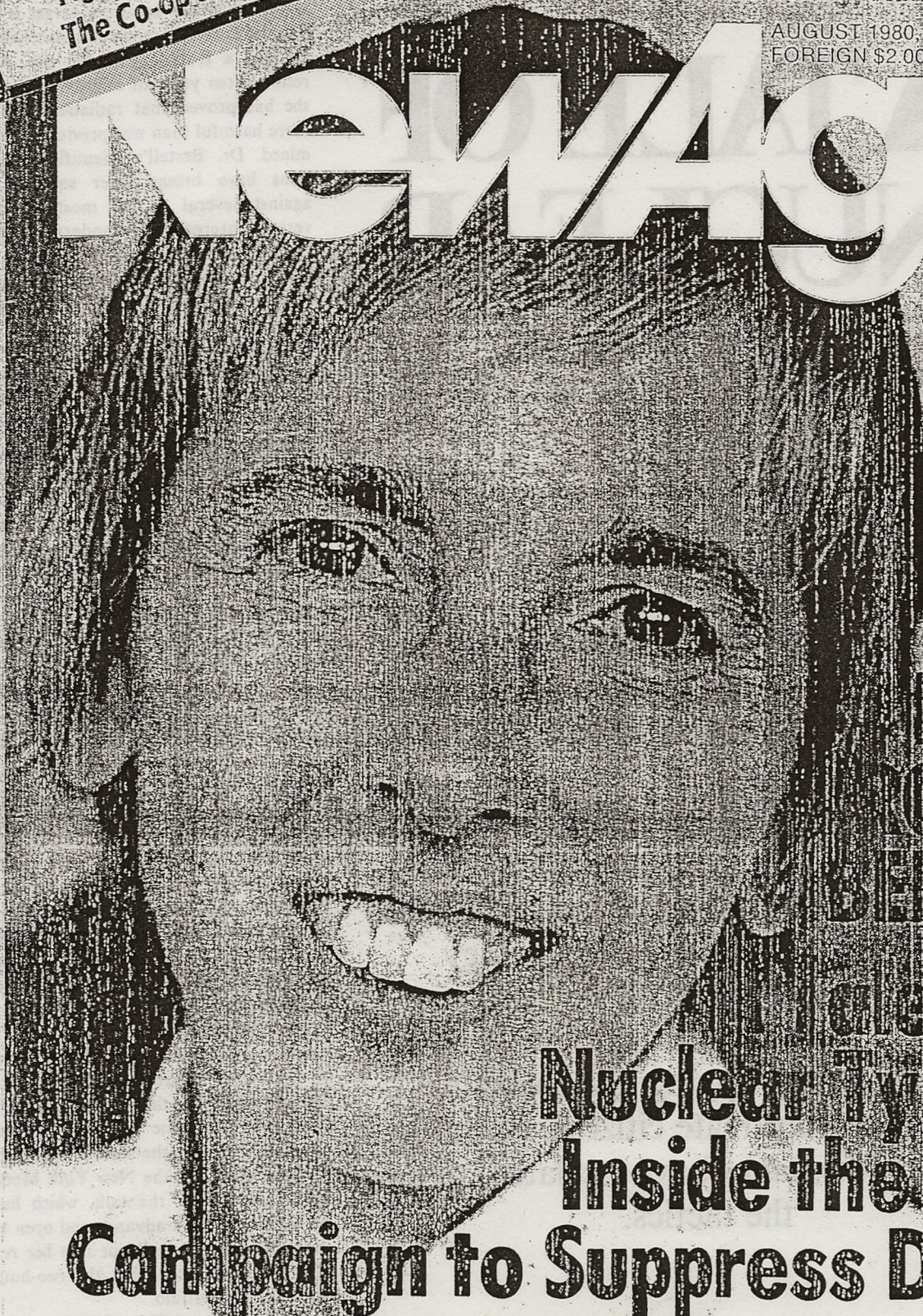


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**WHO
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**...ale of
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A TALE OF NUCLEAR TYRANNY

By Peter Barry Chowka

A new tyranny is loose in the United States—a secret, brutal campaign of official surveillance, suppression, and terror. Behind it is an unholy alliance of government agents, private police, and the nuclear power and weapons industries. Its targets include anyone who seriously questions the further proliferation of atomic technology.

In the past this anti-antinukes network has moved quietly, spying and collecting information on private citizens. Recently, however, as the stakes have escalated, so have the tactics.

One victim was Karen Silkwood, a young nuclear worker whose 1974 death on the highway was made to appear accidental. Another apparent target is Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a renowned cancer scientist and a Roman Catholic nun. As a result of ten years of scientific research, she has proved that radiation is much more harmful than was previously determined. Dr. Bertell's scientific observations have brought her squarely up against several of the most powerful vested interests in modern society. "When you speak out on issues as I have," the slight, soft-spoken Dr. Bertell observes, "then you begin to get quite a bit of retaliation."

The initial reaction came in mid-1978 when Dr. Bertell and her colleagues at Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, New York, were cut off from government funding and thus forced to shut down their radiation research project. Last October 4 the retaliation reached the ultimate level—an apparent attempt on Dr. Bertell's life.

The story began on December 8, 1978, when she appeared as a guest on a local educational television station in Rochester, New York, debating the dangers of nuclear power with the house physicist of the nearby Ginna nuclear power plant. "He did rather poorly," she recalls, "much to the distress of a utility public relations man and a company vice-president who were there. When I came out of the studio after the interview, the vice-president was pounding his fist on a desk. As I went to get my coat, he followed me and shook his fist in my face. He warned me to stay out of Rochester, and he made a vague threat: 'We'll get you.' It was an ugly incident, but instead of arguing with him I attempted to defuse the situation and left as soon as I could."

On Thursday, October 4, 1979, a sunny, perfect fall day as she remembers it, Dr. Bertell returned to Rochester for the first time since the incident the previous year. This time she was to speak about her work to the staff of the Highland Hospital and the New York Medical School. After the talk, which had been announced in advance and open to the public, Dr. Bertell got into her red 1976 Toyota Corolla for the two-hour drive back to Buffalo.

"It was about 4:30, rush hour, and I was driving alone on the expressway," she recounts. "I was still within the Rochester city limits when I realized that there was a car very close to me on the



Peter Barry Chowka

Dr. Rosalie Bertell

left side. First the driver tried to force my car over into the next lane, and then he pulled directly in front of me. Suddenly he dropped a heavy, sharp, metallic object about the size of a gas can out of his car, in line with the left front tire of my car. The traffic was heavy and I couldn't get out of the middle lane, so I tried to straddle the object, but it hit my car. It cut the inside of the left front tire, a brand-new steel-belted radial tire that wasn't even a week old, making a gash about three inches long; it also left a lip in the metal frame of the tire.

"The tire blew out immediately, and I had a hard time controlling my car. I was going about fifty miles per hour. Fortunately, the driver to my left let me through the traffic so I was able to get to the median strip and come to a stop."

Shaken up but otherwise unhurt, Dr. Bertell got out of her car to assess the damage. "It was then," she says, "that another car which had been following a little further back pulled off the road and stopped next to me. It was a brown car marked 'sheriff.' From where I was standing, I couldn't see the driver, but the passenger—neither of them got out—wore a navy blue T-shirt and no insignia of any kind. He asked me what happened. I explained, and he seemed determined to know whether or not I had seen the license number of the car or had retrieved the object. I answered no to both questions, after which he told me it wasn't their jurisdiction but that the Rochester police had already been informed and would send a car to help me. Then, the 'sheriff's' car pulled out and left me in the median strip."

No assistance ever came. Eventually, a passing motorist stopped and helped Dr. Bertell change the ruined tire. Later, Dr. Bertell and her brother, an attorney, confirmed that the brown car was not an official one. Every indication was that "it had nothing to do with any local, county, or state office," she notes. "The Rochester police told me they don't have any brown cars and that everyone riding in a sheriff's car must be in uniform. A search of the records showed that there was no taped radio report or written summary from any sheriff's car. And further, the authorities told me, the metal grate that divides the front and back seats of all official cars is gold, not silver like the one in the brown car. Apparently the brown car was in cahoots with the first car that tried to drive me off the road. It would be rash on my part, I feel, not to think that

"... What happened to Dr. Bertell seems to be part of a pattern of harassment of the antinuclear movement ..."

this was a deliberate attempt on my life."

The Rochester police and other authorities contacted by Dr. Bertell and her brother cited a lack of hard evidence and declined to investigate the incident.

Unmistakably, something highly unusual happened to Dr. Bertell during her drive back to Buffalo. It might be dismissed more easily or even forgotten, however, if it did not seem to be part of what Washington attorney Daniel Sheehan, chief counsel for the plaintiffs in the cases arising from the 1974 killing of nuclear technician Karen Silkwood, termed "definitely a pattern of harassment" of people involved in the antinuclear movement. To date, documented instances of intimidation have included illegal physical and electronic surveillance, the compiling and dissemination of dossiers, break-ins, thefts, disruptions, threats, and, in at least half a dozen cases, murders, attempted murders, and suspicious deaths.

"The interesting aspect of this," says Sheehan, a graduate of Harvard Law School and a former associate of F. Lee Bailey "is that, for the most part, antinuke organizers aren't really aware that this stuff is being done against them most of the time. In fact, the major dynamic of the secret intelligence community that's in operation is to not let the antinuke people know that these things—these methods of trying to neutralize them—are going on."

According to Sheehan and the investigators working on the Silkwood case, the nuclear industry, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the FBI, the CIA, and other official agencies are involved in this extralegal campaign against antinuke activists. Lending credibility to this contention is the painstaking scholarship of Frank J. Donner. A civil liberties attorney, Donner writes in *The Age of Surveillance* (Knopf, 1980), "An ever-growing domestic political espionage system [has] become an institutionalized

response to dissent" in the United States and, in turn, "an institutional pillar of our political order, our mode of governance." In Donner's view, "A secret war [has been] waged continuously for over fifty years against all shades of dissenting politics by the domestic intelligence community . . . dominated by the FBI." Its true purpose, Donner argues, includes not only "passive data collection" but "aggressive intelligence, the intelligence function dominated by a punitive or proscriptive purpose"—in short, the destruction of individuals, groups, and movements that are perceived to threaten the status quo.

Antinuke activists are the most recent targets of this ever more sophisticated repression. Some observers, in fact, view this development as a natural culmination of nuclear science in service of the state and feel that nuclear technology is inevitably accompanied by, and perhaps even a front for, the installation of a social dynamic that is at its heart anti-democratic.

In *The New Tyranny* (Grösset & Dunlap, 1979), Robert Jungk writes, "The atomic age is made to order for totalitarian states . . . Nuclear power triggers the expansion and concentration of government surveillance . . . Is it not the very power which it gives to the central government what makes atomic power so attractive to the 'establishment'? . . . At stake is not only future energy production but how we are governed."

Throughout history scientists have become embroiled in politics and controversy whenever their discoveries clashed with the state's interests. Today the suppression of disfavored science persists on various levels, and although the means may differ, the end remains the same: an information blackout, achieved by effectively isolating or neutralizing the source of the controversial information. While Dr. Bertell was still employed at Roswell Park and trying to publish her original research on radiation, she encountered several instances of the first levels of what she calls "defensive science"—that is, science hired to defend a position.

"We have a strange situation in the U.S. regarding investigations related to radiation," she observes. "Because of the military's involvement with nuclear technology, we've had a proliferation of government laboratories, like Brookhaven, Los Alamos, and Lawrence Livermore,



Karen Silkwood

which have concentrated within themselves all of the scientific expertise related to the nuclear industry, both military and commercial. What happens, then, is that whenever scientific journals receive any radiation-related articles,

they send them to these government labs for peer review [the first step in the process of judging them prior to publication]. A closed system like this, in which the same people talk to one another all the time, reinforcing each other's ideas

and also supporting and promoting the uses of nuclear fission, obviously is going to generate a biased review of articles."

In 1978, when Dr. Bertell submitted an article about the dangers to nuclear workers from radiation to the *American*

Portrait of a Dissident Scientist

Dr. Rosalie Bertell, who belongs to the Roman Catholic order Gray Nuns of the Sacred Heart, earned a Ph.D. degree in mathematics in 1966 at the Catholic University of America. In addition to receiving grants supporting her doctoral and post-doctoral studies from the National Institutes of Health and the state of New York, Dr. Bertell has served as an expert witness before committees of the U.S. Congress, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and other governmental bodies. She has been invited to address scientific meetings on several continents.

Dr. Bertell's specialty is biostatistics, a relatively new field in which mathematical expertise is applied to biology and medicine. From 1969 to 1978 Dr. Bertell worked as a top cancer researcher at Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, New York. There, funded by a grant from the National Cancer Institute, she and her associates began studying the causes of leukemia, a virulent form of cancer that has been linked to the environment. The basis of their work was a comprehensive statistical study of the disease, the *Tri-State Leukemia Survey*, which analyzed all cases of the illness that occurred between 1959 and 1961 in New York, Maryland, and Minnesota, together with a random sample of people who did not suffer from leukemia.

The first determination of the Bertell group was that exposure to ordinary diagnostic X ray was the most important environmental cause of leukemia. Later, it was discovered, as Dr. Bertell wrote in the *Journal of Surgical Oncology* in 1977, that "The biological changes which occur when humans are exposed to ionizing radiation from medical X ray are comparable to those occurring through the natural aging process." In other words, Dr. Bertell explains, "Radiation causes the same kinds of things

that happen normally over time; essentially it undermines the basic health of the body and accelerates the aging process, so that old age diseases occur younger."

For the first time, then, supposedly low-level radiation was linked definitively to causing not only cancer but diabetes, hardening of the arteries, cataracts, coronary disease, and other debilitating symptoms of senility. Cancers, too, the Bertell group found, occurred at ten to twenty times the rate predicted by other earlier authorities. "Permissible" levels of exposure to radiation, Dr. Bertell noted, had been set before there was direct evidence of human health hazards at these low levels.

Initially, these disturbing findings were applied to medical X rays. In the *Surgical Oncology* study, Dr. Bertell observed, "It seems advisable to begin steps immediately to curtail unnecessary X rays or X rays not directly beneficial to the person receiving them." One such questionable use of X rays was the mammography breast screening program co-sponsored by the American Cancer Society and the NCI. Irwin Bross, Ph.D., who directed the radiation research at Roswell Park, testified before Congress in 1977 that mammography would likely *cause* five times as many cases of breast cancer as it was expected to detect. Shortly thereafter, his group's NCI grant was terminated.

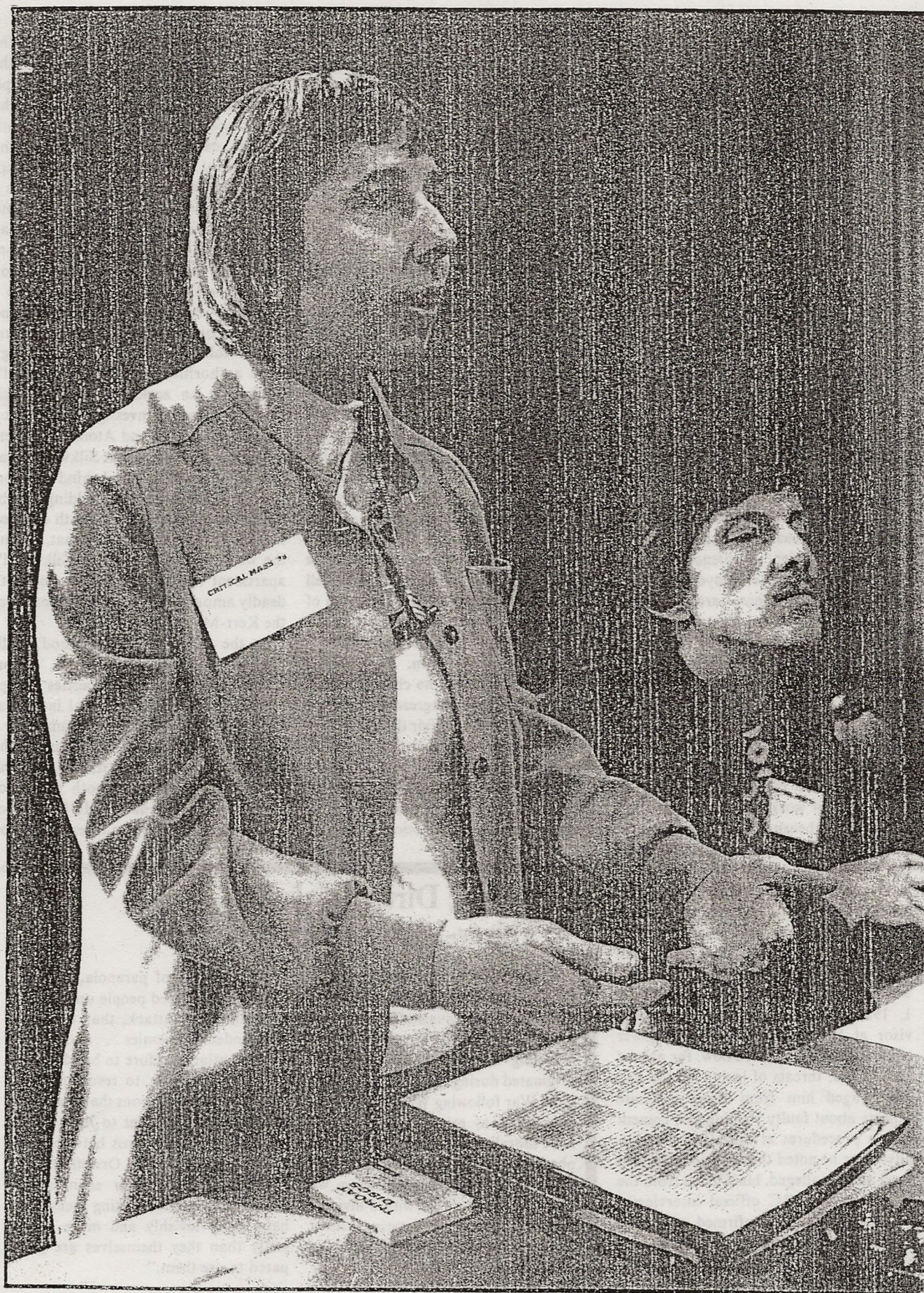
Eventually, Dr. Bertell's findings were extrapolated to nuclear power and weapons facilities and the other myriad industries, processes, and products that use or emit radiation. "There are more and more ways today," says Dr. Bertell, "in which radiation is used—in smoke alarms in homes, in TV sets, in video terminals in airline offices—and so many ways we are being exposed to radiation." The prolific sources of these hazar-

dous radioactive emissions, Dr. Bertell notes, "have become part of the economic fiber of our nation."

One of Dr. Bertell's scientific studies in particular, "The Nuclear Worker and Ionizing Radiation," published in the *American Industrial Hygiene Association Journal*, in May 1979, raised the ire of the nuclear industry. Convincingly, she showed that workers are seriously endangered by present permissible radiation exposure levels. At the paper's conclusion she recommended that "Public policy should risk error on the side of protection of human health rather than protection of corporate economic investment."

Another disturbing conclusion of Dr. Bertell's data is the fact that the debilitating radiation-related health conditions she described are beginning to affect even children and young adults. "These people," she notes, "will be physically less able to cope with radiation, and at the same time our society is generating more and more radiation in the environment. We're dealing with a snowball effect which will get worse, until maybe in the fourth or fifth generation ahead people are going to discover that they're unable to live in the world that we've given them. We're talking about species survival that's being recklessly jeopardized, and yet it's not even being measured."

Asked whether her various published studies have given rise to any substantive scientific criticism of her observations, Dr. Bertell responds, "Nobody has really directly criticized what I've said. The main opposing argument is that if we lower levels of radiation exposure to nuclear workers, for example, then we'll have to hire and train more workers to do the job and that will be more expensive or less productive—that's the level of the opposing argument."



Dr. Rosalie Bertell presents her findings to the Critical Mass '78 conference (Washington, D.C.)

Public Health Association Journal, it was forwarded to an NRC employee at Los Alamos for review. Predictably, he attacked the article as unacceptable for publication, and, according to Dr. Bertell, he also telephoned Dr. Bross, Dr. Bertell's superior at Roswell Park, in a deliberate attempt to undermine her job. Dr. Bertell persevered however, and the paper was finally published in the *APHA Journal*—"but," she notes, "in a very obscure section." The same NRC reviewer, she later discovered, also had tried to reject papers on radiation danger submitted to other journals by Drs. Karl Z. Morgan and Edward A. Martell. "It's kind of ludicrous," Dr. Bertell notes, "and very disconcerting from the point of view of objective science."

The next level of suppression involves implied or real threats to one's employment. As Jungk notes, "In the western world the fear of job loss is the equivalent of the eastern world's harsher methods of dissuasion." Often, threats of firing are sufficient to silence independent-minded nuclear employees or scientists. Meanwhile, there are abundant examples of nuclear industry "whistle-blowers" who have been fired and blacklisted industry-wide for their independent orientations. Journalist Howard Kohn, in a series of articles in *Rolling Stone* (in particular, "The Nuclear Industry's Terrible Power and How It Silenced Karen Silkwood," March 27, 1975), explores numerous instances in which nuclear workers were driven from the industry because they attempted to document safety violations or otherwise call attention to abusive practices. (This industry power apparently reaches beyond the utilities and into the media, where producers of antinuke TV documentaries, according to Kohn, have experienced difficulty later in finding work.) On CBS-TV's *60 Minutes* (June 1, 1980), a former construction supervisor at the Glen Rose nuclear power plant in Texas recounted how, for almost six months, threats of losing his job had discouraged him from filing accurate reports about faulty welding and cement laying procedures at the plant. Eventually, after he noted the violations, he was fired and, he alleged, blacklisted from the industry. An NRC official interviewed on the program confirmed that the agency is powerless to reinstate—and there is little legal recourse open to—blacklisted whistleblowers.

Blacklists are not uncommon in other

“...The NRC,
the FBI, the CIA,
and other official
agencies are involved
in this extralegal
campaign ...”

areas of *Establishment* science [see "Chad Green: A Matter of Life, Death, and Freedom" *New Age*, February 1980], but nowhere is state-sanctioned science as powerful and unaccountable as in the nuclear industry. Dr. Bertell notes that, after the peremptory discontinuation of the NCI grant supporting her work, congressional hearings were held to investigate the cut-off. Ultimately, the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, chaired by Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.), recommended that the NCI reconsider refunding the Bertell radiation project. Dr. Bross, the head of Dr. Bertell's department, duly resubmitted the proposals, but the NCI still refused to fund them. Dr. Bertell observes: "There was no change in NCI policy even after a congressional hearing had uncovered how unfair the cut-off had been. The NCI just flaunted Congress. It was pretty blatant."

Barriers to publishing original work and job harassment are serious impediments to the conduct of science, but they

seem relatively benign compared to the most recent wave of intimidation—the increasing numbers of killings and suspicious deaths of scientists and others who have become identified with the anti-nuclear cause. The most noteworthy instance, to which the apparent attempt on Dr. Bertell's life last October bears a striking resemblance, involved the death of Karen Silkwood, a lab technician employed at a Kerr-McGee plutonium plant who was killed in a car crash on November 13, 1974, while en route to a meeting with a union representative and a *New York Times* reporter to discuss safety violations at the plant. Although state authorities ruled that Silkwood's death was an accidental one-car incident, independent investigators hired by the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union found evidence that Silkwood's car had been rammed from behind and forcibly driven off the road. Adding weight to the contention that her death resulted from foul play was the fact that, during the week prior to her death, Silkwood's apartment had been contaminated with deadly amounts of plutonium taken from the Kerr-McGee plant.

In the aftermath of Silkwood's killing, a coalition of feminist, labor, environmental, and civil liberties groups joined in calling for a formal investigation. However, preliminary inquiries by a number of federal agencies, including the NRC, FBI, Justice Department, General Accounting Office, and both houses of Congress, came to naught. In November 1976 a suit was filed in a federal court on

Domestic Dirty Tricks: A Thirty-Year Legacy

On *Bill Moyers' Journal* (PBC, October 31, 1973), Moyers noted that the clandestine, quasi-official system of surveillance and suppression now afflicting the antinuclear movement originated during the early days of the Cold War following World War II. In attempting to reconstruct the dominant morality of that period, Moyers observed, "In the battle for democracy, against a totalitarian enemy, we would back up virtue with a division of dirty tricks." Historian Henry Steele Commager, interviewed on the program, explained: "The Cold War

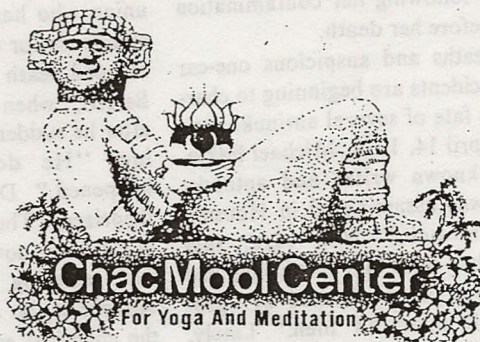
induced a kind of paranoia, that we were a beleaguered people under constant threat of attack, that we were surrounded by enemies . . . and that it was essential therefore to build up an enormous military, to resort to secrecy, to use the weapons that the communists used, in order to *fight* communism. This is a cross between the Kafka world and the Orwell world, where you defeat your enemies by using their weapons—using them perhaps more lavishly and more recklessly than they themselves are prepared to use them."

behalf of Silkwood's parents and her three small children, seeking damages from Kerr-McGee and a widening of the investigation. FBI agents were named as co-defendants because of their alleged cover-up of the case. One year ago, after a lengthy trial on the first count of the suit, Kerr-McGee was convicted of negligence and legal liability for the plutonium contamination of Silkwood prior to her death, and the jury awarded her estate more than \$10 million in damages.

The second, and potentially more significant, part of the Silkwood case, though, has yet to be tried; it is scheduled to be argued in federal court in Oklahoma sometime in 1981. This second count arises from five years of investigations, sworn depositions, and discovery motions delving into Silkwood's death; these procedures reveal, according to Sheehan, that "A whole series of individuals—people inside Kerr-McGee's security division, FBI agents, local police, and others—[were involved in] a civil rights conspiracy against Karen Silkwood and the other workers at the nuclear facility who were trying to tell the American people about the dangers of the nuclear industry."

Prior to Silkwood's death, the actions of these individuals against Silkwood and others included illegal surveillance, harassment, and disseminating illegally obtained information, not to mention the contamination and killing of Silkwood. The entire case, according to a legal brief filed in 1978 by Sheehan, has been characterized by "a massive cover-up" involving local, state, and federal officials, including, apparently, the CIA.

In addition, a series of unusual deaths has plagued Sheehan's continuing investigation. Two potential witnesses inside the intelligence community whom Sheehan had identified as having pertinent knowledge about the Silkwood case died mysteriously just before Sheehan was about to take their sworn statements: "Both men supposedly died of massive coronaries," Sheehan says, "although neither had had a previous history of heart disease. Furthermore," he notes, "both men were in the ground within twenty-four hours of their deaths and with no autopsies." Meanwhile, an investigator hired by Sheehan was shot through the head (one year later, he remains paralyzed) only two days after he arrived in New Mexico to check on Silkwood's stay at the government's Los



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Alamos nuclear facility, where she had been taken following her contamination one week before her death.

Other deaths and suspicious one-car highway accidents are beginning to characterize the fate of several antinuke activists. On April 14, 1979, Michael Eakin, 28, a well-known writer and antinuke organizer, was assassinated in Houston [see "Earthwatch," *New Age*, July 1979]; Sheehan feels that this killing had earmarks of a job performed by "professional-style hired hit men." Lately, other antinuke organizers in Texas have been beaten and harassed. Several years ago, David Comey, an award-winning physicist who helped expose the dangers of radon gas, died in a one-car accident as he was driving from Chicago to Madison, Wisconsin. Anthony Maz-

zocchi, a high official with the OCAW union who has advocated stricter safety standards for nuclear workers, narrowly escaped death recently, according to Dr. Bertell, when his car was destroyed after he suddenly blacked out while driving. "He doesn't remember what happened," Dr. Bertell says, yet she theorizes: "There's an invisible chemical in existence now that can be painted on a car's steering wheel; when the driver absorbs it, he or she passes out. Later, the chemical evaporates from the steering wheel, leaving no clues." If this theory seems incredible, one need only consider the recent, widely published revelations that the CIA had plans to assassinate foreign leaders using an array of bizarre chemicals and techniques.

The clandestine, quasi-official net-

work of surveillance and suppression that harassed, and probably killed, Silkwood and that recently has been directed against others in the antinuke movement, according to Sheehan, "is in fact the same people—the same system—that undertook illegal surveillance against people who were opposed to the Vietnam War. All the methodologies that had been developed to try to neutralize the antiwar movement were in fact simply rolled into place against the antinuke organizers in the 1970s. It's the exact same people, using the same equipment, the same filing systems, and the same computers; it's just that the target is different."

Sheehan alludes to secret staff meetings which the NRC sponsored in 1972 (confirmed in Donner's book) to "find

The Intelligence Agencies: "More than a Conduit"

The intelligence network conducting the surveillance of antinuke activists defies a thumbnail sketch; it is a complex and clandestine grouping, and only recently have its bizarre outlines come into clearer focus.

While investigating the final year of Silkwood's life, attorney Daniel Sheehan learned that the Oklahoma City police and Kerr-McGee security agents had cooperated to spy on Silkwood well before her death—tapping her telephone, stealing and photocopying her private documents, and physically following her. When confronted with these allegations, the police denied them, adding that they did not even possess the sophisticated surveillance equipment needed for such activity. Through a secret source, however, Sheehan had obtained not only descriptions but the serial numbers of the bugging equipment.

Later the investigation led to Risk Management, an office within the George Power Company that employs at least twelve full-time intelligence agents to spy on antinuke organizers within the state. The agency, Sheehan observes, "is a classic microcosm of what goes on nationally." The Risk team employed former FBI, CIA, and military intelligence operatives, most of them trained in espionage and counterintelligence techniques, Sheehan learned, at the National

Intelligence Academy in Ft. Lauderdale, a "private" facility established by a CIA agent.

According to Sheehan, Risk Management sought information about Silkwood before she died; this information was provided through LEIU computers. The Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit is another "private" organization, a sort of "fraternity" of 240 top intelligence agents, "employed," according to Sheehan, "by large municipal and state police departments. It has its own computer network, linking at least 100 computers nationwide, for the purpose of exchanging dossiers on political leftists." According to Sheehan, Operational Systems (OP), a West Coast affiliate of LEIU, helped to conduct the illegal surveillance against Proposition 13's organizers in 1978, and OP's director, Paul Romelli, "formerly worked for the Justice Department giving out LEAA [Law Enforcement Assistance Administration] grants to local police to purchase equipment for surveillance. It's positively incestuous."

Further attempts by the Silkwood investigators to dislodge more information were met with stonewalling tactics and pleas of "national security" and "state secrets" by an Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division of the U.S. Justice Department (*New York Times*, May

7, 1978). Indeed, it appears that the government has a lot to conceal.

After Silkwood's death, an FBI informer-agent, Jacque Srouji, whose cover was serving as a full-time journalist for the Nashville *Tennessean*, was dispatched to Oklahoma by the FBI to gather information on Silkwood. *Critical Mass* (Aurora Publishers, 1976), her book about Silkwood, attacks the plutonium worker as a sexually promiscuous drug taker. While Srouji was researching the book, the FBI showed her 1,000 pages of secret documents on the Silkwood case; later the agency tried to withhold many of the same papers from the Silkwood attorneys.

In May 1976 Srouji's cover was exposed when she was compelled to testify before a congressional committee and admitted her twelve-year FBI association. She was immediately fired from the *Tennessean*, whose publisher claimed to have been unaware of her dual role. Meanwhile, *Time* (May 24, 1976) described Srouji as "more than a conduit—even an agent provocateur." *Time* quoted Nashville antinuke columnist Dolph Honicker as saying that Srouji had once tried to encourage him to destroy property in the Nashville Federal Office Building as a supposed antinuke protest.

out how they should take steps to deal with antinuke organizers." "The NRC-Intelligence Assessment Team," Donner writes, "has developed an interface with all other radical-watching elements of the domestic intelligence community." Sheehan observes, "The two people who chaired the NRC's first meeting were William C. Sullivan, who was the head of COINTELPRO [and also the leader of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division], and his assistant. When you take your head guy right from COINTELPRO, there's not much doubt about what you're planning."

According to FBI records obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests, COINTELPRO (counter intelligence programs) actions implemented in 1956-71 included a variety of techniques: the promotion of serious disruption of targeted groups ("which sometimes bore violent fruit," according to Donner); discrediting individuals, either quietly within organizations or by planting false accusations in the public media; preventing the exercise of free speech and assembly; attempting to have targeted individuals fired from their jobs; and involving other government agencies (notably the IRS) in actively harassing targets. Illegal break-ins, secret wiretapping, and other unconstitutional practices were endemic to the program.

Indeed, recent disruptions within the antinuke movement are reminiscent of COINTELPRO actions. Sheehan notes that organizers of the 1978 antinuke Proposition 13 referendum in California were plagued by threats, office break-ins, and thefts. *In These Times* (June 4-17, 1980) reports that the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, which sponsored the antinuke demonstration and civil disobedience in Washington, D.C., this April, had its checkbook and financial records stolen during an early morning burglary one day before the demonstration.

The information that Sheehan and his colleagues are developing for the next Silkwood trial reveals that the covert anti-antinuke network is linked not only to FBI COINTELPROs but to the CIA and to past clandestine operations such as the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Watergate break-in, and to the training of agents of DINA and SAVAK (respectively, the secret police of Chile and the deposed Shah's regime in Iran). Sheehan notes that the National Intelli-

(Continued on page 68)

"a life that combines gritty determination, monasticism and the pioneer spirit."

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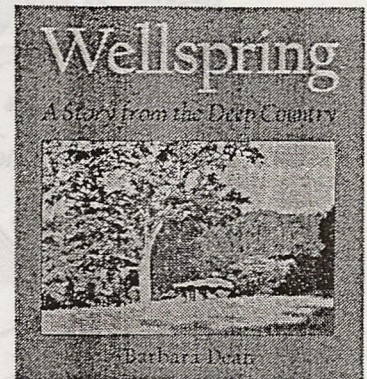
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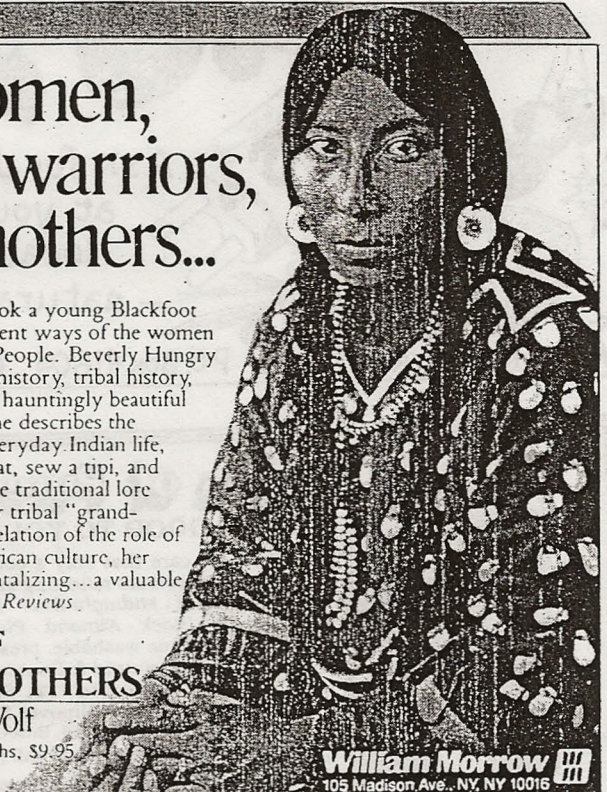
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Nuclear Tyranny

(Continued from page 35)

gence Academy, a private installation in Florida, has trained people involved in all of these actions and organizations; now, Sheehan charges, many of the same individuals are participating in the active surveillance and suppression of antinuke activists.

Although the activities undertaken on behalf of this secret network of intelligence and intimidation are clearly illegal, many of the participants are in effect above the law. Sheehan suggests, "They do this [illegal] work privately, realizing that no one's ever going to prosecute them, because, in many cases, they're law enforcement officers and they're getting their money from LEAA [the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration]. That's what happened in the Silkwood case, and that's why the FBI is trying so desperately to shut down the Silkwood case. It's a snakepit if this ever gets out."

Truly, the mantle of secrecy continues to be a thin veneer preventing public recognition and change of this self-perpetuating military-nuclear-surveillance status quo.

Dr. Bertell explains, "Since 1945 we've become a militaristic country, and there has been a gradual moving of science into the area of secrecy and classified material for national security purposes. We've witnessed an erosion of democracy, a moving of decision-making into the military, and a constant moving of money out of the public sector and into the military. Next year's federal budget calls for an 18 percent increase in military spending and a decrease in everything else.

"The nuclear power industry is clearly a facade for the military. It came out of the decision in 1954 by the Eisenhower administration to push ahead with nuclear bombs as the so-called deterrent strategy of the U.S. Along with this, they inaugurated the 'Atoms for Peace' program. Right now in the U.S. we are producing three to four nuclear bombs every day, each one with one hundred to one thousand times the kill power of the Hiroshima bomb. For an industry of that volume you need many support industries, including the cooperation of the whole university system to turn out nuclear engineers and physicists. And

you need an acceptance on the part of the public for this whole system. Clearly the weapons industry *needs* the nuclear power industry in order to exist."

Dr. Bertell maintains that calling attention to the deleterious health effects of the nuclear cycle is the key to changing the system. "If the health effects are exposed," she says, "nobody will want to make the weapons, and people will realize that we're literally killing ourselves by relying on nuclear technology. My hope is that if you can unmask that fact, you can begin to get people moving into alternative systems of energy and national security."

"You just have to keep saying all of this out loud," Dr. Bertell insists, "respecting people's freedom of choice but making sure they understand what they're doing. Most people are dodging these issues, putting them out of their minds; they prefer to collect their salaries and hope that nuclear destruction doesn't happen in their lifetimes."

For Dr. Rosalie Bertell, though, the path ahead is clearly laid out: "All my life," she says, "if I saw something to do, I just did it. You use your expertise to be clear on what you think is really happening, and once you see that you did a straight job on science, yet it's obvious that the line being given the public is wrong, there's not much doubt about what you must do next."

The loss of funding, the threats, and the apparent attempt on her life have not deterred Dr. Bertell. "I suppose I'm crazy," she jokes, "but after the incident last October 4 I felt pretty well taken care of. Whoever was looking after me clearly was more powerful than the forces that were trying to destroy me. So I guess I don't feel deterred. But, anyway, after you've stumbled onto something like this, there aren't any choices. There's no way you can forget it and live with yourself."

For more information on the Silkwood case, contact: *Christic Institute, 1324 N. Capitol St., Washington DC 20002, (202) 797-8106. For details on Dr. Bertell's work, contact: Ministry of Concern for Public Health, 151 East St., Buffalo NY 14207, (716) 874-5955.*

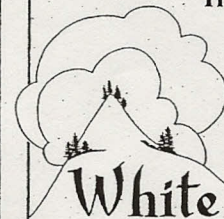
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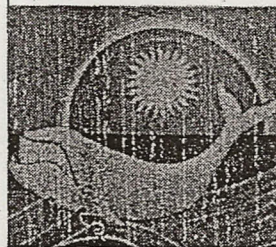
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