

SUBJECT: Ron Paul
date :July, 1987

PAUL.DBX

A self-described conservative and libertarian, Ron Paul first came to notice during his 1976-84 terms as a Republican Congressman. In 1984, in an attempt to further his political career, the 51-year-old Texan ran in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate. Although unsuccessful in the primary bid, Paul used the campaign to voice libertarian views and to try to rally support for putting the U.S. on the gold standard while he was still a Congressman.

Paul received his M.D. from Duke University Medical Center in 1961 and served as flight surgeon in the U.S. Air Force. In the spring of 1976, he became the first Republican ever to represent his Texas district in Congress. His financial backers during the campaign against Democrat Bob Gammage were the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Young American's Campaign Fund, Young Americans for Freedom, the Conservative Victory Fund and the American Conservative Union.

Consequently, he has been held in high regard by the Nat. Assoc. of Business, the National Taxpayer's Union and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. In 1981, Paul issued Freedom Report, which pretends to explode 5 myths about the gold standard.

According to the May, 1987 New Libertarian Newsletter, a publication of the New Libertarian Company of Free Traders (NLCO), Ron Paul will run against American Indian activist Russell Means for that party's presidential nomination. Paul--if he is nominated--would include the following planks in his platform; support of the so-called Liberty Amendment (to repeal the Income Tax), abolition of the Federal Reserve and the return to the gold standard, ending the draft, its registration, and all interference with personal freedom, ending foreign intervention and foreign aid and exposing control by Trilateralists, and international bankers.

Paul has also been associated with Liberty Lobby and its weekly publication The Spotlight in several ways: Paul and his congressional assistant were interviewed by the paper in 1984, The Spotlight has published Paul's Freedom Report advertisement and Paul spoke at a financial planning conference advertised in Spotlight. A Liberty Lobby spokesperson was also invited to address the audience.

Paul was the guest of honor and main speaker for a John Birch dinner in March of 1985.

Although he has no formal training as a financial analyst, his interest in financial matters has set the scene for his current newsletter, The Ron Paul Investment Letter. As editor and publisher, Paul reports monthly on political, economic and monetary trends. This analysis is crucial, says Paul, because it exposes "the con men in Washington, D.C... (who) have put our country on a collision course with financial holocaust. When it comes, they plan to use the crisis to strip away your every asset." One fact Paul claims he has exposed is the impending trouble caused by "the Israeli lobby that muzzles our media, runs the Congress like a wholly-owned subsidiary and disguises the Tel Aviv hand in the Irangate puppet."

He is also chairman of the Citizens for a Sound Economy.

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RAINBOW. DBx

subject: Metzger Meeting
place : Rainbow, Calif.
date : June 9, 1990

A meeting by invitation only was held at the Bob Matthews Memorial Hall in Rainbow, California on Saturday, June 9, 1990. According to official sources, some 40 plus were in attendance, including several skinheads and a number of new faces. Security was handled by Harry Viccaro (Baxter) and Wyatt Kaldenberg. (Baxter, his girl friend, Monique, Wyatt and John Metzger are currently living in a rented house on Lane in Falbrook, just a block from Tom Metzger's address on .)

Among those identified at the meeting were:

Jeff Weaver arrived in a dark blue oldsmobile along with Jill Scarborough and Jeremy Rineman. The car is registred to a Carl Jones of , Fullerton, Ca. A check with SCOUT revealed that Jones, an elderly man in his 60's, is Jill Scarborough's grandfather. He died in 1989.

Ashley Brown came with David Van Voorhis and "Babs" Van Voorhis, the latter carrying a baby. (The following Sunday David and SCOUT went "shooting" (i.e., target practice) at which time David talked about the Rainbow meeting. He called it just another of Tom's "bull sessions" with some new videos being shown. In a private aside, Tom warned Ashley not to allow the Western Hammerskins to participate in the 6/29/90 demonstration to be staged at the South African consulate in Beverly Hills. Apparently Tom is not happy with Fields and his SS Action Group which is sponsoring the event. Fields is considered "uncontrollable" by Tom and far too independent for his tastes. While vetoing the consulate demonstration, Tom suggested that the Hammerskins start distributing WAR leaflets in the Los Angeles black community. Ashley and Van Voorhis were "shocked" at such a hare-brained proposal but Tom thought it would "rile up the niggers" and generate a lot of publicity.)

A red Toyoda (2LDT207) registered to Andrew Carmellini, Way, , Ca., arrived at the site with a "carload of skins." Andrew, who is 61, has never been seen and officials were uncertain as to his involvement. (A check of our files revealed that an Elizabeth Kathleen Carmellini (dob:9/8/71) at the same address was one of several names found in a skinhead phone book seized by the SFPD in 1989. San Diego authorities now speculate that this is Andrew's daughter.)

Charles Constantine, , Los Angeles, Ca., Subject is 31 years of age and was accompanied by three small girls. He is not known to authorities.

Daniel Michael McClure, Street, Santa Monica, Ca. Age:25. CDL . First appearance at Rainbow.

cal

site of Tyndell speech. 2,0
place : Anaheim, Ca.
date : 5/27/91

1HFU067. r/o Sandra Papeika, Los Angeles, Ca.
2JHA837, r/o Paul Fontaine, Burlingame, Ca.
709 EMK, r/o Dave Van Voorhis (previous owner: Paul Russell Smith)
3B27679, r/o Jeffery L. Robitaille, Hemet, Ca.
3L38525, r/o James C. Carrey, Pasadena, Ca.
716 RSH, r/o James M. Ballance, Altadena, Ca.
75136G, r/o Eric A. Zarth, Westminster (70 Dodge Van)
2RUV194, r/o Stephen Ryland, Sierra Madre (w/m. 300 lbs)(Box 2617
Pasadena, Ca. New Christian Crusade Church)
735 XUT, r/o Stratford Brossard, Orange, Ca. (Patriotic Party, 1966)
NO IRS r/o Russell Granata, Rolling Hills Estate, Ca.
1 LAL r/o Ted Lundberg, La Habre, Ca.
2RML077, r/o Linda and Chris Farmer, Los Angeles, Ca.
2GMF423, r/o Fishbein++
2VBB286, r/o Harvey Heirid, Escondido, Ca.
343 ZKG, r/o Ioan Teodor Dirina, Glendale (*listed with PACE at ~~000 202~~
~~0000~~ Avenue, Los Angeles, Ca.
2LPT062 r/o Carter E. Gengler, ~~0000 0000 0000~~, Arcadia, Ca., 91006 (89
Toyota)
2JLZ 766 r/o Pat D. and Francis J. Miller, ~~0000 0000~~ St St.W., Lancaster, Ca.
2MGR299 (David Duke bumper strip.) *Records show this plate belonged to
a car officially "scrapped" 12/15/89 and bought as salvage by the P/A Auto
Wreckers in Wilmington, Ca.)
3U35853, r/o Jozsefine Szucs, San Clemente, Ca. (bump. "Let's Revolt. Don't
Elect Anyone.")
1AGZ488, r/o Robert A. Boody, Loma Linda, Ca.

Leonard Jefferies Speech

JEFF. DBX

"...We have not sat down to come up with the anti-Semitic branch of Afrocentric history. But I have a document from the American-uh- Anti-Defamation League, coming from their conference in Toronto cause we got our people placed in these conferences and they bring back these documents, outlining that there is an anti-Semitic branch of Afrocentricity. In fact there's a strong statement there, saying that the African scholars are the most anti-Semitic of people in America. Not the white anti-Semites that created anti-Semitism that led to the gas chambers and ovens, but Black people who are oppressed in these Americas, are considered the most anti-Semitic by the Jewish so-called intellectuals in their organization. They have said this tradition goes all the way back to Dubois and beyond. So this means that when we move into our Africaness, we are causing other people, Jews and Gentiles, to be in complete discomfort because they hold out the whole area for themselves and now that its returning in it's fullness and it's truth, they are feeling the pain. Well, this is just one pain that they are going to have to bear because it is one pain they cannot get away from. (applause)

Dr. M. Santa (sp) is a part of our African family, working through his African centeredness. and fortunately, when the attack came, he wrote an important letter which I would like to quickly read. 'Hysteria around Dr. Jefferies...Dr. Leonard Jefferies is the victim of media hysteria. I call it media lynching. While some reporters who have written on this issue may have seen the tape of the professor's speech or heard him speak. I imagine most have not. But even if all had seen the tape, heard the speech and disagree with him...there still would be no reason to attack Dr. Jefferies's right to say whatever he wants to say. To call for his resignation from the chair of the department or revoking his tenure, is contrary to the whole premise of liberal/conservative axis which seeks to preserve the right of free speech. And its ironic that the major attack on me by the New York University system occurred the very week they were celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights which is supposed to have enshrined freedom of speech in America as well as freedom of expression. Of course, when it comes to African people, these rights do not apply. There is a triple and a double standarn around these things.

...In the past when we challenged truely anti-African ideas, statements and terms- and I do not believe that Dr. Jefferies is either a racist or an anti-Semite-the liberal/conservatives have said, a professor has a right to say what he wants to say, in his or her classroom. Well, the same right must extend to Dr. Jefferies if this is one's logic.

The...character of the attack on Dr. Jefferies seems venmous and vengeful. (Jefferies in an aside) Yes, I thank you Dr. Asanta. I say 'devilous' as well. (continues reading leader) They represent the ugliest forms of journalism from what I have seen. To compare Dr. Jefferies with Hitler, as one Jewish commentator did, is to discredit the Jewish cause and to do great disserve to Leonard Jefferies. The monstrous nature of the Jewish Holocaust at the hands of Hitler is thus reduced to Dr. Jefferies statement in a historical speech about the enslavement of Africans. He neither called for the destruction of Jews, the suppression of Jews, the discrimination against Jews or the mistreatment of Jews. And these are statements which Dr. Jefferies made as factors which could be easily varified or discredited by appealing to sources. Instead Dr. Jefferies is attacked, vilified and condemned for even making the statements. If they are untrue, then we must demonstrate that they are untrue. Where are the liberal/conservatives who have been calling for the right not to be forced into political correctness? Are they now trying to force Dr. Jefferies into a political correct path? If the professors who have said things with which we disagree had been forced to resign, then

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drive them into a court and kidnap and take them back to Israel. (applause). We don't even have the right to raise the question of who was involved in our degradation as well as the native Americans. But when the clear-when the smoke stain clears in terms of looking at this truth, its a devastation. To find out that the family that helped develop and was named for Brown University was involved in the enslavement process. And one of the Brown brothers, John Brown, even after his other brothers got out of the enslavement process, he refused to give it up because the profits were too great.

When the smoke clears, its going to be clear that someone who was named-who Amherst College was named for, was not only involved in the degradation of native Americans but this so-called great white man, with property and power, was a part of the scheme to sell smallpox blankets to the native Americans. So they purchased their own death and destruction. These are the things that have to be pointed out as we begin to deal with what has to be reparations for 92. We may even have to make a claim on the endowment funds of Brown University and the endowment funds of Amherst University as well as the endowment funds of everything that Rockefeller built as well as the endowment funds of Duke and all the rest of them. And then when we trail down the Jewish money and where it went, we need to make some claims on that. So you think we got problems now around Dr. J, when the truth comes out, your really going to have some problems.

So why are we raising this issue? Its a sacred obligation. Many of you have to become serious now, as we tap into this information. I mentioned to you last night when we talked about the African orgins of humankind, even the New York Post which has been attacking me had to come up with an article 'Mother of Us All was African.' A recent study shows. The same thing is true of who built the pyramids...

(Turning to European history, Dr. Jefferies calls the continent a world in constant turmoil and war.) "After the invasions of the Huns, the Vandels and the Visagoths, you have the Viking raids out of the North. For 250 years, 900 to 1150 AD, the Viking people raided into Europe destroying everything they could get on their hands (sic), creating chaos and destruction, raping and pillaging the women.

At the same time Europe went into the insanity of the Crusades... So from 1050 or so AD to 1500 AD, the insanity of the crusades, Europeans getting on their horss, organizing armies to go to Jerusalem, to take back Jerusalem. The European didn't have a Christian bone in his body and most of Christianity was something that happened when some Prince or somebody called his people to a courtyard, said 'kneel down and you all are Christian.' And that was it. Either Catholics or Protestants. There was no Christian transformation or understanding. But still they were riding on horses pillaging everything that they could get to before they could even get to uh-get to Jerusalem. And one of the people most devastated by the European crusades were the Jews... This is the history that you have to know about. And so you can't point the finger at Black folks and say we represent your death and destruction when its been institionalized for a thousand years in the European experience. And we need to understand that experience so we can bring it up when people try to create the fact that we-uh, we represent the new Hitlers of the day. We need to tell them what was the real experience that you experienced when people who were the pre-Hitlers and who were the real Hitlers of the day.

Thats why the truth that your into now will set you free. Europe is moving from the insanity of the Viking raids to the craziness of the Crusades. And the last Crusade. We need to document that... We need'tb get the infomation on the 'Children's Crusade' cause I really want someone to come up with a position paper on the Children's Crusade so I'll have this

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our university faculties would have been depleted.

In the case of Dr. Jefferies presentation, he gave evidence for most of what he said. The rest could easily be gotten from the nearest library. Why should there be a clamor when Dr. Jefferies says that the Jews participated in funding portions of the African slave trade and he designated which Jews? He is simply citing information from such books as Joseph Jacobs' Jewish Contributions to Civilization, and others. Jacobs argues that Jewish financiers were largely responsible for developing sugar plantations in St. Thomas and Brazil, in addition to giving financial backing to European slavers.

Even when Dr. Jefferies speaks of 'ice people' he is simply repeating a classification made by white scholars in previous years. In the Huntington book, The Character of Races, there is an entire chapter on glaciation and the supremacy of Europe in which the writer seeks to show that because of the ice environment, Europeans became more aggressive and therefore, more progressive. In 1982 a Canadian, Michael Bradley, wrote in his book, The Ice Man's Inheritance that the ice made whites aggressive and that the only race in the world dispossessed(?) to racism is the white race.

If Dr. Jefferies is guilty of something, he is guilty of bringing new interpretation to facts which already exist in the public domain. However you look at it, assaults on Jefferies are inordinate. What does a photo of his house have to do with his argument? The statements of Dr. Jefferies made should be examined on the basis of their factual arguments and not on the emotional charged grounds of race. Signed M. Asanta.'

So this is the type of support that African scholars need to lend to each other...

...He has also written an outstanding article on The African Holocaust. It's a three series article, two of the articles by Dr. McIntyre (sp) and one of the articles by Clinton Coxs (sp) dealing with Aaron Lopez and the relationship of the Newport Jewish community that was involved in the enslavement of Africans and their relationship to the whole process of enslavement through American and the Caribbean as well as Africa and England. So this whole question of what was happening during enslavement, we have the responsibility of dealing with in a very serious way and we cannot depend on anybody else.

It is clear by the silence of Jewish scholars who know what the truth is about Jews and Gentiles in the enslavement, are not prepared to bring any of these matters to the forefront. Dozens of Jewish scholars have called me and given me information of the Jewish involvement in the enslavement of Africans. But none of them will stand up. It was Jewish scholars who called me and told me about the involvement of Jews in Surinam and Brazil. It was Jewish scholars that called and told me that Carasac (sp) became the new Amsterdam, the entrepot, the trading centre, for the enslavement of African peoples. It was Jewish scholars that told me about the significance of the Jewish community in Newport, Rhode Island, around the whole question, of not just the importation of African slaves but the distilling of rum, in the 25 to 30 distilleries that existed in Newport, as part of the process of the triangular trade. So these scholars know, but they will not stand up. It's quite clear that other people have been instilled with fear in dealing with the truth about African people and this would also apply to the native American holocaust.

But when you start to deal with the truth of that, even though there are other people who happen to be Jewish are allowed to trace down their Nazi oppressors no matter where they are and even if they happen not to be the true person oppressing, they still have the right to point the finger and

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information. And from what I gather, from the little bit of information I have and correct me if I'm wrong, is that the Richard of the Knights of the Round Table and the rest of these dudes could not save Jerusalem. And then they went into the insanity that the men couldn't do it, then maybe the children could. And they rounded up tens of thousands of European children to go save Jerusalem and the contracts to sell them into Arab slavery had already been signed before they got on the boat. Now, if this is true, this is the extent of the degradation of European culture that met our people, the native Americans and the Africans, in the encounter that is the result of 1492. If they would sell their own people, their own future, their own children, into Arab slavery through the mediation of the Catholic church itself, then you know the moral depths that they were in.

So this is the Europe that meets Africa. And then you got to add 1349-50..., the bubonic plague. Europe was a diseased place. Half the European population, in many places, was wiped out...If you do not wash, you become diseased. Europe was a diseased place...So when the encounter took place, it was an encounter of a diseased European mind, diseased European heart, diseased European penis and the rest of the body. And this is what we encountered...So because we are so serious in to this thing now, when their scholars go to the pen, they got to take us into consideration.

So they are not talking about discovery anymore. Cause he didn't discover anything. Native Americans discovered him on the beach (laughter). He was lost. The man came across three or four times. He was lost. You all don't know, the third time he went back in chains. They put him in jail. You need to know and he took the native Americans back as enslaved persons when he couldn't get the gold that he has promised Queen Isabella. And he promised her gold so she could continue or renew the insanity of the crusades. Read Columbus's own works. Read his diary. Find out what the man was all about. Don't get caught up in the myth of white nationalism and feel-good white history. Get to the real deal of what this dog was all about. Read his own words. (applause)

Now with this type of history do you think the Jews think we need to concentrate on them. We want to spread around to everybody the terms of our enslavement. This is not a Jewish thing. (applause) We want to spread this mess around. So we get into the history. but you know, the Jews are so used to being in the forefront of everything that we do they are going to try to make it a Jewish thing. Move out of the damned way so we can get to the real problem. (applause).

"...So we have to see this war relationship against people of color. That's what Columbus, coming into the native American realm and coming into relationship with the Africans, brought. A continuation of the war against us. And it's been going on for 500 years and it's going on today. So there's no need for us to look up and say, well we had a break in the civil rights movement. We aint had no break. The war has been continuous and sustained and every European Jew and Gentile has been involved in it. We find one or two Jew and Gentile friends, but that doesn't have anything to do with the systems approach. These people can't affect no system. They just happen to be your personal friend.

I got hundreds of Jewish fraternity brothers...They love me and I love them. But they aint got a damn thing to do with the system's approach and attack on us coming from everybody including their own parents who control some of the real estate interests around New York and these other places that are exploiting Black people. That doesn't have anything to do with my particular love for a particular fraternity brother if his father is in real estate and controls some of the rat-infested tenements...or if his father has invested in diamonds in South Africa to maintain white control and exploitation of people in Africa. We've got to be able to see

this things for its reality and not deal with the sentiment.

(Turning to Spain in 1492 Jefferies said the throne "...was at war with people who were not Catholics. So they were victimizing Jews. They gave the Jews the alternative: either you convert to Judaism, or-convert from Judaism to Catholicism, otherwise, you lose your life and your savings or you have to flee. Now, tens of thousands of Jews converted because they wanted to save their skins and they became the Morranos. They became the new Christians, many of them secretly worshipping Judaism for generations. Others, who could not and did not and would not change their religious tradition were devastated and destroyed and many of them had to flee as their wealth was ripped off.

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So you see, being institutionalized around Columbus, religious intolerance. Using people's religion as an excuse to devastate them or peoples difference to devastate and enslave them and the culmination of this process is the gas chambers and ovens. Its got it's roots. The root of white supremacy institutionalized is at this period of time, and people called Jews or people called Arabs understood the process, they would see our interconnectedness in terms of exploitation instead of trying to paint us as the victimizers and the oppressors.

But people want to join the victory parade. They want to be a part of the oppressor. Jews themselves, have done studies on the Holocaust of Jews who joined the Nazis because it was survival. I have on my tape a Jewish scholar who was a survivor, a friend of Elie Risel who was at City College, who wants to met with me and talk about the Jews that became partners to the Nazis in the devastation of the Jews in the death camps themselves. This is a...psychology of joining the oppressor. They call it the Stockholm syndrome...It happens to us. Many of our people have been trained and taught and beat down our joining the oppressors. For how else would we have sold other Africans into enslavement? This was not a reality.

So we have to get at this thing so it doesn't continue, because it is happening to us now on the streets of Compton and Watts and in New York and Chicago. It is our youngsters, Latino and African, selling each others drugs..."

(Touching on the Pope's division of the New World between Portugal and Spain Jefferies continues) "...And the Pope in his majesty, draws a line through the world from the North Pole to the South Pole. One side of the world he gives to Spain...Thats the Pope. We've really got to go to this Catholic church and say, 'Brother, you really did some messing in the world. We're coming here for the payment. You got to clean out the vaults of the Vatican to clean up this mess..."

TRIP DBX

During an extended conversation with two FBI agents in late March on a number of topics, one asked pointblank, "Why do you think South Africa agents are coming to the West Coast?" At first I brushed aside the question but after a few minutes, the agent again brought it up. Because of the old contact our mutual friend had with the consulate in southern California and because I am known as a friend of his, the bureau apparently decided I might know something about South African intelligence operations.

Nothing specific was indicated and we can be sure that you are not the target of their interest nor do they know of your trips here. As one explained, "we missed the boat in developing information on Iraqi agents operating on the west coast prior to the gulf crisis and we don't want to do that again." I suggested that there was not the slightest indication that South Africa and the United States would ever be in a state of hostilities as had occurred with Iraqi. In short, their explanation did not hold water. One then replied that they were interested to see if SA agents might be "after military secrets" in California. They admitted that there was nothing to date to indicate such interest. But they had to make sure. In particular, they thought SA might be interested in ferreting out secret information from the Silicon valley (re:computers,etc.)

Did I know any agents, they finally asked? Since the issue had been brought up, I replied that a meeting had been arranged, in confidence, by the ADL which wanted information on radical right activities in SA and their American connections. To that end I had met an agent at Rockefeller Center cafeteria. Could I identify the agent if they showed me photos? I replied that I would try. The photos would have to be sent from New York and would take time. To date, they have not contacted me to view the photos.

In summation, there is no indication that the bureau knows about our connection nor about your trips to this area. They asked a number of questions which revealed their lack of knowledge about any concrete or specific details. This was, in short, a fishing expedition and they seemed satisfied with my answers.

1/14/93

RECORD # 166

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: OSAMA
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: DOWNEY
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: 90241
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PALESTINE ARAB FUND
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 91 MAILING LIST OF PAF

RECORD # 167

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: STUART S.
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: CHICAGO
 STATE: IL
 ZIP: ██████████
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82
 INITIALS: PHRC
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS:

RECORD # 168 ?

LAST NAME: BARAKAT
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: MOORPARK
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: ██████████
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82
 INITIALS: PHRC
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: LIQUOR MARKET

1/14/93

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RECORD #

463

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: ██████████
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: ██████████
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PFLP
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 11/1/91 GURV.MEMO.BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SENT TO US BY PFLP.

RECORD # 464

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: ANAHEIM HILLS
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: 92807
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: ██████████
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: 2XGD██████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 1/24/91 AT PALE.PEACE CONF., NORWALK, CA.91 MERZ.

RECORD # 465

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: LOS ANGELES
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: 90720
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PALESTINE ARAB FUND
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 91 MAILING LIST OF PAF (DR)

1/14/93

RECORD # 1015

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: ██████████
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: ██████████
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: PFLP
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 11/1/91 GURV.MEMO. ADC NEWSLETTER:10/91 PART OF DELEG.TO MEET
 DEM.REP.

RECORD # 1016

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: FOUNTAIN VALLY
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: 92700
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: ██████████
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: 2XID ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 1/24/91 AT PALE.PEACE CONF., NORWALK, CA. 91 FORD

RECORD # 1017

LAST NAME: ██████████
 FIRST NAME: ██████████
 STREET ADDRESS: ██████████
 CITY: LONG BEACH
 STATE: CA
 ZIP: 90804
 TELEPHONE #: ██████████
 ORGANIZATION: ██████████
 INITIALS: PALE
 LISCENSE PLATE #: 1FGB ██████████
 DOB: ██████████
 CDL #: ██████████
 COMMENTS: 1/24/91 AT PALE.PEACE CONF., NORWALK, CA. 82 TOY

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THE NATION OF ISLAM

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I. OVERVIEW

The NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) is a religious order of national, and to a lesser extent, international dimension, that has arisen from a similarly named organization led until the mid 1970's by the late ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. The group currently using the NOI name is in fact a splinter faction from the original ELIJAH MUHAMMAD group which continues to exist today under the name AMERICAN MUSLIM MOVEMENT (AMM). The mainstream AMM is led by WALLACE MUHAMMAD who is a son of the late ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. The NOI is led by LOUIS FARRAKHAN who was one of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's top disciples. Both the AMM and the NOI are almost entirely composed of Black United States citizens. Both groups call Chicago, Illinois their headquarters and their leaders both reside in Chicago.

The investigation outlined in this document concerns neither the NOI nor the AMM as religious entities, and does not involve the broad based membership in these groups. Instead this investigation concerns certain of the top leadership of the NOI faction including its leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN. Information has been developed as outlined in this document to suggest that the top leadership of the NOI desires that a separate, independent state be created for Black people from certain of the present states that compose the southern United States. These individuals envision themselves as formulating the government that will lead this new country. As an alternative these leaders are willing to accept from the United States government a gift of highly desirable land located in some other part of the world. Furthermore, these leaders seek to have the U.S. Government supply financial support for their new country for a period of around 25 years. The leadership openly states that the U.S. Government owes Black people their own country and subsequent support because of the many years of slavery and discrimination that the government forced Black people to endure in the United States. The leadership indicates that it is likely that violent actions will probably be necessary in order to force the U.S. Government to meet their demands.

Investigation has produced evidence to indicate that the top NOI leadership acting alone and in concert with one another, but not necessarily in concert with the general membership of the NOI, has and is engaging in various criminal acts and conspiracies in violation of state and Federal statutes. These criminal acts have seemingly been

undertaken to finance the NOI goal to create a separate nation within the United States and to supply funds necessary to these leaders to function in luxurious splendor. Investigation has produced evidence that the top NOI leadership has developed close ties with the top leadership of the Libyan Government and Iranian governments which have supported terrorist organizations throughout the world. The top NOI leadership have made numerous trips to Libya despite U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT restrictions against such travel. The Libyan Government has supplied the NOI leadership with multimillion dollar interest free loans to support their programs. Evidence has been developed to reflect that some of the criminal activities involving the top NOI leadership have included violence and intimidation intended to threaten opponents and to coerce citizens into providing funds for the NOI.

The top NOI leadership has also forged closer and stronger ties with many terrorist groups. These ties help form a coalition whose goal is to violently overthrow the U.S. Government and create separate "Nations" for their respective members.

II. INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

As stated in the overview, the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) is a religious order. Therefore, most members of the NOI would not be involved in criminal activities. However, investigation to date has determined that specific members of the NOI hierarchy are engaged in criminal activities. All of the individuals involved in these activities hold a position of leadership within the NOI. The leadership of the NOI uses its power to control other NOI members, to conduct criminal activities, and to further their goal of the creation of an independent state.

The following individuals currently compose this NOI leadership group:

Name:	LOUIS FARRAKHAN (originally LOUIS EUGENE WALCOTT)
Race:	Black
Sex:	Male
Date of Birth:	May 11, 1933
Place of Birth:	New York, New York

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Height: 5'11"
Weight: 150 pounds
Hair: Black
Eyes: Brown with glasses
Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Residence: [REDACTED]
Chicago, Illinois
Telephone: Unknown
Marital Status: Married to [REDACTED]
Occupation: Minister - the NATION OF ISLAM, dba THE FINAL CALL INC., BLUE SEAS, INC. and AVC RECORDS all located at 734 West 79th Chicago, Illinois
Telephone: [REDACTED]
Criminal Record: None

SUMMARY:

FARRAKHAN is the absolute leader of the NATION OF ISLAM. FARRAKHAN controls all NOI activities and assets. He considers himself the national spokesman for the deceased ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. FARRAKHAN often quotes ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's teachings regarding a separate nation for Blacks.

Name: HAROLD KEATON MOORE,
aka Abdul Malik Rushidden,
Doctor Malik Rashiddin,
Abdal Malik,
Khallid Abdul Muhhamad,
Harold Moore,
Harold K. Moore,
Harold Vann Moore,
Harold Moore Vann, (true name)
Harold X,
Henry Jerome Ehnberson,
Robert Carl Synder;

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Race: Black
 Sex: Male
 Height: 6'0"
 Weight: 175 pounds
 Hair: Bald
 Eyes: Brown

Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]

Residence: [REDACTED]
 Decatur, Georgia

Telephone: [REDACTED]

Marital Status: Married to [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED], aka
 Jennifer Price,
 Khaliqah Muhammad;

Occupation: Supreme Captain and
 Minister of Defense
 for the NATION OF ISLAM,
 office at 734 West 79th
 Street, Chicago, Illinois

Criminal Record: [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Office, Calif.
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 1981
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] W.S.
of peace

[REDACTED] 1981
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] of [REDACTED]
Security number [REDACTED]
on [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Criminal Record:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] activity.
[REDACTED] also believed to
[REDACTED]

SUMMARY:

VANN is responsible for providing personal security for FARRAKHAN. He also is responsible for disciplining NOI members nationwide. VANN is violence prone and publicly advocates that beheading of, "white babies," Government informants, and FBI agents.

Name: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Cushman,
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] MOHAMMAD,
[REDACTED]

Race: Black
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: June 28, 1936
Place of Birth: New York, New York
Height: 5'7"
Weight: 165 Pounds
Eyes: Brown
Hair: Black

Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Residence: [REDACTED] Arizona
[REDACTED] 3178 101 707

Telephone: None

Criminal Record: [REDACTED] has recently formed six businesses in Phoenix, Arizona. All are operating at [REDACTED].
Criminal Activity: [REDACTED] has recently hired [REDACTED] SHARON [REDACTED] to help him with these businesses. All three of these individuals have criminal records for white collar crimes.

Name: [REDACTED], [REDACTED]

Race: Black
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: [REDACTED]
Place of Birth: [REDACTED]
Height: 5'9"
Weight: 150 Pounds
Eyes: Brown
Hair: Black

-- Social Security Account Number: [REDACTED]
Residence: [REDACTED]

Marital Status: Chicago, Illinois
Married to [REDACTED]

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Occupation: Business Manager
NATION OF ISLAM,
[REDACTED]
Chicago, Illinois

Criminal Record: None

Criminal Activities: According to [REDACTED] source
[REDACTED] is involved
in extorting property
and money from NOI members.
[REDACTED] is also involved
in income tax evasion.

SUMMARY:

[REDACTED] is LOUIS FARRAKHAN's son-in-law. He is directly responsible for all business activities related to the NOI.

Name: [REDACTED], aka
Abdul Akbar Muhammad
Larry X. Prescott
Larry X
Larry 4X Prescott
Larry 4X
Kariem A. Aziz,
Kariem Abdel Aziz

Race: Black
Sex: Male
Date of Birth: June 9, 1942
Place of Birth: New York, New York
Height: 6'1"
Weight: 200 Pounds
Eyes: Brown
Hair: Black
Social Security
Account Number: [REDACTED]

Residence: [REDACTED] Avenue
[REDACTED], Illinois
(is in process of
moving to New York
City)

Telephone: [REDACTED]
Marital Status: Married to [REDACTED]

Occupation: National Spokesman, for
MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN,
734 West 79th Street
Chicago, Illinois

982

Telephone:
Criminal Record:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SUMMARY:

[REDACTED] is one of FARRAKHAN's top advisers. He sets up nearly all of FARRAKHAN's travel and speech arrangements. [REDACTED] has done extensive travelling for FARRAKHAN and according to sources is aware of all NOI activities.

Name:	[REDACTED]
Race:	Black
Sex:	Female
Date of Birth:	[REDACTED]
Place of Birth:	Unknown
Height:	5'5"
Weight:	137 Pounds
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Brown
Social Security Account Number:	[REDACTED]
Residence:	[REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois
Telephone:	Unknown at this time
Marital Status:	Single
Occupation:	[REDACTED] to LOUIS FARRAKHAN, 734 West 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois
Criminal Record:	None

SUMMARY:

[REDACTED] is a fervent supporter of FARRAKHAN's goal of a separate state for black people. ATKINSON has publicly proclaimed her support of all of FARRAKHAN's goals.

[REDACTED] has personal knowledge of all FARRAKHAN's activities. As FARRAKHAN's Personal Assistant, ATKINSON has a position of great trust within the NOI leadership.

Name:	[REDACTED], aka [REDACTED]
Race:	Black
Sex:	Male

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Date of Birth:	January 25, 1960
Place of Birth:	Boston, Massachusetts
Height:	6'0"
Weight:	175 Pounds
Eyes:	Brown
Hair:	Black with moustache
Social Security Account Number:	[REDACTED]
Residence:	[REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois
Marital Status:	Married to [REDACTED]
Occupation:	Personal security for LOUIS FARRAKHAN
Criminal Record:	None

SUMMARY:

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED] son. Currently he is in charge of personal security for his father. [REDACTED] is also taking a more active role in the leadership of the NOI.

III. NATION OF ISLAM PHILOSOPHY

The original NATION OF ISLAM was founded in 1933 by ROBERT J. POOLE. POOLE had served as a Personal Assistant to WALLACE DODD FORD, who proclaimed to be a messenger of ALLAH, the God of the Islamic faith. When FORD disappeared in 1933, POOLE changed the name of the cult formed by FORD to the "NATION OF ISLAM." POOLE then changed his name to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and moved the NOI from Detroit, Michigan (MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE NO. 1) to Chicago, Illinois, (MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE NO. 2).

MUHAMMAD began to teach a philosophy of hatred towards the white race and the creation of a separate state for blacks within the boundaries of the United States.

MUHAMMAD ruled the NOI for 42 years, until his death in 1975. When MUHAMMAD died, his son WALLACE DEAN MUHAMMAD took over his job as head of the NOI. WALLACE D. MUHAMMAD immediately changed the name of the cult from "NATION OF ISLAM" to "THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF AL-ISLAM IN THE WEST." (Later, the AMERICAN MUSLIM MISSION). WALLACE D. MUHAMMAD moved towards traditional Islamic teachings, rather than the racial hatred and black separatism promoted by his father.

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At the time of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's death, LOUIS FARRAKHAN was the national spokesman for the NOI. FARRAKHAN had risen to this position after joining the organization as a minister for the NOI in New York City. When MUHAMMAD died, FARRAKHAN was very upset when he was not chosen to lead the NOI. FARRAKHAN was also unhappy with the changes in NOI philosophy made by WALLACE D. MUHAMMAD.

In 1977, FARRAKHAN finally quit WALLACE D. MUHAMMAD's AMERICAN MUSLIM MISSION. With approximately 10,000 hard core followers, FARRAKHAN reestablished the NATION OF ISLAM. According to FARRAKHAN, the NEW NATION OF ISLAM would be faithful to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's teachings of racial hatred, anti-Semitism, and separatism. FARRAKHAN kept the NOI in Chicago.

During the past several years, FARRAKHAN has obtained national notoriety as a result of his public comments on racial hatred and separatism. In 1984, while assisting then presidential candidate REVEREND JESSEE JACKSON, FARRAKHAN stated in a speech that "We are going to make an example of MILTON COLEMAN. We are going to punish the traitor." "One day we will punish you with death." FARRAKHAN was referring to a report that COLEMAN, who is a WASHINGTON POST Reporter, had made regarding JACKSON's comments about New York being "Hymietown."

On February 24, 1985, FARRAKHAN arranged for COLONEL MUHAMMAD QADHAFI of Libya to speak via satellite to the NOI 1985 INTERNATIONAL SAVIOR'S DAY CONVENTION. FARRAKHAN introduced him just before the speech in which QADHAFI stated, "Now, this right thing is to direct the 400,000 black soldiers, AMERICAN ARMY and to add their forces to the blacks to create black force. You have the force," "We support you," "They refuse to accept you as American citizens. This means you are obligated to create a separate and independent state." QADHAFI also offered to provide weapons to any blacks that would participate in a revolt. FARRAKHAN publicly refused the weapons, but according to ~~source~~ source ~~source~~, in private FARRAKHAN totally agreed with QADHAFI.

Currently in public and in private FARRAKHAN with his closest advisors, LARRY JAMES PRESCOTT, LEONARD C. SEARCY, AVA ATKINSON, BERNARD CUSHMEER, and HAROLD MOORE VANN are promoting the creation of a separate black state. According to ~~sources~~ sources ~~sources~~ on January 10, 1986, in private, AVA ATKINSON conceded that violence may be necessary to achieve their goals.

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In recent statements FARRAKHKAN has lectured on what the NOI wants. These wants were printed in the October, 1987, issue of "THE FINAL CALL." THE FINAL CALL is the official newspaper of the NOI. The groups' desires regarding the creation of a separate black state were expressed in the October issue as follows:

"We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own - either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years - until we are able to produce and supply our own needs."

"Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own."

"We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as the South."

"We want every black man and woman to have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the slave master's children and establish a land of their own."

"We know that the above plan for the solution of the black and white conflict is the best and the only answer to the problem between two people."

NOI desire of a separate state is further clarified as follows:

-- "We believe that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black people into believing that, their 400 year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation."

"If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up American with their slaves."

"We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition for the 20,000,000 black people as well."

"We believe that we who declare ourselves to be righteous Muslims, should not participate in wars which take the lives of humans. We do not believe this nation should force us to take part in such wars, for we have nothing to gain from it unless America agrees to give us the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for."

The NOI also believes that it should be exempt from all taxation. This concept was also expressed in the October, 1987, FINAL CALL:

"We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from all taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land."

The Nation of Islam philosophy of the formation of a separate state is supported by certain foreign powers as well. In February, 1985, Libya leader, MOAMMAR QADHAFI, spoke to a group of NOI members via satellite. During this speech, QADHAFI called on blacks in the U.S. Army to revolt against the U.S. Government. Since 1985, QADHAFI's links with the NOI have grown stronger.

In April, 1987, [redacted] reported that a speech given by Soviet Union leader, MIKAIL GORBACHEV, was seen as a sign of Soviet support for the NOI philosophy. During this speech GORBACHEV called for a separate state for blacks within the United States. [redacted] advised that as a result of this speech, FARRAKHAN feels that he has the support of the Soviet Union for whatever action he takes against the United States Government.

According to both [redacted] sources [redacted], FARRAKHAN's philosophy is fully supported by the NOI hierarchy which includes HAROLD MOORE VANN, BARNARD CUSHMEER, AVA ATKINSON, LARRY PRESCOTT and LEONARD C. SEARCY.

IV. CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES 11

Investigation to date has determined that there is probable cause to believe that members of the NATION OF ISLAM hierarchy are engaged in criminal activities. These

activities include Extortion, Mail Fraud, False Identification, Income Tax Evasion, and the Use of Violence to Obtain Political Goals.

A. Extortion

On November 4, 1986, [REDACTED], [REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois, advised that as a result of his business dealings with LOUIS FARRAKHAN, he lost his business.

[REDACTED] said that he is the former owner of the [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] stated that he had been in business for himself from 1966 until just recently in 1985. [REDACTED] said that he has just turned over the business to members of LOUIS FARRAKHAN'S NATION OF ISLAM. [REDACTED] said that he has known LOUIS FARRAKHAN since 1973. [REDACTED] said that he has been associated with the Black Islam religious movement since that period. [REDACTED] advised that FARRAKHAN knew that [REDACTED] had been in business for himself since they first met in 1973. At that time, both FARRAKHAN and [REDACTED] were associated with WALLACE DEAN MUHAMMAD'S AMERICAN MOSLEM MISSION. Then in 1976, FARRAKHAN split off from the AMERICAN MOSLEM MISSION and formed the new NATION OF ISLAM. [REDACTED] joined FARRAKHAN's new group and continued to see FARRAKHAN regularly.

[REDACTED] has heard recently that one of FARRAKHAN's lieutenants in the FRUIT OF ISLAM is trying to get people to sign over a second mortgage to their home, so that he might purchase a paramilitary academy. [REDACTED] said that the name of this lieutenant is KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD, aka Harold Keaton Moore, Harold Moore Vann. [REDACTED] felt that KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD was brought in from the west coast by FARRAKHAN to build up an army for the NOI. [REDACTED] said that KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD goes out to people telling him that he owns property at 79th and Ingleside that is going to be used for the paramilitary academy. In fact, KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD does not own that property and a restaurant is going up there right now. KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD then gets people to sign over the mortgage of their home or turn over their GI loans to him. [REDACTED] advised that there are approximately 12 to 20 people who signed over the mortgage loans to their homes or turned over GI loans to KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD for this paramilitary academy. [REDACTED] stated that people are afraid of KHALLID ABDUL MUHAMMAD and that they fear he may resort to violence to get his way.

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B. Use of Violence to Obtain Political Goals

According to [redacted] sources [redacted], the NOI has used violence and will continue to use violence to achieve certain organizational goals.

1. Murder of [redacted]

On November 20, 1985, [redacted] source [redacted] advised that a NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) Minister named RAYMOND was murdered several years ago in Houston, Texas. According to [redacted], this minister was named RAYMOND X. [redacted] said RAYMOND X was murdered as a result of a conflict with the NOI hierarchy. Supposedly, RAYMOND X had a tape recording collection of old ELIJAH MUHAMMAD speeches. RAYMOND X was unwilling to turn over this collection, which was valuable, to LOUIS FARRAKHAN. [redacted] said that as a result of this conflict, RAYMOND X was murdered. [redacted] said that RAYMOND was hacked to death with a knife and had his hands cut off.

On November 21, 1985, [redacted] source [redacted] independently corroborated the basic facts outlined above. Both [redacted] [redacted] provided a similar physical description of RAYMOND X at the time of his murder.

On February 12, 1986, the SUGARLAND, TEXAS POLICE DEPARTMENT advised that in February, 1985, the body of RAYMOND [redacted], a Houston cab driver, was found murdered in a lake near Sugarland. [redacted] had been decapitated and his hands had been cut off. According to the SUGARLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT, [redacted] was active in the NOI in Houston, Texas. The two primary suspects in this homicide are members of the paramilitary unit of the NOI called the FRUIT OF ISLAM (FOI). One of the suspects is the Houston FOI martial arts instructors. According to the coroner's report, before decapitation WATTLINGTON had received a crushing kick to the chest.

The SUGARLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT believes that [redacted] was killed as a result of a conflict with the NOI hierarchy.

2. Intimidation of [redacted]

During early January, 1986, [redacted] source [redacted] advised that a man who owns a food store on 79th Street in Chicago had written a derogatory letter about FARRAKHAN. This letter was sent to Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON of Chicago. According to [redacted], FARRAKHAN obtained this letter and had it read from the rostrum at an NOI meeting. As a result of writing this letter, the man's store had shots fired at it on several occasions.

FBI source [redacted] corroborated [redacted] story on January 9, 1986. [redacted] added that he had heard a FRUIT OF ISLAM (FOI) member name [redacted] brag about this incident as if he had first hand knowledge of it.

On January 10, 1986, it was determined through investigation at the CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT, that this shooting incident did in fact occur.

On January 10, 1986, [redacted] WESLEY, owner of [redacted] STORE, [redacted], Chicago, Illinois, gave this account of the incident:

On December 18, 1985, WESLEY wrote a letter expressing his concerns about unlicensed churches to Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON of the City of Chicago. WESLEY stated that he singled out LOUIS FARRAKHAN'S NATION OF ISLAM as a church that is promoting race hatred.

On December 26, 1985, at approximately 5:20 p.m., [redacted] stated that his son [redacted] was minding the food store at [redacted] Street. [redacted] stated that at approximately 5:20 p.m., while his son [redacted] was watching television in the store, a number of shotgun shells were fired through the window of the food store. [redacted] stated that his son [redacted] immediately called him after the shooting. At that point, [redacted] advised that he called for help from the CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT (CPD). [redacted] stated that approximately 20 minutes later the Chicago Police arrived at the scene and he filed a report with them.

On December 27, 1985, [redacted] stated that his son was shot at the store again. [redacted] advised that at approximately 6:40 p.m., on December 27, 1985, his son was once again in the fruit store watching television with his back facing the front window of the store. At that point, [redacted] advised that his son looked up to a window facing east and saw a tall thin man in a ski mask point a rifle at him. The individual in the ski mask then fired three rifle shots at [redacted]'s son [redacted]. Once again WESLEY advised that they contacted the CPD.

On December 28, 1985, [redacted] advised that his son received a threatening telephone call referring to the shooting incidents. [redacted] stated that his son [redacted] answered the phone on December 28, at which point an individual stated over the telephone, "Did you get that message last night?" [redacted] stated that his son asked the caller "What message?" at which point the caller advised, "The next time it'll be either you or your dad."

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WESLEY then advised that he felt that these shooting incidents were ordered against him because of the letter he wrote denouncing LOUIS FARRAKHAN. [REDACTED] said that he feels that it was LOUIS FARRAKHAN's people who actually conducted the shootings. [REDACTED] stated that he believes this because approximately 30 minutes after the first shooting a NATION OF ISLAM member named Brother [REDACTED] came up to the store and asked what had happened. [REDACTED] advised at this point, the Chicago Police had left, and it was just him and his son in the store surveying the damage done by the shotgun blasts. [REDACTED] said that Brother [REDACTED] drove up in a CHECKER CAB, parked across the street and walked into the store. After he asked what happened, Brother [REDACTED] asked other questions about the incident. [REDACTED] stated that Brother [REDACTED] wanted to know if he, that is, [REDACTED] saw any of the individuals who actually fired at the building. Brother [REDACTED] also wanted to know if either of the [REDACTED]s had obtained a license plate from the vehicle that the subjects used to get away in after the shooting. [REDACTED] stated that at that point, he asked Brother [REDACTED] if it was FARRAKHAN's people who had done the shooting. [REDACTED] advised that the first time he asked that question, Brother [REDACTED] responded, "We wouldn't do anything like that." At that point, [REDACTED] told Brother [REDACTED], "You don't have to convince me." [REDACTED] then asked Brother [REDACTED] again if it was FARRAKHAN who was involved in the shooting. [REDACTED] stated that Brother [REDACTED] appeared very nervous at this point and would not look him in the eye or answer the question. [REDACTED] felt that Brother [REDACTED] was a feeler for FARRAKHAN. [REDACTED] advised that Brother [REDACTED] was sent by FARRAKHAN to determine just how much he knew about the incident. [REDACTED] said that he could not think of any other reason as to why his food store would be shot at.

3. Attempted Bombing of [REDACTED]

On February 21, 1986, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED], aka [REDACTED], and several members of the NOI in Los Angeles may have been involved in an attempted murder by bombing.

[REDACTED] stated in early 1984, [REDACTED] was in charge of the NOI Mosque in Los Angeles. In an attempt to instruct NOI members on the teachings of Islam, [REDACTED] contacted a Sunni Muslim Minister named [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] drove over to the temple where [REDACTED] was minister and asked him to give a lecture at the next NOI meeting. According to [REDACTED], [REDACTED] strongly disagrees with FARRAKHAN's and VANN's teachings of racial hatred and

separatism. ALHAMBRA refused to speak at the NOI meeting and a verbal conflict between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] occurred.

Immediately after [REDACTED] left, three FRUIT OF ISLAM (FOI) members came back to [REDACTED] temple. [REDACTED] advised that these FOI members stood outside the temple and "stared down" [REDACTED] or approximately one half hour.

On September 14, 1985, FARRAKHAN gave a major speech at the FORUM in Los Angeles. One week prior to FARRAKHAN's speech, [REDACTED] gave a sermon that was highly critical of FARRAKHAN's policies.

One week after FARRAKHAN's speech, [REDACTED] noticed a package on the door step of his temple. According to [REDACTED], [REDACTED] was immediately suspicious and carefully lifted the lid on the package and noticed wires. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] called the LOS ANGELES POLICE. It turned out that the package was a high explosive bomb, set to detonate when [REDACTED] opened the lid. The LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT Bomb Unit had to disarm the device.

[REDACTED] felt that the NOI left this bomb because of his criticism of FARRAKHAN. [REDACTED] agrees with [REDACTED] and stated that the NOI attempted to murder [REDACTED] and terrorize people who do not believe in FARRAKHAN's call for separatism and racial hatred.

4. May 19, 1987, Rally in New York City

On May 29, 1987, [REDACTED] advised that on May 19, 1987, a march and rally was held in New York City. These events were sponsored by the NATIONAL AFRICAN YOUTH STUDENT ALLIANCE (N.A.Y.S.A.). The event was held to commemorate the birth of MALCOLM X, a noted black activist who was assassinated in 1972. MALCOLM X was a member of the original NOI under ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

Various groups attended the rally, including members of the "New York 8," and the NOI. The master of ceremonies for the event was STEVE X of the NEW YORK FRUIT OF ISLAM (F.O.I.) (the F.O.I. is the paramilitary unit of the N.O.I. It is composed of all able bodied male members of N.O.I. F.O.I. members receive military martial arts training). During the event, STEVE X made the following statements:

"My black brothers and sisters, we are truly in a state of war. This Summer of 1987, will be a long hot summer. The revolution is here! This will be a summer

in New York City that will be remembered in the history books. This will be the worse summer this city has ever seen." STEVE X further stated that, "The mistakes that were made by past revolutionists will not be made this time. This summer will be very hot."

5. Intimidation and Threatening of Witnesses in Trials Involving N.O.I. Members

On July 24, 1987, the Atlanta Division of the FBI arrested [REDACTED] for violations of Title 42, USC, Sections 408 (G) (2) (Use of False Social Security Numbers). At the time of his arrest, [REDACTED] was using the alias [REDACTED]. As described previously, [REDACTED] is a high ranking member of the N.O.I. [REDACTED] was originally sent to Atlanta from Chicago under personal orders from LOUIS FARRAKHAN. [REDACTED] was named Southern Regional Director of the N.O.I. at that time.

On July 27, 1987, at [REDACTED]'s initial appearance following his July 24, 1987, arrest, N.O.I. members began gathering at the U.S. courthouse in Atlanta at 7:30 a.m. By the time of his appearance there were approximately 40 to 50 supporters present in and around the courthouse and courtroom. all the male NOI members were dressed in dark suits, white shirts, bow ties, polished shoes, and short hair cuts. The females present were neatly dressed though not in any uniform manner.

These individuals were all deployed in a military manner, i.e. they appeared to be standing post. The Atlanta Division also observed that [REDACTED] supporters appeared to be watching individuals entering and leaving the courthouse during the course of the day.

On the 16th floor of the U.S. courthouse in Atlanta where the magistrates court is located, there were approximately 40 more people who remained in the courtroom for [REDACTED]'s initial appearance. Upon [REDACTED] entry into the courtroom, all of his supporters rose in unison and extended a Muslim greeting to him. They remained standing and after he was placed in a chair [REDACTED] instructed them to sit and they all sat in unison.

On August 19, 1987, [REDACTED] source [REDACTED] was interviewed regarding [REDACTED]'s arrest in Atlanta. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] was extremely concerned about his arrest. According to source, leaders within the NOI including LOUIS FARRAKHAN believed that [REDACTED]'s arrest is the beginning of a long term FBI investigation into the NOI's activities. Source

stated that [REDACTED] was recently in Chicago and borrowed \$10,000.00 from a wealthy NOI member named SAHIED. According to source this money is going to be used as an initial payment to MUHAMMAD's defense attorney in Atlanta.

Source also advised that FARRAKHAN recently spoke to several members of the FRONT OF ISLAM (FOI) about [REDACTED] arrest and appearance in court in Atlanta.

During his address, FARRAKHAN specifically stated that it was the FOI from Atlanta and surrounding area that attended [REDACTED]'s initial appearance on July 27, 1967. According to source, FARRAKHAN stated that it was [REDACTED] who was actually the judge in the courtroom as he controlled the FOI. Source also stated that FARRAKHAN indicated that the FOI will be used throughout MUHAMMAD's trial as a factor in intimidating government witnesses and jurors.

Conflicts between the NOI and the Jewish Defense League (JDL)

On October 1, 1967, FARRAKHAN spoke at the FABULOUS BOBBY which is located in Inglewood, California. During this speech there was a confrontation between members of the NOI and the JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE (JDL). According to [REDACTED] who was a member of FARRAKHAN's entourage the confrontation between the NOI and the JDL was defused before any violence occurred.

However on October 12, 1967, [REDACTED] provided further details of this confrontation in Los Angeles between the NOI and JDL. Source stated that [REDACTED] aka [REDACTED] aka [REDACTED] VANN, approached JDL protestors outside the FABULOUS BOBBY on the day of FARRAKHAN's speech. According to [REDACTED], MUHAMMAD approached a JDL member (JERRY [REDACTED]) and stated "you can carry your signs, but for anybody who start shouting death to FARRAKHAN, we're gonna kill your ass". According to source at this point several members of the JDL ran from [REDACTED] and this ended the confrontation between the NOI and the JDL. However, LOUIS [REDACTED] was so upset by JDL protestors shouting "death to [REDACTED]" that he intends to prepare for a violent confrontation in New York City. According to [REDACTED], FARRAKHAN and the NOI are waiting for a court in New York City to rule that he will be allowed to speak at the JACOB JAVITS CENTER. In preparation for this speech, [REDACTED] has ordered that members of the NOI in New York City start taking pictures of JDL members who are giving speeches at college campuses regarding [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] has learned that when [REDACTED] travels to New York, his security entourage will be provided with weapons to use against JDL members when they get there. [REDACTED] still feels that the JDL is currently the most dangerous threat to his life and plans to make an example out of certain JDL members.

7. Potential Political Assassinations planned of the NOI

On July 5, 1987, [redacted] source [redacted] advised that despite public statements to the contrary tensions exist between 1988 Democratic Presidential Candidate, Reverend JESSE JACKSON and LOUIS FARRAKHAN.

Historically JACKSON and FARRAKHAN have been political allies. In JACKSON's 1984 Campaign for the Democratic Presidential Nomination, FARRAKHAN provided members of the FOI to act as bodyguards for JACKSON. Subsequently, the United States Secret Service demanded that JACKSON dismiss the FOI bodyguards when they began to interfere with the Secret Service protective mission.

Also during the 1984 Campaign, FARRAKHAN made public death threats about a black WASHINGTON POST reporter named [redacted]. During JACKSON's 1984 Campaign, he made a derogatory religious statement by calling New York City, "Hymietown." When [redacted] reported this in the WASHINGTON POST, FARRAKHAN said in a speech that, "We are going to make an example of [redacted]. We are going to punish the traitor." "One day we will punish you with death."

The tenor of the relationship between JACKSON and FARRAKHAN during the 1988 Presidential Campaign has changed drastically. As stated previously by [redacted] source [redacted], great tension exist between JACKSON and FARRAKHAN according to source. In order for JACKSON to win the votes of whites, Jewish people, and moderate Blacks, he must distance himself from extremists such as FARRAKHAN. [redacted] states that this public distancing by JACKSON has infuriated FARRAKHAN. [redacted] has expressed great concern that FARRAKHAN and high ranking members of the NOI are considering the assassination of JACKSON. Though source cannot point to any specific statements or plans his/her's analysis of the current situation would not preclude an assassination of JACKSON by the NOI. The source points out that if JACKSON was assassinated at the height of the Democratic Parties' Presidential Nomination Process, FARRAKHAN could incite riots and/or civil unrest by blaming certain parties for the murder. FARRAKHAN would also stand to inherit a certain amount of political power.

Tensions between FARRAKHAN and JACKSON have remained high since July 1987. On November 25, 1987, Chicago's Mayor, HAROLD WASHINGTON died. (1)

WASHINGTON was Chicago's first black mayor. At Mayor WASHINGTON's burial at OAKWOOD CEMETERY in Chicago, JACKSON and FARRAKHAN stood within 10 feet of each other at the gravesite. According to FBI source [redacted], neither JACKSON or FARRAKHAN would acknowledge each others' presence.

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A. Potential Assassination of Present NOI Members

On October 22, 1987, [redacted] source [redacted], advised that on October 21, 1987, a fight broke out between two factions of the NOI in front of the NOI Headquarters at 79th and Halsted [redacted] streets.



Street, Chicago, Illinois. The rioters blocked the streets
and eventually required the Chicago Police to bring order.
Several people were hospitalized. the combatants appeared
in the riot possibly

had in fact occurred in front of the NOI Headquarters on the evening of October 21, and that several people had been injured. Although a considerable number of police were needed to quell the disturbance, only one person, [REDACTED], was arrested. [REDACTED], who was charged with battery, was released on October 22, on bond.

Upon learning of the potential violence from [REDACTED], during the morning of October 22, the Chicago Division of the FBI made efforts to locate the man selling flowers on [REDACTED] [REDACTED] venue. This man was subsequently located during the afternoon of October 22, by Chicago Terrorist Taskforce members driving a red car and a black car. It was determined that he was [REDACTED]. It was subsequently learned from [REDACTED], that the interview of [REDACTED] by the FBI probably saved his life.

C.) Mail Fraud, Bank Fraud, and use of Fraudulent Identification.

During 1985, FARRAKHAN had spoken in cities across the United States advertising his P.O.W.E.R Program. P.O.W.E.R is an acronym for PEOPLE ORGANIZED AND WORKING FOR ECONOMIC BETTERMENT. P.O.W.E.R is headed by [REDACTED] New Jersey. [REDACTED] is a long time associate of FARRAKHAN's.

P.O.W.E.R is a program being pushed by FARRAKHAN as the way to tap the \$200 billion market of black Personal Care Product. P.O.W.E.R was supposedly started with the \$5 million dollar loan from QADHAFI of Libya. FARRAKHAN claims it will be a "self contained economic system" that will employ and benefit Blacks.

According to FARRAKHAN P.O.W.E.R will be a marketing concept where unemployed black students, housewives, adults and professionals would act as door-to-door distributors. Consumers join P.O.W.E.R for a \$10.00 fee. This entitles the consumer to a life long membership in P.O.W.E.R.

FARRAKHAN has promised that P.O.W.E.R products would be available by the first quarter of 1986. However, no contracts have been signed with the black owned personal products manufacturing companies that are supposed to make them.

FARRAKHAN has publicly stated that 40,000 people have already paid the \$10.00 fee to join P.O.W.E.R. Much of the money collected arrived to the Final Call Offices by U.S. Mail. According to [REDACTED] source [REDACTED], the \$400,000.00 collected for P.O.W.E.R has been used to buy cars and property for the NOI hierarchy.

Several members of the NOI hierarchy are currently involved in obtaining Visa and Master Cards as well as bank

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B. Potential Assassination of Present NOI Members

On October 21, 1987, [redacted] source [redacted], advised that on October 21, 1987, a fight broke out between two factions of the NOI in front of the NOI Headquarters at 79th and Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. The dispute blocked the streets and eventually required the Chicago Police to bring order. Several people were hospitalized. The combatants appeared to be regular NOI members and a small NOI faction possibly known as MANDINGO WARRIORS who profess allegiance to LOUIS FARRAKHAN but dress and act differently from the mainstream followers of the NOI. The MANDINGO members shave their heads and attire themselves in military fatigues. Recently some members of the NOI have developed the belief that the MANDINGO faction are in fact controlled by the Jewish Defense League and are intending to disrupt the NOI and bring harm to FARRAKHAN.

On October 22, 1987, [redacted] MUHAMMAD, an Aide to FARRAKHAN, advised that he has received instructions to commence plans to eliminate the MANDINGO problem by "decapitating" the unruly members of this group. The murders were to place as soon as possible and efforts were to be made to remove the heads of the victims as a sign, even if the death was actually caused by another method. MUHAMMAD was overheard saying that people were coming in from out-of-town to participate in these murders and that FOI members were at that time making efforts to learn the home addresses of the intended victims. [redacted] indicated that NOI members would gather at the NOI Headquarters on the evening of October 22, to make plans for the killing. [redacted] was also heard to say that he would spend time during the day of October 22, surveilling one of the intended victims whom he knew to sell flowers on [redacted] Avenue on Chicago's near southside for the purpose of following him to his home.

During that evening of October 22, various NOI member gathered at the NOI Headquarters, where discussions were had concerning the impending killings. Several people openly displayed handguns that they intended to use in the murders.

[redacted] also advised that during the evening [redacted] another Aide to FARRAKHAN, said that he had been surveilling the potential target who sells flowers on [redacted] in Chicago during the past afternoon and was ready to shoot this man when several individuals joined the man. He advised that these individuals arrived in a black car and a red car. MUHAMMAD said he drove around the block when he returned he could not find the target or the people who had arrived in the two vehicles.

Through the CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT, the Chicago Division of the FBI was able to verify that a confrontation

loans by providing false information on applications. The individuals leading and coordinating this activity is [REDACTED] AKA [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] source [REDACTED], advised on January 28, 1986, that [REDACTED] has met the current leader of the BLACK HEBREWS on several occasions in Chicago. [REDACTED] identified a photograph of [REDACTED] as the individual with whom [REDACTED] is meeting. [REDACTED] currently leads the BLACK HEBREW ORGANIZATION in Chicago as [REDACTED] who is presently incarcerated. (?)

The known criminal activity of the BLACK HEBREWS has been the focus of a major FBI investigation. The criminal activities of the BLACK HEBREWS to date include bank embezzlement, "check kiting", auto theft, fraud by wire, mail fraud and credit card fraud. [REDACTED] is presently directing these activities. [REDACTED] source [REDACTED], has stated that [REDACTED] is definitely learning how to operate and profit from the criminal activity outlined above. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is teaching these activities to other FOI members.

Investigation into [REDACTED]'s activities have substantiated [REDACTED] claims. On January 14, 1986, [REDACTED] R, Credit Card Security, Visa and Mastercard, PURDUE NATIONAL BANK, Lafayette, Indiana, advised that [REDACTED] mailed a Visa application to the PURDUE NATIONAL BANK. This application contained numerous false statements. [REDACTED] lied about his employment, resources, income, Social Security Number and home ownership. The credit card account is currently \$3,104.07 in arrears and a payment has not been made since April 1985.

On February 14, 1986, [REDACTED] S, Document Coordinator, FIRST CHICAGO, THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO, provided documents relating to a checking account that [REDACTED] opened at the bank in October 1984. On documents for opening a checking account, [REDACTED] once again provided false information regarding his employment, Social Security Number and resources. VANN overdraw the account by \$1,247.26 in August 1985, and has failed to reimburse the bank. [REDACTED] advised that the bank has subsequently wrote [REDACTED]'s account off as a bad debt. [REDACTED] gave a false address to the bank to prevent their locating him.

As stated earlier on July 24, 1987, [REDACTED] was arrested by the FBI in Atlanta, Georgia for using fraudulent Social Security Numbers. [REDACTED] was subsequently convicted on December 3, 1987, for violation of Title 42, USC 408 (G) (2), (Use of Fraudulent Social Security Number).

During the course of the investigation regarding [REDACTED]'s use of false Social Security Numbers it was learned that [REDACTED] was trying to obtain a large mortgage loan. [REDACTED]

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had filed false job information, false Federal tax returns, and false Social Security Numbers on the mortgage loan application. Several other NOI members were involved in [redacted]'s attempt to secure this mortgage loan. [redacted] had also set up several phony corporations in order to provide false job references.

[redacted] sources [redacted], continue to advise that the NOI is involved in white collar crime on a large scale. According to these sources seminars are held at NOI meetings instructing members in means to obtain false credit cards. These credit cards can then be used as a means to support the NOI hierarchy and NOI activities.

B.) Fraud Against the Government/Distribution of Cocaine

On February 27, 1986, the New Orleans Office of the FBI advised that 41 NOI members had recently been indicted for Fraud Against the Government/Distribution of Cocaine (FAGDC). These arrests were the result of a joint DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (DOA), INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE (IRS), and DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCY (DEA) investigation.

According to the New Orleans Office of the FBI, [redacted] and [redacted], aka [redacted], were the leaders of a large food stamp fraud scheme. WATSON is the leader of the [redacted] in New Orleans and [redacted] is his assistant.

Apparently [redacted] and [redacted] were able to obtain a DOA certificate which allowed them to redeem food stamps for their face value in cash at a bank. [redacted] and [redacted] would then wait outside a DOA Food Stamp Outlet and offer food stamp recipients leaving the outlet cash for their food stamps. [redacted] and [redacted] would cash their food stamps. [redacted] and [redacted] would also offer cocaine for the food stamps. They would then redeem the food stamps for their face value in cash from a bank and realize a large profit.

[redacted] with [redacted] and other NOI members redeemed approximately \$1,000,000.00 in food stamps during this scheme. When [redacted] was arrested after his indictment, he had approximately \$100,000.00 in a checking account. [redacted]'s checkbook contained records of a \$9,900.00 monthly "donation" to the NOI in Chicago.

The New Orleans FBI Office also advised that a Chicago NOI member named [redacted], aka [redacted] was sent by the NOI hierarchy to New Orleans to monitor [redacted]'s fraud scheme. This information was obtained third hand and has not been corroborated.

[redacted] and [redacted] were subsequently convicted of these offenses and fined \$550,000.00 in fines.

D.) Federal Tax Violations

Investigation of top members of the NOI has revealed that these individuals do not file Federal Tax Forms declaring their incomes. The IRS in Chicago has begun an extensive investigation into a possible tax evasion conspiracy being conducted by the leadership of the NOI. This investigation is being conducted with the assistance of the Chicago office of the FBI.

SUMMARY OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

There is ample probable cause to believe that LOUIS FARRAKHAN and the NOI hierarchy are involved in a significant amount of criminal activity. As detailed, investigation has determined the criminal activity has three apparent goals. These goals are the enhancing of the NOI hierarchies personal wealth, the terrorizing of opponents and disciplining of NOI members, and achieving the power and resources to create a separate nation for Blacks.

V. CONTACTS WITH UNFRIENDLY FOREIGN POWERS

Contacts by the NOI with unfriendly foreign powers has been well documented during the last three years. FARRAKHAN and the NOI hierarchy have travelled to Libya and Iran on numerous occasions. These trips began before 1983 and continue today.

In April of 1983, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] travelled to Libya to attend the "First International Symposium of the Thoughts of Muammar Qadhafi", at the GAURYOUNNIS UNIVERSITY in Beghazi, Libya. [REDACTED] attended as representatives of the NATION OF ISLAM. This meeting attracted 1,000 revolutionaries from around the world. According to a November 11, 1985, article in the WASHINGTON TIMES, the meeting was used by Libyan officials to establish new conduits for the covert financing of American militant groups of U.S. Revolutionaries. Quoting U.S. Intelligence sources, "The meeting was to determine ways and means that Libya could provide direct support to Liberation Fighters, within the United States, as well as the mechanism through which matters could be functionally centralized."

In June of 1984, FARRAKHAN personally travelled to Libya to meet COLONEL MUAMMAR QADHAFI. FARRAKHAN was accompanied by [REDACTED]. The meeting was well publicized by JANA, the Libyan News Agency. As a result of the meetings, FARRAKHAN received a \$5 million interest free loan from QADHAFI.

On February 25, 1985, FARRAKHAN hosted a 1985 NATION OF ISLAM INTERNATIONAL SAVIOR'S DAY CONVENTION in Chicago.

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During this convention, FARRAKHAN set up satellite reception of a live speech to the convention by QADHAFI. This was the speech in which QADHAFI called for the armed overthrow of the U.S. ARMY by Black soldiers.

On February 6, 1986, FARRAKHAN issued a press statement from NATIONAL PRESS CLUB in Washington, D.C. The press statement was a condemnation of President REAGAN's recent Executive Order barring travel to Libya. FARRAKHAN was quoted as saying:

"We will not permit you to tell us that we cannot return to Africa or anywhere else in the world where we feel our interest lie. We intend to test the constitutionality of the President's Executive Order. We want to serve notice that our day of serving America as a slave is over. We say respectfully to the president that we cannot obey your orders, because you have no right to give us orders. You may request but you cannot order -- not today. If American provokes a war, and becomes the aggressor against Libya or any African, Central and South American, Caribbean nation, then we will not stand on the side of the aggressor and we will tell our people to come out your army or not to fight for you; for we have nothing to gain from these wars.

We express solidarity sympathy and support for those oil workers, teachers, professionals and technicians who wish to remain in Libya or return to America.

We appeal to the American people to reject this insane gun-boat diplomacy. We appeal to the government to change her direction, lest she bring this country into World War III."

FARRAKHAN later reiterated his plans to defy REAGAN's Executive Order. "I personally plan to travel Libya at some time during the year."

On February 7, 1986, FARRAKHAN departed on a tour of the African continent. On February 9, 1986, ~~ANNOUNCED~~ announced that FARRAKHAN would visit the following countries: Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya and Sudan. Then PRESCOTT advised that FARRAKHAN will visit AYATOLLAH KHOMENIE in Iran. FARRAKHAN will then travel to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Pakistan and the People's Republic of China.

In March of 1986, FARRAKHAN did in fact travel to Libya while in Libya on March 16, 1986, FARRAKHAN addressed a conference of revolutionaries from throughout the world. FARRAKHAN was a keynote speaker at this conference and delivered a speech condemning the United States Government's Foreign

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Policy. Chicago is currently in possession of photographs of FARRAKHAN taken with Libyan leader MOAMMAR QADHAFI. These pictures were taken while FARRAKHAN attended the conference in Libya on March 15, through March 30, 1986.

On March 28, 1986, [redacted] advised that FARRAKHAN was actually in Libya at the time of the March 24, 1986, Gulf of Sidra incident, when the Libyan Government fired surface to air missiles at U.S. Navy Jets flying over international waters.

FARRAKHAN's contacts with Libya have been maintained since March of 1986. [redacted] sources report that FARRAKHAN is planning another trip to Libya in the near future. FARRAKHAN's top aides [redacted] and [redacted] have also traveled to Libya on several occasions.

Investigation to date has revealed that the sole purpose for FARRAKHAN's trips to Libya is to obtain money from QADHAFI. However, since QADHAFI gave FARRAKHAN the initial \$5,000,000.00 in 1985 funding has stopped. Unconfirmed reports from [redacted] sources indicate that QADHAFI is currently unhappy with FARRAKHAN's actions against the United States government. In a related investigation of the EL RUKN organization in Chicago, the FBI learned that QADHAFI desired that violent acts to be committed in the United States. Five high ranking members of the EL RUKN organization were convicted on November 23, 1987 for conspiring to commit a terrorist act on behalf of the Libyan government, as a result of this FBI investigation. Sources have advised that FARRAKHAN may have to resort to violence to obtain further funding from QADHAFI.

VI. ASSETS AND BUSINESS CONTROLLED BY NOI HIERARCHY

The NOI hierarchy ([redacted], LOUIS BARRAKHAN and [redacted] PRESOTT) control and direct a diverse set of assets, businesses, real estate, automobiles and publications.

A. Business Enterprises Controlled By The NOI Hierarchy

FINAL CALL, INC.

Incorporated in the STATE OF ILLINOIS as a "Not for Profit" corporation on April 10, 1979. The corporation was organized to "convey the message of the Honorable ELIJAH and to feed the black community the necessary knowledge that would enable it to survive the trying times ahead, with a religious and educational message." The officers are:

LOUIS FARRAKHAN - President
LARRY PRESCOTT - Vice-President
WILLIAM MC COWAN - Secretary

Directors:

ABDUL AKBAR MUHAMMAD, aka
Larry Prescott;
LEONARD FARRAKHAN MUHAMMAD, aka
Leonard C. Garcy;
MARIA FARRAKHAN MUHAMMAD,
ABDUL WAHID MUHAMMAD,
BETSY FARRAKHAN MUHAMMAD, (FARRAKHAN's wife)

The FINAL CALL publishes the NOI newspaper "The
FINAL CALL" and other pamphlets.

On September 1, 1981, the corporation was involuntarily
dissolved for failure to file an annual report. FINAL
CALL, INC. is located at 734 West 79th Street, Chicago,
Illinois.

BLUE SEAS INCORPORATED

Incorporated in the STATE OF ILLINOIS on October 6,
1982 by LOUIS FARRAKHAN. The purpose of the incorporation
is to establish and operate a restaurant, and engage in
the import of food products. The officers are:

LOUIS FARRAKHAN - Principal
WILLIAM MC COWAN - Principal

BLUE SEAS, INC. is being used by FARRAKHAN to
establish a fish importation business.

On December 1, 1983 BLUE SEAS INC. was involuntarily
dissolved for failure to file an annual report.

BLUE SEAS INC. is located at 734 West 79th Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

AVC RECORDS AND TAPES

This business is located at 734 West 79th Street,
Chicago, Illinois. However, it has never been incorporated.
AVC RECORDS AND TAPES sells videocassettes and tape recordings
of LOUIS FARRAKHAN's lectures and speeches. The business
advertises heavily in "THE FINAL CALL" Newspaper. According
to source, the tapes are produced by DUANE MUHAMMAD

at the FINAL CALL Administrative Offices, at 734 West 79th Street. Source [redacted] also advised that FARRAKHAN controls all profits from this business.

[redacted]

The [redacted] is an ornamental iron fence installation business. From 1966 until 1985 it was owned by [redacted], a long time NOI member. Through a long series of incidents, [redacted] felt that he had to turn his business over to [redacted] [redacted], the NOI Business Manager. [redacted] is still obligated to pay the real estate mortgage on the business, however [redacted] owns all the business assets.

Currently [redacted] is being run by [redacted]

P.O.W.E.R. INC.

P.O.W.E.R. is FARRAKHAN's "Buying Club" in which black consumer agree to make monthly purchases of hair care and personal products manufactured by black owned companies.

P.O.W.E.R.'s President is AL WELLINGTON, a long time associate of FARRAKHAN's, who lives in Haddon Heights, New Jersey.

FARRAKHAN has publicly stated that P.O.W.E.R. has 40,000 members to date. Each member would have paid a \$10.00 lifetime membership fee. No personal products have been distributed by P.O.W.E.R. to date.

THE PHOENIX SN AND CO., INC.
ACTUAL FACT ACCOUNTING
GOLD PHX MARTIAL ARTS
NATION OF ISLAM
PYRAMID FISH
FINAL CALL INC.
BLUE SEAS FISH
TASVIR INC.
THE PHOENIX INSURANCE COMPANY

The above nine businesses have all been opened at a store front located at 811-813 East Broadway Road, Phoenix, Arizona. Only one of these businesses have actually been incorporated in the STATE OF ARIZONA.

The PHINX SN AND CO., INC. was incorporated in the STATE OF ARIZONA on August 24, 1984. The purpose of the incorporation is to operate a commercial photography studio and to sell photograph supplies. [REDACTED] and his children compose the Board of Directors.

[REDACTED] has opened the other eight businesses in the last three months. He has also hired three individuals with criminal records for white collar crimes as partners.

CUSHMEER reports directly to FARRAKHAN, and is the NOI Western and Southwestern Regional Business Representative.

B. Property Owned And/Or Controlled By The Noi Hierarchy

FARRAKHAN and the NOI hierarchy own and/or control property in Chicago, Detroit, New York, Phoenix, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. These properties include homes, offices, mosques and undeveloped land. FARRAKHAN and the NOI hierarchy probably control a large amount of property that has not yet been documented.

In the past two months, FARRAKHAN has also purchased two former mansions of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. These mansions are located in Phoenix and Chicago.

The property in Chicago is located at 4855 Woodlawn and was purchased for approximately \$500,000.00 on December 2, 1985. The property is held in a trust called "MUHAMMAD'S HOLY TEMPLE". The principal beneficiaries of this trust are [REDACTED]

The property in Phoenix was purchased in January, 1986 for approximately \$350,000.00. Approximately \$200,000.00 is being spent on renovation of this property. This property is also held in a trust named "MUHAMMAD'S HOLY TEMPLE". The principals of this trust are also [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] source [REDACTED] has advised that FARRAKHAN plans further purchases of property.

The following is a partial list of properties currently owned or controlled by the NOI hierarchy:

[REDACTED], Chicago
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] et, Chicago
[REDACTED]

7901 South Halsted, Chicago
(WALGREENS PHARMACY)

757 West 79th, Chicago
(Empty office building)

~~████████████████████~~, Chicago
(~~████████████████████~~)

811-819 East Broadway Road
Phoenix, Arizona
(Phoenix NOI business offices)

✓ 4137 Crenshaw Boulevard
Los Angeles, California
(Los Angeles FINAL CALL Office and Mosque)

7808 N.W. 7th Avenue
Miami, Florida
(Miami mosque and FINAL CALL Office)

863 Broad Street
Newark, New Jersey
(Newark mosque and FINAL CALL Office)

10 Washington Street
Dorchester, Massachusetts
(Boston mosque and FINAL CALL Office)

545 Gates Avenue
Brooklyn, New York
(New York mosque and FINAL CALL Office)

VII. CONTACTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

During the last five years the NATION OF ISLAM, under LOUIS FARPAKHAN's direction, has forged ties with numerous revolutionary and extremist groups. These groups include the AYRAN NATION, the KU KLUX KLAN (KKK), The New African People Organization (NAPO), the BLACK HEBREWS, the EL RUKN STREET GANG, prison gangs, the PEOPLES COMMITTEE OF LIBYAN STUDENTS (PCLS), the AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT, and FOUR SEASONS.

Though the philosophy of these groups are diverse, their goals are all similar. All of these groups, including the NATION OF ISLAM, believe in the creation or seizure of a separate nation within the United States for their respective members. They also all proclaim that their common enemy is the "Jew".

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A. White Supremacists

On September 14, 1985, during a speech made by LOUIS FARRAKHAN at the FORUM in Los Angeles, THOMAS METZGER, Head of the WHITE AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION pledged his support for the NATION OF ISLAM. METZGER is associated with the AFRICAN NATION and other white supremacist groups. METZGER explained his pledge to support the NOI and FARRAKHAN as "a logical one". According to METZGER, both the WHITE SUPREMACISTS and the NOI want similar changes in American society. "They want their own government and their own territory, and that's exactly what we want for them and for ourselves."

On the weekend of October 5-6, 1985 in Cohocton, Michigan, METZGER and other WHITE SUPREMACISTS held a "strategy meeting". Attending this meeting were: [REDACTED] of the MOUNTAIN CHURCH, [REDACTED], of the AFRICAN NATION, [REDACTED], SHERIFF'S POSSE COMITATUS leader and tax protester; and others. During this meeting, the WHITE SUPREMACISTS mapped out territory in the United States that would belong to Blacks and Whites after the "war". During this meeting, the group once again expressed its support of FARRAKHAN and the NOI.

B. THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) AND FOUR DIRECTIONS NATIVE AMERICAN COUNCIL

AIM and the FOUR DIRECTIONS NATIVE AMERICAN COUNCIL are groups composed of American Indians striving for the creation of a separate nation within the United States boundaries. These two groups believe that Blacks and Indians should unite to reclaim land "stolen" by the U.S. Government by force if necessary.

The AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT is based in South Dakota and is headed by RUSSELL MEANS. The FOUR DIRECTIONS NATIVE AMERICAN COUNCIL is based in California and is headed by ERNIE LONGWALKER.

On October 7, 1985, both MEANS and LONGWALKER spoke at MADISON SQUARE GARDENS as "warm up" speakers before a major presentation by FARRAKHAN. LONGWALKER told the crowd at the MADISON SQUARE GARDEN that "The Black man and the Red man are joining together in unity. We are going to take back this country".

On October 7, 1987, [REDACTED] advised that FARRAKHAN and the leaders of the American Indian Movement are working closely on a new project. This project involves contacts between the NOI, AIM and QADHAFI of Libya.

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~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~

C. THE BLACK HEBREWS

The BLACK HEBREWS are a criminal organization based in the country of Israel, Washington, D.C., and Chicago, Illinois. The national leadership of the BLACK HEBREWS has been under investigation by various Federal agencies for some time. Numerous arrests of BLACK HEBREWS involved in bank embezzlements, fraudulent airline ticket schemes, fraudulent passports, fraud by wire, have been made to date.

Currently the international leader of the BLACK HEBREWS is ~~_____~~. ~~_____~~ resides in Israel and directs the majority of criminal activity from there. ~~_____~~ directed day to day criminal activities of the BLACK HEBREWS until his recent arrest.

Currently ~~_____~~, of Chicago, Illinois, is directing the BLACK HEBREWS criminal activity.

Aside from criminal activities mentioned earlier, the BLACK HEBREWS seek to place members in positions of responsibility within target organizations which include banks, airlines and credit card companies. These members can then act to obtain information that is used for criminal activity. For example, past information obtained by BLACK HEBREW members include MCI TELECOMMUNICATIONS' account numbers, major banking procedures, credit card company procedures and personal account numbers.

Sources ~~_____~~ have consistently reported that FARRAKHAN and ~~_____~~ are learning these criminal activities from the BLACK HEBREWS.

Contacts between the BLACK HEBREWS and FARRAKHAN and/or the NOI are numerous. On May 18, 1984, FARRAKHAN and ~~_____~~ gave a joint press conference which attacked Jewish authorities attempting to deport BLACK HEBREW fugitives living in Israel.

On August 28, 1985, it was determined that LOUIS FARRAKHAN met with ~~_____~~ at the CHICAGO METROPOLITAN CORRECTIONAL CENTER (MCC). ~~_____~~ was incarcerated at the MCC awaiting an extradition hearing to face charges in the District of Columbia. These charges stemmed from ~~_____~~'s criminal activity with the BLACK HEBREWS. FARRAKHAN's signature appeared on the prisoner's visitor log sheet for ~~_____~~. Source ~~_____~~ advised that FARRAKHAN met with ~~_____~~ to discuss what legal and/or financial help the NOI would give ~~_____~~.

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On January 28, 1986, source [redacted] identified a photograph of [redacted] as being the BLACK HEBREW leader that often meets FARRAKHAN and [redacted]. [redacted] has seen ELLIS at the FINAL CALL Administrative Building on several occasions. [redacted] advised that [redacted] learned how to obtain MCI account numbers to place fraudulent long distance calls from ELLIS. [redacted] also learned how to obtain credit cards using false information as outlined earlier.

D. THE EL RUKN STREET GANG

The EL RUKN's are a street gang that controls narcotics on Chicago's southside. The EL RUKN organization, which publicly claims to be an Islamic religious organization, was founded in 1968 by [redacted]. At the time, [redacted] was in prison for using \$1 million in Federal Community Grant Money to buy drugs. Previously [redacted] was the leader of a gang called the "BLACK P STONE NATION."

[redacted] is currently in a Texas prison on additional drug trafficking charges.

In 1984, [redacted] made numerous references to the EL RUKN GANG. In a November 11, 1985 article of the WASHINGTON TIME, FARRAKHAN is quoted as saying that the EL RUKN's are "Born warriors for a true liberation" and that gang members are "Born to settle the score."

On December 12, 1984, FARRAKHAN sent [redacted] as a representative to a street gang conference held at the EL RUKN Headquarters.

On February 25, 1985, approximately 200 members of the EL RUKN GANG attended the NOI SAVIOR'S DAY CONFERENCE. Two members of the gang, [redacted] and [redacted] were featured speakers. In May [redacted] was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio as a suspect in a triple murder. [redacted] was arrested in a BLACK HEBREW's "safe house".

FARRAKHAN has repeatedly called the EL RUKN's "Divine minister's" and "Born warriors for true liberation."

In March of 1986, FARRAKHAN introduced members of the EL RUKN'S to Libyan leaders in Tripoli Libya.

On November 23, 1987, [redacted] and four other EL RUKN members were convicted of conspiring to commit terrorist acts in the United States on behalf of the Libya government.

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)/SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST
PARTY (SACP) ALLIANCE : SALIENT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES.

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(Note: ANC/SACP denotes the alliance between the two organisations, the SACP's domination of the ANC national executive and embodiment of long-term policy).

The ANC/SACP operates on two levels; firstly, the public-relations level (e.g. The Freedom Charter and under the title of National Liberation Movement), aimed chiefly at western policy-makers and the media. Secondly, an ideological level, reflected in publications which contradicts the former, and adheres to Marxist/Leninist revolutionary theory and long-term goals, and reflects allegiance to Soviet policy.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER : A LONG-TERM BLUEPRINT OR SHORT-TERM INSTRUMENT?

The ANC conducts its political/public relations campaign on the basis of the Freedom Charter as cornerstone and blueprint for a future South Africa. According to the Secretary-General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, "The African National Congress and the progressive movement as a whole in South Africa has long set out the objective of our national democratic revolution through the FREEDOM CHARTER which has been widely accepted as the revolutionary platform of our struggle."

Given the predominance of the SACP members within the leadership of the ANC, a realistic assessment of the relevance of the Charter must begin with the SACP view of the document. The role of the SACP in the drafting of the document was confirmed by Bartholomew Flapane (former SACP and ANC executive member executed as a reprisal by the ANC on 16 December 1983) testifying before the American Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism: "It (the Freedom Charter) is a document that I came to know about just having been drafted by Joe Slovo at the request of the Central

Committee, and finally approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party." The party's approach is the following:

"The Freedom Charter has become the immediate programme of the national liberation alliance and the short-term programme of our (Communist) Party." (South African Communists Speak, 1985-1980, Introduction by Dr Yusuf M Dadoo, former National Chairman of the SACP.)

Mandela himself confirmed this statement during his trial on April 20, 1964:

"Although it (the SACP) is prepared to work for the Freedom Charter as a short-term solution to the problems created by white supremacy, it regards the Freedom Charter as the beginning, and not the end, of its programme."

THE ANC/SACP ALLIANCE AND THE SACP'S PROGRAMME

In examining further statements it becomes evident that the SACP regarded an ANC "National Liberation Movement" together with the Freedom Charter as the most practical and credible vehicle for the destruction of the existing society in South Africa ("The First Battle" as this is described in party documents.) This destruction or the "National Democratic Revolution" is the prerequisite for the implementation of its own (SACP) long-term programme:

(The ANC and the SACP are) "the two leading pillars of our struggle. The immediate aim of the SACP is to win the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution - at the same time it is the duty of our Party to spread its ideology of Marxism-Leninism ..." (The African Communist No 87, fourth quarter 1981, pp 30, 32.)

The necessity for the SACP to control and use the ANC (which is styled "the mass national movement") is coherently argued by the SACP in its own publications, based on the belief that the working class represented by the party "can rarely, if ever, bring about a revolutionary transformation on its own.":

"The achievement of the aims of the National Democratic Revolution demands a broad alliance of all classes and strata. In organisational terms the Liberation Alliance is expressed through the liberation front headed by the African National Congress. The ANC is a broad mass national movement which attracts to its ranks all Africans and other revolutionaries, whatever their class origins ... the ANC correctly continues to retain its character as a broad national movement.

Marxism/Leninism teaches that the Party of the working class has the leading role in the struggle. The need to give correct guidance to the revolutionary cause does not imply that the party must insist on projecting itself as the public "leader" of every step in the unfolding of the conflict. The question of whether it is correct for the Party to strive to place itself exclusively at the head of the different stages of the revolutionary upsurge depends upon the conditions of a particular struggle at each of these stages and the precise role of the class which it represents. This most advanced class of our epoch can rarely, if ever, bring about a revolutionary transformation on its own. It works at all times with social forces. If correct leadership of the democratic revolution requires the strengthening of the national movement as the major mass organisational force, then this is precisely the way in which a party exercises its leading and vanguard role in the real (and not vulgar) sense of the term." (Ibid pp.32-35)

It is evident that in "the present "stage" of the "revolutionary upsurge" it is inadvisable for the party to project itself as "public leader" if it wishes to retain western and liberal support for the liberation movement.

"The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party, the establishment of a socialist South Africa laying the foundations of a classless, communist society." (South African Communists Speak, 1915-1980, pp 286.)

It is important to note that this remains the policy of the ANC/SACP alliance:

"We are clear about the priorities of our struggle, first national liberation and then an advance towards socialism." (Moses Mahbida, General Secretary, SACP - "Umsebenzi", official publication of the SACP, 1985.)

In Umsebenzi, No 2/1985 the seeming contradiction of SACP acceptance of the Freedom Charter is justified as mentioned above in the value of the Charter as instrument for bringing about the first step in the SACP's own goals: "There is no basic contradiction between the socialist-sounding and free enterprise-sounding clauses of the Freedom Charter. On its own the toleration and even expansion of small-scale private enterprise (which the Bolsheviks encouraged for some years during the post-1917 period of transition to a socialist economy) does not necessarily mean a choice of the capitalist system as the way forward ... The class shape of the power structures which will emerge when the racist ruling class is destroyed has no definition, one way or the other, in the Freedom Charter. This will be determined on the ground in

actual revolutionary practice. What we do have to ensure is that the working class plays the leading role at all stages of the struggle ..."

The reasonable assumption must therefore be that the Freedom Charter is a "front" for "the advance towards socialism", just as the ANC is a front for the designs of the SACP.

The ANC "front" controls the short-term policy of achieving an acceptable national and international image for the alliance while the SACP embodies the long-term revolutionary ideals of a Marxist/Leninist "democracy".

The "struggle" for a national democracy or so-called "genuine democracy" is not new. The same model has also been used in Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Central America. Soviet policy dating from the early sixties advocates "states of national democracy" as "the best method or road to transforming newly independent states along non-capitalist lines to socialism and Marxism." (For full background see South African Communists Speak: The Road to Freedom, p 295.)

In the case of South Africa this directive has led to a "leading alliance" between the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP). The alliance between the ANC and the SACP reflects unity of objective, ideology and purpose, but maintains functional diversity.

SACP CONTROL OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The 30-member ANC National Executive Committee which emerged from the Second National Consultative Conference held at Kabwe in Zambia between 16-23 June 1985 comprised at least 19 known communists:

Alfred Nzo Secretary General - second in command of ANC

Steve Dlamini President of SACP-aligned SA congress of Trade Unions

Chris Hani Political Commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Pallo Jordan Senior member of ANC Department of Information and Publicity (new member)

Moses Mabhida Secretary General of SACP (deceased on 8 March 1986)

Mac Maharaj Member of Political and Military Committees (new member)

Cassius Make Senior Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe (new member)

Henry Makgothi Secretary of Education Department

Thabo Mbeki Secretary for Publicity

Francis Meli Editor of Sechaba, ANC's official monthly publication (new member)

Joe Modise Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe - armed wing of ANC

Anthony Mongalo ANC-representative in East-Germany (new member)

John Nkadimeng Chief Secretary of SACTU, Chairman of Political Committee

Aziz Pahad Senior member in London office (new member)

Mzwai Piliso Special aide to O. Tambo

Reg September Former London Representative, now in Lusaka (new member)

Joe Slovo Second in Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe (new member)

James Stuart Headquarters, Zambia (new member)

Dan Floome Deputy Secretary-General and Deputy Treasurer-General

An estimated six additional members of the National Executive are thought to be communist, but this cannot be positively confirmed. More important evidence in establishing SACP control are the coincidence of views and policies found in ANC/SACP documents. The following examples illustrate the singleness of ideological principles:

In discussing parallels between Zimbabwe and South Africa the ANC recently quoted "Comrade" Makamure of the University of Zimbabwe: 'How then does the Zimbabwean Revolutionary National Democracy link and relate with similar trends in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa? Comrades, the link is established when we observe that the ZANU(PF) congress in Harare in 1984 adopted for the movement Marxism/Leninism as the guiding ideology' (ANC struggle update, no 3, 1985 - published by ANC of SA)

Reacting to the death of Mabhida on 13 March 1986 the SACP issued a communique under the letterhead of the ANC observer mission at the United Nations. It described Mabhida as: "Not only an African Nationalist and patriot, but also as a proletarian internationalist, convinced by his readings of Marxism/ Leninism as well as by his own experience of the indestructable link between the forces of National Liberation* and the International Communist Movement. The National Liberation Movement to quote Lenin, is a necessary ally of the proletarian revolution."

(* Note: The ANC describes itself as a movement of National Liberation).

THE ANC/SACP AND REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

The ANC's official justification for a policy of revolutionary violence is so-called institutional government violence, a claim which has blinded many to the position of violence in Marxist/Leninist theory. When speaking of SACP and therefore Soviet control of the ANC, historical aspects are worthy of mention: In the official SACP publication Dmsebenzi No 2/1985 we find the following - "In 1921 Ivon Jones, the main theorist of the Communist Party of South Africa described the African National Congress as a revolutionary movement in the fullest meaning

of Lenin's terms." In other words the ANC had already been identified at that point as a revolutionary organisation.

The 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928 clearly outlined the Party's future policy of controlling the ANC: "The Communist Party of South Africa should pay particular attention to the ANC. Our aim should be to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation." (History of the SACP, article in Umsebenzi vol 2 no 1, 1986 the same article emphasises that "The Communist International's programme was based on Lenin's ideas.")

In Umsebenzi No 1/1985 we read "Some acts of violence are unjust and some are just. Revolutionaries support the just forms of violence." By definition therefore all violence perpetrated by revolutionaries must be just.

It is clear that the susceptibility of the ANC to a policy of violence grew with the increasing infiltration by the SACP. The official policy of revolutionary violence which surfaced with the formation of the "military wing" of the ANC is simply confirmation of the above communist party doctrine. Non-violence was therefore never an implicit code of the ANC/SACP; rather, the alliance lacked the technical capability to implement standard revolutionary theories until stimulated by the post-war terrorist upsurge (example: Umkhonto we Sizwe's formation followed Mandela's visit to Algeria and his military training in the practical aspects of terrorism). The embryonic "liberation movements" and their use of terrorist methods was not peculiar to South Africa but rather a world-wide phenomenon of the period.

The most recent ANC/SACP policy statements relating to this form of Marxist/Leninist violence in which the killing and intimidating of civilians is "just", were made between June and December this year. At the Kabwe Conference in June this year the leadership of the ANC confirmed their policy of not limiting attacks to military targets but also including civilians: "This Conference has been described as a Council of War precisely because it charted the way for the intensification of armed struggle. It decided that the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets should disappear. This was not a new idea. Our Conference itself will be remembered by our people as a council of war ... that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war."

At a subsequent press conference on 25 June 1985 ANC President Oliver Tambo confirmed this policy: "The distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' is going to disappear in an intensified confrontation, in an escalating conflict ... in the intensified conflict, in the course of escalation, that is not going to be avoidable." The policy has subsequently been confirmed by landmine and limpet-mine attacks against civilians on South African territory.

Radio broadcasts, inter alia Radio Zimbabwe, have confirmed the policy of "just" violence aimed at civilians. During a Voice of Freedom broadcast on 7 October 1985 it was stated: "The strategy of burning sell-outs of the system seems to have paid out well in the ultimate end." During a meeting at California State University on 10 October 1985 ANC spokesman Alosi Moloi said: "Among us we have people who have openly collaborated with the enemy. You have to eliminate one to save hundreds of others." At the same meeting Tim Ngubane said: "We want to make the death of a

collaborator so grotesque that people will never think of doing it." These techniques conform to the teachings of Carlos Marighella in his "Mini-manual for the Urban Guerrilla". The publication serves as a guide for international terrorist organisations such as the PLO, Baader-meinhoff, IRA and the Japanese Red Army and stresses the propaganda value of such "armed propaganda" actions.

Recently, private enterprise has also been singled out for terrorist threats. Foreign companies operating in South Africa have received warnings from ANC representatives in their parent countries that they may be singled out for reprisals. ANC representative in Germany, Tony Seedat, made threats against German companies operating in South Africa in August this year and Yussuf Saloojee warned American companies that "If companies like IBM refuse to leave (South Africa) we have no choice but to take war-type action".

This terrorist policy of violence characterised in SACP propaganda as "revolutionary" and "just" is confirmed in Umsebenzi No 2/1985: "The regime can be defeated by a combination of mass struggle and organised revolutionary violence". ANC President Oliver Tambo confirmed this policy during a Radio Freedom broadcast on 3 December 1985:

"Whilst the townships and locations continue to be the battleground ... the challenge confronting Umkhonto we Sizwe in the face of current developments in Southern Africa, has never been changed. We shall achieve victory through a combination of mass political action and furthering the revolutionary violence."

In an interview with Newsweek (9 September 1986) Tambo remarked: "The ANC will no longer try to prevent death or injury to White civilians in SA and expects a bloodbath there ... from now on, whether civilians are likely to die, will not be a consideration."

The following is a list of ANC actions aimed at the civilian population which have resulted in a loss of life:

13.6.1977	2 White men murdered in Johannesburg by Solomon Mahlangu (later executed)
8.3.1978	Black man murdered in an ANC bomb attack in Port Elizabeth
10.3.1978	Black women killed in an explosion in Port Elizabeth. ANC accepts responsibility
4.4.1978	Black state witness murdered by the ANC in Soweto
25.1.1980	Two White women killed by the ANC in Silverton Bank siege
13.6.1980	White man murdered by the ANC in Soweto
17.11.1980	Black civilian murdered by the ANC at Mdantsane on Ciskei Border
23.10.1981	Two White men murdered by the ANC in caravan at Ogies (Eastern Transvaal)
16.12.1982	Black state witness, B Hlapane and his wife murdered by the ANC in Soweto following Denton hearing, daughter paralysed for life
8.5.1983	Black woman murdered by the ANC near Port Elizabeth
20.5.1983	Church Street, bomb, Pretoria, 19 civilians killed and 200 injured. The ANC accepts responsibility
3.4.1984	Three people killed in bomb explosion in Durban Street. The ANC accepts responsibility

- 13.5.1984 Three Blacks killed in bomb attack on Mobil refinery, Durban. The ANC accepts responsibility
- 26.5.1984 Black man murdered by the ANC at Comga
- 12.7.1984 Five Blacks killed by an ANC motor bomb in Durban
- 13.3.1985 White couple murdered by the ANC in their shop at Swartruggens (Western Transvaal)
- 15.8.1985 Coloured boy killed in handgrenade attack at Mitchell's Plain
- 1.7.1985 Two Black children killed in handgrenade attack at Tembisa, Kempton Park
- 2.7.1985 Black woman killed by an ANC limpet-mine
- 26.11.1985 to 4.1.1986 Eight Whites and two Blacks killed in landmine explosions in Northern Transvaal
- 23.12.1985 Five Whites (2 women, 3 children) killed in Amanzimtoti bomb blast by ANC.

An examination of the above civilian casualties confirms that those accused by the ANC/SACP of "institutionalized government violence" are not the primary targets of aggression. Targets are civilian and "armed propaganda" the technique in reaching and shocking public opinion.

These methods correspond to those favoured by the international terrorist fraternity and sponsored by the Soviet Union. An article in the Sunday Times of 15 December 1985 reported a recent "anti-apartheid" meeting in Tripoli during which Colonel Muammar Ghadaffi aligned himself with the ANC "struggle for liberation". He promised with the aid of East German instructors, to train "guerillas" to sabotage, among other targets, South African overseas interests.

The Libyan link closes the circle of "revolutionary violence", initiated in practice by Mandela's instruction in the techniques of Algerian terrorism. The latter concentrated upon bombings and the murder of civilians in order to intimidate the civilian population.

In the pattern of claim and counter-claim which accompanies campaigns of armed propaganda, sight is often lost of the theory which motivates such acts. In an article marking the 20th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe (African Communist no 87/1981), the point is made that the various forms of violence should be viewed as options within the totality of tactics available to the revolutionary movement. The guidelines laid down correspond to the views of Dennis Goldberg expressed in chapter 5, that the only criterion for judging an action is its effectiveness:

"But the revolutionary movement must always be ready to seize power by arms for the seizure of state power can only take place when the balance of power swings in its favour ... the subjective and objective factors (which will weigh up the internal and external balance of forces; the mood of the people; and the possibility of resorting to armed struggle in 1961).

Tactics are the manoeuvres within that battle plan; devices for gaining the end. Tactics in the political sense is the totality of forms, methods and means of attaining the main goal in concrete circumstances: eg. strike, demonstration, ambush, raid, sabotage, etc.,

Violence is a particular form of struggle and so is non-violence. There are times when violence can advance a struggle or retard it. The same applies to non-violence.

Genuine revolutionaries are never wedded to a particular form of struggle. They use their revolutionary judgement to assess the most appropriate time for the use of a particular form of struggle."

Violence as a method therefore enjoys the same status as other means in the confrontation with so-called capitalism. It is not a last option where all others have failed, as claimed publicly by the ANC/SACP.

The tragedy of the above Leninist theory lies in the fact that the "classes" or simply, the people identified for destruction by the communist party, must inevitably rise to defend themselves and in doing so, are marked as the aggressors by a movement already prepared for such an eventuality.

ANC/SACP ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS

The ANC's views on negotiations have been expressed publicly on several occasions.

Representative of the ANC at the UN, Johnny Makatini stated on 27 June 1984 that four preconditions existed for negotiations with the South African Government namely:

1. The legalising of certain political organisations including the ANC (and the PAC). Note: This would by implication also mean the legalising of the South African Communist Party due to the formal alliance with the ANC.
2. The release of all political prisoners.
3. The abandoning of the homeland policy.
4. An undertaking by the South African Government with regard to the acceptance of universal suffrage for adults in a united non-racial South Africa.

The ANC/SACP later added further conditions to this list:

5. The lifting of the State of Emergency.
6. The withdrawal of troops from townships.

Further ANC/SACP statements relating to negotiations include the following:

During a Radio Freedom broadcast in October 1985 Oliver Tambo stated "...the ANC will talk to somebody at the proper moment in the proper conditions, but will do so just because our struggle has reached a point where we believe that talking, apart from anything else we'll be doing, is the way forward".

The ANC/SACP has also referred to the misconception that the release of Nelson Mandela would lead to a national convention and the end of the armed struggle. In its official mouthpiece Sechaba (July 1980) it stated, "...some liberals see the campaign (to release Mandela), as a means to swing the emphasis from violence to negotiation. But armed struggle was declared by the ANC long before this campaign."

In an interview with the Zimbabwe Herald on 4 February 1985, ANC President Oliver Tambo said he wanted to correct an impression created by speculation about talks between Pretoria and the ANC, and the possibility of the ANC abandoning armed struggle. He stated: "In any case even if there were any talks and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle, we would simply carry on."

During the talks between South African businessmen and the ANC/SACP on 13 September 1985, Mr Tambo's delegation told the businessmen there would be no halt in the continuing "mass political and armed struggle against apartheid". An ANC spokesman said: "The talks do not affect our struggle or strategy at all."

After talks between a delegation of the official parliamentary opposition, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), and leading ANC-members in Lusaka during October 1985, both Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP-MP, and PFP-leader Mr Van Zyl Slabbert confirmed on 15 and 17 October 1985 that the ANC was still committed to a policy of violence.

Apart from preconditions to any possible negotiations, ANC information secretary Tom Sabina said in reaction to the talks with the PFP that although the ANC believed that "everybody, every organisation must be participants in the democratic process which will bring apartheid to an end", it differed with the PFP on the participation of Chief Buthelezi whom the ANC regarded as a representative of the South African Government. Chief Buthelezi's critical views on the current constitutional dispensation are well-known, and it is therefore evident that "every organisation" excludes those Blacks who do not agree to a policy of revolutionary violence, irrespective of their status as genuine representatives.

The ANC/SACP view on the unacceptability of reform in South Africa is well known and has early echoes in the writings of Mandela presented in evidence at his trial: "Liberation cannot be effected by slow changes or by reforms ... but by revolution. One, therefore, must be a revolutionary and not a reformist." (Supreme Court Record: State against

Mandela and others). The current slogan proclaims that "apartheid" cannot be reformed but must be completely destroyed.

It is evident to the ANC/SACP that the reforms already initiated have as their goal the elimination of inequalities, both racial and economic; a development which would rob the alliance of its 'raison d'etre'. For the alliance, only revolution is able to destroy the social and economic structures which impede a Marxist/Leninist system. Negotiations are unacceptable to it in the final analysis as they would leave the existing 'capitalist' infrastructure untouched if conducted on the basis of Western norms such as individual freedom and human rights.

In his 1986 New Year's message ANC president Tambo confirmed the view of the alliance, that the South African question cannot be solved by negotiation. To confuse Western opinion and pressurise the South African Government however, he added that a minimum requirement for negotiations is the release of Nelson Mandela and other "political prisoners", and that "further conditions would in any event follow even if the first condition were met".

The conclusion which must be drawn when examining such statements is that the ANC/SACP strategy is to create an atmosphere of uncertainty and despair by constantly 'raising the stakes'. The South African/Western approach would see negotiation and accommodation as a method for arriving at a solution. The ANC/SACP, while viewing the process as irrelevant in terms of compromise solutions, regards negotiations as a tactic. Hopes should be raised, then dashed, leaving the South African Government negotiator demoralized and discredited, having made

concessions including the release of revolutionary convicts such as Mandela, labelled "political prisoners" by the ANC/SACP, without any positive result. A recent example of this is to be found in the clemency accorded Dennis Goldberg.

The most recent statement by the ANC/SACP on negotiations (Alfred Nzo, Zimbabwe Herald 21 March 1986) includes:

1. That the ANC should be unbanned immediately and it should be allowed free rein to participate in the political life of the country.
2. Mandela should be released as well as all other "political prisoners" and all treason trials and prosecutions for crimes committed under the (now ended) state of emergency suspended.
3. The South African Government should state that it is ready to dismantle apartheid and prepared to hand over power to the people through a "democratic process".

The bona fides of such demands are as difficult to reconcile with the objectives of the ANC/SACP as the Freedom Charter. In the final analysis, it is the stated objectives of prominent members of the ANC National Executive such as Joe Slovo which cast doubt upon its demands:

"If every racist statute were to be repealed tomorrow, leaving the economic status quo undisturbed, white domination in its most essential aspect would remain. National liberation in its true sense must therefore imply the expropriation of the owners of the means of production (monopolised by a bourgeoisie drawn from the white group) and the complete destruction of the state which serves

them. There can be no halfway house unless the national struggle is stopped in its tracks and is satisfied with the cooption of a small black elite into the presently forbidden areas of economic and political power." (South African Communist, no 87/1981 p.38)

RELEASE OF ANC/SACP CONVICTS

On 31 January 1985 the State President defined the approach of the South African Government: "The Government is not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very long time in prison. I am personally not insensitive about this even though they were duly convicted in open court. The Government is also willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, but will conduct himself in such a way that he will not again have to be arrested." Responding to a question from an opposition member of Parliament, President Botha confirmed that the same offer applied to other similar convicts.

The gesture not only confirmed South Africa's alignment with Western norms on the desirability of re-integrating long-term prisoners into a community, but was also a gesture of reconciliation in the present climate of political reform.

The promise was kept in the case of Dennis Goldberg, sentenced to life imprisonment together with Nelson Mandela in 1964 after an eight month trial in open court, for his part in planning a campaign of terror and i.a. the manufacture of 48,000 landmines and 210,000 hand grenades.

On his release Goldberg admitted that he had agreed not to instigate or participate in violent action for political ends or make himself liable to arrest.

An evaluation of the events following Goldberg's release indicates that the ANC/SACP has not seen the Government's gesture as a reconciliatory act, and Goldberg himself indicated that he had little intention of abiding by his undertaking: the ANC/SACP had promised an intensified campaign of violence including attacks on soft targets and confirmed this with land and limpet-mine attacks calculated to kill and maim civilians. Goldberg immediately began expounding upon the aims revolutionary violence to the horror of his Israeli audience: "Every act of violence has two goals: i) to recruit the oppressed public to join the battle; ii) to decrease the ability of the regime Terrorism must be effective. The question is not one of morality. My struggle need not be any more moral than the oppression. The question is whether or not it's effective. It is certainly a possibility that innocent people will be killed. That's the price. Those are the results." (Koteret Roshit, 6.03.85)

Goldberg's support for Palestinian terror was reflected in the same interview: "I know that the Palestinians plant bombs on Israeli buses and I know that you object to the fact that these bombs result in the death of innocent people. Many of them are not innocent. They support the oppression of the Palestinians or they don't do what they should do to prevent the oppression of the Palestinians, including a violent struggle. If they are really innocent well, what's there to do; they happened to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. That's the price."

The Israeli audience which originally welcomed Goldberg in ecstasy dismissed him in a chorus of disapprobation as "a man who has remained loyal to the methods of Communism . . . notwithstanding the statement of denial which he signed" (Ma'Ariv, 8 March 1985). The Jerusalem Post of 8 March 1985 noted "we certainly have chosen some very strange bedfellows as friends of Israel." By the end of March, Goldberg had joined the ANC/SACP operation in London and has acted as representative for it in various countries ever since.

The Goldberg clemency reveals the difficulty of reconciliation with the Marxist/Leninist ideology and methods of the ANC/SACP alliance. The reaction of the alliance and Goldberg's own statements are a firm rejection of any form of accommodation and a further gesture in the case of Mandela could simply represent a "surrender" to the present high-profile Soviet-backed ANC/SACP campaign to obtain the release of a useful and charismatic leader-figure and raise the status of the alliance. Mandela has himself confirmed: "There is today . . . no alternative to violent revolution against the South African Government . . . no room for peaceful struggle." (Washington Times, 23 August 1985).

ANC/SACP PROJECTION OF SOVIET DOCTRINE AND FOREIGN POLICY

The ANC/SACP alliance reflects scrupulous allegiance to the Soviet Union in foreign policy issues. This may be explained by the SACP's reputation as one of the Communist Parties most faithful to the Marxist/Leninist doctrine expounded by the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

This ideological dedication is reflected in the recent expulsion from the ANC of members of the Trotskyite, "Marxist tendency within the ANC" and the elimination by the ANC in 1982 of their leader, Ruth First, estranged wife of Joe Slovo.

The doctrinal subservience of the SACP to the CPSU is scarcely better illustrated than by the slavish adherence to the official Soviet version of recent history. In an article commemorating the end of the Second World War (Umsebenzi No 1/1985) it is revealed that "Hitler owed his rise to power to the assistance given by international capital. For it was capitalism's aim to see a militarised Germany crush the Socialist Soviet Union. Hitler at first enjoyed the support fo the Western rulers ... the Soviet Union fought almost single handed against Nazi Germany and its fascist allies ... The cost of the war was tremendous. Of 50 millions that died, 20 million were Soviet ... The cost of the war to the Soviet economy was calculated at 2.5 trillion rubles. The USA gained \$52 billion profit and lost 340 000 soldiers. The Soviet victory helped Socialism to become a world system."

On current international issues, the ANC/SACP alliance reflects the same dependence. A review of the documents of the ANC Kabwe Conference in June 1985 reveal a text dictated by the Soviet Union; linguistic style, analysis and conclusions all reflect the interests of the latter.

In the thirty-six page Political Report of the National Executive Committee, the United States and United States "Imperialism" are mentioned in excess of thirty times and identified throughout as leading the "Global Offensive of

Imperialism" and "extreme reaction". The Soviet Union is referred to ten times; eight emphasising the Soviet Union's role as the revolutionary opponent of United States "imperialism", once as the victim of Nazi Germany and once as the saviour of the "democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan".

"Zionist Israel" and "racist South Africa" are identified as the "proxies of United States imperialism" in terms which endorse the Soviet perception of their situations.

Separate but concurring statements by the SACP and ANC reveal no difference in policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The Afghanistan question is a case in point:

"We express our full solidarity with the Afghanistan people's democratic party and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in their determined and all-out efforts to defend the gains of the April 1978 revolution. We condemn the imperialists who have refused to leave the Afghan people to settle their own affairs ... we fully understand and support the timely assistance of the Soviet Union, and call upon progressive forces throughout the world to consolidate the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces." (Moses Mabhida, SACP and ANC-executive - The African Communist no 87/1981 p.18).

"In the same year, the Democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan had been saved with the support of the Soviet Union." (Political report of ANC National Executive Committee documents, Kabwe Conference, June 1985 p.23)

Further extracts from the documents of the Conference illustrate the same undeviating orientation:

"Further afield, the Vietnamese Liberation Movement had finally won victory in 1975 with the collapse of the Thieu regime and the humiliating flight of the Americans remaining in South Vietnam. The Shah of Iran, originally placed on this throne by the CIA and since armed and developed by US imperialism as one of its counter-revolutionary strongmen in the Persian Gulf, was swept out of power by the popular masses in 1979 ... in the Western hemisphere, progressive changes took place in Nicaragua and Grenada with the victories of the Sandinista and the New Jewel Movement. (p.23) A determined effort was set afoot to roll back socialism to reverse the victories of the National Liberation Movement and to force the peoples of the world to succumb to the wishes of imperialism. Hence we saw the complicated situation that arose in Poland. The offensive against Democratic Afghanistan continued and intensified.

The US openly invaded Grenada, funded and assisted the removal from power of the progressive forces led by Michael Manley in Jamaica and has laid siege to Nicaragua. At the same time, it is actively involved in a campaign to defeat the Farbundo Marti National Liberation front in El Salvador and openly supports the most reactionary and murderous regimes in Central and South America.

US imperialism has also helped to sabotage all efforts to resolve the problem of Western Sahara by giving maximum support to King Hassan of Morocco to defeat the Polisario Front. In the Middle East, it has encouraged the forces of

reaction to liquidate the PLO and permitted Zionist Israel to invade the Lebanon in an effort to turn it into a pacified dependency of this ally of racist South Africa.

As a token of their intent to intervene everywhere in their own interest, US imperialism and its allies have established rapid deployment forces which are designed to reach any part of the globe quickly." (p.27)

Commenting on an interview by Ronald Reagan in which he spoke of the Communist threat in today's world: "Hitler, too, believed that Nazi Germany had a destiny to cleanse an afflicted world. He therefore set out to destroy socialism in the Soviet Union, to stamp out all progressive and democratic forces in Europe and to colonise people.

That, also, was the awesome meaning of the words that Ronald Reagan uttered. They chilled and horrified the forces of progress throughout the world, they were like music in the ears of P W Botha. (p.28)

Thus we were to come face to face with the world forces of counter-revolution in a way that we had not experienced in the period 1974-1979. Like the great Vietnamese people before us, whose experiences were studied by a delegation of our movement which visited Vietnam in 1978, we had to win this life-and-death confrontation first and foremost in the battlefields of our Motherland, but also in the streets of the United States and the other imperialist countries which back the Pretoria regime." (p.28)

To avoid the claim that the ANC/SACP alliance acts as a proxy for the interests of the Soviet Union, great care is

taken to avoid mention of it in the context of support for the ANC and SWAPO. Instead, the document refers to "the Role of the Socialist Countries" and "these countries as allies we can always rely upon".

The above two-page attack upon the United States under the headings of "Decade of Liberation" and "US Offensive" is couched in a language indistinguishable from standard Soviet foreign policy rhetoric; the United States is blamed for the halting of "the process of detente", "increasing tensions" and "the danger of a nuclear war" and refusing "to ratify the SALT-II Treaty". The accusations are understandable in the context of United States/Soviet relations, but incongruous as priorities for an "African Liberation Movement".

SUMMARY

The essential problem presented by the ANC, taking its composition into account, is that (i) its only formal programme, The Freedom Charter, is a short-term document. It has no long-term programme other than that of its alliance partner, the SACP. (ii) The policy of the SACP does not accept Western perceptions of negotiations as a means of resolving conflict; it rather views them as the assault on capitalist society by another means.

In an interview with the Washington Times on 22 August 1985, Nelson Mandela confirmed: "There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle." He also discarded the idea of a so-called national convention. It is important that more than twenty years ago Mandela also wrote "In our country, the struggles

of the oppressed people are guided by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policies. We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and driving force in changing the society and the world." Furthermore he wrote, "The people of South Africa, led by the South African Communist Party will destroy capitalist society and build in its place socialism. The transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class ... cannot be effected by slow changes or by reforms, as reactionaries and liberals often advise, but by revolution. One therefore, must be a revolutionary and not a reformist." (Supreme Court Record: State against Mandela and Others, Part I, pp 118-122.)

Even leading members of the ANC have been disillusioned by the takeover and exploitation of the organisation by the SACP for purposes other than the genuine interests of the South African people. The late Bartholomew Hlapane also testified to this conviction before the United States Senate Subcommittee:

"And I started thinking about all the presidents of the African National Congress. I can name them: Reverend Tansi, Dr Moroka and Chief Luthuli; none of them ever supported a policy of violence. And these are the matters that came to me strongly when I kept on going into jail and finding that the Communists were dishonest and they misled us. And to come to the rescue of many people, I decided to pull out and openly cooperate with the police, because innocent people were being arrested and did not know that the Communist Party had, in fact, captured the leadership of the African National Congress. And the African National

Congress could not do what they wanted, except to get permission from the Communist Party."

In its findings dated November 1982 the Senate Subcommittee made the following report: "The evidence received by the subcommittee is deeply disturbing. It suggests strongly that the original purposes of the ANC (and SWAPO) have been subverted, and that the Soviets and their allies have achieved alarmingly effective control over them. The demonstrated activities of these organisations, moreover, cannot easily be reconciled with the goal of liberation or the promotion of freedom. The evidence has thus served to illustrate once again the Soviet Union's support for terrorism under the guise of aiding struggles for national liberation. It is past time to bring these facts to the attention of our policy-makers, the American people, and the world at large."

The composition of the ANC executive at the Kabwe conference is confirmation of the nature of the ANC as an SACP and Soviet front and an indication of the inability of the alliance to participate independently in the formulation of solutions to the South African question with other South Africans. The true objective of this front was clearly expressed by ANC and SACP member Dennis Goldberg while addressing a meeting organised by the Camden Trades council:

"South Africa's 'liberation' will change the balance of forces throughout the world." (Communist Morning Star 3 February 1986)

AFRICA ACTIVISTS' GUIDE

ORGANIZER'S REFERENCE DIRECTORY TO INFORMATION SOURCES

Prepared for the Africa Peace Tour, 1987
by William Minter

Revised for Association of Concerned Africa Scholars, 1988,
with the aid of Outreach Program
African Studies Center, Boston University

Note: This directory is not designed to be a comprehensive listing but rather a quick reference source for organizers, a guide to places to seek further information. For fuller description of activities of a group, please get in contact with that organization directly.

The directory is also intended to be updated -- with your help. Please send your comments, corrections and additions to:

William Minter
1839 Newton St. NW
Washington, DC 20010

For more information on the Africa Peace Tour see page 14.

A. NATIONAL AFRICA ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN POLITICAL ORGANIZING

1. American Committee on Africa (Africa Fund*)

198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038

Tel: 212-962-1210

Director: Jennifer Davis

Other Contact: Rob Jones, Projects Coordinator

Special Projects/Emphases: national divestment movement (maintains contacts with students, state/local officials); material aid for liberation movements (Africa Fund)

2. Free South Africa Movement

c/o TransAfrica (see below)

Special Projects/Emphases: coordination of demonstrations, national anti-apartheid campaigns, Shell Boycott

3. Southern Africa Program

American Friends Service Committee

1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Tel: 215-241-7169

Director: Jerry Herman

Special Projects/Emphases: regional offices around the country; coordinates Call to Conscience for crisis response on southern African issues; Atlanta regional office: 404-586-0460.

4. TransAfrica (TransAfrica Forum*)

545 8th St., SE
Washington, DC 20003

Tel: 202-547-2550

Director: Randall Robinson

Other Contact: Cecelie Counts

Special Projects/Emphases: national Black lobby on Africa and the Caribbean, national campaigns and local committees in conjunction with Free South Africa Movement

5. Washington Office on Africa (WOA Educational Fund*)

110 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

Tel: 202-546-7961 (Anti-Apartheid Action Hotline: 202-546-0408)

Director: Damu Smith

Other Contact: Jackie Wilson

Special Projects/Emphases: coordinates national lobbying on southern Africa, convenes Southern Africa Working Group

* tax-deductible educational affiliates

B. NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPMENT/RELIEF ISSUES

1. Africare
440 R St., NW
Washington, DC 20001

Tel: 202-462-3614
Director: C. Payne Lucas Other Contact: Kevin Lowther
Special Projects/Emphases: relief/development projects in many African countries
2. American Friends Service Committee / International Division
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102-1479

Tel: 215-241-7000 Contact: Mohulatsi Mokeyane
Special Projects/Emphases: relief/development projects in many African countries
3. Bread for the World
802 Rhode Island Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20018

Tel: 202-269-0200 Contact: John Prendergast, Bill Rau
Special Projects/Emphases: public education, lobbying on food & hunger issues
4. Grassroots International
Box 312
Cambridge, MA 02139

Tel: 617-497-9180 Contact: Dan Connell
Special Projects/Emphases: special expertise on Horn of Africa
5. Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First)
145 Ninth St.
San Francisco, CA 94103

Tel: 415-864-8555
Special Projects/Emphases: public education on food & development issues
6. Oxfam-America
115 Broadway
Boston, MA 02116

Tel: 617-482-1211 Contact: Kevin Murray
Special Projects/Emphases: development projects, public education

**C. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED
IN EDUCATION/ACTION ON AFRICA**

1. Africa Faith and Justice Network
P. O. Box 29378
Washington, DC 20017 Contact: Rev. Thomas Hayden, SMA
Tel: 202-832-3412 Sister Maura Browne, SND
2. African Methodist Episcopal Church
615 G St., NW
Washington, DC 20024 Contact: Bishop John Adams
Tel: 202-554-4351
3. Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Ave.
New York, NY 10022
Tel: 212-838-4700
4. Church of the Brethren
1451 Dundee Ave., NE
Elgin, IL 60120 Contact: Kenneth O. Holderread
Tel: 312-742-5100
5. Church Women United
777 UN Plaza, Room 10E
New York, NY 10017 Contact: Joyce Yu
Tel: 212-661-3856
6. Church World Service
475 Riverside Dr.
New York, NY 10115
Tel: 800-223-1310
7. Churches' Emergency Committee on Southern Africa
c/o National Council of Churches Africa Office
475 Riverside Dr.
New York, NY 10115 Contact: Audrey Glover
Tel: 212-870-2645
8. Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway, Rm. 302
New York, NY 10038 Contact: Tony Glover
Tel: 212-964-6730
9. Disciples of Christ
222 S. Downey Ave.
Indianapolis, IN 46206 Contact: Dan Hoffman
Tel: 317-353-1491
10. Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012 Contact: Bill Johnston
Tel: 212-447-0066

**C. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED
IN EDUCATION/ACTION ON AFRICA**
(cont.)

11. Lutheran Office for World Community
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-808-5360 Contact: Ralston Deffenbaugh

13. Mennonite Central Committee
21 S. 12th St.
Akron, PA 17501
Tel: 717-859-1151 Contact: Eric Olfert

14. Presbyterian Church USA
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
Tel: 202-543-1126 Contact: Mary Jane Patterson

15. Progressive National Baptist Church (Home Mission Board)
601 50th St. NE
Washington, DC 20019
Tel: 202-396-3660 Contact: Archie LeMone

16. SMA Fathers Social Concern Office
Box 4468
Washington, DC 20017
Tel: 202-529-4200 Contact: Fr. James C. Hickey

17. Union of American Hebrew Congregations
2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: 202-387-2800 Contact: Beth Sperber

18. Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
78 Beacon St.
Boston, MA 02108
Tel: 617-742-2120 Contact: Lou Witherite

19. United Church of Christ/ Office of Church & Society
110 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002
Tel: 202-543-1517 Contact: Jeanne M. Woods
Tel: 212-870-2834 Contact: Alan Myrick

20. United Methodist Church/ Women's Division
100 Maryland Ave., NE, Box 56
Washington, DC 20002
Tel: 202-488-5660 Contact: Joyce Hamlin

D. U. S. CONGRESS

For basic information on representatives and committees, consult a reference source such as The Almanac of American Politics (published annually by National Journal, 1730 M St., NW, Washington, DC 20036; tel: 202-857-1400). Of particular relevance to Africa are:

1. Congressional Black Caucus
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Tel: 202-226-7790

Chair: Rep. Mervyn Dymally (CA)

Other Contact: Amelia Parker

2. Subcommittee on Africa, Foreign Relations Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Tel: 202-226-7807

Chair: Rep. Howard Wolpe (MI)

Other Contact: Adwoa Dunn

3. Subcommittee on Africa, Foreign Relations Committee
Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Tel: 202-224-4651

Chair: Sen. Paul Simon (IL)

Other Contact: Nancy Stetson

E. ACADEMIC ORGANIZATIONS

1. African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA)
c/o Professor Ofuately-Kudjoe
Queens College
Flushing, NY 11367

2. African Studies Association (ASA)
255 Kinsey Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90024

3. Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS)
c/o David Groff, Exec. Sec.
4205 SE Ramona
Portland, OR 97206

Tel: 503-774-2397

Political Education and Actions Cochairs:

Chris Root (517-332-0333)

Carol Thompson (213-743-4434)

F. AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

SOUTH AFRICA

1. African National Congress (ANC)
801 Second Ave., Suite 405
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-490-3487
2. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)
211 E. 43rd St., Suite 703
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-986-7378
3. UN Center against Apartheid
United Nations
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-754-6674

NAMIBIA

1. South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO)
801 Second Ave., Suite 1401
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-557-2450 Representative: Helmut Angula
2. Namibia Information Service
P.O. Box 43234
Washington, DC 20010
Tel: 202-462-8197
3. UN Council for Namibia
UN Secretariat
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-754-5400
4. National Namibia Concerns
915 E. 9th Ave.
Denver, CO 80218
Tel: 303-830-2774

F. AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(cont.)

ANGOLA

1. Angolan Mission to the UN
747 3rd Ave., 18th Fl.
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212-752-4612
Ambassador: Manuel Pedro Pacavira
2. Fenton Communications
1755 S St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
Tel: 202-745-0707
Contact: Nick Allen
(on contract with government of Angola)

MOZAMBIQUE

1. Embassy of Mozambique
1990 M St., NW, Suite 570
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: 202-293-7146
Ambassador: Valeriano Ferrão
2. Mozambique Support Network
343 S. Dearborn, # 601
Chicago, IL 60604
Tel: 312-922-3286
3. Mozambique Solidarity Office
343 S. Dearborn, #601
Chicago, IL 60604
Tel: 312-660-8671
Contact: Prexy Nesbitt
(on contract with government of Mozambique)

HORN OF AFRICA

1. Eritrean Relief Committee
475 Riverside Dr., Rm 251
New York, NY 10115
Tel: 212-870-2727
Contact: Karen Houser
2. Research and Information Center on Eritrea (RICE)
P.O. Box 5027, Postal Station A
Toronto, Ontario, CANADA M5W 1N4
Tel: 416-598-2152
Contact: John Sorenson
3. Relief Society of Tigray
P.O. Box 6522
Washington, DC 20009
Tel: 202-328-8350
Contact: Fesseha Tessema

**F. AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND
OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION**
(cont.)

WESTERN SAHARA

1. Polisario Front, North Amer. Dept.
P.O. Box 53213
Washington, DC 20009-3213
Contact: Madjid Abdullah
2. Western Sahara Campaign for Human Rights
2556 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20008
Tel: 202-387-0412 Contact: Teresa Smith, Karen Buckley
3. Saharan People's Support Committee (SPSC)
217 E. Lehr
Ada, OH 45810
Tel: 419-634-3666 Contact: Anne Lippert

OTHER GROUPS

1. Africa Resource Center
464 19th St.
Oakland, CA 94612
Tel: 415-763-8011
Special projects/emphases: distributes information on
southern Africa and other areas
2. Patrice Lumumba Coalition
1309 5th Ave., Apt. 16H
New York, NY 10029
Tel: 212-289-1391 Contact: Elombe Brath
Special projects/emphases: Zaire, other African issues
3. Southern African Support Project
P.O. Box 50103
Washington, DC 20004
Tel: 202-332-2009
Special projects/emphases: material aid to liberation
movements (handbook available); Namibia slideshow

(especially on countries with U.S.
military involvement)

1. Kenya: Sister Maura Brown, AFJN (see C1)
2. Liberia: Ezekiel Pajibo, SMA Fathers (see C16)
3. Zaire: Center for Research on Zaire
P.O. Box 39002, Washington, DC 20016
Contact: Nzongola Ntalaja Tel: 202-636-7655

African Activists' Reference Directory

OTHER INFORMATION SOURCES (cont.)

4. U.S. military involvement:

George Shepherd
c/o Africa Today
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208

Kenneth Mokoena
National Security Archives
1755 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036

G. ORGANIZATIONS FOCUSING
ON SPECIFIC TOPICS*

POLITICAL PRISONERS*

1. Southern Africa Project

Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law
1400 Eye St., NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202-371-1212

Director: Gay McDougall

2. Southern African Coordination Group

Amnesty International
c/o Suzanne Riveles
9007 Garland Ave.
Silver Spring, MD 20901
Tel: 301-585-6428

or c/o Mort Winston
507 E. 39th St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
Tel: 301-366-5585

TRADE UNION ORGANIZING*

1. Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

c/o William Lucy, AFSCME
1625 L St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(active in Shell Boycott)

2. United Automobile Workers (UAW)

1757 N St., NW
Washington, DC 20036

Tel: 202-828-8500

Contact: Don Stillman

(active in Shell Boycott)

3. United Mine Workers (UMW)

900 15th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202-842-7200

Contact: Ken Zinn

(coordinates Shell Boycott; liaison with National Union of
Mineworkers in South Africa)

* See also groups listed under A.

G. ORGANIZATIONS FOCUSING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS*

(cont.)

DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGNS*

1. Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR)
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566
New York, NY 10115
Tel: 212-870-2936 Director: Tim Smith
(coordinates church stockholders' campaigns)
2. Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC)
1755 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: 202-939-6500 Contact: David C. Popper
(investigates divestment issues for universities and other institutional investors)

* See also groups listed under A.

H. AUDIO-VISUAL SOURCES

1. Africa on Film and Videotape, 1960-1981: A Compendium of Reviews. Edited by David S. Wiley. Published by The African Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824. (Tel: 517-353-1700)
This is a comprehensive guide which should be in every audio-visual library (includes listing of distributors).
2. First Run / Icarus Films
200 Park Ave. South, #1319
New York, NY 10003
Tel: 212-674-3375
Distributes films on Africa, including southern Africa.
3. Media Network
121 Fulton St., 5th Fl.
New York, NY 10038
Tel: 212-619-3455
Publishes Guide to Films on Apartheid and the Southern African Region (includes listing of distributors).
4. Southern Africa Media Center/California Newsreel
630 Natoma St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
Tel: 415-621-6196
Distributes films on southern Africa.
5. Impact Visuals
P.O. Box 404830
Brooklyn, NY 11240-4830 Editor: Michael Kaufman
Tel: 212-966-9619, 718-624-3957
Rents news photos and other graphics for reproduction, good material from southern Africa.

I. NEWS SOURCES

AFRICA

1. Africa News 919-286-0747
P.O. Box 3851
Durham, NC 27702

Biweekly digest. \$30/year (individuals)
2. Africa Recovery
DESI, United Nations
New York, NY 10017

Occasional. Free. Emergency and development news.
3. Africa Report
833 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Bimonthly magazine. \$24/year (individuals)
4. Guardian 212-691-0404
33 W. 17th St., 9th Fl.
New York, NY 10011

Weekly; includes much coverage of southern Africa, Horn of Africa. \$27.50/year.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. Facts and Reports
Holland Committee on Southern Africa
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 173
1012 DJ Amsterdam
The Netherlands

Biweekly; reprints articles on southern Africa from African and European press. \$50/year (individuals).
2. Southern Africa Report 416-967-5562
427 Bloor St. W
Toronto M5S 1X7
Canada

5 times/year; articles on South Africa, the region, and Canadian involvement in particular. \$15/year (individuals).
3. Southscan Ltd.
P.O. Box 724 U.S. address: Box 829
London N16 5RZ Brooklyn, NY 11202-0018
England

Concise weekly news from South Africa and the region.
\$50/year (individuals).

I. NEWS SOURCES (cont.)

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC News Briefing
801 Second Ave., Suite 405
New York, NY 10017

Weekly summary extracts of news articles, primarily from South African press; comes with monthly Sechaba. \$25/year.

ANGOLA

Agencia Angola Press (ANGOP)
16, Maddox St.
London W1
England

Angolan news agency releases and documents in English. Write for subscription costs.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique Information Office News Review
7a Caledonian Road
London N1 9DX
England

Mozambique information agency news stories and documents in English. 25 pounds/year (individuals) + 5 pounds/year bank charges.

NORTH AFRICA

MERIP Reports 212-840-3281
Middle East Research and Information Project
475 Riverside Dr., Rm. 518
New York, NY 10115

Includes North Africa. Bimonthly. \$18/year (individuals)

J. PUBLISHERS / RECENT BOOKS

PUBLISHERS

1. Africa World Press / Red Sea Press
P.O. Box 1892
Trenton, NJ 08608

Publishes and distributes a wide range of books from and about Africa, including southern Africa and the Horn of Africa.

2. International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
P.O. Box 17
Cambridge, MA 02138

Publishes well-researched and well-illustrated pamphlets on southern Africa; also produces photo exhibits.

REFERENCE BOOKS

1. Africa South of the Sahara. Europa Publications Ltd. Annual. One of the most comprehensive references, with basic background data on each country. Available in most university libraries.
2. Africa Contemporary Record. Africana Publishing Company. Annual. Events of the year for African countries, with full texts of important documents. Available in many university libraries.

OTHER RECENT BOOKS (SOUTHERN AFRICA)

1. William Bigelow, Strangers in Their Own Country: A Curriculum Guide on South Africa. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1985. \$14.95.
2. Kevin Danaher, In Whose Interest?: A Guide to U.S.-South African Relations. Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1984. \$11.95.
2. Joseph Hanlon, Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War Against Its Neighbors. New York: Viking Penguin, 1986. \$4.95.
3. Winnie Mandela, Part of My Soul Went With Him. New York: W. W. Norton, 1985. \$5.95.
4. William Minter, King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa. New York: Basic Books, 1986. \$10.95.
5. James North, Freedom Rising. New York: New American Library, 1986. \$8.95.
6. Ann Seidman, The Roots of Crisis in Southern Africa. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1985. \$8.95.

J. PUBLISHERS / RECENT BOOKS (cont.)

OTHER RECENT BOOKS (OTHER AFRICA)

1. Lloyd Timberlake, Africa in Crisis: The Causes, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1986. \$9.95.
2. Western Sahara: War and Refugees. Oxford University Press, 1987. (available through Western Sahara Campaign)
3. Leo Kamil, Fueling the Fire: U.S. Policy and the Western Sahara Conflict. Trenton: Red Sea Press, 1987. \$4.95.
4. Bereket Habte Selassie, Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980. \$6.50.
5. Conflict in the Horn of Africa (Review of African Political Economy No. 30). \$5 from ROAPE, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield S10 2HP, England.

ACTION GUIDE

The Busy Person's Guide to Social Action (revised 1986). Boston: Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (see C18). Practical advice on local action, political education and lobbying.

AFRICA PEACE TOUR

The annual Africa Peace Tour organizes visits by groups of speakers on African issues, including visitors from Africa as well as representatives of the sponsoring organizations, to a different set of states each year. For more information contact:

Nick Mottern / Africa Peace Tour
Maryknoll Fathers & Brothers
Maryknoll, NY 10545
Tel: 914-941-7590

The Africa Peace Committee, which sponsors the tour, is chaired by Jerry Herman of the American Friends Service Committee, and includes the following groups:

~~Africa~~ Faith and Justice Network
American Committee on Africa
American Friends Service Committee
(Southern Africa Program)
Bread for the World
Church of the Brethren
Church Women United
Disciples of Christ

Maryknoll Missioners
Mennonite Central
Committee
Oxfam-America
Presbyterian Peace Program
Unitarian Universalist
Service Committee
Washington Office on
Africa

SUBJECT: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(Support Groups)

DATE: 06/03/87

The Following Groups are presently active African National Congress support groups. These groups generally are using the guise of the Anti-Apartheid movement

1. BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVEMENT (BAFSAM)

(415) [REDACTED]
(415) 543-2292

Headed by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 602

2. SAN Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee [REDACTED]

Believed headed by:
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

Possible identification of the above person is:
[REDACTED] WM DOB 03/01/47 who resides at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], California 94002 (NOTE: This may not be the correct person.)

3. Southern Africa Freedom Committee (415) [REDACTED]

4. All Peoples Congress [REDACTED]

4a. Peoples Anti-War Mobilization [REDACTED]

Groups # three # four and # four(a) are all the same group of people operating from the same location.

5. African Resource Center (415) [REDACTED]

6. African Peoples Solidarity Committee [REDACTED] Oakland, Ca
(415) [REDACTED]

7. All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (415) [REDACTED]
(415) [REDACTED]
(415) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NMA DOB 3/25/55 6'01" 170 lbs Bk/Brn

[REDACTED] # 2 Oakland, California
[REDACTED] #2 Oakland, California
1000 [REDACTED] Ave Richmond, Ca. (latest address)

AKA: [REDACTED] Vehicle: 2 R [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DOB 3/2/55

[REDACTED] th, Oakland, California 6/4 150 lbs Brn/Brn
Vehicle [REDACTED]

8. Anti-Apartheid Alert PO Box [REDACTED] San Francisco, Ca.
[REDACTED] AKA: Anti- Apartheid Committee.
This group is the same as group # 2 headed by
[REDACTED]

Additional member: [REDACTED] [REDACTED] st. SF #7

9. Apartheid Boycott Campaign (415) 864-8348

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SF

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Berkeley, Ca Vehicle [REDACTED] 378

10. Campaign Against Apartheid [REDACTED] Berkeley, Ca
(415) [REDACTED]

11. Berkeley Anti-Apartheid Network (415) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on
DOB 1/26/48 Resides [REDACTED] St Berkeley
California 5/11 175

12. Freedom for South Africa Refugee Campaign

[REDACTED] San Francisco, Ca. /PO Box [REDACTED] SF 94114
(415) [REDACTED]

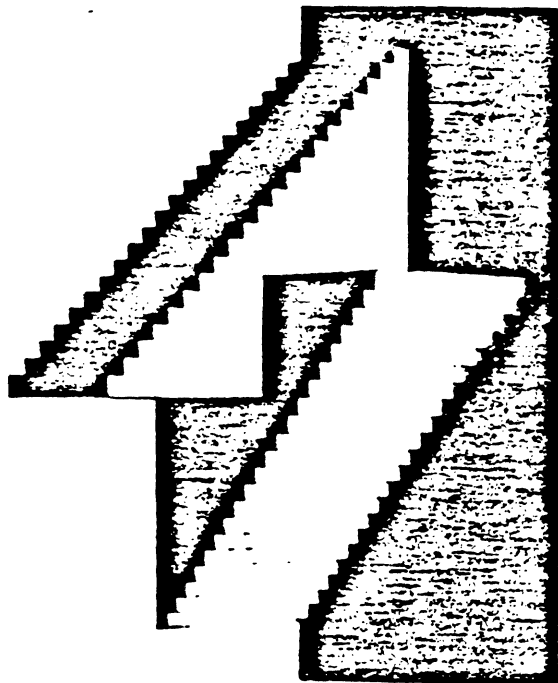
13. Pan-African Congress of Azania (415) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Frank
DOB 3/26/46 WM 5/6 155 [REDACTED] SF A member of Praire
Fire Organizing Committee a known communist group.

14. Steve [REDACTED] Coalition for Divestment (415) [REDACTED]
([REDACTED] Listed to UC Berkeley Campus Info Center) ""

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**At Sumitomo,
the unconventional
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When we first opened our doors in 1895, we also opened our minds to customer needs – conventional and unconventional – and we are still coming up with new business ideas to meet these ever-changing demands. With smart cards, we were first in Japan, and now this unconventional service will soon become conventional. Our open-mindedness, together with our innovative and dynamic services, is our hallmark as one of the world's major banks. Through our global network, our services are readily available to individuals, corporations, financial institutions and governments in over thirty nations. If you feel your needs fly in the face of convention, always remember that Sumitomo welcomes you with an open mind.

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 Business International Conference

SOUTH AFRICA

**A STRATEGIC
OPTIONS FOR
INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES**

with **OLIVER TAMBO**
President of the ANC
and other guest panelists

Mayfair Inter-Continental
London
Wednesday, May 27, 1987

African National Congress (ANC) goals and tactics are directly and indirectly helping to shape the future of South Africa and its relations with international companies.

Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, has agreed to participate personally in this conference, so that international executives with responsibilities for South Africa can directly hear and assess what the ANC aims to achieve, and how.

The role of the ANC—along with political reforms, future sanctions, corporate critics, and South Africa's economic outlook—will be the focus for reassessing the choices for companies:

- To disinvest, now that over 100 companies have quit;
- To stay, as many others have carefully decided to do.

The conference is closed to the press and all proceedings are off-the-record.

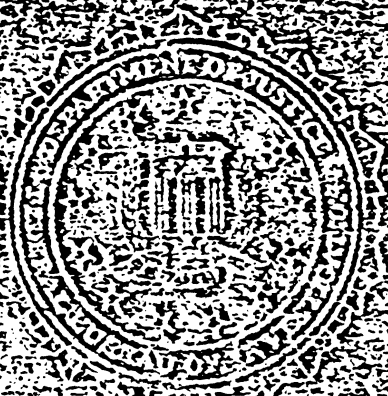
Fee: \$600 per executive. For further details and a registration form, phone or telex:

New York: Carol Kirschenbaum, (212) 750 6300, tlx: 234 767
Geneva: Lisa Sandberg, (022) 47 53 55, tlx: 422669
London: Margery Georges, (01) 761 4661, tlx: 939844

U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

POPULAR FRONT
FOR THE LIBERATION
OF PALESTINE (PFLP)

New York Area



June 1986
International Terrorism Squad
New York Division

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tab 18

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1993

***** San Francisco Chronicle A27

Names of 12,000 Appear in Evidence Seized in Probe of Former S.F. Cop

By J. L. Pimsleur
Chronicle Staff Writer

In a case that has renewed public fears of police spying, the San Francisco district attorney's office disclosed yesterday that more than 12,000 names appear in evidence seized during the investigation of a former San Francisco police inspector accused of passing police intelligence information to outsiders.

Assistant District Attorney John Dwyer also revealed that the evidence contains the name of one of two Arab-American U.S. citizens recently arrested in Israel on suspicion of financing terrorist activities.

The disclosures came as a San Francisco judge granted limited access to the evidence. Some individuals have sought access since The Chronicle reported that police were investigating allegations that former police Inspector Tom Gerard distributed police intelligence files on individuals and political groups.

On February 1, the Israeli government announced that two Arab-Americans it detained in the West Bank, Abdel Hamid Salah, 39, and Mohammad Jarad, 36, both from the Chicago area, were suspected of distributing hundreds of thousands of dollars to rebuild the radical Hamas Muslim movement

in the occupied territories.

Dwyer did not say which of the two appeared in the seized files, but a source close to the investigation indicated last night that it was Jarad.

No evidence has been produced of a link between the arrests in Israel and Gerard's activities.

Dwyer's disclosure was described as a "bombshell" by Christine Totah, a spokeswoman for the Arab-American Civil Rights Committee.

The revelation that an Arab-American who was a U.S. citizen had been arrested in Israel "confirmed all our worst fears," she

said. "Everything we have been warning and pleading about with our public officials — concerning our anxieties over the release of confidential intelligence information being passed on to a foreign government — is unfortunately coming true."

Totah said that a Palestinian-American group from the Bay Area — all of whose members are U.S. citizens — had become "terrified" and was considering canceling a planned pilgrimage to the Holy Land for Easter. "We have no idea who among the 12,000 individuals identified on the Gerard list might be potential targets," she said.

San Francisco Probes Private Spy Network

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—A private intelligence network with ties to an American Jewish group and South Africa is under investigation for illegally tapping into police sources and collecting information on the political activities of more than 12,000 people, authorities say.

As part of the investigation, San Francisco authorities say they have confiscated files containing personal information on a wide range of political activists, ethnic advocates, writers and other U.S. residents—at least 6,000 of them living in Southern California. Much of the information is allegedly from confidential government data-banks and police agencies.

One former San Francisco police intelligence officer, who allegedly funneled police files to the spy operation, is under investigation on allegations that he sold confidential information about hundreds of people to the South African government. After he was questioned in November by the FBI, which began the investigation, he fled to the Philippines.

Most of the information, howev-

Please see SPY, A25

SPY: Network Accused of Having Confidential Data

Continued from A1

er, appears to have been collected on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League, a nationwide organization that is dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism and bigotry. Officials of the organization, as well as its paid undercover operatives, could face charges of gathering intelligence illegally, authorities said, but spokesmen for the league denied any wrongdoing.

"What we're looking at is the violation of the statute that prohibits the sale, use and dispersal of confidential information," San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith said.

A portion of the information in the files appears to have come from the Los Angeles Police Department, Smith said. Los Angeles police initially declined to cooperate with San Francisco authorities in the investigation and refused to assist in a December search of the Anti-Defamation League office in Los Angeles.

"They felt it was a sensitive matter and they didn't wish to cooperate," said San Francisco Assistant Dist. Atty. John Dwyer, who is overseeing the case. "It's the first time I've seen that happen in my career."

Top officials of the Los Angeles Police Department declined to discuss the matter. "It's an ongoing investigation involving another police agency," said Sgt. Mike Williams, an aide to Chief of Staff Ronald C. Banks.

However at least one member of the Los Angeles Police Commission, which oversees the police administration, said that he believes the department should not only assist investigators in San Francisco, but that they should also begin an internal inquiry to find out how the LAPD documents were leaked.

"I want to find out what is the basis for the department's reaction not to cooperate," Police Commissioner Stanley K. Sheinbaum said.

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League in San Francisco and Los Angeles have cooperated with the investigation, allowing police to search their offices without a warrant. They acknowledged that their organization worked with police in collecting information on people believed to be anti-Semitic or involved in hate crimes, but they insisted that they did not violate the law.

"It has been a regular practice of the ADL to trade hate crime-related information with police departments," said Richard Firsichhaut, executive director of the organization's Northern California office. "It has always been our understanding and our credo in conducting our fact-finding work that we conduct our work from a high ethical plateau and in conjunction with the law."

In the past, both the Los Angeles and San Francisco police departments have come under criticism for collecting intelligence files on activists, political figures or elected officials who spoke out on controversial issues. Both departments have been chastised and intelligence-gathering operations have been ordered curtailed.

On Thursday, The Times reported that an internal LAPD investigation found no physical evidence to support allegations that the Organized Crime Intelligence Division spied on politicians and celebrities.

But the San Francisco district attorney's office suspects that certain police officers have been working illegally with an intelligence network that operates nationwide in connection with the Anti-Defamation League.

The computer files seized by police include information on 12,000 people from across the United States and data obtained from several police agencies, including the Portland, Ore., Police Department.

"The ADL is running this all over the country," said one source close to the investigation. "The ADL set up this great system for collecting information, and South Africa tapped into it."

Portland police deny any wrongdoing and say the information they passed on to the Anti-Defamation League was available to the public. But San Francisco Police Capt. John Willett said, "We're looking at whether other police agencies have done anything inappropriate."

Arab-Americans are concerned that some of the files have been passed on to the Israeli government and its intelligence agency, Mossad. One person among the 12,000, an Arab-American activist living in Chicago, was recently arrested while traveling in Israel, but authorities said they do not know if there was a connection.

Many details of the investigation are still murky because a San Francisco judge has placed most of the evidence under seal until charges are filed, perhaps next month, authorities said. But the San Francisco Police Commission has ordered the release of individual files to those who were allegedly spied on.

Much of the case revolves around the mysterious figure of Roy Bullock, who has spent the past 40 years as a free-lance investigator and undercover operative.

According to investigators, Bullock, 58, worked on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League as well as other groups and amassed extensive files on Arab-Americans, supporters of the African National Congress, Black Muslims, Irish-Americans, skinheads, neo-Nazis, the National Lawyers Guild, left-wing groups and other activists in the United States.

Authorities said Bullock worked closely with police officers from various departments and collected such confidential information as criminal records, intelligence files, driver's license photographs, home addresses and car registrations.

Some of the information could have been helpful in staking out individual homes and conducting surveillance. Other confidential information could have been valuable to foreign governments concerned about the political activities of visitors from the United States.

Bullock could not be reached for comment, but investigators said he was paid by the Anti-Defamation League through a Los Angeles law firm that acted as an intermediary. Officials of the Anti-Defamation League would not confirm or deny Bullock's association with the organization.

Among the organizations he allegedly infiltrated were skin-head and Arab-American groups, where he gathered detailed information on members.

In one case, his true identity was discovered by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee when a Jewish guest attended a recent meeting in the Bay Area and recognized him as a member of the Anti-Defamation League.

"Usually we don't screen our members," said Nazih Bayda, executive director of the Arab-American group's Los Angeles office. "He was very active. He used to go to events. He never missed a meeting."

Most of the 12,000 files seized by police were obtained in a search of Bullock's San Francisco home, with some confidential files recovered from Anti-Defamation League offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco and the home of then-San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard.

For years, Bullock worked closely with Gerard, who was once assigned to police intelligence and also spent three years in the early 1980s as an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency in Latin America.

At one point, when the San Francisco Police Department moved to restrict its intelligence-gathering functions, Gerard helped arrange for Bullock to work as an informant for the FBI.

The FBI, however, stumbled on the fact that Bullock also was an agent of the South African government and began what has become a two-year investigation into the case. Among other things, the FBI tapped Bullock's telephone and recorded conversations with Gerard in which they discussed intelligence matters.

Authorities allege that Gerard gave confidential Police Department files to Bullock and sold files directly to another agent of the South African government for as much as \$20,000. Though Bullock may have acted as an agent for South Africa and the ADL, there is no indication of collaboration between other representatives of the two parties.

Gerard, who also worked part time providing security for Philippine Airlines, left abruptly for the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with the United States. He later resigned in a letter to the Police Department.

Gerard, contacted in the Philippines by the San Francisco Examiner, said he is the target of "the biggest witch hunt and wild goose chase I've ever seen."

Times staff writer Richard A. Serrano contributed to this story.

10-1