

On November 23, 1973 I published an article entitled "Anti-semitism and the State of Israel" (*Christianity and Crisis*) in which I specifically rejected efforts of some Jews and Christians to tag as "anti-semitic" the proper political and ethical criticism of the state of Israel which must be made. This article was widely circulated and was sent to Daniel Berrigan. Therefore Daniel Berrigan's efforts to characterize my criticism of his speech on Israel in his *Time* interview [WIN, 7/24/75], as an example of someone who calls anti-semitic all critics of Israel is false and irresponsible slander.

As for Daniel Berrigan's grossly ignorant and insulting references to my book, *Faith and Fratricide: Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Seabury Press) the most charitable thing one can conclude is that he had not read this book at the time of the interview. Once he has read the book, I assume that he will publicly correct these remarks. Otherwise we can only conclude that Daniel Berrigan is bent on digging the grave of his own credibility as a critical thinker.

—ROSEMARY RUETHER
Washington, DC

This is a letter of apology for remarks I made in the course of a *Time* interview published in WIN. The remarks were gratuitous and ill tempered and I regret them, and am so informing Ms. Ruether.

I am happy to know of the article she wrote on "Anti-Semitism and the State of Israel." I have no recollection of the article, probably because I was teaching in Canada at the time and missed it, or it missed me.

I have reservations about her book *Faith and Fratricide*, but I think these are better taken up in personal correspondence. In any case the issues she raises require both courage and scholarship, and we are in her debt.

Thanks also to Pat Farren, whose letter [WIN, 8/7/75], raised the issue of this letter in a friendly spirit.

—DAN BERRIGAN
New York, NY

Catholics do it to their saints, and radicals do it to people's armies: we edit out any recognition of human weakness or failing in those whose courage we admire.

Claire Culhane's letter [WIN, 7/24/75] and the Danny Schechter article in the same issue are two more depressing examples of the myth making process as it is applied to the Vietnamese—and of the fury the mythmakers will let loose on those who don't quite see halos and heroes they're supposed to.

Claire Culhane writes from Canada that the Vietnamese are "returning to the peaceful way of life from which they were so brutally uprooted." They "have displayed the ability to survive with an incredible courage, consummate skill and unbelievable sense of humanity" the violence which the US hurled at them. "They are returning to their quiet paths. . ."

(Because I dared to suggest rather tentatively in WIN [5/1/75] that the present Vietnamese governments may prove as capable of abusing their immense powers as have all other governments, left or right, known to history, she responds that I am but "a part of the unparalleled savagery and brutality which is no longer conveniently relegated to Indochina. . ."

Danny Schechter writes at some length in the issue's lead article, about the "sound political strategy," the "brilliant military struggle," the "unity," the "toughness," etc. of the Vietnamese struggle. He too is deeply annoyed with anyone who suggests that, in Vietnam as elsewhere in the human community, violent means will once again produce a violence-based order. He responds to those who hold this view with incredible (incredible because the publishers is WIN) contempt: "Pacifists moaned about Vietnamese reliance on armed struggle while others lamented the coming of 'benevolent totalitarianism' and 'liberation without liberty.'" He continues, "The lack of humility and (the) undercurrent of sectarian self-righteousness is unmistakable." All this said, of course, in the most non-sectarian and modest fashion.

These two writers, like most others I've met who share their views, use the word "Vietnamese" in an extraordinary way. It doesn't mean, one discovers, *all* Vietnamese. It means the *good* Vietnamese: that is, those who joined in the PRG/DRV political-military struggle. Excommunicated from national identity are all those who supported the Saigon government or worked for the US; we know without even having met any of these persons that they are all assassins and torturers interested only in wealth and

corruptions. They are not part of the Vietnamese people. "The Vietnamese people are tough," Danny Schechter writes, as a result of which "today they are in the Presidential Palace—to stay." Danny Schechter sounds a bit like the left's version of John Wayne, another enthusiast for toughness; one finds it in the Green Berets, another in the Vietnamese. So let's hear it for toughness. But let's not hear it for those who refused to be tough, who hated all the ideologies and slogans, who wouldn't take up weapons for either side, or who were conscripted by one side or the other but wouldn't kill. And let's not hear it for those pious weaklings who tried to make of their lives a bridge between the combatants, who hoped to inspire understanding and compromise—a "third way" solution. And God forbid we should hear a word of those who died on PRG mines or who were torn apart by PRG rockets. After all, these tragedies weren't intended; and anyway, there were a thousand innocent ones killed by Saigon and the US for every noncombatant killed by the liberators. So we needn't mention the few exceptions or criticize their killers.

Meanwhile, as Vietnam's "liberation" is celebrated, there are bonfires of books in Saigon. The newspapers and publishing houses are closed. Compulsory "re-education" is underway. The weaponry of war is paraded through the streets. Guns are still in charge.

There is much to admire as well. The government appears to be working to get the peasants back to their lands and villages. At least in some provinces, the PRG is encouraging the various Buddhist projects of reconstruction and social service. Many leaders are speaking of reconciliation and forgiveness. There is a decency and sanity about many of the political leaders of Vietnam that is all but unknown in the US. But we neither help ourselves nor the Vietnamese by seeing only that side of their reality. Pacifists especially have been thorns in the side of every government, always trying to remind whoever will listen that there is something so important and sacred about life, something so fragile, that no ideology can rightly justify the taking of life. It can and must be said with respect. It certainly doesn't mean equating all governments and all social systems. It doesn't mean not respecting and admiring anyone who resists suffering and injustice, whatever the means. Nor does it indulge preaching from the secure sanctuary of America's much vaunted free press.

It simply means being very stubborn about life and stubborn about getting in the

way of killing, whether one admires the killers or despises them. And it means searching for ways to encourage the reverence for life—the search for nonviolent alternatives that, I had thought, was what WIN was always about.

Perhaps, for many of us, the hope that nonviolent alternatives could be found was one of the main casualties of the war. This was certainly often the case with those who actually went to Vietnam and were shown, by friends in the PRG and DRV, what it was like under the bombs, and yet who experienced the dignity and forgiveness of their Vietnamese hosts. How could one not sympathize with, indeed support the armed resistance?

It is a pity so few of us had an equivalent experience of the pacifists of Vietnam. They weren't able to organize tours; indeed few of their number spoke any language but Vietnamese. They were dependent on a small number of representatives and friends. And they were always vulnerable to passionate criticism for preferring any peace to the continuation of the war. For making response to suffering the base of their various peace efforts, they could be dismissed simply as doers of charity. And so they were dismissed. Again, very understandably.

However understandable, it seems tragic that what most people seem to have learned from this war is that violence is, after all, the only way. The Pentagon is getting far more serious about nuclear weapons. And the one-time peace movement is peopled in very large measure by individuals who have come to recognize "the necessity" of armed struggle. Even WIN, for a number of years an oasis of imagination about nonviolent al-

ternatives, seems to have arrived at a point when the time is about ripe to discard its subhead: "peace and freedom through non-violent action." In its letter column we find ourselves talking to each other in slurs. We listen to each other in a state of paranoia.

Perhaps it isn't too late for this to change. Or perhaps our experience of the war has once and for all destroyed our ability to even imagine, except in the most polite circumstances, a nonviolent way.

—JIM FOREST
Nyack, NY

I am writing to correct some mistaken impressions created by Jane Alpert's letter in your August 7 issue. Her letter said that the National Lawyers Guild prisoner newsletter, the *Midnight Special* had made death threats against her.

First, the *Special* in its March/April 1975 editorial stated that Ms. Alpert was cooperating with the authorities and warned the women in prison at Muncy, PA that "there's a traitor in their midst." Whether or not such is a death threat is certainly open to question.

Second, while the *Special* was started as a project of the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in response to the Attica and Tombs rebellions, active participation of Guild members in the *Special* collective ended long ago. Because of this and because of the editorial comment on Ms. Alpert, the NYC chapter directed the *Special* to remove its name from their masthead.

LETTERS Continued on Page 22

With this issue WIN returns to its regular weekly publishing schedule. Our August break provided a welcome opportunity to meet readers, catch up on some of the things that simply never get done when deadlines are crowding in on us, and step back and get a bit of a perspective on what it is that we are doing.

This first issue of the new season represents a departure from our usual format. A great deal of work went into it as well as some expense. We hope that our readers find it all worth it and that the publicizing of some of the activities of "our" intelligence agents helps to cramp their style. We look forward to the day when there no longer will be government sanctioned murders to expose.

In the meanwhile the drive to raise \$50,000 and thereby assure WIN's continued existence continues. During the summer months, while both our readers and we were preoccupied, the submarine moved forward at something less than full speed. Our hope is that, with the resumption of weekly publishing (and weekly expenses), it will move ahead a few knots faster. —WIN



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4. Operation Ohio: Mass Murder by US Intelligence Agencies
Maris Cakars & Barton Osborn

20. Changes

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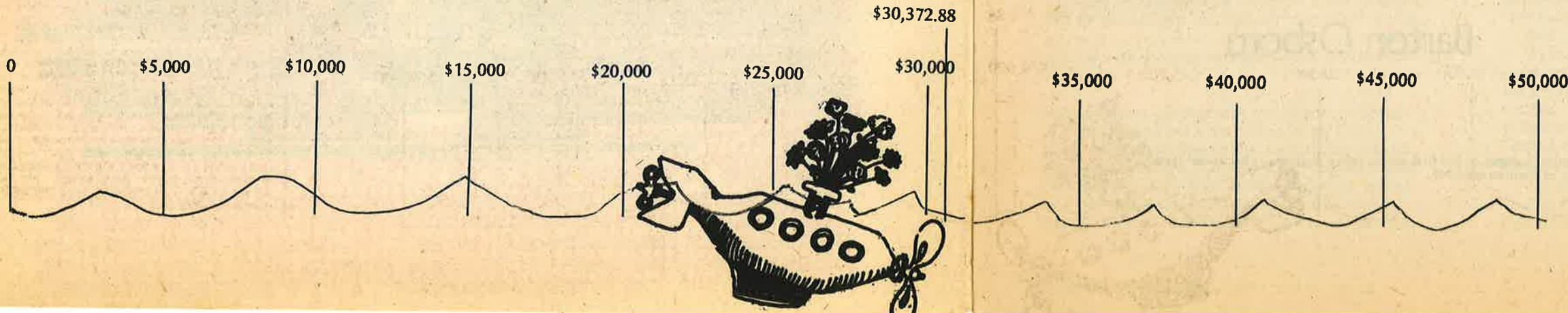
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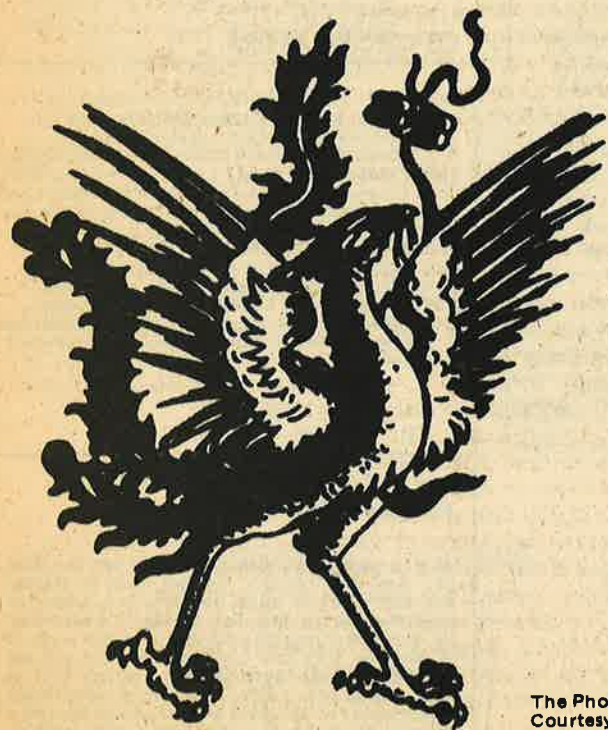
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OPERATION OHIO

A SPECIAL WIN REPORT DETAILING AMERICAN SPONSORED POLITICAL ASSASSINATION AND TORTURE IN POST-WAR GERMANY, DEMONSTRATING THAT THE PHOENIX PROGRAM WAS STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURE.



The Phoenix, symbol of the CIA assassination program in Southeast Asia. Courtesy of Counterspy/LNS.

BY Maris Cakars and
Barton Osborn

While there is yet no proof that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has succeeded in assassinating any heads of state, WIN Magazine has learned through an extensive six-month investigation that the CIA's companion organizations, the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC), Naval Intelligence and Air Force Intelligence, have financed, supervised and tolerated the murders of numerous innocent men and women. By 1954, only seven years after its inception, the CIA was controlling the group that had committed the assassinations, and probably still continues to finance it.

The CIC operation that we have investigated in depth, code named "Ohio," took place in Germany and Austria during the late 1940's and throughout the 1950's.

At least three of the American intelligence agents who "graduated" from this program went on to work with the notorious "Phoenix" program in which over 40,000 Vietnamese lost their lives. Among these Americans was Richard Helms, later Director of the CIA and now ambassador to Iran.

Although the exact number of victims of this operation is still unknown, a number of people familiar with it feel that possibly over 100 men and women were killed. Nearly all the victims were anti-Communists killed in a misguided attempt to stop Communism. We can now demonstrate that the CIA and Army Counter-Intelligence Corps used the same murderous techniques in Germany as they did later in the Phoenix Program in Vietnam, and with comparable "success." Operation Ohio is proof that for the last 25 years or more, a major function of the intelligence services has been something other than the gathering of information. The picture that emerges is neither that of the James Bond adventurer nor that of the cool analyst of information. From the beginning a major task of the intelligence community has been "dirty tricks," including murder. There is now horrifying documentation that throughout the period following World War II the American Intelligence services committed acts of murder with the same readiness that they engaged in regular peace-time intelligence gathering.

In addition to the illegality of the activities that we have uncovered, the role of Army, Air Force and Navy Intelligence in these activities raises very serious questions that have received little or no public attention to date. Ostensibly established for the purpose of helping to achieve military objectives, these services appear to have taken on a political role unknown to

Maris Cakars lived in Germany as a Displaced Person during his early years. Associated with WIN since its founding in 1966, he now works on it full time. His FBI file reveals that the "subject" has "been arrested on numerous occasions for disorderly conduct in connection with anti-war demonstrations or related activities."

Barton Osborn worked with the Phoenix Program in Vietnam, and was a consultant to the CIA's Agent Motivation Operations. He is responsible for the public exposure of the Phoenix Program, and is a co-founder of the Fifth Estate, Inc. which acts as an independent and publically-supported research group on the government intelligence community.

either the United States Congress or the American public.

Finally, we have uncovered instances of kidnapping, assault and battery and obstructing justice committed by CIA agents. Although the statute of limitations has now run out on these crimes, it is important that we know the nature of the intelligence heritage so that, hopefully, some years from now we will not look back at the events of 1975 and feel false relief that they are no longer taking place.

WE DIDN'T MAKE THIS UP

The evidence of direct American involvement in murder and other illegal activities comes from over a dozen people with either first or second hand knowledge of them. We interviewed most of our sources in Europe and some in this country.

One of our informants is a "soldier of fortune" who served in the French Foreign Legion, the Spanish Foreign Legion (during the Civil War—on Franco's side) and the ill-fated Vlasov Army formed under the Nazis to fight against the Soviet Union. After the Second World War he served as a guard in the Schleisheim camp for displaced persons or "DP's." Now retired, he has been a paid informer for both German and US intelligence services.

One source, a woman, did secretarial work for the US at the Mittenwald DP camp located in the Bavarian Alps and the scene of a number of the murders uncovered by the WIN investigation.

Most of our informants, both Europeans and Americans, have insisted on anonymity. They have had direct experience with the long arm of the CIA.

Those who have agreed to our use of their names have also been of great help and their names appear in the text.

Finally, a number of groups and individuals concerned with uncovering American intelligence activities have been most generous and helpful. They include the Committee for a Fifth Estate, the Center for National Security Studies, Ed Sanders, Victor Marchetti, Tim Butz, Gary Thomas and many others.

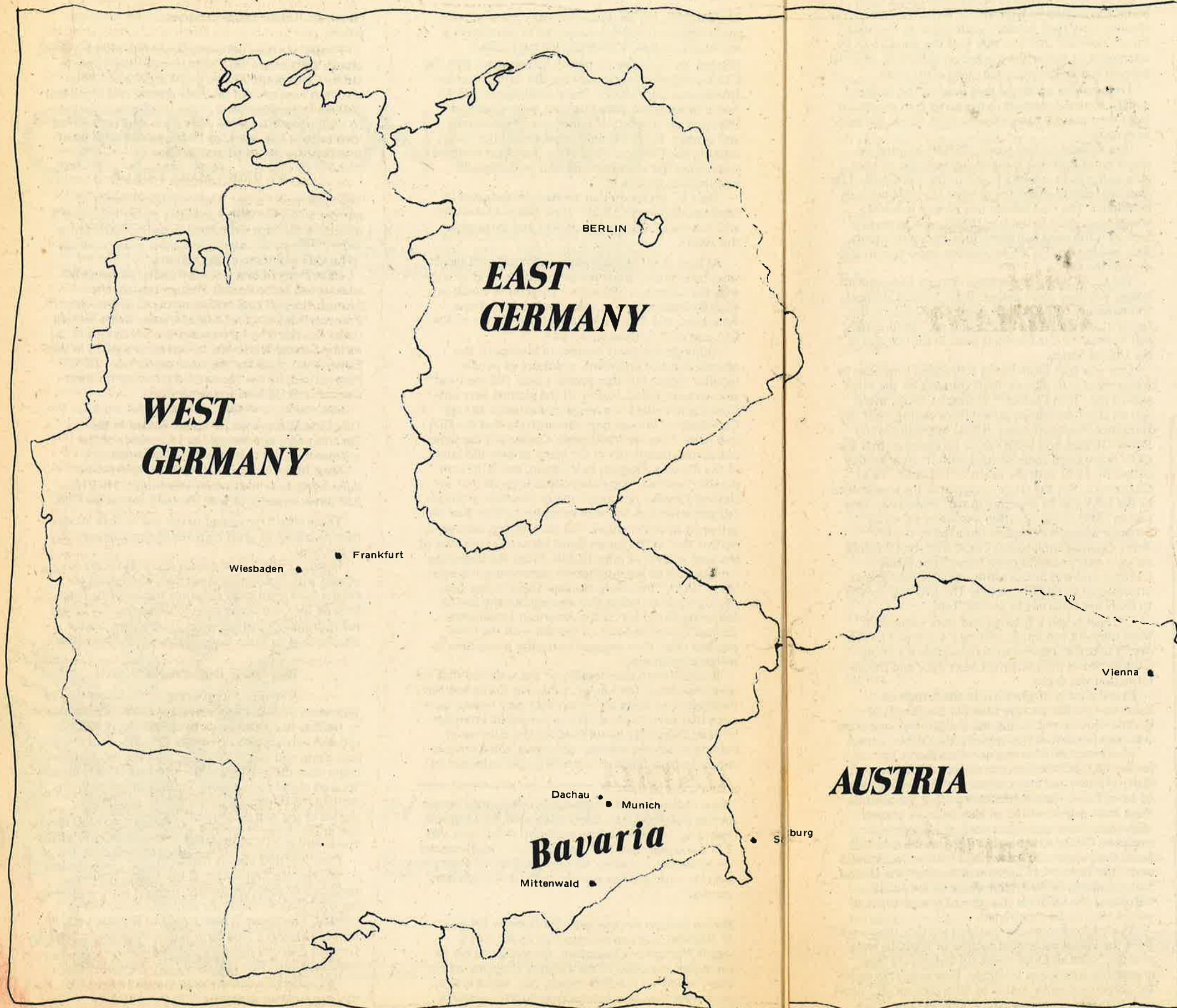
THE FIRST INKLING: DACHAU

Best known for the concentration camp located near it, Dachau is a picturesque Bavarian city, 1,200 years old and only six miles from Munich. The concentration camp still exists although there are no occupants other than the guards and ticket takers at the museum located in the former main administration building. Among the things prohibited by the regulations posted at the entrance are the "distribution of leaflets or any form of printed matter" and straying "from pathways provided."

Over 200,000 died at Dachau.

We met our first source at the stately former residence of Bavarian royalty, high on a hill overlooking the valley in which the concentration camp was located. The palace is now a public restaurant and its toilets included a plumbing fixture common to most German drinking places: a sink-like thing with handles, at just the right height for regurgitation.

We suffered a definite urge to make use of the unique German plumbing after our interview with this source, a former CIA employee who lived at the



Mittenwald "displaced persons" camp at which a number of the murders occurred.

He told us that in the Mittenwald camp American Intelligence used techniques borrowed from the Nazis by burning murdered bodies in large bread baking ovens. To compound the horror these were the very same ovens used to bake the bread for the hungry residents of the camp.

Our informant was a Russian born anti-Communist who decided to leave the USSR hastily after an unsuccessful attempt to turn the political tide in the 1920's by means of a bomb directed at high Communist officials passing through a Leningrad intersection. Because of his own activist background in the East European political tapestry he apparently saw nothing unusual in the burn solution to political problems.

The CIC sponsored organization which burned bodies in bread ovens was the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). This organization has had a long history of committing murders, beginning with the German occupation of Ukraine during World War II, according to our source, when the OUN played a significant role in the extermination of Jews and other "undesirables." Its murderous role continued after the war under American sponsorship. And our informant was convinced that the American sponsorship continues to the present.

Specifically it was the SB (*Sluzhba Bezpeky*), the secret political police of the OUN that carried out the killings. Patterned after the notorious Nazi SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*), our informant, referred to it as the OUN's "combat organization" and seemed pleased to report that, as far as he knew, it had been phased out after 1959 with the assassination of the OUN's leader, Stepan Bandera.

Our informant felt sure that a key link between the OUN and American intelligence was a Father Ott, a Jesuit and agent of the Vatican intelligence service. Ott's familiarity with the Ukrainian situation resulted from the Vatican's concern with the division of Ukrainian Catholics between those loyal to the Pope and those of the Eastern persuasion. Ott had been in the service of German military intelligence, had been captured by the Soviets, and had spent ten years in their concentration camps.

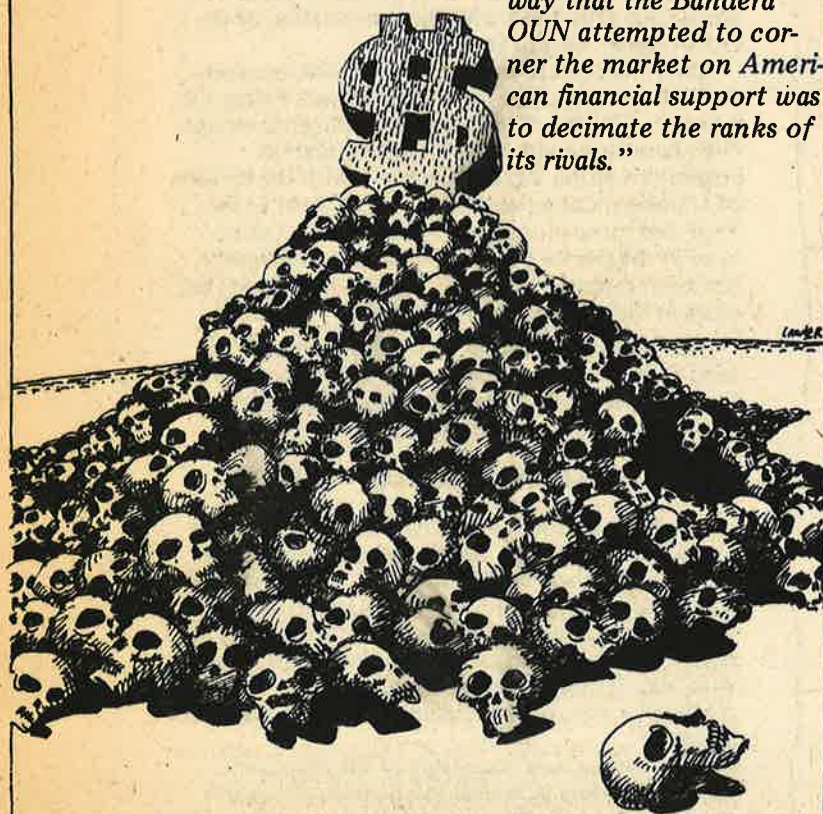
Our informant thought that Ott is currently the head of Vatican intelligence. He stated unequivocally that Ott had received training from a "friendly" intelligence agency, probably the CIA.

WHO WAS MURDERED, AND WHY

The primary reason for the OUN murders was cold-bloodedly ideological. "I have no doubt that these people killed their rivals," admitted John Armstrong, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin who has done numerous classified studies of Soviet refugees for the Air Force. In our interview with him, Professor Armstrong added that "the motivation was strictly to eliminate the political opposition."

The "opposition" consisted of the anti-Communist members of several more moderate groups, one which was also known as OUN and another called the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. Both were led by former allies of Stepan Bandera, the head of the murderous OUN.

“...the passion for ideology may have become confused with the need for US cash and that one way that the Bandera OUN attempted to corner the market on American financial support was to decimate the ranks of its rivals.”



More cynical members of the intelligence community suggested to WIN that at times the passion for ideology may have become confused with the need for US cash and that one way that the Bandera OUN attempted to corner the market on American financial support was to decimate the ranks of its rivals.

There can be no doubt that desperation to gain dollars, a crucial element in the survival of groups far from their natural bases of support at home, did lead to excesses.

One Russian emigre group, TSOPE (Central Association of Post-War Emigres), is reported to have gone so far as to set off a bomb in the courtyard of its own headquarters near the present Olympic grounds in Munich. The idea behind this bizarre incident, which took place in the late 1950's, was to make it look as if the deed had been done by Soviet agents, thus making the TSOPE look more important in the eyes of the CIA.

The OUN, while projecting a fiercely independent image, was even more desperate for outside support, and naturally turned to the Americans—despite the fact that during World War II, and even before, they had worked for the Germans both in Europe and in the United States.

One way that OUN found to impress American intelligence was to play up their contacts on the other side of the “Iron Curtain.” Without a doubt there was an anti-Communist armed force calling itself the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) operating in the Soviet Ukraine and there can be no question that the OUN maintained some contact with it. Its activities ceased by 1950 with the death of its leader, Taras Chuprynka. But the OUN exaggerated the importance of the UPA and its own role in that movement. One person close to the situation described for us an instance when OUN leaders reported to the US Army Counter-Intelligence Corps that the UPA had set up a new powerful radio transmitter inside Ukraine and was broadcasting valuable intelligence information to OUN monitors. The CIC was invited to OUN headquarters to see for itself.

CIC agents went, listened and were impressed. What they did not know, and may not know to this day, is that the transmitter was located not in the Ukraine but in the apartment next door and the information was faked.

Faked photos of guerrillas in the forests of Ukraine—photos actually taken in the forests of Bavaria—also served to impress the gullible Americans and keep the dollars flowing into the OUN.

Another motive for murder was a desire by former Nazi collaborators to disguise their pasts. Many of them had participated in the mass murders of Jews, Poles, Russians and even other Ukrainians. Were their true identities to have become known they would have been convicted of war crimes and executed. Those with hands a little less bloody still faced the prospect of forced repatriation to Ukraine under the terms of an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union which called for all citizens of the USSR at the time of the outbreak of war in 1941 to be repatriated.

Those Ukrainians who could prove that they were from the Polish controlled section of Ukraine were exempt. Since all OUN members had at very least engaged in anti-Soviet activities, they sought to avoid the consequences by means of false documents “proving” that they were from the Polish Ukraine. This

was easy to do because during their retreat from their homeland they brought out every sort of official form, seal, etc. New “official” documents were readily obtained.

Unfortunately documents were not enough since among the two to three million Ukrainian refugees in Germany and Austria were many who could reveal the true identities of the OUN criminals.

These were some of the reasons the OUN decided on a course of assassination. In the words of one of our informants, “Some undesirable Ukrainians received threatening letters with death sentences from the SB. Only a few of the liquidated Ukrainians were known. Many murders and liquidations remain in the dark.”

Our research indicates that at least dozens—and possibly over 100—people were assassinated and many more were terrorized into silence and submission.

The full extent of this reign of terror is probably known only by Iaroslav Stetsko, the present head of the OUN, and Mykola Matwiyeko, head of OUN's security police—the notorious SB—at the time of the murders.

Stetsko now lives in London and Munich and uses the names Wassili Dankiw and Sernon Karbowitsch as well as his own. Matwiyeko, on the other hand, has not been heard from since departing for a secret mission to Ukraine in 1951. The mission was sponsored by one of the Allies' intelligence services and rumor has it that in fact the purpose of the mission was to get Matwiyeko out of the way because he knew too much.

After Matwiyeko, the SB's new chief was Ivan Kashuba, believed to be still living in Augsburg, Germany, under an assumed name. A German police report that we have obtained describes him as “A common bandit. Always carries a pistol.”

Other SB members and officers known to have been involved in the assassinations include Wasyl Mudryk, Iwas Kaminsky (while Chief of Police of Trembovl in Ukraine during the war Kaminsky was responsible for the murder of many Jews; he now lives somewhere in the US), and Roman Petrenko, also known as Eugen Tatura, now believed living near Buffalo, NY.

It was Petrenko who, directed by the leadership of the OUN, first established contact with the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) in 1946. Instrumental in the contact was also Rev. Ivan Grinyokh who had served as the chaplain of the Nazi-OUN “*Nachtigalle*” battalion during World War II, and had been awarded the German Iron Cross. Grinyokh also had worked for the Gestapo and had used the names Orlov and Herasimowskyj. Earlier he had been an advisor to Nicholas Lebed, the first chief of the SB. During the post-war years, when the OUN was under American control, he continued to serve as an officer of the SB. Later he was to split with the OUN and form his own rural organization (the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council mentioned earlier), also funded by the US.

Among those killed by the OUN were B. Bulavsky, I. Chaikovsky, T. Charnetska, D. Chizhevsky, — Danke, Yuriy Gorodyn-Lisowsky, Y. Moroz, Nikolai Mushak, A. Pechary, Professor Petrow, Fyedor Rikadtshuk, Y. Stelmastschuk and Tamara Tshernetskaya-Zarinyk.

Chizhevsky and Professor Petrow were among those incinerated in the bread ovens at the Mittenwald displaced person camp. The others were probably simply buried.

REIGN OF TERROR

Not every murder was committed because of politics or American money or to avoid capture. In some cases the reason was as petty as the failure to pay “protection” money or was simply the result of personal squabbles. The SB was effectively the law enforcement in the approximately 80 camps where Ukrainians were the only, or the most numerous, national group. There was no check on its excesses other than by the OUN's American sponsors.

Until the early 1950's the German police were being re-established and were not an effective force. Much of the police function—particularly matters relating to the displaced persons—lay in the hands of the Allied military. Harold Zink, one of the architects of the American occupation policy, pointed out in a report prepared in the late 1940's with government support that in the DP camps “the public-safety angle continued to be a direct responsibility of military government after UNRRA [the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] assumed the task of administering the camps.”

Since well over 50% of Ukrainian refugees settled in the American zone—chiefly Bavaria—this responsibility fell on the American Military Police, the Counter-Intelligence Corps and the Criminal Investigation Division of the Army. Although, on the whole, the military was reasonably effective in maintaining order in a difficult situation, there is no record of any branch of the military taking any measures to put an end to the OUN murders.

Indeed, one of our informants who was a witness to these events insisted that American soldiers—probably intelligence officers under the cover of ordinary soldiers—held the keys to the Mittenwald bread/body ovens. The OUN snuff squad had to apply to the Americans each time it wanted to make use of the ovens.

Thus the responsibility for the assassinations must rest ultimately with American intelligence, first the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, then Naval and Air Force Intelligence and finally, by 1954, the CIA.

WHY THE US PAID THE BILL

If America's primary foreign policy objective at that time had not been the rolling back of Communist gains in Europe, these assassinations would not have occurred.

A top secret National Security Council document, NSC-68, which has recently been de-classified, reveals the real policy of the Truman administration, a policy steadfastly adhered to by his successor, Eisenhower. Dated April 14, 1950, the document recommended “Intensification of affirmative and timely measures and operations by covert means in the fields of economic warfare and political and psychological warfare with a view to fomenting and supporting unrest and revolt in selected strategic satellite countries.” Prepared by a top-level inter-departmental group headed by then chief of the State Department Planning Staff Paul Nitze, NSC-68 makes it clear that the defensive posture publicly taken by the US during

“Despite the abundant evidence of OUN war crimes and mass murders, US support for it continued, and almost certainly continues to this day.”

the post war period was strictly a public relations sham.

When it came to “fomenting unrest and revolt,” the OUN was ready. Not only did it offer an experienced organization, but it also claimed to represent an armed force, the UPA, already operating within the borders of the USSR.

In addition, and this was a key element of its arrangement with the CIC, it offered to eliminate Communist agents in the West.

Actually the OUN's initial attempt at implementing this aspect of the agreement was a disaster. In the hope that the CIC could be tricked into doing the actual dirty work, they identified their political opponents as Soviet agents. But this tactic backfired when the CIC, to its credit, checked the backgrounds of those who had been fingered. Out of one list of “agents” supplied by the OUN on July 22, 1946 only 1% of the cases turned out to warrant further investigation.

This blunder may have been the reason why the OUN grew estranged from the CIC and obtained the support of Air Force and Naval Intelligence. The OUN's new sponsors apparently cared little about the misadventures with CIC. Under the new arrangement the OUN would do its own killing.

Once the new program was put into operation it didn't matter to its overseers that the overwhelming majority of those killed were not in fact Soviet agents. The important thing was that there was a project, reports could be filed; it looked good at headquarters. Similarly it didn't matter when, more than a decade later, a village in Vietnam had to be destroyed “in order to save it.”

There is no proof that, when contact was first established between the OUN and American intelligence shortly after the end of World War II, the Americans knew the true nature of the OUN. But there can be no doubt that within a short time the brutal facts of the OUN's past became known, as many Jews familiar with the details of Hitler's attempt to exterminate their people joined the CIA and other American intelligence agencies.

A study of “Soviet opposition to Stalin” was commissioned by the Air Force and published in 1952. Its author was George Fischer, the son of Gandhi's biographer, Louis Fischer. The study describes the OUN as “the anti-Communist, anti-Russian, and, it must be added, also anti-democratic Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.” It goes on to describe the OUN's ideology as fitting in “perfect-

ly with the Rosenberg Conception [Rosenberg was Hitler's Minister for Eastern Territories]; its fanatic racism also bore an obvious affinity with Hitler's and Himmler's *Untermensch* theory, and was not without significance in the over-all development of German *Ostpolitik*.”

The purpose of the Fischer study was to examine options and make recommendations on how best to pitch American anti-Communist propaganda so as to encourage opposition to the Soviet regime. This was no mere academic exercise but an action report which, if only because they paid for it, must have been read by the managers of the OUN.

Despite the abundant evidence of OUN war crimes and mass murders, US support for it continued, and almost certainly continues to this day.

HOW THE AMERICANS WERE ORGANIZED

We have not yet been able to uncover the channels through which the OUN received the funds unwittingly contributed by American taxpayers. However the broad outlines of the structure of the American intelligence community in Europe during the post war years have emerged.

Some Americans who had detailed knowledge of the OUN atrocities worked in Munich for three CIA fronts: the American Committee for Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, Radio Liberty, and the Institute for the Study of the USSR. The American Committee which was the “sponsor” of both Radio Liberty and the Institute, subsequently changed its name to the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism and later simply to American Committee for Liberation. The current name for the same group is Radio Liberty Committee, Inc., and, although it was supposed to be formally divorced from the CIA in 1973, eight out of ten members of the current committee were trustees of the American Committee during the darkest days of the Cold War in the 1950's.

These eight stalwarts are Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren (former head of the General Federation of Women's Clubs), J. Peter Grace, Jr. (of the W&R Grace Co.), H.J. Heinz, Jr. (57 varieties), Isaac Don Levine (Russian born journalist now living in Waldorf, Md.), Dr. John W. Studebaker (former US Commissioner of Education), Reginald T. Townsend (Princeton graduate and author of *God Packed My Christmas Basket*), and Howland Hill Sargeant.

From 1954 until July of this year Sargeant was president of this succession of committees. Prior to this assignment he was an Assistant Secretary of State in charge of East European Affairs. His connection with the CIA during that period has not been established. In coming to the American Committee he succeeded former Ambassador to Moscow, Admiral Alan F. Kirk. Finally having reached retirement age, Sargeant is being replaced by Sig Mickelson, formerly of CBS News.

A certifiable CIA agent on the staff of the American Committee and someone who was familiar with the details of the assassinations was Isaac Patch, Director of Emigre Relations. Patch eventually suffered a nervous breakdown and left the Agency. There is no record of his ever having taken steps to put a stop to the slaughter. His two sons currently live on a commune in New England.

Another CIA agent on the Committee's staff, its Legal Counsel, was a man called Muller who personally was responsible for—and guilty of—kidnapping and assault and battery. More on him later. Yet another co-conspirator was Spencer Williams, Director of Emigre Press Relations.

Radio Liberty (originally called Radio Liberation before political developments dictated a toning down of its militant posture) first went on the air on March 1, 1953. Under the cover of broadcasters, journalists and concerned citizens, the CIA agents employed by it actually waged war against Communism on many fronts. One of its tasks, obviously, was the broadcast of propaganda. This often included proposing admittedly “impractical” actions that Soviet citizens might take to oppose their government. Equally important was the gathering of intelligence information about the USSR from letters which Radio Liberty urged its listeners to send to the station describing local conditions. These letters were written as if to relatives or friends and mailed to addresses broadcast by the station. This operation was euphemistically dubbed “audience research.”

At the same time efforts were made to bag information from US travelers to the USSR. “Sparks Into the USSR”, booklet published by Radio Liberty during the 1950's, urges tourists to contact the station and states that “whatever information they can glean will be of great interest to the Radio Liberty staff.” This effort to turn US civilians into junior spies raises serious questions of ethics since travelers who unwittingly provided information to the CIA in this way could well have been jeopardizing

their right to return to the USSR or possibly be running the risk of prosecution for espionage during a future trip.

In addition Radio Liberty-American Committee, two CIA fronts, did a brisk business in attempting to influence domestic American opinion with an endless stream of press releases, background briefings and studies directed at getting the American mass media to parrot its line of slavery, starvation and incipient revolt in the Soviet Union.

Among those who worked these various Radio Liberty rackets, and were informed about the OUN assassinations, were Robert F. Kelly (Policy Adviser), Jim Condon (Security Officer), Max Rallis (then, as now, Director of Audience Research), Gaither Stewart (Radio Liberty Book Program, a project for smuggling printed matter into the USSR), Mike Terpak (Assistant to the Policy Advisor in the New York office, now head of the Ukrainian desk at Voice of America), Robert Dreher (Director of Programming, later with the Phoenix Program in Vietnam), Gene King (Dreher's successor at Radio Liberty in 1956), and Eric M. Kuniholm (Director of Political Affairs, based in New York).

The American Committee's other branch, the Institute for the Study of the USSR, posed as the academic/research arm of the operation. The CIA also used this as its cover. Among its agents were Leon J. Barat (a Russian born US Army Lieutenant and Deputy Adviser to the Institute), Dr. Oliver J. Fredricksen (Advisor to the Institute), and Hank Schott (Coordinator).

Other American officials who knew what the OUN was doing with American funds included Richard M. Christiansen (CIA), Nick Alexander (CIA), Ralph M. Jones (CIA under cover of the US Consulate in Munich), Ernst Langdorf (Radio Free Europe), Dr. Von Berg (Radio Free Europe) and Navy Lt. Commander Richley.

According to one former CIA agent with whom we spoke, the CIA man who worked closest with the Ukrainian groups during these operations was John LaPerque. Our informant described him as “the most knowledgeable person in the US today about Ukrainian operations. . .and generally as crazy as hell.”

At the head of all of the fronts, agents, operations, plots and crimes was Richard Helms, Director of the East Europe Division from 1951 to 1955. An agent since the inception of the CIA in 1947, Helms was succeeded by Hugh Cunningham who served until 1957.



Although no one has been able to chart the vastness of the empire under the control of the Director of the East Europe Division, it is known that the two radio stations alone, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, received over \$30 million annually from the CIA. Radio Liberty maintained publicly however, that it was "dependent upon private contributions—individual and corporate—as well as upon foundation donors and it has received the contributions with no strings attached." It is unknown what portion of this budget was actually spent on broadcasting and how much was devoted to clandestine activities.

At the center of the frantic anti-Communist activity of his division, Helms was known as the consummate bureaucrat, playing, like Richard Nixon, close attention to the details of the many operations under his direction. Later this meticulousness was to be rewarded with his elevation, first, to the post of Chief of the Clandestine Services and, then, to Director of the CIA in 1966. In his current post as Ambassador to Iran he supervises the vast American intelligence gathering apparatus in that country.

With the exception of Helms, none of the other men that we have named were directly responsible for the atrocities of the OUN. Control for that operation was located elsewhere in the highly compartmentalized CIA structure. Nevertheless all of them were fully aware of what was taking place and did nothing to stop it. Indeed, because the assassinations suited their view of what American policy ought to be, in various ways they encouraged—possibly even aided and abetted—them instead of reporting them to the appropriate authorities. Their failure to act raises a question as to whether or not they are guilty of obstruction of justice or malfeasance in office.

An ironic aspect of the relationship between the CIA and the OUN is that the public posture that was taken was one of antagonism between the OUN and the American Committee, with the OUN accusing the Committee of favoring continued Russian domination of neighboring nationalities after liberation from Bolshevism. The CIA even went so far as to set up two new Ukrainian groups, the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and the Union of Ukrainian Federalist Democrats, to "compete" with the OUN and publicly to cooperate with the Committee. In fact, the CIA was supporting both sides in this political competition.

Of course, when it came to political competition the OUN knew how to react. In early 1952 an OUN member unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate General Diomid Gulai, the head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. This was too much. The CIA tightened control and OUN assassinations were on their way out although support of the OUN was to continue.

At first it may appear self-defeating of the CIA to support rival organizations, but actually such practices were (and are) not uncommon for an organization which one of our sources described as being

"like an octopus." Since the assets of the CIA are close to limitless compared to those of conventional organizations, since the CIA itself cared little about the specifics of political differences between its clients, and since it could never be certain which group or personality might suddenly prove itself useful, it simply backed everyone.

THE CONTEXT

In order to understand the US responsibility in these Cold War atrocities it is helpful to examine the structure and program of, first, Military Intelligence and, second, the CIA in Germany and Austria during the post war period.

At the close of World War II the first unit of US intelligence to arrive in these areas was the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). Its job was to establish absolute authority for security in occupied Europe. Army Regulation 380-100 stated: "The mission of the Counter-Intelligence Corps is to contribute to the operations of the Army Establishment through the detection of treason, sedition, subversive activity, and disaffection, and the detection, prevention or neutralization of espionage and sabotage within or directed against the Army Establishment and the areas of its jurisdiction."

In the early stages of occupation (1945 and 1946) this broad directive was taken to mean the simultaneous establishment of informant nets within the German and Austrian civilian community and the labyrinth of displaced person camps in order to finger those opposed to American policy, while at the same time conducting a campaign to enforce authority over the German and Austrian population.

At first the CIC's target was de-Nazification, but almost immediately the emphasis switched to the battle against Communism. A recently declassified official history of the CIC paints this picture of those early days: "These first CIC agents and those who followed them were to learn in the months ahead that the devastation of a world war and the ensuing occupation did not destroy the espionage nets. New ones sprang up overnight as occupation forces of four nations (US, Britain, France, and USSR) and displaced persons from many more swarmed into Austria."

Although this report concentrates on Austria, the situation was much the same in Germany. It points out that: "Post-war Austria was a hodgepodge of nationalities. Displaced persons by the thousands swelled Austria's population of 7,000,000 making it a simple matter for an agent of a foreign power to slip quietly across a border and lose himself among the multitudes. The terrain, dotted with mountains and lakes, offered cover when the crowds did not.

"Divergent political philosophies and organizations further complicated the picture. Remnants of the Nazi Party still held key positions in government and business when CIC moved into Austria, and CIC's first major task was the de-Nazification of the

Richard Helms, former director of the CIA, being sworn in before the Senate Watergate Committee in 1973.

“The CIC’s official history asserts that ‘Although it was not stated in official directives the CIC quickly realized that the primary mission of de-Nazification soon would be replaced by the Soviet problem.’ The fact is that the word had come down from the policy makers in Washington that the Cold War was on.”

country. Soon it became evident that Communist activities were an even greater menace to freedom and to the security of American forces in Austria. Even among the displaced persons, particularly the Jews, there were organized efforts to subvert American authority.”

By 1948 the CIC came to believe that two out of every 1000 persons in Austria were directly or indirectly linked with Soviet-aligned intelligence agencies. So the job of US intelligence in Europe became the same as it later was in Vietnam, the ferreting out of Communist suspects.

The legal mechanism by which the CIC controlled the DP complex was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which gave Army CIC full license not only for judgemental clearance of individuals for repatriation, emigration and release from the camps, but also access to untold thousands of potential agents and informants.

By virtue of its authority as the occupying force, US intelligence worked to tighten its control of all levels of German and Austrian political, economic and social life. To this end the Army formed dozens of CIC detachments throughout the area. A partial list includes at least 18 CIC detachments, the largest of which apparently was the 970th CIC Detachment, headquartered at first at Wiesbaden, Germany, and later in the immense I.G. Farben Building in Frankfurt-am-Main, which alone numbered 300 officers and 1100 agents. These were divided into “slash teams” (for designations such as 970/100) which roamed in a designated area and established informant nets in the population, especially the DP camps, which were sometimes located in former Nazi concentration camps.

In Austria the 430th CIC Detachment, headquartered at first in the Soviet occupied city of Vienna and later in Salzburg, was one of the main units. A special section known as the Displaced Persons Screening Project or DP-48 worked under it. The facilities for its operations were officially listed as including:

“1) Accommodations for the secret solitary confinement of up to 100 arrestees at one time. . . arranged so that the presence of individual CIC arrestees may be kept secret from all other arrestees.

2) Ten cells equipped for secret monitoring and recording of conversations.

3) Ten private, soundproof interrogation rooms. . .”

The facilities were evidently the European equivalents of the infamous Province Interrogation Centers set up in Vietnam and later exposed by the US Congress.

According to the official CIC records, the authority for this function was eventually transferred officially in June of 1954 from CIC to “another agency”—presumably the CIA.

The CIC’s official history asserts that “Although it was not stated in official directives the CIC quickly realized that the primary mission of de-Nazification soon would be replaced by the Soviet problem.” The fact is that word had come down from the policy makers in Washington that the Cold War was on.

It was in this atmosphere that murders took place. The “classification” system of the CIC and the CIA operations made it inevitable that a cover-up continue for some 20 years.

The screening of DP’s was a complicated procedure that had originally been assigned to the US Displaced Persons Commission by Presidential directive.

But the importance of this responsibility with respect to security meant that CIC would take control. As stated in the CIC’s history, “From the start of operation in the field, it became clear that the CIC was in fact making a decision, as to security, with which the President’s executive order had charged the Commission. This was deliberate with the Commission, and at no time was the CIC relieved of this basic function in connection with strict security findings and conclusions.”

Once the CIC gained control in these areas, it was easy for its operations to get out of hand. In the words of a retired Colonel who had been with the 430th CIC and who later went on to play a key role in the Vietnam Phoenix Program, “In those early days we had some wild ass times in Europe. Now-and-again a suspected Communist agent would get killed. Things were so tense in those days that it didn’t take much, you know.”

An example of an operation that crossed the line into illegality was one named “Snatch/Counter-Snatch” that ran for a number of years in the late 1940’s and early 1950’s. This official, if ludicrous, codename referred to a series of American and Soviet kidnappings. The official CIC history concentrates on Soviet kidnappings as they were thwarted by one of the “most extensive investigations ever conducted by the 430th CIC Detachment.” Nevertheless a participant in the operation has revealed to us that kidnappings were carried out by Americans as well.

Other operations involving mass arrests included “Sunrise,” “Lithia,” and “Bingo” (in which 407 “low-level” USSR agents were arrested). Like Phoenix in Vietnam, the criteria for arrest, detention and interrogation could be as flimsy as an accusation by a single informer.

Formed in 1947, the CIA was not to take full operational control of the refugee situation until 1954. But in the intervening period the Agency had assumed the role of “big brother” to the military intelligence services. The CIA operated in deeper cover than Military Intelligence and with a much more sophisticated structure that included less visibility.

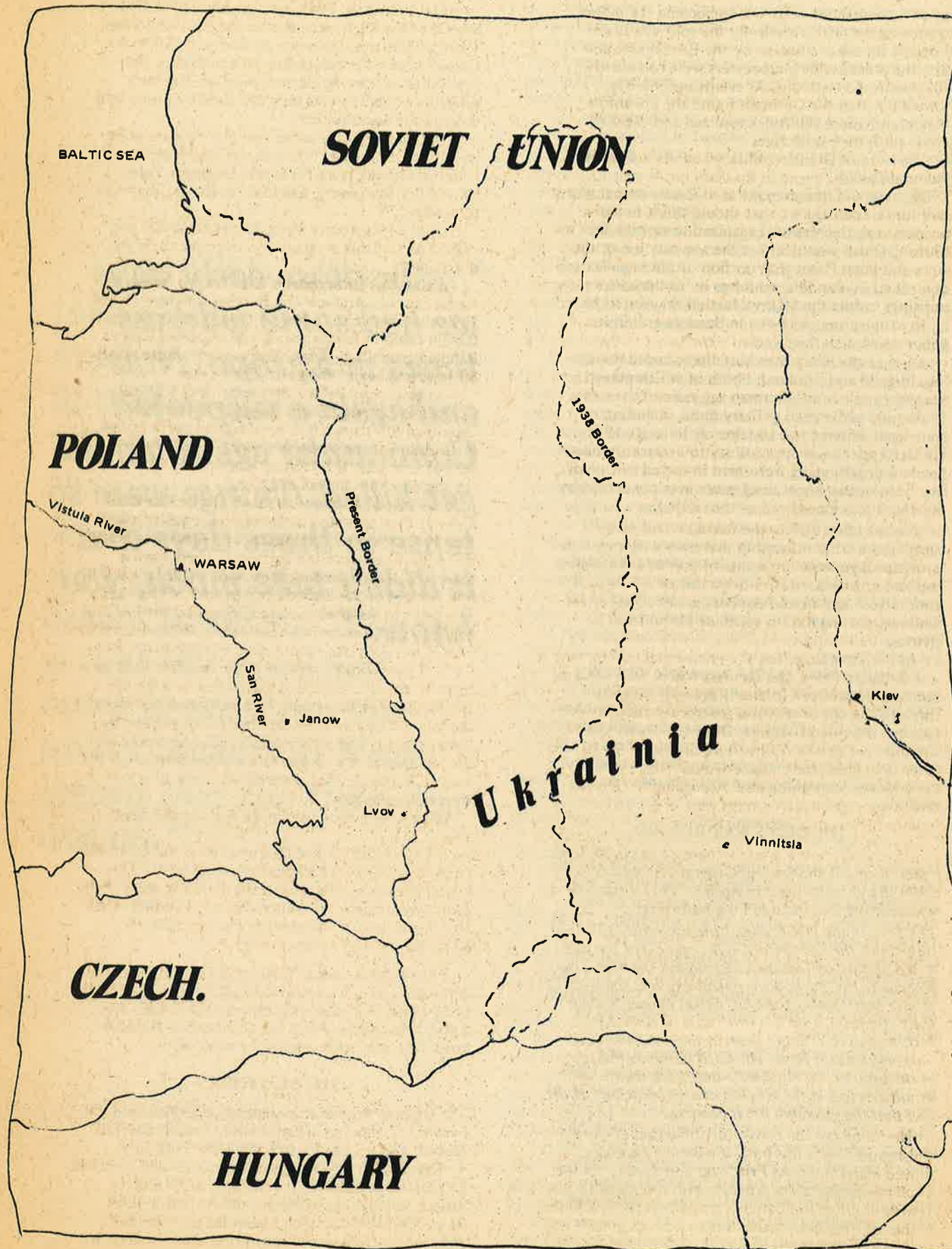
THE OUN’S WAR RECORD

Members of the largest minority in the USSR and the inheritors of a distinct nationality and culture, the Ukrainians have nevertheless been subjects of the Russians, Poles, Rumanians, Czechoslovakians, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians and others. In the last few centuries there has been an independent Ukrainian government only for three years, from 1917 to 1920. Even that government controlled only a small portion of the geography which is generally considered to amount to Ukraina.

Under these difficult circumstances a strong nationalist movement began to emerge before 1900. By 1929 it had taken the form of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Organizatsiia Ukrain’skykh Natsionalistiv), an organization sharing many of the political assumptions of the German Nazi Party, including the notion of the *Fuhrerprinzip*. By 1938 the Nazis were supporting it in its efforts to gain autonomy for the Carpatho-Ukraine, a region then under Czechoslovakian control.

In 1940, as a result of a split between the young militants and the older moderates, Stepan Bandera

“... In those early days we had some wild ass times in Europe. Now-and-again a suspected Communist agent would get killed. Things were so tense in those days that it didn’t take much, you know.”



assumed control of what was to become the major branch of the OUN. Ironically the split was based partially on the accusation by the Bandera faction that the older Melnyk supporters were too closely allied with the Germans. As events unfolded it turned out that the Germans found the youthful Banderaists more skillful, organized and eager to accomplish their objectives.

The head of German military counter-intelligence, Admiral Canaris, wrote in his diary on August 12, 1939, "I would like to make appropriate preparations with the Ukrainians so, that should this alternative become real, the Melnyk organization can produce an uprising which would aim at the annihilation of the Jews and Poles." But that portion of the organization controlled by Bandera would go on to "produce such uprisings" while the Melnyk faction dragged its heels.

In early spring of 1941 the Bandera group was cooperating with the German *Wehrmacht* in the creation of two Ukrainian battalions, codenamed "Nachtigall" and "Roland," both of which played a significant role in the German aggression to the east.

As soon as German military units, including Nachtigall, entered the Ukraine on June 30, 1941, the OUN seized the opportunity to declare an independent provisional government in the city of L'vov. The head of that short lived government was Yaroslav Stetsko, the present head of the OUN.

Almost immediately the Germans had made it clear to the OUN leadership that they considered the provisional government a case of premature nationalism and downgraded it to the status of a "regional committee" and placed Bandera under house arrest while permitting him to continue his political activities.

At the same time that the provisional government was being curtailed, the Bandera forces were sending out "march groups" (*pkhidny hrupy*), allegedly to spread the word of the new government throughout German occupied Ukraine. Others, including Philip Friedman of the YIVO Institute of Jewish Social Science in New York, are convinced that the OUN's purpose was something else. According to German documents, the march groups were organized to "combat Jews and Communists."

—Even before the establishment of the provisional government, at the Second General Congress of the OUN (Bandera faction) in April of 1941 a resolution was adopted that included the following:

The Jews in the USSR constitute the most faithful support of the ruling Bolshevik regime and the vanguard of Muscovite imperialism in the Ukraine. The Muscovite-Bolshevik government exploits the anti-Jewish sentiments of the Ukrainian masses to divert their attention from the true cause of their misfortune and to channel them in time of frustration into pogroms on Jews. The OUN combats the Jews as the prop of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime and simultaneously it renders the masses conscious of the fact that the principal foe is Moscow.

Here we have the classic identification of Jews=Bolsheviks. From this basis the Bandera group moved into action. As Friedman points out, "in the implementation of its program with reference to the Jewish problem the Bandera group complied with the wishes of their Nazi protectors to a much greater extent than in theory."

—On August 30, 1941, two leaders of the Melnyk branch of the OUN were shot in the back and killed. Their Ukrainian assassin was immediately killed by Ukrainian and German police thus excluding the possibility of learning his true motives. But considerable evidence exists that the Bandera group had ordered the assassinations.

—In October of the same year the Bandera group issued a letter saying, "Long live greater independent Ukraine without Jews, Poles and Germans. Poles behind the San [river], Germans to Berlin, Jews to the gallows."

The most vigorously pursued and tragically successful part of this program was to prove to be the third one.

—Philip Friedman reports that "in the forests of Kapyczow and Arianow the Bandera followers killed 100 Jews" and that "a Jew who escaped the concentration camp in Janow near L'vov, reported that a Bandera group had surrounded a forest where about 80 Jews had been hiding and killed them."

—In testimony before the Nuremberg tribunal German Lieutenant Erwin Bingel describes how Ukrainian militiamen (OUN members) participated in an action at the Vinnitsa airport in the Western part of Ukraine. The Jews of Vinnitsia had been assembled at the airport and then:

"One row of Jews was ordered to move forward and was then allocated to the different tables where they had to undress completely and hand over everything that they wore and carried. . . Then, having taken off all their clothes, they were made to stand in line in front of the ditches, irrespective of their sex. The commandos then marched in behind the line and began to perform the inhuman acts. . . With automatic pistols and 0.8 pistols these men mowed down the line. . . Even women carrying children a fortnight to three weeks old, sucking at their breasts, were not spared this horrible ordeal. Nor were mothers spared the terrible sight of their children being gripped by their little legs and put to death with one stroke of the pistol-butt or club thereafter to be thrown on the heap of human bodies in the ditch, some of which were not quite dead."

Bingel's testimony continues, but we will spare you.

—Raul Hillberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* describes the OUN the following way: "The Ukrainians were used principally for dirty work—thus *Einsatzkommando 4a* went so far as to confine itself to the shooting of adults while commanding its Ukrainian helpers to shoot children."

The evidence of the OUN complicity in mass murder is extensive. No one investigating the period could be ignorant of it. Certainly the spooks of CIC, Air Force Intelligence, Naval Intelligence and the CIA knew who they were getting involved with.

THE OUN TODAY

The OUN is more than a creature of 1950's cold war hysteria. Today it maintains world headquarters in Munich and US headquarters in New York City.

The Munich office is located at 67 Zeppelinstrasse, an apartment building in which the OUN and its various satellite organizations occupy the ground floor. The OUN complex is guarded by three men who appear to have revolvers under their jackets. We

refrained from a close examination of the guards.

Having gained entrance to the OUN complex we spoke with Anatole Bedriy, editor of their newspaper, *The Way to Victory*. Sitting beneath a portrait of their "fuhrer" Stepan Bandera, he freely admitted to us that the newspaper is "aligned" with the OUN. However he refused to discuss with us any details concerning the size of OUN's membership or its structure. He described information along these lines as something that "could not be talked about." However he did characterize OUN's present condition as "healthy."

Bedriy would not admit to us that either OUN or the newspaper currently received any outside support although he commented, with a trace of nostalgia, that during the reign of John Foster Dulles as US Secretary of State their organization had received "cooperation" from the United States government. He also confirmed to us that even today both Madrid Radio and Vatican Radio continue to broadcast OUN programs to the Soviet Ukraine.

A mystery that Bedriy was unable to clear up concerned the financing of *The Way to Victory*. Of the 8,000 copies printed each week an unspecified number of thousands, by Bedriy's own admission, are smuggled into Ukraine. Well over half of these are intercepted by the Soviet authorities.

Who pays for these copies? If it is true that, as Bedriy maintained to us, the cost is covered by private contributions, then the Ukrainians must be exceptionally generous. The cost of publishing a weekly newspaper (which carries no paid advertising) with a staff of about 25 full and part time workers and *paying to smuggle nearly half of the press run into another country each week* runs high. This does not even include the unusual publishing expense of maintaining armed guards at the front door, but that expense is hard to calculate since, presumably, their cost is shared with the OUN and the other groups in the building.

Back in the USA the OUN operates under the cover of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (ODFFU) and strongly influences the Ukrainian-American Youth Association. Spokesmen for both organizations denied any knowledge of the OUN to us. However the near panic that greeted our mention of the OUN during our recent visit to the ODFFU offices in Manhattan's Lower East Side, belied the true nature of the organization, as did the prominently displayed portrait of Stefan Bandera, the first leader of the OUN. In addition a Ukrainian source familiar with the political organizations representing Ukrainians in America identified the small brownstone facing Tompkins Square Park as the American headquarters of the OUN. It's current head is a Mr. Cokolyk.

The Ukrainian American Youth Association also headquartered at 315 E. 10th St., maintains summer camps in Ellenville, NY; Buffalo, NY; Wisconsin; Detroit, Mich.; and Cleveland, Ohio. We visited the beautiful 106 acre Ellenville camp where about 100 teenagers were learning to become camp counsellors themselves. In years past as many as 250 youth have participated in this program but interest appears to have waned recently.

"We do have in the back of our minds that we are training young people who may eventually be involved in an armed struggle in the Ukraine," admitted Askold Lozynskyj, a likeable member of the National Executive Committee of the Association and

the person in charge of the camp. He denied any connection with the OUN, admitting only that it "probably" still existed.

There, not far from the famous Jewish resorts that have presided over the emergence of another immigrant group into the American middle class, the crimes of the OUN seemed almost of another world. How nice.

The peaceful scene in Ellenville was indeed a sharp contrast to the scene a month and a half earlier in Germany where, seated on a sidewalk bench in front of the MacDonald's on Ludwigstrasse we met quietly with a retired CIA agent still active in emigre affairs. He was lamenting the fact that the agency no longer supports the OUN and other emigre groups in the style to which they have become accustomed.

We commented that we had heard that this was indeed the case.

"But," he said, "I just heard from a friend who has often supplied me with reliable information on the OUN that they have developed a new source of support."

"Oh, that's interesting."

"Yes, they just put money into an account at the Credit Lyonnaise bank in Switzerland and the OUN draws out what it thinks it needs."

"And who is this new generous benefactor?"

"The Chinese."

OTHER HORRORS

Other facts brought to light by the WIN investigation in Munich involved a Russian born employee of the CIA named Peter Moroz who was kidnapped and tortured for three months by CIA operatives. Physical and psychological torture techniques which were to turn up ten years later in the CIA detention centers of Vietnam were used against Mr. Moroz.

Peter Moroz was an employee of the CIA's Institute for the Study of the USSR. Following in his father's footsteps his son Rem also joined the Agency and was trained at a CIA center near Washington, DC. Subsequently he was assigned to work in East Germany. In the fall of 1956 Rem lost contact with his CIA control who, correctly, suspected that he had defected.

On September 11, 1956 the father, Peter, was seized by CIA operatives posing as German police. Their leader was a man named Muller, a CIA agent posing as the Legal Counsel of the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism. While serving with the US Army Muller had earned a reputation for excessive brutality with German POW's. He now put his skills to work on Peter Moroz.

Moroz was taken to a "villa" or safe house near Gruenewald, south of Munich. Until December 9 he was held there, forced to sleep in a basement room without furniture while bright lights were left turned on. He was fed highly salted food. Constantly Indonesian music was piped in over loudspeakers.

The CIA's objective was to make Moroz denounce his son, thereby blunting the propaganda effect of his defection. Additionally the CIA was desperate to learn from the father exactly what information his son had that could be of use to the KGB, the Soviet Security Service.

Amazingly Peter Moroz failed to break under the pressure and was released. But while he had been in confinement two CIA agents, Leon Barat of the American Committee and Richard Christiansen, broke into his home to search for documents. They failed to find anything of value.

A short while later Christiansen was expelled by the German government for breaking into the apartment of another mysteriously missing CIA employee, Major Leonid Ronzhin.

After Moroz's release he filed complaints with every manner of authority from the local police to President Eisenhower, to no avail. Apparently the power of the CIA was such that it was able to cover up the crimes of kidnapping and assault and battery.

This fact was recently confirmed for us by the woman that Moroz lived with until his death in 1972. Vera Berkut, also an employee of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, told us that not only Moroz but also friends of his well connected with the intelligence establishment had demanded an inquiry with no success.

While Peter Moroz was undergoing torture a CIA agent named Henry Sutton was putting into effect a plan to organize a paramilitary force of German youth to be thrown into action in the event of an armed confrontation with the Soviet Union. Of course such a plan went altogether against the notion that every effort possible be made to prevent a resurgence of German militarism. Nevertheless, the CIA shipped arms to the German youth while attempting at all costs to keep the operation a secret. The fruit of this blundered attempt is now known as the "Black October" flap.

Simultaneously with the attempt to create a new "Hitler Jugend" the CIA was drawing up lists of agents not of American extraction to be "terminated" in the event of the same confrontation with the Communists. The rationale was that they would be "saved" from the enemy. Although the list was top secret, a number of the people on it learned what it was that their American friends had in mind for them and, in a fit of pique, let out news about the re-armed youth, news that did not sit well with the anti-Nazi Europe of the 1950's.

This embarrassing development resulted in a major reshuffling of the CIA apparatus in Europe. But the timing was fortuitous since, as the CIA was just beginning to find out, the grass was greener in Southeast Asia.

AS AMERICAN AS APPLE PIE

It is now possible to trace the history and growth of the *modus operandus* used by American intelligence over a period of more than three decades. As the CIC and the whole of Military Intelligence burgeoned in the early post-war years in Europe, their functions quickly went far beyond the mere collection of information and the analysis of that information. When the CIA consolidated its leadership in the intelligence community during the 1950's it continued to follow this precedent.

Indeed, the mentality that produced the charred corpses of Mittenwald would go on to produce even more widespread destruction in the 1960's and 1970's.

As a result of intelligence operatives being transferred to Southeast Asia the concept of assassination as a legitimate political tool was reincarnated in the Phoenix Program and its predecessor, *Phung Hoang*. Although Phoenix was the creation of William Colby, the current Director of Central Intelligence, its roots in Vietnam actually go back to the 1950's when American sponsored "counter-terror" was introduced by General Edward Lansdale.

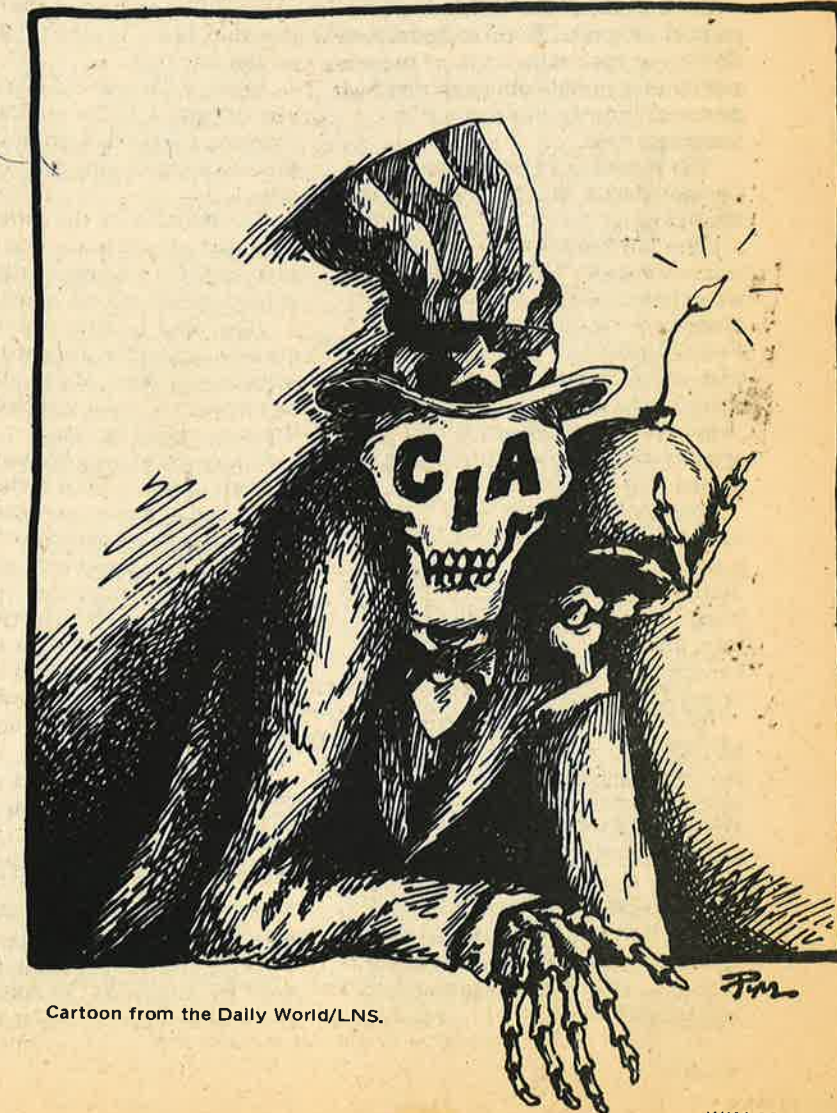
Ultimately American policy makers introduced terms such as the "scalpel" (murder of the opposi-

tion's infrastructure) and "bludgeon" (large military operations). Although most Americans have finally come to the realization that neither of these two alternatives is acceptable there is no evidence that countless "intelligence" agents in our employ have reached the same conclusion.

Several people familiar with Operation Ohio advanced the theory that this operation was purely the result of the fact that the American agents operating in post-war Europe were "of poor quality" and "below par." However America's performance in other places at other times suggests that what happened in Europe was no aberration.

The explanation for how these things continue to happen lies in the fundamental contradiction between genuine national security based on peace with freedom and America's historic urge to reorganize the world in its own image.

Until that contradiction is resolved we can continue to expect to find the Navy sponsoring assassinations in places like Mittenwald, high in the Bavarian Alps and 200 miles from the nearest ocean; and the Air Force carpet bombing jungles in Southeast Asia. And we can also continue to expect the government to keep the truth about these operations from us in the name of "national security."



Cartoon from the Daily World/LNS.

CHANGES

THE LAST WORDS ON KENT STATE: NOBODY IS GUILTY

A Federal Court jury in Ohio has denied civil damages to the victims of the shootings by National Guardsmen at Kent State University in 1970. Unless appealed successfully, the verdict means that the courts have turned aside all efforts to fix personal responsibility for the deaths of four students and injuries to nine others during a demonstration against the war in Southeast Asia.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, created shortly after the shootings, terms the Guardsmen's actions "unwarranted, unnecessary and inexcusable." The Guardsmen were then exonerated of criminal charges by a state grand jury. A Federal grand jury later charged them with conspiring to violate the civil rights of the students. The Guardsmen were cleared when the trial judge, after hearing the prosecution case, dismissed it as insufficient.

The surviving victims and the parents of the dead students obtained a ruling last year from the United States Supreme Court that they could bring a civil suit against the Guardsmen, university officials and Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes, who had ordered the troops onto the campus.

The victims and parents sued for \$6-million in damages, alleging that the defendants had violated the students' constitutional right of assembly. The key issue in the 15-week trial was whether the Guardsmen were actually in danger from the demonstrators at the time they opened fire. The jury, voting 10 to 2 for the defense, apparently believed the Guardsmen's testimony that they felt themselves threatened. —News Desk

JOANN LITTLE ACQUITTED ON MURDER AND MANSLAUGHTER CHARGES

Joann Little was found not guilty of second degree murder and voluntary manslaughter by a Raleigh, North Carolina jury after only 78 minutes of deliberation on August 15. One of the jurors explained afterwards that they had all voted for acquittal on the first vote.

Little, a 21-year-old black woman, was charged with the murder of Clarence Alligood, a white jailer who she says tried to rape her in her jail cell.

The decision by the seven-woman jury, half of which was black, sets a precedent for a woman's right to defend herself against sexual attack.

Juror Paul Lassiter said, "I was always waiting for the state to bring something in kind of like a bombshell to surprise us. I was surprised when the state rested its case."

"I owe my victory to the people and not to the judicial system," Little said at a press conference following the jury's decision. "If my sisters are ever faced with the similar situation, and I hope they never do, maybe now there is a law that says a black woman has the right to defend herself." Little announced at the press conference that she will begin a speaking tour around the country to advocate prison reform. —LNS

COAL MINERS WILDCAT IN WEST VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY AND OHIO

Miners in Logan County, West Virginia began a wildcat strike August 11, shutting down every mine in the area. By August 21, 32,000 miners in the southern part of the state were

out on strike, and mines were shut in parts of Kentucky and Ohio as well.

The wildcat, led by rank and file miners without union sanctions, began immediately after a union local president, Roger Thompson, was fired August 11 by the Amherst Coal Company at their Buffalo Creek Mine. The company charged him with "turning cars back," or not letting people go in to work, but Thompson says he was merely talking to some miners.

Miners say that the firing climaxed a conflict between rank and file workers who had been demanding better grievance procedures, and the company and the union, who had both been stalling on the issue. The firing came shortly after a meeting between United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller and members of the local who wanted to set up an Arbitration Review Board that would hear appeals of grievances. The establishment of the three-member review board was outlined in the recent contract between the United Mine Workers and the owners, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

The hard-won contract which ended a 24-day strike was signed on December 6, 1974. The review board was supposed to have been set up within sixty days of that date. At the time the contract was signed, the union called the review board one aspect of a new "streamlined grievance procedure." But as of yet, neither the coal operators nor the union have nominated review board members.

The rank and file strikers are now demanding: 1) fair grievance procedures, 2) the end of all fines and contempt citations which they feel are being unjustly used to penalize those that organize for better conditions, and 3) the end to all court in-

junctions.

All the companies involved have acquired court injunctions making the strikes "illegal." Miners say that, "They're using these injunctions against us just like they used guns and bombs against our fathers." —LNS

NEW COMMITTEE FORMS TO FREE MARTIN SOSTRE

A Committee to Free Martin Sostre has been formed in New York City as part of an intensifying campaign to gain release of the black activist, who has been imprisoned for eight years since he was framed on drug dealing charges in 1967.

Catholic activist Daniel Berrigan, black actor and activist Ossie Davis, and New York Assemblywoman Marie Runyon assumed leadership of the group in mid-August, "hoping to make this committee the focal point of a mass campaign for executive clemency for Sostre," said Runyon.

Intensification of the "free Sostre" campaign within the last two months has included Sostre's own informal request for executive pardon or commutation of sentence, which he telegraphed to New York Governor Hugh Carey in June. His request followed an eight hour sit-in in Carey's office, staged by 16 activists June 20. The action won a meeting with Carey to discuss Sostre's case. Daniel Berrigan, three other priests, Marie Runyon, and eleven others took part in the sit-in.

At their meeting with Carey three days later, the group presented evidence that the Sostre conviction was a frame-up and outlined the brutalities inflicted upon Sostre by prison authorities during his eight years of confinement.

The state's chief witness at the original trial, drug addict Arto Williams, testified that he had bought heroin from Sostre. An all-white jury convicted Sostre and sentenced him to a 30 to 41 year prison term. An appellate division of the Supreme Court later modified the sentence to 25 to 30 years "in the interest of justice."

After Sostre had served five years in prison, much of that time in solitary confinement, Arto Williams admitted that he had helped the Buffalo police frame Sostre in exchange for his own freedom, but his sworn affidavit to that effect was not allowed in court by the judge who had sentenced Sostre.

Sostre was recently transferred to federal prison in New York City after

he filed a federal suit charging the state prison system with brutal and genocidal treatment. The move, ordered to protect Sostre from further harassment, was aided by a sworn affidavit by parolee James Sullivan, stating that while he was imprisoned he overheard guards "plot the cold-blooded beating of the guy in cell number 38. His name is Martin Sostre."

Sostre has been repeatedly subjected to beatings by guards for refusing to submit to degrading rectal "searches" and for refusing to shave his quarter-inch beard. He has helped organize prisoners' unions which conducted strikes at Auburn and Wallkill prisons.

For further information and to support Sostre's struggle for freedom, contact: The Committee to Free Martin Sostre, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. —LNS

ANTI-PARK GI EJECTED FROM SOUTH KOREA

A United States soldier stationed in South Korea has been returned home by the Army at the request of the Park Chung Hee regime.

"What I'm guilty of," said Michael E. Kerr last month, "is the crime of petitioning the US Congress and President to respond to the totalitarian oppressive policies and human rights violations by Park Chung Hee's government."

Kerr had sent a letter to President Ford in June protesting the US role in supporting Park. The letter was signed by 107 US soldiers, more than a third of the lower-ranking GIs on the Camp Long base in Wonju. Kerr says that he had no contact with South Korean people or organizations working in opposition to the government.

Park, Kerr said, was using United States aid to "willfully and systematically subjugate and oppress the good people of South Korea." —Guardian/LNS

BLACKOUT BLACKMAIL?

The West Virginia Citizen Action Group and the Citizens for Environmental Protection have asked the Kanawha County Board of Education to review a film released by the American Electric Power Company, and consider prohibiting its showing in schools without a balanced presentation from environmental and consumer groups.

The 28-minute movie, entitled, "What Time is The Power on Today?" depicts a city in the near future where the power must be shut off from 10:30 am to 4:30 pm each day because of the utility's inability to meet power demands. It blames the resulting chaos on stringent environmental standards, opposition to power plants and rate increase, and unrealistic regulatory commissions.

The climax of the movie occurs when a leading "environmentalist" sees the light and accepts the company point of view.

Currently being shown to schools and civic groups throughout AEP's seven-state service area, the film does not mention that the utility industry's generating reserve margin last year was at its highest level in more than a decade, and that the 28% reserve margin was almost twice the Federal Power Commission's recommended minimum of 15%. This overexpansion, critics charge, creates not only new environmental problems, but also rising electric rates. —LNS

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF DR. HENRY MORGENTHAU

Dr. Henry Morgenthau, a survivor of the German death camps during World War II, was acquitted by a jury in 1973 after having been brought to trial on charges of committing illegal abortions in Quebec. In April of 1974, the Quebec Court of Appeals reversed the jury verdict and found Dr. Morgenthau guilty of the charges.

This is an historic case of a Canadian Appeals Court over-turning a not-guilty verdict of a jury. It is a clear example of the State powers' attempts to destroy the Canadian right to trial by jury. The Quebec Court, using Dr. Henry Morgenthau as a scapegoat, is attempting to set a precedent by over-riding the right of trial by jury.

Dr. Morgenthau is being held in prison and is being persecuted for no sane reason. The irrational State powers are showing a dangerous and disgusting disregard for Dr. Morgenthau's life and for the right of trial by jury.

Demand the immediate release of Dr. Morgenthau by writing to the Quebec Minister of Justice, Jerome Choquette, Quebec City, Quebec, Canada.

Write to The Canadian Association to Repeal the Abortion Law (CARAL), Box 424, Cambridge (P), Ontario, Canada for more information.

—Richard Moore

There is currently a struggle going on within the organization regarding what the relationship between the *Special* and the national organization of the Guild should be. A major question is the lack of any mechanism of accountability of the *Midnight Special* to the Guild. Most of the national leadership of the organization feel that the *Special* should be an independent project with fraternal relations with the Guild, but many others feel that it should be a project with editorial independence.

For those interested in reading copies of the *Special*, it may be obtained from them at 166 W. 27th No. 2W, NY, NY, 225-2480. The July issue of *Guild notes* (from the above address) contains opposing positions on the question of the relationship to the Guild.

—BOB GIBBS
National Office

National Lawyers Guild, New York, NY

Am I the only one who was scandalized by some of the things Marty Jezer said in his letter [WIN, 8/7/75] on my letter [7/31/75] on the Uhl-Ensign piece on Portugal [7/17/75]?

Jezer writes: "Given the level of political consciousness (and the rate of illiteracy) elections at this point are foolhardy." What outrageous condescension! Since when is some arbitrarily defined "level of political consciousness" a prerequisite for having a say in the political evolution of one's country? Salazar made that argument for decades, but I never expected to find Marty Jezer agreeing with him. Anyway, I thought the Portuguese people displayed a rather high level of political consciousness in their elections. Is Jezer suggesting that voting Stalinist and having a high level of political consciousness are synonymous?

One difference between the Socialists and the Stalinists is that the Socialists believe in "free elections" (Marty, why do you put these honorable words in scornful quotes?) even when they lose. Stalinists like elections only when they get ninety-nine percent of the votes.

Jezer writes: "I am no friend of the Soviet system, but other communist countries seem to have learned from its mistakes and are striving to create a decent society." I would use a stronger term than "mistakes" to describe the murder of millions of people and the repression of hundreds of millions more, but let that pass. The Czechs learned from the Soviet example, and the Soviet answer to Czech socialism with a human face was a military invasion. The rest of Eastern Europe drew the lesson that while the Russians might tolerate an independent foreign policy in their immediate sphere of influence, as in Rumania, any attempt to permit freedom of expression is beyond the pale. Remember, Dubcek didn't want to bring back capitalism. He didn't even want to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. All he wanted was to let people say what was on their minds. And when the Czech experiment

was crushed, Cunhal, the Portuguese Communist leader applauded. The Italian and Spanish Communist parties, on the other hand, did not applaud. Nor do they approve the dictatorial policy of the Portuguese CP. The Italian and Spanish communists have learned from Soviet "mistakes," but Cunhal hasn't, and his approval of the invasion is a clue to the kind of regime he would like to establish in his own country.

Jezer writes that Cunhal is not a Stalinist hack. Half true. Cunhal is not a hack. As Fallaci reported, he is a brave man who has suffered terribly for his beliefs, and he is also charming. But he is a Stalinist.

Jezer writes that my defense of the Portuguese Socialist Party is surprising in view of the fact that European social democrats "are not more radical than the liberal wing of our own Democratic Party." That's a dubious proposition—the Swedish, Dutch, Greek, French, Danish, Spanish, and large sections of the British and German socialist parties are more radical than the general run of liberal Democrats here—but even supposing it to be true, so what? Is it such a terrible thing to be "not more radical than the liberal wing of our own Democratic Party"—to be "not more radical" than Bella Abzug, Ron Dellums, Ramsey Clark, Fred Harris, Michael Harrington (both of them), George McGovern, Tom Hayden? Shouldn't such people be permitted to publish books and newspapers, organize political parties, and participate freely in the political life of their country? For that matter, shouldn't even people who are less radical than our own liberal Democrats, people who are conservative or even reactionary, have these rights? And Stalinists, too, and Maoists and anarchists? In fact, shouldn't all people have political and cultural freedom? Even—dare I say it—Cubans and Chinese, too?

I don't dispute Jezer's view that the junta and the Portuguese CP are ultimately well-intentioned. But it's not enough to have good intentions. I just don't see how a program that includes military dictatorship, suppression of freedom of expression, the execution of political dissidents and "very hard repression" (the last two have been suggested by one of the junta generals) is going to produce a decent society. Means have a way of effecting ends virtually to the point of determining them—isn't that one of the basic insights of radical pacifism?

Maybe this whole disagreement about elections boils down to a difference in values. I believe in freedom of thought and expression, not as a means to some other end, such as social justice or economic equality, but as a political end in itself. And that's why I believe in free elections and representative democracy—not because elections produce wise leaders, which they obviously don't, but because I just don't know of any political arrangement other than free elections and representative democracy under which freedom of thought and expression can be even a little bit safe. (If Marty Jezer or anyone else knows of one, for God's sake speak up!)

And I'm against dictatorship on principle—not because I think it's a lousy way to run a revolution. I do think it's a lousy way to run a revolution, but that's incidental.

—HENDRIK HERTZBERG
New York, NY

Portugal has been occupying a place of imminence in radical debate, precluding the closing and reopening of *Republica* which only intensified polemics in this area. Fine I say. Debate is an extraordinarily healthy means of education, if conducted objectively and refraining from back-stabbing and name-calling. For Hendrik Hertzberg [WIN 7/31/75 to dismiss Uhl-Ensign [WIN, 7/17/75] and the Portuguese Revolution as "garbage" is laughable and a bit cock-eyed to boot. Certainly I wouldn't chastise Mr. Hertzberg for his opinion, however, I question the validity of such utterances in a public forum. How far toward understanding and enlightenment do we move by calling someone else's opinion and work "garbage?" Uhl-Ensign were, are, attempting illumination.

Democratic Socialists in the US for some reason, unbeknown to me, adopted SP Portugal as a sister party, according to a recent resolution passed by the SP-USA National Committee.

Initially I supported SP Portugal, but after some study and debate with other radicals I now must, in all fairness, back the Portuguese people and the AFM.

SP Portugal netted 35% of the vote. Assuredly this is the most gathered by any group. In reality it falls short of a majority. For the AFM to turn the government over to Soares and his Party would have been counter-productive and politically naive. Because he got the most votes Soares figures he has a mandate to run the country. Thus his volatile disagreements with AFM.

The *Republica* clash should exemplify where Soares stands. First, SP Portugal claimed *Republica* as "their" newspaper when in fact it is independent, merely endorsing the SP editorially. When *Republica's* editor refused to cooperate even marginally, stating that he ran the paper and no one else, the printers locked him out. Consequently troops were called in to protect the workers and the office itself from an unruly mob rallied under the tutelage of Soares.

The *Republica* incident was a golden opportunity for Soares to claim repression and to promote the divine sovereignty of his party.

Another distressing trait among American democratic Socialists, following the victories in Indochina, is to denounce revolutionary movements as "Stalinist." This is a label being attached by the capitalist press and by utilizing it American democratic Socialists align themselves squarely with forces of imperialist reaction.

No one dictates that we should hand out blanket endorsements. But at the same time I will support these revolutionary movements before I sit on the sidelines with the capitalists, sneering, catcalling and throwing "garbage."

—STEPHEN T. WILLINGHAM
Berryville, Va.

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EVENTS

MIDWEST ORGANIZERS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: Conference for skills and support, Oct. 10 weekend, near Chicago. Write NCSC, 58 N. 3rd St., Phila., Pa. 19106. (215) WA3-6763.

Portuguese revolutionary speaks—The Struggle in Portugal Today—Antonio Silva, revolutionary soldier, delegate to Workers and Soldiers Council; Sunday, September 14, 7:30 PM, Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43 St., New York, and Monday, September 15, 7:30 PM, Arlington Baptist Church, 335 Boylston St., Boston, sponsored by workers Power Portugal Solidarity Fund.

FILM—"Coup pour Coup" (Blow for Blow). Free Association, 5 W. 20th St., Sept. 20, 8 & 10 PM. Donation. 675-3043.

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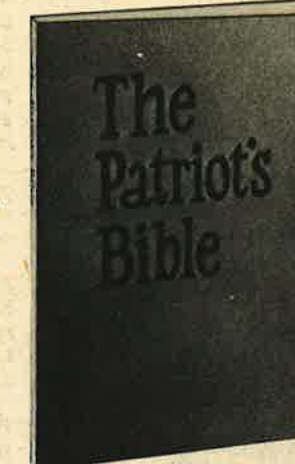
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