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ALEXANDER COCKBURN AND JEFFREY ST. CLAIR

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Where Did the Radiation Plumes from Japan Touch Down? **The Fukushima Disaster and Infant Deaths in the U.S.A.**

- **At Least 19 Cities in Harm's Way**
- **Why EPA Monitoring is a Joke**

By Pierre Sprey with Alexander Cockburn

CounterPunch has established that in the eight weeks after the nuclear disaster at the Fukushima complex in Japan on March 11, infant mortality in 19 U.S. cities increased by 35 per cent.

In the course of this review, conducted by CounterPunch's statistical consultant, Pierre Sprey, it also became clear that the Environmental Protection Agency's

monitoring system, known as RadNet, is hopelessly inadequate to assess the effect on U.S. public health of a nuclear accident either overseas or here in the Homeland. EPA's routine sampling is laughable, with sampling frequency and geographic coverage that are hopeless for tracking radiation exposures of concern to public health. EPA's extra sampling following disasters like Three Mile Island

or Fukushima can, at best, identify only a tiny fraction of the significant touch-downs of the concentrated radiation plumes from an accident site.

This past June, to check on a Sherman and Mangano piece on the CounterPunch website showing elevated infant deaths in eight cities in the Pacific Northwest post-Fukushima, we asked CounterPunch's statistical advisor Pierre Sprey to review data available from the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in the form of weekly deaths of infants of one year or less in 122 reporting cities across the U.S.A. This is the only available database where one can get numbers bearing on very recent mortality trends within a week or so after the deaths occurred. Most other mortality databases are not published within a year or more of the events covered.

In June, Sprey reviewed data from all eight cities mentioned in the Sherman/

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In Part One, in our last newsletter, David Price, using fresh documents released to him by the FBI, detailed the Russian anthropologist Mark Zborowski's years as an NKVD agent: how he infiltrated Trotsky's inner circle, with ensuing involvement in Trotsky's and his son's deaths. Price concluded Part One with Zborowski's move to the U.S.A. during the Second World War, his work on Margaret Mead's research projects, and his involvement in Harold Wolff's CIA-linked research on pain tolerance.

Mark Zborowski lived in the United States for over a dozen years before the FBI realized that he was a NKVD agent. It was not the diligence of Hoover's G-Men that alerted the FBI to Zborowski in 1954, but a tip from former Soviet General Alexander Orlov, who had defected from the Soviet Union in 1938. In conversations with David and Lilia Dallin in 1954, discussing Russians then living in New York, Orlov deduced that Zborowski was the NKVD

Mark Zborowski in a World of Pain: Part Two: Trial by FBI **By David Price**

agent infiltrating the Paris Trotskyite movement in the 1930s, known to him only as "Mark."

When David Dallin learned from Orlov that Zborowski had been an NKVD agent in Paris, he contacted the FBI. The FBI began questioning Zborowski in December 1954. At first Zborowski did not provide much truthful information, initially denying that he had ever worked as a Soviet agent, but after subsequent FBI visits, in January 1955, he admitted that he had been a NKVD agent in Europe, while maintaining he had not spied for the NKVD in the U.S.A.

For decades, scholars, Trotskyites, and members of intelligence agencies have debated whether Lila Dallin was a

NKVD agent infiltrating Trotsky's Paris circle along with Zborowski. A now declassified, detailed, 1972 CIA study, "Leon Trotsky: Dupe of the NKVD," collected circumstantial evidence suggesting Lilia Dallin was, indeed, secretly working as an NKVD operative, but its findings were inconclusive. This possibility remains an open question, yet the lack of any records supporting these claims emerging from Soviet NKVD/KGB archives suggests Dallin offered continual assistance to and defense of Zborowski until he was publicly exposed as an NKVD agent because she sincerely believed he was a fellow Trotskyite.

Given Lilia Dallin's 1939 role in convincing Trotsky that Zborowski was

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Mangano article, as well as the three remaining Pacific area CDC-reporting cities to the north of these eight: San Jose, Santa Cruz, Fresno, Berkeley, San Francisco, Sacramento, Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane and Boise. Sprey found that the four northernmost Pacific Northwest cities of these eleven—Portland, Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane—showed remarkably significant results.

During the ten weeks before March 11 the four cities suffered 55 deaths among infants less than one year old. In the ten weeks after Fukushima 78 infants died—a 42 per cent increase, one that is statistically significant. To confirm once again that these results were not due to seasonality, Sprey compared the infant deaths in the ten weeks after Fukushima to the deaths in the equivalent ten weeks a year earlier. The results were almost identical with the ten weeks before Fukushima in 2010. Within the equivalent ten weeks of 2010, 53 infants died in these four cities.

The post-Fukushima deaths are 47 per cent higher than they were in the same period a year before—once again, statistically significant. If you add the equally far north city of Boise, Idaho, to the four-city sample, the results remain almost unchanged.

Such results are not as surprising as

they seem: Chernobyl was associated with similar spikes in infant mortality at various distant locations in Europe. Even though our northern Pacific coast is 4,500 miles from Fukushima, significant localized concentrations of radioisotopes are to be expected because the meltdown's radiation plumes carried by the Pacific's westerly winds, much like pollution plumes and ash plumes elsewhere, did not disperse uniformly with distance—contrary to the equations used by all atmospheric computer modelers. In fact, actual observations of radiation dispersal after Chernobyl or volcanic ash dispersal after any notable eruption, including the recent Icelandic eruptions, always show that the particles disperse in unpredictable and surprisingly concentrated plumes, which touch down occasionally and with high concentrations at great distances from the source.

In his June review on our website, Sprey pointed out that an important line of inquiry would be to correlate the sampled cities' infant death results with contemporaneous measurements of radiation levels in the drinking water, and possibly the milk supplies in nearby areas. In that review, Sprey selected the four Northwest city samples because he was trying to analyze the data from all CDC-reporting cities within a geographically consistent area that might have been exposed to Japanese radiation.

Now Sprey, with the help of *CounterPunch* researcher Jed Bickman, has widened his purview and sharpened his selection criteria to include more cities. He looked for cities specifically defined by elevated radiation levels near them, using EPA iodine-131 measurements as the indicator of a nearby plume touchdown. Locations in the EPA RadNet database showing significantly raised iodine-131 in any air, rain or drinking water sample (or significantly raised strontium-89 in a milk sample) within the 20 days following Fukushima were selected. If any of the 122 cities reporting weekly mortality to the CDC was nearby or within 100 miles or so downwind of one of these RadNet locations, this was taken as an indicator that the reporting city could have been exposed to a radioactive plume touchdown. Note that, as discussed at greater length below, the EPA RadNet samples are so sparse in time and space—days or weeks apart and often hundreds and hundreds of miles

between monitoring sites—that the vast majority of actual plume touchdowns across the country almost certainly remained undetected.

Using this approach, Sprey selected 19 cities showing evidence of being near a touchdown within 20 days of the Fukushima disaster. Five proved to be Portland, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma and Boise, the cities already examined in the June analysis. Five more from the Sherman/Mangano study also met the criteria: Santa Cruz, Sacramento, San Francisco, San Jose and Berkeley. New cities added were Long Beach, Las Vegas, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Colorado Springs, Denver and, surprisingly, three cities in Florida—St. Petersburg, Tampa and Jacksonville.

Sprey took infant deaths during the eight weeks after the Fukushima disaster on March 11 (weeks 11 through 20 of 2011) and compared them to two control samples. One control sample was the deaths during the identical eight-week period from a year earlier (weeks 11 through 20 of 2010), and the second was the eight-week period in 2011 just before Fukushima.

Sprey found that, when compared to 2010, infant mortality in the 19-city sample increased by a statistically significant 35 per cent. The raw numbers are 305 infant deaths in the eight weeks after Fukushima and 226 deaths for the same eight-week period in 2010. Comparing the 305 post-Fukushima deaths to the 259 infant deaths in the eight weeks just before the meltdown yielded a statistically significant 18 per cent increase.

The percentages are not quite as large as the percentage increases for the four-city sample of the June review, but statistical reliability has increased considerably, because the sample almost doubled the number of cities and quadrupled the number of deaths included.

As Sprey reviewed the data available, he was astounded at the sampling inadequacy of EPA's RadNet, all that the United States has available to monitor the exposure and health risks of large masses of people during a nuclear accident—most importantly during a domestic power plant accident where far more Americans would be at risk than from Fukushima.

Radiation does not disperse according to any model. Plumes move unpredictably. Thus, the only way to monitor is

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to have a network which is geographically dense enough, and to sample often enough that it doesn't miss a lot of plume touchdowns. And the sampling frequency needs to be adequate for each of the ways in which the public could be exposed to harmful radiation: through drinking water, milk, rain, and airborne particles.

As stated at the outset, EPA's RadNet is hopelessly inadequate. For an example, Sprey looked up what the RadNet database had collected for the decade 2001 to 2010 in the most populous state in the union, California.

Air: first, consider airborne isotope results across 10 years for the entire state of California, measuring six isotopes of concern for public health: iodine-131 and five others (in EPA lingo, these are called air filter samples). Across the entire decade, there were only 11 readings, all of them conducted on one day, December 31, 2009 – and only one sample for each of 11 cities on that day.

Milk: in a decade, EPA took only six readings for all of California, one in Los Angeles, and five samples in San Francisco.

Rain: EPA measured only gross gamma radiation and a short list of isotopes, which doesn't include iodine-131 or strontium-89, both of prime interest for public health after a nuclear power plant accident. Over the decade, rain sample readings were taken only once a month, and only at one site in all of California: Berkeley till March 2004, then Richmond from March 2004 to June 2010. After June there are no readings, because either EPA failed to update the database or lost interest.

Drinking water: this is a major health concern because a city's drinking water exposes citizens to radioactive particles washed into the system from across an entire watershed. Only three cities received any drinking water readings at all. In Los Angeles, EPA took one isotope reading a year but only for iodine-131, cesium-137 and tritium. Tritium measurements of interest only to detect if a thermonuclear explosion has taken place, are useless, and iodine has an eight-day half-life, so it disappears long before the next one-a-year sample is taken. In Richmond, EPA measured drinking water once a year, but only for seven years of the decade. Berkeley made do with three years.

In New York State the situation is just

as bad. In all of New York, air filter isotope readings were taken on just one day, December 31, 2009. For drinking water isotopes, EPA measured one sample per year in only three cities: Albany, Niagara Falls, and Syracuse. New York City had no drinking water readings for the entire decade.

For rain, there were monthly readings at two places in New York State: Yaphank and Albany. New York City's rain remained unmonitored.

For milk: over the decade, three milk samples were measured for Buffalo and two for Syracuse; New York City milk drinkers were left to fend for themselves.

Amid these appalling deficiencies, EPA thumps its chest proudly for its small network of about 125 "near-real time," continuously monitoring stations across the U.S.A. – stations that measure gamma radiation as continuous graphs (at infrequent intervals, these stations also send in air sample filters for the conventional laboratory air-isotope readings discussed above). Typical continuous gamma graphs from these stations provide little or nothing of public health interest, because they consist only of very small perturbations above a steady background level. EPA claims, however, that slightly atypical perturbations can alert EPA scientists that something unusual is happening. Then, by comparing the recorded gamma particle counts in each of ten bands of energy levels, trained technicians are said to get good indications of what radioactive isotope may be the source.

The catch? EPA's continuous gamma monitoring database doesn't disclose when scientists have determined that an unusual event has occurred, what isotope was identified, or what action was taken. In other words, EPA's years and years of stored gamma graphs yield nothing of interest to anyone outside EPA, neither public health officials nor the public. **CP**

Pierre Sprey has been a consulting statistician for EPA studies in air and water quality monitoring and related health effects and a principal member of the Pentagon's concept design teams for the F-16 and A-10. He is now running Mapleshade, his record label that sets new standards for sound quality and manufactures pioneering cables, vibration control devices and other upgrades for perfectionist audio systems.

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not an NKVD mole, and both Dallins' personal efforts to bring him to the United States in 1941, the Dallins took very personally the sting of revelations that Zborowski had long been an NKVD agent. Under the pseudonym of "Henry Kasson," David Dallin published a November 1955 article in *The New Leader*, exposing Zborowski as a Soviet spy. Zborowski soon found himself personally and professionally stigmatized. He told the FBI that he had been "dropped as a consultant for the American Jewish Committee as a result of the article," claiming he was going to sue Dallin for slander. In March 1956, David Dallin published a further two-part exposé in *The New Leader* on "Mark Zborowski, Soviet Agent," further detailing Zborowski's years with the NKVD.

Because the FBI was still conducting its investigation of Zborowski, many in the FBI were displeased at the timing of Dallin's exposés. FBI investigators interviewed Zborowski's associates at the Russell Sage Foundation, the Bronx VA hospital, where he had conducted his pain research, and his colleagues around New York. The FBI probed his contacts with American anthropologists, and, at one point, a confusedly worded report led Clyde Tolson to wonder if anthropologist Ruth Benedict (who had died eight years earlier) was a "sleeping agent" from the NKVD. Zborowski was the referenced "sleeping agent" in the jumbled sentence. The FBI had long believed that Benedict and other anthropologist critics of American notions of a biological basis of race, had ties to the Communist Party because of co-authorship (with anthropologist Gene Weltfish) of the 1943 book, *The Races of Mankind*.

In February and March 1956, Zborowski testified under oath before the Senate Internal Security Committee investigating the scope of Soviet activity in the United States. He described his years in Paris spying on Trotsky's followers for the NKVD. He admitted telling the NKVD of the location of the French hospital where Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, died. Zborowski acknowledged to the Committee that he had learned that Stalin himself had taken an interest in his infiltration of Trotsky's inner circle. The Committee inquired about

Zborowski's contacts with anthropologists Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and Gene Weltfish (Weltfish had been fired from Columbia University after appearing before Senator Joseph McCarthy's 1953 Permanent Subcommittee on Operations), but Zborowski had no useful information to share.

News of Zborowski's Senate Internal Security Committee testimony worried his NKVD handler, Jack Soble, who feared Zborowski would identify him to the Senate Committee as his NKVD contact. Soble reported these fears to his NKVD handler, Hollywood and recording studio magnate, Boris Morros. What Soble didn't know was that, since 1947, Morros had been a double agent providing detailed reports on all his NKVD contacts to the FBI.

Following standard spy ring protocols, the NKVD compartmentalized all contact between operatives: using code names to limit any individual's knowledge of the true identities of others below and above them in their ring should security be violated. Until the day Soble expressed his fears that Zborowski had identified him to the Senate Committee,

Morros did not know that Zborowski was one of Soble's contacts. But Zborowski had not told the FBI or Congress that Soble was his NKVD contact. Zborowski stuck to a story denying he had done any NKVD work after coming to America, and he had no intention of identifying Soble to the Committee or FBI. When Soble panicked and broke protocol by reporting his fears of being exposed to Morros, he set in motion a chain of events that would lead to perjury charges against Zborowski. Morros told the FBI that Zborowski was one of Soble's NKVD agents. Jack Soble and his wife, Myra, were arrested. Soble soon identified to the FBI the half-dozen members of his spy ring. When Zborowski was questioned about Soble, he claimed that he did not know him, even when Soble was brought before him by the FBI. These lies became the heart of Zborowski's perjury charge.

Zborowski's FBI file includes press clippings covering his exposure as an NKVD agent and court proceedings. One 1956 article, "Vets' Minds His Targets" in the *New York Journal American*, interpreted his pain research in the VA hospitals as a KGB plot, complaining that "for some years, we've had a former agent of the NKVD, the murderous Russian secret police, running around our veterans' hospitals digging into the minds of war-wracked heroes, many of them victims of Communist torture in Korea. The title of his hazy project is 'cultural components in attitudes toward pain' which, in everyday English, is supposed to have something to do with the patients' mental reaction to suffering and disability." Ironically, Zborowski's pain research had (through project supervisor Harold Wolff) closer connections to the CIA than to the NKVD.

In 1958, Zborowski was duly charged not with espionage but with perjury – charges resulting from his sworn testimony before the Senate Committee that he did not know his NKVD contact, Jack Soble. The latter had told the FBI he had paid Zborowski an ongoing regular NKVD salary for gathering information on former Soviets and Trotskyites living in New York.

Zborowski's attorney was Frederic S. Nathan, a member of the well-known law firm of Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst. The firm was established by Morris Ernst, co-founder of the ACLU, whose high

profile legal career included defending James Joyce against charges that *Ulysses* was an obscene work. But, as disclosed by Harrison Salisbury in a 1984 exposé, during his years leading the ACLU, Morris Ernst maintained a long, secret correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover, from 1941-1964, in which he informed on Communists to the FBI, while defending falsely accused Communists. I found no records in Zborowski's released FBI files indicating Ernst communicated with Hoover about him; yet, given the FBI's high level of interest in Zborowski and Ernst's history of backchannel communications with Hoover, this remains an open possibility.

The FBI devoted thousands of Bureau hours to monitoring federal attorneys' progress in preparing the trial against Zborowski. The FBI blurred lines between an investigatory agency and a prosecuting body, as they produced over a thousand pages of records tracking developments in the federal attorneys' case. FBI agents reported on pretrial motions, on prosecutorial strategies, on possible witnesses; they even monitored Zborowski's legal fights with the Hartford Insurance Company, after he lost his compulsory liability coverage for his Studebaker coupe due to the publicity of his perjury trial. In preparation for Zborowski's 1958 trial, the FBI examined Harvard archival collections of Trotsky's papers, looking for information on Zborowski and other Soviet spies who had operated in France in the 1930s. Leon Trotsky's widow allowed full access to the papers, but the FBI did not find the sort of revelations of Soviet agents' identities that they sought.

Had the U.S. government publicly acknowledged the decryption of the Soviet VENONA transmissions, or had it been willing to expose Boris Morros as a Soviet double agent, federal prosecutors could have aggressively pursued espionage charges against Zborowski. Protecting public knowledge of Morros and VENONA had other impacts on the case. Before Zborowski's trial, Federal Attorney Kantor made inquiries to the FBI to see if all agents in the Zborowski case would be able to testify if needed, and the FBI replied that they could, but the FBI also let Kantor know that some of the agents had knowledge of the "confidential techniques" used in the MOCASE (the FBI's name for the Morros

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spy group) investigations, so that Kantor would know to object should Zborowski's attorney ask questions about these matters.

But the FBI had other tricks up its sleeve that did not involve revealing their Soviet moles or codes intercepts. As the date of the trial approached, the FBI secretly provided federal prosecutors with dossiers summarizing material previously collected in the FBI files on prospective jurors. The defense, judge, and jurors appeared unaware that this collection of unverified FBI materials was being used by the prosecutors in the jury selection process.

A highly unusual and poorly documented practice, this was not the first time that the FBI used their files to secretly assist prosecutors seating juries. I have found at least one other instance of this practice: during the Rosenberg trial, the FBI had also secretly provided prosecuting attorney Irving Saypol with dossiers on prospective jurors. While serious legal and procedural issues are raised by the prosecution's exclusive access to secret FBI dossiers, the breadth of the FBI's files on these random Americans' private lives is a chilling measure of the mid-century FBI's reach in the lives of Americans. These dossiers also illustrate that, despite years of McCarthyism's efforts to homogenize American political dissent, there remained an impressive record of progressive political action and social non-conformity, a record that appears greater than we might find in a similar sample today. Out of the 600 prospective jurors the FBI investigated in their files, they found FBI files on over one hundred of these individuals.

Think of these FBI file summaries as a sort of non-scientific political sample of New York City's population from a lost age. The FBI had compiled subversive files on about eighteen per cent of this sample – and while a few of these entries were for reactionary right-wing subversive activities, such as remaining fascistic public admirers of Hitler or Mussolini a bit longer than Lindberg or DuPont, the vast majority of these files chronicled leftist political activities.

Though the FBI admitted it was uncertain in many instances that the individuals identified in their files were those of the same name being summoned to jury duty, it still passed along these file summaries, with the obvious desired out-

come being to reduce these individuals' chances of being seated on Zborowski's jury.

Ever focused on the prurient and personal, the FBI collected information on anything relating to non-marital activities or non-heterosexuality, compiling files identifying individuals as "homo-sexual" or involved with pornography. The FBI reported that one "professor G," a physicist associated with Yale University and the Atomic Energy Commission, had seen a psychiatrist over "sexual difficulties," and had scheduled appointments at Yale's Mental Hygiene Clinic two or three times a week, "because he felt that he was not fully realizing his potential in physics and because he had a mental block which was keeping him from concentrating." The FBI warned prosecutors that this physicist admitted to the Atomic Energy

Despite years of McCarthyism's efforts to homogenize American political dissent, there remained an impressive record of progressive political action.

Commission that his parents belonged to the International Workers Organization.

The FBI identified individuals they believed were members of the Communist Party, former members of Communist youth groups, Socialists, or members of what were believed to be Communist front groups like the Institute of Pacific Relations. Any involvement in organized labor brought suspicion, whether it was once working as a foreign correspondent for the *Allied Labor News* or working in a teachers union. The FBI warned federal prosecutors of such threatening minutiae as potential juror and Teachers Union member Ruth Adler's authorship of "a feature article regarding sweater designs for October 1955 *Woman's Day* magazine." The FBI claimed that one Jack Kirschner had "conducted a 'sabotage school' during a strike in 1938 along with four other members of the Local 150, United Machinist of the Needle Industries, CIO." Dozens of people wound up being blacklisted for signing petitions: petitions opposing military actions, petitions to place progressive or

radical candidates on local or national ballots, petitions for peace, petitions supporting a fair trial for the Rosenbergs. Dossiers reported memberships in peace groups, or the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, or the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

The FBI compiled records on several men who had systematically avoided the Selective Service Board during the Second World War and Korean War, moving without notifying the Board and skipping out on the draft. Some of the FBI files warned of an individual's unusual interest in international affairs, or of living abroad while not stationed in the military.

A catalogue of traits categorized as deviant by Hoover's G-Men almost reads like a deleted draft stanza of Ginsberg's *Howl*, with a deviant hosting a Soviet embassy employee at a social event, a Communist traveling salesman, pornographers, a tired man illegally wearing an Army uniform, art dealers hosting progressive benefits, race track employee characterized by business associates as "immoral and unethical in his business dealings," a man whose name appeared in the address book of a suspected Hollywood Communist, someone whose name appeared in the address book of a Nazi general, someone caught by U.S. Custom agents in 1957 with "an arms cache" believed destined for Cuban rebels, a National Lawyers Guild member, an FBI impersonator, someone whose father had been (wrongly) accused of being a Japanese spy during WWII, a sponsor of an advertisement advocating for the defeat of the Mundt Bill, opponents of the Smith Act, Alcoholic Anonymous members, and a paranoid who had contacted the FBI numerous times reporting his belief that he was being followed by Russian spies. None of the consulted records indicate whether the federal attorney tried to use this last piece of information to seat this anti-Russian paranoiac on the jury.

Using governmental records to selectively assist the prosecution raises questions of government misconduct in Zborowski's trial. Such practices today would seem to violate the spirit, if not the letter of the Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic FBI Operations – but this was Hoover's America. The FBI routinely stalked citizens engaging

in legal political dissent, collecting gossip and innuendoes that were often nothing more than artifacts of the FBI's institutional paranoia. Excluding the defense from access to these FBI summaries denied them the opportunity to object to the selection of jurors whose FBI files indicated political views aligned with the prosecution. Such secretive state action raises questions of violations of basic rights, as potential jurors' expectations of privacy and the state's use of select FBI monitoring of citizens engaging in lawful political activities were exclusively used by the state.

Zborowski's trial was straightforward. The government produced transcripts from Congressional hearings documenting Zborowski's ever-shifting version of events, and showed him lying about his contacts with Soble. The defense team tried to discredit Soble as a witness, and even while Soble's then-unstable mental health raised some doubts of his reliability, the jury soon found Zborowski guilty of perjury.

After the verdict, anthropologist Ruth Bunzel produced \$10,000 bail for Zborowski to remain free pending appeal. The appeal argued that prosecutors had illegally withheld records from Soble's testimony at Grand Jury proceedings – records that they argued would have allowed a defense attacking Soble's mental stability and reliability as a witness. Zborowski's legal appeal succeeded, but federal prosecutors were committed to retrying him, and did so over three years after his first trial.

In November 1962, Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley asked Hoover for FBI records on prospective jurors, and FBI dossiers were made available to Richard Casey, the assistant U.S. attorney prosecuting the case. The FBI again produced dossiers on prospective jurors that identified political activities, or elements of their lifestyle that had come to the FBI's attention, and this information was secretly used by federal attorneys to select the jury. The second trial went much like the first, and Zborowski was again found guilty of perjury.

Soon after Zborowski began serving his prison sentence, the FBI visited him in prison. They pressed him to provide more information about his years working for the NKVD, but Zborowski refused to talk to them. He told the FBI that he regretted not having used his

Fifth Amendment right to remain silent when previously questioned by the FBI, Congress and the Grand Jury. After it became clear to the FBI that the prisoner Zborowski really wasn't going to talk to them, internal FBI memos document the FBI contacting the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to inquire about the possibility of revoking Zborowski's U.S. citizenship on grounds that he had become an American citizen through fraud. The FBI's internal memos show an agency expecting that once Zborowski was imprisoned for perjury, FBI agents would be able to regularly interrogate him in prison. But Zborowski refused to say anything further to the FBI.

After his release from prison, the FBI monitored Zborowski's movements, as he and his wife moved to San Francisco. He worked as a medical anthropologist at the Mt. Zion Hospital, where he helped establish the Mt. Zion Pain Center and continued research on cultural impacts on expressions and experiences of pain. Harold Wolff died in 1962 while Zborowski awaited his second perjury trial, so Zborowski's further pain research, culminating in the 1969 publication of his book *People in Pain*, was carried on without Wolff's input.

Several memos in Zborowski's file document the FBI pressing the INS to take action on Zborowski. One FBI document shows that, in December 1966, the San Francisco INS office was "considering denaturalization of [Zborowski] as he failed to furnish all of the names by which he was known, nor did he reveal all his organization memberships prior to his admission to citizenship on 6/30/47, at NYC," and the INS lined up several witnesses to interview relating to this matter. But after this December 1966 memo, there no further FBI records mention the INS revoking Zborowski's citizenship. Like many other elements of Zborowski's life, the reasons why the INS suddenly abandoned efforts to deport Zborowski remain unclear and open to speculation.

While not succumbing to any fallacy positing excessive foresight or wisdom to the CIA or any other governmental agency, it seems unthinkable that the United States would knowingly deport someone (even a former NKVD agent) whose work contributed to the core research of one of the top CIA-funded researchers working on the CIA's new,

secret *KUBARK Counterinsurgency Interrogation Manual*. Zborowski's firsthand knowledge of Wolff and his work would have been of value to the KGB, if they had knowledge of Wolff's contributions to MK-ULTRA and *KUBARK*.

The CIA has yet to release Zborowski's files under FOIA, but considering how desperate to bargain for his own safety a deported Zborowski would have been, it seems logical that the CIA could have moved to quash any FBI efforts to get the INS to deport him, had the agency known of such efforts. But given general levels of bungling within the CIA and FBI, it is possible that neither agency made the connection, and the INS just dropped deportation considerations through bureaucratic inertia. Whatever the reason, the FBI and INS no longer discussed deporting Zborowski after these late 1966 entries in his FBI file.

After prison, Zborowski lived outside of the public eye, devoting himself to his research and pain work at Mt. Zion Hospital. He disappeared from public view, though he was occasionally pushed back into newspaper headlines when Bay Area Trotskyites protested his work as an adjunct professor at Berkeley.

In 1979 Alan Gelfand, a Los Angeles lawyer, was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whereupon Gelfand launched an extensive lawsuit against the SWP leadership, arguing that the organization had been taken over by Federal agents. As part of his suit, Gelfand deposed Zborowski in an effort to show a deep historical pattern of Soviet and FBI penetration of the upper ranks of the SWP. Zborowski refused to answer any questions during his deposition, first citing the Fifth Amendment, than later asserting the Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1982. Zborowski's lawyers filed a motion blocking his testimony in a SWP deposition designed to uncover his knowledge of spies infiltrating Trotskyites, on the grounds that any information he might have provided would be in violation of the 1982 Intelligence Identities Protection Act. In 1983, the courts upheld this motion – though the reasons why Zborowski was allowed to use an act designed to protect the revelation of *American* intelligence assets was not clarified.

With time, Zborowski drew no public notice. He and his wife, Regina,

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Good Deeds of the Grass Roots Aristocracy

Cops and Crazy People

By Bill Hatch

Merced, California

Now we're going to have to start all over again," Isabel Bravo, retired long-time president of the Placer County CA chapter of National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI), told me on a Monday in mid-July. She said she'd met last week with the new police chief in her city, Roseville, and he didn't know anything about NAMI training programs for departments to build "crisis intervention teams," so that police could identify the mentally ill, differentiate them from people either stoned or drunk, disarm them if necessary, and talk them down from "the ozone."

Strange, I thought. Dee Dee Gunther, spokeswoman for the Roseville PD and another voice from my past as a reporter in that town, had just told me that the teams were alive and well in Roseville and at the county sheriff's office.

Since I met Isabel eight years ago, she figured that, starting from the first two officers trained at that time, the number of officers trained in mental illness crisis intervention had reached about 30 throughout Placer County, which stretches from the suburbs of Sacramento to the shores of Lake Tahoe.

When I began to research a newspaper story about local police shooting a violent, mentally ill man, the last thing I imagined was that anything good would

come out of the story. I'd forgotten it until sections from Patrick and Henry Cockburns' book, *Henry's Demons*, about the experience of schizophrenia, the experience of the patient and of the afflicted extended family, recently appeared in *CounterPunch*. It brought back the shock I'd walked into when my editor and I decided to get some revenge against a police department that had obstructed our efforts for six months to report on crime in Roseville.

For once, we had an edge on them – an eye witness to police shooting, a witness even more hostile to the police than we were – and we jumped on that advantage and produced what in newsrooms is called a "tick-tock," a step-by-step description of a policeman shooting a mentally ill man.

The editor and I could not get over our good luck. We even provided a diagram showing the perp, the shooter, and the two other officers, one holding a dysfunctional taser, the other not releasing an attack dog.

That afternoon a man around 30, a diagnosed schizophrenic, at the moment off his medication and out of his shelter, was on the prowl for money to buy more speed. Neighbors reported that he beat up his grandmother for drug money. When he left her house, he was in bad

shape, unsteady on his feet, disoriented, mumbling, and armed with a steak knife. Alarmed neighbors called the police, who arrived there. It wasn't the first time he had broken loose and beat up his grandmother for drug money.

On the street, three officers approached him from different directions. One had a taser, one had a dog, and the third, in uniform, tried to talk him down. As the deranged man drew closer to the talking officer, the officer with the taser tried but failed to fire the device. The officer trying to talk him down told him to stop, but he kept coming. The officer drew his weapon and ordered the deranged man to drop the knife and stop. The man kept coming.

The police are trained to shoot someone coming at them with a knife when the individual gets within 20-30 feet of the officer. For example, a man wandering around Las Vegas with a butcher knife in his hands, who would not put it down when ordered to do so by police with guns drawn, was shot to death this July. Reports of someone slowly approaching a police officer in a menacing fashion and ignoring direct orders to stop are not unusual. This behavior often means the individual is attempting to commit "suicide-by-cop."

When the officer fired, he took down the mentally ill man but broke only one bone in his shoulder. The officer had lined it up so that, after the bullet passed through the man with the knife, it buried itself harmlessly in a thick wooden fence. The wounded man was taken to the hospital and later housed in a facility for the mentally ill. I checked up on his status from time to time but never heard of the district attorney charging him.

When we published our story (complete with diagram) in the *Roseville Press-Tribune* in 2003, I was contacted by Isabel, owner of a Mexican restaurant called Old Town, located near the largest rail yard west of Nebraska. The Bravos had a son who was bipolar and had been having his own run-ins with the police, and Isabel had been trying for several years to get the Roseville police interested in training a crisis intervention team (CIT) handle mentally ill. The program had been developed by the Memphis Police Department in 1988, and CIT trainings have been slowly spreading across the country ever since. NAMI's Washington, D.C., headquarters spokes-

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lived a quiet life in the Bay Area. Anthropologists had decreasing interest of his pain research, though his co-authorship of *Life is With People* garnered regular attention, and people quit associating his name with espionage, perjury, or NKVD assassinations. When he died in 1990, few anthropologists noticed his passing. In fact, eight years after his death, I realized he had died without notice in the professional anthropological publications, and I wrote a short obituary for *Anthropology News* briefly recounting his pain research, years as an NKVD agent, perjury trial, and professional writings.

The glimpses of Zborowski the man

appearing in the thousands of pages of FBI files shift over time. The only hint of an emotional response appearing in all these pages of files occurs when the FBI inquires about his son George. A protective, angry Zborowski lashed out, insisting he be left alone, that his son had nothing to do with any of these issues. But, mostly, the American Zborowski appears without attachment to a cause, and left with few options: in the end, retreating to his anthropological training and his world of pain. CP

David Price's new book, *Weaponizing Anthropology*, has just been published by CounterPunch Books.

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person, Laura Usher, estimated that 1,500-2,000 police departments have officers with this training now. Isabel told me the article might help her and other NAMI members in Placer County persuade Roseville and the sheriff's department to take the issue more seriously.

She was successful. Several weeks later, Isabel held a celebration to congratulate a Roseville police officer and a sheriff deputy for having completed a CIT training program in San Jose. The NAMI chapter even gave us an award for having brought public attention to the problem.

The deputy told me that on his first shift after taking the training, the department had received a call about a man wandering on the shoulder of I-80, along its sunken path through Auburn, the county seat.

"We've got trained officers in Colfax and Lincoln now," Isabel says, "but not in Auburn. They say they don't have any mentally ill people in Auburn."

The deputy said the man had wandered off the interstate to an In'n Out burger shop, where the deputy found him frightened and disoriented.

"It's an injustice how they treat them.

The jails are full of unmedicated mentally ill people. You have to talk to them real slow," Isabel told me, "like you were reading a grocery list, and you have to give them space and quiet. And things like the strobe lights on squad cars throw them for a loop." (Most techniques that disorient people so that police can gain control provoke the mentally ill.)

The deputy told me he had done that and had calmed and reassured the man, and afterward had him taken to a hospital without a fuss. The deputy then told me that of all the parts of the training that he'd taken, the one that had most impressed him and communicated to him the reality of a schizophrenic person off medications and out in the world was an exercise, in which the officer was placed in the center of 12 people, each telling him a different message, and a 13th person outside the circle telling him the only message he was supposed to hear, understand and obey.

As we step back in these absurdly corrupt times and take a nervous inventory of remaining community resources, we realize again that people like Isabel Bravo, the volunteers, are the core of every com-

munity in this country, the heart and soul of what is left. While the community disorganizer in the White House continues to tear the country apart in the service of special interests, the grassroots aristocracy of our neighborhoods, towns, cities, counties and regions keep on "starting over again" every day.

Looking back, Isabel recalls, "We've trained them over the phone when a policeman has called from a situation involving a person out in the ozone. If they know how to handle them, they can even disarm them. Sometimes violence has to be met by violence, but we want train that policeman so that he can go home, not be killed or wounded... I've trained a judge in Yolo County, a district attorney, and an attorney."

But, Isabel concluded, the program is waning in her town and county, and they are going to have to start all over again to increase awareness of police about mental illness.

Looking forward, she asks, "What are we going to do with these veterans? We just throw them out there." **CP**

Bill Hatch lives in Merced, California.