

# CONVERGENCE

## *The Christic Institute*

Spring 1987

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## Lawsuit identifies 'secret team'

INSIDE



Karen Silkwood

*Silkwood case  
ends in victory  
for family*  
Page 3

*C.I. South defends  
civil liberties,  
voting rights*  
Page 4

*The story  
of a contra  
named David*  
Page 7

### *Christic Institute names key Iran/contra suspects months before scandal*

By RUSTY MARTIN and ANDY LANG

In a civil lawsuit filed last year in Miami Federal Court, the Christic Institute has charged that the *contra* leadership and their private supporters planned the assassination of an American ambassador to provoke United States intervention in Nicaragua.

The lawsuit, which stems from a terrorist bombing in 1984, also alleges that the *contras* organized a complex operation to smuggle cocaine to several cities in the United States.

But the principal issue in the case, says Institute General Counsel Daniel Sheehan, centers on the covert operations of a "secret team" of retired Government officials and anti-Communist extremists who organize political assassinations and terrorist attacks on a global scale. According to Institute sources, the "team" was reactivated by Lt. Col. Oliver North to train and equip the *contras*.

The lawsuit was filed in May 1986 in United States District Court, Southern District of Florida. Institute attorneys are acting as "private attorneys general," using a Federal statute directed against organized crime to prosecute a shadowy group whose activities until now have been a carefully guarded secret.

The case will be heard in Miami by Judge James L. King. On Jan. 30 King denied motions filed by the defendants to dismiss the lawsuit, preparing the way for a jury trial next year.

The ruling means that the Christic Institute now has almost the same investigative powers as the Special Prosecutor and the special Congressional committees appointed to probe the Iran/*contra* scandal, including the power to subpoena bank records and interrogate witnesses under oath.

The lawsuit named the key suspects in the Iran/*contra* arms deal six months before the scandal surfaced in the press.

Continued on page 13 ■



# Chernobyl and disinformation

## *Why our Government tried to cover up radiation dangers*

By LANNY SINKIN

In 1986, the nuclear industry's worst nightmare became a deadly reality: the meltdown and rupture of a nuclear power reactor in the Soviet Ukraine.

The Chernobyl disaster claimed 31 lives and forced 135,000 Soviet citizens to evacuate their homes. The Soviet Government's official report estimates that radioactive contamination of the region's food supply will eventually cause 30,000 to 40,000 cancer deaths. A smaller number of cancer victims—at least 5,300—will perish from direct exposure to the radiation dispersed during the explosion and fire.

The Soviet report eliminates any doubt that Chernobyl was the worst industrial disaster in history. But in the days immediately following the explosion, a disinformation campaign was set in motion to persuade public opinion that the deadly effects of the radioactive cloud were unlikely to cross the Soviet border.

The source of this disinformation was not the Soviet Government, but the private companies and Federal agencies responsible for nuclear power and weapons production in the United States.

The first installment of the campaign appeared in *The New York Times* on April 29. "United States nuclear experts say they believe the Soviet reactor accident probably poses no danger outside the Soviet Union," the *Times* reported in the first sentence of an article describing the aftermath of the disaster. This reassuring conclusion was reached by "nuclear experts" and duly reported by the *Times* just three days after the accident, although the reporter admitted "the absence of detailed information" about the catastrophe.

Soon, Government sources in Stockholm reported that two extremely dangerous substances—radioactive isotopes of iodine and cesium—were falling on Sweden. This made no impression on the *Times*, which calmly announced that "it appeared that only very small amounts of radioactive material had drifted over Scandinavia from the Soviet Union and that all of it was probably in the form of relatively innocuous gases, xenon and krypton." These gases "disperse rapidly in the atmosphere and soon become so diluted as to be virtually harmless," said the *Times*.

The Swedes were alarmed, however, and with good reason. Cesium has a radioactive half-life of 30 years. The Soviet Government's prediction of 30,000 to 40,000 cancer deaths is based on the contamination of food supplies by cesium. In September, a scientist at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory estimated

that the disaster emitted as much cesium as the combined total of all atmospheric nuclear tests since 1945.

The "United States nuclear experts" cited by the *Times* were sources in agencies responsible for the design and production of nuclear weapons. Their message to the media was simple: the effects of nuclear disasters are limited and localized. "The dominant fact of Chernobyl," wrote an apologist for the nuclear industry in the July 14 *New Republic*, "is that we now have empirical evidence on the scope of a real reactor disaster, and its dominant characteristic is hundreds of fatalities. Such an accident is comparable in scale to other disasters whose risks society has judged acceptable."

These experts were predictably skeptical when the Soviet scientist announced that the fatalities would not be in the hundreds, but in the tens of thousands. Government sources in the United States immediately scorned the official report (before they had seen a copy) as irresponsible and alarmist.

### **Circled the globe**

After the 1979 accident at Three Mile Island, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission subsidized a study of radiation releases from a hypothetical meltdown. An exploding reactor might expel quantities of radioactive iodine and cesium, the study concluded, but these hazardous elements would quickly cool and fall to the ground within a short radius from the plant.

This scenario coincides exactly with the expert opinion quoted in the press days after the Chernobyl disaster. But we now know that radioactive iodine from Chernobyl circled the globe, falling on Texas, Utah, Maryland. Radioactive particles from the disaster are still travelling in the atmosphere.

This is not what the nuclear industry and its promoters in the Federal Government wanted to believe. While the Reagan Administration might have been tempted to exploit the disaster to whip up anti-Soviet sentiment in North America and Western Europe, Federal agencies responsible for regulating nuclear power and manufacturing nuclear weapons had an overriding objective: to prevent public opinion from tracing any connection between Chernobyl and the nuclear program in the United States.

The nuclear establishment's early reaction could have been explained charitably as mere scientific error. Later events demonstrated, however, that the Government was deliberately misleading the public about the dangers of nuclear power and nuclear radiation.

Most people in the United States, for example, still believe that the Chernobyl reactors, unlike most commercial reactors in this country, lacked a containment building. This particular inaccuracy surfaced immediately after the accident, even though photographs of Chernobyl shown on television and published in newspapers around the world within days of the

*Continued on page 22* ■



Spring 1987

# Silkwood case ends in victory

## Kerr-McGee agrees to pay damages to family

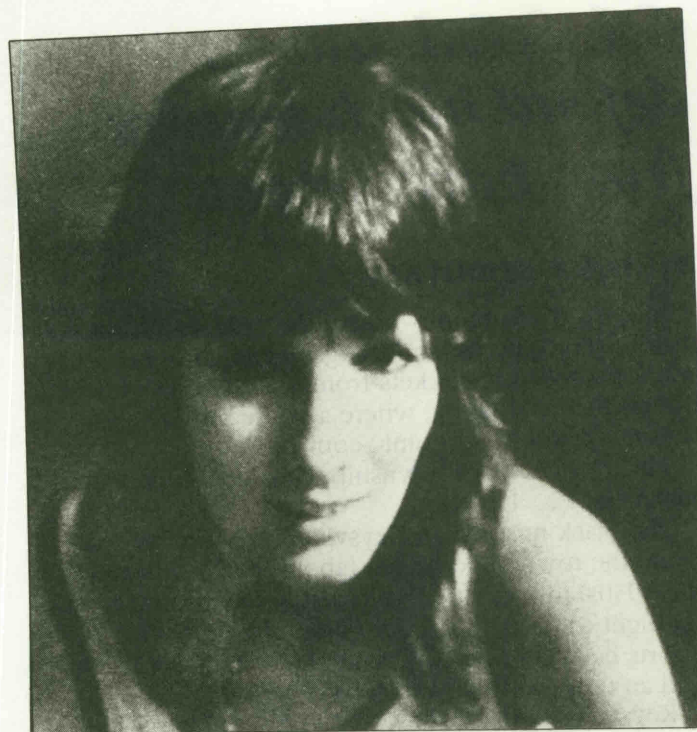
Karen Silkwood's family agreed on Aug. 22 to a \$1.38 million settlement of their lawsuit against the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation.

The settlement ends a legal battle that began in 1974 when Silkwood, a union organizer at Kerr-McGee's plutonium factory in Oklahoma, died in a car crash while driving to a meeting with a reporter from *The New York Times*.

In their lawsuit against the corporation, the family charged that Kerr-McGee was responsible for Silkwood's severe contamination by plutonium discovered in the bedroom, bathroom and kitchen of her home. One of the nation's leading radiation experts testified that Silkwood was already "married to cancer" before her death as the result of her exposure. The plutonium was later traced to the Kerr-McGee factory.

In 1979 a Federal jury in Oklahoma City fixed blame for the contamination on Kerr-McGee, rejecting the company's desperate attempt to prove that Silkwood maliciously irradiated herself, and in 1984 the Supreme Court upheld the lower court's right to impose punitive damages in the case.

"Karen never reached her destination that November night," said Christic Institute Executive Director Sara Nelson, "but thousands of hands reached out to finish her work."



"Her death inspired one of the great popular alliances of the 1970s and 80s, a cause that galvanized unionists, feminists, environmentalists, civil libertarians, opponents of nuclear power, and anyone who simply hated to see an injustice remain unpunished."

The Christic Institute was formed in 1979 by lawyers and investigators who organized the lawsuit against Kerr-McGee.

*Silkwood v. Kerr-McGee* was the first time a jury awarded damages to a victim of radiation contamination from a nuclear facility. The case established several precedents in law that protect citizens from reckless conduct by the nuclear industry:

- Courts now can award heavy punitive damages under state law even though the nuclear industry is regulated by a Federal agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

- The nuclear industry cannot evade damages by arguing, as Kerr-McGee did in the Silkwood case, that the radiation allowed to escape was within acceptable limits defined by the Federal Government.

- The production and handling of radioactive materials is an inherently dangerous activity subjecting the nuclear industry to "strict liability." If radiation causes damage or injury, the company will be liable whether or not it was negligent.

"The Institute is grateful to the many people who made the project successful," said Nelson, who launched the Silkwood campaign in 1975. "The contributions of many people have made the case and its achievements stand as a fitting memorial to the courage and dedication of Karen Silkwood, a woman who said 'No' to the nuclear industry." □



# The Old South rises again

## *C.I. South lawyers defend black leaders from harassment*

By GAYLE KOROTKIN

Imagine a community where the 85-percent black majority have no say in local government, where water is carried in buckets from wells because few homes have plumbing, where a white minority rules through fear and economic control.

This is not a black township in South Africa, but Keysville, Ga., U.S.A.

The black majority in Keysville have tried to reactivate the town government (abolished by whites in the 1930s) in order to obtain water, fire protection and the right to determine their community's future. Their efforts have been met by white hostility, legal barriers and an unresponsive state government.

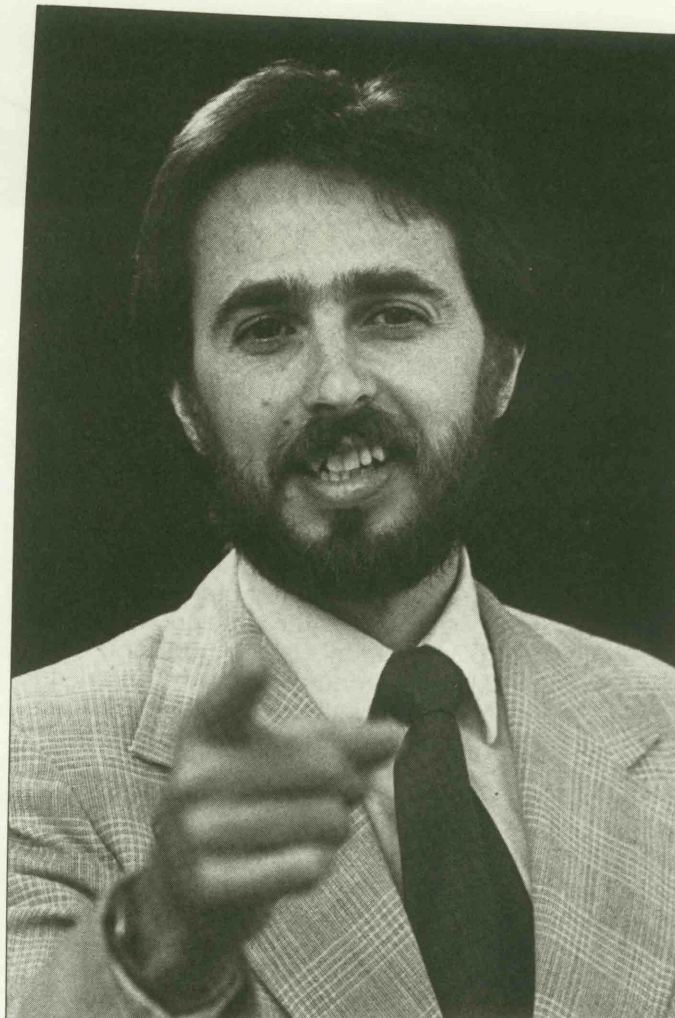
Keysville is one of the communities represented by the Christic Institute's Southern Project. The plight of the town's black residents is not exceptional. In the South it still takes courage to register and vote, to organize for labor unions and tenants' rights, to oppose toxic waste dumps in black or rural areas, to be a black or progressive elected official. In fact, the political environment has deteriorated since the Reagan Administration launched its ideological campaign against "reverse discrimination." "Trickle-down racism from Washington translates into economic reprisals, Klan terrorism and political trials," explains attorney Lewis Pitts.

### **Took on plantation owners**

Since 1985 Pitts has headed Christic Institute South, the Institute's Southern regional office based in Chapel Hill, N.C. Christic Institute South originated in the 1982 trial of Mayor Eddie Carthan of Tchula, Miss. Carthan was the first elected black official of the small town, where blacks form the majority. "The Mayor took on the white plantation owners and brought in jobs and Federal programs," Pitts, who worked on the case, recalls. "When the white power structure couldn't buy him off, they framed him on murder charges."

The Institute worked with Carthan's counsel, a black attorney from Mississippi, to win the Mayor's acquittal after a national campaign of public education and organizing.

The Carthan victory brought appeals for help from all over the South. In the past six years of the Reagan era, the right has learned how to use the legal system. Prosecutors are using politically motivated criminal charges to harass and discredit activists and elected officials in the black community. The tactic is effective.



Wayne Lottinville

**C.I. South Director Lewis Pitts:** "Trickle-down racism from Washington translates into economic reprisals, Klan terrorism and political trials."

Political trials intimidate other leaders and force community organizations to pay for legal counsel, exhausting their limited financial resources.

Few lawyers are willing to take on the "Good Old Boy" power structure because dissent could endanger their political aspirations or result in a boycott of their firms. The small number of public interest law firms can barely manage to cope with the highly publicized "big" cases and cannot begin to meet the needs of less publicized cases where basic constitutional rights are threatened. The result is a vacuum in which activists become isolated and demoralized. Some go to jail for lack of legal assistance.

### **Works with grassroots leaders**

C.I. South was organized to fill this vacuum. Since putting its first two lawyers into the field in July 1985, the Institute has worked with grassroots leaders in six Southern states, winning victories for tenants' rights,

*Continued on next page* ■



Spring 1987



Institute for Southern Studies

**Demonstration in South against police brutality:** C.I. South defends black activists from official harassment by providing expert representation in court. In recent years the Institute has defended black elected officials and voter registrars.

voting rights and the First Amendment. For example, the Southern Project:

- reversed guilty pleas and lifted fines for 39 indigent members of a tenant organization in Louisiana who were unconstitutionally arrested during a peaceful protest march. A judge coerced the defendants, unable to afford bond, into pleading guilty. Lawyers told them they could do nothing about their guilty pleas, but C.I. South used procedures available under Louisiana law and the United States Constitution to vacate the pleas and dismiss the charges. This victory freed the tenants to resume their organizing with renewed energy.
- joined local counsel and the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union to ward off the threatened indictment on fabricated charges of an outspoken black alderman.
- worked with local counsel in Alabama to win the acquittal (from an all-white jury) of Frederick Douglass Daniels, one of eight activists in the Black Belt of Alabama indicted on Federal charges of vote fraud.
- won dismissal of charges against the Rev. Cozelle Wilson, a black minister indicted in North Carolina by state officials seeking to intimidate black voters.

### **Nationwide campaign to intimidate blacks**

Wilson, 60, is an ordained minister in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). In 1985 the state charged

that she had "knowingly and willfully" violated state election laws when registering 205 new voters, mostly black, in rural Lenoir County. The violations were technical: The principal charge against her was that college students provided too much help in the registration campaign. No one disputes that the new voters were eligible to participate in elections.

In 1984, blacks were signed up to vote in unprecedented numbers. Local "Get Out the Vote" campaigns like Wilson's took advantage of the Voting Rights Act and other laws designed to overcome years of official harassment at the polls. "I had been knocking on doors of people who said they would never go up there to register because they had been so humiliated," Wilson said. "They were mostly older people, who have never had their names put on the book because they were denied the right to register in the past."

But 1984 was also the year of the Presidential campaign and the hotly contested race between extremist North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican, and former Gov. James Hunt, a Democrat. The Republican Party organization in North Carolina feared that the black "Get Out the Vote" campaigns could tip the balance of power in their state. According to Pitts, Wilson's indictment was part of a wider plan organized

*Continued on page 23* ■



# Politics in the end-times

## *Religious Right thinks God's countdown spelled out in Bible*

By ANDREW LANG

*In past issues of Convergence we have reported on the "Armageddon ideology" of the Religious Right. The following article, by the Institute's director of political research, is based on a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Although the Institute believes that the Religious Right is a grave threat to our liberties, we also believe that effective opposition to this movement is impossible unless we first understand its values and ideology. The following article describes the Religious Right's worldview without comment.*

In the history of politics in the United States there have been few mass movements so completely controlled by ideology as the Religious Right. Other political sects may harbor ideologies more extreme than the doctrines of Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. But the followers of these sects number in the thousands, not in the millions.

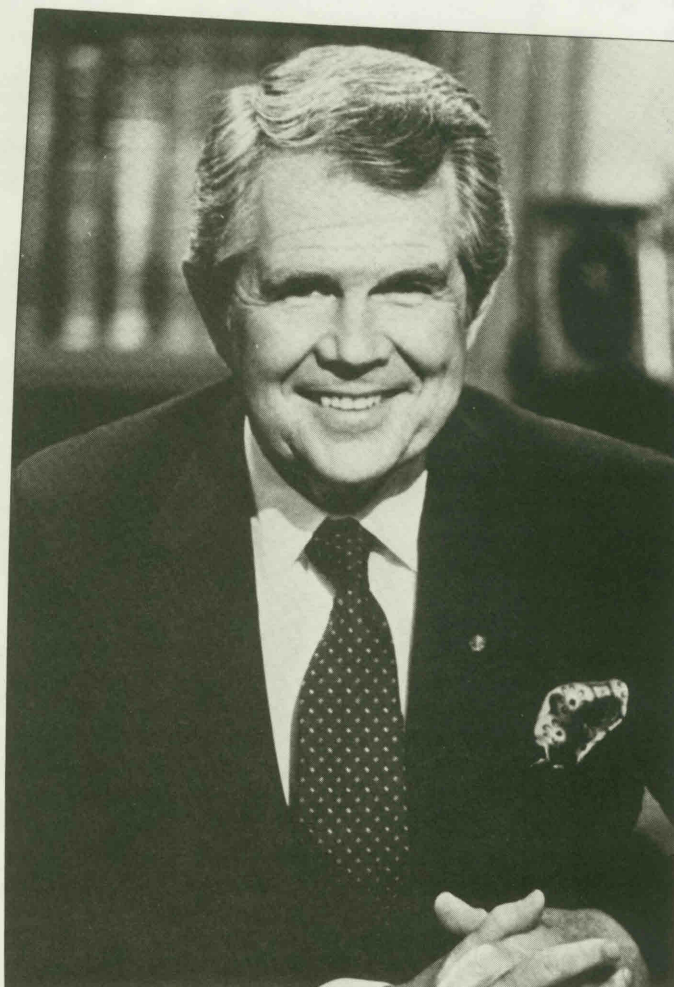
A study of the political ideology of the Religious Right is therefore in order. This is a complicated task because the Religious Right is not a monolithic movement. But the most visible personalities in this movement agree on eschatology—the doctrine of the end-time—and I will argue that eschatology is the ideological motor that drives the Religious Right's crusade for political power.

The most important eschatological system in the Religious Right is "dispensational premillennialism," an historic tradition in fundamentalist and pentecostal Christianity. Today, this tradition is one of the dominant forms of fundamentalism in the United States. Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggart, Tim LaHaye, Oral Roberts and most of the other political pastors of the Religious Right are dispensationalists. Pat Robertson follows a variant form of premillennialism.

### The Great Tribulation

Dispensational premillennialism divides history into stages, or "dispensations," from the creation of humanity to the Second Coming of Christ, and beyond. Each dispensation ends in a violent crisis between man and God. The time in which we live is the final dispensation before the Second Coming, the end-time of human history. It, too, will end in crisis: a seven-year convulsion of global warfare and economic chaos (the "Great Tribulation") reaching a savage climax in the Battle of Armageddon.

Dispensationalists believe that God's "countdown" for human history is spelled out in the Bible. They



Americans for Robertson

**Pat Robertson**, candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, believes America is living in the "last days."

read the Bible as an infallible history book dictated by the Holy Spirit to prophets and apostles. But it is a history book about the future as well as the past. Consequently, succeeding generations of dispensationalists have searched the daily newspaper for "signs of the times." In the world wars and revolutions of this century, they have seen evidence of the coming end-times chaos described in Bible prophecy. Today, the theorists of Armageddon interpret the rise of Soviet power and the nuclear war danger as key indicators that the Great Tribulation is about to begin.

The Great Tribulation is Satan's last desperate gamble for power. As he seizes control of nations and churches, the world plunges into a war crisis. This crisis precipitates the destruction of political and religious systems, including the Soviet empire.

The deadliest catastrophes of the Tribulation period will center on Israel. Sometime within the next fifty years, Jerry Falwell believes, Soviet forces will invade the Middle East and meet their doom "on the moun-

*Continued on page 20* ■



## THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

# Story of a contra named David

## *La Penca bombing opens a Pandora's box of contra terrorism*

It is May 30, 1984, shortly after 7 p.m. Night has fallen over the guerrilla camp of La Penca, deep in the rain forests of southern Nicaragua, where a press conference called by Eden Pastora is about to begin.

Pastora, a former hero of the Sandinista revolution, is now the renegade leader of a small band of *contras* known as the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, or ARDE. He has summoned the press to his jungle hideout to denounce a rival *contra* army, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.). Organized by the Central Intelligence Agency, the F.D.N. launches attacks in northern Nicaragua from bases in Honduras. Pastora's smaller force is active in southern Nicaragua.

In recent weeks, the C.I.A. has tried to coerce Pastora into an alliance with the F.D.N. But Pastora maintains that the F.D.N. not only is controlled by the C.I.A. but is dominated by former officers of the Nicaraguan National Guard, the instrument of dictator Anastasio Somoza's power before his regime fell to the Sandinistas. Although Pastora has turned against the Sandinistas, he hates and distrusts the men who fought for Somoza even more.

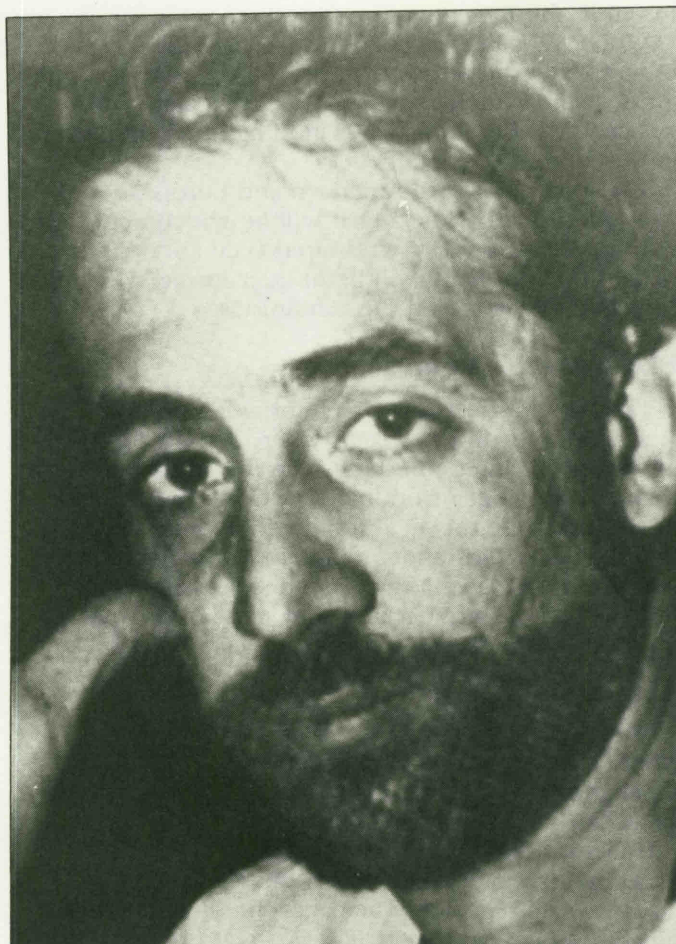
In all, about two dozen journalists have made the six-hour journey through the jungle—first by automobile and then by motor-powered canoe—to meet the colorful and enigmatic *commandante*. When they arrive at the rebel hideout, they are ushered into a small wooden shack.

Pastora is late. The journalists crowd around the *commandante* when he finally arrives at 7:15. A cameraman for Costa Rican television films the interior of the room. His footage captures a man who calls himself Per Anker Hansen, a Danish journalist, edging toward the door.

Although no one knows it yet, Hansen is actually Amac Galil, a Libyan exile and professional terrorist hired to assassinate Pastora. He has concealed a bomb in an aluminum camera case, which he leaves behind in the room. The bomb will be activated by a signal from a walkie-talkie.

At 7:20 p.m., the bomb explodes like "a huge bolt of blue light," according to one of the survivors. The blast rips huge holes in the ceiling and floor. Eight people are killed. More than 20 others are seriously wounded.

A photographer finds Hansen/Galil outside the death chamber near some oil drums, a stunned and pained



**Amac Galil**, one of the key defendants in the Contra-gate lawsuit, is a Libyan exile who detonated a bomb at the La Penca press conference.

expression on his face. It is this picture, ironically, that will be reprinted in newspapers and magazines around the world as a symbol of the horror at La Penca.

The *commandante* is seriously wounded but survives, shielded by the bodies of the world press. Among the dead are three journalists: Linda Frazier, 38, a United States citizen and correspondent for the Religious News Service; Evilio Sequeira, a reporter for Costa Rican television, and Jorge Quiros, the cameraman who filmed Hansen/Galil seconds before the explosion. The seriously injured include correspondents representing *Newsweek* magazine, Agence France-Presse, the Associated Press and United Press International. One of them is Tony Avirgan, a cameraman for ABC News. The skin is torn away from his right hand, a three-inch hole blown in his side, and

*Continued on page 8* ■



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

## DAVID

■ *Continued from page 7*

his entire body is punctured by shrapnel wounds.

When Avirgan is released from a hospital three months later, he returns to Costa Rica where his wife, journalist Martha Honey, has already begun to investigate the bombing. Their findings are summarized in this story.

The injury of North American and European journalists assures that the attack will be widely reported. But the *contra* leaders who hired Galil are not concerned that publicity will harm their image. They plan to blame the attack on the Sandinistas.

### Plan to unite contras

The attempt on Pastora's life originates in May 1983 at a secret meeting in Miami, where several supporters of the F.D.N. agree to establish an expeditionary force to attack Nicaragua from bases in Costa Rica. The organizers hope this new force will operate with Pastora's guerrillas under a unified *Contra* command.

The events that follow in rapid succession are revealing—not only because they explain the motive for the attempted assassination, but also because they illuminate the tactics of the *contras* and their backers in the United States.

The story now shifts from Miami to Costa Rica, where two emissaries from the Miami group, Felipe Vidal and Rene Corbo, meet with two North American expatriates, John Hull and Bruce Jones.

Hull and Jones are prosperous ranchers in Costa Rica. Hull is much more than a smart businessman, however. He reportedly manages the secret supply pipeline to Pastora's guerrillas. A stream of guns and ammunition flows through his ranch. But now Hull is willing to shift his allegiance to the F.D.N.

Two plans are formulated. Plan One: The conspirators, including Hull, will work on the reluctant Pastora until he agrees to merge his command into a "Southern Front" linked with the F.D.N. and controlled by the proposed expeditionary force. Plan Two: They will assassinate Pastora if the renegade *comandante* continues to resist.

### The cocaine connection

It is at this time that the conspirators begin to smuggle cocaine into the United States to finance the purchase of military supplies for the Southern Front. It is not known if the leaders of the F.D.N. or anyone else questioned the morality of using the profits of cocaine sales to subsidize their counterrevolution. In this twilight world of restless anti-Communist exiles and profit-minded businessmen, the end—the destruction of Nicaragua's revolution—almost always justifies the means.

At first, Hull's ranch in Costa Rica serves as a refuel-

ling depot for cocaine flights from Colombia to the United States. For each plane serviced in Costa Rica, the Colombian cocaine industry agrees to pay \$10,000 to \$15,000.

Later, the *contras* organize an elaborate system to smuggle the cocaine shipments into the United States. The flights from Colombia now terminate at Hull's ranch, where Cuban-American recruits unload the cargos for transport to the Atlantic seaport of Limon. There, the cocaine is packed with frozen seafood into refrigerated containers and shipped directly to Miami. The ships are owned by Paco Chanes, a member of one of the Cuban-American terrorist organizations active in the conspiracy. Eventually, the cocaine will end up on the streets of New Orleans, Memphis, Denver, San Francisco and other North American cities.

At the height of the smuggling operation, more than one ton of *contra* cocaine reaches Miami every week. For this improved service, Hull and his associates charge \$50,000 to \$75,000 per shipment. Higher profits mean more military equipment for the expeditionary force, which is scheduled to arrive in Costa Rica by the fall of 1984.

The *contras* depend on two cocaine suppliers: Jorge Ochoa and Pablo Escobar. Ochoa is the kingpin of the Colombian cocaine industry. In 1986, he will allegedly order the murder of a Federal witness in Baton Rouge. Escobar is second only to Ochoa in Colombia's drug underworld.

### Assassination planned

By January 1984 it becomes clear that Pastora will never join an alliance with the F.D.N. It is time to put the second plan into operation.

Pastora's assassination is discussed at meetings in Miami, Honduras and Costa Rica. In Honduras, the conspirators agree to hire a professional assassin. One of the participants in this conference is F.D.N. chief Adolfo Calero.

Calero, formerly the sole distributor of Coca-Cola in Nicaragua, now lives in Miami. The most visible *contra* spokesman in the United States, he regularly meets with President Reagan and testifies before Congressional committees. He projects the image of a patriotic businessman, a leader of the loyal opposition to the Sandinistas who reluctantly joined the counterrevolution only after the possibilities of democratic change were exhausted.

After some discussion, the conspirators decide to recruit Amac Galil. His Libyan identity is a perfect cover. If captured, killed or otherwise identified, the press will probably assume that he works for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. In fact, he is employed by the Chilean secret police when the *contras* contact him.

Galil arrives in Costa Rica on Feb. 19, 1984.

He begins by establishing a new identity as a Danish journalist, Per Anker Hansen. He is constantly on the move, travelling to Panama, Honduras and Miami.

*Continued on next page* ■



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION



Maria Esquivel/Tico Times

**Avirgan at the hospital** after the La Penca bombing. His wife, Martha Honey, stands over him. After his recovery, they decided to track down the bomber and the men who hired him.

Early in May, Hansen/Galil checks into the Gran Via Hotel in San Jose, the Costa Rican capital. There he strikes up a relationship with Peter Torbjornsson, a reporter for Swedish television. Torbjornsson is filming a documentary on Central America and needs footage of Pastora. The unsuspecting Swede is perfect for Galil's cover.

From May 14 to May 22 Hansen/Galil accompanies the Swedish film crew and several other reporters to a string of ARDE camps along the San Juan River. They do not succeed in locating Pastora, however, and return to San Jose.

On May 29, Torbjornsson and Hansen/Galil meet with Pastora's information chief and request an interview with the *commandante*. Late that night the functionary phones Hansen/Galil. They can meet Pastora, he says. The rebel leader is conducting a press conference the following day at the La Penca base.

Who is Galil? Experts on terrorism agree that this killer is no lower-echelon hit man. Cold-blooded enough to chat and joke with the people he is about to murder, cool-headed enough to give a radio interview and gaze brazenly into a camera a few hours after the explosion, Galil is a professional.

After the attack, Hansen/Galil is briefly hospitalized and then smuggled out of Costa Rica. He returns to Miami, where the conspirators are contemplating a second attempt on Pastora's life.

In November and December, rancher Hull, F.D.N. chief Calero and others meet in Miami, Memphis and Houston. They are joined by Tom Posey, president of Civilian Military Assistance (since renamed Civilian Materiel Command), one of the private groups evading the Congressional ban on military aid to the *contras*.

At the Miami conference, hosted by Calero at his home, the conspirators continue to plan the Southern Front, and specifically discuss the need to assassinate Pastora. Galil is present.

## Contract on U.S. ambassador

The conspirators are deeply involved in the cocaine underworld, and as a result the story now takes a bizarre turn.

One of the chief suppliers of cocaine for the conspirators is Pablo Escobar, a leading figure in Colombia's massive cocaine industry. He is not a man to

*Continued on page 10* ■



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

## DAVID

■ *Continued from page 10*

forgive an enemy, and now he is gunning for the former United States Ambassador to Colombia, Lewis Tambs.

Escobar cannot forget that Tambs lobbied in Bogota for a treaty that would allow for extradition to the United States of Colombia's cocaine crime lords. He puts out a contract worth \$1 million. But the State Department has transferred Tambs to Costa Rica to protect him from assassination.

The Ambassador is now within range of the team assembled to assassinate Pastora. A plan evolves. Why should Pastora be the only target? Why not use the same resources to eliminate Tambs, satisfy Escobar's desire for revenge, collect the \$1 million reward and use part of the money to finance the Southern Front?

The group planning to kill Pastora—including Hull, Jones, Galil and Tom Posey of Civilian Military Assistance—agree to add Tambs to the target list. The date of his assassination is set for July 1985. And they widen the net. On the same day, the United States Embassy in Costa Rica will be bombed and another *contra* personality, Brooklyn Rivera, will be killed. Rivera is the leader of Misurasata, a rebel force of Nicaraguan Indians. Like Pastora, he is unwilling to subordinate his guerrillas to F.D.N. command. In fact, he has dared to negotiate with the Nicaraguan Government.

The *contras* and their North American backers are now playing for high stakes. The entire operation—the assassination of a United States ambassador, the bombing of the embassy, the killing of dissident *contra* leaders—will be blamed on the Sandinistas, hopefully provoking an American military strike against Nicaragua.

### Accidental meeting

So far, knowledge of the conspiracy to equip an expeditionary force in Costa Rica has been limited to a small group: the North American ranchers and businessmen, the Cuban-American terrorists, the leaders of the F.D.N. and their C.I.A. advisers, and the heads of a few private organizations dedicated to the *contra* cause.

The press has almost forgotten about Pastora and the attempt on his life. Many reporters still believe the theory—circulated days after the bombing by anonymous sources in the C.I.A. and State Department—that the assassin was a Basque separatist working for the Nicaraguan Government.

Avirgan and Honey investigate this explanation and discover that the Basque terrorist was sitting in a French jail when the bomb exploded. Supported by grants from the Newspaper Guild, the Committee to Protect Journalists and the World Press Freedom Com-

mittee, they begin to track down the real assassin and his employers. But now, almost ten months after the bombing, they still have more questions than answers.

Then, on March 29, 1985, an accidental meeting in the Rendezvous Bar in downtown San Jose leads the two reporters to an informant inside the clandestine *contra* army.

A young carpenter named Carlos—at that time unknown to Honey and Avirgan—has stopped at the bar for a beer. As he sits alone in the semi-darkness, three men enter and walk down the narrow passageway towards him.

Two of the men tell the third to order a beer and wait. They will return in a few minutes. Carlos knows from their accents that they are all Nicaraguans.

As soon as the other two men vanish into the busy city street, the third turns to Carlos. He is frightened. "You must help me," he whispers. "Hide me. I want to get away. I don't want to be involved anymore in their things. They are going to blow up the U.S. Embassy and assassinate high functionaries. Many innocent people will die. I want to get out."

For the next ten minutes, the Nicaraguan rapidly pours out his story while watching the doorway for the return of his companions. His name is David.

David admits he belongs to a right-wing terrorist ring. "I am an anti-Sandinista," he tells Carlos, "but these people are much more evil than the Sandinistas."

The ring is responsible for the attempt on Pastora's life, the young Nicaraguan says. Their principal base is a ranch in Costa Rica managed by John Hull.

This terrorist organization exists for three purposes, David tells Carlos:

- eliminate Eden Pastora from the Southern Front so the F.D.N. and a force of foreign mercenaries can move in;
- provoke armed conflict between Nicaragua and her neighbors;
- create an incident to justify direct United States military intervention in Nicaragua.

But the terrorists also traffic in drugs and arms, David says bitterly. "They are taking money off the blood of my brothers and using our cause to get rich." David tells Carlos that his organization is responsible for the bombing at Pastora's camp, and is now planning a new series of terrorist attacks in Costa Rica and Honduras. Their new targets include the United States Embassies in both countries, United States citizens in Costa Rica and several prominent *contra* leaders in the region. At that moment, he tells Carlos, his two companions are casing out the embassy, a block-long building about 100 meters from the bar where they are speaking.

The two Nicaraguans reappear in the doorway. David and Carlos quickly agree to meet again.

The trio leaves. Carlos follows them out and watches as a large, gray car with no licence plates pulls

*Continued on next page* ■



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

## DAVID

up. The three get in and the car speeds away.

For several weeks, Carlos puzzles over what he has seen and heard. The wild story does not fit with the Costa Rica he knows: a nation with no army, a nation that has declared itself neutral in all external conflicts, a nation that officially denies that any *contras* operate from its soil. Carlos believes in Costa Rica's pacifist tradition and he supports the Government. But he worries about David, whom he finds convincing and likeable.

Carlos talks it over with his mother. Her advice: "You heard nothing, you saw nothing, you do nothing."

### Warns embassy

One month later, Costa Rican Rural Guardsmen raid a military camp located on a farm reportedly managed by John Hull. Nine *contras* and five foreign mercenaries—citizens of the United States, Britain and France—are arrested. Something registers in Carlos' mind: "This is the very camp described by David."

Carlos' mother and father turn to the only North American they know, a neighbor named Julia Meeks, believing that she can warn the embassy. Meeks gives the story to Avirgan and Honey. They decide to notify the embassy. The chief of security notes the information without comment. But the embassy will take precautions, and internal memos will later report that suspicious individuals have been observed watching the embassy building.

Avirgan and Honey ask Carlos to contact David. Over the following weeks the Costa Rican carpenter and the Nicaraguan *contra* meet at prearranged locations: a park near the University, a plaza or street corner in the city, a hotel, a bus. At each meeting, Carlos brings a list of specific questions supplied by the two journalists. He tapes David's information when possible, or simply tries to remember the details.

David is extremely nervous. He warns repeatedly that he is under suspicion. He will not risk meeting directly with the "gringo" reporters.

Slowly, Avirgan and Honey unravel the details of the complicated operation. They learn that Per Anker Hansen is a Libyan named Amac Galil. They learn the names of the Costa Rican officials who helped Galil escape and who continue to cooperate with the ring. They learn the identities of John Hull and the other North Americans.

Later, other individuals active in the conspiracy will tell their stories to Avirgan and Honey, or to lawyers representing the two journalists in their lawsuit against the *contras*. Eden Pastora will testify in a Costa Rican court that John Hull supplied his guerrillas with guns. A British mercenary will remember that Hull ordered him not to remove a number of claymore mines "because we may need them for an embassy job later

on." A Cuban-American will report that Tom Posey of Civilian Military Assistance asked him to participate in a plan to kill Ambassador Tambs and bomb the United States Embassy in San Jose.

Other sources will confirm David's story. Costa Rican police will identify most of the individuals named by David as criminals known to be active in the traffic of Colombian cocaine through Costa Rica to the United States. Pilots who flew shipments of cocaine and weapons to Hull's ranch will give evidence.

### 'We caught you'

But time is running out for David, who describes himself as "a traitor to a dirty cause." As Carlos and David are about to part after a lengthy meeting, three men jump from a car, press pistols against their throats and push them into the waiting vehicle. "We caught you!" they exult. "We've caught the informers!"

The two men are held at gunpoint on the floor as the car pulls into traffic. Four hours later, they reach

*Continued on page 12* ■



Julio Lantiez/Tico Times

**John Hull, owner of the ranch in Costa Rica where contras were trained and Columbian cocaine was transferred to trucks for shipment to Miami.**





Julio Lantiez/Tico Times

**Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey:** anonymous phone callers warned the two journalists that they would be killed unless they halted their investigation of contra cocaine and assassination programs in Costa Rica.

## THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

### DAVID

■ *Continued from page 11*

their destination. They are pushed into a small cabin. David recognizes the place: one of the *contra* camps located on John Hull's farm.

He whispers to Carlos that the guerrillas will kill both of them. They must escape. The prisoners dive through a window and run into the jungle as their captors open fire. All night and through the following day and night they run and stumble through the jungle. Finally, they hitch a ride on a banana truck heading for San Jose.

Several days later, Carlos and several members of a Government anti-terrorist squad find the exact location where the kidnappers took him and David. The area is identified as John Hull's farm.

David, however, has disappeared. At first, his friends assume that he has fled from Costa Rica. But soon they hear from Costa Rican officials that he has been recaptured and taken to Hull's farm. There he was tortured and killed.

Carlos believes he is the next target, and with good reason. In the days that follow, anonymous phone callers warn him not to talk. Avirgan and Honey manage to tape two of the threatening calls. One night, five shots are fired in front of his home by a passing car.

Carlos and his family flee the country, but return in January, 1986, hoping that the danger has passed. But the threats resume almost immediately. In February, Carlos is kidnapped and taken to a park. Here he is given a prepared statement and ordered to copy it by hand. The statement says that he knows nothing about John Hull or any terrorist activities. His captors threaten to kill him if he does not write the statement, so he obeys. He is then told that he will be taken in ten days to a press conference where he will read his handwritten statement before television cameras.

Once freed, Carlos seeks out Honey and Avirgan and asks for their help. They hire security guards to live with his family and after several weeks arrange for his second escape from Costa Rica.

*Continued on page 17* ■



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

## LAWSUIT

■ *Continued from page 1*

Among the 29 defendants are the chief of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), retired generals in the United States Army and Air Force, former senior officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, two leading underworld figures in the Colombian cocaine industry, and members of Cuban-American terrorist organizations. Judge King's denial of the defendants' motions for dismissal means that each of these suspects will be required to submit to interrogation by Institute attorneys under oath.

### Spy novel

The *San Francisco Examiner* described the Institute's Federal complaint as a "spy novel of political skulduggery set in the jungles of Central America." The State Department called the suit "patently ridiculous." "Cynical and duplicitous," were the words used by one defendant, Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, United States Army, retired.

Documents filed by the Institute in Federal court charge that the *contras*, aided by United States citizens:

- financed military operations with the profits of cocaine sales in the United States. The cocaine-for-guns scheme used secret airstrips on a ranch in northern Costa Rica owned by a United States businessman, John Hull. At the height of the operation, more than one ton of cocaine was transported weekly from Colombia to Miami.

- hired a professional terrorist to eliminate renegade *contra* leader Eden Pastora. The assassin detonated a bomb during a press conference at Pastora's hideout in La Penca, Nicaragua, in May 1984. Pastora survived, but the explosion killed a United States citizen, Linda Frazier, and seven others. Frazier was a correspondent for the Religious News Service.

- planned to assassinate the United States Ambassador in Costa Rica, Lewis Tambs, and bomb the American embassies in Costa Rica and Honduras. The conspirators allegedly believed the terrorist attacks would be blamed on the Sandinistas, creating an excuse for a United States invasion of Nicaragua.

### The secret team

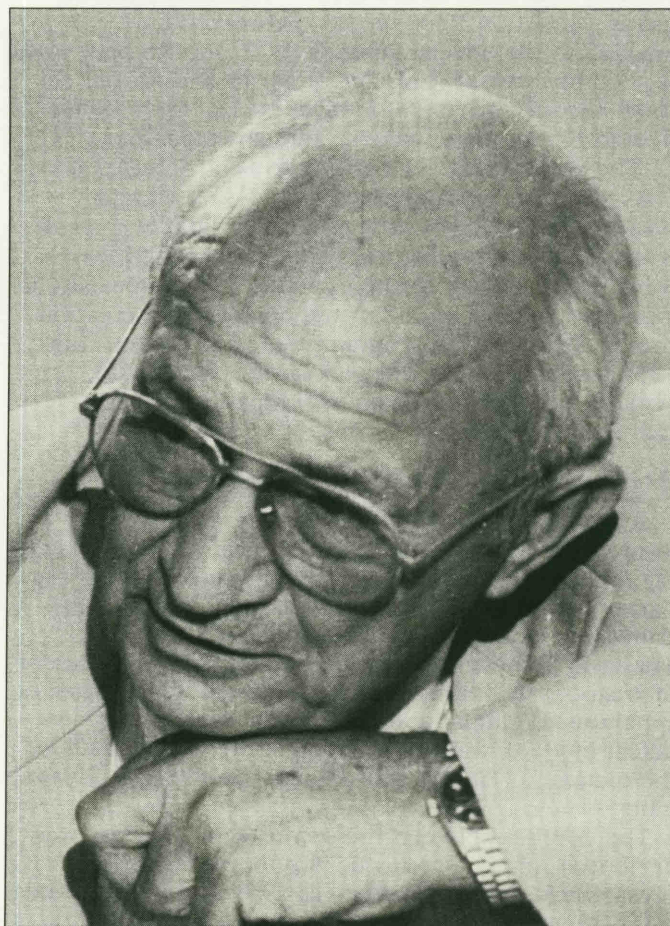
The Institute's probe, which began with the investigation organized by Avirgan and Honey to find the men responsible for the La Penca bombing, now centers on the group Sheehan calls the "secret team," an extremist circle of retired military men, intelligence operatives and right wing activists who organized the illegal shipments of military supplies to the *contras*.

The team's history of covert operations, however, can be traced back to the Bay of Pigs operation and the Vietnam war. The team's soldiers are Cuban-

American terrorists who have fought a private war against Communism for more than 25 years, and its general staff is a small group of retired military and intelligence officers who directed assassination programs in Indochina. Sara Nelson, the Institute's executive director, calls the group a "band of fanatically anti-Communist former officials of the C.I.A. and the military who believe the way to solve political and economic disagreements is to exterminate your opponents."

Members of the "team" identified by the Institute's investigation include Theodore Shackley, a former high official in the C.I.A.'s directorate of (covert) operations, and his deputy, Thomas Clines. Others are retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord, formerly a deputy assistant secretary of defense in charge of military sales to the Middle East; his associate Albert Hakim, a private arms broker, and retired Army Maj. Gen. John Singlaub. All are defendants in the Christic Institute's lawsuit.

*Continued on page 14* ■



Julio Lantiez/Tico Times

**The La Penca lawsuit charges** that John Hull managed a secret pipeline of military supplies to *contra* forces in Costa Rica. A wealthy businessman, his ranch became a base for terrorist attacks.



# THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

## LAWSUIT

■ Continued from page 13

Singlaub and the other conspirators are specialists in unrestricted warfare against Communists. As commander of the Special Operations Group during the Vietnam war, Singlaub allegedly organized the murder of suspected Communist sympathizers in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. By the war's end, more than 100,000 civilians had been assassinated under his command and another 60,000 by Operation Phoenix, a similar program in South Vietnam. Now the retired general works for the private sector, coordinating the purchase of military supplies for the *contras*. He is a former president of the World Anti-Communist League, an extremist organization with close ties to the Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

Other alumni of the assassination program in Southeast Asia were active in the conspiracy to supply weapons for the covert war against Nicaragua. Shackley was chief of the C.I.A.'s East Asia Division during Operation Phoenix. Secord served under Singlaub in the Special Operations Group. In May 1986 he accompanied Lt. Col. Oliver North and former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane on a secret mission to negotiate with the Iranian leadership.

"The secret team," according to Sara Nelson, "is a 'Murder, Inc.' on a global scale." Using various business fronts, many now coming to light as a result of the Iran/*contra* affair, the team supplies arms, explosives and aircraft to their clients. "Their specialty is counterrevolution and their trademark is the creation of mass assassination programs aimed at civilian non-combatants: teachers, village mayors, health care workers, anyone suspected of sympathy for Communists," Nelson said.

### Helped Somoza in his last days

According to the Institute's sources, the secret team's covert activities in Central America date back to the final stage of the Sandinista revolution. When the Carter Administration suspended military aid to the crumbling Government of Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza, the team arranged for the shipment of weapons and offered to create a search-and-destroy apparatus to eliminate rebel leaders. After Somoza's defeat in 1979, the team helped scattered elements of the dictator's National Guard organize the first *contra* units.

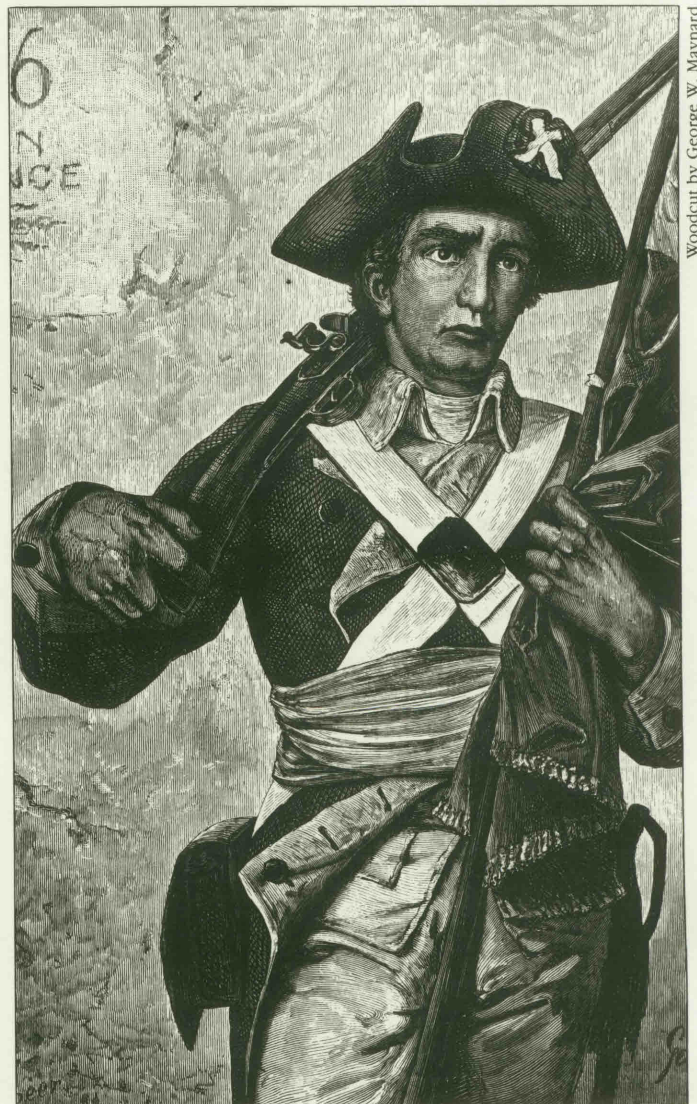
The conflict between the secret team's private war in Central America and official policy ended when President Reagan took office in 1981 and ordered the C.I.A. to assume control of the team's private operation in Central America. In 1983, however, the press discovered that the C.I.A. was illegally mining Nicaraguan harbors and distributing a training manual advising the *contras* to assassinate civilians. Reacting to

the scandals, Congress voted later that year to prohibit further military aid to the *contras*, direct or indirect.

According to the Institute's sources, the Administration decided to evade the new law by "privatizing" the *contra* aid program, handing the operation back to the secret team.

The team faced two immediate needs: military advisers to train the guerrillas and a source of money to replace the lost C.I.A. funds. The conspirators turned to defendant Tom Posey, founder of a mercenary organization known as Civilian Material Assistance, to recruit Vietnam veterans willing to serve in Central America as "soldiers of fortune," and decided to finance the supply effort with cocaine sales in the

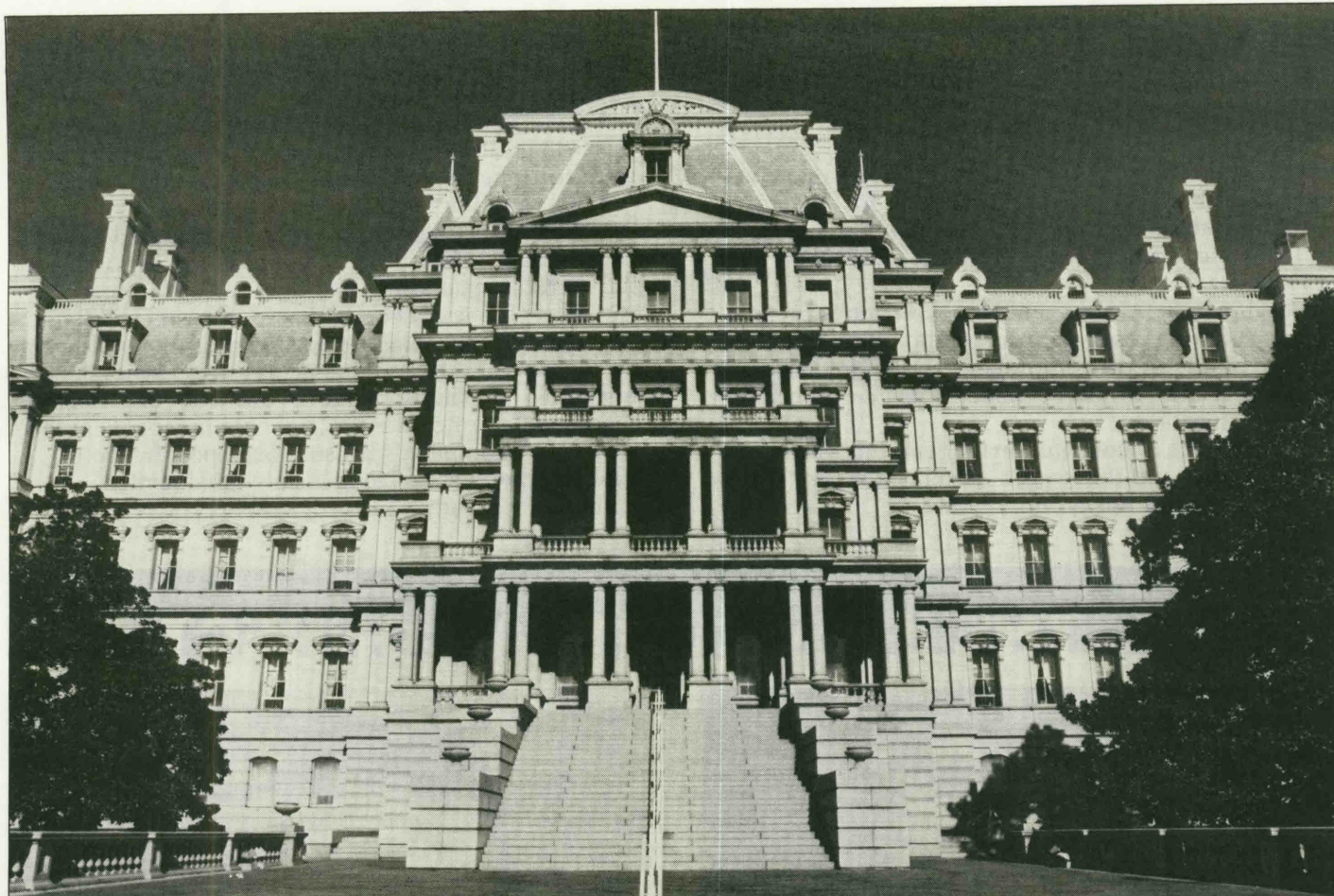
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Woodcut by George W. Maynard

**President Reagan's vision** of the *contras* as the "moral equivalent to our Founding Fathers" is challenged by allegations of drug-running and terrorism.





White House photo

**The Old Executive Office Building** in Washington: The Institute's investigation has linked Lt. Col. Oliver North and the National Security Council with the "secret team" of retired generals, cashiered C.I.A. operatives and Cuban-American terrorists.

## THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION

### LAWSUIT

■ *Continued from page 14*

United States. A public fundraising campaign, headed by Singlaub, provided a plausible cover for the operation's money sources.

According to the Institute's sources, the cocaine supply pipeline was a complex operation involving leading Colombian gangsters, American businessmen and Cuban-American terrorists. The cocaine was supplied by Pablo Escobar and Jorge Ochoa, two leading figures in Colombia's drug underworld. They are both defendants in the lawsuit. The shipments were flown to a secret airstrip on an 8,000-acre ranch located in Costa Rica near the Nicaraguan border. The ranch, owned by defendant John Hull, served as the base from which the secret team planned to establish control over existing *contra* forces in Costa Rica. Airplanes used for cocaine shipments also ferried arms from Ilopango Air Base in El Salvador to the landing strip on Hull's ranch.

Sheehan believes that the continued operations of the secret team represent a grave threat to constitutional government in the United States. "They can cooperate with sympathetic Administrations, like the one presently in power, or they can operate outside the political system," he said. "They don't care. The secret team is in effect a parallel government conducting its own foreign policy and prepared to use terror if necessary to achieve its aims. The Iran/*contra* operation, during which a few officers ran a secret military policy from the basement of the White House without once consulting Congress, only begins to suggest the extent of their aims."

Nelson expects a "slick public relations campaign" to justify the terror tactics used by the secret team in Central America. However, she believes that public fear of the cocaine epidemic, ironically used by the Reagan Administration as a political issue in 1986, will doom any future political rescue operation for the *contras*. Exposure of the coke-for-guns scheme will fundamentally change public opinion about the "freedom fighters," she argues.

*Continued on next page* ■



# LAWSUIT

■ Continued from page 15

Nelson said the "Contragate" investigation and lawsuit, backed up by the Institute's press, education and organizing departments, is working for six aims:

- Punish the men responsible for the murders of journalists and bystanders at Pastora's press conference in La Penca.

- Compensate Avirgan and Honey for physical and mental suffering resulting from the bombing, the murder of one of their informants and anonymous threats that they would be killed if they continued their investigation.

- Expose the unconstitutional operations of the "secret team" and the Reagan Administration's cooperation with this group.

- Remove all Federal officials guilty of criminal conduct or obstruction of justice, no matter how highly placed they may be.

- Build public support for legislation in Congress that will ensure that foreign and military policies conform to United States and international law.

- Stop and imprison the secret team.

"These goals might have seemed farfetched a few months ago," Nelson said, "but after the exposure of the secret Iranian arms deal, they are within reach." However, she is concerned that politicians will limit the scope of the Congressional investigation, allowing the secret team to continue its covert activities. "The Institute's investigation and lawsuit will hold Congress accountable," she said. "As the only independent investigation complete with subpoena power, the Institute can prevent a 'gentleman's agreement' to withhold the truth." □

## THE IRAN/CONTRA CONNECTION



**Retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord** served under Singlaub in Southeast Asia. In May 1986 he accompanied Oliver North and Robert McFarlane on a secret mission to negotiate with the Iranian leadership.



**Retired Army Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub**, a member of the secret team's inner circle, commanded the Special Operations Group in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam war. More than 100,000 civilians were assassinated during his command.



# Songs for the sanctuary movement

## Jackson Browne, Holly Near sing at benefit concert

Jackson Browne, Holly Near and other artists performed in Washington's D.A.R. Constitution Hall last spring at a benefit concert for the sanctuary movement. Sponsored by the Christic Institute and Avocado Productions, the event raised \$12,500 for the National Sanctuary Defense Fund.

The concert marked a critical stage for the 300 churches and synagogues where refugees have found shelter from the war in Central America. In Tucson, 12 sanctuary workers were on trial. But the concert gave 4,000 leaders and supporters of sanctuary the opportunity to celebrate the movement's steady growth.

The evening was an interplay of music, drama and impassioned speeches. Speakers included:

- Dr. Charles Clements, a Vietnam veteran who provided medical care in a war zone where peasants were under constant attack by Salvadoran troops and warplanes.

- The Rev. John Fife, one of the defendants convicted in Tucson.

The evening was hosted by Sara Nelson, executive director of the INstitute. "It was an important event for all of us concerned with the plight of political refugees," she said. "At a time when the Administration's war policies were winning support in Congress and the Tucson trial was reaching its climax, the concert lifted our hearts and reminded the activists and supporters of the sanctuary movement that we were not working alone."

In November, Jackson Browne and actress Daryl Hannah hosted a benefit for the Christic Institute at their home in southern California. The event was organized to inform prominent personalities on the West Coast about the Institute's Contragate investigation.

Guests at the benefit included actors Ed Asner, Mike Farrell, Elizabeth Montgomery and Robert Foxworth; activists Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, and songwriter Bruce Cockburn. □

## DAVID

■ Continued from page 12

The two North American journalists are also threatened. Phone callers warn that they will be killed unless they halt their investigation of the Pastora bombing. Death threats are slipped under the front door of their home. Fearing for their safety, they send their children out of the country.

Gradually, details about the conspiracy reach the United States. The Associated Press circulates a series of stories on the attempt to establish a Southern Front. Sen. John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts, agrees to investigate. His staff substantiates the charges of gunrunning and drug trafficking. And the Christic Institute agrees to represent Honey and Avirgan in a lawsuit against the conspirators.

In June 1986, several months before the "Contragate" story explodes in the press, the Christic Institute begins to notify the conspirators that they have been named in a Federal lawsuit. The defendants are two retired generals, former C.I.A. operatives, leaders of Cuban-American terrorist organizations, cocaine suppliers, firearms dealers, *contra* leaders and their agents in the United States. Interrupting a *contra* press conference in Washington, the Rev. William Davis of the Institute hands Adolfo Calero a summons while television cameras record the scene. The F.D.N. chief reacts angrily. The secret plan to establish a Southern Front through assassination and drug trafficking is a secret no longer. □

## ACTION BOX

You can participate in the national campaign to stop the *contras* and the "secret team." Consider the following suggestions:

1. Subscribe to the Institute's *Contragate Update*, periodic reports on our investigation. Order additional subscriptions for your church, synagogue, local organization or opinion makers in your community. For information on subscriptions, write the Institute or use the order form enclosed with this issue of *Convergence*.
2. Order our *Contragate File* and Daniel Sheehan's *Affidavit* on the Contragate investigation. Send copies to editorial writers.
3. Support the Institute's Contragate investigation financially. The Institute charges no attorneys fees. We depend completely on our supporters. All contributions are tax-deductible.
4. Write your Senators and Representative in Congress. Urge them to revoke military aid to the *contras* on the basis of the issues in this lawsuit: *contra* drug smuggling to American cities, *contra* assassinations of witnesses, *contra* death threats against United States journalists, *contra* plans to murder a United States ambassador and bomb American embassies. Enclose copies of this magazine and our *Contragate File* with your letter. □



## Speakers on the cutting edge

**It all happens at the cutting edge.** Issues are clarified, polarized. Tensions intensify. The secrets of powerful men and women are revealed. People join forces. Things happen.

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They forged their vision of social change in the Sixties, perfected it in the Seventies and Eighties. It's a vision that works:

- **Contragate . . .** The Institute is prosecuting a lawsuit against the secret team that supplied the Contras and the Iranian Government with weapons and assassins. We plan to establish in a court of law that the Contras are not the "moral equivalent to our Founding Fathers" but the actual equivalent of organized crime. The Institute is the only investigative unit outside of the Federal Government with the power to subpoena the Contra bosses and their powerful supporters in the United States.

- **Karen Silkwood . . .** In *Silkwood v. Kerr-McGee*, the Institute transformed public opinion about the nuclear industry and forced one of the most powerful corporations in the country to pay damages worth \$1.4 million for the death of a union organizer.

- **Greensboro Massacre . . .** A death squad organized by the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan ambushed and killed five demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina. After state and Federal juries refused to convict the assailants on criminal charges, the Institute took the Nazis and Klansmen to court. The result: a civil jury found the death squad and local police liable for the attack and ordered them to pay compensatory damages to the survivors.

- **First sanctuary trial . . .** The Institute galvanized public support for the embattled sanctuary movement and proved that the Federal Government is breaking the law, not the sanctuary congregations.

- **Three Mile Island . . .** The Institute kept this dangerous nuclear plant closed for six years and prevented its operator from dumping radioactive waste into the Susquehanna River.

- **Nuclear Armageddon . . .** The Institute investigated the Religious Right's theory of inevitable and survivable nuclear war and exposed President Reagan's alarming predictions that the Soviet Union will be destroyed by nuclear weapons.

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**The Christic Institute** is a new star on the horizon of politics and religion. We unite Christians and Jews who believe that Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson do *not* represent the majority of religious Americans. Founded in 1980 by the lawyers and activists who represented Karen Silkwood's family in their lawsuit against the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation, we commit our legal resources to cases carefully selected to reverse the steady erosion of personal freedom and social justice in the United States. Our new INFORM project (Interfaith Organizing and Renewal Movement) aims to create a counterweight to the Religious Right by helping churches and synagogues organize in their own communities for social justice, human rights and peace.

**Our program is affordable!** We will ask your group to pay for transportation and a modest honorarium. And you can reduce expenses by arranging for several organizations, churches and synagogues in your community to cosponsor the event.

**Take a look** at the list of speakers on the following page. Make your choice, then call Sharon Cargo, our program coordinator, at (202) 797-8106. Or write us at the following address:

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Washington, D.C. 20002-3337

**You can assure significant coverage** by scheduling meetings with editorial writers and interviews on radio and TV talk shows. Ask our press department to help you make arrangements with the media in your community. And use our speaker as a consultant for your congregation or organization. We're ready to assist you in any way!



**Dan Sheehan** has fought for justice in some of the most famous trials in the past two decades: Silkwood, the Pentagon Papers, Wounded Knee, Attica, Greensboro . . . . A graduate of Harvard Law School and editor of the *Harvard Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Law Review*, Sheehan is the Institute's general counsel and director of public policy. He is the principal counsel in the Institute's Contragate lawsuit.

*Suggested speeches: Contragate: The New Watergate? • Who is the Real Moral Majority, and How Can They Win Before the Year 2000? • Silkwood and the Future of Nuclear America • A History of the Secret Foreign Policy of the United States • The Sixties Generation: Winning or Losing the Fight for Constitutional Law?*

**The Rev. William J. Davis, S.J.** is an outspoken and well-informed critic of United States intervention in Central America. A Roman Catholic priest, he knows the political systems in El Salvador and Nicaragua from personal experience. His investigation of the Contra underworld helped build the case for the Institute's Contragate lawsuit.

*Suggested speeches: Activism and Contemplation • Inside the Nicaraguan Revolution • Contragate • Government Surveillance of Peace Groups and Religious Congregations • The Untold Story of Karen Silkwood • Central America: Our Lives in the Balance.*

**Sara Nelson**, the Institute's executive director, is a seasoned activist and leader of the women's movement. A former television news anchor, she was director of the Karen Silkwood Fund and chair of the labor committee of the National Organization for Women. Sara is an expert on the Silkwood, Contragate, national organizing and the use of television in progressive politics.

*Suggested speeches: Will the Real Moral Majority Please Stand Up? A 1988 Action Plan for Churches and Synagogues • Vietnam to Iran to Contragate: Who is Making Our Foreign Policy? • Karen Silkwood Made a Difference.*

**Lewis Pitts** represented the survivors of the Greensboro Massacre and their families. A graduate of the University of South Carolina Law School, Pitts is director of Christic Institute South in North Carolina, where he specializes in racial justice and voting rights. He has successfully defended black leaders in the South against political harassment. Pitts is chair of the Southern Regional Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches.

*Suggested speeches: The Greensboro Massacre: Anatomy of a North American Death Squad • The Old South Rises Again: Attacks on Black Civil Rights in the Reagan Era.*

**Rob Hager**, director of the Institute's law division, has represented the Silkwood family, the neighbors of Three Mile Island and many other victims of the nuclear industry. He is coordinating director of the Institute's Nuclear Reform Project, which provides citizens with the legal tools they need to shut down unsafe nuclear facilities and nuclear waste disposal sites. Hager represented the National Council of Churches and other religious and civic organizations in the Bhopal case. He is a former United Nations legal adviser to the pre-revolutionary government of Afghanistan.

*Suggested speeches: How Citizens Can Control Nuclear and Toxic Waste Dumps in Their Communities • Careers in Public Interest Law: The Alternative for Law Students • Toward a New Theology of the Environment.*

**Andrew Lang**, director of political research, is an expert on the politics and ideology of the Religious Right. He is co-author of the *Editor's and Reporter's Guide to the Religious Right* and the author of many articles on Bible prophecy and nuclear war. He has led seminars on this subject at universities and institutes in the United States and Europe. His book, *The Politics of Armageddon: Nuclear War and the Religious Right*, will be published in 1988 by the William B. Eerdmans Company.

*Suggested speeches: Armageddon: The Religious Right's Theory of Inevitable and Survivable Nuclear War • "The Church in Socialism": The Story of Christianity in East Germany.*

**Lanny Sinkin** is a policy analyst and staff attorney at the Institute. A native Texan, he was executive director of the Urban Coalition of Metropolitan San Antonio. Lanny has 14 years of experience as a leader in campaigns to deny operating licenses to unsafe nuclear power plants. He is part of the Institute's legal team on the Contragate lawsuit.

*Suggested speeches: Contragate: a Constitutional Crisis • The Emperor Has No Clothes: Why the Mighty Nuclear Industry is Vulnerable to Citizen Pressure • The Consequences of Nuclear Energy for Future Generations.*

**Rusty Martin** is the coordinator of our student internship program. A student activist in the early years of the Reagan era, Rusty was one of the twenty young men convicted for refusal to register for the draft. During his trial, he was elected to the Iowa Democratic State Central Committee, the youngest person to serve in that post. He has debated two consecutive directors of the Selective Service System on national television.

*Suggested speeches: The Contra Underworld: The Privatization of Terror • The ABCs of Media for Starving Activists • Tips for Progressive Students on Conservative Campuses.*



# END-TIME POLITICS

■ *Continued from page 6*

tains of Israel." This holocaust, he writes, will "purge Israel." The surviving Jews will convert *en masse* to Christianity. The Soviet Union will be "totally destroyed," either by nuclear weapons or by fire from heaven. Armageddon will be the final catastrophe of this period—a war between Christ and Antichrist fought in Israel on the plain of Esdraelon.

## Global purge

The Great Tribulation is a global purge of atheists and heretics. "The Tribulation will result in such bloodshed and destruction that any war up to that time will seem insignificant," Falwell writes. "There will come a day when God will unleash His wrath and judgment upon unbelievers. He will crush them beneath His thumb."

This worldwide catastrophe will end with the dawning of the Millennium, the Kingdom of God on earth. This is no spiritual kingdom but a political system, an absolute monarchy governed by a ruling class of born-again Christians.

Because all of these events are outlined in Bible prophecy, they constitute God's master plan for history. No government, no arms control treaty can stop the countdown to Armageddon.

Falwell's linkage of nuclear warfare with Bible prophecy underlines the most important change in Armageddon doctrine since World War II: the "nuclearization" of the Bible. After the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many dispensationalists transformed biblical images of "fire and brimstone" into prophetic visions of nuclear explosions.

The leading apologist for "nuclear dispensationalism" is author Hal Lindsey. In *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Lindsey speculates that the "fire on Magog" described by the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel could be a prediction that nuclear missiles will annihilate the Soviet Union.

Falwell has drawn similar conclusions. The Bible predicts a Soviet invasion of the Middle East, he told the *Los Angeles Times* in 1981. "And it is at that time when I believe there will be some nuclear holocaust on this earth. . . . And Russia will be the offender and will be ultimately totally destroyed." In late 1984, however, Falwell apparently changed his mind about Bible prophecy and nuclear war. God will destroy the Soviet Union, he declared in a sermon, "not with nuclear power but with divine power."

## Agonized birth of a new age

Despite this ideology of global violence, dispensationalism is fundamentally a religion of *survival*, the religious analogue to secular theories of survivable and winnable nuclear war. No dispensationalist equates the coming wars of the end-time with the extinction of humanity. In fact, the theorists of Armageddon contemplate the future with joy. The Tribulation is only the agonized birth of a new age, a messianic era of

peace under the kingship of Jesus Christ.

The leaders of the Religious Right do not fear nuclear war for two reasons: (1) Jesus will return at the end of the Tribulation period, saving humanity from self-destruction, and (2) born-again Christians will escape from the planet *before* the first war crisis of the Tribulation. This latter theory—the doctrine of the Rapture—is almost universally accepted by the men who today dominate the Religious Right.

Falwell explains: "Those Christians who are alive when the Lord returns will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. All of this will take place in a split second and will be a glorious time for all believers. This will, however, be a terrible time of confusion for those who are left on earth."

"Someday, a day that only God knows, Jesus Christ is coming to take away all those who believe in him," Hal Lindsey predicts. "He is coming to meet all true believers in the air. Without benefit of science, space suits or interplanetary rockets, there will be those who will be transported into a glorious place more beautiful, more awesome, than we can possibly comprehend."

Born-again Christians therefore should not fear "the coming war with Russia," Falwell once told his followers. "If you know the Lord Jesus as your Savior, none of this should bring fear to your heart, because we're going up in the Rapture before any of it occurs."

The mass evacuation of born-again Christians is followed by the mass execution of God's enemies. "Imagine," Lindsey writes, "cities like London, Paris, Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago—obliterated!" One third of the human race will be wiped out. J.O. Grooms, an evangelist at Falwell's congregation in Lynchburg, Va., puts the Tribulation death toll at 1.5 billion, including 138 million Americans. "This is not pessimism," he observes in a tract published by Falwell's Soul Winning Office. "These are cold hard facts."

At the close of the Great Tribulation, the raptured saints will return with Jesus to rule a planet cleansed of homosexuals, secular humanists and Communists.

## Politics in a doomed society

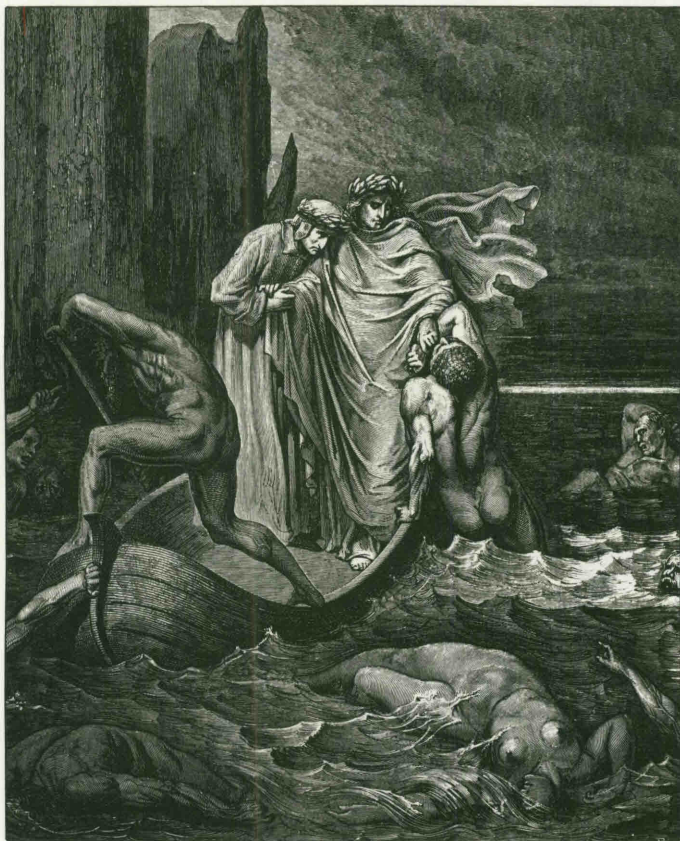
What does this violent eschatology mean, if anything, for the political ideology of the Religious Right?

For the older generation of dispensationalists, Armageddon and politics did not necessarily mix. At best, political campaigns in a doomed society were irrelevant. At worst, politics distracted Christians from their only legitimate function: to fulfill the "Great Commission"—the command to preach the Gospel to the ends of the earth—before the final breakdown of history.

Dispensationalist preachers sometimes compared the present age to a "wrecked vessel" breaking apart on a violent and stormy sea. The church, they believed, was a lifeboat manned by born-again Christians reaching out to rescue drowning sinners before the doomed ship finally disappeared beneath the waves. This was the message of a sermon published in 1880

*Continued on next page* ■





Gustav Dore

**Leaders of the Religious Right** believe they are saving drowning sinners from destruction as the present age approaches its violent and predestined end.

by one of the movement's greatest preachers, Dwight L. Moody.

"God has given me a life-boat, and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.' God will come in judgment and burn up this world, but the children of God don't belong to this world; they are in it, but not of it, like a ship in the water. This world is getting darker and darker; its ruin is coming nearer and nearer. If you have any friends on this wreck unsaved, you had better lose no time in getting them off."

For more than a century, Moody and his successors lived and worked in the shadow of Armageddon, in a state of continuous spiritual emergency, fulfilling the Great Commission, reaching out for drowning sinners. They looked out over the world and saw a doomed ship riding on a violent sea, or a field ripe for the final soul harvest of the present age. They built churches, founded seminaries and universities, trained missionaries, published Bible commentaries. They worked with energy and dedication because they knew their time was short. But they refused to enter the mainstream of secular culture. They became an invisible sect on the far horizon of fundamentalist Christianity, practicing holy separation from an evil society. All human institutions—the courts, governments, armies, political parties and churches off the world—were living on borrowed time, destined for destruction. Nothing could be added or subtracted to God's timetable for the present age. This time was Satan's time. God's time was future time.

## Crusade for political power

Today, however, the new generation of dispensationalists are deeply engaged in a crusade for political power. No longer content to watch on the sidelines while wars and revolutions herald the end of the age, the preachers of Armageddon are organizing for the political power they need to guide America through the last turbulent years of human history.

This political crusade would have been incomprehensible to Moody and his generation. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Religious Right see no contradiction between the historical determinism of their eschatology and the political ambitions of their movement. They know they cannot win in a world system controlled by Satan. The limit of their political power is the Rapture, the mass evacuation of born-again Christians from the planet. Final victory must be postponed until the elect return with Christ to administer the absolute monarchy of the Millennial Kingdom.

For precisely that reason, the Religious Right is not working for a permanent world order secured by American military power. They are interested in power, but only for the duration of a dying age.

To understand the political ideology of the Religious Right, we need to understand this one thing: that the Great Commission, God's plan to preach the Gospel to the ends of the earth, is still the very center of this movement's drive for power. Through the ministry of the Religious Right and the explosive growth of fundamentalist churches, God is making one final offer of salvation to the multitudes of unsaved men and women who still have not accepted Jesus as their personal Savior. However, the offer of salvation is a limited time offer, because "this world is getting darker and darker; its ruin is coming nearer and nearer."

But Satan, too, has a plan for the end-times. He wants to subjugate the human race to his kingdom. He knows the end of his power is near. So he is deploying all of his weapons in a final apocalyptic offensive. Satan's warfare is spiritual, but his two most important weapons are *political*: the soul-destroying ideologies of *secular humanism* and *Communism*.

## Satan's policy

Secular humanism can be understood as Satan's domestic policy, Communism as his foreign policy. Through secular humanism, Satan dominates the culture of Western Europe and the United States. He poisons the minds of our children, infiltrates the churches and falsifies the Gospel. Propagated by liberal educators, sanctified by modernist churches, protected by the courts, secular humanism is the ruling ideology of the West, the spiritual enemy in our midst.

Through Communism, Satan pushes back the frontiers of American power, the geopolitical sphere in which the Gospel is preached and sinners are saved. In the nations that have fallen under the shadow of Communism, billions of unsaved souls face an eternity of torment.

In the worldview of the Religious Right, the radical

*Continued on page 24* ■





**Official Soviet photograph** of the damaged containment building in Chernobyl. Safety systems were similar to 49 reactors operating or under construction in the United States.

## CHERNOBYL

■ *Continued from page 2*

disaster clearly showed the containment structure, severely damaged from the explosion and fire. In fact, the elaborate safety systems at Chernobyl were based on the same technology as the systems protecting 49 reactors operating or under construction in the United States.

### Meaningless samples

As the radioactive plume drifted across Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, our Government hastened to assure travellers to these regions that they faced absolutely no danger. Consider the story published on May 4 in *The Washington Post*. A radiation specialist from the Environmental Protection Agency took air samples in Warsaw on May 3 and concluded that radiation represented no health hazard and probably had never reached a dangerous level.

By this date, however, the radioactive plume from Chernobyl had already shifted away from Poland to the east. An air sample in Warsaw after the clouds had changed direction was meaningless. The E.P.A. special-

ist did not bother to test the soil, food or water—where the earlier clouds passing over Poland would have deposited their radioactive materials.

At the very moment the E.P.A. was announcing that there was no cause for alarm, Polish citizens were being cautioned by their Government not to drink fresh water or eat fresh produce. Television footage broadcast around the world showed Polish children lining up for doses of iodine, a belated measure to protect their thyroid glands from rain and food contaminated with radioactive iodine.

The difference in policy between the two Governments is striking. The radioactive clouds eventually reached the United States. The total amount of cesium dispersed by the accident equalled the emissions of this substance produced by all of the atmospheric nuclear tests conducted since 1945. Although the hazardous materials precipitating over North America were obviously less concentrated than the radioactive rains over Poland, there still was justification for simple protective measures.

Citizens should have been advised to take minimal precautions—drinking powdered milk, washing fruits and vegetables, keeping children out of the rain—

*Continued on next page* ■



## OLD SOUTH

■ Continued from page 5

by the Republican National Committee to discourage black voters. In North Carolina, the party's tactics included charges of "vote fraud" against blacks and the stationing of "ballot security squads" in black precincts.

Soon after Pitts and attorney Paul Jones filed a motion in Superior Court to quash the indictment "based on outrageous government conduct," the state dropped all charges against the black minister.

"I will continue to work hard for my people," Wilson told reporters later. "This case has given me an even greater desire to do more since there is so much harassment."

### Fourth branch of government

Wilson's case in North Carolina is representative of C.I. South's program to defend the defenders of civil rights. "Institutional racism means that instead of a few phone calls to solve a problem, it takes a crusade," Pitts told *Convergence*. "If C.I. South has a motto, it is the admonition of black abolitionist Frederick Douglass that 'power concedes nothing without a demand.' Making that demand felt requires mobilizing what Thomas Jefferson called the 'Fourth Branch' of government: the people.

"You can't defeat politically motivated charges with a standard legal defense, especially in the South. You have to back up legal briefs with 'street briefs'—pickets, marches, church delegations and a lot of public education—to expose what is really going on."

A legal victory is Pyrrhic if the political war of attrition is lost when activists are discredited and demoralized, Pitts said. C.I. South's goal therefore is not only to build support for the defendant but to overcome the demoralizing effects of political trials, firings and other measures used against black and progressive movements. Clients are then free to resume their work.

"C.I. South serves these movements not only because they deserve our support," Pitts said, "but because through them we can find our way out of the Reagan era that is now rapidly approaching its end." □

## CHERNOBYL

■ Continued from page 22

when the radioactivity from Chernobyl reached their state. These steps were recommended by governments in Eastern and Western Europe. But the Federal agencies responsible for protecting public health provided no such information.

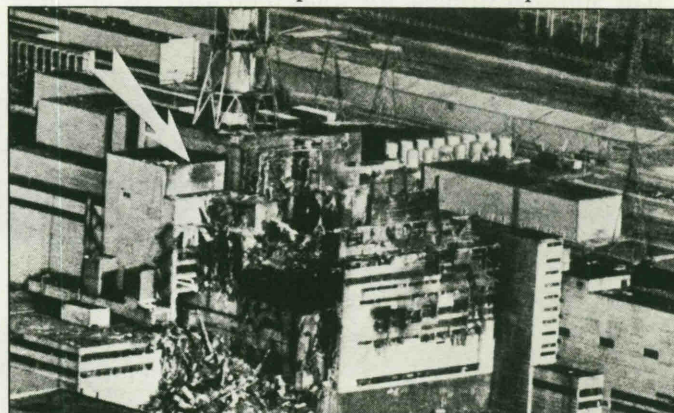
The explanation for this failure is obvious. Precautionary measures would have suggested that low doses of radiation are dangerous. In fact, a number of studies show that *any* increase in radiation exposure can lead to a statistical increase in cancer. This is an admission our Government cannot afford to make. In the aftermath of Chernobyl, the public might have begun to

suspect that the nuclear fuel cycle of mining, milling, enriching, burning and burying nuclear material is dangerous, even deadly, for this and future generations.

There were other public reactions hazards:

- Containment structures were never built for five reactors operated by the Department of Energy in Hanford, Wash., and Savannah River, S.C. These reactors, which supply our nuclear weapons industry, have released enormous quantities of radioactive materials over their extremely dirty lifetimes. An aroused public could reasonably demand that the Federal Government shut all of these unsafe reactors down. But that would slow the production of plutonium needed for the rapidly expanding nuclear weapons program.

- The Department of Energy is planning to send two exploratory rockets into space with electrical generators powered by the radioactive decay of plutonium. *These plutonium rockets were to lift into orbit on the space shuttle mission scheduled to follow Challenger. Challenger, however, exploded and disintegrated in the skies over Florida.* If Challenger had survived and the next shuttle had exploded, more than 46 pounds of plutonium—enough nuclear material to kill millions—would have escaped into the atmosphere.



TASS from Sovfoto

The Challenger tragedy may well have prevented a far greater disaster. But the Department of Energy has not abandoned its plans to send plutonium-powered rockets into orbit.

- Finally, one of the President's great dreams—"Star Wars"—depends partly on atomic reactors orbiting the earth to power space weapons. But if in the aftermath of the Chernobyl and Challenger disasters, the public had begun to dispute the reliability of nuclear reactors on the ground, how could they have accepted reactors orbiting overhead?

Clearly, there was too much at stake to permit a candid assessment of the Chernobyl catastrophe. In fact, our Government's interest was identical to that of the Soviet nuclear establishment: reassure public opinion here and in Europe that the explosion's deadly effects would be confined to a small area. Officials therefore were telling the public, long before an objective assessment was possible, that any radiation reaching the United States would be utterly harmless. Now the Soviets are officially predicting that tens of thousands of their own citizens will die from cancer. The Administration can only hope that no one will think of asking how many Europeans or North Americans will suffer a similar fate. □



# END-TIME POLITICS

■ *Continued from page 21*

conflict of history is the spiritual conflict between Satan and Christ for the allegiance of the human race, a conflict that in the end-time of the present age dominates every human relationship and every sphere of human activity, including the political. "The nearer we get to Armageddon, the more intense the conflict becomes," writes Armageddon theorist Homer Duncan.

"Most people are not aware of the gigantic battle that is being fought with God and his forces on one side, and Satan and all of the hosts of Hell on the other side. As we approach the end of the age the battle becomes more intense, since Satan knows that his time is short. Since the only true and living God is a holy God, and since Satan is a monster of iniquity, there can be no compromise between them. There must be no compromise between righteousness and wickedness, light and darkness, or between truth and error."

The spiritual struggle for souls therefore has become a political and military struggle: a political struggle to

reduce the influence of secular humanism in the institutions of Western society and a military struggle to defend and expand the sphere of American power. Thus, the Religious Right is fighting across a broad front: to seize control of secular education, reinstate prayer in public schools, elect "moral" politicians to Congress, supply weapons to Nicaraguan "freedom fighters" and build a "peace shield" against Soviet missiles.

Dispensationalists in the Religious Right do not expect to win permanent victories. No political movement, not even a mass movement of moral Americans, can fundamentally change a future predestined by God. Jesus cannot return until the prophecy of Armageddon is fulfilled. But while Satan seizes control of nations and their political systems, God has ordered the elect into battle for the eternal souls of this generation, the last generation of the present age.

The political pastors of the Religious Right still believe, as Dwight Moody believed a century ago, that the church is a lifeboat for drowning sinners. They have simply politicized and militarized this image. The war against Satan is now a shooting war. The lifeboat has become a battleship flying the American flag, and its warheads are armed. □

## CONVERGENCE

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