempt a month before it materialized.

Central America and Grenada

The organization has also demonstrated a lively interest and involvement in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia and the Middle East, but its real nuts-and-bolts focus has clearly shifted to Central America over the past two years. In 1983, for example, Omega Group sent a team to El Salvador on two separate occa-



SoF El Salvador team (left to right): Robert K. Brown, John Metzger, Alex McColl, John Donovan, Ralph Edens, and Craig Nunn.

sions. Ostensibly led by Brown, the composition of the group was as follows:

- **Colonel Alexander McColl:** former SOG member and CIA liaison officer.
- **Captain John Early:** former Special Forces A Team commander and self-described mercenary in Rhodesia and Eritrea.
- **Ben Jones:** former mercenary in the Rhodesian African

From Phoenix Associates to Civilian-Military Assistance

When Robert K. Brown first got involved in the mercenary recruitment racket, he made no attempt to conceal his purpose, as one of his old advertisements shown here demonstrates.

In the early years of *Soldier of Fortune*, publisher Brown and his staffers were careless about revealing their ties to U.S. intelligence, and they boasted of their military affiliations and ranks.

Lieutenant Colonel Brown of the 12th Special Forces Group (Airborne), Lieutenant Colonel Alexander McColl of the Special Forces

Reserve and Captain John Donovan, also of the 12th Special Forces Group (Airborne), have been around since the days when the magazine was promoting Rhodesian mercenary service in a big way, but their ranks no longer grace the masthead. (McColl is now a full bird colonel.)

Perhaps they all suffered embarrassment when supporters of Zimbabwe liberation revealed that Brown's and Donovan's unit, the 12th Special Forces Group, was the channel through which the CIA was sending mercenaries to shore up the Smith regime. Under the circumstances, they may have felt that it had been unwise to profile McColl's career as a high level CIA officer in Laos in the Fall 1976 issue.

Today Brown denies he recruits mercenaries, and claims up when asked about his CIA connections, but otherwise not much has changed.

Soldier of Fortune's dirty dozen went to El Salvador on August 3 of last year. While they were there, Roberto d'Aubuisson held a news conference to say he wanted fewer U.S. military advisors and more mercenaries. His recruiting appeal was carried (via the Associated Press) in newspapers around the country. *USA Today's* plug "Welcome mat out for mercenaries" ran on page one beside a color picture of d'Aubuisson.

The September 1983 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* reports on an earlier staff mission to El Salvador. Brown wrote: "The United States may lose the war in El Salvador in the near future. . . . because the U.S. Congress refuses to provide the necessary funds and advisors. . . ." His solution is simple: Mercenarize the war. He tells how many mercenaries are needed, where they are needed, and at what cost. How will this be funded? "Through the private sector.

WANTED NOW! MERCENARIES

**\$1,000
PER MONTH**

for captain... No income tax... Airfare and travel expenses refunded on arrival... free quarters and medical treatment... 60 days leave yearly... \$20,000 life insurance. Information packet revealing duty, area, map, service agreement, application form, pay schedule, medical certificate... \$5.00

Phoenix Associates

Dept. S-1.

Box 837. Arvada, Colo. 80002

We have some suggestions regarding the funding problem, but are not going to print them." (Remember the million dollars ITT contributed to the CIA's coup in Chile?)

These were by no means the first moves toward recruiting mercenaries for duty in the current U.S. intervention in Central America. Newspapers widely reported the existence of military training camps operated by Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles in the southern California desert and in the Florida everglades in late 1981 and early 1982. Reporters' questions about these facilities brought yawns from State Department and law enforcement officials, the polite way of indicating government knowledge and approval.

But three years ago mercenaries were relatively far less important to the war strategy, even if, on occasion, they were uniquely suited to perform certain tactical assignments. The scope of the two *Soldier of Fortune* missions to El Salvador last year followed by d'Aubuisson's strong public endorsement at a time when the press was tirelessly tagging him a "pathological killer" indicates that an important strategic decision had been taken which would require an apparatus capable of recruiting mercenaries on a scale not seen since the last of them were routed in Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, a check of the Arlington Heights, Illinois, headquarters of the 12th Special Forces Group during the wee hours of the morning revealed that it, too, is humming again. It's all so reminiscent of that headline in the Spring 1976 issue which profiled the 12th SF, Brown's and Donovan's unit: "Special Forces Reserve and National Guard Units offer unique opportunities for adventure."

In July 1983, Tommy Posey of Flint City, Alabama, decided to organize a group to send mercenaries and military supplies to El Salvador. Posey is a former Marine corporal who served in Vietnam; he owns a wholesale produce business in Decatur and is a federally licensed firearms dealer; he has also served in the Alabama National Guard. Posey and four of his National Guard buddies "who shared an interest in weapons and fighting communism" formed Civilian-Military Assistance (CMA). Among the founders was Dana Herbert Parker, Jr., a captain in the National Guard Special Forces unit and Huntsville police detective who had been a Marine in Vietnam.

The geography was ideal. Huntsville is the home of one of the country's very large military/security complexes. The advanced space and military units there mean there are plenty of intelligence personnel around too, whose presence is justified every once in a while with a "KGB spy" scare in the newspapers. A Navy recruiter says this part of North Alabama is "the best recruiting spot in the nation for the military." The terrorist fringe thrives too; the Ku Klux Klan operated a paramilitary training camp at Cullman in 1980 and 1981, which was closed down only after the Southern Poverty Law Center threatened a lawsuit.

In this political and military climate, CMA grew. Members were recruited through National Guard contacts, at gun shows and in gun shops. The Alabama National Guard Spe-

Graves. Albright was also part of the Civilian Military Assistance mission to Honduras when two of its members were killed

in Nicaragua on September 1 (see below).

● *John Donovan*: former SOG member, SWAT Team

cial Forces unit proved to be an especially fertile ground; it specializes in counterinsurgency, and trains other units, including the Tennessee National Guard.

One of the Guardsmen who joined, Staff Sergeant Don Gilmore, started an offshoot organization in Memphis called Civilian Refugee Military Assistance (CRMA). The CMA/CRMA network spread to other parts of the South: Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Georgia.

Quickly, official doors began to open for Tommy Posey and his band. In October of 1983, Army Major Charles McAnarney, a logistics officer at the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, arranged a meeting between Posey and a Salvadoran army colonel, to arrange the shipment of supplies. CMA then went public.

Between November 1983 and March 1984, McAnarney helped process eleven shipments of military supplies from CMA to the Salvadoran army, continuing the "private" effort to bolster the war that Brown's *Soldier of Fortune* gang had initiated in August. As these activities continued, both Posey and *Soldier of Fortune* shifted their attention somewhat toward the war against Nicaragua.

Posey, Parker, and two other CMA members went to Honduras in January, and again officials hastened to put them in touch with the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). The pressure to "privatize" U.S. support for the *contras* was especially acute at that time because a U.S. helicopter had been shot down over Nicaragua, killing the pilot—the first known U.S. casualty of the war. That episode caused considerable embarrassment in the U.S., and domestic opposition to the war sharply increased.

A U.S. Embassy official introduced Posey to Honduran General Alvarez Martinez, who in turn sent the CMA group, heavily armed and carrying 4,000 rounds of ammunition, to an FDN base camp. Upon his return home, Posey told the *Huntsville Times* that he had fired 300 rounds at Nicaraguan troops patrolling the border. He also hinted that he had been involved in hand-to-hand combat, saying that the butt of his rifle had been stained by someone "running into it."

The CMA began to hold public events to promote their mercenary activities and to raise money for supplies. The FDN's Alfonso Callejas addressed a CMA public meeting in Decatur in April; volunteers and donations poured in. According to Mario Calero, the FDN's representative, the CMA sent \$70,000 worth of supplies between January and September.

Posey says that CMA has recruited 15 men to "train" the *contras*, and CRMA's Gilmore estimated that his group has sent as many as 35. Like *Soldier of Fortune*'s teams, these men now officially deny that they are combat mercenaries in order to minimize problems for the government when there is public and congressional pressure to observe and enforce the Neutrality Act, but they, too, admit they will fire on Nicaraguan soldiers in "self-defense."

On August 23, a seven-man team departed for Honduras. Among them were CMA co-founder Dana Parker and FDN representative Mario Calero. The others were Captain Walter "Cisco" Blanton and Chief Warrant Officer William "Bill" Courtney, both officers in the Alabama National

Guard Special Forces along with Parker, and three Memphis recruits, James P. Powell III, Louis McKnight, and Cliff Albright.

Powell had been a gunship pilot for the Americal Division in Vietnam in 1971; he later flew Huey and Cobra helicopters for the Mississippi Army National Guard. McKnight, a flight instructor, had been Powell's high school chum. Albright, previously a member of the *Soldier of Fortune* mission to El Salvador, and apparently the link between Brown and the CMA/CRMA bunch, was a retired Republic Airlines pilot and commander of the Phantom Division, Tennessee Airborne. If the stories about his flying for Air America are true (see above) he may also be the group's CIA liaison. The Memphians had been recruited on August 1 when Calero addressed a Memphis VFW meeting.

Powell and one of the others left Memphis in a single engine Cessna 206, heavily laden with supplies, while the other five flew from New Orleans to Tegucigalpa by commercial airlines. All seven then made their way to the *contra* base.

At 1:30 p.m. on Saturday, September 1, Parker and Powell flew in a CIA helicopter to the site of a *contra* attack on the Tapasali Military School near Santa Clara, Nicaragua, 10 miles from the Honduran border, where they were shot down and killed, rocketing the mercenary war into the headlines and bringing the first blast of negative publicity since Brown and d'Aubuisson had issued their call to mercenarize Central America a year earlier.

Just as quickly, the coverup began. Tommy Posey, who had bragged about engaging in combat just last January, now denied that CMA members were armed mercenaries, and insisted that Parker and Powell has simply been on an unarmed "mercy mission." But a colleague of Parker's told *USA Today* that he had been paid "so much for duty in a hostile zone and so much for duty in a non-hostile zone," as mercenaries frequently are. CRMA's Gilmore said his group would have to maintain a low profile "for a few weeks" while the heat was on the government to investigation violations of the Neutrality Act.

Despite denials from mercenary recruiters and the CIA, press and congressional critics smelled a rat and pressed ahead. Bit by bit the media uncovered and exposed the CIA connection, as they had done previously with the mining of Nicaragua's harbors. Sen. Jim Sasser of Tennessee and Rep. Dan Glickman of Kansas attacked the CIA's use of mercenaries to support the *contras* through the "back door" after Congress had cut off funds for direct aid.

Even the mercenaries themselves have fallen out over this incident. While CMA's "Cisco" Blanton of Sheffield, Alabama, a Vietnam veteran, works full time for the organization, his colleague at the National Guard Special Forces, "Bill" Courtney, described their Honduran mission as "a bag of worms" and announced that he would not be going back.

Unfortunately, as long as mercenary recruiters are permitted to flout the Neutrality Act with a wink and a nod while the CIA orchestrates their activities in the shadows, there will be plenty of volunteers eager to take his place. ●

By Ken Lawrence

trainer (by contract) and owner of Donovan's Demolitions, a company in southern Illinois specializing in blowing buildings and clearing logjams.

- **"John Doe":** believed to be John Crawford of Nederland, Colorado. If true, he is another former mercenary in Rhodesia and claims to have been one in the old Transjordanian Camel Corps.

- **Peter G. Kokalis:** former member of U.S. Army Intelligence, now believed to be employed by the CIA.

- **Ralph G. Edens:** an old friend of Brown's from the Everglades days; Edens's main claim to fame seems to lie in having not been prosecuted for having undertaken a private bombing raid on Haiti, using a Constellation passenger aircraft and homemade napalm in 55 gallon drums, in 1964. A number of Port au Prince's slum dwellers were burned to death in Edens's "boyish" escapade.

- **John Padgett:** former SOG medic.

- **Philip Gonzalez:** former Special Forces medic.

- **Thomas D. Reisinger:** no real background, reputed to be Brown's CIA control officer.

The purpose of the visits was to assess the potential for an American "private sector" deployment of troops in El Salvador, and to provide training for the rabble of that country's exceptionally brutal *Atlacatl* Regiment. Instruction included the tactics of ambush and patrol, proper utilization of the U.S. light weapons issued to Salvadoran troops as standard gear, and principles of airmobile operations.

Considering these pilot efforts a success, Brown has now publicly offered to replace the hotly contested advisory presence of U.S. Army personnel in El Salvador with professional cadres of his own choosing. Salvadoran fascist leader Roberto d'Aubuisson has accepted the offer in an equally public fashion. Both parties agree that the financial underwriting of such a venture presents no particular problems. Money will be put up, no doubt, by the Salvadoran right, and also in all probability by the same sorts of U.S. rightwing financiers exposed by Ken Lawrence in his 1981 articles, "Behind the Klan's Karibbean Koup Attempt." (See *CAIB* Numbers 13 and 16.) However, the overall scope of the envisioned intervention clearly implies support on a grand scale, the sort historically provided by the CIA.

There is another bit of evidence of the extraordinary coziness which exists between Omega Group and the U.S. intelligence community. It is well known that the American press was barred—ostensibly for its own safety—from the October 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada until the fifth day of military operations on the island.

By then, most resistance had been crushed by Rangers and Marines, the nature of combat unobserved by independent journalists. Perhaps of more importance, the key members of Grenada's government had been arrested, whisked away to an interview-free environment of close confinement, when they were not being paraded, blindfolded and in shackles, through the streets of their capital city. Similarly, intelligence units had gained ample time in which to conduct a thorough survey of the situation, declaring certain buildings and their contents—for reasons of "sensitivity" and "security"—off limits to all but certified "spooks."

While constitutional controversy understandably swirls around this latest abridgement of the First Amendment by the executive branch of government, *Soldier of Fortune* editor Jim Graves announced that his publication was the sole exception to the press ban. In a rather drunken but very well witnessed

exchange in a Boulder, Colorado, restaurant/bar ("The Hungry Farmer") Graves shot from the lip, contending his magazine's "people" were allowed in on the first day, "with the assault troops."



El Nuevo Diario

Sandinista soldiers inspecting wreckage of downed CMA helicopter.

Pastora Flip-Flop

Soldier of Fortune's Steve Salisbury has described his participation in the September 1983 attack on El Castillo, Nicaragua, by Eden Pastora Gomez's Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), and in an earlier ARDE cross-border raid from Costa Rica to rustle cattle from Nicaraguan *campesinos*. "Dr. John," another of the magazine's writer-mercenaries, has written of his adventures in ARDE also.

But the November 1984 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* turned against Pastora, the former Sandinista "Commander Zero," and savaged him with a vengeance. This report revealed, among other things, the falsity of Pastora's public political stance: "His personal bodyguards were, to a man, former members of Somoza's hated *Guardia Nacional*." (Pastora had always insisted that he would not permit former Somocistas in ARDE, and that was his pretext for refusing to merge with the FDN.)

In the belated attack on Pastora he is described as corrupt, inept, and egotistical. "Pastora's reputation as an aggressive military commander has always been largely unmerited."

"Dr. John" uses language rarely seen in *Soldier of Fortune* to describe an ARDE attack on Nicaraguan women and children. "We were on a bullshit mission—a mission that violated international law, human decency and all ideas of right or wrong that I've ever had," he wrote, and "we were led by a fool."

It is an interesting confession, and would have sounded even more convincing had it been published at the time. But for many long months afterward, ARDE and Pastora were heroic "freedom fighters" to the *Soldier of Fortune* faithful.

However, once the CIA's line changed—"CIA control agents *now admit* that they made a big mistake in backing Zero"—*Soldier of Fortune* dutifully switched and parroted the new line. ●

This, of course, could be chalked up merely to sodden stupidity (we *all* tend to exaggerate from time to time) were it not for the fact that Graves also mentioned that this head start had allowed *Soldier of Fortune* to stake out and examine the New Jewel Movement's Central Committee Headquarters.



Jim Graves at NJM Headquarters; Bob Brown in background.

This, he said, had resulted in the magazine's obtaining governmental and party documents marked "secret," not available to the rest of the press.

Certain of the documents have now been published, authenticating at least a portion of Graves's inebriated contentions.* Further, it turns out the U.S. intelligence had the military bar not only the press, but also a Congressional Investigating Committee, from the very same New Jewel Movement headquarters facility to which *Soldier of Fortune* was obviously allowed access. Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Cal.), a member of the committee, was reportedly "stunned" by the implications of the situation. For its part, *Soldier of Fortune* has stated that its cache of documents show that Dellums and several members of Congress are essentially in league with "the communists" (Joe McCarthy's ears must certainly have perked up on that note), although the magazine has yet to print anything illustrating its claims.

Finally, there is the connection of *Soldier of Fortune* to "Civilian Military Assistance," two mercenaries from which recently died in Nicaragua. (See sidebar.)

Conclusion

All in all, given the whole context of circumstances surrounding them, it seems evident that the supposedly "private sector" activities of Robert K. Brown and Omega Group are something else altogether. To the contrary, it is a near certainty that the whole operation is an integral, if little considered, as-

pect of the covert means through which the United States government and its transnational corporate allies plan to continue to assert their hegemony over much of the globe.

Treating Bob Brown as merely a pathetically aging adolescent who never quite outgrew his flirtation with toy soldiers is, in the end, not quite fair. He is that, to be sure, but he is not all posture and pretension. At the very least, he has fashioned a lucrative career out of sending other people off to kill. And to die. The fundamental reality of Omega Group is perhaps best summed up by a poster hanging on the wall of Boulder's *Soldier of Fortune* office complex: featuring a picture of a vulture awaiting its chance to descend upon its prey, the poster reads, "Killing is our business, and business is good."

There is nothing abstract in that honest statement. And the number of corpses strewn like litter across the landscapes of Asia, Africa, and Latin America can attest to the accuracy of its meaning.

A Challenge

A highly decorated officer who served in both Korea and Vietnam recently suggested a way to separate some of the fact from fiction where those associated with *Soldier of Fortune* and Omega Group are concerned. The idea is so simple yet effective that it deserves repeating here.

Each individual serving in the U.S. military is issued "Separation Papers" when leaving the service. While the overall package of such papers may vary (depending on rank, branch of service and so forth), a common denominator is always form DD-214.

The DD-214 form provides a sort of official "mini-history" of an individual's military service, including special schools or training sequences attended (e.g., Airborne training, Ranger training, Special Forces training, etc.), awards and decorations received and so forth.

Since so much of *Soldier of Fortune*'s credibility has been predicated upon the hard-core warrior status of its proprietor, staff and associates, it seems only fair to the public that some of the magazine's statements and allusions to these individuals' backgrounds be substantiated. War stories should be differentiated from war records.

Hence, it would be interesting to see the voluntary publication of the DD-214s of certain key *Soldier of Fortune* personnel, beginning with that of Bob Brown himself. Since there are federal laws prohibiting the alteration of this form, we could all be assured of obtaining some accurate information as to who did (or did not) do what, and when.

This seems a matter of fundamental journalistic concern, and we're all professional journalists here. Right, Bob?

In fact, I'll go one better and make the whole thing materially worthwhile. A challenge: If your DD-214 reveals that you are even qualified to wear the Combat Infantry Badge—the basic award denoting combat service—I'll buy you a brand new beret from Brigade Quartermaster. Deal?

—Ward Churchill

*It has been pointed out that Graves's story could still be malarky, as there are other ways *Soldier of Fortune* could have obtained the documents . . . such as a leak from someone in U.S. intelligence. For our purposes, it doesn't matter, as the same sort of close relationship is implied. The magazine's published version of how it came by the documents—finding and cracking an unguarded safe in the Central Committee HQ (which the rest of the press was too dumb to find) is too transparent to wash.

Nazis and Klansmen:

Soldier of Fortune's Seamy Side

By Ken Lawrence

Whenever *Soldier of Fortune* falls under scrutiny sufficient to challenge its image as simply a fierce partisan voice of swashbuckling adventure and anticommunist opinion, publisher Robert K. Brown seeks refuge behind one group of his critics, those who dismiss him and his followers as a band of loony Walter Mittys. At that point, most investigators shake their heads and move along.

As we have demonstrated many times before, and again in this issue, Brown and his magazine are essential ingredients in the CIA's arsenal of clandestine warfare. But exposing the degree of *Soldier of Fortune's* involvement in recruiting and fielding mercenaries is not sufficient to convey how dangerous the magazine and its imitators really are. As always in these matters, the truth is shrouded in lies and misleading euphemism.

Brown claims that he and his magazine are opposed to racism, the Ku Klux Klan, and Nazis, but the history of *Soldier of Fortune* suggests otherwise. An early issue carried a full page advertisement for the *Spotlight*, Liberty Lobby's weekly tabloid newspaper, which is generally regarded as the largest circulating voice for anti-Semitism and overt racism in the U.S.

The same issue carried another full page promotion for a *Spotlight* "friendship tour" of Rhodesia, while the classifieds, in addition to the usual ads for mercenaries and the John Birch Society, offered a book called *Forced Integration*, "A critical examination of such concepts as equal rights, equal protection of the laws and equality of opportunity."

Racist associations cause Brown occasional embarrassments, but only when they create a public commotion. Then Brown apologizes and retreats.

At the 1980 *Soldier of Fortune* convention in Columbia, Missouri, the keynote speaker was Robin Moore, well known author of *The Green Berets* and other books that romanticize military combat. He had just published *The Crippled Eagles* glorifying the mercenaries in Rhodesia, the favorite *Soldier of Fortune* heroes up to that time. When Moore used racist epithets to denounce then U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young, reporters were astonished. The next day Brown called a news conference to apologize, and said he had told Moore to leave the convention.

For approximately a year after that, *Soldier of Fortune* carried display ads for *The Turner Diaries*, the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi "manual for revolution" described by its publisher as a book which "portrays in stark terms the stern and bloody measures which will be required to set that world right again and put our race once more on the upward path." It contains

grisly arguments for the extermination of people of color, Jews, and white "racial traitors." In the fall of 1981, *Soldier of Fortune* subscribers received a mailing from the National Alliance, the neo-Nazi organization that published *The Turner Diaries*. That brought a loud outcry from Jewish organizations, forcing *Soldier of Fortune's* editors to publish an apology to readers and to drop the National Alliance from its list of advertisers.

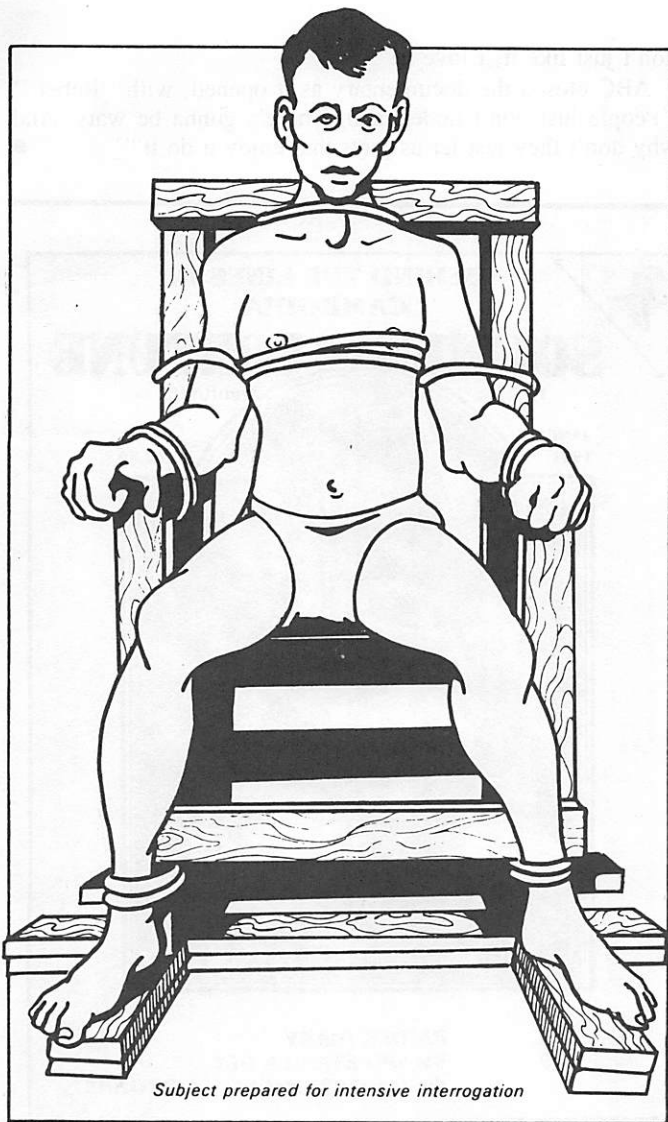
Even so, the classified section still ran recruiting ads for the Christian Patriots Defense League, an ultraright paramilitary organization with links to Liberty Lobby, the National Alliance, and the Ku Klux Klan, until the former managing editor was embarrassed about them in a debate with this writer. Other racist organizations still are permitted to advertise in *Soldier of Fortune*, as are purveyors of Nazi regalia and other pro-Nazi books.

Paladin Press, the publishing house associated with *Soldier of Fortune*, markets a whole library of manuals on murder and mayhem. The six-volume set *How to Kill* is listed under "self defense," presumably to allay the suspicions of critical investigators; in fact its purpose is to teach assassination techniques. Here's an example from Volume V:

"An effective gag may be had from a tennis or sponge rubber ball. By forcing it into the subject's mouth it is retained and cannot be withdrawn as it expands to fill the mouth cavity. . . . For purposes of this study: By soaking the ball with *ipeccac* (uanha) or similar *emetic*, the vomit will be forced into his air passages, effectively drowning him. After expiration the ball can be pierced and removed."

The latest volume tells how to prepare a rope for a hanging, presumably in deference to Paladin's KKK followers. Another Paladin book, *Hit Man*, is by a professional killer, according to the advertisement. "Learn how a pro makes a living at this craft without landing behind bars. Read how he gets assignments, creates a false working identity, makes a disposable silencer, leaves the scene without a trace, watches his mark unobserved, and more."

Other series teach *Techniques of Harassment* and *Get Even: The Complete Book of Dirty Tricks*, both multi-volume sets. One provides detailed information on how to break into the home of someone you don't like and destroy virtually everything he or she owns in almost no time at all. Shortly after the volume containing that item appeared, vandals attacked a desegregated public school in Jackson, Mississippi, using methods described in the book, leaving the worst devastation police and school officials had ever seen, including the initials "KKK" spray painted on one of the walls.



Subject prepared for intensive interrogation

Illustration from *Elementary Field Interrogation*.

The 34-page Paladin catalog also lists a series of booklets offering instructions on how to convert semi-automatic firearms, sold legally for sporting purposes, into fully automatic illegal machine guns, and others on how to manufacture firearm silencers, which are also illegal. Machine guns are strictly military weapons; only murderers and assassins would have use for a silencer. The rest of Paladin's books follow the same vein.

Another *Soldier of Fortune* advertiser publishes a torture manual titled *Elementary Field Interrogation*. The author, "a former U.S. Army Special Forces soldier who took part in the notorious Phoenix Program in Southeast Asia," methodically arranges the lessons. First he lists the universal fears that the torturer should seek to arouse in his victim: sexual mutilation, physical mutilation, blinding, debilitation, and prolonged agony. Then he gets specific:

"Ignite a piece of C-4 in front of your subject and use it to boil water in a small pot. Say nothing to him while the water comes to a boil, which should take only a few seconds. Let the subject observe the intense heat generated by the little bit of C-4. Pour a little of the boiling water on his genitals for effect, if you wish.

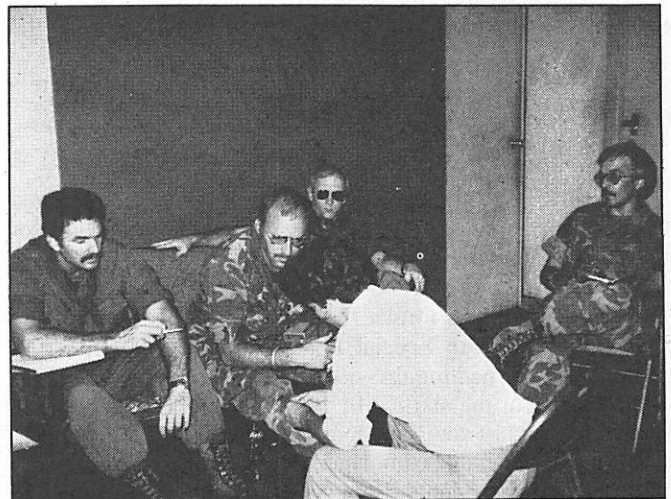
"Now, take a similar amount amount of the same explosive and tape it over the subject's eye, leaving one eye unobstructed

to see that you are holding a lighted match within a few inches of the material on his eye. Begin your questions, if the subject panics or refuses to answer, hold the flame to his nipple to let him know you're serious. No one wants to be blinded by fire." That is a portion of torture number 5, titled "the cook out."

The manual is fully illustrated. The author advises that prisoners should be killed quietly. "Gunshots from beyond a hill-top are not conducive to credibility. Use bayonets or clubs to do the job." And make certain they stay dead. "A badly injured enemy who digs himself out of a shallow grave is the worst sort of propaganda."

The U.S. government can't afford to be caught disseminating a book like *Elementary Field Interrogation*, but it's must reading for mercenaries, and a hot seller at their gatherings. A comparable guide for *Soldier of Fortune* readers who prefer to administer their mayhem on the homefront is *Vigilante Handbook*. The author says that for vigilantes, "torture is accepted as a legitimate technique," and he, too, provides step by step instructions, but without pictures. He declares that hanging is "obsolete . . . clumsy and inefficient." Instead he recommends assassination by gun, knife, or bludgeon. And so on.

When *Soldier of Fortune*'s former managing editor, Jim Graves (later its "chief foreign correspondent" and now "Washington bureau chief"), was questioned by a reporter about torture manuals and racist publications sold through *Soldier of Fortune*, he admitted that Paladin Press and other advertisers are free to promote these items in the magazine and do so, but he said they are included in the interests of "free speech," not because they reflect *Soldier of Fortune*'s point of view. Had the reporter been better prepared, he could have proven that Graves was a liar. (We shall leave aside the matter of whether Graves would adopt this civil libertarian stance if offered an advertisement by a liberal or leftist publisher.)



Journalists? Jones, Padgett, Brown, and Early interrogate guerrilla suspect at request of Salvadorans, late 1983.

On March 19, 1981, ABC broadcast an hour long documentary program on mercenaries called *Soldiers of the Twilight*. It opened with shots of a U.S. mercenary who had recently returned to California after fighting the losing war to preserve white supremacy in Rhodesia. He was called "Rebel, to keep his real name secret." In the ABC interview, "Rebel" told of his mercenary experience proudly:

"The blacks over there are not equal to the whites. Once in a while you've got to ask a prisoner, 'is the road up ahead there

mined?" For any liberal that's interested in brutality, let him get in the truck and him drive down that road. You tie the guy to the front of your truck and go down. . . . Man, we just swept through there like the hand of God. But I'll be back, and I'll bring you a string of ears."

"Rebel" is a *Soldier of Fortune* folk hero; his name is Michael Peirce. Peirce's model was always Heinz Guderian, the German general who commanded Adolf Hitler's war against the Soviet Union. A dabbler in music, "Rebel" carried a copy of Guderian's book *Panzer Leader* in his guitar case.

Peirce was prompted to join the Rhodesian army as a mercenary by an article in the January 1979 issue of *Soldier of Fortune* by Robert K. Brown himself. When he read "The Black Devils" about Rhodesia's elite armored corps commanded by Major Darrell Winkler, a U.S. mercenary, "the magical word *panzergrenadier* flashed in my mind like a bloody great neon sign," Peirce later wrote, so off he went.

When *Soldier of Fortune* published "Rebel" Peirce's three part memoir beginning in its December 1981 issue, the crude racism captured by the ABC cameras was missing, but it remains a revealing portrayal of mercenary life even after being sanitized. His matter-of-fact anecdotes range from tales of celebrating leave singing Wehrmacht songs "with a bunch of people who might be described as unsavory at best" to battle experiences: "Six wounded prisoners were questioned, then taken for a one-way walk in the woods." On another occasion, "We killed the wounded terrorist with an eagerness that chills me in retrospect."

It is unfortunate that Peirce wasn't available as a witness when the "human rights" organization Freedom House was proclaiming the election of Bishop Abel Muzorewa as Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia "free and fair." Here is his account:

"Next stop: the polling booth. We shot anybody who didn't want to vote or tried to run away. Even I had to vote.

"But, Sarge, I can't vote here. I'm an American."

"You Yanks are always talking about democracy; here's your big chance. You're going to vote."

"But who do I vote for?"

"The kaffir of your choice."

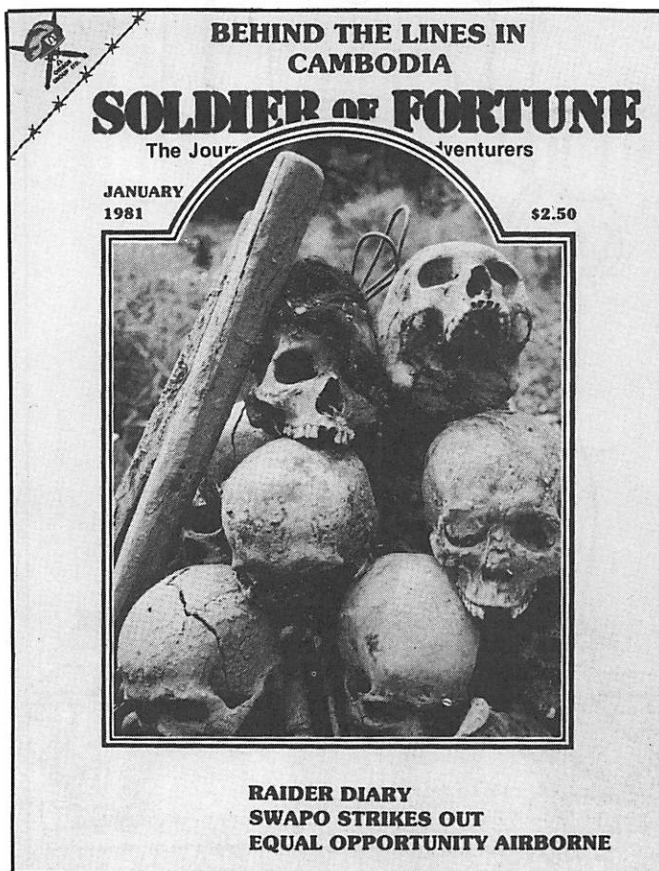
Ironically, the article by Robert K. Brown that recruited "Rebel" to mercenary service was published in part to promote that "democratic" election.

Another of *Soldier of Fortune*'s heroes is Major L. H. "Mike" Williams. A former U.S. Army officer with the 10th Special Forces, 77th Special Forces Group, and 101st Airborne, Williams had fought with Michael Hoare's mercenaries in the Congo in the sixties. In 1975 he returned to Africa in search of "one last war" and joined the Rhodesian army. Eventually he became the commander of the elite horse cavalry unit called Grey's Scouts. But even Ian Smith had to get rid of him after photographs of troops under his command engaged in torturing prisoners were obtained by U.S. newspapers and published. One showed a Rhodesian soldier holding one end of a rope; at the other end was a noose around the neck of an African prisoner. Two others were similarly damning.

After his expulsion from Africa, Williams moved on to El Salvador. When ABC interviewed him in 1980 he was plotting a coup somewhere else, but he was nostalgic about life as a Rhodesian mercenary. "Where in the world could you get a job riding horses and killing Marxists and having a good old time?" By 1981 he was looking for another war, perhaps in Central America again. "The fact is that I really love this. I

don't just like it, I love it."

ABC closed the documentary as it opened, with "Rebel." "People just don't understand. There's gonna be wars. And why don't they just let us guys that enjoy it do it?"



Soldier of Fortune's hypocrisy knows no bounds. When the CIA issues marching orders, its editors fall in without hesitation, and without a look back. Shown here is the cover of the January 1981 issue (actually on the stands in November of 1980). It was illustrating an article on the holocaust in Kampuchea committed by the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. But even as this issue was on sale, the decision to provide clandestine CIA support for the Khmer Rouge forces was being taken to destabilize the Heng Samrin government backed by Vietnam which had ousted Pol Pot.

Even before Reagan was inaugurated he had dispatched old CIA hand Ray Cline on a goodwill mission to Ieng Sary's Khmer Rouge base in Thailand, and since that time the U.S. has tried to unify the various Kampuchean exile groups, including the Khmer Rouge, into a coherent opposition. The August 1984 issue of Soldier of Fortune carried a feature by Jim Graves promoting the opposition forces attempting to overthrow the Heng Samrin government. In the earlier portrayal Pol Pot was the murderer of three million Cambodians who presided over a "horror chamber." Now he's an ally.

"There is little love for Pol Pot," writes Graves, "but all the Khmer leaders and governments supporting the resistance movement realize that any attempt to oust the powerful Pol Pot would be impossible and only result in the breakup of the resistance coalition."

Nicaragua Update:

Feverish Overthrow Plan Builds Toward Climax

By Louis Wolf

As Daniel Ortega stood before the United Nations October 2, his country faced an ongoing war of aggression which no one still calls covert. "We want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves, if imperialist strategy leaves us no other choice," he declared.

However, the U.S. has made it clear that peace is not part of its agenda. Just weeks before Ortega's arrival U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick noted that, "if reelected, President Reagan will step up aid" to the *contras*. Since 1982 the U.S. has spent over \$150 million on the "covert" war, in addition to the acknowledged Pentagon expenditures, mostly in Honduras. Under-Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs, 30-year CIA veteran Nestor Sanchez, told journalists on September 28, "Our policies [regarding Nicaragua] are working."

The U.S. War Policy

What has been the thrust of those policies? The clear pattern of military exercises in the region, with increasing numbers of Special Forces, Army Engineers and Airborne units, Navy SEAL teams, and others training Honduran, Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Panamanian paramilitary personnel, leaves no doubt that Washington has chosen a military solution.

Since 1981, the inexorable buildup in Honduras has been overwhelming (see *CAIB* Number 18). Honduras has been transformed into the CIA/Pentagon launching pad for the war against Nicaragua. Indeed there is a striking similarity between the role of Honduras today and that of Thailand during the Vietnam War. Prior to Reagan there were no more than 30 U.S. military personnel in Honduras. By 1983 there were about 350

permanent military advisers and several hundred CIA personnel (see *Time* magazine, December 6, 1982). At present there are between one and two thousand U.S. troops in Honduras on what the Pentagon calls "an interim presence basis," and many hundreds of CIA officers and agents. In addition, thousands of troops are deployed in Honduras in the nearly non-stop succession of joint military exercises. More than \$250 million has been spent on such exercises in 1984 alone, with the total for 1985 expected to be double that (*South* magazine, June 1984).



Reviewing the troops(left to right): John D. Negroponte, Roberto Suazo Cordova, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, and Gen. Paul Gorman.

Pat Flynn

From the beginning, the bottom line of U.S. policy towards the Sandinista government has been its overthrow. John D. Negroponte was sent to Tegucigalpa as Ambassador in August 1981, his Embassy was upgraded in importance, and Honduras began to be speckled with U.S. military installations which, Congress was originally told, were purely temporary. Only later did visiting Members of Congress, and the General Accounting Office, learn that most of the mushrooming bases were permanent.

There are now more than 12 separate facilities in use, with others under construction. U.S. military aid to Honduras has multiplied ten-fold during the Reagan administration and more than \$100 million has already been spent on the facilities with nearly \$500 million appropriated for this fiscal year. (Honduras also serves as a base for U.S. personnel in El Salvador, where Congress has set a limit of 55 "advisers." The nearby bases give the Pentagon a "24-hour use of manpower," according to a diplomat quoted in the London *Financial Times*, May 1, 1984.)

Honduras and the *Contras*

The primary reason for the dramatic militarization of Honduras is the presence there of the largest private army the CIA has ever fielded. The *contras*' numbers have grown in direct proportion to CIA involvement and U.S. aid. Today there are an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 *contras* out to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, about three-fourths of them with the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) along the Honduras-Nicaragua border and the remainder with the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) along the Costa Rica-Nicaragua border. Both groups have been organized by the CIA and the

U.S. military with Special Forces style command structures, and U.S. arms, equipment, and logistics. Green Berets have been training *contras* and, according to some detailed reports (see Allan Nairn's investigation in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, May-June 1984), accompanying them on terrorist missions inside Nicaragua.

In the last two years, "the U.S. has established the essential infrastructure to launch a large scale intervention anywhere in Central America from Honduras." (*Financial Times*, May 1, 1984.) The scope of operations can be glimpsed by reports that on one of the U.S. bases, the Jamastran air base just north of the border, U.S. military vehicles consume more than 1,400 gallons of fuel each day.

Byproducts of the U.S. presence in Honduras include the emergence of a flourishing black market in U.S. goods and currency, increased prostitution, and a growing level of repression. At least 112 people have "disappeared," believed victims of secret paramilitary teams. There has also been a dramatic rise in public opposition to the government's fawning subservience to the U.S., opposition which led to the ouster of former armed forces commander Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, and demonstrations against President Roberto Suazo Cordova and what is called "the U.S. occupation." The largest such demonstration took place in Tegucigalpa on September 16.

CAIB learned on a recent visit to Nicaragua that Honduran soldiers participate in the U.S. advisers' sessions with the *contras*, where the rebels are told that "soon the U.S. Marines will be backing you up directly . . . one day you will be in charge of the Nicaraguan military . . . now go on down there and fight and kill the enemy." But the *contras* are facing a determined foe in the Nicaraguan people and have taken more than 3,000

Military Maneuvers in Central America

The following is a summary of U.S. military maneuvers in Central America since President Reagan took office. Most of the material first appeared in the July issue of *El Salvador's Link*, and was reprinted in the August issue of *Lucha*.

Falcon's Eye: October 1981; naval maneuvers near Puerto Cortes, Honduras; 300 troops, including 130 U.S. personnel, 6 ships.

Combined Movement: July-August 1982; construction of permanent Honduran base at Durzana, 25 miles from the Nicaraguan border; 30 U.S. support troops, U.S.-supplied C-130 transport planes, Huey and Chinook helicopters.

Big Pine I (Ahuas Tara I): February 1983; mock defense of Honduras from attack by "Red Army," 25 miles from the Nicaraguan border; 1,600 U.S. Army, Navy, and Air force personnel, 4,000 Honduran troops.

Big Pine II: August 1983 to February 1984; included practice bombing runs at San Lorenzo, near El Salvador and Nicaragua, a massive amphibious landing near Puerto Castilla, and a field training exercise in eastern Honduras, near the Nicaraguan border; 5,500 U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force troops and Navy tactical air crews, two aircraft carriers with battle group escorts, several thousand Honduran troops and officials.

Emergency Deployment Readiness: March 1984; testing of tactics and medical, communication, and survival capabilities, 25 miles north of Tegucigalpa; 40 U.S. Special forces and 150-200 Honduran Special Forces.

Kilo Punch: March 1984; paratrooping near the Palmerola airfield and securing of the San Lorenzo airfield by combined airborne and air assault forces; 350 U.S. personnel and 130 Honduran airborne infantrymen.

Granadero I: April to June 1984; upgrading of airfields at Cucuyagua and Jamastran, near the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan borders respectively,

in order to accommodate C-130 transport planes, counterinsurgency training, and an airborne helicopter assault operation; 800 U.S. Army engineers, 200-250 U.S. Air Force personnel, an additional 750-800 U.S. troops, and 1,200 Honduran troops, with some Panamanian, Guatemalan, and Salvadoran troops.

Lightening II: April 1984; paratrooper assault to secure an operations base from which to stage an attack on an airfield, near Aguacate, 120 miles northeast of Tegucigalpa and 60 miles from the Nicaraguan border; 170 Honduran Special Forces and 120 U.S. Army troops.

King's Guard: April to May 1984; U.S. ships to detect vessels on their radar and pass information to Salvadoran and Honduran patrols, which then practiced surveillance and interdiction operations, in the Gulf of Fonseca; two U.S. destroyers, *U.S.S. Deyo*, guided missile frigate *U.S.S. Reid*, and members of the 193rd Infantry Brigade based in Panama, Salvadoran patrol boats based at La Union and 100 Salvadoran personnel, Honduran patrol boats and 75 personnel based at the Ampara naval facility on Tiger Island.

Big Pine III: June 1984 to present; similar to Big Pine II; over 20,000 troops from Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala, and over 6,000 U.S. troops.

Lempira: September to October 1984; joint U.S.-Honduran counterinsurgency exercise, part of series of exercises called Bigger Focus, with night landings and deployments, air and parachute drops, ground assaults, and training on how to operate on short or no advance notice; several hundred troops from U.S. 7th Special Forces Group of Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, and Ft. Davis (formerly Ft. Gulik), Panama, with task force headquartered at Comayagua, and Honduran 7th, 10th, and 12th Infantry Battalions.

casualties in just four months of 1984. During August alone there were 122 separate battles with the *contras*.

The Nicaraguan population has suffered greatly also. As of July 1984 there were 2,311 dead, 1,900 wounded, and 3,720 disappeared or kidnapped at the hands of the *contras*. There has been at least \$237 million in damages to the Nicaraguan economy directly from the CIA's war.

A continuing *contra* tactic is wholesale kidnapping. In early September, 32 civilians were kidnapped; at least 80 people have disappeared since July. On September 5, an armed *contra* band seized scholar Ray Hooker Taylor, FSLN political secretary Patricia Delgado, and riverboat pilot Santiago Mayorka as they crossed the Rio Grande River during the election campaign. Hooker is a well-known academic, director of the Moravian School, and an authority on Atlantic Coast affairs. He is a very popular candidate for the National Assembly.

U.S.-*Contra* Ties

U.S. officials readily acknowledge the FDN-CIA ties, but U.S. links with ARDE are less well known, despite bragging by ARDE leader Alfonso Robelo on Costa Rican television this spring that ARDE was getting "aid from the American taxpayer." Mariello Serrano, a Nicaraguan state security official, successfully infiltrated ARDE for two years, becoming one of Edén Pastora's bodyguards. On his return home Serrano told how Pastora was receiving \$600,000 a month from the CIA and how he had lengthy meetings with William Casey, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and other U.S. officials.

Congressionally imposed restrictions on aid to the *contras* have required ingenuity on Casey's part as the CIA circumvents the will of Congress. In addition to the "privatization" of the war (described elsewhere in this issue), and to the not-so-subtle transfer of Pentagon assets to the CIA's minions, government and FDN sources have asserted to the *New York Times* (September 9, 1984) that Israel, Guatemala, Argentina, Venezuela, and Taiwan have all been used to launder money and materiel for the *contras*. Congressional cutoffs have not appeared to daunt the FDN. In an October 3 press release from Washington, FDN chief Adolfo Calero said, "We are not going to quit . . . we receive help from others who are sympathetic to our cause."

In August the Nicaraguan government uncovered evidence that the CIA was planning as part of its range of options an attempt to split the FSLN leadership, perhaps coupled with an assassination made to look like the result of an internal power struggle. One indication was the full-page advertisements which appeared in newspapers in Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Panama, signed by a fictitious "Friends of Tomás Borge." The ads said, "Not Cruz. Not Ortega. Borge for President."

U.S. attempts to damage the Nicaraguan economy even include the Embassy, which converts its local employees' dollar wages at black market rates.

Recent Events

The following are some major recent events in the CIA's war against Nicaragua. (See *CAIB* Number 21 for our previous update.)

• June 1: Secretary of State George Shultz visited Managua for a few hours and met with Junta Coordinator Daniel Ortega, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, and Ambassador to the U.S. Antonio Jarquin. At dawn the same morning more than 600 FDN *contras* invaded Ocotal, destroying a lumber mill and a coffee drying plant, destroying a grain storage facility and a

power station, and burning down the offices of Radio Segovia, its employees still in the building. Fifteen townspeople were murdered in all, and more than 50 *contras* were killed in the fighting.

• June 3: ARDE leader Robelo acknowledged his support for the inclusion of former Somoza National Guardsmen in ARDE. He insisted the ex-Guardia should be forgiven if they would fight on the frontlines. (Since the bungled attempt to assassinate Pastora on May 30, the CIA has eased out Pastora in order to unify ARDE and FDN.)

• June 7: Adolfo Calero declared, "We have instructions from the Northamerican government to attack the most important centers of production and then retreat into the mountains."

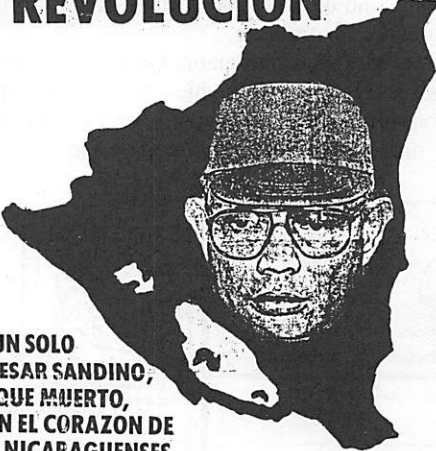
• June 12, 18, and 20: Over 500 demoralized ARDE members deserted the organization and turned themselves in to Costa Rican authorities.

• June 14: Reliable reports indicated that FDN members participated in the Granadero I military exercises in Honduras, receiving training.

• June 15: A 70-man *contra* invasion from Costa Rica was repelled, and hundreds of rifles, grenade launchers, mortars, cannons, machine guns, and Claymore mines were captured, along with sophisticated signals communications gear, and a portable field hospital and operating room. Identification documents found on several dead *contras* showed they were from Guatemala, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

LA PRENSA LIBRE, Managua 8 de agosto de 1984

BORGE DEBE RESCATAR LA REVOLUCION



HABIA UN SOLO
AUGUSTO CESAR SANDINO,
Y EL, AUNQUE MUERTO,
VIVE AUN EN EL CORAZON DE
TODOS LOS NICARAGUENSES.

VIVE AUN UN SOLO FUNDADOR DEL FRENTE SANDINISTA DE
LIBERACION NACIONAL (F. S. L. N.), Y EL ES EL COMANDANTE
TOMAS BORGE MARTINEZ.

EL COMANDANTE BORGE ES EL ULTIMO REVOLUCIONARIO
SANDINISTA VERDADERO, Y EL SOLO PUEDE LLEVAR A NICARAGUA
A LA REALIZACION DE LA PROMESA DE LA REVOLUCION DE 1979.

¡BORGE PARA PRESIDENTE DE NICARAGUA!

¡NI ORTEGA NI CRUZ!

FIRMA RESPONSABLE:
COMITE PARA LA GUERRA
POPULAR PROLONGADA...
AMIGOS DE TOMAS BORGE

SAN JOSE, 7 DE AGOSTO DE 1984

Provocative Borge ad in Costa Rican paper.

- June 17: Pedro Hernán Espinoza Sánchez (known as "El Pez" or "The Fish") was arrested and confessed that for three and a half years he had been working with FDN to try to form an "internal front" coalition of right-wing business, labor, and religious leaders. He said he had received training from U.S. and Argentinian advisers in the use of explosives to sabotage factories, buses, and electric plants, and had handled more than \$220,000 in operational funds.

- June 19: A group of ARDE *contras* attempted unsuccessfully to introduce counterfeit currency in Nueva Guinea.

- July 1 and 2: Some 150 *contras* attacked El Tortuguero

and destroyed a health center which was due to open shortly. In a fierce ten-hour battle, 15 Sandinistas and 36 *contras* were killed.

- July 5: Authorities announced the discovery of CIA *Operation Black Moon*, which had intended to deploy over 4,500 *contras* in northern Nicaragua in a huge offensive aimed at seizing some territory to set up a "provisional government" which would then ask for U.S. intervention.

- July 8: CBS News reported that the CIA was using Southern Air Transport of Miami, Evergreen Air of Tucson, and Summit Aviation of Delaware to move arms and equipment for

CIA Terror Manual

The CIA usually trains in secret those upon whom it relies to do its dirty work, but the urgent timetable in Nicaragua has apparently caused a deviation from the norm.

During June 1984 there suddenly appeared in the border town of Ocotol, Nicaragua—just after a June 1 FDN attack—a 16-page printed pamphlet in comic book form, entitled "Manual of Struggle for Liberty." Though designed to look as though it had been produced locally and clandestinely by the FDN, the Associated Press confirmed through official sources that the manual was the handiwork of the CIA.

This "practical guide to liberate Nicaragua from the oppression and paralyzing misery" of the "traitor" government presents ideas and semi-technical information for use in sabotage and destruction, without requiring money, special resources, or training.

Several features of the manual confirm its foreign origin. It casually suggests tasks which are not appropriate to the conditions of most Nicaraguans, such as methods of disrupting one's telephone service. The facial features of the

"saboteurs" in the manual are more Northamerican than Central American. The man who falsely calls in sick to work is seen sprawled in a lounge chair drinking a cocktail. And the Spanish in the text is different from colloquial Nicaraguan Spanish.

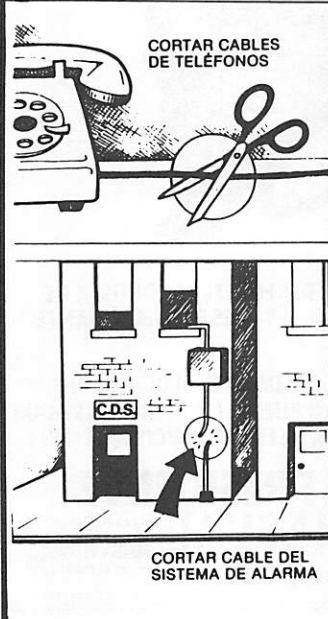
Some of the tasks the CIA instructs the manual's readers to do include:

Going to work late; calling in sick; failing to repair vehicles; throwing tools down drains; leaving water taps on; leaving lights on; short circuiting the electricity; breaking light bulbs; dropping typewriters; and ripping up books.

Others include: spreading rumors; hoarding food; threatening supervisors and officials over the phone; painting anti-government slogans on walls; putting dirt or water in gas tanks; and stopping up toilets and sewers.

Others are more sinister and dangerous, including: cutting fire alarm cables and calling in false alarms; throwing nails and rocks on highways; setting fires in storage areas; and throwing Molotov cocktails at fuel storage areas.

This is the CIA at work.



BOMBA INCENDIARIA ("COCTEL MOLOTOF")

1. LLENAR DE GASOLINA, LUZ BRILLANTE (KEROSÉN) O COMBUSTIBLE DIESEL UNA BOTELLA DE CUELLO ESTRECHO; MEJOR AUN SI SE LE AÑADE ASERRÍN DE MADERA O JABÓN RAYADO.

2. INTRODUCIR UN TRAPO EN LA BOTELLA HASTA QUE UN EXTREMO ROCE EL LÍQUIDO Y EL OTRO SE EXTIENDA NO MENOS DE 20 CMS DE LA BOCA DE LA BOTELLA. SELLAR FIRMEMENTE LA BOTELLA CON UNA CINTA O VENDA.

3. PARA ACTIVAR EL DISPOSITIVO:
A) SOSTENER LA BOTELLA EN UNA MANO EXTENDIENDO BIEN EL BRAZO.
B) ENCENDER CON LA OTRA MANO EL TRAPO.
C) LANZAR INMEDIATAMENTE LA BOTELLA ENCENDIDA CONTRA EL OBJETIVO, CON FUERZA SUFICIENTE PARA QUE SE ROMPA AL HACER IMPACTO.

Pages from CIA Manual.

the *contras* to U.S. bases in Honduras.

- July 25: A small village north of Matagalpa was hit by a band of 60 *contras* who, according to villagers, literally tore a child to pieces and repeatedly raped and then killed its mother. Fifty-two of the attackers were killed when pursued by government troops.

- July 27: *Contras* attacked a small town on the Pacific coast where voter registration was about to begin and beheaded eight peasants in view of their families. Villagers were warned that the same fate would befall them if they registered.

- August 9: *Contras* shot and decapitated all three members of a *campesino* family.

- August 27: A U.S.-made C-47 plane on a *contra* resupply mission was shot down south of Quilalí. The crew included the personal pilot of Somoza's son.

- September 1: *Contras* murdered six civilians, including an 11 year-old child, on the Puerto Cabezas highway.

- September 2: The Voice of America announced plans to install a powerful relay station at Quesada, Costa Rica, near the border, for the express purpose of transmitting anti-Sandinista propaganda into Nicaragua. The arrangement was facilitated through a secret contract signed by U.S. Ambassador Curtin Winsor and President Luis Alberto Monge.

- September 5: Six *contras* tried unsuccessfully to kidnap and assassinate the Delegate Minister to the Atlantic Coast, Comandante Lumberto Campbell.

- September 7: Four agrarian workers were kidnapped near Monkey Point; the body of one was later found.

- September 12: ARDE leader Fernando Chamorro Rapaoli called for direct U.S. intervention as the "only means to overthrow the Nicaraguan government." ARDE also announced that it was going to mine the Rio San Juan, which separates Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

- September 20: Right-wing sometime presidential candidate Arturo Cruz was campaigning in León; his entourage was accompanied by diplomatic vehicles from the U.S. Embassy.

- September 29: During a meeting of the foreign ministers of the ten-nation European Economic Community on economic and political cooperation with Central America, in San José, Costa Rica, a letter to all the ministers from George Shultz was leaked to reporters. It strongly urged that the meeting "not lead to increased economic aid or any political support for the Sandinistas." French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson responded, "Where does Mr. Reagan come in here? As far as I know he is not a member of the European Community, unless it has happened in the last few minutes. As far as I know, he is not a member of the Central American community. . . ."

Conclusion

The centerpiece of Washington's ongoing war is the constant barrage of psychological warfare directed at the people of the United States. A day does not go by without high government officials, usually, though not always, off the record, decrying the Nicaraguan government and its Sandinista leaders. The *contras* are called the forces of freedom who will restore democracy to Nicaragua. For a time, lip service was paid to the Contadora group's efforts to draft a peace treaty, but even that pretense has been abandoned as Nicaragua wholeheartedly adopted the efforts of Contadora.

The spectre of armed U.S. intervention in the very near future remains real. Nicaraguan intelligence suggests that *contras* or Honduran soldiers, dressed as Sandinista forces, may undertake a mission to kill some Honduran soldiers or civilians

as a provocation. President Suazo would call the White House, denounce the "invasion," and plead for U.S. help.

"Because it is a rich and powerful country," charged Foreign Minister D'Escoto recently, "the United States mistakenly believes that it is the Lord and Master of the world. . . . The justification for attacking Nicaragua has been based on false information gathered by the U.S. administration, which has proclaimed itself as accuser, judge, and jury over the Nicaraguan government."

Whatever happens, Nicaraguans live by the words of their national hero, General Augusto César Sandino, in 1927: "Nicaragua proved before the eyes of the world that its national honor is not to be sullied, that there still remained sons who, with their blood, would wash out the stains left by others."

Secret GAO Report

CAIB has obtained documentary evidence of further collaboration between the Pentagon and the CIA in the Honduras-based prosecution of the war against Nicaragua. In mid-1984 the General Accounting Office (GAO) issued a 21-page report classified "Secret - No Foreign Dissemination." The report was in response to a series of 27 questions posed by a Member of Congress.

Question Five asked: "Under which U.S. federal statutes relating to national defense and/or international relations is DOD authorized to 'loan,' temporarily assign or otherwise make available to the Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. military personnel or civilians funded with DOD money or money appropriated to the President for planning and/or carrying out strategic, tactical, and/or psychological warfare activities in foreign nations or for training and/or equipping foreign nationals for such activities? Please cite examples of such occurrences in and/or outside Central America."

The GAO replied that the CIA "declined to provide us with answers to your questions" on the grounds that they had already briefed the House and Senate intelligence committees. A Pentagon official told the GAO that the 1957 Command Relationships Agreement (CRA) was the basis for Pentagon resource sharing with the CIA and for reimbursement to the DOD by the CIA, but that the CRA was not available for GAO to read nor were they allowed to discuss the issue with DOD because of the CIA's position. The GAO concluded that they were unaware of any audit or review of the CRA.

Further, the report noted, "A member of the Joint Task Force (JTF-11) Command told us, however, that on one occasion DOD personnel/aircraft were used to transport ammunition for the CIA. In addition, U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) officials informed us that the austere base, 8,000 foot landing strip, and the water system, constructed by the 46th Combat Engineers at Aguacate will be left behind for use by CIA personnel."

These facilities, and others, perhaps millions of dollars worth, are being used exclusively for, and ultimately by, the *contras*, in violation of all congressional restrictions.

"Privatizing" the War

By Fred Clarkson*

The Cold War notion of "rolling back the Soviet empire" has returned, and the anti-communist crusade has undergone an unprecedented revival. While this movement is taking many forms, one of the most important is the increasing involvement of ostensibly independent private groups in providing "humanitarian" as well as logistical and training aid to various anti-communist "liberation movements." However, some, if not all, of these efforts appear to have been instigated and orchestrated by the Reagan administration in a thinly disguised end run past Congress's efforts to assert its constitutional role and control the CIA.

The media, led by the *New York Times*, have reported on the "privatization" of the covert war against Nicaragua, with new revelations almost daily. Of particular interest are reports of food, medical, and military aid channeled through a host of right-wing political groups and non-profit agencies, sometimes shipped by military transport planes. Similar aid is being provided to the government of El Salvador. (See *New York Times*, July 15, 1984; *National Catholic Reporter*, August 3, 1984.)

The groups claim that most of the aid is sent by private carrier, but CAIB has learned that at least one of the main suppliers is World Medical Relief, which has a long history of collaboration with the CIA and U.S. military operations (see CAIB Number 18). Another principal supplier to the *contras* is CAUSA, the political arm of the Unification Church of Korean cult leader Sun Myung Moon (see CAIB Number 20). CAUSA also has close ties to the intelligence community, and through its president, retired Air Force General E. David Woellner, has links to the CIA/military "humanitarian assistance" programs in Southeast Asia. Another piece of the puzzle is a new organization, the Freedom Research Foundation (FRF), which functions as a networking and public relations agency among and on behalf of Third World anti-communist groups.

Wheeler Dealer

The principal operator of FRF is Jack Wheeler, 41, self-described adventurer-philosopher, who traveled from June to November, 1983, with "anti-Soviet liberation movements" in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Angola, on a grant from the right-wing Reason Foundation of Santa Barbara, California. Afterwards, with the help of the Conservative Caucus in Washington, Wheeler founded FRF. He is currently on another such tour, sending colorful dispatches for the front pages of the *Washington Times*. His first piece (August 10, 1984) was headlined, "Robin Hood Commandos Battle Odds In Cambodia." Similar pieces have appeared on Afghanistan,

Mozambique, and Burma. At press time Wheeler was again in Nicaragua. Accounts of Wheeler's earlier expeditions have appeared in *Reason Magazine* and in *Human Events*.

In his "biographical summary," Wheeler states, "There are wars of liberation in eight Soviet colonies right now. . . . In Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam—with more on the way. . . . The Soviet Empire may be on the verge of breaking up. . . ." In an FRF funding proposal Wheeler claims that successful



E. David Woellner.

Third World insurgencies could lead to liberation of Soviet republics such as "Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the Islamic states of Soviet Central Asia."

In a speech before the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington, D.C. last March, Wheeler de-

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tailed his view of the Soviet Union and tactics for "dismemberment." He sees the Soviet Union as the last of the European imperial powers, an expansionist state fueled by "missionary Marxism," and proposes that Americans start "doing to the Soviets precisely what they have been trying to do to us, and that is employ a . . . strategy of subversion and propaganda" to foment ethnic and nationalist conflicts within the Soviet Union itself. He thinks this strategy could lead to "peace" such as that enjoyed by "former enemies" from England to Japan, as well as to "the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. as a political entity." He calls for "intelligence operations to carry this out, in ways which would make clear to Moscow: Disarmament or dismemberment, take your choice."

The big question now is less Reagan's foreign policy intentions, which seem clear, than whether these anti-communist movements are being instigated and supplied by the CIA and other government agencies, and whether the administration is orchestrating private aid in order to circumvent congressional restrictions, particularly in Central America. In the case of FRF, the presence of officials of the Defense Department and a major military contractor on Wheeler's original board of three is suggestive. The others are Alex Alexiev, of the National Security Division of the Rand Corporation, author of the 1983 Rand study, "The New Soviet Strategy in the Third World"; and Mike Kelly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower and Personnel, a former legislative assistant and press secretary for Senators William Armstrong (R-Colo.) and John Tower (R-Tex.).

So far the administration has admitted only that it has not discouraged private aid to the *contras*, but State Department spokesperson Alan Romberg conceded this was a conscious decision undertaken "when it appeared that the Congress would go into recess in July without having provided all the funding that had been requested and was acutely needed for Central America." (*New York Times*, September 12, 1984.) The case of Tom Posey and the Civilian-Military Assistance group that sponsored the U.S. mercenaries killed in Nicaragua raised the question of the legality of such operations as well as of the administration's knowing failure to stop them. The Neutrality Act prohibits private support or participation in military actions against countries at peace with the U.S. The issue was raised in Congress and the media (see, e.g., *New York Times*, September 10, 1984; *Washington Times*, September 12, 1984; *Wall Street Journal*, September 6, 1984, *Viewpoint*, by Alexander Cockburn), but appears to have been eclipsed by the election campaigns.

The Moser Memorandum

The externalized and privatized aid and public relations program of the American right wing dates back at least to September 24, 1982, when Charles Moser, Secretary-Treasurer of the Free Congress and Education Foundation, wanted to coordinate six national support committees on the model of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan and the Free Angola Committee. The four new committees were to cover El Salvador, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, all to be coordinated by the Council for the Defense of Freedom, closely interlocked with Accuracy in Media (see *CAIB* Number 21). "Each committee, wrote Moser, "would be staffed by a minimum of one person, the Executive Director, who would promote his country's cause at every possible opportunity. Only in this way can the ground be prepared for a more activist American foreign policy, under which the United States will provide open sup-

port to the forces of freedom both in the Free World and in the communist world."

These committees, which would sponsor public speakers, congressional testimony, newspaper and magazine articles, and the like, sound a lot like what FRF is doing now. As it happens, the four new committees have not yet been established, but the list of people who had agreed to be on all the committees, according to the Moser memorandum, is revealing (see sidebar).

CAUSA

Meanwhile, one of the least reported of the many efforts to support the *contras* is CAUSA (Confederation of the Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas). CAUSA, the principal political operation of the Unification Church, is active throughout Central America promoting its philosophy of "Godism" as the "solution to communism." CAUSA head Bo Hi Pak told Ken Ellis of Public Broadcasting

The Moser List

Here, with affiliations as given by Dr. Moser, are the people who had agreed to be on the boards of the country committees, as of September 24, 1982:

Afghanistan:

David Isby, Office of Rep. Bob Fiedler (R-Calif.); Marx Lewis, Council for the Defense of Freedom (CDF); Charles Moser, Professor at George Washington University, Coalitions for America; Gen. J. Milnor Roberts, Reserve Officers Association; Kathryn Coe Royce, Young Republican National Federation.

Angola:

Beverly Hubble, Office of Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa); M. Stanton Evans, National Journalism Center; Andy Messing, Conservative Caucus; Jay Parker, Lincoln Institute, CDF; Helen White, Senate Steering Committee.

Nicaragua

Fr. Enrique Rueda, Free Congress Foundation; Dan Fefferman, Freedom Leadership Foundation; Reed Irvine, CDF, Accuracy in Media; Lynn Bouchev, Council for Inter-American Security.

El Salvador:

Sam Dickens, New World Dynamics; Andy Messing, Conservative Caucus; Jeffrey St. John, independent journalist; Reed Irvine, CDF, Accuracy in Media; Richard Araujo, Heritage Foundation.

Kampuchea

Allan Brownfeld, CDF, independent journalist; Jeffrey Gayner, Heritage Foundation; Larry Butler, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Vietnam

Gary Jarmin, Council for a Free Asia; Frank Manson, Manson Forum; Ron Pearson, Pearson & Co. ●



Bo Hi Pak.

System affiliate KQED-TV that "it is a total war, basically a war of ideas. A war of minds. The battlefield of the human mind. This is where the battle is fought, so in this war the entire things [sic] will be mobilized, political means, social means, economic means, and propagandistic means. Basically trying to take over the other person's mind. That is what the Third World War is all about. The war of ideology. The war of ideas, and I even say the war between God and no God. God-accepting forces versus God-denying forces." (KQED-TV, San Francisco, "Ticket to Seoul," August 30, 1984.)

However CAUSA has not limited itself to the ideological indoctrination seminars for which it has become well known since 1980. Columnist Jack Anderson's reporter Jon Lee Anderson (no relative) has stated that *contra* leaders told him in July that two of the main "sources of supplies and cash . . . for their families are CAUSA and Friends of the Americas." The latter is an operation headed by Louisiana State Senator Louis "Woody" Jenkins, which ran a campaign in the U.S. called "Shoeboxes for Liberty," sending shoeboxes filled with supplies to the *contras*. Anderson said CAUSA and the Jenkins group provided at least two tons of supplies in early July, and that he saw Miskito Indian *contras* at the front wearing bright red CAUSA tee shirts. Anderson pointed out that non-military items like food, medical aid, and clothing were particularly useful to the families of *contra* field commanders, because their families could not be provided for after the CIA funding was restricted. "This private aid initiative," he said, "seems to have coincided with the cutoff of CIA aid or the Congress's vote to halt the CIA's covert funds to the *contras*." Interestingly, CAUSA's advisory board includes former Defense Intelligence Agency chief retired Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, New Right activist Terry Dolan, and former Nixon Ambassador to Honduras Phillip Sanchez (see *Washington Post*, September 16 and 17, 1984).

On September 10, 1984, Mario Calero, the regional representative of the major *contra* organization FDN (*Fuerza Demo-*

cratica Nicaragüense), said on the Cable News Network program, *Freeman Reports*, "there are a lot of people who support us . . . one support that I am especially fond of . . . is support given us by Friends of the Americas. . . ."

The Moody Memorandum

Anderson also saw a tradeoff of aid for access to the *contras*, especially among some groups like *Soldier of Fortune*, Christian Broadcasting Network, CAUSA, and the *Washington Times*. They make donations and then are given unprecedented access for their publications to cover the rebel organizations. In the case of CAUSA or the Unification Church, it is the *Washington Times*, Anderson was informed by *contra* commanders, but, he said, "they seemed very concerned about keeping away from me, apparently at the CAUSA or *Washington Times* people's behest."

There has been concern within the administration for some time about potential controversy over the role of the Moonies. Indeed, a memorandum written by a Pentagon political analyst late last year—and reportedly circulated in the White House—expressed just such a concern. The memorandum, by Dale Moody, then of the Institute for Defense Analysis (and now reportedly with the U.S. Army in Korea), states, "If efforts are not taken to stop their growing influence and weed out current Moonie involvement in government, the President stands a good chance of being portrayed in the media as a poor, naive incompetent who is strong on ideology and weak on common sense." (The memorandum was verified and originally disclosed by Jack Anderson's reporter Don Goldberg; *Washington Post*, August 16, 1984.) The memo expresses particular concern about Moonies in the Caribbean region. "Current Moonie involvement with government officials, contractors, and grantees in the region (coupled with Moonies' anti-Catholic rhetoric and controversial image) could create a major scandal." Moody proposed "monitoring Moonies' activities and developing an option paper as a means to address their growing involvement." Moody wrote that "all previous reports were legally compiled," but because of the sensitivity of the moni-



L. Francis Bouchey, working on CIS documentary in Honduras.

toring and "proposed tasks," he opted not to commit them to paper.

Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* reported that another Moon political arm, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, paid for four Republican Senate aides "to fly to Central America where they met with government leaders and U.S. Embassy officials in Honduras and Guatemala," and observed the El Salvador election. The aides were from the offices of Steven Symms (R-Idaho), Robert Kasten (R-Wis.), and William Armstrong. The *Post* also reported that CAUSA gave \$500,000 to a Terry Dolan group, CALL, the Conservative Alliance, a coalition of right-wing groups developing grassroots political and legislative response networks on anti-communist trade issues. The *Post*, quoting former ranking Japanese church officials, reported that \$800 million has come into the U.S. from Japan for Moon's projects during the past nine years.

Another group that has close CAUSA connections is the Council for Inter-American Security (CIS). Its President, L. Francis Bouche, has organized and has also chaired several CAUSA conferences, for which he was "paid well," according to a knowledgeable source. Bouche was also "specially commissioned" by Moon's World Media Conference in 1981 to prepare and present a "content analysis" of coverage by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* of U.S. policy in El Salvador. CIS officer Roger Fontaine has become a reporter and "news analyst" at the *Washington Times* after a stint as a

CIS represents a close link between the Moon organization and the administration. CIS also promoted the "Shoebboxes for Liberty" campaign through its newsletter, *West Watch*.

The IPPF and the WMR

The President of CAUSA USA is retired Air Force General E. David Woellner. His CAUSA biography says he is "currently a special advisor to political and paramilitary groups and representatives of several industrial concerns in the Washington area."

During the Vietnam War he was, among other things, "involved in intelligence." Since retiring he has been National Director of Organization for the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and Field Director of the American Security Council. Significantly, he was also Vice President and Chief Executive Officer of the CIA-connected International Public Policy Foundation (IPPF). As reported in *CAIB* Number 18, this foundation shares offices and personnel with the International Public Policy Research Corporation, which, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported, "does contract work for the CIA." IPPF is the publisher of Daniel C. Arnold's right-wing pamphlets on U.S. foreign policy. Arnold is the former senior CIA case officer (Chief of Station in Laos and Thailand in the 1970s) who has represented World Medical Relief in various capacities over the years. And World Medical Relief has worked hand in glove with the CIA and the U.S. military for decades, supplying Vang Pao's Hmong mercenaries in Laos and other anti-communist forces especially in Southeast Asia.

One of World Medical Relief's leading figures is former Air Force General Harry C. "Heinie" Aderholt, President of the Air Commando Association and a member of the board of Refugee Relief International (RRI), an affiliate of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, for which he is also "unconventional warfare editor." Aderholt tried to get World Medical Relief to supply the Kampuchean rebel group headed by Son Sann (the same faction supported now by Jack Wheeler), but the proposal fell through when the group learned of Aderholt's connection with *Soldier of Fortune*, then purportedly the target of a government investigation.

The Air Commando Association has been using RRI "for help in getting the medicine and supplies to the people [in Central America] who need them." (See the *Air Commando Association Newsletter*, January 1984; and *Soldier of Fortune*, August 1984.) According to the *New York Times* (July 15, 1984), RRI has provided \$4.5 million in Central American "relief," and *Soldier of Fortune*'s "El Salvador-Nicaragua Defense Fund" has sent "several tons of combat boots and military uniforms" to the *contras*, shipped by the Air Commando Association.

As Jon Lee Anderson said in an interview with this writer, "all the aid is being channeled through a network of retired generals in the U.S. who use their good offices to get cargo, *Soldier of Fortune*'s in this case, hitchhiked down to Central America out of airbases. And," he said, they have "a \$30 million fund they are drawing on." This is comparable to the system discussed in the *Plain Dealer* articles; Aderholt would get supplies to Southeast Asia by having "Selfridge Air Force Base . . . send trucks down to pick up whatever he wanted." Selfridge AFB, in fact, is one of the bases being used by a coalition of right-wing groups in the U.S. to fly supplies they collect to Central America. According to the *New York Times*, this is "with the approval of the Defense Department."

It's a new war, but it's the same old tricks. ●



Roger W. Fontaine.

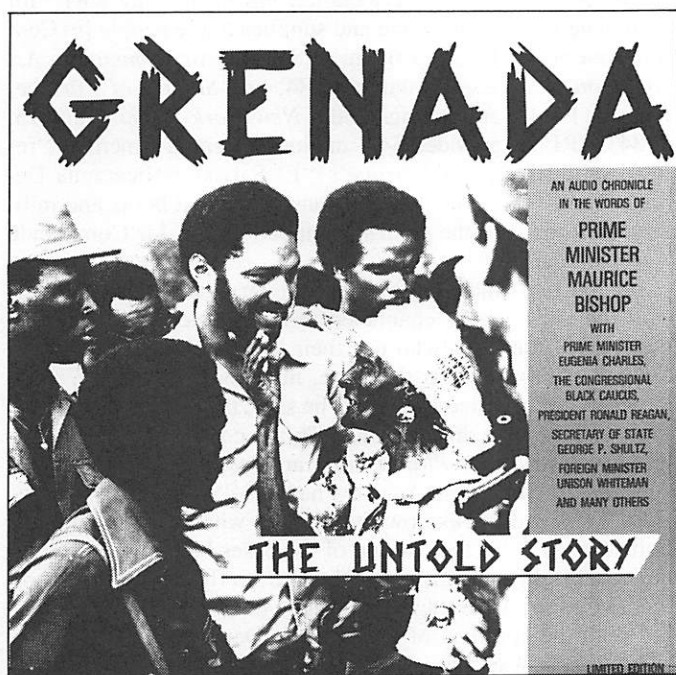
Latin America specialist at the National Security Council. CIS officer Lewis Tambs was also an NSC consultant before becoming Ambassador to Colombia. And CIS Chairman retired Lt. Gen. Gordon Sumner is currently a special consultant to the State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Thus

News Notes

Grenada LP Record

Grenada: The Untold Story is a newly released LP record which documents the invasion of Grenada and its aftermath. It features the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop discussing peace, Central America, African liberation, and himself. It offers the listener a background on deteriorating relations between the United States and the island nation which resulted in the U.S. intervention, and through a sound montage of news reports the listener relives the invasion of October 1983. The Congressional Black Caucus, represented by Rep. Ron Dellums and others, takes issue with the administration and provides an alternative view of U.S. foreign policy. The record also includes statements from the late Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, Professor Archie Singham, *CAIB* editors Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap, and many others. It concludes with excerpts from Maurice Bishop's electrifying speech at Hunter College.

The record is available from Inter-American Communication Foundation, P.O. Box 6532, Washington, DC 20009, for \$7.98. Bulk orders, five or more, are available at \$4.50 each. For further information, contact them at (202) 332-3049.



CAIB Receives Award

CovertAction Information Bulletin is pleased to report that Clarence Lusane's article in *CAIB* Number 20, "Israeli Arms in Central America," was voted number one in the Project Censored selection of The Ten Best Censored Stories of 1983. This article was selected by a distinguished panel of judges from more than two hundred nominations submitted by journalists, editors, librarians, educators, and the general public. The project director, Professor Carl Jensen of Sonoma State University, pointed out that the article was selected by the judges "on the basis of the quality of the article and its perceived importance to the American public." Mr. Lusane's article, and the sidebars by Dana Reed, have already been reprinted in several countries and translated into several languages. *CAIB* is extremely proud of this accomplishment.

KAL 007 Reading

Despite a near news blackout in the establishment media in the United States, a number of publications have appeared in the last several months proving to all but the ideologically blinded that Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was not inadvertently off course when it was shot down by the Soviet Air Force, but was deliberately violating sensitive Soviet air space, all but begging to be attacked.

Three critical studies, which we recommend highly to our readers, are:

"Reckless Endangerment: The Attack on Korean Air Lines Flight 7 and America's response," by Tom Gervasi, in *Evergreen Review*, Number 98, [May] 1984, \$5.95 from Grove Press, 196 W. Houston St., New York, NY 10014; "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It," by David Pearson, in *The Nation*, August 18, 1984, \$3.00 from The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011; and "Reassessing the Sakhalin Incident," by P. Q. Mann [a pseudonym], in the British magazine *Defence Attaché*, No. 3 [June] 1984, excerpted in *World Press Review*, September 1984, \$2.00 from World Press Review, Box 915, Farmingdale, NY 11737.

We Said It First

Every now and then confirmation of a *CAIB* story will arise in the most unlikely place. When we come across such confirmation we believe it is necessary to let our readers know.

Omega 7 and Dengue Fever

For over a month Eduardo Victor Arocena Perez was on trial in the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York. He was accused of being "Omar," the notorious head of the Cuban exile terrorist organization Omega 7, and was charged with the 1980 murder of Felix García Rodríguez, an attaché at the Cuban Mission to the U.N., along with nearly two dozen other crimes. On September 22, 1984 he was found guilty of all but one minor charge.

What is of more than passing interest is a portion of his testimony in his own defense. The transcript, for September 10, 1984, reads in pertinent part as follows:

"Q Did there come a time in 1980 when you moved your family to Miami, Florida?

"A It was the latter part. We did move to Miami. It was towards the end of 1980. . . .

"Q In 1980, sir, did you participate in the Mariel boat lift?

"A Yes, sir.

"Q What was your involvement in the Mariel boat lift, sir?

"A I had two objectives. One was to get in touch with my family, and the other was to make contact with the insurrectionists inside Cuba, to supervise an action that was being carried out at that time inside Cuban territory.

"Q Did you travel to Cuba, sir?

"A Yes, sir.

"Q Whom did you meet in Cuba?

"A With several high officials of the regime in Cuba, military.

"Q What regime is this, sir?

"A The Communist regime of Cuba.

"Q Sir, weren't you fighting—I am sorry.

"A But I clarify this, that these officials are part of the resistance. Part of the objective was that before me, ahead of me was another ship with a different mission, a mission that was to be carried out inside Cuban territory, as I stated before. . . . The group that was ahead of me had a mission to carry some germs to introduce them in Cuba to be used against the Soviets and against the Cuban economy, to begin what was called chemical war, which later on produced results that were not what we had expected, because we thought that it was going to be used against the Soviet forces, and it was used against our own people, and with that we did not agree." (Transcript, pp. 2187-2189.)

The implications of this information are very significant and are in complete conformity with the details set forth in our article, "The 1981 Cuba Dengue Epidemic" (*CAIB* Number 17). There we indicated that in late 1980 or early 1981 a virulent strain of dengue fever was introduced into Cuba in a biological warfare operation.

It now seems clear from Arocena's testimony that Omega 7 agents were doing the dirty work for the CIA and the U.S. government. Why he thought it would be to his benefit to testify about a part in a biological warfare operation is hard to explain, but this is not the first time the villains have provided proof of their own villainy.

Yellow Rain Revisited

In *CAIB* Number 17 we also discussed the U.S. allegations that the Kampuchians, the Vietnamese, and/or the Soviets were using chemical warfare in Indochina. (See "The Pentagon's Other Option: Part I: Yellow Rain Fabrication.") Evidence has continued to mount confirming the hypothesis of Harvard biochemist Dr. Matthew Meselson that "yellow rain" is nothing more than bee feces. Most recently the prestigious, and extremely conservative *National Geographic* magazine (October 1984) has confirmed that experts from the Smithsonian Institution agree with Dr. Meselson. The State Department, however, is "sticking to its guns," they reported.

Correction

In the article "U.S. Crushes Caribbean Jewel" in *CAIB* Number 20, an error appears in the indication of the time of the freeing of Maurice Bishop from house arrest. The passage in question, at the bottom of page 10, reads, "He [Bishop] had said that he would decide by 10 o'clock that night whether to accept their demands. However, curiously, shortly before 8 p.m. a huge, well organized crowd approached Bishop's house. . . ." The passage should have read, ". . . by 10 o'clock the next morning . . ." and ". . . shortly before 8 a.m. a huge, well organized crowd began to gather in town, and, at 9 o'clock, commenced a march to Bishop's house. . . ." As is clear from the ensuing discussion, the events of Bishop's release and subsequent trip to Fort Rupert, and the riot which followed, all took place in broad daylight, not after 10 o'clock at night. We apologize to our readers for this error which eluded our generally conscientious proofreading.

The Nature of the Crowd

Many readers found significant our assertion that some elements of the organized crowd which freed the Prime Minister were not staunch NJM supporters and carried some anti-communist signs. *CAIB* has obtained a rare photograph of the trucks, reportedly from the Coca-Cola Company, which drove in the procession, carrying a placard reading "We Want Come Unity, Not Communist. Elections Now." The photo is reprinted here.



CAIB

Secret Collaboration:

U.S. and South Africa Foment Terrorist Wars

By Sean Gervasi*

South Africa has been conducting an undeclared terrorist war on the Front-line States, and in particular on Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, for more than three years. This war has been waged across an entire sub-continent, using every means of modern warfare from armored divisions and squadrons of bombers to economic sabotage, subversion and assassination.

Moreover, the Reagan Administration is a willing partner in the secret war in southern Africa. It has thrown the weight and power of the United States behind South Africa's campaign to destabilize the Front-line States. South Africa and the U.S. are now full partners in an almost invisible war to change the political balance in the region and to preserve and re-inforce the principal institutions of the apartheid system.

Indeed, from its inception, it was clear that the Reagan Administration would seek to preserve the status quo in South Africa as part of an anti-Socialist crusade, just as it announced it would do in El Salvador. It has therefore pursued a "two-track" policy, revealing its commitment to South Africa and its antagonism to radical change, but concealing many of its actions in support of South Africa's war.

The war against the Front-line States has been much more complex than many observers have suspected. And the Central Intelligence Agency has inevitably played an important role in it, carrying out a second, secret "track" of U.S. policy, coor-

inating various programs of covert warfare and undertaking important operations.

The 1981 Southern Africa Policy Review

When the Reagan Administration took office, the new President's foreign policy advisors shared the view that the U.S. had to become actively engaged in southern Africa. The Administration, however, needed a coherent position and a consistent set of policies for the region.

In early 1981, therefore, President Reagan ordered a major review of U.S. policy towards southern Africa which was carried out in the National Security Council by an inter-departmental committee which included senior representatives of the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of Defense. The review resulted in a classified policy paper offering the President a number of alternative courses of action in southern Africa. By the summer, the President had "signed off" on an option, in a secret National Security Decision Directive, which was to carry the U.S. into a tacit alliance with South Africa in its terrorist war against the Front-line States.

What follows is a reconstruction of the policy towards southern Africa settled upon by the Reagan Administration in the summer of 1981, based upon official speeches (in quotations), public documents, and known U.S. actions.

President Reagan decided upon a general posture which would be supportive to South Africa in a region increasingly threatened by instability. The United States would seek "to encourage peaceful evolutionary change" in order "to forestall

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mass revolutionary violence" within South Africa. Beyond South Africa's borders, the U.S. would seek "to counter Soviet influence in the region." In particular, U.S. policy would seek "to help bolster the security of South Africa," that is, "to foster regional security" by means which would meet South African needs.

To pursue these objectives, the President decided upon the following specific lines of action:

With regard to South Africa, to move towards closer and more supportive relations with the Government of South Africa; to encourage the Government of South Africa to move towards a "nonracial liberal democracy" by moderate reforms of apartheid; to support, politically, financially, and by other means, "those elements inside and beyond the Republic which foster peaceful and evolutionary change there"; to assist South Africa in resisting the international efforts to isolate it, especially at the United Nations.

In Namibia, to help "end the guerrilla warfare that has continued in northern Namibia and southern Angola for 15 years"; to seek the removal of Cuban troops from Angola; to seek a "peaceful solution" of the Namibian question which would allow South Africa to retain control of the country and yet be acceptable internationally.

In the region as a whole, to seek to end "the dangerous cycle of violence in the region" and to direct "the impetus toward change into peaceful channels"; privately to encourage South Africa "to pre-empt any armed threat—guerrilla or conventional—from its neighbors" and "to use its military superiority for that end"; to apply strong pressure, with others, against Angola and Mozambique and eventually to seek radical changes in the internal political balance in those countries; to apply pressure against the governments of Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and gradually to draw them closer to the West; to cooperate closely with South Africa in mounting pressures against the Front-line States; to use U.S. diplomacy "to help establish the rules of the game that will limit and discourage the application of outside force" in the region.

And publicly, to maintain strict secrecy about active collaboration in support of South Africa; to maintain strict secrecy about certain actions taken against the Front-line States; to mount an extensive campaign of political action and propaganda in Africa, Western Europe, and the United States to ensure that actions of the U.S. government remain invisible or are accepted by public opinion.

Coercive Diplomacy

The strategy chosen was essentially an extension of the military doctrine of coercive diplomacy, according to which a nation can sometimes achieve certain limited political objectives by combining carefully measured doses of military force with diplomacy. Selective force can be used against an adversary who resists one's demands, while "negotiations" with him are continued. In some cases, inducements of aid or other incentives may be offered. The idea is that an adversary may be "persuaded" to accept one's demands when enough military pressure has been applied, and when suitable inducements are offered.

The Reagan Administration chose to embark on an exercise in coercive diplomacy jointly with South Africa. By the summer of 1981, they were working together to apply increasing military, economic, political, diplomatic, and other pressures against the Front-line States. But this strategy did not produce the results which were expected of it. The U.S. and South Af-

rica were really demanding much more of the Front-line States than they were prepared to give, even under pressure. What began as coercive diplomacy, therefore, broke down and became a full-scale terrorist war. When the Reagan Administration and South Africa met resistance, they had to choose between giving up their aims or escalating the war. They chose the latter course.

The War Is Launched

In March 1981, South African commandos raided Maputo, the Mozambican capital, only a few hours after Secretary of State Haig had declared the "war against international terrorism" a priority for United States foreign policy. Pretoria stepped up its military actions against Angola, initiating a continuous low-intensity war in the southern part of the country. Its agents carried out sabotage and assassinations in Zimbabwe. It made an attempt to mount a coup against Zambia's President Kaunda. South Africa also began a major effort to build, arm and deploy special military units in Mozambique to



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Results of one South African-sponsored raid.

attack roads, railways, bridges and other economic targets, as well as to sow terror in rural areas.

At the same time, South Africa began preparations for full-scale economic warfare against several of the Front-line States, notably Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. During the latter part of 1981, the pressure against the Front-line States was increased, creating severe economic and political difficulties.

Heavy economic pressure was brought to bear on Zimbabwe. South Africa disrupted the Zimbabwe railroads at a crucial time by refusing to lease locomotives and by slowing the return of freight cars, causing an enormous loss in foreign exchange revenue from exports. The International Monetary Fund began to press for substantially increased budget cuts by the Zimbabwe government, insisting on the reduction of key social expenditures. And, at the very moment that South African commando units were beginning to operate in the southeastern part of the country, it also demanded a large cut in the defense budget.

Sabotage increased in Zimbabwe, causing many millions of dollars in losses. At the end of 1981, a bomb blast nearly destroyed ZANU headquarters in the middle of Salisbury-Harare, killing six people and wounding many others.

However, in 1981 the brunt of the attack was falling on Angola. In August, South Africa mounted a major invasion of the southern part of the country, deploying 11,000 men and several battalions of tanks and armored cars. There was fierce

fighting in the center of Cunene province, and by September 80,000 Angolans from the area had been forced to flee. South Africa established a permanent military presence in southern Angola, substantially increased its support for UNITA and began to extend its own raids further and further to the north.

In Mozambique, South Africa started a veritable war. It reorganized the Mozambique National Resistance, which had been started by Rhodesian Military Intelligence to attack ZANU inside Mozambique during the liberation struggle. MNR units, assisted by South African commandos, were sent again into Mozambique, where they repeatedly attacked transport links and power lines in the central provinces. Key road and rail bridges to Zimbabwe were blown up by South African forces, cutting the movement of goods to and from that country, including oil. While the Mozambique Army began to react with some effect in 1981, the scale of the South African operations was very large and difficult to cope with. Mozambique gradually came under siege.

By the latter part of 1982, the military, economic, political and other pressures against the Front-line States had become intense. South African demands, however, were meeting strong resistance.

The Role of the U.S. Since 1981

Considerable evidence can be pieced together from public sources and from interviews, to give some idea of the extent of U.S. actions aimed at destabilizing the Front-line States.

From 1981, the Central Intelligence Agency, acting through third parties, began to provide substantial aid to the UNITA group in Angola, which has been heavily supported by South Africa for a decade. This aid has included money, arms and equipment. (See *Time* magazine, May 16, 1983; *Newsweek* magazine, October 10, 1983; and *Intelligence Digest Weekly Review*, February 17, 1982.)

From 1981, the U.S. has orchestrated a campaign of economic pressure against Tanzania, demanding persistently behind the scenes that Tanzania abandon socialist economic policies. This campaign has succeeded in depriving Tanzania of needed investment, credit, and aid, thus contributing to the "economic failure" which the Reagan Administration decries.

In 1981, Zambian security forces thwarted a plot by dissidents and "South African commandos" to assassinate President Kaunda and seize power. It was reported (*Africa News*, July 13, 1981) that agents of the CIA had recruited Zambians in an effort to examine "the possibility of an alternative leadership in the country." According to African sources, CIA Director William Casey flew secretly to Lusaka and threatened sanctions against Zambia if the role of the CIA was exposed.

In 1981, the Reagan Administration blocked the implementation of the U.N. plan for a Namibian settlement by linking it for the first time to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. While the U.S. continued to state its support for the U.N. plan, Secretary of State Haig wrote the South African Foreign Minister late in the year "that the United States would not press South Africa to settle the Namibian question unless Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola." (*TransAfrica Forum*, Spring 1983, p. 12.)

While the U.S. and South Africa were applying various pressures against Angola, including substantial and overt military pressure, General Vernon Walters, a former deputy director of the CIA and now a U.S. special envoy, made numerous trips to Luanda to persuade the Angolan Government to agree to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.



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Mozambican troops with captured MNR weapons.

In 1981, after South Africa had mounted a large-scale armored invasion of Angola and occupied a large area in the southern provinces, the U.S. vetoed a Security Council resolution condemning its actions. (See *New York Times*, September 4, 1981.)

In the same year, the U.S. vetoed the candidacy of Salim Salim, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania, for Secretary-General of the United Nations. It had been expected that the next Secretary-General would be an African, and Mr. Salim was the choice of the Organization of African Unity for the position.

During 1982, U.S. officials worked successfully to secure an IMF approved loan of \$1.1 billion for South Africa, although that country did not appear to qualify for such a loan. (See *Washington Post*, November 4, 1982; *Africa Now*, March 1983; and *Africa Confidential*, May 25, 1983.) The South African government uses a substantial amount of foreign exchange to purchase oil and arms and to finance covert operations.

In August 1982, during a major military effort by South Africa to extend its control of southern Angola, President Reagan sent a letter, classified "secret," to President Nyerere of Tanzania, the Chairman of the Front-line States, urging him to accept the "linkage" of a Namibian settlement to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. President Reagan suggested that if "linkage" were not accepted soon, the U.S. would cease to press for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. (See *Jeune Afrique*, October 27, 1982.)

Throughout this period, the U.S. has used diplomatic and political pressure behind the scenes to prevent South Africa being condemned for its destabilization of neighboring countries. To take one example, the U.S. intervened to prevent South Africa being named in a Security Council resolution condemning the attempt to mount a coup against the Government of the Seychelles in late 1981. It was later learned, during a series of trials in South Africa, that the attempted coup had been officially authorized.

In 1983, the U.S., which was displeased with Zimbabwe's voting in the U.N. Security Council, cut assistance to that country by almost half. U.S. officials stated that Zimbabwe's

sponsorship of a resolution condemning U.S. intervention in Grenada and its abstention on a U.S. sponsored resolution after the Korean airliner incident "played a big part" in the decision. (See *Washington Post*, December 20, 1983.)

In 1983, when large numbers of people in Mozambique faced starvation and when tens of thousands had already died from lack of food, the Reagan Administration deliberately held back food aid to that country, while it was seeking to "persuade" it to sign a non-aggression agreement with South Africa. Mozambique has repeatedly refused to agree to South Africa's demand that the African National Congress be expelled from its territory. Mozambique began 1984 facing the most serious food shortages it had known and with a food deficit of well over 100,000 tons of cereals.

Rebuilding the *Cordon Sanitaire*

The Reagan Administration had concentrated its efforts on what it considered Cuba's intervention in Angola. The focus was on the issue of "linkage." Despite considerable military and economic pressure, however, against all the Front-line States, and especially against Angola, these efforts failed. The Front-line States repeatedly rebuffed efforts to persuade them to accept "linkage" of the "Cuban issue" to the decolonization of Namibia.

The response to this resistance was to escalate the war and to try to force through a "regional security settlement." In practice, this meant forcing the Front-line States to reduce their support for the liberation movements. The objective was to rebuild the *cordon sanitaire* of buffer states around South Africa which had been destroyed by revolutions in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In September 1982, shortly after the Frontline States had rebuffed President Reagan's approach on "linkage," William Casey flew to southern Africa. He visited a number of countries, including South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zaire. CIA sources have stated that this was a "familiarization" trip, with no particular political purpose. This is not true. Casey went to southern Africa, and particularly to South Africa, to begin implementing a grand design for rebuilding the *cordon sanitaire* around South Africa. Press reports at the time made it clear that South Africa and the U.S. would demand that the Frontline States cease or reduce their support for SWAPO and the ANC or face an escalation of military, economic and other pressures.

Casey's discussions with South African officials apparently resulted in an agreement on implementing the next phase of coercive diplomacy in southern Africa. Pressures on all the Front-line States would be increased. The demand for an end to support for the liberation movements would be stated more openly and more persistently. The U.S. would intensify its diplomatic efforts, acting as a "mediator" between South Africa and its adversaries. And the U.S. would coordinate its actions even more closely than it already had with South African actions against the Front-line States.

The Road to "Settlements"

By the end of 1982, the situation in southern Africa was becoming very difficult, especially in Angola, Mozambique, and Tanzania. The region was suffering from the effects of two years of drought. The world recession had hurt exports badly, and foreign exchange was generally very scarce. Parts of the region had already suffered serious damage as a result of South African military and terrorist operations.

The attacks on most of the Front-line States were intensified. South Africa resumed a low-level guerrilla war against Lesotho, using a surrogate Lesotho "liberation army." In Mozambique, the MNR attacked transport routes and terrorized the countryside, mining roads, burning stores, schools and health posts, poisoning wells, and deliberately mutilating peasants. In some cases, actions supposedly carried out by the MNR were actually carried out by regular South African commando units. South Africa had also begun to infiltrate former Rhodesian commandos into the southern part of Zimbabwe in an effort to precipitate a "civil war."

In December of 1982, South African commandos attacked and destroyed the oil depot in the Mozambican city of Beira. The raid caused millions of dollars in damage and cut supplies of petroleum to Zimbabwe. On the same day, South African commandos flew by helicopter to Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, and carried out a raid against houses inhabited by South African refugees. Forty-two persons were killed, and many more were wounded.

By the beginning of 1983, South Africa was carrying out military and paramilitary attacks against the Front-line States almost openly.

U.S. diplomatic activity in the region was being intensified at the same time. Anthony Lewis, writing in the *New York Times* (January 31, 1983) could apparently begin to see the outlines of coercive diplomacy. The South African government had "had a year of remarkable successes." "Externally," he wrote, "the last year has seen South Africa use its military power both covertly and overtly in neighboring blackgoverned states." And it had done so "without any significant political penalty," although, he thought, "the United States has privately urged restraint on South Africa." Still, "South Africa's neighbors have in effect been told, without subtlety, that they can have peace and a chance for economic development only on South African terms."

During 1983, economic warfare against the Front-line States, most of which was covert, continued, and several countries found themselves facing unprecedented difficulties. They could not export their goods. They could not attract foreign capital. They could not purchase essential commodities, particularly adequate supplies of food. They lacked the means to substitute domestic production of needed goods. Foreign aid projects had to be shut down, often for security reasons.

By mid-1983, drought, war, and a variety of external pressures had begun to make a difficult situation desperate. U.S. analysts predicted that the Front-line States would soon be "on their knees."



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Presidents Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola and Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The situation which existed by the end of the year in most parts of the region is hard to describe. In Zimbabwe, millions of people were receiving emergency food aid. South Africa was again intensifying its efforts to produce chaos in the province of Matabeleland. It had mounted a further large-scale invasion of Angola, sending its troops nearly two hundred miles into the country. While Angola offered strong resistance, this third invasion was a harsh blow to a country already suffering from drought, a partial economic blockade and the dislocation and damage caused by previous attacks. South Africa's UNITA surrogates, furthermore, were extending their military actions into the center of the country.

Mozambique faced the gravest economic situation it had known. The drought had continued, further reducing food production. There was insufficient foreign exchange to make up the difference. The war in the central provinces had spread north to Zambezi. The war had greatly aggravated economic problems which might otherwise have been coped with. Emergency food supplies could not reach those who needed them. More than 100,000 Mozambicans had fled to Zimbabwe in search of food. In Inhambane province, where the war was especially intense, the lack of food had caused the death of tens of thousands of people, and possibly as many as 100,000 people in 1983 alone.

As the war escalated in late 1983, and as the situation of several of the Front-line States grew increasingly difficult, U.S. diplomats pressed hard for a series of "non-aggression" agreements. They concentrated their attention on Angola and Mozambique. Behind their diplomatic overtures, however, there was the threat of South African power being used even more harshly, and implicitly of further economic pressure. U.S. diplomats said that they were trying to help bring "peace" to the region. However, a South African official quoted in the *New York Times* (January 25, 1983) made it clear what kind of "peace" they were offering: "We want to show that we want peace in the region, we want to contribute and we can help a lot. But we also want to show that if we are refused we can destroy the whole of southern Africa."

U.S. officials were for the most part more circumspect about expressing such views. The Reagan Administration could not openly link its proposals to the Front-line States to such crude threats. But the link was there nonetheless, and the Front-line States understood this. In late 1983, in an interview with the *Johannesburg Financial Mail* (November 18, 1983), Charles Lichenstein, the Deputy U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, made it abundantly plain that the U.S. and South Africa were working to the same plan. In as clear a threat as any American official had made publicly, Lichenstein said that "destabilization will remain in force until Angola and Mozam-

bique do not permit their territory to be used by terrorists to attack South Africa."

Thus the "peace" which South Africa and the Reagan Administration seemed to be seeking in southern Africa was apparently the same kind which Nazi Germany sought to impose on Europe after the occupation of the Rhineland.

Conclusion

This account should help to explain why Angola and Mozambique eventually submitted to some U.S. and South African demands at Lusaka and at Nkomati some time ago. Something near all-out war, no less menacing for being unseen, was waged against them to force them to do so.

However, the story is not ended. The Lusaka agreement has already broken down. South Africa has not withdrawn from Angola. And both South Africa and the U.S. are now seeking to by-pass the United Nations plan for decolonizing Namibia. Moreover, Angola has made it quite clear that it will not accept "linkage." The political situation in southwest Africa has not changed.

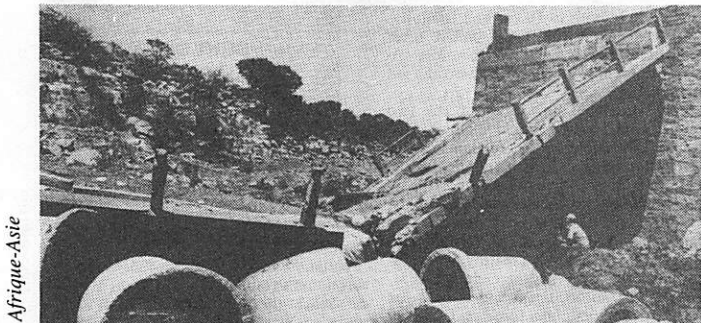
The Nkomati accord, signed on the Mozambique/South Africa border, is also beginning to break down. South Africa has shown that it will not rein in its surrogate, the MNR. MNR units carried out an attack on a truck convoy in central Mozambique only days after the signing of the accord. MNR groups have staged attacks again in Inhambane province and on the road between the South African border and Maputo, which had hitherto been considered safe. There is little doubt that these efforts will continue, although Mozambique is now much better equipped to defend itself than it was.

In assessing the prospects for the future, it should be remembered that South Africa and the U.S. have embarked on an extremely ambitious and rash exercise, that of bringing an end to socialist experiments in the entire southern African region. It has been clear for some time that they are bent on overthrowing the socialist governments already established there. In the spring of 1983, western diplomats at the U.N. were already speaking of "the determination on the part of the Reagan Administration and South Africa to gradually rid southern Africa of Marxist regimes." (Louis Wiznitzer, "U.N. Security Council Likely to be Drawn Into Namibian Debate," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 31, 1983.)

This means that the pressure on Angola and Mozambique in particular is bound to increase. There is now a real danger that, by a combination of economic, political, and military pressure, South Africa and the U.S. will continue to seek to overthrow the Machel government in Mozambique, opening a serious breach in the Front-line States and paving the way to expanded regional conflict and economic and social chaos.

Before that happens, the Congress and the public should look much more closely at the role which the Reagan Administration has been playing in southern Africa during the last three years. For the war against the Front-line States which it has been waging jointly with South Africa is illegal and barbarous. It should not be permitted to continue.

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker has said that he wants to see "negotiated solutions" and "peaceful change" in southern Africa. In pursuit of this goal, the Reagan Administration and its racist ally have unleashed a war which has devastated an entire subcontinent and cost tens of thousands of lives. This is terrorism on a scale which has not been seen since the U.S. intervention in Indochina. ●



Bridge destroyed by South African surrogates.

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(continued from page 44)

emanating from the Italian security forces and rightist organizations and their allies. In an important sense these, and the P-2 conspiracy, were products of U.S. policy, serving the same function as the Latin military leaders trained in Panama and then sent home to carry out their responsibilities to the Free World.

Italian rightist terrorism, as exemplified by Stefano Delle Chiaie, was an offshoot of the official security forces of Italy and had continuing relationships with elements of those forces, parallel organizations of the right such as a rightist conspiracy called Rose of the Winds, and its successor, P-2, and other se-

curity forces of the Free World (including NATO). There is a close analogy between the Delle Chiaie organizations and the Omega 7 and Alpha 66 organizations spawned by the CIA for its anti-Castro operations and continuing ad hoc service to Free World covert operations in the years that followed the Bay of Pigs. These common origins, connections, and service may help explain why rightwing killers like Delle Chiaie, Michael Townley, and Orlando Bosch get little publicity and rarely go to jail for major crimes.

Another important feature of rightist terrorism in Italy from the 1960s to the present was the employment of a "Strategy of Tension," which rested on the belief that terror and disruption, especially if it could be pinned on the left, would create a state

Italian Officials Finger Ledeen, CIA

The Italian magazine *L'Espresso* carried some very significant news in its August 5, 1984 issue, news virtually unreported in the U.S. press.

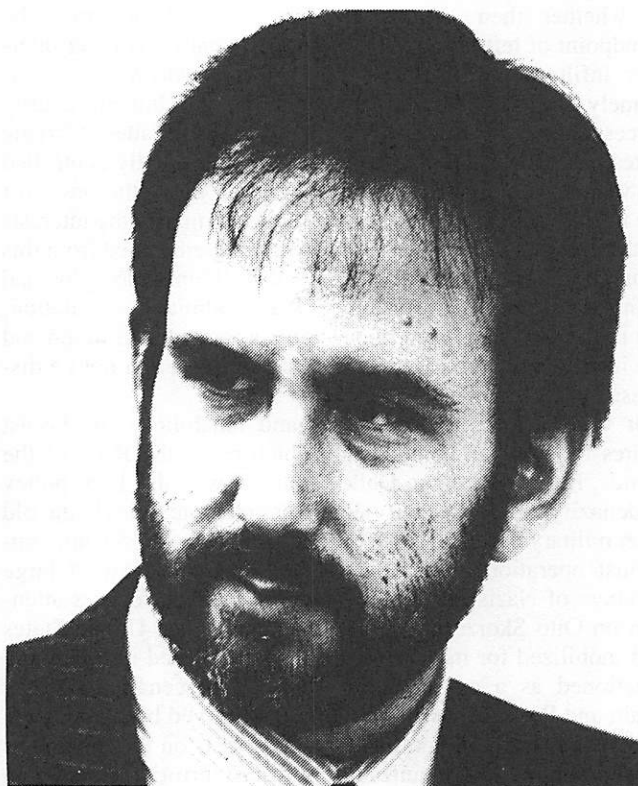
Its report focused on the investigations of the parliamentary oversight committee for the secret services and, in particular, interviews with Vincenzo Parisi, the new head of SISDE (the Italian internal security organization), and with Fulvio Martini, the new head of SISMI (the military intelligence organization). Both men had complaints about the U.S. administration.

Parisi was updating Parliament on the ongoing hunt for Stefano Delle Chiaie (see accompanying article) and on the Bologna bombing. He referred to the nearly legendary inability to capture him ("*sua fin troppo leggendaria imprevedibilità*"), and mentioned that Delle Chiaie traveled throughout the Western Hemisphere undisturbed. He had, Parisi said, powerful protection. "Who," someone asked, "a superpower?" Parisi replied diplomatically that the U.S. secret service was giving the Italians "insufficient" help.

Admiral Martini's remarks to the oversight committee were less diplomatic. In attempting to show the vigor and independence he had brought to SISMI in his first three months in office, he said he had informed the appropriate authorities of a person who should not come back to Italy. This was someone, he said, who could be called an undesirable ("*un indesiderabile*"), but who was really, he stressed, a meddler ("*un mestatore*"). In fact, he concluded, he had notified the U.S. Ambassador in Rome, Maxwell Rabb, that the U.S. citizen he did not want to see return to Italy ever again was Michael Ledeen.

Michael Ledeen is no stranger to *CAIB* readers. (See "Robert Moss, Arnaud deBorchgrave, and Right-Wing Disinformation," in Number 10; "Spies and the Reagan Victory," in Number 12; "Claire Sterling, et al., and 'The Plot to Kill the Pope,'" in Number 18; and "Disinformation and Mass Deception," in Number 19.) He once threatened to sue this magazine for pointing out his overwhelming intelligence connections (he never did); it remains to be seen whether he will sue Admiral Martini.

Ledeen may be an unwelcome, undesirable meddler in Italy, but he is still in tight with the Reagan administration. He has been a contract consultant on terrorism for the State Department ever since Reagan and Ledeen's mentor Alexander Haig first took office. And the Pentagon has confirmed to *CAIB* that Ledeen has a consultant contract with



Michael Ledeen.

the Defense Department "in line with his background" as an expert on European and Soviet affairs. It has been widely reported that Ledeen has been put in charge of the U.S. government's "analysis" of the captured Grenada papers, which are being slowly and selectively released (perhaps with interspersed forgeries) by the administration.

What is perhaps most interesting about these two news developments is that they were *not* reported in the United States. The head of one allied intelligence agency complained that the U.S. was letting the most wanted terrorist in the world operate unmolested in this hemisphere, and the head of another complained that an administration official was an undesirable meddler who should be barred from his country. Not a word in the *New York Times*; not a word in the *Washington Post*.

of tension that would set the stage for a rightist coup and provide a rationale for liquidating a left threat. This strategy was implemented. It included a substantial effort at infiltrating left organizations with individuals who could serve as *agents provocateurs* and who could also plant evidence and incriminate the left by "confessions." Christie notes how often the Italian police and press would cooperate with immediate arrests and castigation of leftists, to be followed belatedly and quietly by revelations of fascist involvement.

It is interesting to note how the "strategy of tension" was imputed to the left by rightwing propagandists in Italy and the United States. This was not plausible in the context of complete domination of the military and security forces by men of the right, and the imputation was clearly false.

Whether the Red Brigades constitute a valid exception to this line of reasoning is a moot point. They have no doubt pursued a policy of destabilization, but Christie raises the question of whether their actions are not so irrational from the standpoint of left purposes as to suggest control by other interests. Infiltration of the left and the *agent provocateur* were extremely important in the operations of the Italian security forces during the years of the rise of the Brigades. Christie notes that cells in the Red Brigades were reportedly controlled by western intelligence and he speculates that "the order for the murder of Aldo Moro, which served primarily the interests of the extreme right in Italy, may well have emanated from this source. The rightists behind the 1964 'Plan Solo' plot had planned a similar end for Moro." This is admitted speculation, but in the context of continuous and purposeful infiltration and the interests aided by Red Brigade activities it can not be dismissed out of hand.

It was U.S. policy to protect and rehabilitate the fascist cadres of Italy, as noted, from which came the Rose of the Winds, P-2, and Stefano Delle Chiaie. It was also U.S. policy to denazify very little, but rather to reintegrate quickly the old Nazi military and intelligence cadres into Free World anticommunist operations. U.S. policy facilitated the flow of large numbers of Nazis into Latin America. Christie focuses attention on Otto Skorzeny, a Nazi protected by the United States and mobilized for its purposes, who later settled in Spain and functioned as a coordinator of fascist mercenaries. Fascist Spain and Portugal were U.S. allies and served both as centers of rest and rehabilitation for fascist terrorists on the run and as focal points for the organization of fascist terrorist networks in planning for destabilization, political killings, and propaganda.

NATO policies encouraged the building up of military and intelligence establishments, and in the 1960s NATO even urged the creation of special units ready to combat internal subversion as well as external attack. In Italy this led to the development of parallel groups of anticommunist reliables and the direct recruitment of fascist terrorists. Members of Delle Chiaie's organization were trained under this program. Under NATO plans, also, the colonels' group was organized in Greece in 1967, with some direct CIA aid.

The colonels' coup provided a further hospitable center for western fascists, and there was a large flow from Italy into Greece in its immediate aftermath. The spread of the National Security State in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s also provided a friendly retreat and created a larger demand for fascist terrorists for work at home and abroad. Christie has interesting information on safe-houses and coordinating centers for right-wing terrorists in England as well as in the fascist states of the Free World.

Christie's view is that Stefano Delle Chiaie and the fascist networks of the West have arisen and grown to serve more cohesive and powerful western interests. Recruits are drawn from the military and security services of each country, and from the large pool of free-floating fascists spawned by Nazism, the Algerian War, other African colonialist wars (Belgian Congo, Rhodesia), and the goons organized by the United States in its colonial enterprises (Cubans, Vietnamese). These fascist forces are well funded by local security establishments and businesses, residual Nazi hoards overseas, and aid from the CIA and rightwing governments. They are protected by their connections and role. Made up of anticommunist, racist ideologues, they are politically isolated and easily manipulated by external interests who share their basic premises.

The infrastructure and friendship networks of the extreme right internationally are such that the fascists and organized crime are in effect assets of clandestine state agencies who, in the intelligence parlance, are both "plausibly deniable" and can, in the same parlance, "respond to a crisis without transgressions of administrative jurisdictions" in order to "neutralise" troublesome dissidents . . . or safeguard and enhance the "investment climate."

In reading Christie's account one is quickly conscious of the fact that he is describing patterns analogous to those featured by Sterling and western media involving the West's devils (PLO, Libya, etc.), but kept completely under the rug in the West. Following the Bologna railway station massacre, for example, four of the implicated neo-fascists went to Lebanon, and were escorted to a Christian Falangist military training camp where they were given a nice allowance and trained further in the use of explosives. "In return for this hospitality and training the fascists were occasionally asked along to take part in attacks on military bases of the Palestine Liberation Organization." Wrong terrorists, news unfit to print. The pattern of focus and suppression is itself illuminating, but its significance is enhanced by the fact that the fascist network is vastly more important than that addressed in the West by any measure except serviceability to western propaganda.

Christie's book is far more convincing and honest than that of Sterling. Its greatest weakness is its incomplete source citations and lack of explicit discussions of source qualities. This is an area in which information and disinformation are hard to disentangle. Much of Christie's evidence comes from statements of fascists and ex-fascists provided to magistrates, to journalists, or in retrospective confessions. Some are self-serving; others implausible but possibly true. Hard data is extremely difficult to come by, and western journalism and scholarship have made virtually no effort to fill the gap. This effort by Stuart Christie is generally quite convincing, and frightening. ●

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The Fascist Network

By Edward S. Herman*

Stuart Christie, *Stefano Delle Chiaie, Portrait of a Black Terrorist*, Anarchy Magazine/Refract Publications, Box A, 84b, Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England (also available from Cienfuegos Distribution, 3512 12th Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407 [\$9.00]).

Claire Sterling's book *The Terror Network* begins with an evocation of the carnage of the terrorist bombing at the Bologna railway station on August 2, 1980. Having milked this episode of its drama, she acknowledges that this was perhaps a work of the extreme right, but that she will nonetheless concentrate her attention solely on left terrorism which allegedly took over dominance of the field in the "Fright Decade" of the 1970s. In fact, no left outrage in the Fright Decade reached the casualty level of the Bologna bombing, and Sterling's statement about the dominance of left terror during that time was an assertion only, never backed up with numbers.

One of the principals in the Bologna bombing was Stefano Delle Chiaie, an Italian fascist who provides the focal point of Stuart Christie's valuable study of the "Black Orchestra" of rightwing terrorism. Christie's book is superior to Sterling's in every dimension of substance. One noteworthy contrast is his avoidance of a monolithic conspiracy model, which Sterling imposes on her skimpy mixture of fact and disinformation. For Christie, despite the common linkages and frequent supportive relationships of rightwing terrorists:

This is not a centrally coordinated body, nor does it have a press organ or headquarters. It is a loosely structured international friendship circle of neo-fascists and old-guard nazis with shared goals whose coordinated activities over the past

twenty years or so have led directly to the deaths of perhaps hundreds of people in Europe and certainly thousands in the third world countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. The shared goals are essentially those of Hitler's Third Reich: white supremacy, the defeat of all movements toward democracy and equality, the destruction of Russian and Chinese style state communism.

Thus in contrasting Christie and Sterling we have a characteristic set of contradictions between quality-relevance, on the one hand, and U.S. media attention on the other hand. Stefano Delle Chiaie is the rightwing version of "Carlos the Jackal," but far more productive a killer; Christie's book is about a terror network that has killed, and destabilized western democracies, more extensively and effectively than Sterling's favorites; and Stuart Christie's book is more straightforward and honest than that of Sterling. But Delle Chiaie is a terrorist agent of the Free World and Christie's terror network as a whole arises out of and serves Free World interests—from which it follows that Delle Chiaie is virtually unknown in the United States and Christie's facts and analysis will not be permitted to enter into any debate about relevant truth regarding "terrorism."

Christie's book is of particular interest at present because of its heavy focus on Italy, Delle Chiaie's home base and the home of the prosecution of the Bulgarians for alleged terrorist acts in connection with the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II in May 1981. (See "The KGB Plot to Assassinate the Pope," in *CAIB* Number 19.)

Christie describes the U.S. policy from 1943 onward as one of protecting the Mussolini apparatus of repression, helping it combat and destroy antifascist resistance, and building it up in later years as a parallel government to contain the left and stand ready to take over power in the event of "need" by primary interests. He describes two attempts at *coups d'etat* in the 1960s

(continued on page 41)

*Edward S. Herman, Professor of Finance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, is the author of *The Real Terror Network*, and coauthor of *Demonstration Elections* (with Frank Brodhead) and of *The Washington Connection* (with Noam Chomsky).

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