

CovertAction Quarterly

SPRING/SUMMER 2000

MILLENNIUM DOUBLE ISSUE

NUMBER 69

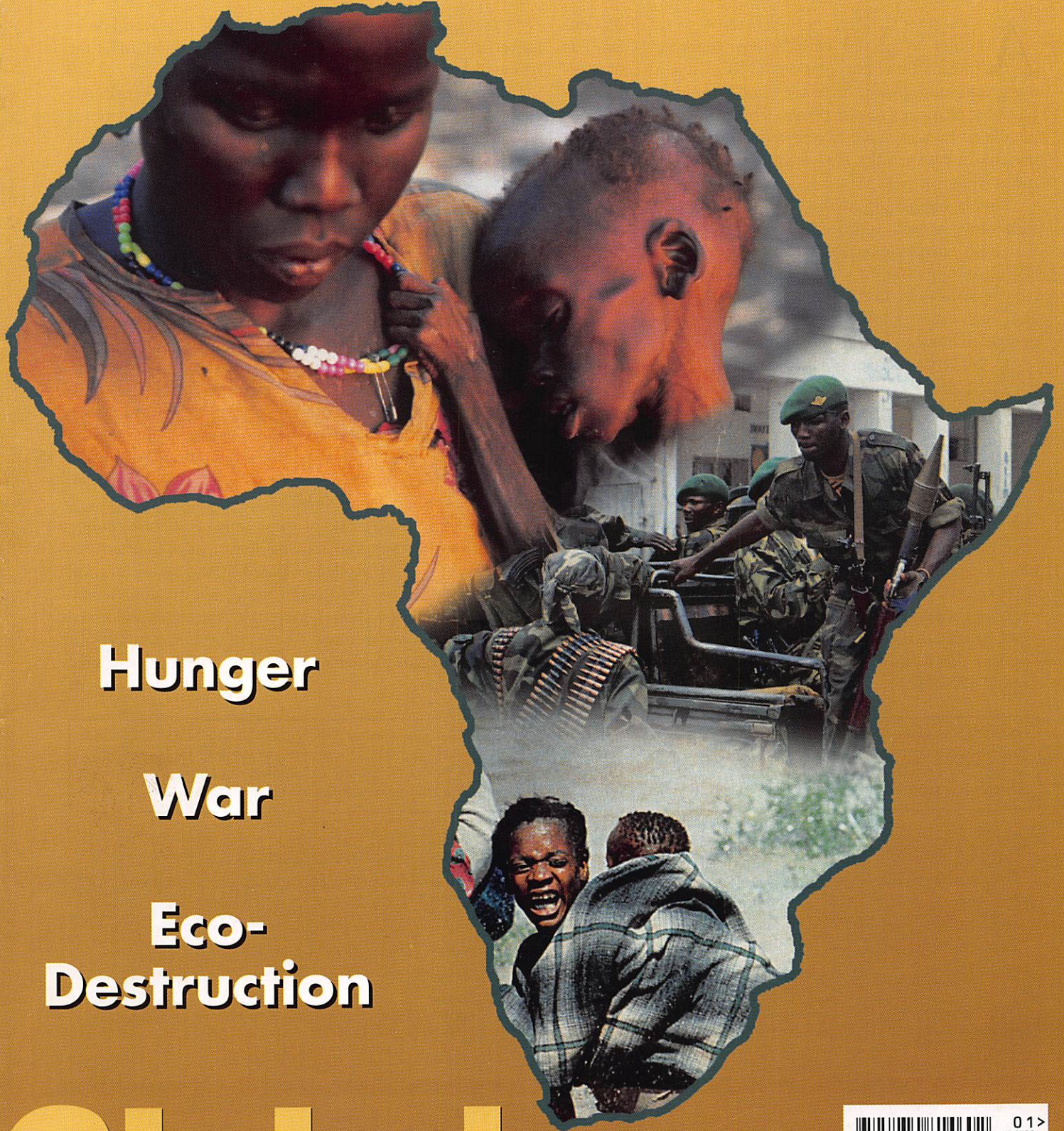
\$8.95/\$11.95 Canada

Hunger

War

**Eco-
Destruction**

Global **Recolonization**



GLOBAL RECOLONIZATION

As we enter the 21st century, the new world order continues to prevail with a lone superpower and its transnational corporations (TNCs) relentlessly seeking greater and greater hegemony and control over the peoples and resources of our planet. The consequences are unparalleled hunger, poverty, and human suffering as the gaping chasm between the few wealthy and the destitute multitudes widens.

This is happening in the context of incredible leaps in technology as well as a deepening global economic crisis in which the corporate imperative to expand or die has become all-consuming. But just as a mortally wounded beast viciously lashes out in its desperation to survive, so too, this system in crisis is inflicting horrific suffering and unprecedented ecological destruction upon humankind.

As the TNCs and banks *merge* and *globalize*, in contrast, nations and peoples are *fragmented* by racism, xenophobia, and religious and ethnic hatred—pitted against one another, often in bloody wars—to facilitate easier plunder, to distract people from recognizing their common enemy, and to prevent them from uniting to confront this new world order onslaught.

Inevitably, in every corner of the globe people *are* resisting corporate globalization, military domination, and covert/overt intervention. Increasingly, that resistance takes place at the local and workplace levels, where the oppression and exploitation are most acutely manifested. Yet more than ever these struggles have global components as well as local ones. As the “battle of Seattle” began to teach thousands who opposed the World Trade Organization, unity and action are needed *globally* as well as *locally*.

The response of the U.S. purveyors of the new world order is ever greater military, covert and overt intervention under the rubric of human rights.

The expanding anti-corporate sentiment, so compellingly expressed in Seattle, is burgeoning into a vast international movement. But it still lacks the necessary concomitant understanding that the powers arrayed against the people will stop at nothing in a desperate attempt to maintain global dominance, profits, and access to markets—even if it means bombing countries mercilessly, starving civilians through brutal sanctions, spending trillions of dollars on military and nuclear weapons buildup, training police and military forces to repress, torture and kill with impunity, or destroying the environment of our fragile planet. Meanwhile, ever more sophisticated covert operations are essential to their success.

This millennium issue of *CovertAction Quarterly*—a double issue—underscores today’s realities, from Africa to Central Asia to Kosovo to Latin America to the United States. The content and the maps (see below) delineate many of the hotspots in the world and reveal the broad outlines of what is really taking place in the process of imperial recolonization, though the specific details vary.

A defining characteristic of these times is the astounding speed with which events are moving. *CovertAction Quarterly* intends to meet the new challenges posed by this reality and will soon announce plans for disseminating information to you more quickly through shorter, more frequent issues and maximizing the use of our web site. Above all, we will continue our in-depth coverage, particularly of domestic and international covert operations. ■

Gatefold: The maps on the inside back cover show some major regions of the world where wars are taking place. Factors involved include both natural resources—particularly oil, gold and diamonds, water, and land—as well as strategic locations, which lead to western intervention, both covert and overt. Ethnic, religious, and political rivalries, fueled with western weapons and military training, are used to pit one group against another, to fragment, split, and annex sovereign nations, through recolonization and globalization.

CovertAction Quarterly: Issue Number 69, Spring-Summer 2000. Chris Agee, Mark Cook, Dorothy Dixon, Joseph R. Fernandez, Bill Montross, Dolores Neuman, Ellen Ray, William Schaap, Karen Talbot, Louis Wolf. Outside cover pages designed by Michael John Carley. Maps on inside back cover designed by Chris Agee. Front cover: Displaced by warfare in Sudan, a mother cradles her 5-year-old daughter suffering from severe malnutrition. RCD Rebel troops in Kisangani, Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting against government of President Laurent Kabila. A group of people stranded in the water near Chokwe, Mozambique after the city was completely flooded, Feb. 28, 2000. Back cover: Tens of thousands of protesters march against the WTO in Seattle, December 1999 (all photos: AP / Wide World Photos).

For more information, visit our web site at www.covertaction.org, or e-mail us at: info@covertaction.org. You can also reach us by telephone at (202) 331-9763 or by fax (202) 331-9751.

Published by Covert Action Publications, Inc., 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 732, Washington, D.C. 20005, a District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation. Copyright © 2000 by Covert Action Publications, Inc. All rights reserved. Member of the Independent Press Association. Indexed by Alternative Press Index, University Microfilms; ISSN 1067-7232. Printed in the U.S. Subscriptions: \$22 yearly / \$38 for two years in U.S.; \$25 yearly / \$44 for two years in Canada and Mexico; \$35 yearly / \$63 for two years in all other areas. U.S. funds only. For back issues, special book offers, subscription details, and other items, see pages 64, 83, and 90.

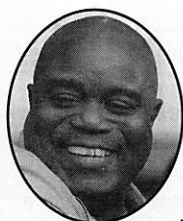
CovertAction Quarterly

Contents

Spring-Summer 2000

Millennium Double Issue

Number 69



**U.S. Military and Corporate
Recolonization of Congo**
by Ellen Ray.....4

**Roots of Chechnya Wars:
Russia's Sovereignty**
by Karen Talbot and Ellen Ray.....16

Chechnya: More Blood for Oil
by Karen Talbot.....22

**U.S. Intervention in Colombia
and Ecuador**
by Mark Cook.....28

U.S. Using U.N. Program to Steal Iraq's Oil
by Lee Siu Hin.....32

Depleted Uranium: The Human Toll
by Siegwart-Horst Gunther.....34

Yugoslav Sojourn: Notes from the Other Side
by Michael Parenti.....36

**Undermining Indian Sovereignty: U.S. Policy
in the Indian Subcontinent**
by Shishir Thadani.....40



Cyprus in "The American Century"
by Nikos Raptis.....44

**Bringing Democracy to Bosnia-
Herzegovina**
by Gregory Elich.....47



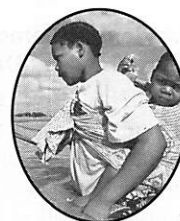
**Seattle and Beyond: The Illegality
of the WTO**
by Michel Chossudovsky.....54

**Commentaries on
the Seattle Battle**.....60

"Emergency Management" in Seattle
by Frank Morales.....63

The Politics of Hunger
by Anuradha Mittal.....65

Private Blue Planet
by Jamie Dunn.....68



**The Impacts of Economic
Globalization on Global Climate**
*by Simon Retallack and
Ladan Sobhani*.....70

**Beyond the Prison-Industrial
Complex: Class Warfare from Above**
by Christian Parenti.....76

**U.S. Military Civil Disturbance Planning:
The War at Home**
by Frank Morales.....80

**Book Review: Frances Stonor Saunders, *Cultural
Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts & Letters***
by Gerald Horne.....87

Poem: The way it s'posed to be...
by Bob Randolph.....89

U.S. MILITARY AND CORPORATE RECOLONIZATION OF CONGO

BY ELLEN RAY

The United States' involvement in Congo since before independence from Belgium in June 1960 has been steady, sinister, and penetrating. Most notable was the CIA's role in the overthrow (September 1960) and later assassination (January 1961) of Congo's first Prime Minister, the charismatic (and socialist) Patrice Lumumba. The full extent of U.S. machinations was not known for years,¹ but the failure at the time of the United Nations to protect Lumumba was patent. And questions continue to linger over the mysterious plane crash in September 1961 that killed U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld as he was flying to the border town of Ndola to meet with Moïse Tshombé, president of the breakaway Katanga Province. The plane fell from the sky, killing all aboard.² Is it any wonder that in Congo today there is little trust of Washington or respect for the United Nations?

INTRODUCTION

In October 1996, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL), commanded by and composed mainly of Tutsi military forces from Paul Kagame's Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), along

with Tutsi refugees from Zaire and some Congolese patriots,³ all under the titular leadership of Congolese exile Laurent Kabila, crossed into Zaire from Rwanda and Bu-

cesses of the Rwandan "foreigners" throughout their government. He also recognized the extent to which he had become a puppet of his Tutsi "allies," and after confirmed reports of atrocities by Tutsi military against Hutu exiles in the east, and later in the west of the country, had become too prevalent to ignore, and after he had uncovered an apparent Rwandan plot to assassinate him and stage a coup in Congo, Kabila ordered the Rwandans to leave.

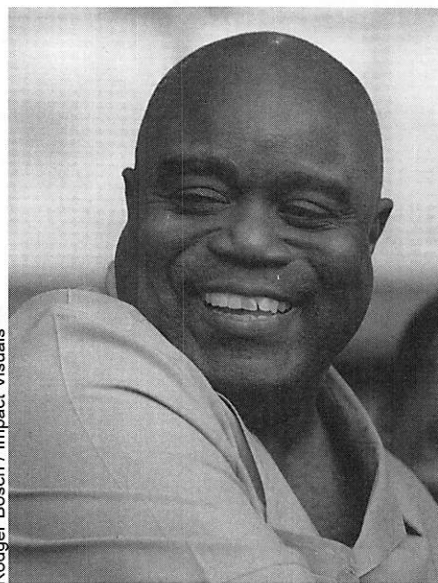
Less than a week later, on August 2, 1998, Ugandan and Rwandan regular troops invaded Congo with regrouped, well-trained rebel forces, and began the war to overthrow Kabila that goes on to this day, despite a shaky, much-violated, U.S.-supported cease-fire. Rwandans and Ugandans control most of the east of the country, and there has been a de facto partition, a gross violation of Congolese sovereignty.

Yet Rwanda is a tiny, impoverished nation, and Uganda is not much larger or richer, while Congo is one of the largest, richest, and most populous nations in Africa, which at one time had its most powerful army. How did this happen? Could impoverished Rwanda and Uganda have orchestrated, armed, and financed such operations on their own?

Is it a coincidence that Rwandan strongman Paul Kagame was trained in the United States?⁵ That the Rwandan army received, and continues to receive, training in the U.S.? That the Pentagon has had Special Forces military training missions in Rwanda and Uganda for more than five years? That vast segments of the Congolese infrastructure, particularly the mining companies,⁶ have been taken over by U.S.- and western-linked multinationals, working with the Rwandan and Ugandan rebels and governments?

THE U.S. ROLE

The Mobutu era began with ardent U.S. support, financial and military. From 1965 to 1991, Zaire received more than \$1.5 billion in U.S. economic and military aid.⁷ In



Rodger Bosch / Impact Visuals

President of Democratic Republic of Congo, Laurent-Désiré Kabila.

rundi. In May 1997, after only seven months of fighting, they had overthrown the 30-year dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko.⁴ While marching west across the vast expanse of the country, divisions of this army had wreaked terrible vengeance on the Rwandan Hutu exiles encamped since 1994 in eastern Zaire, where they had been driven from Rwanda by the RPA on the heels of the horrendous massacre of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan Tutsis, encouraged and supervised by extremists in the Hutu-dominated government.

In Kinshasa, with Kabila named President, key cabinet posts and the new Congo army and security forces were immediately staffed at the highest levels by Rwandan Tutsis.

By July 1998, Kabila realized that the Congolese people would not support the ex-

Ellen Ray is co-founder of *CovertAction Quarterly*.

1. See Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975). The CIA had elaborate plans for the assassination of Lumumba. Deputy Director Richard Bissell sent Joseph Scheider, a CIA scientist, to Congo, having chosen from an astonishing array of biological weapons available at Ft. Detrick, Maryland, which would "either seriously incapacitate or eliminate Lumumba." The available toxic substances, according to Scheider's testimony before the Senate committee, included tularemia ("rabbit fever"), brucellosis (undulant fever), tuberculosis, anthrax, smallpox, and Venezuelan equine encephalitis ("sleeping sickness"), p. 21, n. 3. Though the toxins were never used to kill Lumumba, not for lack of trying (Mobutu and his goons beat him to death), this writer wonders what happened to these toxins, since Scheider testified that they were left in Congo with the CIA station chief, Lawrence Devlin. See n. 92. And see generally John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978).

2. See Lisa Pease, "Midnight in the Congo," *Probe*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Mar.-Apr. 1999); Jim DiEugenio, "Dodd and Dulles vs. Kennedy in Africa," *Probe*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1999); *Probe* can be found at www.webcom.com/ctka; and see Arthur Gavshon, *The Mysterious Death of Dag Hammarskjöld* (New York: Walker, 1962).

3. And forces from Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Angola. Lynne Duke, "U.S. Military Role in Rwanda Greater Than Disclosed," *Washington Post*, Aug. 16, 1997.

4. And restored the country's former name, Democratic Republic of Congo.

5. Maj. Gen. Kagame is now Acting President of Rwanda and Defense Minister, and unquestionably runs the country as a military dictatorship.

6. Congo has about 80% of the world's cobalt reserves and vast, mostly untouched reserves of diamonds, gold, and copper.

7. Robert Block, "Lost In Africa: How the U.S. Land-

return, U.S. multinationals increased their share of the ownership of Zaire's fabulous mineral wealth.⁸ On the foreign policy front, Zaire was a bastion of anti-communism during the Cold War, in the center of a continent Washington saw as perilously close to Moscow's influence. As the State Department put it, "Zaire has been a stabilizing force and a staunch supporter of U.S. and western policies...."⁹ Mobutu's corruption and brutality were ignored for thirty years. It was only when the plunder of western-owned assets and the ruination of the country were nearly complete, when Mobutu's stolen billions had become a worldwide embarrassment, that the U.S. began to seek an acceptable change.

By this time, the U.S. was deeply involved in both Uganda and Rwanda, and very close to Paul Kagame. In 1990, Kagame, a Rwandan exile serving as a colonel in the Ugandan army,¹⁰ was training at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, when he dropped out of the program and rushed back to Uganda to take command of the rebel army that invaded Rwanda.¹¹

After three years of civil war in Rwanda, a power-sharing peace accord was negotiated, only to collapse in 1994, when an airplane carrying Rwanda's Hutu president, Juvenal Habyarimana, was shot down, with all aboard, including President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, killed. A still secret 1997 U.N. investigation implicates Kagame in the assassinations. Warnings of a coming bloodbath, set off by the attack, were ignored, and a horrendous 89-day massacre of 500,000 Tutsis—and 50,000 Hutus—followed.¹²

ed on Sidelines in Zaire," *Wall Street Journal*, Apr. 22, 1997.

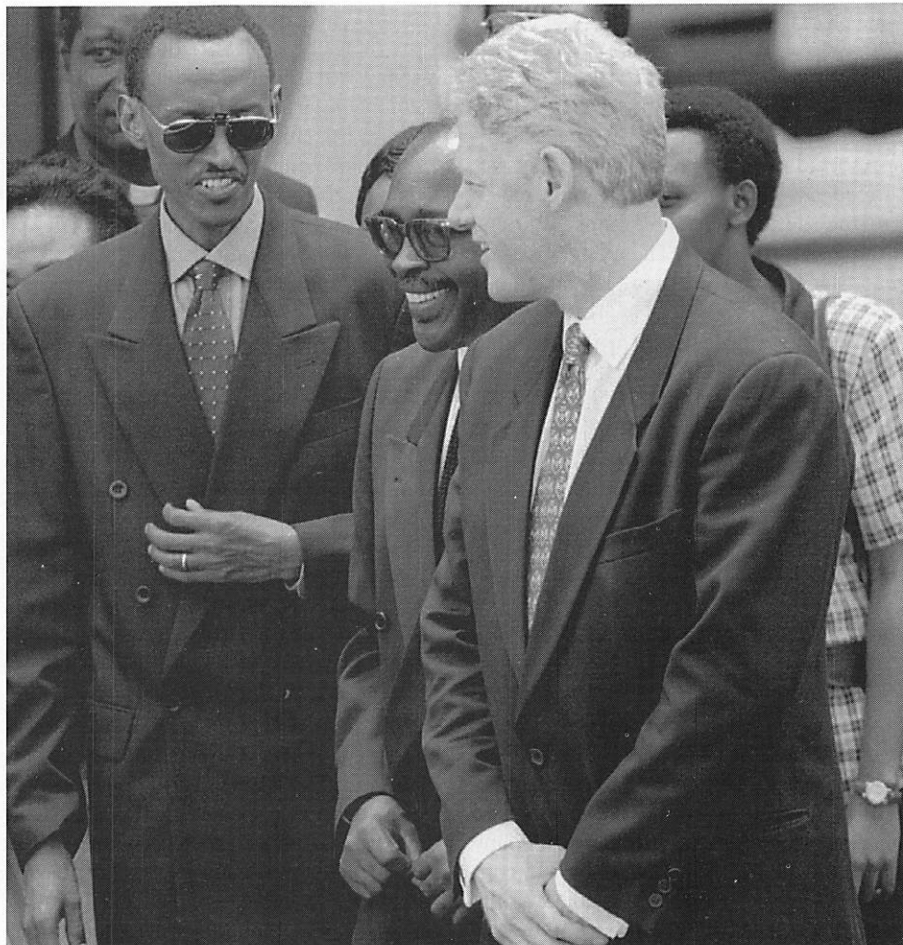
8. See discussion below and sidebar on the current role of the mining companies, including the Bush interests.

9. 1991 Congressional Presentation, quoted in William D. Hartung and Bridget Moix, "Deadly Legacy: U.S. Arms to Africa and the Congo War," World-Policy Institute Arms Control Report, Jan. 2000.

10. The leaders of the Tutsi minority had dominated Rwanda for centuries, most recently in the service of the Belgian colonial masters. When Rwanda became independent in 1962, the leadership of the long-oppressed Hutu majority took power, and the Tutsi elite fled to eastern Congo and to Uganda. The Tutsi nursed their grievances and trained for an invasion that was 30 years in coming. Kagame and many of his "rebel" troops had served for years in the Ugandan army; the force that invaded Rwanda was composed, in large part, of a foreign armed force.

11. Lynne Duke, "Africans Use Training in Unexpected Ways," *Washington Post*, July 14, 1998.

12. The accusation is backed by 1997 testimony of three Tutsi informants then still with the current regime who were part of a covert elite strike team. They said they used surface-to-air missiles that had been confiscated in Iraq by the U.S. military during the Persian Gulf war. The information was presented in August 1997 to then chief U.N. war crimes prosecutor, Louise Arbour, who later suppressed it and classified the report. See Steven Edwards, "Explo-



AP / Wide World Photos

Clinton in 1998 with Rwandan military dictator Paul Kagame (left) and figure-head President Pasteur Bizimungu (center), a Hutu, who was forced to resign in March 2000, along with other Hutus in Parliament.

Kagame's movement then turned on the Hutu-dominated government, and took power. The massacres began again, this time of Hutus. More than a million Rwandan Hutus, both militia and civilians, who escaped the killing, fled to eastern Zaire.

U.S. officials, according to the *Washington Post*, were pleased with Kagame and "deeply relieved that the rebels had halted the massacres, thus ending pressure for a U.S.-led intervention."¹³ As one writer observed, "America's unease about its own attitude to the massacres in the spring of 1994

was one reason why it later sided with the triumphant victims."¹⁴ The U.S. "became increasingly close to the Rwandan government and the army that backed it.... Washington pumped military aid into Kagame's army and U.S. Army Special Forces and other military personnel trained hundreds of Rwandan forces."¹⁵

At the same time, the U.S. kept tabs on the refugees in eastern Zaire, while mounting what was called a "humanitarian operation" in Rwanda, but which also included training of the Rwandan military in combat, counterinsurgency, psychological operations, etc. (see sidebar). One U.S. official interviewed by the *Washington Post* contended that "the United States is focusing disproportionate military assistance on Rwanda as part of the creation of a 'zone of influence' in East Africa...."¹⁶ An African writer has

sive' Leak on Rwanda Genocide," *National Post* (Canada), Mar. 1, 2000. The U.N. investigation revealed "that Paul Kagame, a Tutsi, had ordered the shooting down of the...plane...." Barbara Crossette, "Rwanda: Kagame Implicated," *New York Times*, World Briefing, Mar. 24, 2000. A Belgian attorney has filed suit against Kagame related to the assassinations. Marlise Simons, "Rwanda: Acting President Sued," *New York Times*, World Briefing, Apr. 1, 2000. And a group of Canadian lawyers representing Hutu defendants in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda are attempting to force the release of the U.N. report.

13. *Op. cit.*, n. 11. According to a U.S. military officer who knew him in the early 1990s, they found Kagame "a brilliant commander...more than a military man...politically attuned...." *Ibid.*

14. Gérard Prunier, "Uganda, Nearly a Miracle," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Paris), Feb. 1998.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Op. cit.*, n. 3. Despite lip service paid to the importance of humanitarian assistance, most U.S. ac-

referred to this zone of influence as a confederation of "military princedoms [which] have appeared in Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, and, to a lesser extent, in Ethiopia and Eritrea."¹⁷ These U.S.-supported military regimes are characterized by "the repeated use of force in putting their internal and external policy strategies into effect." They are "obsessed with security" and they "clone themselves" by joining forces "with their own diasporas...whose citizenship is disputed [They] attract the services of 'rebels,' dissidents, and others, who serve as a screen for their intervention" in fragile and unstable neighboring countries.¹⁸ The role of the Rwandan and Ugandan princelings, Kagame and Museveni, in neighboring Congo is a classic example of U.S. meddling.¹⁹

THE FALL OF MOBUTU, THE RISE OF KABILA

Still unclear is the full extent of U.S. military support for Kagame's move, via Kabila, against Mobutu and Zaire (and their bloody retribution against both Hutu militia and Hutu civilian refugees in the camps). "Many Africans," the *Wall Street Journal* noted, concluded that "the Zairean rebellion was the brainchild of Washington from the very start."²⁰ In August 1996, six weeks before

tions were military. "U.S. officials...discussed options with Kagame, including air strikes to hit at extremist bases.... Information about the camps was exchanged...." *Ibid.* One U.S. response to the 1994 massacres was the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) by Susan E. Rice, when she was director of "peacekeeping" for the National Security Council. The objective of ACRI "is to help African countries develop a joint 'military capability that would be able to rapidly assemble and deploy in order to prevent another descent into anarchy and the needless loss of life.'" Frank Smythe, "A New Game: The Clinton Administration on Africa," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1998, quoting Vincent D. Kern, II, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs. Considering the subsequent actions of the Rwandan and Ugandan troops in Congo, these words were hardly prophetic. Rice is now Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, technically reporting to the sinister international gadfly, Thomas Pickering; but she is also a close family friend and confidant of Madeleine Albright.

17. Achille Mbembe, "Africa's Frontiers in Flux," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Nov. 1999.

18. *Ibid.*

19. "Rice is optimistic about a new generation of independent, nationalist-minded leaders like...Uganda's Yoweri Museveni and Rwanda's Paul Kagame, who have recently come of age." Smythe, *op. cit.*, n. 16.

20. *Op. cit.*, n. 7. One writer has suggested that the U.S. was involved in diplomatic arrangements with Uganda and Rwanda for the operation as early as the beginning of 1995. "With consummate skill..., Museveni and his ally, Paul Kagame, were able to exploit the disgust felt by many Africans at the corrupt dictatorship in Kinshasa and create a disparate but powerful alliance, openly backed by America." *Op. cit.*, n. 14. "U.S. officials deny that there were any U.S. military personnel with Rwan-

the RPA and Kabila's forces moved into Zaire, Kagame had visited Washington to discuss with Clinton administration officials the dangerous threat to his regime in Rwanda from the Hutu refugee camps in eastern Zaire, harboring militia among the civilians.²¹ Both Kagame and U.S. officials later claimed unconvincingly that he left "disappointed" in not having instigated direct U.S. action. It was clear to the U.S., in any case, that Kagame was prepared to act,²² and that this was certainly in the U.S. government's interest.

Kagame acted quickly after his visit to Washington. Kabila, a former Marxist exile, who had been recruited by the Tutsis, had been brought to Goma some time earlier, to be the national Congolese figurehead of an "insurgency" against Mobutu's army. And in October 1996, when the full-scale incursion began, much of eastern Zaire was immediately taken. The camps were attacked, and many of the refugees were driven back to Rwanda or killed. It is unlikely that Kabila himself took part in the actions against the refugees, but there is no question that he had made a deal with the Devil: "Kabila's army is closely controlled by Rwandan officers who dominate its upper echelons. Kabila relied heavily on the well-trained Rwandan officers, along with Rwandan, Angolan, and Ugandan troops, to push Mobutu's army aside. But in so doing, he made a deal with people intent on bringing the 1994 ethnic war in Rwanda onto Congolese soil."²³

Kabila maintained his headquarters in Goma, in eastern Zaire, near the site of many of the camps. In the first months of the fighting, the U.S. denied any ties to Kabila and also denied that any foreign forces were fighting with him.²⁴ Diplomatic signals, however,

dan troops in Zaire during the war, although unconfirmed reports of a U.S. advisory presence have circulated in the region since the war's earliest days." *Op. cit.*, n. 11.

21. "Their U.N.-operated camps were largely controlled by Hutu militiamen posing as refugees...." *Op. cit.*, n. 3.

22. According to an unnamed Pentagon official, "we counseled him several times not to do that." *Ibid.*

23. John Pomfret, "Massacres Were Weapon in War of Liberation," *Washington Post*, June 11, 1997. Kabila admitted his own military weakness in a 1999 *CovertAction* interview, *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 66 (Winter 1999), p. 31: "One of the things that was agreed between me and Kagame...was that the revolutionary people of the Congo would split up and expel from power the Mobutu regime and also deny any base of activities by which the Interahamwe [the Rwandan Hutu militias] might attack Rwanda. On the other hand, Rwanda had agreed to give free passage to the Congolese Liberation Movement for our activities in our own country to overthrow the Mobutu regime. That is what we did."

24. Although Uganda and Rwanda ultimately admitted that they had invaded Zaire, initially there had been significant efforts to camouflage the invasion to make it look like an internal uprising against Mobutu. The "rebels" called themselves Banyamulenge, claiming they were Tutsis who had

got crossed: At the start of the rebellion, in October, "U.S. ambassador to Rwanda, Robert Gribbin, denied in the face of mounting evidence that the Rwandan army had any role in the action in eastern Zaire. But at the same time, in Mobutu's capital, Kinshasa, American envoy to Zaire, Dan Simpson, was denouncing the uprising as a Rwandan and Ugandan 'invasion.'" ²⁵ The London *Guardian* noted, "U.S. policy initially was divided between offering active support for Rwandan intervention and looking the other way.... In practice, it did both: the Pentagon helped out while the State Department pretended it wasn't happening."²⁶ That the U.S. "helped out" is unquestionable; the motive for doing so is what we must address.

- A South African pilot in September 1996, "flew a planeload of assault rifles from Pretoria to...Burundi, where he was met by...an official from the U.S. Embassy there. The weapons...were destined for Uvira...in Zaire, the birthplace of Mr. Kabila's revolt."²⁷

- In November, "senior officers from the U.S. Embassy in Rwanda were seen leaving Mr. Kabila's residence in Goma."²⁸

- By spring, a State Department official, Dennis Hankins, was ensconced in a local hotel in Goma "as the first full-time American diplomat posted to the capital of the rebel alliance...."²⁹

- In April, the House passed a resolution calling on Mobutu to step down.³⁰

KABILA ARRIVES

Despite U.S. approval of and involvement in the overthrow of Mobutu, U.S. support for Kabila from the beginning was mixed at best, and hostility later intensified, as he became increasingly estranged from his Rwandan and Ugandan Tutsi mentors. After arriving in Kinshasa on May 19, 1997, Kabila's new gov-

lived in Congo for centuries. In fact, the Banyamulenge (people living in Mulenge, an area in eastern Zaire) were known as Banyarwanda (people from Rwanda), Rwandan Tutsi exiles from the 1959 expulsion, living mostly in Congo's Kiva province, which borders on Rwanda. Many did join the invading forces, but the vast majority of those forces were from the Rwanda Patriotic Army. See "An Interview with President Laurent Kabila," *CovertAction*, *op. cit.*, n. 23. As early as 1961, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees distributed leaflets in eastern Congo among these people, addressing them as "Refugees Rwandais de Lemera, Mulenga, et Katobo," and reminding them of their obligation to remain neutral and to completely abstain from politics." Reproduced in Remigius Kintu, "Tutsi Invasion of Congo," Uganda Democratic Coalition, September 1998. On the Banyarwanda, see also Israel Ntanzanza-Rugamba, "Rwanda's Batutsi," privately published, 1994.

25. *Op. cit.*, n. 7.

26. Quoted in Joseph Farah, "Did U.S. Help Zaire's Rebels?" *WorldNet Daily*, May 5, 1997.

27. *Op. cit.*, n. 7.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

ernment and teams of ecstatic Congolese began to clean up the capital and restore the country's infrastructure, bringing a semblance of normalcy to their lives, despite armed confrontations between newly appointed local police and rapid deployment squads. According to UNICEF, 15,000 young soldiers patrolling Kinshasa did not speak the language and were strangers to the city. Locals refused to have anything to do with them.³¹

These "faceless" army and security forces, being reorganized under instructions from Rwanda and including many unidentified soldiers working for state security services, were regarded as "foreigners" by the people and viewed with distrust. Lt. Col. James Kabarebe, who became Army Chief of Staff, had been head of the Rwandan Republican Guard before he led the forces that overthrew Mobutu.³² Many other key figures had similar backgrounds. Jackson Nzinza, a Ugandan Tutsi who became Congo's Chief of National Security, had been the head of Rwanda's Internal Security Organization, allegedly responsible for numerous political murders, an activity he continued to practice in Congo. Bizima Karaha, Kabila's Foreign Minister, was another Rwandan Tutsi, whose uncle is a member of the Rwandan Parliament.³³ Col. Ibingira, who later became Commander of North Kivu, was deeply involved in massacres of Hutu refugees.³⁴

During the 15 months between the May 1997 entry into Kinshasa and the August 1998 start of the current war, the U.S. became openly critical of the Kabila government. Most complaints voiced were related to ongoing murderous assaults on the Hutu refugees, who were not being protected properly in the U.N.-run camps or by Doctors Without Borders, who were also present. But there were other undercurrents, related to *Realpolitik*.

In April and May of 1997, as the downfall of Mobutu was imminent, reports of massacres which had occurred during the march to Kinshasa began to appear with regularity, although it was often unclear just who the perpetrators had been. The AP reported on May 22 that "one of Kabila's soldiers" had shown a reporter a mass grave. The June 1

31. See Colette Braeckman, "Pragmatic Rule in Congo-Kinshasa," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Dec. 1997.

32. Paul Kagame admitted that Kabarebe, "had been given the task of organizing the future Congolese army." *Ibid.* In July 1998, Kabarebe was implicated in a plot to assassinate Kabila. After he and other Tutsi officials were expelled, Kabarebe then led the 1998 invasion against Kabila. See Kintu, *op. cit.*, n. 24, and *CovertAction*, *op. cit.*, n. 23.

33. He is now security minister for one branch of the RDC rebel group fighting Kabila, which has split. See below.

34. After the expulsion, he became head of military security in Rwanda. Kintu, *op. cit.*, n. 24.



Eric Miller / Impact Visuals

Hutu refugee camp at Kisese, near Kisangani, April 4, 1997. The next day, it was sealed off by Tutsi soldiers and 50-60,000 refugees "disappeared."

Boston Globe reported massacres of refugees who had "tried to flee troops led by then-rebel leader Laurent Kabila." On May 28, 1997, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said "Kabila lacks democratic credentials." The AP report noted that "skepticism is strong among U.S. officials about the willingness of Kabila, once associated with leftist causes, to lead Zaire to democracy."³⁵ At the same time, other Clintonites appeared optimistic. "U.S. officials are generally pleased with Kabila's actions since his forces deposed Mobutu two weeks ago. He has included opposition elements in his government and has promised free elections within two years."³⁶ There were reports of mass graves in Kisangani, and U.N. efforts to investigate "have been blocked by forces affiliated with Kabila's Rebel Alliance." Still, some U.S. officials continued to believe that "alliance forces involved in wrongdoing were acting independently of Kabila." On June 3, a USAID team arrived in Congo to assess its assistance needs, particularly "funds to help Congo meet the challenge of holding national elections in April 1999, the target date set by President Kabila."³⁷

The next month Kabila's Foreign Minister, Bizima Karaha, visited Washington and, as evidenced by a lengthy interview he gave to UPI,³⁸ did little to enhance U.S.-Congolese relations.³⁹ He was in Washington to ask the

Clinton administration for help in reconstructing the country. But, as UPI noted, he was "not bringing a message the Clinton administration wants to hear."

For one thing, the U.S., with its typical monomania for "free and fair elections," even in the wake of the overthrow of thirty years of relentless dictatorship, was insisting that elections take place within two years, which, admittedly, Kabila had announced when he took over. Karaha referred to the pledge as merely "a goal," one which he doubted could be reached, given the continuing instability in the country.

Karaha was also vehement in ruling out any participation in the new government by opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi, Mobutu's last prime minister.⁴⁰ "The United States," UPI noted, "one of the few nations to recognize Tshisekedi's brief appointment to head Mobutu's government during some of the fiercest fighting, has pointed to the opposition leader as exactly the type of figure that should be included in Kabila's administration." Karaha, with perhaps less diplomacy than might be expected from a foreign minister, called Tshisekedi a "provocateur" who "wants to create anarchy and chaos...an enemy of the people and of the government."⁴¹

1997 is unclear.

40. Ironically, the wing of the rebel group for which Karaha now serves as security minister, RCD-Goma, is calling for Kabila's replacement by Tshisekedi.

41. The American penchant for insisting that other governments offer positions of power to their bitterest enemies is even more bizarre than their love for instant post-revolution elections. No one ever suggested that Bill Clinton offer George Bush or Bob Dole a cabinet post. Why should it be more reasonable to do so in Congo after a thirty-year dictator-

35. AP, June 1, 1997.

36. AP, June 3, 1997.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Sid Baltman, Jr., "Kabila Backtracking on Democracy Pledge," July 8, 1997.

39. Karaha was one of the July 1998 plotters, now working with the rebels in the east; whether he was out to destabilize President Kabila as early as July

DIAMONDS ARE FOREVER

Until Mobutu's greed had sucked the life out of Congo, foreign investors in Zaire raked in profits. When Mobutu kept too much for himself—and became an embarrassment—the U.S. was ready to see him overthrown. And if the only likely means were the Rwandans and the Ugandans, via Kabila, that was okay too. Indeed, as the rebels moved west, taking over the Katangese capital, Lubumbashi, the mining companies based in the province simply stopped making payments to Kinshasa and made them to the rebels in Lubumbashi.¹

Even before Kabila reached Kinshasa, in April 1997, reports surfaced that a small mining company had signed a major deal with him. America Mineral Fields, set up two years before by the former De Beers manager in Zaire, Jean-Raymond Boule, signed contracts with the rebels totaling approximately \$1 billion.² In a futile gesture, the Zairean government purported to revoke the deal,³ but, a month later, Mobutu's government no longer existed.

Shortly after the Kabila government was installed, the Bechtel Company issued a detailed "master plan" outlining its vision of the development path Congo should take, "An Approach to National Development, Democratic Republic of Congo." While the report was somewhat rambling in its all-encompassing nature, the introduction made clear (not surprising for Bechtel) it looked to "a market economy," assurances "to the international financial community," and motivation for "private foreign investors." The first principle on which Bechtel's strategy rested was "the exploitation of natural resources."⁴

But some time after Kabila entered Kinshasa, doubts about his pliability surfaced. Both the Rwandan and the Ugandan regimes were seen by many commercial interests as far more reliable business partners. But neither country has much in the way of valuable mineral resources. To their immediate east, however, lies one of the greatest mineral fortunes in the world.⁵

It is not difficult to understand, then, why the international mining companies,

who had, under Mobutu, governed the area like individual protectorates, were more than willing for the invasion of 1998 to pass through the eastern Congo and clear the region of such DRC troops and officials as were there. Commerce, free of DRC taxes, was to resume its flow, not through Mobutu's hands, as in the old days, but through Rwanda and Uganda. "The eastern part of the country is treated by Uganda, and even more by Rwanda, as a hinterland with mining resources there for the taking."⁶

An examination of the scope of operations, and the corporate interests held not just by western multinationals, but by Rwandan, Ugandan, and other African politicians as well, is revealing.

Both Rwandan strongman Paul Kagame and his surrogate in eastern Congo, James Kabarebe, the Rwandan who was dismissed by Kabila as army chief of staff and then, a few days later, led the invasion against him, have interests in at least three or four of the companies doing business in the area.⁷ A number of companies in the east have been accused of "funding military operations in exchange for lucrative contracts," including the Australian company Russell Resources, headed by a former Israeli general; Krall, an Austrian firm; the Canadian Banro American Resources; and American Barrick Gold Corporation, of which former President George Bush is a shareholder.⁸

The rebel groups are hardly subtle. Jean-Pierre Bemba's MLC "is reportedly levying a

1. Deirdre Griswold, "Foreign Investors Welcome Zaire Rebels," *Workers World* (New York), Apr. 24, 1997.

2. The company reportedly had a capitalization of about \$37 million, "but has promised to raise the \$1 billion necessary to begin development of its two Zaire mines." Christopher Ruddy, "Arkansas Link to Zaire Rebel," *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, May 20, 1997. The company, traded on the Toronto Stock Exchange, but headquartered in President Clinton's home town, Hope, Arkansas, where its chief executive, Mike McMurrugh, is based. Several other companies, including De Beers, announced at the same time they were also considering deals with Kabila. Peter Alan Harper, "Soldiers of Fortune: Multinationals Say It's Time to Invest in Zaire," AP, Apr. 19, 1997. And see, "David Takes on Goliath of Diamonds," *Business Day* (Johannesburg), July 4, 1997.

3. John Cavill, "Huge Fortunes at Stake in Zaire," *Business Times* (Rosebank, South Africa), April 20, 1997.

4. See Colette Braeckman, "Pragmatic Rule in Congo-Kinshasa," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Dec. 1997. Robert S. Stewart, who was chairman of the board of American Mineral Fields, was also a consultant to Bechtel and participated in developing the "master plan." Marek Enterprise, Inc., Corporate Profile, Herndon, Va. Stewart is on the board of Marek Enterprise, a business analysis service run by Edward S. Marek, a former Air Force intelligence officer who worked for NSA, DIA, and the German Ministry of Defense. Marek publishes extensive analyses of Africa, with the Southern African Center for American Studies.

5. The eastern provinces of Congo contain 80% of the world's reserves of cobalt, essential to defense and other high-tech production. They also contain huge reserves of gold, diamonds, and copper. Raymond Bonner, "All Money; Mining Firms Say of Congo," *International Herald Tribune*, June 18, 1997. As a western mining executive said to Bonner, sweeping his hand over a geological map of Congo, "This is all money."

6. Colette Braeckman, "Carve-Up in the Congo," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Oct. 1999.

7. Litterlock Mining Limited, Tenfields Holdings Ltd., Collier Ventures Ltd., and Sapora Mining Ltd., as well as an export-import company, Intermarket. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

The handwriting was on the wall. A senior official told the UPI reporter "that Kabila can 'kiss goodbye' any hopes of American help if the positions taken by Karaha on elections and on Tshisekedi prove accurate reflections of the policies Kabila plans to pursue."

WAR CRIME ALLEGATIONS

The demand that the massacres committed during the overthrow of Mobutu be fully investigated and that the perpetrators be identified and punished was raised, but the U.N. and the Clinton administration never revealed what they knew—that these were Tutsi revenge killings. A few reports conceded that the atrocities were committed by troops

beyond Kabila's control.⁴² The media attacks against Kabila were relentless, always ignoring the astonishing degree to which foreign nations, Rwanda and Uganda, exercised absolute control over the Congolese military and security services.⁴³

Kabila responded cryptically to calls from human rights organizations demanding investigation into the massacres,

42. John Pomfret of the *Washington Post* interviewed Congolese soldiers fighting for Kabila. They admitted that the Congolese commander in the area, Gen. Gaston Muyango, "had no real power." Atrocities were "ordered by the Rwandan army officers who dominated Kabila's officer corps," including two who had ordered the slaughter of unarmed men, identified only as Col. Wilson and Col. Richard. Pomfret, *op. cit.*, n. 23.

43. "U.S. Moves to Resume Congo Assistance," AP, June 3, 1997.

claiming that countries and international groups must assume some of the responsibility. "All the forces...including in the name of sending humanitarian assistance, are [also] responsible...for these great violations." He stopped short of conceding that Rwandan troops, in fact, committed mass killings in their sweep across the country. But he hinted at complicity by both the U.S. government and certain human rights groups.⁴⁴

44. AP, Oct. 13, 1997; and see *CovertAction*, *op. cit.*, n. 23. In July 1997, Rwanda ordered the U.N. human rights office there closed. Barbara Crossette, "The Congo Massacres: The U.N. Steps Aside," *New York Times*, July 24, 1997. See also, Mwayila Tshiyembe, "Africa's New Players Jostle for Power," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Jan. 1999: "In an escalating dereliction of duty, the United Nations, the

ship and a bitter war?

20 percent tax on all deals...."⁹ And the deals are not limited to minerals. Bemba, who was, along with his father, a wealthy businessman under Mobutu, is selling coffee to the Geneva-based InterCafCo, which has no qualms about the arrangement. "We are absolutely sure that the government army will never come back to the north. We have done our research and we are certain that Kabila is finished. That's why we are dealing with Mr. Bemba."¹⁰ Investors from Belgium, Israel, Lebanon, and South Africa, among others, move in and out of Bemba's headquarters, "unperturbed about doing business with a rebel group." A Belgian pharmaceutical company is trading medicines for diamonds.¹¹

The syndrome is a natural one: "As struggles over political succession proliferate, corporations face the choice of sitting passively by as war consumes investment, or quietly backing one of the factions. The natural symbiosis between warring factions eager for financial support and corporations eager to protect their investments will inevitably lead to cooperation between the two...."¹²

THE DIAMOND WARS

The most critical commodity, for numerous and convoluted reasons, are diamonds, a major resource of Congo, Angola, Namibia, and South Africa. For one thing, the market has long been dominated by De Beers, which had a monopoly agreement with Mobutu, and still

controls 70 percent of the world diamond market.¹³ All of these countries have dreamed of breaking the grip of De Beers on the world market. They have been helped by the adverse publicity De Beers received for a long history of buying diamonds from UNITA, providing the group with some of the funding necessary to wage its 25-year war against the Angolan government. The U.N. estimated that, from 1992 to 1998, UNITA had earned up to \$4 billion from its illegal diamond sales. In 1998, the U.N. added diamonds to its list of sanctions on UNITA, but the origin of raw diamonds pouring into the European cutting centers is extremely difficult to prove. In February 2000, De Beers announced that it would no longer sell gems from rebel-held territories, but within days was charged with failure to live up to its promise.¹⁴

Because "South African officials have substantial business ties with UNITA,"¹⁵ and because of De Beers's preeminent role in the South African economy, Pretoria's public support for Luanda has been lukewarm at best, and it is widely reported to give "quiet support" to UNITA.¹⁶ Still, South Africa wants more income from De Beers and has raised relevant duties and fees; De Beers's announcement was seen by some as a ploy to put pressure on South Africa to back off. Congo, on the other hand, wants to break De Beers's monopoly, a difficult task.¹⁷

THE PROFIT MOTIVE

The role played by the sale of natural resources in the region—its only real "cash crop"—is a function of the overriding influence of the profit motive on western, particularly U.S., policy.

The political program of President Laurent Kabila's government states, "The Congo for the Congolese, the wealth of the Congo for the Congolese; all decisions relating to the Congo to be taken by the Congolese."¹⁸ (This is encouraging, if true.) In the West, however, such sentiments don't compute. "The American government is prepared to engage Africa as a serious partner which has a lot of commercial potential from which U.S. businesses can profit."¹⁹ "U.S. investors see Africa as a promising frontier, one where returns on investments have so far averaged, as President Clinton noted on his trip, an impressive 35 percent."²⁰ The Clinton administration definitively supports "commercial diplomacy," often called "trade, not aid."²¹

The final outcome of the battle over the profits of Congo's natural resources remains problematic. It is likely to be some time, if ever, before the Congo government and people receive any gain from the minerals now under rebel-held ground.

—Ellen Ray

9. "Bemba, Wamba, Rwanda Are All Setting Up Shop in the Congo as the Concrete of Partition Continues to Set," *Africa Network News*, Dec. 15, 1999.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Rosalind Russell, "Congo Rebels Woo Foreigners With Diamonds and Coffee," *Reuters*, Dec. 14, 1999.

12. "Africa: More of the Same, and Worse," *Global Intelligence Update*, Stratfor, Dec. 31, 1999.

13. "Africa's Diamond War," *Stratfor Special Report*, Nov. 13, 1999.

14. Ben Hirschler, "De Beers to Guarantee 'Rebel-free' Diamonds," *Reuters*, Feb. 29, 2000; Bill Rosato, "UNITA Ignoring Sanctions to Finance War—U.K. Group," *Reuters*, Mar. 8, 2000.

15. "Angolan Rebels May Target U.S. Interests in New Offensive," *Global Intelligence Update* 2000, Stratfor.

16. *Op. cit.*, n. 13.

17. *Op. cit.*, n. 5.

18. "Hands Off the Democratic Republic of Congo," *Lalhar* (U.K.), Sep.-Oct. 1998. The statement was made after visits to China, Libya, and Cuba, where, Kabila said, he was very impressed by their economic independence.

19. "United States-African Relations: Between 'Free' Trade and Hope," *South Center paper*, 1999.

20. Frank Smyth, "A New Game: The Clinton Administration on Africa," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1998.

21. Philippe Leymarie, "Washington Sets Out to Conquer 'Virgin Territory,'" *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Mar. 1998.

An October 1997 Human Rights Watch report with the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues stated, "Kabila's troops, particularly Rwandan allies, segregated and executed young men, former Hutu government officials and Hutu intellectuals." They accused the U.S. of ignoring the massacres to "hasten a conclusion to the region's three-year refugee crisis."⁴⁵

An exception to most media coverage was a revealing *Washington Post* investigation by Scott Campbell, placing much of

International Red Cross, the humanitarian NGOs, and the states themselves have abandoned hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees to their fate in the forests and savannah of eastern Congo-Kinshasa."⁴⁵ October 1997 Electronic Telegraph from Johannesburg.

the blame on Paul Kagame's Rwandans, and noting that, while the Defense Department admitted training RPA troops inside Rwanda, "knowledgeable witnesses told me they had seen U.S. soldiers in the company of RPA troops on Congolese territory on various dates including July 23rd and 24th of this year... Massacre sites continue to be cleaned up and potential witnesses intimidated... Rwandan officers and troops remain in the Congo in the same areas where they participated in massacres, representing a lethal threat to any who would dare collaborate with the U.N. team."⁴⁶

Campbell concluded by urging that "Kabila and the international community... insist that Kagame withdraw his troops

46. *Washington Post*, Sep. 22, 1997.

from Congolese territory and investigate anyone suspected of killing civilians. Armed Hutu soldiers and militia must also finally be disarmed and brought to justice."⁴⁷

It became apparent that the Clinton administration would welcome Kabila's overthrow, and perhaps had always envisioned such an outcome. The desired scenario was floated in *World Policy Review*, where, in the summer of 1998, just before the second Congo invasion, Frank Smyth savaged Kabila, calling him a "thug," and stating that "Voices from all quarters say that the Kabila regime is corrupt. Even his former allies in Rwanda, Uganda, and Eritrea have begun asking whether they should have recruited another Zairean to lead operations in eastern

47. *Ibid.*

Zaire.”⁴⁸ The notion that Paul Kagame was sensitive to charges of official corruption is laughable, but Smythe’s article confirmed that the die was cast.

At the same time, much “shiny new military hardware was appearing at Kigali airport in Rwanda.”⁴⁹ It was not long before what the western press would dub “Africa’s First World War” began.⁵⁰

OUSTER, ATTEMPTED COUP, AND INVASION

Only four months after President Clinton’s March 1998 trip to Africa,⁵¹ Kabila ordered all Rwandan and Ugandan Tutsi troops and military instructors out of the country. On July 28, 1998, they began to leave, taking much of what was left of the DRC treasury with them.

Kabila later described a foiled assassination attempt against him as the factor that precipitated the ouster, as well as the Tutsi killings of Hutu refugees, which had spread to the central Equatorial region.⁵²

On August 2, only four days later, Rwanda and Uganda invaded Congo from the east with ground troops from their regular armies. And just two days after that, in what must have involved months of forward planning, there were two airborne invasions by Rwanda in the west, and Ugandan troops simultaneously landed in the south and occupied the ports.

An attempted coup was under way.

While some “rebels” were involved in the invasion (mostly former Mobutu officers), “Rwandan and Ugandan soldiers...constitute the major portion of those troops which are combating Kabila’s government,” according to a statement at the time by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.⁵³ Nevertheless, it

was months before Uganda and Rwanda admitted that their soldiers were involved in the invasion. (The U.S. has yet to confirm its participation.)⁵⁴

The early fighting in western Congo almost reached Kinshasa. For nearly a month, Rwandan troops controlled Kitona airport, and Ugandans in the southwest held the Inga dam, cutting electricity and water into the capital.⁵⁵ In mid-August, when the invaders totally defied a demand from the Organization of African Unity to lay down their arms, Zimbabwe and Angola, and later Namibia, decided to send troops to Congo to assist the government in beating back the assault. It was only after fierce fighting, with vital military support from the Angolans and Zimbabweans, along with spirited defense from the local populace in Kinshasa, that the rebels were repulsed at the gates of the capital. Ultimately, by the end of August, they were driven back to the eastern regions.⁵⁶



LIFE IN THE OCCUPIED ZONE

The battle in eastern Congo is another story, one that still rages, despite more than a year of cease-fire efforts. In North Kivu, South Kivu, and Haut-Congo provinces the invaders have been able to occupy vast reaches of territory, at present more than half of the entire country. (Congo is more than one-fourth the size of the U.S.) The isolated infrastructure of this area, encompassing most of the mineral wealth of Congo, has remained under the ef-

fective control of rebel groups, as proxies for the Ugandans, the Rwandans, and the various mining firms and their private security forces.

Since the invasion, for almost two years, the fortunes of the “rebel” groups, themselves riven with splits and recriminations, have been inextricably tied to the mercurial and deteriorating relations between Uganda and Rwanda, all competing for Congo’s fabulous mineral wealth. Personal relations between the Ugandan and Rwandan leaders were close for many years, ever since Kagame, as an exile in Uganda, was a rising star in its army. He helped Museveni come to power. By the summer of 1999, however, relations were so strained between the two countries that their troops fought a bloody three-day battle in Kisangani. Rwanda had attempted, unsuccessfully, to take control of the Haut-Congo capital, where the Ugandan army and rebels have their headquarters.⁵⁷

THE REBEL SURROGATES

One branch of the Congolese Union for Democracy (RCD), based on the border with Uganda, is headed by Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, a former university professor who was brought from exile in Tanzania and appeared in public three weeks after the attempted coup. By all reports, he is a Congolese nationalist who is in favor of a non-military solution, but whose ambition to be the leader of Congo has him, in some analysts’ opinion, in “over his head.” Wamba dia Wamba first operated out of Goma with the protection of Rwandan Tutsi and former Mobutu troops. When political-military differences became severe, in April 1999, ousted by the military faction and in fear for his life, he moved the headquarters of his group to Kisangani and renamed his operation RCD-ML. He is now under the protection of the Ugandan army.

Rwanda backs the military branch of Wamba’s former group, still in Goma and now led by Dr. Emile Ilunga, from Katanga, Kabila’s home province. Ilunga’s faction is now called RCD-Goma. The security chief for this branch is Bizima Karaha, Kabila’s former foreign minister.⁵⁸

Yet another group, the Movement for Congolese Liberation (MLC), in the north central region, is also backed by Uganda, led by Jean-Pierre Bemba, a young businessman during the Mobutu era. His group is composed of some former Mobutu officers and soldiers. Curiously, his father, Saolona Bemba, a very wealthy former close associate of

48. Smythe, *op. cit.*, n. 16. Sourcing as provocative a proposition as this to “voices from all quarters” is also shabby journalism.

49. “Hands Off the Democratic Republic of Congo,” *Lalkar* (Southall, U.K.), Sep.-Oct. 1998.

50. This prescient military slogan has been alternately attributed to Madeleine Albright and to Susan Rice.

51. Clinton visited South Africa, Rwanda, and Uganda, among other countries, but bypassed Congo. Secretary of State Albright had visited Congo in December 1997. The *World Policy Journal* report by Frank Smythe announced her displeasure: “Albright held a joint press conference with [Kabila] [who] embarrassed her by railing against a local journalist who dared to ask about an imprisoned opposition leader.” Smythe, *op. cit.*, n. 16.

52. *CovertAction*, *op. cit.*, n. 23.

53. *Solidaire* (Brussels), Sep. 8, 1998. And according to Colette Braeckman, writing in the Belgian daily, *Le Soir*, U.S. naval ships off the coast were directing the invasion in the west. Quoted and translated from the French in *Vision*, Sep. 29, 1998. Among prisoners taken by the Congo army on the west coast were both Rwandan and Ugandan troops; the Ugandans belonged to an elite unit that had been trained by the Americans. *Solidaire*.

54. Norimitsu Onishi, “Long War Saps Spirit and Money in Congo,” *New York Times*, Dec. 30, 1998. When the Rwandans finally admitted their involvement, they recited a mantra of the Hutu refugees being an ever-present threat to their security. But according to *Le Monde Diplomatique*, “Kigali’s security is nothing but a pretext for a plan to conquer and control the resources of the country.” Colette Braeckman, “Carve-Up in the Congo,” *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Oct. 1999.

55. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54.

56. See the Chronologies of the Current Crisis, published by the Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; home page: www.reliefweb.int.

57. “Rwanda and Uganda Battling to Control Key City in Congo,” *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1999; Ian Fisher and Norimitsu Onishi, “Many Armies Ravage a Rich Land in the ‘First World War’ of Africa,” *New York Times*, Feb. 6, 2000.

58. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54; Fisher and Onishi, *op. cit.*, n. 57; see also *op. cit.*, n. 56.

Mobutu, was put in jail in Kinshasa when Kabila took power. The elder Bemba somehow transformed himself into Kabila's political ally and is now the DRC Minister of Economy and Industry (even as his son plots the overthrow of the Kabila government).⁵⁹

The rebels are definitely not welcome in most of the northeast half of the country they control. "[T]he men seeking to overthrow the President of Congo, Laurent Kabila, have been decidedly unpopular even as they conquered nearly half this huge country. They are linked too closely with Rwanda, which provides the rebels with troops and arms but is despised by many ordinary Congolese."⁶⁰ The London *Economist* had earlier acknowledged that "The second rebellion in two years is unpopular with most Congolese. In 1996, the rebels [here meaning Kabila's forces] held crowded rallies at which they recruited young fighters. In the eastern Kivu province which the rebels [here meaning Kabila's opponents] still hold, and in the towns outside Kivu which they have captured...rallies have been...sparsely attended...rebel leaders have been booed, and there have been no lines of young men eager to join."⁶¹

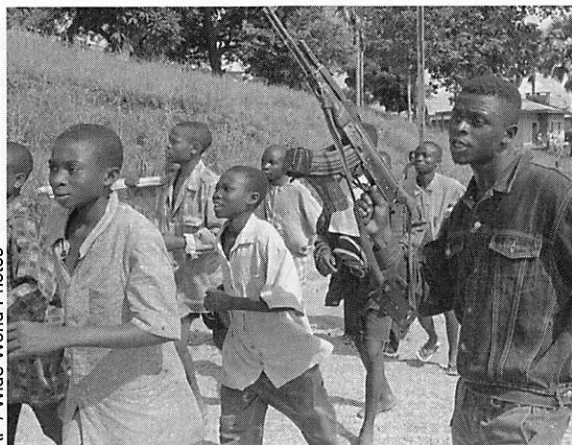
Abuses, indeed atrocities, by the RCD and other rebel groups in North and South Kivu have been well-documented. "Reports from South Kivu strongly suggest the danger of large-scale violence among different ethnic groups there. Among several alleged massacres and atrocities is the burial alive of 15 women in Kivu province by rebels, apparently in suspicion of contacts with Mayi-Mayi forces."⁶² Mayi-Mayi are a local tribe that supports Kabila because of their antipathy for the Tutsi aggressors.

Another conflict—this one in the rebel-controlled area bordering on Uganda—is a Ugandan-instigated war between the Hema and the Lendu tribes. Long at peace, albeit tensely, they began battling fiercely when Ugandan forces took control of the region and paid the Hema to step up the level of warfare.⁶³ The fighting has been described as

"massacres on a chilling scale."⁶⁴ The Ugandans have used the fighting as an excuse to send more regular army troops into the area.⁶⁵ Many other examples of infighting among rebel groups and their sponsors are surfacing.

Although it is "generally agreed that the rebels are thoroughly detested in the areas they have now occupied for more than a year,"⁶⁶ the Congolese army has been unable to dislodge them.

So, "de facto partition" has come to Congo.⁶⁷ Money is a major factor. As *Le Monde Diplomatique* noted, "the well-equipped



Child soldiers with rebels, occupied Congo, 1998.

Rwandan and Ugandan troops [with the rebels] are paid in dollars."⁶⁸

And the dollars are flowing. Eastern Congo, virtually annexed by Uganda and Rwanda, is one of the most mineral-rich areas in the world. (See sidebar, pp. 8-9.) Gold and diamonds and rare strategic minerals are flowing into the two countries, earning vast sums for their treasuries.

The border between Congo and Rwanda is "a mere formality."⁶⁹ The international mining companies that operate in Kivu protect the Rwandans, who "have a monopoly on the mining and marketing of those minerals."⁷⁰

only sided with the Hema...but have killed Lendu for hire...another way that Ugandan soldiers have profited from the war in Congo.... So far, they have been accused of smuggling out diamonds, gold, coffee, and ivory." Fisher, *supra*.

64. Simon Denyer, "Greed Fans Ethnic Flames in Congo War," Reuters, Feb. 7, 2000.

65. "Uganda Sending More Troops to Congo," Reuters, Feb. 18, 2000.

66. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54.

67. *Op. cit.*, n. 17.

68. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54.

69. *Ibid.* Neither Uganda nor Rwanda have any mineral resources of their own to speak of. Mwayila Tshiyembe, "Africa's New Players Jostle for Power," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Jan. 1999.

70. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54. Kagame, Kabarebe, and even former President George Bush, have interests in mining companies. *Ibid.*

The West has ignored the blatant theft of Congo's sovereign natural resources. Some believe this is because its *bona fides* were so shattered by its apparent indifference to the 1994 atrocities. Paul Kagame was politically sophisticated enough, some analysts noted, that, since 1994, he has "played on Washington's sense of guilt about the genocide."⁷¹ *Le Monde Diplomatique* agreed: "The genocide of the Tutsis is now invoked to play on the international community's sense of guilt and persuade the United States to look with a kindly eye on what is nothing less than a plan to conquer and control the resources of the Congo."⁷² Others believe, instead, there is an overwhelming coincidence of interests for all of the parties involved—greed.

THE LUSAKA ACCORD

Less than two months after rebels had taken control of eastern Congo and were moving toward the diamond mines in the southwest near Angola, Susan Rice began to press for a ceasefire. After two days of discussion with Kabila in Kinshasa,⁷³ on November 1, Rice went to Zambia for talks with President Frederick Chiluba, the anointed mediator. In Lusaka, Rice pressed her point. "There is absolutely no military solution which is viable."⁷⁴ Given the unending U.S. military support for Rwanda and Uganda, Rice knew well why a military solution was impossible for the Congolese, half of whose country was under foreign occupation.

But more than eight months were to elapse before any agreement was reached. With the crucial support of Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, Congo was able to halt any further rebel advances and to protect the vital southeast, Katanga, with its diamond mines. (Rebel groups and their Ugandan and Rwandan sponsors were constantly squabbling, having splits, and moving headquarters, and the Rwandans and Ugandans were fighting each other.)

Moreover, the Americans' hand-picked peace broker, Chiluba, was hardly neutral. Frederick Chiluba, president of Zambia, was known to allow UNITA to transit through Zambian territory in their constant forays against Angola. Chiluba was also discovered to have extensive interests in the interna-

71. *Op. cit.*, n. 11.

72. Braeckman, *op. cit.*, n. 54.

73. Ian Fisher, "Disunited Rebels Share One Goal: Ousting Kabila," *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1998.

74. Agence France-Presse, "U.S. Discusses War in Congo With Zambia," *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1998. Two weeks later, she used the same rhetoric: "You cannot walk away from it. There is no other viable vehicle for peace." Hrvoje Hranjski, "Congo Deal Said Only Path to Peace," AP, Nov. 19, 1999.



U.S. Special Forces soldier reviews area map with élite Rwandan troops.

tionally outlawed UNITA diamond trade, the main source of financing for the rebel group. UNITA was not only wreaking havoc, as it has for 25 years, in Angola, Congo's close and critical ally, its troops were now fighting the DRC in Congo as well, alongside the Rwandan rebels.

By the end of the year, pressures on Kabila to enter talks were overpowering, even though it had become clear to the world that Congo had been invaded and occupied by foreign powers and was not in the throes of a civil war.⁷⁵

In January 1999, Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Angola agreed to an African-sponsored cease-fire framework, but since the rebel groups had not been invited to the meetings, nothing would be meaningful until they agreed.

The wheeling and dealing intensified through the spring of 1999. Numerous meetings were held under the auspices of the Organization for African Unity and the Southern African Development Community.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, it took U.S. pressure on the participants—including Nelson Mandela's good offices (splitting still further what were once the united frontline states)—to forge an agreement that would satisfy the rebels. This was not difficult, given the impressive level of U.S. military and economic support for Rwanda and Uganda, as well as for the South African government.

75. Onishi, *op. cit.*, n. 54. On November 6, in the wake of the Rice visits, Kagame "acceded to a request by South African President Nelson Mandela to admit involvement in a bid to advance peace talks." IRIN Chronology. See also, Ian Fisher, "U.S. Diplomat Pleads for Political Solution to Civil War [sic] in Congo," *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1998.

76. The two African organizations had early on recognized the legitimacy both of the Kabila government and of the interventions on its behalf by Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia.

In June, foreign and defense ministers gathered in Lusaka, later joined by their nations' leaders, and by July 7 new terms of the cease-fire accord had been announced. Clinton's special envoy for Africa, Howard Wolpe, who was in Lusaka for the duration, noted, somewhat ominously, "Our sense is that the key players have come to comprehend how enormously costly this is not only to the people of the Congo but to the entire region."⁷⁷

Of all Congo's allies, Angola has the most serious stake in the outcome of the war. UNITA forces have been using southern Congo to attack Luanda's troops since Mobutu's time and had long before joined with Rwandan Tutsi fighters. In late August 1998, only weeks after the war began, UNITA representatives met with Kagame. Some UNITA fighters were also captured in "rebel" skirmishes.⁷⁸ Further complicating the situation, "UNITA has reportedly received South African arms, shipped to Mozambique and flown on South African aircraft to Angola by way of Zambia."⁷⁹ After decades of support for UNITA, the U.S., according to U.N. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, now proposed to "throw its weight behind" efforts to "tighten and enforce sanctions" against them.⁸⁰

77. Norimitsu Onishi, "Pacts Reached on Congo and Sierra Leone," *New York Times*, July 8, 1999.

78. "Africa: More of the Same, and Worse," *Global Intelligence Update*, Stratfor, Dec. 31, 1999; *Solidaire*, Sep. 8, 1998.

79. Stratfor, *op. cit.*, n. 78.

80. Barbara Crossette, "Holbrooke to Draw Outline of New U.S. Plans in Africa," *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1999. According to Angolan newspaper reports in July, the U.S. had "agreed to resume military cooperation with Angola...." "U.S. Attempts to Contain and Segment African Conflicts," *Global Intelligence Update*, Stratfor, July 27, 1999. The Clinton administration was also "considering" efforts to curb UNITA's illegal traffic in diamonds. Raymond Bonner, "U.S. May Try to Curb Diamond Trade That Fuels Africa Wars," *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1999. Critics note tersely that "UNITA has outlived its usefulness for U.S. imperialism." Johnnie Stevens, "U.S. Role in An-

The effect on Namibia has also been significant. In August, a separatist group in Namibia's Caprivi Strip, previously inactive, launched a series of military attacks made possible by supplies and other assistance from UNITA. Their "suspected motive," the *New York Times* noted, "is to punish Namibia for its role in the Congo war."⁸¹ As recently as February 2000, UNITA troops were attacking Namibian border villages.⁸² Namibia has "a growing problem with UNITA along its border with Angola and in the breakaway Caprivi Strip.... Caprivi separatists reportedly receive aid not only from UNITA, but also from Botswana and Zambia."⁸³ In addition, Zimbabwe's contributions to the Congo war effort played a major role in the devastation of its economy and the likely ouster of President Robert Mugabe.

When everyone sat down in Lusaka, the rebels dampened U.S. enthusiasm by refusing to sign the accord (unable to agree on who would sign it on their behalf).⁸⁴ It would take another month and a half before the RCD rivals agreed that both factions would sign.⁸⁵

It was just at this moment that Richard Holbrooke began to take center stage. In August, Clinton administration horse-trading with Senate Republicans had abandoned funding for U.N. projects overseas that supported abortion programs in exchange for confirmation of Holbrooke as U.N. ambassador. In the meantime, his Africa staff had been shepherding the accords to their signing, maintaining a constant pressure on Kabila to accede.⁸⁶

The agreement called for a step-by-step withdrawal of foreign troops, including the rebels, within 180 days, rather than immediately, as the African-sponsored version had required. This meant that the rebels would stay in Congo. In any case, that deadline was never met. The foreign troops never left.⁸⁷

Cease-fire violations since then have become rampant. By mid-November each side

gola: Washington Tries to Pose as an 'Honest Broker,' " *Workers World News*, Dec. 23, 1999.

81. Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "Tangled War in Congo Now Snares Namibians," *Aug. 6, 1999.*

82. "Suspected UNITA Rebels Attack Namibian Village," *Reuters*, Feb. 17, 2000.

83. Stratfor, *op. cit.*, n. 80.

84. There was only one seat for the RCD, and when Ernest Wamba dia Wamba of RCD-ML sat down in it, neither Emile Inlunga nor Bizima Karaha of RCD-Goma would enter the room. Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "Not Quite a Triumph in Congo," *New York Times*, July 12, 1999.

85. Jean-Baptiste Kayigamba, "Congo Rebels Agree to Sign Peace Accord," *Reuters*, Aug. 24, 1999.

86. In Congo, just as a year before with the criminal KLA in Kosovo, Holbrooke was the first U.S. official to meet publicly with the rebel groups. Rosalind Russell, "U.S. Envoy Holds Talks With Congo Rebels," *Reuters*, Dec. 10, 1999.

87. As late as December 1999, Zimbabwe stated that American mercenaries had been seen fighting with the rebels. Cris Chinaka, "Zimbabwe Says U.S. Mercenaries in Congo Rebel Ranks," *Reuters*, Dec. 1, 1999.

accused the other of violations. Susan Rice continued to insist, "Lusaka is the only viable way. It can and must be implemented."⁸⁸ She then announced that Richard Holbrooke would travel to the region in December. When he did, he "acknowledged that unlike the Balkans, where military might and billions of dollars have been devoted to peacemaking, NATO was not available to impose a settlement."⁸⁹ Nevertheless, he was both threatening and patronizing. The OAU, he insisted, must "get its act together," or the U.S. would not support a peacekeeping operation at all.⁹⁰

This was a reference to another critical provision of the accords, calling for the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force within 120 days, another unmet deadline. The U.N. force has only just been authorized, after a special session of the Security Council in January.⁹¹ Albright, Holbrooke, and company, had learned to be less publicly ham-handed since their manipulations of the Rambouillet meetings on Yugoslavia had been widely exposed, and the Security Council sessions were relatively open and smooth, paving the way for U.N. approval.⁹²

Nevertheless, the U.S. role continues to grow, even as the U.N. prepares to deploy a woefully inadequate 5,000-man peacekeeping force.⁹³ The Pentagon is already giving military advice to the U.N. on that force. It is, in the words of Holbrooke, giving "the United Nations the benefit of U.S. experience in such matters."⁹⁴ Direct participation of U.S. personnel remains a touchy subject, after the debacle in Somalia, also under Clinton's watch. Unfor-

tunately, former South African President Nelson Mandela has not only offered to send South African troops to Congo, but has also publicly urged the participation of U.S. forces there, a certain recipe for disaster.⁹⁵

WHAT IT REALLY MEANS: BALKANIZATION

The U.S. shaping of, and insistent support for, the Lusaka accords only highlights what has been clear for some time. The agreement was not a good deal for the Congo government, and Kabila was forced to accede only because of the implicit threat that refusal would be met by even greater assistance to the rebels and the potential dismantling of the entire country.⁹⁶ In stark contrast to the resolutions of the OAU and the SADC, and to the earlier draft agreement before the last gathering in Lusaka, the final accord did not even recognize the legitimacy of the DRC government or President Kabila.⁹⁷

When the agreement was signed, U.S. envoy Howard Wolpe noted, "it's a very important beginning to have all the parties together, collectively laying out a road map."⁹⁸ But the map is of a partitioned, divided Congo, contrary to the OAU Charter and a throw-back to the Berlin Conference of 1885, when the western powers drew the boundaries of African nations with impunity.

More than a year ago, the *New York Times* launched what can now be identified as a major propaganda campaign to legitimize the Balkanization of Africa, much as the re-Balkanization of Yugoslavia was promoted in the West during the 1990s.⁹⁹ On January 12, 1999, when the Lusaka accord

lay well in the future, a front-page article by Ian Fisher with Norimitsu Onishi entitled "Congo's Struggle May Unleash Broad Strife to Redraw Africa," appeared. Its rhetorical trick was to lay the responsibility for the current borders on meddling European colonialists, implying, despite OAU recognition of those borders as inviolate, that the redrawing of those boundaries by African combatants might be more legitimate: "The borders of African nations, set up arbitrarily by the Europeans who colonized the continent a century ago, are supposed to be inviolate. Yet Congo is now split in two, perhaps for good."

While the article paid lip service to the "stability" lent to the continent by respect for those boundaries, it planted the seeds of doubt: "The borders established [at the Berlin Conference] had little to do with geography or the lines that separated ethnic groups."

A few days later, the *Times* campaign continued, more directly. A long article on January 16 by Howard W. French was entitled "The African Question: Who Is to Blame? The Finger Points to the West, and Congo Is a Harsh Example." While some recognition was given to the generally exploitative legacy of "European subjugation and rule," the imposition of boundaries was stressed: "colonial subjugation brutally ended Africa's sovereign evolution toward modern nation-states." An African scholar at the State University of New York at Buffalo was quoted: "The example I like to think of is if an African imperial army had marched into Europe in the Middle Ages and required Germany, France, and England to live together by force of arms. It would have unleashed untold mayhem...." "Almost every time the Europeans created a state," French wrote, "ethnic groups or previously existing African polities were split by the new borders, undermining the new states' claims to legitimacy in the eyes of their inhabitants."

PERMANENT DIVISION?

Most recently, the *Times*, while never openly endorsing partition, has lauded the "relative stability" of the current division of Congo¹⁰⁰ and has opined that the main mission of the U.N. peacekeeping force will be to "provide security in relatively stable zones."¹⁰¹

It is not unlikely that the boundaries of a two-Congo Africa have already been set—imposed yet again by the western powers. ■

88. Hranjski, *op. cit.*, n. 74.

89. Daniel J. Wakin, "Holbrooke Demands Congo Compliance," AP, Dec. 6, 1999.

90. Crossette, *op. cit.*, n. 80.

91. Holbrooke had announced in December that January would be "the month of Africa," the month in which the U.S. was to assume the Security Council presidency. *Ibid.*

92. Tensions were softened by wining and dining in New York City, some of it hosted by billionaire mining entrepreneur Maurice Templesman, chairman of the Corporate Council on Africa, who took everyone to a white-glove dinner at the Metropolitan Club. Nicole Winfield, "Talks Continue on Congo Peace," AP, Jan. 25, 2000. In 1974, Templesman had hired Lawrence Devlin, the former CIA Chief of Station in Kinshasa, upon his retirement from the Agency, to exploit his connections with Mobutu. Devlin had tried hard to assassinate Patrice Lumumba. He testified before the Senate under the pseudonym Victor Hedgeman. Ellen Ray, et al., *Dirty Work: The CIA in Africa* (Secaucus: Lyle Stuart, 1979), p. 350. It was Devlin with whom the CIA's scientist left the biological toxins he had brought to Congo. Senate Select Committee, *op. cit.*, n. 1.

93. The violence has become almost endemic. "We are seeing the growth of social groupings where war, and organizing for war, are tending to become everyday activities." *Op. cit.*, n. 17.

94. Ben Barber, "Pentagon Advises U.N. on Congo," *Washington Times*, Feb. 9, 2000. Of course, the U.S. feels entitled to "advise"; it is paying "at least a fourth of the \$160 million start-up costs." "U.N. Council Close to Approving Small Force for Congo," Reuters, Feb. 24, 2000.

95. "South Africa Aims High, Budget Lags Behind," Global Intelligence Update, Stratfor, Jan. 12, 2000; Kominform, Feb. 16, 2000. Mandela, who had condemned the foreign invasion of Congo, has become a critic of the Kabila government and has met with leaders of the rebels, including Etienne Tshisekedi. Buchizya Mseteka, "Mandela Says U.N. Must Go to Congo, Hits Kabila," Reuters, Jan. 28, 2000.

96. "When Kabila signed the Lusaka agreement, the rebellion achieved its most important objective in forcing the Kabila government to agree to an inclusive political process." Horace G. Campbell, "From War to Peace in the Congo or Devastation and Militarism," private paper, Syracuse, New York, Aug. 19, 1999.

97. President José Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola said in his presentation to the Security Council, "The omission of the principle that the legitimacy and authority of the present government and the president of the Democratic Republic of Congo should be recognized, leaves room for some confusion and uncertainty. A government that has not been militarily defeated cannot accept capitulating at the negotiation table." Permanent Mission of the Republic of Angola to the United Nations, Press Release, Jan. 24, 2000.

98. *Op. cit.*, n. 77.

99. See Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap, "NATO and Beyond: The Wars of the Future," *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 66 (Winter 1999).

100. "Risks and Realities in Congo," editorial, Feb. 29, 2000.

101. "A Peace Strategy for Congo," editorial, Jan. 31, 2000.



U.S. Navy Special Operations trainer teaches Senegalese sailors.

USSOCOM

NAFTA FOR AFRICA AND THE NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA

Even before Kabila entered Kinshasa, a battle was brewing over new plans for U.S. exploitation of Africa. In April 1997, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was introduced in Congress. For more than two years it was debated, both hailed and criticized as a "NAFTA for Africa." A rival bill, the Human Rights, Opportunity, Partnership and Empowerment for Africa Act, was introduced in early 1999, but it was too late. In July 1999, the House approved the AGOA, and in February 2000 a slightly different version was approved by the Senate. The bill is currently in committee.

Economic analyses of the Act centered on its "conditionality" provisions: "At the core of the Act is another attempt to force African governments to prioritize a series of free market principles, including cuts in government expenditures, privatization of government corporations, new rights for foreign investors to buy African natural resources and state firms without limits, deep cuts in tariffs, and membership in the World Trade Organization."¹

The Act, like every other imposition of western capitalist, free-market values, is touted as a great benefit to the people of Africa—a private sector white man's burden, bringing globalization to the natives because of the trade it purports to promote, a kind of trickle-down improvement. But, as critics have noted, "Indeed at its core are policies now proven to increase poverty and decrease the provision of public goods such as health care and education."²

The Act's congressional opponents, led by Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr. (Dem.-Ill.), stress the "devastating consequences" of the "IMF economic development model," noting that the Act provides no debt relief, no program to deal with the health crisis in Africa, and no protections of labor rights or of the environment. Jackson also noted that the Act's supporters were mostly "corporate-oriented."³ Corporate orientation, in fact, proved the key to passage.

THE NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA

Concurrently, another battle in the same arena was brewing, the National Summit on Africa (NSA). The Summit itself, held in Washington

in February 2000, was the culmination of a four-year effort, including a series of regional mini-summits, funded with almost \$8 million from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.⁴ For all that time, representatives from progressive organizations working toward the NSA, were led to believe that the NSA would be broad-based and had no hidden agenda. Some 2,300 delegates, including many activists and solidarity workers attended. The latter were stunned to see the entire effort bent to the desires of the corporate and business communities, and to the Clinton administration, in pressing for passage of AGOA. The final assembly "was clouded with charges by many grassroots and nongovernmental organizations rooted in the antiapartheid movement that the mobilizing effort put into the summit risked being hijacked by a leadership with a 'corporate friendly' agenda."⁵

The NSA, dominated by U.S. officials (including Al Gore, Madeleine Albright, and Susan Rice) and multinational corporations (like Chevron and Monsanto), has moved to perpetuate itself as a permanent organization, threatening the funding of the established Africa-oriented groups. This was directly contrary to its original program designed to bolster the resources of existing NGOs and other Africa-oriented groups, leading non-corporate oriented board members to resign and many NGOs to recommend disaffiliation.⁶ As long-time activist Prexy Nesbitt commented, the meeting was "controlled by...the new colonizers."⁷

The international business community has pulled off another coup, further hindering the efforts of Africa to shed centuries of western exploitation. As the *Nairobi Nation* noted, "The challenge for the U.S. is to stop dictating policy to African states and to support initiatives originating from the continent itself."⁸

— Ellen Ray

1. "Africa Growth and Opportunity Act Passes House," Association of Concerned Africa Scholars Briefing Paper, July 19, 1999.

2. *Ibid.* See generally, Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalization of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms* (London: Zed Books, 1997).

3. Office of Rep. Jackson, Press Release, July 16, 1999.

4. The level of funding was astonishing. Early on, a number of organizations "voiced strong concerns about the huge expenditures (more than \$400,000 on one regional conference, including \$40,000 for fresh flowers)...." Jim Lobe and Jim Cason, "Africa Activism: What Direction Now?" *The Progressive Response*, Feb. 25, 2000.

5. *Ibid.*

6. For commentaries on the Summit process, see Africa News On Line, the Panafrikan News Agency, and *The Progressive Response*.

7. *Op. cit.*, n. 4.

8. "Africa Isn't an Esoteric Subject for Conferences," editorial, *Nation* (Nairobi), Feb. 21, 2000.

THE ROLE OF THE U.S. MILITARY

The U.S. government, along with the rest of the world, did virtually nothing during the 1994 massacres of the Rwandan Tutsi. Within a short time, however, the Clinton administration began to see Africa as "one of the last virgin territories for U.S. investors."¹

During his March 1998 trip to Africa, President Clinton seemed almost to suggest he had not known about the massacres, but was nevertheless apologetic. The next year, after the "lessons" of Kosovo, Clinton was more specific. In a victorious June 1999 speech in Skopje, Macedonia, praising NATO forces for the campaign in Kosovo, he bragged that now the alliance could intervene anywhere. "In Africa or central Europe, we will not allow, only because of differences in ethnic background or religion or racism, people to be attacked. We will stop that. We can do it now. We can do it tomorrow, if it is necessary, somewhere else."²

But while NATO may have the ability, and perhaps even the desire, to deploy around the world, the U.S. military has been doing so for many years, much of it in secret.

In 1987, the Pentagon inaugurated an independent command to consolidate Special Operations Forces of Army Green Berets, Rangers, and the covert Delta Force, Navy SEALs, Special Boat Units, and the Covert Team 6 and Air Force Special Operations and Internal Defense Squadrons. This move was sponsored by then Senator, now Secretary of Defense, William Cohen (Rep.-Me.) and then Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Sam Nunn (Dem.-Ga.). That Special Forces command now operates globally in exercises known as "Joint Combined Exchange Training" (JCET), an indispensable part of key post-Cold War foreign policy.

The U.S. has had JCET operations in Africa for many years, but for the past nine years they have been almost invisible, free of virtually any congressional oversight. A 1991 law, Section 2011 of Title 10 of the U.S. Code, which governs money spent on overseas troop deployments, bypasses oversight requirements by giving commanders of Special Operations Forces the authority to deploy and pay for training of U.S. and foreign troops, if "the primary purpose of the training...shall be to train the Special Operations Forces of the Combat Command."³ The law also allows unreported financing of the foreign country's participation in training by buying fuel, food and ammunition, etc.

Special operations are within the jurisdiction of the more sympathetic House and Senate defense committees, rather than foreign affairs.⁴ The law has been a "bonanza" for Special Operations Forces. "Not only have they escaped the military downsizing of the 1990s, they now have a larger force—47,000 people—than at any other time in their history."⁵

Special operations have taken on additional functions formerly the sole purview of the CIA or diplomatic officers, such as collecting strategic information on foreign countries, including everything from topography, backgrounds of foreign leaders, evaluation of the readiness of foreign troops, potential landing sites, and the like. Still, the justification, the loophole in the law, is that such operations are to facilitate the training of U.S. troops. When explanations have been necessary, they are paragons of circular reasoning: "When pressed to justify deployments that appeared to hold little direct benefit for U.S. troops, officials ... maintain that by training foreign troops, U.S. forces were learning how to train foreign troops, one of their main official missions."⁶ As a World Policy Institute study noted, "little evidence exists to suggest that these programs fulfill their official purpose. They may in fact be contributing to counterinsurgency and human rights violations."⁷ In truth, as Wayne A. Downing, the former commander of Special Operations, told the *Washington Post*, "There is definitely a political card played with these JCETs. They are a direct instrument of U.S. foreign policy. They may be the most direct and most involved, tangible, physical part of U.S. foreign policy in certain countries."⁸

AFRICA OPERATIONS

JCET operations have been held around the world. In Africa, they are known to have been held in Benin, Botswana, Cameroon, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.⁹

An African Crisis Response Force was proposed in the early 1990s, and a scaled-down version, the African Crisis Response Initiative, was instituted in 1997, to deal with anti-narcotics operations, humanitarian crises, and peacekeeping challenges. But, "the program has been criticized...for contributing to coun-

ter-insurgency operations or conventional warfare by the trained troops and providing yet another mechanism for channeling U.S. military training and equipment to favored regimes."¹⁰

In Rwanda, JCET exercises have been operative since Paul Kagame took power in 1994. While Green Berets were training the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), they were simultaneously training its troops to cross into Zaire and attack the refugee camps. Lt. Col. Frank Rusagara of the Rwandan Defense Ministry studied at the U.S. naval school in Monterey, California. Rwandans were trained in land-mine detection and disposal, leading Ambassador Richard Bogosian, the Clinton administration's coordinator for Rwanda, to claim that the training dealt "almost exclusively with the human rights end of the spectrum as distinct from purely military operations."¹¹ This claim is contradicted by "a senior Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict official who asked not to be named," interviewed by the *Washington Post*. "We're dealing with [individual military] units and you can't tell the host nation who they can have in those units," he said. In some countries, even mentioning human rights sometimes "puts the program at risk."¹²

Yet by early 1996, Rwandan units were being trained by Special Forces in "camouflage techniques, small-unit movement, troop-leading procedures, soldier-team development, rappelling, mountaineering, marksmanship, weapon maintenance, and day and night navigation," according to a *Washington Post* investigation. In July and August of 1996, just before the Zaire incursion began, Rwandan soldiers at Ft. Bragg were receiving instruction in "small-unit leader training, rifle marksmanship, first aid, land navigation, and tactical skills, such as patrolling."¹³ Even after Rwandan troops had moved into Zaire, "Small Mobile Training Teams in military civil affairs and public information were in Rwanda." And, as one report noted, "Human rights observers say the U.S. training went beyond military advice to include counterinsurgency techniques."¹⁴

Despite mounting evidence that U.S.-trained Rwandan troops were in the thick of the atrocities inflicted upon the Hutu refugees from the time of the march to Kinshasa to the present, U.S. military support continues.¹⁵

— Ellen Ray

1. Philippe Leymarie, "Washington Sets Out to Conquer 'Virgin' Territory," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (English edition, on line), Mar. 1998.

2. "Clinton Says NATO Is Ready to Fight Repression in Europe, Africa," *Agence France-Presse*, June 22, 1999.

3. Dana Priest, "Free of Oversight, U.S. Military Trains Foreign Troops," *Washington Post*, July 12, 1998.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. William D. Hartung and Bridget Moix, "Deadly Legacy: U.S. Arms to Africa and the Congo War," *World Policy Institute Report*, Jan. 2000.

8. *Op. cit.*, n. 3.

9. Lynne Duke, "Africans Use Training in Unexpected Ways," *Washington Post*, July 14, 1998.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 7.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Dana Priest, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

13. *Op. cit.*, n. 7.

14. Joseph Farah, "U.S. Role in Congo Needs Investigating," *WorldNetDaily*, Aug. 22, 1997.

15. The chair of the House subcommittee on international operations and human rights, Christopher H. Smith (Rep.-N.J.) "has questioned whether the Pentagon has even tried to find out if Rwandan troops trained by Special Forces were among those who committed the atrocities." *Op. cit.*, n. 9.

ROOTS OF CHECHNYA WARS: RUSSIA'S SOVEREIGNTY

BY KAREN TALBOT AND ELLEN RAY

On October 7, 1999, Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov sent a letter to outgoing NATO Secretary-general, Javier Solano. The president of the breakaway Russian republic called upon the alliance "to intervene in accordance with the new world order."¹

In order to understand the roots of the current terrible war between Russia and Islamic fundamentalist insurgents in the Federated Republic of Chechnya, and to begin to understand the reasons for foreign interference—both covert and overt—it is necessary to review a few historical facts.

A BRIEF AND INCOMPLETE HISTORY

Chechnya, in southwestern Russia, is bordered by Dagestan on the east, Ingushetia on the west—both part of Russia—and the Republic of Georgia on the southwest. Other parts of Russia are to the north.²

Tribes of the Caucasus Mountains region, including the Chechens, fought a long war against Czarist Russian conquests from the 1830s to the 1850s, under the leadership of Chechen Muslim warlord Shamil. The area, incorporating what is now Chechnya, was the last in the Caucasus to surrender to the Russians in 1859, when Shamil was captured.³

In 1918, forces led by the "White" General Denikin moved into Chechnya, forming part of an international coalition of major powers attempting to overthrow the 1917 "Red" Bolshevik revolution. During the intervention, English and French warships crossed the Black Sea and troops disembarked at the Caucasian ports of Sukhu-

mi and Novorossiysk.⁴ They were repelled by the Red Army⁵ which then created the Chechen Autonomous Province in 1920. (British, French, and American troops were deeply involved in the fight against the Red Army. In 1918, they invaded from the north, at Murmansk, from the south, at Odessa, and from the east, at Vladivostok. It was not until October 1922 that the last foreign troops left Soviet soil, when a Japanese contingent evacuated Vladivostok.⁶)

In 1936, Chechnya became the Chechen-Ingush Republic of Russia.⁷ Prior to 1940, the region provided as much as 45 percent of the Soviet Union's oil supplies (often processed in refineries in Grozny), which were threatened when the Nazis overran part of Chechnya in 1942.⁸ A significant portion of the Chechen population collaborated with the Nazis, joining units fighting the Red Army. This led to many Chechens being relocated to other parts of the Soviet Union to prevent the mounting of another attack from the rear.⁹ In the 1950s, most of these displaced people returned to Chechnya,¹⁰ where conditions remained relatively stable until 1991.

The present conflict between Chechnya and Russia is a direct result of foreign influence on political and economic conditions that led up to the first Chechen war (1994-96), following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In the ten-year period of Boris Yeltsin's disastrous rule, "with the complicity of the West, which was pushing Russia into full-speed adoption of a free-market economy, the Kremlin cobbled together a makeshift federalism,"¹¹ handing control of resources to the local authorities in the republics that cooperated with Moscow and continued to be a part of Russia.

In one of the republics, Chechnya, according to *Le Monde Diplomatique*:

In return for political support...[Yeltsin's government] tolerated the creation of a generalized system...under which the most lucrative sectors of the economy (oil, currency, alcohol, tobacco, caviar, drugs, arms, etc.) were handed over to mafia gangs and local clans....

The rise of the mafia was accompanied by...a revival of Sunni Islam...the message of the Wahhabi missionaries, who arrived with substantial financial backing from Saudi Arabia. They preached the fundamentalist brand of Islam that had already won over many of the Afghan resistance fighters in the 1980s.... The Chechen...Shamil Basayev [named after the historical figure, Shamil] belonged to this branch of Islam...

[T]he Wahhabis were setting up Islamist fiefdoms in which they imposed Islamic law, the *sharia*, against the wishes of many in the local communities.... Mafia activities and banditry became widespread. A pillage economy developed, based on the looting of isolated farms, the smuggling of anything that could be smuggled and most notably the kidnaping of hundreds of people (particularly foreigners) for ransom."¹²

Then, came the U.S., joining pro-western Arab states, and Muslim fundamentalist fighters who had a coincidence of interests in using this region as a crowbar to force a way into Russian territory. The common goal is to plunder Russia's resources (especially oil and gas), continue to bankrupt the economy, and to set up Islamic fundamentalist states.

Professor Robert Bruce Ware wrote that the Chechen war is financed by the same forces of "international terrorism against which the West has long been struggling."¹³

Karen Talbot is a writer from San Francisco. She has recently joined the staff of *CovertAction Quarterly*. **Ellen Ray** is co-founder of *CovertAction*. The authors wish to thank Jef Bossuyt for his contributions to this article, especially sources on Basayev, translated from his article in the Belgian newspaper, *Solidaire*, Oct. 13, 1999. We would also like to thank David Johnson for his invaluable work in his daily compilation of *Johnson's Russia List (JRL)*, a selection of articles from many Russian and other publications, which was very helpful to us. We urge readers to subscribe to *JRL* by contacting DavidJohnson@erols.com.

1. ORF-TV News, Channel 1 (Moscow), Oct. 7, 1999, and Newsline, Oct. 8, 1999.

2. Encyclopedia Britannica entry on "Chechnia"; britannica.com.

3. Ignacio Ramonet, "Chechnya and Chaos," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Feb. 2000.

4. *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Jan. 1995, as cited in Jef Bossuyt, "Chechnya: Russia's Kosovo," *Solidaire* (Belgium), Oct. 13, 1999.

5. *Etudes Marxistes/Marxistische Studies*, Sep. 1996, p. 125, cited in Bossuyt, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

6. Chris Cook and John Stevenson, *The Longman Handbook of World History* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), p. 14; Helen Rex Keller, *The Dictionary of Dates* (New York: Hafner, 1971), pp. 457-63.

7. *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

8. *Op. cit.*, n. 5.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

11. *Op. cit.* n. 3.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Robert Bruce Ware, "The West's failure to understand Chechnya," *Boston Globe*, Oct. 26, 1999. Rus-

The dire living conditions of the Russian people—more than half the inhabitants of Moscow live below the poverty line, and they are better off, by far, than the rest of the Russian population¹⁴—is a result of the economic policies drafted for Boris Yeltsin by western advisers. But the Russians are “no longer content to dine on the scraps the West deems fit to dispense from the table of the IMF.”¹⁵

DRAGONIAN LAWS AND “SHOCK THERAPIES”

In 1990 and 1991, Boris Yeltsin, as Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet (elected at its first session, May 29, 1990), with the participation of the elected parliament and U.S. “experts,” adopted measures which pulled the economic and political rug from beneath the U.S.S.R. From June 1990 through the beginning of 1991, Yeltsin set the stage for the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. by initiating these laws and decrees which declared that all land, raw materials, resources, and state enterprises, etc., within its territory, be transferred from the Union, to the Russian Federation.

Yet, in a referendum on March 17, 1991, much to the chagrin of Yeltsin and the West, 75.3 percent of the Soviet people voted overwhelmingly to preserve the U.S.S.R. This will of the people was totally ignored and a month following the vote, Yeltsin amended the constitution, granting himself extraordinary powers over the Union president, Mikhail Gorbachev.

THE “COUP” THAT FINALLY TOPPLED THE U.S.S.R.

How were the monumental changes which wiped out the U.S.S.R. and turned the reins of state power over to Russia and the other Soviet Republics finally implement-

ed? The key to this was the August 1991 attempted “coup.”¹⁶ This “soap opera coup” was implemented while Mikhail Gorbachev, the President of the U.S.S.R., was vacationing in the Crimea. Boris Yeltsin, as President of the Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics (RSFSR), became a “hero” when he stood on top of a tank, ostensibly to defend Russia against the “coup plotters.” There were genuine forces, including some in the military, who sought to preserve the Union when they realized what had been taking place. But Yeltsin’s stand, supported by some members of parliament who rejected Gorbachev’s “catastroika,” helped pave the way

for state power to be removed from Gorbachev and turned over to Yeltsin. Gorbachev stayed on the sidelines prepared to move in either direction, depending on how events unfolded. The theatrical “coup” resulted in his being deposed.

Yeltsin boasts in his memoirs that “after August 19, the Union disappeared all by itself: it was gone in a day.”¹⁷ But this was hardly the case. There were remaining tasks to be carried out to accomplish the final demise of the Soviet Union. Between September and December 1991, Yeltsin stripped U.S.S.R. deputies of all their rights and privileges, banned the Communist Party, and initiated two decrees which granted him emergency powers to promote “economic reforms.”

Then in December, the Minsk Agreement creating the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was adopted, and in a secret meeting, with only two other former Soviet territorial presidents (Ukraine and

17. Boris Yeltsin, *The Struggle for Russia* (New York: Random House, 1994), p. 38.

16. See John B. Dunlop, “Sifting Through the Rubble of the Yeltsin Years,” *Problems of Post Communism*, Jan.-Feb. 2000. Dunlop, a conservative analyst (or conversely, as Russia-watchers would call him, a “liberal”) from the Hoover Institution, agrees that the August “coup” was the key to the fall of the Soviet Union: “There’s a direct connection between the failed August 1991 coup and the Belovezh Forest Agreements of early December 1991, which effected the formal breakup of the Soviet Union.”

WHAT PRICE REFORM?

- June 12, 1990—Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), proclaiming the “supremacy” of the Russian Constitution and Russian laws and suspending the effect of acts of the U.S.S.R. contrary to the sovereign rights of the RSFSR (Art. 5).
- October 24, 1990—Law “On the Effect of Acts of U.S.S.R. Agencies on the Territory of the RSFSR,” establishing that the Union possessed only such powers as had been handed over by the Union republics and the RSFSR the “right to suspend the operation” of Union actions “if they violate the sovereignty of the Russian Federation” (Art. 1).
- October 31, 1990—Law “On Safeguarding the Economic Foundation of Sovereignty of the RSFSR” establishing that “the land, its minerals...air space, ...raw material resources on the territory of the RSFSR, resources of the continental shelf...shall be the national wealth of the peoples of the RSFSR” (Art. 1). “The gold...diamond and hard currency funds of the USSR” were declared the “ownership of the union republics” (Art. 2). The assets of all “state enterprises, institutions, organizations” on RSFSR territory were declared the Russian state property.
- April 24, 1991—Laws “On the President of the RSFSR” and “On the Election of the President of the RSFSR” amended the Constitution granting the Russian president extensive powers, overlapping powers of the Union President; established that presidential elections were to be held in about three

weeks (on June 12, 1991), which guaranteed Yeltsin a definite advantage over other candidates. (Yeltsin was so sure in his victory that before the elections he sent an emissary to Washington to start preparations for his first visit to the U.S. as Russian President. The visit began about ten days after the elections.)

- September-December 1991—Yeltsin pushed for dissolution of the Union legislature and stripped U.S.S.R. deputies of their rights and privileges.

- November 1, 1991—On Yeltsin’s initiative, two Decrees were adopted: “On the Organization of the Executive Power in the Period of Radical Economic Reform”; and “On the Legal Safeguarding of the Economic Reform,” granting the President emergency powers for a one-year period. The first decree allowed Yeltsin to decide independently questions “concerning the reorganization of executive power,” and ordered a moratorium on elections and referendums. The second decree granted the President the powers to rule by decree for the purpose of “promoting economic reforms.”

- December 12, 1991—Ratification of the Minsk Agreement on the Creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and adoption of a Decree “On the Denunciation of the Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R.”

This table was prepared by Alexander N. Domrén, visiting law professor at New York University, who was legal adviser to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Parliament.

sia’s previous war in Chechnya differs from the current war in many respects, not the least of which is that the Russians are united as they were not in 1994. Russians are united “by their indignation at two invasions of Dagestan, by the series of terrorist explosions, and by...kidnapings....” *Ibid*.

14. “One in Two Muscovites Below Poverty Line,” *Agence France-Presse*, Feb. 28, 2000. And according to the head of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences, “Russia is on the verge of a demographic crisis.” In the last year, according to a report from the State Statistics Committee, deaths outnumbered births in 1999 by 788,000. In the past 8 years, Russia’s population has shrunk by 2.8 million, or more than 2%, and now stands at 145.6 million people. Projections suggest there will be as few as 130 million Russians by 2020 if the trend continues. The life expectancy of a Russian is 56 years—lower than most “official” Third World nations. Fred Weir, “Russia on the Verge of Demographic Crisis,” *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), Feb. 24, 2000.

15. “The World After Chechnya,” *Global Intelligence Updates*, Stratfor, Feb. 8, 2000.

Byelorussia), the agreements formalized, with the stroke of Yeltsin's pen, the breakup of the Soviet Union.¹⁸

Yeltsin and his American handlers were free to destroy the economy, betray the national interests of the people, and subvert their national security.

Also supporting Yeltsin's coup d'état in Moscow was Shamil Basayev, a Chechen fundamentalist who was trained in Afghanistan (in March and May of 1994)²² and in fighting in numerous wars in the Caucasus afterwards, for the purpose of setting up Islamic fundamentalist states.



AP / Wide World Photos

Defender of Russian White House leads surrendering legislators out of destroyed parliament building, after Yeltsin's assault that killed many hundreds.

ENTER THE CHECHEN WARLORDS

Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet Air Force commander of Chechen origin, was in Moscow supporting Yeltsin in the August "soap opera coup." Dudayev had fought for the Soviet Union against Islamic forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s. He later actively took part in supporting secessionists while stationed in the Baltic Republics.¹⁹

Immediately after the "coup" attempt, in September 1991, Yeltsin's top economic aides took Dudayev to Chechnya to unseat Doku Zavgayev, head of the Soviet government there.²⁰ Taking advantage of the turmoil in Moscow, Dudayev and his supporters hurriedly organized elections. Only 15 percent of the electorate participated in the sham election in which Dudayev became President of Chechnya and promptly declared independence.²¹ All of this was taking place as Yeltsin was busy dissolving the U.S.S.R. and establishing the CIS, in the months after his first visit to the U.S.

18. Alexander N. Domrin, "President Yeltsin vs. the First Russian Parliament: Forgotten Lessons," three parts, posted on JRL, May 1, 1997.

19. Jef Bossuyt, "Chechnya, Russia's Kosovo," *Solidaire* (Belgium), Oct. 13, 1999.

20. *Op. cit.*, n. 18.

21. *Ibid.*

Before long, Dudayev began to recall that he too was Muslim and even to deny that he fought on the side of the Soviets in Afghanistan. Under Dudayev's rule, Basayev and other Chechens began to sabotage the Russian oil line transporting petroleum through Chechnya to the Black Sea.

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the stage was set for the western powers to continue to foment strife and to break up the Russian states in the Caucasus pitting local populations against each other and using Muslim fundamentalist warlords to wrest control of the Caspian Sea oil, the pipelines, and refineries from Russia. (See article: "Chechnya: More Blood for Oil.")

YELTSIN'S FOLLIES

By summer 1993, Yeltsin had lost support of the parliament and the people because of his

22. Ismail Kahn and Steve LeVine, "Chechnya the Rebel Connection: Aid from Groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan," *Newsweek International*, Mar. 13, 2000. See also Major Raymond C. Finch, III, U.S. Army, "A face of Future Battle: Chechen Fighter Shamil Basayev," *Military Review*, May-June, 1997. Finch said: "Basayev was in Moscow [in August 1991] and armed with a couple of hand grenades he helped defend ... Boris Yeltsin in the Russian parliament." Basayev assisted two airborne generals, Grachev and Lebed, in protecting ... Boris Yeltsin." See also "Interview with Chechen Colonel Shamil Basayev," *Lidove Noviny*, July 18, 1995.

increasingly bizarre and autocratic behavior and his virtually unilateral economic decrees. The latter facilitated the burgeoning rise of the Russian mafia (also known as the "oligarchs") as well as the devastating economic suffering of the Russian population.²³

On September 21, when tensions between the president and parliament had reached a breaking point, Yeltsin, with U.S. advice and encouragement, signed a decree that would change the course of parliamentary government in Russia. With another stroke of his pen, Decree 1400 declared Parliament, the Supreme Soviet, and later, the Constitutional Court, dissolved. He also called for new parliamentary elections in three months.²⁴

Denouncing Yeltsin's actions as the *real* coup d'état, Parliament named its *own* government. Many parliament members and their staff refused to leave the Russian White House (the parliament building) for several weeks, even after Yeltsin had cut off the water, electricity, and telephones. Thousands of citizens from all over Russia massed in Moscow in support of the parliamentarians and the constitution. With the blessings of the Clinton administration, the CIA, and the American Embassy in Moscow, Yeltsin ordered a brutal military attack on the White

23. Much of the work of western consultants and USAID-funded programs has contributed to executive decrees rather than parliamentary legislation. According to USAID, "just one USAID-funded program—Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID), in 1994-96 alone, drafted 'hundreds' of decrees." "HIID supported the use of decrees because it believed that it advanced reforms." General Accounting Office, "Harvard Institute for International Development's Work in Russia and Ukraine," NSIAD-97-27, Nov. 27, 1996, p. 46, quoted in Alexander N. Domrin, "Counter-Effects and Deficiencies of U.S. 'Aid' to Russia," speech at Yale Law School, April 1999. Interestingly, the program was canceled when it was discovered that the HIID point-men in Moscow, Andrei Shleifer and Jonathan Hay, "having gained influence over nascent Russian capital markets...[used their] personal relationships...for private gain.... The Harvard men had been assigned to promote, among other things, western ideals of fair play." Carla Anne Robbins and Steve Liesman, "Harvard Men Built Market, But Didn't Steer Clear of It," *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 13, 1997, quoted in Domrin, *supra*. Still, western economists continue to blame the victims: "The most disturbing element in international relations is many Russians' belief that they have a choice about whether to participate in 'globalization' or to reject it as something imposed by the West to weaken Russian and other victims. There is no recognition that globalization is something affecting all of us, albeit unevenly." Harley Balzer, "Neo-Soviet Russia," Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies Newsletter, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., Feb. 2000.

24. Former British *Guardian* correspondent in Russia, Jonathan Steele, argues that Yeltsin deliberately precipitated the violent confrontations between the Supreme Soviet Deputies and the Russian armed forces which followed two weeks later. Jonathan Steele, *Eternal Russia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) (JRL #4153).

House, the night of October 3-4, killing what a Russian security official estimated to be up to 1500 people.²⁵ After the arrest of the parliamentary leadership, many of the bodies in and around the White House and the TV station—victims of the attacks and of later executions—were secretly removed and “disappeared” during the night.²⁶

Yeltsin also banned 15 periodicals, dismissed editors of newspapers and officials of the Ministry for Press and Information, and introduced even more repressive censorship. In December 1993, on the day of the new parliamentary elections, despite maneuvers to confuse voters and create apathy, and to the chagrin of Yeltsin and his American advisers, 85 percent of the people who participated in the elections voted against pro-Yeltsin candidates.²⁷

Over the next year, Yeltsin's popularity continued to plummet. In December 1994, in the wake of continuing Chechen pipeline sabotage by the warlords, he ordered a military assault on Chechnya, without even bothering to submit a proposed decree as required by his own new constitution.²⁸ Russian troops were led by the same General, Pavel Grachev, who had commanded the forces that stormed the Russian White House.

A bloody two-year war followed, overwhelmingly opposed by the Russian people, that resulted in 70,000 deaths. “The first Chechnya war was a logical extension to the shelling of the White House. Indeed, if you can shoot at the parliament in Moscow, why on earth shouldn't you be able to bomb Dudayev's palace in Grozny?”²⁹

Russian soldiers left Chechnya in 1996, defeated, under a fragile and humiliating cease-fire. In April of 1997, Dzhokhar Dudayev died in a missile attack, and, later that year, the new President, Aslan Maskhadov, signed the Khasavyurt Accords ending the first Chechen war. The administrative power



AP / Wide World Photos

During first Chechen war negotiations, August 1996, Gen. Alexander Lebed (right) plays chess with rebel commander, Sharvani Basayev (far left), Shamil's brother, as Russian colleague (center) watches.

of the republic was transferred to the Chechens, and at Russian insistence, the accords stipulated that a referendum on the final status of Chechnya would take place in 2001.

According to Nicolai Petro, former State Department Policy Adviser on Soviet Affairs during the Bush administration, “During the December 1994-November 1996 war, some 300,000 people were forced to leave their homes, but almost none of them chose to return home to Chechnya after it declared independence! ... The country sank into a perpetual state of banditry and lawlessness ... blamed [on] local Chechen warlords ... unable or unwilling to make the transition from war to civil reconstruction.”³⁰ Much of the Russian federal budget allocations for rebuilding Chechnya never made it there, siphoned off by the Russian or Chechen mafia or by Yeltsin's inner circle, also known as “the Family.”

U.S. STRATEGY OF TERROR

In an extraordinary article in the *Military Review*, Summer 1997, U.S. Army Major Raymond C. Finch, III, described how Shamil Basayev epitomizes the “face of future battle.”

Finch stopped short of admitting to U.S. military aid to the Chechen fighters while praising the “savage courage” of a committed Chechen warlord such as Basayev, saying that he “is an example of the kind of leader who defines the future security environment.” He acknowledged that the Chechens knew they could never

defend “against a full scale Russian invasion.”³¹ So, Basayev stepped up acts of terrorism against Chechens, Russians, Dagestanis, and other peoples of the Caucasus. Any foreigner—journalists and human rights workers included—became fair game for the warlords' bands of kidnapers.

Finch, writing in 1997, concluded that, although the methods Basayev employed were cruel and vicious and in violation of recognized laws of warfare, “The Chechens, under Basayev's courageous leadership, have won their independence.” But Petro, writing in 2000, asks, why then did the Chechen warlords continue their bloody war for independence when the Chechen Republic was already under their control?³²

ATTACKS ON DAGESTAN

In two attacks in August and September 1999, Shamil Basayev and General Khatab (a Jordanian military leader who had trained King Hussein's Chechen body guards) invaded the neighboring Russian republic of Dagestan. They murdered police officers, hoisted the green flag of the “Isa-

25. From a November 1993 interview in Moscow with a trade union leader quoting from that day's *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. He later commented that, if the reports were true, “it would be worse than Pinochet.” From a film in progress by Ellen Ray on Yeltsin's reign, *In the Name of Democracy* (Institute for Media Analysis, New York).

26. Interviews with Iona Andronov and others in *In the Name of Democracy*, *supra*. Andronov, an elected member of parliament who was in the building before and during the attack, was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Russian parliament, and had, for many years before entering parliament, been a foreign correspondent for *Literaturnyaya Gazeta*. See Iona Andronov, *My War* (Moscow: Business World 2000, 1999).

27. Domrin, *op. cit.*, n. 18.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Boris Kagarlitsky, “Why Oligarchs Will Not Rise in Defense of Democracy,” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, No. 7, Feb. 24, 2000 (JRL #4135). Yeltsin's economic advisers and the liberal intelligentsia both lauded his attack on the Russian White House and even supported the first Chechen war; the Russian mafia financed both sides.

30. Nicolai Petro, “Sharing the Blame for Chechnya,” *Providence Journal*, Mar. 9, 2000. “The catastrophic depopulation of Chechnya began before the first Chechen war and by 1994, nearly half of the population had already fled to Southern Russia and neighboring republics.”

31. Finch, *op. cit.*, n. 22. See also Stratfor Global Intelligence Update, Jan. 17, 2000, which says, “With some reason, Russians are convinced that outside forces—backed by the United States—are supplying Chechen rebels through neighboring Georgia.”

32. *Ibid.* As Petro wrote, only a few years later: “Western media portrayals of the [current] Chechen war suffer from some remarkable lapses. The rebels are usually described as freedom fighters, but few ask how they can be fighting for ‘independence,’ when the republic has been independent from Moscow, de facto if not de jure, for the past three years.... What need...for independence fighters when the republic is already under Chechen control and an election to ratify this outcome was scheduled to be held in a year's time?” *Op. cit.*, n. 30.

mic Republic," and advanced on the capital, Makhachkala.³³ They announced "a tripartite military campaign against Dagestan of which ... [the] invasions were merely a component of the first phase."³⁴

The timing of the Chechen invasions of Dagestan is noteworthy, as was pointed out by journalist Brian Becker. The Russian company Transneft had lost complete control of the crude oil pipeline running from Baku through Chechnya to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk. They closed the pipeline and were attempting to move the oil by rail through Dagestan at the time of Basayev's and Khatab's invasion. Was this invasion of Dagestan "part of a larger conspiracy by the U.S. to detach the countries surrounding the Caspian Sea from Russia?"³⁵ According to the Russian Defense Minister Sergeyev, at the time, a "permanent smoldering of a manageable armed conflict resulting [in a weakened Russia] will help the U.S. control...the Northern Caucasus."³⁶

The Chechen warlords' objective, to establish a Muslim state and to chase the Russians from the Caucasus, fits neatly into the scheme of the U.S. and European oil multinationals' efforts to control oil fields, refineries, and oil and gas transportation in the Caucasus. If they could obtain greater control, they could eliminate the competition, since oil from the Caspian basin would then have to be transported through Georgia or Turkey, two client states of the U.S.³⁷ The new pipelines would automatically come under the protection of NATO.³⁸

In March, Russian General Shpigun was captured by the warlords. In August and September, they attacked Dagestan. Then, in September, bomb attacks in apartment buildings in Moscow, Buynaksk and Volgograd, killed 292 civilians. Russia blamed the attacks on Chechen terrorists.³⁹ In the

beginning of October the Russian army moved into the north and occupied a third of Chechnya, and Chechen President Maskhadov sent his appeal to NATO calling for western intervention.⁴⁰

The two thousand soldiers of Shamil Basayev who invaded Dagestan were professionally trained, supplied, and armed. They had Stinger-2 rockets with which they destroyed three Russian helicopters, conveniently captured on film by TV cameras.⁴¹

Prof. Ware warned: "Many Russians, and most Dagestanis, already believe that the United States is behind the Chechen [warlord] invasions.... The invasions were mounted by Chechen field commanders from bases in Chechnya where guerrillas from Central Asia, the Middle East, Northern Africa, and Eastern Europe were trained with funds from supporters in the Persian Gulf, Pakistan, and Afghanistan." The invasions "were fiercely resisted by the Dagestanis, who firmly wished to remain with Russia...."⁴²

WAR AND DISINFORMATION

The current war is supported by the majority of the Russian people, who want to retain Russia's territory and to protect its other economically vital regions against U.S. expansion. Through its use of fundamentalist fighters, the West has left Russia no choice but to fight for the Russian Federal territory or to cede all the Caucasus to U.S. oil corporations under NATO military protection.

The war against Chechen fundamentalist terrorists has human rights organizations in Russia and internationally up in arms around purported war crimes. Inside Russia, those "human rights" activists are many of the same people who supported Yeltsin's 1993 attack on the elected parliamentarians and his 1994 Chechen war (which was neither sanctioned by parliament nor support-

ed by the people). As for U.S. demands that "the Kremlin...permit international relief organizations, such as the Red Cross, to monitor events in the war-torn republic...it seems oddly to have been forgotten that the reason there are no international relief organizations in Chechnya is that they had all been driven away by Chechen criminality before the end of 1997."⁴³

Already some familiar western disinformation themes used to demonize one side in such a conflict have surfaced, including purported summary executions of Chechen fighters and civilians, and their mass burials by Russian troops. A videotape broadcast throughout the West showed bodies being dragged by a military vehicle and dumped into a mass grave. This dramatic footage—the stuff of Hague war crimes tribunals—was alleged to depict the mass burial of 150 Chechen soldiers and civilians who had been tortured and summarily executed by Russian troops. The German television bureau chief who claimed to have shot the footage eventually admitted he had not been at the scene, and that he had acquired the

43. Robert Bruce Ware, Department of Philosophical Studies, Southern Illinois University, "A Few Questions About Babitsky and Other Abuses in Chechnya," Feb. 26, 2000 (JRL #4134). The Red Cross left Chechnya in 1996, following the murder of six Red Cross workers in Grozny. The Chechen "hostage industry" forced the UNHCR to abandon Dagestan to the kidnappers "without the indignation of any western government." After the head of the UNHCR regional operation was kidnapped in early 1998, and held and tortured for several months, the UNHCR abandoned the entire Northern Caucasus. (A French organization paid the Chechens \$5 million ransom for his freedom.) Doctors Without Borders and the World Food Program had left the Caucasus long before this because of the kidnappings and murders. Exorbitant ransoms were paid to Chechen clans by family members after viewing their relatives being tortured on Chechen-produced video tapes. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International couldn't operate in the North Caucasus before Russian troops entered Chechnya last October, because of the danger of Chechen kidnappers. Amnesty and Human Rights Watch fled the area in fear of their lives while thousands of Dagestanis who support the Russian attempts to liberate the area from the Chechen warlords were kidnapped, tortured and killed for years without reports being written by these organizations. "When was the last time you read a report by Human Rights Watch about the hostages who have been liberated from Chechen captivity by advancing Russian troops? I know some.... When was the last time you saw a report about the Dagestani refugees who were forced from their homes by Basayev's invasions last summer?" See also David Filipov, "War Crimes Are Suspected in Devastated Grozny," *Boston Globe*, Feb. 27, 2000: "There was a monument where Chechnya's rebel leaders held public executions in 1997, infuriating Russia and disturbing many in the West.... [I]n January, *Globe* correspondent Dmitry Shalaginov found Svetlana Kapustina wandering the ruined streets, hoping for news of her daughter Irina, 15, who had been abducted in Grozny in November. She was one of nearly 1,800 kidnapping victims in Chechnya since Russian troops left after the 1994-96 war. Now the troops are back, and hostages are being rescued. Russian TV reported six hostages were freed yesterday, among them Svetlana's daughter...."

33. Bossuyt, *op. cit.*, n. 4. See also Robert Bruce Ware and Ira Straus, "Media bias on Chechnya," *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 15, 2000. The authors point out that "the insurgent attacks left more than 1,500 dead and displaced 32,000 Dagestani residents, many of whom are still homeless."

34. *Op. cit.*, n. 13. The Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* claimed that one of Basayev's financiers is the Saudi oil millionaire, Osama bin Laden. "He reportedly invested \$25 million in the operations of Basayev and Khatab. In February, the World Front of the Jihad was organized in Pakistan with the help of bin Laden to unify the main fundamentalist currents. [The front] supports armed rebellions in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Dagestan, and Chechnya." *La Repubblica* (Rome), Oct. 9, 1999.

35. Brian Becker, "New 'freedom' to exploit: The link between Chechnya war and Caspian oil," *Workers World* (New York), Dec. 2, 1999.

36. Quoted in *ibid.*

37. Bossuyt, *op. cit.*, n. 4.

38. *Ibid.*, citing *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

39. Former Russian Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin said, "We know the Chechens planned and ordered the bombings although the Chechens didn't carry out the bombings themselves. The explosions were

planned by Khatab and he could hire any group to do it." Jamie Dettmer, "Stepashin Joins Putin Bandwagon," *Insight* (Washington), Feb. 25, 2000.

40. *Op. cit.*, n. 1. The next month, November 1999, 15 tons of khaki NATO uniforms were seized by Russian customs en route to the U.S. Military Attaché in the Republic of Georgia. The customs officers suspected that the shipment from Atlanta in the state of Georgia was actually meant for the Chechen warlords. The 52 boxes of uniforms—enough to dress 3,000 people—were labeled "men's suits." Russian television aired a report showing Chechen fighters near Bamut wearing exactly the same type of uniforms as those confiscated, *RusLife Online*, Russian Live, Nov. 15, 1999.

41. Bossuyt, *ITAR-Tass*, Oct. 1, 1999.

42. *Op. cit.*, n. 13. Also see Robert Bruce Ware and Ira Straus, "Media Bias on Chechnya," *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 15, 2000, JRL #4169. The authors say: "[A]s a result of its more recent bitter experience with Chechnya, Dagestan accepts no Chechen refugees. Whereas Dagestanis previously considered Chechens their ethnic and Islamic brethren, they now support the Russian military in its campaign against Chechnya."

footage from a Russian Izvestia journalist. Russian officials subsequently proved that the bodies were of Chechen fighters killed in action weeks earlier, filmed as they were temporarily buried for later identification.⁴⁴

Another case is that of U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reporter, Andrei Babitsky, who "disappeared" in Chechnya in late January. Constant, daily world news bulletins speculated that the Russian Army had probably executed the journalist, because of his pro-Chechen broadcasts.⁴⁵ The Russians insisted that they were sure he was alive, that he had been detained by them for questioning about his links with Chechen warlords, but, with his consent, he had been traded to a Chechen warlord friend of his for several Russian prisoners of war. With no word from Babitsky for weeks, the Russian protestations were summarily dismissed.

But on February 25, Babitsky appeared in Makhachkala, the capital of Dagestan, where he was promptly arrested by the Russian authorities for possession of a forged Azerbaijani passport.⁴⁶ Although he gave several inconsistent stories over the next few days, he admitted he had agreed to be traded, but discovered that the Chechens to whom he was given were not the friends he had been expecting. He said he was held for weeks in a hotel by men in masks and did not know who they were.⁴⁷ After being taken to Moscow on the passport charge, he was released, but later formally charged.

Despite such exposures, and granting that brutalities always accompany war, the disinformation campaign continues. The European Union's foreign relations commissioner, Chris Patten, seemed quite willing to accept a disinformation level of fifty percent: "Even if only half the stories were true, they would still be horrific."⁴⁸

It is necessary "to emphasize the brutal character of the force opposing Russia," says Russian writer Vassily Akasyonov, who now lives in the U.S. "Most intellectuals are victims of stereotypes," believing that the little guy fighting is always right. "In actual fact, the little guy can turn out to be a malicious

viper." He recalled the words of Anatoly Sobchak, the late mayor of St. Petersburg and a mentor of Vladimir Putin, who said that if the Chechen militants—not the Chechen nation, but "the group of rabid people that has taken shape in its midst"—are referred to as separatists, then in the eyes the West, "they appear to be romantic freedom-loving fighters."⁴⁹

Still, it is not just a question of a small band of vipers. The Chechen warlords have allied themselves with the most extreme Islamic fundamentalists who have a fascist political agenda using the cover of religion (as is true of many fundamentalist groups of other religions as well). The only government in the world to have recognized the independence of the Republic of Chechnya is the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, in an intense affront to Russia.⁵⁰ And, on February 3, 2000, President Maskhadov allied himself with Basayev's forces and "announced the suspension of constitutional law and declared a state of Islamic sharia."⁵¹

"Several Central Asian states, including Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, have also faced threats from armed Islamic extremists," according to a Reuters dispatch. The response has been a closer cooperation between these states and Russia with plans to establish a new anti-terrorist center to coordinate CIS-wide efforts to fight the terrorists. Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev introduced the proposal for the center at the CIS summit last January. The states of Central Asia have become increasingly reliant on Russia for assistance in fighting Islamic fundamentalism.⁵²

A few weeks before the election for the presidency of Russia, Acting President Vladimir Putin said: "The Chechen people have become a victim of international extremism...ordinary people in Chechnya are suffering from the policy that was pursued in Russia in recent years...Chechnya was granted de facto...full state independence since 1996.... Extremist forces made use of this



Vladimir Putin with Chechnya's top Islamic leader, Mufti Akhmad Alidkhadzhi Kadyrov, March 2000. The Mufti, who supports Putin's policy of eradicating the Chechen warlords, was in Moscow to discuss rebuilding Chechnya and reestablishing constitutional law.

vacuum....They split the territory of the Chechen Republic into separate small entities...outside of any laws...What happened as a result was a sort of mini-Afghanistan....they began to get weapons from abroad, money and mercenaries."⁵³

"Americans want to make it clear that the Trans-Caucasian region...is a zone of priority importance for them. There is no doubt that this fact catalyzed the recent political agitation in these territories. The Islamic world realizes that, for the U.S., now is just the right moment to detach the Northern Caucasus from the Russian Federation," said Petru Bogatu writing in *Tara* last November.⁵⁴

When Muslim-Christian antagonisms have reached heights that rival the days of the Crusades, as in Yugoslavia and Nigeria today, it is difficult to be optimistic. Yet, in 1995, when he was Deputy Mayor of St. Petersburg, Vladimir Putin was asked in an interview if he thought Russia was too oriented to the West. He responded by expressing hope for the future by saying:

"Russia has always been a sort of barrier between East and West. That's a fact, just as it is a fact that Russia itself is a country where Christianity and Islam have peacefully lived side-by-side for centuries. In this is the enormous advantage, the unique nature, of our country. It would be nice if Russia could become not a shield or a barrier holding back some mythical threat, but instead a connecting link."⁵⁵

44. The bureau chief, Frank Hoefling, was fired when he admitted he had lied. The Russians denounced the event as "deliberate falsification of events in Chechnya in the western press." Reuters, Feb. 29, 2000.

45. Babitsky excused the execution of prisoners of war by Chechen fighters during the first war. "He said it should be understood that the Chechen fighters slit the throats of their prisoners of war because that was the peculiar way Chechens made their point." During that war he was also accused of effectively working for the Chechens. *Op. cit.*, n. 43.

46. Anna Dolgov, "Detained Reporter Freed in Russia," AP, Feb. 29, 2000.

47. The hotel clerk, who was later interviewed on TV, never said his captors were masked.

48. "Patten in Interview Mode," Russia: Special Report, *Guardian* (London), Mar. 1, 2000.

49. "Murder of Yatsina 'Monstrous Brutality': Vasily Akasyonov," ITAR-Tass, Mar. 7, 2000.

50. "Taliban's Ideological Outburst May Backfire," Stratfor Commentary, Jan. 14, 2000. By doing so, the Taliban "became the only Muslim government to publicly defy Russia.... Russia now has reason to renew support for the Northern Alliance, the U.N. recognized opposition group in Afghanistan."

51. Maskhadov also "stripped the region of most of its responsibilities and abolished the region's vice presidency." Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, 1999 *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, Feb. 25, 2000.

52. "Putin seeks united ex-Soviet front on 'terrorism,'" Reuters, Mar. 10, 2000.

53. Excerpts from BBC interview with Acting President Vladimir Putin, Federal News Service, Mar. 5, 2000, JRL #4152.

54. Petru Bogatu, *Tara* (Moldova), Nov. 3, 1999, as reported in *World Press Review*, Jan. 2000.

55. *Sankt-Peterburgskiy Vedomosti*, May 1995.



CHECHNYA: MORE BLOOD FOR OIL

BY KAREN TALBOT

Media analysts and U.S. officials have been nervously trying to assess the "bewildering" policies of Russia's Acting President Vladimir Putin, especially his actions in Chechnya. As the Russian elections approach in which Putin is favored to win the presidency, he increasingly is being dubbed as a nationalist even though he claims to be defending the territorial integrity and economic base of Russia in the face of escalating incursions on the part of the U.S. and other western countries. That there are grounds for these concerns on the part of the Russians is confirmed by numerous statements and articles in the western press such as the following one by William Pfaff: "The United States also is intervening in the Caspian region to establish an American-dominated oil pipeline route across Azerbaijan and Georgia, cutting out Russia, which is linked to a larger effort to displace Russian influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia."¹

The author wishes to thank Jef Bossuyt for his contributions to the sections of this article dealing with individual countries of the area.

1. "Nothing Very Romantic About Putin's Russian Nationalism," *International Herald Tribune*, Feb. 28, 2000.

CHECHNYA, THE CAUCASUS, AND CASPIAN BASIN OIL

Nine years ago, the peoples of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union voted on the question: Should the Soviet Union dissolve itself, so Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and the other republics would become independent countries? Boris Yeltsin, supported by the Bush administration, championed such a breakup of the U.S.S.R. in an intense year-long campaign across the country.

On March 17, 1991, 75 percent of the Soviet people voted overwhelmingly to retain the U.S.S.R.; nevertheless, within nine months, the Soviet Union was dissolved as Yeltsin took power.²

Now, those "independent" former republics of the U.S.S.R. are economically and militarily dependent on the U.S., major countries of Western Europe, and pro-western Arab states. Among these are Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Kazakhstan. A tiny group of elites have become super-rich proxies for western corporations while the

vast majority of the people are indescribably poor.

These three republics are in the region of the Caspian Sea. Because the Caspian Sea is landlocked, the oil and gas have had to be transported mainly by pipeline. There is a major route through Chechnya and other parts of Russia to Novorossiysk on the Black Sea. In fact, the largest network of pipelines in the world had been built during the Soviet era, when the Soviet Union was the number one producer of oil and natural gas in the world.³ Its gas and oil fields, refineries and pipelines extended from western Siberia, as well as from the Caspian Sea Basin, to the Black Sea, the Ukraine and the Baltic and East European countries.⁴

The U.S. wants the Caspian Sea under total U.S. domination. A consortium of 11 western oil companies now controls more than 50 percent of all oil investments in the Caspian Basin—these include Atlantic Richfield, Chevron, Exxon-Mobil, Pennzoil, Phillips Petroleum, Texaco, and British

3. Brian Becker, "New 'freedom' to exploit: The link between Chechnya war and Caspian oil," *Workers World*, Dec. 2, 1999.

4. *International Petroleum Encyclopedia*, 1999.

Petroleum-Amoco.⁵ Therefore, Washington is pursuing other routes, some or all of which ultimately may come to fruition. The intent is to bypass Russia, as with a proposed pipeline through Turkey to the Mediterranean Sea—the Baku-Ceyhan route.

So long as Chechnya has been kept broiling with conflict and war, the pipeline through that region usually has remained non-operative. In early August 1999, Shamil Basayev and other insurgents invaded Dagestan, located between Chechnya and the Caspian Sea.⁶

The Russian government expressed fears that this was part of a larger conspiracy by the U.S. to detach the countries surrounding the Caspian Sea from Russia.⁷

Lewis Dolinsky, writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* said: "The incursion by Chechen warlord Shamil Basayev into neighboring Dagestan, where his guerrillas seem to have little support, was an assault on the integrity of Russia with the stated intention of carving out an Islamic state. In addition, there are stories of ties to Osama bin Laden, Pakistani intelligence, Islamists from several countries and the complicity of former Soviet republics in the movement of arms and fighters into Russia."⁸

The developments in the Caspian and Trans-Caucasus regions involve a dangerous complex of hostilities fed by growing militarization. "Russia and the U.S.-NATO alliance (and their proxies) may be inching ever closer to a shooting war in Central Asia."⁹

GEORGIA: COZING UP TO NATO

"Georgia is...central to U.S. plans to exploit the oil and gas riches of the Caspian basin."¹⁰

At the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) summit in Istanbul, November 18-19, Georgia signed several crucial agreements including the Ankara Declaration supporting the building of the Baku-Ceyhan and trans-Caspian pipelines. The proposed trans-Caspian pipelines will go beneath the Caspian Sea from its eastern shore to Azerbaijan and

connect with other pipelines, bypassing Russia. Also at the OSCE summit, Russia and Georgia issued a joint statement on the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty setting terms for the complete withdrawal of Russian forces from Moldova and Georgia.¹¹

Leading up to the elections in Georgia on October 31, 1999, the removal of Russian bases was a key campaign promise. Georgian President Edouard Shevardnadze asserted that Georgia would "knock on NATO's door." Georgia's regime has accused Russia of using the Gudauta military base to supply the Abkhazians who are engaged in a separatist struggle with Georgia.¹² The Abkhazi-Georgian conflict has received little attention in the U.S. media.

The CFE agreement signed in Istanbul spelled out cuts in Russian military equipment in Georgia and called for the withdrawal of the military bases at Vaziani and Gudauta and the tank maintenance plant in Tbilisi by December 31, 2000. OSCE member countries will provide financial assistance for the program.¹³

The U.S. Congress was urged to increase financing to Georgia over the next 2-3 years to ensure "Georgia's political and military integration into NATO and Western structures as soon as possible."¹⁴

11. Tony Abdo, *Institute of War and Peace Report*, Jan. 9, 2000.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. Jim Nichols, "Georgia: Current Developments and U.S. Interests," *Congressional Research Service*, updated Jan. 27, 2000.

All of this exacerbated the already strained relations between Russia and Georgia. The Russian media expressed outrage that Georgia and Azerbaijan were aiding terrorists in Chechnya. But as we will see things shifted, at least temporarily, following Putin's leadership in the subsequent CIS meeting.

TRANS-BALKAN PIPELINE

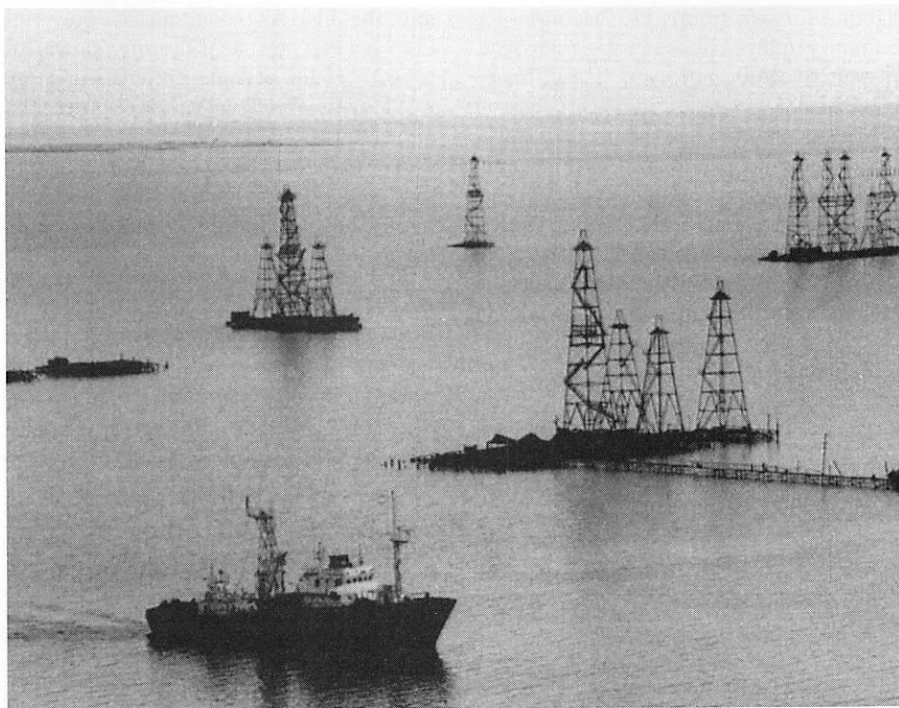
Following the OSCE Summit, however, the U.S. began reviving its plan to help finance a trans-Balkan oil pipeline going through Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania, thus bypassing Turkey and delaying preparations for the Baku-Ceyhan route. Completion of this pipeline would consolidate U.S. influence in the Balkans while simultaneously avoiding the greater expenses tied to the proposed oil pipeline through Turkey.¹⁵

Interest in the trans-Balkan project was renewed in a meeting, January 12, of international oil investors, U.S. Eximbank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank and the U.S.-based Albanian-Macedonian-Bulgarian Oil Company (AMBO).¹⁶ The trans-Balkan pipeline is expected to cost only \$825 million.¹⁷ It would enable Central Asian and Caucasian oil to be transported by tanker across the Black Sea, and then to Western Europe, and would avoid

15. "Trans-Balkan Pipeline complicates U.S.-Turkey Relations," *Stratfor.Com, Global Intelligence Update*, Nov. 24, 1999.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*



Neftyanne Kameny oil installation, in the Caspian Sea, near Baku, Azerbaijan.

AP / Wide World Photos

5. Steve Levine, "U.S. Seeks to End Russian Domination of the Caspian," *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1999.

6. Becker, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

7. "Russia says U.S. wants to oust it from Caucasus," *Reuters*, Nov. 12, 1999.

8. Lewis Dolinsky, "In Chechnya, This Time It's for Keeps," *Notes from Here and There, San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 24, 1999.

9. Jan S. Adams, Director Emerita of International Studies, Ohio State University, "The U.S.-Russian Face-off in the Caspian Basin," *Problems of Post-Communism* (Washington, D.C.), Jan.-Feb. 2000.

10. Ian Traynor, "Neighbors fear that, after Chechnya, they are next," *The Guardian* (London), Feb. 28, 2000.

not only Russia, but also the environmental complications of transporting oil through Turkey's Bosphorus Strait.¹⁸

This strategy may hinder the U.S. in its relations with its NATO ally, Turkey, particularly because it has relied on Turkey to extend U.S. military and political interests in former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus, including in Georgia. With Georgia in confrontation with Russia over the war in Chechnya, the U.S. may want to count on Turkey to intervene. Turkish President Süleyman Demirel met with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze on January 14, "to guarantee that Georgia's loyalties lie with the West" in advance of the mid-January Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) summit in Moscow under the leadership of then Acting President of Russia, Vladimir Putin.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the Clinton administration has yet to place any financial resources behind the Baku-Ceyhan route,²⁰ though it certainly has not been abandoned as one of the several proposed pipeline routes.

CIS MILITARY EXERCISES

In the tug-of-war for Georgia's loyalties, and those of other states of the region, Russia gained the upper hand, at least temporarily, as a consequence of the CIS summit meeting, January 24 and 25. At that meeting, Russian Acting President Vladimir Putin was rumored to have held separate meetings with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze over increasing tensions stemming from Georgia's forging of closer ties with the West and its suspected aid to rebels fighting Russian troops in Chechnya. The Summit produced measures to tighten security and to combat terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, arms trade and drug trafficking. ITAR-Tass reported that the purpose was to crack down on paramilitary activity along the borders of the three nations.²¹

As a result, joint military exercises were held in the days immediately following the CIS meeting, "covering the entire Caucasus, including the Russian republics bordering Georgia and Azerbaijan—Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachayevo-Cherkessia and the Krasnodar region—as well as the Stavropol territory."²²

The decision to host those military drills was a turnaround for Uzbekistan. In March

1999, Uzbekistan's military had withdrawn from the CIS Collective Security Pact and the Uzbek military has often trained with direct U.S. assistance.²³

The CIS Summit marked a shift in the stance particularly of Georgia and Uzbekistan regarding Russia. Other CIS states including Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Armenia, have maintained fairly strong ties with Russia.²⁴

THE WEST RETALIATES

Responding to these recent diplomatic gains by Russia, high-level delegations were dispatched "to entice much of Central Europe to join the western fold." The delegations—which visited Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Moldova—included European Commission President Romano Prodi, the NATO Secretary-General, and NATO's supreme commander. But most significantly, NATO also sent a delegation to Georgia February 9, "to further prepare Georgia for cooperation with NATO's Partnership for Peace Program." A U.S. delegation began visits on February 7.²⁵

Romano Prodi issued a statement in Latvia, February 10, signaling a major policy change for the European Union from the purely economic to the security realm. Prodi essentially announced de facto NATO expansion under the guise of EU security guarantees.²⁶

The statement made it clear that there are plans "to integrate NATO into the EU." If the EU fully adopts Prodi's plans, it would involve fully absorbing all of Eastern Europe—including the Baltics—into the EU. An economically powerful EU, backed by a militarily powerful NATO, would become entrenched along vast lengths of Russia's eastern border.²⁷

IMF FUNDS DELAYED

In December, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced it would continue to delay a \$640 million loan payment to Russia. Senior Clinton administration officials acknowledged that Moscow's campaign against Chechnya influenced the decision.²⁸ In Moscow, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry said: "The language of economic sanctions and diktat is unacceptable, all the more so when it concerns the issue of Russia's territorial integrity."²⁹

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. "Diplomatic Blitzkrieg: The West Responds to Russia's Assertiveness," *Stratfor.Com*, Global Intelligence Update, Feb. 11, 2000.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Celestine Bohlen, "Russia Reacts Angrily Over Western Criticism on Chechnya," *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1999.

29. *Ibid.*

In a clear attempt to assuage Russia's growing concerns on all these fronts, and to regain its diminishing dominance over Russia, NATO Secretary-General Lord George Robertson also traveled to Moscow to hold talks with Acting President Putin, a meeting initiated by Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov last December. The session took two months of negotiation to prepare. Moscow had raised disagreements over the agenda and it looked as if the meeting would not take place at all.³⁰ Significantly, these talks also were held one month before the Russian presidential election.

NATO STRENGTHENS TIES WITH UKRAINE

In a demonstration of how lightning fast events are moving, NATO's decision-making body—the North Atlantic Council—met in Kiev, Ukraine, March 1-2, after being hurriedly organized. This was seen as "a direct challenge to the Putin government's assertive new foreign policy."³¹ Furthermore, it is likely these actions partly were aimed at trying to pressure Putin and the Russian electorate on the eve of the March 26 elections.

Ukraine is viewed as the most strategically important nation on the periphery of Russia. It is economically dependent on Russia but continues to be pushed closer to the West.

Indicative of the deepening military ties between NATO and Ukraine are new plans for naval exercises in the Black Sea—NATO's Cooperative Partner 2000—to be held June 19-30. (See sidebar: "U.S.-NATO Military Operations in the Caspian Basin.")

The vast network of oil and gas pipelines, built during the Soviet era, include routes through Ukraine to Eastern Europe. So Ukraine is another potentially vital country for the transshipment of oil and gas into Europe.

MANY WARS

The Caucasus:

Azerbaijan: The oil state of Azerbaijan, on the west shore of the Caspian Sea, is the source of tremendous oil reserves. In order to transport the petroleum to market it must use currently existing pipelines: one running through Georgia to Supsa, which has limited capacity, and another traversing Russia through Chechnya to Novorossiysk. The Azerbaijani leaders along with the western oil companies are going ahead with plans to construct a pipeline through Turkey to

30. Douglas Hamilton, "Robertson hails revival of NATO-Russia ties," *Reuters*, Feb. 15, 2000.

31. *Op. cit.*, n. 25.

18. Karen Talbot, "Backing up Globalization with Military Might," *CovertAction Quarterly*, Fall/Winter 1999.

19. Global Intelligence Update, *op. cit.* 16.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Quoted in Vladimir Isachenkov, "Putin Meets Leaders of Ex-Republics," *Associated Press*, Jan. 25, 2000.

22. "CIS States Give in to Moscow," *Stratfor.Com*, Global Intelligence Update, Jan. 26, 2000.

Ceyhan, but the expense of that project is causing delays. In order to by-pass Russia, the other alternative is to go through Iran. (The recent parliamentary elections in Iran and the victory of pro-western candidates there may have a major impact on the future of such a pipeline.)

Meanwhile the conflict continues with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, an enclave within Azerbaijan currently occupied by Armenian militias with Russia supplying arms to Armenia. On June 17, the Azerbaijani Minister of Defense Safar Abijev asked that "NATO be involved in solving the conflict." Earlier, Azerbaijani spokesmen had floated the idea of a NATO military base in Azerbaijan. They also have held maneuvers in the framework of NATO's "Partnership for Peace."³²

Dagestan: Since the transport of petroleum through Chechnya had been interrupted by the conflict, Russia had been planning an alternative pipeline through Dagestan. But after Basayev invaded Dagestan last August and September, these plans were temporarily thwarted.³³

Karachay-Cherkess: Chechnya could also be bypassed to the west by means of a pipeline through the Russian region of Karachay-Cherkess. It clearly is no coincidence that a separatist movement is also flaring up there. On August 27, there was a major confrontation by separatists demanding that Karachay-Cherkess secede from Russia.

According to the historian Rachid Kha-tuev, the first aim of such a secession is to control the Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline. The Cherkess have a large diaspora abroad, especially in Turkey, where they have considerable influence.³⁴

Armenia: Armenia is strategically significant in the shipment of oil and gas from the Caspian Sea.

In speeches before the summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), November 18-19, 1999, both Azerbaijani President Haidar Aliyev and Armenian President Robert Kocharian called for the creation of a security pact in the South Caucasus, involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Russia and the U.S.³⁵

32. Jef Bossuyt, *Solidaire* (Belgium), Oct. 13, 1999.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. Stratfor.Com, Global Intelligence Update, *op. cit.*, n. 22.



Clinton at European security summit on oil and gas, November 1999, with Presidents (left to right) Aliyev of Azerbaijan, Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, Demirel of Turkey, Shevardnadze of Georgia, and Niyazov of Turkmenistan.

Until now, Armenia has been Russia's greatest ally in the region. But this pact would require the withdrawal of Russian troops from Armenia, undermining that long-existing alliance. Instead, Armenia would be in the camp of its traditional enemies, including Turkey.

Countries of Central Asia:

Kazakhstan: Kazakhstan is a huge country bordering on the Eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. It too has vast petroleum resources. A substantial portion of the oil reserves are in the Tengiz oil fields in the Caspian Basin. Western oil companies are heavily involved in Kazakhstan, as in Azerbaijan. However, the only way to transport the petroleum to market is through existing pipelines in Russia, especially the pipeline that crosses Chechnya and terminates at the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk. There is feverish activity to construct an underwater pipeline beneath the Caspian Sea which would make it possible to bypass Russia. The major obstacle to this is a treaty requirement that all five littoral states of the Caspian Sea must agree to such a project. That includes Russia and Iran. Serious disputes are raging among the countries bordering on the Caspian over control of the proposed pipelines and the off-shore oil and gas wealth. U.S. officials have been urging that the legalities regarding the Caspian Sea be disregarded in order to move forward with the trans-Caspian pipeline.³⁶

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev recently warned that drugs, terrorism

and scarce water resources are the main threats to stability in Central Asia.³⁷

Turkmenistan: Though its oil reserves are not on the scale of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan—in Central Asia, east of the Caspian—is actively exploring and developing what reserves do exist. It does, however, have significant gas reserves. Consequently, there are plans to construct a trans-Caspian gas pipeline which would terminate in Turkey. Since the country borders on the Caspian Sea it is involved in the bitter ongoing dispute with the other littoral states about how to divide up the riches of the sea.

China has invested heavily to help Turkmenistan with exploration, drilling and construction of refineries. Because it will face oil shortages in the coming decades, China is looking toward the Caspian Basin to help satisfy its energy needs.³⁸

Tajikistan: Tajikistan is made up of many minorities, cultures, clans, and languages, with Tajiks constituting only 65 percent of the population. Since the breakup of the U.S.S.R., the country has suffered from severe economic problems—including a devastating 60 percent drop in GDP, which fuels conflict. In 1992, the Islamic Party of the Resurrection seized power. They were supported from Iran, where the same language, Farsi, is spoken. Later, Kolkhoz farmers rose in armed revolt and brought President Emomali Rakhmonov to power in

37. "Drugs, terrorism, water threaten C. Asia-Nazarbayev," Reuters, Feb. 25, 2000.

38. Talbot, *op. cit.*, n. 18.

November 1992, and the Islamic opposition fled to Afghanistan. They returned later, "now sponsored by Pakistan, in neat American uniforms, with Stingers, night vision equipment, Motorola radio stations, and jeeps."³⁹ A bloody civil war followed, causing 200,000 casualties and 500,000 refugees. In June 1997, Rakhmonov conceded one-third of the ministerial offices to the Muslim opposition under a peace treaty which created a coalition government of opposing forces. Rakhmonov again won the presidency in recent elections, part of a three-year-old peace process. Renewed fighting is already erupting. Many of the Islamic fundamentalist factions are backed by forces in Afghanistan and Uzbekistan both of which border on Tajikistan. This border is a major crossing point for Afghan heroin and other contraband. Assassinations and kidnappings are escalating, therefore Rakhmonov requested that Russia reinforce the Russian-led 201st motorized rifle division—a 15,000 to 20,000-strong force.⁴⁰

Kyrgyzstan: Kyrgyzstan, which borders on China, has not escaped the conflicts fomented in Central Asia. In August 1999, the Uzbek warlord, Juma Namangan, invaded Kyrgyzstan from Tajikistan with 2,000 men. The scenario was identical to Basayev's invasion of Dagestan. Earlier, Namangan had fought with Islamic rebels in Tajikistan, and then had engaged the Taliban in Afghanistan. His forces consist of Tajik, Afghans, Arabs, and Uzbeks.⁴¹

Uzbekistan: Uzbekistan lies west of Kirghizistan in Central Asia. As mentioned above, the Fergana Valley which runs through Uzbekistan promises to be the location of increasing conflicts fomented by the same forces as in other Central Asian countries. Under NATO's Partnership for Peace program, Uzbek soldiers have trained with U.S. paratroopers in the Fergana Valley and even larger NATO-sponsored military maneuvers have been held with Uzbekistan.

Afghanistan: From 1979 until 1989, a war raged between Soviet troops allied with

Afghan government forces against Islamic fundamentalist factions. The fundamentalist fighters were armed by the CIA with Stinger missiles in the largest covert operation in history, additionally fi-

Central Asia could become "a zone of perpetual violence and conflict like the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. And in this region there are also nuclear weapons and materials, unlike in Central and East Africa. So the threat is very serious."

nanced by the Saudis and Osama Bin Laden. However, after having dislodged the Soviet army, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia supported the Taliban, a fundamentalist Muslim organization operating from Pakistan. In October 1996, the Taliban captured the capital Kabul and later advanced on the north where they now threaten the neighboring countries of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.⁴²

U.S. ROLE IN CENTRAL ASIA

"Stability is already a thing of the past in the Fergana Valley" (extending through Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan—Central Asia's largest population center), observed Barnett R. Rubin of the Council of Foreign Relations.

He stated in an interview quoted on the Soros Institute web site:

[T]he international community, and the U.S. in particular, are already engaged in Central Asia and the Fergana Valley, looking for oil and gas, planning pipeline routes, pressuring governments on their economic policies, trying to establish a security structure, trying to cooperate with or displace Russia in many fields including the military one, and so on....

Rubin said that the region from Central Asia through Afghanistan and Pakistan could become "a zone of perpetual violence and conflict like the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, with sev-

eral ongoing wars that keep spreading.... And in this region there are also nuclear weapons and materials, unlike in Central and East Africa. So the threat...is very serious."⁴³

ALLIANCES

"Group of Three"

In response to the offensive aimed at surrounding and breaking up Russia from the south, new alliances are being delineated. The "Three" (China, Russia, and India) are building an alliance to counter the Group of Seven (G7) (the seven richest countries of NATO). China clearly perceives that if the West succeeds in carving up Russia, it will become the next target. Among the Uigur population of western China, separatism is being stirred up based on the demand for an "independent and Islamic" state of Turkestan in Central Asia. This secession movement is following the lead of Taiwan and Tibet.

China's growing dependence on imported oil is also leading to stronger ties with Russia.

Meanwhile, India is fighting a war with Pakistan over Kashmir. (See related article on Kashmir.)

Allies of "The Three"

On August 25, the fifth summit of the "Group of Shanghai" took place in Kirghyzstan. It comprised the presidents of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kirghistan, and Tajikistan. Their agenda included the question of terrorism in their respective countries. They expressed objection to using "the pretext of human rights to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries" and pleaded the cause of a "multipolar world." This was a clear challenge to a world dominated by the U.S. and NATO. The alliance has led to the sale of Russian C-30 jet-fighters to China.⁴⁴

Group of Seven

The G7 countries are seeking to strengthen support for their offensive in the region. Key to this are Turkey (with Georgia and Azerbaijan in its sphere of influence), Afghanistan and Pakistan (which are bases for the Muslim fundamentalist warlords whose goal is to "chase the Russians from the Caucasus"), and the Chechen separatists.⁴⁵ ■

39. *Op. cit.*, n. 32.

40. "Looming Crisis in the Heart of Asia," *Stratfor.Com*, Global Intelligence Update, Mar. 8, 2000.

41. *Op. cit.*, n. 32.

42. *Ibid.*

43. An interview with Barnett R. Rubin, Director of the Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, from a conference on "Western Assistance to the Military in the Caspian Basin: Strategy and Consequences," Washington, D.C., Nov. 23, 1999, quoted on the Soros Foundation web site.

44. *Op. cit.*, n. 32.

45. *Ibid.*

U.S.-NATO MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE CASPIAN BASIN

"[T]he U.S. considers the countries of the former Soviet Union—including those in Central Asia, the Caucasus and along the Black Sea—within the zone of U.S. vital interests.... Russia interprets this posture as meaning that U.S. planes based at Incirlik, Turkey, could someday be used to protect pipelines in the Caucasus and Caspian region....

"Ukraine, an important CIS member bordering the Black Sea, has...signed a partnership agreement with NATO.... [It is not] a secret that Ukraine, with western financing, hopes to become a link in the transit of oil from the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin across the Black Sea and Ukraine to Western Europe.

"Russia has responded forcefully [to U.S. military presence]...declaring that a stronger American position in the Caspian oil-producing countries will not be permitted.... In September 1998, a visit by the U.S. Sixth Fleet's flagship to the Georgian port of Poti was—according to the American commander, Vice Admiral Daniel Murphy—carefully timed to coincide with military exercises by the Georgian coast guard and infantry in order to 'confirm the Black Sea's significance in global economic and political processes.'

"[O]n September 15, 1997, a formidable operation authorized by the United Nations and approved by NATO, but organized and directed by the U.S. Atlantic Command, involved 500 troops of the 82nd Airborne Division and forty from the Central Asian Battalion, *including Kazaks, Kyrgyz, and Uzbeks* [emphasis added].... The four-star general in command, Marine Corps General John J. Sheehan, announced to reporters, 'The message is that there is no nation on the face of the earth that we cannot get to.'

"Under [NATO's Partnership for Peace program], on July 1, 1998, U.S. paratroopers began a training exercise with Uzbek soldiers in the Fergana Valley; which was linked with larger NATO-sponsored military maneuvers held that September....

"[T]he transfer in October 1999, of the Caspian Region and Central Asia to the responsibility of the U.S. Central Command [has] provoked new apprehension [by Russia]." — Jan S. Adams, Director Emerita of International Studies at Ohio State University.¹

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE MIX

While Boris Yeltsin was still Prime Minister of Russia, he answered President Bill Clinton's criticisms of the Russian

military actions in Chechnya by warning that Clinton "forgot for a second that Russia has a full arsenal of nuclear weapons."²

More recently, on January 14, 2000, Vladimir Putin issued a revision of the national security doctrine of "no first use of nuclear weapons," proclaiming they can now be used "in case of the need to repulse an armed aggression, if all other methods of resolving the crisis situation are exhausted or have been ineffective." It spells out Russia's strong objections to the



U.S. Air Force

U.S., Kazakh, and Uzbek Army personnel board Air Force C-17 in North Carolina for exercise Central Asian Battalion '97, the longest distance airborne operation in history.

NATO attack on Yugoslavia and criticizes the U.S. for trying to create "unilateral" solutions to global problems with military force, "sidelining the basic founding standards of international law." The doctrine urges that the United Nations be strengthened.

Meanwhile the Clinton administration has been trying to convince Russia to amend the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty so the U.S. can push ahead with its missile defense system. This demand had already contributed to further delaying passage by the Russian parliament of the Start III Treaty.³

All of this also takes place in the contexts of NATO's refusal to renounce first use of nuclear weapons and the failure of Congress to ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

— Karen Talbot

1. Jan S. Adams, "The U.S.-Russian Face-off in the Caspian Basin," *Problems of Post-communism*, Jan.-Feb. 2000.

2. "Cold War Echos" *World Press Review*, Feb. 2000, p. 26.

3. "Chechnya and U.S.: Russian War Undermines Strategic Goals," *New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1999.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN COLOMBIA AND ECUADOR

BY MARK COOK

The effort to get \$1.6 billion to expand the war in Colombia, announced by testy State Department officials at a January 11 press conference, represents the last, most palpable sign of the crisis of the New World Order's economic, political and military strategies in Latin America.¹

The proposed appropriation has been denounced by establishment human rights groups and even much of the corporate media. It would more than quintuple the total amount of money publicly acknowledged to be going for the war in Colombia, a country whose military has the most monstrous human rights record of any in Latin America—a record coincident with U.S. “training.”

Colombia has the largest number of graduates from the School of the Americas of any Latin American country, and Colombian military officers speak proudly of being not only students but instructors there. The chief bodyguard of Carlos Castaño, the most powerful paramilitary death squad commander, proudly points to his two stints at the School of the Americas.²

The Clinton administration has attempted to pretend that the funding is to fight drugs, rather than escalate Colombia's 40-year-old civil war, indeed, to obstruct a peaceful settlement of the war. But its own allies—both the military and the death squads—are the biggest drug dealers in Colombia, and even the State Department

officials present at the opening press conference had trouble keeping to the script.³

The fivefold increase request comes on top of what was already a threefold increase in military funding to Colombia in late 1998, to \$289 million. The speed of the U.S. buildup is reminiscent of the moves by the U.S. in Vietnam in 1964, aimed at preventing the collapse of the Saigon army. Pointing to the Vietnam experience, Colombia's leading newsweekly, *Semana*, editorialized that the U.S. “aid” was a recipe for “destruction, indefinite war and indebtedness” and denounced the “frivolity and imbecility” of Colombian President Andrés Pastrana in going along, after obvious pressure, with the “opportunism and hypocrisy” of U.S. officials.⁴ U.S. officials are reportedly bracing themselves for strong opposition within Colombia, and Pastrana's popularity has plummeted.

The Clinton administration is betting heavily on helicopters which the Colombian military cannot yet fly (more than 60 are being sent) and on “paramilitary” death squads which the U.S. began training during the Bush administration at the beginning of the 1990s and which, according to human rights groups and even State Department human rights reports, are responsible for the overwhelming majority of murders.

The paramilitary death squads are only used against unarmed civilians and their commanders are reported to sleep at night in military bases to protect them from rebel attacks.

“Each night they kill groups of five to six defenseless people, who are cruelly and monstrously massacred after being tortured,” wrote Judge Leonardo Iván Cortés

to various regional officials in an effort to stop the July 15-20, 1997 massacre by right-wing “paramilitaries” who had seized the town of Mapiripán, Meta. “The screams of humble people are audible, begging for mercy and asking for help.”⁵

The Colombian army and police ignored the judge's pleas until after the departure from the town of the paramilitaries, who had arrived in the zone by chartered plane at an airport controlled by the Colombian army. Then the judge's pleas got plenty of attention: He and his family were forced to flee Colombia.

Carlos Castaño publicly took responsibility for the massacre, and promised more operations of the same type. Castaño's claim of responsibility forced the Colombian judiciary to order his arrest and that of two of his aides.⁶ As usual, the arrest warrants were ignored by the U.S.-funded Colombian military and police.

But in mid-1999, the extent of U.S. military collaboration with Castaño became clear when high-technology U.S. aircraft reportedly intervened to protect Castaño from an attack on his mountain

Mark Cook has reported extensively on Latin America for the last two decades. An expanded version of this article can be found on our web site, www.covertaction.org.

1. Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Peter Romero found himself questioning the motives of one journalist and disputing the eminently establishment Human Rights Watch for a report a month earlier accusing U.S. authorities of a “loose” interpretation of the Leahy Amendment. [The Leahy Amendment, named after Sen. Patrick Leahy (Dem.-Vt.), bans training or assistance to military units that are guilty of gross human rights abuses. Human Rights Watch had listed the names of Colombian military units that form death squads and/or actively promote, support and take part in paramilitary activities. “These [units] make up over 75 percent of the Colombian army,” it concluded.] “Yeah. Well, I'd like to know what's ‘loose,’” Romero snapped. “I consider it to be something that we adhere to and take very, very seriously, and so do the Colombians.” State Department officials hastily called an end to the press conference.

2. Interview with Castaño in *El Espectador* (Bogotá), May 18, 1999.

3. In short order, Romero abandoned the narcotics story and launched into an attack on the “guerrillas” for what he called their “talk-fight” strategy and their “deliberate attacks throughout the country,” and spoke of the need “to increase government presence on the ground in areas that have been virtual vacuums for civilian authority—police-civilian authorities—and the military.” Another official had to jump in and pull him out. “If I might just add,” hastily added Arturo Valenzuela, the President's Assistant for Inter-American Affairs, “to complement what the ambassador has said, and that is that there is no intention on the part of the United States to get involved in a counterinsurgency effort or in a counterinsurgency operation at all.”

4. *Semana* (Bogotá), Jan. 16, 2000.

5. Human Rights Watch, “Colombia and International Humanitarian Law, Part IV: Paramilitary Violations of International Humanitarian Law.”

6. Carlos Castaño's brother Fidel, with whom he formed the death squad, amassed a fortune as a drug dealer in league with the late Pablo Escobar and used the money to become one of the wealthiest ranchers in northern Colombia, according to official U.S. government reports. The behavior of Carlos and Fidel set a pattern for many drug lords: use drug money to buy land, the traditional route into the Colombian ruling elite, and use death squads to terrorize peasants into fleeing their land, which can then be bought cheaply or acquired for nothing. Persistent reports in the European media have found that major transnational oil and mining corporations have used the death squads for the same purpose: the cheap acquisition of land for oil or mining exploitation. Rebel groups have consistently demanded an end to transnational corporate holdings in oil and mining for this very reason, as well as the belief that the wealth from Colombia's natural resources should go to the people of the country. They have also demanded that land acquired by drug barons should be returned to the dispossessed owners.

Fidel, for his part, claimed that his wealth came from his work as a rancher and art dealer and that his dealings with drug lord Pablo Escobar consisted in selling him art work, a claim directly contradicted by U.S. government findings. Fidel supposedly vanished in 1994 during an overland trip to Panama, a story which neither the U.S. DEA nor the Colombian judiciary believes.

headquarters by the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC) rebels. The rebels were driven back by the rapid arrival of the Colombian army to defend Castaño's paramilitaries.

"The successful interceptions of FARC attacks—more than anything intelligence coups—were quite stunning for a military that is renowned for falling victim to FARC ambushes," Stratfor Global Intelligence Update reported. "Clearly, something was up." What was up, the Stratfor report stated, was an RC-7B U.S. intelligence-gathering aircraft. The aircraft soon went down, crashing in superficially explained circumstances and killing all seven aboard, five of them Americans.⁷

ECUADORAN REVOLT

The money the Clinton administration is seeking can buy more of the hugely expensive reconnaissance aircraft, along with others maintained by the Pentagon at airbases in neighboring Ecuador. But within less than a week of the State Department's Colombian announcement, events in Ecuador were to shake imperial Washington and threaten its virtual military occupation of that country. Similar rumblings were heard in Paraguay.

In Ecuador, a mass popular revolt which had been brewing for months toppled the government of President Jamil Mahuad. The Harvard-educated Mahuad, who in his short term of office had reduced Ecuadoran living standards fourfold and allowed the Pentagon to set up a string of military bases, had just announced plans to "dollarize" the economy, effectively abolishing the country's currency in favor of the U.S. dollar.

Controversial enough in ordinary times, such a move in economically prostrate Ecuador would be something akin to an attempt to establish gold and silver coin as the only legal tender in the United States. Only rich Ecuadorans have any significant holding in dollars, usually stashed abroad.

The announcement of the move, predictably, plunged still further the value of the Ecuadoran currency, the sucre, which lost 80 percent of its worth during Mahuad's term in office. Junior military officers, who had watched their monthly salaries drop from the equivalent of \$1,100 to \$300 during Mahuad's administration, joined the popular revolt led by Ecuador's indigenous community, labor unions, student groups, peasant organizations and left-wing opposition parties.

7. Colombia Loses Its Secret Weapon against the FARC," Stratfor Global Intelligence Update [Internet], July 29, 1999.



AP / Wide World Photos

Indigenous protestors break past soldiers to occupy Congress building, January 2000.

U.S. PRESSURE

U.S. pressure on the Ecuadoran military high command resulted in the derailing, for now, of the revolt and the handover of power to Vice President Gustavo Naboja, a member of the Ecuadoran oligarchy, but nobody expects the hasty arrangement to last.

The leaders of the revolt had promised new elections and a lifting of the state of emergency, and Naboja's constitutionally dubious takeover should certainly have meant new elections. But Naboja, all too aware of the probable results, announced that he would serve out the rest of Mahuad's term (in what amounts, in the view of the overwhelming majority of the Ecuadoran public, to an opportunity to clean out the till), and would continue the state of emergency imposed by Mahuad. The new president went on to announce ongoing efforts to dollarize, new plans to extract oil from the Ecuadoran Amazon, and more "privatization" to attract "foreign investment."

Opponents charged that "foreign investment" in the current economic circumstances (where a foreigner in Ecuador can live like a prince on five dollars a week) would amount to allowing foreigners to buy the country's resources for practically nothing and loot them, as has occurred throughout Latin America.

Ecuadoran public opinion polls showed that 70 to 80 percent of the population dared—even after the defeat of the revolt and in the face of widespread arrests and beatings of suspected participants—to express support for the revolt's demands. These included amnesty for military officers and others who took part in the revolt, the reorganization of the country's supreme court and congress, and the extradition of officials from Mahuad's and previ-

ous governments who had looted the Treasury and left the country.

More worrisome for Washington, the leaders of the protests are demanding the immediate departure of all U.S. troops. The Pentagon has set up a string of military bases, apparently expecting to take advantage of Ecuador's desperate economic straits, and are coordinating much of the war in Colombia from there.⁸

Similar popular pressure in Paraguay caused a hurried trip to Asunción by Curtis Struble, the U.S. State Department director of Brazilian and Southern Cone affairs, who said he hoped Paraguay would take a "different path than that of Ecuador." (Struble served as business charge d'affaires in Ecuador until August 1999.)⁹

U.S. officials have had no qualms with ousters of elected presidents, from Ecuador to Brazil, whenever it suited their purposes,¹⁰ including one of Mahuad's immediate predecessors. But musical chairs in the political ruling classes is one thing; a popular movement demanding a halt to "privatization" of publicly owned enterprises and the ouster of U.S. troops who

8. Beyond the immediate departure of all U.S. troops, the 80 Ecuadoran organizations that make up the Popular Front of indigenous, labor, campesino and student organizations are demanding rejection of the dollarization plan; non-payment of the foreign debt; a general increase in wages and salaries to make up for the spectacular losses in buying power under Mahuad; an investigation of official corruption; the unfreezing of bank accounts (a Mahuad measure which ruined many Ecuadorans, especially small businesspeople); price controls; and an improvement in living conditions of all Ecuadorans. *El Telegrafo* (Guayaquil) Jan. 26, 2000; quoted in *Weekly News Update on the Americas* (New York), Jan. 30, 2000, Issue #522.

9. *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), Jan. 29, 2000, from EFE Spanish news agency [quoted by *Weekly News Update on the Americas*, Jan. 31, 2000]

10. Former CIA officer Philip Agee describes the sequence of events in one such episode in Ecuador in his book *Inside the Company* (London: Penguin, 1975).

have been flooding the countries of South America is quite another.¹¹

U.S. MILITARY BASES

Meanwhile, attempts to set up bases in Central America have run into considerable opposition. U.S. authorities got their foot in the door in Nicaragua after Hurricane Mitch in late 1998, when a 1,700-strong Marine detachment was dispatched to aid in repairs. Even while they were there, concern was expressed at the possibility that the U.S. would establish a permanent base, a possibility that Gen. Joaquín Cuadra, then head of the Nicaraguan army, strongly rejected. The Nicaraguan constitution forbids foreign bases. Since then there has been criticism of the allegedly shoddy construction of the bridges built by the U.S. military contingent, many of which reportedly fell apart not long after the Marines departed.

In Honduras, meanwhile, human rights groups have only recently been discovering the remains of opposition figures who were “disappeared” and murdered by death squads during the U.S. military occupation in the 1980s and whose remains have been discovered buried on or near U.S. military bases.

The U.S. authorities have reportedly turned their base-building attention to Costa Rica, a country that has built an “environmentalist” tourist trade on the pretense, already ridiculed in the 1980s, that it is a country without an army (security forces use other names). Foreign military bases on the territory would make the image considerably harder to sell.

There was public revulsion expressed in Panama when it was revealed recently that U.S. military planes are being permitted to “refuel” in that country on their way to the war in Colombia. The U.S. authorities were forced to remove their military bases in Panama under the Panama Canal treaties, which went into effect at the beginning of this year. Washington had tried for years to revise, or abrogate, the treaties. Panamanian governments, even the one hand-picked by Washington and installed through the U.S. military invasion in 1990,

11. In Paraguay, labor organizers burned copies of a labor peace accord, demanded a halt to privatization of five state-owned companies, protested a recent increase in transport fares, and called for the resignation of President Luis González Macchi.

had feared popular reaction to such a move.

RESISTANCE IN PUERTO RICO

The resistance to U.S. military bombing operations in Vieques, Puerto Rico mobilized such support from the people of Puerto Rico that it united Puerto Rican political parties for the first time in memory, and enlisted active campaigns by pop megastars (who usually fear the repercussions from imperial recording companies).

In a clear sign of how bad things are for the U.S. empire in Puerto Rico, at least one U.S. senator began to denounce Puerto Ricans for their “ingratitude.” That is a term frequently used by imperial rulers faced with colonial revolts; it was last used by the Indonesian authorities in referring to the people of East Timor. As Benedict Anderson of the Cornell Modern Indonesia



U.S.-trained Guatemalan counterinsurgency forces, the Kaibiles, modeled on Green Berets.

Project has noted, the use of the word “ingratitude” rather than “betrayal” in such circumstances is an admission even by the oppressor that it is a colonial relationship rather than a community of equals, freely joined.

AMERICAN TROOPS

Latin Americans frequently point out that the U.S. empire has never invaded a country south of Panama. The speed with which the U.S. is escalating the war in Colombia represents a sharp departure from that tradition, as does the establishment of military bases throughout the continent.

The worldwide deployment of U.S. troops, including to previously neutral or

Soviet-allied countries, began in 1991 under a law, Section 2011 of Title 10 of the U.S. Code, allowing the U.S. military to train foreign troops with no regard for human rights restrictions and little or no oversight from U.S. civilian authorities.

The only condition imposed on the deployments is that the primary purpose is to train U.S. soldiers. That is a license to do practically anything, but even that restriction is regularly flouted, according to a three-part *Washington Post* series.¹²

The troops involved are Green Berets, Rangers, Navy SEALs and other special operations units. While Washington officially wrings its hands over the murderous war in Congo, and op-ed newspaper pieces piously call for a U.S. military “humanitarian” intervention, most of the media ignored the role of the U.S. special forces in training and urging into battle the Rwandan military, which started both of the last two wars in the neighboring Congo, in league with the Ugandan government, where troops have been trained in the same manner. (See article on Congo, p. 4.)

“Without firing a shot in anger,” the *Post* reported, the special operations forces “are revising the rules of U.S. engagement with scores of foreign countries,” and added that they “have become a leading force in exerting U.S. influence abroad.”

For decades, the Organization of African Unity was generally successful in preventing wars aimed at redrawing the map of Africa. The end of that era began with the surrender of the Soviet Union and the arrival of U.S. special operations forces in countries across Africa.

The *Post* quoted U.S. officials as saying that the special operations forces “also pass on their values of respect for human rights, civilian leadership and the need for a nation’s military to maintain a professional, apolitical role in society.”¹³

It is unclear what civilian leadership values the troops are passing on. As the *Post* pointed out, civilian leadership, or even oversight of these special forces operations is “minimal to nonexistent,” and not by accident—in the law as written or in the behavior of the senior military officers involved.

The *Post* noted one 1994 incident when Gen. Barry McCaffrey, then head of the U.S. Southern Command in Latin America, “circulated a letter asserting his authority over the troops, infuriating the region’s ambassadors. Ambassador Charles

12. *Washington Post*, July 12, 13, and 14, 1998.

13. Dana Priest, “Free of Oversight, U.S. Military Trains Foreign Troops,” *Washington Post*, July 12, 1998.

Bowers in Bolivia was so angry he threatened to expel U.S. troops from Bolivia.”¹⁴ McCaffrey moved from his Southern Command position in March 1996 to be the White House drug czar and the main public relations spokesperson for the escalation of the war in Colombia.

The Pentagon’s attempts to block congressional oversight came to light with the downfall of the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia and revelations by investigative reporter Allan Nairn and others of the U.S. special operations forces role in training the Indonesian army, despite a congressional ban on training Indonesian military officers in the United States because of extreme human rights abuses. Special operations forces have conducted 41 training exercises with the Indonesian army since the law was adopted in 1991. Most of the Indonesian exercises involved the notorious Kopassus troops, accused by U.S. officials of involvement in kidnappings and torture of anti-government activists, the *Post* noted.¹⁵

The Pentagon is required by the law to provide accounts of the missions to Congress, but Pentagon officials acknowledged that the annual reports, declassified for the first time in 1998, were “vague and difficult to decipher,” the *Post* noted. Even that was too much for the Defense Department, which attempted, just before the Indonesia scandal broke in early 1998, to eliminate the reporting altogether as “unduly burdensome.”

Special operations forces, which engage in what are called “Joint Combined Exchange Training” or “JCETs,” are not required to abide by congressional or administration restrictions on aid to military units because of human rights violations, drug trafficking or, apparently, anything. That alone explains the ongoing Pentagon work with the Colombian military even during the years of the government of President Ernesto Samper, when Colombia was “decertified” for drug reasons and Pentagon involvement climbed exponentially.

The U.S. role in organizing the death squads began with the Special Operations forces in 1991, when they set up “intelligence networks” under a secret Colombian military high command order, number 200-05/91.

The new tactic is to claim that increased U.S. military involvement will actually *improve* the human rights record of the Colombian military, although all evidence suggests the exact opposite, and not by accident.¹⁶



AP / Wide World Photos

Colombian anti-narcotics police guarding a Blackhawk helicopter at ceremony attended by Under-secretary of State Thomas Pickering, February 2000.

This is a new stratagem that was developed by the Reagan administration in the 1980s. Up to that time, the Congress would cut off military assistance to governments with particularly appalling human rights records—as the U.S. did with Batista in Cuba, Somoza in Nicaragua and the series of military dictators in Guatemala—although the appropriation was often simply hidden in the Pentagon budget.

The new line was to call for increased U.S. military aid, with the line that it was needed to train the Latin militaries in respect for human rights.

When the training had exactly the opposite effect, as with alumni from the School of the Americas, the U.S. authorities and the semi-official U.S. media made a show of hand wringing, suggesting that these Latin American military officers sank back into their brutal ways once returned to their natural milieu, and to attempt to shift the debate to focus on whether the SOA had done enough to instill respect for human rights, or whether it needed to do more.

When military units specially formed and trained from the start by the U.S. authorities committed the worst atrocities of the Central American war, the U.S. government and media suppressed the details, and forced out any reporters who had mentioned it.

When revelations such as the 1970 Daniel Mitrone affair in Uruguay¹⁷ showed that the U.S. authorities, far from training Latin American military and police to respect human rights, were in fact forming and training torture squads and death squads, U.S. officials again did their best to suppress the story. ■

17. Daniel Mitrone, a former police officer from Indiana, first came to Latin America (Brazil) in the early 1960s. In 1969, he was posted in Uruguay with the U.S. Agency for International Development in the CIA-founded and ill-named “Office of Public Safety.” Alejandro Otero, a former Uruguayan police intelligence chief, declared in an extraordinary newspaper interview during a tense atmosphere of political unrest, that U.S. advisors had instituted torture there as “a more routine measure.” “[T]o the means of inflicting pain, they had added scientific refinement; and to that a psychology to create despair, such as playing a tape in the next room of women and children screaming and telling the prisoner that it was his family being tortured.”

Mitrone took it to new levels when he built a sound-proofed room in the cellar of his Montevideo home. There he held “training” sessions for members of the Uruguayan military and police. At one session, he had four beggars, including one woman, brought in, and proceeded to use them for demonstration purposes as he slowly tortured them to death while explaining his methods each step of the way. Mitrone considered torture to be an art. His motto was: “The precise pain, in the precise place, in the precise amount, for the desired effect.” He also told a colleague, “It’s important to know in advance if we can permit ourselves the luxury of the subject’s death.”

Finally, on July 31, 1970, he was kidnapped by Tupamaro guerrillas. They did not torture him, but rather demanded the release of 150 political prisoners then held by the Uruguayan government in exchange for Mitrone. The military spurned the proposal, and his body was found 12 days later. See William Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage, 1995), pp. 200-03.

14. Douglas Farah, “A Tutor to Every Army in Latin America,” *Washington Post*, July 13, 1998.

15. *Washington Post*, July 12, 1998, *ibid*.

16. See also Frank Smythe and Winifred Tate, “Co-

lombia’s Gringo Invasion,” *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 60 (Spring 1997); also Mark Cook, “Colombia: The Politics of Escalation,” *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 68 (Fall/Winter 1999).

U.S. USING U.N. PROGRAM TO STEAL IRAQ'S OIL

BY LEE SIU HIN

The United States, and some of its allies, have been benefitting from one of the biggest oil schemes in history: the theft, every year, of billions of dollars of below-market price petroleum from Iraq under the United Nations "oil-for-food" program. Because of the sanctions, Iraq has been forced to sell its oil far cheaper than the international market price. (See Figure One.) This is one of the reasons the U.S. wants to maintain the U.N. sanctions against Iraq indefinitely and why its warplanes still patrol Iraq's airspace, bombing at will.

Oil prices collapsed just as Iraqi production had begun to go up after Phase I of the oil-for-food program resulting in a \$60 billion loss to other oil producers—"from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia down to Texas stripper-well owners." This is a major explanation for the 60 percent oil price collapse in 1998 to \$8 a barrel—the cheapest oil since the 1970s oil crisis.¹

In an obvious move to rebound from the drop in price, OPEC countries took action to cut production in March 1999.² Now the price of crude oil is astronomically high (it reached \$31.77 per barrel on March 2).³ The

surge in oil prices was suddenly further spiked by Iraq's decision November 24, last year, to stop production rather than capitulate to the terms of the Security Council resolution which had extended the oil-for-food program for a mere two weeks.⁴ This situation changed on December 10, when the U.N. Security Council voted to extend the program for six more months.

Then, on December 17, the Security Council passed another resolution, 1284, with three of the five permanent members, China, Russia and France, abstaining. The resolution set up a new U.N. Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), replacing the U.N. Special Commission. Its mission is to continue searching for chemical, biological and ballistic missiles, joined by the International Atomic Energy Agency which is to continue looking for nuclear programs. Subsequently, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed Hans Blix as executive chairman of UNMOVIC.⁵ Resolution 1284, while purporting to lead to lifting sanctions, is actually more stringent than the previous one. Under the old provisions, the embargo was to have ended when the inspectors declared Iraq free of weapons of mass destruction. Under the new resolution, the sanctions will merely be suspended.

Resolution 1284 lifts the cap on how much oil Iraq can sell, which had been set

at \$5.26 billion every six months in recent phases of the program.⁶ Yet all other controls, including the deposit of Iraq's oil revenues into an escrow fund, are to stay in place under the resolution.

Iraq has adamantly rejected this resolution because it reinstates the inspections, which have been extremely intrusive and proved to have been used for U.S. spying. Furthermore, the brutal sanctions, which have caused untold suffering of the Iraqi people, are to continue.

Under the program, Iraq often has not even received a substantial portion of the humanitarian goods approved by the U.N. These provisions have been held up on one pretext or another. Indeed, the U.S. blocks many contracts for humanitarian supplies to Iraq and openly acknowledges that it is currently blocking \$1.3 billion worth of contracts.⁷

Meanwhile, early in February, Hans von Sponeck, chief of the U.N. humanitarian program in Iraq, resigned under pressure following his public criticism of the U.N. sanctions and the oil-for-food program, which he said did not meet even the most basic needs of Iraq's 22 million people.⁸

Since 1997, U.N. Resolution 986 had allowed Iraq to sell a specific dollar amount of crude oil to buy food and medicine. For the first three six-month phases, the Security Council set a ceiling of \$2 billion on oil exports for each phase. From Phase IV until the current phase, the ceiling was increased to \$5.2 billion. Thirty percent of the resulting revenues must pay so-called reparations.

The money from the sale of the oil is held in an account and dispersed by the U.N. under the program, to purchase food, medicine, and other humanitarian goods as well as spare parts for the Iraqi oil industry.

Although the U.N. specified how much Iraq can receive from oil sales every six months, nowhere did the program specify the *selling price* or the *amount of oil* to be sold. It is up to the international oil

Lee Siu Hin is a freelance foreign correspondent, who has worked with Pacifica Radio in Los Angeles. He wishes to thank Tom Stinett for his help on this article.

1. After Phase I of the program, the international oil price dropped from its peak of \$23-24 in mid-1996 to the lowest level of \$8-9 at the end of 1998. See also Jim Landers, "U.S. Depended More On Iraqi Oil in 1999, Industry Report Shows," *Dallas Morning News*, Jan. 20, 2000.

2. Stratfor Global Intelligence Update, Dec. 15, 1999.
3. Jonathan Fuerbringer, "Supply Is Low as Gas and Oil Prices Increase," *New York Times*, Mar. 2, 2000, p. C1.

4. On November 22, 1999, when Iraq stopped its oil exports after rejecting the two-week extension of the U.N. program, its last six-month period having expired on November 20, it accused the U.S. and the U.K. of manipulating the Security Council to maintain its nearly ten-year-old sanctions against Iraq forever.
5. "U.N. Council Adopts Critical Resolution on Iraq," Reuters, Dec. 17, 1999.

6. *Ibid.*

7. "U.S. Objects to U.N. Plan on Iraq," AP, Jan. 27, 2000.

8. Anna Sathiah, "Annan Accepts Resignation in Iraq," AP, Feb. 14, 2000.

Figure One: Oil sales under United Nations "Oil for Food Program"

Phase I - VI	Volume of oil (millions of barrels)	Value of oil exported (\$million)	Average Price per barrel (\$)
One 1997	120	\$2,150	\$18.00
Two 1997	127	\$2,125	\$16.70
Three 1998	182	\$2,085	\$11.50
Four 1998	308	\$3,027	\$9.80
Five 1999	361	\$3,947	\$10.90
Six 1999	390	\$7,402	\$19.00
Totals/average	1488	\$20,736	\$14.32

(Source) U.N. Office of the Oil for Food Program

buyers and SOMO—the Iraqi state oil company—to haggle over this. With a gun to its head, Iraq has had no choice but to let international oil buyers set the price. Since the U.N. program began, international oil companies have been able to buy oil from Iraq at a cheaper price than from any other Gulf oil-producing state. Iraq has sometimes sold more, sometimes less, than the allowed amount during a given phase. Is anyone asking which banks are benefitting from this huge fund of petrodollars placed in escrow while the people of Iraq are experiencing indescribable suffering under the sanctions?

OPEC is considering increasing output to bring oil prices down to a more “acceptable level.”⁹ But rumors were circulating that if Iraq were to increase production substantially it could again cause prices to tumble.¹⁰ OPEC countries and companies raking in high profits from the record prices appear to be extremely reluctant to step up production, and undoubtedly are watchful about what will happen regarding Iraq’s output. Banks, which reap a colossal influx of petrodollars, are sure to be monitoring these developments, as well. Iraq, which is likely to increase its production, also benefits from the higher oil prices. However, it continues to receive considerably less for its oil than the prevailing market price.

“OIL-FOR-FOOD” SCAM

Iraq has consistently refused to sell its oil to U.S., U.K., and Japanese companies. “Would you help a person who commits a crime against your people [by selling oil to them]?” Iraqi oil minister Amir Rashid asked. Yet Iraqi oil does end up in the U.S.¹¹

Ostensibly the U.S. purchases very little oil from Iraq under the food-for-oil program, but behind closed doors, it has been buying Iraqi crude through intermediaries—so-called “third-party oil.”¹²

9. Consumers in the U.S. and elsewhere are likely to become increasingly angry over rising costs of fuel and heating oil. Drivers were paying 53% more at the gasoline pump than last year. High fuel costs also can lead to increased prices in many other spheres, such as air fares and shipping costs. The additional expenses incurred by businesses are likely to be passed along to consumers. See Randal C. Archibald, “Shivers of Rage or Cold at Record Oil Prices,” *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 2000, p. B1; and *op. cit.*, n. 3. As has happened in the past, there can be severe economic consequences for non-oil producing developing countries that cannot afford the high cost of petroleum. See Joseph Kahn, “Surge in Oil Prices Is Raising Specter of Inflation Spike,” *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 2000, p. 1.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

11. Energy Intelligence Group, Washington, D.C., Mar. 12, 1999.

12. Whenever things have heated up against Iraq, U.S. oil companies seemed increasingly likely to buy more Iraqi oil. For example, in December 1998, the

Figure Two: Major U.S. Companies Import Iraqi Oil (in thousand barrels)

Month/ Year	Total U.S. Import	Total Iraq Oil Import To U.S.	Chevron	Exxon- Mobil	Valero	Clark	Marathon Ashland
Dec. 1998	258,912	15,054	3,540	3,565	231	1,982	460
Jan. 1999	258,509	14,593	403	4,998	1,620	1,076	549
Feb. 1999	225,260	19,089	4,090	3,510	1,489	2,051	271
Mar. 1999	251,844	24,522	4,343	5,563	2,050	3,103	584
Apr. 1999	269,550	24,734	6,152	4,949	2,504	2,943	1,996
May 1999	278,597	22,310	3,262	5,017	2,562	2,044	1,428
June 1999	263,850	20,723	5,759	4,922	1,004	1,923	1,004
July 1999	294,717	21,408	3,958	5,085	3,043	1,018	2,034
Aug 1999	284,487	20,451	5,742	2,496	3,431	539	1,027
Sep. 1999	255,000	22,452	5,810	2,472	4,174	1,861	309
Oct. 1999	268,677	28,377	6,217	4,263	2,507	1,961	2,458
Total	2,909,403	233,713	49,276	46,840	24,615	20,501	12,120

Source: Department of Energy

Brokers buy Iraqi oil under the program, then resell it to U.S. companies. As a result, nearly 40 percent of Iraq’s oil exports end up in U.S. refineries. Larry Goldstein, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, said traders in Russia, China, and Europe are buying Iraqi oil at discounts and reselling it, much of it to U.S. companies, at prices below the cost of comparable grades of oil.¹³ Department of Energy figures (Figure Two) also indicate the companies that have been receiving the oil—Chevron, Exxon-Mobil, Valero, Clark, and Marathon Ashland. U.S. oil companies make billions of dollars profit from this cheaper oil difference every year. Houston-based Coastal Corp. has been the only U.S. firm allowed to make direct purchases of Iraq’s oil.

“Iraqi oil became a big part of U.S. energy supplies despite an overall drop in oil imports,” according to the American Petroleum Institute. Iraq has become the fifth largest supplier of U.S. imports. In fact, crude oil imports from Iraq doubled last year, from 336,000 barrels per day (bpd) in 1998 to 712,000 bpd a day as of October last year, according to Ronald Planting, the Petroleum Institute’s information and analysis manager. Yet, as recently as 1996, the U.S. imported no Iraqi oil.¹⁴

“Iraqi crude...is being priced competitively enough...to become the fastest-growing source of U.S. imports,” said Goldstein. Yet, an Energy Department spokesman insisted that there was nothing unusual or remarkable about these imports

because they are administered by the U.N.’s oil-for-food program.¹⁵

Meanwhile, in a new twist to the story, Iraqi officials have said that their oil exports under the oil-for-food deal with the U.N. are running into difficulty because of lack of spare parts to upgrade its oil industry. The U.N. has allowed Iraq to purchase \$300 million in spare parts every six months to repair its oil industry, devastated both by the U.S.-led bombings during the 1991 Gulf War and by subsequent U.N. sanctions. But Iraqi Oil Minister Amir Muhammed Rasheed pointed out that they have repeatedly complained that only a few of the spare parts and equipment they had contracted to buy from foreign companies have reached the country and accused the U.S. of blocking contracts or putting them on hold. He said hundreds of contracts were now held up for political reasons.¹⁶

Iraq’s oil production would likely drop 200,000 bpd unless the Security Council approved contracts for spare parts and equipment, according to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan.¹⁷

It is clear that one reason the U.S. wants to maintain the sanctions is to allow the major oil companies to reap huge profits. Yet the overriding motivation behind U.S. policies is to retain hegemony over the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Above all it is to send an unmistakable message that any country bold enough to stand up to the U.S. will reap the same unprecedented and brutal consequences inflicted upon Iraq. ■

15. *Ibid.*

16. Hassan Hafidh, “Iraq’s oil exports run into difficulty—minister,” Reuters, Jan. 29, 2000. Also, former CIA director John Deutch, who headed U.S. efforts to overthrow Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, sits on the board of Schlumberger Ltd., a company that is helping service oil rigs in Iraq. Richard Cheney, who was secretary of defense during the Persian Gulf War, is CEO of Halliburton Co., the world’s largest oil field service company. Halliburton had a major stake in Dresser-Rand and Ingersoll-Dresser Pump Co., two U.S. corporations involved in the reconstruction of Iraq’s oil industry. See Colum Lynch, “U.N. keeps mum on U.S.-Iraq oil trade,” *San Jose Mercury News*, Feb. 21, 2000.

17. Hassan Hafidh, *op. cit.*, n. 16.

DEPLETED URANIUM AND THE GULF WAR SYNDROME

BY SIEGWART-HORST GÜNTHER

The conditions in Baghdad hospitals where leukemia and cancer patients are housed are particularly depressing. The rooms are overcrowded. Most of the cases come from the South. Their increasing number is attributed to the radioactivity and toxicity of depleted uranium (DU) ammunition used by the Allied forces during the war and abandoned afterwards. Since 1991, I have been constantly warned about the DU danger to the population. Many of the DU-projectiles spread over the battlefields have been collected by children and used as toys with possibly devastating consequences. Inhaled uranium dust is highly toxic and can result in lung cancer.

According to recent estimates by UNICEF, 80,000 to 100,000 Iraqi children died in 1993. Thomas Eckwall, UNICEF director in Baghdad, specified that an urgent emergency program would require \$83.2 million, but barely an eighth of that sum is in hand.

PROPERTIES OF DEPLETED URANIUM

In natural uranium, the proportion of the isotope 235 is only about 0.7 percent. The greater part is uranium 238. As only uranium 235 is suitable as fissile material for use in nuclear power plants, the uranium ore has to be enriched by artificially increasing the proportion of this isotope. As a result, there are large quantities of waste produced in this procedure, i.e., the so-called DU consisting almost solely of the isotope 238.

In Europe, these waste products from the uranium industry are stored in specially shielded deposits at considerable cost because of their high toxicity and radioactivity. In order to reduce these high costs, depleted uranium of the isotope 238 is passed on to interested parties, sometimes even free of charge.

Depleted uranium has properties which make it highly attractive to the armaments industry:

1. It is practically the heaviest naturally occurring substance.

2. DU projectiles, the development of which is presumably based on German

technology, have a great penetrating power and are better suited for penetrating steel armor plating than any other weapon.

3. It is also an inflammable material. It ignites immediately upon piercing armor plates, releasing highly toxic and radioactive substances upon combustion.

4. After the Gulf War, since 1992, U.S. tanks are being strengthened by a layer of DU.

Different types of depleted uranium ammunition have been manufactured in the U.S. by Aerojet and Honeywell. Aerojet began mass production in 1977. At present such ammunition is also being mass produced in Britain and France. It is likely that it is being exported to other NATO countries as well as to Australia, Japan, and New Zealand.

MEDICAL EFFECTS

At the beginning of March 1991, I detected projectiles in an Iraqi combat area which had the form and size of a cigar and were extraordinarily heavy. At a later point, I saw children playing with projectiles of this kind; one of them died of leukemia.

My efforts to have one of these projectiles examined brought me into serious trouble in Germany: the material was highly toxic and radioactive. The projectile was confiscated by a large police detachment, carried away under enormous safety precautions, and stored in a special shielded container.

As early as the end of the 1991, I diagnosed a hitherto unknown disease among the Iraqi population which is caused by renal and hepatic dysfunctions.

During the last five years, I have been able to carry out extensive studies in Iraq. The results produced ample evidence showing that contact with DU ammunition has the following consequences, especially for children:

- A considerable increase in infectious diseases caused by the most severe immuno-deficiencies in a great part of the population.
- Frequent occurrence of massive herpes and zoster afflictions, also in children.
- AIDS-like syndromes.
- A hitherto unknown syndrome caused by renal and hepatic dysfunction—now called "Morubs Günther."
- Leukemia, aplastic anemia and malignant neoplasm.

- Congenital deformities caused by genetic defects which were partly also diagnosed in animals.

DU AND THE GULF WAR SYNDROME

The results of my studies show similarities to the Gulf War Syndrome found in Allied soldiers and their children. The congenital deformities caused by genetic defects in American and Iraqi children are identical.

According to U.S. statements, vaccinations against anthrax and botulism, malaria prophylaxis, benzenes used for delousing, pyridostigminbromides DEET or permethrin, as well as the DU ammunition are responsible for the development of this syndrome. The Allied troops were not informed about the health dangers caused by the DU projectiles until nine days after the end of the war. Like all heavy metals, such as lead, or cadmium, uranium is highly toxic. The human body must not come into contact with them.

Newspapers recorded that many Gulf War soldiers from the U.S. feared they may have been used as guinea pigs in a radiation experiment. This syndrome among U.S. Gulf War soldiers and their families was debated in the U.S. Congress.

In the opinion of the American nuclear scientist Leonard Dietz, the development of the uranium projectiles is as revolutionary as the machine-gun was during the First World War. However, he observed that the Gulf War was the most toxic war in the history of mankind.

According to statements by the U.S. Army, about 14,000 high-caliber shells were fired during the Gulf War. Estimates by the British Atomic Energy Authority say about 40 tons of this type of ammunition are scattered in the border regions between Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Other experts assume that there are probably 300 tons of it. Not more than 10 percent of these projectiles have been detected. The major part of them have been covered with blowing sand or are lying deep in the ground. When it rains, the toxic substances permeate into the ground water and enter the food chain—a long-term source of danger in areas of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq.

A British company had rejected the order to remove this uranium ammunition because the health risks to their staff would be too great.

Siegwart-Horst Günther (M.D., D.Sc., Ph.D.) is President of the Yellow Cross and lives in Germany. This is excerpted from a lecture, "A study of the health situation in Iraq resulting from the Gulf War and the sanctions."

Bedouins from Kuwait battlefields, which U.S. soldiers used as training grounds, reported that hundreds of dead camels, sheep, and birds lie in the desert. Examinations made by an American veterinarian, a specialist in infectious diseases, showed that the animals had died neither from bullets nor from disease. Some carcasses were covered with insects, but the insects were also dead.

Saudi Arabia had demanded that all tanks, vehicles and instruments of war, which had been destroyed by uranium ammunition on their territory, be collected by the U.S. Army. This material was carried away and transported to the U.S. Before that, it had been buried in the desert.

POSTWAR DEATH TOLL

The president of the American Gulf War Veterans Association is especially preoccupied by the Gulf War Syndrome. This syndrome includes damages to organs, genetic manifestations, chronic fatigue, loss of endurance, frequent infections, sore throat, coughing, skin rashes, night sweats, nausea and vomiting, diarrhea, dizziness, headaches, memory loss, confusion, vision problems, muscle spasms and cramps, joint pains and loss of mobility, aching muscles, swollen glands, dental problems, and malformation of newborns. According to his estimates, 50,000 to 80,000 U.S. Gulf War veterans are affected; 39,000 have been dismissed from active service already; and 2,400 to 5,000 have died so far. Today in Great Britain around 4,000 soldiers suffer from the Gulf War Syndrome. About 160 already have died, as have a number of Australians, Canadians, and French.

Similar symptoms have occurred in Kuwait and are proliferating. It is believed that in Iraq, 250,000 men, women, and children may have been affected. The death rate is high. A study carried out in 1993 by three American scientists estimated that about 50,000 Iraqi children had already died during the first eight months after the Gulf War from the detrimental effects of DU projectiles.

DU DANGERS ARE SPREADING

In May 1994, reports published in the U.S. found that among 251 families of veterans of the Gulf War living in the state of Mississippi, 67 percent of the children were born with congenital deformities—their eyes, ears, or fingers are missing or they are suffering from severe blood disease and respiratory problems.

A parallel can be drawn with the situation that has developed after the 1986 ac-

cident at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor. Since then, there has been a sharp increase in cancer, especially among children. Their mortality rate is very high, as are malformations at birth.

It is important to point out what happened in Germany in 1988, after a U.S. Army plane crashed in Remscheid, and in Holland, in 1992, after an Israeli El Al transport plane crashed in Amsterdam. It is suspected that both planes were carrying radioactive material. In both these regions there has been an increase in skin diseases, kidney dysfunctions, leukemia among children and birth defects.

In Bosnia, it was reported in November 1996 that about 1,000 children were suffering from an unknown disease: earaches, aching muscles, abdominal pain, dizziness, respiratory problems, and other afflictions. Similar symptoms were described by victims of the Gulf War Syndrome. Meanwhile, six hundred of these children still receive hospital treatment. In December 1997 and January 1998, the media in the Balkans reported a dramatic increase in leukemia and cancer within the population of Republika Srpska as well as an increased number of malformations in babies. The cows in these regions also show reduced and bloody milk production, while in other animals, milk production stopped. Unusual vegetation is growing,



Genetic deformity of a child of an Iraqi Gulf War veteran caused by depleted uranium.

and many fruits have strange formations. After investigations by experts from the Nuclear Research Institute in Vinca, Yugoslavia, it was found that radiation increased dangerously after the NATO bombardment, in which DU ammunition was used.

The grave dangers are increasing because DU weapons are at the disposal of several states. These weapons have already caused irreparable damage. It is for the citizens of the world to see that such dangerous weapons systems are not used again and are immediately banned. ■

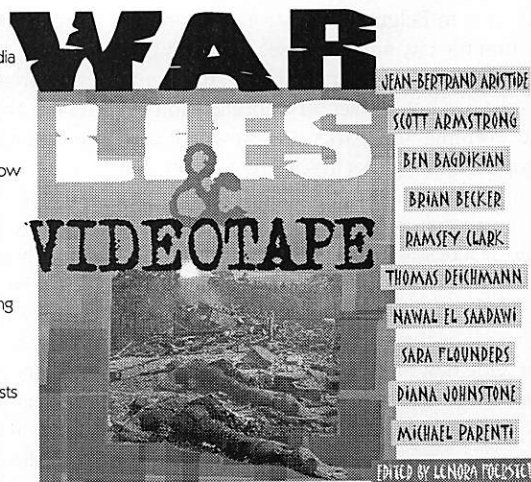
What passes for the news today has been predigested by a handful of media megacorporations. In this book, hard-hitting media critics, journalists and activists examine the newly emerging global media systems.

TOPICS INCLUDE:

- ✦ The growing concentration of media ownership that stifles dissent and the flow of information
- ✦ The links between the government, the media and the military
- ✦ The media's role in the preparation for wars to capture world markets
- ✦ War propaganda and NATO's expanding role in Yugoslavia
- ✦ The role of Big Oil, the Pentagon and the media in the Gulf
- ✦ How new technologies can help activists break through the media monopoly

\$15.95 INTERNATIONAL ACTION CENTER
39 W. 14 St., # 206, NY, NY 10011
212-633-6646 www.iacenter.org

leftbooks.com



How media monopoly stifles truth

YUGOSLAV SOJOURN: NOTES FROM THE OTHER SIDE

BY MICHAEL PARENTI

Anyone in the United States seeking to hop a plane to Belgrade discovers that it cannot be done. The international sanctions imposed against Yugoslavia ended all air travel to what remains of that beleaguered country. Recently, a group of us North Americans, endeavoring to bring medicines to the Yugoslav Red Cross and glean a first-hand impression of the country, had to fly to Budapest, Hungary, then endure a seven-hour bus ride (counting the long delay at the border) to reach Belgrade.

Belgrade is a city with a funky beauty of its own, with cobblestone malls, elaborate monuments, parks, and elegantly aging edifices sporting a distinctly Old World patina. Despite the severity of the sanctions and the massive inflow of refugees from the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, there are no beggars or derelicts to be seen; no one in tatters; no one asleep in a doorway or rummaging through garbage cans; no cadres of prostitutes plying their trade. The free market has not yet taken complete hold. A welfare state of a sort still exists, which, in the eyes of some neoliberal western leaders, may be Yugoslavia's biggest crime. The state-supported economy has prevented the kind of mass social misery witnessed in some other Eastern European countries.

HARD TIMES

Speaking of crime, there seems to be little fear of it in Belgrade. We strolled for hours around the city and could see women walking alone or together well past midnight, displaying not a trace of apprehension. In the evening, the parks are crowded with people, unlike parks in some U.S. cities that empty out after sundown. To the organizer of our delegation, Barry Lituchy, a historian who teaches at Kingsborough Community College in the City University of New York, Belgrade appeared noticeably poorer and more worn than on his visit four years earlier. One new sign of hard times is the overabundance of street vendors with their paltry offerings of recycled knickknacks, clothing, CDs, tapes, books, magazines, cosmetics, and bootlegged cigarettes and liquor.

Michael Parenti's most recent books are *America Besieged* and *History as Mystery* (both published by City Lights Books, San Francisco).

All over the city one still sees graffiti denouncing NATO, the United States, and Bill Clinton in the most bitter terms. "NATO" is repeatedly represented with the "N" in the form of a swastika. More than once I saw "Free Texas" sprayed across walls. As one citizen explained, Texas is heavily populated by Mexicans or persons of Mexican descent, many of whom suffer more serious cultural discrimination and economic adversity than did Kosovo Albanians; should not Yugoslavia and other nations do whatever they can to make Texas into a separate polity for oppressed Mexicans? The same logic applied to the "Free Corsica" graffiti sprayed across the French cultural center, gutted, along with the U.S. and British cultural centers, by outraged Yugoslavs during the NATO bombings.

Belgrade still shows remnants of its Communist past. Many streets and buildings are named for famous communist leaders and partisan fighters. One major thoroughfare is "Boulevard of the Revolution," another is "Lenin Boulevard," and another is "Brotherhood and Unity Highway." Surely, I thought, U.S. leaders will not leave this country alone until those names are changed to "IMF Avenue" and "Morgan Trust Way," or at least renamed after some orthodox saints or reactionary military heroes of yore.

We visited the Chinese embassy, an architecturally distinct edifice standing on a broad lot with only some housing projects in the background, much of its interior pulverized by three missiles. The CIA's claim that the attack was a case of mistaken identity seemed less credible than ever to us. Even a cursory inspection makes one wonder how the CIA could have mistaken the embassy for the Federal Directorate of Supply, an office building two blocks away. The U.S. ambassador had dined at the Chinese embassy and many U.S. journalists had visited it in its better days. If NATO attackers really did rely on "old maps" (why in this instance and not in any other?), such maps would have shown an empty lot. More plausible is the view that the embassy was deliberately targeted because the Chinese were giving such strong support to Belgrade, and possibly because the embassy was being used to gather electronic

intelligence on U.S. aerial flights over Yugoslavia. On the embassy gate, under the pictures of the three employees who perished in the bombing, Yugoslav citizens had left candles, flowers and condolence cards.

DEATH FROM THE SKIES

Our Serbian hosts tried to describe the NATO war, the deafening noise, flames, and smoke that made the bombings a terrifying experience. The aerial attacks came every evening and frequently went on all night (rarely during the day in Belgrade). Five hundred meters from where we were staying, a private home had been hit and some of its residents killed. The survivors put up a sign on the damaged facade bitterly announcing: "Sorry, we are still alive." For some, it was so strange, all this death coming from the skies. Even stranger was the way everything now appeared back to normal, with much of the wreckage cleared away. "It seems as if it never happened, like it was a bad dream," remarked one man.

Still there are plenty of reminders. Displayed in various police stations around the city are dozens of photos of officers killed while performing rescue operations or other duties during the aerial attacks. Casualties among rescue workers were high. NATO had devised the devilish technique of bombing a site, then waiting fifteen minutes to a half hour—just time enough for rescue teams to arrive and get working—then hitting the target a second time, killing many of the would-be rescuers, and making it extremely dangerous for teams to dig for survivors. This method of delayed follow-up attack on a civilian target had never been tried before in modern warfare. It was one of NATO's innovative war crimes.

The facilities destroyed by air attacks were mostly publicly owned. The high-rise containing the headquarters of Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist Party, and the headquarters of JUL (Yugoslav United Left), a coalition of 23 communist and left parties, closely allied with the Socialist Party, was hit by several missiles. Various ministry offices were demolished. The huge, state-run Hotel Yugoslavia was made uninhabitable by NATO missiles, while the corporate owned Hyatt

Hotel, with its even more imposing, all-glass facade—as inviting a target as any mad bomber might want—suffered not a scratched windowpane. Buildings that displayed highly visible rooftop advertising signs that read “Panasonic,” “Coca-Cola,” “Diners Club International,” and “McDonalds,” the latter replete with immense golden arches, survived perfectly intact.

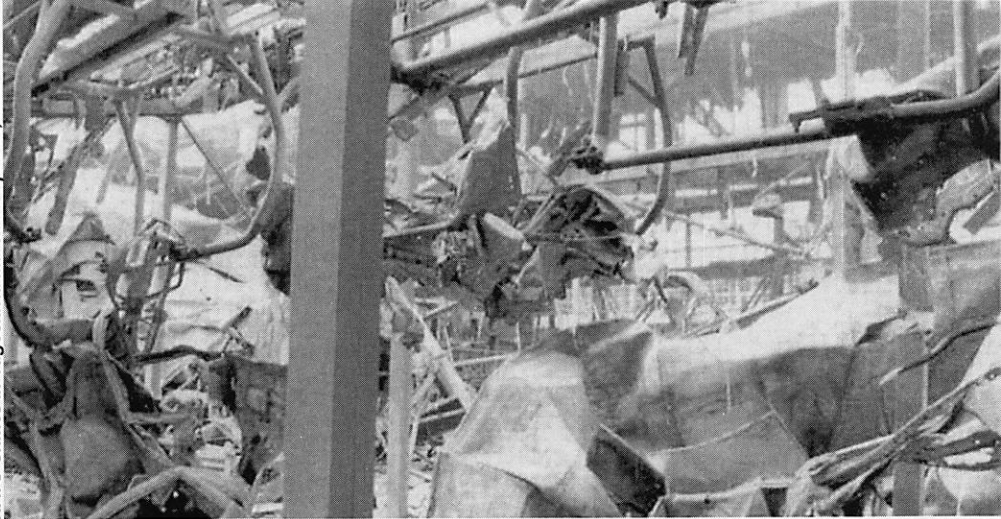
The destruction in other cities and towns was far greater than anything inflicted upon Belgrade. Several neighborhoods in the small mining town of Aleksinac were entirely wiped out. Production facilities in Nis and Cuprija were reduced to rubble. Kragujevac, an industrial city in Central Serbia, suffered immense damage. Its huge, efficiently state-run Zastava factory was thoroughly demolished, causing huge amounts of toxic chemicals to spill from the factory's generators. Zastava had employed tens of thousands of workers who produced cars, trucks, and tractors sold domestically and abroad. NATO attacks left some 80 percent of its workforce without a means of livelihood. Publicly owned Zastava factories exist all over Yugoslavia. The attackers knew their locations, and destroyed most of them. Those not bombed are out of production for want of crucial materials or a recipient for their products.

In Nis, cruise missiles pulverized the tobacco and cigarette production plant, one of the most successful in Europe. State-run food processing sites were leveled. And, we were told, one worker-managed factory was contaminated with depleted uranium. The city of Aleksinac and additional socialist strongholds in southern Serbia were bombed especially heavily, with many civilian deaths. Leaders from Aleksinac and several other cities in Serbia's “Red Belt” were convinced that they were pounded so mercilessly primarily because they were socialist, a suspicion reinforced by the fact that the region contained almost no industry.

INCREDIBLE DESTRUCTION

NATO bombed historic sites, cultural monuments, museums, and churches. “Not even Hitler did that,” remarked Federal Minister for Refugees Bratislava Morina. In Novi Sad, worker-managed factories that somehow had survived the pitiless years of sanctions were reduced to ruins, along with bus and train depots. Major bridges were knocked down, blocking all shipping on the Danube, cluttering the river's bottom with heavy metal, and severing most of Serbia from the rest of Europe. Because of its depth, the Danube was

NATO Crimes in Yugoslavia-March 24-April 24, 1999



Assembly line in Yugo car factory, Kragujevac, destroyed by NATO attack.

judged impossible to clean, but millions of people are still drinking its water.

Yugoslav electrical and construction firms used to be competitive with western ones, winning contracts abroad on a regular basis. The NATO bombing eliminated that competition quite nicely. Heating plants and the entire oil processing industry were badly crippled. The chief engineer at an electrical power transformer station on the outskirts of Zemun showed us transformers that had been knocked out by a variety of weaponry including tomahawk cruise missiles, phosphorus bombs, and air-to-surface missiles. Other missiles, designed for subterranean targets (such as people hiding in underground bunkers), exploded beneath the earth's surface, ripping apart transmitter cables. There was little hope of repair since international sanctions deprived the Yugoslavs of replacement parts made by Westinghouse.

The inability to rebuild their electrical power systems has left many towns and cities throughout Serbia without heat, and without sufficient means of supplying water to certain urban populations. There is no shortage of water in Yugoslavia, especially after the summer rains that caused serious floods. But water distribution and purification systems in places like Novi Sad are badly damaged and not easy to repair. Whole sectors of the city are without drinking water, but water is available for washing clothes and waste elimination.

The destruction of fertilizer and nitrogen plants has created difficulties for this spring's planting. One official told us that agricultural crops were mysteriously dying. The situation was being investigated, and there was much fear of hunger ahead. At one oil refinery site we saw burnt-out cars, shattered storage tanks, and acres blackened with crude oil, leaving the groundwater toxified. We saw a bird

about the size of a robin, completely drenched in black crude and bleeding from the burning effect of the oil. It was unable to do anything except weakly flutter its wings and stagger about the road.

Sometimes the NATO attackers carefully selected their targets; other times they seemingly unloaded at random. Generally, Minister Morina maintained, they hit sites “in a way that would be most painful to us.” We saw one housing project of some seventy units destroyed. The occupants had lost all their possessions, and most were without money to pay for new residences. We were told that many of the housing project's survivors had sustained injuries, and many were suffering psychological shock and depression. An adjacent elementary school, named after Svetozar Markovich, identified to us as the founder of socialism in the Balkans, was seriously damaged, but undergoing reconstruction.

We visited a village outside Novi Sad, containing nothing that remotely resembled a military or infrastructure target. Yet, ten homes had been hit. Some of them remained occupied with Serb refugees from Croatia, looking like stage-set homes with front walls and rooftops missing. The occupants had no jobs and no funds to buy the materials needed to rebuild, nor were building materials readily available. Plastic sheets over shattered windows and an outdoor cooking stove were all the comforts they had for facing winter.

In Nis, Surdulica, and Aleksinac there were deliberate attacks on residential neighborhoods. On one street in Nis, fifteen residents were killed by cluster bombs—our tax dollars at work. Members of our delegation met people who still shook with fear when talking about the attacks. Most had no hope of rebuilding.

In Rakovica and elsewhere, NATO bombs smashed hospitals and maternity



NATO Crimes in Yugoslavia-March 24-April 24, 1999

Houses in Aleksinac destroyed by NATO missiles.

wards. Not long after the bombing ended, NATO officials announced that “only” a few hundred people had been killed by the aerial attacks. How they arrived at this figure from afar is hard to understand. According to Yugoslav sources, over five hundred military personnel and some two thousand civilians perished in what was less a war than a one-sided slaughter. Scores of individuals are still listed as missing. “Who will be charged with these war crimes?” one citizen asked angrily. After the war, health workers began seeing a dramatic increase in chronic ailments, including cardiovascular, respiratory, and mental health problems. Officials thought the 78 days of bombings would be the worst of it, but they have since concluded that the sanctions continue to inflict massive attrition.

Because of the sanctions, Yugoslav health services suffer severe shortages of medicines, surgical materials, oncology drugs, diabetic medications, and other supplies. The Yugoslav Red Cross has no problem recruiting blood donors, but it faces a drastic dearth of blood bags, which are not manufactured in Yugoslavia. It has issued an urgent appeal for baby food, powdered milk, canned and preserved foods, cooking oil, detergents, tents, bedding, oil lamps, and water purification supplies. Also needed are a whole range of medical supplies, everything from test strips for blood and urine to dialysis machines and medications for respiratory ailments.

Prevented from going into Kosovo, the Yugoslav Red Cross is unable to trace hundreds of missing persons (Serbs, nonseparatist Albanians, and others) in areas occupied by western occupation forces. Some

130 humanitarian organizations are pouring aid into Kosovo, including Red Cross societies from KFOR states. Most national Red Cross societies have ignored Yugoslavia’s appeal for help. But the Bulgarian, Romanian, and all the Scandinavian Red Cross organizations have sent aid. And much assistance has come from Red Cross organizations in China and, surprisingly, Germany.

Yugoslavia faces a refugee crisis of daunting magnitude. It now hosts more displaced persons per capita than just about any other nation. Most of the ethnic cleansing throughout the former Yugoslavia has been directed against the Serbs, a fact seldom if ever mentioned in the U.S. media. NATO and its secessionist allies drove more than 700,000 Serbs from their ancestral homes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition, over several hundred thousand Serbs, Roma (gypsies), Turks, Gorani, and Albanians (who would not cooperate with the KLA) have fled Kosovo and flooded into what remains of Yugoslavia.

Some refugees have been triply displaced, fleeing Croatia for Bosnia, then to Kosovo, and now to what remains of unoccupied Serbia. Three well-constructed refugee settlements built several years ago by the Serbian Republic, intended as permanent homes, were destroyed by NATO attacks, as was the headquarters of the Serbian Socialist party agency that dealt with refugee problems.

One of the hardest hit groups in the KLA cleansing of Kosovo was the Roma. Driven out of homes they had lived in for generations, many fled to Macedonia—only to find that the refugee camps there were run by the KLA. In order to gain

entry, they had to pay 500 German marks and declare Albanian nationality, according to the refugees interviewed by Sani Rifati, president of Voice of Roma, an educational and humanitarian aid organization based in California. Rifati traveled to Italy to deliver aid, and interview Romany refugees arriving in Brindisi. They told of being surrounded by police upon arrival, then approached by Albanian interpreters who informed them that in order to procure food they would have to present themselves as Albanians fleeing from Serbs—instead of what they really were, Roma fleeing from Albanian KLA militia.

A MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY

Unlike ethnically cleansed Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, Yugoslavia remains a multi-ethnic society, with some twenty-six nationality groups, including Serbs and hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, Croats, Romanians, Czechs, and Slovaks. Yugoslavia is the only country in the world to give official standing to 19,000 Ruthenians, a national group of western Ukrainian origin situated in Vojvodina, Serbia’s other autonomous province (besides Kosovo). Vojvodina officials claim that all these various nationalities have education in their own languages from nursery school to high school. Hungarians in Vojvodina can go through medical school studying in Hungarian. Minister Morina claimed that before the NATO war, there had been some fifty Albanian-language publications in Yugoslavia. She said that at one time or another Albanians had occupied such prominent offices as the presidency of Yugoslavia, the presidency of the national youth organization, and of the trade union association. Morina’s own husband was director of security and an Albanian, and her children identified themselves as Albanian.

The proceedings of Vojvodina’s provincial parliament were simultaneously translated into six languages, according to its president Zivorad Smiljanic, a gynecologist and obstetrician by profession, who met with our group when we visited Novi Sad.

At present, U.S. leaders are busily funneling money to Hungarian separatist elements in Vojvodina and calling for putting the province under Hungary’s suzerainty. Smiljanic pointed out that two million Hungarians in Romania and 600,000 in Slovakia enjoyed few of the national rights extended to the 300,000 Hungarian ethnics in Vojvodina, yet the United States and even Hungary seemed not too concerned about them. The Hungarians living in Vojvodina are not concentrated in any one region. In 1991, some of them went to Hungary but did not fare too well,

Smiljanic said. In 1999, facing the NATO war, almost no Hungarians departed and 90 percent responded to the military call. Indeed, he claimed, all national minorities remain loyal to their country, Yugoslavia.

Smiljanic held forth on a number of other subjects: As an obstetrician he had occasion to observe the remains of eleven children killed in one town by the aerial attack. "Your leaders talk about human rights," he noted bitterly, "but the right of children to live is among the highest of human rights. Was it democracy in action when NATO bombs destroyed schools, daycare centers, and hospitals with patients in their beds? Your leaders talk of freedom of information, yet they kill journalists. They talk of responsible government and accountable rule, yet nineteen NATO countries engaged in hostilities against Yugoslavia without consent of any of their own parliaments and against mass protests in their countries."

When asked what were Vojvodina's most urgent needs, Smiljanic boomed, "We wish most of all that the international community would leave us alone, lift the sanctions, and stop giving us the benefit of their 'guidance' and 'aid.'" Despite ten years of sanctions, his compatriots live better than do most people in Hungary, Romania, Poland, and Bulgaria, he said. And now that those nations are joining NATO, they will plunge still deeper into debt, each borrowing tens of billions of dollars to upgrade their military forces to NATO standards. "Clinton and Albright have destroyed us and now we will have to rebuild—on their terms. The only god worshipped in the New World Order is the Dollar. The war was good only for business and arms dealers."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

A founding member of the United Nations and of the Nonaligned Nations Conference, and once a regular participant in U.N. peacekeeping missions, Yugoslavia today has been reduced to a pariah, the only country ever to have been expelled from the U.N. It is also proudly one of the few nations in Europe that never asked to join NATO.

Western leaders and media have tirelessly portrayed the Milosevic government as a bloodthirsty dictatorship. The Yugoslavs argue that this "dictatorship" has a democratically elected coalition government with a parliament containing seven different parties, including vocal opposition ones. The various parties have their own newspapers, which are sold at newsstands around Belgrade. Indeed, there are

only two state-owned dailies but numerous opposition publications, some of which are well financed from abroad. Meanwhile cafes and theaters perform skits mercilessly satirizing Milosevic, and thousands have demonstrated against his government without fear of being gunned down by death squads or incarcerated for long periods—which is the risk demonstrators run in any number of U.S.-backed regimes.

I saw opposition posters in Belgrade, including glass encased ones on the walls of buildings along main thoroughfares, damning Milosevic in the harshest terms, with the address of the sponsoring organization provided at the bottom of the poster—hardly an advisable way to operate when living under the heel of a ruthless dictator. For a police state, Yugoslavia appears to suffer from a notable scarcity of police on the streets.

Not until my third evening in Belgrade did I see two cops strolling along without benefit of nightsticks—in marked contrast to the omnipresent and heavily armed security police and military personnel one sees in any number of U.S. client-state "democracies" in Latin America and elsewhere. In addition, Yugoslav citizens are free to travel anywhere in the world—which is not true of U.S. citizens.

Milosevic recently did one thing that must have convinced western capitalist leaders of his inhumanity. The ICN pharmaceutical plant in Yugoslavia began as a joint venture with state and private capital. Much of the latter was provided by Milan Panic, a rich Serbian businessman who had been living in the United States. Panic began paying a private staff to take over complete ownership of ICN. (He is also said to have tried to organize a strike against the Yugoslav government after losing his bid for the presidency in 1992.) In February 1999, in response to Panic's maneuvers, Milosevic sent in troops to occupy ICN, then handed it over to worker-management. U.S. media called the takeover a violation of "human rights."

U.S. officials and press pundits repeatedly claim that Yugoslavs do not have the benefit of an objective news source, by which they mean the western corporate-owned mainstream media that faithfully propagate the U.S.-NATO line on all matters of war and peace. In fact, as of summer's end, western or pro-western media were just about the only major news source one could access in Belgrade. The three government television channels 1, 2, and 3, and all public radio stations—most

of which offered a critical view of NATO's policy of dismembering, privatizing, and deindustrializing Yugoslavia—were bombed out of existence. "They destroyed everything," exclaimed our boarding-house host Nikola Moraca. "We get no Milosevic government station, only opposition programs and sports."

Yugoslavs could also get CNN, BBC, Discovery, and German television. If they had satellite dishes, as many did, they could receive all the U.S. networks. Not surprisingly, the Yugoslav opposition television channel, Studio B, survived untouched by NATO bombs. It presents mostly opposition programming and entertainment. Other Yugoslav TV stations do offer "TV Politika" (a pro-government program) and what Nikola called "neutral programs" along with sitcoms, fashion shows, and other such puffery. In sum, the Yugoslavs had access to more pro-western media than to any that might represent a critical view of western policy. In this, they resemble most of the world.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

On the van I took for the long night's trip back to Budapest, I met my first Serbian yuppie: a young broker who worked via computer with the New York Stock Exchange. He was of the opinion that Milosevic was not a war criminal but still should hand himself over to the Hague Tribunal, just so the rest of the country could get some peace (as if having Milosevic's head would cause western leaders to leave Yugoslavia in peace). He went on to tell me what a wonderful place Belgrade was to live in, with its remarkable abundance of beautiful women and its low prices. The ample income he made went twice as far in the economically depressed city. His comments reminded me that hard times are not hard for everyone, especially not for people with money.

The van made an additional stop in Belgrade to pick up an attractive but unhappy looking young woman who, once seated, began crying as she told us that she was going to Spain for a long and indefinite period, leaving home and family because things were so difficult in Yugoslavia. War victimizes all sorts of people who are never included in the final toll. It was not long before the stockbroker, displaying a most sympathetic demeanor, was making his moves on the young lady, as if encircling a prey.

Again, I was reminded of how hard times for the many bring new opportunities for the privileged few. ■

UNDERMINING INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY U.S. POLICY IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

BY SHISHIR THADANI

India has rarely appeared on the radar of the American left. Unlike Iraq or Yugoslavia, it has not been a victim of merciless bombing or debilitating sanctions. Neither has it normally attracted the vitriolic attacks that have been directed at neighboring China. This lulled some in the American Left and progressive movement into believing that the U.S. attitude toward India was benign. But when India conducted its nuclear tests in May 1998, the hostility of the U.S. rulers toward India was fully exposed. Those tests set off a sanctimonious furor in Washington, London, Tokyo and Bonn. But that hostile response of the U.S. government (and its allies) failed to elicit much sympathy for India even among those normally expected to commiserate with targets of U.S. diplomatic wrath and sanctions. Peace activists who had historically viewed India with some sympathy joined in the chorus of disapproval.

When the Clinton administration proceeded to impose a range of sanctions on India, there were hardly any dissenting

Shishir Thadani is a free-lance writer living in San Jose, California. He has written extensively on issues of the Indian subcontinent.

voices. India's legitimate security concerns received little coverage in the U.S. press. In an interview with Rakesh Sharma of the Deccan Herald News Service, former prime minister I. K. Gujral elaborated on India's security concerns. He pointed to the fact that Indian coastal borders were very extensive, nearly 7,000 miles long, and were situated in a heavily nuclearized area. India had repeatedly expressed its great concerns about the nuclearization of the U.S. military base on the 11-square-mile island of Diego Garcia, in the Indian Ocean, southwest of Sri Lanka, but the U.S. had rebuffed all requests for denuclearization. Since the Gulf War, there has been constant movement of nuclear weapons. Military maneuvers by the U.S., NATO and Australia have greatly increased in the region. Although at present this military might is targeted at Iraq, Indian defense experts are concerned about the long-term dangers to India from such high-intensity military activity so close to the nation's borders.

Other developing nations (who have been suffering the consequences of growing U.S./NATO hegemony in fearful silence) are not entirely unsympathetic to

India's concerns. Even as the world's largest military powers issued autocratic statements condemning India, the G-15 summit of developing nations in Cairo did not. A random opinion poll conducted in the city brought forward such comments as: "At last, a friend of the Arabs is a nuclear power," and "It's good, Egypt can now turn to India for support."¹ India also drew strong backing from Sri Lanka and Russia. And the 113-member Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) issued a declaration which described as "highly discriminatory" the stand of the nuclear-weapon states in monopolizing the possession of atomic weapons. (There was no criticism of India in the declaration.) An attempt to rebuke India at an ASEAN summit also failed despite considerable lobbying by the U.S. and Australia.

1. The Cairo summit convened on May 12, 1998; Editorials on India's nuclear tests appeared in several Cairo dailies. See "Revolution against the World," commentary supporting India's nuclear tests by Abdel Rahman in *Al Ahram*, May 20, 1998; Also Abdel Murad's commentary in *Al Akhbar*, May 31, 1998, and Editorial in *Al Ahram*, May 31, 1998 (http://www.meadev.gov.in/govt/reaction_m.html). See also Kuldip Nayar, *India: The Critical Years* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1971).

CRISIS OVER KASHMIR INTENSIFIES

As President Clinton announced plans also to visit Pakistan after his trip to India in March, the hostilities in Kashmir escalated.

A *New York Times* article by Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon observed that the crisis in south Asia was deepened when "Pakistan-backed militants crossed into the Indian-held Kargil region of Kashmir nearly sparking a full-fledged war."¹

"In Pakistan, antipathy among ethnic groups and violence between Sunni and Shiite Muslims have been aggravated by economic decay...and misgovernment...The Pakistani government has sought to distract its citizens from mounting domestic problems by fostering grievances over Indian control of the region [of Kashmir]. Militant Muslims have been encouraged by the army to assert Pakistan's territorial claims and bleed Indian forces," said Benjamin and Simon.

"Since 1994, the role of native Kashmiris in the insurgency has diminished as heavily armed outsiders from Pakistan and Afghanistan have stepped up the violence. Indian military observers...estimate that these outsiders now account for some 40 percent of the militants there and that almost two-thirds of them

are recruited from madrassahs [Islamic fundamentalist schools] including some schools linked to the Afghan Taliban.... Some of the outsiders are products of terrorist camps in Afghanistan," the authors say.

However, their proposed solution for a "first step" to de-escalate the Kashmir conflict is to put the onus on India promoting the idea that the Indian government should accept President Clinton's offer to mediate between India and Pakistan—something India has steadfastly declined. They arrive at this conclusion because "the Pakistani government is ...hard-pressed to control the radicals, who have made inroads in the army officer corps and...and have rich supporters in Saudi Arabia," and because of Pakistan's "accelerating disintegration."

Kashmiri-Afghan-Chechen Connection

"Kashmiri militants operating from Afghanistan have ...routinely sent arms and men to Chechnya. The support channel began in Afghanistan, led to Tajikistan and...cut across the Caspian Sea to Chechnya. Habibullah Shah, president of a Kashmiri group called Harkat-i-Jihad-i-Islam (Movement of Islamic Jihad), said he had used the trail to dispatch...men to Chechnya...."²

1. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, "As a Conflict Intensifies, It's India's Move," *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 2000. Daniel Benjamin is a fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C. Steven Simon is assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Both served on the National Security Council staff from 1994 to 1999.

2. Ismail Khan and Steve LeVine, "The Rebel Connection: Aid from Groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan," *Newsweek International*, Mar. 13, 2000, JRL #4154.

It should be noted that it was the threatening and coercive presence in the Bay of Bengal of the U.S. Seventh Fleet during the 1971 Bangladesh war of independence, led by the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Enterprise, that triggered India's first nuclear test. The policy of the U.S. in the subcontinent has been essentially a continuation of British policy which has been structured to stoke divisions and discourage independent democratic movements from flourishing in the subcontinent. In 1971, the U.S. was extremely hostile to the liberation movement in Bangladesh, which had attracted massive grassroots support, but it provided unconditional backing to Pakistan's military despot at the time, General Yahya Khan.²

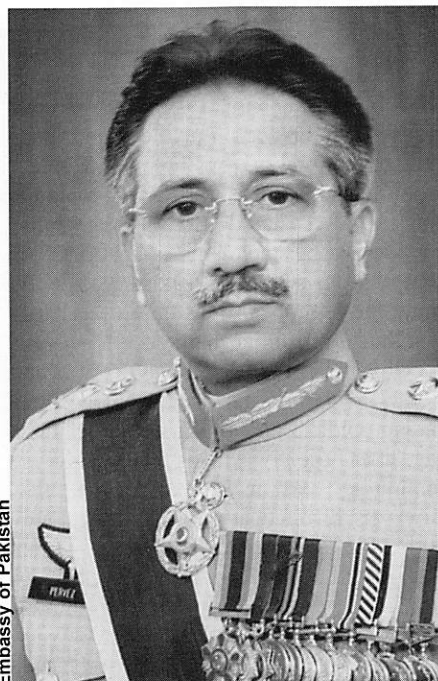
PAKISTAN: PROXY FOR IMPERIALISM

The U.S. support of military dictators in Pakistan is not unusual. Its Central America policy, for example, has similarly relied on autocratic comprador rulers. By and large, this policy of backing military generals in Pakistan has served American "interests" well. As a stronghold of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism, Pakistan has been a vital proxy for the U.S. to covertly undermine democratic currents in the Middle East. Of particular importance is how Pakistan played a leading role in destroying the democratic revolution in Afghanistan and destabilizing the former Soviet Union. From 1982 to 1990 the U.S. acknowledges providing Pakistan \$5.4 billion mostly in covert military aid.³ Since then, Pakistan has provided troops and trained mercenaries to fight against Iraq, Somalia, Yugoslavia and in Chechnya. Therefore, it should not surprise anyone that Pakistan could also serve as a proxy against India.

India is one of the few developing nations to have built up something of an independent economic base. Through its large state-owned industries, it has been able to develop its scientific and technological know-how to the point of launching its own satellites into space. Like China, India offers a large market which until 1990 remained largely out of bounds for full-scale western penetration. In order to break down the large state-owned sector of the Indian economy, the U.S. has been pushing for rapid privatization and the complete dismantling of trade barriers through mechanisms like the WTO, and international lending agencies like the IMF

and the World Bank. Supporting separatist tendencies is another way to undermine the strength and independence of the Indian economy.

Unlike the U.S., India's banks, insurance companies, airlines, railways, ports, power companies, telephone companies, mines, major manufacturing companies, and universities have been predominantly state-owned. With the defeat of socialism and collective property relations in the Soviet Union, it was to be expected that the U.S. and its allies would turn their attention to countries like India with their once highly regulated economies and significant state ownership of the means of production. Although India did not go



General Pervez Musharraf, head of Pakistan's military regime.

through a full-scale socialist revolution, the Indian bourgeoisie realized that without centralized planning and state-intervention, they could never hope to develop an industrial economy of any consequence.

Today, armed insurgencies have greatly weakened the ability of the Indian state to expend as much money and energy to build up the national infrastructure. This has slowed the pace of growth and development and precipitated demands for rapid privatization and reliance on foreign investment. This has been a significant byproduct of U.S. support for secessionist movements in Punjab, Kashmir, and the Indian northeast.

Pakistan has served as a willing partner in this largely covert endeavor—providing

training grounds, logistical support, intelligence information, and incendiary propaganda for armed separatists. It is important to note that it is not essential for Pakistan that these areas actually be liberated, but rather that India be "kept bleeding." Pakistan's new military ruler, General Pervez Musharraf, repeatedly described as a "moderate" by the CIA and Pentagon establishment, has confirmed this. In a 1998 speech to Pakistan's elite military cadets, the General stated that the acquisition of Kashmir by Pakistan could wait. It was more important to keep the Indian army bleeding in Kashmir just as the Afghan mujahidin kept the Soviet troops bleeding in Afghanistan. He added that even if the Kashmir issue were resolved, there still could not be normal relations between India and Pakistan because Pakistan would continue to be a thorn on India's flesh by frustrating India's ambition to emerge as a major Asian power on par with China and Japan.⁴

Considering the close relationship between General Musharraf and the Pentagon, it is more than likely that this is as much an articulation of the view of the Pentagon as of the Pakistani military. Kashmir has been the perfect battleground for this covert and indirect attack against India. Although the western media have portrayed the Kashmiri "liberation movement" as a largely indigenous movement that represents popular aspirations, nothing could be further from the truth.

THE REALITY OF KASHMIR

Contrary to most reports in the media, Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) is not a state where only Kashmiri Muslims live. It is a multiethnic, multi-religious state with 64 percent Muslims, 33 percent Hindus, and 3 percent Buddhists, Sikhs, Christians and others. There are three distinct geographical regions—Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir (from where more than 90 percent of the region's minorities, i.e., 3 percent of the state's total population, have been driven out). It is also a multilingual state where several languages are spoken in addition to Kashmiri, such as Ladakhi, Balti, Dogri, Gujar, Pahari and Punjabi.

Fifteen percent of the state's Muslims live in the provinces of Jammu and Ladakh. They are non-Kashmiris and, by and large, they stand behind J&K's association with India. Of the state's 49 percent who reside in the Kashmir province, about 13 percent are Shia Muslims. Shia Muslims wish to have little, if anything, to do with

2. See Lawrence Lifschultz, *The Unfinished Revolution* (London: Zed Press, 1979).

3. The \$5.4 billion sum is mentioned in the *Congressional Quarterly*, May 16, 1992, p. 1352. (The actual figure may be much higher since additional aid was sent through covert channels by the CIA.)

4. Report on General Musharraf by B. Raman (presently, Director, Institute For Topical Studies, Chennai; formerly with the Government of India).

Sunni-dominated Pakistan, fearing the fate that awaits them there.⁵ This is especially true of the Shias of Kargil who are well aware of the poverty and degradation experienced by their ethnic siblings in Baltistan, a part of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir euphemistically referred to as the "Northern Areas." Fourteen percent of the people in Kashmir Province are the pastoral nomadic Gujar and Bakarwal people. They are strong supporters of association with India and have demonstrated this by organizing the Militancy Mukhtalif Morcha (Anti-Militancy Front) to assist the security forces in surveying terrorist activity. There is no reason for non-Muslim groups to even think about living outside multi-religious and secular India.⁶

Support for separation is mainly concentrated amongst Sunni Muslims in the state capital Srinagar and the surrounding areas of the Kashmir valley. The reason many believe separatism to be a widespread sentiment in Kashmir is because this dominant minority has succeeded in completely drowning out all other voices in the state, and has the ability to cripple the normal functioning of civil society in Kashmir province—either by inaction or insufficient action against Pakistani infiltration and terror or, worse still, by sabotage. It is this section of the state's population that receives all the attention. But without the systematic external funding of armed mercenaries, and the international propaganda barrage, the so-called "Kashmiri liberation movement" would simply collapse.⁷

While the primary purpose of this proxy war in Kashmir is to undermine India, Kashmir is also a strategic part of the greater central Asian region. Ladakh (in Kashmir) overlooks an important highway linking Tibet to China. For this reason China was reluctant to provide Pakistan with the kind of public endorsement it was seeking. (An Islamic fundamentalist takeover of Kargil and Ladakh could just as easily spill over into China's Muslim majority regions.)

THE KARGIL INVASION

As part of a long chain of hostile actions directed against India, the Kargil invasion was completely consistent with Gen. Mu-



An Indian Army patrol in Mushkoh sector of Indian Kashmir, July 1999.

sharraf's stated policy of "making India bleed," and consistent with the Pentagon's goals of keeping India distracted with expensive border wars. But the public posture of "neutrality" by the State Department made it seem as if the Kargil invasion was entirely India's doing. Although some were fooled by statements emanating from Washington calling on Pakistan to withdraw, the Clinton administration was hardly taking a pro-India stand.

For two months, when Pakistani troops held the strategic advantage, and Indian soldiers and officers suffered high casualties, the U.S. made no attempt at reining in Pakistan. Instead, all the pressure was directed at India to "negotiate" with Pakistan and not to retaliate—even though India had every right to defend its sovereignty by retaliating against known terrorist training camps and other military targets in Pakistan. Only when India had succeeded in turning the tables, when Pakistani troops had begun to flee their posts and surrender in quick succession, that in sheer desperation, former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif went begging for help. He first approached China, which failed to oblige. Then he turned to Washington where the Clinton administration arranged a safe passage deal with India and issued statements calling on Pakistan to withdraw. Soon after, when India shot down a Pakistani spy-plane after repeated incursions into Indian territory, all the U.S. diplomatic fire was directed at India rather than at Pakistan.

It should also be noted that the Kargil invasion took place while the U.S. was bombing Yugoslavia. India repeatedly condemned the bombing. And like China and Russia, India called for an end to the assault against Yugoslavia. But after the Kargil invasion, Indian diplomacy on Yugoslavia took a back seat. India also

stepped back from trying to reinvigorate the Non-Aligned Movement. (Before the defeat of the Soviet Union, India had been a major player in NAM.) The Yugoslavia bombing led India's former Prime Minister I. K. Gujral to call for a strong response from NAM as a gesture of solidarity and respect for Yugoslavia—another important NAM member. But embroiled in a war of its own, India was unable to make its opinion on Yugoslavia carry very far and was feeling overwhelming pressure to ignore these serious differences, but instead to improve relations with the U.S.

Since the Kargil invasion in July 1999, there has been a spate of attacks against Indian facilities by Pakistani-sponsored terrorists and suicide squads. The December 24, 1999, airplane hijacking by Pakistani nationals is yet another instance of this escalating morale-sapping proxy war. Although India has so far succeeded in preserving its international borders, it has come at a heavy cost. And the process of economic liberalization dictated by the U.S. and its allies has not only continued unabated, it has accelerated.

Although the U.S. expects the continuation of these proxy wars to deepen and speed up India's external liberalization, at some point this strategy may backfire. The Indian public may see through the machinations, and adopt a more nationalist position vis-a-vis the U.S. By and large, India remains a secular nation and the majority of India's more than 100 million Muslims have little sympathy for "Islamic Jihad." In the present unipolar world, India's bumbling governments may seem easy prey for India's enemies. But a nation of almost one billion people with a rich and vibrant past is unlikely to accept neo-colonial domination for very long.

5. An October 4 *Hindustan Times* report cited Pakistan's Shoorah Wahdat-i-Islami (Council of Islamic Unity), which condemned what it called the genocide of Shias in Pakistan.

6. The breakup of the Muslim population in Kashmir province is based on the data in "Ethnic Identities and Political Deadlock in Jammu & Kashmir," by Hari Om, *Indian Defence Review* (New Delhi), 1997.

7. See Stratfor Intelligence Reports for Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorists in India.

U.S. SEEKS TO "PRY INDIA AWAY" FROM THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

One of the goals of the March 2000 visit to India by President Bill Clinton,¹ and a preliminary trip by Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers, was to court India as an ally to try to restart global trade talks that collapsed in Seattle.

"We feel that if we can find a meeting of the minds with Delhi, that's a strong place to work the Third World" [emphasis added], a Clinton administration official said.

Also, the visits clearly are geared to wresting more market reforms from the newly elected Indian government, which already seems to be ready to open its market, speed up privatization of state-owned companies, and ease the way for greater foreign investment.

However, the difficulties in forging a new relationship with India were underlined at the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle. Apparently convinced that India would back the U.S. trade agenda and help win over other Third World countries, the Clinton administration put on a "full-court press."

Clinton, who visited the WTO session, seated himself next to Murasoli Maran, India's commerce minister, at a business lunch. He also phoned Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee during the negotiations.

The ploys failed because India stood strongly with other Third World nations, against the U.S. position. The rich nations hoped that India could be "pried away" from other developing nations, according to Naresh Chandra, India's ambassador to the U.S.²

1. President Clinton announced at the last minute that he would stop in Pakistan, after all, to meet with the new ruler, General Pervez Musharraf.

2. Joseph Kahn, "U.S. courting India in Hopes of Restarting Trade Talks," *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 2000.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

The forces of Islamic fundamentalism do not represent the future of the Indian subcontinent but the last gasps of a feudal and clerical elite that is unable to accept the inexorable path toward greater democratization. These forces are often aligned with rightwing military dictators (as in Indonesia and Pakistan) or else they provide ideological cover to emerging fascist tendencies that often develop in economies transitioning from the primarily agricultural mode of production to primitive capitalism (as in Kashmir).

Often, these forces are funded and fueled by external agents, becoming easy pawns for imperialism. It is largely U.S. support that has temporarily enabled the feudal rulers of the Persian Gulf and their ideological kin in Pakistan to survive in spite of the democratic currents that were unleashed when the anti-colonial revolutions swept the former colonies.

It would be unfortunate if some progressives in the U.S. saw in these ideologically bankrupt forces any liberating tendencies. The treatment of women as virtual slaves in Talibanized Afghanistan or the gender apartheid such as in Iran and Saudi Arabia, are stark warnings of what may come about if Kashmir were to fall victim to this trend. For all its faults, India offers the people of Kashmir much more than they could get from unity with Pakistan. In 1947, J&K was at the bottom of the economic ladder in India. In 1960-61, it ranked 11th among 16 states of India in per capita income; in 1971-72, 14th among 24 states. But with generous assistance from the central government it had improved its position to number 7 by

1981-82, surpassing industrial West Bengal, A.P., Karnataka and Tamil Nadu!⁸

Kashmir's literacy at 59 percent is much higher than Pakistan's 44 percent.⁹ In general, India's social indices are many notches ahead of Pakistan's. In spite of being deprived of the subcontinent's best agricultural lands, per capita calorie intake in India is now higher and infant mortality is lower. India has made greater strides in developing its infrastructure—whether it is in railways, telecommunications or mass-media. Indians are now more likely to have access to a telephone, color TV or cable TV. They are also less indebted to the international finance community. Per capita hard currency debt in Pakistan is more than double India's. Being a secular state, India has devoted far more importance to scientific education and research.¹⁰ For example, in Pakistan,

4,500 out of 5,000 Ph.D.s awarded since independence, were in Islamic studies—i.e., less than 500 were in the sciences. In India, 40,000 out of 75,000 Ph.D.s awarded were in the sciences, and only a fraction of the other 35,000 were in religious studies. This means that although India's population is about six times that of Pakistan's, it has produced more than 80 times more Ph.D.s in the sciences than has Pakistan.

Those who care about the people of the subcontinent would do well to defend India against the coercive tactics of the U.S. and the tactics of organized terror by its regional proxies in the Pakistan clergy and military. ■

8. *Statistical Year Book of India, 1983*; also see corresponding progress in literacy (data available on the National Literacy Mission's web site).

9. Kashmir's literacy estimated by the National Literacy Mission, 1999; Pakistan's literacy from 1998 Pakistan Government Census.

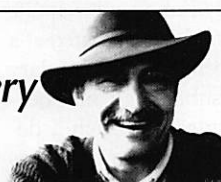
10. Udayan Nambodri, *Hindustan Times*, July 13, 1999 (quoting UNDP estimates for per capita calorie intake, infant mortality, and per capita external debt). Figures on telecom and TV penetration have been reported in the *Economic Times* of India.

New book from City Lights

History as Mystery

BY MICHAEL PARENTI

author of *Against Empire*



Michael Parenti does lively battle against mass marketed historical myths. He shows how the dominant ideology and elitist institutions distort the historic record. Ranging from antiquity to modern times, from Joan of Arc to the anti-labor bias of present-day text books, *History as Mystery* demonstrates how past and present can inform each other and how history can be a truly exciting and engaging experience.

"Michael Parenti unveils the history of falsified history, from the early Christian church to the present; a fascinating, darkly revelatory tale."

Daniel Ellsberg

"With *History as Mystery*, Michael Parenti, always provocative and eloquent, gives us a lively, valuable critique of orthodoxy posing as 'history.'"

Howard Zinn

\$13.00 U.S. / \$15.00 Canadian VISA, MC, AmEx

Contact Local Bookstore or Order Toll-Free: (800) 823-4507

Fax: (206) 782-6253 email: peoplesvideo@vida.com

Check or money order to:

People's Video/Audio, P.O. Box 99514, Seattle, WA 98199

Request list of Parenti's tapes and books or go to: www.michaelparenti.org

CYPRUS IN "THE AMERICAN CENTURY"

BY NIKOS RAPTIS

In chemistry the symbol for copper is Cu. These are the first two letters of the Latin word *cuprum*, a corrupted form of the word *cyprum*, which comes from the Roman expression *aes Cyprum* meaning "metal of Cyprus." Thus, English derived its word *copper*, German its word *Kupfer*, French its word *cuivre*, and so on.

But where did copper, the "metal of Cyprus," come from and where did it go? The lithosphere—the rigid outer shell of the earth—behaves as if it were floating on an underlying plastic layer. It is segmented into about six primary plates, each of which may encompass a continent extending to part of the ocean basin. Where two adjacent plates move together and collide, there are earthquakes and we have what is called a "convergent plate boundary." A second type of boundary, called a "divergent plate boundary," is where two adjacent plates move apart in the central portions of ocean basins and molten material ascends into the water forming mineral deposits.

Exploring these sea-floor deposits is extremely difficult. So, it would seem to be too much to expect to be able to make detailed observations on an economically important metallic deposit that originated at a divergent plate boundary on a submerged mid-oceanic ridge. Yet such a deposit is known and has been extensively studied—the Troodos Massif on the island of Cyprus. The Troodos ore bodies may provide the first firm evidence on the nature of metallic sulfide deposits in ocean basins.¹ This is how Cyprus got its name and its copper.

About 85 years ago, a U.S. company from Los Angeles—Cyprus Mines Corporation (CYM)—signed an agreement with the British occupiers of Cyprus at the time to exploit the copper deposits of the island. By 1976, CYM had diversified to 15 wholly owned companies and four subsidiaries and was 249th in the Fortune-

500 for that year.² Also, in 1976, the economic strength of Cyprus was comparable to that of CYM.³ This is the story of the exploitation of the copper of Cyprus during the modern era. Where did the copper go? It went to CYM.

STRATEGIC LOCATION

For 3,000 years, Cyprus has been a major arena of contention among the great powers primarily because of its strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean. But despite successive conquests and occupation by foreign invaders—Persians, Arabs, Franks, Byzantines, Turks, British—Cyprus has retained its essential Hellenic character since antiquity.⁴ Even today, the endings of verbs and nouns of the Greek spoken by Cypriots are closer to the classical Greek than the Greek of the mainland Greeks.

The Ottomans invaded and conquered Cyprus in 1570-71. The Turkish administration lasted for 300 years and became neglectful and often oppressive during the

potential overseas bases for heavy bombers, Cyprus was designated as the most suitable area in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵

On February 21, 1947, Britain admitted it was broke and that it was incapable of defending its extensive international interests. On that day, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, H.M. Sichel, telephoned Loy Henderson, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs, with "a rather important message" from the British Foreign Office. The message: "Britain could not afford the 500 million dollars it would take immediately to defend Greece and Turkey against Communism. The United States could either fill the vacuum or let it go. The future of the Middle East was at stake."⁶ Some say that very day was the end of "Pax Britannica."

The American Century began only 22 days later on March 12, 1947. President Truman, addressing a joint session of Congress, informed the legislators of the Greek government's request for assistance from the United States and asked that \$300 million be approved for aid to Greece and \$100 million for Turkey, which also "deserves our attention." Declaring that the "foreign policy and the national security of this country [the U.S.] are involved," he appealed for a speedy approval of the amounts requested for each country.⁷ Congress passed the bill, and President Truman signed it. That marked the birth of the Truman Doctrine. Since then, both Greece and Turkey, have been under virtual U.S. occupation. There was no need for an actual occupying army. Instead, there was a proxy U.S.-trained and U.S.-equipped army constituted from among the very peoples living under U.S. control. The management of both countries was assigned to members of local elites, who served as surrogate U.S. managers.

Thus, any honest effort to understand the "problem" of Cyprus, should take into account the dictum of President George

**"Fuck your Parliament and
your Constitution. America is
an elephant. Cyprus is a flea.
Greece is a flea."
—Lyndon B. Johnson**

period of Ottoman decline.

In 1878, Great Britain took over the administration of Cyprus and occupied it by agreement with the Ottoman sultan who was promised British help against Russia in return. Cyprus was annexed to the British crown in November 1914, when war with Turkey broke out.

THE "AMERICAN CENTURY"

American interests in Cyprus began immediately following the Second World War. At the end of 1945, in a series of studies on

2. *Fortune*, May 1976, pp. 59, 334.

3. *Anti* magazine (Athens), No. 59, Nov. 27, 1976, p. 8.

4. Yorgos A. Kouvertaris, and Betty A. Dobratz, *A Profile of Modern Greece* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 103.

5. Yiannis P. Roubatis, *Tangled Webs* (New York: Pella, 1987), p. 134.

6. Blanche Wiesen Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower* (New York: Doubleday, 1981), p. 55.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

Nikos Raptis is a Greek writer who lives in Athens.
1. Peter A. Rona, "Plate Tectonics and Mineral Resources," *Scientific American*, July 1973, pp. 91, 92.

Bush: "What we say goes."⁸ "We" being the U.S. power élite, of course.

In January 1948, just four months after its creation, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was given permission by Britain to construct monitoring stations on Cyprus. The CIA facilities, established during the same year, were in operation by the beginning of 1949.⁹

At that time, in 1949, ostensibly "Turkey had renounced any claims it might have had on Cyprus." However, "Britain, in an attempt to counterbalance the Greek request for *enosis* [union] of Cyprus with Greece, was encouraging Turkish Cypriots to oppose any such solution."¹⁰

By 1949, the U.S. State Department began to play an active role regarding the Cyprus "problem." While the British were inclined to consider the *enosis* as the most important aspect of the issue, William J. Porter, the American consul in Cyprus, informed his superiors in the State Department that "[t]he Communists here [are] a much greater threat to [United States] interests than is the *Enosis* movement."¹¹

AN INTERESTING YEAR

"In 1955, Britain decided to strengthen its position on the island by encouraging Turkey to play a more active role. The Greek and Turkish governments were invited to a conference in London on August 29, 1955. The purpose of the conference was apparently to bring Turkey into the center of the negotiations on the Cyprus question.... The Tripartite Conference in London failed to reach any agreement.... Its only lasting effect was to establish Turkey as one of the disputants in what had formerly been a dispute between Britain and Greece. The United States had favored this arrangement since 1949."¹² Immediately after the London conference, Greeks living in Turkey were attacked by Turks.

"The only United States reaction was a message from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in which he warned both Greeks and Turks not to weaken their friendship.... He advised the two governments to mend their fences in the interest of allied solidarity."¹³ The duplicitous role played by the U.S. is not difficult to see.

Also, in 1955, the King of Greece appointed Konstantinos Karamanlis as prime minister. "The king's action in choosing Karamanlis was highly irregular.... One writer supports the thesis that Karamanlis

was chosen after consultations between the palace, the British, and the Americans. According to this writer, the palace was pressured by the allies to find a Greek politician who would be willing to arrive at a solution of the Cyprus problem that would be acceptable to them and to Turkey."¹⁴ Karamanlis has "secured" a place in Greek history as a patriotic "ethnarch"—the "father of the nation."

Late in 1954, "two Greek gunrunning boats made the 250-mile crossing from the island of Rhodes to Cyprus and landed on a deserted stretch of the western coast. On board were hundreds of pounds of explosives and a former Nazi collaborator named General George Grivas, who arrived to lead the guerrilla group, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, known by its acronym, EOKA."¹⁵

It is instructive to understand who Grivas was. During the Nazi occupation of Greece (1941-44) a small group of the rightists in Greece, who defined themselves as "patriots," ardent believers in Christianity and such things as "family values," took on the "sacred" task of fighting the Greek anti-Nazi resistance (which was led by the communists) in order to protect the Nazis! They formed a terrorist organization which they named the "X" Organization. Members of the "X" Organization are known in Greek history as the "Xites" (pronounced: HE-tess).

This murderous Nazi collaborator, Grivas, was assigned by the Americans the task of provoking the Turkish invasion by spilling the blood of Turkish Cypriots. Andreas Papandreu, who later became Greek prime minister, wrote that the 1967 Greek junta "represented...a government whose only support came from NATO, the Pentagon, and the CIA." Yet even the junta "orderlies" were reluctant to give away Cyprus to the Turks. "So the colonels had to be given the shock treatment. 'Deep intrusions' into Greek airspace were carried out by Turkish aircraft.... This was the first act of a carefully designed stratagem to bring the junta into military confrontation with the Turkish forces. The second act was assigned to General Grivas. On November 15, [1967], a patrol under the command of Grivas carried out a 'routine' inspection in Ayioi Theodoroi, a village south of Nicosia. The Turks, objecting to this inspection, opened fire on the patrol. In retaliation, Grivas ordered his troops to occupy the village."¹⁶ Grivas and Nikos Sampson,



Embassy of Cyprus

Nazi collaborator George Grivas, celebrating the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

both fervent Greek "patriots," acting as agents of a foreign power, are responsible for instigating the trouble that brought the Cypriots (both Turks and Greeks) to their present circumstances.

In order to bring the junta to power, which would provoke a Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the U.S. had to drive away the parliamentary government of Greece. What follows is part of Greek (and U.S.) history: In June 1964, President Lyndon Johnson "invited the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey to Washington. In a brief private meeting with Prime Minister [George] Papandreu [father of Andreas], he talked of partitioning Cyprus. Papandreu said that even if he agreed with partition, he could never get the Greek Parliament to accept partition. 'Maybe Greece should rethink the advisability of a Parliament which could not take the right decisions,' Lyndon Johnson replied. Papandreu was weary after the meeting.... He left for Greece with the feeling that his days in power were numbered."

In Washington, meanwhile, Dean Acheson was appointed by Lyndon Johnson as a mediator in the Cyprus dispute. Acheson produced a plan.... Alecos Matsas, the Greek Ambassador, was called by the White House. Lyndon Johnson listed the conditions of Acheson's plan. 'As Prime Minister Papandreu told you,' said Ambassador Matsas, 'no Greek Parliament could accept such a plan. At any rate, the Greek constitution does not allow a Greek government to give away a Greek island.' 'Then listen to me, Mr. Ambassador,' said Lyndon Johnson, 'fuck your Parliament

8. Noam Chomsky, *Power & Prospects* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), p. 133.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 32., 134-35.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 136-37.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

15. Sebastian Junger, "Dispatches from a Dead War," *Harper's Magazine*, Aug. 1999, p. 47.

16. Andreas Papandreu, *Democracy at Gunpoint* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1971), pp. 209-10.



Embassy of Cyprus

Lyndon Johnson with Archbishop Makarios.

and your Constitution. America is an elephant. Cyprus is a flea. Greece is a flea. If those two fleas continue itching the elephant, they may just get whacked by the elephant's trunk, whacked good."¹⁷

UNEXPECTED TESTIMONY

The leaders of the 1967 coup in Greece were three military officers: Papadopoulos, Pattakos, and Makarezos who governed from 1967 to 1973. After the uprising of the students in 1973, they were removed by their U.S. patrons and the dictatorship was assigned to Ioannidis, the brutal military torturer. After the "replacement" of the dictatorship by the parliamentary government of Karamanlis, all were condemned to death as traitors. A few minutes after the announcement of the death penalty Karamanlis commuted the death penalty to life in prison.

Papadopoulos, a CIA agent since the early 1950s, stayed in prison unrepentant for almost 25 years and died in the summer of 1999. Pattakos and Makarezos, now in their early 80s, got out of prison more than five years ago for reasons of health. Ioannidis, also unrepentant, remains in prison.

In the Greek press, on August 16, 1999, there was a surprising report: Pattakos spoke on the Cyprus state radio (PIK). Here is what he said: "The Americans, especially Kissinger, who wanted to remove the Archbishop [Makarios], notified Papadopoulos, in 1971 and in 1972, to proceed in the overthrow of Makarios through a coup. However, Papadopoulos, says Patta-

kos, was smart and he did not fall into the trap of the Americans.... Pattakos admits that Ioannidis had the OK for the coup (against Makarios) in 1974 from the Americans and especially personally from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Kissinger... persuaded Ioannidis not to react by attacking the Turkish fleet during the invasion ...with the promise that he [Kissinger] would see to the speedy withdrawal of the Turks from Cyprus and the realization of the Enosis...unfortunately, Ioannidis directed [Admiral] Arapakis [not to attack]... and Pattakos adds... 'that kind of *malakas* [jerk, masturbator] was my friend Ioannidis....'"¹⁸

The Greeks, from their experience in dealing with the U.S. for more than a half century, "knew" about the role of the Americans regarding Cyprus. Now they have the historically important confirmation of that "knowledge" by the second in command of the junta, a former puppet of the U.S. rulers.

THE SECRET CYPRUS FILE

For more than 25 years (since 1974) the Greek population has been demanding that the Greek state open the "Cyprus File," start an open discussion in Parliament or in a special court about the events surrounding the provocation by the Greek dictatorship which led to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and release the existing documents about these events. To this date, the file has been kept sealed and the general opinion is that it will remain sealed for at least another quarter century.

What the Greeks expect to find in the "Cyprus File" is confirmation and details about the provocation-invasion. They want to learn:

What was the role of Karamanlis—the politician the U.S. had chosen to "lead" the Greeks for almost 50 years?

What are the details of the Kissinger intervention?

What is the name of the Greek officer, who under U.S. orders, passed to the Turks the coordinates of the Greek positions so the Turkish artillery could decimate the Greeks? Where is this great Greek "patriot" living today?

What are the details of the roles of Grivas, Sampson, Ioannidis, and so forth?

If the U.S. wants the "Cyprus File" closed, it will remain closed as it has up to now. The only person who can help open the file is Ioannidis himself. Pattakos has stated that Ioannidis is willing to talk but it appears he has decided to die in prison. We will see.

EPILOGUE

The Cypriots (Greeks and Turks) had been living in comparative harmony for centuries—maybe in better harmony than the British, Scots, Irish, Belgians, and so forth. Conditions had been far more humane than the brutality imposed on the Cypriot people (both Greek and Turkish) first by the British since 1914 and then by the U.S. since 1947.

The recent earthquake in Turkey showed how close the two peoples can be—not a surprise for the Greeks and the Turks. However, this brought panic to Washington's terrorists and proxies, especially in Turkey. For example, the first page of the Turkish newspaper, *Hurriyet*, of August 21, 1999, with the headline in Greek "Efharisto Poli File" (Thank You Very Much, Friend) obviously was very disturbing for the U.S. and Turkish "humanitarian elite." So on August 30, we read in the papers: "Arsonists attack (Turkish Muslim) shrine on Cyprus...House President Spyros Kyprianou said that if it is proved that the attempted arson was carried out by Greek Cypriots, then it will be 'the most treasonous act' against Cyprus since the 1974 coup, engineered by the Greek junta.... Wherever it came from, it is a deplorable provocation...."¹⁹

If the Greek and the Turkish proxies of the U.S. leave the island of Cyprus and the Cypriots to themselves, they will be able to live together in an undivided and independent country. All that is needed is a phone call from Clinton. ■

17. Philip Deane, *I Should Have Died* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), pp.114-15.

18. *Eleftherotypia*, Aug. 16, 1999, p. 5.

19. *Kathimerini* (English Edition, *International Herald Tribune*), Aug. 30, 1999.

A "GUTSY PERFORMANCE"

In his memoir *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1998), Richard Holbrooke recounted his proud achievement in Bosnia and lavishly praised the United Nations official who made it possible: the Ghanaian diplomat Kofi Annan, who was then in charge of peacekeeping operations.

Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. at that time, was carrying on a "vigorous campaign" in favor of bombing the Serbs. Luck smiled: "[F]ortunately, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was unreachable..., so she dealt instead with his best deputy, Kofi Annan.... At 11:45 a.m., New York time, came a big break: Annan informed [Strobe] Talbott and Albright that he had instructed the U.N.'s civilian officials and military commanders to relinquish for a limited period of time their authority to veto air strikes in Bosnia. For the first time in the war, the decision on the air strikes was solely in the hands of NATO—primarily two American officers....

"Annan's gutsy performance in those twenty-four hours was to play a central role in Washington's strong support for him a year later as the successor to Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Secretary-General of the United Nations.... Indeed, in a sense, Annan won the job on that day." (p. 10.)

Bosnia was the main reason for getting rid of Boutros-Ghali. "More than any other issue, it was his performance on Bosnia that made us feel he did not deserve a second term—just as Kofi Annan's strength on the bombing in August had already made him the private favorite of many American officials," Holbrooke explained. "Although the American campaign against Boutros-Ghali, in which all our key allies opposed us, was long and difficult...the decision was correct, and may well have saved America's role in the United Nations."

—As quoted by Diana Johnstone

BRINGING DEMOCRACY TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

BY GREGORY ELICH

In the popular imagination, the western presence in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina is seen as a selfless humanitarian effort. NATO's mission, it is believed, is to inculcate democratic values in an uncivilized and irrational people. Behind the façade of western peacekeeping in the Balkans, though, lies a darker reality. The benevolence of a western civilizing mission in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina is never questioned. Yet an examination of NATO's peacekeeping operation reveals a process of colonization as deep and thoroughgoing as any seen in the 19th century. As NATO continues to destabilize Yugoslavia, the last stubborn holdout in Eastern Europe against subordination to western domination, NATO has succeeded in expanding its colonization to Yugoslavia's Kosovo region, at enormous cost to the people of the Balkans. NATO's occupation of Bosnia provides the model for many aspects of the colonization of Kosovo.

ESTABLISHING WESTERN VALUES

Few question the assertion that western intervention is bringing democracy to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but what is the real nature of this intervention, which has assumed many forms, both direct and indirect? Under terms of the Dayton peace agreement, Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of two entities, the (Bosnian Serb) Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croatian Federation. Throughout the civil war, the Muslim-Croatian Federation was seen as a client state, and indeed, the Federation itself was a result of an agreement forged under western pressure. More direct intervention, though, was necessary to place the Republika Srpska under western control. The first task the West faced following the war was the dismantling of the existing governing structure in the Republika Srpska, and in this task the West found a pliant partner in that entity's President, Biljana Plavsic, a right-wing monarchist.

In November 1996, Plavsic, who had frequently complained that the Republika Srpska Army was riddled with "reds," issued a decree dismissing more than 100

leftist officers. Western officials were heavily involved in selecting the officers who would be dismissed and those who would be promoted in their place. Prior to the decree, Colonel Milovan Milutinovic warned that "some of our generals are being visited by foreign representatives, at the request of our state organs, and offered leading positions in the army..."¹ When the dismissed officers balked at their removal, Interior Ministry special police units blockaded army barracks, some army buildings had their water and electricity turned off, and the progressive army-run Radio Krajina was closed down. Army Headquarters responded with a statement denouncing these moves, saying they were "carried out by the Interior Ministry against the army on orders from foreign mentors," and pointing out that "a NATO spokesman publicly said that anything that weakens the unity of the Republika Srpska Army's Main Headquarters and the army itself is in NATO's interest."² Combined pressure from the Interior Ministry and NATO eventually forced the resignation of these officers on November 28.

Plavsic next turned on the civilian governing structure. In January 1997, after weeks of failed efforts to obtain approval from the People's Assembly for her choice of prime minister, Plavsic waited until opposition deputies walked out of an Assembly session to push through her surprise nomination of another man, Milorad Dodik, for the post. Carlos Westendorp, chief of western civilian operations in Bosnia, immediately hailed Dodik's appointment, and NATO troops were dispatched to surround the Interior Ministry in a belligerent show of support. The selection of Dodik was an interesting one, as his party held only two seats in the Assembly. How did a man whose party was barely represented in the Assembly gain the nomination? The instantaneous western show of support for the last-minute appointment hints that the selection may not have been entirely Plavsic's. Several months beforehand, a report in the Bosnian Serb press alleged that Do-

Gregory Elich, an independent journalist and researcher, has published several articles on the Balkans and Southeast Asia.

1. Colonel Milovan Milutinovic, "Loss of Supreme Command," *Nin* (Belgrade), Nov. 1, 1996.

2. "Don't Push Us into a Fratricidal War!" *Blic* (Belgrade), Nov. 13, 1996.

dik "is under the direct control of the U.S. intelligence service, the CIA," and that some deputies "say that he has already traveled abroad several times for consultations and direct instructions."³ The effusive praise western leaders have since lavished on Dodik lends support to that accusation.

On June 28, 1997, Plavsic dismissed Interior Minister Dragan Kijac. Five days later, in violation of the constitution, she dissolved the People's Assembly. Western officials were quick to back Plavsic, and David Foley, a spokesman for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) announced that the Assembly "no longer exists." A diplomatic source in

A report in the Yugoslav press alleged that three weeks prior to the crisis, "\$5 million of the promised \$30 million" were deposited into a Swiss bank account in Plavsic's name. "The funds were transferred from the United States," according to "top-level civilian and military security sources" in the Republika Srpska. The report claimed that "the transaction is directly linked to Biljana Plavsic's recent political activities...."

Many of the people Plavsic appointed to work in her office came from abroad, "most of whom are supporters of the royalist movement" the report added.⁶ The Ministry of Internal Affairs revealed that it had "announced our plan to take legal

licemen, who then attended training courses run by western police instructors.⁹ U.N. police spokesman Liam McDowall said of the training classes, "We basically let them know what is expected of a normal police force; not a socialist police force, not a wartime police force, but a police force of a normal democratic society."¹⁰ Evidently, police forces in "normal democratic societies" are dismissed, recruited, and trained by foreign powers.

Four days later, NATO began its campaign to impose censorship on media in the Republika Srpska. A transmitter near Banja Luka was reprogrammed to turn the signal over to Plavsic's control, and two days later NATO troops seized a Serb Radio-TV transmitter near Bijeljina. As NATO forces surrounded Bijeljina and blocked all access roads to the city, thousands of citizens turned out in a mass demonstration. Low-flying NATO helicopters harassed the demonstrators. The next day, NATO forces took another transmitter near Doboj and arrested its staff. Each of the seized transmitters was turned over to Plavsic's control. At 4:00 a.m. on August 28, NATO troops moved into the town of Brcko. Air raid sirens sounded an alert, and thousands turned out in a mass demonstration. Demonstrators fought NATO troops with sticks and rocks, while NATO troops fired tear-gas canisters and warning shots. Tanks and armored vehicles were sent into the town, but were eventually forced to withdraw after seventy of them were damaged.¹¹ Infuriated, NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana warned that NATO "will not hesitate to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, against media networks or programs" that denounced western occupation.¹² Further threats and pressure constrained opposition, and by the end of November, NATO had completed its systematic seizure of Serb radio and television transmitters and police stations.

In April 1998, western officials announced the creation of a tribunal to monitor and govern media in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The tribunal not only arrogated to it-



NATO Secretary-General Javier Solano, U.S. General Wesley K. Clark, commander of NATO, and U.S. General Eric K. Shinseki, commander of NATO forces in Bosnia at SFOR headquarters near Sarajevo, Bosnia.

Sarajevo admitted, "The Americans have probably pushed Plavsic to act in such a way."⁴ The matter was referred to the Constitutional Court, which ruled against Plavsic. The court's ruling was simply brushed aside, as U.S. State Department spokesman James Rubin asserted that "challenges to [Plavsic's] actions are not legally valid," and that Serbs who fail to comply with western demands are "stupid."⁵

measures" against one of these employees, Aleksandr Pavic, "on the well-founded grounds that he was working for a foreign intelligence service," and that the Ministry had warned Plavsic on "several occasions" of "intelligence activities" by members of her staff.⁷

In the first of many such actions, on August 20, 1997, NATO troops, supported by U.S. Apache helicopter gunships, seized police stations in Banja Luka, ejecting police officers.⁸ NATO directly hired new po-

3. Nikola Zeklic, "Dancing to the CIA's Rhythm," *Oslobodjenje* (Sarajevo - Bosnian Serb), Apr. 4, 1996.

4. "OSCE Says Pale Assembly 'No Longer Exists,'" *Agence France-Presse* (Paris), July 4, 1997.

5. "U.S. Supports Bosnian Serb President in Court Case," *Reuters*, Aug. 15, 1997.

6. "U.S. Allegedly to Deposit \$30 Million in Plavsic Account," *Beta* (Belgrade), July 1, 1997.

7. "Plavsic Aides Accused as Spies," *SRNA* (Pale), Aug. 24, 1997.

8. Colin Soloway, "NATO Forces Seize Police Sta-

tions in Bosnian City," *Washington Post*, Aug. 21, 1997.

9. Chris Stephen, "IPTF Screens, Retrains Police in RS," *Agence France-Presse*, Aug. 22, 1997; also "IPTF Trains Republika Srpska Police Officers," *Tanjug* (Belgrade), Aug. 26, 1997.

10. Srecko Latal, "Bosnian Serb Military Warns President Against Dividing Bosnian Serb Territory," *AP*, Aug. 22, 1997.

11. Edward Cody, "Bosnian Serb's Backers Stone American Troops," *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 1997. Misha Savic, "Serbs Force U.N. Team to Withdraw," *AP*, Aug. 29, 1997.

12. Misha Savic, "NATO Commander Warns Bosnia Media," *AP*, Aug. 30, 1997.

self the power to shut down radio, television and newspapers that voice criticism of NATO's occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the authority to write laws regulating broadcasting. Simon Haselock, spokesman for western civilian operations in Bosnia claimed, "It's not about censorship," but what else is it when foreign powers dictate what media can and cannot say, and revoke the licenses of media which present alternative viewpoints? What else is it when elected representatives are not permitted to write laws regulating broadcasting in their own nation, but must have these laws written and submitted by foreign powers?

Was it not censorship when the tribunal ordered Television Kanal S in the Republika Srpska to "immediately cease broadcasting" on April 14, 1999? According to the tribunal, Television Kanal S did not carry western news programs, and committed "a serious violation" when it broadcast a message from Sarajevo University students in which citizens of the Republika Srpska "were invited to join the students in a peaceful protest" against NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia.¹³

Western policy in ruling Bosnia-Herzegovina is direct and heavy-handed. On December 17, 1997, Westendorp simply imposed a new citizenship law after the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament failed to meet his arbitrary 48-hour deadline for passage of the law.¹⁴ Similarly, he unilaterally imposed a new western-designed flag and western-designed and produced currency, the "convertible mark." Political candidates have been stricken from election lists, based on the flimsiest excuses. In the November 1997 election, the OSCE election commission eliminated three candidates of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) because posters of former Republika Srpska president Radovan Karadzic had appeared. The SDS was not permitted to replace these candidates. The following year, nine candidates of the Serbian Radical Party were deleted from election lists because a television station in neighboring Yugoslavia broadcast an interview with the party's presidential candidate, Nikola Poplasen. During the same election, two SDS assembly candidates were disqualified because, as a spokeswoman for the OSCE said, "twice at [an election rally] an SDS supporter held up a portrait of Karadzic." The OSCE also eliminated four assembly candidates of the Croatian Democratic Union and the mayor of Orasje because of



Tihomir Jankovic

Bosnian Serb refugees in a makeshift shelter in a school near Brcko where they have lived since the war.

"biased" television reports in neighboring Croatia.

It is curious logic to assert that television reports in an adjacent nation result in a biased election, and that the solution is for foreign powers to dictate whom voters may or may not vote for.¹⁵ Western officials reacted angrily when Nikola Poplasen unseated Plavsic in the September 1998 presidential election in Republika Srpska, and immediately began to pressure him to appoint Dodik as his Prime Minister. According to Poplasen, western officials "demanded" the appointment of Dodik "unconditionally." They also pressured Poplasen to "break off relations" with Yugoslavia and in effect treat it as an "enemy nation," and his refusal to bow to either demand evoked tremendous western hostility.¹⁶ Such disobedience brought a swift response, and on March 5, 1999, Westendorp issued a statement declaring the removal of Poplasen from office "with immediate effect."¹⁷ The primary jus-

tification given was Poplasen's insistence that he had a constitutional right to choose whom he would nominate for the post of Prime Minister. This coup d'état by decree deposed the legally elected president of the Republika Srpska. Since Poplasen's removal, the Republika Srpska government has operated under the sole leadership of Dodik, backed by NATO troops. However, Dodik's term ended with the electoral defeat of Plavsic, and there is no legal basis for his continuing to hold office. The removal of the legally elected government in the Republika Srpska was not sufficient, though.

There was still the risk that Republika Srpska citizens might freely exercise their right to vote in upcoming elections, so western officials began to dismantle Poplasen's party, the Serbian Radical Party (SRS). On October 5, 1999, the Office of the High Representative and the OSCE jointly sent a letter to the Serbian Radical Party, demanding the removal of Poplasen and two other officials from leadership positions in the party because they had criticized NATO. "Failure to remove these persons from leadership positions in the SRS," the letter said, "will result in...not allowing the SRS to participate in the municipal elections in April 2000."¹⁸ They were as good as their word. Twenty days later, the OSCE's Provisional Election Commission ruled that neither the Serbian Radical Par-

13. "Media Monitoring Commission Shuts Down Kanal S TV," Beta (Belgrade), Apr. 14, 1999.

14. "Westendorp Proclaims Citizenship Law," B92 Open Serbia (Belgrade), Dec. 17, 1997.

15. "OSCE Strikes 3 Serb Candidates Off SDS Election List," SRNA (Pale), Nov. 21, 1997; also "Bosnia Serb Party Sanctioned for Karadzic Picture," Agence France-Presse, Sep. 1, 1998; also "Nine Delisted for Bosnian Serb's TV Interview," Agence France-Presse, Sep. 21, 1998; also "Bosnian Croat Candidates Disqualified by TV Bias," Reuters, Sep. 4, 1998.

16. "Poplasen Defends Actions While in Office," SRNA (Pale), Mar. 7, 1999; also Interview with Nikola Poplasen, by Branislav Radivojsa, "Poplasen: Assembly Must Oppose Unconstitutional Behavior of Dodik's Government," *Politika* (Belgrade), Sept. 3, 1999.

17. Office of the High Representative, "Removal from Office of Nikola Poplasen," OHR Press Release (Sarajevo), Mar. 5, 1999.

18. Joint OHR/OSCE Press Release, "SRS Must Re-file Application for Party Registration," Oct. 5, 1999.

ty, nor a smaller party, "will be registered for the municipal elections in 2000 and will not have candidates competing for local offices."¹⁹

The outright banning of a major political party passed without comment in the western press. No pretense of democracy is made. Western dictate is "democratic," simply by virtue of being western.

On the same day that saw Poplasen's removal as president, Robert Owen, western arbitrator for the status of the town of Brcko, announced a decision that effectively split asunder the Republika Srpska. The two halves of the Republika Srpska were held together by a narrow three-mile wide strip, in which lies Brcko. The decree removed Brcko from the Republika Srpska and created a special district to be held jointly by the Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croatian Federation.

Under terms of the decree, Bosnian Serb armed forces cannot move from one half of their territory to the other without permission of NATO. The decree also specifies that Brcko may at any time be transferred from a "non-complying entity" and placed "within the exclusive control of the other."²⁰ The decision was met by universal Bosnian Serb rejection and U.S. envoy Robert Gelbard wasted no time in wielding the heavy club of discipline, declaring that "the territory of Brcko could still revert to the entity which is in compliance."²¹ Following Dodik's resignation over the Brcko decision, western officials scrambled to talk him out of it. As Gelbard explained it, progress on plans to privatize state assets "is really due to Dodik's leadership."²² It was not long before Dodik withdrew his resignation and announced his acceptance of the Brcko decision. Dodik's resignation was merely play-acting, a bow to local public opinion. He has shown no reluctance to carry out every order, and on October 2, 1999, following his return from meeting with American officials in the United States, he

dutifully called for the overthrow of the Yugoslav government.²³

WILD WEST JUSTICE

The International War Crimes Tribunal has proved to be a useful political tool for NATO, enabling it to seize, or even murder political enemies. On January 30, 1996, two leading Bosnian Serb generals, Djordje Djukic and Aleksa Ksrmanovic, were invited to meet with western civilian and NATO officials in Ilidza, at that time, a Serbian suburb of Sarajevo. The meeting was a ruse. A trap had been set, and both men were seized and imprisoned by Bosnian Muslim soldiers. According to a British officer, the kidnaping was a result of NATO passing information to Bosnian Muslim forces. A high-ranking Western European

Behind the façade of western peacekeeping in the Balkans [is] a process of colonization as deep and thoroughgoing as any seen in the 19th century.

intelligence source revealed that the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) was behind the seizure. "The DIA took a fantastic quantity of bugging and surveillance equipment there," he said. "The vehicle in which the Serb officers were traveling was followed from the air." The DIA, he added, expected the generals to be "the most valuable sources of information. Also do not forget that a not at all negligible number of The Hague investigators are CIA and DIA members."²⁴

Two weeks later, the men were transferred to The Hague, where they were subjected to repeated interrogations and pressured to accuse other Bosnian Serb officials and officers of crimes. Djukic's lawyer said, "It was suggested to Djukic that the court would have a better understanding for him in the future if he testified," and tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier said that the fate of the men "very much depends...on what they might tell us."²⁵

Both men refused to talk, however, and punishment was swift in coming. On March 1, Djukic was charged with the "crime

against humanity" of being "assistant commander for logistics," including such heinous acts as "proposing appointments of personnel" and "issuing orders relating to the supply of materiel for units of the Bosnian Serb Army." In a pique, chief prosecutor Richard Goldstone said he indicted Djukic because of his refusal to talk.²⁶ Not even as flimsy a charge as this could be concocted against Krsmanovic, who was held without charge for several more weeks of interrogations. At the time, Djukic was suffering from an advanced case of pancreatic cancer. Despite his pain, interrogation sessions continued unabated, but he refused to talk to the end. In late April he was released to return to his family, where he died on May 19.

On July 10, 1997, a joint American-British operation swooped down on two Bosnian Serbs, despite the lack of a public indictment against either man. Four NATO members gained entrance to the Prijedor Medical Center by claiming to deliver a Red Cross package, and arrested the hospital's director, Milan Kovacevic. The arrest provoked an angry demonstration by 400 of the hospital's medical staff and several hundred citizens. Former Prijedor security chief Simo Drljaca was less fortunate. Shortly after he returned from fishing, still dressed in a bathing suit, to enjoy breakfast with family and friends, NATO troops burst into his yard. A witness recounts, "Music was playing. I was sitting. Then suddenly I heard screams: 'Simo, Simo!' I turned around. Soldiers were armed.... I saw Simo getting up. At that moment, I heard bullets being fired and they fired at him. Then I saw Simo laying down on sand near a beach. He was laying on his side and shaking. Then a soldier came close to him and fired another bullet at him and finished him off."²⁷

Another NATO ambush took place on January 10, 1999, targeting a car occupied by Dragan Gagovic and five children from his karate class. One of the children, Sonja Bjelovic, described the ambush: "We ran across iron bars on the road. Dragan braked to stop the vehicle, because we could not pass...then we heard shots. Our coach said, 'down, you can be hit.' He tried to protect us and pass around the iron bars. However the car was hit, tires went flat and it overturned. I saw our coach covered with blood." Another child, Milica Dzikovic, reported, "When the coach told us to go down I hid under the seat and closed my eyes. When I opened my eyes, I saw the coach covered with blood and [NATO soldiers'] gun-barrels pointed at

19. OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina Press Release, "PEC Denies Certification for Serb Radical and SRSS Parties for Municipal Elections 2000," Sarajevo, Oct. 25, 1999.

20. "Final Award, Arbitral Tribunal for Dispute Over Inter-Entity Boundary in Brcko Area," Mar. 5, 1999.

21. "Mediators Warn Bosnia Serbs to Comply with Brcko Ruling," Agence France-Presse, Mar. 19, 1999.

22. "U.S. Envoy Hopes Moderate Bosnia Serb PM Will Stay," Reuters, Mar. 10, 1999.

23. "Dodik Returns from U.S., Backs Anti-Milosevic Rallies," Beta (Belgrade), Oct. 2, 1999.

24. Vesna Hadzivukovic, "Americans Preparing New Kidnapings," Telegraf (Belgrade), Feb. 14, 1996.

25. "Serb Officers Might Be Witnesses in The Hague," AP, Feb. 23, 1996.

26. The Prosecutor of the Tribunal, CASE No IT-96-20-I, "Against Dordje Djukic [sic] Indictment."

27. Broadcast, Srpska Televizija (Pale), July 10, 1997.

us.”²⁸ On July 6, 1999, Radislav Brdjanin, leader of the People's Party, was kidnaped from his home in Banja Luka and flown to The Hague, where he was imprisoned. A month and a half later, on August 25, Republika Srpska Chief of Staff General Momir Talic, who had been invited to a conference in Austria, was arrested there and flown to The Hague. Neither man had been publicly indicted. The arrest of these men under “secret indictments” is an effective recipe for silencing free speech. Inevitably, people will feel a reluctance to speak out against NATO occupation, lest they make a target of themselves.

Stanislav Galic's mistake was in accepting an appointment as military adviser to Poplasen. While Galic was driving his car on December 20, 1999, several vehicles suddenly blocked his path. NATO soldiers sprang out and smashed Galic's car window, roughly dragged him out and placed a hood over his head. Galic was flown to The Hague, where he was imprisoned.

High Commissioner Carlos Westendorp revealed much about the imperial attitude as he delivered his last speech before turning over the reins to his successor, Wolfgang Petritsch. Westendorp expressed his “wish to quote from another famous historical figure, who said not just that much could be achieved with a kind word, but a kind word and a gun. This figure was Al Capone. Joke! I've been here too long.... I actually prefer Teddy Roosevelt's ‘Walk softly and carry a big stick.’ The gun or stick in this context is the continuing presence of SFOR [NATO Stabilization Force] and the International Community.”²⁹

COVERT INVOLVEMENT AND MILITARY AID

According to a report in the *Los Angeles Times*, “The CIA station in Bosnia is now reputed to be one of the largest in the region.”³⁰ By early 1996, the total number of CIA operatives active in the region had risen to 2,500, almost half of whom were stationed at the agency's regional headquarters in Tuzla.³¹ The DIA is also very active in the region, working in close cooperation with the CIA. These agencies not only engage in intelligence gathering, but also shape events, both directly and indi-

rectly. Most of the international organizations present in Bosnia are dominated and run by American officials. Local news reports are “reshaped,” that is, censored, by American officials, and compliant media receive western financing, largely through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). A report in the Yugoslav press claims that in 1996, approximately half a million dollars were funneled to media in both of Bosnia's entities.³²

The implementation of the U.S. Train and Equip plan has pumped more arms into the region, posing a risk to peace. Under the plan, the U.S. has already supplied Federation forces with tens of thousands of M-16 assault rifles, more than 100 armored personnel carriers, several dozen tanks, over 100 155-mm howitzers, communications equipment, helicopters, and myriad other

The plan also provides for American and Turkish training of Federation forces. The Pentagon has contracted with Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI) to conduct training. MPRI had earlier successfully trained the Croatian Army in preparation for its brutal invasion of Krajina, in which over 200,000 Serbs were driven from their homes in a matter of days. Training sessions include the use of advanced battle simulation computer software, as was used in preparation for Desert Storm. Funding was also provided to open arms factories in the Federation. In all, eight Federation arms factories operate under NATO supervision, and a Federation defense ministry spokesman announced that half of these factories produce 122mm howitzers for its army.³⁴

Officially, American officials assert the dubious proposition that Train and Equip



NATO forces displaying military might in Bosnia, April 1998.

weapons. Arms supplies from other nations have also been arranged by U.S. officials, and one shipment alone, from the United Arab Emirates, consisted of 50 French AMX-30 tanks and 41 armored vehicles.³³

32. “Daily Criticizes USAID Funding of B-H Independent Media,” *Beta* (Belgrade), Apr. 29, 1997.

33. “New Weapons Shipments for Bosnia's US-LEF Rearmament Programme,” *Agence France-Presse* (Paris), Oct. 13, 1997; also A. Prlenda, “Weapons for Peace and Stabilization,” *Oslobodjenje* (Bosnian Muslim), Nov. 22, 1996; also Nick Gowing, “Return to War,” *Sunday Telegraph* (London), Dec. 1, 1996; also “Arms Shipment from Turkey Arrives in Ploce Port,” *HINA* (Zagreb), July 26, 1997; also Srečko Latal, “United States Helping Rearm Muslim-Croat Army: Allies Object,” *AP*, May 23, 1996.

28. “Children Describe Gagovic's ‘Brutal Murder,’” *Tanjug* (Belgrade), Jan. 10, 1999.

29. Office of the High Representative, “Speech of the High Representative Carlos Westendorp at the Stability Pact Dinner,” Sarajevo, July 29, 1999.

30. Tracy Wilkinson, “In Bosnia, U.S. Creeps Deeper,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 11, 1997.

31. “From the Jungle to the Balkans,” *Politika Ekspres* (Belgrade), Jan. 22, 1996.

is necessary to ensure peace. Quietly, they know exactly what they are doing. Asked by a Bosnian Muslim journalist about the western reaction were the Federation to invade the Republika Srpska, a “high-ranking western diplomat” admitted, “We would officially condemn, but we would understand and we would probably not undertake any efficient steps... This is exactly what we expect.”³⁵ “The question now

34. James Drake, “Old GIs Fade Away —to Bosnia,” *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 12, 1997; also Nedim Dervisbegovic, “Bosnian Firms Produce Artillery with U.S. Aid,” *Reuters*, Oct. 17, 1997; also “U.S. Envoy Visits U.S.-Aided Bosnian Army Factory,” *Agence France-Presse* (Paris), Sep. 5, 1997.

35. Edina Becirevic, “If the Refugees Do Not Return

longer is if the Muslims will attack the Bosnian Serbs," warned a European NATO commander, "but when." Alarmed at the extent of the Federation military buildup, Russian commanders passed NATO satellite photos of Muslim training camps to Bosnian Serb generals. According to information received by a western diplomat, "The Bosnian Serb generals were stunned. The mood in the room was very black." In the event of an attack, a high-ranking NATO commander said, "We also expect most all of the Serbs [in the Republika Srpska] to be driven into Serbia...."³⁶ The threat posed by the Train and Equip plan appears to be primarily motivated by its utility as a means for dictating policy to the Republika Srpska.

However, if Republika Srpska officials ever display too much independence and recalcitrance in response to NATO's demands, then there is little doubt that the Muslim-Croatian Federation would receive the go-ahead for an invasion. The Train and Equip plan can be a two-edged sword, though, and in April 1999, U.S. envoy Robert Gelbard temporarily suspended the program for four months in order to force a reorganization of the Federation Army along lines demanded by western officials.

RESHAPING THE ECONOMY

The heart of western policy in the region is the promotion of western corporate interests. In late 1996, a "peace implementation conference" was held in London, during which much of Bosnia-Herzegovina's future was forged. According to a report by the Press Association, the conference "won a commitment from the Bosnian leaders to reconstruct the shattered economy along free market economy lines, including significant privatization and close cooperation with the World Bank."³⁷ Laws are penned and imposed by western officials. Less than one year after the conference, Haris Silajdzic, co-chair of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Council of Ministers, announced that "U.S. Finance Secretary David Lipton will come here bringing draft laws on privatization at the state level" to

be submitted to the Assembly for vote. Existing draft laws on property relations and privatization, he said, "will be modified according to regulations the U.S. finance secretary will bring."³⁸ On July 2, 1998, Westendorp founded a commission to manage the privatization process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Each privatization, including prior actions, is subject to review and approval by western commission officials.³⁹

An earlier law on privatization in the Republika Srpska had previously been implemented. On December 4, 1997, Robert Farrand, of the Office of the High Representative, issued an "Order on Privatization," in which he mandated a "delay" of the Republika Srpska privatization process, "so that international assistance could be provided to make it a credible process

**By early 1996, the total
number of CIA operatives
active in the region had risen
to 2,500, almost half of whom
were stationed...in Tuzla.**

leading to successful transition to a free market economy." He added that "current RS [Republika Srpska] legislation on privatization lacks a sound technical framework and in its current form can lead only to large scale fraud...."⁴⁰ Looking beyond the vague nature of the complaint, and ostensible concern about "fraud," what actually motivated the order suspending the law?

Documents from the American Embassy in Sarajevo paint a more honest picture: "The privatization framework is being overhauled and will create more opportunities for involvement of potential foreign investors," adding that a "fundamental flaw" of the previous process "was the allocation of 47 percent of companies' shares to seven government-managed funds." Clearly, the "fraud" that concerned western officials was that western corporations could not dominate the process and seize the best assets. The embassy's documents reassure investors that "The new RS government has pledged to overhaul the privatization framework and annulled all previous privatization laws.

Assistance is now being provided by the World Bank and USAID to develop new laws similar to those adopted by the Federation." Western officials are shaping privatization in the Republika Srpska, as they do in the Muslim-Croatian Federation, to favor the interests of western investors.

The Foreign Investment Law, effective on March 1998, and applicable to both entities, "establishes the policy standards of promoting foreign investment and protecting foreign investor's rights," an embassy document declares. "The Entities will amend existing foreign investment laws to conform to the state-level legislation." Western officials were thorough in ensuring their interests. The law "is progressive in terms of its final aim which is to promote foreign direct investment." It is stated that the law "protects the rights of foreign investors.... [T]here are no restrictions on foreign investment" except armaments and media, and "the entities are directed to establish progressive and favorable tax conditions that encourage foreign investment." Furthermore, the law "expressly forbids expropriation or nationalization actions against foreign investments."⁴¹

And what role is envisioned for the people of Bosnia? The American embassy has an answer for that, too. "Foreign investors can utilize low-cost labor (the lowest in the CEE [Central and Eastern Europe]) while gaining proximity and access to important markets in the EU [European Union] and the CEE." Bosnian people will have the privilege of joining the Third World. Because Bosnia-Herzegovina is essentially landlocked, access to the Adriatic Sea is an important prerequisite for exploiting this "low-cost labor." Despite strong Bosnian Muslim reservations concerning certain provisions, an agreement on special relations was signed with neighboring Croatia, in which the Federation was given free transit to and use of the Croatian port of Ploce. According to a report in the Croatian press, agreement from the Bosnian Muslim delegation came "as a result of pressure from the United States."⁴² In preparation for the expansion of trade through Ploce, the World Bank has financed a \$22 million project for the reconstruction of the main pier, and Sealand has won a grant from the U.S. Trade and Development Agency to perform "a feasi-

Next Year, the World Will Tolerate That As Well!" *Slobodna Bosna* (Sarajevo), Sep. 21, 1997.

36. Chris Hedges, "Bosnian Muslims Said to Intensify Efforts to Rearm in Secret," *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1997.

37. Charles Miller, "Tough Action Agreed to in Hunt for Bosnia's War Criminals," *Press Association* (London), Dec. 5, 1996.

38. A. Pilav, "Draft Laws Arriving from the U.S.," *Dnevi Avaz* (Sarajevo), Oct. 7, 1997.

39. Sead Numanovic, "Westendorp Forms a Commission," *Dnevi Avaz* (Sarajevo), July 2, 1998.

40. Office of the High Representative, "Order on Privatization," Dec. 4, 1997.

41. American Embassy, Sarajevo, "The Commercial Guide to Bosnia and Herzegovina," June 1998.

42. "Croatia, Federation Sign Special Relations Agreement," HINA (Zagreb), Nov. 22, 1998; also "Bosnia, Croatia Form Special Relations," UPI, Nov. 22, 1998; also "Croatia Opens Up Key Port to Bosnia in Thawing of Relations," *Agence France-Presse*, Nov. 22, 1998.

"MULTI-ETHNIC" BRCKO?

On March 8, the High Commissioner for Bosnia and Herzegovina, formalized the establishment of a "multi-ethnic" District of Brcko. This event was marked by a ceremony "blessed" with the presence of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The flags of Republika Srpska were promptly torn down from public buildings and the flags of the Muslim-Croat Federation were raised instead—all in the name of establishing a so-called "multi-ethnic" city.

The local garrison of Republika Srpska soldiers was forced at gunpoint from their barracks, their weapons were seized and crushed by U.S. tanks from the nearby U.S. military base.

AP / Wide World Photos



Weapons of Bosnian Serb units near Brcko being destroyed after that city was arbitrarily removed from the Republika Srpska.

bility study on the development of container terminal facilities and the corridor from Ploce to Sarajevo (and eventually the Sava River)."⁴³ Following the removal of Brcko from the Republika Srpska, Brcko Supervisor Robert Farrand signed an agreement for the U.S. Trade and Development Agency to solicit bids from American firms to conduct a six-month feasibility study of the Brcko port on the Sava River.⁴⁴

When deemed necessary, western officials readily have wielded threats in order to achieve their goals. A western diplomatic source revealed that "in diplomatic talks behind closed doors, we are, sort of, intimidating [Republika Srpska] politicians" with the possibility of invasion by Federation troops. "The tendency is to stimulate and open up economically" the Republika Srpska, he added. "When, in some diplomatic efforts, we try to 'soften' their stances, we always hint at their possible war defeat. We always use the illustration of Krajina."⁴⁵ Threats against the Federation are less aggressive, if no less effective. On November 10, 1998, the Contact Group, which oversees policy in Bosnia, and is chaired by the U.S., issued a statement threatening a cutoff of millions of dollars in aid to the Federation. An American spokesman bluntly stated that "the time has come and, in fact, is overdue for the governments of Bosnia to be making the transition – and [they] should be making it rapidly – to a sustainable market economy. We are prepared to cut off projects, programs, anything to get their at-

tention...." The spokesman demanded "much more progress on privatization" and foreign investment.⁴⁶

NATO is establishing a permanent presence in the Balkans. NATO's savage bombing of Yugoslavia was motivated solely by the desire to establish a NATO-run colony in Kosovo. The Yugoslav government consistently called for return of all refugees, greater autonomy in Kosovo, and an international presence in Kosovo. The only divisive issue was the nature of that presence, with NATO insisting on its control of the province. NATO bases are being constructed in Zadar and Slavonski

Brod, Croatia, and NATO is providing funds for Bulgaria to upgrade three military airfields to "NATO standards," although these airfields are currently adequate for Bulgaria's aircraft.⁴⁷ Whose planes, then, are these upgrades intended for, if not Bulgaria's? A poor Bosnian Serb, Radoslav Skriba, wonders, "How is it that all these western armies now have bases here? Could it be that it was their strategy all along? During the Communist time we were warned that the West wanted to come here and now here they are."⁴⁸ ■

46. Carol Giacomo, "U.S. and Allies May Turn Off Aid Tap," Reuters, Nov. 9, 1998; "U.S. Threatens Aid Cut," UPI, Nov. 9, 1998; "Contact Group Signals It Wants to Cut Bosnian Aid," Reuters, Nov. 10, 1998.

47. Marko Barisic, "Referendum for NATO Bases?" *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), Feb. 10, 1998; also Emanuil Manev, "NATO is Promoting its Own Interest," *Kontinent* (Sofia), Oct. 17, 1998.

48. Mike O'Connor, "Bosnian Serbs, Unhappy in Serb Republic, Fear Return to Bosnia," *New York Times*, Sep. 18, 1998.

43. *Op. cit.*, n. 41.

44. OHR Press Release, "Brcko Port Feasibility Study Agreement Signed," June 4, 1999.

45. *Op. cit.*, n. 35.

Subscribers:

ARE YOU MOVING?

If you move, you must let us know. *CovertAction Quarterly* is currently sent bulk rate directly from our printer, and is not forwarded or returned by the Post Office. If you do not let us know you are moving, you will not receive your magazine and we will not know you did not receive it. So please help us keep your subscription current and intact by notifying us before you move. You can reach us by letter, phone, e-mail, or fax.

SEATTLE AND BEYOND: THE ILLEGALITY OF THE WTO

BY MICHEL CHOSSUDOVSKY

Leading up to the Seattle Millennium Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO), over 1,200 groups and organizations from more than 85 countries called for a "Moratorium" on further liberalization under WTO auspices and the holding of an "audit" to be undertaken on the impacts of globalization. Their consensus statement ("Statement from Members of International Civil Society Opposing a Millennium Round") said:

[We] oppose any further liberalization negotiations, especially those which will bring new areas under the WTO regime, such as investment, competition policy and government procurement. We commit ourselves to campaign to reject any such proposals. We also oppose the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement. We call for a moratorium on any new issues or further negotiations that expand the scope and power of the WTO. During this moratorium there should be a comprehensive and in-depth review and assessment of the existing agreements. Effective steps should then be taken to change the agreements. Such a review should address the WTO's impact on marginalized communities, development, democracy, environment, health, human rights, labor rights and the rights of women and children. The review must be conducted with civil society's full participation."

The Statement constituted an important step in challenging the official agenda

Michel Chossudovsky is Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa and author of *The Globalization of Poverty, Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms* (London: Zed Books, 1997), available from *CovertAction Quarterly* (see p. 64).

of the WTO Millennium Round. It was based on a carefully worded consensus of a large number of individual organizations.

Yet this important document, in demanding a "Moratorium" on further liberalization negotiations, failed to question the very legitimacy of the WTO as an institution. It illustrates a critical dividing line in the demands of the tens of thousands of protesters who converged on Seattle.

The Marrakesh Agreement of 1994 constitutes a blatant violation of fundamental social, economic and cultural rights. The stakes in Seattle were funda-

The only promise of the "free market" is a world of landless farmers, shuttered factories, jobless workers, and gutted social programs...under the WTO and the IMF.

mental and could not be addressed with a compromise statement tacitly accepting the legitimacy of the WTO as an institution. The WTO was put in place following the signing of a "technical agreement" negotiated behind closed doors by bureaucrats. Even the heads of country-level delegations to Marrakesh, Morocco, in 1994 were not informed regarding the statutes of the WTO which were drafted by technocrats in separate closed sessions.

"The Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations" was signed by ministers in Marrakesh on April 15, 1994, and instated the WTO as a world body. "The WTO framework ensures a 'single undertaking approach' to the results of the Uruguay Round—thus, membership in the WTO entails accepting all the results of the round without exception."

Following the Marrakesh meeting, the 550-page agreement (plus its numerous

appendices) was either rubber-stamped or never formally ratified by national parliaments. The articles of agreement of the WTO resulting from this "technical agreement" were casually embodied in international law. In other words, the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement bypasses the democratic process in each of the member countries. It blatantly derogates national laws and constitutions while providing extensive powers to global banks and multinational corporations (MNCs). These powers have, in fact, become entrenched in the articles of agreement of the WTO.

So, the process of the WTO's actual creation, following the Final Act of Uruguay Round is blatantly "illegal." Namely a "totalitarian" intergovernmental body has been casually installed in Geneva, empowered under international law with a mandate to "police" country-level economic and social policies, derogating the sovereign rights of national governments.

Similarly, the WTO almost neutralizes "with the stroke of the pen" the authority and activities of several agencies of the United Nations including the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

Moreover, the articles of WTO are not only in contradiction with pre-existing national and international laws, they are also at variance with "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Acceptance of the WTO as a legitimate organization is tantamount to an "indefinite moratorium" or repeal of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Apart from the blatant violation of international law, WTO rules also provide legitimacy to trade practices which border on criminality, including "intellectual piracy" by MNCs, the derogation of plant breeders' rights, not to mention genetic manipulation by the biotechnology giants, the patenting of life forms including plants, animals, microorganisms, genetic material, and human life forms under the TRIPS agreement.

In the sphere of financial services, the provisions of the General Agreement on

Trade in Services (GATS) provide legitimacy to large scale financial and speculative manipulations directed against developing countries which are often conducive to the demise of country-level monetary policy.

And the WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures uphold the legitimacy of these various manipulative procedures.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DESTRUCTION

As amply documented, humanity in the post-Cold War era is undergoing an economic and social crisis of unprecedented scale leading to the rapid impoverishment of large sectors of the world population. National economies are collapsing. Unemployment is rampant; Wall Street banks are "taking over countries" one after the other; regional wars have erupted along strategic gas-oil pipelines, and often behind the various "insurgencies" are powerful corporate interests which coincidentally are also lobbying for trade reform. In most countries the standard of living has collapsed.

This worldwide crisis of the late twentieth century is more devastating than the Great Depression of the 1930s. It has far-reaching geopolitical implications; economic dislocation has also been accompanied by the outbreak of regional conflicts, the fracturing of national societies, and in some cases the destruction of entire countries. This crisis is by no means limited to the developing countries. In Europe and North America, the welfare state is being dismantled, schools and hospitals are being closed down, creating conditions for the outright privatization of social services. This is by far the most serious economic crisis in modern history.

In a large number of developing countries, the services economy and banking are already in the hands of foreign capital, peasant economies have been devastated as a result of the dumping of European Union and U.S. grain surpluses. Genetically modified seeds produced among others by Cargill and Monsanto (together with carefully engineered farm inputs produced by these same agribusiness conglomerates) have been forced upon farmers throughout the world, often leading to mass poverty and the fracture of rural economies, not to mention the contamination of the food chain.

In turn, international agribusiness is intent upon driving the family farm into bankruptcy. This process is by no means limited to developing countries: Up to 30 percent of grain farmers in western Canada are on the verge of bankruptcy specifically as a result of the enforcement by the Canadian government of WTO provisions concerning farm subsidies. And if this is

Sean Sprague / Impact Visuals



Abject poverty in the center of Jakarta, Indonesia.

happening in western Canada which constitutes one of the world's most resourceful "bread baskets," what will be the fate of farmers in other regions of the world?

CHINA'S ACCESSION TO THE WTO

The terms of China's entry into the WTO, agreed upon in bilateral negotiations with the United States barely a few weeks before the Ministerial Conference in Seattle, spell havoc in a country of more than one billion people. It will devastate China's agriculture; it will trigger a deadly wave of bankruptcies of state enterprises leading to mass unemployment. The provision of "national treatment" to western banks potentially could precipitate the fracture of the entire structure of Chinese state banking.

The Chinese authorities, fully aware of the ramifications, have attempted to convince Chinese public opinion that "the benefits from the agreement would justify the job losses and bankruptcies it will cause."¹ In the words of China's chief WTO negotiator, Long Yongtu, "a nation cannot develop and become strong without a sense of urgency and a sense of crisis."²

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

In the face of global economic and social devastation is an (official) "audit" really required as called for in the "Statement From Members of International Civil Society" to ascertain what is happening? Some of the NGO critics involved in the dialogue with the WTO argue that there are both "positive" and "negative" impacts of trade liberalization. This position is ambiguous: the devastating impacts of "globalization" are already known and documented; the NGO community has already produced a wealth of critical analysis and research. Moreover,

1. *Financial Times* (London), Nov. 17, 1999.

2. Quoted in *ibid*.

the audit proposal accepts the legitimacy of the WTO, it presupposes that there are mistakes and "let's talk and put this system on hold" for a few years "while we re-evaluate."

Do we need an audit to ascertain "whether or not" the world is in crisis? And by whom will this audit be performed and for whom? The key "partner NGOs" have already positioned themselves to undertake the relevant commissioned background studies. And these research contracts performed "sector by sector" in a "politically correct" fashion according to preestablished guidelines set by the funding agencies will take several years to complete.

The conduct of an audit has already been accepted by the European Union in its consultations with the NGOs. Former European Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan, on behalf of the European Union, had in fact proposed in 1998, "the commissioning of a study on the impact of the new Round on sustainable development." In other words, the audit was also part of the official agenda of the Seattle Round. In the meantime, while the audit is being conducted, economic, social and environmental destruction will continue unabated.

"DE FACTO" MILLENNIUM ROUND

In many developing countries, many of the clauses projected for the Millennium Round are already a "fait accompli." They are part of the "conditionalities contained in ad hoc loan agreements with the IMF and the World Bank. Under the structural adjustment program as well as in the context of the IMF-sponsored "bailout agreements" (e.g. Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea, Brazil), developing countries have already committed themselves to many of the propositions that were to have been taken up in the Millennium Round.

Many developing countries have been obliged, in the context of agreements signed with the Bretton Woods institutions, to liberalize trade, deregulate capital movements, privatize state public utilities, dismantle social programs and provide "national treatment" to foreign investors in a large number of economic activities including services, banking, procurement, and so forth. These provisions are often coupled with a "bankruptcy program" under the supervision of the World Bank with a view to "triggering" the liquidation of competing national enterprises. An "enabling free market environment" is implanted (without recourse to WTO clauses pertaining to "effective access to markets"), national producers are brutally displaced and destroyed, countries are casually recolonized.

Wall Street bankers and the heads of the world's largest business conglomerates are indelibly behind this process. They interface regularly with IMF, World Bank, and WTO officials in closed sessions as well as in numerous international venues. Moreover, participating in these meetings and consultations are the representatives of powerful global business lobbies including the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), the Trans-Atlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) (which brings together in its annual venues the leaders of the largest western business conglomerates with politicians and WTO officials), the United States Council for International Business (USCIB), the Davos World Economic Forum, and the Institute of International Finance, representing the world's largest banks and financial institutions, etc. Other "semi-secret" organizations—which play an important role in shaping the institutions of the New World Order—include the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderberg Society, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

FINANCIAL DEREGULATION

To top it off, with "perfect timing" came the deregulation of the U.S. banking system which was approved by the U.S. Senate barely six weeks before the Millennium Round meetings in Seattle. The new legislation favors an unprecedented concentration of global financial power. In the wake of lengthy negotiations which concluded in the early hours of October 22, all regulatory restraints on Wall Street's powerful banking conglomerates were revoked "with a stroke of the pen." Under the new rules ratified by the U.S. Senate and approved by President Clinton, commercial banks, brokerage firms, hedge funds, institutional investors, pension funds and insurance companies can freely invest in each other's businesses as well as fully in-

tegrate their financial operations. The legislation has repealed the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, a pillar of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" that was put in place in response to the climate of corruption, financial manipulation and "insider trading" which led to more than 5,000 bank failures in the years following the 1929 Wall Street crash.³

3. See Martin McLaughlin, "Clinton Republicans Agree to Deregulation of U.S. Banking System," *World Socialist* web site, Nov. 1, 1999.

MORE FACTS ABOUT THE WTO

Still smarting from the failure of the WTO meeting in Seattle, the governing body, the General Council of the WTO met in Geneva in early February. Mike Moore, the organization's director general said, "The WTO is back in business," Members have been meeting steadily since early January to prepare for the General Council session. They agreed to go ahead with negotiations on trade in farm goods which will probably start in late March and services, which includes insurance, banking and health care, in late February.

—Elizabeth Olson, "After Seattle, Trade Group Scales Back Its Agenda," *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 2000.

SECRET TRIBUNALS

The WTO has the strongest enforcement mechanisms of any international agreement now in force. Rulings by a dispute panel are automatically binding and do not require unanimous consent of the WTO members to be adopted. Nor do WTO trade sanctions that may be subsequently imposed need such approval. Once a WTO tribunal has declared a country's law WTO-illegal, the country must change its law or face such sanctions. A ruling by a panel could be stopped from being implemented, only if all WTO members, including the losing country, unanimously agree, which is not likely to happen.

All panel activities and documents are confidential, dispute panels operate in secret, documents are restricted to the countries in the dispute, due process and citizen participation are nonexistent and there is no possibility of outside appeal. WTO disputes are heard by the tribunals composed of *only three* panelists (unless the disputing countries opt for a five-member panel). Decisions can be appealed to a WTO Appellate Body com-

In other words, a handful of financial conglomerates will gain effective control over the entire U.S. financial services industry. Coincidentally, these same Wall Street financial giants are also the main beneficiaries of financial services' deregulation which provides "national treatment" to Wall Street's giants in banking, insurance, brokerage services, actuarial services, etc. GATS is almost "tailor-made" to meet the standards set under the new U.S. financial services legislation. The financial giants oversee the real economy worldwide. They are creditors and

prised of seven panelists. All panelists are *secret*. The WTO secretariat nominates panel members for each dispute from a Member Roster of WTO Dispute Panelists nominated by Member countries. To date that roster contains 159 names, of which 147 are men, (92.5 percent) and 12 are women (7.5 percent).

—Lori Wallach and Michelle Sforza, "Whose Trade Organization?" Public Citizen, Washington, D.C.

WTO DISPUTE PANELIST UNMASKED

Kym Anderson served on the WTO panel for the U.S. challenge to the EU Lome Treaty preferences for Caribbean bananas. (See Mike Gallagher and Cameron McWhirter's exposé on Chiquita in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 3, 1998.) Anderson is a trade expert who has published extensively on international trade and development issues. His bias against environmental and labor protection in the global economy is shown by the following quotes from articles written by him:

"The overuse of trade measures to pursue environmental or labor market objectives has 'an important indirect negative effect...namely the potential erosion of the rules-based multilateral trading system.'"

—Kym Anderson, "The Entwinning of Trade Policy with Environmental and Labour Standards," in W. Martin and L.A. Winters, eds., *Implications of the Uruguay Round for Developing Countries*, World Bank (1995).

"Environmental and labor concerns can provide a convenient additional excuse for raising trade barriers."

—Seminar Paper 97-04, "Environmental and Labor Standards: What Role for the World Trade Organization?," University of Adelaide Centre for International Economic Studies, March 1997, p. 13.)

shareholders of high tech manufacturing, the defense industry, major oil and mining consortia, and so forth. Moreover, as under-

There can be no other alternative but to reject the WTO, to imprint the WTO as an illegal organization.

writers of the public debt, they also have a stranglehold on national governments and politicians. Ultimately, they also call the shots on trade reform.

Moreover, the clauses of the defunct Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which was to provide "national treatment" to foreign banks and MNCs (leading to the dislocation of municipalities and local governments) are also in the process of becoming a "fait accompli." The financial conglomerates are now fully integrated with the insurance companies. In turn, the latter oversee and control the multinational health care providers which were actively lobbying in Seattle for the deregulation of public health care under the GATS. The institutions of the welfare state are to be scrapped. The struggles of the entire postwar period are to be erased.

The worldwide scramble to appropriate wealth through "financial manipulation" is the driving force behind this restructuring of the global financial architecture of which the new U.S. banking legislation is an integral part. In concert with the WTO, the U.S. legislation favors the elimination of remaining barriers to the free movement of finance capital. In practice, it empowers Wall Street's key players, including Merrill Lynch, Citigroup, J. P. Morgan, Deutsche Bank-Bankers Trust, and others, to develop a hegemonic position in global banking overshadowing and ultimately destabilizing financial systems in Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe, and this process is ongoing irrespective of the outcome of the events in Seattle.

THE SPECULATIVE ONSLAUGHT

In turn, financial deregulation in the U.S. allows speculative trade to prosper worldwide in a totally permissive environment. The Millennium Round was aiming to de-

regulate capital movements to provide greater legitimacy to such trade thereby empowering Wall Street to extend its global financial domain.

Institutional control over the channels of speculative trade provides the U.S. and EU financial giants with the tools to manipulate currency and stock markets and impair the role of central banks. The ultimate objective is to take control over the reins of

monetary policy and oversee financial markets all over the world. In the 1997 Asian crisis alone, more than

\$100 billion were confiscated in a matter of months from the vaults of Asia's central banks. Similar speculative assaults

were carried out in Russia in 1998 and in Brazil in 1999. Derivative and option trade including the "short selling" of national currencies were behind these assaults leading to massive debt default and financial collapse. The IMF played a key role in facilitating the speculative onslaught on behalf of western and Japanese financial institutions.

In a cruel irony, the use of these deadly speculative instruments was formally legitimized in the Fifth Protocol of the GATS in the immediate wake of the Asian crisis. Totally disregarding the impending dangers, the GATS protocol negotiations coincided chronologically (October 1997) with the climactic meltdown of stock markets all over the world.

DISARMING THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The WTO created from a "technical agreement" provides entrenched "legal" rights to banks and global corporations. In turn, the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement sets up procedures—including manipulative Dispute Settlements—which are now conveniently embodied in international law but which

blatantly violate the rights of citizens all over the world.

Under WTO rules, the banks and MNCs can legitimately manipulate market forces to their advantage leading to the outright recolonization of national economies. In other words, the WTO articles provide legitimacy to global banks and MNCs in their quest to destabilize institutions, drive national producers into bankruptcy, and ultimately take control of entire countries.

Moreover, the Agreement formally institutes a "triangular division of authority" between the WTO, and its sister organiza-

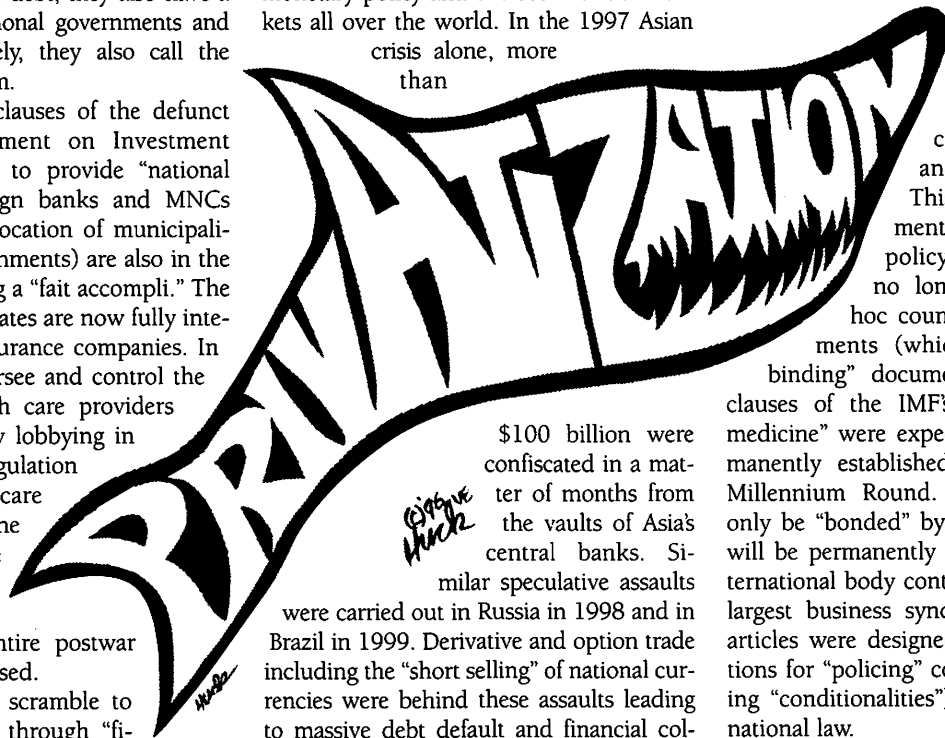
tions, the IMF and the World Bank, in a system of "global surveillance" of developing countries' economic and social policies.

This means that enforcement of IMF-World Bank policy prescriptions will no longer hinge upon ad hoc country-level loan agreements (which are not "legally binding" documents). All the main clauses of the IMF's deadly "economic medicine" were expected to become permanently established under the Seattle Millennium Round. Countries will not only be "bonded" by external debt. They will be permanently "enslaved" by an international body controlled by the world's largest business syndicates. These WTO articles were designed to set the foundations for "policing" countries (and enforcing "conditionalities") according to international law.

WAR AND GLOBALIZATION

War was also part of the globalization scenario. What happens to countries which refuse to deregulate trade and foreign investment and provide "national treatment" to western banks and MNCs? The western military-intelligence apparatus and its various bureaucracies routinely interface with the financial establishment. The IMF, the World Bank and the WTO—which "police" country-level economic reforms—also collaborate with NATO in its various "peacekeeping" endeavors, not to mention the financing of "post-conflict" reconstruction under the auspices of the Bretton Woods institutions.

At the dawn of the Third Millennium, war and the "free market" go hand in hand. War does not require a multilateral investment treaty (like the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment) entrenched in international law: "War is the MAI of last



resort." War physically destroys what has not been dismantled through deregulation, privatization and the imposition of "free market" reforms. Outright colonization through war and the installation of western protectorates is tantamount to providing "national treatment" to western banks and MNCs in all sectors of activity. "Missile diplomacy" replicates and emulates the "gunboat diplomacy" used to enforce "free trade" in the 19th Century. The U.S. Cushing Mission to China in 1844 (in the wake of the Opium Wars) had forewarned the Chinese imperial government "that refusal to grant American demands might be regarded as an invitation to war."⁴

The "Seattle Round" purported to "peacefully" recolonize countries through the manipulation of market force—i.e., through the "invisible hand." It nonetheless constitutes a form of warfare.

War and globalization are not separate issues. There are ongoing and growing dangers of war. Thus, the citizens' campaign against the WTO needs to be integrated with the antiwar movement against the bombing of sovereign countries by the U.S. and its European allies.

4. Quoted in Michel Chossudovsky, *Towards Capitalist Restoration, Chinese Socialism after Mao* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 134.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

We must act in relation to the original "iniquity" and "illegality" of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round which creates the WTO as a "totalitarian" organization.

"War is the MAI of last resort." War physically destroys what has not been dismantled through deregulation, privatization and "free market" reforms.

There can be no other alternative but to reject the WTO as an international institution, to imprint the WTO as an illegal organization. In other words, the entire process must be rejected outright.

It is vital that citizens' movements around the world pressure their governments to withdraw without delay and cancel their WTO membership. Also, legal proceedings should be initiated in national courts against the governments of member countries, underscoring the blatant violation of domestic laws and national constitutions.

How can we postpone our struggle and "wait a few years" in the context of an

"audit" while the world is consumed and destroyed? Is it not necessary to act now and to question the legitimacy of a system which ultimately destroys people's lives?

This requires challenging politicians and international officials, unmasking their insidious links to powerful financial interests, and eventually overhauling and transforming State institutions to remove them from the clutch of the financial establishment. In turn, it requires "democratizing" the economic system and its management structure, challenging the blatant concentration of ownership and private wealth, disarming financial markets, freezing speculative trade, arresting the laundering of dirty money, dismantling the system of offshore banking, redistributing income and wealth, restoring the rights of direct producers, rebuilding the welfare state as necessary steps to dismantling this unjust economic system.

It also means combating the "media lies" and "global falsehoods" which uphold the WTO and the powerful business interests which it supports and the "false consensus" of Washington and Wall Street which ordains the "free market system" as the only possible choice on the fated road to a "global prosperity."

To achieve these objectives there must be meaningful freedom of the press. The global media giants fabricate the news, overtly distort the course of world events, and mask the truth. This precludes a collective understanding of the workings of an economic system which destroys people's lives.

POST-SEATTLE THOUGHTS ABOUT GLOBALIZATION

"LIKE A FOX IN A HENHOUSE"

"A purely free market economy is like a free fox in a free henhouse."

—Renault SA Chairman, Louis Schweitzer, speaking at Davos.

"WICKED TRADE ORGANIZATION"

"For several years, the people of India have been a mute witness to the systematic effort of the rich countries to recolonize the developing world under the garb of free trade.

"[T]he WTO has legitimized under TRIPS [Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property of the WTO Agreement] the steal, grab and plunder of biological wealth and traditional knowledge from India. Your patent laws have been designed to facilitate biopiracy from the biodiversity rich countries...almost 90 per-

cent of India's estimated 45,000 plant species and 81,000 animal species are already stored illegally in the United States.

"[T]he WTO has reached an Agreement on Agriculture, which is aimed at marginalizing the 550 million Indian farmers and putting the country's food security at an unmanageable risk. For us, the survival of our small and marginal farmers, forming the backbone of the economy, is as essential as protecting the democratic traditions of this great nation....

"The WTO is, as a placard carried by protestors on the streets of Seattle read: the 'Wicked Trade Organization.'....

"Let this be a warning from the people of India. We will not allow a global system, which actually protects and supports the rich and powerful at the cost of the lives of millions of poor and hungry."

—From an Open Letter to the WTO Di-

rector, Mike Moore delivered during a protest in New Delhi, India, January 11, 1999, at a meeting being addressed by Mr. Moore.

NO DEMOCRACY

The key economic structures for global policy-making—the IMF, World Bank, G-7, G-10, G-22, OECD, WTO—are dominated by the rich countries, leaving poor countries and poor people with little influence and little voice. There is little transparency in decisions:

"Multinational corporations influence the lives and welfare of billions of people, yet their accountability is limited to their shareholders and their influence on national and international policy-making kept behind the scenes."

—*Human Development Report, 1999*, United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Concurrently, it requires building the conditions for a lasting world peace. This means eventually dismantling the military-industrial and security apparatus which sustains these financial interests, the abolition of NATO and the phasing out of the arms industry.

The only promise of the "free market" is a world of landless farmers, shuttered factories, jobless workers and gutted social programs with "bitter economic medicine" under the WTO and the IMF constituting the only prescription.

The lessons of Seattle are clear. The struggle must be broad-based and democratic encompassing all sectors of society at all levels, in all countries, uniting in a major thrust workers, farmers, independent producers, small businesses, professionals, artists, civil servants, members of the clergy, students and intellectuals—united across sectors. "Single issue" groups should join hands in a common understanding about how this economic system destroys and impoverishes. The "globalization" of this struggle is fundamental, requiring a degree of solidarity and internationalism unprecedented in world history. The global



Sean Sprague / Impact Visuals

Children in a garbage dump in Cairo, Egypt.

economic system feeds on social divisiveness between and within countries. Beyond Seattle, unity of purpose and worldwide coordination among diverse groups and social movements is crucial. A major thrust is

required which brings together social movements in all major regions of the world in a common pursuit and commitment to the elimination of poverty and to the creation of a lasting world peace. ■

THE WTO, NOT CHINA, THREATENS U.S. WORKERS

BY ANURADHA MITTAL AND PETER ROSSET

The campaign against China's entry into the World Trade Organization is a distraction. The AFL-CIO recently announced a major, multiyear campaign on this issue. Yet it is not China but free-trade agreements themselves that threaten U.S. workers.

It is not surprising that western labor unions are concerned about the growing number of jobs leaving their countries. But they need to point the finger at U.S. support for trade agreements such as the WTO and NAFTA, rather than at other countries. Let's not forget that NAFTA has eliminated more than 400,000 jobs in the United States, according to research by our institute. The manufacturing sector alone lost 341,000 jobs in 1999, according to a report put out by the U.S. Department of Commerce this February. The WTO and NAFTA are major causes of unemployment and poor working conditions, and they will remain so whether China is a member of the WTO or not.

Those castigating China and other developing countries need to recognize that it is hypocritical for the United States to use trade sanctions to punish countries that violate human rights. They forget the fact that the United States itself has yet to ratify the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; as well as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. And yet, we assume moral authority when it comes to human rights.

The United States has, in many instances, acted like the rogue nations it criticizes. Other WTO members could very well be offended by the terrible conditions faced by farm workers in parts of the United States, or by prison labor and sweatshops here. Any member country could say that U.S. law, which makes it possible to execute a teenager or a person with mental disability, is an offense against humanity.

Most Third World environmentalists and labor groups have consistently opposed trade sanctions as a way of enforcing environmental and labor rules because trade sanctions are inherently an inequitable tool. They can be used

only by rich countries against the poor ones. Any attempt on the part of India or Nigeria or Brazil to apply trade sanctions against the United States, the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases, would not get far.

The campaign against China is a disservice to those in developing countries who are challenging their own governments to ensure basic human rights for all. It puts Third World opponents of the WTO in the awkward position of seeming to promote a U.S. agenda and of working against the interests of the poor in their own countries.

Corporate globalization will never be effectively countered without a movement that crosses international boundaries. Only when workers and environmentalists work together in every country where a company does business will it be possible to place human beings and the environment on par with profits. The American labor and environmental movements need to give up their single-country bashing. Otherwise potential allies around the world will wonder if their home country will be the next one singled out, and international alliances will be that much harder to build.

Of course, it is appropriate to castigate China or any other country for accepting only those human rights that suit its regime's political and economic interests. However, a campaign against China is not going to be of much benefit to workers in either country. While China should have the same right as any nation to join the WTO, we should recognize that the WTO is bad for people everywhere, whether Chinese, American, Mexican or Indian.

It's not China joining the WTO that hurts American workers; it is the WTO itself. Let's keep our focus on the real enemy.

The above analysis is from a longer article by the same name. Anuradha Mittal and Peter Rosset are based at Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy (<http://www.foodfirst.org>) in Oakland, Calif. They are the editors of the recently published book *America Needs Human Rights* (Food First Books). They can be reached at pimproj@progressive.org, or by writing to Progressive Media Project, 409 East Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

COMMENTARIES ON THE SEATTLE BATTLE

DEVELOPING NATIONS REVOLT

by Martin Khor, Director, Third World Network, Penang, Malaysia:

It was an amazing week. In Seattle the contradictions of globalization revved to a climactic conclusion. At the end, the WTO Ministerial Conference that was supposed to launch a new round collapsed, suddenly, in almost total chaos, like a house of cards....

The main message of the protesters was heard loud and clear, that the WTO has gone much too far in setting global rules that "lock in" the interests of big corporations at the expense of developing countries, the poor, the environment, workers and consumers. The impact of grassroots protests against globalization already evident in the campaigns on the multilateral agreement on investment (MAI) and against genetic engineering, had its coming-of-age in the street battles of Seattle.

Some will also pinpoint the inability of the U.S. and EU to bridge their differences as the immediate cause of the collapse. This was ...a significant factor....

However, the more basic cause...was the untransparent and undemocratic nature of the WTO system, the blatant manipulation of that system by the major powers, and the refusal of many developing countries to continue to be on the receiving end....

The seeds of the North-South battle were sown in Geneva in the weeks before Seattle. Developing countries voiced their disillusionment that five years after the WTO's creation they had not seen any benefits. Worse, the poor countries face potentially enormous dislocation...arising from the WTO's many agreements.

The developing countries in general opposed these new issues [pushed by the U.S. and major powers] which they saw would open up their markets further to the rich nations' big companies, or would give these rich nations new protectionist tools to block Third World products from the North.

[T]he WTO Secretariat was used by the major powers to engage in untransparent procedures such as holding informal meetings on crucial issues...to which most developing countries were not invited. These so-called "Green Room" meetings infuriated the Third World Members of the WTO....

The plan...was to get the major powers (mainly the U.S. and European Union) to agree among themselves, then apply pressure in the Green Rooms on a few influential developing countries to go along, and then pull together a Declaration to launch a new Round which all Members would be coerced to ac-

cept in a special meeting on the last day....

Their anger at the insult of being at the receiving end of such shabby treatment boiled over...The African Ministers issued a strong statement that there was "no transparency" in the meeting, that African countries were generally excluded on issues vital to their future, that they were concerned over the intention to produce a ministerial text at any cost. "[W]e will not be able to join the consensus required...."

Similar statements were issued by the Caribbean Community Ministers and by some Latin American countries.

[U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky and WTO Director General Mike Moore] were faced with the prospect that if a draft Declaration were presented...there would be an explosion of protests and a rejection by developing nations....

In the end it was less embarrassing to decide to let the Seattle meeting collapse without attempting even a brief Declaration. (Third World Network—twnpn@twn.pamy.)

DISMANTLE THE WTO

by Russell Mokhiber and Robert Weissman, Focus on the Corporation:

WTO critics now face a perilous moment. They must not be distracted by illusory or cosmetic reform proposals, nor by even more substantive proposals for changing the WTO—should they ever emerge from the institution or its powerful rich country members. Instead, they should unite around an uncompromising demand to dismantle the WTO and its corporate-created rules. (Focus on the Corporation <http://lists.essential.org/corp-focus>.)

OZ-LIKE CURTAIN REMOVED

from ZNet, Norman Solomon, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting:

By the time President Clinton arrived in Seattle...for the WTO summit, it was clear that mere mortals had thrown themselves onto the gears of global trade designed by the rich and powerful. The Oz-like curtain shielding the operators of corporate machinery had gone up in smoke—symbolized by the tear gas and pepper spray wafting over the city.

[The] month began with the acrid smell of illusions turning to ash. For the general public, the WTO will never again be able to claim automatic legitimacy. And while the hotshots running the WTO lose momentum, the parallel activities of global loan sharks like the International Monetary Fund are also sliding into further disrepute.

The peaceful marchers in downtown Seattle compelled media attention because

they were so clearly and deeply rooted in communities across North America and every other continent. Formerly isolated from each other, advocates for diverse interests—the environment and labor rights, for instance—are finding common cause. (ZNet Commentary.)

SAY NO TO WTO!

from a Unity Statement by participants in the Seattle International People's Assembly:

We..."Say no to WTO!"—firmly united in the task of exposing and opposing the WTO and advancing the people's resistance to imperialist globalization....

[W]hile we struggle for reforms and try to achieve palpable gains on immediate issues, we make sure that we are not distracted from the overall struggle against the main enemy of the world's people today—imperialism—specifically the number one imperialist power, the USA....

"We firm up our resolve to promote and develop the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the workers and oppressed people against the inhuman policies and acts of the multinational companies, their government and international instruments such as the IMF, World Bank, WTO, and military alliances. (Seattle International People's Assembly.)

GLOBAL ECONOMY DE-SYNCHRONIZED

by Stratfor, Inc.:

The participants [of the WTO meeting] are so divided that they could not even develop a formal agenda for the meetings. While everyone is focused on China's admission, the fact is that the WTO is moribund.... Its failure is rooted in the fundamental reality of today's global economy: de-synchronization of regions of roughly equal bulk. Ever since the Asian meltdown, the world's economic regions have been completely out of synch...That means that the creation of integrated economic policies is impossible. What helps one region hurts others.... This points to increased tension among and within regions. Such de-synchronization is...a warning of the potential for serious international conflict. (Stratfor.Com, Nov. 29, 1999.)

GLOBALIZATION: BIGGEST CHALLENGE

from Ali Badhdadi writing in Free Arab Voice:

After the mode of production has gone global, "globalization" has turned into an inescapable reality, as the biggest challenge faced by humans...and as a phenomenon with especially grave consequences for the peoples of the

Third World. This era was ushered in by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the occupation of Arab oil wells, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the imposition of the American will on most of the peoples and rulers of the world....

It is...a travesty that America which flaunts democracy, defends human rights, and calls for religious tolerance, employs all sorts of immoral and inhuman methods against any state rejecting the hegemony of globalization, all the while sponsoring a special version of Islam of its own design....

Globalization forced the government of Guatemala to repeal a law that protected infants and prohibited the American company...Gerber, from falsely claiming...that its food is better and more nutritious for infants than a mother's milk....

Thailand was forced to annul its production of low-cost medications that treat AIDS patients out of fear of U.S. opposition....

One of the consequences of globalization will be the end of cultural diversity and the triumph of the unipolar culture propagandized by companies monopolizing the media...leading to the extinction of ancient cultures inherited over thousands of years....

Today, the world watches American movies, listens to American music, speaks with an American accent, dances to American tunes, wears American jeans and perfumes, drinks Coca Cola, Pepsi...and eats American junk food, having learned to distinguish, through the globalized media, the trademarks of American name brands. (Ali Baghdadi, *Free Arab Voice*, January 8, 2000, translated from Arabic by Maha Abu Ghosh, www.fav.net.)

WHERE WAS THE COLOR IN SEATTLE?

by Elizabeth (Betita) Martinez

"I was at the jail where a lot of protesters were being held and a big crowd of people was chanting, 'This is what democracy looks like!' At first it sounded kind of nice. But then I thought: Is this really what democracy looks like? Nobody here looks like me." —Jinee Kim, Bay Area youth organizer.

[I]t is almost impossible to find anyone wondering why the 40-50,000 demonstrators were overwhelmingly Anglo. How can that be when the WTO's main victims around the world are people of color? Understanding the reasons for the low level of color, and what can be learned from it, is absolutely crucial if we are to make Seattle's promise of a new, international movement against imperialist globalization come true.

Among those who did come for the WTO meeting were some highly informative Third World panelists who spoke...about the effects of WTO on health care and on the environment. They included activist-experts from Mexico, Malaysia, the Philippines, Ghana, and Pakistan.

On Tuesday, at the huge rally... before the march, labor leaders from Mexico, the Caribbean, South Africa, Malaysia, India... spoke along with every major U.S. union leader (all white).

Rank-and-file U.S. workers of color also attended...There were young African Americans in the building trades; Blacks from Local 10 of the ILWU in San Francisco and Latinos from its Los Angeles local; Asian-Americans from SEIU, Teamsters of color from eastern Washington state, members of the painters' union and the union of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (H.E.R.E.). Latino farm workers from the UFW and PCUN (Piñeros and Campesinos del Noroeste) of Oregon also attended. At one point a miner from the South Africa labor movement cried, "In the words of Karl Marx, 'workers of the world, unite!' The crowd...cheered.

Among community activists of color, the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN) delegation led by Tom Goldtooth conducted an impressive program of events with native peoples from all over the U.S. and the world. A 15-member multi-state delegation represented the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice based in Albuquerque, U.S. and Mexico; their activities in Seattle were binational....

The predominantly white Direct Action Network (DAN)...brought thousands to the protest. But Jia Ching Chen of the Bay Area's Third Eye Movement was the only young person of color involved in DAN's...planning.

[T]he overall turnout of color from the U.S., remained around 5 percent...activists from the Bay Area and the Southwest gave me several reasons for this. Some mentioned concern about the likelihood of brutal police repression. Other obstacles: lack of funds for the trip, inability to be absent from work during

the week, and problems in finding child care....

A major reason for not participating...was lack of knowledge about the WTO....

The problem of unfamiliarity with the WTO was aggravated by the fact that Black and Latin communities across the U.S. lack Internet access compared to many white communities.... Limited knowledge meant a failure to see how the WTO affected the daily lives of U.S. communities of color. "Activists of color felt they had more immediate issues," said Rashidi Omari [of Oakland] "Also, when we returned, people told me of being worried that family and peers would say they were neglecting their own communities, if they went to Seattle. They would be asked: Why are you going? You should stay here and help your people."

Yet, all those with whom I spoke found the experience extraordinary. They spoke of being changed forever. "I saw the future." "I saw the possibility of people working together..."

They...had seen why, as the chant goes, "Ain't no power like the power of the people, 'cause power of the people don't stop!"

There must be effective follow-up and increased communication between people of color across the nation....

With mass protest planned for April 16-17 in Washington, D.C., at the World Bank and the IMF, the opportunity to build on the WTO victory shines brightly. More than ever, we need to work on our ignorance about global issues with study groups, youth workshops, conferences. We need to draw specific links between the WTO and our close-to-home struggles in communities of color.... (Elizabeth [Betita] Martinez, "Where was the Color in Seattle?"—*ColorLines*: one of the nation's leading magazine on race, culture and organizing, January 2000, <http://www.colorlines.com>.) ■



WTO protesters in Seattle, December 1, 1999.

LABOR TAKES ON THE WTO

SEATTLE: A WAKE-UP CALL

"The global market that has been forged in the last decades is now being called to account. The recent global financial crisis was an economic five-alarm fire. Seattle provided a political wake-up call....

"Yes, globalization is creating vast new wealth, but financial crises are growing more frequent and severe, and inequality is rising, as the UN reports, both among and within nations. This means that the seeds for rejection of globalization are in every political system, in developed nations as well as developing nations....

"Clearly, we have to do better. If we do not, if the global system continues to generate growing inequality, environmental destruction and a race to the bottom for working people then I can assure you, it will generate an increasingly volatile reaction that will make Seattle look tame." —John J. Sweeney, President of the AFL-CIO, speaking at the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 28, 2000.

WEST COAST DOCK WORKERS CLOSE PORTS

November 30, the opening day of the Seattle meeting, workers of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) closed the West Coast ports from Alaska to San Diego—some for three hours and several for one day—in an action to protest WTO's policies.

An ILWU spokesperson, Steve Stallone, speaking at a rally held in San Francisco, said: "The union went out to send a message to corporate CEOs that they can't run the global economy without the workers."

Taxi drivers in Seattle also went on strike for settlement of an outstanding labor dispute, timing it with the opening of the WTO meeting.

At a giant rally and march organized by the AFL-CIO, tens of thousands of workers and activists heard labor leaders from many U.S. international unions as well as Mexican *maquiladora* workers, representatives of the South African, Caribbean and Canadian unions, decry the WTO's attacks on workers and the environment around the globe.

"What is good for a Ford worker in Detroit must also be good for a worker in South Africa," exclaimed a representative of the South African labor movement, adding, "It must also be good for a Ford worker in Hermosillo, Mexico."

As the crowd of more than 50,000 marched through the streets, their chants included: "The WTO has got to go, the people came and stole the show"; and "Whose Streets? Our Streets!" referring to the strategy of closing down the streets to help close down the WTO session.

At one meeting the Teamsters were playing host to Senator Paul Wellstone (Dem.-Minn.) "We are here to shout that we intend for this global economy to work for working people," Wellstone shouted. Teamsters Vice President Chuck Mack joined in by saying: "This trade is not free; it is free for the transnational corporations and the beneficiaries of global capitalism. We will no longer accept a secret society that affects our lives." —Teofilo Reyes, "The Whole Story of 'The Battle in Seattle,'" *Labor Notes*, January 2000.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY

Attempts to create a rift between the workers of developed and developing countries notwithstanding, the spirit of international solidarity

was strong in the speeches of labor leaders of different countries. The head of the ILWU, [Brian McWilliams] said in his address at the Seattle rally: "There will be no business as usual today. We are demonstrating to the corporate CEOs that the global economy will not run without the consent of the workers everywhere.... The interest of the working people transcends international boundaries."

International solidarity was repeated by a South African labor leader when he said: "Freedom is under a new threat today, the threat of corporate greed...a new form of terrorism led by the WTO, a new form of colonialism led by globalization. [They are] attempting to throw a new wedge between workers of the developed and workers of the developing countries."

More than 50,000 protesters marched, shouted slogans, [and] sang songs.... The "International" was sung in three languages. —Socialist Unity Center, India.



Members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) marching in the labor demonstration against the WTO in Seattle, December 1999.

"EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT" IN SEATTLE

BY FRANK MORALES

"Procedures for coordinating DOD and Department of Justice (DOJ) responses to law enforcement emergencies arising under 10 U.S.C. 331-333 are set forth in the DOD Civil Disturbance Plan (GARDEN PLOT), February 15, 1991."

—Federal Emergency Management Agency, Concept of Operations from the Basic Plan of the Federal Response Plan, April 1999.

On November 13, 1999, the Executive Director of the Chicago-based Emergency Response and Research Institute (ERRI) issued a "world-wide terrorism advisory." The advisory stated that ERRI was "monitoring possible threats concerning an upcoming World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting to be held in Seattle, WA at the end of November, and the possibility of anticapitalist street violence...."¹ Only a few months earlier, the Washington State Military Department had received a request from Mayor Paul Schell, City of Seattle, "for consequence management resources in support of the World Trade Organization Conference."² At that time, the Military Department's Emergency Management Division reported that "most resources identified are beyond the capability of the State and will be forwarded to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to be considered by the federal government."³

The Federal Emergency Management Agency, which is an "independent"⁴ government agency set up to deal with "all types of hazards," including "internal disturbance (strikes, riots)," trains and finances local "emergency operations" offices around the country. Its Region 10 office, which covers Washington state, noted in a mid-October publication under the heading of "Terrorism," that while "the World Trade Organization preparation meetings are still progressing at this point in time the security threat at this meeting in Seattle is considered low," although it noted that "some resources are being pre-deployed, especially those relating to ESF

8, Medical."⁵ By November 1, the Seattle protest had been updated to a "security threat." According to the local FEMA office, the protest was designated a 'National

United States Policy on Counter terrorism, (classified), "discusses crisis management and consequence management," and that while FEMA is to implement a "conse-



AP / Wide World Photos

Gun-wielding riot policeman kicks demonstrator in Seattle, one of tens of thousands protesting the WTO.

Special Security Event' by the National Security Council."⁶

FEMA's Federal Response Plan (FRP), amended Public Law 93-288 (1988),⁷ provides legal authority for the federal government to respond to all sorts of "emergencies," including those that are "man-made." FRP training utilizes "special/extraordinary event exercises" simulating "regional events such as large-scale civil disturbances."⁸ The FRP is a work in progress and was last updated in April 1999 in a "Concept of Operations" publication.⁹ Back in 1997, a "notice of change" was issued by FEMA. The notice "adds a Terrorism Incident Annex to the Federal Response Plan (FRP), which will be used to implement Presidential Decision Directive 39 (PDD-39)." According to the Terrorism Annex, PDD-39,

quence management" operation, "the FBI as the Federal Lead Agency for crisis management," will manage "predominantly a law enforcement response."¹⁰

Two weeks before the WTO Conference, the FBI issued its own alert regarding the Seattle protests. It stated that "the threat of violent or destructive criminal activity—to include individual and group acts of civil disturbance—is considered a distinct possibility."¹¹

The FBI defines terrorism this way: "The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment of it, in furtherance of political or social objectives."¹² Understandably, the FBI definition makes no mention of moral force.

In the crackdown in Seattle, civil disobedience had become a terrorist threat.

1. Paul Anderson, "Chicago Emergency Institute Issues World Wide Terrorism Advisory," *Emergency-net News*, Nov. 13, 1999.

2. Washington Military Department, Major General Timothy J. Lowenberg, The Adjutant General, Report for Oct. 1999, to Governor Gary Locke, Nov. 1, 1999.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Federal Emergency Management Agency, "About FEMA," www.fema.gov.

5. FEMA, Region 10 (AK, ID, OR, WA), HAZMAT Update, Mike Hammond, Oct. 18, 1999.

6. FEMA, Region 10 (AK, ID, OR, WA), HAZMAT Update, Mike Hammond, Nov. 1, 1999.

7. FEMA, Federal Response Plan (FRP) (current version), www.fema.gov/r-n-r/plan1.htm.

8. FEMA, Comprehensive Exercise Program (CEP) (current version), www.fema.gov/pte/section3.htm.

9. FEMA, Concept of Operations, April 1999, www.fema.gov/r-n-r/frp/frpconc.htm.

10. FEMA, Federal Response Plan - Notice of Change, Terrorism Incident Annex to the FRP, www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd39_frp.htm.

11. *Seattle Times*, "Police Had WTO Alert," Dec. 11, 1999.

12. Emergency Management Division, Washington Military Department, Training and Planning for Terrorist Activities, Dec. 17, 1999.



AP / Wide World Photos

Police gas and pepper spray protesters, November 30.

RECLAIMING THE STREETS

By the time the china began to rattle in Seattle on the morning of December 1, hundreds of highly visible Army National Guard troops from the 81st Infantry Brigade hit the streets. The 81st, which normally trains for combat, "recently requalified in riot-control operations under a Guard-managed training program."¹³

Following Mayor Schell's "Declaration of Civil Emergency," under authority of Seattle's Municipal Code Chapter 10.02, and Governor Gary Locke's "Proclamation of Emergency" calling out the troops, a full-scale "non-lethal" militarized police assault was initiated. Its target: massive nonviolent civil disobedience which had succeeded in making its point. The Guard trained according to National Guard Regulation 500-50, Civil Disturbance Control Operations. Their "main mission involved patrolling sidewalks and forcing demonstrators out of a 50-square-block no-protest zone."¹⁴

In addition to the "unarmed," "civilian-soldiers," "more than 160 active duty military personnel" were activated, "including a small number of Special Forces troops."¹⁵ The Joint Special Operations Task Force who were present in Seattle are military "counter-terrorist," "crisis management" specialists, designed for rapid deployment both here and abroad. The JSOTF defines terrorism as both a law enforcement and national security threat.

According to CNN, they were in Seattle "largely to provide expertise and assist in coordinating a federal response in the event of a terrorist attack during such a high profile event."¹⁶

Special Forces "expertise" was passed on as a "force multiplier" for the police and other state and federal forces directly employed to suppress protest. The Seattle Police Department, working with nearly two dozen law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, SWAT commandos, the Washington State Patrol and the King County Sheriff's Department, constituted a sizable force. With the protesters penned in, the police unleashed their media friendly arsenal of "abusable," "non-lethal weapons" which, among other things, "break down the delineation between military and police."¹⁷

"Block by block, officers fired canisters of gas into the crowds with a terrifying boom. Then they shot rubber bullets into the backs of protesters even as they ran away."¹⁸ A doctor, who was assisting the protesters, stated that "we had reports of many demonstrators winding up with seizures the next day." He stated, "I did see penetration wounds. I did see people bleeding. I did see teeth loss. I did see bro-

ken bones. There were children present, there were families present. They were firing upon families, mothers, grandmothers."¹⁹

During the assault, several local hospitals "were tracking symptoms of patients" who came to their emergency rooms, "to see if there is a pattern that indicates any sign of bio-terrorism," an effort the hospitals had "been working on with the Department of Defense" for several weeks prior to the demonstration.²⁰

Perhaps they were advised of the Joint Chiefs' admonition that "non-lethal weapons shall not be required to have a zero probability of producing fatalities or permanent injuries."²¹ In any case, at a certain point the police ran out of gas. They met up with a few federal agents at 1900 N. Loop Road, in Casper, Wyoming, the headquarters of Defense Technology Corporation of America. Once there, "six members of the Wyoming Air National Guard lent a hand by flying 3,300 pounds of civilian riot control munitions"²² back to Seattle. And the war continues. ■

19. David A. Love, "Anti-War Protesters Win the Battle of Seattle," Dec. 21, 1999, Independent Media Center; also Blind Spot #3, www.indymedia.org.

20. *Seattle Times*, "Clashes, protests, wrack WTO; Police use tear gas against blockade," Nov. 30, 1999.

21. Department of Defense Directive 3000.3, Policy for Non-Lethal Weapons, July 9, 1996.

22. *Op. cit.*, n. 14.

13. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "Guardsmen protect WTO delegates and protesters alike," Dec. 2, 1999.

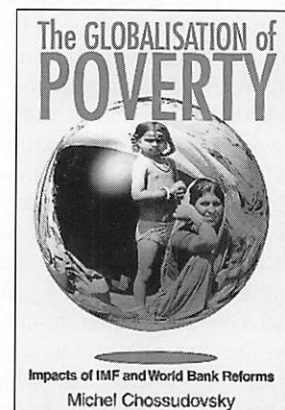
14. Master Sgt. Bob Haskell, "National Guard helps restore order in Seattle," *Army Link News*, Dec. 3, 1999.

15. CNN, Seattle - Online, Dec. 8, 1999.

16. *Ibid.* The "special operations task force," an outgrowth of recent counter-terrorism Presidential Decision Directives 39 and 62, is in fact so recent that the Joint Chiefs of Staff Publication 3-05.1, JTTP for Joint Special Operations Task Force Operations is still on the drawing board and remains unpublished.

17. Steve Wright, "War Without Blood? Hypocrisy of 'Non-Lethal' Arms," *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Paris), Dec. 1999. See also: (<http://www.cryptome.org/stoa-atpc.htm>).

18. *Seattle Times*, "Police Haul Hundreds to Jail," Dec. 1, 1999.



A landmark work on the human costs of IMF and World Bank "structural adjustment" programs around the globe. By renowned Canadian economist Michel Chossudovsky, this well-researched and timely book is offered to *CovertAction* readers for only \$20.00 (add \$10 for airmail outside the U.S.).

THE POLITICS OF HUNGER

BY ANURADHA MITTAL

According to recent U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization estimates, every night an estimated 790 million people in the developing world go to sleep hungry. This is more than the combined population of Europe and North America – a “hungry continent” of men, women and children who may never reach their physical and mental potential because they do not have enough to eat. However, hunger is not limited to the developing nations. Approximately 8 million people in the industrialized world and 26 million in the countries in transition are undernourished.¹

Here in the United States, approximately 36 million people do not have adequate access to food.² About 20 percent of all children under the age of 18—fourteen million—lived in hungry homes in 1999.³ U.S. Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said, “During this, the most prosperous economy in decades, it should shock most Americans to learn that hunger persists and it is in every state. The problem of hunger amid America’s plenty cannot be ignored.”

No one should go hungry in the United States—or in the Third World. There is plenty of food to go around. The relationship between population growth and hunger has been debated since Thomas Malthus published his 1807 essay on the Principle of Population, which stated that while population grows very fast, food production grows slowly.

But history has not supported Malthus’s theory. Over the past 35 years, global per capita food production has outstripped population growth by 16 percent. Enough food is available in the world to provide 4.3 pounds of it to every person on this Earth every day.⁴ The real problem is growing economic and political inequities. The blind pursuit of a market economy which puts corporate profits before people’s lives, the cash register ahead of compassion.

Anuradha Mittal is policy director at Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy (web site www.foodfirst.org) in Oakland, Calif. She is the co-editor of the recently published *America Needs Human Rights* (Food First Books). For more information see www.foodfirst.org.

1. *The State of the World Insecurity in the World*, Food and Agriculture Organization (Rome), 1999.

2. *Advanced Report on Household Food Security in the United States, 1995-1998*, USDA, 1999.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Lappé, et. al., *World Hunger: 12 Myths* (New York: Grove Press, 1998).

International financial institutions, multilateral institutions, and CEOs of corporations would argue that trade liberalization is the key to food security. They assert that the way to achieve food security is not by helping farmers to grow more food for local markets but rather by boosting international trade. Their analysis appears to be based on two inter-related assumptions, which must be addressed to show the hollowness of the assertions concerning trade.

Assumption #1: More Trade Equals Higher National Income and Food Security.

While this may sound good in theory, a look at the real-life case of India provides some insights into this assumption. Trade liberalization has resulted in an India where the war on poverty did not fail, but rather has been called off. With the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1990, based on market reform, India saw its national debt growing and was forced to airlift 47 tons of gold to the Bank of England for safe keeping to pacify the international creditors.⁵

While agricultural exports in India have increased by more than 70 percent during the last five years of trade liberalization, food prices have increased by at least 63 percent, putting them beyond the reach of the poor.⁶ A survey by the National Institute of Nutrition shows that the per capita consumption of cereals has dropped by over 14 grams per person per day since the late 1980s. The intake of lentils, the only protein source for many of the poor, dropped even more sharply.⁷

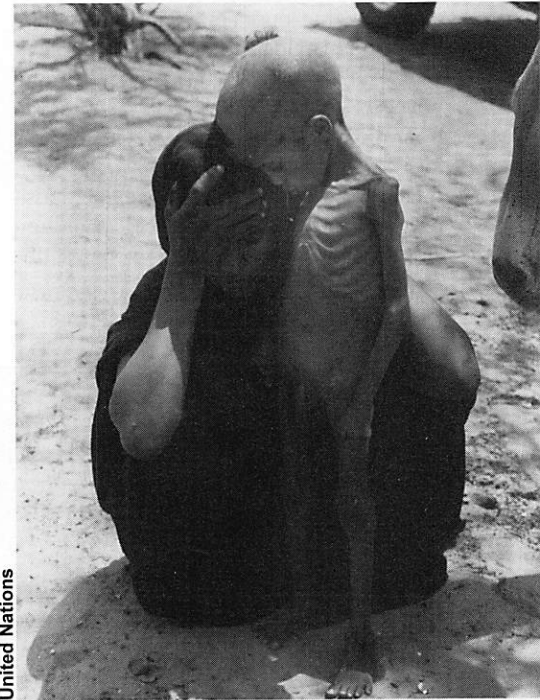
Economic reforms in India have led to further concessions to big business, such as freezing tax increases in the name of incentives for investment. Rather the government has chosen to mobilize resources from the poor in the form of hefty hikes in taxes on essential commodities in the Public Distribution System (PDS). Millions of poor people have been denied ration cards and family quotas have been cut. Large sections of the population are consequently at the mercy of the skyrocketing prices on the open market.

5. Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalization of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1998), pp. 125-26

6. V. Shiva, *Trading Our Lives Away: An Ecological and Gender Analysis of Free Trade and the WTO*, Pan Asia and the Pacific, 1995.

7. *Towards Beijing: A Perspective from the Indian Women’s Movement*, All India Women’s Conference, 1995.

Farmers in India’s ‘granary’ of Northern Punjab state have been induced to switch from growing wheat and rice to potatoes and



United Nations

Famine victims, Sub-Saharan Africa, 1973.

tomatoes for the fast food industry. In the neighboring Haryana, which rivals Punjab in agriculture, industrial houses have bought up wheat fields to invest in floriculture with funds from corporations in the Netherlands where pesticides and fertilizers now saturate ground water. The Dutch companies control the flower business while translocating the environmental catastrophe. Even more audaciously, Royal Canine of France has been allowed to set up a project to manufacture dog and cat food out of meat and cereals produced in a country whose people are grossly malnourished.⁸

Assumption #2: Trade Induced Higher National Income Eventually Trickles Down.

According to an alternative economic survey conducted in 1994, the unionized sector in India was estimated at about 17 percent of the total workforce, which basically constitutes the middle class, estimated to be between 150-200 million. Yet with the in-

8. Ranjit Raj, “Bartering Away 50 Years of Agricultural Gain,” *Inter Press Service*, Feb. 11, 2000.

dustrial recession in the last decade, plant closures, non-payment of wages, temporary and permanent layoffs have meant that the lower middle class has not been compensated for inflation. In fact the 200 million-strong Indian middle class market is being restructured. The lower end is being clipped off, while at the upper end incomes have increased remarkably. The evidence for trickle-down is thus non-existent.⁹

According to the Indian government's own estimates, in the rush to open up agriculture to big business, some two million small and marginal farmers lose or get alienated from their land each year under current policies. Land reform has been removed from the agenda and we have a sure recipe for famine—putting the nation's food security in the hands of a few giant agribusinesses—while the poor are landless and unemployed. This will only get worse, as the

9. *Alternative Economic Survey 1993-94*, PIRG (New Delhi), 1994.

new farm policy will further relax rural land-holding laws for businesses. The states of Karnataka and Maharashtra are already allowing entrepreneurs to buy large tracts of land.

Liberalization of agriculture has resulted in food dumping which has destroyed the economic base of poor farmers in food importing countries. As early as 1965, researchers concluded that dumping of food grains in India in the name of food aid, had driven down the price of domestic wheat and curtailed native production. The Mexican government has put 1.8 million corn farmers out of business over the past few years by choosing to import heavily subsidized corn from the U.S.¹⁰

What's Needed Now

We need to change the way we, as a society, think about poverty and hunger. Human

10. *Global Food Watch*, LATP, Minneapolis, Sept. 1996.

rights is just such a framework we can unite behind. Those of us who are concerned about growing hunger are still awaiting the implementation of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees everyone an adequate standard of living, including the right to be able to feed oneself. We must legally endow all people with inalienable rights—not just to liberty but to freedom from want.

It is time to remind policy-makers that by the international standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, governments are committed to providing a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of every one.

The Declaration was widely supported 50 years ago, but today it seems outrageous to many. Yet what is more outrageous? A broad and sturdy safety net for all people? Or 800 million hungry people on this planet and 36 million hungry people in the richest country on earth? ■

BIOTECH FOOD

The top ten companies in pesticides, seeds, pharmaceuticals and veterinary medicines, and the biggest companies investing the greatest sums in biotech research and development (R&D), are the same handful of companies that dominate across the spectrum—DuPont, Novartis, AstraZeneca, Monsanto, Cargill, Dow and Aventis. They have the greatest number of key patents in biotech R&D and the heaviest investments in genomics or gene sequencing research. They dominate in pesticides, seeds, human drugs and animal drugs. It is a tightly controlled industry and is becoming more so.

TERMINATOR AND TRAITOR TECHNOLOGY

Monsanto decided to withdraw the "terminator" seed last year. "Terminator" seeds were developed to be sterile—to be unable to generate new seeds—so farmers would be compelled to buy new seeds from the company each year instead of saving seeds for sowing in subsequent years—a new form of built-in obsolescence. Monsanto had no choice because they were getting so much criticism and because they decided it would garner more profits through trait control seeds than through making "suicide sequence" in seeds.

Traitor technology involves taking just about any trait in a plant and turning it on or off with certain external chemical promoters. This would mean farmers would be dependent on the company for the chemicals to get the desired effect. —Based on an interview with Pat Money, Executive Director of the Rural Advancement Foundation International (RAFI), *Multinational Monitor*, January/February 2000.

Cargill: the largest private company in the U.S., the 11th largest company, public or private, the largest grain trader in the world, the largest producer of malting barley in the world (Ladish Malting), the largest oilseed processor in the world, the third largest beef packer (Excel) and the fourth largest pork slaughterer in the U.S., the fourth largest cattle feeder in the U.S. (Caprock Industries), the sixth largest turkey producer in the U.S., the largest beef packer in Canada, the third largest flour miller in the U.S. (19 mills), the second largest phosphate producer in the world.

Cargill is also a major power in: salt (Leslie/Cargill); peanuts (Stevens Industries); cotton (Hohenberg Bros, Ralli Bros. and Co-

ney); coffee, truck transport, river/canal shipping (towboats and barges), molasses, livestock feed (Nutrena) with 60 feed mills in the U.S. and 120 worldwide; hybrid seeds, rice milling, rubber, citrus—Brazil, Pakistan, Florida and Japan; chicken—U.S., U.K., Thailand, and elsewhere, fresh fruits and vegetables (Richland Sales: California and Chile);...and much more.—National Farmers Union, 1999.

AGREEMENT ON BIOSAFETY PROTOCOL

Genetically modified crops are already widespread. About 70 million acres of genetically engineered plants were cultivated in 1999.

On January 29, after difficult negotiations, an international agreement on trade of genetically modified foods and other products was arrived at in Montreal. Delegates adopted the Biosafety Protocol to the U.N. Convention on Biodiversity. Environmentalists and a number of scientific studies have asserted that genetically modified organisms could wipe out native species, disrupt natural cycles and cause other ecological destruction.

The European Union and developing nations had insisted that countries should be allowed to refuse imports of genetically modified products.

The U.S., on the other hand, opposed such rules saying they would impede trade and succeeded in including "compromises." One of these specifies that for two years after the protocol comes into effect, labels on genetically modified materials must say only that a product *may* contain such materials, without specifics. During those two years, negotiations would be held to work out more specific labels.

There was also a "compromise on the nature of the relationship to the World Trade Organization about which a treaty would prevail. It was finally decided that the two should be "mutually supportive."

Previous talks in Cartagena, Colombia, February 1999, had ended in "disarray" when the U.S. and five other countries—Canada, Australia, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay—rejected a draft agreement supported by 125 other countries.—Matt Crenson, "Deal Reached on Biotech Foods," Associated Press, January 29, 2000.

A WIDENING CHASM: THE RICH FEW AND BILLIONS OF POOR

Inhuman poverty

- Nearly 1.3 billion people live on incomes of less than \$1 a day. The same number of people are without access to clean water.

—*Human Development Report, 1999, United Nations Development Program (UNDP Report).*

- Each day 35,000 children under the age of five die of starvation or preventable disease.

—*State of the World's Children 1997, United Nations Children's Emergency Fund Report (UNICEF Report).*

- In Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the U.S., at least half the single-parent households with children have incomes below the poverty line

—UNDP Report.

- The economies of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) have had the fastest rise in inequality ever.

—UNDP Report.

- To buy a computer would cost the average Bangladeshi more than eight years' income, the average American, just one month's wage.

—UNDP Report.

Obscene wealth

- The assets of the top three billionaires are more than the combined GNP of all 48 least developed countries and their 600 million people.

—UNDP Report.

- A yearly contribution of 1 percent of the wealth of the 200 richest people could provide universal access to primary education for all.

—UNDP Report.

Rich get richer, poor get poorer

- In the U.S., 70 percent of the nation's wealth is in the hands of the richest 10 percent of the people. The U.S. has the widest chasm between rich and poor of all the industrialized countries

—*America @ Work, May/June 1997, publication of the AFL-CIO.*

- The average annual income for the poorest families is now \$12,900, and for the richest it is \$137,480. Nationally there is an eleven to one ratio between the richest fifth and the poorest fifth of U.S. families.

—Study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Economic Policy Institute, *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 18, 2000.

- Twenty percent of U.S. children live in poverty—the highest rate for any industrialized country.

—UNICEF Report.

- Among African-American children the rate of poverty is 36.7 percent. (The poverty line in 1998 was \$13,003 for three people.)

—U.S. Census Bureau.

- Fifty million people, 19 percent of the population, live in poverty. As of 1997, the poverty line was calculated to be \$8,122.

—UNDP Report.

- Twelve million of the adult residents of the U.S. have been homeless at some point in their lives.

—Coalition on Homelessness, Fact Sheet #2, Feb. 1999.

- Americans are the lowest paid workers in the industrial world.

—OCAW Reporter (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers).

- Between 1980 and 1995, corporate profits rose 145 percent and CEO pay zoomed 499 percent. But real average wages fell.

—*America @ Work, May/June 1997, AFL-CIO.*

- As of 1996, women earned 71 cents for each dollar earned by a man. This is \$420,000 less in pay for women over a lifetime.

—Census Bureau, 1996.

Global crises

- Financial crises have become increasingly common with the spread and growth of global capital flows.

—UNDP Report.

The CocaColazation of the world

- The single largest export industry for the U.S. is entertainment.

—UNDP Report.

Chains of Debt in the Third World

- In 1997, the debt of developing countries reached almost \$2.2 trillion. Among the hardest hit have been African countries.

—UNDP Report.

Foreign Direct Investment

- In 1997, foreign direct investments zoomed to \$400 billion, seven times the level of the 1970s.

—UNDP Report.

- U.S.-based multinationals account for more than a quarter of U.S. GDP—\$2 trillion of \$7.3 trillion. And the large multinationals are becoming even larger as takeovers and mergers proliferate.

—UNDP Report.

- General Motors, Ford Motor, Mitsui & Co., Mitsubishi, Itochu, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Marubeni, Sumitomo, Exxon, Toyota Motor, Wal Mart Stores, among others, had sales totaling more than the GDP of many countries.

—UNDP Report.

Selling off Canada

- The plundering by TNCs is not limited to countries of the South. From June 30, 1985, to September 30, 1999, the total foreign direct investment in Canada was just over \$270.3 billion. Of this, 5.4 percent was for new business investment. The rest, 94.6 percent, was for the takeover of 8,337 Canadian companies. Of these takeovers, the vast majority, 84 percent, were by Americans. Today, about 13,000 corporations in Canada are foreign-controlled and the number is growing at a record pace. Except for Luxembourg, no other developed nation has an economy so dominated and controlled by foreign interests.

—“Stop Selling Off Canada,” by Mel Hurtig, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, January 20, 2000.

PRIVATE BLUE PLANET

BY JAMIE DUNN

A *City Sinking in a Sea of Mud*¹ was the title of a 1966 *Readers Digest* article about the depletion of Mexico City's ground water. Thirty-three years later, the *Toronto Star*² revealed that this city of 20 million people may have to be evacuated by 2006 due to the exhaustion of its water supplies—a city that in 1519 the Spanish called the Venice of the New World.

Around the world, the stories are the same. Nations have either diverted, depleted or polluted their water resources to such an extent that authorities like the United Nations and the World Watch Institute predict that by 2025, two-thirds of the world's people won't have enough water.³ Less than one-half of one percent of available water is fresh. Many point to population growth as the culprit, but the truth is that consumption of water is growing at twice the rate of the planet's population. Human beings use only 10 percent of the planet's fresh water—65 percent goes to industrial agriculture and the rest goes to other industrial uses.⁴

TOWING WATER IN GIANT BAGS

New plans for water diversions are being drawn up and old ones resurrected. The Northern Alliance for Water and Power that would have used 800 kilometers of the Rocky Mountain trench as a giant sluice-way and flood one-fifth to one-tenth of British Columbia and the Great Recycling and Northern Development Canal, which would have diverted James Bay south to the American Midwest. These options are once again being promoted as viable given the rising global market value of water.

New technology allows the creation of giant bags up to 650 meters long and 150 meters wide (that's seven football fields by one-and-a-half football fields), which would carry 1.75 million cubic meters of water at a



Heldur Netocny / Impact Visuals

Women fetching water from a village well in Jaisalmar region of India.

time. These bags would be pulled behind tugboats across oceans, making bulk shipments of fresh water less expensive and more profitable than if shipped by refitted oil tankers. Smaller versions have already been tested off the coasts of Monterey, California and Vancouver, British Columbia.⁵

Meanwhile, experts like Sandra Postel⁶ say that we could make significant reductions in our use of water without any real change in our lifestyles. However, the solutions that have gained the most momentum have not been to adopt these techniques, but instead to take water out of the commons—those diminishing parcels of things we should be stewarding together—and divide it up as private property. Water scarcity has not led to a solution. It has focused the world's biggest corporations on a growing and very lucrative market.

WARS OF THE FUTURE WILL BE OVER WATER

What Maude Barlow has called "blue gold"⁷ in her synthesis of the worldwide

water crisis and the move to cartelize the world's water, is seen as the oil of the future. "The wars of the next century will be fought over water" according to the often-quoted declaration of Ismail Serageldin, vice president of the World Bank. King Hussein of Jordan once said the only reason he would go to war with Israel would be over water.⁸

For more than 10 years, with this specter looming before us, we have been corralled into the belief that the same paradigm that brought you global free trade will solve the water crisis. In other words, let the market work its magic.

Since 1992, the commodification of water has been wrapped in some very nice packaging. That year the Dublin Accord called for a holistic approach to water management. To raise awareness and to encourage participation in solving water problems—particularly by women—it finally called for the recognition of water as an economic commodity. Section 21 of the Rio de Janeiro Agreement of the following year adopted the same position. In 1998, a conference sponsored by UNESCO announced that the only way to guarantee equitable distribution of water and water

Jamie Dunn works with The Council of Canadians.

1. Robert S. Strother, *A City Sinking in a Sea of Mud*, condensed from *The Lyon*, July/Aug. 1966.

2. Linda Diebel, "Teeming City Dies of Thirst," *Toronto Star*, May 9, 1999.

3. *World Resources 1998-99*, jointly published by the World Resources Institute, the United Nations Environmental Program, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Bank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 188-89.

4. "The Next World War Will Be about Water," an advertisement by Turning Point Project, *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1999.

5. Marq de Villiers, *Water* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1999), p. 322.

6. Sandra Postel, "Last Oasis, Facing Water Scarcity," *The Worldwatch Environmental Alert Series*, W.W. Norton and Co., New York, 1992, p12.

7. Maude Barlow, "Blue Gold," *The International Forum On Globalization*, San Francisco, 1999.

8. Louise Surette, "World Water Crisis, Expert Warns," *Ottawa Citizen*, Apr. 10, 1999.

services was the total commodification of water, relying on the forces of the open marketplace.⁹ Nowhere has any document adopted the position that access to a sufficient supply of clean water is a basic human right. The only reason the private sector is motivated to supply a thirsty world is that people are so dependent on water they will pay anything for it.

The poorest people living on the outskirts of cities in Central and South America and Asia pay many times more for water than do those in upper and middle class areas.¹⁰ Within free-trade zones like the *maquiladoras* of Mexico,¹¹ toddlers drink Coke and Pepsi from bottles with rubber nipples because the water they have access to will literally strip the paint off a pencil. Meanwhile, nearby industries keep their landscaping green. This pattern of exploitation mirrors the pattern of water scarcity.

At present, more than one billion people live without enough water. Seventy-five percent of these people live in developing countries. By the time the problem reaches the proportions predicted in 2025, people in developing countries will account for 95 percent of those affected.¹² The water crisis is not one of supply, but of overuse and equitable access.

These rights of access to water for commercial purposes have been codified in trade deals since the first half of the last century. Water has been listed as a commodity under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) since 1947.¹³ The mechanisms allowed under GATT for controlling exploitation of water disappeared in 1994 with the advent of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).¹⁴ Furthermore, under Chapter 11 of NAFTA, corporations gained the right to directly sue governments if their right to investment was thwarted by legislation. Currently Sun Belt Water Inc. of Santa Barbara, California, is suing the Canadian government for \$10.5 billion¹⁵ because a license to export water from British Columbia to California was revoked. As NAFTA becomes a hemispheric agreement under the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) every country in Central and South America will come under these obligations.

Measures to protect water from pollution have proved to be just as vulnerable to trade agreements. Methanex, a Canadian company that makes MTBE (methyl tertiary butyl ether) is suing the U.S. government under Chapter 11 of NAFTA for \$970 million, because California has

moved to ban the gasoline additive, which may be responsible for contaminating the water supply of up to 100 million Americans and has been called the greatest environmental disaster of the next decade.¹⁶ In fact, no protection of the environment has ever survived a challenge under the WTO or NAFTA.¹⁷

Changes to the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), currently being negotiated, will gradually force the wholesale privatization of municipal water services around the world, despite the horrible record of the private companies that provide them. Two of these companies, Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux and Vivendi had combined 1998 revenues exceeding \$70 billion,¹⁸ to provide water or water services to 120 million people worldwide.¹⁹ Some of the corporations now entering the water business are heavyweights like Bechtel, Enron, and Monsanto. Rebecca Mark, president of Enron's new water division, has said she won't retire until all the water of the world is privatized.²⁰ She has trade agreements, governments, and the World Bank on her side. ■

9. UNESCO International Conference on "Water and Sustainable Development" Paris, Mar. 19-21, 1998.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 3.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

12. *Op. cit.*, n. 3.

13. GATT Harmonized Commodity and Description Coding System 22.01.

14. North American Free Trade Agreement, Articles 3.02: Tariff Elimination, 3.09.2: Import and Export Restrictions, and 314: Export Taxes.

15. Sun Belt Water Inc., news release, Oct. 14, 1999.

16. "MTBE," 60 Minutes, CBS News, Producer Graham Messick, Jan. 16, 2000.

17. Steven Shrybman, Water Export Controls and Canadian International Trade Obligations, a legal opinion for The Council of Canadians, available at www.canadians.org.

18. Tony Clarke, The Polaris Institute, speech, Sep. 18, 1999.

19. *Op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 14.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

THE WORLD BANK AND THE POLITICS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

"Over the past six years the World Bank has spent billions of dollars in developing countries on fossil fuel-related projects that will...nearly double the amount of carbon dioxide emitted by all the world's countries in 1996. Now, the bank hopes to profit from these very emissions by entering the market in emissions trading.... [T]he Bank is...hoping to double-dip—by funding fossil fuel projects in poor countries at the front end, then reaping financial benefits from the resulting pollution...."

"The biggest beneficiaries of emissions trading will be the large global corporations...the same corporations that squawked loudly over the Kyoto Protocol, claiming it was unfair because it didn't impose targets on developing countries. Yet they are doing brisk business exploiting fossil fuels in those countries...with the aid of World Bank contracts. Nine out of ten energy projects financed by the World Bank benefit at least one corporation headquartered in the wealthy Group of seven nations.... The U.S., as the World Bank's largest contributor, has the most influence over bank projects—which it does not hesitate to use...."

"[T]he U.S. continues to subsidize the fossil fuel industry directly by more than \$18 billion a year and to provide it with tax breaks for exploration, production and foreign royalties, as well as military protection around the world to ensure the continuous flow of oil through the maintenance in power of regimes friendly to U.S. interests in oil-rich states at the cost of \$57 billion per year...."

"The failure of the U.S. government, Congress included, to take adequate action to reduce emissions means that the U.S. is

heading toward being 30 percent over 1990 levels by the time its Kyoto targets are supposed to be met in 2012...."

"In contrast to his behavior on climate change, Brent Blackwelder explains, 'The Clinton Administration put all of its marbles into the free trade bag, with NAFTA, GATT and the MAI, Fast Track, trying to apply NAFTA to Latin America and trying to cover up the sins of the IMF by putting more money into it.' ...[S]uch an agenda will moreover, have a number of negative effects on the world's climate...."

"[C]ongress has done everything in its power to prevent...[the Kyoto Treaty] implementation.... As a result, new programs designed...to fulfill the U.S.'s Kyoto commitments are now outlawed. This will give...Republican Congressmen [sic] a tool to hold an inquisition every time anything is done that has the impact of reducing emissions...."

"In 1997-98 alone, oil, gas, coal and electricity utility companies spent \$9.4 million on Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions to federal candidates. Senator Byrd [Dem.-W.Va.], co-author of the Byrd-Hagel Resolution for example, represents the big coal state of West Virginia and received \$199,700 in 1996 alone, ...Senator Hagel...received \$148,000...."

"The Clinton White House has already received at least \$12 million in Democratic Party and candidate contributions from big fossil fuel corporations...."

"Bush comes from a background in big oil and is highly unlikely to take this issue any further forward. Gore would undoubtedly do better, but could he be relied upon to do enough?"—Simon Retallack, "How U.S. Politics Is Letting the World Down," *The Ecologist*, March/April 1999, pp. 11-118.

IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION ON GLOBAL CLIMATE

BY SIMON RETALLACK AND LADAN SOBHANI

Human-induced climate change is probably the most serious problem facing humankind. More and more heat-trapping gases—principally carbon dioxide—are being emitted into the atmosphere through the burning of more and more oil, coal and other fossil fuels and forests that normally absorb them are being destroyed. The result is greenhouse gas overload in the atmosphere—trapping solar heat and causing surface temperatures to rise.

Twelve of the hottest years in recorded history have occurred since 1980. With higher temperatures, there has also been more energy driving the Earth's climatic systems. They in turn have been causing more violent weather events, such as Hurricane Mitch, which killed 10,000 people and destroyed the infrastructure and economies of two Central American countries in 1998. Rising temperatures have also caused polar ice sheets to begin to melt and disease-carrying mosquitoes to move north—even to New York City. Already, according to the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)—the official scientific body established by the U.N. to investigate climate change, global average temperatures have risen 1.1°F above the pre-industrial average.

And that is only the beginning. Scientists expect average world temperatures to rise between 6°F and 25°F over the next

hundred years.¹ As a result, if current trends persist, ever more frequent and severe storms, floods, droughts, dust storms, sea surges, crumbling coastlines, salt water intrusion of groundwa-



Rescue helicopter hovers above flood victims in Chibuti, northern Mozambique, February 29, 2000.

ter, failing crops, dying forests (including the Amazon rainforest), the inundation of low-lying land and islands, and the spread of endemic diseases such as malaria and dengue fever are all in on the cards. Agriculture worldwide could face severe disruption and economies could collapse. There could also be millions upon millions of environmental refugees—people fleeing from the intruding sea or from the deserts they have left in their wake. Scientists are advising governments that millions will die worldwide because of the changes in global climate that have been unleashed.

1. Robert T. Watson, Marufu C. Zinyowera, and Richard H. Moss, eds., *Summary for Policymakers. The Regional Impacts of Climate Change: An Assessment of Vulnerability*, 1997, p. 4; see also Alberto Di-Fazio, "Misreading the Models: the Danger of Underestimating Climate Change," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Mar./Apr. 1999, p. 75.

Economic globalization is accelerating this highly dangerous phenomenon by expanding industrial activity and universalizing the carbon-intensive model of development worldwide. The distancing of producers from consumers

and the massive boom in "free" trade has required a vast increase in greenhouse gas-emitting transport. Liberalization of trade and investment around the world has also facilitated the global expansion of industrial agriculture and related food processing industries, which are highly energy intensive and generate vast quantities of greenhouse gases. It has also stimulated greater consumption of energy-intensive products, such as cars and electric appliances, and the construction of vast fossil fuel-based energy infrastructures. At the same time, governments are prevented from taking adequate mitigating action by three

obstacles spawned by economic globalization: the spectacular growth of fossil fuel-related corporations and their consequent leverage over governments; the increase in competitive pressures on domestic industry; and global trade rules policed by the World Trade Organization. As a result, the climate is changing with very serious implications for us all.

INCREASING TRADE TRANSPORT

The (current) global economy and the philosophy that inspired its creation by definition necessitate trade over long distances. The central policy prescription of neo-liberalism is that of free trade based on international specialization according to comparative advantage. Accordingly, all countries should specialize in and export what they do or produce best, and import everything else. The consequence of the adoption of that philosophy, principally

Simon Retallack and Ladan Sobhani have written extensively on environmental issues. Retallack was editor of the special issue of *The Ecologist* on "Climate Crisis," Vol. 29, No. 2, Mar.-Apr. 1999. *The Ecologist* can be contacted at: Unit 18, Chelsea Wharf, 15 Lots, London SW10 0QJ, U.K.; e-mail: ecologist@gn.apc.org. This article is adapted from the International Forum on Globalization's forthcoming report on the impact of economic globalization on the environment. For a copy of the report, call 415-771-3394.

Heldur Netocny / Impact Visuals

by removing barriers to foreign trade, is that diverse local economies supplying their local populations with most of the things that they need are supplanted by economies that produce principally for export abroad and import most of what they need. The geographic distance between producers and consumers has thus increased dramatically and goods are transported far greater distances before they reach consumers.²

Similar changes have taken place in the process of production. With the liberalization of investment and trade policy, corporations engaged in manufacturing or food processing are able to locate or farm out the various phases of production at, or to, different sites around the world. Components are thus shipped back and forth tens of thousands of miles before the product is finally assembled or completed. Hence, when Otis Elevator set about to create an advanced elevator system, it contracted out the design of the motor drives to Japan, the door systems to France, the electronics to Germany, and small geared components to Spain. All of these components were then shipped to the United States where they were finally assembled, before being exported around the world—traveling thousands of miles in the process.³ Similarly, as a study by the German Wuppertal Institute on the distance traveled by various food products revealed, the components of a 150 gram strawberry yogurt traveled a total of 1,005 kilometers before being put together. The strawberries were imported from Poland, corn and wheat flour from the Netherlands, jam from West Germany, sugar beet from East Germany and the yogurt itself from north Germany. Aluminum used for the cover traveled 300 kilometers.⁴

The environmental costs of such long-distance transport remain unaccounted for in the final price of products. If they were accounted for, such behavior would make no sense whatsoever. As more and more goods have had to be carried over longer and longer distances, trade transportation results in the consumption of over one-eighth of world oil production.⁵ As increasingly more oil is burned and greenhouse gases are emitted, climate change results.

2. David and Marcia Pimental, *Food, Energy and Society* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996), p. 201.

3. David Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World*, (London: Earthscan, 1995), p. 125.

4. Tim Lang, "Dietary Impact of the Globalization of Food Trade," *IFG News*, Issue 3, Summer 1998.

5. Tim Lang and Colin Hines, *The New Protectionism* (New York: New Press, 1993).

AN URGENT WARNING TO HUMANITY

Following are brief excerpts from an "Urgent Warning to Humanity" which was issued by sixteen hundred Nobel prize winning and other scientists from around the world in 1992—*eight years ago*.

Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. Human activities inflict harsh and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at serious risk the future that we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdoms, and may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental chang-

es are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present course will bring about....

No more than one or a few decades remain before the chance to avert the threats we now confront will be lost and the prospects for humanity immeasurably diminished....

We the undersigned senior members of the world's scientific community, hereby warn all humanity of what lies ahead. A great change in our stewardship of the earth and the life on it is required, if vast miseries are to be avoided and our global home on this planet is not to be irretrievably mutilated.

GLOBALIZING INDUSTRIAL AGRICULTURE

Industrial agriculture has made the productivity of farmland almost entirely dependent on massive infusions of energy derived from fossil fuels. It is therefore a major contributor to climate change. Already widely adopted in much of the industrialized world, with economic globalization, industrial agriculture is spreading globally, to countries which until recently have practiced far less energy-intensive systems of farming. Their rapid transition to fossil fuel-intensive models of production will therefore dramatically increase global greenhouse gas emissions.

Of all human created emissions of carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide—the principal greenhouse gases contributing to climate change—industrial agriculture is responsible for 25 percent, 60 percent, and 80 percent respectively.⁶ Industrial agriculture replaces the energy inputs of humans and animals with huge amounts of fossil fuel-derived energy, of which it consumes more than any other industry. Direct energy, mostly refined petroleum products, is used on farms to power machines for the purposes of plowing, planting and harvesting, fertilizer and pesticide application, and transportation, while electricity is used for irrigation and other purposes.⁷

Striking as these figures may be, they do not include the even larger amounts of energy consumed off the farm for manufacturing machines, fertilizers and pesticides, and for processing, packaging (almost 50 percent of all consumer packaging in the U.S. is used for food products), and transporting the food after it leaves the farm.⁸

Industrial agriculture thus produces a particularly perverse outcome: it is estimated that it causes us to expend many times as much energy to produce food as we actually derive from eating it. And almost all of that energy is derived from burning fossil fuels—emitting large quantities of greenhouse gases in the process. Industrial agriculture is responsible for even more greenhouse gas emissions when we include the consequences of applying 70 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer every year on crops—which generates at least 10 percent of total nitrous oxide emissions.⁹ In addition, industrial farming methods lead to soil erosion, and, in the U.S. alone, soil erosion is estimated to cause the release of 16 million tons of carbon into the atmosphere each year.¹⁰ Industrial practices also lead to higher methane emissions in rice and livestock production. Rice fields that are flooded rather than rain fed produce much more methane.¹¹ Flooding

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cynthia Rosenzweig and Daniel Hillel, *Climate Change and the Global Harvest* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998).

10. USDA-ARS News Service, "Cropland Helps Control CO₂ and Ease Greenhouse Effect," Sep. 29, 1998.

11. *Op. cit.*, n. 9.

cuts off the oxygen supply to soil, leading organic matter to decompose into methane. In livestock production, meanwhile, when large numbers of animals are confined in one area, manure is usually stored in huge piles, releasing methane as it decomposes.¹² It is estimated that livestock production is responsible for 15 percent of global methane emissions.¹³

Industrialized agriculture has clearly proven to be a highly energy-intensive and unsustainable model. To export it to the rest of the world is a recipe for worsening climatic dislocation, yet, because of economic globalization, that is precisely what is taking place.

With fewer barriers to trade in food—as a result of regional and international trade agreements, such as NAFTA and the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture—cheap, subsidized, large-scale industrially-produced food has flooded world markets, making it very difficult for farmers employing traditional, small-scale, less energy-intensive and less subsidized systems of agriculture to compete. As a result, the latter are forced to adopt industrial methods or go bust, as millions have done—in which case, if they do not starve, they are often reduced to buying imported industrial food and selling their land to wealthier farmers who use it to expand industrial production.

Governments are increasingly powerless to protect small farmers from such a fate as recent trade agreements, such as the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, have removed their ability to control domestic agricultural policies. Tools which were once used to secure stable prices for domestic farmers are no longer allowed under WTO rules. Import controls to prevent the flooding of domestic markets; farmer marketing boards to give producers the ability to negotiate collective prices with domestic and foreign buyers; and family farm support programs—are all either forbidden or restricted under WTO rules. Thus, the world's remaining small, low-energy-consuming agricultural producers are rapidly being replaced with large agribusinesses using industrial practices.

Transnational agribusinesses which produce on an industrial scale, such as Cargill and Pepsico, now control seventy percent of world food trade. Cargill alone controls 60 percent of the world trade in cereals.¹⁴

Furthermore, the reorientation of economic activity toward production for exports that takes place when a country becomes part of the global economy, often following the adoption of an IMF/World Bank structural adjustment program, leads to a vast increase in the production of exportable cash crops—such as coffee, sugar cane and cocoa—grown in monocultures, which require far more high-energy inputs than other varieties. Increased production of cash crops also results from investment liberalization and privatization, which open up national economies to foreign agrochemical companies which are able to buy up farming companies and vast tracts of fertile land around the world for that purpose.

The resulting global expansion of industrial agriculture is the cause of growing energy use in the agricultural sector of most countries throughout the world, generating a consequent increase in greenhouse gas emissions, with devastating consequences for global climate.

FOSSIL FUEL TECHNOLOGY

With trade and investment liberalization, environmentally destructive technologies such as the automobile and other energy-intensive appliances, spread to cultures not yet dependent on such goods. Since the opening of markets to foreign imports, South Korea and Thailand, for example, witnessed annual car growth rates of 25 and 40 percent respectively in the early 1990s.¹⁵ Similarly, the number of cars in Mexico City grew a massive 60 percent between just 1990 and 1993.¹⁶ Such proliferation is significantly increasing the threat of global climate change, as autos are responsible for a large share of world carbon dioxide emissions. These are only set to increase, as transnational auto companies increase sales to countries that are rapidly liberalizing their markets, such as the states of the former U.S.S.R. that currently have only 1 car per 21 people; India that has one car per 455 people; and China, with one car per over 1,000 people. Already, as a result of investment liberalization in China, where people have relied primarily on bicycles, public transportation, and other low-input means of trans-

portation, General Motors (GM) recently signed a \$1 billion contract to produce 100,000 mid-sized cars annually.¹⁷ GM has also set up production in Russia, where it hopes to profit not only by producing cheap cars for export but by gaining a larger share of the domestic market. The company is not the only one expanding in this new market—in 1995, over 1 million foreign cars and trucks were sold in Russia and the Ukraine.¹⁸

The climatic consequences of the global proliferation of the car through economic globalization are disastrous. And the car is but one of a vast array of modern home and office products and appliances, such as washing machines, clothes dryers, TVs, VCRs, computers, and photocopiers, that require large inputs of climate-changing fossil fuels, and that are now being exported, and produced, around the world.

WORLD BANK AND ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURE

International financial institutions—linchpins of the global economy—have directly promoted and financed fossil fuel-intensive projects throughout the developing world. According to the Institute for Policy Studies, the World Bank has financed \$13.6 billion worth of energy projects since the Rio Summit in 1992, including 51 coal, oil and gas-fired power plants and 26 coal mines. These projects will emit 38 billion tons of carbon dioxide over their lifetimes, nearly double what was emitted in 1996 by all countries combined.¹⁹

Meanwhile, less than three percent of the World Bank's energy budget is devoted to renewable energy.²⁰ Between 1992 and 1998, the Bank spent 25 times more on fossil fuel projects than on renewable energy. Moreover, the immediate beneficiaries of those projects are G-7-based corporations, which have been granted 95 percent of the contracts (explaining why, for every dollar the U.S. pays the World Bank, \$1.30 of investments returns to U.S. transnationals), and are the primary consumers of the energy these projects produce.²¹

17. Cable News Network, "GM to Sign China Contract," Mar. 10, 1997.

18. Cable News Network, "GM Sets up Shop in Russia," Nov. 29, 1996.

19. Daphne Wysham, "The World Bank: Funding Climate Chaos," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2.

20. Institute for Policy Studies, "The World Bank and the G-7: Changing the Earth's Climate for Business," Version 1.1, Aug. 1997; and Daphne Wysham, "The World Bank: Funding Climate Chaos," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2.

21. Institute for Policy Studies, "The World Bank and the G-7: Changing the Earth's Climate for Business," Version 1.0, May 15, 1998.

12. IPCC Guidelines for National Greenhouse Gas Inventories Reference Manual, 1996.

13. *Op. cit.*, n. 9.

14. United Nations Center on Transnational Corporations, cited by Tim Lang in "Dietary Impact of

the Globalization of Food Trade," *IFG News*, Issue Three, Summer 1998.

15. D. Mathews and A. Rowell, *The Environmental Impact of the Car* (Washington, D.C.: Greenpeace, 1992).

16. A. Calvillo Unna, *La Contribución del Transporte a la Contaminación Atmosférica*, in *El Transporte y la Contaminación*, Proceedings of the Atmosphere and Energy Campaign Seminar, Mexico City, Greenpeace Mexico, 1993.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and the Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im)—U.S. export-credit agencies funded by taxpayers which subsidize U.S. commercial interests in developing nations—have also devoted billions of dollars to huge energy projects. According to OPIC's own press release, in 1996, over \$1 billion was approved for nine American ventures abroad, including four power plants.²² European citizens fund a similar "corporate welfare" program through the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Shell, Amoco, Mitsubishi, and Texaco are among the corporations whose overseas investments in energy resources have been subsidized by the EBRD.²³

The World Bank's actions with regard to climate change are perhaps unsurprising given the assumptions they are based on. The Bank's charts projecting the world's future energy needs show a trajectory line that shoots off the graph, indicating expected energy demand for developing countries. Bank officials like to use these charts to shock audiences into believing how badly and rapidly the world needs to exploit all of its available fossil fuel resources. These projections, however, are based on the premise that countries will continue along the same course of export-based, energy-intensive development that the Bank has been pushing for decades. Accordingly, estimates inflate the expectation for energy needs and ignore localized systems of production and consumption that would significantly reduce overall energy consumption. Energy use, therefore, is over-projected because of the energy-intensive needs of economic globalization and the development model it promotes. By building infrastructures to cater for that expected demand, however, the World Bank and the other multilateral development agencies are playing a leading role in fueling climate change.

OBSTRUCTION BY TNCs

Despite the growing threat posed by climate change, governments are being prevented from taking adequate mitigating action by a number of obstacles spawned by economic globalization, including the increased power of large corporations—particularly those in the fossil fuel industry. By

22. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Washington, D.C.), "OPIC's Board of Directors Approves More than \$1 Billion for Nine American Ventures World Wide," press release, June 1996.

23. Institute for Policy Studies and the International Trade Information Service, "The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Fueling Climate Change," Version 1, Nov. 1997.



AP / Wide World Photos

A family crossing through flood water in Mozambique, February 2000. Flooding left much of their country submerged in muddy water.

opening new markets around the world to foreign trade and investment, economic globalization has greatly increased the opportunities for corporations to grow, increase their profits, and eliminate or absorb competitors, often through mergers. The fossil fuel sector and related industries have been no exception to this trend. The merger of the two oil giants Exxon and Mobil in 1998, for example, valued at \$250 billion, has created the world's third largest corporation and the largest oil company by far.²⁴ Among many others include the recent merger of BP with Amoco, and Total with Petrofina and Elf Aquitaine. These mergers have been mirrored by countless more in the auto, aircraft and utility industries.

The result of this corporate consolidation has been an unprecedented concentration of financial power in the hands of industries that profit from fossil fuels, to the point where many are now more economically powerful than a large number of nation states. The combined revenues, for example, of just General Motors and Ford—the two largest automobile corporations in the world—exceed the GDP of all Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁵ This wealth has been used to great effect by fossil fuel-related companies to influence government policy in ways that have resulted in the defeat or watering down of many efforts to mitigate climate change. It is no accident that the countries with the highest per capita greenhouse gas emissions and which are the most recalcitrant in taking action to re-

duce those emissions—such as the United States and Australia—are also home to corporations that have spent a fortune funding front groups, think tanks, lobbyists, scientists, economists and above all politicians, to obstruct political attempts to prevent climate change.

In the U.S., for example, oil, gas, coal, utility, automobile and other fossil fuel-intensive corporations contributed \$63.4 million to both main U.S. political parties between 1992 and 1998;²⁶ spent \$30 million lobbying politicians and government agencies in 1998 alone;²⁷ and spent \$13 million more on television, radio and newspaper advertising in the three months leading up to the Kyoto conference to promote political and public opposition to the treaty.²⁸ Millions more have been spent funding corporate front groups, or so-called "Astroturf coalitions," such as the Coalition for Vehicle Choice and the Global Climate Coalition; think tanks, such as the Competitive Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation; and scientists, such as Robert Balling—the recipient of \$700,000 from the fossil fuel industry over the past five years.

The explicit goal of such funding—the extent of which citizens' groups could not possibly match—has been to discredit the science of climate change and prevent the changes necessary to prevent its worst effects. After years of effectively stalling global recognition of the problem, industry groups have successfully fought to limit countless measures to reduce emissions. For example, in the U.S.—responsible for

24. Paul Farrelly, "Oil Sisters Troop to Alter as Price Sinks," *Observer* (London), June 12, 1998.

25. All three statistics cited by J. Karliner in *The Corporate Planet: Ecology and Politics in the Age of Globalization* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1997), p. 5.

26. Center for Responsive Politics, web site: <http://www.crp.org>.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Sharon Beder, "Corporate Hijacking of the Greenhouse Debate," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2. Mar./Apr. 1999.



Evan Johnson / Impact Visuals

Air pollution smokestacks—Masonite Corporation, Mendocino County, California.

a quarter of global greenhouse gas emissions—Congress voted against requiring car-makers to build more efficient vehicles by increasing automobile fuel economy standards, as a result of corporate influence. Indeed, Congress has tried to destroy what little fuel economy standards are in existence in the U.S. by successfully inserting an exemption for giant sport utility vehicles which now account for one out of every two cars being purchased and which get as little as 14 miles to the gallon.

Congress has also prevented the increase of the BTU or energy tax, as well as an increase in the 1999 budget for the development of renewable energy and energy efficient technology to \$3.6 billion, which the White House requested. It has even rejected the President's policy that fossil fuels produced on public land should be subject to market-based royalty rates rather than the subsidized rate currently in existence. The most significant act of congressional subversion is the Byrd-Hagel Resolution, passed unanimously by the Senate, 95 votes to 0, in June 1997, which effectively prevents the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol that mandates the U.S. to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2012. If that were not enough, as the result of legislative efforts by the rightwing Republican Joe Knollenberg—whose constituency includes Detroit, the capital of the U.S. car industry—and others, new programs designed especially to fulfill the U.S.'s Kyoto commitments are now outlawed.

Such political behavior defies all established scientific knowledge and the public interest, and can only have been taken to satisfy the short-term interests of corporations engaged in activities that are causing the climate to change. To varying degrees of success, the political power of fossil fuel-related corporations is being exercised in similar ways all over the world, including at regional levels such as the EU, and at all the international negotiations on climate change. Economic globalization has given these corporations the financial and political clout to have such influence, with devastating effects.

DEREGULATION PRESSURES

Another obstacle spawned by economic globalization that governments face in seeking to take action to mitigate climate change, is the huge increase in competitive pressures on domestic industry. As opportunities for foreign investment increase and moving manufacturing overseas becomes easier with economic globalization, corporations can pick and choose the regulatory conditions under which they invest. Companies complain that strict local, national or regional environmental regulations place extra costs on them that make them uncompetitive in the global economy. Countries attempting to take serious measures to protect the environment are thus no longer deemed competitive locations for investment.

In such a climate, governments compete with each other to lower or freeze environmental standards to attract foreign in-

vestment or to prevent the flight of industries already based in their countries. In a globalized economy, even the threat of relocation is powerful enough to send policy-makers on a deregulatory frenzy or a policy freeze, and attempts to raise taxation or environmental standards become almost impossible. The European Union's failed attempt at introducing a carbon tax in 1992 to reduce carbon emissions provides a clear example. Opponents of the tax argued that it would undermine the competitiveness of European companies abroad, because the tax would not apply to their competitors, who would therefore gain a commercial advantage over them.²⁹

In refusing to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, the U.S. Senate has cited similar reasons. The co-authors of the Senate resolution that has effectively blocked the ratification of this treaty, Senators Byrd and Hagel argued that taking measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions would damage the U.S. economy, causing an exodus of manufacturing plants to developing countries which are not mandated to reduce emissions under Kyoto.³⁰ What opponents of the Kyoto Protocol fail to mention is that industrial relocation would not be possible were it not for the enhanced mobility corporations enjoy as a result of agreements which they ratified and that have reduced or eliminated barriers to trade and foreign investment. Furthermore, given the environmental threats that we face today, the solution to any loss of competitiveness cannot be the freezing, reduction or elimination of environmental protections. If the current global system of free trade and investment is impeding governments' abilities to set and enforce environmental protections, then the system itself, flawed as it is, needs to be changed.

TRADE RULE THREATS AND THE WTO

Global trade rules policed by the World Trade Organization also pose a significant threat to national and international efforts to address climate change. WTO rules, for example, could be used to challenge the Kyoto Protocol on a number of grounds.

Under the terms of the Protocol, parties are encouraged to implement policies and measures aimed at "enhancement of energy efficiency in relevant sectors of the economy"—a key goal of climate change mitigation. An important way in which that may be achieved is by setting energy efficiency standards for consumer products—such as motor vehicles. When that has

29. *Op. cit.*, n. 4.

30. Simon Retallack, "How U.S. Politics Is Letting the World Down," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Mar./Apr. 1999.

been attempted by the European Union, Japan and the United States, however, global trade rules have been used to challenge their initiatives, and serious disputes have followed.

In January 1999, Japan announced its intention to introduce legally binding standards for energy efficiency for nine categories of cars on the basis of vehicle weight, in order to meet its commitment under the Kyoto Protocol to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 6 percent below 1990 levels. The standards are set based on the most energy efficient vehicle currently commercially available within each weight category—"the top runner"—which in each weight category happens to be a Japanese car. The EU, meanwhile, to meet its Kyoto commitment of reducing greenhouse gases by 8 percent below 1990 levels, has forged a voluntary agreement to increase energy efficiency with the European Automobile Manufacturers Association (ACEA). Under that agreement, the manufacturers agreed to reduce carbon dioxide emissions in new cars by 25 percent by 2008, on the basis of fleet averaging, rather than specific efficiency requirements on vehicles by category.

The EU and Japan have challenged each other's energy efficiency requirements arguing that they discriminate against imported vehicles—which is forbidden under world trade rules. Because European exports to Japan tend to be in the range of medium and luxury vehicles, they fall into the middle and heavier weight categories which are subject to the greatest percentage of improvements for fuel efficiency. The EU therefore claims that the effect will be to discriminate against their cars (a claim the U.S. on behalf of its auto manufacturers has now repeated) in violation of the WTO's Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade, which prohibits standards that are discriminatory and more trade restrictive than necessary.³¹ Japan, meanwhile, claims that EU standards based on fleet averaging discriminate against their vehicle exports, which are primarily higher end vehicles that would need substantial improvements in energy efficiency to meet EU standards.

It remains to be seen if the EU, the U.S., or Japan will mount formal challenges at the WTO, but if they do, the chances of their respective energy efficiency standards' survival are not good, especially given the fate of the U.S. Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards.

31. Lori Wallach and Michelle Sforza, *Whose Trade Organization: Corporate Globalization and the Erosion of Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Public Citizen, 1999).

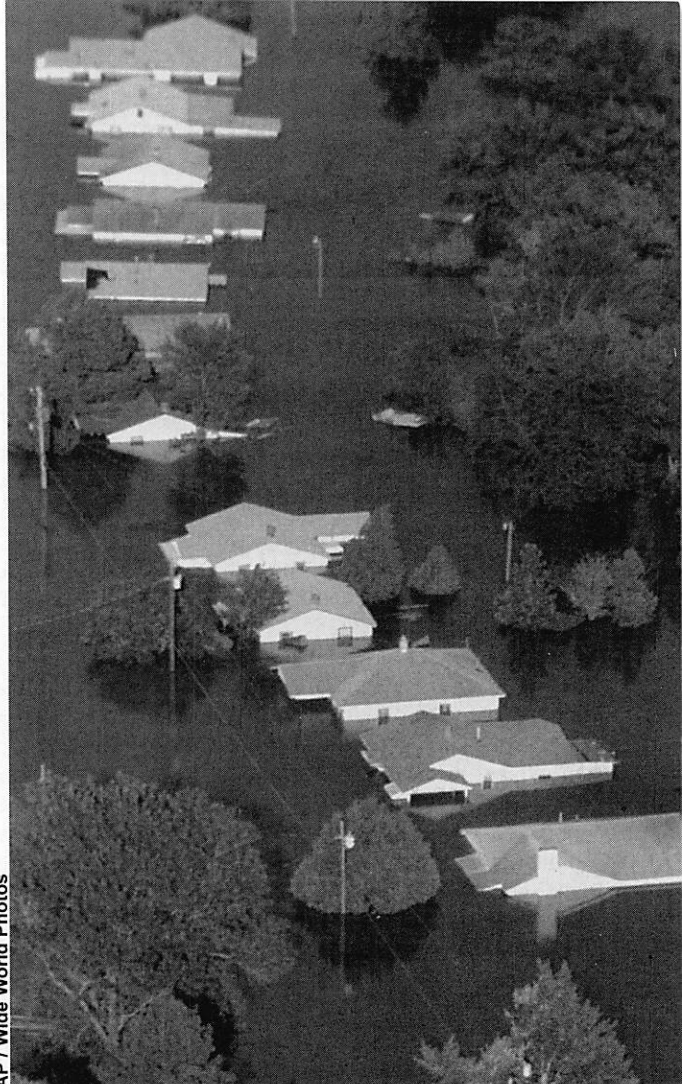
Designed to increase energy efficiency, the CAFE standards were challenged by the EU for discriminating in effect against EU automakers, citing almost identical arguments as the opponents of Japanese and European energy efficiency standards today, even though the U.S. average fuel economy standards were identical for domestic and foreign fleets. A GATT panel, however, agreed with the EU, and, in 1994, overturned the U.S. standards.³²

The application of carbon taxes—another important strand of any serious strategy for meeting national commitments under the Kyoto Protocol—could also fall foul of WTO rules. By internalizing the climate-related costs of using fossil fuels, carbon taxes create an incentive to use less fuel and to develop more fuel efficient production processes. As we have seen, however, taxing commercial goods at a national level on the basis of how much those goods contribute to greenhouse gas emissions, can place domestic industries at a competitive disadvantage in the global economy—because the tax does not apply to foreign competitors. One way around that problem would be to tax imports based on the energy used to produce them. But under GATT/WTO rules governing "like products," that would be illegal. Those rules prohibit internal taxes on imported products that are "in excess of those...applied to like domestic products," (GATT Article III).³³ Any trade discrimination based on the way a product is produced—exactly what carbon taxes are designed to influence—is thus forbidden.

That represents a fundamental conflict between the WTO and the Kyoto Protocol. For while under WTO rules, "like products" cannot be distinguished or discriminated against on the basis of how they

32. *Ibid.*

33. W.B. Chambers, et. al. *Global Climate Governance: Scenarios and Options on the Interlinkages between the Kyoto Protocol and other Multilateral Regimes*, United Nations University/Institute for Advanced Studies, Global Environmental Information Center, 1999.



AP / Wide World Photos

Climate change wreaks havoc: Homes in Tarboro, North Carolina, surrounded by flood waters, left by Hurricane Floyd in September 1999, some of the worst flooding ever in the area.

were produced or where they came from, the Kyoto Protocol and all three of its flexible mechanisms mandate discrimination between different manufacturing technologies and processes, between signatories and non-signatories, and between higher-emitting developed countries and lower-emitting developing countries. Ultimately, without discrimination, the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions is all but impossible, as climate-changing technologies need to be discouraged.

Given these findings, and given the monumental threat that climate change poses, the re-subordination of global trade rules to environmental imperatives and the re-localization of trade must be considered important strategies for reducing overall energy demand and greenhouse gas emissions. The energy-intensive model of economic globalization must be challenged if we are to stand a chance of preventing severe climate change. ■

BEYOND THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: CLASS WARFARE FROM ABOVE

BY CHRISTIAN PARENTI

What drives incarceration and the massive build-up in American criminal justice? Are specific corporate interests taking control of criminal justice policy, as is often the case with military policy? Has the Military-Industrial Complex, with the end of the Cold War, transmogrified into the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC)?

This "prison as pentagon" argument has assumed the mantle of common sense among many left pundits and activists. The PIC explanation generally cites three ways in which incarceration directly bolsters capitalism. They are: the privatization of prisons and prison-related services, the exploitation of prison labor by private firms, and the broad Keynesian stimulus (*i.e.*, job creation) of criminal justice spending.

All of these features are important, but none of them—alone or together—explains why we are headed for what Jerome Miller calls a "gulag state."¹ Perhaps a more useful analysis of the cops-courts-and-big house buildup requires a broader, more historically rooted class analysis that looks not just at bad corporations but at the structure of American capitalism more generally.

PRISON LABOR

Critics of the Prison Industrial Complex focus much of their attention on prison labor: We hear that incarceration is increasingly driven by profit hungry firms looking for cheap labor. In making this point speakers or writers will reel off a sinner's list of familiar implicated corporate names: Microsoft, Starbucks, Victoria's Secret and TWA. The phenomenon looks to be a mile wide, but in reality it's only an inch deep.

Most of the typically named culprits have engaged prison labor only via subcontractors who, in turn, often have only sporadic contracts with prisons. The moral stain remains: Leasing convicts is leasing

convicts. But we need to re-calibrate our understanding of what's going on and look closely at the facts. Nationwide only 2,600 prisoners work for private firms.² Why is this? Because capitalists don't like the invasive, slow, overbearing environment of prisons. Guards may approve of "making convicts pay" but in practice they regularly interrupt production to strip-search, count, and lock away the convict employees. Nor are many big firms willing to risk the bad press associated with exploiting prisoners. For example, Montgomery Ward's charter pledges that the company will not use child, slave, or convict labor. Finally, why hire convicts at minimum wage—corporations have to pay prisons minimum wage even if the inmate employees only receive pennies per hour—when there is an overabundance of desperate, often militarily disciplined, workers in the free world.

But that's just the private sector, what about the State? After all, most convict laborers are employed by state-owned "prison industries" such as the California Department of Corrections Prison Industries Authority (PIA) or the Federal Government's Unicor, which employs about 20,000 inmates. Impressive numbers, and one would be excused for thinking that someone must be making money hand over fist. However Unicor—like the many parallel ventures owned by the states—is an economic basket case that would shortly collapse if ever forced to compete with the private sector.³

Unicor products provided to the Department of Defense, on average, cost 13 percent more than the same goods supplied by private firms. U.S. Navy officials say that, compared to the open market, Unicor's "product is inferior, costs more and takes longer to procure." The federal prison monopoly delivers 42 percent of its orders late, compared to an industry-wide average delinquency rate of only 6 percent. A 1993 government report found that Uni-

cor wire sold to the military failed at nearly twice the rate of the military's next worst supplier.

"The stuff was poor quality," said Derek Vander Schaaf, the Pentagon's Deputy Inspector General, adding: "If you can't compete at 50 cents an hour for labor, guys, come on."⁴

Most state owned prison industry authorities (PIAs) are just as bad: twenty-five percent of them reported net losses in 1994. But even this unflattering number is optimistically distorted, because many PIAs that boast profits in their annual reports fail to disclose the massive subsidies they receive. For example, California's PIA claims to be in the black, but state auditors tell a different story: In 1998 the PIA employed 7,000 of the state's 155,000 prisoners in everything from dairy farming to computer refurbishing, and operated with the usual pampering of guaranteed markets and obscenely low wages. But, like Unicor, the PIA was unable even to meet its costs. Despite posting a "profit" the PIA is on life support, receiving "operating subsidies" and capital outlay funding from the state worth more than \$90 million.⁵

The same story can be found in state after state. Why the inefficiency? In part because convicts resent being used as virtual slaves and thus drag their feet, steal supplies, and commit sabotage nonstop. One former federal inmate told me that his "cellie" ended each workday at a Unicor shop with a celebratory calculation of how much equipment and material he had destroyed, thrown or stolen. As the former prisoner put it, "It was all waste, all the time."

PRIVATE PRISONS

Another player in the matrix of interests referred to as the prison industrial complex is the fast-growing and powerful pri-

Christian Parenti is the author of *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis* (London: Verso, 1999), from which this article was adapted.

1. Miller has made such comments in interviews, but for his full analysis, see Jerome Miller, *Search and Destroy: African American Males in the Criminal Justice System* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

2. Correction Industries Association, First Quarterly Report, 1998.

3. Testimony of David A. Smith, Director Public Policy Department, AFL-CIO on Prison Industry Programs, before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Aug. 5, 1998.

4. Jeff Erlich, "Competing with Convicts," *Government Executive*, June 1, 1997; for more on Unicor, see Vince Beiser, "Look For the Prison Label: America Puts its Inmates to Work," *Village Voice*, May 21, 1996.

5. Reforming the Prison Industry Authority," California Legislative Analyst's Office, Apr. 30, 1996, p. 9; PIA officials cook their books and brag efficiency to the press. Journalists on both the left and right often repeat such claims without checking for verification, such as outside audits.

vate prison industry which now controls around 10 percent of all U.S. prison beds. Though private jailers are generally profitable, they don't lower the costs of incarceration for state governments. What savings are achieved through corner cutting—that is: removing all amenities and services and hiring unqualified guards—is usually absorbed by the company as profit. Already this modus operandi of the bottom line is showing itself to be detrimental for the long-term profitability of some big private jailers, as we will see below.

Through assiduous cultivation of state officials, the private jailers are increasingly active in shaping criminal justice policy, but their partnerships with state governments also face problems. Recent events have unveiled private jailers as cheats, liars and major political liabilities.

The biggest of the most recent blemishes on the private gulag's image was the mass escape at Corrections Corporation of America's Youngstown, Ohio, prison. That joint—supposed to be a medium security lockup—was a hyper-violent overcrowded facility illegally packed with maximum security inmates from D.C.

CCA's invincibility crumbled with the news that six very angry young men from Washington, D.C., had cut open the prison's chain-link fence, crossed an electrified barrier, plowed through yards of razor wire and were now at large among the good people of Youngstown.⁶

For almost a week, regular police, tactical squads, canine teams, and helicopters combed an ever widening circle around the prison in search of the runaways. One by one the cops busted the desperate, exhausted escapees, some of whom had been badly wounded by the razor wire. The last runaway inmate, Vincent Smith, was finally taken down in the backyard of Susie Ford's house. A 54-year-old grandmother of three living on the outskirts of Youngstown, Ms. Ford got the news live—when her frenetic sister telephoned advising her to turn on the television. "That's our building! That's our building!" Indeed it was. And the Ford sisters watched their screens in amazement as police swarmed through the shrubs out back.⁷

This and a slew of other "problems" have finally undermined the once unstoppable CCA. A former Wall Street darling, and dubbed "a theme stock for the nineties," CCA's stock price has tumbled to half its peak value.⁸

6. Eleena de Lissar, "Prison's Woes Spur Sell-Off In CCA Shares," *Wall Street Journal Europe*, July 29, 1998.

7. Cheryl W. Thompson, "Ohio Sours on Prison Managed by Private Firm; D.C. Inmates Live in Troubled Facility," *Washington Post*, Oct. 19, 1998.

8. Getahn Ward, "Back to the future for CCA, pri-

Other private lockup firms are facing the same crisis. Recently the number two private jailer, Wackenhut Corporation, saw several of its facilities rocked by riots. In mid-November last year, at the Taft Federal Correctional Institution, hundreds of inmates, angry about lousy food, smashed windows, televisions, and tables in the federal system's only full-sized private prison. Thirty minutes of tear gas, rubber bullets and flash bang grenades ended the uprising.⁹ More serious was the August rioting in two of Wackenhut's New Mexico penitentiaries. In one of those clashes a guard was shanked to death by ten inmates.¹⁰ On top of all that 12 former Wackenhut employees are under indictment in Austin, Texas. And much like CCA, the company ended the year with its stock heading south—down 60 percent from the previous season.¹¹

So private prison has grown fast but its boom days may be over as politicians—even Republicans—are turning against for-profit lockups.¹² Thus it would seem that private prisons are not pushing criminal justice policy in the way that arms manufacturers do with defense policy.

WORKING THE CRACKDOWN

There is one way in which criminal justice as a whole is coming to resemble the military-industrial complex. While the estimated spending on prisons overall is \$30 billion annually, the overall tab on police, courts, prosecutors, probation, parole, bail bonds, bounty hunting, drug treatment and prison is estimated to be as high as \$150 billion annually.¹³ That's roughly half

son realty shares hit record low amid shakeup," *The Tennessean*, Dec. 28, 1999; Ray A. Smith, "REIT Interest: Investors Carry Out Sentence on Prison Realty," *Wall Street Journal*, July 21, 1999.

9. "SoCal Briefs," *Associated Press*, Nov. 18, 1999.

10. S.U. Mahesh, "Suspects in Guard's Slaying Named," *Albuquerque Journal*, Oct. 8, 1999; "Disturbance erupts at Santa Rosa prison," *AP*, Aug. 31, 1999.

11. John Pletz, "Private prison operators take a hit on Wall Street/Wackenhut Corp., others are facing hard times as stocks plunge," *Austin American-Statesman*, Dec. 16, 1999.

12. For numerous examples of Republican politicians who oppose private prisons, see Suzanne Smalley, "A Stir Over Private Pens," *National Journal* (Washington, D.C.), May 1, 1999.

13. Statistics from David Ladipo, "Regulating the American Labour Market" *New Left Review* (London), forthcoming.

the Pentagon's budget, not counting the billions in military spending that are hidden within the Department of Energy. So there is definitely a broad Keynesian stimulus effect from the crackdown; the criminal justice system is host to a raft of parasitic job categories that range from stenographer and janitor, to judge and executioner. But other than prosecutors nationwide and



Assistant Warden Karl Fawner at Marion County Jail, a Corrections Corporation of America facility.

prison guards in California, few of these interest groups are very organized or do much to create new law and order politics.

What about economically cast-off regions, places that once subsisted thanks to military bases or now dead smokestack industries? We hear that many such regions are resurrected, phoenix-like, by the prosperity of prison spending. A closer look at the new prison towns complicates that picture.

That this has proven to be an illusion is no better illustrated than in California's Central Valley. In the last 15 years, California spent \$4.2 billion building 23 new prisons. A recent analysis of the economic impact of the eight prisons surrounding Fresno reveals a junkyard of broken promises and falsely optimistic economic projections. First and foremost, the vast majority of the 8,000 new prison-related jobs haven't gone to residents in the economically depressed little prison towns. Nor has the \$2 billion spent on prison construction in California over the last 15 years, or the half-billion dollars annually shelled out to meet prison payrolls, translated into a wave of new houses, restaurants or stores in the states' impoverished lock-up regions.

In Corcoran—where more than half of the town's population is incarcerated in a massive complex of two penitentiaries, which may add a third one soon—800 job-seekers took civil-service placement



AP / Wide World Photos

Inmates at \$34-million Newton Correctional Facility, Newton, Iowa, being taken to their cells, July 1997.

tests for just two prison staff positions. The town's unemployment rate is still 15 percent just as it was a year before the first prison opened in 1988. According to estimates from the state and the prison guards' union, only 7 to 9 percent of the prison jobs in the Central Valley go to people living in prison towns.

Thanks to the massive freeways and California's all-powerful car culture, most staff and guards commute from the region's major cities: Fresno, Visalia, and Bakersfield.¹⁴ In short, prison cannot replace industry.

CLASS WAR FROM ABOVE

While all of the specific interests mentioned above help explain part of the crackdown, they don't go far enough. Beyond the interlocking corporate interests and the question of job creation and regional economic development there lies the broader and historically deeper question of class and racial control.

In many ways the criminal justice build-up is an organically evolving means of managing the class and racial polarization of a restructured American economy. At the heart of the matter lies a basic contradiction: Capitalism needs and creates poverty, intentionally through policy and organically through crisis. Yet, capitalism is also always threatened by the poor. These surplus populations help scare working people into obedience and keep wages low. But at the same time the poor (who in a white supremacist system are disproportionately people of color) scare the upper middle classes (who are mostly white). At times the impoverished classes, the dan-

gerous classes, even rebel, demanding justice, burning down the ghetto, or worse yet, organizing themselves into coherent coalitions that can leverage the state for economic redistribution and racial equality.

From the New Deal in the 1930s through the culmination of the War on Poverty in the 1970s (that's right—it all really came to fruition under Nixon), an ever larger portion of America's cast-off populations were absorbed through ameliorative and co-optive social reforms. Spending on health care, education, urban development and welfare were all expanded. At the same time corporate America came under increased regulation in the areas of health and safety, labor arbitration and environmental pollution.

People of color, particularly in agricultural regions, were largely excluded from many of these reforms and managed the old fashioned way—via brute force. Nonetheless, by the late sixties America's burgeoning social democracy had begun to cause trouble for the owning classes. By the early seventies profits began to shrink and unemployment began to rise but wage demand still increased. In fact labor was in a more militant mood than ever. By the early seventies wildcat strikes had shut the nation's postal system, coal fields, truck industry and railways.

From capital's point of view government anti-poverty programs were, shall we say, spoiling the working classes. During one nationwide strike in which 12 unions beat General Electric it was figured that strikers had collected \$25 million in welfare.¹⁵ And,

14. Mike Lewis, "Economic lockdown with unemployment largely unaffected and jobs going to residents of larger cities, the valley's prison population boom hasn't been the economic boon advertised," *Fresno Bee*, Jan. 9, 2000.

15. For a clear economic history of the crisis and ensuing economic restructuring, see Michael Perelman, *The Pathology of the U.S. Economy: the Costs of a Low-Wage System* (London: Macmillan, 1993); Bar-

ry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarization of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Philip Armstrong, Andrew Glyn and John Harrison, *Capitalism Since 1945* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); on the logic of gutting social spending, see: Richard Cloward and Frances Fox-Piven, "A Class Analysis of Welfare," *Monthly Review*, v. 44, n. 9, Feb. 1993.

despite recession in the early seventies, the ratio of quits to layoffs was rising. In short, workers were losing their fear of unemployment and bosses because the nation's incipient social welfare system was taking up the slack and supporting them: the War on Poverty was subsidizing the war against capital.

Reagan put an end to all that with: severe recession in the early eighties engineered to put labor back in its place; conservative courts, and a mass assault on all forms of government subsidies to poor and working people (from low-income housing programs, to job training to welfare). All this helped to tip the scales back in capital's favor.¹⁶ Now profits are in recovery while the people, particularly people of color, bleed.

But how to control the new surplus populations?

In retrospect the ever evolving answer is clear: Racialize poverty via the code of crime, and then hound the victims with police narc squads, SWAT teams, and quality of life enforcement; send the INS to raid their homes; and lock up as many as possible for as long as possible.

Thus criminal justice regulates, absorbs, terrorizes, and disorganizes the poor. It also bolsters white supremacy by demonizing, disenfranchising and marginalizing ever larger numbers of brown people. But unlike social democratic/welfare co-optation—that other way of managing poverty—anti-crime repression doesn't have the deleterious side effect of economically empowering or at least cushioning the poor and subsidizing their struggles. Nor does the new model of control let loose dangerous notions of racial equality and social inclusion, as did the rhetoric surrounding the New Deal War and the War on Poverty.

Finally one last caveat: The politicians who produce these laws and other policies do not necessarily do so for the structurally beneficial impacts they will have. Rather, the average get-tough pol is simply looking for a compelling issue that speaks to voters' anxieties without actually saying anything revealing or dangerous about class power and privilege. On such a journey there seems to be no better horse to ride than the trusty steed of crime coded racism. But the inevitable outcome of such electioneering is legislation that is also useful in bolstering and reproducing an unequal society. ■

16. *Ibid.*

CITY FINANCING A "SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS" IN THE BRONX

BY FRANK MORALES

The Amadou Diallo verdict seeks to legalize an expanded "rules of engagement," to justify "excess force," and to cover these murders in a defense based on the notion that "they did what they were trained to do." In this sense, the defense strategy goes beyond the acquittal of the four officers. The entire affair, the entire injustice is itself but one link in an evolving (counter) revolution in police practice in America, in which the dominant trend in policing is toward increasing reliance upon and acquisition of technology developed by the military for use in domestic law enforcement. On the heels of the obscene "verdict," the *New York Times*, wondered, "What if New York City police officers were routinely equipped with hand-held weapon detectors that could tell them from a distance whether a suspect was armed?"¹ How quickly and unabashedly the establishment seizes the opportunity (of an innocent man's murder) to enhance the very police methods that are being criticized, utilizing "the Diallo case" in order to indoctrinate and accustom the public to allegedly benign ("non-lethal") "tools to fight crime."

The *Times* article described New York City's Citizens Crime Commission's recent showcasing of new police technology. According to the *Times*, the "breakfast symposium" promoted an assortment of "gee-whiz police gadgets," which "might be ready in just a few years," including "facial recognition" surveillance equipment (currently in use in parts of London), pepper spray guns (recently in use in Seattle), and hand-held street scanners to be used for weapons detection. The weapons detection device, put forth in the 1995 NIJ "technology transfer" effort mentioned earlier, is currently being championed by Hillary Clinton who dutifully "called for increased federal spending on research to improve police technology, including gun detectors." The NYPD, according to the *Times* report, "plays an important role in the field, largely because it is often the entry point for technological innovations." Craig Beery, sales director for "PepperBall" stated that, "there is no agency like the NYPD." That's for sure. The company's product, a "launcher that uses compressed air to shoot small projectiles filled with a disabling powder similar to pepper spray" is technology meant, among other things, to suppress civil disobedience and protest. Thomas A. Reppetto, president of the "non-profit city organization" which sponsored the gathering offered some comforting words: "We are beginning to see a tech-

nological revolution in law enforcement of such immense dimensions that I don't think anyone knows really where it will go." Sound "reasonable"?

Finally, just two days before the (good cop) *Times* report, the (bad cop) *New York Post* offered another take on how to "avoid another tragedy like the Amadou Diallo shooting" in a story entitled, "City paving the way to give cops 'street smarts.'"² The solution: a "\$10 million replica of a New York City street," on the grounds of the police firing range which will provide to the officers state of the art police/military training technology. According to the *Post* promotion, the new training center "will revolutionize how city cops are trained in the use of deadly force." It will feature the simulation of "every kind of stressful situation so that when they (cops) get out on the streets they do exactly as they are trained to do." Haven't we heard that before? The site, located in the Bronx (of course), will enable the police "to learn new tactics," including "advanced classes in crowd control." Most of the financing for the construction project "comes from cash and property seized from drug dealers." Extortion benefitting repression.

The official name of the program, the "Joint Regional Tactical Village," a "gritty, realistic urban scenario," is code-named "Judgment Town," and is to be completed by April 2001. According to the *Post* report, "plans for Judgment Town date back to 1998, when the NYPD contacted the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers about the project. The corps now has a crew of servicemen at Rodman's Neck building the tenements." In addition to the NYPD, "agents from the FBI, the U.S. Marshals Service and other federal law enforcement organizations will also train there too, officials said." The U.S. military currently operates a number of "military operations in urban terrain" or MOUT training sites around the country. Law enforcement "joint" training centers, given the convergence of the military

and law enforcement, is, from the point of view of counterinsurgency and social control, the next step. Here in New York, the test bed for militarist innovation, "the city expects to kick in about \$800,000" toward the creation of the training center which will, according to NYPD's chief, Howard Safir, "train our people better and give them more experience in confrontational situations." So, while "crime" is going down, "confrontation," imprisonment and shootings will inevitably go up. ■



Hundreds protest the shooting of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed West African killed by four policemen firing 41 shots.

AP / Wide World Photos

1. *New York Times*, Mar. 7, 2000.

2. *New York Post*, Mar. 5, 2000.



AP / Wide World Photos

U.S. MILITARY CIVIL DISTURBANCE PLANNING: THE WAR AT HOME

PART ONE

BY FRANK MORALES

Under the heading of "civil disturbance planning," the U.S. military is training troops and police to suppress democratic opposition in America. The master plan, Department of Defense Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, is code-named, "Operation Garden Plot." Originated in 1968, the "operational plan" has been updated over the last three decades, most recently in 1991, was activated during the Los Angeles "riots" of 1992, and more than likely during the recent anti-WTO "battle in Seattle."

Current U.S. military preparations for suppressing domestic civil disturbance, including the training of National Guard troops and local police, are actually part of a long history of American "internal security" measures dating back to the first American Revolution. Generally, these measures have sought to thwart the aims of

social justice movements, embodying the concept that within the civilian body politic lurks an enemy that one day the military might be ordered to fight.

Equipped with flexible "military operations in urban terrain" and "operations other than war" doctrine, lethal and "less-than-lethal" high-tech weaponry, U.S. "armed forces" and "elite" militarized police units are being trained to eradicate "disorder," "disturbance" and "civil disobedience" in America. Further, it may very well be that police/military "civil disturbance" planning is the animating force and the overarching logic behind the incredible nationwide growth of police paramilitary units, a growth which coincidentally mirrors rising levels of police violence directed at the American people, particularly "nonwhite" poor and working people.

Recently, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth H. Bacon "acknowledged that the Air Force wrongfully started and financed a highly classified, still-secret project, known as a black program without informing Congress last year." The costs and nature of

these projects "are the most classified secrets in the Pentagon."¹ Could it be that the current U.S. Air Force Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, GARDEN PLOT, is one such program financed from this secret budget? We have a right to know. And following Seattle, we have the need to know.

U.S. military training in civil disturbance "suppression" is in full operation today. The formulation of legitimizing doctrine, the training in the "tactics and techniques" of "civil disturbance suppression," and the use of "non-lethal" weaponry, are ongoing, financed by tax dollars. The overall operation is called Garden Plot. And according to the bosses at the Pentagon,

Frank Morales is an Episcopal priest and independent researcher and pamphleteer who is active on Manhattan's Lower East Side. An expanded version of this article can be found on *CovertAction Quarterly's* web site. Part Two will be published in the next issue.

1. *New York Times*, "Pentagon Misused Millions in Funds, House Panel Says," July 22, 1999, p. A1. See also, on the subject of "unacknowledged Special Access Programs" wherein "the USAF's \$7.4 billion budget for classified procurement is more than a third of the service's total budget," Bill Sweetman, "In search of the Pentagon's billion dollar hidden budgets: how the US keeps its R&D spending under wraps," *International Defense Review, Jane's Defense Weekly*, Jan. 2000, www.janes.com/defence/editors/pentagon.html.

"U.S. forces deployed to assist federal and local authorities during times of civil disturbance...will follow use-of-force policy found in Department of Defense Civil Disturbance Plan-GARDEN PLOT." (Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Standing Rules of Engagement, Appendix A," 1 October 1994.)

ORIGINS OF GARDEN PLOT

"Knowledge makes a man unfit to be a slave." —Frederick Douglass

Rochester, New York, is the former home of Frederick Douglass's *North Star* newspaper. In 1964, it erupted in one of the first large-scale urban outbursts of the decade. Precipitated by white police violence against the black community, the July uprising lasted several days, subsiding only after the arrival of 1,500 National Guardsmen. In "the fall of 1964, the FBI, at the direction of President Johnson, began to make riot control training available to local police departments, and by mid-1967 such training assistance had been extended to more than 70,000 officials and civilians."²

On July 29, 1967, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11365, establishing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. It is more commonly known as the Kerner Commission, named for its chair, former Major General, and then Governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner. The creation of the commission came hot on the heels of the violence in Detroit, a conflict which left 43 dead, several hundred wounded, and more than 5,000 people homeless. Johnson sent troubleshooter Cyrus Vance, later Secretary of Defense, as his personal observer to Detroit. The commission issued its final report, completed in less than a year, on March 1, 1968.

Although the Kerner Commission has over the years become associated with a somewhat benign, if not benevolent character, codifying the obvious, "we live in two increasingly separate Americas," etc., the fact is that the commission itself was but one manifestation of a massive military/police counterinsurgency effort directed against U.S. citizens, hatched in an era of emergent post-Vietnam "syndrome" coupled with elite fears of domestic insurrection. While the movement chanted for peace and revolution, rebellious, angry and destructive urban uprisings were occurring with alarming frequency, often the result of the usual spark, police brutality, white on black crime. The so-called urban riots of 1967-1968 were the zenith, during this period, of social and class conflict.

2. James W. Button, *Black Violence: The Political Impact of the 1960's Riots*, (Princeton: University Press, 1978), p. 116.

"More than 160 disorders occurred in some 128 American cities in the first nine months of 1967."³

The executive order establishing the commission called for an investigation of "the origins of the recent major civil disorders and the influence, if any, of organizations or individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence."⁴ The work of the commission was funded from President Johnson's "Emergency Fund." The executive order sought recommendations in three general areas: "short term measures to prevent riots, better measures to contain riots once they begin, and long term measures to eliminate riots in the future."⁵ Their two immediate aims were "to control and repress black rioters using almost any available means,"⁶ and to assure white America that everything was in hand. Commission members included Charles B. Thorton, Chairman and CEO, Litton Industries, member of the Defense Industry Advisory Council to the DoD and the National Security Industrial Association, John L. Atwood, President and CEO, North American Rockwell Corporation ("Commission Advisor on Private Enterprise"), and Herbert Jenkins, Atlanta Chief of Police and President of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

During the early stages of staff recruitment, commission Deputy Executive Director Victor H. Palmieri "described the process as a war strategy"⁷ and so he might, given the overwhelming presence within the commission and its consultants of military and police officials. One quarter of more than 200 consultants listed were big-city police chiefs, like Daryl F. Gates, the former Los Angeles police chief. Numerous police organizations, including the heavily funded Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (financiers of SWAT), guided the commission's deliberations. No less than 30 police departments were represented on or before the commission by their chiefs or deputy chiefs.

A key player within the commission, "consultant" Anthony Downs, stated at the time that, "it would be far cheaper to repress future large-scale urban violence

3. *Ibid.*, p.121. Also see Cyrus R. Vance, *Final Report of Cyrus R. Vance, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Concerning the Detroit Riots, July 23 through August 2, 1967*.

4. Michael Lipsky and David J. Olson, *Commission Politics: The Processing of Racial Crisis in America* (New York: Transaction Books, 1971), p. 161. The Executive Order is reprinted in *U.S. Riot Commission Report* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 34-35.

5. Lipsky and Olson, *op cit.*, n. 4., p. 163, citing a transcription of Lyndon B. Johnson, "Statement by the President," July 29, 1967.

6. *Op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 107.

7. Lipsky and Olson, *op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 163.

through police and military action than to pay for effective programs against remaining poverty."⁸ As for the military, twelve generals, representing various branches of the armed services appeared before the commission or served as contractors. The commission's "Director of Investigations," Milan C. Miskovsky, was "on leave as assistant general counsel of the treasury, and formerly connected to the Central Intelligence Agency."⁹

The Kerner Commission's "study" of "civil disorder" led directly to (civilian) recommendations regarding the role of the military in domestic affairs. The report "commends the Army for the advanced status of its training." Further, it states that "the Department of the Army should participate fully in efforts to develop nonlethal weapons and personal protective equipment appropriate for use in civil disorders." In addition, "the Army should investigate the possibility of utilizing psychological techniques to ventilate hostility and lessen tension in riot control, and incorporate feasible techniques in training the Army and National Guard units."

Under the heading, "Army Response to Civil Disorders," the commission report states that "the commitment of federal troops to aid state and local forces in controlling a disorder is an extraordinary act.... An Army staff task group has recently examined and reviewed a wide range of topics relating to military operations to control urban disorders: command and control, logistics, training, planning, doctrine, personnel, public information, intelligence, and legal aspects." The results of the Army brass's study was subsequently, "made known to the National Guard and to top state and local civil and law enforcement officers in order to stimulate review at the state and local level."¹⁰

The Army Task Force which assisted the Kerner Commission issued its own report in early 1968. In it, the Pentagon took a multi-pronged approach to solving the civil disturbance problem. "Expanding the suggestion of Cyrus Vance, Military Intelligence—working with the FBI, local, coun-

8. Anthony Downs, *Opening Up the Suburbs: An Urban Strategy for America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 176. Downs, a leading "housing expert," believed that the key to effective urban based counterinsurgency was the notion of "spatial deconcentration," or the "adequate outmigration of the poor" from the cities. Downs wrote Chapters 16 and 17 of the Kerner Report which deal with "housing." He is the leading exponent of "deliberate dispersal policies" designed to "disperse the urban poor more effectively." The origins of "homelessness" (state repression) lie here.

9. Lipsky and Olson, *op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 168.

10. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Washington, D.C., March 1, 1968, pp. 279-81.



Delta Company, Illinois National Guard

Illinois National Guard troops practicing "patrolling techniques."

ty and state police forces—undertook a massive domestic intelligence gathering operation...the Senior Officers Civil Disturbance Course was instituted at the Military Police Academy in Georgia.... Security forces ranging from Army troops to local police were trained to implement their contingency plans.... Contingency plans, called planning packets, were prepared for every city in the country that had a potential for student, minority or labor unrest."¹¹

In addition, "the Army Task Force that had designed this program took on a new name, the Directorate of Civil Disturbance Planning and Operations. The Army Task Force transformation into the Directorate occurred during the massive rioting that broke out in black ghettos of 19 cities after the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968."¹² At that time "seven army infantry brigades, totaling 21,000 troops were available for riot duty. And a huge, sophisticated computer center kept track of all public outbursts of political dissent, thereby furnishing the first of the Army Task Force's prescribed remedies: intelligence."¹³

By June of 1968, the Directorate had become the Directorate of Military Support, setting up shop in the basement of the Pentagon. "Better known as the domestic war room, the Directorate had 150 officials to carry out around-the-clock monitoring of civil disorders, as well as to oversee federal troop deployments when necessary. At the cost of \$2.7 million, this massive directorate also developed policy advice for the secretary of the Army on all disturbances and maintained intelligence packets on all major U.S. cities."¹⁴

Even though the full extent of U.S. military intelligence activities during this period is far from generally known, "by 1968, many Justice Department personnel knew that the military was preparing to move in massively if needed to quash urban riots, and some officials feared the development of a large national military riot force. It was well known among top officials that the Department of Defense was spending far more funds than the Justice Department on civil disorder preparations...indicative of the growing trend at the federal level toward repression and control of the urban black rioters."¹⁵

By 1971, Senator Sam Ervin, later of Watergate renown, had convened his Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights which "revealed that Military Intelligence had established an intricate surveillance system covering hundreds of thousands of American citizens. Committee staff members had seen a master plan—Garden Plot—that gave an eagle eye view of the Army-National Guard police strategy."¹⁶ "At first, the Garden Plot exercises focused primarily on racial conflict. But beginning in 1970, the scenarios took a different twist. The joint teams, made up of cops, soldiers and spies, began practicing battle with large groups of protesters. California, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, was among the most enthusiastic participants in Garden Plot war games."¹⁷

As time went on, "Garden Plot evolved into a series of annual training exercises based on contingency plans to undercut riots and demonstrations, ultimately developed for every major city in the United States. Participants in the exercises includ-

ed key officials from all law enforcement agencies in the nation, as well as the National Guard, the military, and representatives of the intelligence community.... According to the plan, joint teams would react to a variety of scenarios based on information gathered through political espionage and informants. The object was to quell urban unrest...."¹⁸

Unrest of a different sort took place on the evening of February 27, 1973. At that time, a group of Native Americans occupied a trading post in the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. By March 2, the takeover had "triggered the army contingency plan for domestic disturbances. Emergency Plans White—now coded as Garden Plot—brought the Army into South Dakota.... Three army colonels, disguised as civilians, and reconnaissance planes assisted," while "the Justice Department used the army to conduct intelligence for civilian law enforcement around Wounded Knee."¹⁹ Information on other instances in which Garden Plot was "triggered" over the intervening years is presently locked in Pentagon vaults.

In essence, the contemporary roots of militarized efforts to suppress domestic rebellion lie in the U.S. Army's master plan, "Department of Defense Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, GARDEN PLOT." Since at least 1968, the military has expended millions of dollars in this effort. The plan is operative right now, most recently during and after the Los Angeles uprising of 1992. A view into details of this plan is possible by way of an examination of "United States Air Force Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, GARDEN PLOT," which is the "implementing" and "supporting plan for the Department of the Army (DA) Civil Disturbance Plan—GARDEN PLOT—dated 1 March 1984 [which] provides for the employment of USAF forces in civil disturbances." It is specifically drawn up "to support the Secretary of the Army, as DOD Executive Agent for civil disturbance control operations (nicknamed GARDEN PLOT), with airlift and logistical support, in assisting civil authorities in the restoration of law and order through appropriate military commanders in the 50 States, District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and U.S. possessions and territories, or any political subdivision thereof." The plan "is effective for planning on receipt and for execution on order."²⁰

18. *Ibid.*

19. Joan M. Jensen, *Army Surveillance in America, 1775-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 257-58. This excellent historical account actually does what it says, tracing American "internal security measures" right back to the "founders."

20. United States Air Force Civil Disturbance Plan

11. Ron Ridenhour and Arthur Lubow, "Bringing the War Home," *New Times Magazine*, 1975, p. 20.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 133.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 18.

17. Donald Goldberg and Indy Badhwar, "Blueprint for Tyranny," *Penthouse Magazine*, Aug. 1985, p. 72.

U.S. Air Force 55-2—GARDEN PLOT

"The long title of the plan is United States Air Force Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, Employment of USAF Forces in Civil Disturbances. The short title...is USAF Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2. The nickname assigned by Department of the Army is GARDEN PLOT."

The plan opens with some basic "assumptions," namely that "civil disturbances requiring intervention with military forces may occur simultaneously in any of the 50 States, District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, U.S. possessions and territories." And like the current situation in Vieques, Puerto Rico, "civil disturbances will normally develop over a period of time." In the event it evolves into a confrontational situation, under Garden Plot, it is a "presidential executive order" that "will authorize and direct the Secretary of Defense to use the Armed Forces of the United States to restore law and order."

According to the Air Force plan, the military will attempt "to suppress rebellion whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impractical to enforce the laws of the United States in any state or territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings...(10 USC 332)." Applying its own version of equal protection under the law, the military can intervene "when insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in a state so hinder or obstruct the execution of the laws as to deprive individuals of their constitutional rights, privileges, and immunities or when the insurrection impedes the due course of justice, and only when the constituted authorities of the state are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right, privilege, immunity, or to give that protection (10 USC 333)." In other words, the Army makes an offer of "protection" that the citizenry can't refuse.

According to the Air Force plan's "Classification Guidance," the roughly 200 page document "is UNCLASSIFIED and does not come within the scope of direction governing the protection of information affecting national security. Although it is UNCLASSIFIED, it is FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY as directed by AFR 12-30. This plan contains information that is of internal use to DOD and, through disclosure, would tend to allow persons to violate the

55-2, Garden Plot, Headquarters, United States Air Force, June 1, 1984 (roughly 200 pages, not paginated).

law or hinder enforcement of the law." Consequently, the plan's "operations orders and operating procedures must be designed to provide the highest degree of security possible." Therefore "the entire staff should identify known or suspected opposition awareness of previous operations and operations plans," while "procedures should be designed to eliminate the suspect sources to the degree possible." And "in the event of organized opposition... some sort of advisory intelligence gathering capability should be assumed."

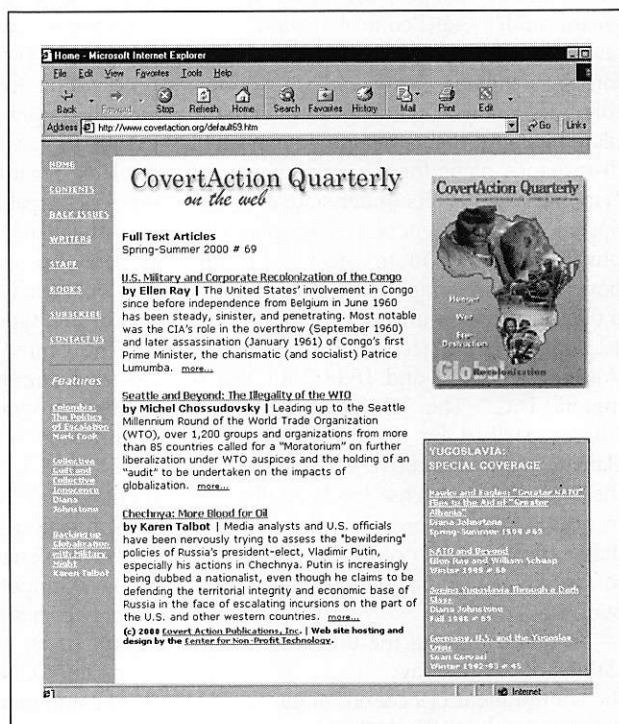
The Air Force document warns, under the heading of "Open Literature Threat," presaging current military discourse on "info-war," that "any information/document, though seemingly unclassified, which reveals information concerning this Plan is a threat to OPSEC (operational security)." This is especially true given the nature of the "Human Intelligence (HUMINT) Threat." Recognizing that, "prior to and during sustained military operations in Support of the Plan, the potential HUMINT threat could be considerable," the plan recommends that "every effort should be made to reduce vulnerability to this threat by adhering to OPSEC procedures and safeguarding Essential Elements of Friendly Information (EEFI)."

Under "Operations to be Conducted: Deployment," the Air Force plan states that "a civil disturbance condition (CIDCON) system has been established to provide an orderly and timely increase in preparedness for designated forces to deploy for civil disturbances control operations, will be on an as required basis for USAF resources for such operations as aerial resupply, aerial reconnaissance, airborne psychological operations, command and control communications systems, aeromedical evacuation, helicopter and weather support." The Air Force does have some experience in this area. "In response to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, student unrest broke out. Under Operation

Garden Plot, from April 30 through May 4, 1970, 9th Air Force airlift units transported civil disturbance control forces from Ft. Bragg to various locations throughout the eastern U.S."²¹ In fact, two years earlier, "Air Force Reserve C-119 and C-124 units participated in Garden Plot operations set up to quell domestic strife that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King."²²

21. Federation of American Scientists, Military Analysis Network, "Garden Plot," Nov. 1998.

22. U.S. Air Force News Service, Kelly Air Force Base, Texas, "Air Force 50th Anniversary: April History," March 25, 1997, p. 2. In fact, Garden Plot may have been operative prior and during the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. William F. Pepper, attorney for the late James Earl Ray, as well as the King family in their current attempts to get to the bottom of the murder, claims, in *Orders To Kill* (Secaucus, N.J.: Carroll and Graf, 1995), p. 424, that the orders to kill King, which were delivered to Special Forces operatives in Memphis were tied to Garden Plot. Pepper states that the orders to kill King "appeared to come from the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and were issued under the umbrella of the anti-black terrorist operation Garden Plot which was a part of the overall U.S. Command anti-riot operation which was activated with the outbreak of any major riot."



Now with our secure-server e-commerce technology for secure credit card transactions, you can subscribe to *CovertAction Quarterly* and order excellent articles and books online, right now!

Although the section on "Counterintelligence Targets and Requirements" is "omitted," the plan does specify its targets, namely, those "disruptive elements, extremists or dissidents perpetrating civil disorder." A "civil disturbance" is defined as a "riot, acts of violence, insurrections, unlawful obstructions or assemblages, or other disorders prejudicial to public law and order. The term civil disturbance includes all domestic conditions requiring the use of federal armed forces pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 15, Title 10, United States Code." Conditions precipitating Garden Plot activation are "those that threaten to reach or have reached such proportions that civil authorities cannot or will not maintain public order." As for legal authority, "the Constitution of the United States and numerous statutes provide the President with the authority to commit Federal military forces within the United States... DOD Directive 3025.12 provides guidance in committing Federal armed forces."

The "application of forces should be in the following order: local and state police, Army and (in support role) Air National Guard under State control, Federal civil law enforcement officials, federal military forces to include Army and (in support role) Air National Guard." According to the plan, "State Adjutants General prepare civil disturbance plans for the employment of National Guard units under state control." Specifically, "as a general rule for planning purposes, the minimum forces to be supported in any single objective area is 5,000. The maximum to be supported is 12,000 for any objective area other than Washington, D.C., and 18,000 for Washington, D.C." The "objective areas" are "those specified by the Presidential Proclamation and Executive Order in which the Secretary of Defense has been directed to restore law and order," and as "further defined by the Letter of Instruction issued to Task Force Commanders by the Chief of Staff, US Army."

In order to avoid the unseemly implications of "martial law," "requirements for the commitment of Federal military forces will not result in the declaration of a National Emergency." In this regard, the "Public Affairs Objectives" include the development of "procedures for the public release of appropriate information regarding...civil disturbance control operations." Media and other queries "concerning employment of control forces...may be locally answered by an interim statement that the Department of Defense policy is not to comment on plans concerning the possible employment of military units and resources to carry out assigned missions."

Concerning "Force Requirements," the plan states that, "US Army and Marine Corps units designated for civil disturbance operations will be trained, equipped and maintained in readiness for rapid deployment, (with) ten brigades, prepared for rapid deployment anywhere in CONUS. A Quick Reaction Force (QRF) will be considered to be on a 24-hour alert status and capable of attaining a CIDCON 4 status in 12 hours..." Upon receipt of orders, "the Task Force Commander assumes operational control of the military ground forces assigned for employment in the objective area," including "special operations assets."

The "Summary of the Counterintelligence and Security Situation" states that "spontaneous civil disturbances which involve large numbers of persons and/or which continue for a considerable period of time, may exceed the capacity of local civil law enforcement agencies to suppress. Although this type of activity can arise without warning as a result of sudden, unanticipated popular unrest (past riots in such cities as Miami, Detroit and Los Angeles serve as examples), it may also result from more prolonged dissidence." USAF Garden Plot advises that "if military forces are called upon to restore order, they must expect to have only limited information available regarding the perpetrators, their motives, capabilities, and intentions. On the other hand, such events which occur as part of a prolonged series of dissident acts will usually permit the advance collection of that type of information..."

The United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), "provides training programs and doctrine for civil disturbance operations to military services." The U.S. Army Force Command (FORSCOM) "organizes, trains, and maintains in readiness Army forces for civil disturbance operations," while the Director of Military Support (DOMS) "conducts, on a no-notice basis, exercises which direct headquarters of uniformed services, appropriate CONUS command, and other DOD components, having GARDEN PLOT responsibilities to assume a simulated increased preparedness for specified forces." In addition, the DOMS "maintains an around-the-clock civil disturbance command center to monitor incipient and ongoing disturbances."

The document, the United States Air Force's "implementing plan" for the U.S. Army's Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2, GARDEN PLOT, goes on to detail every aspect of military "suppression" of "rebellion against the authority of the United States," including who pays, who bills and how to

secure "loans" to cover the costs "attributable to GARDEN PLOT." Ominously, under "Resources Employed Without Presidential Directive," the document states that when the "immediate employment of military resources is required in cases of sudden and unexpected civil disturbances or other emergencies endangering life or federal property, or disrupting the normal processes of Government, expenses incurred will be financed as a mission responsibility of the DOD component employing the military resources."

PENTAGON DIRECTIVES

"Department of Defense Directive 3025.12, Military Assistance for Civil Disturbances (MACDIS)" became effective on February 4, 1994, when signed by then Defense Secretary William Perry. It states that, "the President is authorized by the Constitution and laws of the United States to suppress insurrections, rebellions, and domestic violence under various conditions and circumstances. Planning and preparedness by the Federal Government and the Department of Defense for civil disturbances are important, due to the potential severity of the consequences of such events for the Nation and the population." Further, "the Secretary of the Army, as DoD Executive Agent, shall provide guidance to the other DoD Components, through DoD 3025.12-R, the DoD Civil Disturbance Plan (GARDEN PLOT), or both, in accordance with this Directive."

DoDD 3025.12 makes it clear that "MACDIS operations are unprogrammed emergency requirements for the Department of Defense," and that in order to "ensure essential control and sound management of all military forces employed in MACDIS operations, centralized direction from the DoD Executive Agent (the Army) shall guide planning by the DoD component." Thus, "MACDIS missions shall be decentralized through the DoD Planning Agents or other Joint Task Force Commanders only when specifically directed by the DoD Executive Agent."

According to the directive, the "Army and Air National Guard forces have primary responsibility for providing military assistance to state and local governments in civil disturbances." Accordingly, "the Army National Guard State Area Commands (STARCs) shall plan for contingency use of non-Federalized National Guard forces for civil disturbance operations." The directive further outlines policy, guidelines, and legal justification for "military assistance for civil disturbances," including policy regarding domestic law enforcement, designating the Army as "the principal point of contact be-

tween the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Department of Justice (DoJ) for planning and executing MACDIS.”²³

The militarization of domestic “law enforcement” is founded, in part, upon “Department of Defense Directive 5525.5, DoD Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Officials,” dated January 15, 1986, five years after congressional “drug warriors” passed the Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Agencies Act. Referencing the 1971 version of DODD 3025.12 (above), the directive states that, “it is DoD policy to cooperate with civilian law enforcement officials to the extent practical...consistent with the needs of national security and military preparedness.” In addition, “the Military Departments and Defense Agencies may provide training to Federal, State, and local civilian law enforcement officials.”

Apparently, military Judge Advocates (lawyers) have no problem with the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act (18 USC 1385), which states: “Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years or both.” Nor is there much concern shown for “the historic tradition of limiting direct military involvement in civilian law enforcement activities.” Even though the Act is cited within the directive as “the primary restriction on military participation in civilian law enforcement activities,” it is rendered null and void in deference to “actions that are taken for the primary purpose of furthering a military or foreign affairs function.” In fact, “under guidance established by the Secretaries of the Military Departments and the Directors of the Defense Agencies concerned, the planning and execution of compatible military training and operations may take into account the needs of civilian law enforcement officials for information when the collection of the information is an incidental aspect of training performed for a military purpose.”²⁴

23. Department of Defense Directive 3025.12, “Military Assistance for Civil Disturbances (MACDIS), Feb. 4, 1994” (web7.whs.osd.mil/text/d302512p.txt). Note: DoDD 3025.12 is one of 4 correlated directives that deal with civil disturbance. The others include DoDD 3025.1, “Military Support to Civil Authorities (Jan. 1993),” DoDD 3025.15, “Military Assistance for Civil Authorities (Feb. 1997),” and DoDD 3025.1-M, “Manual for Civil Emergencies (June 1994).”

24. Department of Defense Directive 5525.5, “DoD Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Officials,” Jan. 15, 1986 ([http://www.ngb.dtic.mil/reference/briefings/wmd/DODD5525.5DoD Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Officials.htm](http://www.ngb.dtic.mil/reference/briefings/wmd/DODD5525.5DoD%20Cooperation%20with%20Civilian%20Law%20Enforcement%20Officials.htm)).



Delta Company, Illinois National Guard

Civil Disturbance Training: National Guard troops “detain a rioter.”

“United States Army Field Manual 19-15, Civil Disturbances,” dated November 1985, is designed to provide hands-on “guidance for the commander and his staff in preparing for and providing assistance to civil authorities in civil disturbance control operations.” The Army manual opens by noting that, “the DA Civil Disturbance Plan, known as Garden Plot, provides guidance to all DOD components in planning civil disturbance missions.” Its thirteen chapters cover, in depth, every aspect of military “tasks and techniques employed to control civil disturbances and neutralize special threats.” Subjects include the nature of civil disturbances, participants (“the crowd”), federal intervention, information planning (“intelligence”), control force operations, crowd control operations, threat analysis (“criminal activists”), about which “law enforcement sources can provide useful information,” riot control agents, extreme force options, apprehension, detention, and training.

According to the Army manual, “civil disturbances in any form are prejudicial to public law and order.” They “arise from acts of civil disobedience,” and “occur most often when participants in mass acts of civil disobedience become antagonistic toward authority, and authorities must struggle to wrest the initiative from an unruly crowd.” They are caused by “political grievances” and “urban economic conflicts,” or maybe even by “agents of foreign nations,” but mostly, “urban conflicts and community unrest arise from highly emotional social and economic issues.” And in a statement that resonates with the “benign neglect” of some years ago, the manual points out that

disturbances may arise because “economically deprived inner-city residents may perceive themselves treated unjustly or ignored by the people in power.”

Utilizing Garden Plot language, the manual states that “the president can employ armed federal troops to suppress insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful assemblies, and conspiracy if such acts deprive the people of their constitutional rights and a state’s civil authorities cannot or will not provide adequate protection.” Never mind the Congress or Constitution, “federal intervention in civil disturbances begins with the issuance of a presidential proclamation to the citizens engaged in the disturbance.” In other words, the President reads “the riot act” and “a control force” is sent in to “isolate the disturbance area.” The goal is to “isolate the people creating the disturbance from those who have not yet become actively involved.”

According to FM 19-15, the Army can gather intelligence on civilians if their “activities can be linked directly to a distinct threat of a civil disturbance that may involve federal forces.” This is especially important, given that “during civil disturbances many people engage in unlawful behavior.” Therefore, “when at all possible, civil law enforcement agents are integrated with the military control force team making apprehensions,” and “if police are not available, military personnel may search people incident to an apprehension.” Useful measures for “isolating an area include barriers, patrols, pass and ID systems, and control of public utilities.” Also, “imposing a curfew is a highly effective control measure in many civil disturbances.” Army

"saturation patrols," "integrated with civil police patrols," blanket the area, creating "the psychological impression of the control force being everywhere at once."

The Army field manual points out that when "control forces" resort to "forceful measures," they can turn to a host of weaponry, including "the M234, which is a nondeadly force measure, to the machine gun, which is the most deadly force measure." The manual states that "machine guns, 7.62 millimeter and below, may accompany units on civil disturbance missions." In addition, the "control forces" can utilize the M234 launcher, which is "a riot control weapon" mounted on an M16 rifle which "fires a projectile that causes pain on impact." In addition, "the riot shotgun is an extremely versatile weapon. Its appearance and capability have a strong psychological effect on rioters."

The concept of martial rule, as distinct from martial law, is not written, and therefore is an eminently more workable arrangement for "law enforcement forces." That is because, as FM 19-15 points out, "martial rule is based on public necessity. Public necessity in this sense means public safety." According to the manual, U.S. state authorities "may take such action within their own jurisdictions." And yet, "whether or not martial rule has been proclaimed, commanders must weigh each proposed action against the threat to public order and safety. If the need for martial rule arises, the military commander at the scene must so inform the Army Chief of Staff and await instructions. If martial rule is imposed, the civilian population must be informed of the restrictions and rules of conduct that the military can enforce." Realizing the power of free speech, the manual suggests that "during a civil disturbance, it may be advisable to prevent people from assembling. Civil law can make it unlawful for people to meet to plan an act of violence, rioting, or civil disturbance. Prohibitions on assembly may forbid gatherings at any place and time." And don't forget, "making hostile or inflammatory speeches advocating the overthrow of the lawful government and threats against public officials, if it endangered public safety, could violate such law."

During civil disturbance operations, "authorities must be prepared to detain large numbers of people," forcing them into existing, though expanded "detention facilities." Cautioning that "if there are more detainees than civil detention facilities can handle, civil authorities may ask the control forces to set up and operate temporary facilities." Pending the approval of the Army Chief of Staff, the military can detain and jail citizens en masse. "The tem-

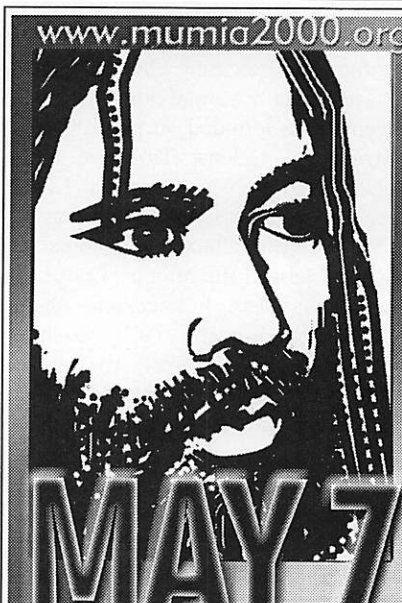
porary facilities are set up on the nearest military installation or on suitable property under federal control." These "temporary facilities" are "supervised and controlled by MP officers and NCOs trained and experienced in Army correctional operations. Guards and support personnel under direct supervision and control of MP officers and NCOs need not be trained or experienced in Army correctional operations. But they must be specifically instructed and closely supervised in the proper use of force...."

According to the Army, the detention facilities are situated near to the "disturbance area," but far enough away "not to be endangered by riotous acts." Given the large numbers of potential detainees, the logistics (holding, searching, processing areas) of such an undertaking, new construction of such facilities "may be needed to provide the segregation for ensuring effective control and administration." It must be designed and "organized for a smooth flow of traffic," while a medical "treatment area" would be utilized as a "separate holding area for injured detainees." After a "detainee is logged in and searched," "a file is initiated," and a "case number" identifies the prisoner. In addition, "facility personnel also may use hospital ID tags. Using indelible ink, they write the case number and attach the tag to the detainee's wrist. Different colors may be used to identify different offender classifications...." Finally, if and when it should occur, "release procedures must be coordinated with civil authorities and appropriate legal counsel." If the "detainee" should produce a writ of habeas corpus issued by a state court, thereby demanding ones' day in court, the Army will "respectfully reply that the prisoner is being held by authority of the United States."

Finally, apparently the new millennium has brought with it a renewed desire on the part of the military to circulate the particulars of the Garden Plot plan among the troops. This past January 28, the Army's Center for Lessons Learned published various sections of the most recent, February 15, 1991 version of the plan on its web site.²⁵ The timing is indeed interesting. Some of the online sections include "Annex A: Task Organization, Forces, and Reaction Times to Department of Defense Civil Disturbance Plan," "Annex D: Logistics...Intelligence and the Basic Plan" and the "Alert Order," "Annex G: Communications and Information Management." Only the material is restricted to military personnel, for now. ■

25. See for example, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C., 20310-0440, "DOD Civil Disturbance Plan," Feb. 15, 1991. Site posted Jan. 28, 2000, at <http://freddie.forsec.army.mil/mac/GARDENPLOT/preface.doc>.

www.mumia2000.org



MAY 7

SUNDAY 2PM

PACK THE THEATER

MADISON SQ
AT GARDEN FOR

MUMIA
ABU-JAMAL

You are invited to join Ossie Davis
Susan Sarandon ♦ Hon. David Dinkins
Rage Against the Machine ♦ Edward Asner
Gloria Steinem ♦ Dick Gregory ♦ Angela Davis
Leslie Feinberg ♦ Mike Farrell ♦ Alice Walker
Tom Duane, State Rep. ♦ Johnnie Cochran, Esq.
Rev. Al Sharpton ♦ Hon. John Conyers
Ramsey Clark, Esq. ♦ Indigo Girls ♦ Pam Africa
Leonard Weinglass, Esq. ♦ Bishop Thomas
Gumbleton & thousands of people from
across the country

Admission \$15 Group rates available
For tickets www.leftbooks.com
May 7 Day for Mumia Mobilization
39 W. 14 St., # 206, NY, NY 10011

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

Information: www.mumia2000.org
www.iacenter.org email: iacenter@iacenter.org
FAX 212.633.2889 **212 633-6646**

Endorsers include: Int'l Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal; Academics for Mumia; Christoph Arnold-Bruderhof; Campaign to End the Death Penalty; Jericho Amnesty Movement; Millions for Mumia/International Action Center; Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal; National People's Campaign; NY Free Mumia Coalition; Peoples' Video Network; Refuse & Resist!

FRANCES STONOR SAUNDERS, *THE CULTURAL COLD WAR: THE CIA AND THE WORLD OF ARTS AND LETTERS* (NEW YORK: NEW PRESS, 1999).

BY GERALD HORNE

As Frances Stonor Saunders discovered in researching this arresting work, application of the Freedom of Information Act, "as far as the CIA is concerned, is lamentable" (p. viii). Many writers analyzing some aspect of the history of U.S.-Soviet relations have relied unduly, sometimes solely, on "revelations" from Moscow, on the real or imagined archives of the KGB. Yet, how can one tell the complete story, or any aspect of it, if one of the richest documentary archives is off-limits? It is like trying to figure out who won a 15-round boxing match by watching only one fighter; such an approach could easily lead to the conclusion that there is no difference between shadow-boxing and an actual fight—which is precisely the position in which too many writers relying on "KGB insiders" have found themselves. The research community—particularly professional organizations of historians—need to do a better job of pressuring Washington to release more of the files.

Still, the indefatigable Saunders recognized early on during her research that there was a "wealth of documentation existing in private collections" (p. viii). She relies heavily on these in telling the disturbing story of how the CIA established a veritable Ministry of Culture and Information that stretched across the oceans, warping intellectual life around the world.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union seamlessly replaced the Third Reich as the Enemy in the eyes of the rulers of the United States and its western allies. Washington was worried—with good reason—that peoples devastated by a conflict largely initiated by the forces of capitalism, and won in no small part because of the sacrifices of the Soviet Union, might as a consequence turn sharply to the left. They were particularly concerned that opinion-molders—artists, and intellectuals—would be in the vanguard of this movement. Like latter-day Lenins, bureaucrats and businessmen alike contemplated, "What is to be done?"

What was done, *inter alia*, was a massive effort to manipulate the consciousness of a generation. In pursuit of this ignoble aim, the

Central Intelligence Agency owned "airlines, radio stations, newspapers, insurance companies, and real estate" (p. 33). So much money was lavished on their ignominious pursuits that CIA agent Gilbert Greenway recalled, "we couldn't spend it all.... There were no limits, and nobody had to account for it. It was amazing" (p. 105).

Much—but not all—of this was taxpayers' money. Foundations, particularly Ford and Rockefeller, became conduits for various CIA schemes. Incorporated in 1936, by the late 1950s the Ford Foundation had assets totaling a hefty \$3 billion—a sum so immense that Dwight Macdonald described it memorably as "a large body of money completely surrounded by people who want some" (p. 139). These foundations were not minor players. One of the most controversial CIA forays into mind-control, the "MK-ULTRA (or 'Manchurian Candidate') program" of the 1950s was assisted by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation (p. 144).

A particular target of this demented largesse—at home and abroad—was what was called the "Non-Communist Left." "Indeed," writes Saunders, "for the CIA the strategy of promoting the Non-Communist Left was to become 'the theoretical foundation of the Agency's political operations against Communism over the next two decades'" (p. 63). Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the court historian, presented the rationale for this approach in his book *The Vital Center*. As he recalled later, "we all felt that democratic socialism was the most effective bulwark against [communism]. This became an undercurrent—or even undercover—theme in American foreign policy during the period" (p. 63).

An initial foray into the limelight by these ideological stormtroopers took place in 1949 at a major conference on world peace at the Waldorf-Astoria. T.S. Eliot, André Malraux, Bertrand Russell, and Igor Stravinsky were among those who sought to disrupt this noble effort to ban the bomb and curb the rush toward nuclear war. Sidney Hook was the leader of those who, "armed with umbrellas," pounded the floor and sought to "tie themselves to their chairs" and do everything in their might to lubricate the path for Washington's aggression (p. 48-9).

The conference was not effectively disrupted, which may have pushed the agency into other arenas. Helping to organize and promote the book *The God That Failed* was

one of the CIA's early successes in this realm. This work was "as much a product of intelligence as it was a work of the intelligentsia" (p. 65). In page after tormented page writers like Ignazio Silone, André Gide, Arthur Koestler, Stephen Spender, *et al.*, decried the alleged perfidy of Communist parties and repented for their supposed sins in being involved in same. The book was "distributed by U.S. government agencies all over Europe. In Germany, in particular, it was rigorously promoted" (p. 66). This was part of what Sidney Hook called "the informational re-education of the French public..." (p. 70).

It was also part of an extraordinary foray into subsidized publishing, rather ironic since the CIA and the government it represented was simultaneously denouncing Communist-ruled nations for allowing the state to become involved in publishing. Two of the key journals in this regard were the *Partisan Review* and the *New Leader*, both exemplars of the "Non-Communist Left," with their mastheads sprinkled liberally (no pun intended) with the names of ex-Trotskyites and former Communists. The substantial subsidies to these journals were "in breach of [the CIA's] own legislative charter, which prohibited support of domestic organizations" (p. 164). Moreover, for supposed devotees of "free enterprise," these subventions were profoundly distorting of "the market" and, no doubt, drove potential readers—and profits—away from publications that were not so blessed.

Encounter, edited by Irving Kristol—later a fountainhead of "neo-conservatism"—was another CIA journal of this era. Stephen Spender also assisted with the publication that one London writer called "the police review of American-occupied countries" (p. 188). Kristol and company did yeoman service for the CIA as the date for the execution of the Rosenbergs approached. In league with the "Psychological Strategy Board"—an entity that merits more attention—they sought to convince Europeans particularly that there was no anti-Semitism involved in this case and that U.S. courts were reliable and just.

MOVIE MOGULS

The CIA also played a role in promoting the anticommunist fantasies of George Orwell. Howard Hunt—he of Watergate fame—acknowledged that the Agency "financed and distributed" the animated version of Orwell's *Animal Farm* "throughout the world." It was

Gerald Horne is professor of history and director of the Institute of African-American Research Center at the University of North Carolina. The book was originally published as *Who Paid the Piper* (London: Granta, 1999).

the “most ambitious animation film of its time,” putting Walt Disney to shame; there were “eighty cartoonists, 750 scenes, 300,000 drawings in color.” Of course, given such an investment, there was a compulsion to arrange the plot to fit CIA predilections. “In the original text, Communist pigs and Capitalist man are indistinguishable, merging into a common pool of rottenness. In the film, such congruity was carefully elided... and, in the ending, simply eliminated...the conflation of Communist corruption with capitalist decadence was reversed” (p. 295).

Something similar happened with the celluloid version of Orwell’s dystopian novel, 1984, which the Agency also had a hand in producing. “The film actually concluded with two different endings, one for American audiences and one for British,” in an effort to cater to the presumed varying political sensibilities of the two audiences. Of course, Orwell himself was no innocent. Isaac Deutscher has charged that this former colonial official “borrowed the idea of 1984, the plot, the chief characters, the symbols and the whole climate of his story from Evgeny Zamyatin’s *We*.” Orwell was not above informing either, alerting British intelligence to the alleged fact that Paul Robeson was “very anti-white.” Tom Driberg was of the variety Orwell loved to fear: He was supposedly “homosexual” and an “English Jew.” Not surprisingly, given his previous role as a flunky for the British Empire in Burma, Orwell “had confused the role of the intellectual with that of the policeman”—a description that could fit many in the embrace of the CIA during this period (pp. 298-300).

This conflation of roles was not uncommon for the CIA, which as the Orwell example illustrates, also saw itself as a movie mogul—though, once again simultaneously castigating Communist-ruled nations for allowing the state to become involved in cinema. CIA agent Carleton Alsop worked “undercover at Paramount Studios” and “had been a producer and agent, working on the MGM lot in the mid-1930s.” By the 1950s, he was writing “regular ‘movie reports’ for the CIA and the Psychological Strategy Board.” For the long time the Agency had seen location shooting by studios in far-away climes—a legitimate reason to brandish cameras promiscuously—as an excellent opportunity to gather intelligence. Alsop helped further this tradition. His actual job was to hound Reds out of Hollywood and introduce “specific themes into...films.” In 1953, Alsop “secured the agreement of several casting directors to plant ‘well dressed Negroes as a part of the American scene, without appearing too conspicuous or deliberate.’” For another film “a little tinkering on his part ensured that most of the offending scenes (the shipment of a whole tribe of Apaches by the army against their wishes to Florida, and the tagging of them like animals) had been removed or their impact significantly diluted” (pp. 290-91).

Alsop’s labor was part of a larger effort by the agency to deflect attention from the U.S.’s horrible record on race, a key to portraying itself as a paragon of human rights virtue. This record, understandably, “left many Europeans uneasy about America’s ability to practice the democracy she now claimed to be offering the world. It was therefore reasoned that the exporting of African-Americans to perform in Europe would dispel such damaging perceptions.” This became an “urgent priority” for the CIA. As a result, “Leontyne Price, Dizzy Gillespie, Marian Anderson, William Warfield,” and others, all received gigs abroad, mostly unwittingly, thanks to the CIA’s efforts as book- ing agent (pp. 20-21, 291).

THE POSTWAR ART SCENE

One of the agency’s most notable roles was in shaping the postwar scene in painting. Nelson Rockefeller, a “keen supporter” of this form, termed it “free enterprise painting,” in that it supposedly represented the “freedom” that capitalism was thought to bring to the artist (p. 258). Decades ago, the progressive artist, Eva Cockcroft connected the promotion of this form of support to “cultural cold war politics” (p. 263). Serge Guilbaut wrote an entire book detailing this curious relationship between artists who allegedly represented “freedom,” but were promoted vigorously by the CIA and their minions. MOMA, which was essential in this process, had among its trustees William Paley (who allowed CBS “to provide cover for CIA employees”) and Henry Luce of Time-Life, who provided the same service to the Agency (p. 262). One CIA front—the American Congress for Cultural Freedom (ACCF)—was instrumental in supporting “abstract painting over representational or realist aesthetics” (p. 272). The leading lights of abstract painting—Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, and others—were part of the ACCF; the progressive artist, Ben Shahn, “refused to join, referring to it as the ‘ACCFuck.’” Painters like Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb “led these efforts to destroy Communist presence in the art world” (p. 278). This was yet another contradiction in an era replete with them: “a movement which so deliberately declared itself to be apolitical” was “intensely politicized” (p. 275).

The illogic of the Cold War twisted artists and propagandists alike into pretzel-like contortions. It was argued that art should be “autonomous” and above politics on the one hand, yet “pressed into political service” when necessary on the other (p. 251). In order to promote an art form deemed to be the essence of democracy, the democratic process itself had to be subverted, as the CIA exceeded its charter. Artists like Rothko were “showered with material rewards for works which ‘howled their opposition to bourgeois materialism.’” In the ultimate version of drip art, he “slashed his veins and bled to death on his studio floor” (p. 278).

Yes, the CIA manipulated minds, though, to be sure, not all minds required adroit manipulation. As one analyst put it, “the most effective kind of propaganda’ was defined as the kind where ‘the subject moves in the direction you desire for reasons which he believes to be his own’” (p. 4). Certainly it was easier to swim with the tide than against it. The problem, of course, was that the CIA was helping to push currents in certain directions, thereby foiling alternative routes. Still, as Carol Brightman has observed, the height of the Cold War “was perhaps the first time since the French Revolution when significant components of an intellectual community decided that it was no longer de rigueur to be adversarial....” This was a time when en masse U.S. intellectuals “lost their taste for the class struggle” (p. 161).

Nevertheless, there was an ongoing battle within the Agency about the feasibility of some of these efforts, with many on the extreme right discomfited by the alliance with the “Non-Communist Left” (NCL), co-opting Negroes (they felt they should have been put in their place instead), and all the rest. *Ramparts*, the sadly departed muck-raking California journal, exposed the lineaments of this “cultural cold war” in the 1960s. For this they were pursued and harassed relentlessly. Yet, what truly wounded this effort was an exposé by former CIA agent and Rockefeller toady, Tom Braden, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, entitled “I’m Glad the CIA Is ‘Immoral.’” One insider concluded that Braden’s handiwork was “part of a coordinated, authorized operation to end the CIA’s alliance with the NCL” (p. 399).

Though these particular initiatives may have been terminated, it is a great mistake to conclude—as the author suggests—that the “cultural” initiatives of the CIA have ended. Along with a touch of an anti-communism—which, after all, was the rationale for the CIA’s depredations that the author so eloquently deplores—this is a weakness in an otherwise estimable book.

The author’s bibliography is priceless: Future researchers must not ignore her citations to the C.D. Jackson Papers at the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, nor the Congress for Cultural Freedom Papers at the University of Chicago. And, although the CIA has kept a padlock on most of its files, it is easy to discern the continuing influence of their nefarious activities: The viruses they let loose in the 1950s are continuing to infect intellectuals—particularly on the west bank of the Atlantic Ocean. The malady can be detected in those who steadily maintain an allergy toward class struggle, display a penchant for discourses that defy objective meaning, and confuse the roles of intellectual and cop. Frances Stonor Saunders has performed a service by reminding readers that, while some of us may have forgotten about the existence of a cultural cold war, this raging conflict has not forgotten about us. ■

The way it s'posed to be...

by Bob Randolph

Our democratic empire
has friends in every place,
in every forest, on every beach,
in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique;
in Senegal, Chad the Philippines.

We bring democracy and just a touch of capital
to your lands
in lieu of food enough for babes,
for books for little tots in school,
in place of Kenyan use of
Kenyan ores deep beneath the Kenyan earth.
For them it would be but a waste
used for Kenyan toys and Kenyan kitchen sinks,
and leave the world-wide business that is ours
to police you all,
to ward off Russians, French and Dutch
to have all ancient empires near the Tigris
serve our modern will,
to thwart Italian moves toward social change in 1948,
to destroy Grenada in 83,
Chile in 73
Kennedy in 63,
the Bay of White House Pigs in 1961,
to tell you all
and tell our own American souls
it was done all in the righteous cause
of stacking weapons everywhere,
to fight the reds all everywhere,
to protect us all from tyrants in the desert sands,
on Peruvian mountain tops
in Indonesian forests by the sea
and if it means you miss a meal or two,
or miss a house, or job,

a book, a school or two,
a public park,
a clinic for the poor or two,
just don't you mind,
because it would only sadden us
to have to drop a bomb or two
on one of you
from time to time,
to keep you safe within our range of missiles
aimed so true at you,
for all of you
to keep you at our beck and call,
to help you join the enterprise of the C the I the A,
its promises to keep you safe and true,
though yes, you may still need a school or two
an independent government or two,
a decent life or two
or three,
but try to see this is how it has to be,
the way it s'posed to be,
to shield us all
from alien schemes of social change
that say they'll let us love each other,
let us all control ourselves,
to live your lives in your own place
but to undermine American democracy
everywhere on the loose,
the one we propped up here at home
with cardboard smiling cutouts
to keep Americans proud and free,
wearing yellow ribbons for you all to see,
the way it s'posed to be....

February 10, 1992

Bob Randolph lives in Berkeley, California.

IN MEMORIAM: HERBERT I. SCHILLER

On January 29, 2000, Herbert I. Schiller, the most influential progressive critic of corporate control of media and culture in America, died at the age of 80. Schiller, a powerful and prolific writer for more than 30 years, taught at the University of Illinois, the University of California, and New York University, inspiring generations of students, many of whom went on to follow in his footsteps, now teaching in communications departments throughout the country. As Neil Postman, a colleague at NYU, said, "It is not too much to say that he gave shape and texture to the modern study of communications and culture in America."

Although his early criticism focused on the traditional media—newspapers, television, and film—he soon broadened his sights and scrutinized advertising, bookstore chains, commercials, consumerism, and all the ills attendant on modern mass communications. In more than a dozen books and countless articles in both scholarly and popular publications around the world, he savaged the notion that the mass media did or could operate independently of their ties to political and economic power, and demonstrated that those ties made it virtually impos-

sible for the media to foster democratic ideals or serve as any sort of watchdog against government or corporate misconduct.

An example of the depth of his insight, as well as the sure but subtle radicalness of his thought, can be seen in this passage from perhaps his most famous work, *The Mind Managers* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973):

"Manipulation's greatest triumph, most observable in the United States, is to have taken advantage of the special historical circumstances of Western development to perpetrate as truth a definition of freedom cast in individualistic terms. This enables the concept to serve a double function. It protects the ownership of productive private property while simultaneously offering itself as the guardian of the individual's well-being, suggesting, if not insisting, that the latter is unattainable without the existence of the former. Upon this central construct an entire scaffolding of manipulation is erected."

Herb Schiller's presence, his warmth, his wit, and his boundless energy will be greatly missed. He is survived by his wife, Anita, two sons, Dan and Zach, and two grandchildren. We extend to them our deepest sympathy.

SPECIAL BOOK OFFERS:

CovertAction Quarterly has a limited supply of a number of important books published by Sheridan Square Press and the Institute for Media Analysis in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These are all from the publishers' stock and in perfect condition and are offered to our readers at a substantial discount from the original cover prices. All prices include book rate postage in the United States. (Please write, call, or e-mail for foreign shipping costs.)

Jim Garrison
On the Trail of the Assassins
Hardcover, orig. \$19.95
Now: \$15

Ari Ben-Menashe
Profits of War
Hardcover, orig. \$24.95
Now: \$18

Edward S. Herman
Rise and Fall Bulgarian Connection
Hard/paper, orig. \$20/\$10
Now: \$10/\$6

Deborah Davis
Katharine the Great
Paperback, orig. \$14.95
Now: \$8

Carl Ginsburg
Race and Media
Hard/paper, orig. \$12/\$6
Now: \$6/\$4

Malvin L. Beck
Secret Contenders
Hard/paper, orig. \$15/\$8
Now: \$6/\$4

Robert Parry
Trick or Treason
Hardcover, orig. \$24.95
Now: \$12

Herbert I. Schiller, et al.
Ideology of Intnl Communism
Hard/paper, orig. \$12/\$6
Now: \$6/\$4

Philip Agee
White Paper Whitewash
Hard/paper, orig. \$13/\$6.50
Now: \$6/\$4

RECENT BACK ISSUES

No. 65 (Fall 1998) Philip Agee & Ramsey Clark: 20-year retrospective; Mumia Abu-Jamal; Afghanistan/Sudan raids; Yugoslavia; NGOs; Visit to CIA; Cuba's counter-revolution museum; Bombings/attempted Castro hits; U.S. & Cuba democracy; Assata Shakur; Russia "Reform"; Media evasions; Bosnia TV disinformation; Ron Ridenhour; CIA vs. Daniel Tsang; CIA mistaken identities.
No. 66 (Winter 1999) Pinochet: Who's Next?; Wye River Palestinian Fallout; Sudan Bombing; Tomahawks and

Terror; PanAm 103-Ten Years Later; Laurent Kabila Interview; D.C. "Espionage" Trial; Algeria's Fundamental Terror; Richard Holbrooke Uses A War; West's Bosnian Islamic Hero; Beyond NATO.
No. 67 (Spring-Summer 1999) War in Kosovo; NATO and "Greater Albania"; William Walker and Richard Holbrooke; Roma marginalized; international law; Ocalan's odyssey; Mumia Abu-Jamal; Leonard Peltier; Samori Marksman; the militarization of the police; home-

land defense; the targeting of Tupac Shakur; CIA and Labor: Irving Brown, Jay Lovestone, Drugs; NED; hospital human experimentation.
No. 68 (Fall-Winter 1999) East Timor and western appeasement; U.S.-sponsored war in Colombia; Chemical weapons in Panama; Cuba sues U.S.; Military globalization; Serbia's collective guilt; NATO and KLA reign of terror and drugs; Urban Warrior and Homeland Defense; Review of *The Globalization of Poverty*.

For a synopsis of the major articles in every back issue of *CovertAction Quarterly*, please check our web site, at www.covertaction.org; click on "Back Issues." For a printout, please send us a stamped, self-addressed envelope. To receive the synopsis by e-mail, send a request to: info@covertaction.org, stating: "Synopsis."

Subscribe to *CovertAction*! Send your subscription to 1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW #732, Washington, DC 20005 or visit our web site at www.covertaction.org.

BACK ISSUES (see above and our web site for more details):

Airmail: Can./Mex. add \$1 each issue, other foreign add \$2 each issue.

- ☐ \$8/copy each for up to four back issues # _____
☐ \$35 for five back issues # _____
☐ \$65 for ten back issues # _____
☐ \$320 Complete set; plus \$15 postage U.S.; \$40 Can/Mex; \$75 other.

SPECIAL OFFERS:

- ☐ \$7 *CovertAction Quarterly* Mug "Don't let the bastards grind you down."
☐ \$9 Audio tape, Noam Chomsky talk, CAQ 15th anniversary, Dec. 1993.
☐ \$9 Audio tape, Noam Chomsky Washington CAQ talk, Dec. 1995.
☐ \$25 Vjdeo, Noam Chomsky Washington CAQ talk, Dec. 1995.
☐ Special offers (see above and p. 63): _____

BOOKS: Add \$10 outside U.S.

- ☐ \$25 *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, (signed), William Blum (1995).
☐ \$35 *Dirty Work 2: CIA in Africa*, Ellen Ray, et al. (1979, hardback).
☐ \$15 *Lyndon LaRouche/New Fascism*, Dennis King (1989, hardback).
☐ \$20 *Globalization of Poverty*, Michel Chossudovsky (1997).

- ☐ **GIFT:** I'd like to give a gift subscription at \$ _____ to:

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

PHONE: _____

SUBSCRIPTIONS (4 issues/year) U.S. currency only

U.S.	\$22 one year	\$38 two years
Canada/Mexico	\$25 one year	\$44 two years
Other Areas	\$35 one year	\$63 two years

- ☐ \$25/year additional charge for institutions ☐ New Sub
☐ \$17/year discounted price for U.S. prisoners ☐ Renewal

Gift subscriptions for prisoners invited.

To pay by credit card: ☐ VISA ☐ MASTERCARD
 Add \$1.00 to all credit card orders. Total order: \$ _____

Card # _____ Exp. Date: _____

Signature: _____

Name: _____ Phone: () _____

Address: _____

E-mail: _____

E-mail your credit card order to: info@covertaction.org (attn: subs)
 Fax your credit card order to 202-331-9751

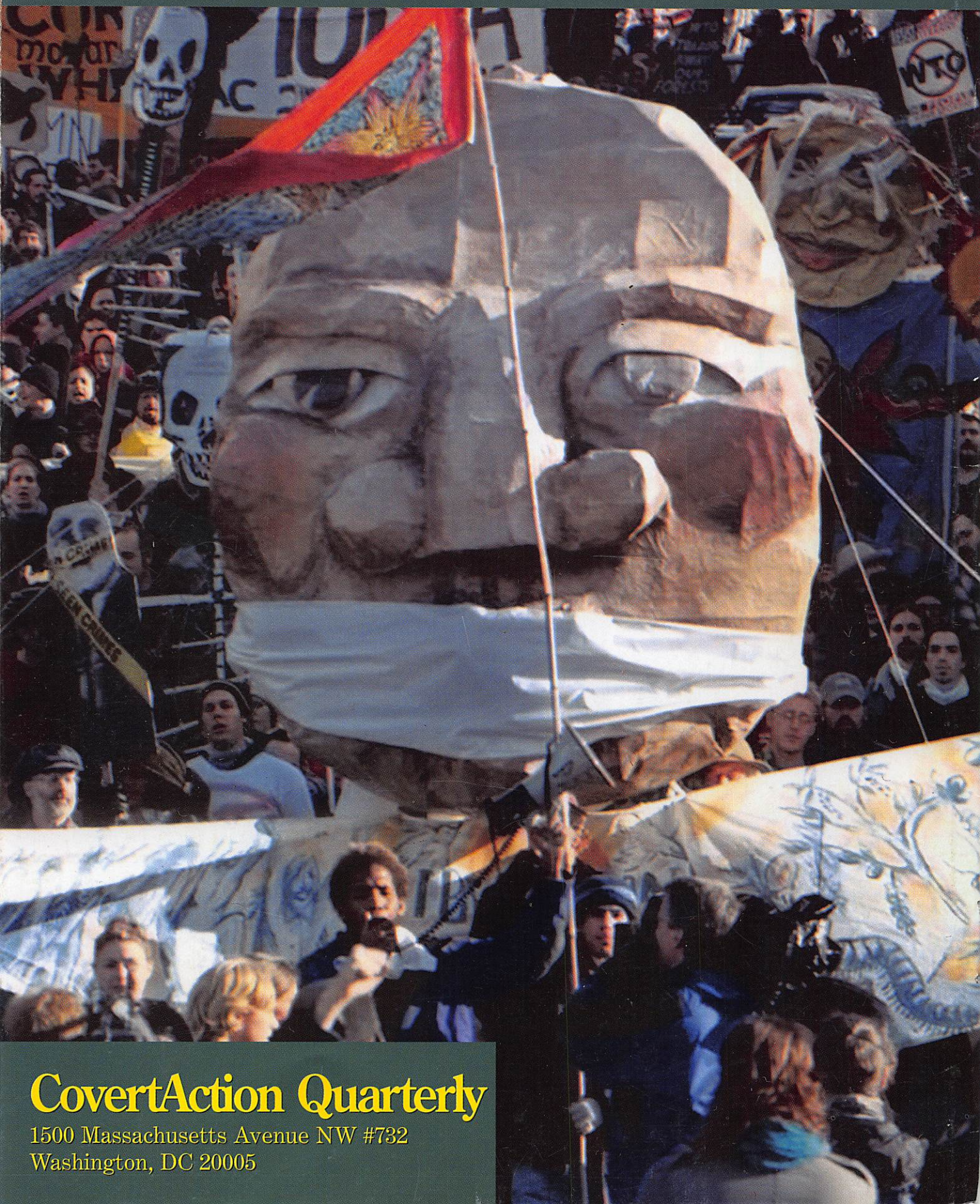
- ☐ I am mailing U.S.\$ _____ check or money order.

- ☐ I am adding a donation of \$ _____ to support *CovertAction Quarterly*.

ALL PAYMENTS IN U.S. DOLLARS ONLY, PLEASE.

WTO Congo Chechnya Yugoslavia Colombia Ecuador Kashmir

THE PEOPLE'S RESPONSE



CovertAction Quarterly

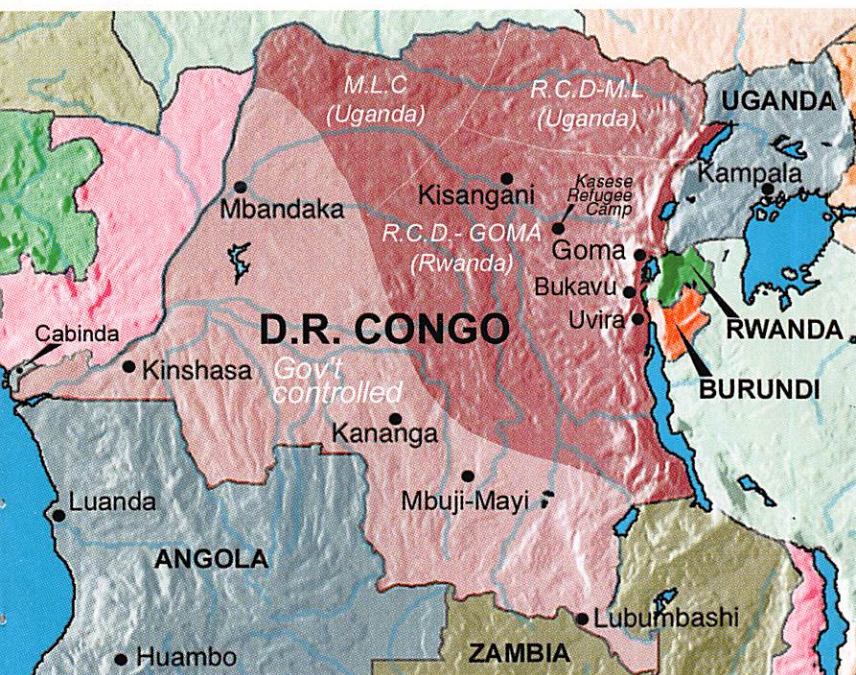
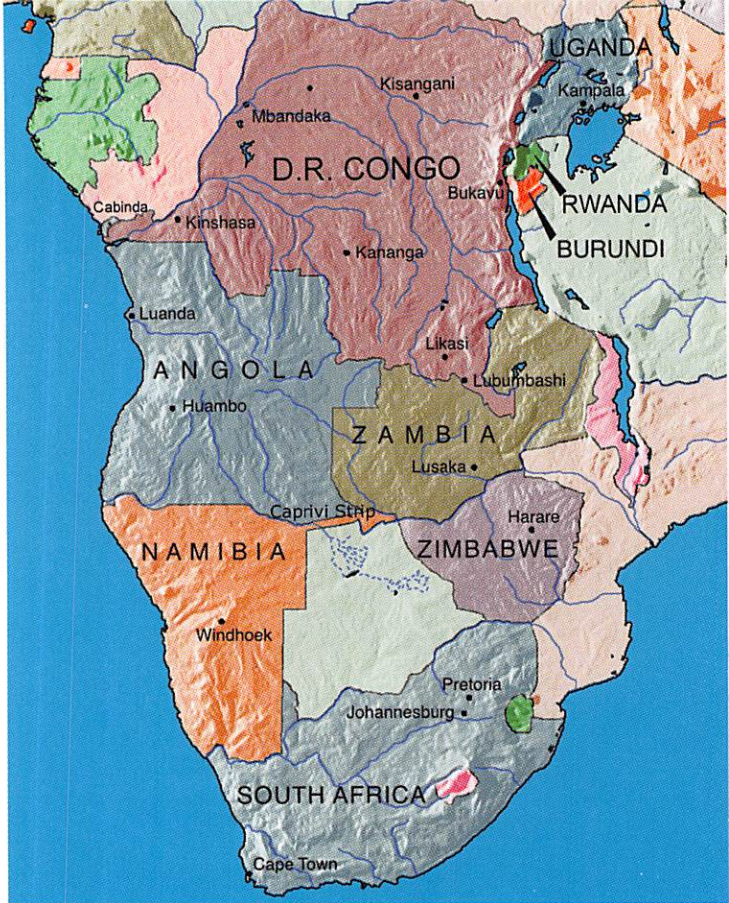
1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW #732
Washington, DC 20005

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA:



This map highlights the nations involved in what has been called Africa's First World War: The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), its allies Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, and its invaders, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. U.S.-trained troops from these invasion forces and their surrogate rebels, some posing as Congolese

nationals, now occupy half the vast territory of the DRC (see detail map). **Zambia**, allegedly neutral, hosted the Lusaka cease-fire negotiations where—with intense U.S. pressure—all parties in effect formalized Congo's partition. And Zambia allows **UNITA** rebels to regroup, resupply, and finance its 25-year war against Angola by routing contraband diamonds through its territory. Having lost the Angolan national elections, UNITA broke the cease-fire and resumed its war, not only against Luanda, but also against Namibia and (with Rwanda and Burundi) Congo as well. **South Africa**, while presenting itself as a peace-maker, has urged the introduction of U.S. troops to support a proposed U.N. peacekeeping force in Congo. UNITA-supported businesses operate in South Africa with relative impunity.



DETAIL OF WAR ZONES

National armies and rebel surrogates under the aegis of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, tiny countries in the **Great Lakes region**, with few natural resources, have occupied vast portions of eastern Congo under the guise of defending their borders. The MLC in the north and the RCD-ML in the northeast are backed by Uganda. The RCD-Goma in the east and southeast is backed by Rwanda. There has been a de facto partition of the Congo, with great plunder from the occupied areas financing the war by the diversion of eastern Congo's largely unexploited wealth of natural resources—diamonds, rare metals, coffee, and timber—through their sponsors' territory. All this has been accomplished with U.S. military training, weapons, and mercenaries. Western companies doing business in the rebel-held sections actively cooperate by paying taxes to the invaders. Major clashes have occurred in diamond-producing areas like **Mbuji-Mayi**, which the army of the DRC still holds. Many

thousands of Hutu refugees from Rwanda have been "disappeared," like the 50,000 to 60,000 at the **Kasese camp**, and the hundreds of thousands near Goma, who were slaughtered or driven back to Rwanda. More than 100,000 Hutus have languished in prison there for years, without trial and under unspeakable conditions. Mini-tribal wars, like those involving the Congolese **Hema** and **Lentu** and other wars against the **Mayi-Mayi** have been fostered by the rebel groups.

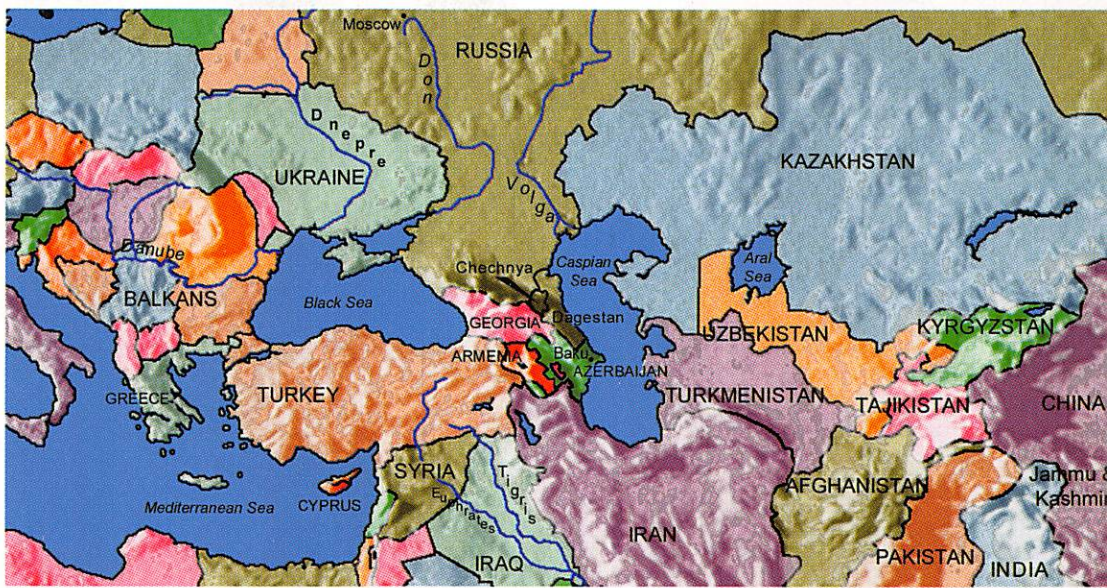
THE EURASIAN CRESCENT:

In this volatile region, numerous wars, sometimes in the name of democracy and human rights, sometimes in the cause of separatism based on religious or ethnic differences, are taking place. Rightwing fundamentalist forces are often the catalysts, using terrorism and drug trafficking in order to establish fundamentalist states.

Western forces, NATO and the U.S., have been involved directly with military attacks and bombings and the imposition of sanctions, as in **Yugoslavia**, **Bosnia**, and **Iraq**, and elsewhere with covert financial and logistical support to separatists.

The strategic location of the **Caucasus**—between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea—and the vast **oil and natural gas** reserves of the latter underlie many of the confrontations. Jurisdiction over **pipelines**, current and proposed, is embroiling **Turkey**, **Iran**, **Russia**, **Turkmenistan**, **Kazakhstan**, and **Azerbaijan**, as well as the Balkans. In NATO's march eastward, an important pipeline crosses through the Russian Republic of **Chechnya**, where a major war between foreign and local Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas and Russian forces rages. It has dragged in the neighboring Russian Republic of **Dagestan**, as well as other countries of the former U.S.S.R. where the guerrillas operate to destabilize the regimes.

Wars also smolder and ignite in **Afghanistan** and **Kashmir**, with religious and ethnic fundamentalism again prime factors. And the U.S. continues its intensive campaign of bombing and sanctions against **Iraq**.



THE BALKANS:

Yugoslavia, including **Kosovo**, has been historically the crossroads for trade between Europe and the Middle East. This, and Yugoslavia's vast mining resources, are behind the West's enforced partitions of the country. **Croatia**, **Slovenia**, and **Macedonia** were split off first. Then Bosnia-Herzegovina became the target, including NATO bombings in 1995, leading to its division into the **Serb Republic** (Republika Srpska) and the Croat-Muslim **Federation of Bosnia**. Yugoslavia now contains only two republics, **Montenegro** and **Serbia**, the latter with two provinces, **Vojvodina** and **Kosovo**. NATO bombed Yugoslavia in March 1999. Western powers make no secret of their desire to take Montenegro and Vojvodina while **Albania**, with the help of the narco-terrorists running that country, has already effectively annexed Kosovo.



Oil pipelines, too, motivate regional politics here. A critical pipeline is envisioned across the Black Sea, through **Bulgaria**, **Macedonia**, and **Albania**.

