

# GAO

## Economic Spy Wars!

# CovertAction

Q U A R T E R L Y



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## The Public Relations Industry's Secret War on Activists

— John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton

### ► I N S I D E

#### Cops vs. Citizen Review

— Lynne Wilson

#### The Corporate Assault on the FDA

— Ron Nixon

#### Colin Powell: Out but Not Down

— William Blum

#### Haiti's Not For Sale...Yet

— Laurie Richardson and Jean-Roland Chery

#### Addressing the UN Class of '95

— Phyllis Bennis

#### On the Legions of the Dispossessed

— Fidel Castro

#### Economic Intelligence: Spying for Uncle Sam

— Pratap Chatterjee

#### Spain's Dirty War on the Basques

— Darrin Wood

#### Hawks over East Timor: Britain Arms Indonesia

— Mark Curtis

#### Bosnia Forum Continued

— Joan Phillips and  
Andreas Zumach



# CIA: To End Outrage, Cut Funding

Two years ago, when Aldrich Ames was caught with both hands in the spooky cookie jar, there was much pious lamenting that he betrayed his country not for principle, but for money. Recently another in a long string of CIA scandals was rooted in the quest for cash. This fall, CIA Director John Deutch reported to Congress that over an eight-year period from 1986 to 1994, CIA officials from directors Webster, Gates, and Woolsey on down the ranks fed false information all the way up "the food chain" to the president and senior cabinet officials. The sources for the dozens of questionable reports on Soviet and Russian weapons development and arms control were double agents controlled by the KGB. Worse yet, as DCI John Deutch confessed to the Senate Intelligence Committee, the CIA officials who passed on the disinformation to Congress and three presidents *knew* the sources were tainted and the intelligence was garbage.

The current debacle may be a scandal that won't go away, and those pushing for change had better take what they can get, since the scandals that have gone away include murders, assassinations, wars, coups, and manipulations of the political and economic lives of dozens of countries and millions of people. But feeding disinformation to the president? the Cabinet? the Congress?

"The word 'outrageous' immediately leaps to mind .... Is that the proper word?" news show host Jim Lehrer solemnly asked Senate Select Committee on Intelligence heads Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) and Arlen Specter (R-Penna.), "Well, it is a proper word," said Kerrey. "American lives were at stake, and the security and safety of the United States of America hung in the balance." So, yet again, cries of shock and outrage ring through Washington. CIA officials, true to their nature, their mission, their training, lied not just to you and me, but — and this is really the outrageous part — to their putative masters. And after Congress and president protected and covered up for the agency all these years and suckled it at their fiscal bosom.

Why then did the CIA knowingly pass on to its "consumers" — that's what the agency calls those who receive its information, which it calls its "product" (and those terms themselves tell a tale) — information that, for example, exaggerated the military capability of the USSR?

CAQ, among others, has long charged and carefully documented that Star Wars, Stealth, and other high-ticket weapons systems had nothing to do with defense and everything to do with defense budgets. According to congressional reports, US buildups to counter the hand-crafted myth of Soviet military prowess cost the taxpayers billions. What the reports were, was a happy coincidence of the Soviet desire to overrate its military

capability and the CIA's need to justify its existence and budgets and to toss business to defense contractors. What they were not, was an aberration. For decades, the CIA and Pentagon consistently inflated the military and security threat posed by the USSR. For decades, the company of thieves cried national security to line its budgetary pockets and those of its buddies in the military-industrial complex.

The recent revelations follow a rash of CIA scandals and have provoked renewed cries for reform, demands for another committee, another set of investigations, another round of flagellation with tear-dampened newspapers. The media will call for change, Congress will threaten oversight, perhaps even jail sentences — if, as Specter said, someone can figure out "if there's any statute which covers this specific kind of conduct." The CIA will bare its manly institutional buttocks for a ritual spank and then most likely, everybody except a few mid-level fall guys, will go home to Georgetown and Langley for a drink and a chuckle. But if you really want to know if anything is going to change, do like Aldrich Ames, who did like the agency that trained him: Follow the money; watch the budget.

At a time when Congress is slashing the social safety net, it has continued to approve obscene levels of military spending, even exceeding the amount the Pentagon requested by \$7 billion. It also recently voted — despite the Ames scandal, the Guatemalan and Honduran revelations, and Deutch's call for increased covert operations — a 1.7 percent increase in the intelligence budget.

And so it goes. In the name of national security, the CIA lies and disinform (that is, after all, part of its job); in the name of the people, Congress — between disingenuous flareups of shock and outrage — continues to cover up and pay the bills.

But after the smoke and mirrors clear, the way to tell if anything has changed is to look at the bottom line: Until the president and Congress pull the fiscal plug, the "company" will continue its nasty business as usual. ■

## **BILL KUNSTLER** **Carry it on, work for justice.**

"I reminded Bill that the *New York Times* had called him the most hated and most loved lawyer in America. Thinking of his heart condition, I did not tease him as I usually would have. Instead, I said 'Given the reasons for hate and the reasons for love, both are compliments to your inspiring work for justice for everyone.' "

— David Dellinger

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# CovertAction

Q U A R T E R L Y

# CONTENTS

## Covert Briefs ..... 4

## Cops vs. Citizen Review



Lynne Wilson ..... 7

While police racism, corruption, and brutality make headlines, police organizations are using increasingly coordinated and sophisticated legal and political strategies to avoid accountability and to chill citizen oversight.

## The Corporate Assault on the FDA

Ron Nixon ..... 14

Drug and tobacco companies have put out their own contract on America. Their stable of lobbyists, tame Congressmembers, and researchers is out to kill the Food and Drug Administration.

## The Public Relations Industry's Secret War on Activists



John Stauber &  
Sheldon Rampton ..... 18

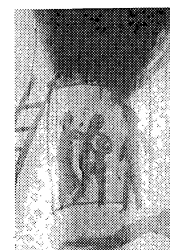
Using spies, infiltrators, phony "grassroots" campaigns, smear techniques, and high-tech media assaults, the PR industry is targeting its biggest enemy: local activists.

## Colin Powell: Out But Not Down

William Blum ..... 26

Powell built a career by pleasing the powerful. To that end he misled Congress, helped coverup war crimes, and oversaw civilian massacres. No longer a candidate, he is still a force to be reckoned with.

## Haiti's Not For Sale ... Yet



Laurie Richardson &  
Jean-Roland Chery .... 30

Haiti faces all-out economic warfare and increasing unrest as the US-dominated World Bank and IMF wrestle Pres. Aristide and the popular movements for control of the country.

## Addressing the UN Class of '95

Phyllis Bennis ..... 38



The differences between Clinton's and Castro's speeches at the 50th anniversary of the UN highlight the North-South divisions and focus the struggle for increased democracy within the world body.

## On the "Legions of the Dispossessed"

Fidel Castro ..... 40

When the president of Cuba spoke to the UN, he was greeted with a hero's welcome.

## Economic Intelligence: Spying for Uncle Sam

Pratap Chatterjee ..... 41

Under Deutch and Clinton, the CIA is reemphasizing its longstanding commitment to spying on friend and foe alike to advance the US economic agenda and justify its budget.

## Spain's Dirty War on the Basques

Darrin Wood ..... 46

Provoking a scandal that reaches to the president's office, Spanish officials have broken silence and admitted that government-run death squads assassinated Basque separatists.

## Hawks Over East Timor: Britain Arms Indonesia

Mark Curtis ..... 52



East Timor enters its third decade of near-genocidal Indonesian occupation. While the US has been forced to distance itself from the generals, Britain takes up the slack.

## Bosnia Forum Continued

Joan Phillips & Andreas Zumach ..... 58

As promised in the fall issue, the two analysts who take divergent views of the causes of and cures for the conflict respond to each other. Readers join in.

## Off the Shelf: Books of Interest ..... 63

**Cover photo:** Residents of Woodland, NC protest the citing by ThermalKem of a toxic waste incinerator directly across from their homes.



# Covert Briefs

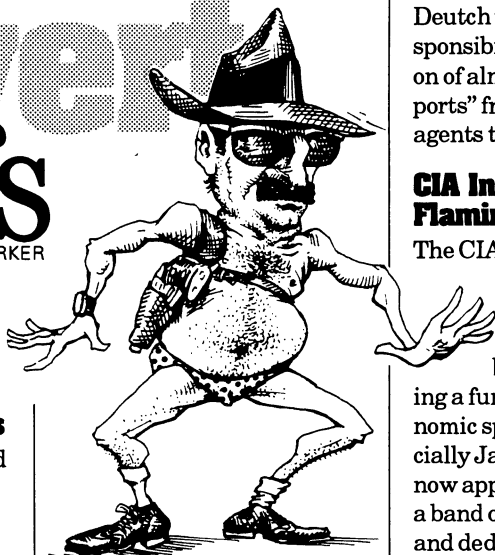
ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATT WUERKER

## Efficiency Über Alles

This fall, when CAQ detailed the flood of jobs that flowed into Mexico after passage of NAFTA, boosters were still pretending that the agreement would be good for US workers. Recently, the lie crumbled further. The Clinton administration promise of 170,000 new jobs in the first year of NAFTA was replaced by spin on why, two years later, 381,000 jobs have already been lost.

Creating or even preserving jobs was never the point, the backers now explain. According to the *New York Times*, "many businessmen and economists say jobs was the wrong way to measure NAFTA's effect; as in the case of Key Tronic [which laid off 227 workers and moved their jobs to a plant in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico] and many other companies, NAFTA is about corporate efficiency ... [and] it is just a matter of time before benefits begin to outweigh short-term job losses." The chief benefit — corporate efficiency — is a euphemism for downsizing, runaway shops, and higher profits. The short-term losses? That's where the hundreds of thousands of lost jobs, as well as environmental and cultural devastations, come in.

"What happened was much worse than we thought," said Mexican activist Ignacio Peon at a recent conference in New York on Globalization. "And we were pessimists."



## Oh Come On

"For almost 30 years," noted the *New York Times*, French mercenary Bob Denard "has done jobs for anti-Communist and African leaders or rebels who enjoyed French sympathy."

Asked if France had anything to do with the coup in the Comoros led by Denard, a senior French official got all huffy. "The government is not in the business of using soldiers of fortune. We act openly."

- From a *New York Times* report on the Mexico City police force, which is so thoroughly corrupt that bribes are more common than traffic tickets and police-run ambulances often rob the injured: "Mexico City's current police chief, David Garay, hardly fits the image of a corrupt lout: he is a Harvard-educated lawyer."

- "[T]he record is clear that each of us has worked diligently as [directors of the CIA] to make clear our commitment to the highest standards of integrity and to strict adherence to the law and regulations..." Letter from former DCIs William Webster, Robert Gates and

James Woolsey to John Deutch wiggling out from responsibility for the passing on of almost 100 "tainted reports" from KGB-controlled agents to three presidents.

## CIA Infiltrated by Flaming Leftists

The CIA is getting increasingly creative in finding justifications for its bloated budget. After turning a fumbly hand to economic spying on allies, especially Japan and France, it now appears to be hiring on a band of dewy-eyed liberals and dedicated Marxists. In a newly launched annual report, "Global Humanitarian Emergencies," CIA analysts discovered that war, famine and social dis-

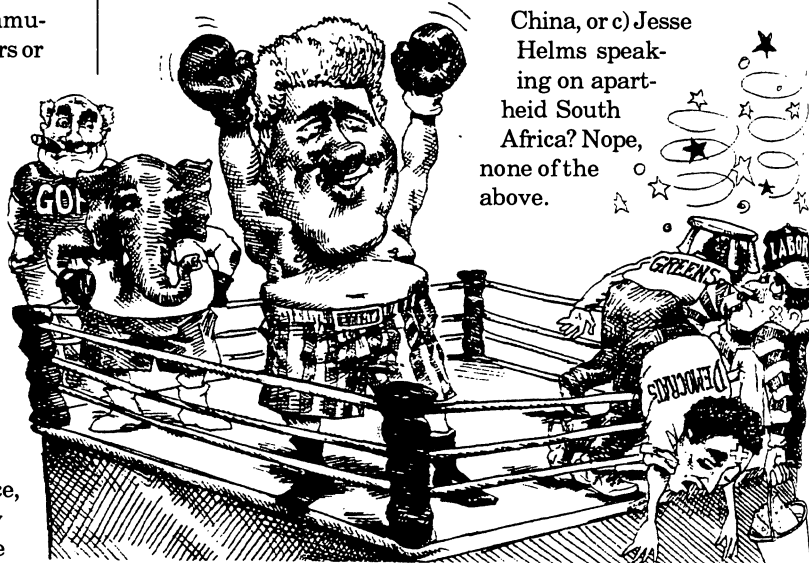
propensity to visit disaster and destabilization on its enemies, and to justify any level of repression to impose stability for its friends, this newfound approach is not likely to be used for the good of humanity.

## Embargoing (most) Embargoes

Guess who said "Free trade is not a reward to governments but rather a goal we pursue for our own interests, which include promoting the kind of development that fosters economic and political change. Responding to human rights problems with trade sanctions is thus actually self-defeating."

Was it: a) the People's Committee to End the Cuban Embargo, b) the Association of American Businessmen in

China, or c) Jesse Helms speaking on apartheid South Africa? Nope, none of the above.



## AFTA' NAFTA...

content have complex socioeconomic roots.

"Through this optic," writes the *New York Times*, "Somalia and Rwanda can be interpreted not as spontaneous outbreaks of clan warfare or ethnic violence, but as conflicts nourished by the underlying strains of hunger, drought and a lack of arable land in Somalia and huge population growth and population density in Rwanda." Given the CIA's

The statement was in a classified State Department briefing prepared for Clinton's National Security Adviser Anthony Lake. The "Background Paper on Meeting with Jennifer Harbury" gave talking points and suggested strategies for a Nov. 21 meeting in which Lake was supposed to cool out Harbury, the wife of guerrilla leader Efraín Bamaca who was tortured and murdered while in custody of the

US-backed Guatemalan army. The case had turned into a major pain in the butt for Clinton and the CIA after it was revealed that that crime and others had been directed by a Guatemalan on the agency payroll.

In the State Department briefing, under the heading "Responding to Harbury's Concerns," Lake was advised that "While expressing sympathy with Harbury's desire to seek a full accounting of her husband's fate and voicing concern about ongoing human rights violations in Guatemala, it is important to underline the value of our participation as 'Friend' of the Guatemalan peace process. ... [The meeting] provides a useful opportunity to ... articulate our view that cutting off trade and aid will have more negative than positive consequences." Lake was also advised "to deflect" any questions Harbury might put seeking a US "commitment to 'negotiate' with Guatemalan officials."

The memo then went on to script the official line on sympathy. Lake was advised to say: "I was glad to hear that your health was not seriously affected by your recent hunger strike. ... We recognize your frustrations will be great ... [but] we urge you not to seek to encourage economic sanctions as a means to move it forward. ... Trade sanctions which would hurt the poorest Guatemalans should also be avoided. Only a burgeoning economy will produce those pressures over the long term for real change and provide the necessary resources for the social and economic reforms that are so desperately needed." Did anyone forward a copy to Fidel?

## CIA Up to Old Tricks

Yet another CIA scandal is festering. Leaks coming out of the South African Truth

Commission's inquiry are hinting at revelations as embarrassing to the agency as its activities in Haiti and Guatemala where it got caught hiring local torturers and thugs. In 1985, Millard Shirley, a US intelligence consultant with an extensive history of CIA employment went to Johannesburg as a consultant to Telkom, the government postal and communications agency. He brought along what the *Baltimore Sun* described as "highly classified Pentagon manuals on 'psychological warfare.'"

Former Telkom manager Mike Leach said that "One of the items he gave us was a recipe for prussic acid, a clear compound, which if inhaled, would give a massive coronary" and leave few traces. Other "tricks" included spiking water given to participants in labor negotiations with chemicals to induce stomach cramps, and passing out fiberglass-treated T-shirts to demonstrators that would incapacitate them with itchiness.

"The Telkom unit," wrote Jeff Stein, "also intercepted foreign donations to anti-apartheid groups, then sent back thank-you notes on phony letterheads and put the money into more 'psychological warfare operations.'" It also appears that further evidence of the CIA's covert links with the anti-ANC Inkatha may be forthcoming.

## Les Miserables, 1995

Kevin Weber broke into a California restaurant, tripped the burglar alarm, and escaped with the loot, three cookies. Under California's "three-strikes" law, he was convicted for this third felony and sent to prison for at least 26 years.

"That's six and a half years per cookie," said his public defender. Weber, 35, said he was drunk at the time and doesn't remember the robbery.

## Gag Them With a Printing Press

With all the furor over smut in the media, one obscene act went largely unnoticed. *Time* editor-in-chief Norman Pearlstein engaged in a nine-day orgy of sucking up to corporate executives. After private briefings by top US officials including CIA Director John Deutch, *Time* flew 45 CEOs around the world to schmooze with world leaders and the magazine's foreign correspondents. Executives from Lockheed Martin, Rockwell, Polaroid, Philip Morris, Sears Roebuck, J.C. Penney, Spirit, The Gap, Warner-Lambert, Ford, Hyatt Hotels, Equitable Life, Borden, Transamerica, Mitsubishi Electric America, and General Mills and Motors were among the guests on *Time*'s jet, refitted with all first-class seats.

Pearlstein acted as tour guide, dubbed the CEOs "honorary journalists," and picked up the \$3 million tab. The phony press credentials allowed the luminaries of

capitalism to evade the embargo on Cuba and snack on oysters and martinis with Fidel Castro. Other stops included Russia (where they chatted up Viktor Chernomyrdin), Vietnam, India, and Hong Kong.

A brief story on the tour in the *Washington Post* Style section by Howard Kurtz cited several outraged journalists and former journalists, none of whom dared to go on record. One *Time* staffer called it "a mortal sin," another said, with perhaps a tinge of admiration that this "mother of all boondoggles [would yield] some good advertising juice to impress Fortune 500 types with our access to world leaders." Even a former reporter remained unnamed. "It's a massive conflict of interests," he said. "They have used their access to lubricate their advertising relationships."

Pearlstein admitted that the junket "doesn't hurt" *Time*'s ad revenues but demurred, "That's certainly not the purpose of the trip."

Responding to the charge of unseemly coziness, Pearlstein evinced dismay: "If it's a problem, I confess I haven't focused on it. It just seems so self-evident that if Time needs to cover these companies, it will. I didn't

see that as an issue. Maybe that's a blindness on my part."



## Flacks Meet Hacks

ABC's Cokie Roberts pulled out of a speech before the Public Relations Society of America national conference after she was told that her fee, \$30,000, would probably become public information. NBC's Andrea Mitchell filled in and told the flacks what they wanted to hear: The news industry is looking to PR people to help media turn out the "shorter and punchier stories" that the public, with its very limited attention span, wants. Her model for good PR and "keeping it simple"? The Reagan White House. "It was due to the genius of that White House that none of us really knew what was going on." Way to go!

## Head of the What?

It was a hot day in Philadelphia when a white off-duty cop approached a black cop videotaping a demonstration and noted, "You're sweating like a nigger." The white cop, Captain Thomas Thompson, was head of the department's racial sensitivity unit. Thompson, who claimed it was all in good fun, later added: "I should take you home to my wife and tell her you're my daughter's boyfriend."

## Radioactive Hypocrisy

Yet another outrage by Iraq. According to Reuters, the country "worked on radiological weapons which scatter deadly radioactive material without causing an explosion." The US, on the other hand, not only manufactures nuclear bombs and proliferates technology, but actually scatters radioactive material. Extensive use of uranium depleted armor-piercing bullets has been linked to Gulf War Syndrome and to a variety of illnesses in post-Desert Storm Iraq.

Nor are US civilians immune. Despite assertions that depleted uranium is safe, the US has been forced to clean up contaminated ar-

reas. One case, more than a decade ago, rendered absurd government claims that it was unaware of health risks. After protests over the Ethan Allen Firing Range in Vermont, where Gatling guns were being tested, authorities were forced to cart away four inches of contaminated topsoil for disposal in a South Carolina radioactive dump.

## Nobody Loves Us

Nor is the US particularly pleased with Iran. But apparently, one of the biggest impediments it would face if it tried to overthrow the current Iranian regime is that no one can figure out an alternative political force that hates the US less. In a speech to the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association, House Speaker Newt Gingrich endorsed a strategy "designed to force the replacement of the current regime in Iran, which is the only long-range solution which makes sense." Although budget slasher Gingrich advocated twice as much for a controversial special fund to finance covert ops in Iran, a compromise \$18 million account was proposed as part of the 1996 intelligence bill. The money would be available only when the president determined it was time to act—and supposedly, only on finding a more servile successor regime.

## Flush with Death

Soon after it was rumored that Disney might buy out ABC's Capital Cities, *Day One* caved in to the threat of lawsuits by the tobacco industry and apologized for its exposé on tobacco spiking. The capitulation came over protests by

reporters who refused to sign the apology.

In fact, the FDA, has documents that make the ABC report look tame. Currently, cigarettes are not classified as a drug and do not fall under FDA jurisdiction. If, however, the FDA can document that nicotine levels are manipulated, it will support the contention that cigarettes are a "nicotine delivery system," a drug, and should be regulated as such.

Practices used by some segments of the industry strengthen the FDA's case, according to an excellent article by Benjamin Wittes in *Legal Times*. Tobacco giant Brown and Williamson, for example, "genetically engineered [in Brazil] an ultra-high nicotine tobacco called 'Y-1,' which it used in its domestic products." Some companies also treated their cigarettes with chemicals including ammonia compounds to enhance nicotine absorption. An internal

B&W handbook labels

ammonia an "impact booster."

After FDA head David Kessler quoted from the handbook, B&W and Philip Morris insisted that ammonia was used to enhance flavor not potency like "the carbonation of a soft drink, the 'hot' in chili peppers ..."

"So ammonia's the sort of thing you might put in Chinese food," scoffed anti-tobacco consultant Clifford Douglas. "It's a toilet bowl cleaner."

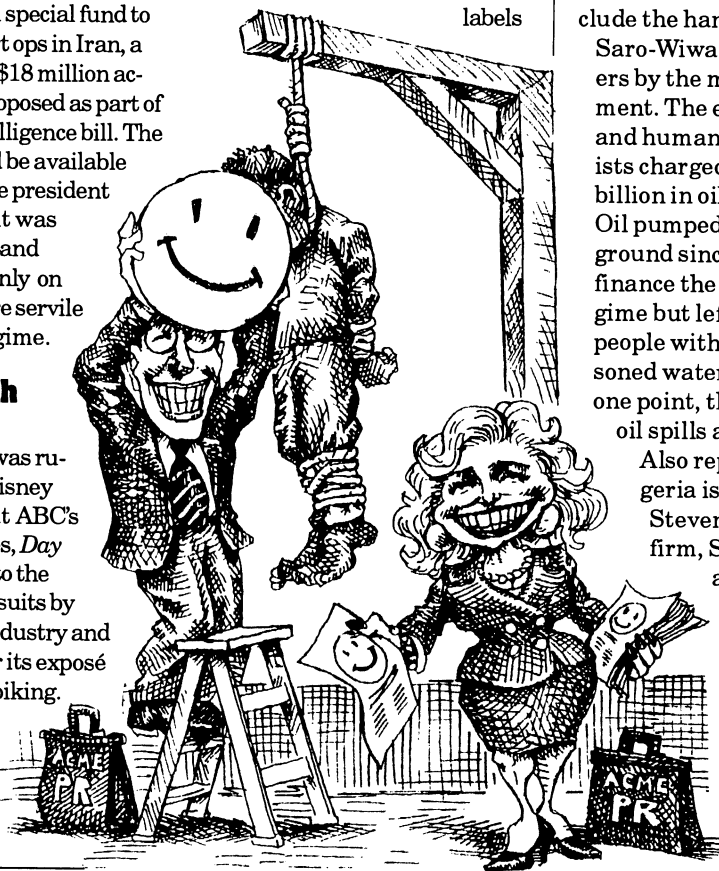
## Putting a Positive Spin on Murder

In other PR news, Nigeria paid Washington & Christian \$1.5 million for the six months ending July 31. Although the contract had expired in February, said Kevin McCauley of *O'Dwyer's Washington Report*, W&C's Justice Dept. filing explained that "unexpected events require continued representation of the client for an indefinite period of time."

Those events no doubt include the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others by the military government. The environmental and human rights activists charged that the \$30 billion in oil which Shell Oil pumped out of the ground since 1958 helped finance the military regime but left the Ogoni people with a legacy of poisoned waters and soil; at one point, there were six oil spills a week.

Also representing Nigeria is Idaho ex-Sen. Steven Symms. His firm, Symms, Lehn and Associates got a \$50,000 signing bonus beyond its \$25,000 a month retainer. ■

— Terry Allen



# Cops vs. Citizen Review



by Lynne Wilson

*"I had been in internal affairs investigations a couple of times, and they were very easy to breeze through. I answered a few questions. I lied through every answer, and I went back to patrol."*

— Former New York City police officer Michael Dowd<sup>1</sup>

On August 21, 1994, Moises De Jesus was arrested by police officers patrolling Philadelphia's largely Latino 25th District. Handcuffed in the back of a patrol car, the 30-year-old suspect had a "mental fit or seizure," said Gerard McCabe, an attorney for Philadelphia's newly formed Police Advisory Commission [PAC], "and started kicking out the windows to get air." He was then allegedly beaten in the

head by the officers, lapsed into a coma, and died three days later. After the district attorney refused to press charges against the officers, Latino community leaders demanded an inquiry. DeJesus' death in police custody became the first major case for the recently formed Philadelphia PAC and sparked the citizen oversight commission's first public hearing. The investigation also set off an all out war on the Philadelphia PAC

by the local Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) Lodge No. 5.<sup>2</sup>

The FOP attacked on three fronts. First, when PAC investigators began questioning officers about the DeJesus incident, FOP President Rich Costello simply declared that members of his organization would not cooperate or respond to subpoenas or interview requests.<sup>3</sup> Second, the FOP filed suit in

Lynne Wilson, an attorney practicing in Seattle, writes often about legal issues affecting police accountability. Photo: Daymon J. Hartley, *Detroit Journal Newspaper Guild*. Off-duty cop kicks striker while he is held by police.

1. Dowd is currently serving a 14-year federal prison term for trafficking narcotics. *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*, July 4, 1995.

2. Interview with McCabe, Sept. 15, 1995; and "In Pennsylvania: Getting Us Both Ways," *Policing By Consent*, National Coalition on Police Accountability (N-COPA), June 1995, p. 4.

3. Interview with McCabe, *op. cit.*



ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN/IMPACT VISUALS

**The family of 15-year-old Cory Horton, killed by police. Witnesses' refutations of police claims that he was shot struggling for a gun were supported by preliminary autopsy. New Orleans, 1991.**

Pennsylvania state court to shut down the advisory commission for lack of legal authority. Third, the FOP succeeded in having two bills presented in the state legislature: one (the "Law Enforcement Officers' Bill of Rights") would undermine PACs by prohibiting citizen questioning of officers; another would dismantle all of the state's PACs entirely.<sup>4</sup>

### Thirty-Year Struggle for Citizen Review

Strong antagonism by police toward citizen oversight boards is not new. Even though the boards have only advisory and limited investigatory authority, and can never undertake disciplinary action, most police and the organizations representing them resent "outside interference." Law enforcement agencies, they insist, can and should police their own through existing internal affairs procedures. In almost every state, police

agencies are legally required to have a mechanism for the receipt and investigation of citizen complaints, particularly those involving improper use of force.<sup>5</sup>

These mechanisms have often served more to protect the police code of silence

## Police brutality suits have cost New York City \$87 million in the last five years.

than the public interest. In the 1960s, public outrage over widespread police misconduct against the Black Panthers and anti-war demonstrators in the San Francisco Bay area sparked a movement to institute "citizen review" oversight. The powers of these commissions, which sprang up around the country,

ranged from the authority to launch independent citizen investigations with full subpoena power, to a mandate limited to the review of investigations completed by sworn officers.<sup>6</sup>

By late 1994, 66 external complaint review bodies had been established, a 400 percent increase over the 13 that existed in 1980. Sixty percent of major urban areas were included.<sup>7</sup> This growth parallels the emergence of organized police accountability groups such as the National Coalition on Police Accountability (which had its first meeting in 1984) and the International Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement. Another factor has been the increasing clout of the National Black Police Association, which endorses citizen review (see p. 9). In addition, as police theorists and managers promote "community policing" to get a handle on crime, citizen review has gained support among key politicians. Many mayors and city council members see it as integral to returning officers to "the beat."<sup>8</sup>

Finally, as major urban areas fall under clouds of police corruption and racism, citizens are demanding, and getting, more oversight. Last year in New York City, for example, the Civilian Complaint Review Board (created in 1993 by the City Council) reported an alarming increase in brutality complaints, with 450 cases a month. Police brutality suits have cost the city \$87 million in the last five years and payments are rising sharply.<sup>9</sup> The board is investigating a major police corruption scandal directly related to drug trafficking in which scores of officers in the Bronx and Harlem have recently been convicted and discharged. The District of Columbia also created a Civilian Complaint Review Board which had independent investigative resources, the power to subpoena records, and authority to hold public hearings.<sup>10</sup> It was disbanded last summer, ostensibly because of

lack of funds. A new proposal is in the works.

6. Samuel Walker and Betsy Wright, *Citizen Review of the Police, 1994: A National Survey*, PERF Publications, Jan. 1995, p. 3.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Mary Powers, "N-COPA: The First Decade," *Policing By Consent*, Dec. 1994, p. 3.

9. Garry Pierre-Pierre, "Settling Suits for Brutality Rising in Costs," and "Civilian Board Falls Behind on Its Cases," *New York Times*, Apr. 2 and 23, 1995 (respectively).

10. "Civilian Board Falls Behind," *ibid.*, p. 137; and Gabe Chikes, "In The Nation's Capital: Down But Not Out," *Policing By Consent*, June 1995, p. 1.

4. Mark Fazlollah, Jeff Gelles, and Peter Nicholas, "Testimony Conflicts in Police Beating," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 28, 1995, p. A1.

5. Eileen Luna, "Accountability to the Community on the Use of Deadly Force," *Policing By Consent*, Dec. 1994, pp. 4-5.



# Enforcing Racism

“We have to remember the original mindset of policing in this country: to protect the haves from the have-nots,” says Ron Hampton, 23-year veteran of the Washington, D.C., Police Department. And in America, whites, especially affluent white males, have economic and political power to define criminal behavior and penalties, to set and control the police agenda, and to regulate and enforce discipline — or not.

In the 1940s, when black police officers first broke racial barriers in all-white departments, they formed separate police groups to address their particular needs. “A lot of our black police groups started out in secret, in somebody’s basement,” says Hampton, who is executive director of the National Black Police Association (NBPA). “Not all of that has changed.”<sup>1</sup>

In the early 1970s, local black police groups came together to form a national alliance. The NBPA now includes over 130 local black police organizations, representing some 35,000 African American officers nationwide. (There are 600,000 police in the US.) Black officers had learned quickly that police unions rarely represent their points of view and interests, adamantly oppose affirmative action programs for minority and female officers, and fund legal defenses for the likes of Mark Fuhrman. “We were always told that these issues would be handled democratically,” says Hampton, “but what union leaders meant was that the white majority ruled and we never had enough votes to overcome that.”<sup>2</sup>

Mary Powers, a longtime citizen activist in Chicago and a founder of the National Coalition on Police Accountability, sees African American police groups as allies. “They’ve taken a beating. They face the same enemies we do. And the unions don’t represent them. Here in Chicago they still had to pay dues to the regular police union whether they belonged or not and that practically devastated black officers here because they couldn’t afford both dues.”<sup>3</sup>

Black officer groups have frequently, and successfully, sued to establish an “opt out” status, even when the union is a “closed shop.” Because of these suits, black officers in many jurisdictions pay only a token “service fee.” This fraction of the usual dues supports legitimate collective bargaining functions but does not contribute to such things as legal fees for rogue cops and the sabotaging of citizen review and affirmative action.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, in stark contrast to the unions, black officer groups have enthusiastically backed citizen oversight. African Americans, notes Hampton, are the primary victims of police brutality, which “must be confronted, controlled, and outlawed” through citizen oversight. [The police] are public servants,” he says, “working in the public domain, and citizens have the right to complain and to be involved in oversight, to not be intimidated into silence.”<sup>5</sup>

And cops have a right to an equitable workplace. But both the exclusionary culture and the pattern of blatant racism that permeate US society as a whole are reflected in police departments. Because of the “old boy” network, black officers are routinely eliminated from informal competition for special assignments such as the motorcycle unit or highway patrol — career enhancement assignments that can make or break an officer’s career. In Los Angeles, the Oscar Joel Bryant Foundation, a 500-member black officers’ group, sued the

7,700-member union, the Police Protective League, calling it a “bastion of white supremacy” and alleging discriminatory practices in training and promotions.<sup>6</sup>

The one special assignment which black police officers are offered, and the one for which they are uniquely and ironically qualified can bring not only career enhancement, but death. Because of the predominant culture’s criminal profile of black men, coupled with a well-documented police disregard for the civil rights and liberties of those who “fit the profile,” black undercover cops, particularly those posing as drug dealers, run a high risk of being shot, assaulted, or beaten by their white officer counterparts. Sometimes they are not given an opportunity to identify themselves; in other instances they are attacked *after* announcing that they too, are cops. In New York City alone, 23 African American officers have been shot by “tragic mistake” and 18 have been assaulted by fellow officers since 1941. According to Roger Abel, a retired NYPD detective who is writing a book on this subject, “not one white officer has been shot by a black police officer.”<sup>7</sup>

“I don’t believe that any black officer should perform undercover duty until the system is reformed,” says Eric Adams, chair of the Grand Council of Guardians, a black fraternal police group representing about 10,000 New York City officers.<sup>8</sup>

Still, the great majority of police abuses are committed against civilians. The Mark Fuhrman tapes made blatant police racism and corruption undeniable, while scandals in New Orleans, Philadelphia and other cities pointed out the breadth of the problem. This pattern has prompted the Congressional Black Caucus to request an investigation into possible civil rights violations by police officers around the country. In September, the Caucus wrote Attorney General Janet Reno asking for an examination of not only “specific allegations of violations” but also of “the culture’s tolerance of racism and civil rights abuses. ... The recent revelations regarding the Los Angeles police department indicate that racism may be a cottage industry within a police department that routinely looks the other way while African Americans are framed and insulted with racial epithets.” The letter decried the unacceptable “double standard” reflected in a Congress which responds to individual civil rights violations such as those against “gun-toting white males like Branch Davidian leader David Koresh and white supremacist Randy Weaver” but meets with “deafening silence the revelations of racism and civil rights abuses in police departments.”<sup>9</sup>

If the Fuhrman tapes are any indication, it will be a long time before the code of silence is broken and police acknowledge and confront the connection between endemic racism and pervasive brutality. ■

1. “Ronald E. Hampton: A Profile,” *Policing By Consent*, Feb. 1995, p. 10.

2. Interview, Sept. 15, 1995.

3. “N-COPA: The First Decade,” *Policing By Consent*, Dec. 1994, p. 3.

4. Interview with Hampton, Sept. 15, 1995.

5. “Hampton, A Profile...,” *op. cit.*

6. Kenneth R. Noble, “Many Complain of Bias in Los Angeles Police: Black Officers Cite Unkept Promise,” *New York Times*, Sept. 4, 1995, p. A6.

7. Nick Charles and Christina Coleman, “Criminal Suspect,” *Emergence*, Sept. 1995, pp. 24-29.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

9. Letter, Sept. 13, 1995.

Similarly, 13 years ago, New Orleans city officials created an Office of Municipal Investigations (OMI), a citizen-run agency with explicit subpoena and investigative powers. According to OMI Director Peter Munster, serious criminal charges against New Orleans police officers have increased in the last few years with more than 50 officers arrested, indicted, or convicted on charges including rape, aggravated battery, drug trafficking, and murder. One officer, who continues to work at a desk job, is the prime suspect in a series of prostitute murders, said Munster. Another officer was recently convicted of gunning down her former partner during an armed robbery, committed off-duty. She now faces the death penalty.<sup>11</sup> Although some of these charges stemmed from investigations by the OMI, its role in exposing the extent of corruption and stemming its spread was limited.

### When Is a Union Not Quite a Union?

Even when the boards are relatively ineffective, concerned citizens see the existence of a review mechanism as an essential step in curbing the widespread racism, brutality, and impunity which characterize many law enforcement agencies. Most police unions, on the other hand, oppose them on principle — as a threat to their civil and labor rights.

The issue of labor rights and use of the term “union” to describe police groups is problematic. Technically, an organization of police officers formed to negotiate with management for the wages, benefits and working conditions of its members is a “labor union.” Police unions, however, are unique in three fundamental ways: First, the right of police officers — alone among workers — to use physical, and sometimes even deadly force, requires public accountability to ensure that this power is not abused. Furthermore, because they are responsible for public safety and cannot lawfully strike, police unions have won unique concessions from management, including heightened due process protections.<sup>12</sup> And finally, unlike members of any other labor union, police act as the tools of management against other unions. Recently, for example, scores of officers

in full riot gear escorted scab workers to the strike-bound Detroit Newspaper Agency (DNA) print shop and used clubs, batons, and pepper spray on picketing strikers. The DNA paid \$500,000 to the Detroit suburb of Sterling Heights for police overtime and expenses.<sup>13</sup>

Nonetheless, because of their status as private labor groups, police unions operate under a veil of secrecy, totally outside the realm of democratic controls such as public decision-making or public disclosure laws. It is this secrecy, combined with their members’ paramilitary discipline and skills, that makes police organizations so powerful, so dangerous, and so difficult for those working toward police accountability to oppose.

But even though elected or appointed police chiefs and sheriffs *always* have the final word on whether or not a particular officer is disciplined — regardless of who does the investigating — civilian boards can exert strong pressures.<sup>14</sup> Especially with respect to use of excessive force allegations, community oversight

It is this secrecy, combined with their members’ paramilitary discipline and skills, that makes police organizations so powerful, so dangerous, and so difficult for those working toward police accountability to oppose.

agencies not only receive far more allegations than do internal mechanisms, but they sustain them more often.<sup>15</sup>

### Police Union Resistance: A Tactical Overview

It is not surprising, then, that the FOPs and police unions — paramilitary labor

organizations whose purpose is to protect the interests of their patrol officer members — will go to great lengths to eliminate oversight. The tactics that police organizations increasingly use illustrate some of the ways in which they differ from other trade unions. They also show how difficult it is to distinguish genuine labor grievances from attempts by police to avoid accountability. As in Philadelphia, police organizations around the country are developing an increasingly sophisticated array of tools designed to manipulate the political system and sabotage the citizen review boards. At least five categories of tactics are being implemented.

### 1. National Level Organizing

“I wasn’t political when I came out of the FBI,” says Charles Kluge, a former agent who is current executive director of Philadelphia’s PAC, “[but] some of the political stuff has been very eye-opening.”<sup>16</sup> Over the past decade, police unions have become extremely politicized and have established a national lobbying presence. In October 1994, for example, the National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) founded the “National Law Enforcement Officer Rights Center” in Washington, D.C., “to protect officers’ legal and constitutional rights that are being infringed upon by a wave of anti-police civil litigation.”<sup>17</sup>

NAPO’s main objective appears to be passage of a national “Law Enforcement

Officers’ Bill of Rights Act” which attempts to weaken state and local review by allowing only commissioned police officers to conduct investigations. NAPO claims that the bill, sponsored by Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), is collectively supported by its 475,000 police officer members, by the Fraternal Order of Police and by the International Brotherhood of Police Officers.

### 2. Litigation Sabotage

On the state and local level, police response to perceived incursions on their autonomy follows a pattern. John Crew, of the American Civil Liberties Union’s

11. Interview with Munster, Oct. 4, 1995; and “Congressional Black Caucus Asks Reno To Probe Philly Police Abuse,” *Community Focus* (Philadelphia), Oct. 28, 1995, p. 2.

12. New York Civil Liberties Union, *Civilian Review of Policing: A Case Study Report*, 1993, p. 3.

13. “Strikers Stop Scab Newspaper Delivery,” *People’s Weekly World*, Oct. 9, 1995, p. 3; “Media Giants Take Aim at Newspaper Unions,” *Labor Notes*, Sept. 1995, p. 3; and “Mayors Ask for Negotiations,” *The Alliance* (Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions), Sept. 19, 1995, p. 1 (indicating that two officers have been disciplined for abusing picketers).

14. Walker, *op. cit.*

15. Luna, *op. cit.*, at p. 5. According to Luna’s study of 17 separate agencies, internal affairs departments sustain about 12% of use of force complaints versus 19% for community oversight agencies. In actual number of cases, the discrepancy is far higher: Community oversight agencies report receiving more than five times more use of force allegations than do internal affairs bureaus.

16. “Philadelphia Update,” *Policing By Consent*, Aug. 1995, p. 10.

17. Press release, Oct. 13, 1994.

(ACLU) Police Practices Project, has identified three stages of union resistance to citizen oversight.<sup>18</sup>

- “Over My Dead Body.” After a particular, usually racially charged, incident prompts serious community discussion of citizen oversight, police leaders threaten to resign or take other extreme action.
- “Political Inevitability.” When a visible pattern of abuses emerges, police leaders suddenly undergo a “magic conversion,” and become proponents of citizen oversight — advocating a pallid model lacking such teeth as subpoena power and independent investigations.
- “Post-Partum Litigation.” If a community manages to obtain strong citizen oversight, even if only on paper, police union resistance becomes vehement. Increasingly, unions are initiating lawsuits (such as that currently underway in Philadelphia) challenging the underlying authority or legality of the citizen review process. In California such lawsuits are common, even though many California boards have been operating for up to 20 years, and even though, says the ACLU’s Crew, these suits have been “100 percent unsuccessful. In not one single legal challenge have the unions won.”<sup>19</sup>

If chilling citizen oversight is the goal of these unwinnable SLAPP suits,<sup>20</sup> chilling citizens’ complaints is the predictable result of another union tactic. In the fall of 1994, the Seattle Police Officers Guild slapped defamation suits against six citizens who had filed complaints that were not upheld by the department’s internal investigations section. The suits were apparently



Family of Mary Mitchell protests her killing by NYPD after a domestic dispute.

prompted by the citizen review auditor’s recommendation that officers who had logged a certain number of unsustainable complaints be required to undergo intensive supervision. Although the guild’s suits were ultimately dropped, citizen complaints in Seattle dropped almost 75 percent in the next six months.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Obstructionist Tactics

When faced with a citizen review board which has independent investigative powers, leaders of police unions often advise their members to refuse or avoid subpoenas or interviews, to plead the Fifth Amendment, or to otherwise block an inquiry. This obstructionism is illegal, according to Crew. Although officers cannot be forced to testify if they plead the Fifth Amendment, they can be disciplined or discharged for their refusal.<sup>22</sup> Police unions, says Crew, invoke these tactics even though they know that they will not win in court and that review boards have the legal power to compel statements. The effect of the obstructionism — and of SLAPP suits against citizens who file complaints — is time-consuming and expensive litigation; the goal is to create enough pressure to force cities and counties to back down.

21. *Ibid.*; and Seattle Internal Investigations Auditor Report, June 1995.

22. Supreme Court cases have established that a public employee cannot be prosecuted for statements made under compulsion of a subpoena in a disciplinary setting.

### 4. State Legislation & Lobbying

Law enforcement groups use their significant political clout, based largely on financial resources. According to a 1992 study by California Common Cause, law enforcement groups in that state contributed \$1.2 million to local lawmakers between 1989 and 1991. “[L]aw enforcement groups also hold the potent weapon of campaign endorsements,” the study noted. “...If legislators vote against bills supported by police interests, they know they run the risk of being labeled as ‘soft on crime,’ even if the legislation has nothing to do with public safety. The last thing a legislator wants in an election year is to lose the endorsement of police groups, or worse yet, wind up on their hit list.”<sup>23</sup>

In California, and other states, law enforcement groups have used this clout to pass a “Police Officer Bill of Rights” that grants privileges to cops during disciplinary processes — privileges not available to suspects whom the same officers may have arrested or questioned. The “Bill of Rights” proposed in Pennsylvania, for example, restricts non-department questioning of officers and prohibits anonymous complaints.<sup>24</sup> Others require that complaints be removed from personnel files after a few years and restrict the types of behavior that can trigger disciplinary action.

23. “Law Enforcement Groups Gave Over \$1 Million in Past Three Years,” press release, California Common Cause, May 12, 1992.

24. “In Pennsylvania,” *op. cit.*, p. 4.

18. Interview, Sept. 15, 1995.

19. *Ibid.* Late last year, for example, the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of San Diego County when the president of the San Diego County officers’ union filed a taxpayer suit alleging that there was no legal authority for the creation of its civilian review board and that it was not authorized to issue subpoenas. The California court held that the county’s charter gave it the legal authority to delegate investigative functions to the civilian board and to give the board subpoena power. [*Dibb v. County of San Diego*, 36 Cal. Rptr.2d 55 (1994).]

20. Jane Hadley, “Issue of Suits Filed By Police Raised in Court,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 27, 1995. Brought by public and industrial officials, SLAPPs or “Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation” are primarily designed to wear down proponents of governmental change and to chill public participation, rather than to seek redress for specific harm.

In 1992 and again this year, California legislators proposed major amendments to that state's Bill of Rights Act imposing a one-year statute of limitation from the time of the complaint to the date of punitive action. Given normal backlog and lengthy appeal delays, this limit would have virtually guaranteed immunity from discipline.<sup>25</sup> Massive organized opposition from the ACLU and other groups defeated the proposed legislation.

### 5. Administrative Challenges Over Collective Bargaining

Although sometimes they lose sight of it, the primary purpose of police organizations is to represent members as public employees and to collectively bargain with municipal and state governments over such negotiable issues as wages, benefits, off-duty pay, hours, and promotional opportunities. Since 1986, when the federal Fair Labor Standards Act was applied to public employees, most police unions have argued that the issue of citizen involvement in individual officer discipline falls under collective bargaining and thus involves only two parties: the union and the employer. This position omits entirely the role of a public justifiably concerned that police "will act abusively or unlawfully and that their superiors will not take appropriate disciplinary action."<sup>26</sup> The Ohio Supreme Court has recognized this right of the public to participate. Since collective bargaining is not an "appropriate process for the full consideration of the issues raised in a complaint by a citizen against a police officer,"<sup>27</sup> it ruled, effective citizen review is essential to maintaining the public trust and disciplining police abuses.

Not all rulings have been as sympathetic to public involvement. In 1992, the Spokane (Washington) City Council established a citizen review process giving citizens the right to appeal whenever the police chief refused to discipline an officer after a complaint. The police union fought back with a complaint to the state's Public Employment Relations Commission. It alleged that the City

had unilaterally changed procedures and by publicly disclosing disciplinary information, had invaded the officers' privacy rights, something that "inherently constitutes a working condition."<sup>28</sup>

The Employment Relations Commission agreed with the union that changes in disciplinary procedures were subject to collective bargaining. It ordered the city to dismantle the Citizens Review Panel and to negotiate with the union. Spokane did not appeal this ruling and set out to work with the police body to create a new oversight mechanism — one that includes police representatives, holds secret hearings, and has no subpoena power.<sup>29</sup>

On the other side of the country, the same scenario is being played out. The Syracuse (New York) Police Benevolent Association has filed a similar complaint against the Citizen Review Board. A decision by the New York Public Employees Relations Board (PERB) is pending. "The most dangerous aspect of all this," says community activist Nancy Rhodes who edits *Policing by Consent*, "is that we have no access to the process. The PERB hearings are conducted in secret as are the union negotiations. There are no democratic controls."<sup>30</sup>

The convicted cops were  
"so corrupt, so calloused to  
the rights and welfare of  
residents that the details have  
shaken the city to its roots."

### Philadelphia: An All-Out Citizen Review War

In Philadelphia, too, the FOP is clearly in full-blown "post-partum" resistance — sparked by the DeJesus case, but fueled by the potential effectiveness of the city's citizen review mechanism. Created in October 1993 after a fierce political struggle, it has subpoena

power, independent investigators and the power to conduct public hearings. After it was funded and staffed in late 1994 and took on the DeJesus death-in-custody as its first case, the local FOP began to actively sabotage the PAC investigation.

Few cities are more in need of citizen oversight than Philadelphia. At about the same time the FOP was challenging citizen review, six of its members pled guilty to federal charges stemming from blatant corruption in Philadelphia's largely African-American 39th District. *The New York Times* described the convicted cops as "so corrupt, so calloused to the rights and welfare of residents that the details have shaken the city to its roots." Federal charges include conspiracy, obstruction of justice and "pocketing more than \$100,000 in cash they robbed from suspected drug dealers through beatings, intimidations, illegal searches and denying suspects their constitutional rights."<sup>31</sup> Revelations from this latest in a series of police scandals will force the city to set aside at least 1,400 drug-related convictions and pay millions of dollars for false arrest and imprisonment claims.<sup>32</sup>

An FBI investigation of Philadelphia's Police Department, started in 1992 in the 39th District, now includes the department's Highway Patrol, as well as other areas, including the predominantly Latino 25th District, where DeJesus died.<sup>33</sup> Even Ken Rocks, vice president of the local FOP, admitted that the prospect of the arrest of additional officers was certain and "very, very distressing."<sup>34</sup>

Still, the FOP maintains that the police can police themselves. The case of officer John Baird makes nonsense of that claim. Baird, who had made thousands of arrests in the 39th District by the time of his discharge, had received excellent ratings from his superior officers, while he was racking up 22 citizen complaints — all dismissed. By the 23rd complaint,

25. "We Have to Watch These Guys," *Policing By Consent*, Apr. 1995, p. 3.

26. Clyde W. Summers, "Public Employee Bargaining: A Political Perspective," *Yale Law Journal*, v. 83, n. 6, 1974, p. 1197.

27. *Jurcisin v. Cuyahoga County Board of Elections*, 519 N.E.2d 347, 354 (Ohio 1988).

28. *Spokane Police Guild v. City of Spokane*, Washington Public Employment Relations Commission Case No. 10001-U-922285 (decided Apr. 24, 1995), p. 3.

29. Nancy Rhodes, "Splitting the Difference: Why Your Review Board Needs Its Own Lawyer," *Policing by Consent*, Aug. 1995, p. 11.

30. Interview, Sept. 22, 1995.

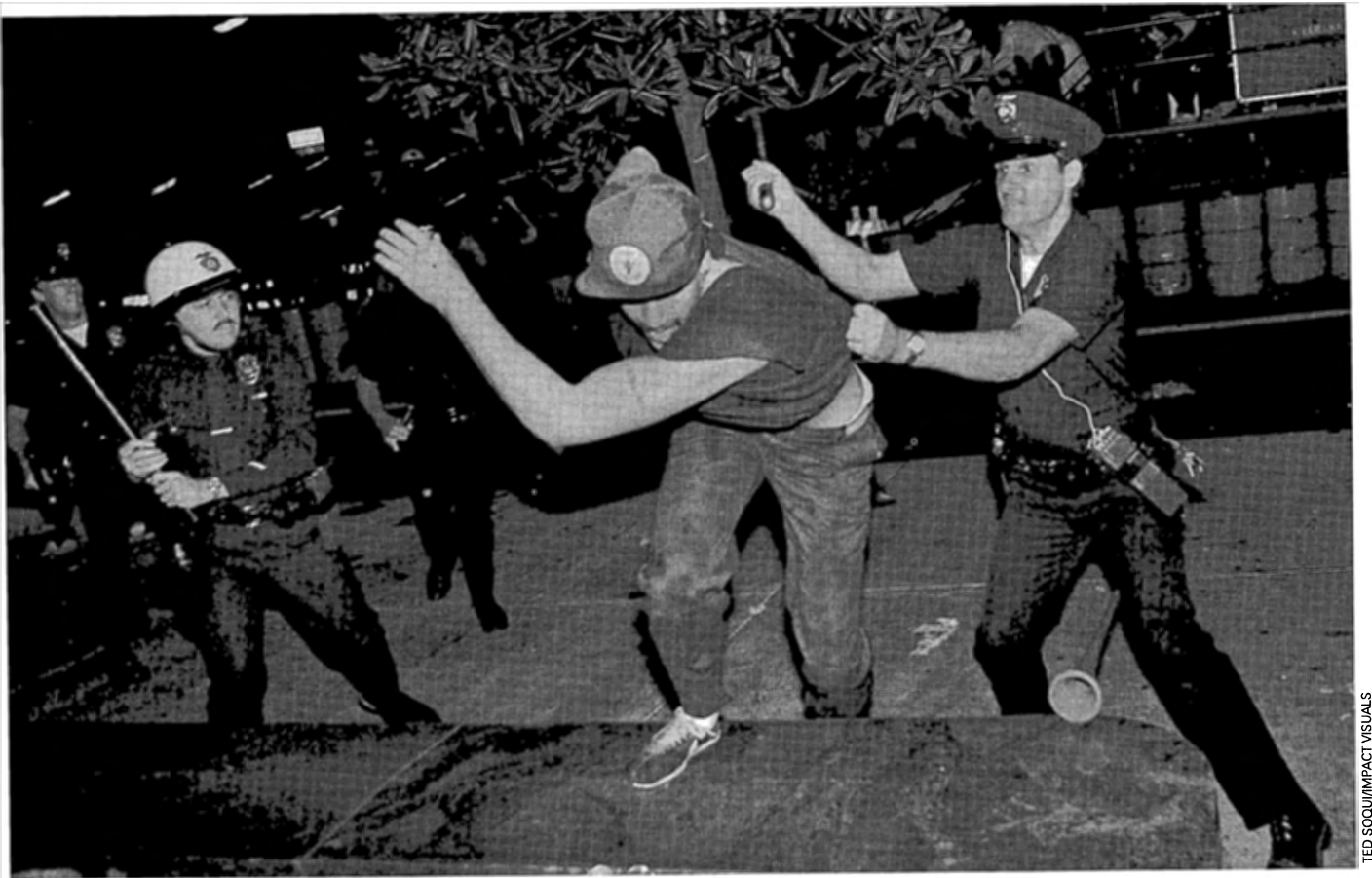
31. Don Terry, "Philadelphia Shaken by Criminal Police Officers," *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1995, p. A1.

32. Jim Smith, "Suit Accuses City of False Arrests," *Philadelphia Daily News*, Sept. 1, 1995, p. 4. The scandal sparked a class action suit against the mayor, police commissioner and other police supervisors for failing to train, discipline, and supervise rogue officers.

33. Joseph Daughen, Dave Davies, and Edward Moran, "Cops in Crisis," *Philadelphia Daily News*, Sept. 1, 1995, p. 4.

34. Terry, *op. cit.*, C10.





TED SOQU/IMPACT VISUALS

**LAPD officers beat a riot suspect at a downtown music-street fair. The suspect was not arrested.**

Baird "was confident that the whole thing would go away, just as the previous 22 complaints had." His downfall was bad timing. The last complaint was filed in March 1991, just as the Rodney King case prompted the Justice Department to review all police brutality cases, including those in Philadelphia. The resulting FBI investigation and arbitration hearing revealed Baird's sordid history of fabricating evidence, buying off witnesses, and lying and covering up.<sup>35</sup>

It also came out that over the past five years, Philadelphia's Police Internal Affairs Unit had investigated almost 600 citizen complaints. Only ten were sustained, with only two Philadelphia officers actually disciplined. The "enormous bias" in the department and its almost total inability to deal with a department run amuck was undeniable.<sup>36</sup>

35. Mark Bowden and Mark Fazlollah, "Lying Officer Never Counted on FBI," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 12, 1995, p. 1; also see "Rogue Cops," a series of articles by Mark Bowden and Mark Fazlollah, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 10-12, 1995.

36. Interview with *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter Mark Fazlollah, *Fresh Air*, PBS, Sept. 12, 1995.

Nonetheless, the FOP refuses to cooperate with an agency whose main purpose is to bolster public trust in the police. And community leaders in Philadelphia, particularly those in the Latino community, continue to demand that the Police Advisory Commission function in the public eye to deal with rogue officers. "The Commission is the only hope that our community has to redress the wrongs of some of the officers from that District," says one 25th District Latino leader.<sup>37</sup> Another community leader hopes that the DeJesus hearings "will begin a cleansing process that in the long run will restore the community's confidence in a critical public service. Hopefully, something positive will come out of the DeJesus tragedy."<sup>38</sup>

### **Weighing the Costs**

Some of the demands by police unions, including the right to due process dur-

37. Wilfredo Rojas, President of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Police-Barrio Relations Project, press release, Sept. 1995.

38. Will Gonzales, Philadelphia's Police-Barrio Relations Project, press release, Sept. 1995.

ing any disciplinary proceeding, deserve active citizen support. Others far exceed the boundaries of legitimate labor concerns: Police officers should not be entitled to a separate "Bill of Rights" that encourages disregard of the real thing and promotes an official sense of separateness and privilege. In addition, contrary to the administrative ruling in Washington state, the daily working conditions of police are not affected by citizen review since boards only *recommend* discipline to a police chief who then decides whether or not to act. At least one state supreme court has upheld this position.<sup>39</sup>

As the situation in Philadelphia illustrates, unions have the resources to launch innumerable chilling lawsuits. They can obstruct and sabotage, refuse to cooperate, and take the Fifth. But in the end, when the situation festers to the point that it has in Philadelphia, citizen oversight and democracy have a chance to reassert themselves. ■

39. *Jurcisin vs. Cuyahoga County Board of Elections*, *op. cit.*

# The Corporate Assault on the FDA

by Ron Nixon

*As the Republican Contract steamrolls along, drug and tobacco companies have all the friends in high places money can buy. Their lobbyists have put out a contract of their own — on the FDA.*

David Kessler, commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), has suddenly found himself the most hated man in Washington. Conservative groups, industries regulated by the agency, and their congressional Republican allies want Kessler's head on a pike and have targeted his agency for termination. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) calls Kessler (a holdover from the Bush administration), "a thug and a bully" and the FDA the "number one killer of jobs in America."<sup>1</sup> Rep. David McIntosh (R-Ind.) went even further: He accused the FDA of killing women. How? According to McIntosh, the FDA's ban on some breast implants may be scaring women away from necessary surgeries.<sup>2</sup>

And if that's not enough, conservative think tanks and legal organizations have broadcast a series of ads that accuse the FDA of murder. An ad by the conservative Washington Legal Foundation warns, "If a murderer kills you, it's homicide. If a drunk driver kills you, it's manslaughter. If the FDA kills you, it's just being cautious."<sup>3</sup> In short, Kessler

Gingrich, one of the biggest recipients of anti-FDA PAC money, calls Kessler "a thug and a bully," and the FDA the "number one killer of jobs."



David Kessler, under fire.

and the FDA have become key symbols in the right wing's demonizing vision of the federal government as a cabal of overzealous, out-of-control bureaucrats.

"People are fed up with the federal government and overburdensome regulations," claims ardent deregulator Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas). DeLay is the creator of an anti-regulatory task force called Project Relief, whose roster is a veritable who's who of US corporations. According to a recent poll, however, 79 percent of Americans said the agency was necessary.<sup>4</sup>

But never mind that. The right is on an anti-regulation crusade fueled by ideological fervor, corporate self-interest, and cold, hard cash. And unlike

the everyday venality of the past, this coincidence of interests does not merely corrupt the regulatory process but threatens to destroy it. As part of a broad attack on federal regulation, Republicans have targeted agency after agency for termination or severe budget cuts. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Education and others have all come under fire from the conservatives.

But it is the FDA that has received the harshest criticism. "Bureaucratic delays and political inertia [by the FDA] have too long prevented common sense reform," said Jeffrey A. Eisenach of the Progress and Freedom Foundation, a conservative think tank with close ties to Gingrich. The foundation has crafted a proposal to privatize FDA functions. "Every day the current system stays in place, another American dies a needless death and suffers senseless pain," the foundation's press release warns.

The author of the foundation's report, William M. Wardell, adds that "not only does [the FDA] cause needless suffering and death by denying patients the benefits of effective medical technology, it hinders many of America's major industries, thus slowing economic growth and job creation."<sup>5</sup>

## Foe of Free Enterprise?

Despite such rhetoric, the FDA bears little resemblance to the overzealous watchdog portrayed by conservative propagandists. Far from it. The FDA is more like a revolving door between industry and government, and works hand-

Ron Nixon is an editor at *Southern Exposure* and writes on environmental issues.

1. James Bovard, "Double Crossing to Safety," *American Spectator*, Jan. 1995, p. 24.

2. John Carey, et al., "The Regulators Rein In Themselves," *Business Week*, Aug. 21, 1995, p. 61.

3. Philip J. Hiltz, "Drug Regulators Become Key Target," *New York Times*, Feb. 16, 1995, p. A11.

4. Washington Wire, "The Wall Street Journal-NBC News Poll: Axiom Agencies," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 20, 1995, p. A1.

5. Progress and Freedom Foundation press release, "Plan to Replace and Improve FDA Approval Process Unveiled," June 19, 1995.

in-hand with companies seeking product approval. As one former FDA employee dismissed for exposing fraud at the agency put it, "the FDA has become an extension of the drug industry."<sup>6</sup>

The recent battle over rBGH, a hormone given to cows to increase their milk output, illustrates the cozy relationship between the FDA and industry. Farmers' and consumers' groups opposed rBGH, warning that it could cause infections in cows and is dangerous for human consumption. A General Accounting Office (GAO) study backed them up. It found that cows treated with rBGH have a greater incidence of infections requiring the use of antibiotics that could later show up in milk sold to consumers. Even Monsanto, rBGH's producer, admitted as much.<sup>7</sup> Despite the evidence of potential harm and the protests of some agency employees, the FDA approved the drug last year.

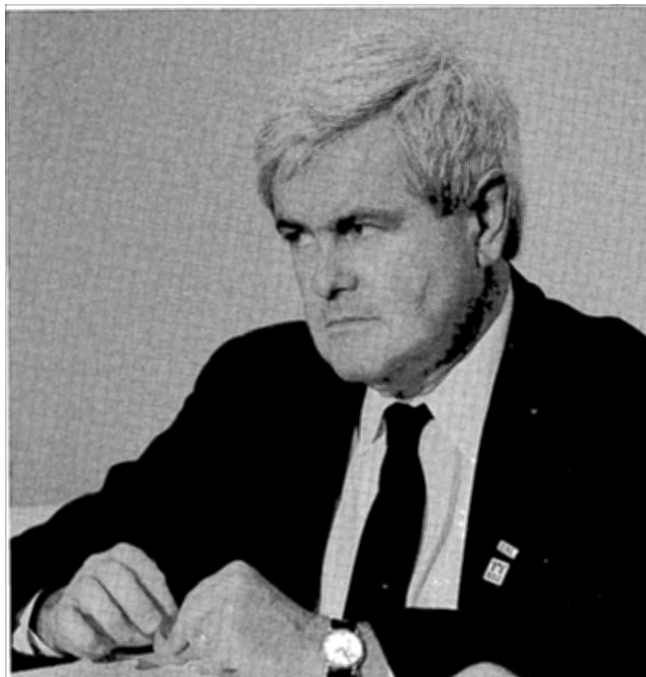
Three key people responsible for helping to approve the hormone had ties to Monsanto:<sup>8</sup>

- **Dr. Margaret Miller**, deputy director of the FDA's Office on New Animal Drug Evaluation is a former Monsanto research scientist who worked on rBGH while at the company, then helped the FDA determine that it was safe. In an unsigned letter, staffers at the FDA's Center for Veterinary Medicine (CVM) wrote that Miller picked "arbitrary and scientifically unsupported" data to secure approval for rBGH — with the full sanction of Dr. Robert Livingston, head of the center. "Dr. Livingston openly harasses anyone who states an opinion in opposition to his," the letter said.<sup>9</sup>

- **Michael Taylor**, FDA deputy commissioner for policy, was previously a member of the King & Spalding law firm, which represented both Monsanto and an industry grouping, the International Food Biotechnology Council. While with King & Spalding, Taylor helped draft regulations to be used by local gov-

ernments to fight labeling of milk from rBGH-treated cows. Monsanto and King & Spalding later used these regulations to sue companies that wanted to mark their products free of rBGH.

- **Suzanne Sechen**, the lead reviewer of scientific data for the FDA's Office on New Animal Drug Evaluation, worked on Monsanto-funded studies at Cornell



**House Speaker Newt Gingrich has pocketed \$37,000 from companies regulated by the FDA, but sees no ethical problems with his attacks on the agency.**

University under Dr. Dale Bauman, one of Monsanto's top researchers on the rBGH hormone.

Although a GAO investigation found no impropriety, the congressman who requested the report thought otherwise. "The FDA allowed corporate influence to run rampant in its approval of the drug," said Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.). "The ethics rules were often stretched to the breaking point and broken on a number of occasions."

Dr. Richard J. Burroughs, a former FDA employee who was fired for voicing his concerns about the approval of rBGH, agreed and added, "It used to be that we had a review process at the FDA. Now we have an approval process. I don't think the FDA is doing good honest reviews."<sup>10</sup>

The close cooperation with industry in the rBGH case is no aberration. In

fact, rather than hampering industry, the FDA appears willing to place corporate needs before the public health and welfare. Take the case of the drug Imitrex. Promoted as a new treatment for migraines, the drug has been associated with numerous health problems and even deaths. Despite receiving more than three thousand reports of

life-threatening side effects, including 83 deaths, the FDA has sided with the drug manufacturer, Glaxo, and claimed the drug is safe. The agency approved the drug even after Canada, Britain, and the Netherlands all reported similar side effects.<sup>11</sup>

Because of such incidents, even progressive activists agree that the agency needs to be changed. "Like the Republicans, we agree that there need to be changes made at the FDA," says Michael Colby of Vermont-based Food & Water, a health advocacy group. "But we think the agency needs to be reformed from top to bottom, not completely wiped out."<sup>12</sup>

Given the incestuous relationship between the FDA and the companies it regulates, Republican and conservative claims that the agency is out of control are little more than a smoke screen for untrammeled

corporate power. Says John Stauber of the Center for Media and Democracy, "Anyone suggesting abolishing the FDA is fronting for extreme right-wing corporate industry. The FDA needs to be reformed, but not in a way that serves the drug industry."<sup>13</sup>

The drug industry disagrees, and is putting its money where its mouth is.

### The Speaker's Friends

For the pharmaceutical companies, the stakes are huge. Every year, the FDA regulates over a trillion dollars' worth of drugs and medical products, and the industry would stand to gain significantly if it could put products on the market without undergoing FDA's lengthy approval process. To ensure that they have a receptive ear in Con-

6. Keith Schneider, "FDA Accused of Improper Ties in Review of Drug for Milk Cows," *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1990, p. A9.

7. Cited in *ibid.*

8. Material in this section is from Paige St. John, "GAO finds no impropriety in approval of milk hormone," *De- troit News*, Oct. 30, 1994, p. 5A.

9. Concerned CVM Employees letter, Mar. 16, 1994.

10. Schneider, *op. cit.*

11. Nicholas Regush, "Migraine Killer," *Mother Jones*, Sept.-Oct. 1995, p. 29.

12. Interview, Sept. 15, 1995.

13. Interview, Sept. 15, 1995.

gress, drug company political action committees (PACs) contributed over \$3 million in 1993 and 1994 — most of it to Republicans.<sup>14</sup>

One of the biggest recipients of pharmaceutical and other anti-FDA PAC contributions is Gingrich, who in 1993 and 1994 pocketed \$37,263 from industries regulated by the agency. Drug company largesse extends as well to Gingrich's associates. The Progress and Freedom Foundation, a proponent of privatizing the agency's regulatory functions, received contributions totaling \$650,000 from drug companies, many with matters before the FDA.<sup>15</sup>

Drug companies account for 10-15 percent of contributions to the foundation, admits its president, Jeffrey A. Eisenach. In one instance, Solvay Pharmaceuticals gave \$30,000 to the foundation after Gingrich and Congressman Cass Ballenger (R-N.C.) wrote to the FDA on its behalf. Gingrich also intervened for another Progress and Freedom Foundation contributor last year: Direct Access Diagnostics, a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson, was seeking approval for a home HIV test. Direct Access president Elliot Milenson contributed to the foundation one month after Gingrich acted. Later the

## Monsanto's lawyers used regulations they helped draft to sue companies trying to label products rBGH-free.

company itself kicked in more money, as did its parent company, Johnson & Johnson.<sup>16</sup>

GOPAC, a political action committee once headed by Gingrich, has also benefited from the speaker's assault on the FDA. Two of its biggest contributors have had trouble with the agency. Delores Schwan of Georgia-based Schwan Sales, Inc. gave \$239,905 to GOPAC through mid-1993, according to a leaked list of 150 GOPAC contributors. The company made news last year when investigators named it as the

source of a salmonella outbreak. Similarly, William and Elisabeth Hoskins of Marion Merrell Dow Inc. gave GOPAC \$41,690 through mid-1993. The couple and their corporate PAC added another \$7,000 to Gingrich's 1994 campaign fund.<sup>17</sup> In 1994, Gingrich introduced legislation to reduce tariffs on the liquid laxative Lactulose, which the company manufactures.

Congressional Democrats accused Gingrich of influence-peddling, but he denies that contributions to GOPAC influenced his attacks on the FDA. "There is no connection in my mind between my involvement in GOPAC and the FDA," he said. Yet Gingrich intervened with the FDA in December 1994 on behalf of Respironics, a company cited by the FDA for selling medical products without proper approval. Even after being cited, the company continued to sell the products. Respironics has contributed \$10,000 to GOPAC, and its chair Gerald McGinnis is a charter member of the political action committee.<sup>18</sup>

### The Gang's All Here

Gingrich is hardly the only member of Congress whose contributors seem to influence his stance on the FDA. Republican congressional leaders who have called for the agency to be scrapped have received contributions from companies which would benefit from the FDA's abolishment or a reduction in its enforcement powers. Senate Judiciary Committee head Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), whose staff accused the FDA of knowingly submitting false information to Congress, subsequently received \$114,491 from the pharmaceuticals and health products industries. And House Commerce Committee chair Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) took \$34,138 from those same industries.<sup>19</sup> Bliley earlier this year signed a letter asking the FDA to speed up its approval of new drugs.

Campaign contributions, however, do not tell the whole story. A review of the personal financial disclosure reports of House members shows that several own stock in companies regulated by the FDA,<sup>20</sup> a potential conflict

of interest that surprisingly violates neither United States law nor House ethics rules. And they have not been afraid to use their clout to protect their interests.

In one case, Rep. Dave Camp (R-Mich.), who at the end of 1994 held between \$450,001 and \$1,000,000 in Dow stocks, signed a letter asking FDA to publicize research finding no connection between breast implants and certain diseases.<sup>21</sup> Dow Corning has been repeatedly sued over silicone breast implants. A spokesman for Camp denied that Camp's holdings of Dow stock had any bearing on the letter.

Other legislators either hold stocks in or have received honoraria or trips from companies which are regulated by the FDA. At least 16 congressmembers hold stocks in Philip Morris or RJR Reynolds (RJR Nabisco), according to a study published by Dr. Gregory W. Boller, a marketing professor at the University of Memphis who keeps a close watch on congressional stock trading.<sup>22</sup> The strategically placed Bliley, a leading critic of the FDA's attempts to regulate nicotine as a drug, has received thousands of dollars in honoraria and trips from the tobacco industry.<sup>23</sup> Bliley has been a regular speaker at Tobacco Institute functions and at conferences held by companies such as Philip Morris.

### Tobacco Road: Paved in Gold

The Virginia congressman is not alone. Since early this year, when the FDA criticized tobacco companies for marketing their products to children and proposed regulating tobacco, the tobacco lobby has poured \$1.5 million into the national Republican Party. Philip Morris and RJR Nabisco alone accounted for more than half of the contributions. Philip Morris gave \$729,749, while RJR gave \$286,450.<sup>24</sup>

A spokesperson for Brown & Williamson tobacco said his company donated because it agrees with the Republican ideology. "We support the Republican Party not only because of its business platform, but because the party wants to take the country in a direction most Americans want to go," he said. "That includes less government,

14. Joshua Goldstein, "PACs In Profile," Center For Responsive Politics, 1995.

15. Laurie McGinley, "Think Tank With Close Ties to Gingrich Officially Unveils Plan to Replace FDA," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 6, 1995, p. 7E.

16. Laurie McGinley, "Gingrich Interceded with FDA for firm that donated money to foundation," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 2, 1995, p. 20A.

17. "The Secret GOPAC Donors," *Mother Jones Web Page*.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Goldstein, *op. cit.*

20. Clerk of the House of Representatives, *Financial Disclosure Reports of the Members of the House of Representatives of the 104th Congress*, July 17, 1995.

21. Amy Barrett, "How Are You Voting? What Are Your Stocks?" *Business Week*, Aug. 28, 1995, p. 66.

22. Cited in *ibid.*

23. Clerk of the House of Representatives, *op. cit.*

24. Jane Fritsch, "Tobacco Smoking with GOP," *New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1995, p. A1.



less red tape, a balanced budget and other key planks of the Republican platform."

Others see a more insidious reason. Representative Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), an outspoken critic of the tobacco industry, says it is flooding the Republican party with money in an attempt to bar the FDA from regulating tobacco. Common Cause president Ann McBride calls the tobacco industry's recent contributions to Republicans the

porter, and former American Health Association president, publicly warned Gingrich that conservative attempts to get rid of the FDA "could send public health back into the dark ages."<sup>27</sup>

John Villforth of the Food and Drug Law Institute, a corporately sponsored research group, agrees. He likens scrapping the FDA to "throwing the baby out with the bathwater." As frustrated as industry is with the agency, says Villforth, doing away with the FDA would be a disaster: "We would have chaos. We need the FDA in order to have consistency and a serious look at the science of these drugs. We can't farm most of these things out to private industry."<sup>28</sup>

That, however, is exactly what some sectors of industry and their conservative allies want. The Progress and Freedom Foundation's "reform" proposal would turn over enforcement and certification of drugs to new private sector organizations certified by the FDA.

Congressional Republicans, however, may really have more modest goals, says Food & Water's Michael Colby. "Gingrich and his peers are being

as shrill and as off the wall as possible to get as much of a compromise as possible," he said. "They want to scare folks at the FDA to appeal to corporate needs."<sup>29</sup>

It's working. In an effort to preempt the threatened GOP strike, the FDA has begun to enact some "reforms" itself. Much to the dismay of consumer advocates, it recently reduced approval times for drugs and medical devices and it now allows drug producers to make minor changes in the manufacturing process without time-consuming approvals. The FDA has also delayed proposed rules, such as the one establishing a hotline for consumers to report health problems associated with cosmetics. And looking over its shoulder at privatization schemes, it is now proposing to turn over some functions to private agencies.

For Food & Water's Colby, there is a larger issue involved. "Campaign contributions and stocks and those things are important," he says. "But ultimately it's about the kind of culture that they are looking at for society as a whole: corporate control of lives."

If the assault on the FDA is any indication, the corporations, their skills, and their hired guns on Capitol Hill are well on their way. ■

"single most aggressive campaign to use money to buy influence in the opening month of a Congress."<sup>25</sup>

Although the tobacco industry denies that charge, a review of its campaign contributions from 1993 through 1995 tells a different story. According to a study by the Center for Responsive Politics, tobacco companies gave 51 percent of their contributions to Democrats in 1993 and 1994. But so far in 1995, the tobacco industry has given the Democrats only \$154,950 — one-tenth the amount given to Republicans, who now control both the House and the Senate.<sup>26</sup>

Such influence-peddling could explain why Republicans have been silent about the dangers of smoking and highly critical of FDA Commissioner David Kessler, says Rep. Waxman.

### Maximum Program, Minimum Program

Not everyone regulated by FDA wants to see the agency dismantled. Dr. Virgil Brown, a Georgia Republican, Gingrich sup-

27. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

28. Hilts, *op. cit.*

29. Interview, Sept. 15, 1995.



**For the tobacco industry, the climate in Washington is as important as the weather in the fields — and can be more easily affected by applying large amounts of cash.**

25. All quotes from *ibid.*

26. Goldstein, *op. cit.*

# The Public Relations Industry's Secret War on Activists

*"The 20th century has been characterized by three developments of great political importance: the growth of democracy, the growth of corporate power, and the growth of corporate propaganda as a means of protecting corporate power against democracy."*

— Alex Carey<sup>1</sup>

by  
John Stauber and  
Sheldon Rampton

All Lynn Tylczak wanted to do was keep a few kids from being poisoned.

A housewife in Oregon, her imagination was captured by a PBS documentary about a technique used in Europe to prevent children from accidentally swallowing household poisons. Common antifreeze, for example, is made of ethylene glycol, whose sweet taste and smell belies its highly poisonous nature. As little as two teaspoons can cause death or blindness. About 700 children under the age of six are exposed to antifreeze each year, and it is the leading cause of accidental animal poisoning affecting both pets and wild animals.<sup>2</sup>

European antifreeze makers poison-proof their products by adding the "bitterant" denatonium benzoate. Two cents worth makes a gallon of antifreeze taste so vile that kids spit it out the instant it touches their mouth.

Tylczak launched a one-woman crusade, the "Poison Proof Project" to persuade antifreeze makers to add bitterant. Her story made the *New York Times* and Oprah Winfrey, prompting a swift backlash from antifreeze makers.

She remembers one company's PR representative threatening that he could pay someone \$2,000 to have her shot if she didn't back off.

John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton edit *PR Watch*, a quarterly publication about the public relations industry, and are authors of the new book, *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You: Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry*, published by Common Courage Press. The book can be ordered by phone by calling 1-800-497-3207, or by mail for \$20/book (includes postage and handling) from the Center for Media & Democracy, 3318 Gregory Street, Madison, WI 53711.

1. Taking the Risk out of Democracy (Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press, 1995), p. 18.

2. Associated Press, "Zoos Take Action on Antifreeze," *New York Times*, Oct. 8, 1995.

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The PR industry targets its worst enemy.



When Tylczak began pushing for legislation to require bitterant, another PR firm was sent into the breach: National Grassroots and Communications, which specializes in "passing and defeating legislation at the federal and state level." Tylczak had never even heard of the firm until its CEO, Pamela Whitney, made the mistake of bragging about her exploits at a PR trade seminar. "The key to winning anything is opposition research," she said. "We set up an operation where we posed as representatives of the estate of an older lady who had died and wanted to leave quite a bit of money to an organization that helped both children and animals. We went in and met with [Tylczak] and said, 'We want to bequeath \$100,000 to an organization; you're one of three that we are targeting to look at. Give us all of your financial records..., all of your game plan for the following year, and the states you want to target and how you expect to win. We'll get back to you.'"<sup>3</sup>

Whitney claimed that the records she received contained two bombshells: The Poison Proof Project's tax-exempt status had lapsed, and it had taken funding from bitterant manufacturers. "Without leaving any fingerprints or any traces," Whitney boasted, "we then got word through the local media and killed the bill in all the states."<sup>4</sup>

1. isolate the radicals;
2. "cultivate" the idealists and "educate" them into becoming realists; then
3. co-opt the realists

When the story got back to Tylczak, she noted that only \$100 of the \$50,000 in family savings spent on the campaign came from bitterant makers. "She's got a very foolish client," Tylczak said. "Her story has got more bullshit than a cattle ranch." In fact, she noted, her bill requiring bitterant *did* pass in Oregon.

What did the PR industry accomplish in its battle against Lynn Tylczak? Were news stories or legislation killed because of Whitney's intervention? In this

and other cases, the degree of success PR firms have in manipulating public opinion and policy is almost impossible to determine. By design, the PR industry carefully conceals many of its activities. "Persuasion, by its definition, is subtle," says one PR executive. "The best PR ends up looking like news. You never know when a PR agency is being effective; you'll just find your views slowly shifting."<sup>5</sup>

Using money provided by its special interest clients — usually large corporations, business associations and governments — the PR industry has vast power to direct and control thought and policy. It can mobilize private detectives, lawyers, and spies; influence editorial and news decisions; broadcast faxes; generate letters; launch phony "grassroots" campaigns; and use high-tech information systems such as satellite feeds and internet sites.

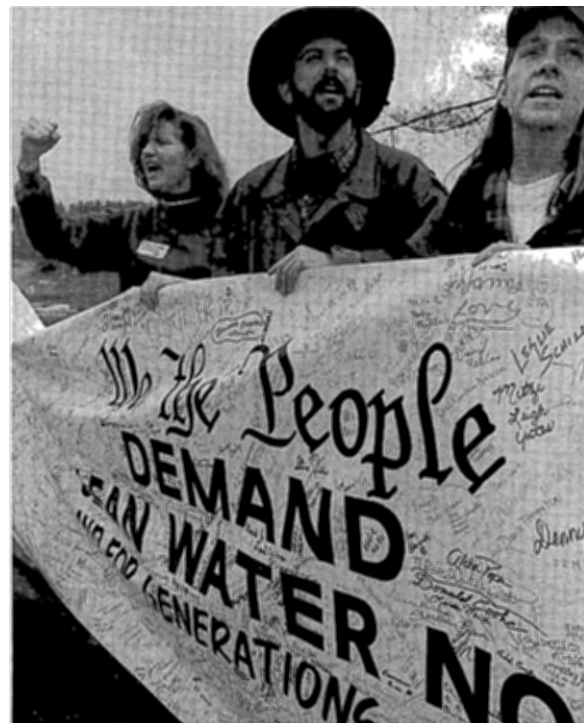
Activist groups and concerned individuals often fail to recognize the techniques and assess the impact of PR campaigns. And indeed, with its \$10 billion-a-year bankroll and its array of complex, sophisticated persuasive weaponry, the PR industry can often outmaneuver, overpower, and outlast true citizen reformers. Identifying the techniques of the industry and understanding how they work are the first steps in fighting back.

### Spies for Hire

In 1990, David Steinman's book, *Diet for a Poisoned Planet*, was scheduled for publication. Based on five years of research, it detailed evidence that hundreds of carcinogens, pesticides, and other toxins contaminate the US food chain. It documented, for example, that "raisins had 110 industrial chemical and pesticide residues in 16 samples," and recommended buying only organically grown varieties.<sup>6</sup>

5. Susan B. Trento, *The Power House: Robert Keith Gray and the Selling of Access and Influence in Washington* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 62.

6. David Steinman, *Diet for a Poisoned Planet: How to Choose Safe Foods for You and Your Family* (New York: Harmony Books, 1990).



JETTA FRASEMIMPACT VISUALS

**Derisively called "NIMBY" by the PR industry, local groups present a formidable threat. Here 4,000 Tennesseans marched to protest pollution by paper mills.**

*Diet for a Poisoned Planet* enabled readers to make safer food choices. But before they could use the information, they had to know about the book so that they could buy and read it. In the weeks after it came out, Steinman's publisher scheduled the usual round of media reviews and interviews, not suspecting that the California Raisin Advisory Board (CALRAB) had already launched a campaign to ensure that Steinman's book would be dead on arrival.

The stakes were high. In 1986, CALRAB had scored big with a series of clever TV commercials using the "California Dancing Raisins" that pushed up raisin sales by 17 percent. Steinman's book threatened to trip up the careful PR choreography.

To kill the Steinman book, CALRAB hired Ketchum PR Worldwide, whose \$50 million a year in net fees made it the country's sixth largest public relations company. Months before the publication of *Diet for a Poisoned Planet*, Ketchum sought to "obtain [a] copy of [the] book galleys or manuscript and publisher's tour schedule," wrote senior vice-president Betsy Gullickson in a secret September 7, 1990 memo outlining the PR firm's plan to "manage the crisis."

3. Pamela Whitney, speech, "Shaping Public Opinion: If You Don't Do It, Someone Else Will," Chicago, Dec. 9, 1994.  
4. *Ibid.*

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Gullickson's memo outlined a plan to assign "broad areas of responsibility," such as "intelligence/information gathering," to specific Ketchum employees and to Gary Obenauf of CALRAB. She recommended that spokespeople "conduct one-on-one briefings/interviews with the trade and general consumer media in the markets most acutely interested in the issue .... [Ketchum] is currently attempt-

ing to get a tour schedule so that we can 'shadow' Steinman's appearances; best scenario: we will have our spokesman in town prior to or in conjunction with Steinman's appearances."<sup>8</sup>

After an informant involved with the book's marketing campaign passed Ketchum a list of Steinman's talk show bookings, Ketchum employees called each show. The PR firm then made a list of key media to receive low-key phone inquiries. They tried to depict Steinman as an off-the-wall extremist without credibility, or argued that it was only fair that the other side be presented. A number of programs canceled or failed to air interviews. In the end, an important contribution to the public debate over health, the environment, and food safety fell victim to a PR campaign designed to prevent it from ever reaching the marketplace of ideas.<sup>9</sup>

### Divide and Conquer

Ronald Duchin, senior vice-president of another PR spy firm — Mongoven, Biscoe, and Duchin — would probably have labeled Steinman and Tylczak radicals. A graduate of the US Army War College, Duchin worked as a special assistant to the secretary of defense and director of public affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars before becoming a flack. Activists, he explained, fall into four categories: radicals, opportunists, idealists, and realists. He follows a three-step strategy to neutralize them: 1) isolate the radicals; 2) "cultivate" the idealists and "educate" them into becoming realists; then 3) co-opt the realists into agreeing with industry.

According to Duchin, radical activists:

want to change the system; have underlying socio/political motives [and] see multinational corporations as inherently evil.... These organizations do not trust the... federal, state and local governments to protect them and to safeguard the environment. They believe, rather, that individuals and local groups should have direct power over industry. ... I would categorize their

principal aims right now as social justice and political empowerment.

Idealists are also "hard to deal with." They "want a perfect world and find it easy to brand any product or practice which can be shown to mar that perfection as evil. Because of their intrinsic altruism, however, and because they have nothing perceptible to be gained by holding their position, they are easily believed by both the media and the public, and sometimes even politicians." However, idealists "have a vulnerable point. If they can be shown that their position in opposition to an industry or its products causes harm to others and cannot be ethically justified, they are forced to change their position.... Thus, while a realist must be negotiated with, an idealist must be educated. Generally this education process requires great sensitivity and understanding on the part of the educator."

Opportunists and realists, says Duchin, are easier to manipulate. Opportunists engage in activism seeking "visibility, power, followers and, perhaps, even employment. ... The key to dealing with [them] is to provide them with at least the perception of a partial victory." And realists are able to "live with trade-offs; willing to work within the system; not interested in radical change; pragmatic. [They] should always receive the highest priority in any strategy dealing with a public policy issue. ... If your industry can successfully bring about these relationships, the credibility of the radicals will be lost and opportunists can be counted on to share in the final policy solution."<sup>10</sup>

### Best Friends Money Can Buy

Another crude but effective way to derail potentially meddlesome activists is simply to hire them. In early 1993, Carol Tucker Foreman, former executive director of the Consumer Federation of America, took a job for what is rumored to be an exceptionally large fee as a personal lobbyist for bovine growth hormone (rBGH), the controversial milk hormone produced by chemical giant Monsanto. With Foreman's help, Monsanto has successfully prevented Congress or the FDA from requiring labeling of milk from cows injected with rBGH. In fact, the company used threats of lawsuits to intimidate dairy retailers and legislators who wanted to label their milk "rBGH-free."

7. Ketchum Public Relations Confidential Memo to CALRAB Food Safety Team, Sept. 7, 1990.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Jean Rainey, "Memo for Roland Woerner Regarding David Steinman Booking on Today Show," (no date).

10. Ronald Duchin, "Take an Activist Apart and What Do You Have?" *CALF News Cattle Feeder*, June 1991, pp. 9, 14.





While she is helping Monsanto wage its all-out campaign for rBGH, Foreman is also the coordinator and lobbyist for the Safe Food Coalition, "an alliance of consumer advocacy, senior citizen, whistleblower protection, and labor organizations." Formed by Foreman in 1987, the Coalition's members include such public interest heavyweights as Michael Jacobson's Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, and Public Voice for Food and Health Policy.<sup>11</sup>

Foreman said she saw no conflict of interest in simultaneously representing rBGH and the Safe Food Coalition. "The FDA has said rBGH is safe," she explained, adding "Why don't you call CSPI; they say rBGH is safe too?" Asked how much money she has received from Monsanto to lobby for rBGH, she angrily retorted, "What in the world business is that of yours?" Her D.C. consulting firm, Foreman & Heidepriem, refused to provide further information and referred journalists to Monsanto's PR department.<sup>12</sup>

### Both Sides of the Street

William Novelli, a founder of the New York-based Porter/Novelli PR firm, cheerfully uses the term "cross-pollination" to describe his company's tech-

nique of orchestrating collusion between clients with seemingly conflicting interests. By "donating" free work to health-related charities, for example, Porter/Novelli gains leverage to pressure the charities into supporting the interests of the firm's paying corporate clients. In 1993, this strategy paid off when produce growers and pesticide manufacturers represented by Porter/Novelli learned that PBS was about to air a documentary by Bill Moyers on pesticide-related cancer risks to children. The PR firm turned to the American Cancer Society (ACS), to which it had provided decades of free services. The national office of ACS dutifully issued a memo charging that the Moyers program "makes unfounded suggestions...that pesticide residues in food may be at hazardous levels." The industry then cited the memo as "evidence" that Moyers' documentary overstated dangers to children from pesticides.<sup>13</sup>

Hill & Knowlton executive Nina Oligno used a similar "cross-pollination" technique in 1994 to line up national environmental groups behind "Partners for Sun Protection Awareness," a front group for Hill & Knowlton's client, Schering-Plough. Best known for Coppertone sun lotion, the drug transnational uses the Partners to "educate" the

public to the dangers of skin cancer, cataracts, and damaged immune systems caused by a thinning ozone layer and an increase in ultraviolet radiation.<sup>14</sup>

In the past, Hill & Knowlton has also worked for corporate clients who hired them to "disprove" or belittle the environmental warnings of global climate change.<sup>15</sup> Seamlessly shifting gears into "environmentalist mode," Hill & Knowlton convinced leaders of the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Sierra Club to add their names to the "Partners for Sun Protection" letterhead.

A representative (who asked not to be named) of one of the environmental groups said he was ignorant of the Schering-Plough funding and its hidden agenda to sell sun lotion. Had he examined the Partners campaign, however, he might have noticed that it offered no proposals for preventing further ozone depletion and failed to mention that covering up completely was the best sun screen of all. Instead, the primary action the drug company-funded coalition recommended was to "liberally apply a sunscreen...to all exposed parts of the body before going outdoors." One of the campaign's clever "video news releases" shows scores of

11. News release, Safe Food Coalition, Nov. 4, 1994.

12. Interview with Carol Tucker Foreman, Spring 1994.

13. Sheila Kaplan, "Porter/Novelli Plays All Sides," *Legal Times*, Nov. 22, 1993, pp. 1, 21-23.

14. Press kit from Hill & Knowlton on behalf of Partners for Sun Protection Awareness, 1995.

15. "Profiles of Top Environmental PR Firms: Hill & Knowlton," *O'Dwyer's PR Services Report*, Feb. 1994, p. 40.



# Making Sludge Look Good

One of the PR industry's most shocking disasters-in-progress is its campaign to clean up the image of toxic sewage sludge so that unsuspecting farmers will spread it as fertilizer on farm fields.

If the Water Environment Federation (WEF) has its way, you'll soon be routinely eating fruits and vegetables fertilized with sewage sludge containing heavy metals, dangerous viruses, dioxins, PCBs, pesticides and hundreds of other toxic substances.

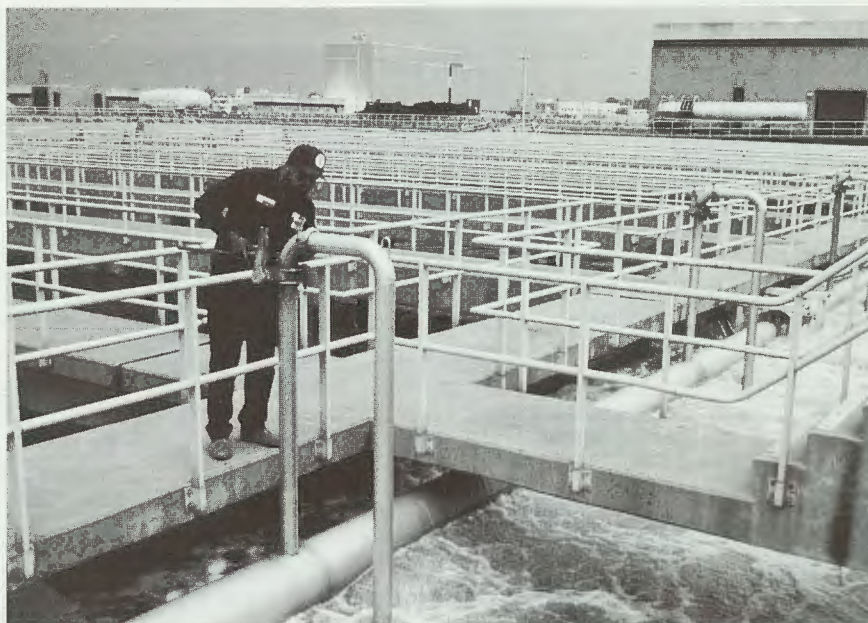
We learned about the WEF's campaign by accident as we were working on our new book about the PR industry, *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You*. This satiric title turned prophetic when we received a phone call from WEF Director of Information Nancy Blatt, begging us to come up with a different name. She was worried that the title might undermine WEF's campaign, funded with \$300,000 from the Environmental Protection Agency, to "educate the public" about the "beneficial uses" of sludge. "It's not toxic, and we're launching a campaign to get people to stop calling it sludge. We call it 'biosolids,'" Blatt explained.

The WEF's own name is a euphemism. Formerly known as the "Federation of Sewage and Industrial Wastes Associations," it is the main lobby association for US sewage treatment

About 60,000 toxic substances and chemical compounds, plus radioactive contaminants, wind up in sewage sludge.

plants, with over 41,000 members, a multimillion-dollar budget, and a 100-member staff.<sup>1</sup> It is working closely with the EPA to persuade farmers and food processors that sewage sludge is a "beneficial fertilizer."

In addition to sludge, tons of money are at stake for America's



RICK REINHARD

**After treatment in waste water plants, contaminant-laden residue is marketed as fertilizer. Selling people toxic waste and convincing them it's good for them must be an irresistible challenge for PR professionals.**

15,000 publicly-owned wastewater treatment plants. Sewage plants detoxify more than 120 million pounds of contaminants each year using heat, chemicals, and bacterial treatments: 42 percent is dissipated through biodegradation, 25 percent escapes into the atmosphere, and 19 percent is discharged into lakes and streams.

The remaining 14 percent — about 18 million pounds — winds up as sewage sludge, a "viscous, semisolid mixture of bacteria- and virus-laden organic matter, toxic metals, synthetic organic chemicals, and settled solids."<sup>2</sup>

Virtually everything undesirable in the world — an estimated 60,000 toxic substances and chemical compounds, plus radioactive contaminants — gets flushed down the drain and winds up in sewage sludge. Once created, it must be disposed of. Some goes into landfills. Some gets incinerated. New York and other cities used to dump it into the

ocean until oceanographers pointed out that it was killing the seas. The EPA has chosen to push for the cheapest disposal method available — spreading the gunk on farm fields.

As early as 1981, the agency sensed that this approach would encounter inevitable PR problems, warning that "the growing awareness about hazardous wastes and the inadequacy of their past disposal practices will inevitably increase public skepticism. ... [Citizens who] feel their interests threatened [may] often mount a significant campaign against a project." To counter this opposition, the agency advised project advocates to choose a strategy of either "aggressive" or "passive" public relations.<sup>3</sup>

The task is tricky since sludge has not only a bad image, but a poor record as well. Many scientists are appalled by the potential public health hazards. "Land spreading of sewage sludge is not a true 'disposal' method, but rather serves only to transfer the pollutants in the sludge from the treatment plant to the soil, air and ground water of the disposal site," says Dr. Stanford Tackett, a chemist and expert on lead contamination.<sup>4</sup>



## A Little Education is a Dangerous Thing

WEF's "National Biosolids Public Acceptance Campaign" is masterminded by Powell Tate, a blue-chip Washington-based PR/lobby firm that specializes in public relations around controversial high-tech, safety and health issues, with clients from the tobacco, pharmaceutical, electronics, and airlines industries. Jody Powell was President Jimmy Carter's press secretary and confidant. Sheila Tate similarly served Vice-President George Bush and First Lady Nancy Reagan. Tate is also the chair of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Private waste disposal firms such as Enviro-Gro Technologies (a sludge hauler now operating under the name Wheelabrator) also rely heavily on PR pros to convince the public that toxic waste is good for it. Kelly Sarber, a PR specialist in sludge crisis management, is especially proud of her PR work in 1991-92, when she quietly lined up business leaders and politicians to help Enviro-Gro target the small rural town of Holly, Colorado as a dumping site for New York City sludge.

"It's a scary thing at first to take New York's waste and spread it on the land that supports you," Sarber admitted. "In fact to some people it's the most scary thing they can think of. But after a little education, most people eventually come around."<sup>5</sup>

Sarber dropped the "education" euphemism in a paper aimed at PR professionals where she called "controlling the debate ... the most im-

portant goal of a good campaign manager." As part of her strategy, Sarber also recommends targeting the local media with a "pre-emptive strike" to "get positive messages out about the project before the counter-messages start."

When the proper groundwork had been laid in Holly, Sarber's pro-sludge campaign struck like a blitzkrieg, deploying "third-party" scientific advocates to assure local citizens of the safety of sludge and using local "opinion leaders" to persuade other community members that they had "taken the time to learn about the project and are com-

fortable with it from an environmental standpoint." When Gov. Romer threw a shovel full of New York City "biosolids" on a Colorado field, Sarber said, "it was apparent that the initial siting of the project had been successful."<sup>6</sup> ■



1. "For WPCF: New Directions," *Engineering News-Record*, April 10, 1986, p. 60.

2. Pat Costner and Joe

Thomson, "Sewage Treatment Plants," *We All Live Downstream: The Mississippi River and the National Toxics Crisis*, Dec. 1989, pp. 35-37. Sludge definition from: Gareth Jones, et al., *HarperCollins Dictionary of Environmental Science* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), p. 372.

3. Patricia L. Deese, et al., *Institutional Constraints and Public Acceptance Barriers to Utilization of Municipal Wastewater and Sludge for Land Reclamation and Biomass Production* (Washington, DC: US Environmental Protection Agency, 1981), pp. 3, 22, 27, 33-34.

4. Stanford L. Tackett, "The Sewage Sludge Scam," *The Gazette*, Indiana, Penna., Oct. 2, 1994.

5. Michael Specter, "Ultimate Alchemy: Sludge to Gold: Big New York Export May Make Desert and Budget Bloom," *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1993, p. B1.

6. Kelly Sarber, "How to Strategize for Successful Project Development," *BioCycle*, April 1994, pp. 32-35.

sexy, scantily-clad sun worshippers overexposing themselves to UV rays, while slathering on suntan oil.<sup>16</sup>

## Synthetic Grassroots

PR firms often bypass activist organizations and custom design their own "grassroots citizen movements" using rapidly evolving high-tech data and communications systems. Known in the trade as "astroturf," this tactic is defined by *Campaigns & Elections* magazine as a "grassroots program that involves the instant manufacturing of public support for a point of view in which either uninformed activists are recruited or means of deception are used to recruit them."<sup>17</sup>

Astroturf is particularly useful in countering NIMBY or "Not in my backyard" movements — community groups organizing to stop their neighborhood from hosting a toxic waste dump, porno bookstore, or other unwanted invaders.

John Davies, who helps neutralize these groups on behalf of corporate clients such as Mobil Oil, Hyatt Hotels, Exxon, and American Express, describes himself as "one of America's premier grassroots consultants." His ad in *Campaigns & Elections* (see p. 18) is designed to strike terror into the heart of even the bravest CEO. It features a photo of the enemy: a "little old white-haired lady" holding a hand-lettered sign, "Not In My Backyard!" The caption warns, "Don't leave your future in her hands. Traditional lobbying is no longer enough.... To outnumber your opponents, call Davies Communications."<sup>18</sup>

Davies promises to "make a strategically planned program look like a spontaneous explosion of community support for needy corporate clients by using mailing lists and computer databases to identify potential supporters." He claims his telemarketers will make passive supporters appear to be concerned advocates. "We want to assist them with letter writing. We get them on the phone [and say], 'Will you write a letter?' 'Sure.' 'Do you have time to write it?' 'Not really.' 'Could we write it for you?... Just hold, we have a writer standing by.'"

Another Davies employee then helps create what appears to be a personal letter. If the appropriate public official

16. Video News Release, Press kit from Hill & Knowlton on behalf of Partners for Sun Protection Awareness, 1994.

17. "Grassroots Lobbying Glossary," *Campaigns & Elections*, Dec./Jan. 1995, p. 22.

18. Advertisement, *Campaigns & Elections*, Dec./Jan. 1995.

is "close by, we hand-deliver it. We hand-write it out on 'little kitty cat stationery' if it's a little old lady. If it's a business we take it over to be photocopied on someone's letterhead. [We] use different stamps, different envelopes.... Getting a pile of personalized letters that have a different look to them is what you want to strive for."<sup>19</sup>

### Blending In

"Grassroots" PR is the specialty of Pamela Whitney at National Grassroots & Communications, the firm that spied on Lynn Tylczak.

"My company basically works for major corporations and we do new market entries," she says. "Wal-Mart is one of our clients. We take on the NIMBYs and environmentalists." They also work for "companies who want to do a better job of communicating to their employees because they want to remain union-free. They aren't quite sure how to do it, so we go in and set that up."

## With its \$10 billion-a-year bankroll and its weaponry of persuasion, the PR industry can often outmaneuver, overpower, and outlast citizen reformers.

One of National Grassroots' first tasks, after information gathering/spying, is to set up its own local organizations by hiring "local ambassadors who know the community inside and out to be our advocates, and then we work with them," explains Whitney. "They report to us. They are on our payroll, but it's for a very small amount of money. [O]ur best community ambassadors are women who have possibly been head of their local PTA; they are very active in their local community — or women who are retired and who have a lot of time on their hands." They are supervised by professionals with "field organizing experience" on electoral campaigns who "can drop in the middle of nowhere and in two weeks they have an organization set up and ready to go."

19. John Davies speaking at "Shaping Public Opinion...," *op. cit.*

These professional grassroots organizers dress carefully to avoid looking like the high-priced, out-of-town hired guns they really are. "When I go to a zoning board meeting," Whitney explained, "I wear absolutely no make-up, I comb my hair straight back in a ponytail, and I wear my kids' old clothes. You don't want to look like you're someone from Washington, or someone from a corporation.... People hate outsiders; it's just human nature."<sup>20</sup>

With enough money, the same techniques can be applied on a national scale. As the health care debate heated up in the early days of the Clinton administration, Blair G. Childs masterminded the Coalition for Health Insurance Choices (CHIC). An insurance industry front group, CHIC received major funding from the National Federation of Independent Businesses and the Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA), a trade group of insurance companies. According to *Consumer Reports*, "The HIAA doesn't just support the coalition; it created it from scratch."<sup>21</sup>

Health reform opponents used opinion polling to develop a point-by-point list of vulnerabilities in the Clinton administration proposal and organized over 20 separate coalitions to hammer away at each point. Each group chose a name with "a general positive reaction.... That's where focus group and survey work can be very beneficial," explained Childs. "Fairness, 'balance,' 'choice,' 'coalition,' and 'alliance' are all words that resonate very positively."<sup>22</sup> Childs, who has been organizing grassroots support for the insurance industry for a decade, wasn't the only PR genius behind the anti-health care campaign, but his coalition can honestly claim the kill.

CHIC's multi-coalition strategy assured numbers and cover, and took advantage of different strengths. "Some have lobby strength, some have grassroots strength, and some have good spokespersons," Childs said. In its campaign against "mandatory health alliances," CHIC drew in "everyone from the homeless Vietnam veterans.... to some very conservative groups."<sup>23</sup> It also

20. Pamela Whitney speaking at "Shaping Public Opinion...," *op. cit.*

21. "Public Interest Pretenders," *Consumer Reports*, May 1994, p. 317.

22. Blair Childs speaking at "Shaping Public Opinion...," *op. cit.*

sponsored the legendary "Harry and Louise" TV spot which, according to the *New York Times*, "symbolized everything that went wrong with the great health care struggle of 1994: A powerful advertising campaign, financed by the insurance industry, that played on people's fears and helped derail the process."<sup>24</sup>

CHIC and the other coalitions also used direct mail and phoning, coordinated with daily doses of misinformation from radio blowtorch Rush Limbaugh, to spread fears that government health care would bankrupt the country, reduce the quality of care, and lead to jail terms for people who wanted to stick with their family doctor. Childs explained how his coalition used paid ads on the Limbaugh show to generate thousands of citizen phone calls from the show's 20 million listeners. First, Limbaugh would whip up his fans with a calculated rant against the Clinton plan. Then, during a commercial break, listeners would hear an anti-health care ad and an 800 number to call for more information. The call would ring a telemarketer who would ask a few questions, then "patch them through" electronically to their congressmembers' office. Staffers fielding the resulting barrage of phone calls typically had no idea that the constituents had been primed, loaded, aimed, and fired at them by radio ads paid for by the insurance industry, with the goal of orchestrating the appearance of overwhelming grassroots opposition to health reform.<sup>25</sup>

When the health care debate began in 1993, Childs said, popular demand for change was so strong that the insurance industry was "looking down the barrel of a gun." By 1994, industry's hired PR guns had shot down every proposal for reform.

### Managing the Media

Many PR pros think that the media, both national and local, are easier to handle than the public. To begin with, the media itself is a huge, profitable business, the domain of fewer and fewer giant transnational corporations. Not surprisingly, these transnationals often find that their corporate agenda and interest are compatible with, or even identical to, the goals of the PR industry's biggest clients. While this environ-

23. *Ibid.*

24. Robin Toner, "Harry and Louise and a Guy Named Ben," *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1994.

25. Blair Childs, "Shaping Public Opinion...," *op. cit.*



ment may be demoralizing to responsible journalists, it offers a veritable hog heaven to the public relations industry.

In their 1985 book, Jeff and Marie Blyskal write that

PR people know how the press thinks. Thus, they are able to tailor their publicity so that journalists will listen and cover it. As a result much of the news you read in newspapers and magazines or watch on television and hear on radio is heavily influenced and slanted by public relations people. Whole sections of the news are virtually owned by PR....Newspaper food pages are a PR man's paradise, as are the entertainment, automotive, real estate, home improvement and living sections... Unfortunately, 'news' hatched by a PR person and journalist working together looks much like real news dug up by enterprising journalists working independently. The public thus does not know which news stories and journalists are playing servant to PR.<sup>26</sup>

As a result, notes a senior vice-president with Gray & Company public relations, "Most of what you see on TV is, in effect, a canned PR product. Most of what you read in the paper and see on television is not news."<sup>27</sup>

The blurring of news and ads accelerated in the 1980s, when PR firms discovered that they could film, edit, and produce their own news segments — even entire programs — and that broadcasters would play them as "news," often with no editing. Video news releases (VNRs), typically come packaged with two versions: The first is fully edited, with voiceovers pre-recorded or scripted for a local anchor to read. The second, a "B-roll," is raw footage that the station can edit and combine with tape from other sources.

"There are two economics at work here on the television side," explains a Gray & Company executive. "The big stations don't want prepackaged, pretaped. They have the money, the budget, and the manpower to put their own to-



**The successful movement to stop HydroQuebec from building a dam that would have flooded thousands of square miles of Indian land and polluted the environment was maintained by grassroots activists in Canada and the US.**

KIRK CONDYLIS/IMPACT VISUALS

gether. But the smaller stations across the country lap up stuff like this."<sup>28</sup>

With few exceptions, broadcasters as a group have refused to consider standards for VNRs, in part because they rarely admit to airing them. But when MediaLink — the PR firm that distributed about half of the 4,000 VNRs made available to newscasters in 1991 — surveyed 92 newsrooms, it found that all had used VNRs supplied free by PR firms. CBS Evening News, for example, ran a segment on the hazards of automatic safety belts created by a lobby group largely supported by lawyers.<sup>29</sup>

### Cyberjunk Mail

The PR industry is innovating rapidly and expanding into cyberspace. Hyped as the ultimate in "electronic democracy," the information superhighway will supposedly offer "a global cornucopia of programming" offering instant, inexpensive access to nearly infinite libraries of data, educational material and entertainment. But as computer technology brings a user-friendlier version of the internet to a wider spectrum of users, it has attracted intense corporate interest.

Given that a handful of corporations now control most media, media histo-

rian Robert McChesney finds it is "no surprise that the private sector, with its immense resources, has seized the initiative and is commercializing cyberspace at a spectacular rate — effectively transforming it into a giant shopping mall."<sup>30</sup> PR firms are jumping on the online bandwagon, establishing "world wide web" sites and using surveys and games to gather marketing and opinion information about the users of cyberspace, and developing new techniques to target and reach reporters and other online users.

"Today, with many more options available, PR professionals are much less dependent upon mass media for publicity," writes industry pro Kirk Hallahan in *Public Relations Quarterly*. "In the decade ahead, the largest American corporations could underwrite entire, sponsored channels. ... [which] will be able to reach coveted super-heavy users ... with a highly tailored message over which [corporations could] exert complete control."<sup>31</sup>

### Fighting Back at Flacks

The groups that most scare the PR industry are the local grassroots groups

(continued on p. 57)

26. Jeff and Marie Blyskal, *PR: How the Public Relations Industry Writes the News* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1985), p. 28.

27. Trento, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

29. David Lieberman, "Fake News," *TV Guide*, Feb. 22, 1992, p. 10.

30. Robert W. McChesney, "Information Superhighway Robbery," *In These Times*, July 10, 1995, p. 14.

31. Kirk Hallahan, "Public Relations and Circumvention of the Press," *Public Relations Quarterly*, Summer 1994, pp. 17-19.

# Out But Not Down

# Colin Powell

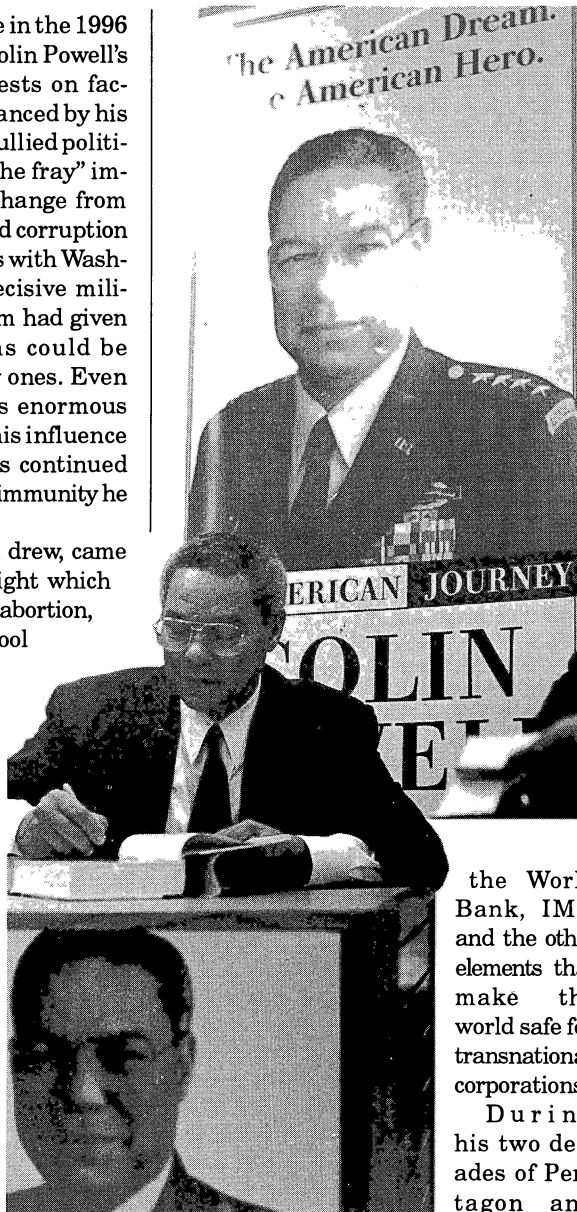
By William Blum

*Powell built a career on pleasing those in power. To that end he misled Congress, helped cover up war crimes, and oversaw civilian massacres. No longer a candidate in '96, he still casts a long shadow.*

No longer a candidate in the 1996 presidential race, Colin Powell's popular support rests on factors that may in fact be enhanced by his unwillingness to enter the sullied political arena. With his "above the fray" image, he seemed to offer a change from the self-serving nastiness and corruption that has become synonymous with Washington politics, while his decisive military triumph in Desert Storm had given hope that social problems could be solved as neatly as military ones. Even from the sidelines, Powell's enormous popularity with voters and his influence with officials will insure his continued clout and extend the virtual immunity he was granted by the media.

What political fire Powell drew, came largely from the religious right which disapproved of his stands on abortion, affirmative action, and school prayer. Questions raised by the left about his possible complicity in internationally defined war crimes were ignored. Not surprisingly, the business, military, and intelligence elites found much to like in Powell's "middle of the road" views. The general is a proven anti-communist interventionist prepared to carry the superpower banner into combat. He is well-schooled in the care and feeding of local dictators and friendly torturers, and although he may not be "passionate" about a "calling" to electoral politics, he is a passionate believer in the market, NAFTA,

William Blum is author of *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995). Photo: Book tour, Washington, D.C.



TERRY ALLEN

the World Bank, IMF, and the other elements that make the world safe for transnational corporations.

During his two decades of Pentagon and White House

positions, he accumulated a coterie of admirers due in no small part to the fact that he has spent his entire adult life not making waves. David Roth, his former aide and authorized biographer, wrote

that: "Powell has never felt a need to rebel or to assert his own desires apart from others around him. Every choice he makes is taken with an awareness of those [choices] others made before him. Each is made with an interest in the effects it will have on others."<sup>1</sup>

And while the effects have pleased his superiors, they have often been devastating for hundreds of thousands of others around the world.

As chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Powell played a key role in the December 1989 invasion of Panama, launched with full knowledge that "We are going to hurt people," as he put it.<sup>2</sup> The bombing devastated residential areas, killed or injured thousands of civilians, and forced thousands more into homelessness. The US kidnapped Panamanian leader Manuel Noriega (a longtime ally and CIA asset) and threw him in a Miami prison. After it was over, Panama continued to enjoy high levels of drug trafficking and civil corruption, but its leadership understood its servile relationship to Washington.

A year later, Powell added to his war trophies. While voicing support for sanctions, he served as chief architect of the most concentrated aerial onslaught in history. "Just hours after Kuwait was overrun by Iraqi troops," reported *Newsweek*, "Powell proposed a plan to President Bush for the largest mobilization of US combat power since Vietnam. 'From the very beginning,' says a senior Bush official, 'Colin's point has been to go with everything we've got as fast as we can get it there.' More than anyone, Powell is responsible for shaping the US military response in the Gulf."<sup>3</sup>

1. David Roth, *Sacred Honor: A Biography of Colin Powell* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing, 1993).

2. Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), pp. 156-74.

3. "Bush's General: Maximum Force," *Newsweek*, Sept. 3, 1990, p. 36.

The results were described as a turkey shoot. In 40 days, 177 million pounds of bombs were dropped on Iraq, hundreds of thousands died, including tens of thousands of children, the environment was devastated, and the ancient city of Baghdad laid waste. In the course of the ground war, US troops bulldozed alive hundreds of retreating Iraqi soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

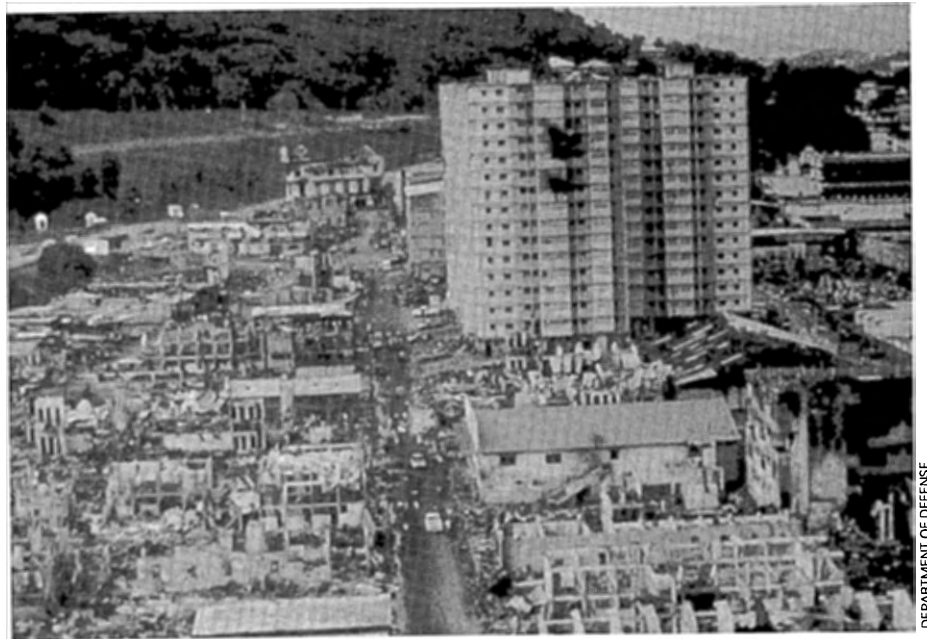
With Kuwait returned to its rightful dictators, Powell visited Central America and, in the midst of crucial peace negotiations between the government of El Salvador and the FMLN rebels, announced that if the two sides failed to reach an accord, the US might intervene militarily as "we did in the Persian Gulf ... to defend liberty." The rebels, having no doubt that the death-squad Salvadoran government was the side Powell associated with liberty, charged that his statement had thrown an added difficulty into the negotiations.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1983 and 1989, as Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's senior military assistant and Reagan's national security adviser, Powell had shown the same confusion between liberty and a pro-US stance. In Nicaragua, he unconditionally supported the Contras, known widely for rape, torture, murder, and drug trafficking. Powell lobbied Congress on their behalf and his National Security Council restricted government cooperation with a Senate committee investigating the Contra drug connection. He helped sabotage Central American peace efforts because they were not turning out as Washington wanted. Powell and Iran-Contra scoundrel Elliott Abrams went around visiting the region's presidents, using threats of foreign aid cuts to induce them to denounce Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and to have them claim that Nicaragua was violating the peace agreements.<sup>6</sup>

4. For Powell's role in the Gulf war, see *ibid.*, p. 36; "Managing the War," *Business Week*, Feb. 4, 1991, p. 36. Powell's advocacy of sanctions may have derived less from humanitarian concerns than from his belief that the US should not commit troops until conditions virtually guaranteed victory. On Iraqi troop burial, see John G. Heidenrich, *Foreign Policy*, "The Gulf War: How Many Iraqis Died?" Mar. 22, 1993. "One brigade commander speaking later of those buried, 'For all I know, we could have killed thousands.'"

5. *El Diario de Hoy* (San Salvador), Apr. 9, 1991, pp. 3, 5; *El Mundo* (San Salvador), Apr. 10, 1991, pp. 6, 27.

6. Jim Wright, *Worth It All: My War for Peace* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1993), pp. 151, 171-75, 192; Holly Sklar, *Washington's War on Nicaragua* (Boston: South End Press, 1988), p. 386; George Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State* (New York: Scribner's, 1993), p. 966; Colin Powell with Joseph Persico, *My American Journey* (New York: Random House, 1995), pp. 339-40, 367).



**Residential neighborhood El Chorrillo after US invasion of Panama, which Powell defended as necessary to protect US lives.**

**Powell's responses were "at least misleading" and could be "used to impeach his credibility." —Iran/Contra Report**

Then in 1988, as the cover-up continued, Powell declared that the National Security Council — scarred by Iran-Contra — had been restored under his leadership as a "moral operation."<sup>7</sup> Not once in his 643-page autobiography does he touch upon the Contras' reputation.

### Bringing Skills to Politics

Colin Powell's image is as a new kind of straight-talking and candid leader, above the ideological fray, beyond left and right, "anti-polarization," say his friends.<sup>8</sup>

I enjoy a certain place in American society. I know how to get people together. It has been said I'm a consummate insider, a conciliator, a facilitator. That's right. I know how to organize people with different views, different backgrounds, to come together and work for a common purpose.<sup>9</sup>

7. UPI, "Gen. Powell Says NSC Again 'Moral Operation,'" *Washington Post*, Oct. 28, 1988, p. 3.

8. Joe Klein, "Can Colin Powell Save America," *Newsweek*, Oct. 10, 1995, p. 26.

9. Interview with Powell, *The Diane Rehm Show*, Sept.

This can-do pragmatism — knowing how to play the game and win — is a large part of the general's underlying appeal to both elites and voters. While remaining polite and likeable, he is not a man to allow his effectiveness to be derailed by the fine points of the truth. Asked to justify the Panama invasion, he declared: "We went in to protect the lives of Americans ... also to restore democracy to Panama." The first part of his statement is demonstrably false, a pretext put forth by Washington to justify numerous military interventions (the previous one being Grenada, 1983), while the second part was neither an actual motivation for the invasion nor the result.<sup>10</sup> But the words sounded good, as any politician knows.

Speaking about the Philippines in 1990, Powell displayed his well-known sense of humor, declaring that Washington's "principal objective" in the Philippines was not to protect U.S. military facilities, but rather "to support the Philippines as a democracy."<sup>11</sup> This, after the US had maintained the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos for more than 20 years and abandoned him four years earlier only when he was

19, 1995, WAMU-FM, Washington, D.C.

10. Kevin Buckley, *Panama, The Whole Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), pp. 187, 191, 228-29. For a full account see William Blum, *Killing Hope ...*, pp. 305-14.

11. "U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changing World," Mar. 23, 1990, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, May 1, 1990, p. 420.

judged a liability to the US goal of keeping the left from taking power.

Like a good politician, Powell is adept at deflecting questions. Asked by a talk show caller if he'd cut the defense budget to finance social programs, Powell replied that while he headed the JCS, "the armed forces were brought down in size by 30 percent."<sup>12</sup> He left it at that, giving the false impression that the defense budget had been cut by 30 percent.

And like a good general, he can cover his flank. On the same talk show, Powell criticized some Republican policies for "demonizing" people on welfare, not those asking for corporate welfare. The policies, he said, "tend to put the burden of change more on those of our citizens who are more in need and in more desperate straits," but not on "K Street, the famous lobbying quarter here in Washington." Minutes later, in response to an African American caller who said he'd have a hard time voting for Powell as a Republican, Powell said: "I know Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole quite well, and

could be "used to impeach his [Powell's] credibility."<sup>14</sup>

Two decades before, in Vietnam, he also backed his team despite evidence of wrongdoing — in that case by turning a blind eye to reports of war crimes. In 1968, Pvt. Tom Glen wrote a letter to Gen. Creighton Abrams, commander of US forces in Vietnam, reporting that US troops gave captives "severe beatings and torture at knife point" and used "aroused scout dogs" to terrify them. Glen was a member of the same brigade that had carried out the My Lai massacre, and he had learned of it, although without any such label.

How could the Army expect to win hearts and minds, Glen asked Abrams, when US soldiers "for mere pleasure, fire indiscriminately into Vietnamese homes and without provocation or justification shoot at the people themselves?"<sup>15</sup>

Soon, Glen's letter worked its way to Maj. Colin Powell, who was asked to check out the charges and draft a reply. Without meeting with Glen, Powell concluded that the accusations were false,

except, possibly, for "isolated cases." All new soldiers arriving in South Vietnam, he wrote soothingly, received lessons on the importance of treating the Vietnamese with courtesy and respect and on obeying the Geneva Conventions on proper treatment of prisoners. "In direct refutation of [Glen's] portrayal," wrote Powell, "is the fact that relations between

American soldiers and the Vietnamese people are excellent."<sup>16</sup> You could almost hear the heels click.

In his autobiography, Powell makes no mention of Pvt. Tom Glen, his letter or the response.

### World View Through Blinders

While Colin Powell cultivates the image of an independent thinker, in the sphere to which he has devoted his life — foreign policy, military and world affairs — he is depressingly doctrinaire. His convictions are indistinguishable from those of Ronald Reagan or George Bush; his patriot-babble is as trite and grandiose as that of John Foster Dulles. "The vital interests of mankind are the

vital interests of America," he intoned, "no matter how far from our shores they may be. ... We are leaders because nature and history have laid that obligation on us."<sup>17</sup>

And we are loved. In the Pacific region, "we have so many friends ... There's a reason for this. That reason has many dimensions — among them our values, our economic system, and our altruism. Also, there is the dimension of power — in our case, of superpower."<sup>18</sup> In early December 1989, shortly before making these remarks, Powell, as chair of the JCS, had ordered a military intervention into a purely internal matter. Taking President Corazon Aquino's side against military rebels, US warplanes flew air cover for government forces and fired on rebel aircraft on the ground to prevent their takeoff. The coup attempt fell apart.<sup>19</sup>

The incident continued a century of Yankee imperialism in the Philippines and was for Powell another example of the Cold War worldview that the US upholds all that is good and ordered against a hostile chaotic world. "We need to stay in East Asia and in the Pacific," Powell insists. "Nature and politics can't tolerate a vacuum. Were we to depart from the region, it would create one of the largest political vacuums in history — a vacuum we cannot afford to have."<sup>20</sup> The notion of a political vacuum existing in lands already filled with people is of course one of the oldest rationalizations for imperialist — and usually racist — intervention.

This Manichean mindset has led Powell to demonize those societies that reject the US model and oppose US foreign policy objectives: Cuba is "an economic basket case," he has said on more than one occasion. (What then can the man think of the quality of life in the rest of the Third World?) Nicaragua under the Sandinistas was a "tyranny." And with the exception of these two benighted societies, the rest of Latin America was "democratic."

So unconditional has his support been for Washington's Cold War policies, that he spoke out strongly for the same side of the Angola conflict that

## Powell dismissed a letter charging war crimes written by a soldier in the brigade that carried out My Lai.

these are gentlemen representing a party that really does care about the poor."<sup>13</sup>

That Colin Powell is an expert team player is clear, but at least two incidents raise the troubling question of just how far he will go to protect the team and his position in it. His performance during the Iran-Contra affair is revealing. The Office of the Independent Counsel, investigating illegal missile shipments to Iran in 1985, concluded that "most of Powell's early statements regarding the Iran initiative were forthright and consistent. But some were questionable and seem generally designed to protect Weinberger." The report concluded that Powell's responses to questions concerning the existence of a Weinberger diary were "at least misleading" and

12. Rehm, *op. cit.*  
13. *Ibid.*

14. *Final Report of the Independent Counsel for Iran/Contra*, v. 1, Aug. 4, 1993, pp. 431, 438-39.

15. Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim, *Four Hours in My Lai* (New York: Viking, 1992), pp. 175, 209-13.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Colman McCarthy, "Powell Blinds With a Big Gun's Flash," *Washington Post*, Oct. 12, 1993, p. C11.

18. "U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changing World," *op. cit.*, p. 421.

19. Michael R. Gordon, "US Says Bush Used Fighter Jets to Save Aquino From Rebel Siege," *New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1989, pp. 1, 2; Powell and Persico, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-44.

20. "U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changing World," *op. cit.*, pp. 419-20.



South Africa was fighting for and supported business dealings with apartheid South Africa.<sup>21</sup> In January 1987, only months after the Reagan administration was caught — in violation of stated policy — providing information to the South African intelligence services about Nelson Mandela's banned African National Congress, Powell became Reagan's deputy national security adviser.<sup>22</sup>

Addressing the National Press Club, Powell described the war in Afghanistan as simply "a Soviet invasion and war," ignoring massive US covert paramilitary involvement and CIA direction. He lavishly praised the US's allies in the war, Islamic fundamentalists, a number of whom have engaged in terrorism and emerged as sworn enemies of the US.<sup>23</sup>

### At Home with the Elites

These views played well with those in a position to help Powell, who for his part, knew how not to make waves. He "came of age at the dawn of the civil rights movement," Charles Lane has observed, "agreed with its goals, witnessed some of its most violent days firsthand and benefited from its achievements — yet did not participate himself."<sup>24</sup> But alongside his unequivocal condemnation of racism, Powell evinces a wholehearted belief in the system that has allowed him to prosper. He states that poverty in socialist countries is a direct result of socialism, but that economic and social problems in the US "are challenges to policy, not challenges to the essence of the system or to the structure itself."<sup>25</sup>

If Powell draws his worldview from civics books, he draws what policy formulations he has put forward from his life as a soldier — but only when the



**Gulf War casualties included not only those on the "highway of death," in which the US bombed a retreating Iraqi military convoy, but a continuing toll of civilian victims of the wholesale destruction of the Iraqi infrastructure by the US-led attack.**

lessons of the military model do not contradict conventional wisdom.

On the issue of education, he turns to the military for guidance. One of his pet projects is the Junior ROTC program, which he calls "the best opportunity for the Department of Defense to make a positive impact on the nation's youth." About this, *Washington Post* columnist Colman McCarthy has observed: "America's schools are impoverished and violence-ridden and the solution to these social problems is to militarize kids and cajole them into embracing the government's war plans?"<sup>26</sup>

Asked about health care, Powell responded: "I'm still learning ... I don't have an answer ... except I'm very intrigued by what I see as I travel around the country in corporate life, where private industry is doing more and more to get the costs down and to spread the benefits out."<sup>27</sup>

The facts are surprising enough, but the statement turns bizarre on the lips of a man who has received free government-paid health care all his adult life; whose son's life was saved by free military medical care after an accident. Why on this vital question does Powell turn away from his life experience and instinctively side with private industry?

### What You See v. What You Get

Clearly there is a neat mesh between Powell's views and those of the business, political and military elite who look with favor on his candidacy. Not so clear, however, is whether or not the general has moral qualms about the services he has rendered: whether he has second thoughts about leading the Gulf War massacre, wishes he had taken Private Glen's reports of war crimes more seriously, regrets civilian deaths in Panama, is sorry he misled Congress, or is squeamish over his support for the odious Contras, Afghan mujahadin and the apartheid forces of southern Africa. In any case, by his own moral code, these actions cannot be excused by claiming he was "only following orders." Speaking to midshipmen at Annapolis in January 1993, he told them that if they found the new plan on gays in the military "completely unacceptable and it strikes the heart of your moral beliefs, then I think you have to resign."<sup>28</sup> As for himself, Powell has never mentioned any disagreement serious enough to even consider such a strong moral stand. He has always followed the path that pleased his superiors and served elite interests. No wonder the old boys still love him. ■

21. Joe Davidson, "Powell Is Hailed, But Invasion Is Questioned," *Black Enterprise*, Mar. 1990, p. 27.

22. Seymour Hersh, "U.S. Is Said to Have Given Pretoria Intelligence on Rebel Organization," *New York Times*, July 23, 1986, p. 1. CIA information to South African intelligence in 1962 had led directly to Mandela imprisonment for 28 years. *The Times* (London), Aug. 4, 1986, p. 10.

23. *Department of State Bulletin*, Jan. 1989, p. 30; Blum, *op. cit.*, chapter on Afghanistan, pp. 338-52.

24. Charles Lane, "The Legend of Colin Powell," *The New Republic*, Apr. 17, 1995, p. 21.

25. *Department of State Bulletin*, *op. cit.*

26. Colman McCarthy, *op. cit.*

27. Rehm, *op. cit.*

28. Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), p. 45.

# Haiti's Not For Sale



ANSE ROUGE

*Haiti faces all-out economic warfare and increasing unrest as the US-dominated World Bank and IMF wrestle Aristide and the popular movements for control of the country.*

by Laurie Richardson and Jean-Roland Chery

**L**ast fall US troops invaded Haiti to "uphold democracy." With the removal of military coup leader Raoul Cedras and the return of democratically elected populist president Jean-Bertrand Aristide from a three-year exile, the battleground has shifted. The stakes, however, remain the same: political and economic control of the

Laurie Richardson travels to Haiti regularly as the assistant director of MPP-EDF, the US-based Education and Development Fund for Haiti's Peasant Movement of Papay (MPP). Jean-Roland Chery is a reporter for the Port-au-Prince-based *Radio Haiti Inter*, one of the country's most front-line and listened-to stations. Further information, contact MPP-EDF, 25 West Street, 2nd Floor, Boston, MA 02111; (617) 542-1140. Photo: Humanitarian aid sold on the open market.

hemisphere's poorest nation. While US/UN troops still patrol the streets, the economic enforcers from the US and the US-dominated international economic institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, are imposing an order of their own. They are pressuring Haiti to accept a structural adjustment program (SAP) and to implement the wholesale privatization of Haiti's complex of state-owned enterprises (SOEs).

The same scenario has been played out across the developing world. Haiti's popular movement has only to look to neighbors such as Nicaragua and Vene-

zuela to understand the cost in jobs, independence, and increased maldistribution of wealth that accompanies the internationally imposed regime of SAPs. With time running out, the popular movement is debating strategies of resistance and calling on the government to take a clear stand. One of the recent casualties of the increasing pressure was the frayed alliance between President Aristide and his prime minister, free-marketeer Smarck Michel. Michel's resignation in mid-October opened the door for the formation of a new government more actively committed to standing its ground against the

SAP. But it remains to be seen whether a country still reeling from three years of death-squad dictatorship will be able to pass up the carrot and dodge the stick. "The international balance of forces is against us," explained a Haitian official charged with overseeing the fate of the SOEs. "The government is forced to negotiate with a knife at its throat and its back against the wall."<sup>1</sup>

### The American Plan Returns

Few countries in this position have managed to stave off submission to the neoliberal economic model, or what the IMF prefers to call "entry into the global economy." Since the 1980s, however, Haitians have steadfastly resisted the famous "American Plan," a neoliberal economic model which, as almost any peasant can explain, aims to force them off the land and into low-wage assembly plants. Its SAP is designed to wrench open Haiti's economy by eliminating import tariffs, privatizing all SOEs, suppressing wages, eliminating subsidies, and deeply cutting public sector spending. It aims to increase foreign exchange (essential for paying off mounting debt) by shifting production away from food for domestic consumption to exports pro-

**It is unclear whether a country still reeling from three years of death-squad dictatorship will be able to pass up the carrot and dodge the stick.**

duced in export assembly industries, agro-exports such as coffee and exotic fruits, and tourism. The result for Haiti will be the same as it has been around the world when SAPs rule: a populace hooked into a cash economy, a tiny, often corrupt elite propped up by interna-

1. Interview, Ernst Exceus, director, Office for the Democratization of Public Enterprises (UDEP), Oct. 5, 1995. Although officially a Haitian agency, UDEP was created in April at the behest of the international financial community and is financed with US Agency for International Development (AID) money.



LAURIE RICHARDSON

**Peasant march, 1995, to protest growing US control. The sign reads: "Down with the invasion of foreign food." "Humanitarian aid" floods Haiti, it undercuts domestic production and drives the country into dependency on US imports.**

tional capital, and a national economy mired in debt and dependent on imported food and markets controlled by transnational corporations.

Haitians see the coup which cut short Aristide's populist reforms and sent him into exile as part of the process of integrating Haiti into the new world economic order. "The wealthy countries took advantage of the coup in order to advance their plan to destroy the peasant economy, to push forward their neoliberal economic model," Haiti's largest peasant organization, MPP, said recently. "They linked the return of democracy with the plan to auction off the country and its people."<sup>2</sup>

For Aristide, the quid pro quo was not subtle. In exchange for his return to power, the international community demanded that he sign on to a strict SAP. Seeing no alternative if it wished to return, the Aristide government signed on the dotted line in August 1994 and again in January 1995; it was rewarded with pledges of some \$1.2 billion in loans and grants.<sup>3</sup>

2. Peasant Movement of Papay (MPP) press release; Sept. 30, 1995. Information about and statements from the MPP are available from MPP-EDF.

3. Often called the Paris Accords, the official Haitian

### Divide and Conquer

The ensuing battle over privatization of state-owned enterprises, while only one element of the struggle over the SAP, illustrates the different interests involved and the strategies used by the various actors. Aristide initially believed he could deflect full-scale privatization by committing instead to "democratization." Under this alternative plan, the sale of any SOEs would have to ensure the broad distribution of shares and counter Haiti's top-heavy concentration of wealth. Aristide was ultimately relying on the incoming parliament, expected to be controlled by his followers from the *Lavalas* movement, to block legislation institutionalizing the SAP.<sup>4</sup>

Electoral tussles, however, would delay the seating of parliament until late October 1995 and leave economic matters in the hands of government ministers who, under Haiti's constitution, have substantially more power than the president. Unfortunately, the government, a reconciliation coalition

government documents are: "Strategy of Social and Economic Reconstruction," Aug. 22, 1994, and an untitled document presented to the international donors' Consultative Group and dated Jan. 24, 1995. See also, UN Development Program, "Emergency Economic Recovery Program," July 1993; and Oxfam America, "Rebuilding Haiti: Views from the Grassroots on Haiti's Reconstruction Needs," May 1995.

4. See especially "Preambule au contrat avec le SFI," *Haiti en Marche*, Sept. 6, 1995. Also, Paris Accords, *op. cit.*

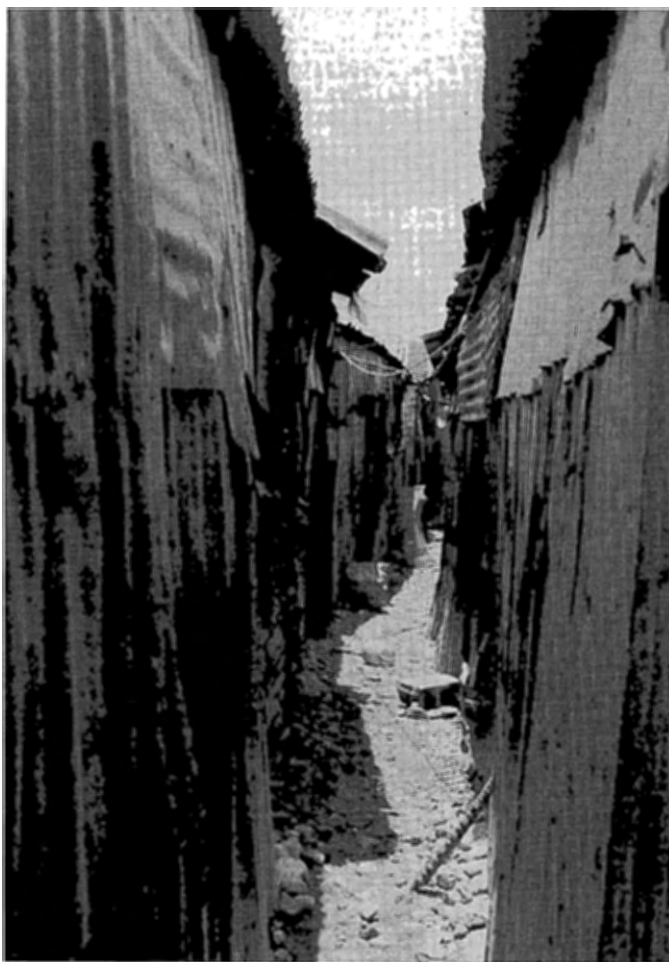
imposed by the United States as another price of the return, was hardly united in opposition to structural adjustments. Prime Minister Michel, chosen for his private sector credentials, insisted on neoliberal technocrat Marie-Michel Rey as finance minister and whiz-kid Leslie Delatour as governor of the Central Bank. Delatour, finance minister under Gen. Henri Namphy in 1987 and a main architect of the current SAP, smoothly serves up the neoliberal evangelism essential to maintaining the New World Order.

The popular movement, for its part, was united in opposition to the international community's agenda. There had been broad opposition to any US/UN military intervention — considered neither necessary nor designed to reverse the coup. Popular organizations were also united in their rejection of SAPs in general and privatization in particular. They dismissed the argument that the state was inherently incapable of managing enterprises, pointing to the pre-coup successes of the Aristide government in bringing key state-owned industries into the black.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, they argued that since the rich traditionally avoided taxes, the state needed revenues generated from the SOEs to pay for desperately needed social services: Up to 70 percent of the population is malnourished, three-quarters lack health care, half the rural and a third of the urban population lack potable water, and there is an 80 percent illiteracy rate.

Yet despite agreement over many basic issues, popular organizations were split over the conditions of Aristide's return and deeply divided in their assessments of the president's motives in sanctioning intervention and signing the Paris Accords. Vanguard sectors considered Aristide a complete traitor, an "Uncle Tom" working hand-in-glove with Uncle Sam. The more mass-based sector — while criticizing Aristide's

strategy of relying too heavily on a negotiated return — argued that Aristide was not the enemy, but he had faced an extremely unfavorable balance of forces as he tried to give the population a chance to catch its breath before continuing its struggle.

This split, along with the general population's blanket trust in Aristide's ability to resolve things, created division over where to put the blame and slowed



Cité Soleil

## Stealth Privatization

In December 1994, as the populace continued to pressure the government, the government took another step in accepting the SAP process. It commissioned the Washington-based International Finance Corporation (IFC) to evaluate state holdings and determine which should be "democratized" and how. The IFC, virtually a subsidiary of the World Bank, began by recommending privatization models for the first nine out of a potential list of over 40 state assets. And while refusing to open the contents of the studies to public scrutiny and debate, the government began to implement IFC recommendations.

At the top of the IFC's list were Ciment d'Haïti (cement works) and Minoterie (flour mills),<sup>7</sup> considered easy targets because they had been idle since their closure by the military during the coup. Although the workers protested that the enterprises were viable, pointing out that they had quickly been brought from net loss to net profit before Aristide's ouster, the government argued that the coup had worsened matters and that the state lacked the funds needed to get them up and running. Indeed, Michel often acknowledged that "the three years of the coup already performed 60 percent of the structural adjustment."<sup>8</sup>

When Michel put the two enterprises on the market in August, bidders reportedly included eight international firms and one Haitian company. Or so it appeared. In fact, a source in the international financial sector revealed that the powerful Mevs family was in on every bid for the cement

the building of popular protest. Nevertheless, with such elements of the SAP as the slashing of import tariffs starting to hit home and pull down the already reeling economy, the dynamic shifted. By spring, demonstrations were a regular occurrence on the streets of Port-au-Prince, and in March, over 5,000 peasants gathered at MPP headquarters in the rural town of Papay to denounce the SAP and demand that the government explain its policy.<sup>6</sup>

6. On the tariff issue, see "Producers Struggling," *Haiti*

*Info*, Aug. 19, 1995, "Neoliberalism in Haiti: The Case of Rice," *Haiti Info*, Sept. 16, 1995.

7. Others include the electric and telephone companies, the ports, the airport, and the cooking oil plant.

8. "Témoignages sur les Performances Economiques ...," *op. cit.* From Feb. 1991 to May 1991, Ciment went from a net loss of 4.5 million gourdes to a net gain of 100,000 while Minoterie moved from a net loss of almost 3 million gourdes to a net profit of over 1 million gourdes. "Ki Sa Yo Rele UDEP," Sept. 1995. Ciment was said to require \$3 million; Minoterie, \$4 million; Teleco, \$200 million; and EDH, \$100 million to get up and running.

5. "Témoignages sur les Performances Economiques du Gouvernement Aristide/Preval," Cabinet Particulier du Président de la République, June 1994, pp. 21, 28.



works via proxy.<sup>9</sup> The Mevs empire reaches into most sectors of Haiti's economy, making them one of the wealthiest and most influential families of Haiti's mafia elite. Ardent supporters of the coup until the tide turned, the family now finds reconciliation can be profitable.

It is not alone. Although control of Port-au-Prince's main Port Authority (APN) has yet to be subcontracted, in May, Haiti's satellite ports were handed out like party favors to those who had bankrolled the coup. The Mevs got Cité Soleil; the Brandts, Fort Liberté; and the Bigios, Miragôane.<sup>10</sup>

These local piranha will likely lose out to bigger foreign fish if the recommended 30-40 percent of the telephone company, Teleco, is sold off. But regard-

## Haiti's satellite ports were handed out like party favors to those who had bankrolled the coup.

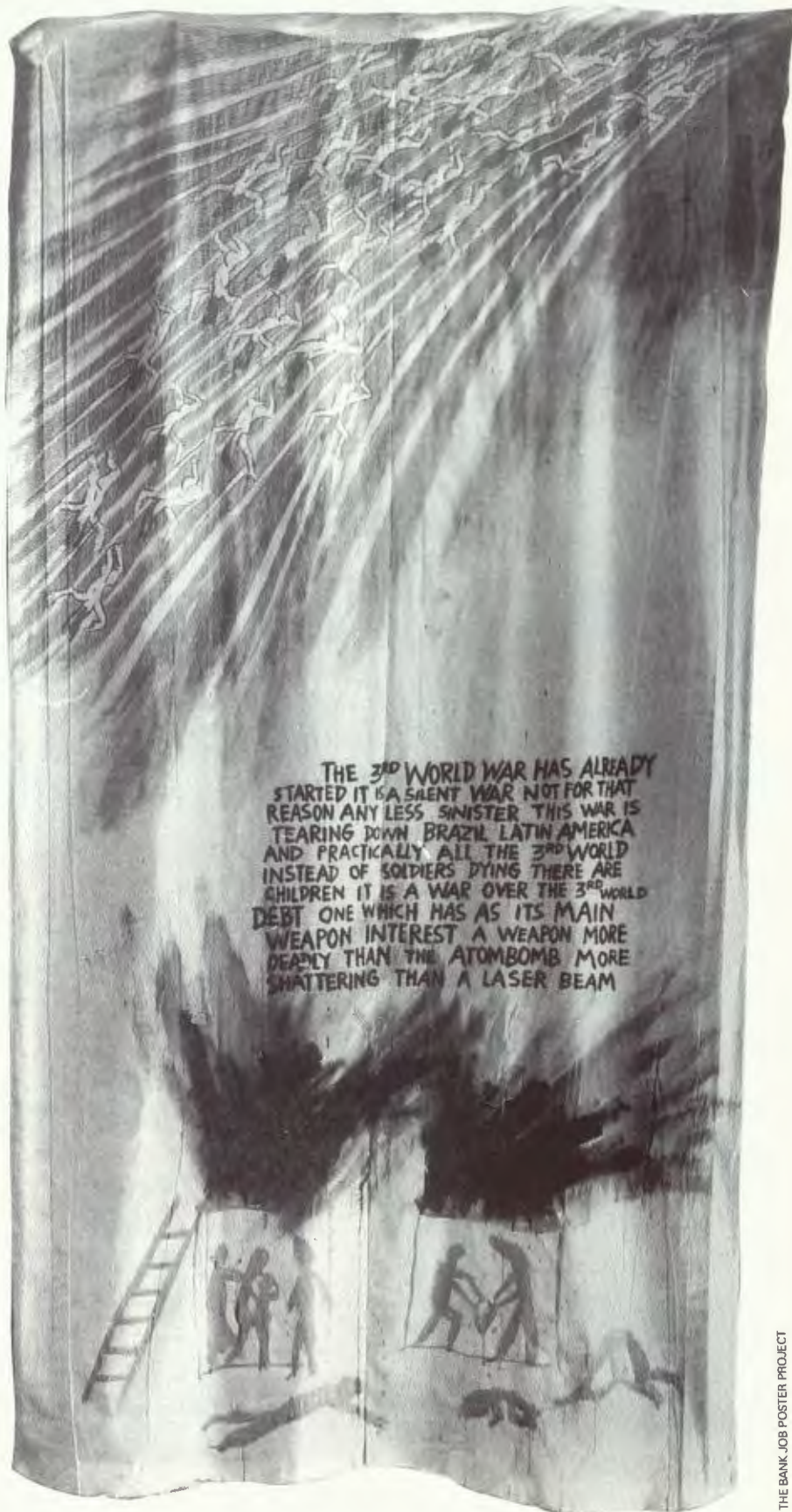
less of whether the winner is AT&T or the Mevs, the ultimate losers will be the Haitian people. Profits generated by Teleco were sufficient to maintain Aristide's government-in-exile during the coup and they currently offset subsidies to the electricity company. Teleco workers maintain that the company made \$27.5 million in 1993-94 and could, "with a little investment and the expulsion of Macoutes and thieves," make \$53 million.<sup>11</sup>

Speaking to President Aristide at the National Palace on September 5, a union leader from Ciment d'Haïti bluntly described the ultimate impact of the proposed privatizations. "To privatize the cement works along with all the other targeted enterprises is to say that we completely withdraw all economic power from the state and give it to a private sector which is against the

9. Because deals were so secretive, individuals with direct access to bids requested anonymity.

10. Decisions were announced at the close of the Economic Symposium held at the National Palace in May 1995, where over 400 Haitian investors were wooed by the government.

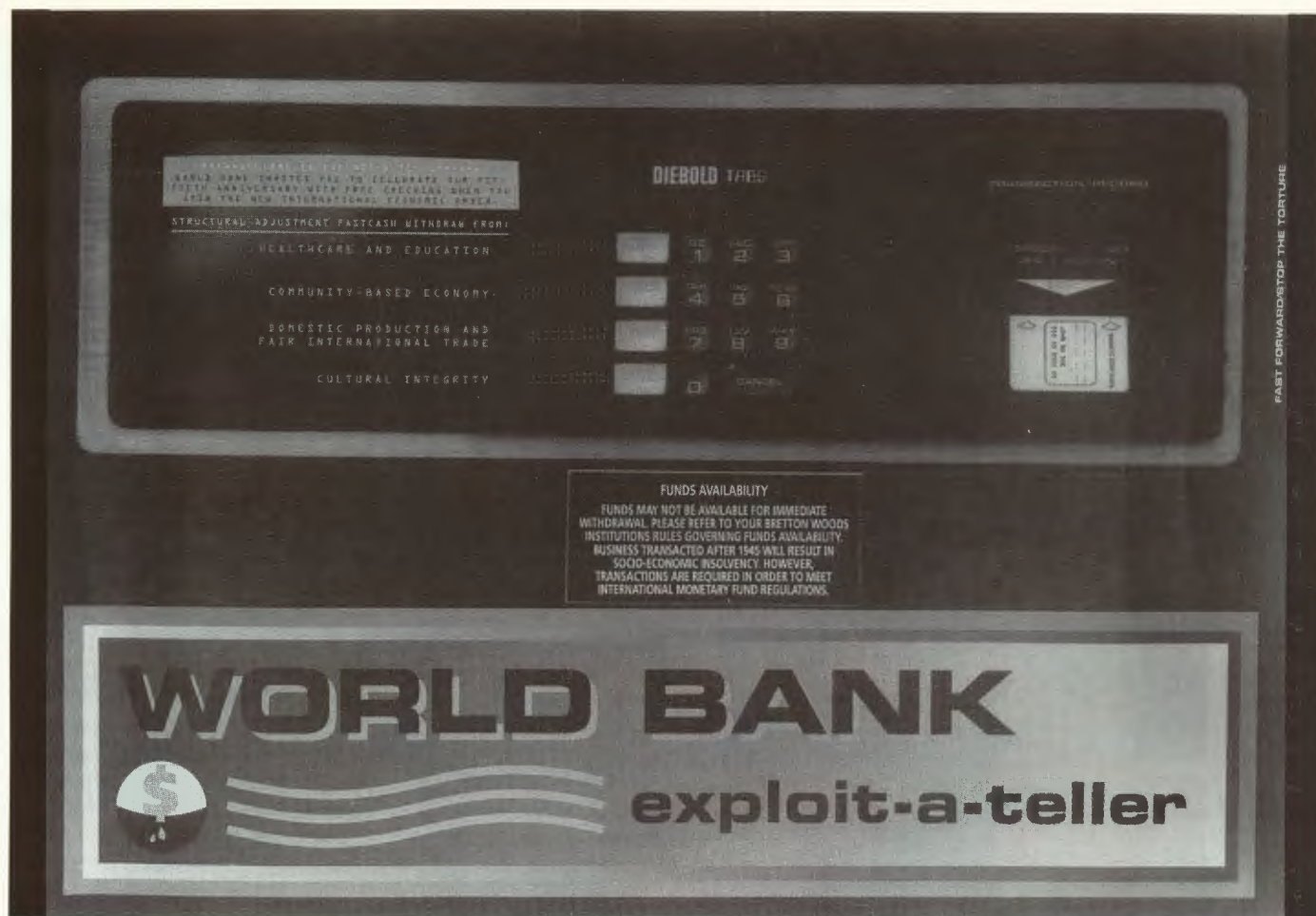
11. "Confidential Memorandum #EBS/95/18," to IMF Executive Board members, Feb. 17, 1995, p. 6, "Privatization: Protests Spreading," *Haiti Info*, Sept. 13, 1995.



"The Third World War" by Peter Schumann

THE BANK JOB POSTER PROJECT





**"Exploit-a-Teller" by Dana Scheurholz and Sandy Chioffi**

people. In these circumstances, I don't see the need to have a president. All we have to do is turn the country over to the bourgeoisie so they can do with it whatever they wish."<sup>12</sup>

### **Rewarding Criminals with Sweetheart Deals**

The case of Haiti's electricity company, EDH, is particularly revealing. Prior to the coup, the Aristide government was routing out corruption and, reports union leader Jean Harry Clerveau, losses from illegal electrical hook-ups dropped from 36 to 24 percent and were predicted to level out at 5 percent. Even with the theft of current, the utility was projected to make a profit of \$1.5 million in 1991.<sup>13</sup>

During the coup years, however, EDH was ravaged. The military added 3,000 of its cronies to an existing payroll of

1,000, pillaged the pension fund, sold fuel meant for the turbines, and stole parts out of company trucks. Unionists charge that acts of physical sabotage continue in order to convince the public that EDH should be privatized.<sup>14</sup>

They also argue that the enterprise can once again turn a profit. According to Clerveau, in addition to the large volume of EDH power now being usurped through illegal hook-ups (13 percent by the poor and 37 percent by the rich), people with legal connections owe EDH about \$18 million. Among those pirating EDH power is Fritz Mevs — about \$700-a-month's-worth at one site alone according to a September report on state TV. (Haitians found grim humor in this theft; it is generally believed that Fritz's brother Bernard was electrocuted while adjusting an illegal hook-up at another family-owned plant.) Nonetheless,

the government told the IMF in February it was considering immediate divestiture or a management contract with an international utility company.<sup>15</sup>

EDH's problems work to the advantage of the Mevs family, which is maneuvering either to buy EDH or render it obsolete.<sup>16</sup> Although bidding on a management contract has yet to be publicly announced, a source in an international financial institution revealed that as of September, at least three foreign companies had already submitted proposals. One of them, Smith Cogeneration (Smith Co), is headed by former Oklahoma governor David Walters, a bigwig in President Clinton's election campaign who got off with a misde-

12. "Smarck Michel: les vrais buts de son voyage aux Etats-Unis," *Haiti Progrès*, Sept. 13, 1995.

13. "EDH Is Owed Millions," *Haiti Info*, Sept. 30, 1995; and "Privatization: What The Haitian People Can Expect," *Haiti Info*, Feb. 25, 1995.

14. "Workers Protest Putschist Corruption," *Haiti Info*, Nov. 5, 1994; and "Le Mythe de la Supériorité de la Gestion Privée," *Magazine 16 Décembre*, supplement to *Haiti en Marche*, Aug. 30, 1995.

15. "EDH Is Owed Millions," *op. cit.*; and "Confidential Memorandum #EBS/95/18," *op. cit.*

16. "Privatization: What The Haitian People Can Expect," *op. cit.*; also *Village Voice*, Nov. 1, 1994, cited in "Workers Protest..." *op. cit.* In a typical "reconciliation" deal, the family is renting an electricity-generating barge to the government for \$13 million a year and is reportedly planning a joint venture with Florida Power and Light for a 110-megawatt plant which would effectively replace EDH.

meanor conviction after being indicted for fraud in his own campaign. Despite the fact that Smith Co's bid was, according to our source, "totally unsound," with costs double those of the nearest contender, the Clinton administration put pressure on Haitian officials to enter into a contract with the disreputable ex-governor. Nor was Walters' the only shady contract; the proposed contract would have granted an electricity monopoly to Smith Co and an "unspecified" third party, one of the notorious Mevs.

### A Change of Strategy

Although Aristide had quietly ceased attending cabinet meetings in March out of frustration with the reconciliation government, the split with his prime minister became very public five months later. In August, when Michel officially put Minoterie and Ciment on the market, a spokesperson for Aristide said the president had not been informed. With protest building and cynicism regarding his professed ignorance growing, Aristide ceased all talk of "democratization," holding instead a series of public meetings with popular leaders and launching a propaganda offensive against privatization.<sup>17</sup>

Flustered by the latest developments, the World Bank, the IMF, and AID embargoed up to half the projected \$300 million, plus budget monies needed for the new fiscal year. Michel warned that the financial house of cards was about to come down. "If the various sectors do not play their part — and therefore if this structural adjustment does not go forward ... the government will be facing enormous budgetary shortfalls of which the consequences will be incalculable, both in the economic as well as the social spheres."<sup>18</sup> In an attempt to shake loose the funding, Michel and his economic entourage undertook a public relations blitz of their own in early September. Touring the US for a week to meet with the international donors, the US government, Congress, the diaspora, the NGO/solidarity sector, the media, and practically anyone who would listen, they reported that the Haitian government was united, the SAP on track, and the protests marginal.<sup>19</sup> The

reception was less formal a few days later when the donors reciprocated with a visit to Port-au-Prince. They were greeted by thousands of protesters chanting "Down with the IMF!" and "They say we owe them; we don't owe them! It's the heads of state who owe them!"

Aristide himself upped the ante in a September 28 interview with state TV and radio. "We have always said that we wouldn't sell Haiti, wholesale or retail," he said. "[I]f I learn of anyone who dares sell state property in the name of privatization, I will have them arrested immediately ... Parliament will have to pronounce itself on the issue of privatization. Everything should be taken care of legally."

### New Room for Maneuver?

The next phase of the battle will be fought out within the newly elected Parliament, and will test the savvy and cohesion of its 80 percent *Lavalas* majority under tremendous political and economic pressure. The inexperienced *Lavalas* bloc contains three political parties, and even within the OPL, the strongest and largest by far, views range from radical populist to bourgeois reformist.<sup>20</sup>

While parliament may lack unity, there will be no shortage of AID "democracy enhancement" money available to foster division and orient legislation.<sup>21</sup> Already, the nouveau-capitalists in CLED — a distinctly political "business association" with ties to the rightist, Washington-based Center for Democracy — announced the formation of a "Unit for the Analysis of Economic Legislation" designed to lobby lawmakers to support the free market, the opening of the economy, and the need to privatize.

Although Michel would have been replaced by the incoming *Lavalas* parliament, his failure to deliver the privatization package hastened his departure. Four days after Aristide's in-your-face challenge, the IMF and World Bank dispatched a team to Haiti, demanding a letter of intent to privatize in exchange for the release of \$100 million in blocked funds. It seemed the do-

nors had finally won when government officials announced that the winning bids on Minoterie and Ciment d'Haïti would be made public on October 16. But just days before the sales were to be consummated, the cabinet refused to approve Michel's letter of intent. His subsequent resignation pulled the plug, at least temporarily, on the planned privatizations.

Michel's successor, former foreign minister Claudette Werleigh, replaced his reconciliation government with ministers close to *Lavalas* and potentially more inclined to put up a struggle

"We have always said that we wouldn't sell Haiti, wholesale or retail. [I]f I learn of anyone who dares sell state property in the name of privatization, I will have them arrested immediately."

— Pres. Aristide

against the international community. After a disappointing initial declaration upon returning from UN ceremonies in New York that "we will be working in the same vein as the previous government," Werleigh has stressed the necessity for the population at large and their elected representatives in parliament to engage in a broad debate over the privatization question. In an attempt to break the back of the new government, AID and the banks continue to hold back millions in funding, declaring openly that privatization is the bottom line.

Meanwhile, in the run-up to presidential elections scheduled for December 17,<sup>22</sup> Haiti is threatening to explode in the face of the international commu-

20. Formed in Mar. 1995, the political platform of *Lavalas* contains the large, Aristide-centered OPL and the much smaller PLB and MOP, whose leaders have historical ties with Aristide. For discussion of currents within *Lavalas* and its popular base, see Marx V. Aristide and Laurie Richardson, "Haiti's Popular Resistance," *NACLA Report* (New York), Jan./Feb. 1994.

21. For more on "democracy enhancement," see Jane Regan, "A.I.D.ing US Interests in Haiti," *CovertAction*, Winter 1994-95.

17. See "Le Mythe de la Supériorité de la Gestion Privée," *op. cit.*; "Le Danger d'Ignorer les Revendications du Peuple," *Magazine 16 Décembre*, supplement to *Haïti en Marche*, Sept. 13, 1995.

18. "Privatisation: Mise en vente des entreprises d'Etat," *Haïti en Marche*, Aug. 23, 1995.

19. Michel, press conference, New York, Sept. 9, 1995.

22. Aristide is constitutionally barred from succeeding himself, and judging it unfeasible to heed the demands of the masses that the president remain in office for three more years to recover those lost to exile, the *Lavalas* leadership has chosen René Préval, widely considered to be a stand-in or *doublure* for Aristide, as their candidate.



Time is up for the IMF



Time is up for the World Bank

"Time Is Up" by Max Schumann

nity. On the day Werleigh's government was officially installed, gunmen opened fire on two of the newly-elected *Lavalas* deputies, killing one and seriously injuring the other. A cache of weapons found at the Port-au-Prince home of former military dictator Prosper Avril fueled public outrage. In major cities around the country, burning barricades were erected and the population began searching for weapons and destroying the homes of those connected with the coup regime. Addressing the funeral of the slain deputy, Aristide spoke in his

strongest tone yet. He ordered the national police to carry out disarmament sweeps and encouraged the population to participate. "The powerful weapons of the international community are there to accompany the Haitian people in disarming all the criminals, ...if not, we'll tell them that the game is finished....This question of sitting and waiting for these foreigners to provide us with security is over."

#### Should the Carrot Fail

While the security issue seems to have eclipsed the economic agenda at pre-

sent, both the Haitian people and the international community understand that they are inextricably linked, and that the best, and perhaps only, hope for derailing the various components of the perennial American Plan for Haiti remains popular mobilization. As such, the international community is prepared, should the carrot lose its allure, to wield the stick.

A confidential UN "risk assessment" from September

**A cache of weapons found at the Port-au-Prince home of former military dictator Prosper Avril fueled public outrage.**

warned that "the population, which had been willing to wait for improvements in their situation ..., is now becoming more vocal about their plight." Also of concern were "*Lavalas* activists in Parliament," who will push for "populist policies such as increased wages, a halt to privatization, and price controls," and who "will have the effect of pulling President Aristide's policies to the left." The US military analyst went on to warn that debates in Haiti's Parliament might "play themselves out 'in the streets,'" in potentially violent demonstrations that would

"scar[e] off potential investors" and "alienate the economic elite, which in turn could lead to a more serious security problem."<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, nowhere in the world does structural adjustment go down easily. "The SAP requires the strengthening of the internal security apparatus," points out economist Michel Chossudovsky, whereby "political repression ... sup-

23. "Threat Estimate for the Remainder of the Mandate," (Marine) Major John L. Shissler, II, internal document of the UN Mission in Haiti, Sept. 1, 1995, obtained by Inter Press Service.



ports a parallel process of 'economic repression.'<sup>24</sup> Yet Aristide, upon his return, dealt a blow to Haiti's internal security apparatus by virtually dismantling the military. Thus, until the US can reconstitute it through a "new" police force made up of former soldiers with new and improved training, it appears the task will fall to the occupation forces. In October, UN officials in Haiti announced that troops may stay for up to six months beyond the current exit date of February 1996.<sup>25</sup> On October 19, a *Washington Post* editorial noted "rising anxiety among desperate people" and wondered whether "the United Nations ought to ask itself whether February is not a bit too soon to leave."

Haiti's popular movement is at one of its most difficult crossroads yet, with no easy way forward. Thrust into the front lines of the international struggle against structural adjustment, it is reaching out to its counterparts around the world to learn from their experiences. And while it will be important for activists in Haiti to promote an open debate and determine what strategies will bring the movement together, that effort cannot take place in isolation. The problem of structural adjustments is global and without international organizing against this economic warfare, Haiti's popular movement, no matter how organized and valiant, doesn't stand a chance. ■

24. Quoted in "SAP: The Outcome of a Policy of Capitulation," *Haiti Info*, Feb. 11, 1995.

25. On the occupation, see Allan Nairn, "The Eagle Is Landing," *The Nation*, Oct. 3, 1994; Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, "Haiti: A Fragile Situation," *Crossroads*, Dec.-Jan. 1994-95.

The World Bank. What they do. They decide Zaire needs another international airport. This will help development. So they hire a company from the United States to build it and they decide the place to build it is the middle of the bush and they decide the people of Zaire have twenty years to pay back their loan. The World Bank decides.



Now, where they've put this airport there is no need for planes that size, there's no need for so many buildings, for such equipment. In fact there are hardly any people in that area. And in paying off this loan the people of Zaire will pay three times what this airport cost. That's how the World Bank impoverishes those it pretends to enrich.

"Airport in Zaire" by Dale Wittig

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# Addressing the UN Class of '95

by Phyllis Bennis

**T**his month's unprecedented parade of more than 150 heads of state to commemorate the United Nations' 50th anniversary occasioned more criticism in the US than celebration. Much of it focused on how the UN fails in peacekeeping and undermines US efforts around the world, burdens US taxpayers, sustains a bloated bureaucracy, and ultimately supports a mob of ungrateful Third World nations with their collective hands out. What doesn't get talked about very often is the question of power at the UN — and the consequences of Washington's fundamental control of the organization.

Whenever you get a critical mass of presidents, kings, emirs, prime ministers and other assorted top-level politicians assembled in one place (a critical mass usually starting at two), the ratio of form to substance skyrockets. When you have the leader (or, in a few cases, second-in-command) of virtually every country in the world gathered for, among other things, a 1995 "class photo," the speeches tend to be, at best,

predictable. Although few of the speeches kept to the five-minute limit, they were at least by UN standards mercifully short—except in the case of President Clinton, who took advantage of a UN-granted exemption based on his status as head of the host country to drone on for 14 and a half minutes.

the UN. Although Clinton made brief mention of the importance of the UN, he seemed to subtly damn it with faint praise. "Some people ask, why should we bother with the UN," Clinton said in his October 22 speech. "But my fellow Americans should not forget that our values and our interests are also served

by working with the UN. The UN helps the peace-makers, the care providers, the defenders of freedom and human rights, the architects of economic prosperity, and the protectors of our planet..." One might have thought that it was Washington that was providing an international cadre of peacekeepers, hu-

man rights and development workers, and environmental activists across the globe, perhaps with a bit of assistance from the UN.

What substance there was in Clinton's speech promoted a technical, law-and-order approach to world problems. Since the end of the Cold War, the president asserted, the world's problems have been primarily crime, drugs, money-laundering, and terrorism, and the UN's role should be to build international cooperation. But the issues Clin-

**The issues Clinton stressed are of little interest to the vast majority of the world's population.**

For most of the press corps, swollen from the 150 or so regular UN reporters to over 3,000 accredited specially for the 50th anniversary events, the main events were the speech of their own president, and those of the Big "C"s — Clinton and Castro.

## The Big "C"s

The differences between the content of those two speeches and how they were received illustrates the sharp North-South divisions in the world and within

**Phyllis Bennis** is a UN-based journalist. Her newest book is *Calling the Shots: How Washington Dominates Today's UN*. It has just been released by Interlink Publishing Group in Northampton, Massachusetts. (For information or orders call 1-800-238-LINK.) Photo: UN.



ton stressed are, in fact, of little interest to the vast majority of the world's population. Not surprisingly, the speech generated a tepid reaction from the press and fellow heads of state alike.

Fidel Castro, on the other hand, appealed directly to the "legions of the dispossessed" who have borne the costs of a post-Cold War era in which the arms race continues and the quest for nuclear and military domination destroys lives and decimates the planet. While Clinton claimed that the information and technology age has brought us all closer together in a global village, Castro excoriated the reality that the "breakthroughs in science and technology...do not reach the majority of humanity..."

Much was said in the media about the warmth and intensity of the long ovation that greeted the Cuban leader's speech, but little was reported of the content which generated such enthusiasm. Castro spoke truth to the UN's assembled world leaders and the cheers were not only for the head of one of the few nations that still dares challenge US domination, but also for Castro's message that the original promise of the UN has been sacrificed to First World interests.

#### What I Meant Was ...

In general, though, the days of pomp, ceremony, and speechifying that accompanied the anniversary revealed few insights as interesting as a couple of earlier Freudian slips. In these, US officials unwittingly spilled the beans about Washington's intentions regarding the hot issue of how to reform the world body for its next half century. When Secretary of State Warren Christopher appeared before the General Assembly on September 25, he was supposed to say, "the United Nations must emerge from the reform process better able to meet its fundamental goals." Instead, he announced that "the *United States* must emerge from the [UN] reform process better able to meet its fundamental goals."

A few days later, at a gala UN reception, the head of the UN Association of the US, John C. Whitehead, introduced Boutros Boutros-Ghali as "the secretary general of the United States."

Presumably just slips-of-the-tongue, these stumbles reflect the profoundly troubling (though hardly surprising and certainly not new) reality of Wash-

ington's approach to the world organization. Instead of urging reforms that would defend the UN's role as a truly global voice, the US increasingly openly views the UN as an adjunct to, or instrument of, its own foreign policy.

Christopher's was one of a long line of General Assembly speeches in which foreign ministers addressed the question of UN reform. Most of his counterparts, like the heads of state who followed a few weeks later, asserted that UN reform must be rooted in the expansion of UN democracy. Many countries are quietly concerned that since the end of the Cold War, there have been few checks on, and no real challenges to, Washington's domination of the world body. Most believe that real reform would require restructuring the Security Council. Currently, any of the Permanent Five (the WWII victors: the US, France, the UK, China, and Russia) can veto decisions of the Security Council (which includes 10 rotating members, none of which has veto

**The U.S. increasingly  
openly views the UN as an  
adjunct to, or instrument  
of, its own foreign policy.**

power). Not only, reformers demand, must a more democratic Security Council include a more representative group of nations, but the veto of the Perm Five must be mitigated so that the views of other nations cannot be so consistently ignored and so easily overruled. Among the suggested proposals were limiting use of the veto solely to matters of military deployment; expanding the Council to include permanent members from the South; and eliminating the veto altogether. But there is no indication that the veto-wielding powers themselves have any intention of accepting any dilution of their authority.

But Washington's approach to reforming the Council does not aim to increase UN democracy. Instead, US recommendations for UN reform are designed to maximize Washington's own power. The administration pro-

posal for Security Council reform is simple: Add Germany and Japan as permanent members in recognition of their economic prowess (and in hopes that they would assume some of Washington's long-unpaid dues).

But Security Council reform itself is not high on Washington's agenda, as shown by the fact that Clinton's speech ignored the issue of Security Council restructuring altogether. United Nations reform, he said, means "ending bureaucratic inefficiencies and outdated priorities." Given that pressure by the United States has already resulted in the scrapping of the Center on Transnational Corporations, as well as new efforts to undermine the South-oriented research agencies UNCTAD (UN Conference on Trade and Development) and UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), Clinton's definition of "outdated priorities" is clear. Christopher spoke of UNCTAD, too, urging that the UN ensure that its functions "do not duplicate the new World

Trade Organization." Unlike UNCTAD, the WTO, the newest incarnation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and one of Washington's latest favorites among multilateral organizations, was consciously created to be answerable only to the world's wealthiest economic powers. Despite flow-charts to the contrary, it remains un-

accountable to the far more democratic UN General Assembly.

As to UN financial reform, Christopher and Clinton might both have been imposing a US-style corporate downsizing campaign: Cut UN staff, tighten UN budgets, obey the US-selected administrative overseer, and keep the UN's eyes on the bottom line. Clinton claimed he is determined to keep Washington's financial commitment to the UN—but did not explain how or when Washington, by far the UN's biggest scofflaw, would pay up its \$1.3 billion in unpaid dues.

UN financial reform is, for Washington, delinked from its responsibility to pay its dues. The real issue, Christopher claimed, is not the near-bankruptcy of the UN, forcing massive cuts in vital programs. Rather, it is how "money is wasted in New York, Geneva or Vienna," and how "time is lost to bureaucratic inertia." Instead of acknow-



# Castro Speaks to the "Legions of the Dispossessed"



TERRY ALLEN

**Castro's solidarity with Third World issues endears him to many and draws US enmity. Here, in 1993, with Nicaragua's ex-Pres. Daniel Ortega, receiving gift from an indigenous woman.**

**H**alf a century ago, the United Nations Organization was born after the conclusion of a monstrous war where 10 million lives were lost at its peak moments. Presently, 20 million men, women and children are dying every year of hunger and curable diseases. Some wealthy nations have an 80-year life expectancy while others have hardly 40, so there are billions whose lives are cut off. How long shall we wait for this carnage to end?

The Cold War is over but the arms race goes on and nuclear and military hegemonism perpetuate themselves. How long shall we wait for the total removal of all weapons of mass extermination, for universal disarmament, and for the elimination of the use of force, arrogance, and pressure in international relations?

The obsolete veto privilege and the ill-use of the Security Council by the powerful are exalting a new colonialism within the very United Nations. Latin America and Africa do not have one single permanent member in the Security Council. In Asia, India has an almost one billion population but it does not enjoy that responsibility.

How long shall we wait for the democratization of the United Nations and for the independence and sovereign equality of states to become a reality? How long before non-intervention in the internal affairs of states and true international cooperation take their rightful places?

Breakthroughs in science and technology are daily increasing in number but their benefits do not reach the majority of humanity and they essentially continue to be at the service of a reckless consumerism which is wasting limited resources and threatening life on earth. How long shall we have to wait before rationality, equity, and justice prevail in the world?

The forests are decreasing, the air is being poisoned, the rivers are being contaminated. Countless species of plants and animals are perishing. The soils are impoverished. Old and new epidemics are expanding while population grows and the legions of the dispossessed continue to multiply.

Will the next generations reach the promised land pledged half a century ago? How many hundreds of millions have died without ever seeing it? How many have fallen victims of oppression, plundering, poverty, hunger and disease?

We lay claim to a world without hegemonism, without nuclear weapons, without interventionism, without racism, without national or religious hatred, without outrageous acts against the sovereignty of the peoples, without universal models that totally disregard the traditions and culture of all the elements of humanity.

We lay claim to a world without ruthless blockades that cause the death of men, women and children, youths and elders, like noiseless atom bombs.

We lay claim to a world of peace, justice and dignity where everyone, without exception, has the right to well-being and life. ■

— **Pres. Fidel Castro**

UN General Assembly, Oct. 22, 1995

ledging the effects of US financial delinquency in precipitating the crisis, he called for cutting the already stripped-down UN staff—ignoring the fact that the UN's world-wide total of 52,000 employees (including every position from drivers and security guards to directors and general secretaries) is smaller than the number of civil servants in the state of Wyoming, population 450,000.<sup>1</sup>

It was in the last line of his speech that Secretary of State Christopher gave it all away. Not to worry, Christopher reassured everyone, including the right-wing unilateralist faction of Congress, Washington's version of UN reform would not lead to more democracy for the UN. In fact, it needn't have much to do with strengthening the world organization at all. US power would win

out over internationalism and democracy. "We must renew and reform the UN," Christopher concluded his speech, "not for *its* sake, but for our own." ■

1. Erskine Childers with Brian Urquhart, *Renewing the United Nations System* (Uppsala, Sweden: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994), p. 28. In fact, the very day after Christopher's speech, the US opposed the secretary-general's suggestion, driven by the threat of UN bankruptcy, that perhaps the UN should be allowed to borrow funds from the World Bank to cover its mounting debts.



WHITE HOUSE

**President Clinton used his July 14 speech at CIA headquarters to defend the agency's budget and to push for increased emphasis on economic espionage.**

## \$pying for Uncle Sam

by Pratap Chatterjee

In the space of a month this fall, the US intelligence community engineered a series of high-profile events to hype its "new mission." Near Washington on September 18, the National Counterintelligence Center (NACIC) (see box, p. 43) hosted a two-day public seminar on the threat from foreign industrial spies. Ed Appel, director of counterintelligence programs at the National Security Council, warned that US companies underestimated the foreign threat to intellectual property and other proprietary information.<sup>1</sup>

Less than two weeks later, the FBI began a special "threat awareness" fax

service for key US companies, ostensibly to warn about the dangers of foreign espionage. The FBI also hinted it would soon offer more programs for US firms, including security checks on foreign joint venture partners.<sup>2</sup>

Ten days later, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown told Congress that his agency had documented nearly a hundred cases of foreign firms using bribery to win contracts. He put the value of those contracts at \$45 billion, and estimated that bribe-offering foreign firms win 80 percent of the deals they bid on.<sup>3</sup>

The CIA was ahead of the curve. During the summer, it had been quick to boast to Congress that it had helped US businesses win \$30 billion in contracts.<sup>4</sup>

And high government officials have been touting its role in trade negotiations and uncovering corruption by foreign companies that bid against US firms.

### The Threat of No Threat

For the intelligence community, and especially the CIA, the timing of this new crusade couldn't be better. For decades, US spies rested secure knowing that their services were desired and their budgets safe. The Soviet Union's "evil empire" and the fear that Third World countries would fall under its spell guaranteed that the community would get almost limitless resources. By the time the Berlin Wall fell, the CIA alone counted 20,000 full-time employees and a \$3 billion budget.<sup>5</sup>

Now the spy establishment faces threats of a different sort. The Cold War

**Pratap Chatterjee** is global environment editor at the Washington offices of Inter Press Service, a Third World wire agency. His articles have appeared in *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo) and the *Financial Times* (London), among others. He is co-author of *The Earth Brokers* (Routledge, 1994), an analysis of the 1992 Earth Summit. 1. "Keeping the Company Door Shut," *Intelligence Newsletter* (Paris), Sept. 28, 1995.

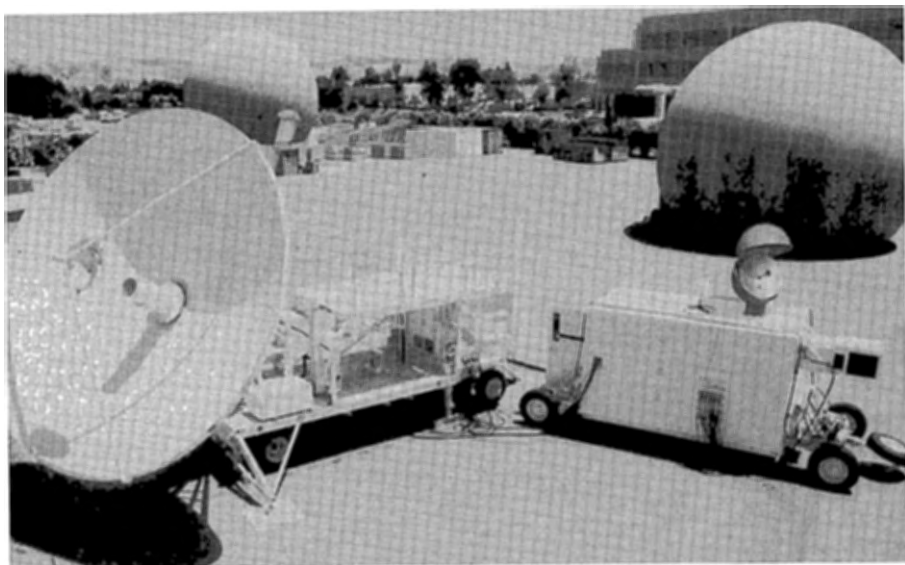
2. "Who's Who: Larry Watson," *Intelligence Newsletter*, Sept. 28, 1995.

3. David Sanger and Tim Weiner, "Emerging Role for the CIA: Economic Spy," *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1995.

4. James Risen, "Clinton Reportedly Orders CIA to Focus on Trade Espionage," *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1995.

5. John Pike, "Uncloaked Daggers: CIA Spending for Covert Operations," *CAQ*, n. 51 (Winter 1994-95), p. 49.





**Corporations help spies help corporations. Here, a GTE Electronic Defense Systems satellite array used by NSA to collect signals intelligence.**

is over, and its future depends on finding new public rationales for its existence. Congress has already slashed total intelligence funding 14 percent from its 1987 high of roughly \$34 billion.<sup>6</sup> Although the House passed a slight spending increase for next year, it did so only after fending off liberal efforts to cut even deeper.

The intelligence community is also under scrutiny from several high-level panels. The House intelligence commit-

tee has begun "IC21," a major assessment of spy programs, capabilities and capital equipment needed after the year 2000. A Senate review is also under way. And the Presidential Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board is also looking at an overhaul of the intelligence community.

## The CIA, badly bruised by recent scandals, needs to show it can be useful. Enter the "new mission."

The CIA, badly bruised by a series of recent scandals, needs to show how useful it can be. Enter the "new mission": economic espionage, the clandestine collection of information to assess the

6. John Pike, "Spies in the Skies: The National Reconnaissance Office and the Intelligence Budget," *CAQ*, n. 50 (Fall 1994), p. 49.

threat posed by foreign companies to US national interests. The official reasons tendered are threefold: preventing the theft of US technology, combating bribery or corruption by foreign competitors, and helping trade negotiators at bilateral or multilateral negotiations.

### So What's New?

Not that aiding US business is anything new for the spooks. Even at the height of the Cold War, political and economic interests were impossible to separate. "Containing" the USSR also meant opening markets to US economic influence. But in some countries, CIA plotting advanced narrower corporate interests.

The 1954 overthrow of the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala is a case in point. The CIA fomented the coup in part to help United Fruit, a family-owned US business, protect its interests in the Central American nation. Allen Dulles, then director of the CIA, sat on the board of Schroder Bank, United Fruit's partner in the banana business.<sup>7</sup>

A year earlier, the agency had moved successfully against Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq when he nationalized British oil investments. Again in Chile, the CIA worked hand in hand with US corporations. After the CIA and telecommunications giant ITT failed in their 1970 attempt to block Salvador Allende's election to the

7. Evan Thomas, "You Can Own the World," *Washington Post Magazine*, Oct. 22, 1995, p. 21.

Chilean presidency, they both backed a military coup three years later that resulted in Allende's death and Chile's descent into dictatorship.<sup>8</sup>

Besides past alliances with corporate interests to contain challenges to US dominion, the CIA also has experience providing information directly to the private sector. Retired Adm. Stansfield Turner, CIA director under Jimmy Carter, began a program to provide declassified intelligence to US companies at Commerce Department briefings. In one session, the CIA filled in a "couple of dozen" companies on Chinese plans to build large hydropower projects. Other seminars covered semiconductors and aircraft technology.<sup>9</sup> That program died when Carter lost the 1980 election.

### Friend or Foe?

Now, the game remains the same, but the face of the foe has changed. The threat is no longer communists, but competing capitalists. Proponents of CIA cooperation with US companies explain that foreign intelligence services, notably the French, routinely help their national businesses. For example, France was accused of bugging the first-class seats on Air France to eavesdrop on business travelers' conversations.<sup>10</sup>

France has long been a favorite target, and with some reason. In the 1970s, French intelligence services obtained US and Soviet plans to sell fighter aircraft to India. Armed with this information, Mirage of France won a huge contract from New Delhi.<sup>11</sup>

The French also claim success in previous attempts at economic espionage. In 1993, the Count de Marenches, former head of French intelligence, claimed in his memoirs that French agents uncovered advance information that the Nixon administration would devalue the dollar in 1971. France made a handsome profit speculating against the US currency.<sup>12</sup>

French efforts continue today. Philippe Parant, head of the *Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire* (DST)

8. William Blum, *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995), pp. 64-72 (Iran), pp. 206-14 (Chile).

9. Robert Dreyfuss, "Company Spies," *Mother Jones*, May-June 1995, p. 19.

10. Russell Watson, "Trade Spies: The CIA Takes Off the Gloves," *Newsweek*, Mar. 6, 1995, p. 36.

11. Testimony of Milton Socolar, Special Assistant to the Comptroller General, House Subcommittee on Economic and Commercial Law, March 1992.

12. Count de Marenches and David Andelman, *The Fourth World War: Diplomacy and Espionage in the Age of Terrorism* (New York: William Morrow, 1992), pp. 114-15.



# The New Apparatus

Economic information warfare is good for the spy business. In recent years, an array of overlapping intelligence community offices and programs have sprung up to compete for a piece of the action. Although this list is not exhaustive — it excludes economic intelligence offices at Commerce, Treasury, or State, for instance — it does illustrate the bureaucratic scrambling ignited when new policy initiatives are announced:

- The National Counterintelligence Policy Board (NCPB), sets broad policy goals. Established by executive order in 1994, it compiles reports on foreign economic espionage and has identified the primary targets as aerospace, defense, biotechnology, telecommunications, computer software and hardware, advanced transportation and engine technology, advanced materials and coatings such as Stealth technology, energy research, and semiconductors.<sup>1</sup>
- The National Counterintelligence Center (NACIC) is an interagency group set up in 1994 at CIA headquarters to combat foreign economic espionage and the theft of technology. Headed by the FBI's Mike Waguespack, it directs part of the national effort and includes a "threat awareness" office.<sup>2</sup>

- The FBI's Development of Espionage, Counterintelligence and Counterterrorism Awareness (DECA) program circulates confidential "threat" updates to defense and national security companies. Headed by Larry Watson, it is responsible for a fax "threat awareness" project set up in October. DECA created a new "National Security Threat List" of some two dozen countries that allegedly spy on US companies.<sup>3</sup>
- The Pentagon's Defense Investigative Service developing a briefing for companies to help them spot foreign spies.
- The CIA's Office of Resources, Trade and Technology (RTT) prepares information for trade negotiations and watches "environmental trends and civil technology challenges." Set up in 1990, it replaced the Office on Global Issues, which tracked Third World debt.
- The CIA's Community Open Source Program Office (CO-SPO) is expanding its information gathering activities to include new public information sources such as the Internet. That program, set up in March 1994, is headed by Joseph Markowitz, a Ph.D. in psychology.<sup>4</sup> ■

1. Barbara Starr, "Allies Take Advantage of Open Access," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Aug. 19, 1995.

2. Robert Dreyfuss, "Spying for Dollars," *In These Times*, Mar. 20, 1995, p. 26.

3. Dreyfuss, *ibid.*; and "Who's Who: Larry Watson," *Intelligence Newsletter*, Sept. 28, 1995.

4. "Open Sources a Future Battlefield," *Intelligence Newsletter*, June 4, 1995.

— this summer became the first French spook to speak on the record when he addressed participants at a public seminar on "Companies and Business Intelligence" organized by the *Institut des Hautes Études de Défense Nationale* at the French Senate. The *Intelligence Newsletter* reported that "Most of those who spoke at the seminar identified the US as both the main adversary in the war and the best model of how it is fought."<sup>13</sup>

The French Center of Foreign Trade recently created a new economic intelligence office, codenamed R31. The office will supply information to a new interagency group, the Comité pour la Compétitivité et la Sécurité Economique, formed in April by then Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. The committee, chaired by Jean Arthuis, minister for economic planning and development, will use information gleaned from both French intelligence services and French business people.<sup>14</sup>

The Australians as well are improving their intelligence capabilities. How much is for commercial and how much for defense reasons is uncertain, but In-

donesia and China, two lucrative regional markets, are clear priorities. In 1988, Australia opened a new station on its north coast to eavesdrop on Indonesian satellite traffic. In 1993, it set up a \$250 million tracking station in western Australia to monitor Chinese satellites. That station will replace a joint British-Australian station in Hong Kong that will revert to China in 1997.<sup>15</sup>

Japan too is active. Its agents reportedly aimed an infrared beam at a window in the Australian embassy in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, to eavesdrop on conversations inside.<sup>16</sup>

## Spinning the Program

In the US, the emphasis on economic espionage has been gathering momentum for several years, and spying by other nations is often cited to justify it. In 1991, President George Bush, a former CIA director, told an agency meeting that "we must have intelligence to thwart anyone who tries to steal our technology or otherwise refuses to play by fair economic rules." Robert Gates, then CIA director, said a Bush directive emphasized tracking international economic trends.<sup>17</sup>

The following year, Bill Clinton invited Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen to attend daily White House CIA briefings. He also created a new agency in January 1993, the National Economic Council, which works closely with the CIA. Robert Rubin, its first director, has now replaced Bentsen as Treasury secretary.

On July 14, Clinton went to CIA headquarters to outline his priorities for the agency. Among them he listed "illicit trade practices." Also in July, economist Richard Neu drew up a specific plan for economic espionage and counterespionage for the administration. It would establish few limits on stealing business information from foreign companies. Neu, a former White House adviser, has had close ties with the CIA.<sup>18</sup>

Administration officials are now talking up the new priorities. CIA director John Deutch said in July that "we are not going to undertake espionage for the sake of commercial advantage of specific US industries or firms." The "users" of intelligence will be the Treasury Department, the National Economic Council, the US Trade Representative and the Commerce Department, he said.<sup>19</sup>

13. "Ring the Alarm Bells," *Intelligence Newsletter*, July 13, 1995.

14. Joseph Fitchett, "French Report Accuses US of Industrial Sabotage Campaign," *International Herald Tribune*, July 19, 1995.

15. David Rohde, "Spy Webs in Asia Spread into Trade," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 25, 1995.

16. *Ibid.*

17. For Bush, Rob Norton, "The CIA's Mission Impossi-

ble," *Fortune*, Oct. 2, 1995, p. 55; for Gates, Robert Dreyfuss, "Spying for Dollars," *In These Times*, Mar. 20, 1995, p. 26.

18. John Maggs, "From Swords Into Plowshares," *Journal of Commerce*, Aug. 17, 1995, p. 1.

19. "CIA Backs Away From Economic Espionage," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, July 8, 1995.

Others say that senior US officials abroad will also be able to request information. "The thinking now is that our ambassadors should be able to request the local station chief to get information on key contracts — information about possible competitors, about any illegal activities such as bribery," said a State Department source.<sup>20</sup>

At a September Senate Intelligence Committee hearing, Lawrence Summers, second in command at Treasury, highlighted some areas where spying could prove useful:

[T]here's a role for the intelligence community to play in detecting foreign attempts to seek unfair advantage over US businesses through industrial espionage. While we reject an effort to assist our own businesses through the use of intelligence operations to steal property or proprietary information from foreign entities, whether public or private, there is certainly a need for counterintelligence in this area.<sup>21</sup>

Nice sentiments, but they fly in the face of a lengthening record of US economic espionage that extends far beyond defensive counterintelligence programs.

### On the Offensive

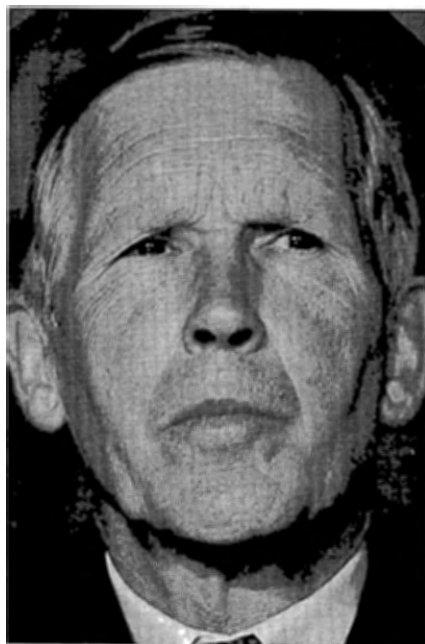
In fact, the US has been using the same espionage techniques it condemns in its competitors. In July, the French business magazine *L'Expansion* claimed the CIA used disinformation tactics to undermine French companies and frame their executives. It also reported official French claims that the CIA and other intelligence agencies, plus private investigators and major accounting firms, are plotting to destroy French companies in high-tech industries such as aerospace and telecommunications. The magazine named private detective agencies with international practices, including Kroll Associates, the Triangle partnership run by former CIA analyst William Lee, the Futures Group, and SIS International.

US officials countered that the French were looking for "a scapegoat for their business leaders' problems with the courts and their businesses' problems with exports—and, as often, the

invisible hand of the US is the most convenient villain."<sup>22</sup>

For the French, it is certainly a familiar one. In February, France accused five US citizens of trying to bribe French government and corporate officials to obtain technology and trade secrets.

Henri Plagnol, a Balladur aide, was reportedly courted by a US woman who claimed to be the public relations director for a Texas rainforest foundation.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

**Philippe Parant, head of the French DST, went public with France's economic espionage campaign in July.**

Another CIA operative paid Plagnol \$100 a pop for information on French negotiating positions at General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks. Two more CIA agents asked communications ministry officials for information about GATT, while another tried to bribe a France Telecom engineer to report on how to bug French telecommunications.<sup>23</sup>

When the French finally blew the whistle on the spying, which they say they knew about for two years, they summoned US Ambassador Pamela Harriman to the office of Interior Minister Charles Pasqua to be reprimanded. Four of the suspects were asked to leave the country. (The fifth had already left.)<sup>24</sup>

Also this spring, upset Australian spooks leaked reports that the US and

Australia had bugged the new Chinese embassy in Canberra. The Australians leaked the story out of pique; the US National Security Agency translated and analyzed the data before it would pass it on to Australian intelligence. US negotiators thus had the upper hand in negotiations where Australian and US firms openly bid against each other for Chinese contracts.<sup>25</sup>

In September 1993, Clinton reportedly asked the CIA to spy on Japanese plans to build a zero-emission vehicle and to provide its intelligence to the Big Three US car manufacturers.<sup>26</sup> The agency subsequently compiled a daily tip sheet on the Japanese negotiating position in the recent US-Japan spat over cars. CIA's Tokyo station and the NSA reportedly contributed information. The team worked side-by-side with negotiators at the Inter-Continental Hotel in Geneva, reporting, for example, on conversations between Nissan and Toyota executives arguing for a settlement to the trade dispute.<sup>27</sup>

That project, with its leaked CIA boasts of "secret successes," has recently chilled relations with Japan. It has also boosted Japan's plans to strengthen its own intelligence gathering.

### NOC, NOC, Who's There?

The US has long spied on Japanese business, making extensive use of yet another tool in its spy kit, "non-official cover" (NOC). In the NOC program, corporations allow the CIA to plant operatives among their personnel abroad to spy on competitors. Japan is a prime target. According to John Quinn, a former NOC officer in Japan, the Japanese caught a team of 13 NOC officers in 1989. The 15-year program was broken up by Japan's Public Security Investigative Agency, which simply hired thugs to "bust up the homes and offices of NOCs," causing the CIA to recall them in a panic.

"They wanted to know the structure of the company inside, who were the bigwigs, who were their policy-makers, where was their R&D section, what was the R&D section working on, what was their budget, what were the critical technologies they were developing," said Quinn.<sup>28</sup>

25. Rohde, *op. cit.*

26. Robert Dreyfuss, "Company Spies...", *op. cit.*, p. 16.

27. Sanger and Weiner, *op. cit.*

28. The information in this section comes from Robert Dreyfuss, "The CIA Crosses Over," *Mother Jones*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 71; and Dreyfuss, "Spying...", *op. cit.*

20. Interview, July 1995.


21. Federal Documents Clearing House, Transcript of testimony by Lawrence Summers to Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Sept. 20, 1995.

22. Cited in Fitchett, *op. cit.*


23. William Drodziak, "French Resent US Coups in New Espionage," *Washington Post*, Feb. 26, 1995, p. A1.

24. Dreyfuss, "Spying ...," *op. cit.*, p. 26.





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**This "blind" notice in the *Wall Street Journal* from a non-existent firm was really an ad for NOCs by a Virginia company hired by the CIA.**

The CIA reportedly has some 60 officers now in Japan investigating companies like Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Kyocera, Dai Nippon printing, and the National Space Development Agency.

And 30 of the 80 CIA agents in France reportedly operate as NOCs. One of the CIA operatives expelled in last February's spy scandal worked under non-official cover.

Officially known as the Domestic Resources Division, with offices in cities around the country, the program took off in the early 1980s under Reagan CIA head William Casey, who tightened agency liaison with Treasury and enlisted some 150 companies for the project. The roster of corporate volunteers has included Bank of America, Campbell Soup, Chase Manhattan Bank, Ford, General Electric, IBM, Pan Am, Prentice-Hall, Procter & Gamble, Rockwell International, RJR Nabisco, and Sears Roebuck.

Recruitment for the NOC program includes "blind" help wanted ads. One

such ad was placed in the *Wall Street Journal* by the McLean, Virginia-based headhunter firm of Stackig, Sanderson & White.<sup>29</sup>

Unlike most CIA officers working abroad, NOCs do not have diplomatic cover, leaving them vulnerable to criminal prosecution if caught, or, as was the case in Japan in 1989, subject to "non-official" thuggery.

### Touting Success

Despite embarrassments such as the Paris scandal, US counterintelligence programs can claim some successes for their corporate friends. After President Clinton intervened with the Brazilian government, Raytheon clinched a \$1.4 billion contract to set up a satellite surveillance system ostensibly to monitor rain forest destruction, but which could also monitor drug trafficking and assist oil prospecting. US officials also helpfully pointed out that Thompson CSF, a French company and Raytheon's main rival in the bid, had bribed local officials.<sup>30</sup>

## Enlisting spooks on behalf of commercial interests promotes the false identification of "the national interest" with corporate well-being.

"The CIA was tipped off about the bribes. We don't think that bribery is a fair way to do business, especially because our laws don't allow us to do that," says former CIA chief William Colby.<sup>31</sup>

Earlier in the year, the same combination — CIA information on French bribes followed up by personal Clinton arm-twisting — foiled a French bid to

29. Robert Dreyfuss, " 'Help Wanted' Spying on Allies," *Mother Jones*, May-June 1995, p. 15.

30. Drodziak, *op. cit.*

31. Interview, July 1995.

win a \$6 billion deal to modernize Saudia, the Saudi Arabian airline. The Saudis awarded the contract to the US consortium of McDonnell Douglas and Boeing. French-led Airbus was left out in the cold.<sup>32</sup>

### A Problematic Program

Still, some spymasters have expressed concerns about economic espionage. "I'm not sure that it's such a good idea. What if two US companies are bidding for the same project? Whom do you favor?" asked William Colby.<sup>33</sup>

Economic espionage remains controversial inside the CIA. "I'm prepared to give my life for my country, but not for a company," one officer told then CIA chief Robert Gates in 1992.<sup>34</sup> In reality, there may not be much difference.

Those companies favored so far have been major corporations with a history of feeding off defense contracts. McDonnell Douglas and Raytheon are the first and fifth largest recipients of federal contracts; more than half of their sales are for war-related activities. They won a total of \$18.1 billion in business from the government in 1993, and in November 1995, McDonnell Douglas garnered another \$18 billion contract, this one for 80 C-17 cargo planes for the Air Force.<sup>35</sup>

Both have always had close ties to the CIA and the US military because of the nature of their business. Many of their senior officials have worked for

either the Pentagon or the CIA at some point in their careers. But these companies are hardly decent, law-abiding corporate citizens: Since 1990, Raytheon has paid fines or penalties totaling \$11.5 million for offenses including illegal trading in confidential Pentagon documents and overcharging

on separate contracts for missile test equipment, Patriot missiles, and a \$71 million radar system.<sup>36</sup>

(continued on p. 57)

32. Drodziak, *op. cit.*

33. Interview, July 1995.

34. Charles Lane, "Why Spy: National Insecurity, US Business Espionage," *New Republic*, Mar. 27, 1995, p. 10.

35. Tom Shoop, "Top Ten Government Contractors," *Government Executive*, Aug. 1994, pp. 74-88; John Mintz, "Pentagon Picks C-17 Cargo Plane," *Washington Post*, Nov. 4, 1995, p. A1.

36. "Company Profile of Raytheon," Kinder, Lydenberg, Domini and Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 1995.



# Spain's Dirty War



**Spanish police inspector José Amedo leaving court in 1991 after being charged with kidnapping. Three years later, he began talking and implicated the government in hit squads and terror.**

by Darrin Wood

*Spanish officials have broken the silence. In a scandal that reaches to the presidency, they charge that government-run death squads assassinated members of the Basque separatist movement.*

**F**or Segundo Marey, the war between the Spanish government and the Basque separatist guerrillas of ETA (Basque Land and Liberty) hit home with a vengeance on December 4, 1983. Marey, a Spanish-born French citizen with no ties to the guerrillas, was kidnapped by a shadowy anti-ETA paramilitary group. His abductors released a communique taking credit for the action in the name of the GAL (*Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación*).

Darrin Wood is a freelance journalist and filmmaker based in Spain who has written on GAL for the Madrid daily, *El Mundo*, and the Basque newspaper *Egin*.

Anti-terrorist Liberation Groups). But GAL commandos had made a serious error; they had mistaken Marey for their real target, an ETA leader. GAL soon released the unfortunate Marey, but a dozen years later the incident is at the heart of a scandal rocking the government of President Felipe González.

Marey's kidnapping marked the public emergence of GAL. Between 1983 and 1987, the death squad killed 27 people whom it linked to ETA and wounded numerous others in a series of small arms and bombing attacks, carried out mainly in the French Basque

country.<sup>1</sup> A handful of low-level operatives went to prison for some of the crimes, but for years the question of who was ultimately behind GAL went unanswered. Now, after several sets of officials, each more high-ranking and close to the president, have either admitted their complicity or been jailed in the case or both, accusing fingers are pointing at President González himself.

1. The primary purpose of the GAL was not so much to kill ETA militants as it was to force the French government to cooperate more fully in extraditing ETA members in France to Spain. When Jacques Chirac became French prime minister and began that cooperation, GAL actions stopped.

## ETA's War on Spain

On coming to power in 1982, González and his Spanish Socialist Party had reason to be concerned about ETA, which had bedeviled successive Spanish governments since the late 1960s (and which remains active today).<sup>2</sup> In fact, during the years that GAL operated, ETA was very active, killing 34 people in 1983; 24 in 1984; 31 in 1985; and 24 in 1986.<sup>3</sup>

As ETA itself often noted, it was never an anti-Franco or anti-fascist organization, but one committed to achieving self-determination for the Basque country—a stance reflected in the group's program, whose primary demand is Spanish recognition of Basque sovereignty over *Euzkadi*, the Basque-language name for the region.

It was one thing for the Basque nationalists to attack the fascist Franco dictatorship, as they had done with a series of assassinations, the most spectacular being the bomb attack on Franco's heir apparent, Adm. Luís Carrero Blanco, in 1973. The admiral's car was blown over a five-story apartment building in Madrid, landing in an interior courtyard. His death was widely considered a mortal blow to the fascist regime.

But after Franco's death two years later and the transition toward democracy under King Juan Carlos I, ETA's attacks on the Spanish state continued and even increased. It made little difference to ETA whether it fought a dictatorship or a democracy. As long as Madrid refused Basque autonomy, ETA's war of national liberation would continue. While pressure to *do some-*



**GAL kidnap victim Segundo Marey upon his release, December 19, 1983. His case would blow the lid off the GAL scandal.**

thing about Basque terror tactics has been a constant in Spanish political life, just how far the government was willing to go is only now becoming clear.

In the past year, revelations from both independent press investigations and ongoing court proceedings have so damaged González's standing that he and his allies have been reduced to hapless flailing. Socialist Party parliamentarian Carmen Romero, who is married to González, last May went so far as to laud political illiteracy: "...fortunately... [f]or their own health and hygiene, the Spanish people read the press very seldom."<sup>4</sup> Romero seems to be confusing the well-being of the Spanish people with the political health of her husband.

### Trial of the Innocents

Because of their bumbling, some GAL operatives had been caught in the 1980s. But until 1991, the only people jailed for GAL's four-year terror campaign had been French and Portuguese mercenaries. In what would become a pattern devastating to the government and the ruling Socialist Party, however, the mercenaries implicated their superiors. As a result, that year the first Spanish officials to be charged for GAL-related offenses were sentenced to prison. Two Spanish police

inspectors, José Amedo and Michel Domínguez, were convicted and sentenced to 108 years each. The two police officials, ostensibly acting on their own initiative, supposedly managed dozens of mercenaries, their supplies of weapons and explosives, and relevant intelligence information in an operation to force the French government to cooperate more actively against ETA.

In the face of damning testimony from their mercenary hirelings, Amedo and Domínguez claimed that they were framed by ETA and its political wing, *Herri Batasuna* (Popular Unity). But Amedo's own sloppy clandestine work undercut that explanation. Evidence in the trial showed that the policeman had indeed met with some of the Portuguese mercenaries. To avoid detection, he had used a false identity, but tripped himself up when he paid the dinner bill with his own credit card.<sup>5</sup>

The Investigative Magistrate in charge of the Marey case, Judge Baltasar Garzón, found the claim that Amedo and Domínguez were acting alone hard to swallow. He doubted that two police officers carried out such a far-reaching operation against ETA by themselves. During his investigations, Judge Garzón drew a flowchart in which the names of all the implicated mercenaries led up to Amedo and Domínguez. At the top of the chart, Gar-

**For the first time, GAL had been conclusively linked to agents of the Spanish government, but "X" remained unknown.**

2. In the 27 years since the first shots for Basque independence were fired, close to 800 people have been killed. Currently, nearly 600 ETA activists are imprisoned in Spain and France, and some 3,000 are refugees in Europe, Africa, and Latin America. ETA's political wing, *Herri Batasuna*, consistently receives between 15 and 20 percent of the Basque country vote at election time.

3. Francisco Llera, "ETA: Ejército secreto y movimiento social," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (Madrid), v. 78 (1992), p. 165.

4. "Carmen Romero cree que leer poca prensa es saludable e higiénico," *El Mundo* (Madrid), May 25, 1995, p. 15.

5. Ricardo Arques and Melchor Miralles, *Amedo: El Estado Contra ETA* (Madrid: Plaza & Janes/Cambio 16, 1989), p. 520.





tention orders for three high-ranking party and government officials: Julián Sancristóbal, a former Socialist Party Civil Governor (the central government's appointed representative) for the Basque province of Vizcaya and former Director General of State Security; Francisco Álvarez, former head of the Unified Anti-Terrorist Command; and Miguel Planchuelo, the former police chief in Bilbao, the capital of Vizcaya.

The three officials were ordered to testify before Judge Garzón and were all held without bond pending investigation of their roles in the government death squad.

In addition to directly implicating the three imprisoned officials, Amedo also named the number two man in the Interior Ministry, Rafael Vera, and the former Socialist Party leader in Vizcaya, Ricardo García Damborenea, as being participants in GAL. Amedo and Domínguez didn't just name names and explain how GAL

Aftermath of GAL assassination of three ETA members in Bayonne, France, 1985.

zón placed a big "X," signifying his belief that they were receiving money and orders from above.

At the time, the Spanish government refused to admit even that Amedo and Domínguez were responsible. González himself qualified Garzón's efforts and parallel investigations in the press, as a "moral lynching." His position was not especially surprising considering that a month earlier, in response to a question during a press conference about the use of "secret funds" for GAL, González responded, "Democracy defends itself in the courts and in the conference rooms, but also in the sewers."<sup>6</sup>

Despite the government's public support before and during their trial, Amedo and Domínguez were convicted and sentenced. For the first time, GAL had been conclusively linked to agents of the Spanish government. Still, "X" remained unknown, and the case was effectively closed with responsibility limited to low-level police. The Socialist Party's first major scandal since winning power in 1982 seemed safely behind it.

At least until December 1994.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 520, 528.

### The Caged Birds Sing

On December 20, 1994, Felipe González and a dozen former high-level members of Spain's anti-terrorist forces must have read their morning newspapers in a state of shock. "Amedo and Domínguez collaborate with Justice and implicate the government in setting up GAL," screamed the headline in *El Mundo*. Amedo and Domínguez had broken their vows of silence.

"We were conscious at all times that GAL was a government plot,"<sup>7</sup> said Amedo. The imprisoned policemen also provided detailed testimony on the Marey kidnapping, including names of those involved, the location of safe-houses, handwritten documents, and Swiss bank account statements.

Amedo decided to cooperate after reading an interview in *El Mundo* in which a fugitive *Guardia Civil* chief explained that he fled Spain because he did not want to be "tricked" into waiting for a pardon "like Amedo."<sup>8</sup>

What the two policemen told Judge Garzón was enough for him to issue de-

7. Melchor Miralles, "En todo momento tuvimos conciencia de que los GAL eran un montaje del Gobierno," *El Mundo*, Dec. 27, 1994, p. 1.

8. Melchor Miralles, "No dimos un paso que no fuera

functioned, they also provided documents handwritten by Planchuelo, Sancristóbal, and García Damborenea that demonstrated their involvement. Based on Amedo's and Domínguez's sworn testimony and supporting evidence, Garzón ordered Vera and García Damborenea to join their former colleagues in prison in February.

The GAL scandal had moved to a new phase, with some of the country's most prominent politicians and law enforcement figures now accused of masterminding death squad attacks on ETA. With some of his inner circle now implicated, González was beginning to feel the heat from a scandal that threatens to bring him down.

### The Empire Strikes Back

But González and the Socialists stonewalled. The party and the government stood by the imprisoned officials. José Barrionuevo, interior minister while GAL was functioning, called Sancristóbal, Álvarez, and Planchuelo "friends of mine whom I hold in high esteem."<sup>9</sup> The So-

una orden," *El Mundo*, Dec. 26, 1994, p. 10.

9. Manuel Sánchez, "Barrionuevo pide a Garzón que tenga 'un gesto de humanidad' y deje en libertad a los ex altos cargos," *El Mundo*, Dec. 23, 1994, p. 8.



cialists even defended former Basque region party leader Ricardo García Damborenea although he had left the party several years earlier and had campaigned for the opposition conservative Popular Party in 1994.

González himself lambasted the singing policeman. "We, the democratic people, cannot give credibility to what two convicts say to one of the media,"<sup>10</sup> he retorted. Never mind that he had stood firmly behind the "two convicts" when they were the accused and not the accusers, or that his government had compensated them while they were in prison.

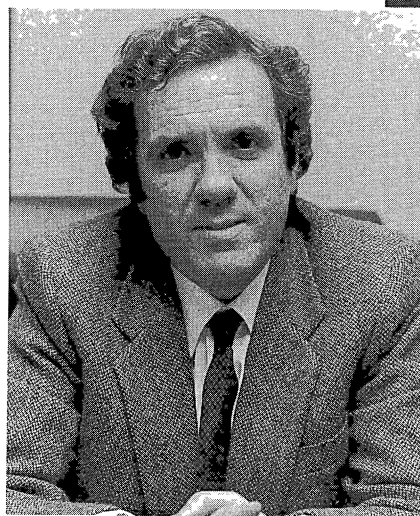
A party spokesperson added that it is necessary "to do political battle in defense of the Socialist project and support the president of the government, who is being subjected to a clearly unjustified attack operation to weaken his credibility through means that aren't proper in a democratic system."<sup>11</sup>

Such comments were part of a Socialist counterattack to "protect the presumption of innocence" of those imprisoned. So was the conspiracy theory they began to enunciate, perhaps a technique they learned from Lyndon LaRouche's people.<sup>12</sup> The "conspiracy" seems to consist of the Madrid daily *El Mundo* for its journalistic exposés, Judge Garzón for investigating GAL, and other dark, unnamed forces in Spanish society. Its putative aim is to destroy the presidency of Felipe González and his Socialist Party.

This theory was best expressed by Julián Sancristóbal, the jailed former civil governor and González ally, in a series of prison interviews, events remarkable for their rarity: In Spain, it is practically impossible to get interviews with prisoners before they are tried. But not, apparently, if they happen to be former high level members of the Socialist Party and the Interior Ministry. In January, prison officials gave Sancristóbal permission to be interviewed by the pro-Socialist newspaper, *El País*,

the right-wing Madrid daily, *ABC*, and the government-run television network, *TVE*.

Sancristóbal claimed on TV that the Segundo Marey case was a sinister plot "...which has as its objective the undermining and overthrow of President Felipe González." He added that "without any doubt, Judge Garzón has participated" in the conspiracy.<sup>13</sup> And, in a clear reference to Garzón's "X" as head of GAL, Sancristóbal mentioned a mysterious "Mr. Z" as the ringleader of the conspiracy. But the former civil governor provided no evidence to support his claims.



**José Barrionuevo, interior minister while GAL was functioning, called Sancristóbal, Álvarez, and Planchuelo "friends of mine whom I hold in high esteem."**

The attacks against Judge Garzón and the two policemen raged unabated until the Socialists inadvertently caused a new round of revelations to explode during the summer. Interior Ministry second-in-command Rafael Vera walked out of prison in July when the Socialist Party paid his \$200,000 bail, set by Judge Garzón. That the party posted Vera's bail while ignoring the others who were imprisoned did not sit well with Planchuelo, Álvarez, Sancristóbal, and García Damborenea. The GAL case was now ready for a new round of unraveling.

Vera promptly put his foot in his mouth by tacitly acknowledging the ex-

13. "Hay una conspiración para derribar a González," *El Mundo*, Jan. 19, 1995, p. 10.



**Pres. Felipe González. "Democracy defends itself in the courts and in the conference rooms, but also in the sewers."**

istence of government-sponsored hit squads when he told the press that "there are societies in which they have come to legalize this counter-terrorism, like in Israel, where terrorist activities carried out abroad are supported and directed by the State."<sup>14</sup>

But for Felipe González, there was much worse to come. The loyal subordinates he, his party, and his government had so tenaciously defended were about to turn on him.

### **The Sound of Cover-Ups Shattering**

Two days after Vera walked, former Bilbao police chief Planchuelo appeared before Judge Garzón, admitted participating in GAL, and began to name names. He fingered former interior minister José Barrionuevo (who only days earlier had publicly defended Planchuelo's innocence) as a participant in planning the Marey kidnapping. Planchuelo quoted Barrionuevo as explaining, "The French need a lesson taught"<sup>15</sup>—a reference to Spain's fruitless efforts to gain France's cooperation against ETA. And Planchuelo added a new dimension when he testi-

14. "Fenómenos como el GAL son legales en otros países," *El Mundo*, July 17, 1995, p. 10.

15. Manuel Cerdan and Antonio Rubio, "Planchuelo implica directamente al ex ministro Barrionuevo en el secuestro de Segundo Marey," *El Mundo*, July 17, 1995, p. 8.

10. "Ni toleré, ni consentí, ni mucho menos organicé el GAL," *El Mundo*, Jan. 10, 1995, p. 12.

11. Pascual García, "Almunia sobre el 'caso GAL': 'Lo que la opinión pública puede conocer del Gobierno ya lo conoce,'" *El Mundo*, Jan. 13, 1995, p. 7.

12. The LaRouchites came to Spain in 1983 to join the fray against ETA. They traded intelligence information on ETA members living in France and provided contacts with French security forces to help ease the way for carrying out attacks there. Manuel Cerdan, Antonio Rubio and Darrin Wood, "Un informe de la CIA relacionó a la ultraderecha norteamericana con la 'guerra sucia' contra ETA," *El Mundo*, Aug. 6, 1995, p. 8.

fied that both the Spanish military spy agency, CESID—ultimately responsible to the president—and the *Guardia Civil* paramilitary police played key roles in GAL.<sup>16</sup> His testimony was later backed up by documents leaked from CESID.

Planchuelo's jailed comrades quickly followed him to confession. Next to repent was Julián Sancristóbal, whom a Socialist spokesperson had earlier described as a "fighter for peace and freedom in the Basque Country." Sancristóbal too fingered Barrionuevo and his second-in-command, Rafael Vera, as having given the orders to kidnap Segundo Marey. And he described Ricardo García Damborenea as being the Socialist Party's pointman in Vizcaya for the "dirty war" against ETA. Sancristóbal added that, "It isn't logical that, since the Minister [Barrionuevo] knew about it, the president wouldn't know about it."<sup>17</sup>

Next in line for Spain's death squad kiss and tell was Francisco Álvarez. He now admitted his role and assumed responsibility for the actions of police officers under his orders who participated in the hit squad's activities. The former

**González was directly implicated by his long-time allies, who in turn implicated an ever-growing array of Spanish security services, as well as even more high government officials.**

counterterrorism commander asked that those who ordered him to participate in GAL assume their responsibility as well. Álvarez, like the others before him, directly implicated Vera,

16. Manuel Cerdan and Antonio Rubio, "El comisario Planchuelo admite ante Garzón su participación en el secuestro de Segundo Marey," *El Mundo*, July 16, 1995, p. 9.

17. Agustín Yanel and Manuel Sánchez, "Sancristóbal dice que Barrionuevo y Vera daban las órdenes sobre el secuestro de Marey," *El Mundo*, July 18, 1995, p. 6. He also admitted using secret Interior Ministry funds to finance GAL actions and pocketing between \$500,000 and \$700,000 as a reward for his work.

Barrionuevo, and García Damborenea, although he maintained that he believed the leadership of GAL went higher up<sup>18</sup>—presumably meaning Felipe González.

With Planchuelo, Sancristóbal, and Álvarez having loaded the bases, Ricardo García Damborenea stepped up to the plate. And the ex-Secretary General of the Socialist Party in Vizcaya hit a grand slam.

"I have explained that my responsibility consisted in having designed the strategy with other politicians who were responsible. Which ones? Well, with those who could have had a relevant opinion regarding this question. That is to say, with those with responsibility in the Socialist Party in the Basque country,"<sup>19</sup> García Damborenea declared in a stormy press conference following his testimony before Garzón.

Then, abandoning all coyness, Felipe González's old comrade and ally dropped a bomb on the already beleaguered president:

The truth is that, necessarily, we can deduce that Mr. González knew about it. But we don't need to deduce it. I'll tell you: Mr. González knew about it because I had spoken with Mr. González, not just on one occasion but on various occasions. [Because] this was a political strategy that had been undertaken by politicians with responsibility ... he who could make the final decision, well...he did so. Does this mean that I am passing my responsibility on to Mr. González? Not at all. I am recognizing my *co-responsibility* with him, because I agreed with it, and I went, along with others, with those who encouraged him to adopt this strategy of intervening in the south of France."<sup>20</sup>

18. Agustín Yanel and Manuel Sánchez, "Álvarez dice que siempre creó que la cúpula de los GAL estaba 'mas arriba' del ministro," *El Mundo*, July 19, 1995, p. 7. One of the more interesting aspects of Álvarez's confession was his affirmation that there wasn't just one GAL, but various GALs. According to him, there was the "Brown GAL" (brown-uniformed CESID defense department officers), the "Green GAL" (green-uniformed *Guardia Civil* officers), the "Blue GAL" (police) and the "French GAL" (members of France's security forces). Álvarez's assertion, backed with CESID documents, would broaden the continuing investigations in the press and the courts.

19. "Animo a González en la estrategia de los GAL," *El País* (Madrid), July 21, 1995, p. 13.

20. *Ibid.*

And García Damborenea broadened the scandal's sweep yet again. He named Narcis Serra, defense minister during GAL years and later González's vice president,<sup>21</sup> along with Txiqui Benegas, the current Socialist Party head in the Basque country, as also involved.

The combined impact of the declarations by these men—high party or government officials—was a body blow to the González administration. For the first time, González himself was directly implicated, and not by his foes but by his longtime allies. What is more, their testimony implicated an ever-growing array of Spanish security services, as well as even more high government officials.

### The End of the Trail?

As long as GAL conspirators kept their mouths shut, the Socialist Party stood staunchly with them. Not anymore. García Damborenea, whose declarations caused the most damage, bore the harshest attacks. The current Interior Minister has called him a "delinquent confessed terrorist," and accused him of being Judge Garzón's "Mr. X."<sup>22</sup> The Socialists now also attacked García Damborenea for having recently switched political alliances.

Felipe González, as was his pattern, denied García Damborenea's charges. He alleged that he had *never* talked about terrorism or anti-terrorism with his accuser.<sup>23</sup> His claim seems unbelievable considering the level of political violence in the Basque country, García Damborenea's position as party leader in the Basque country, and the fact that García Damborenea had for years publicly held extremely hard-line views against ETA. It was also later contradicted by several members of his own party.<sup>24</sup>

According to Spanish law, only the Supreme Court can investigate mem-

21. Narcis Serra was recently forced to resign as Vice-President because of a scandal at CESID involving illegal phone tapings of everyone from journalists and soccer club owners to King Juan Carlos.

22. "El ministro Belloch afirma que García Damborenea 'es el Señor X de los GAL,'" *El Mundo*, July 22, 1995, p. 9.

23. "Damborenea culpa a González de los GAL y el presidente responde con acciones penales," *El País*, July 21, 1995, p. 1. González did not even bother to address the charges by Sancristóbal, Álvarez, and Planchuelo, even when he was forced to appear before Parliament to refute the charges on July 27.

24. Rafael Herrero, "Jauregui acusa a Damborenea de defenderse 'ensuciando todos,'" *El Mundo*, July 22, 1995, p. 7.



bers of parliament. With this wave of confessions implicating González, Barrionuevo, Serra, and Benegas—parliamentarians all—Judge Garzón had taken the inquiry as far as he could legally go. The Supreme Court is now deciding whether or not to indict González, Barrionuevo, Serra, and Benegas.<sup>25</sup>

But for the beleaguered Spanish president there is still more. The so-called "GAL Case" deals mostly with the creation of GAL and the kidnapping of Segundo Marey, but it is not the only GAL-related case now under investigation. Judge Garzón has recently reopened several unsolved murders committed by GAL, and is investigating the involvement of the Spanish spy agency CESID in GAL. Recently, that investigation, which further implicates Felipe González, has also gone to the Supreme Court.

And another magistrate, Carlos Bueren, is now investigating the kidnapping, torture, and murder of ETA activists José Antonio Lasa and José Ignacio Zabala—the first murders carried out by GAL. Although Bueren still hasn't ordered anyone detained, the press has pointed at yet more high officials, *Guardia Civil* Gen. Enrique Rodríguez Galindo and Guipuzcoa Civil Governor Juan Jáuregui.<sup>26</sup>

### Going, Going, González

Indicted or not, González's days appear numbered. Recently, the government TV network showed a documentary on Spain's transition to democracy to mark the twentieth anniversary of Franco's

In resorting to anti-democratic measures to "save democracy," they thought they could get away with murder.

25. At press time, the Supreme Court had decided to ask Parliament to indict Barrionuevo.

26. Despite press exposés linking Rodríguez Galindo and the Basque country *Guardia Civil* base he commanded to torture, drug trafficking, and the murders of Lasa and Zabala, the Socialist government promoted him from colonel to general in August 1995. "El Gobierno respalda la actuación de Galindo ascendiendo a general," *El Mundo*, Aug. 5, 1995, p. 1.



**GAL mercenary Mohand Talbi en route to trial, December 1987. With his placard, he alerts the media that Spanish and French police are implicated.**

death. It showed footage of a young, energetic, and idealistic Felipe González. Today, one sees a completely changed man.

González has said that he will call presidential elections in March, but has not said whether he will be a candidate. Given polls that show the conservative opposition Popular Party would win a convincing victory if the elections were held today, perhaps after 13 years in office it is time for González to start thinking of retirement—and hiring a good lawyer. González and the Socialists have few cards left to play; their recent election tactic of shouting "the right wing is coming" no longer works, and defending death squads hardly represents a progressive agenda.

Felipe González and his Socialist Party have fallen victim to their own hubris. In resorting to anti-democratic measures in order to "save democracy," they thought they could get away with

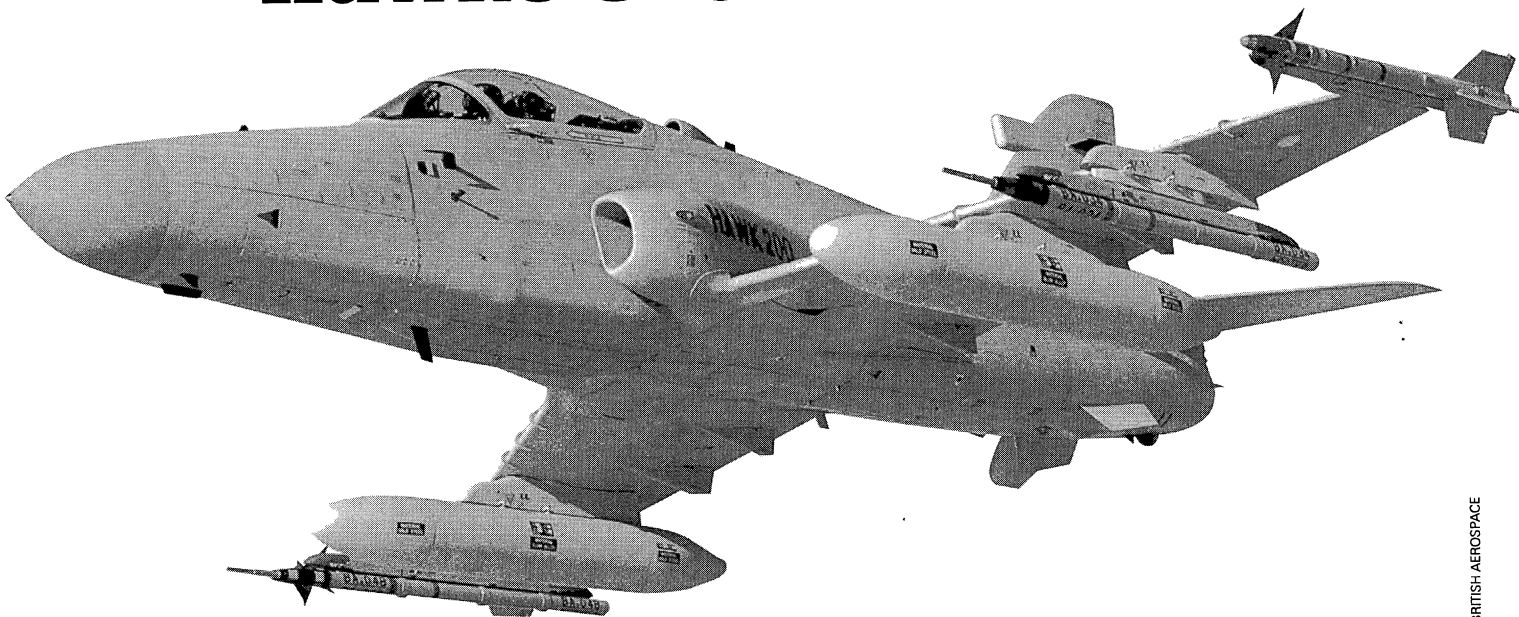
murder. They were wrong—even from the immediate tactical viewpoint. GAL "counterterrorism" proved counterproductive. It not only failed to slow down ETA, it may have encouraged a harder line within the organization. After GAL carried out its last official attack in 1987, ETA launched an offensive which took the lives of 49 people.

More important, Spain's resort to death squad tactics has become a cancer growing at the heart of the new democratic state. And it seems that the González administration still doesn't get it. Its long-standing ethical approach, political position, and legal strategy were nicely, if unintentionally, summed up by *Guardia Civil* Lieutenant General José Antonio Sáenz de Santamaría, currently an adviser in the Interior Ministry: "There are things that shouldn't be done. If they are done they shouldn't be talked about. If they are talked about, they should be denied."<sup>27</sup> ■

27. "Sáenz de Santamaría: 'En la lucha antiterrorista se actúa al borde de la ley,'" *El Mundo*, Feb. 24, 1995, p. 8.



# Hawks Over East Timor



BRITISH AEROSPACE

## Britain Arms Indonesia

*While East Timor begins its third decade under Indonesian occupation, British arms exporters make a killing in Jakarta.*

by Mark Curtis

**T**he Indonesian armed forces are accused of massive human rights abuses in putting down Timorese resistance.

As protests in world capitals, including London, marked the 20th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in December (followed by its annexation), the British government continued its decades-long embrace with Indonesian President Suharto. Since 1990 alone, Britain has sold arms worth more than \$350 million to Indonesia, and has in place agreements to sell an estimated \$3.5 to \$9 billion more.<sup>1</sup> Those weapons are helping Suharto and his generals smash Timorese resistance to the Indonesian occupation, and have made Britain Indonesia's second largest arms supplier in recent years.<sup>2</sup>

Mark Curtis is a former Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

1. Michael Evans, "Concern grows over proposed 6bn arms deal with Indonesia," *The Times* (London), Nov. 14, 1994.

2. *TAPOL Bulletin*, Aug. 1992, p. 1. For purposes of com-

parison, from 1989 to 1991, the US supplied \$360 million of Indonesia's total \$940 million in arms imports. Thalif Deen and Farhan Haq, "U.S. Rebuked for Increasing Arms Sales to Indonesia," *InterPress Service*, May 18, 1995. 3. The ban "prohibits the sale or licensing for export of small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary has determined that there has been significant progress on human rights in Indonesia, including East Timor." Wendy R. Sherman, State Department Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Letter to Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wisc.), Sept. 21, 1995.

When asked about the US restrictions, a Suharto spokesman replied, "No problem. We can always turn to Britain."<sup>4</sup> The East Timor inde-

pendence movement, meanwhile, has termed Britain "the single worst obstructionist of any industrialized country" when it comes to international action against Indonesian violence in East Timor.<sup>5</sup>

That violence has been terrible by any standard. When Indonesian troops stormed into East Timor on December 7, 1975, they killed an estimated 200,000 of a population of 700,000.<sup>6</sup> While the pace has slowed since the initial slaughter, thousands were killed in the 1980s. In the most notorious incident in recent years, in November 1991, Indonesian troops firing on a funeral in Dili, the capital of East Timor killed more than 250 people.

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*Page* (London), Nov. 12, 1994.

5. John Gittings, "East Timorese accuse Britain of blocking action on Indonesia," *Guardian*, June 17, 1992.

6. That figure has been confirmed in 1990 by the Indonesian army intelligence chief for East Timor and this year by the Indonesian-appointed governor. East Timor Action Network, *Background on East Timor and U.S. Policy*, May 1995.

Indonesia's annexation of East Timor is illegal under international law. The United Nations has issued nine resolutions condemning the invasion and annexation, and still considers Portugal, the former colonial master, as having administrative control. Several Western countries have cut aid to Indonesia citing human rights abuses in East Timor, and others, notably Portugal, Italy, Sweden, and South Africa, have banned arms sales.

But international condemnation has not prevented some Western countries, particularly the US, Britain, Australia, France, and Germany, from lending military aid and comfort to the Suharto regime. And no wonder: The first three approved of the invasion even before it happened.<sup>7</sup>

### Britain in the Postwar Order

That Britain did so fits the pattern of its foreign policy for the last half-century. Throughout the post-World War II era, British policy toward Jakarta has been of a piece with its wider priorities in the Third World, as revealed in recently declassified planning documents.<sup>8</sup> These clearly lay out British planners' aims for the postwar Third World. The basic goal was (and remains) to control the world's most economically important



Even after Indonesian troops massacred some 250 peaceful demonstrators in Dili, 1991, British loans and arms exports continued to flow to Jakarta. Here, caring for wounded.

STEVE COX

regions, usually in the face of democratic or popular nationalist forces, and often in alliance with favored regional clients.

The Foreign Office made clear early on that the overall policy was based on "the importance of our maintaining control of the periphery"—that is, areas outside the control of the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup> Britain viewed the Middle East as of prime importance, but it also cast an

avaricious eye on Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. In 1950, the Foreign Office described the region as "very important in peace, as a dollar-earner and as a sterling source of essential raw materials."<sup>10</sup>

Britain has pursued its global economic and strategic goals in alliance with the US. The "special relationship" between the two has been a central pillar of world order since 1945, and continues today. It rests on (often solitary) support for each

other's acts of aggression and a joint understanding of respective roles — Britain very much the junior partner — in pursuing basic Western foreign policy and economic priorities.

Thus the US strongly supported Britain's overthrow of the elected government in its colony of British Guiana in 1953, and Britain returned the favor the next year. As the US moved against Guatemala, Whitehall (site of the British Foreign Office) provided critical support at the UN. Foreign Minister Anthony Eden recalled that "we had an obligation as their principal ally to go as far as we could to help them."<sup>11</sup>

Britain aided the US with signals intelligence in Vietnam, and while the British government has always denied it, the British Special Air Service (SAS) elite forces reportedly fought in that war along-

side Australian and New Zealand SAS squads.<sup>12</sup> Britain also provided diplomatic backing for Ronald Reagan's Central American crusades. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher noted in 1984, for example, that "we support the United States' aim to promote peaceful change, democracy, and economic development" in the region.<sup>13</sup> And during the Gulf War, Britain, alone in the so-called "coalition," was the only major power to support unstintingly the belligerent US position.

### The Role of Arms Exports

Arms exports have been key in advancing both countries' interests. Weapons sales are not only commercially profitable, but also serve to cement alliances with key regimes and help them to maintain domestic control. Early on, a key aspect of US arms sales to the most important oil state, Saudi Arabia, was that they promoted "internal security" and "keep the goodwill of the King and other important Saudi Arabs." US plan-

## British Aerospace has made millions selling Hawk fighter/trainers to Indonesia, which has reportedly used them in East Timor.

7. US approval for the initial invasion and support of Indonesian claims to East Timor is well-documented. See, for example, John G. Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* (London: Zed Books, 1991). For Australia, see Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Blackburn, Victoria, Australia: Fontana Books, 1980).

8. See my *Ambiguities of Power: British Foreign Policy Since 1945* (London: Zed Press, 1995), from which this article is largely drawn.

9. "Report by Sir William Strang," Public Records Office, London, CAB 129, CP(49)67, Mar. 17, 1949.

10. Great Britain, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Documents on British Foreign Policy Overseas* (London: HMSO) Series II, v. II, pp. 164-65.

11. Anthony Eden, *Full Circle* (London: Cassell, 1960), p. 135.

12. Jonathan Bloch and Patrick Fitzgerald, *British Intelligence and Covert Action: Africa, Middle East, and Europe Since 1945* (London: Junction, 1987), pp. 44, 64.

13. *Hansard*, Parliamentary Debates, Nov. 9, 1984, col. 326.



**Just maintaining "existing good relations:" British Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind (r.) and Indonesian counterpart, Gen. Edi Sudradjat (ret.) (l.) inspect the troops, Jakarta, 1993.**

ners dryly noted that such priorities could lead people in the Arab world (and, one might add, elsewhere) to believe the UK and US were "backing the corrupt governments now in power, without regard to the welfare of the masses."<sup>14</sup>

In Britain today, those foreign policy considerations are increasingly wedded with domestic economic priorities. Particularly since the Margaret Thatcher administration, which laid the foundation for the current big push on arms exports, promoting weapons sales has been a deliberate policy. The defense industry now accounts for one in ten British manufacturing jobs—an estimated 450,000 positions, with over 100,000 depending on exports.

## Promoting weapons sales has been a deliberate British government policy.

As Prince Charles proudly noted at a 1994 arms fair in Dubai, "We're really rather good at making certain kinds of weapons"<sup>15</sup>—and selling them. Arms exports increased from \$6 billion in 1989 to \$10.5 billion in 1993, making Britain the world's second largest weapons

trader, after the US.<sup>16</sup> Foreign arms sales, says the Ministry of Defense's head of exports, are a "tremendous national asset."<sup>17</sup>

### We Can Always Turn to Britain

Such sentiments have necessarily influenced Britain's attitude toward Indonesia. It abstained on the first UN resolution condemning the invasion, supported two weakly-worded and watered down others, and abstained on all subsequent ones. British economic assistance to Indonesia continues, and has even increased from \$31 million in 1990 to \$54 million in 1994. But arms sales are the starkest indicator of Britain's priorities in Indonesia.

British arms exports to Indonesia began in earnest in April 1978, when British Aerospace (BAe), the world's fifth-largest arms export company, announced an export order to Indonesia for eight Hawkjet aircraft, Rolls Royce engines, spares, and training of pilots and engineers.<sup>18</sup> The Labor government refused to assure Parliament that the Hawks would not be used against East Timor, and downplayed the extent of Indonesian brutality.

More Hawk sales followed in 1984, as did contracts worth over \$350 million for the Rapier air defense system, and the Royal Navy supplied three frigates

worth \$41 million. The Rapier deal included agreements on technology transfers and provided for training Indonesian military officers in Britain.<sup>19</sup> In 1987, Rolls Royce signed a technical cooperation agreement with Indonesia's state-run aerospace company, involving joint venture manufacturing and the servicing of engine parts. UK-based Thorn EMI was reportedly aiming to sell a radar system, and Vickers a light tank.

These deals were part of a warm diplomatic relationship. Suharto was granted an audience with the Queen in 1979, when the body count in East Timor was in the hundreds of thousands. And BAe

sold Indonesia a jet for Suharto's personal use in 1985, a deal worth \$24 million.<sup>20</sup>

That relationship has included official contacts with military leaders directly implicated in the atrocities committed in East Timor. In October 1991, *Indonesian News* (published by the Indonesian embassy in London) reported that British Defense Minister Tom King met with his Indonesian counterpart, Benny Murdani, to discuss "improving military cooperation between the two countries."<sup>21</sup> Murdani had organized and commanded the invasion of East Timor in 1975.

### Massacre? What Massacre?

Close relations continued even after the November 1991 Dili massacre, which sparked renewed worldwide condemnation and eventually led to the US decisions to end training and ban small arms sales. Whitehall, however, remained largely immune to such concerns. The international outcry did cause London to delay the sale of a navy support ship to Indonesia in January 1992, but the following month, after the international spotlight shifted, the sale went quietly ahead.

At year's end, Suharto presented Margaret Thatcher with an honorary medal from the Indonesian Engineering Association at the State Palace in

14. *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter *FRUS*) 1947, v. V, pp. 553, 613; and 1949, v. VI, p. 170, respectively.

15. John Pilger, "Britain is big in the death market," *Guardian Weekly*, Nov. 27, 1994.

16. *Hansard*, Parliamentary Debates, Feb. 20, 1995, col. 87.

17. *Guardian*, Sept. 6, 1993.

18. *Financial Times* (London), Apr. 5, 1978.

19. Kieran Cooke, "Why Indonesia bought British Rapiers," *Financial Times*, Jan. 3, 1985.

20. Kieran Cooke, "BAe 'signs contract for Suharto jet'," *Financial Times*, May 24, 1985.

21. *Indonesian News*, Oct. 1, 1991.



# Our Chap in Jakarta

President Suharto has now ruled Indonesia for 30 years with the blessings of the West. But Indonesia was not always viewed so favorably. The independent nationalist regime of Suharto's predecessor, President Sukarno, so threatened Western foreign policy goals that Britain and the US plotted to be rid of him. According to a CIA memorandum of June 1962, Prime Minister Macmillan and President Kennedy met that April and "agreed to liquidate President Sukarno, depending on the situation and available opportunities." The CIA officer who wrote the memo noted further that "it is not clear to me whether murder or overthrow is intended by the word liquidate."<sup>1</sup>

A then highly-placed MI6 officer later denied that "liquidate" meant killing Sukarno, but conceded that, "However, they might well have discussed the best way of getting rid of this awkward fellow."<sup>2</sup> When Suharto overthrew Sukarno in 1965, unleashing an orgy of terror that left at least half a million corpses, his regime received quick support from both Britain and the US.

Labor Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart visited Indonesia a year after Suharto's bloody assumption to power and declared the Jakarta regime "harsh and tyrannical; but it is not aggressive." He was able to "reach a good understanding with Foreign Minister Adam Malik," who was "evidently resolved to keep his country at peace."<sup>3</sup> Malik later acted as a primary apologist for Indonesian atrocities in East Timor. In 1977, for example, he was reported as saying, "50,000 or 80,000 people might have been killed

during the war in East Timor...It was war...Then what is the big fuss?"<sup>4</sup>

As it did a decade earlier, Britain supported Suharto's bloody ambitions in 1975. Five months before Indonesia invaded East Timor, the British ambassador in Jakarta informed the Foreign Office: "The people of Portuguese Timor are in no condition to exercise the right to self-determination" and "the arguments in favour of its integration into Indonesia are all the stronger." The ambassador added that:

Certainly, as seen from here, it is in Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory [East Timor] as soon and as unobtrusively as possible, and that if it should come to the crunch and there is a row in the UN, we should keep our heads down and avoid taking sides against the Indonesian government.<sup>5</sup>

At about the same time, the Confederation of British Industry noted that Indonesia presents "enormous potential for the foreign investor" and the press noted that the country enjoyed a "favourable political climate" and the "encouragement of foreign investment by the country's authorities."<sup>6</sup> ■

1. CIA memorandum of June 18, 1962, cited in William Blum, *The CIA: A Forgotten History* (London, Zed Press, 1986), p. 219.

2. "Liquidating Sukarno," *Times* (London), Aug. 8, 1986.

3. Michael Stewart, *Life and Labour: An Autobiography* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1980), p. 149.

4. Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, *The War against East Timor* (London: Zed Press, 1984), p. 49.

5. G. Munster and J. Walsh, *Documents on Australian defence and foreign policy, 1968-75*, Hong Kong, 1980, pp. 192-93.

6. "Opportunities in Indonesia," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 21, 1975; Peter Hill, "CBI says UK neglects trade with Indonesia," *Times* (London), Aug. 21, 1975.

Jakarta. Thatcher's response? "I am proud to be one of you."<sup>22</sup>

Four months later, in April 1993, Foreign Secretary Hurd visited Indonesia and signed a \$95 million loan agreement. While in Jakarta, Hurd pronounced upon the difficulty of exporting "Western values" to developing nations. Amidst such high-level apologetics, BAe signed a \$750 million sales contract for 24 more Hawks, along with \$75 million worth of engines from Rolls Royce. Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind exulted that the sale will "enhance the existing good relations between the United Kingdom and Indonesia."<sup>23</sup>

Recent British military sales include frigates, submarine communications equipment, and surveillance radar used by the Indonesian military for its naval blockade of East Timor.<sup>24</sup> British-supplied Saladin, Saracen and

**"The planes will be used not only to train pilots, but also for 'emergency' air-to-ground attacks."**

Ferret armored vehicles, meanwhile, have been used for repression in Indonesia itself and are also available for use in East Timor. Most recently, in March 1995, London okayed a \$230 million deal for the sale of 50 to 80 Scorpion light tanks and Stormer armored personnel carriers.<sup>25</sup>

London's military relationship with Jakarta goes beyond arms sales. The British offered places in military training programs for three Indonesian army officers in 1992 — even as Washington prepared to end its training program.<sup>26</sup>

Hurd reported in February 1994 that military contacts are "reasonably extensive and gradually increasing, with some training in the UK." Under subsequent questioning in Parliament, a Foreign Office minister admitted that "some Indonesian public officials trained under our aid program may subsequently serve in East Timor."<sup>27</sup>

## Putting Hawks to Work

British-made Hawks may already be "serving" there. In the lead-up to the June 1993 Hawk deal, Indonesian Air Marshal Sibun noted that "the planes will be used not only to train pilots, but also for 'emergency' air-to-ground attacks. In fact, the Hawks were made especially for air-to-ground assaults."<sup>28</sup>

27. Memo, Sec. of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to the House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, Feb. 1994; and *Hansard*, Parliamentary Debates, written answers, Feb. 10, 1994, col. 457.

28. Rosie Waterhouse, "UK sold \$260m arms to government accused of atrocities," *Independent* (London), Feb. 23, 1994.

22. *Indonesian News*, Dec. 20, 1992.

23. Rebecca Smithers, "Hawk deal provokes human rights row," *Guardian*, June 11, 1993.

24. John Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

25. "Indonesia upgrades with Scorpions," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Mar. 11, 1995.

26. *TAPOL Bulletin*, Aug. 1992, p. 2.



According to eyewitnesses, they were used for just that in East Timor. One Timorese who saw Hawks in action in the early 1980s reported that "they fly in low ... and attack civilians, because the people hiding in the mountains are civilians. Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos."<sup>29</sup>

José Ramos Horta, a leader of the East Timor independence movement, stated at the end of last year that Hawks:

Have been used in East Timor regularly since 1983 ... During the months of August and September 1994, two Hawk aircraft carried out at least six bombing raids in the Eastern region of East Timor. Hawks and American-supplied Broncos are stationed at the Baucau airport. ... In the last three months, Hawk air-

29. John Pilger, "On Her Majesty's bloody service," *New Statesman and Society* (London), Feb. 18, 1994.

craft have again been used extensively, mostly in the Eastern region, with an average of six sorties a day, each bombing raid lasting ten minutes with the launching of two missiles each.<sup>30</sup>

### The Irrelevance of Human Rights

That Britain should turn a blind eye toward Indonesia's use of British-supplied attack aircraft to pound the Timorese is no surprise. The irrelevance of human rights is a permanent feature of British foreign policy and is closely correlated to arms sales. Foreign Office documents leaked in 1985 noted that if Britain were to halt arms sales to Chile's Pinochet dictatorship, it would be a "striking political gesture on our behalf." But arms sales continued so as not to "hazard the defence and other cooperation we enjoy."<sup>31</sup>

Likewise, British arms deals with Indonesia have been signed against the background of continuing terror in both

East Timor and around Indonesia. In 1983-85, as the contracts for the Rapiet air defense system were being inked, 3,500-4,500 people were murdered by army death squads in Indonesia.

Similarly, on the same day that BAe announced a co-production agreement with Indonesia for the

Hawk and another light attack fighter, one newspaper observed that "foreign human rights investigators and Western diplomats in Jakarta now estimate that up to 5,000 people have been killed or 'disappeared' "

30. Cited in *Hansard*, Parliamentary debates, Dec. 15, 1994, col. 1282.

31. Cited in Jon Barnes, "Birds of a Feather: Britain and Chile," in *The Thatcher Years: Britain and Latin America* (London: Latin American Bureau, 1988), p. 57.

in Indonesia's Aceh province at the time.<sup>32</sup>

Amnesty International estimated 2,000 deaths in Aceh from 1989 through July 1993, with most of the victims "ordinary villagers living in areas of suspected rebel activity." The Indonesian military commander in Aceh province was quoted as saying in November 1990 that "I have told the community, if you find a terrorist, kill him. There's no need to investigate him ... If they don't do as you order them, shoot them on the spot, or butcher them."<sup>33</sup>

A recent UN Human Rights Commission report noted that "East Timor continues to be particularly affected by violations of the right to life perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces," who enjoy "virtual impunity." The report declared that "there has been no significant improvement in the human rights situation on the ground and unless concrete measures are taken, no such improvement can be expected in the near future."<sup>34</sup>

### Business Is Business

Britain's past performance gives no indication that it will take such "concrete measures." Close military and diplomatic relations with Jakarta have advanced fundamental British priorities at the expense of large numbers of both Timorese and Indonesians. Under Suharto, Indonesia has consistently offered Western business interests the opportunity to benefit from the archipelago's political "stability." The roster of British companies who have taken advantage of Indonesia's "favourable political climate" includes Rio Tinto Zinc, British Petroleum, British Gas, and Britoil, as well as the arms exporters.

This climate, and the accompanying violence, has both been aided by, and is partly the product of, systematic British government policy toward Indonesia. With British aid to Indonesia increasing and further sales of Hawks and tanks in the offing, the policy firmly continues 20 years after the invasion of East Timor. ■

32. "In Sumatra uprising, army is said to execute hundreds," *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), June 21, 1991.

33. *Amnesty International Newsletter*, July 1993.

34. Jeremy Wagstaff, "Human rights still under attack," *Reuters*, Feb. 21, 1994.

For more information on East Timor contact: East Timor Action Network (P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602, 914-428-7299; and TAPOL (Indonesian Human Rights Campaign), 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR4 8HW, United Kingdom, 01144181-771-2904.



Not all Britons acquiesce in arming Indonesia. Here, protesters occupy British Aerospace headquarters in Warton, November 1994.


HOWARD J. DAVIES

they derisively label "NIMBYs." Unlike national environmental groups and other "professional" reformers, the local groups are hard to manipulate precisely because they *aren't* wired into the systems that PR firms like to manipulate. Most "Not in My Backyard" activists commit to a cause after some personal experience drives them to get involved. Typically, they act as individuals or with small groups of citizens who come together to address a local, immediate threat to their lives, cities and neighborhoods. They are often treated with contempt by the professional environmentalists, health advocates and other public interest organizations headquartered in Washington, D.C. Many times, they lack organizing expertise and money. They don't have budgets or polished grant proposals needed to obtain funding from foundations and major donors. But corporations and the US government are spending tens of millions of dollars on PR and lobbying to fight these local community activists.

The most visible manifestations of NIMBYism, and its biggest success stories, have been in stopping toxic waste sites and toxin-belching incinerators from invading communities. Author Mark Dowie sees this new wave of grassroots democracy as the best hope for realizing the public's well-documented desire for a clean and healthy environment in sustainable balance with nature. "Today, grassroots anti-toxic environmentalism is a far more serious threat to polluting industries than the mainstream environmental movement," Dowie writes. "Not only do local activists network, share tactics, and successfully block many dumpsites and industrial developments, they also stubbornly refuse to surrender or compromise. They simply cannot afford to. Their activities and success are gradually changing the acronym NIMBY to NIABY—Not In Anybody's Backyard."<sup>32</sup>

But before that can happen, local groups need to de-

velop a strategy for confronting the powers-that-be in *their* backyard, and that means learning to recognize and fight the techniques of PR. Until they learn this lesson, local activists may continue to win local battles, while finding themselves outmaneuvered and outgunned at the national level. ■



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There are other problems with enlisting the intelligence community in global economic struggles. For one, the CIA's track record on economic intelligence is spotty. For example, in the mid-1980s, the CIA estimated that per capita Gross Domestic Product was higher in East Germany than in West Germany.<sup>37</sup> Admittedly, exaggerating the economic might of Soviet allies helped ensure continued support for CIA activities.

Second, providing "new missions" in economic intelligence for the CIA duplicates existing programs in a wide range of government, commercial, and academic institutions. As Treasury official Lawrence Summers noted in September, it is "frankly difficult to see how the intelligence community can add much value to reports on European government finances, whether generated by US government economists or Wall Street analysts based on public information. Or for that matter, how the community can in many cases improve on analyses for emerging market prospects."<sup>38</sup>

Finally, enlisting the intelligence community on behalf of commercial interests encourages the longstanding false identification of "the national interest" with corporate well-being. In that sense, economic espionage is very much business as usual. ■

37. Norton, *op. cit.*

38. Federal Documents Clearing House, *op. cit.*

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32. Mark Dowie, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the 20th Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), p. 133.



*In the Fall issue, CAQ ran a forum on Bosnia. We have invited the writers back to reply to each other. Following their discussions, we offer some letters from readers on the subject.*

## Joan Phillips Responds to Zumach

**A**ndreas Zumach's tired thesis blames just about everything bad that has happened in Yugoslavia on the Serbs, whom he casts as the villains of the piece, consumed by nationalist hatreds and craving a Greater Serbia. Zumach ignores the nationalism of Croats, Slovenes, Albanians, and others because it does not fit his Serbian exceptionalism thesis.

Zumach castigates multiethnic Serbia (only 65 percent Serb) for its exclusivist politics, while Croatia, the state next door which has expelled virtually the entire pre-war Serbian population of 700,000, is let off the hook. They "didn't even have time to collect their dirty currency and their dirty underwear," crowed the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, celebrating the expulsion of 200,000 Krajina Serbs in a single weekend last summer.

While Zumach accuses the Bosnian Serbs of committing "genocide," he says the Bosnian Muslim army is fighting a "just war." Its mortars and bullets are so smart that they kill only Serbian "military forces, not civilians." It remains a mystery who has killed thousands of Serbian civilians and driven hundreds of thousands from their homes. Perhaps Zumach thinks that the Serbs did it to themselves.

Zumach's contribution is no more than an apology for the West and he is so unquestioning of the Western role that he even relied on "Western intelligence sources." By singling out the Serbs as the villains of the piece, Zumach exculpates the Western powers which triggered the war in Yugoslavia. His only criticism is that the great powers have not intervened enough in Bosnia. This is the kind of criticism which

Western leaders welcome; it conceals their role in starting the war and sustaining it for four bloody years.

**Z**umach downplays Germany's catalytic role in the destruction of Yugoslavia. He justifies German support for Slovenian and Croatian independence on the grounds that it was necessary to deter "further aggression" and "Serbian conquest." Carried away in his determination to blame the Serbs for everything, Zumach even forgets that there was no war until Slovenia and Croatia seceded unilaterally from the Yugoslav federation in the summer of 1991. And it was Germany that prepared the ground for those independence declara-

**Zumach's only criticism of the great powers is that they have not intervened enough in Bosnia. This is the kind of criticism which Western leaders welcome.**

tions by egging on the secessionists.

Zumach also obscures the US's destructive role in Bosnia. He argues that Washington never gave any meaningful support to the Sarajevo government after recognition because it was more concerned with preserving NATO unity — but you can't get much more "meaningful" than the two-week NATO bombing campaign (Zumach finally got what he wanted after his piece was

written). In fact, what concerned the US was preserving its global leadership at the expense of rival powers. This led Washington to pursue a series of unilateral initiatives in Bosnia that increasingly alienated its allies.

Zumach even suggests that in order to avoid a falling out in NATO, Washington decided to "throw in with" Milosevic and pursue a pro-Serb policy. The NATO bombing campaign against the Serbs last summer revealed the idiocy of this argument.

**U**S policy in Bosnia is an example of totally unprincipled realpolitik masquerading as a moral crusade. The US does not give a damn about the Bosnian Muslims. But it has suited Washington's purpose to present the war in Bosnia as a conflict between good and evil. The Serbs have invariably been presented as the bad guys, and the hapless Europeans have been depicted as appeasers and weaklings incapable of acting decisively without the intervention of the US. Washington has now bashed the Serbs and so reasserted its status as a global superpower.

Ignoring the West's role in igniting the war in Yugoslavia, Zumach advocates further great power meddling to bring about a solution. A Western-imposed settlement "must restore a multiethnic Bosnia," he argues. Who could disagree with the ideal of a multiethnic Bosnia? Unfortunately, that possibility was removed by the great powers which destroyed Yugoslavia. The belief that those same powers can now put Bosnia back together is as fanciful as Humpty Dumpty. ■

Joan Phillips is a British journalist based in London who covers the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

# Andreas Zumach Responds to Phillips

Since late July, when Joan and I finished our articles printed in the Fall issue of *CAQ*, the US-backed “liberation” of the Krajina by the Croatian army, the reconquest of Serb-occupied territory by the Bosnian government and Croatian forces, as well as other developments in former Yugoslavia have changed the picture and shed some new light on some of the internal and external players. Other events like the allegedly “surprise” conquest of the UN safety zone Srebrenica by combined forces of the Karadzic Serbs and Serbia’s army in early July now appear to have been act one in the script for the US “peace” initiative.

But none of these changes supports Joan’s overly one-dimensional analysis of the roots of the Bosnian war. I certainly have no illusions of the role Western powers and especially Germany played from 1991-92. But it is a risky oversimplification to blame the Bosnian war mainly on dangerous “Western interventions” like the ones in “Angola, Panama, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Palestine, Afghanistan” (wasn’t there also some Soviet intervention?). It downplays the importance of internal factors such as the growing suppression of minorities since Tito’s death, the emergence of nationalism both in Belgrade and Zagreb (to a much lesser extent in Sarajevo) as well as of expansionist “Greater Serbia” plans in the late 1980s.

Phillips’ claim that “Germany ignite[d] the war in Yugoslavia” still needs to be proven. Slovenia and Croatia were only recognized as independent states (on German insistence) in January 1992. But the war began in Summer 1991 with Serb military aggression against Slovenia in late June and against Croatia in August. At this time, the German government was still arguing for the preservation of Yugoslavia — at least officially. The US diplomat that Phillips quoted from John Newhouse’s August 24, 1992 article in the *New Yorker* did not specify a

particular period. I am well aware of rumors that in early 1991, US intelligence services tapped phone conversations between German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Croatia’s President Franjo Tudjman in which Genscher allegedly encouraged Tudjman to leave the Yugoslav federation and declare independence. Whoever has the proof of this should make it public.

The Bosnian war is not simply a “civil war” as Phillips repeatedly states in her article. The military aggression was started by the Karadzic Serbs with strong outside support from Serbia which continued until October 1995. Nor is it true that in Spring 1992, “in Bosnia all sides were preparing for war.” Quite to the

**The Bosnian war is not simply a “civil war.” The military aggression was started by the Karadzic Serbs with strong outside support from Serbia.**

contrary. President Izetbegovic and his government have been severely criticized by their own supporters (Muslims, Croats, and Serbs who opted for the preservation of a multiethnic Bosnia) for their “naivete” in *not* having prepared for war despite obvious preparations by Karadzic Serbs and by Belgrade.

Overemphasizing “Western intervention” as the cause of the war and maintaining the “civil war” theory against all well-established facts serves two purposes: It minimizes and trivializes the crimes and atrocities committed by the Karadzic Serbs as well as by regular and irregular forces from Serbia since the war began, and it lays a basis for rejecting *any* form of international involvement for a solu-

tion of the conflict. But however strong “Western intervention” was, and even if the “war igniting” role of Germany should one day be proven, this cannot exonerate any side from the responsibility for crimes committed during the war. It’s true, the crisis is not a simple “two-way fight between ‘good guys’ and ‘bad guys.’” All available proof (collected by experts from the Western, Eastern, and Southern hemispheres), shows that the Serbian side is responsible for about 80 percent of all atrocities during the war. This record cannot and should not be compared to the holocaust or to Nazi concentration camps. But “ethnic cleansing” has taken place to a huge extent; death camps where torture and mass execution took place did (and do again) exist *in fact*, not simply as an invention by Western media.

I fully share Phillips’ critique of the North- and Eurocentrist media which ignore similar conflicts and atrocities in African, Asian, and Latin American countries. But again, this neglect does not make the war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia any better. To call the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague a “kangaroo court” is dangerous. True, with their own war crimes in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Algeria and other countries in mind, the permanent members of the UN Security Council made sure that this tribunal would not have any jurisdiction over war crimes committed before January 1, 1991. But there is no point zero in history. The establishment of a war crimes tribunal is always somewhat arbitrary. Using Phillips’ reasoning, one could have argued against the establishment of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials (which I certainly don’t).

Whatever the historic limitations, if the Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia succeeds, it will open up the possibility of establishing a permanent Tribunal with jurisdiction at least over any future war crimes committed anywhere in the world. ■

Andreas Zumach is a Geneva-based correspondent covering the UN and European and international politics for *Die Tageszeitung* (Berlin) and other European newspapers. He also reports for the BBC German Service.

# Letters to the Editors

## What the Left has Missed

Since Joan Phillips believes that the Western powers have more blood on their hands than any current Balkan criminal, and have therefore no right to intervene in former Yugoslavia under any circumstance, she might perhaps have done better to leave her argument at that static point. But something impels her to go further, and to import a slab of surreptitious pro-Serbian propaganda into what would otherwise have been a perfectly good piece of simplistic prose. What she now says — and I hope your readers notice the difference — is that no intervention is warranted because the Greater Serbia cause has been unfairly reported.

If it were not for this attempted dishonesty, I should have said that she was unlucky with the timing of her article. But actually the timing is only part of the exposure which would have overtaken her anyway. In the past few months, we have seen the Bosnian enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa overrun, and have had pretty good forensic proof of what happened to the survivors. (It might be said that Richard Holbrooke is a bigger war criminal than General Ratko Mladic because Mr. Holbrooke works for a big imperial machine and General Mladic for a small irredentist one. But Mr. Holbrooke has not personally ordered and supervised the murder of several thousand prisoners, and there is such a thing as moral casuistry in making, or do I mean in not making, such distinctions.)

We have also seen, from the other direction, the annexation of large swathes of Western Herzegovina by the Croatian regime, and the cleansing of Krajina Serbs by its special forces. Let us not spend too much time on moral equivalence here: the Srebrenica case was one of mass slaughter and the Krajina one a case of mass expulsion by terror, and the Herzegovina case an example of direct territorial aggrandizement. All of them tended toward the same "endgame"— the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina between Serbia and Croatia and the creation, within Serb and Croat borders, of ethnic and religious exclusivity.

Since this has been the objective of NATO, via the Vance-Owen plan and other publicly announced schemes, since at least the spring of 1992, I fail to see why the argument revolves so much around the mantra of "intervention." There has been "intervention" from the very beginning, either to dismember the territory of former Yugoslavia or to redraw its borders. At present, Franjo Tudjman is the big winner in this game, but his ever-complicit partner Mr. Milosevic (who countersigned the Krajina business for one thing) has not yet emerged as the big loser either. The minuscule military efforts of the world's largest military alliance, about which Ms Phillips makes such a fuss, have never been employed for any other purpose than to approve and arbitrate this partition from the skies, and to provide a reminder of who is in charge. The satellite non-disclosures about Srebrenica are only the latest and most glaring proofs of this obvious point.

However, there has been one big loser in this "process," which is being consummated in Dayton as I write. Bosnia, which was a society rather than a state, and which exhibited many of the elements of a multiethnic and pluralist democracy, and which never planned or wished to enlarge its own borders, has been morally and physically pushed to the edge of destruction. This is a sacrifice which our leaders have been eminently willing to make in the campaign to save their own political skins, and to enshrine their idea of cantonization. It's a bit much to read now, in the pages of a paper like *CAQ*, that forty-nine per cent of Bosnia is being awarded to a demagogic regime controlled from Belgrade, and much of the rest awarded to another demagogic regime (covert partner of the Serbian one) in Zagreb, and all because of an anti-Serbian pathology!

I have an unpleasant suspicion that many radicals have avoided facing the wrong which their government *has* committed in Bosnia, precisely because they feared being invited to endorse a wrong which it *might* commit. As a result, they became passive spectators of a real intervention, and justified what they thought was neutrality under the

specious claim of anti-interventionism. Let them not lose too much of their valuable sleep over it. It's true that ethnic fascism came back to Europe and that the American left decided it was a largely a matter of indifference. But it won't be the American left that pays the price, so that's alright then. And I presume that all those who want to change the subject to Angola, Palestine and East Timor have been working extra hard on those issues lately, in case they have to dull the awful thought that they might have been missing something.

**Christopher Hitchens**  
Columnist, *Vanity Fair*  
and *The Nation*  
Washington, D.C.

## The West Destroyed Yugoslavia

I was surprised and disappointed that Andreas Zumach's misleading article was published in the "CAQ Forum on Bosnia." In the first place, I do not understand how any discussion of the war could avoid all mention of the dominant international geopolitical situation within which it developed. The political and economic position occupied by Yugoslavia during the Cold War was always precarious. But with an increasing dependence on Western capital, Yugoslavia became an easier target for Western manipulation in the 1980s. Then the breakup of the Eastern Bloc and the disintegration of the Soviet Union led to a situation in which a relatively prosperous and stable Yugoslavia might have been seen as a potential example for former East Bloc nations to emulate, a potential example clearly unwanted by Western capitalist institutions. This meant that whatever Western political advantage might be gained by maintaining Yugoslav unity, it could only be on condition of an even greater imposed austerity and increasing misery for the Yugoslav working class. And these were exactly the conditions which became a breeding ground for the rebirth and eventual explosion of ethnic nationalisms. Like Zumach, the mainstream press never mentions the geopolitical situation occupied by Yugoslavia in the 1980s, nor the role of international capital in devastating its economy and impoverishing the country at precisely this moment in history.

Second, the German culpability in the evolution of the Yugoslav breakup should not be minimized. As a German journalist, Zumach is as willfully blind



to this problem as the rest of his country's media appears to be, whether mainstream or leftist. Joan Phillips' account, at least, is correct in pointing out that "Germany's role was decisive as the catalyst for the disintegration of Yugoslavia."

**Jason McQuinn**  
*Alternative Press Review*  
Columbia, MO

### **Bosnians Share Responsibility**

In "Bosnian Challenge," Zumach asserts that "in the first phase of the conflict," the Bosnian Muslim army "tried unsuccessfully to defend the country against outside-supported Serbian aggression." At the time Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its illegal secession, it was still legally a member of the Yugoslav federation. With a wave of his wand, Zumach transforms federal troops stationed in the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into "outside aggressors."

Western threats and pressure prevented Yugoslavia from defending its territorial integrity, and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) remained largely idle in their barracks during the Bosnian crisis. During the preceding year, the Bosnian government armed illegal militias. Prior to the conflict, the Yugoslav counterintelligence service obtained a secret Bosnian government document that detailed plans for a "forcible conquest of sovereignty."

On April 12, 1992, the government of Alija Izetbegovic issued an order for the mobilization of its militias, the seizure of JNA arms depots, the arrest of JNA soldiers, and for the blockade of federal troops in their barracks. JNA troops, besieged in their barracks, were pounded by Muslim and Croat mortar and sniper fire. Dozens of JNA soldiers lost their lives in these assaults. In Sarajevo on May 2, Muslim paramilitary Green Berets attacked a JNA convoy, killing 150. The next day, agreement was reached with the Bosnian Government permitting the safe withdrawal of JNA troops from Second District HQ in Sarajevo. This agreement was violated, however, as Muslim troops fell on the convoy in an ambush. A Yugoslav colonel said afterward, "People were killed at two-meter range, at three meters, and in the back; there were wounded; and then the general plundering started ... People were taken away."

If Bosnian Muslim secessionists were victims of "outside" aggression, then Southern secessionists were also

victims of "outside Yankee" aggressors at Fort Sumter.

**Gregory Elich**  
Columbus, OH

### **Serbs Merit Self-Determination**

Andreas Zumach opines that Orthodox Serbs' fears regarding life under Croatian government and life under "Muslim" government are irrational; he says that independence for Serbs in Bosnia is "immoral." I wonder whether the behavior of the Croatian government toward Krajina Serbs — behavior consistent with the Serbs' expectations, not to mention with Pres. Franjo Tudjman's resuscitation of Croatia's Nazi-era flag, currency, and language policy, and his denial of the fact that the Holocaust ever occurred — has finally convinced Zumach that yes, Tudjman really is a genocidal, Ustashe-admiring anti-Serb?

What about Tudjman's Iran/Saudi Arabia/Turkey-financed clients in Sarajevo, whose president wrote in the early 1970s that Islam is inconsistent with the existence of any other religious expression within a state, a position consistent with his statement that Bosnia would have a "Muslim government." Has his behavior in northwest Bosnia, which merely verified what Serbs already knew, not convinced Zumach?

Any Orthodox, even a non-Slav such as I, knows what "Muslim government" means: Greeks, Copts, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgars, Romanians, Orthodox Arabs, and, yes, Serbs have always had the same experience with it. To call appeals to Orthodox historic memory an attempt to incite "pan-Slavic" nationalism is simply ignorant.

Mr. Zumach: Would it be "immoral" to oppose subjecting Poland to Russia again, or the Netherlands to the Hapsburgs? Then why should the Serbs in Bosnia be the only people who cannot have simple self-determination? If the Bosnians wanted multiculturalism, not domination, they could have stayed in Yugoslavia; if the EU cared about international law, it wouldn't have recognized the secession of Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia without Yugoslavia's consent — in violation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

**Kevin R. Gutzman**  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, VA

### **This Is a Civil War**

I have read Mr. Zumach's article very carefully and, other than on the right of refu-

gees to return to their homes, I cannot agree on most other points in his article.

The war in Croatia and Bosnia is not a war of aggression. The term "aggression" is used by Mr. Zumach and many others because of its connotation in international law. In reality, this is a civil war where a group of people (Serbs) wanted to exert the same right to self-determination as other groups in the former Yugoslavia. Why should 2 million Slovenians, 4 millions Croats, 1.5 million Macedonians, and 3 million Bosnian Muslims have the right to self-determination, and 12 million Serbs in the former Yugoslavia should not?

Calling the Serbs who are fighting for the Serbian right of self-determination "Karadzic Serbs" is a false nomenclature that is also dangerous. The idea is that all Serbs living in Republika Srpska are so closely associated with "the war criminal Karadzic" that the outlook on their treatment is not tempered by the normal bounds of humanity — 280,000 "Karadzic Serb" refugees can be ignored or even blamed for making themselves refugees. It also presumes the non-Karadzic Serbs, presumably "true Bosnian Serbs," have a choice about living in government-controlled areas. Although some chose to stay, most of them are effectively hostages to enhance the "multi-ethnicity" of the Muslim Bosnian state. No male Serb, Muslim, Croat, or Jew of fighting age, is allowed to leave government-controlled territories. Whether he wants to or not, the Bosnian Serb of Zumach's imagination can be mobilized to fight the Karadzic Serbs — hardly "democratic" or "multiethnic." Or, as in the case of my friends, the Bosnian Serbs from the government territory can buy (with a thousand Deutsche marks) their way out of the "democratic, multiethnic" Bosnia.

Zumach cites good sources for Serbs being the biggest war criminals. Yet much evidence comes from the Western media, reporting mainly from the Bosnian government side; the overwhelming majority of refugees interviewed are Muslims and Croats. Bosnian and Croatian government sources are given great weight, while official Serb sources are almost entirely ignored. The data is seriously flawed.

As for the War Crimes Tribunal, it has not a single Eastern Orthodox Christian, yet more than half of the Tribunal is made up of representatives

from Muslim and Catholic countries. Certainly in this case, nationality and religious affiliation do matter.

**Dr. Mirjana Petrovic**  
**Oxford, MS**

### **Western Intervention Hurts Bosnia**

Andreas Zumach's slim grasp of events has been thoroughly exposed by NATO bombs and Ohio talks. Since the arguments for intervention are so poor, it is no surprise to read that self-contradictions, chronological errors, specious "logic" and pie-in-the-sky fantasy abound. But on top of that, it is all now hopelessly "dated."

Perhaps the current US interventions are new? Zumach dismisses the Muslim-Croat Federation, yet it is at the heart of the current "negotiations" — as it was at the heart of the Contact Group plan in July 1994. The US, on the anniversary of its foundation, introduced a "Friends of the Federation" package of financial and diplomatic support, with a three-year spending plan.

And a look at activity in the UN in 1992 and 1993 shows US involvement throughout the conflict. From the trade embargo against Serbia-Montenegro through the "war crimes" investigations and tribunal, via the establishment and enforcement of the "no fly zone," the US was "leading" all the way. Even the Economic and Social Council, long a forum for anti-US invective, was successfully won over and mobilized in the US crusade against selective "war crimes."

Where "never again" meant mass civilian deaths in Korea in the early '50s, can we really believe that Western intervention is in the interests of anyone in Bosnia? The corollary is that it is in the interests of the West. Much propaganda has been mobilized to hide that fact.

**Bill Webb**  
**London, UK**

### **Hager Hindered Bhopal Case**

In the Summer 1995 issue of *CovertAction*, you carried an article by Rob Hager entitled "Bhopal: Courting Disaster." In that article Mr. Hager makes an attack upon me personally, as well as upon other attorneys.

Mr. Hager, who calls himself a "public interest" lawyer, but who demands 40% contingent fee contracts from his clients (as he did in *Ivy*), claims that I hampered his efforts in *Ivy v. Diamond Shamrock*, 996 F.2d, 1425 (2nd Cir.

1993) cert den., 114 S. Ct. 1125, 1126 (1994). Over the years, there are very few attorneys, if any, who have fought as relentlessly on behalf of the Vietnam Veterans in the Agent Orange litigation as I have. See e.g. *Agent Orange On Trial* by Prof. Peter Schuck; *In Re Agent Orange*, 800 F.2d 14 (2nd Cir. 1986) and the Feb. 1, 1986 issue of the *ABA Journal*, pp. 44, 47 (all discussing my work on the Agent Orange Plaintiffs Management Committee [AOPMC] and how I resigned from the AOPMC to fight the settlement because it was too low). The truth is that Mr. Hager is the one, not I, who hampered the *Ivy* case, as demonstrated by the transcript of his and my arguments before the Second Circuit (the transcript is available upon request). Hager alienated the Court on the real issues and the animosity he created was too much to overcome.

He did the same thing in the *Bhopal* case, with another outburst before the Texas state court judge. His complaint about our not pursuing an appeal after that state court judge — whom he had alienated — had dismissed the case, overlooks the fact that we had made a strategic decision not to appeal but to refile, which we did. The ultimate disposition of the case had nothing to do with that earlier dismissal but with the passage of a law by the Indian legislature preempting the American action. See *Bano Bi v. Union Carbide*, 984 F.2d 582 (2nd Cir. 1993) cert. den. 114 S. Ct. 179 (1993).

The *Agent Orange* and *Bhopal* cases are two of the biggest judicial debacles in the history of American jurisprudence. The American appellate courts should have rejected the class-action settlement in *Agent Orange*, should have remanded the *Ivy* case to state court, and should have remanded the second *Bhopal* case to state court. But the cause of victims' rights, which we plaintiffs' lawyers should all seek to advance, is not helped by distortions of the truth, such as this one launched by Rob Hager.

**Benton Musselwhite**  
**Houston, TX**

### **Hager Replies**

The footnote in the Bhopal article which occasioned Benton Musselwhite's response is based on abundant documentation, which I am happy to share with anyone who might be interested in further investigation of this phase of Musselwhite's interesting career. Musselwhite responds by slinging

mud, with which he hopes to add weight to his totally fictional assertions. Though this magazine chose to succumb to Musselwhite's threats in publishing his empty countercharges, I find it unnecessary to debate such statements made by Musselwhite.

Anyone interested in Musselwhite's credibility in this or any other matter is invited to check with the State Bar of Texas about the continuing saga of his defense of license to practice law, and also to read the Texas Court of Appeals' 1990 opinion (cited in the footnote in question) affirming a ruling in which he was "disciplined for false communications" (p. 6) by his State Bar and given a three-year suspension from the practice of law. The Texas authorities referred to communications or representations by Musselwhite they found to be "false" (p. 5), "false and misleading" (p. 5), and "simply not true" (pp. 5, 10-11). Another source of information about Musselwhite's reliability is the record in the bankruptcy case, *In Re Law Offices of Benton Musselwhite, Inc.*, No. 87-03769-H1-11 (Bankr. S.D. Tex., Houston Div.).

I will leave it at that, except for Musselwhite's denial of a verifiable statement of fact that, as local counsel in the Texas state proceedings, he missed a fatal filing deadline for appeal. Because his failure in this simple task provides an important footnote in the history of the Bhopal litigation, I will record here for anyone interested that I have in my files a sworn affidavit, filed on his behalf, by which he attempted to justify his late filing to the appellate court, without success. Needless to say, neither this affidavit, dated February 15, 1989, nor other documents concerning Musselwhite's late filing of appeal papers in the Bhopal case, all of which may be found in the record of *Soni v. Union Carbide Corp.*, No. 9-89-000360CV (Ct.App. Tex., 9th Jud. Dist., Beaumont), mention anything about any strategy not to pursue an appeal in the Bhopal case.

**Rob Hager**  
**Washington, D.C.**

### **CAQ Responds**

Benton Musselwhite did not threaten CAQ. We published his letter because we believe he should have an opportunity to respond. We published Rob Hager's for the same reason. In neither case did pressure from the lawyers influence our decision. ■

# Off the Shelf:

## CAQ'S BOOKS OF INTEREST

### **Secret Intelligence and Public Policy:**

#### **A Dilemma of Democracy**

by *Pat M. Holt*

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY PRESS, 1995, ENDNOTES, GLOSSARY, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 269 PP., \$19.95 PB.

Pat Holt, who spent 27 years on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and was in charge of the committee's intelligence-related activities, brings a thoughtful insider's view to the constantly strained relationship between popular control over government and the state's access to and use of information unavailable to the great unwashed. Holt is certainly no radical, but his methodical approach to the issues of accountability and secret intelligence is a solid contribution to an increasingly loud debate. In fact, *Secret Intelligence and Public Policy* serves quite well as a primer not only for secrecy issues but also for students of the functions and structures of intelligence in general.

He clearly identifies the sorts of intelligence-related activities likely to provoke accountability concerns — namely covert actions, counterintelligence operations, and some forms of intrusive information collection — and draws on his long familiarity with the field to provide colorful and enlightening examples.

Holt is clearly no fan of secrecy in intelligence, and especially the resort to covert operations, although his reasons are more pragmatic than principled. He says that paramilitary covert operations should be abandoned as a foreign policy tool — because they don't work and because presidents use them as a means to avoid having to gain public support for controversial policies. For example, he qualifies the Iran-Contra affair as "the most arrogant, egregious misuse of executive power in American

history," but his concerns go little further than the damage it did to the U.S. system of checks and balances. There is no mention of the dead and wounded Nicaraguans courtesy of Ollie and company's unconstitutional conspiracy.

Still, Holt's analysis of the overreliance on secrecy in intelligence matters defines the limits of "respectable" criticism of the intelligence community (and its elected overseers). If any of the current reform proposals come to pass, the best we can probably hope for is something along the lines Holt lays out.

In addition, he presents an equally useful, detailed, and analytically rigorous explication of the roles, functions, and structures of the intelligence community. Again using numerous concrete examples to enliven what could, in less skilled hands, easily veer into textbook-style exposition, Holt engagingly explains the theory and practice of intelligence. For that alone, his work merits a place on the spookwatcher's bookshelf.

One factual error that cannot go unnoticed: In discussing the genesis of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1982, which bars naming CIA personnel overseas, Holt refers to CAQ's Louis Wolf as one of a "small group of disaffected former intelligence operatives," whose efforts in the then *CovertAction Information Bulletin* sparked the congressional action. Wolf may be disaffected, but he has never worked in any capacity for any intelligence agency.

### **The Ashes of Waco:** **An Investigation**

by *Dick Reavis*

SIMON & SCHUSTER, 1995, ENDNOTE, INDEX, 320 PP., \$24.00 HB.

### **Why Waco:** **Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America** by *James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1995, ENDNOTES, INDEX, APPENDIX, 252 PP., \$24.95 HB.

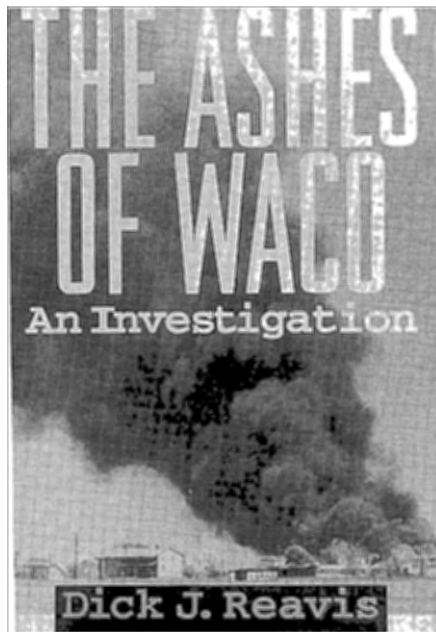
### **Every Knee Shall Bow: The Truth and Tragedy of Ruby Ridge and the Randy Weaver Family** by *Jess Walter*

HARPERCOLLINS/REGAN BOOKS, 1995, PHOTOS, 375 PP., \$24.00 HB.

The Ruby Ridge and Branch Davidian confrontations have ignited a profound — and well-deserved — skepticism

about federal law enforcement authorities, in particular the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF). Not coincidentally, they have also helped to spark the growth of the so-called citizens' militias. These three books, journalistic accounts by Jess Walter and Dick Reavis, as well as James Tabor and Eugene Gallagher's more scriptural treatment, attempt to explain how these events reached their bloody climaxes.

All three marshal an impressive array of evidence that suggests federal law enforcers should bear much of the



blame, a conclusion broadly confirmed by recent congressional hearings, internal federal investigations, and the firings, demotions, or suspensions of various ATF and FBI officials. Criminal charges against some of them are apparently not far off.

According to the authors, the original charges against both Koresh and Randy Weaver were at best flimsy and trivial, the tactical planning for arrests ignored peaceful solutions, and federal agents subsequently lied about both their planning and their behavior during the assaults.

One disturbing and revealing detail is that in both cases the firefights began after federal agents shot their quarry's dogs — "to address any encounter with the dogs that were supposedly to pose a threat at the front door," as the AFT euphemistically explained at Waco. It would, one supposes, make a certain sense from a tactical paramilitary point



of view, but the deliberate killing of pets, which would tend to inflame anyone's emotions, seems incredibly provocative when confronting hostile, frightened, and well-armed adversaries. And at Waco, the shots that killed five dogs evidently sparked return fire from Davidians who mistakenly thought they themselves were the targets.

But beyond the accumulation of incriminating detail regarding the actual confrontations, the writers point to a broader failure of federal agents to understand who and what they confronted. Both Ruby Ridge and Waco resulted from the volatile mixture of overly aggressive, militarized federal law enforcement with a peculiarly American brand of apocalyptic religiosity. The combination proved deadly, but according to all four authors, hardly inevitable. Dick Reavis and Jess Walter treat their subjects with enough respect to attempt a critical cultural understanding of their beliefs — a task they make clear the ATF and the FBI never undertook. That failure was fatal to lawmen and their targets alike.

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The federal agents saw both the Weavers and the Branch Davidians as "religious nuts," and that was as far as they went.

There are, however, profound differences between the racist, survivalist, Christian Identity-style beliefs of the Weaver family at Ruby Ridge — a Grant Wood nightmare — and the odd, but relatively benign and historically rooted theology of David Koresh and his followers. In both cases, however, their prophecies of Armageddon turned self-fulfilling, but not without help. At both Ruby Ridge and Waco, it took two to tango, and the feds were all too willing to dance.

For Tabor and Gallagher, a pair of biblical scholars, this willful misunderstanding is the crux of the matter. While Reavis and Walter provide fairly straight narrative accounts, *Why Waco* offers a very sympathetic portrayal of — some might say an apologia for — the structure and theology of the Branch Davidians. They place Koresh's unique biblical interpretations firmly within an American protestant millennial tradition dating back to William Miller's 19th century end-of-the-world prophecies and the subsequent development of Seventh Day Adventist doctrine. The Branch Davidians are only one offshoot of that prophetically fertile tendency.

As well, they argue that the Branch Davidians, while unconventional—to put it mildly—in their religious beliefs, were hardly a "dangerous cult." The Davidians held no one hostage, demonstrated few prior proclivities for violence, and generally went about their business as law-abiding, if eccentric, citizens. As it turned out, they were dangerous like rattlesnakes — peaceful until you try to step on them. Furthermore, Tabor and Gallagher make a convincing case that labeling of the Davidians as a cult, both before and during the siege, directly contributed to their eventual fiery deaths. Spoon-fed by professional cult-busters like the Cult Awareness Network, federal negotiators treated Koresh as a maniacal, mesmerizing con man and his followers as victims without individual wills.

For federal negotiators, Koresh's attempts to expound his prophecies were no more than a manipulative sociopath's protective "Bible babble." But Tabor and Gallagher, with Reavis concurring, make a conclusive case that

Koresh was a true believer and his followers devout and thoughtful scripture readers. Koresh may have been a gun-loving, Camaro-driving, guitar-playing redneck from the East Texas working class, but he and his followers believed he was also the messenger of the Word of God.

Unfortunately, none of these writers even attempts to place Waco and Ruby Ridge within the larger context of the rise of paramilitary policing as a means of controlling populations viewed by law enforcement as hostile or threatening. Waco and Ruby Ridge were not an aberration, but the bloody culmination (so far) of the ominous trend toward hyperaggressive law enforcement. Neither do any of the authors seek to explain why violent clashes between white rightists (or Bible-spouting religionists) resonate so deeply in the national psyche while the daily death toll of black- and brown-skinned people in confrontations with the police merits merely a murmur of dismay, if that.

And only *Why Waco* attempts to deal with the thorny questions surrounding religious freedom and the tolerance of difference, and its effort is partially drowned out by the grinding of its anti-anticult ax. Still, such questions demand the attention of U.S. progressives if denouncing incidents like Waco and Ruby Ridge is not to become the exclusive preserve of the right and the militias. Nonetheless, for those interested in a blow-by-blow account of the events at Waco and Ruby Ridge and the mindsets that made them possible, all three works provide ample detail, and it damns the ATF and FBI.

**The Whole Spy Catalog:  
A Resource Encyclopedia for  
Researchers, PIs, Spies, and  
Generally Nosy People**

by Lee Lapin

(INTELLIGENCE INCORPORATED [2228 SOUTH EL CAMINO REAL, #349, SAN MATEO, CA 94403], 1995, PHOTOS, INDEX, 440 PP., \$44.95 PB).

Private investigator and all-around spook Lee Lapin has really outdone himself this time. The prolific author of such sleuthing classics as *How to Get Anything on Anybody* (two volumes!) now presents an encyclopedic compendium of surveillance and investigative resources. From the latest on-line and CD-ROM databases to ordering infor-

mation for a plethora of exotic equipment manufacturers, if it's spy-related, it's in this book.

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But this is more than just page after page of listings. Lapin offers well-informed and breezy running commentaries on the products and services he mentions, as well as some surprisingly astute analysis of the current state of and prospects for the CIA and former KGB. Almost as an aside, he previews the CIA's move into economic intelligence and presciently describes the scenario that led to last February's French spy scandal.

An extremely handy reference work and a breezy read, it has a couple of problems. Some of the products listed are either manufactured or distributed by Intelligence, Inc., which Lapin owns and which published this volume. *Caveat lector*. Second, while the research appears meticulous, the copy-editing does not. Usually only a minor irritant, in several places the lack of the editorial blue pencil results in seriously garbled information.

## Democracy in Mexico: Peasant Rebellion and Political Reform

by Dan La Botz

SOUTH END PRESS, 1995, ENDNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 257 PP., \$16.00 PB.

## The Mexican Shock: Its Meaning for the U.S.

by Jorge G. Castañeda

THE NEW PRESS, 1995, ENDNOTES, 257 PP., \$23.00 HB.

Mexico's political system and economy are seemingly locked in perennial, unresolvable, and intensifying crisis. Prospects for radical change appear as remote as ever. These two works, representing distinct positions on the left, add considerable depth to the understanding of contemporary Mexico and its dilemmas. In the process, they illuminate the imposing obstacles to breaking the stalemate, but they also provide

glimpses of possible paths to a more just and democratic Mexico.

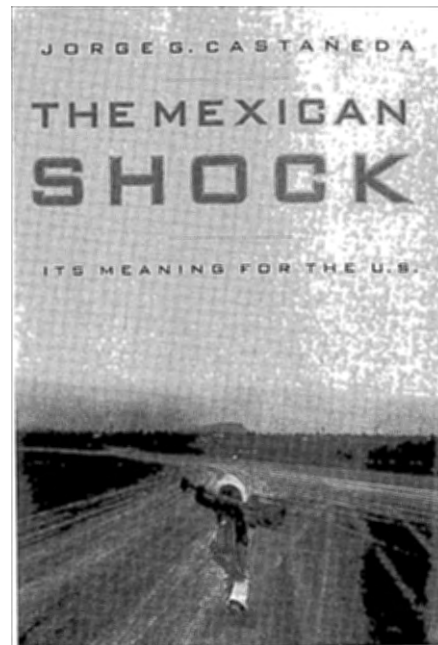
La Botz and Castañeda's rough agreement on the roots of the problem but discordant prescriptions for what to do about it is a microcosm of the debate that currently embroils the Mexican left. Both convincingly argue that the ruling PRI's traditional authoritarianism and its turn to neo-liberal economics are at the foundation of *la crisis*, as Mexicans uniformly refer to the ongoing depression and concomitant political disintegration.

But La Botz, a committed socialist, one-time US labor organizer, and veteran observer of Mexican labor and politics, notes with concern the contemporary retreat from such traditional leftist bases as the working class and labels it a critical mistake. Jorge Castañeda, meanwhile, barely utters the words "working class," and perhaps it should be no surprise. Once a committed socialist himself, he is now a leading member of Mexico's leftist intellectual glitterati and dabbles in the national politics that he once only wrote about.

As Castañeda mutates from observer to would-be player, his political position also shifts. His left radicalism, already evidently in retreat in recent years, recedes ever further, leaving him to embrace a platform of cross-class alliances for democratic reform, a government of national reconstruction, and a "gradual and moderate redistribution of wealth and income."

In 1994, Castañeda was a key member of the "San Angel group," a small number of elite center-left intellectuals and politicians who tried to use their disproportionate media access and resulting political influence to bridge the gaps between the leaderships of the PRI, the rightist PAN, and the leftist PRD. While the "San Angel group" failed to spur a broad reconciliation government, says Castañeda, it was a valuable attempt to forge elite consensus. La Botz, on the other hand, calls the group's efforts "ultimately self-defeating," points out its lack of peasant or labor participants, and quite correctly accuses it of moving ever to the right in its pursuit of publicity, influence, and dialogue with the powerful.

Similarly, while Castañeda sees "civil society" — the autonomous, grassroots organizations that have become a major independent force since



the 1985 earthquake — as one of Mexico's saviors, La Botz is quick to point out the limitations of civic or political action without awareness of class issues and interests. For instance, although the question of feminism and class has been thoroughly discussed elsewhere, La Botz is particularly good in dissecting the concrete reality of Mexican feminism in this light.

Given their respective positions, Castañeda and La Botz have different strengths. La Botz, for example, provides a detailed analysis of labor organizing on the border and is especially provocative in his account of Carlos Salinas' attack on unions. Castañeda, on the other hand, excels in his description of Mexican economic policy-making and his insider accounts of major players.

Castañeda also contributes an excellent chapter on Mexican migrant workers and California politics, where he points out, among other things, that the huge immigrant working class means that an increasingly small number of generally white, older, and suburban voters preside over the disenfranchised millions. Castañeda calls this phenomenon "de-democratization," and it brings to mind eerie similarities with the Palestinians or Filipinos of Kuwait.

Taken together, La Botz and Castañeda draw an invaluable portrait of contemporary Mexico as they play out the debates taking place within Mexico's progressive sectors. ■

— Phillip Smith

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