

EXHIBIT B

FBI INTERVIEW OF ROY BULLOCK

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 2/8/93

On January 22, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed by Special Agents JOEL A. MOSS and JAY E. COLVIN of the San Francisco, California office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The interview took place at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, located at 350 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. Also present during the interview were attorneys ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE and DONALD P. MARGOLIS of the above law firm, representing BULLOCK.

BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing agents, and of the nature of the interview. Prior to providing any information, BULLOCK was advised by attorney BREAKSTONE that this interview was voluntary and that there were no promises which the interviewing agents could make to BULLOCK, that the interviewing agents would be making a report of the interview, and that anything BULLOCK said could be used against BULLOCK in a court of law. BULLOCK thereafter provided the following information:

BULLOCK is employed as an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). In ADL parlance, investigative functions are also referred to as Fact Finding, and investigators such as BULLOCK are called Fact Finders.

BULLOCK has been performing investigative functions for the ADL since 1954. At that time BULLOCK was living in Indianapolis, Indiana. BULLOCK there became exposed to and began reading material concerning anti-Semitism. BULLOCK recalled one such thing he read was a book called "Under Cover," which dealt with anti-Semitism in the 1930s. BULLOCK began obtaining and reading more material on anti-Semitism, and it did not take him long to acquire a number of such publications.

BULLOCK read in a newspaper about the ADL and ROBERT GORDON, who headed the ADL office in Indianapolis. BULLOCK contacted the ADL in Indianapolis, and offered his services to try to obtain information about organizations advocating anti-Semitism. BULLOCK had already been in contact with some such

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by SA JOEL A. MOSS  
SA JAY E. COLVIN JAM/mac Date dictated 1/23/93

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groups as a way of acquiring reading material and information on their anti-Semitic views.

BULLOCK's offer of assistance was accepted by the ADL. BULLOCK worked on an unpaid, volunteer basis, providing information on groups of interest to the ADL. BULLOCK's income at the time was derived through employment in his family's business, the Bullock Radio and Electric Company.

BULLOCK conducted investigations for the Indianapolis ADL office from 1954 to 1960. Also, during some of this time, BULLOCK provided, on an unpaid basis, various types of information to the Indianapolis Office of the FBI. BULLOCK explained that in 1957 he attended the Sixth World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Before he went, he contacted the Indianapolis FBI Office to advise of his upcoming travel, and to offer to provide information about it. Although BULLOCK can no longer recall the name of the FBI agent with whom he dealt, the FBI was interested in BULLOCK's offer. When BULLOCK returned from the above festival, he gave the FBI a briefing on it.

BULLOCK continued to provide information to the FBI until this relationship "petered out" a few months thereafter. BULLOCK corresponded with some American communists who had been at the above festival, and he provided the FBI with the results of this correspondence.

BULLOCK also specifically recalled providing the FBI with information on correspondence he had with BRENLEY H. BEAN, who was head of the Labor Party in British Guyana.

In addition to the information he provided to the FBI in Indianapolis about communist and left wing activities, BULLOCK also provided some information about right wing organizations. BULLOCK recalled attending a convention of a right wing organization in Louisville, Kentucky. BULLOCK shot some sixteen millimeter motion picture film there, which he then shared with the Indianapolis FBI Office, and with the ADL.

In 1960, BULLOCK moved from Indiana to southern California. This move was a personal choice of BULLOCK's and was not done at the behest of the ADL. Nevertheless BULLOCK did continue performing investigations for the ADL, though now

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reporting to MILTON SINN of the Los Angeles ADL office.

Upon arriving in southern California, BULLOCK lived first in Port Hueneme, and then in Seal Beach, and he conducted investigations for the ADL in the southern California area. SINN arranged for BULLOCK to receive a regular payment from the ADL so that BULLOCK would not have to support himself through other employment. BULLOCK recalled the ADL began at that time paying him \$75.00 per week. That increased over the years, until about four or five years ago he began getting the amount he currently receives of \$550.00 per week. BULLOCK noted that ever since the ADL began paying him for his work, the payments have been made in a way designed to disguise the ADL as the source. The method, which is still in use, is for the ADL to give money for BULLOCK to an attorney in Beverly Hills, California, named BRUCE HOCHMAN. HOCHMAN then writes BULLOCK a check drawn on the account of Bruce Hochman and Associates.

When BULLOCK was living in southern California, his investigative focus was primarily on right wing organizations. As examples of such organizations about which the ADL wanted information, BULLOCK listed The American Nazi Party, The John Birch Society, The Minutemen and Colonel WILLIAM P. GALE's California Rangers. BULLOCK recalled the ADL was also then concerned about supporters of Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE.

BULLOCK collected information on the above groups and others. He did this by personally attending meetings of the groups and by corresponding with them. BULLOCK almost always used his true name when engaged in such activity, though he recalled he once used the name ELMER FINK when corresponding with GEORGE WALLACE's supporters.

When BULLOCK first began working for the Los Angeles ADL office, that office was located on Vermont Street. MILTON SINN did not want to risk BULLOCK being seen entering the ADL office, so he insisted on meeting BULLOCK in a car near the ADL office. Eventually BULLOCK persuaded SINN this was unnecessary and BULLOCK began going into the Los Angeles ADL office to make his reports. BULLOCK does believe that people engaged in far right wing activities are basically suspicious of others, and BULLOCK has in the past been accused by such people of being a "spy," but he has never considered it worth the trouble to make heavy use of fictitious names or to stay away from ADL offices.

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BULLOCK has always provided the ADL with written reports on the activities he performs for them. He submits his reports to the ADL office nearest to where he lives. That office then forwards the reports, or information from them, to ADL Headquarters in New York, New York as appropriate. BULLOCK has occasionally been called to appear at ADL Headquarters in order to personally provide information about matters with which he is familiar. BULLOCK noted the person in charge of Fact Finding at ADL Headquarters is IRWIN SUALL. SUALL has been in this position for many years and BULLOCK is personally acquainted with him.

BULLOCK is sometimes called upon to travel outside the area where he lives in pursuit of ADL interests. When this happens the ADL pays all travel expenses. BULLOCK recalled that while living in southern California he became acquainted with a woman affiliated with the John Birch Society office in Los Angeles. Through this acquaintance BULLOCK was able to gain access to the Boston, Massachusetts office of the John Birch Society. In that office BULLOCK observed a file marked "ADL." BULLOCK reported his findings to IZ ZACK, then head of the Boston ADL office. This gave rise within the ADL to speculation that the ADL had a "leak" or had somehow been penetrated by the John Birch Society. Other places BULLOCK has traveled for the ADL include Colorado and Germany.

BULLOCK had only minimal contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California. He had no contact with the FBI. He did once try to assist the Los Angeles Police Department to identify some people in some photographs. That was done at the request of HARVEY SCHECHTER, who took over as head of Fact Finding for the ADL in Los Angeles (replacing MILTON SINN) while BULLOCK was living in southern California.

Even though BULLOCK did not have much contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California, he did apparently become known to them. This, BULLOCK believes, is what caused him to receive at his Seal Beach residence in about 1964 a visit from a man identifying himself as CHARLES ROUBETILLE. ROUBETILLE said he was a recruiter employed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He said he traveled to college campuses to seek applicants for CIA employment. He told BULLOCK he had just stopped by to talk. He asked BULLOCK questions about the American Nazi Party and about British Guyana. He did not suggest BULLOCK seek employment with the CIA. BULLOCK added that

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later, ROUBETILLE became the chief of the police department in Huntington Beach, California.

One other law enforcement official with whom BULLOCK had contact while living in southern California was named SHERMAN COOPER or HARRY COOPER. COOPER was head of the California Criminal Identification and Information Bureau. He was collecting information to be used in an "anti-paramilitary" law which was later passed. The ADL arranged for COOPER to talk to BULLOCK, and BULLOCK provided COOPER with some information on right wing matters.

BULLOCK recalled that although his investigative targets were primarily right wing when he first arrived in Southern California, this began to change somewhat after HARVEY SCHECHTER replaced MILTON SINN. SCHECHTER, especially during the last five years BULLOCK lived in Southern California, encouraged BULLOCK to also investigate left wing organizations, and BULLOCK did as requested.

BULLOCK added that his nickname, CAL, did not originate until after he moved to California. Others in the ADL began to call him that, perhaps because he had moved to California. BULLOCK therefore adopted it as a nickname, and began signing his ADL reports with that name (though utilizing three lower case letters: c-a-l). He noted the name is not short for anything in particular, and is definitely not short for "CALZONE," as the San Francisco Examiner newspaper reported on January 22, 1993.

In approximately 1978 or 1979 BULLOCK moved from southern California to San Francisco. He has lived in San Francisco ever since. The move was a personal choice and was not at the behest of the ADL. In fact, shortly after arriving in San Francisco, BULLOCK was told by IRWIN SUALL that the ADL might not be able to afford to continue paying him as there did not appear to be enough work for him to do. Before long, however, the ADL asked BULLOCK to begin investigating the Posse Comitatus organization, and it was never again suggested that the ADL might have to discontinue paying BULLOCK. BULLOCK said the ADL had been given a grant by the AFL-CIO to investigate the Posse Comitatus.

BULLOCK noted that when he arrived in San Francisco, there was already another ADL Fact Finder working in the area.

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This person had been working to infiltrate the local Arab community, however, his efforts were exposed and he left the ADL and went to work as an attorney. This left BULLOCK as the only Fact Finder in San Francisco. BULLOCK added that when he arrived in San Francisco, the San Francisco ADL office, in his opinion, "wasn't much." Since then it has improved steadily, especially the past several years under the leadership of its head, RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT.

BULLOCK, too, has investigated Arab groups on behalf of the ADL since he moved to San Francisco. One such group is the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. The ADL asked BULLOCK to investigate this group based on the belief that it was one of many Arab organizations in the United States which was receiving funding from sources in the Middle East. BULLOCK investigated, and did find some evidence to confirm this.

Another Arab organization BULLOCK has investigated for the ADL is the National Association of Arab Americans. Approximately six years ago the ADL had BULLOCK travel to Washington, D.C. to attend this group's annual congress. The ADL thought this group was receiving money from the Middle East and wanted BULLOCK to find the "smoking gun" to prove it. BULLOCK never really could prove this allegation but from what he does know he believes it is true. BULLOCK was accepted there, and was even selected as the head of a delegation which went to visit United States Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. BULLOCK noted it was around this time that WILLIS A. CARTO of the Liberty Lobby organization published an article in that group's "Spotlight" newsletter in which BULLOCK was denounced as an ADL agent. BULLOCK admitted he is personally acquainted with CARTO.

Although BULLOCK has been employed full-time with the ADL in San Francisco, he has also developed a side business to supplement his income. BULLOCK explained that he and a partner, PAUL DANIEL, operate a business trading in Asian art, under the name East-West Traders. BULLOCK and DANIEL live together, and they operate this business out of their residence.

BULLOCK reiterated that he has always furnished his local ADL office with written reports concerning his investigations. If his reports incorporate information BULLOCK received from the police, and BULLOCK cites the source, BULLOCK always refers to the source as "official friends."

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The San Francisco ADL office did not discourage BULLOCK from having contacts with law enforcement personnel, the way the Los Angeles ADL office had. By the time RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT came to head the San Francisco ADL office, it was accepted that BULLOCK would have contacts with local police. Such contacts developed slowly. The ADL was still somewhat concerned about protecting BULLOCK's identity, even within the law enforcement community. By about 1985, however, BULLOCK's identity as an ADL investigator became openly known to the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), as a result of BULLOCK's assistance to SFPD in solving a criminal bombing case involving one COY RAY PHELPS.

SFPD Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD was one of the investigating officers in the PHELPS case. BULLOCK, however, did not meet GERARD until about six months after PHELPS was prosecuted. BULLOCK met GERARD one day at the San Francisco ADL office. When BULLOCK arrived at the office GERARD was already there talking to HIRSCHHAUT, about a matter unknown to BULLOCK. HIRSCHHAUT introduced BULLOCK to GERARD.

BULLOCK recalled that he instantly liked GERARD. They had lunch together, at a McDonald's restaurant, the same day HIRSCHHAUT introduced them. At lunch they discussed their jobs and mutual interests, and agreed that they would remain in contact. BULLOCK characterized his contacts with GERARD, from then to the present, as professional.

BULLOCK likes GERARD and considers GERARD his friend. He has been to GERARD's residence and knows GERARD's wife JULIE. Nevertheless, their relationship is based on their mutual work interests and willingness to supply each other with information of value, and BULLOCK would not characterize the relationship as "social."

When GERARD was introduced to BULLOCK, GERARD was assigned to the SFPD Intelligence Unit. His main area of interest was right wing political organizations, though he would also occasionally have interest in a left wing group, such as No Business As Usual (NBAU), which BULLOCK described as a splinter group of the Revolutionary Communist Party. BULLOCK, as an ADL investigator, would have access to information about such groups, and he would share it with GERARD. BULLOCK would provide GERARD with information from ADL reports, or would on occasion give

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GERARD copies of complete ADL reports. BULLOCK said that in regard to NBAU, BULLOCK "developed" some people in that group, and he telephonically provided information on NBAU to GERARD.

GERARD would also supply information of value to BULLOCK. Within six months of their introduction GERARD was, for example, providing BULLOCK with access to computerized criminal history, vehicle and driver's license information, to which GERARD had access as a police officer. BULLOCK estimated GERARD has supplied him with results of about fifty drivers license and/or vehicle registration checks based on BULLOCK's requests. Most of these have been from California Department of Motor Vehicles records, though some may have been from State of Arizona records. GERARD has also run a lesser number of criminal history checks for BULLOCK. BULLOCK recalled one person whose criminal history GERARD checked for him was named CARL HOERLER. BULLOCK recalled that GERARD determined HOERLER had a record in this regard, but it was so old that it was not in the California criminal history computer data base, so had to be looked up manually. GERARD caused this manual review to be done, and gave the results to BULLOCK.

GERARD would always fulfill BULLOCK's requests for information if he could. BULLOCK did not know if GERARD obtained for him any criminal history information from the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) computer system. BULLOCK said he is not familiar with NCIC and so would not have known to ask GERARD to check it for him, and he does not recall GERARD mentioning NCIC to him.

In asking GERARD to give him information from California Department of Motor Vehicles and State criminal history records, BULLOCK knew he was not entitled to receive it as he is not an "officer of the court." GERARD and BULLOCK never discussed BULLOCK's lack of authority to receive this information. It was understood that BULLOCK would be very careful with what he did with the information GERARD gave him, and that BULLOCK would not release it except to the ADL or other law enforcement officers. BULLOCK added that GERARD did once warn him concerning having contacts with one particular law enforcement official. BULLOCK knew of a State of California official named [REDACTED] and that she was supposed to be knowledgeable concerning right wing matters. BULLOCK might have been interested in talking to her about such matters, but GERARD

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suggested he not, as [REDACTED] might not be careful concerning how she disseminates information she may learn from BULLOCK. BULLOCK said there has never been a "leak" of such information from him, and it has never been provided by him to "third parties" or sold by him, except to the South African Government (see below).

Computerized law enforcement records were not the only types of records to which GERARD gave BULLOCK access. GERARD also gave BULLOCK information from SFPD files, including giving BULLOCK complete files, and GERARD gave BULLOCK police surveillance photographs of demonstrators. GERARD also supplied BULLOCK with information concerning the holders of Post Office boxes in which BULLOCK was interested. BULLOCK assumed this information came from the United States Postal Service, but he never questioned GERARD about the source. BULLOCK was just glad to have the information.

The complete SFPD files BULLOCK received from GERARD concerned the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) from 1974 to 1976 or 1977. These were files which the SFPD was supposed to destroy as part of a change in SFPD policy regarding the types of intelligence investigations the SFPD could conduct and information they could maintain. Rather than allow the NSWPP files to be destroyed, GERARD gave them to BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. This was in about 1989. GERARD asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK wanted them. BULLOCK replied that he would "keep them" for GERARD, and GERARD turned them over to him.

BULLOCK examined the NSWPP files, and entered into his personal computer information from them that BULLOCK did not already have. BULLOCK explained that he first got a computer in about 1987. He began storing information and writing reports on it, instead of doing everything on paper. BULLOCK has in this way amassed a large amount of information. He has information on left wing and right wing and Arab organizations and personalities. BULLOCK estimated his computerized "Right Wing" file contains names of about 6,000 people. Some are members of right wing organizations; others may only have written to a right wing organization to request information. As BULLOCK would acquire more information about people in his computer, or about people he did not yet know of, he would add to his data files. He used the NSWPP files for this purpose.

Among Arab groups which are listed in BULLOCK's

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computer are the Arab Palestine Fund and the November 29 Committee on Palestine. BULLOCK got a list of names associated with the Arab Palestine Fund not from GERARD (though GERARD had dealt with this group) but from an anonymous source in Berkeley, California. BULLOCK got information on the November 29 Committee on Palestine by taking trash from that organization's office on Valencia Street in San Francisco. BULLOCK would write reports based on what he found in the trash, and would share the reports with GERARD. BULLOCK also gave the trash to GERARD for GERARD to examine. GERARD would later return the trash to BULLOCK.

BULLOCK noted that the SFPD files and photographs, which the SFPD recently recovered from his residence via a search warrant, are the same ones GERARD gave him. BULLOCK did not destroy any of the SFPD files GERARD gave him, even after BULLOCK learned that the FBI was conducting an investigation into his and GERARD's activities. BULLOCK's computer, also seized by the SFPD, is the same one into which he has entered information as described above.

BULLOCK did not destroy files and information given to him by GERARD because he is philosophically opposed to the elimination of the ability of police to conduct investigations into organizations which BULLOCK believes are truly dangerous. BULLOCK believes it is a mistake to destroy information already collected about such groups. BULLOCK cited as an example the riots which took place in San Francisco in 1992 following the acquittal of the police officers in the "RODNEY KING" case in Simi Valley, California. The Revolutionary Communist Party was involved in much of the violence in San Francisco, yet the SFPD was without much of the intelligence they should have had about this group because its files on this group had been destroyed. BULLOCK knows from talking to GERARD that GERARD feels the same way about the destruction of SFPD intelligence files. They believe it is a mistake to let this information be lost.

Although some of the information from the SFPD files GERARD gave him ended up in reports BULLOCK wrote for the ADL (especially regarding HOERLER and one other person), BULLOCK does not recall that he told RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT or IRWIN SUALL or anyone else in the ADL that he had them, with the possible exception of Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ of the Los Angeles ADL office.

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BULLOCK has no knowledge that GERARD has ever received money from the ADL. The only thing of value BULLOCK knows of GERARD receiving from the ADL was a trip to Israel in 1991. BULLOCK has not paid any money to GERARD in exchange for GERARD's providing BULLOCK with law enforcement information. BULLOCK and GERARD have taken turns buying lunches for each other during their meetings. Also, in about 1990, BULLOCK borrowed \$5,000.00 from GERARD. BULLOCK used the money to buy some works of the artist JACOULET. BULLOCK resold the pieces and repaid the \$5,000.00 to GERARD, along with \$500.00 in interest, in February, 1991.

There was, however, between 1987 and 1991, one other source of funds for both BULLOCK and GERARD. That source was the government of the Republic of South Africa.

In about 1986, BULLOCK learned that the Consul General of the South African Consulate in Los Angeles would be speaking in Las Vegas, Nevada, at a meeting organized by right wing extremist WILLIS CARTO. Suspecting that the Consul General did not know who WILLIS CARTO is, BULLOCK suggested to GERARD that they might want to warn the South Africans. GERARD agreed and informed the Consul General, who canceled his appearance. Later, GERARD told BULLOCK he (GERARD) had received a letter of thanks from the Consul General.

Around four to six months later, probably in 1987, GERARD telephoned BULLOCK one day. GERARD said a South African intelligence officer was in San Francisco and wanted to meet BULLOCK if BULLOCK was agreeable. BULLOCK agreed to meet the officer, so GERARD drove (in his personal car) to BULLOCK's residence and picked up BULLOCK. Together they drove to the San Francisco hotel where the South African was staying. BULLOCK cannot now recall which hotel it was, but believes it may have been in the Fisherman's Wharf area of the city.

BULLOCK, GERARD and the South African, who called himself Mr. HUMPHRIES, met in HUMPHRIES' hotel room. HUMPHRIES said he was interested in acquiring information on anti-apartheid activities in the United States. BULLOCK recalled HUMPHRIES specifically mentioned being interested in an organization called the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee, and wanting to know about another group which was advocating divestments regarding corporations doing business with South Africa. HUMPHRIES, who

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indicated he was from New York, did not appear to know very much about the anti-apartheid movement on the West Coast. HUMPHRIES offered to pay BULLOCK \$150.00 per month in exchange for information. BULLOCK noted that much of the information HUMPHRIES said he wanted was already in the possession of BULLOCK and the ADL. BULLOCK agreed to HUMPHRIES' proposal, but he told HUMPHRIES that since he (BULLOCK) was personally opposed to apartheid, the only reason he was agreeing to provide information was that it appeared the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. BULLOCK indicated that if it appeared this progress was being reversed, BULLOCK's cooperation would cease.

HUMPHRIES gave BULLOCK a Post Office box number in Greenwich, New York, to which BULLOCK should send information. BULLOCK could not recall the number or name which went with the box, except that it was a man's name, probably with the first initial "J".

GERARD, who was present throughout the meeting, was not asked by HUMPHRIES to provide any information, nor was he offered money by HUMPHRIES in BULLOCK's presence. Apparently, though, GERARD had met HUMPHRIES before BULLOCK did. HUMPHRIES knew GERARD was a police officer. GERARD also told HUMPHRIES that he (GERARD) had been employed by the CIA. BULLOCK heard GERARD tell HUMPHRIES some information about where in the world GERARD had been sent on CIA assignments.

This meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted only about twenty minutes. Although the topic was not specifically addressed, BULLOCK understood the relationship between him, GERARD and HUMPHRIES was to be confidential. HUMPHRIES did not give BULLOCK any money at this meeting, but indicated he would bring the money to BULLOCK at their next meeting. When the meeting was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK home. On the way to BULLOCK's residence, BULLOCK offered to split with GERARD the money HUMPHRIES said he would give to BULLOCK. GERARD declined that offer.

Shortly after the meeting, BULLOCK sent to HUMPHRIES a copy of the official newsletter of the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee. Over the next few months, BULLOCK also sent other items to HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK emphasized that the only thing he ever gave HUMPHRIES (or HUMPHRIES' successor, described below) was what BULLOCK termed "public source" information. BULLOCK

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denied ever giving the South Africans any "confidential" information. As an example, BULLOCK noted one of the things HUMPHRIES and his successor were interested in was the relationship between San Francisco attorney MELVIN BELLI, BELLI's wife, and South African bishop and anti-apartheid activist DESMOND TUTU. The South Africans wanted to know everything about the relationship between the BELLIS and TUTU, especially any sexual impropriety. When a column by journalist HERB CAEN appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle newspaper which discussed Mrs. BELLI, TUTU, and the Sultan of Brunai, BULLOCK rewrote the column to make it appear to be his own work, and submitted it to HUMPHRIES.

A second meeting with HUMPHRIES occurred about six months after the first. BULLOCK had expected HUMPHRIES to return to San Francisco in four or five months. About three months after the first meeting, HUMPHRIES had telephoned BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home and said he would come to San Francisco "later". When HUMPHRIES did finally arrive, he telephoned BULLOCK from his San Francisco hotel room to say he was ready to meet. The call came in the late afternoon or early evening. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD, GERARD picked up BULLOCK, and they met with HUMPHRIES that same day, at HUMPHRIES' hotel room (Again, BULLOCK could not recall the name of the hotel).

At this second meeting, HUMPHRIES thanked BULLOCK for the material he had sent (probably a total of three reports). He also asked questions about the BELLIS and about divestment pressure groups. HUMPHRIES and GERARD traded "war stories," with GERARD describing his adventures in the CIA and the SFPD. BULLOCK complained to HUMPHRIES about the money HUMPHRIES had promised to pay, as it had been six months since their last meeting and BULLOCK had not yet received any money.

HUMPHRIES then gave BULLOCK \$500.00 in cash, apologized and promised that the money situation would get better. BULLOCK at this time may also have given HUMPHRIES some reports BULLOCK had written from material contained in local media reports.

HUMPHRIES also said that he was being reassigned. Then, either HUMPHRIES or GERARD told BULLOCK that a new South African diplomat would be assigned to handle BULLOCK (BULLOCK noted that, while he knew HUMPHRIES was a diplomat, he never was told HUMPHRIES' diplomatic title.)

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This second meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted about thirty minutes. It was the last time BULLOCK met with HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK described HUMPHRIES as a white male, in his early fifties, about five feet, ten inches tall and of average weight. He had greying hair, sideburns, a reddish complexion, and wore glasses. He was also "thick jowled," and he spoke very good, though accented, English.

When his second meeting with HUMPHRIES was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK back to BULLOCK's residence. On the way there, BULLOCK asked GERARD why HUMPHRIES was so interested in the information he had asked for that he was willing to pay money for it. GERARD advised BULLOCK to just accept the situation and the money, as it is a characteristic of intelligence officers to want to acquire all the information they can.

BULLOCK said he was somewhat politically uncomfortable dealing with the South Africans, and he did not think the money he was getting was that good. BULLOCK indicated to GERARD he was not sure he wanted to continue supplying information to the South Africans. GERARD, however, encouraged BULLOCK not to quit. BULLOCK asked GERARD if he would like half of the money HUMPHRIES had paid him. GERARD said he would, and BULLOCK gave him \$250.00 in cash. They agreed that from that point, they would split equally any money the South Africans paid.

After the second meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK sent a couple more reports to the above Post Office box. Then, at about 7:00 a.m. one day about six months later, BULLOCK received a telephone call at his residence. The caller was a male, who spoke with an accent and identified himself as "LOUIE from South Africa." He said he was in San Francisco and he asked BULLOCK if they could meet. LOUIE was staying at a hotel on Castro Street, near BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK agreed to meet, and drove over to LOUIE's hotel. BULLOCK did not take GERARD with him.

BULLOCK met LOUIE in LOUIE's room. LOUIE was a white male who appeared to be about thirty-five years old. He was clean shaven and had what BULLOCK termed "dark features." He was well dressed, in a sweater and slacks.

When BULLOCK entered the room, LOUIE turned a radio up loud, and sat close to BULLOCK, evidently trying to make sure they could not be overheard. After a short time, BULLOCK

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suggested they leave the hotel and talk elsewhere. LOUIE was reluctant, but BULLOCK indicated he had little tolerance for "spy stuff." Finally LOUIE agreed to allow BULLOCK to drive him around and show him a bit of San Francisco.

They left LOUIE's hotel and drove around for a while in BULLOCK's car, stopping for coffee at a cafe in the Presidio of San Francisco. BULLOCK learned that LOUIE was married, had two children, and that his wife had an import/export business in Johannesburg, South Africa. LOUIE said he was attached to the South African Consulate in New York City. He said the operations of his office were separate from those in the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. He admitted he was with South African Intelligence, and that he had replaced HUMPHRIES in New York. BULLOCK asked him if he was the "passport officer" at the Consulate. LOUIE neither confirmed nor denied this.

LOUIE appeared to be more "liberal" to BULLOCK. He agreed with BULLOCK that blacks must eventually share power with whites in South Africa. LOUIE added, though, that the African National Congress (ANC) could not take part in the power sharing, as they are terrorists.

LOUIE tried to get BULLOCK to agree to use some basic precautions in dealing with him. LOUIE, for example, wanted BULLOCK to obtain a local Post Office box and some local coin telephone numbers, or other "safer" numbers so LOUIE would not have to contact BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK refused, reiterating that he did not want to play "spy games." He told LOUIE that LOUIE would just have to contact BULLOCK at home.

BULLOCK may have given LOUIE a couple of reports at this meeting, but LOUIE also told BULLOCK he wanted him to increase his production. LOUIE reiterated the same areas of interest that HUMPHRIES had described (anti-apartheid groups, South African business divestments, and the BELLI/TUTU relationship). He told BULLOCK that South African Intelligence had another informant on the West Coast. LOUIE described this person as a young man who was a member of an organization called Young Americans For Freedom. He said this person had been targeted against an organization in Oakland, California called Technica. LOUIE told BULLOCK he would like him to also report on Technica.

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BULLOCK complained to LOUIE about the money the South Africans were (not) paying him. LOUIE responded by giving BULLOCK a white envelope containing about \$750.00. The money was largely in the form of \$100 bills. LOUIE asked BULLOCK if he would like to be paid in South African Krugerrands. BULLOCK said he would rather have American currency.

The meeting with LOUIE lasted a total of about twenty-five minutes. BULLOCK then drove LOUIE back to his hotel. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD the same day, and told him of the meeting with LOUIE. GERARD came to BULLOCK's residence (possibly that same day, or the next), asked BULLOCK about the "tasking" he had received from LOUIE, and split with BULLOCK the money LOUIE had provided.

There were additional meetings between LOUIE and BULLOCK and GERARD. BULLOCK estimated the total number of meetings with LOUIE to be six or seven, all in approximately 1989, 1990 and 1991. All were in San Francisco and the last was in 1991. BULLOCK stated he would be willing to provide a detailed description of each meeting. He said GERARD was present at all the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first (described above) and the last. BULLOCK estimated HUMPHRIES and LOUIE provided about \$15,000-\$16,000 in cash in total, which BULLOCK split equally with GERARD. BULLOCK said he did not discuss with GERARD what GERARD did with his half of the money. BULLOCK did not think any of the meetings with the South Africans which GERARD attended with him took place while GERARD was supposed to be on duty with SFPD. BULLOCK believes this because the meetings were in the late afternoon/early evening and BULLOCK knows GERARD generally worked a daytime shift with SFPD. BULLOCK also said that no one in the ADL was aware of his and GERARD's relationship with the South Africans.

BULLOCK believes he was the supplier of at least ninety percent of the material the South Africans got from him and GERARD. BULLOCK knows that GERARD did send some material to the South Africans himself, as GERARD told him so. BULLOCK said he did not know what GERARD had supplied to the South Africans independent of BULLOCK.

BULLOCK also knew that GERARD maintained a Post Office box near GERARD's residence, which BULLOCK believes was used by GERARD to communicate with the South Africans. GERARD offered

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BULLOCK the use of the box, but BULLOCK declined.

BULLOCK recalled that after the FBI attempted to interview him and GERARD about the above issues, he and GERARD got together a few times to discuss the situation. GERARD told BULLOCK not to worry about the FBI's investigation, saying that it was all "bullshit." BULLOCK did note, though, that on a visit he made to GERARD's residence, GERARD was unwilling to discuss the matter inside the residence out of fear of being overheard by electronic surveillance. GERARD did not give BULLOCK any instructions on how to deal with the FBI, and did not tell him to lie to the FBI.

BULLOCK added that he did not know GERARD was going to move to the Philippines and vow not to return to the United States. BULLOCK did receive a Christmas card from GERARD, on December 10, 1992. The card read, "Nothing has changed. Your friend, THOMAS."

BULLOCK said he was aware the FBI believed he had in his possession an FBI report concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI). BULLOCK confirmed that he did once have such a report. BULLOCK explained that a few months previously he had been contacted by MIRA BOLAND, an ADL Fact Finder in Washington, D.C. BOLAND told BULLOCK she was preparing a newspaper article regarding the NOI. She needed some information concerning the disposition of a case or cases involving the arrest of some NOI members. She asked BULLOCK if he could find out anything for her.

In trying to assist BOLAND, BULLOCK spoke to Los Angeles ADL Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ. GURVITZ (whom BULLOCK estimated he spoke with almost every day) mentioned having an FBI report concerning the NOI. BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him a copy of the document, and GURVITZ complied. When BULLOCK received the report, he noted it was five or six years old and appeared to be poorly written and containing inaccuracies. BULLOCK did not find it to be of much value to him. He destroyed his copy after reading it.

Later, after FBI Agents questioned him about the report, BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him another copy, so BULLOCK could try to see why the FBI was so concerned about it. This copy BULLOCK left at the San Francisco ADL office.

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BULLOCK said he had not dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa. He also has no knowledge that GERARD had dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa.

BULLOCK said it is a common misconception that the ADL is somehow affiliated with the Israeli intelligence service. Even GERARD was of this opinion until BULLOCK corrected him. BULLOCK explained that shortly after he met GERARD, a man named [REDACTED] was arrested and jailed in Brazil for trying to smuggle guns into that country. [REDACTED] was a member of the American Nazi Party, a soldier of fortune, and a former White House guard. He was also acquainted with GERARD. [REDACTED] spent a long time in jail in Brazil. GERARD, who believed [REDACTED]'s activities were part of an Israeli Mossad operation, asked BULLOCK if there was not something the ADL could do to get VERDUIN out of jail. BULLOCK took this opportunity to explain to GERARD that there is no connection between the ADL and Israeli intelligence (BULLOCK added that a story about the above incident with [REDACTED] appeared in Image magazine.)

BULLOCK also said he is not aware that any person listed in any of the files in his computer is in any danger for any reason.

Regarding his computer, BULLOCK was shown a list (attached) of files which were in his computer when it was seized by SFPD. BULLOCK was asked to review the list and identify any items he turned over to the South Africans. BULLOCK identified the following files as those he definitely recalls giving to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE: GLOBAL - 2 DBX, SA11, SA8, SA9, SAPRESS and TRANSAF. BULLOCK added that others on the list may also have been provided to the South Africans, but he would have to review the actual documents to be sure. BULLOCK also said that not all the items he turned over to the South Africans may appear on the list, as some may have been erased from the computer, and others he prepared using a typewriter. BULLOCK also recalled that he gave the South Africans reports on a local resident named KEVIN DANAHER, and that some of the material for the DANAHER reports came from BULLOCK's searches of DANAHER's trash. BULLOCK also recalled that LOUIE once asked him to attend and report on a meeting in Berkeley, California, regarding that city's "sister city" relationship with Soweto, South Africa, but that BULLOCK did not do as requested.

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 2/2/93

On January 26, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed in the presence of his attorneys DONALD P. MARGOLIS and ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE, at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, 350 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. No promises were made by interviewing Agents to BULLOCK to induce him to agree to the interview. BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing Agents, and of the nature of the interview. BULLOCK then provided the following information:

It was noted that BULLOCK had, on January 22, 1993, advised interviewing Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that he and former Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD of the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) had previously been engaged in a relationship with two persons BULLOCK believes were officers of the intelligence service of the Republic of South Africa, and that BULLOCK or BULLOCK and GERARD had several meetings with these two persons between approximately 1987 and 1991. BULLOCK agreed, but indicated he was unable to recall the specifics of each meeting. He said, however, that he could describe what occurred over the course of the meetings.

BULLOCK estimated the total number of meetings between the South Africans and him or him and GERARD to be between eight and ten; certainly not more than twelve. All the meetings took place in San Francisco, California. It seemed to BULLOCK they were always held after 7:00 p.m. They generally lasted between thirty and forty minutes. The first two meetings were with a man who identified himself to BULLOCK as HUMPHRIES; the remainder were with a man who identified himself as LOUIE. GERARD was present for all the meetings except for the first and last meetings with LOUIE. All the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first and one other, occurred in LOUIE's rented room at a Travelodge motel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco. The meetings with LOUIE occurred approximately every three to five months, except for one summer period (probably in 1990) when LOUIE said he would be going to the "motherland" for eight weeks of leave; this may have delayed somewhat the next meeting. BULLOCK said it is possible, though he is not sure, that GERARD

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SA KATHLEEN M. PUCKETT Date dictated 1/27/93

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used the term "Uncle LOUIE" when BULLOCK and GERARD discussed LOUIE.

Based on an agreement made during the initial meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK was usually given an amount of American currency (generally in the form of \$100 bills) during each meeting. BULLOCK estimated that such cash payments occurred during six or seven of the meetings. Each time a payment occurred, except for the last, BULLOCK was asked to sign a receipt for the money. The receipt would be in the form of a small piece of paper bearing wording to the effect, "Subject has received \$ (amount) on this date." BULLOCK would always sign the receipt using the name "cal." The use of the name "cal" was BULLOCK's choice; he was not given a code name or number to use by the South Africans. Though GERARD would usually be present when BULLOCK received the money, he would not be required to sign a receipt. After the meetings, BULLOCK and GERARD would divide the money equally between them.

BULLOCK noted the original agreement he had with HUMPHRIES called for BULLOCK to receive a monthly payment for services of \$150.00. At some later point, this was raised to \$250.00 per month. Also, at the last meeting between BULLOCK and LOUIE, BULLOCK was given an amount for services plus \$500.00 in expense money for a trip BULLOCK took to Los Angeles to gather information for South African intelligence. BULLOCK noted it was repeatedly stressed during the meetings with LOUIE that the amount of money received could or would increase as his and GERARD's production of information increased.

BULLOCK indicated that what the South Africans wanted, and what he and GERARD worked to provide, was information relating to the efforts of persons or groups in the United States who were opposed to the South African Government and to that country's system of apartheid. BULLOCK said he frequently told LOUIE what an odious system apartheid is, and that he (BULLOCK) was agreeing to provide information about opponents of that system only because it appeared to BULLOCK that the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. It appeared to BULLOCK that LOUIE knew little about the United States, the United States Congress, or the political situation in the United States or San Francisco.

BULLOCK indicated that most of the information he and

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GERARD supplied to HUMPHRIES and LOUIE was from public sources such as newspapers and pamphlets put out by anti-apartheid organizations. Some of the newspapers BULLOCK used as sources of information included the Daily CAL, Bay Area Guardian and San Francisco Chronicle (including HERB CAEN columns), along with various "looney left" newspapers and publications. BULLOCK could tell that HUMPHRIES and LOUIE were familiar only with the New York Times and Washington Post newspapers, so he felt comfortable providing them with material from other papers. BULLOCK also personally attended meetings of organizations of interest to the South Africans, as did GERARD on at least one occasion. BULLOCK and GERARD also responded to requests by the South Africans for information on particular topics or people, with GERARD sometimes supplying restricted identifying and criminal history information, which he could obtain through his position as a police officer. BULLOCK would frequently question GERARD as to why the South Africans were willing to pay money for the information he and GERARD were providing. GERARD would always tell BULLOCK not to question it, saying, "CAL, they're happy campers."

BULLOCK would write reports for the South Africans based on information he and/or GERARD would obtain. Sometimes the reports would be given to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE during the meetings in San Francisco. The rest of the time BULLOCK would send the reports to a Post Office Box address in New York which had been supplied to him by HUMPHRIES and which LOUIE told BULLOCK he (LOUIE) used as well. The reports were sent via regular United States mail. It was BULLOCK's impression from talking to LOUIE that LOUIE lived somewhere near the location of the above Post Office Box and could service the box on his way to and from his work at the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK recalled that for the period when LOUIE was on the above trip to the "motherland," LOUIE instructed him not to mail anything to the box.

LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to get a Post Office Box in San Francisco. If LOUIE wanted to send something to BULLOCK, he did not want to have to send it to BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK said he refused this request of LOUIE. LOUIE, who had a "beeper," also wanted BULLOCK to get one, saying he (LOUIE) would pay for it. LOUIE thought it important that there be some other way for him to telephone BULLOCK besides at BULLOCK's residence, in case BULLOCK developed some "hot" information. BULLOCK said he also

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refused this request of LOUIE. BULLOCK knew from experience that the payments from LOUIE were not as plentiful as BULLOCK expected. Aside from not thinking a beeper was actually needed, BULLOCK also did not believe LOUIE would cover the entire cost of BULLOCK having one.

BULLOCK would occasionally receive telephone calls at his residence from LOUIE. BULLOCK almost always thought, from the background noises at LOUIE's end, that LOUIE was using a public telephone. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to use public telephones as well. He wanted BULLOCK to supply him with some numbers of public telephones in San Francisco, where BULLOCK could receive calls at specified times. LOUIE said BULLOCK's insistence of using his home telephone was "not a safe conduit." LOUIE feared the "possibility of a leak." BULLOCK, who believed he would only provide "public source" information to LOUIE by telephone, told LOUIE he would just have to call BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home.

BULLOCK knew, from talking to GERARD, that GERARD maintained a Post Office Box. BULLOCK believes the box was at a private mail box company located by the Anchorage 5 Cafe, near GERARD's residence in Sausalito, California. GERARD offered to let BULLOCK use the box to communicate with the South Africans, but BULLOCK declined the offer. BULLOCK said that although he understood GERARD used the box to communicate with the South Africans, he does not know if GERARD sent anything to them independent of what he and GERARD prepared. BULLOCK did recall that once, at a meeting at a Travelodge motel between BULLOCK, GERARD and LOUIE, GERARD gave LOUIE a chart GERARD had prepared listing all the San Francisco area anti-apartheid groups and their interconnections. The chart consisted of about eight pieces of paper which were taped together at the edges. It appeared to BULLOCK to have been prepared using GERARD's computer. LOUIE was very happy to get it, commenting, "This is marvelous! This is wonderful! This is everything -- I can see the entire thing." BULLOCK did not think the chart was that impressive, and he later commented to GERARD that he was surprised LOUIE liked it. GERARD responded, "Oh, CAL, you don't know intelligence agents. That's what they love."

Most of the material BULLOCK and GERARD gave to the South Africans came from work they did in the San Francisco area. BULLOCK cited two instances, however, where he traveled outside the San Francisco area to obtain information. On one occasion,

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BULLOCK had to travel to Portland, Oregon on business for his employer, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). BULLOCK was to gather information from a trial there which involved white supremacist TOM METZGER. While in Portland, BULLOCK gathered some information on and talked to a couple of people affiliated with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). BULLOCK later wrote a report on the AFSC and its anti-apartheid activities, which he sent to LOUIE. On another occasion, LOUIE asked BULLOCK to attend and report on a meeting of an anti-apartheid group in Hollywood, California. BULLOCK traveled to Hollywood as requested, obtained some literature at the meeting, and reported the results to LOUIE. For this, BULLOCK was reimbursed \$500.00 for travel expenses by LOUIE at their last meeting. BULLOCK also gathered information during a vacation he took in Washington, D.C., which was later incorporated into a report for the South Africans. BULLOCK noted he was not paid by the South Africans for travel expenses except for the above Hollywood trip. BULLOCK did not ask for travel expense money from the South Africans for the other trips because he was either traveling on his own initiative or because the ADL was paying for it.

BULLOCK was able to recall some assorted details regarding the various meetings he or he and GERARD had with HUMPHRIES or LOUIE. The first meeting BULLOCK had with either of the South Africans was with HUMPHRIES. This meeting had been arranged for BULLOCK by GERARD. The meeting took place in a hotel room in San Francisco. HUMPHRIES had apparently rented the room but BULLOCK cannot recall the name of the hotel or anything about the personal effects HUMPHRIES may have had in the room with him. BULLOCK recalled that he could not see whatever luggage HUMPHRIES may have had with him, and that the room was otherwise in a pristine condition. GERARD had transported BULLOCK from BULLOCK's residence to the hotel in GERARD's car, then taken BULLOCK to HUMPHRIES' room. There HUMPHRIES introduced himself to BULLOCK, and GERARD told BULLOCK that HUMPHRIES was with South African Intelligence. HUMPHRIES told BULLOCK he was interested in acquiring information on anti-apartheid activities in the United States and on efforts regarding divestiture by American organizations of South African business ties. He said he would be grateful for whatever information BULLOCK could provide, and that BULLOCK would be paid for his efforts. They discussed the types of information HUMPHRIES wanted and what BULLOCK might be able to provide. For

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this discussion, HUMPHRIES produced a small tape recorder. He asked BULLOCK and GERARD if they minded if he taped the discussion, saying he could not take notes fast enough. Neither BULLOCK or GERARD objected to the taping, so the discussion was recorded. The total time of the recording was probably about seven minutes. Both BULLOCK's and GERARD's voices are probably on the tape. BULLOCK cannot recall if the discussion of payment for information was included in the recording. HUMPHRIES mentioned the possibility of also sending BULLOCK to London or Paris to gather information. BULLOCK did not recall that HUMPHRIES said he was from the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK later knew this, but he cannot recall if he was told by GERARD or LOUIE. The above was the only instance in which BULLOCK knew he was being recorded during discussions with the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that, although LOUIE generally stayed at a Travelodge motel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco, there was one time that LOUIE stayed at the San Francisco Hyatt Regency Hotel, located near the Embarcadero Center. BULLOCK believes this may have been on the occasion of his and GERARD's third meeting with LOUIE. They met LOUIE in the lobby of this hotel, and then they went to a restaurant in the nearby Pacific Gas and Electric Company building. LOUIE had with him a brown leather briefcase with the initials "JB" embossed on it in gold. BULLOCK recalled that this was the only time he saw LOUIE with a briefcase. LOUIE explained that he was staying at the Hyatt Hotel, and they were not meeting in LOUIE's room, because LOUIE had his wife with him. LOUIE said he and his wife (and possibly their children; BULLOCK is not certain of this. BULLOCK did recall that during one of LOUIE's visits to San Francisco BULLOCK observed LOUIE had purchased some "Mickey Mouse" ears, and that LOUIE had indicated they were for one of his children.) were on vacation and were driving across the United States. He mentioned either that they had visited or were going to visit the Grand Canyon. LOUIE did not give BULLOCK any money during this meeting, but he said South Africa was very happy with BULLOCK's and GERARD's work. He gave what BULLOCK described as a "pep talk" and requested that they continue working for South Africa.

BULLOCK recalled he learned at some point that LOUIE liked to eat crab. BULLOCK would often try to encourage LOUIE to go out to eat with him and GERARD, but LOUIE always refused, not

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wanting to leave the security of the hotel room. BULLOCK eventually decided there were certain things like this that LOUIE, as an intelligence officer, simply felt he had to do in the name of security.

Although BULLOCK was sending LOUIE two or three reports per month, LOUIE always seemed to think that BULLOCK and GERARD should be producing more. He told BULLOCK that there would be more money in exchange for more production. Once, at a fairly early meeting (probably around November, 1989) when LOUIE complained about what he perceived to be a lack of production, he said he wanted BULLOCK to start numbering the submitted reports so LOUIE could see how many there were and if any were missing. BULLOCK complied with this instruction for about one month, then discontinued the numbering, and LOUIE never brought the numbering system up again.

Sometime after their fourth meeting with the South Africans, GERARD noted to BULLOCK that BULLOCK was doing most of the work in producing the reports they were submitting. GERARD suggested that perhaps they should modify their agreement on splitting payments received so that instead of being divided equally, BULLOCK would get two-thirds. BULLOCK declined the offer, telling GERARD, "I may be gay but I'm a straight arrow." Thereafter they continued to equally divide the money received from the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that at one meeting between him, GERARD and LOUIE, which occurred in 1990, LOUIE had with him two pages of handwritten notes. The notes were written with a pencil and were in Afrikaans. BULLOCK has some German speaking ability, and he thought that might allow him to be able to read some of the Afrikaans. He asked LOUIE if he could try to read the notes, and LOUIE agreed. BULLOCK found he could not understand very much of what was written. BULLOCK could decipher some of what was in the notes, especially a list of things LOUIE then confirmed were among things he hoped BULLOCK and GERARD could look into. These things were a Cable News Network conference in Atlanta, Georgia regarding South African Bishop DESMOND TUTU; a student meeting in Iowa regarding South Africa; a black businessmen's conference in Los Angeles, California regarding business opportunities in South Africa, and a student writer for the publication "Africa South" who had written an article concerning an anti-apartheid meeting. BULLOCK said he and GERARD

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were unable to obtain any information about any of the above topics.

At one of the earlier meetings with LOUIE, he asked BULLOCK and GERARD for information about a student anti-apartheid meeting held at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB). The group about which LOUIE inquired had an office at the Student Union at UCB. When BULLOCK went there, the office was open but no one was there. BULLOCK entered anyway. He looked around, but saw nothing worthwhile to note or take (BULLOCK described it as a "peanut" operation.) BULLOCK later reported this visit, and the generally poor condition of the office, to LOUIE. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to draw a diagram of the office. BULLOCK talked this request over with GERARD. They agreed it might not be a good idea to provide the diagram to LOUIE, in case LOUIE had thoughts of using it to aid in a burglary of the office. BULLOCK therefore did not provide the diagram, and LOUIE never asked for it again.

At, BULLOCK believes, the next to last meeting he and GERARD had with LOUIE, LOUIE asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew of any personnel from any foreign consulates in the United States who might be willing to do business with South Africa. The only diplomat BULLOCK knew, besides LOUIE and HUMPHRIES, was a woman named [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] was the Honorary Consul for Turkey in San Francisco. [REDACTED] had been introduced to BULLOCK by GERARD. [REDACTED] asked BULLOCK to try to find out information about the activities of Armenian immigrants in the United States. [REDACTED] was concerned that she might be an assassination target of the Armenians, following the assassination in Los Angeles of a Turkish diplomat.

BULLOCK did not try to get [REDACTED] to work for the South Africans. As a result of BULLOCK's Armenian investigation, however, he became acquainted with persons named JEFF BLANKFORT and STEVE ZELTZER. BLANKFORT and ZELTZER were affiliated with the "Free MOSES MAYEKISO Campaign" (MAYEKISO being an imprisoned South African trade unionist), as well as with anti-Turkish organizations. BULLOCK befriended and won the confidence of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER (in BULLOCK's words, they thought he was "one of them"). He later used that connection to obtain information for a report he prepared for the South Africans which described the activities of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER.

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BULLOCK observed that when the work of collecting information for South Africa required someone to physically go somewhere to, for example, attend a meeting, it would almost always be BULLOCK who went. BULLOCK could recall only one occasion where GERARD went. This was in connection with an anti-apartheid meeting in San Jose, California. BULLOCK had some reason why he could not go, so GERARD said he would cover the meeting. GERARD went, and wrote a report about it, which he gave to BULLOCK for submission to the South Africans. The report contained mistakes in English usage and was otherwise not as polished as what BULLOCK had been sending. BULLOCK therefore rewrote the report to correct these deficiencies, and then mailed the corrected version to the South Africans. See "DEAN.DBX" below.

BULLOCK was shown copies of a number of reports, on various topics, which had been obtained by the SFPD through their seizure of BULLOCK's personal computer at BULLOCK's residence on December 10, 1992. BULLOCK was asked to comment concerning whether they had been written by him and whether they had been provided by him to the South Africans. The reports (copies of which are attached) are listed below utilizing the names under which they had been stored in BULLOCK's computer.

<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
ANAGNOS	YES	YES	Information for this report supplied by GERARD.
ANC	YES	YES	Persons described in this report were specifically asked about by South Africans.
ANCFUND	YES	YES	

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<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
ANCJEW	YES	YES	It is BULLOCK's opinion that the San Francisco area anti-apartheid movement began to fall apart following the visit of NELSON MANDELA to San Francisco.
APARTSUR	YES	YES	
BERK	YES	YES	
BOSAK	YES	YES	
BOYCOTT	YES	YES	
CONST.DBX	YES	YES	
CULTURE.DBX	YES	YES	
DANAHER.DBX	YES	YES	BULLOCK met KEVIN DANAHER when BULLOCK performed volunteer work for a "Trot-skeyite" organization in San Francisco called MOBE, which each April sponsors a March for Peace, Jobs and Justice. BULLOCK worked there around February, 1990 and February, 1991.
DANAHER2.DBX	YES	YES	
DEAN.DBX	YES	YES	Function personally attended by GERARD. See above.

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<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
GLOBAL2.DBX	YES	YES	
GLOBAL0.DBX	YES	NO	This report written for the ADL.
HANI.DBX	YES	YES	
IRRC-SA.DBX	YES	YES	A copy of this report also filed by BULLOCK with ADL. BULLOCK gathered information for this report while he was on vacation in Washington, D.C.
JEFF.DBX	YES	NO	
KRAFT.DBX	YES	YES	A copy of this report was not given to ADL by BULLOCK. Information in this report was supplied unilaterally by GERARD. GERARD did not ask BULLOCK to gather any information on SCOTT KRAFT.
MUSIK.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only.
NED.DBX	YES	YES	
NUJOWA.DBX	YES	YES	
PAUL.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only.

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<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
RAINBOW.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only. GERARD may have provided vehicle registration and driver's license information.
SA11.DBX	YES	YES	GERARD provided California Department of Motor Vehicles and criminal history information used in this report. GERARD also provided the U.S. Immigration number listed for ENOCH WILLIAM DUMA. When BULLOCK asked GERARD how GERARD obtained this number, GERARD winked and said he "has his sources." Also, after this report GERARD always asked LOUIE if he had any more names to submit for "tasking." BULLOCK does not recall that there were.
SAS.DBX	YES	YES	Information about the Vanguard Foundation (VF) came from VF publications. IRWIN SUALL of the ADL was also interested in VF. VF's YVONNE GOLDEN is an old Communist Party "hack."

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<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
SA9.DBX	YES	YES	
SAPORT.DBX	YES	YES	This report was generated from BULLOCK's above-described trip to Portland, Oregon.
SAPRESS.DBX	YES	YES	Report on visit of NELSON MANDELA to the United States.
SCAR.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only.
SCOUT2.DBX	YES	NO	Report prepared for ADL use only. BULLOCK did request of LOUIE any available information on [REDACTED] the South African wife of [REDACTED] head of the Populist Party in the United States. BULLOCK was told he had not provided the correct spelling of [REDACTED] name, and that no record of her could be located in South Africa. BULLOCK noted the South Africans were not concerned with [REDACTED]

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<u>REPORT NAME</u>	<u>WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?</u>	<u>PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?</u>	<u>OTHER COMMENTS</u>
SFARAB.DBX	YES	YES	This report, given to LOUIE, contains information about Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. LOUIE did not, however, ask questions about the United States Congress.
SFPRESS.DBX	YES	YES	
SHELL.DBX	YES	YES	
SOV2.DBX	YES	NO	BULLOCK is interested in Radio Moscow propaganda techniques and has listed to Radio Moscow for years. BULLOCK asserted there was "no subversive intent" to his listening to and writing reports about Radio Moscow broadcasts.
TRANSAF.DBX	YES	YES	Information on telephone numbers and calls contained in this report were obtained by BULLOCK through his taking of Transafrica's trash.
WASHSA.DBX	YES	YES	BULLOCK obtained information for this report while BULLOCK was on vacation in Washington, D.C.

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BULLOCK further identified a report titled AFRICEN as one he started to write on the Africa Resource Center, but which he never finished.

BULLOCK said there were also some reports prepared by him with a typewriter for the South Africans. He said he does not have copies of those reports.

BULLOCK also gave to LOUIE an ADL publication on the African National Congress.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of a twenty-four page document called "ANC FILES LIST," which had been retrieved by the SFPD from a computer seized by them from GERARD. BULLOCK said this was not a document he had written, though he recognized some of the names in it. BULLOCK also said, though, that he had provided GERARD with copies of almost everything in his (BULLOCK's) computer. BULLOCK specifically identified three major listings of individuals he had in his computer, under the headings RIGHT, PINKO and ARAB. BULLOCK gave GERARD copies of all three lists, based on a request from GERARD. BULLOCK loaded the information onto computer disks and gave the disks to GERARD. BULLOCK added that GERARD is "not that good with computers."

BULLOCK said most of the information contained in his (BULLOCK's) computer was stored using software programs called Multimate and Paradox. BULLOCK said copies of everything stored using Multimate had been also given to the San Francisco ADL office. The same is true for most of the information stored using Paradox.

BULLOCK said he has shown his collection of computerized information to FBI Special Agent FRANK DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE was very impressed and told BULLOCK that if BULLOCK retires he should "will" the information to Special Agent DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE also once offered to have the FBI supply BULLOCK with a facsimile machine, so BULLOCK could send copies of his reports. BULLOCK added, though, that he never actually received a facsimile machine from Special Agent DOYLE.

BULLOCK said it was his impression, though GERARD never explicitly told him so, (and BULLOCK never asked) that GERARD may have been telling the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) about his

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and BULLOCK's contacts with the South Africans. GERARD had said he knew the CIA "resident agent" in San Francisco. GERARD told BULLOCK he would introduce BULLOCK to this person, but that introduction never occurred. Once, after GERARD dropped BULLOCK off at BULLOCK's residence following a meeting with LOUIE, GERARD said he was going to go to the San Francisco CIA office. BULLOCK thinks this is one of the reasons GERARD always asked LOUIE if LOUIE had any more names of people he wanted them to check out.

BULLOCK recalled that once, after he had met GERARD, BULLOCK went to Chicago, Illinois to conduct an investigation on behalf of the ADL. The target of the investigation was a group called the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. BULLOCK learned that a woman named [REDACTED] was transporting money between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or the Popular Front For The Liberation Of Palestine (PFLP), and the United States. BULLOCK told this to GERARD. GERARD later told BULLOCK that GERARD's "guy at the CIA" would like to know more. GERARD asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK would go back to Chicago to gather more information on the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. BULLOCK, however, never did go back.

BULLOCK said he, himself, had no relationship with the CIA. Only once, in the late 1960s or early 1970s, was BULLOCK in an office which he understood to belong to the CIA. That was at the invitation of a person named CHARLES ROUBITELLE, whom BULLOCK understood to be a CIA employee. BULLOCK had met ROUBITELLE in the 1960s while BULLOCK was living in Southern California. ROUBITELLE seemed interested in the activities of right wing extremists. ROUBITELLE invited BULLOCK to visit him at a CIA office in Los Angeles, which BULLOCK recalled was in the "Fisher Building." When BULLOCK arrived at the office for his appointment, he found the office door unlocked but no one present. BULLOCK went in. Being alone and seeing a file cabinet nearby, BULLOCK opened one of the drawers. In the drawer he observed a file on a well known left wing leader. Eventually someone appeared in the office, and BULLOCK was introduced to a man he understood was the head of the office. He and BULLOCK chatted for a few minutes, about topics BULLOCK can no longer recall. The man told BULLOCK they had tried to call him several times. BULLOCK replied that that would have been impossible as BULLOCK did not have a telephone. After BULLOCK and the man finished chatting, BULLOCK left the office. BULLOCK has had no further contact with the CIA except as might have occurred

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through GERARD.

The South Africans were quite aware that GERARD had once been employed by the CIA. During meetings between GERARD and BULLOCK and HUMPHRIES or LOUIE, GERARD would frequently discuss what he had done while in the CIA's employ. BULLOCK recalled GERARD mentioning that he had been in Algeria on CIA business, and that GERARD discussed the PLO and "safehouses." To this LOUIE once responded that Israeli intelligence had determined that the PLO and the African National Congress were cooperating. GERARD also spoke of having traveled with the CIA to Afghanistan, and he described what he had seen there. LOUIE also contributed stories concerning his adventures inside South Africa as an intelligence officer (BULLOCK did not recall LOUIE talking about any of his intelligence activities outside South Africa.) Both GERARD and LOUIE traded "war stories" and regaled each other and BULLOCK with tales of "narrow scrapes."

Even though the South Africans knew of GERARD's former CIA affiliation, BULLOCK never heard HUMPHRIES or LOUIE ask GERARD to provide any information about the CIA. BULLOCK never told the South Africans he was acquainted with any FBI employees, nor does he recall GERARD saying he (GERARD) knew any. The South Africans never asked BULLOCK or GERARD (to BULLOCK's knowledge) to provide any information about the FBI. BULLOCK said that although he had previously acknowledged once having a report on the Nation of Islam, which he believes was written by the FBI, he never gave it or any other FBI documents to the South Africans. LOUIE was very security conscious, but he never spoke openly about concerns that the FBI might discover what he was doing with BULLOCK and GERARD. LOUIE did once mention that he had seen a media story about how the FBI was looking for speakers of various languages, including Afrikaans. LOUIE said he assumed this meant the FBI would be spending less time investigating traditional targets like the Soviet Union, and more regarding targets like South Africa.

BULLOCK said that despite GERARD's claimed contacts with the CIA, GERARD was nevertheless concerned about the possibility of the FBI finding out what he and BULLOCK were doing with the South Africans. BULLOCK knew GERARD could be fired from his job with SFPD if it was discovered that he and BULLOCK were selling information to the South Africans. GERARD's concern about discovery extended to the point that he once took steps to

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try to determine if the FBI knew about his and BULLOCK's activities; and to gauge the general FBI level of interest in South Africa. For his part, BULLOCK's concern about protecting GERARD in their dealings with South Africa caused BULLOCK to intentionally provide false information to the FBI.

BULLOCK explained that in approximately 1990, he was approached by FBI Special Agent (SA) KATHERINE I. TANG-WILCOX, and another Agent, who could speak Spanish, but whose name BULLOCK cannot now recall. They discussed such things as "skinheads" and a Puerto Rican independence group. Then TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew anything about "South African agents in the Silicon Valley." BULLOCK admitted he knew one South African, from New York, and that he had given this person some information on anti-apartheid groups. BULLOCK indicated willingness to try to identify this person from a photograph if TANG-WILCOX obtained one. TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK to contact her if this South African contacted BULLOCK again. BULLOCK said he would. TANG-WILCOX gave BULLOCK the telephone number to her beeper so BULLOCK could contact her.

BULLOCK claimed that when LOUIE next called him, a month or two later, to arrange a meeting for later the same day, BULLOCK tried to contact TANG-WILCOX, using the beeper number she had provided. When she had not called him back after fifteen minutes, BULLOCK left for the meeting with LOUIE. Because he waited for TANG-WILCOX to call him, BULLOCK said, he was late for the meeting, and LOUIE berated him for his tardiness (BULLOCK countered that he had taken a circuitous route to the meeting.) BULLOCK indicated this was about a month before the last meeting with LOUIE. BULLOCK noted that TANG-WILCOX never produced a photograph for him to try to identify, nor did the matter of South Africa come up again with her.

BULLOCK, however, reported TANG-WILCOX's interest in South Africa to GERARD. GERARD was concerned. GERARD later reported to BULLOCK that he (GERARD) had gone to the San Francisco FBI Office and made contact with a person who handled the "South Africa desk." From this contact GERARD reported to BULLOCK that GERARD did not think the FBI was aware of his and BULLOCK's relationship with the South Africans, or that the FBI was very interested in South Africa.

The last meeting BULLOCK had with LOUIE occurred after

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the above contact with SA TANG-WILCOX. As usual, LOUIE telephoned BULLOCK to request a meeting, after LOUIE was already in San Francisco. This time, however, LOUIE told BULLOCK, in an "acid" tone, not to bring GERARD to the meeting. BULLOCK therefore met LOUIE alone at LOUIE's room at the Travelodge motel at Fisherman's Wharf. LOUIE spoke in a terse manner and did not have the friendly demeanor he had always previously displayed. He spoke to BULLOCK for only a couple of minutes in the motel room. He and BULLOCK then walked to the nearby Ripley's Believe It Or Not museum. On the way there and at the museum LOUIE told BULLOCK that the information he and GERARD had been providing was not worthwhile. He thanked BULLOCK for their efforts and asked if he could call BULLOCK if anything more was needed. BULLOCK said he could. In the museum, at the second exhibit (which BULLOCK recalled was lit with red lights), LOUIE gave BULLOCK an envelope containing \$1,500.00 in cash. LOUIE did not ask BULLOCK to sign a receipt. \$500.00 of the \$1,500.00 was to reimburse BULLOCK for his travel expenses in connection with his above-mentioned trip to Hollywood. BULLOCK offered to give LOUIE a detailed list of expenses for the trip, but LOUIE did not want that. It was clear to BULLOCK that this was to be the last meeting with LOUIE. They shook hands, and parted company after just a few minutes. That was the last BULLOCK has seen of LOUIE.

BULLOCK contacted GERARD and informed him of this meeting with LOUIE. GERARD's response was, "That's the way it goes." BULLOCK gave GERARD \$500.00 of the money LOUIE had given him, keeping all of the \$500.00 that was intended as his travel expense reimbursement, plus half of the remaining \$1,000.00.

BULLOCK expressed surprise, both to GERARD and to interviewing Agents, concerning the termination of the relationship with the South Africans, and the abrupt way it was handled by LOUIE. BULLOCK denied telling LOUIE about the above questioning by SA TANG-WILCOX, or otherwise saying anything which might have made the South Africans think the FBI was investigating the relationship they had with BULLOCK and GERARD.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of the text of what appeared to be a letter describing the above encounter with SA TANG-WILCOX. The letter had been discovered in BULLOCK's computer by the SFPD, under the file name TRIP.DBX. It appeared to have been prepared for transmission to the South Africans. The text of the letter, a copy of which is attached, read: