

research reports

The Busing Plot: CIA Plans Fall Race Riots, Organizes Both Sides

"It's not going to be a long hot summer — it's going to be a long hot fall." — Ben Holman

July 8 (IPS) — The IPS intelligence staff has uncovered evidence indicating that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is involved in a conspiracy to provoke racial conflict in major cities across the nation this fall. The bulk of the information is the product of a thorough investigation of the admissions of self-exposed Federal Bureau of Investigation agent Vernon Higgins, whose most recent assignment was to infiltrate the U.S. Labor Party in the Detroit region. To carry out this racial violence, the CIA has coordinated the activities of its Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) police apparatus; the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare; a plethora of local and national CIA-controlled right-wing paramilitary groups including the Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan; and the leading CIA-controlled pseudo-left-wing groups, the Revolutionary Union and the Socialist Workers Party.

Higgins outlined the history of his career as an FBI spy to Detroit Labor Committee Intelligence and Security personnel the night of June 19. Higgins said he had been trained in Naval Intelligence for the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, particularly in photo-reconnaissance. As an informer receiving \$70 per month in the Pontiac, Michigan Ku Klux Klan two years ago, Higgins said he was active in the 1971 bombing of Pontiac school buses as a so-called "protest" against court-ordered desegregation. Our assessment is that the CIA provided the FBI agents such as Higgins to provoke the conditions and stage the incidents that led to racial conflict in that city.

Holman's Prediction

Higgins' admissions corroborate IPS' evaluation of the recent "prediction" by Ben Holman, Director of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice, that "It's not going to be a long hot summer; it's going to be a long hot fall." This announcement, reported in the June 1 *Washington Star-News*, is most likely a self-fulfilling prophecy by an agent privy to the CIA's covert operations scenario.

Holman predicted "racial disorders" around school desegregation in thirty cities, mostly in the north, when schools reopen in September. He insisted that "trouble will occur regardless of which way Congress moves on proposals to limit busing of children for purposes of racial balance." According to the *Washington Star-News* article, the thirty cities are broken down into three categories: cities sure to have riots, those probable, and those doubtful, with ten cities being in the first category. (See accompanying chart.)

A key activating element in the scenario is the deployment of Community Relations Service "cushion teams" made up of lawyers, social workers and others whose task, according to Holman, is to "steer frustration

CITIES PREDICTED TO HAVE RACIAL DISORDERS BY THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

"Sure"

- * Boston, Massachusetts
- * Springfield, Ohio
- * San Francisco, California
- * Indianapolis, Indiana
- * Rockford, Illinois
- * St. Paul, Minnesota
- * Denver Colorado
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Huntington, West Virginia
- Louisville, Kentucky

"Likely"

- Waterbury, Connecticut
- New Kensington, Pennsylvania
- Arnold, Pennsylvania
- Uniontown, Pennsylvania
- New Castle, Pennsylvania
- Youngstown, Ohio (Youngstown and above five in immediate Pittsburgh area)
- San Bernadino, California
- Tuscon, Arizona
- Chatanooga, Tennessee
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- Mt. Vernon, New York
- Lackawanna, New York
- Omaha, Nebraska
- St. Louis, Missouri

"Pending"

- Richmond, Virginia
- Kansas City, Missouri
- Des Moines, Iowa
- Wilmington, Delaware
- Baltimore, Maryland
- Braddock, Pennsylvania

*Justice Department "Cushion Teams" sent.

into the existing community apparatus, working closely with the LEAA, the Department of Labor, and the Education Division of HEW." Such teams have already been requested by and deployed to Boston; Springfield, Mass.; San Francisco; Indianapolis; Rockford, Ill.; St. Paul; and Denver. These "cushion teams" are akin to other known CIA creations, the "hostage negotiating teams," the "anti-bigotry teams," and the entire network of "crisis intervenors" and "conflict resolvers." (IPS has available a background report, originally printed in *New Solidarity* newspaper, detailing the CIA's organizing, over a twenty year period, of the crisis intervention network of which the Justice Department's CRS is one component.)

Most important, the crystal-ball clarity of Holman's announcement indicates that racial conflict is an integral part of the CIA's insurrectionary strategy. In sum, such racial incidents are geared to (1) decimate the nascent tendencies towards working-class fighting unity against current austerity measures; (2) provide the pretext for military occupation of the cities under CIA devised "emergency preparedness" plans; and (3) begin the mass extermination of inner city residents considered "useless" under depression conditions.

DOL and HEW Roles

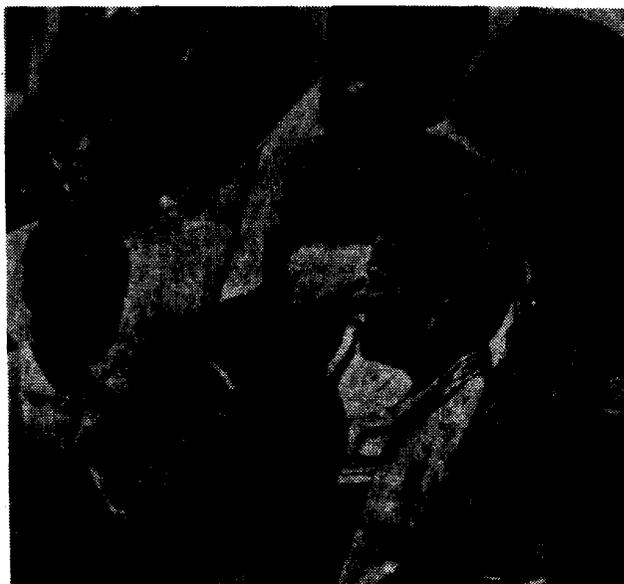
As Holman notes, both the Departments of Labor and HEW are helping to manufacture the scheduled riots. June 14 the Labor Department announced major cut-backs in funding for youth recreation programs in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Chicago. This was accomplished by dividing Congress' \$117 million appropriation between 500 cities instead of the usual 120. Cut-backs are as follows: New York from \$2,362,000 to \$1,094,868; Philadelphia from \$532,500 to \$193,000; Los Angeles from \$602,000 to \$308,000; and Chicago from \$914,000 to \$859,376. Congressional objections to this — "Recreational support is a big city program, originally designed to 'keep the cities cool' during the long, hot summer months when large numbers of youth are out of school and idle" — have proved fruitless.

HEW is also contributing to the heating-up process by threatening to cut funding to schools which remain racially imbalanced. At the present time, the only city which has lost funding is Ferndale, Michigan, located halfway between Detroit and Pontiac. Furthermore, HEW has ordered desegregation of state colleges in Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, threatening again loss of monies.

The effect of such provocations can be seen in recent racial flare-ups in Detroit. In mid-June, the press played up anti-teacher sentiments surrounding student protests which also involved parents. As of June 13, at least one school had closed for several days and students had to be accompanied by parents when returning to school. Students had broken windows and damaged cars, threatening walk-outs at thirteen schools.

The Holman prediction demonstrates that the CIA is now reactivating its counter-gang apparatus around the bogus busing issue in preparation for race war across the nation this fall.

Already the preliminary exposure of this game plan in *New Solidarity* has put the CIA apparatus on the defensive. The first time IPS reporters interviewed Holman's public relations man, they were told that the article in which Holman's predictions appeared was an accurate representation of that agent's position. In a second call, IPS reporters were told that the article was a total misrepresentation of Holman's views and the thirty cities named merely represented areas to which the



The military steps in to keep order, CIA-style.

Justice Department could send help should there be trouble.

The 1971 Incitements

Much of the late 1960's turmoil centered around the two major school desegregation cases, Swann vs. Mencklenburg County (the Charlotte, North Carolina school system) and Brown vs. the Topeka School Board. In general, agitation was high in Atlanta, New York City, Richmond and Detroit. This last case, though not as highly publicized as the southern cases, continued unabated through the 1960's and was purposely escalated in 1971. This reactivation came precisely at the point that the onslaught of capitalist depression, marked by the monetary collapse of August 15, 1971, demanded an escalation of capitalist attack on the key industrial working class population in the Detroit region.

A fight led by social fascist Senators Mondale and Ribicoff against the alleged inadequacy of a newly proposed desegregation bill, HR 19446, sparked the creation of the Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, chaired by Mondale and including Senators Bayh, Javits, and others. Mondale proposed alternative legislation. As soon as the Congressional battle hit the press, agitation erupted in Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, New York City, and Boston around the busing issue. Two notorious anti-busing operatives immediately rose to the surface: Boston's Louise Day Hicks and Pontiac's Irene McCabe. Detroit was slated for controlled racial violence.

Before McCabe's newly formed National Action Group could get off the ground as a white counter-gang, the CIA had to build a climate of racial hysteria. In January 1971, STRESS, a Brazilian-style death squad, was created by the Detroit Police with LEAA funds. This unit proceeded to shoot to death one ghetto resident per month over a period of 15 months. Using the terror and

hysteria created in the black community by STRESS, the New Detroit counterinsurgency apparatus, grouped around Coleman Young, Ken Cockrel, and the CIA-LEAA funded Afro-American Policemen, consolidated anti-STRESS sentiment in a death grip of local control over the ghetto. These agents made every effort to polarize the community along racial lines, including sending out opinion research teams to whip up and funnel hysteria into self-policing, community-control LEAA-type structures.

This process was aided by the strategic presence of the fascist police groups — Revolutionary Union, Socialist Workers Party, the RU-directed Black Workers Congress, and the Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement. These fascists provided the left cover to deflect radicalized workers into New Detroit local control. The same wave of hysteria in the plants allowed racist Irene McCabe and the KKK to set up a network among white workers.

As the hysteria was being built throughout 1971 in the black community, a coordinated drive was set for the summer. In May, a February 1970 Federal Court decision demanding busing for the Detroit area was upheld by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. On August 15, Irene McCabe announced the organization of the National Action Group (NAG) for the purpose of leading anti-busing demonstrations. McCabe's NAG did not actually recruit heavily until after the bombing of thirteen school buses on August 30, 1971 by the Ku Klux Klan. While there were a number of other rightwing groups involved in the demonstrations, most slightly milder than NAG but again usually led by women, NAG was hegemonic. The following grid of 1971 incidents indicates the nationally coordinated attempt to heighten racial tension around the Pontiac situation:

- Sept. 2 — anti-busing rally by NAG of 5000 in Pontiac.
- Sept. 3 — teachers strike threatened over economic issues.
- Sept. 7 — schools open, with demonstrations leading to fourteen arrests.
- Sept. 8 — more demonstrations and arrests.
- Sept. 9 — Klan bombing conspirators arrested.
- Sept. 11 — McCabe leads a sixty per cent effective wildcat at the General Motors Fisher Body plant. Her attempts the next day to escalate the "strike" fail, as the number of those wildcatting drops drastically.
- Oct. 6 — Senator Mondale announces that his committee will hold hearings on the Pontiac situation in the town itself.

Present evidence indicates that McCabe is linked to the CIA through her lawyer and fellow spokesperson L. Brooks Patterson, current Oakland County Prosecutor and funded directly by the LEAA. In an IPS interview, the Pontiac LEAA head Ronald Rhodes confirmed that

the LEAA has a very close relationship with Patterson, and that their personnel "can walk into the county prosecutor's office any time and see his files."

How the Klan Was Used

Although he was surrounded by lesser agents such as Vernon Higgins, the pivotal figure in the bombing set-up was Klan Grand Dragon, Robert Miles. One of the six Klansmen arrested and convicted of the bombing, Miles was used by the CIA to pull the extreme rightwing underground into a tightly controlled network. Key to this was Miles' friendship with agent Roy Frankhauser, Grand Dragon of Pennsylvania, with whom Miles was working simultaneously to direct school bombings around desegregation and to bring the extreme right together around such actions.

Frankhauser, who was fully entrenched in the LEAA, was a major arms and explosives conduit for extremists, some of his material finding its way into the Detroit area. He also probably was responsible for bombings in the black and Puerto Rican ghetto of Reading, Pennsylvania. Frankhauser had previously united the Klans of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the National Renaissance Party and, by implication, the Minutemen of which Frankhauser was regional head. Frankhauser's ties to the CIA are indicated by the fact that he was responsible for bringing the National Renaissance Party into the fold of "legitimate" rightwing extremists around a joint defense of Miles, thus incorporating into the network the Gusano organization with which the National Renaissance Party has close relations, including its "sister" group, the Commandos Libres Nationalistas.

These semi-legal groups were gathered together in an alliance around a joint regional paramilitary training center. Frankhauser also worked with Miles to establish Unity Now, an international organization based in Toronto, run by Wieche Martin, leader of the Nazi International, now called The World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists.

United Fascist Front

This work accomplished, the two attempted to organize the ultimate CIA control set-up—a united front between right and left countergangs. Touring together, both Miles and Frankhauser started urging that the unified extreme right unify with the extreme left to bring down the government. Miles met with Youth Against War and Fascism and the *Fifth Estate*, a Detroit-based underground newspaper countergang. An early community-control paper, the *Fifth Estate* came directly out of the Students for a Democratic Society "JOIN" operation, a creation of the counterinsurgency organizer Saul Alinsky. As part of the negotiations, Miles urged that while he was still a Klansman he could not agree completely with the ravings of Klan Imperial Wizard Shelton's racism, and, in fact, he admired the Black Panthers. The fight, said Miles, was against



One side of the CIA-controlled race war.

"monopolistic capitalism" based on the fact that "workers need unity and self-image." (Reported in the *Fifth Estate*, March 11, 1972.) By 1973, Miles had split with the Klan to further his organizing of extremist unity. The Klan "has too narrow appeal" he claimed, touting the fact that he supported McGovern in the 1972 election because of his radicalism.

Miles and Frankhauser also operated under the cover of the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ, Miles being the minister of one church in Howell near Pontiac, Michigan and Frankhauser a minister in Reading, Pennsylvania. The Reading area, where Frankhauser was an extensive paramilitary operator, contains no less than six of the thirty cities slated by Holman for race riots this fall!

The infiltration and organizing groundwork already laid, the FBI now proceeded with the Pontiac bombing to escalate tension and publicity around the busing issue and to turn the Klan into a white countergang.

FBI Bombings

On the evening of August 30, 1971 bombs were placed and blew up thirteen of the forty school buses that were to be used to transport 8,700 of the 25,000 students to "desegregating" schools a few days later in Pontiac. The bombing was widely described as a "professional" job. Six men were arrested (including Miles) and charged with two counts of conspiracy. The trial testimony centered around James Lauinger, an FBI informer, who claimed to have been in the Klan for four years. His control was chief of Pontiac FBI, Phil Macado, whom Vernon Higgins also designated as his control. A discrepancy was brought up in the trial around the FBI's admitted knowledge of the bombing conspiracy as early as July. The agency claims that they informed Pontiac's police chief who, however, insists he was never told! All six men were found guilty and are presently on appeal. Miles has split his case from the other five and is now being defended by Thunderbolt, an arm of the National States Rights Party.

One of the other arrested men, Wallace Fruit, claimed his group was closely tied with the National Action Group. Irene McCabe denied any such ties to this lunatic fringe.