

Covert Action

Q U A R T E R L Y

CONGRATULATIONS!
IT'S A CRIME, BILL.

The Horror Archives of OPERATION CONDOR

— by Stella Calloni —

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It's a Crime, Bill**

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Let Cuba Breathe

For 34 years, Cuba has been a burr under the saddle as the U.S. rode roughshod over the world. Some U.S. progressives dared hope that Bill Clinton would reverse three decades of punitive bullying that passed for policy. So did Fidel Castro. Early in the Clinton administration, Cuba made a series of overtures, to no avail. Clinton maintained the political and economic squeeze on Cuba.

While Radio Martí implicitly encouraged flight and Washington offered automatic asylum, the U.S. impeded legal immigration. Although the current immigration quota is almost 2,800 Cubans a year, the U.S. issued only about 2,700 visas last year. Meanwhile, almost 20,000 Cubans, many of whom wish to be reunited with their families, languished on waiting lists. Like the embargo, blocking legal immigration deliberately ratcheted up the pressure within Cuba.

Then in August, as hardship increased, Castro seized the reins. Saying Cuba would no longer be "the guardian of the North Americans' coasts," he declined to further impede emigration. Thousands of shortage-weary Cubans headed for the open sea and Miami. That sad flotilla got the media's and Clinton's attention. By canceling the longstanding policy of granting automatic political asylum to Cubans, the administration ended the fiction that, of all the countries in the world, only Cuba is so oppressive that its citizens merit instant sanctuary.

After meeting with anti-Castro fanatic Jorge Más Canosa and panicky Florida governor Lawton Chiles, Clinton tightened the embargo, cutting off remittances from Cuban-Americans to relatives and further restricting travel. This policy is a harsh new weapon in the arsenal aimed mainly at making life so miserable for the Cuban people that they will do the U.S. dirty work and rise up against Castro.

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What has been driving U.S. Cuba policy? Conventional wisdom answers: anticommunism. In fact, Clinton's anticommunism is less instinctive than expedient. As Castro pointed out, "The U.S. talks with Vietnam ... and even talks with [North] Korea. But it will not talk with Cuba."

The current administration, like its predecessors, is driven by a combination of shortsighted domestic political considerations and broad geopolitical concerns. Domestically, another wave of immigrant scapegoating, manipulated by politicians as a distraction from profound social problems, is underway. Displaying craven opportunism, Clinton scores easy political points by being tough on Castro and the hapless rafters. Clinton's reaction also pleases the cash-rich far-right Cuban exile bloc personified by the odious Más Canosa and his Cuban American National Foundation. Backed by thugs with guns and bombs, Más Canosa aspires by whatever means necessary to be the next president of "Free Cuba."

Clinton's domestic agenda also feeds on and exacerbates racism. The U.S. greeted the wealthy, light-skinned wave of refugees in the 1960s with open arms; it met the poorer and darker Marielitos with open prison doors. This same ugly logic of race and class holds now, too. Like the Haitian boat people, the Cuban rafters are poor, dark-skinned, and unwanted.

Immediate political concerns explain only part of Washington's unrelenting hostility to Castro's Cuba. The country's very existence is an intolerable affront to the political and corporate elite. Cuba threw out exploitative U.S. businesses and Mafiosi; it outfoxed the gringos at the Bay of Pigs and again with Mariel; it stymied them in Southern Africa and Central America; it thwarted dozens of assassination plots (the latest in 1992) on its leadership; and it provides, even under the current hardship conditions, free medical care, education, and affordable housing on a scale that shames U.S. inner cities. Throughout the Third World, Castro's Cuba symbolizes defiance of unfettered access by transnational corporations and embodies the right to national self-determination.

Cuba is not utopia. Its political and economic system needs reform. And the country needs to take steps to ensure that the Cuban Revolution outlives Castro. But that is a Cuban affair, not the prerogative of the U.S. And if the U.S. truly wished its flawed version of "democracy" on the Cuban people, it would follow the policy it applied to Eastern Europe and China: open up trade and aid relations and pour in money, advisers, and consumer values. But the U.S. cares more for saving face and destroying the revolution than for any pseudo-democratic or humanitarian ideals.

Washington has grudgingly agreed to discuss immigration issues. Castro calls for negotiations to end the U.N.-condemned embargo. In fact, no discussions should be necessary. The embargo is a crime against humanity and must end now. •

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The Horror Archives of Operation Condor



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Massive secret police archives discovered in Paraguay revealed an internationally coordinated campaign of terror by intelligence agencies and militaries throughout the Southern Cone. Now, the U.S., which actively supported the dictators in the 1970s and 1980s, may be aiding those who are trying to purge the documentary record of some 50,000 people killed, 30,000 disappeared, and 400,000 imprisoned.

Congratulations, It's a Crime, Bill



Clarence Lusane

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This summer giant meteors smashed into Jupiter. It is somehow ironically fitting that as the planet of the god of justice and equality was taking a beating above, the Clinton Crime Bill blundered through Congress. The bill encroaches on state and local laws imposing Draconian sentences guaranteed, not to stop crime, or alleviate its root causes, but to overfill the nation's already packed prisons.

Spotlight on Liberty Lobby



Scott McLemee

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Under Willis Carto, the Liberty Lobby has spearheaded a drive to mainstream the extreme right. Making expedient alliances with the likes of David Duke and Lyndon LaRouche, it has tried to join Nazis, skinheads, Birchers, Klan members, and Holocaust revisionists with a glue of anti-Semitism and white supremacist hate.

Monfort's Disposable Meatpackers

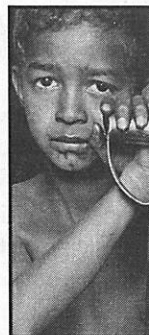


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Meatpacking is one of the most concentrated industries—and one of the most dangerous to workers. The largely immigrant workforce labors under near-slave conditions in an environment hostile to health, safety, and democratic processes.

Low Intensity Democracy: The New Face of Global Domination



William I. Robinson

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"Support for democracy," declares one State Department policy document, "is becoming the new organizing principle for American foreign policy." But "democracy," as U.S. policymakers define it, "means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them."

Spies in the Skies: The National Reconnaissance Office and the Intelligence Budget



John Pike

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For 32 years, the U.S. government denied that the NRO even existed. In fact, the agency in charge of spy satellites spends more than the CIA and NSA combined. Using leaks, unclassified documents, and simple math, intelligence analyst Pike reveals the supposedly Top Secret numbers.

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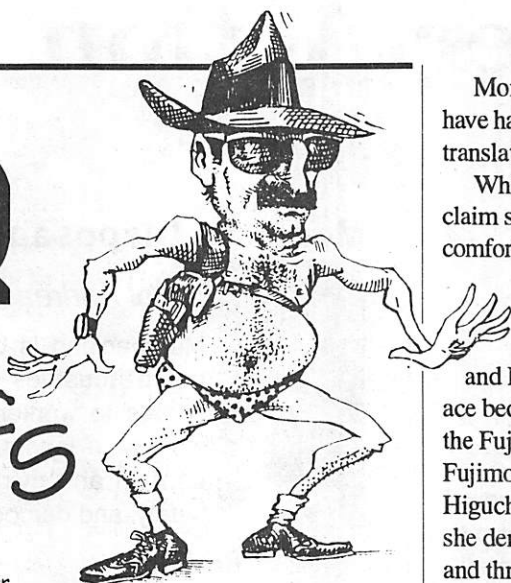
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CAQ

Briefs

Illustrations by Matt Wuerker



William Colby, Rent-A-Spook, Cashes In

William Colby, ex-CIA head (1973-76), kindly sent CAQ an invitation to subscribe to his \$545-a-year newsletter, "The Colby Report for International Business."

"Imagine," it effused, "having William E. Colby on staff."

The mind boggles.

The promo went on to assure that Colby "maintains a prestigious network of top-level contacts in virtually every nation on the globe. He is personally familiar with the major trade and political players in international business — and has knowledgeable contacts inside developing countries just opening up to American trade."

And don't forget, "[p]roviding the best international analysis and insight money can buy has been William Colby's job for decades."

The letter went on to tout Colby as a "true insider" who can predict the future "with uncanny accuracy because of his unique sources who inhabit the corridors of presidential



palaces, remote outposts and everywhere in between."

After checking under our beds, we had a cathartic group chuckle.

Imagine, paying for a prognosticator whose crystal ball failed to predict the outcome of the Vietnam War, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and the demise of the USSR.

Shitting Bricks in Lima

In CAQ's lead story on Peru in the Summer 1994 issue, Gustavo Gorriti exposed the man pulling the strings of the Fujimori dictatorship. Vladimiro Montesinos' history as a CIA asset, narco-lawyer, and human rights abuser has had repercussions in Peru and put a monkey wrench in Montesinos' plans for respectability.

La Republica, the country's second largest daily, reprinted the article in a special 12-page supplement that was snapped up as soon as it hit the stands. The article created a stir not only on the streets of Peru, but in international diplomatic circles and back in the U.S. State Department.

Montesinos was said to have had *vomitos negros* (rough translation: "shitting bricks").

While CAQ is happy to claim some credit for that discomfort, we doubt that Gorriti's reports of "almost nightly assignations" between Pres. Fujimori and Montesinos in the palace bedroom were the cause of the Fujimoris' marital discord. Fujimori fired his wife, Susana Higuchi, as First Lady after she denounced his corruption and threatened to run against him in upcoming elections.

Gorriti, who was imprisoned after the self-coup — and released because of swift international pressure — has been warned by friends that it might not be wise for him to return to the country. He is now in Miami.

Evidence that Paranoid Guatemalan Military Smokes Own Export

CAQ writer Frank Smyth ("Guatemala's Gross National Products: Cocadollars, Repression, and Disinformation," Spring 1994) has come under fire from the Guatemalan armed forces for his articles revealing military involvement in cocaine trafficking. Describing Smyth's charges as "fanatical" and "venomous," Defense Minister Gen. Mario René Enríquez said the stories were timed to coincide with a guerrilla propaganda offensive intended to provoke a U.S. "invasion of Guatemala and the destruction of the armed forces." Enríquez vowed to "make every effort and spend

my last *centavo* to bring [Smyth] before the courts for defamation."

The denunciation of Smyth, whose exposés also appeared in the *Village Voice* and *Washington Post*, was part of an announcement that Guatemala has asked the U.S. Embassy and the DEA to release all information on the specifics of Smyth's charges.

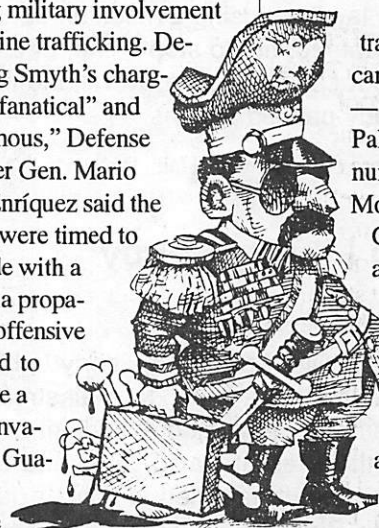
After an anxious day of silence, U.S. Ambassador Marilyn McAfee finally conceded that the U.S. had indeed denied a visa to Gen. Carlos Pozuelos because of suspected involvement in narcotrafficking. That probably puts Enríquez' libel case on hold.

Ollie Moons the Voters

A love match and a marriage of convenience all in one. Convicted liar and unconvicted traitor Oliver North is in bed with convicted felon and unconvicted brainwasher, Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

North, running as a Republican for the Senate from Virginia, has been cuddling up with the Korean industrialist and self-proclaimed messiah since 1987.

During the Iran-Contra hearings, the American Freedom Coalition — founded by Bo Hi Pak, chief goon and number two man in Moon's Unification Church — produced a \$4 million pro-Ollie video that aired on over 100 stations. Far-right direct mail whiz Richard Viguerie also helped launch the "grassroots" AFC, and now operates out of a Moon-owned building. Recently chosen by North for the position of cam-



paign strategist, Viguerie says he had no qualm about selling his soul to the Unification Church, which uses mind control to exploit cheap labor and plots to take over governments so Moon can rule the world.

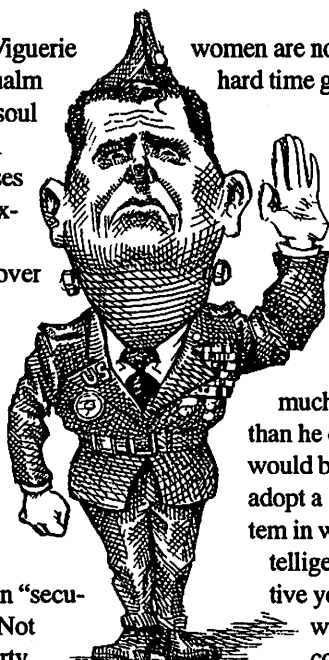
Meanwhile, North (who had already sold his soul for a facade of emetic sincerity), prefers to traffic in "security equipment." Not a disinterested party, the rabid gun control opponent makes his living hawking bulletproof vests to police departments and others. His associate in the venture is ex-CIA Costa Rica station chief and Iran-Contra wheeler dealer, Joe Fernández.

On the up side, a Virginia circuit court judge, citing moral turpitude and "bad character" — as demonstrated by North's Irangate conviction — recently denied the senatorial hopeful the right to carry a concealed weapon.

Loss of Pants—Loss of Face or Pond Scum Rises to Top of Singapore Gene Pool

While the caning of one U.S. citizen in Singapore created a furor, that city-state's systemic mistreatment of women and promotion of eugenics is met with unstifled yawns. Former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who stepped down in 1990 after an autocratic 31-year rule, recently lamented his early commitment to equal educational and job opportunities for women.

Because his government had been "young, ignorant and idealistic," many educated



women are now having a hard time getting husbands. "The Asian male does not like to have a wife who is seen to be his equal at work who may be earning as much if not more than he does. ... It would be better to adopt a 'Japanese' system in which many intelligent and attractive young ladies went to finishing colleges where

they learned modern languages and all the social graces which would make them marvelous helpers of their husbands' career."

The "overeducation" of women cuts close to the personal and political bone. If educated males marry only less-educated women, Lee contends, Singapore's gene pool will be diluted. But if a man marries a woman who is his equal, "He is not wearing the pants. That is an enormous loss of face."

Elliott Abrams Favors Coup

CAQ nominates Elliott Abrams for bottom feeder of the month. Asked if the U.S. should invade Haiti, Reagan's assistant secretary of state for Latin American Affairs' response — a sludge of false premises, outright lies, and Orwellian double-speak — was at least consistent. The man who supported spilling brown blood in the U.S.-sponsored war in El Salvador and scored the surrogate Contras to his red, white, and blue breast,

still opposes invasion and favors covert operations. This time he advocates undermining an elected president — all in the name of democracy.

But, Abrams avers, "[i]f the military grows so contemptuous of the U.S. that it will agree to nothing or if human rights abuses grow and grow, I might favor overthrowing them, but I still wouldn't favor replacing them with Aristide, since I don't think his restoration will lead to the consolidation of democracy. One of the key failings of our administration has been to back Aristide instead of the center. To attain the goal of fair elections, and a broad interim government we have to marginalize Aristide, who has done enough damage already.

"We should have a large covert program aimed at identifying middle level officers who could get rid of Cedras. The Clinton administration has not undertaken any covert action. This is a big mistake."

[Sic]ening! Abrams seems to find the military's lack of total servility and its human rights record equally disturbing. In fact, Haiti's human rights record is already bad enough to gag Dr. Mengele.

For three years, the U.S. has consistently undermined, not backed, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. A "fair election" is not a goal in Haiti, it is an accomplished fact: Aristide was fairly elected by 67 percent of the population. (Perhaps Abrams thinks the real center was shopping in Miami the day of the elections.) The U.S. has already tried unsuccessfully to marginalize Aristide with phony CIA reports of mental instability. The



major damage Aristide did was trying to lift the U.S. boot off his country's poor. Abrams manfully does not shrink from casting longtime CIA asset Cedras to the wolves and opts for that tried and true method of restoring democracy — installing a new crop of hungry and potentially grateful colonels. Way to go, Elliott.

Slapped In Face By Facts, Researcher Turns Cheek

Heard the one about the blind men who feel different parts of an elephant and come up with logical but wrong conclusions about the nature of the beast? This is the one about the sighted man who sees a charging elephant and mistakes it for a styrofoam cup.

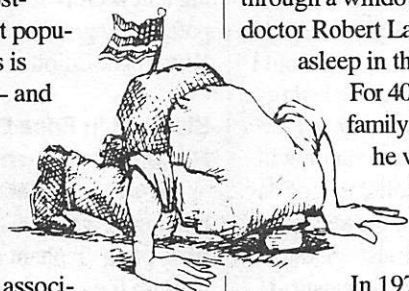
In a *Washington Post* op-ed, "Mortality and Marx: A Mystery," American Enterprise Institute researcher Nicholas Eberstadt, described "strange and alarming population trends that have gripped the former Soviet Union": Birth rates and "marriage rates are plummeting and death rates are soaring." The fall in birth rates range from a worrisome 20 percent drop in Poland, to an astounding 60 percent plunge in eastern Germany.

"Even more alarming," says Eberstadt, is "the pervasive surge" in the death rates — from infants through "sturdy age groups ... even in relatively well-off areas." From 1989 to 1991, the death rate rose nearly 20 percent for eastern German women in their late thirties and nearly 30 percent for men the same age. These "sudden, precipitous changes in birth and death rates are compelling indicators of societies in extreme distress, [previously] observed in industrial societies only in wartime," he admits.

But having described the trend, Eberstadt is so blinded by ideology that he cannot recognize the elephant of market reforms, the abandonment of the social welfare net, mass unemployment, and the disintegration of a society. We quote:

"The post-Communist population crisis is puzzling — and all the more disturbing — in that it does not seem to be associated with any particular social conditions, economic policies or political arrangements. A leap in the death rates may be all too understandable in Russia where the medical system has broken down, antique diseases like diphtheria are out of control, and dozens of homeless vagrants die in train stations every month. But how to explain the leap in eastern Germany, where unification has led to major improvements in living standards and medical care. Or in Poland, where the falling birth rate and rising death rate have coincided with 'shock therapy' market reforms and the transition to democratic pluralism.

"Uncertain though the causes may be, it is all too apparent that the adjustment to life after Communism is proving traumatic. Is it entirely coincidental that every Communist regime with falling death rates is still in power — China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam — while virtually every Communist government that collapsed is reporting a sharp deterioration in health?" A befuddled Eberstadt then throws up his hands at the impossibility of solving this astounding mystery.



CIA Disposal Problem

In 1953, Frank Olson fell from the 13th story of a Manhattan hotel. The CIA has always claimed that Olson, one of the nation's top germ warfare experts at the infamous Fort Detrick facility, jumped through a window while CIA doctor Robert Lashbrook was asleep in the room.

For 40 years, Olson's family has suspected he was pushed because he became a security risk.

In 1975 they got conclusive evidence that Olson had been a victim of MK-ULTRA, a secret government program to study LSD's potential for military or intelligence purposes as either a weapon or a tool for brainwashing. Congressional hearings that year revealed that on November 19, 1953, at a secret Maryland retreat, a CIA scientist slipped acid into Olson's after-dinner drink. According to his son Eric Olson, the normally cheerful researcher then sank into a deep paranoid depression. Frank Olson told his wife that he had made a "terrible mistake" and wanted to quit his job. Nine days after he was given LSD, Olson was dead.

Lashbrook, the CIA doctor in Olson's hotel room the night he died, called neither an ambulance, nor police. According to Armand Pastore, the night manager who listened in on the conversation, Lashbrook dialed a number on Long Island.

"Well, he's gone," Lashbrook reportedly said.

"That's too bad," the other man replied, and both hung up.

This July, George Washington University professor of law and forensic science, James E. Starrs, examined Ol-

son's exhumed body. Starrs found new forensic evidence which suggested that Olson may have landed on his feet shattering both legs and causing massive internal trauma that would have led to death in minutes. But Starrs also found "so many fractures in the skull that it is not possible that he received this type of injury simply from falling out of a window. ... It would not be possible unless he were on a trampoline. You don't bounce around like that; when you hit pavement, you hit pavement." Starrs also found no evidence of glass cuts from smashing through the window which were reported in the original autopsy. Characterizing the new evidence as "sinister," Starrs is holding off on any final conclusion pending toxicological results and a final inquiry.

Old Boys Will Be Boys, or Equal Opportunity Network

The old boy network is having a slightly harder time protecting its male members these days. At least seven CIA station chiefs have been removed from their posts recently for unsavory personal or professional activities. They survived and were reassigned or permitted to resign.

The Cyprus chief had the bad luck to be caught stealing a valuable icon from a church he illegally entered, and the top Peru spook was reassigned after threatening his staff with a pistol.

"Jane Doe" Thompson, a rare female station chief in Jamaica, committed the offense of reporting a male deputy for beating his wife. She was targeted for investigation and

denied a promotion; the wife-beater was promoted. Thompson also charged that the denial of promotion was helped by a male employee's assertion that he would "not work for a woman."

In 1991, the Agency was also slapped with a class action suit for discrimination by hundreds of women in the operations directorate, which runs covert ops and clandestine collections.

It's hard to live up to standards like these, but one operations officer in Germany took a shot. He used bonuses

awarded for what turned out to be bogus reports



detailing non-existent recruitments to buy a new domestic car — OK, it was a Porsche.

Clarence Thomas Marries Rush Limbaugh

Well, more precisely, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas officiated at the May 27, 1994 wedding of hate-jock Rush Limbaugh.

Joke making the rounds: What's the difference between Limbaugh and the Hindenberg? One's a flaming Nazi gasbag and the other's just a dirigible.

Nothing about Clarence Thomas is funny.

— Terry Allen

The Horror Archives of



Operation Condor

The skeletons in the closets of the right-wing dictators who ruled Latin America in the 1970s are literally real. When massive secret police archives were discovered in Paraguay, evidence of an internationally coordinated campaign of terror spilled out. Now, the U.S., which supported the dictators, may be aiding those who are trying to purge the documentary record of some 50,000 people killed, 30,000 disappeared, and 400,000 imprisoned.

Stella Calloni

One morning in December 1992, Paraguayan Judge José Fernández and educator and former political prisoner Martín Almada walked into a police station in the Asunción suburb of Lambaré in search of Almada's police files. What they found instead was the documentary history of decades of repression in Paraguay — and beyond. They also found records of U.S. intelligence cooperation with Paraguay and other regional dictatorships.

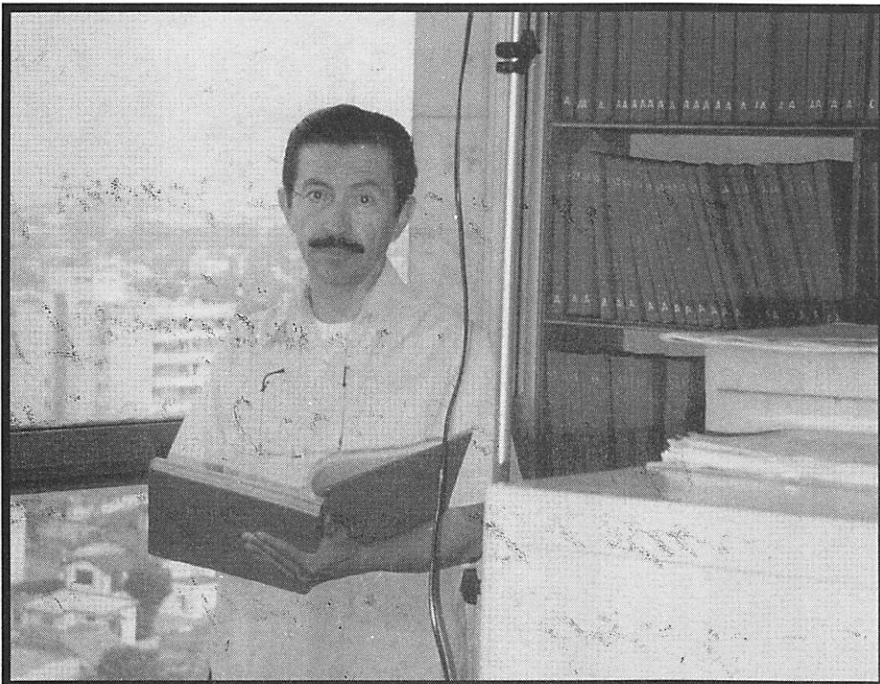
The "Horror Archives," as they were promptly dubbed, have since become a key to deciphering the recent history of Latin America. The archives detail the fates of hundreds,

perhaps thousands, of Latin Americans secretly kidnapped, tortured, and killed by the right-wing regimes of the 1970s. They also provide a paper trail confirming the existence of an elusive and murderous conspiracy among the security services of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay to track and eliminate political foes without regard to national borders. The sketchy outlines of "Operation Condor," as the illicit network was known, can now be partially filled in.

But because the archives pose such a threat to the men who organized and carried out the hemispheric repression, efforts are afoot to suppress them or place them in "safe" hands. Some of the documents have already disappeared, and quiet moves are under way to remove others from legal and journalistic scrutiny.

When Fernández and Almada entered the Lambaré police station, they unearthed a jumbled mountain of yellowed, decaying papers, files, letters, and recordings outlining police and military intelligence activities during the recently overthrown Stroessner dictatorship. A similar search at the

Argentine journalist Stella Calloni is an editor for *El Día Latinoamericana* (Mexico City), and South American correspondent for *La Jornada* (Mexico City). She is the author of numerous works on Latin American politics and is currently preparing a book of short stories. When the documents cited were consulted by the author in Asunción, Paraguay, they were not yet catalogued or classified. In mid-1994, however, selections from the archives were published in Alfredo Boccia Paz, Myrian Angélica González, and Rosa Palau Aguilar, eds., *Es mi informe: Los archivos secretos de la Policía de Stroessner* (Asunción: Centro de Documentación y Estudios, 1994). Documents cited in this article that have been catalogued by Boccia Paz, *et al.*, will use the CDE classifications. Translations by CAQ. Photos: Centro de Documentación y Estudios.



After Martín Almada wrote a dissertation critical of education in Paraguay, he was charged with terrorism, tortured and imprisoned for three years. His attempt to obtain his files helped blow the lid off Operation Condor.

headquarters of the Paraguayan Technical Police (counterpart to the U.S. FBI) a few days later uncovered even more telltale documents. In all, approximately four tons of records have come to light.

Some photographs and files noted prisoners' country of origin; many were from Brazil, Argentina, or Chile. Journalists authorized to search the chaotic folders hurriedly photocopied letters and documents. The first data confirmed the arrest and killing of Paraguayan politicians whose "disappearance" had long been denied by the dictatorship, as well as the delivery to and exchange of prisoners with other countries, particularly Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

Belated Justice Comes to Paraguay

Paraguay, a country of four million located in the center of South America, has a long tradition of inward-looking isolation and extravagant and mercurial dictators. Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, who seized power in a 1954 coup, imposed a repressive, feudal social structure, and offered hospitality to vagabond Nazis and well-connected drug traffickers.

The dictator's efficiently ruthless apparatus for repression kept a close eye on a largely cowed population. But in February 1989, the 35-year Stroessner era came to an end. The general was overthrown by his friend, in-law, and second-in-command, Gen. Andrés Rodríguez, and fled into Brazilian exile.

Martín Almada, a well-known educator and political figure, ran afoul of Stroessner's secret police in 1974, when he published a doctoral dissertation critical of education in Paraguay. He was arrested and charged with "terrorism" and links with Paraguayan communists. He was tortured before

spending the next three years in the notorious Emboscada concentration camp. His 33-year-old wife died of a heart attack after receiving a phone call in which his torturers played his screams.¹ Upon his release in 1977, he went into exile, but after Stroessner fell, Almada began legal proceedings against his persecutors.

Using a provision in the new, post-Stroessner Paraguayan constitution, Almada filed a writ of *habeas data*, which allows people access to their police records. Through his own private investigations and an anonymous letter, Almada learned that some documents relating to his case could be found in the Lambaré police station.² Moving quietly and carefully, Almada gave his information to Judge Fernández, who ordered the search.

The documents became a political bombshell and led to arrest warrants against top figures in the Stroessner regime, as well as military officers from Uruguay and Argentina. Stroessner's feared head of detectives, Pastor Coronel, is now jailed in Paraguay, as is Stroessner's

chief of staff and head of military intelligence, Gen. Benito Guanes Serrano. Technical Police chief Antonio Campos Alum joined the dictator in exile; both are now cited as

In their effort to neutralize or eliminate their perceived foes, the dictatorships of the Southern Cone made no distinction between violent opposition and peaceful dissent.

"rebel defendants" and "fugitives from Paraguayan justice" by the Paraguayan courts.³

The Inzaurrealde/Santana Case

A report from Pastor Coronel to Stroessner on May 16, 1977, has proven crucial in the bringing of an extraordinary legal case. In 1973, Gustavo Edison Inzaurrealde fled to Paraguay after being arrested and tortured because he belonged to a militant Uruguayan anti-government organization. When arrested in Paraguay on March 28, 1977, he was preparing to go into exile

1. Jack Epstein, "A History of a Dirty War: Paraguay's Secret Police 'Horror Files' Come to Light," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 13, 1993, p. 1C.

2. Patrick John Buffe, "Une multinationale de la terreur sous les ailes du Condor," *Journal de Geneve et Gazette de Lausanne*, July 7, 1993, p. 2.

3. Ximena Ortúzar, "A Common Market of Terror," *World Press Review*, May 1993.

in Sweden to reunite himself with his seven-months-pregnant wife. Instead, he “disappeared” after being handed over to the Argentine military.

The report reveals that Paraguayan authorities delivered Inzaurrealde, fellow Uruguayan Nelson Rodolfo Santana, and three Argentines to an Argentine navy captain and two Argentine intelligence officers. Coronel informed Stroessner of the Argentine and Uruguayan militaries’ “gratitude” for having allowed two Argentine intelligence service (SIDE) agents and an Uruguayan officer to interrogate [torture] the prisoners in Asunción.⁴

With this information in hand, the families of Santana and Inzaurrealde began legal proceedings in Paraguay. In June 1993, Judge Arnulfo Arias charged military intelligence head Guanes Serrano and Technical Police chief Campos Alum in the case. Guanes Serrano admitted before the court to extrajudicial exchanges of political prisoners between Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile in the 1970s. Campos Alum testified that “the exchange of prisoners was frequent in the region,” and he named as the principal collaborators the Argentines and the Uruguayan officer mentioned in Coronel’s report.⁵

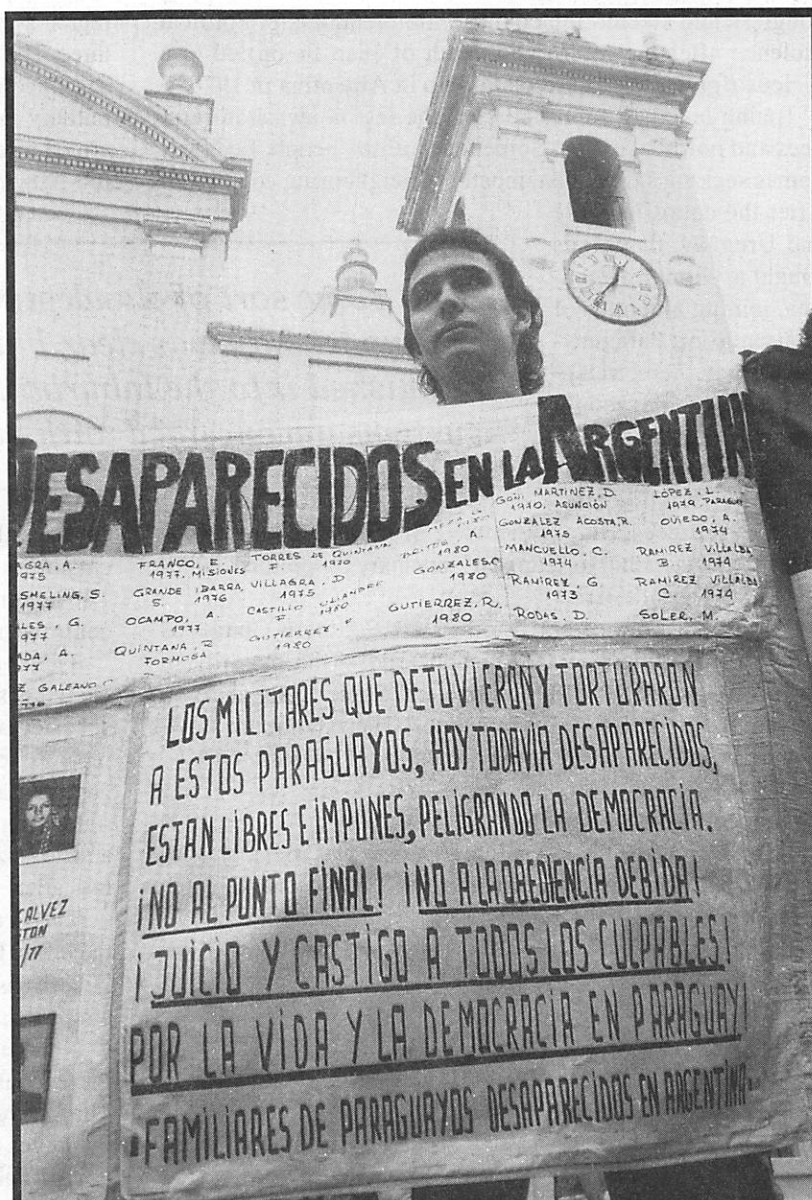
In an unprecedented step, Judge Arias then decided to also try foreign military officers. In March 1994, a singular trial began. Twelve military security agents — five Paraguayans, six Argentines, and an Uruguayan — were charged with “abuse of authority, illegal deprivation of liberty, torture, and kidnapping.”⁶

Almada and the two missing Uruguayans are but two of thousands persecuted by the rightist military regimes of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Paraguay) in the 1970s. While many of the crimes were strictly internal affairs, others involved the cooperation of military and intelligence officers across national borders. Under the code name Operation Condor, the dictatorships of the Southern Cone embarked on a hemisphere-wide effort to neutralize or eliminate their perceived foes. In so doing, they made no distinction between violent opposition and peaceful dissent.

4. Boccia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Paraguayan Archives, Libro A1, p. 131, Report from Pastor Coronel to President Stroessner, May 16, 1977. The Argentines were navy Capt. José Abdala and SIDE agents Lt. Angel (or Luis) Spada and José Monte. The Uruguayan was army Capt. Carlos Calgagno.

5. Cited in Agence France Presse, “Jefe militar de Stroessner admite que hubo intercambio de prisioneros,” *La Jornada* (Mexico City), June 24, 1993, p. 46.

6. The Argentines charged are Lts. Angel (or Luis) Spada and Juan Carlos Camicha, navy Capt. José Abdala, and SIDE agents José Montenegro, Alejandro Stada, and Juan Manuel Berret. Abdala and Camicha are also accused by the Argentine Center for Legal and Social Studies of participating in torture in that country. The Uruguayan charged is Col. Carlos Calgagno, who is fighting a Paraguayan extradition order. Lucas Guagnini, “Citarán en Paraguay a militares argentinos por la represión ilegal,” *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), December 19, 1993, p. 14.



Daniel Caselli/Prisma/Impact Visuals

Members of “Families of Paraguayans Disappeared in Argentina” protest in Asunción. “The soldiers who seized and tortured these Paraguayans, who are still disappeared, are themselves free, unpunished, and a danger to democracy. No to the ‘just following orders defense.’ Judgment and punishment for all the guilty. For life and democracy in Paraguay.”

The Southern Cone in the 1970s

Alfredo Stroessner had already been in power for a decade when rightist Brazilian generals ended that country’s democracy in 1964. He remained secure in his landlocked fiefdom as the rest of the Southern Cone descended into a maelstrom of political instability and state terror.

Bolivia’s legacy of coup and countercoup led to the rightist dictatorship of Hugo Banzer in 1971. The Pinochet coup in Chile 1973 aborted Salvador Allende’s socialist experiment. That same year, Uruguay’s long-running democracy ended when President Juan Maria Bordaberry closed the

Congress and steered the country into dictatorship. Political violence after the return and death of Juan Perón led to a vicious rightist military dictatorship in Argentina in 1976.

Rising levels of repression left the region awash in refugees and political exiles. Some four million people fled their homes seeking safe haven, mostly in neighboring countries.⁷

After the coups in Chile and Uruguay, thousands sought asylum in Argentina, joining hundreds of thousands of Paraguayans already there. Meanwhile, Argentines sought safety in Paraguay and Bolivia. The region was the site of frantic cross-flows of refugees. But, as the wave of military dictatorships spread, longstanding traditions of sanctuary for political exiles fell by the wayside.

The toll from the repression in the Southern Cone was some 50,000 killed, 30,000 disappeared — the majority in Argentina — and 400,000 imprisoned. Some 3,000 children are among the killed or disappeared.⁸ These numbers, however, only hint at the nightmarish reality of lawless states.

A Descent into Savagery

The Southern Cone's descent into savagery was rooted in geopolitics, political crisis, and a common ideology shared by the

7. Informe de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de Argentina (Buenos Aires: Comisión de Derechos Humanos de Argentina), February 1990.

8. *Ibid.*

In the Horror Archives

700,000 documents covering 35 years (1954-1989).

740 notebooks classified alphanumerically.

115 volumes of police logbooks.

181 filing cabinets and 204 cardboard containers of reports and documents of diverse origins.

574 folders with reports on political parties and unions.

8,369 index cards listing detainees.

1,888 identity cards and passports.

At least 10,000 photographs of detainees, political and social events, and family gatherings.

Library of 1,500 books and magazines seized by police.

543 cassette recordings of meetings, conferences, speeches, and radio programs.

Source: Boecia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-46

region's military rulers. The U.S. played a critical role in all three. The Cold War provided the global context for pathological anticommunism, and the U.S. provided both ideological and military instruction to its Latin American allies. The region's armed forces proved very receptive; in fact, they developed a full-blown totalitarian worldview with deadly consequences.

Then Argentine foreign minister Adm. César Augusto Guzzetti baldly articulated this perspective in a 1976 interview: "There is no right-wing subversion or terrorism as such. The body of society is affected by a disease that

corrodes the entrails and forms antibodies. These antibodies cannot be regarded in the same way as the microbe itself. The action of the antibody will disappear as the government controls and destroys the guerrillas."⁹

The countries of the Southern Cone in fact faced armed challenges from the left. In Uruguay, the Tupamaros scored spectacular political blows. In Argentina, the Marxist People's Revolutionary Army and left Peronist Montoneros engaged in a cutthroat struggle against the security forces and right-wing Peronist death squads. In Bolivia, Hugo Banzer was able to seize power only after a bloody struggle with left-populists aligned with his predecessor, Gen. Juan Torres.¹⁰

The Brazilian military smashed an armed challenge from the left in the late 1960s. Its situation resembled that of Chile; in both cases, guerrilla movements did not emerge until after a repressive military government seized power.

Nonetheless, the response of the security forces in all of these countries went far beyond defeating the guerrillas. They were engaged in a holy war against the left, which in their eyes included anyone challenging the status quo, armed or not. Thus, nuns, professors, students, workers, artists and performers, journalists, even democratic opposition politicians came to be viewed as Guzzetti's "microbes."

The U.S. provided inspiration, financing, and technical assistance for the repression, and may have planted the seeds that would blossom into Operation Condor. The CIA promoted greater coordination among the region's intelligence services. One historian credits a CIA operative with arranging the first meetings between Uruguayan and Argentine security officials to discuss surveillance of political exiles. The CIA also brokered meetings between Brazilian death squad leaders and the Argentines and Uruguayans.¹¹

The U.S. did more than just arrange meetings. The CIA's Technical Services Division provided electrical torture equipment to the Brazilians and Uruguayans, and offered advice on how much shock the human body could with-

9. Quoted in Amnesty International, *Report of An Amnesty International Mission to Argentina*, November 6-15, 1976, pp. 34-5.

10. Gen. Torres was murdered in June 1976 in Buenos Aires in a Condor operation.

11. A.J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 251.



Hoy

Paraguayan Pres. Alfredo Stroessner (l), abetted "Condor" mastermind intelligence head Manuel Contreras (r).

stand.¹² Latin American security agents also received bomb-making training from the CIA at the State Department's Office of Public Safety (OPS) facility in Texas.¹³

Advice and assistance from the U.S. facilitated coordination among regional intelligence agencies. This cooperation made possible the exchange of information and prisoners, and even joint assassinations. A political exile could be kept hostage or kidnapped and taken across borders, tortured and disappeared — without any judicial authorization.

Paradoxically, reining in the CIA after its partial exposure in the Church and Pike committee reports in 1974-75 may have encouraged the creation of Operation Condor. The Carter administration resisted the CIA's "resolving all the demands for intelligence present in Latin America. The CIA's cooperation has been very valuable to all the military dictatorships since the end of World War II, but the U.S. government began to have reservations about requests for collaboration after various scandals, mainly caused by Chile."¹⁴

If the Carter administration was unwilling to help the dictatorships, they were willing and able to help themselves.

First Glimpses of Condor

Although by 1976 the Southern Cone was already awash with the blood of thousands of state terror victims, three high-profile

assassinations excited the first rumors of an international conspiracy against the left. In each case, the victims were prominent Chilean exiles. In September 1974, Salvador Allende's defense minister, Gen. Carlos Prats, and his wife were killed in Buenos Aires when a bomb exploded under their car. Argentine authorities did not investigate.¹⁵

In October 1975, Allende's vice-president and the leader of the Chilean Christian Democrats, Bernardo Leighton, and his wife miraculously survived an assassination attempt in Rome. Italian investigators began to follow an international network linking Southern Cone security services and home-grown neofascists.¹⁶

By mid-1976, these high-profile assassination attempts, as well as the horrendous tales coming out of the Southern Cone, began to generate world press attention. British journalist Richard Gott, who had investigated complaints from families of victims, called the repression "something akin to Operation Phoenix [in Vietnam]. ... [M]en with the capacity to inspire and unite the nation in a campaign to resist the occupying forces,

15. Not only did Argentine authorities not respond, they are indirectly implicated in the murder. The bombing was carried out by Michael Vernon Townley, an American-born agent of DINA, the Chilean intelligence agency. He was assisted by members of *Milicia*, an offshoot of the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (Triple A), used by Argentine intelligence (SIDE). See Martin Andersen, *Dossier Secreto: Argentina's Desaparecidos and the Myth of the "Dirty War"* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993), p. 119.

16. Leighton's would-be assassin was a member of *Avanguardia Nazionale*, an Italian neofascist paramilitary organization headed by Stefano Della Chiaie. Della Chiaie's organization was contracted for the attempt by Townley. Taylor Branch and Eugene M. Propper, *Labyrinth* (New York: Viking, 1982), pp. 305-9. Della Chiaie is notorious for his role in rightist political violence in Italy, as well as in Latin America. On Italy, see Arthur E. Rowse, "Gladio: The Secret U.S. War to Subvert Italian Democracy," *CovertAction*, No. 49, Summer 1994. On Della Chiaie in Argentina, see Andersen, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 10 and 20.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-42, 242. OPS was established under the umbrella of the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID) in 1962. It was headed by CIA officer Byron Engle and was largely staffed by CIA operations officers who were given OPS covers. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9, 58, 124-25, 233-35; and Michael Klare, *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnam* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1972), pp. 241-69.

14. Rogelio García Lupo, *El Paraguay de Stroessner* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones B, Series Reporter, 1989), p. 149.

Routine Terror

Information from the "Horror Archives" has helped solve some "disappearances" in the Southern Cone. Victims turned activists, such as Martín Almada and Paraguayan doctor Gladys Mellinger de Sanneman, have collated information from the archives with their own research and documentation to fill in the blanks.

Mellinger, now 65 years old, was affiliated with the governing Paraguayan Colorado Party until she fled the country after challenging Stroessner's rise to power. In 1976, she was seized in Argentina and returned to Paraguay:

I was a victim of Condor. My case is one of the few both known and documented among various others either unknown or known but undocumented. I was arrested in Candelaria (Misiones, Argentina) — I remember it very well — on March 24, 1976, and handed over to the Paraguayan police on July 28 of the same year. I was held at the Emboscada concentration camp until March 19, 1977. On the 21st of that month, despite my Paraguayan citizenship, I was again handed over to the Argentine security forces. Finally, thanks to the intervention of the German diplomatic delegation in Buenos Aires. ... I was able to travel to my father's country in the company of my children.¹

During her imprisonment at Emboscada, Dr. Mellinger attended to both Paraguayans and foreigners who were detained and tortured there, and was able to reconstruct parts of the victims' stories. But, as she herself noted, without documentary evidence, many of the crimes would remain unsolved. The following is a small sample of cases the archives have clarified:

- Paraguayan Dr. Agustín Goiburú, a member of a dissident faction of the official Colorado Party, fled to Argentina after crossing Stroessner. The archives contain numerous reports on Goiburú from Argentine intelligence sources. He was kidnapped by Argentine police on February 9, 1977. Since then, nothing more is known.²
- Domingo Centurión Rolón, a peasant activist with the Paraguayan Christian Agrarian Leagues, fled to Argentina to avoid persecution by the Stroessner regime. Pastor Coronel informed Stroessner that he had been delivered by "Argentine friends." According to the report, "[The military detachment] S2 of the RI29 of Monte Formosa arrived at this headquarters and, as directed by their regimental chief, brought in their car trunk one Domingo Centurión Rolón, who, according to his interrogators, confessed to belonging to a political-military organization. The citizen will be transferred to the investigations department in the capital."³

The report confirms Mellinger's account of having treated Centurión Rolón in the Emboscada concentration camp. He "had become a vegetable because of torture." Mellinger met his entire family — his children, his brothers, even his retired parents — in Emboscada. "I had to attend to

the whole family in those days. They were the remnants of human beings after having passed through the torture centers. Their only crime was having asked for the return of lands taken from them."⁴

- Paraguayan Communist Party leaders Miguel Angel Soler and Derlis Villagra were seized on November 30, 1975. Their entry into prison was noted in a prison log, which also listed their personal effects. The next day, both were tortured to death.⁵ In 1979, the Stroessner regime denied to Amnesty International that either of the two leaders had been detained in Paraguay and insisted that they had left the country "and never returned."⁶
- Paraguayan torturers Camilo Almada and Lucilo Benítez reported on their mission to Argentina to interrogate Paraguayans detained there. They noted "the outstandingly favorable reception accorded us by the Argentine authorities, especially the commander of military intelligence detachment NOR-601 and elements of the SIDE, who allowed us to personally undertake the interrogations."⁷ The majority of those prisoners joined the ranks of the "disappeared."
- Argentine citizen Gladis Esther Ríos and her Paraguayan husband, Carlos Mancuello, were arrested in Paraguay on November 25, 1975. Mancuello died under torture. Ríos, then pregnant, had been sent to Emboscada, where she gave birth shortly after their arrests.

"I met her in Emboscada, when among 400 other prisoners — truly figures out of the Nazi extermination camps — I saw a young woman curled up in a corner crying with a very sick baby in her arms. She was Gladis Esther Ríos, whose only crime was to have married a young Paraguayan engineer who opposed Stroessner politically," recalled Martín Almada.⁸

The last mention of Gladis Esther Ríos in the archives noted that she was handed over to Argentine authorities on November 12, 1977, at the border between Paraguay and the Argentine state of Formosa.⁹ She hasn't been seen since. •

1. Gladys Mellinger de Sanneman, *Paraguay en el Operativo Condor* (Asunción: RP Ediciones, 1989), p. 16.

2. See Boccia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Paraguayan Archives, Libro PB, p. 484; Carpeta 1051, pp. 2444, 2460, 2467; and Armario 1, unlabeled document, among others, for informants' reports on Goiburú. An Argentine military intelligence report describes his kidnapping. See Carpeta 1051, p. 2476.

3. *Ibid.*, letter from Pastor Coronel to Stroessner.

4. Mellinger, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

5. Paraguayan Archives, Department of Investigations log, November 30, 1975. Several prisoners detained at the site described seeing Soler's and Villagra's tortured corpses being dragged up a staircase. See Prudencio Bogarin interview, "Yo ví el cadáver desnudo de Soler," *ABC Color* (Asunción), February 28, 1993.

6. "Aclaración del Ministerio del Interior," *Patria* (Asunción), October 6, 1979, p. 1. But see Boccia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Paraguayan Archives, Archivador 1006, p. 674, in which Paraguayan police commanders bragged to their Brazilian counterparts of having captured Soler and Villagra.

7. Paraguayan Archives, Report of Camilo Almada and Lucilo Benítez to Pastor Coronel, November 5, 1975, unnumbered file.

8. Testimony of Martín Almada, Foro de Derechos Humanos de Argentina, Buenos Aires, May 29, 1993.

9. Paraguayan Archives, Report from Border Posts to Pastor Coronel, unnumbered file, no date.

are being picked off one by one," he wrote. Gott blamed Washington, declaring that then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger "should know [who is responsible]."17

But it was the assassination of Orlando Letelier, Allende's former foreign and defense minister, on Washington's Embassy Row in September 1976 that uncovered pieces of Operation Condor. A car bomb placed by the ubiquitous Townley and a team of anti-Castro Cuban terrorists killed Letelier and his assistant, Ronni Moffitt. Moffitt's husband, Michael, who had been riding in the back seat, survived, wandering around the scene in a daze and screaming that "the Chilean fascists did it! The sons of bitches!"18

Michael Moffitt was right, of course, although it would take U.S. prosecutors two years to bring the case to court. Townley and

"Condor thereupon planned an operation aimed at assassinating three well-known European leftists, one of whom was the notorious Carlos," the recently-captured Illich Ramírez Sánchez.

— Senate Foreign Relations Committee report

the Cubans were eventually convicted of the murders. DINA head Gen. Manuel Contreras and two officers were also indicted.¹⁹

The Letelier assassination produced a scandal that cracked open the doors hiding covert operations in Latin America.

17. Richard Gott, "Shots and Plots," *The Guardian* (London), June 4, 1976, p. 17.

18. Taylor and Propper, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

19. The Chilean government, however, refused to hand them over. After the change of regime in Chile in 1991, Contreras and Gen. Pedro Espinoza were finally tried in Chile and convicted for the Letelier-Moffitt murders. Contreras was sentenced to seven years in prison and Espinoza to six years, but both remain free while appealing to the Chilean Supreme Court. U.S. citizen Townley plea bargained a short sentence and is now in the Federal Witness Protection Program.



In Buenos Aires, Argentina, a woman looks at posters of the detained and disappeared.

Louis Martin/Impact Visuals

Rumors were now partially confirmed. One of the first reports came from the U.S. legal attaché in Buenos Aires, FBI Special Agent Robert Scherrer. A week after Letelier's death, Scherrer sent a cable to FBI headquarters naming and describing the operation:

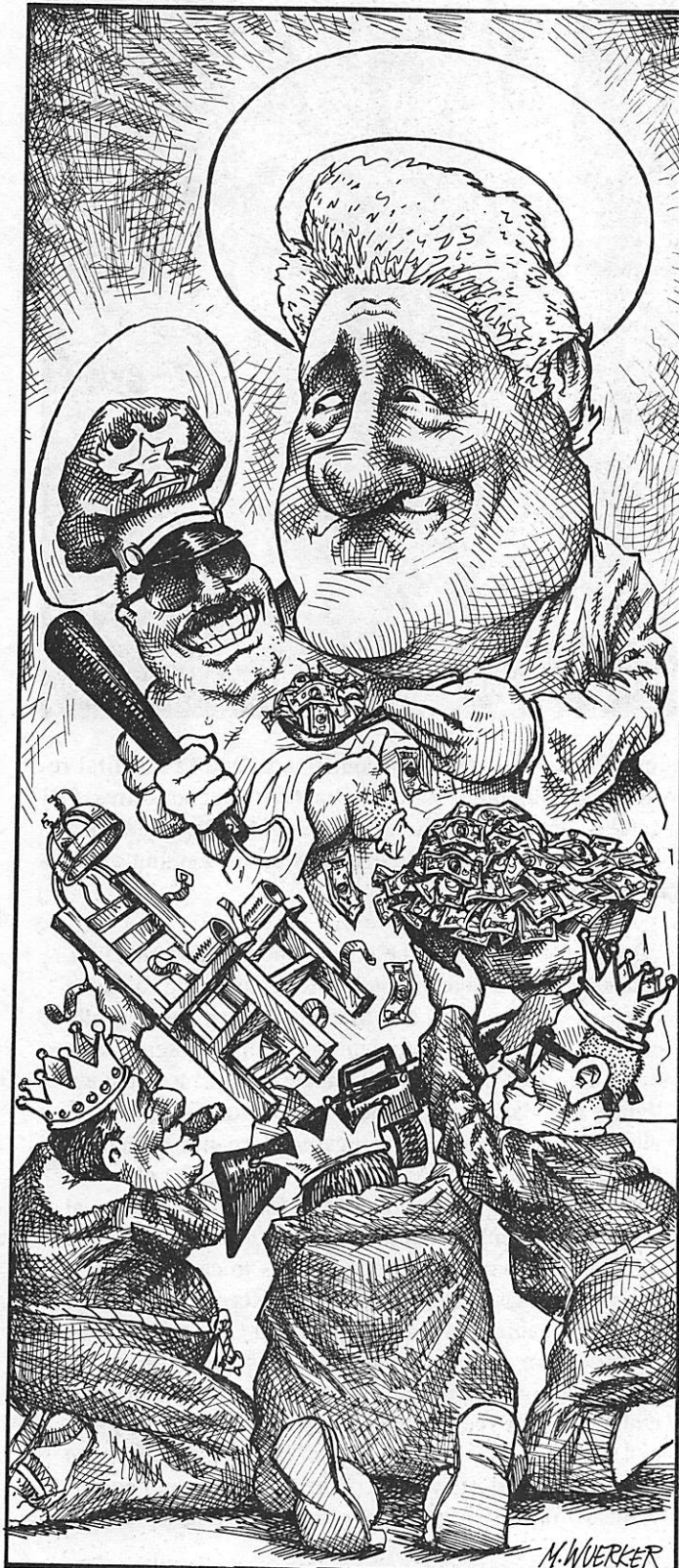
"Operation Condor" is the code name for the collection, exchange and storage of intelligence concerning so-called "leftists," communists, and Marxists, which was recently established between cooperating intelligence services in South America in order to eliminate Marxist terrorist activities in the area. In addition, "Operation Condor" provides for joint operations against terrorist targets in member countries. ... A third and most secret phase of "Operation Condor" involves the formation of special teams from member countries who are to travel anywhere in the world to non-member countries to carry out sanctions up to assassination against terrorists or supporters of terrorist organizations from "Operation Condor" member countries. For example, should a terrorist or a supporter of a terrorist organization from a member country of "Operation Condor" be located in a European country, a special team from "Operation Condor" could be dispatched to locate and surveil the target. When the location and surveillance operation has terminated, a second team from

(continued on p. 57)

Congratulations, It's A Crime, Bill

Clarence Lusane

"If the current trends continue, by the year 2053, we will have more people in jail than out."¹ — Warren Cikins



One congressional report calls the legislation "the most sweeping federal anti-crime bill in U.S. history."² Passed by Congress in August, it has the potential to fundamentally reshape the economic, social, and cultural landscape of the United States. It could bankrupt the nation, restructure community life, and, most frustrating and shameful, do little to reduce crime. Indeed, the bill and similar provisions at the state and local level will do much harm and little good.

But for reasons that have more to do with the exigencies of politics than the lessons of history, Congress continues to act on the myth that "more-punishment-is-better."³ Punitive through and through, the crime bill meets the agenda of the Democrats and the White House for winning votes, as well as that of the conservatives for stricter law-and-order. Like past versions, it has a distinct racial edge. Public controversy focused on the battle between members of the Congressional Black Caucus and the White House over the Racial Justice Act (RJA) provision. This struggle, which the caucus eventually lost, diverted attention from equally racist provisions that sailed through Congress without significant debate. In fact, the bill's numerous death penalty provisions and categories of mandatory minimum sentences ignore evidence that these legal practices have been applied in a racially discriminatory manner.

Battles also raged over the prevention provisions of the bill. More contentious and partisan than any fight in recent memory, Democrats and Republicans slugged it out for weeks, delaying the traditional August recess. House Democratic leaders were defeated on a critical procedural vote that generated bitter floor debates and ultimately were forced to make significant changes to rescue the bill. In the August 11 vote, which would have allowed the crime bill to come to the

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1. See, "Statement of the Honorable Russell L. Sheaffer On Behalf of The National Association of Counties Before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration on Title VI of H.R. 2872, the 'Crime Control Act of 1993,' and H.R. 2892, the 'Violent Crime Control and Regional Prison Partnership Act Of 1993,'" testimony, February 10, 1994. Cikins is a criminal justice specialist formerly at the Washington-based Brookings Institution.

2. Democratic Study Group, "The Crime Bill," *Fact Sheet*, U.S. House of Representatives, No. 103-27, March 21, 1994, p. 1.

3. "The Crime Bills: Spending Your Money on More of the Same," *Drug Policy Letter*, July/August 1994, p. 20.

House floor for a vote, 58 Democrats voted against the rule. In the revised bill, \$3.3 billion was cut, about two-thirds of which came from crime prevention programs, which opponents labeled "pork."⁴

Politics of Expediency

In the waning days of summer, the bill took on a new political urgency. Health care legislation was ailing, prospects for other major pieces of legislation in the remainder of the 103rd Congress were dim, and the number of Republican seats in both chambers was predicted to rise in the 1994 elections. As the bill passed through the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, the inclusion of a number of prevention measures ballooned the price tag from \$22 billion to an estimated \$30.2 billion. The additions were designed to gain liberal support and provide cover for politicians faced with a growing number of voters aware that perpetually rising incarceration rates were having little impact on crime or violence.

Yet crime bills have never really addressed the issue of, well, crime. Radical critics charge that this bill, like its predecessors, was not intended to address the roots of crime. Instead, by scapegoating the poor, especially blacks and Latinos, passing the bill let politicians and policymakers off the hook. If the nation's problems could be blamed on crime, it would be unnecessary to develop long-term structural solutions to poverty, racism, drug abuse, lowered prospects, decaying inner cities, and a chronic lack of decent jobs.

In fact, although one would never know it from the mainstream media coverage and political rhetoric, the current bill coincides with falling crime rates. The FBI reported that in 1993, serious crimes reported to the police dropped by three percent, with violent offenses down by one percent.⁵ Only homicide, up by three percent, increased. It is important to note, however, that the 1993 rate—9.3 homicides per 100,000—is nearly identical to the 1973 rate of 9.4.⁶ Declines in other categories include rape (four percent), robbery (two percent), burglary (six percent), arson (six percent), motor vehicle theft (four percent), and larceny-theft (two percent).⁷

4. Democratic Study Group, "The New Crime Bill Agreement," *Fact Sheet*, U.S. House of Representatives, No. 103-38, August 21, 1994, p. 1.

5. Ronald J. Ostrow, "Serious Crimes Off 3% in '93, FBI Reports; Offenses: Director Freeh Says 'Few Americans Will Find Much Comfort' in Such a Small Reduction. Murders Are Up By 3%," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1994, p. A16.

6. James Austin and Marc Mauer, "Crime 'Explosion' is a Myth," *USA TODAY*, January 27, 1994.

7. Ostrow, *op. cit.*



Piet van Lier/Impact Visuals

Members of the Youngstown, Ohio, PPIT (Practical Problems Intervention Team) "subdue" a suspect who "exhibited strange behavior."

While the cities are often portrayed by the media and opportunistic politicians as ground zero in the purported explosion of crime, those with populations exceeding one million had the greatest drop in rates. Cities in the Northeast declined the most (five percent), followed by the Midwest (three percent), and both the West and the South (two percent or less).⁸

Race and Crime

The picture of U.S. crime patterns and anticrime policies must be framed by a context of a historical pattern of racial inequality and the dynamics of contemporary black life. Within the U.S., racial images of "predatory" black males—from O. J. Simpson and Mike Tyson to the everyday media stereotype of young black men as street-level crack dealers and violent criminals—feed an atmosphere of racial fears, and mask the deterioration of conditions that dominate many urban and rural black communities.

Fundamental changes in the global economy that have devastated region after region make an especially harsh impact on the black community. In 1981, 20.2 million people worked in manufacturing. A decade later, as runaway shops and capital flight starved domestic investment, 1.8 million of those jobs were gone. This loss was central to the diminished fortunes of the U.S. middle-class and to increased national poverty. During the same period, an additional 19.4 million people became old enough to enter the job market.⁹ Historically, low-skilled, entry-level employment, particularly in the manufacturing sector, had been the way out of poverty

8. *Ibid.*, citing an FBI report.

9. Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele, *America: What Went Wrong* (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, 1992), p. xi.

for young African American males. Those days are gone and the black community confronts an official poverty rate of 32.7 percent, about 10.2 million people, which is higher than for Latinos (28.7 percent), Asians (13.8 percent), or whites (11.3 percent).¹⁰

The recession that marked the early 1990s was a clear example of the disproportionate impact of economic weakness on the African American community. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "blacks were the only racial group to suffer a net job loss during the 1990-91 economic downturn."¹¹ African Americans lost close to 60,000 jobs at the companies surveyed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. At corporations such as W.R. Grace, BankAmerica, ITT, Sears Roebuck and Co., Coca-Cola, Safeway, Campbell Soup, Walt Disney, and General Electric, blacks lost jobs at twice the rate of whites. The jobs spanned the spectrum from entry level to management.

Indeed, even in the midst of the current economic recovery, black teen unemployment is rising. In January 1994, official black teen unemployment was 32 percent; by May, it had risen to 40 percent (males, 44 percent; females, 37 percent).¹² In contrast, the May jobless rate for white teens was 15 percent. While 60 percent of white youth who are out of high school (either graduated or dropped out) have full or part-time jobs; only 33 percent of comparable blacks have jobs. To a significant degree, these disproportionately harsh economic and social conditions seed the movement of so many young and unemployed African Americans into the underground economy, particularly the illegal drug trade.

A Gram of Prevention

In recognition of this reality, and as an attempt to buy off liberal opponents, prevention provisions were added to the crime bill. All of these were cut during the laborious process of winning

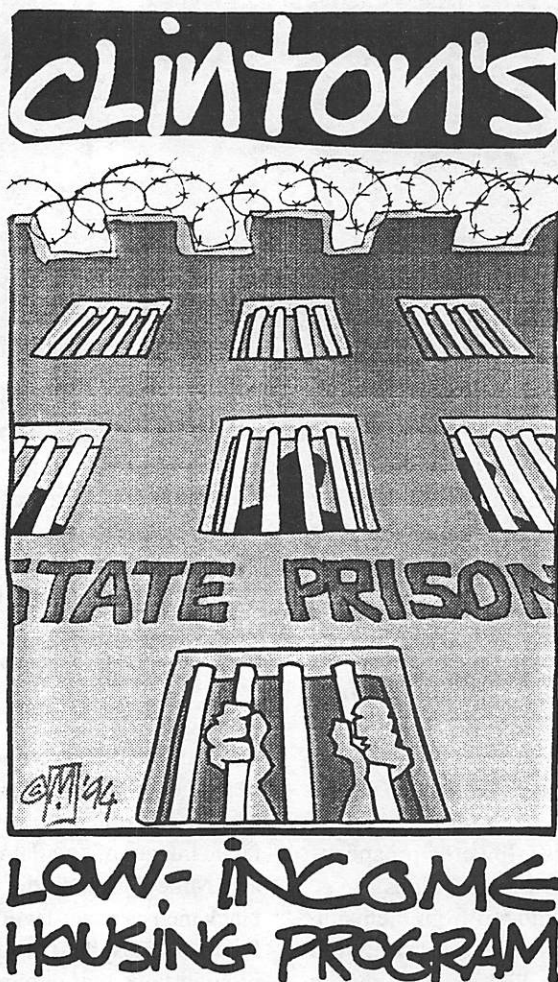
enough votes for passage. The final \$6.9 billion allocation includes model crime prevention programs targeted at high crime neighborhoods (\$626 million), community development corporations (\$270 million), drug treatment programs (\$383 million), and programs specifically aimed at ending violence against women (\$1.62 billion). One critical \$1 billion diversion program is aimed at creating drug courts to handle at least 600,000 non-violent offenders arrested for illegal drugs. It will

recommend alternatives to prison or jail time such as drug treatment, intensive supervision, or home arrest. If offenders in the program failed random drug tests, they will be remanded to prison.

Perhaps the most touted part of the bill is a half prevention/half law enforcement program to train 100,000 new police officers in the community policing methods that many progressive law enforcement officials view as needed to address the crime issues of contemporary life. The \$8.8 billion scheme—which is part of the overall \$13.4 billion for law enforcement—fulfills Clinton's campaign promise to put more cops on the street. It also deflects Republican criticism that the Democrats (and Clinton, in particular) are soft on crime. Even if prevention programs like this one work, their effects may be short term; they are only funded for six years. After that, if cash-strapped states and local areas do not take on the burden, the programs will be lost.

Nonetheless, the prevention package ignited a backlash from conservatives who labeled the

programs social welfare disguised as crime-fighting. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) called the effort to include these provisions "loaded with pork barrel, unnecessary social spending, inadequate funding for prisons and insufficiently tough on crime."¹³ Because of the conservative attack, many of the prevention provisions only remained in the final version of the crime package after severe cuts. Some programs such as midnight sports leagues, anti-gang grants, and seniors programs (originally granted \$40, \$125, and \$6 million respectively) were denounced as pork and completely eliminated from the final bill.



Michael Swartzbeck

10. "Slow Economic Growth Lowers Median Household Income and Increases Poverty Rate in 1991, Census Bureau Says," press release, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, September 3, 1992.

11. Rochelle Sharpe, "In Latest Recession, Only Blacks Suffered Net Employment Loss," *Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 1993.

12. Steven Pearlstein and DeNeed L. Brown, "Black Teens Facing Worse Job Prospects," *Washington Post*, June 4, 1994.

13. Kenneth J. Cooper, "Negotiations on Amendments Slow Crime Bill Effort," *Washington Post*, July 27, 1994.

What's in the Bill

It is not only the size of the Clinton crime bill that makes it remarkable, it is the unprecedented scope. With a \$30 billion budget, it attempts to cover virtually every category of crime, with particular focus on violent offenses. In a broad sense, the bill is a grand escalation of recent trends to federalize crime. Congress has crafted a bill that encroaches on state and local laws with sentences that are much harsher and consequences that are more frightening.

The legislation adds new circumstances in which there are mandatory minimum sentences, and lengthens the sentences on other existing mandatory and recommended minimums. Possession of a firearm, for example, now garners an automatic five years. Possession during the commission of a violent crime gets you 10 years; during the commission of a violent crime where the gun is discharged doubles your prize to 20 years. Needless to say, if a homicide occurs, the death penalty is the final reward.¹⁴ Where selling drugs to a minor or using a minor to sell drugs was an automatic one-year jail term, the crime bill mandates ten years.

These harsh mandatory minimum sentences are being imposed despite the fact their predecessors are the principal reason the U.S. prison population has swollen to over one million, 140 percent higher than in 1980.¹⁵ Currently, there are about 100 mandatory minimum provisions contained in 60 statutes with a startling 94 percent of all cases tied to only four of those statutes; these revolve around drug and weapons charges.¹⁶ The Washington, D.C.-based Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy concludes that "mandatory sentences have also resulted in greater use of court resources in responding to low-level drug offenders at the expense of higher level offenders." Of those federal offenders convicted of drug charges in 1992 and given mandatory minimums, "one-third

did not have a criminal record or any involvement with weapons or aggravating factors."¹⁷

In 1991, mandatory minimums resulted in between 4,400 and 7,000 additional prison years and cost between \$79 million and \$125 million.¹⁸ Blacks were 21 percent more likely to receive mandatory minimums; Latino offenders 28 percent more likely.¹⁹ The U.S. Sentencing Commission concluded that disparate application of man-

datory minimums "appears to be related to the race of the defendant."²⁰ The direct consequence of these laws has been to fill the prisons with African Americans and Latinos.

After much liberal criticism, a symbolic "safety valve" provision was added to the Clinton crime bill. It gives federal judges discretionary power to waive mandatory minimum sentences for some first-time, non-violent drug offenders. The waiver would apply to defendants who had been sentenced to at least five years; had not previously been sentenced to more than 60 days in any jail; were not organizers or ringleaders; did not possess a firearm during the commission of the crime; did not use force or threats; and did not participate in a crime in which someone was killed or seriously injured whether or not the defendant committed the violent act.²¹ It is safe to say that few defendants will meet the conditions and easy to predict that the expanded mandatory minimums will continue to overfill the nation's jails and prisons. An attempt to make the provision retroactive was defeated.



Michael Swartzbeck

The Mother of All Get-Tough-On-Crime Laws

Of all the mandatory minimums, the "Three Strikes, You're Out" provision is perhaps the most symbolically and substantively dangerous. Under it, a person with two previous offenses, convicted on a violent federal offense, would get life in prison without possibility of parole. The two priors could have been

14. House Resolution 3355.

15. Jonathan Marshall, "How Our War on Drugs Shattered the Cities," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1992, p. C1.

16. Those four statutes are 21 U.S.C. Sec. 841 (manufacture and distribution of controlled substances), 21 U.S.C. Sec. 844 (possession of controlled substances), 21 U.S.C. Sec. 960 (importation/exportation of controlled substances), and 18 U.S.C. Sec. 924(c) (enhancements for carrying a firearm during the commission of a crime involving drugs or violence).

17. Campaign for an Effective Crime Policy, *Evaluating Mandatory Minimum Sentences*, Washington, D.C., October 1993, p. 6.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

19. Barbara S. Meierhofer, *The General Effect of Mandatory Minimum Prison Time: A Longitudinal Study of Federal Sentences Imposed*, Washington, D.C., Federal Judicial Center, 1992, p. 20.

20. *Mandatory Minimum Penalties in the Federal Criminal Justice System*, United States Sentencing Commission, August 1991, p. 10.

21. *Ibid.*; and Democratic Study Group, "The Crime Bill," *op. cit.*, p. 16.

for either a violent offense that carries a potential sentence of ten years, or for a federal or state drug law violation. For example, two separate convictions on possession of small amounts of crack cocaine, weighing less than two pennies, or .2 ounces of marijuana would count as two strikes.

In Washington state, Larry Fisher discovered the individual price of the state's Three Strikes law—as low as \$611.²² With five previous robbery convictions — one in which he robbed his grandfather of \$360 and another in which he took \$100 from a pizza parlor — he fell under the state's Three Strikes law. Fisher, 35, is now serving life in prison without the possibility of parole for robbing a sandwich shop of \$151. His lawyer plans to appeal the conviction.

Laws covering career or repeat violent offenders—which already exist in nearly every state—have safeguards which give courts the discretion to hand down lengthy sentences where appropriate. In the past, states have opposed federally imposed constraints that ignore local conditions. One major concern has been the cost and impracticality of maintaining elderly prisoners after the likelihood of their committing another serious crime is virtually nil.²³ Some groups have charged that the legislation violates constitutional safeguards as well as civil and human rights. In declaring its opposition to Three Strikes legislation, the American Civil Liberties

There are 60 new federal death penalty provisions. For D.C and the 11 states with no capital punishment, this law will override local preference.

Union (ACLU) charges that “such bills are constitutionally suspect, imposing automatic life imprisonment for crimes which may not warrant so harsh a penalty and which have the potential to disproportionately impact African Americans and other people of color.”²⁴

Unfortunately, a number of states have already adopted Three Strikes laws with little sensitivity to long-range financial and social consequences. California is a prime example of the disaster that Three Strikes promises. The state already has 28 prisons and plans to build 12 more by the year 2000.²⁵ According to a study by the California Department of Corrections, passage of the Three Strikes law in March 1994 will create an additional 109,000 inmates over the next five years. These will be added to the 119,951 people now incarcerated

and the 170,000 projected to become inmates by the turn of the century — even if there were no new law. The state will have to build 20 prisons in addition to the 12 already on the drawing board to house them.²⁶ Not coincidentally, the nine percent official unemployment rate in California is 50 percent higher than the national average.²⁷

Although they were not able to kill Three Strikes, opponents did successfully eliminate a provision targeting that most demonized of social groups, the street gangs. Congress had defined a gang as any group of five or more who commit at least two designated crimes within 10 years, and has initiation rules, a recognized leader, common clothing, language, tattoos, or turf, and a group name.²⁸ The broadness of the definition — criticized by a number of civil liberties activists as too expansive and perhaps unconstitutional — could have been applied to a basketball team, church group, or the Senate Judiciary Committee itself.

One especially outrageous anti-youth provision survived. Introduced in the original Senate version by Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.), the only African American in the Senate, it called for 13-year-olds charged with certain violent crimes to be prosecuted as adults in cases of murder, assault, robbery and rape. While Moseley-Braun advocated mandatory charging, the House adopted a version in which trial as an adult was at the discretion of the prosecutor.

Immigrants will also fare badly under the bill. Among the provisions that deserve scrutiny by those concerned with civil liberties, political rights, and basic justice is one denying fundamental constitutional rights to non-citizens. In an attack on Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment rights to due process, immigration officials will be allowed to deport people based on secretly presented evidence. The bill eliminates deportation hearings for aliens convicted of an aggravated felony who are not lawful permanent residents and allocates \$55 million to facilitate quick deportation of legal immigrants convicted of a felony. It also earmarks \$220 million to increase the number of border control agents.²⁹

Deportation may seem a happy alternative in light of the broad expansion of categories in which the death penalty may apply. Previously, only two federal offenses drew capital punishment: airline hijacking in which a homicide occurs, and certain drug-related murders. With the new bill, there are 60 new federal death penalty provisions including drug trafficking in large amounts of drugs, espionage, and treason. Many of the new offenses focus on the circumstances around a killing (bank robbery, destroying a motor vehicle, wrecking a train, drive-by shooting, etc.) and, in any case, duplicate many state laws regarding homicides. For D.C. and the 11 states with no capital punishment, however, this law will override local preference. A minimum safety valve to protect

22. Robert Davis, “Wash. Case is a Test for ‘3 Strikes’ Law,” *USA TODAY*, June 2, 1994, p. 4A.

23. See Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Felony Sentences in State Courts,” 1988.

24. Nkechi Taifa, “‘Three Strikes, You’re Out:’ Mandatory Life Imprisonment for Third Time Felons,” ACLU memo, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1994, p. 1.

25. Dan Morain, “Costs to Soar Under ‘3 Strikes’ Plan, Study Says,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 1994.

26. Projected figures, *Ibid.*; current numbers, “Record Number of Prisoners Reached Again Last Year,” Bureau of Justice Statistics, Department of Justice, press release, June 1, 1994, p. 1.

27. Interview, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, August 30, 1994.

28. Democratic Study Group, “The Crime Bill,” *op. cit.*

29. Interview, Elissa McGovern, American Immigration Lawyers Association, August 30, 1994.



Amy Zuckerman/Impact Visuals

Programs that would aid this 3-year-old who squats with his mother in an abandoned building in New York were labeled "pork" and slashed in the current crime bill.

against discriminatory application of these new death penalties, the Racial Justice Act, was shot down in the Senate-House conference that came up with the final version of the bill.

The Racial Justice Act

Race continues to infect the application of the death penalty in the United States, even under the narrow federal law ... As the Congress prepares to undertake a general restoration and expansion of the federal death penalty, we need to ensure that the procedures are in place to prevent and remedy this kind of racial bias. — Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.)³⁰

For African Americans, the long history of racism in the application of capital punishment makes suspect any attempt to broaden its use. Discrimination in the use of the death penalty was a principal reason why it was discontinued following the Supreme Court 1972 ruling in *Furman v. Georgia*. The death penalty was reinstituted in 1976 when, in *Gregg v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court ruled that under certain guidelines, states could impose capital punishment.

Activists and many policymakers argue that the racist pattern condemned by the Supreme Court continues. Since 1976, nearly 40 percent of those executed have been black.³¹ An evaluation of 28 studies on the death penalty by the General Accounting Office concluded that there continues to be "a pattern of evidence indicating racial disparities in the charging, sentencing, and imposition of the death penalty."³²

30. Don Edwards, "Racial Disparities Infect Federal Death Sentences," news release, March 15, 1994, p. 1.

31. "Racial Disparities in Federal Death Penalty Prosecutions, 1988-1994," Staff Report by the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, House Committee on the Judiciary, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, March 1994, p. 6.

32. Carol Moseley-Braun, "Racial Justice and the Death Penalty," letter, *Washington Post*, May 28, 1994, p. A27.

In Georgia, for example, an analysis of 2,000 murder cases documented that those charged with killing whites are 4.3 times more likely to receive the death penalty than those charged with killing blacks. In Florida, the number was eight times higher. In Bay County, Florida, between 1975 and 1987, although 40 percent of those murdered were black, the state sought the death penalty only when the victims were white.³³

Legal experts and civil rights leaders have charged that the race of the victim played a critical role in sentencing. Of the 245 executions noted above, in 84 percent of the cases the victim was white; in 12 percent, black; in two percent, Latino; and in one percent of the cases Asian.³⁴

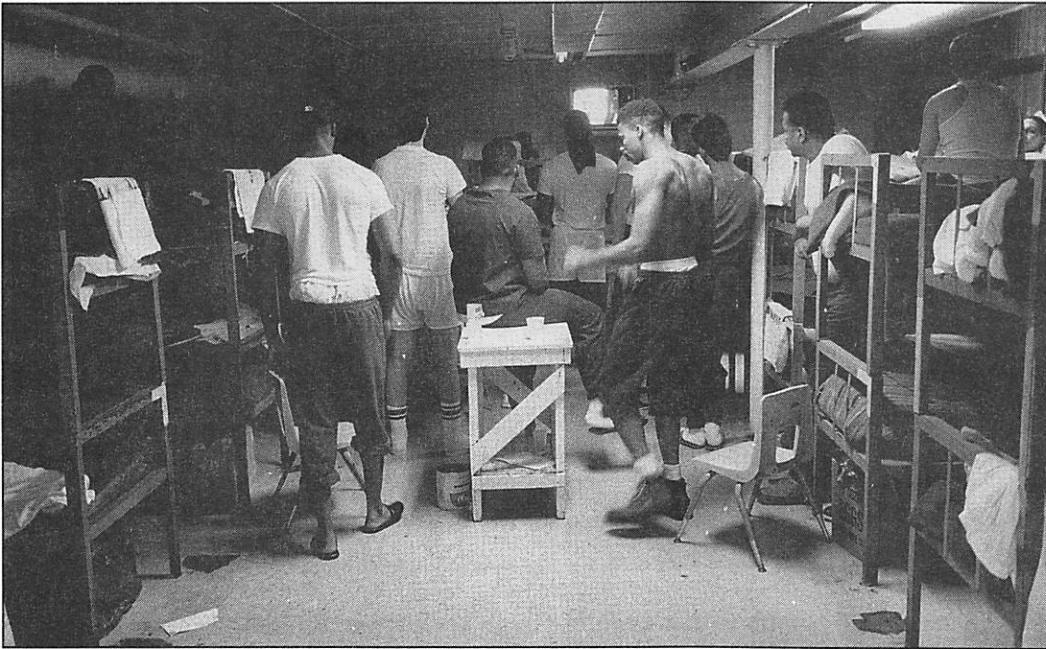
With the passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, "drug kingpins" were subject to federal death penalty provisions. The consequences of that extension are perhaps a harbinger. Of the 37 defendants who have been prosecuted under the vaguely defined law, 29 have been black and four Latino. Of the ten defendants approved for execution by Attorney General Janet Reno, all have been black.³⁵

According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), as of Spring 1994, there were 2,848 inmates on death row: 1,423 whites (50 percent), 1,138 blacks (40 percent), 209 Latinos (7 percent), 50 Native Americans (2 percent), 20 Asians (less than 1 percent). Not only is the number of people on death row growing, but the pace of executions has been picking up, with a total of 245 executed since the 1976 reinstatement of capital punishment. From 1977 to 1980, there were only three executions; from 1981 to 1989, there were 117, an average of 13 executions a year. Since 1990, the rate has skyrocketed to 25 a year with 31 executions in 1992, 38 in 1993, and

33. *Ibid.*

34. NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), *Death Row, U.S.A.*, Spring 1994.

35. Moseley-Braun, "Racial Disparities in Federal Death Penalty Prosecutions, 1988-1994," *op. cit.*, p. 3.



Mark Ludak/Impact Visuals

With 17 to a cell, the Somerset, N.J., County Jail is at 500 percent capacity. The crime bill is expected to increase overcrowding despite \$7.9 billion allocated for new construction.

another 20 in just the first six months of this year.³⁶ In August, in what were called assembly line executions, three men were put to death in Arkansas in two hours.

It was in this context that Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), with the support of the Congressional Black Caucus, had introduced the Racial Justice Act. It allowed death penalty defendants to use statistical analysis to demonstrate whether there was a pattern of discrimination and help determine if racism played a significant factor in the decision to invoke capital punishment.³⁷

Death penalty supporters and conservative leaders attacked the provision immediately. Senate Republicans, led by Orrin Hatch, threatened to filibuster the entire bill if it included the RJA. Conservative columnists, notably George Will, also jumped on the bandwagon. The Act, he wrote, was "a transparently anti-democratic maneuver by opponents of capital punishment to frustrate this society's considered affirmation of capital punishment....The act is fresh evidence that as liberalism loses its power to persuade the public, it retreats from legislatures into courts, preferring litigation to legislation to achieve its ends."³⁸

After winning a close victory to include the RJA in the first vote in the House, most Democrats moved rapidly to distance themselves from the provision. That left the CBC to fight virtually alone to retain inclusion. Since House-Senate

36. NAACP-LDF, *op. cit.*, *Death Row, U.S.A.*, p. 1.

37. Unless a prosecutor, jury, or judge makes openly racist remarks, it is virtually impossible to determine that one particular verdict is influenced by racism. It is therefore essential to examine a long-term pattern to discover what variables predict a particular outcome. Without a statistical analysis, therefore, proof of racism is almost impossible to establish no matter how pervasive.

38. George F. Will, "Race, Death, and Democracy," *Washington Post*, May 19, 1994, p. A21.

not to oppose a crime bill which includes so many vital provisions for the people of our cities because it may not include the Racial Justice Act."⁴¹ As Rep. Bobby Scott (D-Va.) noted in a fax to CBC chair Mfume, the July 14, 1994 date of the letter indicated that while the CBC still thought everything was on the table, the White House was busy getting signatures to undercut the CBC's position.⁴² The CBC accused the administration of failing to negotiate in good faith. Notably, two black big-city mayors did not sign the letter: Baltimore's Kurt Schmoke and Washington, D.C.'s Sharon Pratt Kelly.

The CBC had initially drafted its own crime bill, the Crime Prevention and Reform Act, also known as the "Washington Bill" after its sponsor CBC member Craig Washington (D-Tex.). That some of its prevention provisions eventually ended up in the final version was seen as an attempt by the White House to buy off the opposition. Yet putting one-third of the bill's \$30 billion to relatively good use did not negate the fact that much of the remaining \$20 billion went to counterproductive or harmful policies. When Mfume and other members remained angry and continued to oppose the bill, one White House aide lamented that "The payoff isn't working."⁴³

39. Differences between House and Senate versions of bills are resolved "in conference."

40. Mary Jacoby, "Black Caucus Acts to Kill Crime Rule," *Roll Call*, July 18, 1994, p. 20.

41. Letter signed by Dennis Archer (Detroit), Sharon Sayles Belton (Minneapolis), Charles Box (Rockford), Bill Campbell (Atlanta), Emanuel Cleaver, II (Kansas City), William Herenton (Memphis), Sharpe James (Newark), Norman Rice (Seattle), Wellington Webb (Denver), and Michael White (Cleveland), United States Conference of Mayors to the Honorable Kweisi Mfume, July 14, 1994.

42. Fax to Rep. Kweisi Mfume from Rep. Bobby Scott, July 15, 1994.

43. Bob Cohn, "Buying Off the Black Caucus," *Newsweek*, August 1, 1994, p. 24.

The CBC threatened to launch a protest vote against the rule that would bring the bill to the House floor. The disagreement between the CBC and Clinton prompted a meeting at the White House, called by Clinton, that was one part placation and one part realpolitik. The political reality, as Clinton laid it out, was that the administration could get the bill passed without the caucus support, even in the unlikely event that all 37 voting black House Democrats stood as one. As the CBC began to raise the volume of its objections to the removal of the RJA, the administration was picking off CBC members. Mfume called the meeting with Clinton "very, very frank," indicating that the CBC had had its bluff called.⁴⁴ In the end, only 11 CBC members voted against the rule.⁴⁵ Since the rule lost by only eight votes, the CBC was potentially in a strong position to bargain for changes. However, while the White House brought pressure on black members to change their vote, its focus and negotiations were with renegade conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans.⁴⁶ On the compromise bill that passed the House on August 21, 12 out of 38 CBC members voted against the bill.

The Cost of Crime and Crime Control

The bill will undoubtedly accelerate the rate of mass incarceration. Given the current climate, only the bottom line may counter the trend. While a few industries are getting rich off of the prison construction boom, many states will face bankruptcy in the near future if they continue down the road of lock-em-up-and-throw-away-the-key. Certainly, they will be forced to divert funds from the very social programs that have a chance of opening up the kind of opportunities that make street crimes less attractive.

In 1992, the U.S. spent an estimated \$24.9 billion on prison costs. The new bill allocates \$79 billion for new prison construction. With federal and state authorities building at least 113 new prisons and expanding another 96, these costs

are projected to rise significantly.⁴⁷ Currently, there are more than 1.3 million people incarcerated in the U.S., including about 89,000 in federal prisons, 800,000 in state prisons, and about 440,000 in local jails.⁴⁸ At the current rate, even without the federal crime bill, the prison population will nearly double by the year 2002 to about 2.4 million people.⁴⁹

Once again, race is a significant factor in the rise of the prison and jail populations. According to the Justice Department, "between 1980 and 1992, the black male prison population increased by 186 percent (261,100 inmates) compared to 143 percent (228,500) for white males." For black men, the incarceration rate was 2,678 per 100,000, compared to the white male rate of 372 per 100,000, the black female rate of 143 per 100,000 and the white female rate of 20 per 100,000.⁵⁰

Efforts to resolve social problems with crime bills will continue to fail. Without addressing issues such as homelessness, job training, raising the minimum wage, educational opportunities, and other needed social remedies, there is little reason to believe that desperate people will not do whatever they deem necessary to survive. In many instances, this will mean committing personal and property crimes. The chal-

By 1995, almost 70 percent of the federal prison population will be drug offenders—nearly triple the proportion of 15 years ago.

lenge to the nation is not to lock up all the real and imagined criminals, but to eliminate the conditions out of which so many lawbreakers are spawned. That challenge can only be met by a courageous program of social and economic reform that refuses to concede to political conservatives and self-interested politicians.

44. "Hill Briefs," *CongressDaily*, July 26, 1994, p. 4. In the negotiations, the administration offered at one point to issue an Executive Order barring discrimination in federal executions, but the CBC rejected that offer noting that only one percent of death penalty cases occur at the federal level. The Caucus made a counter-offer to allow the RJA to be dropped if the White House would drop the new 60-plus death penalty provisions that are a part of the bill. The White House response was an unequivocal no. (Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 24.)

45. Bill Clay (D-Mo.), Cleo Fields (D-La.), Gary Franks (R-Conn.), Earl Hilliard (D-Ala.), John Lewis (D-Geo.), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Bobby Scott (D-Vir.), Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Craig Washington (D-Tex.), Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), Mel Watt (D-N.C.).

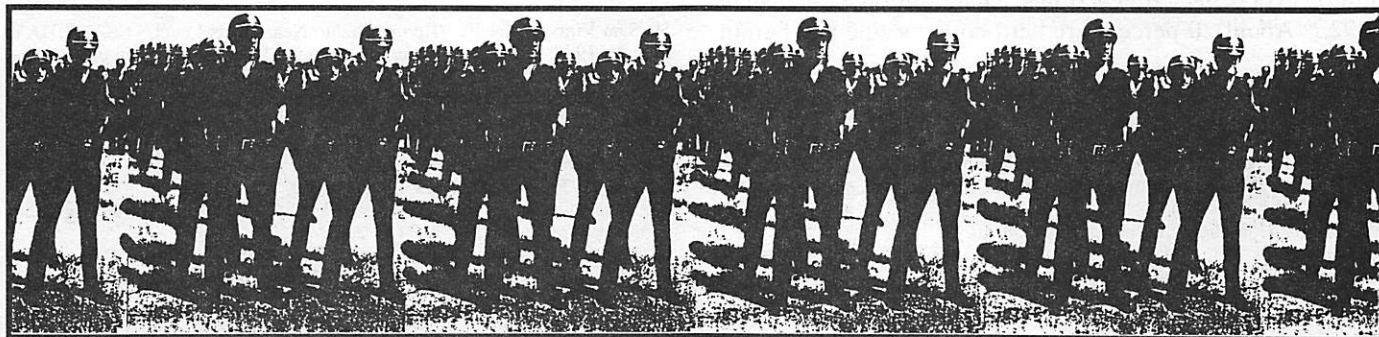
46. "It's Still a Crime (Bill)," *Rainbow Coalition Jax/Fax*, August 18, 1994, p. 1.

47. *Americans Behind Bars*, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, New York, April 1993, p. 2.

48. *Ibid.*; and "Record Number of Prisoners..." *op. cit.*

49. See Eugene Doleschal and Anne Newton, *Incarceration and Rates of Imprisonment*, National Council on Crime Delinquency, Information Center, San Francisco, 1989.

50. "Record Number of Prisoners," *op. cit.*



The estimated cost of incarceration for drug offenders in 1992 alone was \$6.1 billion.⁵¹ Increasingly, most of those going to jail and prison these days are charged with drug offenses, many for simple possession. In 1969, less than 25 percent of those in federal prison were in on drug charges. By the early 1990s, that number had risen to 60 percent. According to the federal Bureau of Prisons, by 1995, almost 70 percent of the federal prison population will be drug offenders—nearly triple the proportion of just 15 years ago.⁵²

The racial bias inherent in this trend becomes apparent in the differences between how crack cocaine users and powder cocaine users are penalized. Most studies indicate that the majority of crack cocaine users are African American while the overwhelming majority of powder cocaine users are white. In 1992, of those arrested for federal crack cocaine offenses, 92.6 percent were black. Although 91 percent of those who used cocaine snorted it, most of the law enforcement focus is on the 31 percent who also smoked the substance.⁵³ Disparity in sentencing between cocaine powder and crack cocaine is 100-to-1. The Omnibus Anti-Drug Act of 1988 designates a five-year mandatory minimum sentence for possession of five grams of crack.⁵⁴ For an equal amount of cocaine powder, probation is the likely sentence. It takes 500 grams of cocaine powder to trigger a five-year mandatory minimum sentence. And although three times⁵⁵ as many people use powder, there are far more prosecutions for crack according to the U.S. Sentencing Commission. In 1992, of those arrested for federal crack cocaine offenses, 92.6 percent were black.⁵⁶ In Georgia, for example, between December 1989 and September 1990, of 70 defendants charged with crack violations, 69 were black.

The policy of concentrating on street-level dealers perpetuates the myth that most traffickers and users are from minority groups. In fact, the overwhelming majority of illegal drug users have been and continue to be whites. The most recent National Household Survey on Drug Abuse concluded that 74 percent of all drug users are white, 13 percent are black, and 10 percent are Latino.⁵⁷ These figures reflect the population distribution and are consistent with the drug use trends of recent years.

Few are optimistic that the crime bill will make a dent in the problems which surround substance abuse—either those caused by the drugs, or those caused by criminalizing users. Despite the billions spent on arrest and imprisonment, drug abuse continues at a crisis level. In 1993, an estimated 11.7 million people used illegal drugs, a half million more than in 1992.⁵⁸ About 20 percent are hard-core cocaine and heroin

addicts. While crack cocaine remains the most serious problem in the inner-cities, heroin is making a comeback. Hospital emergency rooms, for example, reported a 44 percent increase in heroin emergencies last year.⁵⁹ The drug war continues to have little effect on stemming illegal supplies to the U.S.

For years, drug reformers have proposed that more money go to treatment and less to the already disproportionately high funding for law enforcement and supply reduction. During the Reagan and Bush years, law enforcement received about 70 percent or more of anti-drug funds while education, prevention, and treatment all had to fight over a meager 30 percent.⁶⁰ Hope that the Clinton administration would move in a different direction was significantly diminished when it rejected the conclusions of a Rand Corporation study it had commissioned. The study strongly recommended that \$3 billion in drug funds be switched from law enforcement to drug treatment. Unable to get Rand to soften its conclusions, the administration stated that it would just ignore the recommendations.⁶¹ According to the RAND Corporation, "Treatment is seven times more cost-effective than domestic drug enforcement in reducing cocaine use and 15 times more cost-effective in reducing the social costs of crime and lost productivity."⁶² Although the administration has proposed a 14 percent increase in drug treatment for next year's budget, it has requested much larger increases in prevention (28 percent) and international supply reduction (21 percent).⁶³

Crime Is a Real Problem, But ...

The crime bill is a leap on the same treadmill that has confined crime policy for decades. The nation continues to witness an endless cycle of fewer and fewer dollars for social needs leading to more and more crime. The result is escalating criminal justice costs further reducing funds available for social needs. *Ad nauseam*. Prevention is key to controlling crime. At the minimum, public policy must include realistic education about the dangers of drug abuse, a social safety net that prevents a cycle of despair and hopelessness, and decent, fair wage jobs.

Continuing along the same path should frighten even the most casual observer. Rejecting the drug war practices and instituting substantive reforms in the areas of drug, economic, and social policies has great potential for promoting equality, fairness, and hope. •

51. *Americans Behind Bars*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

52. See 21 U.S.C. 844(a).

53. *National Household Survey of Drugs*, 1993, Bureau of Justice Statistics; and *Drugs, Crime, and the Justice System*, Department of Justice, December 1992, p. 24.

54. See 21 U.S.C. 844(a).

55. *National Household Survey of Drugs*, *op. cit.*

56. See Nkechi Taifa, "Mandatory Minimum Sentences Open up a Pandora's Box," *National Prison Project Journal*, July 1993, p. 6.

57. Mike Snider, "No Jump Seen In Drug Use," *USA TODAY*, July 21, 1994.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Sam Vincent Meddis, "Heroin Said to Near Crisis Level," *USA TODAY*, May 25, 1994, p. 1A. Bumper crops of opium have made heroin cheaper and stronger and U.S. sources for the narcotic have become more diversified. While the "Golden Triangle" region of Southeast Asia continues to be the largest supplier of the drug (68 percent), Colombia (15 percent), more noted for its dominance of the cocaine trade, is catching up. (Sam Vincent Meddis, "Smack's Back," *USA TODAY*, May 25, 1994, p. 3A).

60. Lusane, *Pipe Dream Blues*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

61. Dennis Cauchon, "White House Balks at Study Urging More Drug Treatment," *USA TODAY*, June 14, 1994, p. 2A.

62. "Treatment Far More Cost-Effective Than Control in Cutting Cocaine Use, Social Costs, RAND Says," *The National Report on Substance Abuse*, No. 15, July 1, 1994, p. 2.

63. Cauchon, *op. cit.*

Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby



Rob Sussman

Scott McLemee

Under Willis Carto, the Liberty Lobby has spearheaded a drive to mainstream the extreme right. Making expedient alliances with the likes of David Duke and Lyndon LaRouche, it has tried to join Nazis, skinheads, Birchers, Klan members, and Holocaust revisionists with a glue of anti-Semitism and white supremacist hate.

In a city filled with monuments and grand facades, the headquarters of the Liberty Lobby — with its simple design and its dull-gray exterior — seems practically invisible. For more than thirty years, the Lobby has claimed to speak in Washington on behalf of “the silent majority” of U.S. citizens. A look behind its placid exterior, into the history and ideology of the Liberty Lobby, reveals an organization devoted to leading the U.S. right toward anti-Semitic white supremacy.

A few minutes' walk from the Capitol, the three-story building somewhat resembles a bunker. Its entrance is locked to the public. Once buzzed in, visitors enter a world apart from the buttoned-down, urban life of Capitol Hill. The place looks crowded and run-down; it has the feel of an auto repair shop's business office. Behind the desks sit women, with intent, inspecting eyes and a no-nonsense attitude bordering on suspicion. Visitors do not seem welcome.

On the table next to an old couch lie copies of the Lobby's weekly newspaper, *The Spotlight*, mailed to approximately 75,000 subscribers. One issue announces that the Mossad

(Israel's intelligence service) was involved in the assassination of JFK. Just beyond this front office is the warehouse-like home of Liberty Library, the Lobby's book-distribution arm. The selection is heavy with conspiracies perpetrated by sinister millionaires (mostly Jews). Video tapes on sale continue the theme. The 1974 feature film *Executive Action*, exposes the cabal of wealthy culprits behind the JFK assassination. Lobby heroes are also represented in the Library: A video documents the career of sometime-Nazi and Klansman David Duke, and there are a few books about Nicola Tesla, an inventor whose attempt to provide free, plentiful electricity to the public was foiled by the ubiquitous millionaires.

With this work-a-day, yet slightly offbeat feel, the building and its occupants are clearly not geared to the games of appearance and high-powered pleasantries on which Washington runs. In fact, its name notwithstanding, the Liberty Lobby spends little energy to directly influence legislation or policy.¹ Instead, its weapon of choice in mortal combat against “the

Scott McLemee has written for the *Village Voice*, *In These Times*, *New Politics*, the *Texas Observer*, and *Against the Current*.

1. In the heyday of its interaction with Congress, during the 1960s, the Lobby reported to the Clerk of the House that only 10 percent of its funds went toward such traditional lobbying efforts.



Institute for Historical Review

Willis Carto: "Only a few Negroes are genuinely in accord with the trouble-making policies of these two race-mixing organizations [the Urban League and the NAACP]. It is a sad, yet significant fact that both of these fraudulent outfits prosper by using the brains of Jews, the money of Jews and duped white Christians and the 'front' of raceless mulatto figureheads. But hardly a Negro in the lot." (cited in Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," October 26, 1966.

Establishment" and its manifold conspiracies is literature, especially *The Spotlight*.

And there are conspiracies everywhere in the world of *The Spotlight*. The Lobby directs relatively little attention to well-established coverups such as Watergate or the Iran-Contra deals, however; nor even to the menace of international Communism which has fueled the frenzy of most conspiracy-minded U.S. conservative groups. Rather, for the Lobby, conspiracies penetrate countless details of everyday life. The American Medical Association is a conspiracy; so are big business, big labor, the educational system, foreign and domestic policy, and the news media. These cabals turn out to be directly connected to the agencies and interests of financial institutions (such as the Federal Reserve and the International Monetary Fund); to individuals whose names tend overwhelmingly to be Jewish; and to Israel and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The Liberty Lobby, in brief, is the major source of anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States. To draw the support of those whose political beliefs might not include hatred for Jews, it has established an array of front groups, surrogates, and publications. These enterprises have not so much expanded the Lobby's influence as made it seem to represent a vast constituency. Among the groups sponsored by the Lobby over the past 30 years, have been (in no particular order): Americans for National Security, American Committee on Immigration Policies, United Republicans of America, Com-

mittee for Religious Development, Friends of Rhodesian Independence, Action Associates, Youth for Wallace, National Youth Alliance, Save Our Schools, Emergency Committee to Support Victims of Political Persecution, National Taxation, Inc., and Council on Dangerous Drugs.

Publications controlled by the Lobby—whether under direct sponsorship or through various forms of assistance—have included: *The Washington Observer*, *Liberty Letter*, *Western Destiny*, *American Mercury*, *Statecraft*, *Spotlight*, and *American Zionist Watch*.

Behind the array of fronts and publications stands a handful of directing enterprises. One central entity is the Legion for the Survival of Freedom; another important group has been the Government Education Foundation. The Lobby building itself has housed a less political enterprise, Capitol Hill Data Processing.²

Just out of sight — at the core of the onion, beneath the layers of front groups, businesses, and publications — is Willis Carto. His name does not appear in the staff box of *The Spotlight*, though he has admitted: "I write editorials and help in procuring stories."³ Carto is too modest. By all accounts save his own, he runs the Lobby complex with absolute authority. According to a disaffected ex-associate, Louis T. Beyers, "Willis has talked to

me about playing the role of a respectable conservative when his true feelings are those of a racial nationalist." His ultimate aim, Beyers explained, was to form a new power base ready to act when the country turned hard right.⁴ Understanding the

"Willis has talked to me about playing the role of a respectable conservative when his true feelings are those of a racial nationalist." His ultimate aim, Louis T. Beyers explained, was to form a new power base ready to act when the country turned hard right.

history and politics of the Liberty Lobby and its network means learning about the elusive Mr. Carto.

2. C.H. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto — His Fronts, His Friends, His Philosophy, His 'Lobby for Patriotism,'" *National Review*, September 10, 1971, pp. 978-89.

3. Deposition of Willis A. Carto, March 22, 1991, in the case of Mel Marmelstein vs. Legion for the Survival of Freedom, et al., Los Angeles, p. 115.

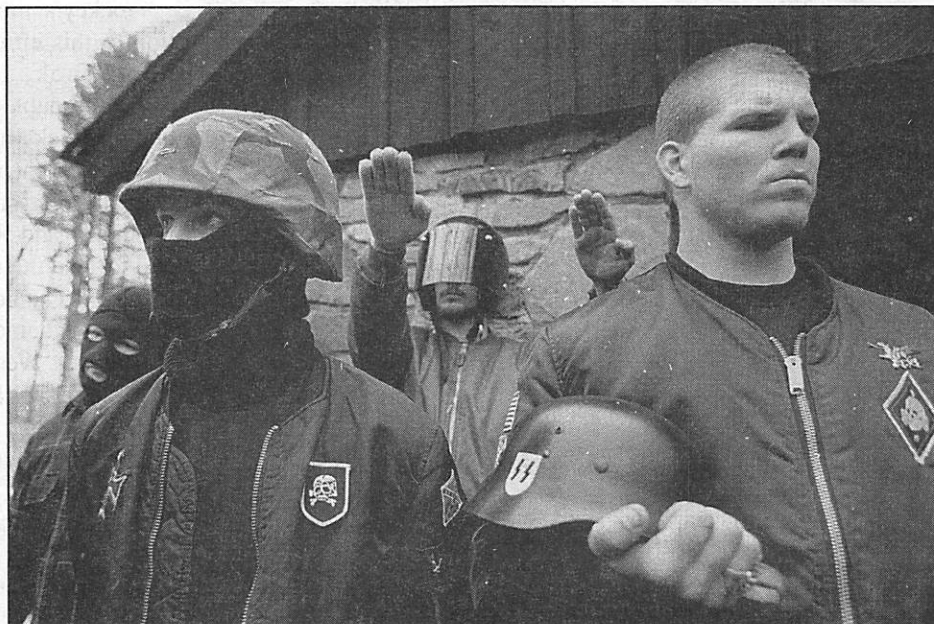
4. Paul Valentine, "Power Base for Hard Right," *Washington Post*, May 16, 1971, p. A1.

Fox in Wolf's Clothing

Thomas Carlyle called institutions the lengthened shadows of great men; and so the Lobby has been, from its very beginning, a projection of Willis Allison Carto. Few details are available about his life before he entered right-wing politics. He has remained in the background, avoiding publicity. Whether or not he is a "great" man in Carlyle's sense, Carto has certainly been a shadowy figure.

Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1926, he entered the Army after high school. According to information in a Lobby-sponsored publication, he was wounded twice while with the American Division in the Philippines, and received the Purple Heart.⁵ Another account (not necessarily contradictory) suggests he was part of the U.S. force that occupied Japan: "[H]e is said to possess two Japanese rifles that he refers to as 'war souvenirs.'"⁶ After the war, Carto attended "a few courses" at the law school of the University of Cincinnati and worked for Procter & Gamble. Later he moved to San Francisco, where he was a bill collector for the Household Finance Corporation.

Once settled in California, Carto became a professional in the world of the far right. Around 1954, he was a full-time organizer for two conservative groups, the Congress for Freedom, and Liberty and Property. He also edited *Right*, a journal which provided a forum for discussion among various racist, conspiratorial, and anticommunist currents. Between 1955 and 1960, he published a directory of right-wing organizations. In 1959, for about a year, Carto worked in the Massachusetts office of the John Birch Society.⁷ By the early 1960s, this obscure group would gain much fame for its founder Robert Welch's contention that President Eisenhower was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Carto fodder: Neo-Nazis gather for "gay-bashing party" in Pennsylvania, 1993.

Birth of the Liberty Lobby

Carto noted the growth of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and other threats to traditional America. "[O]nly a few Americans," he wrote, "are concerned with the inevitable niggerification of America."⁸ Alarmed, he worked with (indeed, by one

account, "established and secretly promoted") the Joint Council on Repatriation, a black separatist group planning to prevent desegregation by sending African Americans back to Africa.⁹

This alliance between black separatists and white racists — which anticipates Carto's tendency to create groups or publications from which he would then distance himself — was more than a product of mutual

dislike of integration. Its importance was strategic, Carto argued: "[S]uch a movement would be the strongest blow against the power of organized Jewry that can be imagined." Behind all the problems facing the right, Carto now saw a dominant problem:

Who is calling the shots? History supplies the answer to this. History plainly tells us who our Enemy is. Our Enemy today is the same Enemy of 50 years ago and before — and that was before Communism. ... The Jews came first and remain Public Enemy Number One. ... Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And America. How could we have been so blind?¹⁰

It was around this time that Carto envisioned a way to reshape right-wing priorities to fit his racist and nationalist goals: He would create the Liberty Lobby, an umbrella organization to unite the widely scattered and sometimes feuding segments of the far right.¹¹ With this long-term strategy

5. Valentine, *op. cit.*, p. A8.

6. Simonds, citing a court deposition, *op. cit.*, p. 978.

7. *Ibid.* For a careful and detailed study of the political currents with which Carto was associated during this period, see Frank P. Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 11-64.

8. Willis Carto, 1955 letter to Earnest Sevier Cox, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 979. Copies of this document and other correspondence from Carto are also in the collection of Group Research, Inc. of Washington, D.C. Thanks to Wes McCune, director of Group Research, for his knowledgeable guidance in consulting his extensive collection of early Lobby materials.

9. Simonds, *ibid.*, p. 979.

10. *Ibid.*

11. See Carto's analysis of currents within the right wing, "What's Right in America?" published in the John Birch Society magazine *American Opinion*,



J. Kirk Condyles/Impact Visuals

Carto's propaganda exacerbates anti-Semitism. In an old Jewish cemetery in Queens, N.Y., vandals damaged headstones, mausoleums, coffins, and remains, 1994.

in mind, Carto was careful to begin keeping his projects in separate compartments. In a letter describing his idea for the Lobby, he told a segregationist who had supported the Joint Council on Repatriation: "There must never be an obvious connection between the two, for if there is, either would kill the other off, or at least harm it very gravely. Therefore, I have had to make a decision ... to become identified with the LOBBY only."¹²

Philosopher of the Imperium

Years passed between Carto's initial conception of Liberty Lobby and its first real signs of life. Slowly he raised the money¹³ and polished the guiding ideology. And during this period, he discovered the work of Francis Parker Yockey—prominent U.S.-born neo-Nazi philosopher and all-around mysterious personage.

Like Carto, Yockey had served with the military during World War II. In 1943 he had been discharged for "*dementia praecox*, paranoid type," but at war's end served as a legal

assistant for the prosecution at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Sympathy for the Nazi defendants led him to quit this job. By the late 1940s, he was part of the movement to preserve fascism.¹⁴

Yockey's most lasting contribution to this effort was a long, rambling book, *Imperium* (1948), originally published under the pseudonym Ulick Varange. For hundreds of turgid, repetitive pages, he displayed a mind steeped in the cultural mysticism and power-worship which had formed the matrix of early Nazi ideology. The book circled around a few grand themes:

- It hailed Western civilization and the race which produced it. Where Hitler spoke of Aryans, Yockey chose the broader category of white Europeans.
- It discusses the pervasive influence of an evil force called the Culture Distorter. This was Yockey's neologism for "Jews," as occasional remarks on the Culture Distorters' history revealed.

- It celebrated "the European Revolution of 1933" (the year the Nazi Party ascended to power) and prophesied the age of Absolute Politics, *i.e.*, the rise of totalitarianism.

Imperium was dedicated to "the hero of the second world war," Adolf Hitler. If its ideas were clear enough, Yockey's prose was not. For sheer unreadability, *Imperium* rivals Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. But it deeply impressed Willis Carto. Here was the capstone to Carto's ideological edifice—a bold restatement of racist and right-wing beliefs in terms which could guide a new movement. "When the American National Revolution takes political form," Yockey wrote, "its inspiration will come from the same ultimate source as the European Revolution of 1933."¹⁵

By the time Carto discovered *Imperium*, Yockey's masterpiece was scarce—1,000 copies of the first volume and only 200 of the second were published. Carto's enthusiasm for it, and for its author, reveals the depth of his involvement with the world of the ultra-right. Yockey was not simply an obscure figure, but a highly secretive one. Throughout the 1950s, he had worked to organize a European Liberation Front to connect scattered fascists on the postwar continent. During the summer of 1960, Yockey was arrested in San Francisco while carrying an unusually large number of false passports.

February 1959, pp. 39-43. Given Carto's plan to try to unite divergent groups, this is an extremely interesting document. The article makes a passing reference to Carto's directory of rightist groups—for which he does not, oddly enough, claim authorship or sponsorship.

12. Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 979.

13. By 1958, his proposal to launch a "lobby for patriotism" won the support of Taylor Caldwell, a conservative writer best known for her historical novels. Gerald L. K. Smith—one-time associate of Huey Long and a prominent demagogue of the Depression and war years—gave Carto's idea publicity in his magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*.

14. Simonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 980-82. Also, Mintz, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

15. Francis Parker Yockey, *Imperium: The Philosophy of History and Politics* (Newport Beach, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1962), pp. 557-58.

Anti-Carto Coup at Holocaust Denial Center

Institute for Historical Review (IHR) founder Willis Carto has been ousted in a coup by IHR staffers. IHR, the “spine of the international holocaust denial movement,” publishes the scholarly-appearing *Journal for Historical Review*. *JHR* articles typically run the gamut from questioning the veracity of Anne Frank’s diary to debating whether Nazi gas chambers had the capacity to kill six million Jews.

A simmering feud between Carto and his IHR associates broke into the open on October 15, 1993. After several months of behind the scenes conflict, Carto, his wife, and three men attempted to physically seize IHR’s suburban Orange County headquarters. Before they could secure the premises, IHR staffers forced the door, and a flailing melee ensued. Losing ground, Carto wedged his foot in the door and screamed “You’re killing me,” before his former allies pushed him outside.

Carto, regarded as the leading anti-Semite in the country, had hand-picked or approved each IHR staff member. The litmus test was sharing his belief that the Holocaust was, at the least, a greatly exaggerated propaganda hoax. This common purpose was sundered by daily strains of working with Carto. Unsurprisingly for Carto watchers, IHR staffers complained he was authoritarian, cantankerous, and stingy.

Tensions exploded when Carto tried to impose his racist views on the *JHR*. According to its editor, Mark Weber, “[Carto] wanted to make substantive changes in the direction of the review. He wanted it to become more ‘racialist,’ more clearly white racist.” In a letter to subscribers, Weber wrote that the focus “would be race and multiculturalism.” In one memo, Carto called for an article “proving” the partial African ancestry of President Eisenhower.

IHR staffers apparently did not want Holocaust revisionism to be conflated with disreputable theories. In this, they ran

afoul of Carto’s decades-long efforts to coalesce white racist and neo-Nazi tendencies into a unified force on the right.

But behind the political dispute is another reason for insurrection: money, and lots of it. Carto controlled a hefty share of the \$40 million estate of Jean Farrel Edison, granddaughter of Thomas Alva Edison and heir to the family fortune.

Last summer, after disgruntled IHR staffers discovered Carto’s control over the bequest, they accused him of irregularities in managing the money and running IHR’s parent corporation, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom. IHR staffers then reorganized the Legion, severed all ties with Carto and precipitated the October fracas.

Carto defended himself and attacked his foes in a letter to his supporters: “It is certain that there are many motives at work, not the least of which — in addition to Zionist forces — are pure greed and also the involvement of a bizarre, mind-bending, Jim Jones-like cult.” He refers here to two IHR staffers who belong to the Church of Scientology.

Now, the struggle for control of IHR has shifted to the courts, with depositions and financial records as the weapons of choice. In one court document, Carto explains: “These brazen smears prove that [the staff] is trying to obfuscate the one significant fact: That I founded and built the IHR using what help I could get and usually paying for it with the dollars of sincere and concerned Americans. And I did this in the teeth of the opposition of extremely powerful and entrenched forces, which had no wish to have me succeed.”

IHR and the notoriously litigious Carto now await rulings in three separate lawsuits to determine who will control the organization. •

Source: Doreen Carvajal, “Extremist Institute Mired in Power Struggle; Courts, Staff Oust Founder of Holocaust Denial Center,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1994, p. 3A. The IHR headquarters is at 1650 Babcock St., Costa Mesa, CA 92627.

Carto was the last person to visit him in jail. “I knew that I was in the presence of a great force,” Carto later wrote, “and I could feel History standing aside me.”¹⁶ Not long after this historic encounter, on his eleventh day in jail, Yockey killed himself with a capsule of potassium cyanide.

And so, in the early 1960s, as his “lobby for patriotism” was at last being established in the nation’s capital, Carto committed himself to preserving and extending the legacy of Francis Parker Yockey. Thanks to Carto’s advocacy, *Imperium* was republished in 1962 and has remained in print.¹⁷ In a phrase suggesting its role in a new Reich, Carto predicted the tome would “live a thousand years.”

16. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

17. *Op. cit.*, Noontide Press, which continues to reprint the book.

Propaganda and Prosperity in the 1960s

Meanwhile, far below the heights of Yockeyite speculation, Carto was busy in the trenches of the right wing, organizing his new alliance of U.S. conservatives. By 1961, the Lobby had established an office in Washington, D.C., and began to publish *Liberty Letter*. This inexpensive newsletter — subscriptions cost a dollar a year — helped the nascent organization build its base of support. The Lobby’s 1962 budget was, by Carto’s account, “some \$90,000. This is \$55,000 dollars more than [in 1961].”¹⁸ In 1963, the Lobby opened its offices on Capitol Hill.

The timing was excellent. As the 1960s began, the U.S. far right was in ferment. “An observer can easily count hundreds of groups of worried citizens,” Carto had written in 1959,

18. Willis Carto, letter of October 11, 1961, in collection of Group Research.

"who are hoping and trying in some fashion to stem the onrushing floodtide of international socialism."¹⁹ Within a few years, some of these groups had become household names. In the South, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils attracted white supremacists; other ultraconservatives flocked to the John Birch Society (which considered the Republican Party largely Communist-dominated), the Minutemen (a secretive paramilitary group), and the American Nazi Party led by George Lincoln Rockwell.

Designed to pull the fragments together, the Lobby made a strong early showing. In 1963, *Liberty Letter* declared a circulation of 16,000; a year later, it reported 28,000 readers. The defeat of right-wing Republican candidate Barry Goldwater failed to deter the resurgence of conservatism and by 1965, *Liberty Letter* was boasting a readership of over 95,000.

The *Letter* was aimed at the widest range of those who considered themselves conservatives. It "drifted with the rightist current,"²⁰ as one historian has put it, touching on desegregation, Communism, civil unrest, and immigration.

Other publications in the Lobby's orbit presented a more distinctive ideology. *Western Destiny*, a racist monthly begun in 1964, "insisted repeatedly through editorials and articles that conservatism was a white racial movement ... and that international capitalism was almost as detrimental to the cause of white insularity and separation as international Communism."²¹ *The Washington Observer* newsletter promulgated conspiracy theories (mostly of anti-Semitic variety) and attacked individuals and organizations within conservatism which the Lobby considered tainted by "Zionism."

In 1966, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom (Carto's behind-the-scenes organization) took control of *The American Mercury*. Earlier in the century, under the editorship of H.L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, the *Mercury* had been among the country's most prominent cultural magazines. Under Carto it more closely resembled an ultra-conservative *Reader's Digest*, with regular extracts from Yockey's *Imperium*. There were regular articles and reviews by "E. L. Anderson, Ph.D.," one of Carto's most frequently used pseudonyms.

The Lobby's Los Angeles-based Noontide Press published books of "scientific" racism, Yockey's *Imperium*, and Carto's *First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups*.²² The Lobby's "Liberty Library" distributed these Noontide releases along with publications from other rightist groups.

The Young Yockeyites

While its publishing empire was the Lobby's most visible activity, Carto also sought to influence legislation and to build a grassroots movement. The various publications encouraged readers to write their representatives. Focusing on issues of desegregation, civil rights, and trade, the Lobby also took on a relatively small role in the routine business of the Capitol, occasionally testifying—sometimes with memorable results. Speaking on the Trade Expansion Bill of 1962, a Lobby representative explained to the Senate Finance Committee: "In this case, the real center and heart of this international cabal shows its hand; namely the political Zionist planners for absolute rule via One World government."²³

By the mid-1960s, the Lobby had established working relations with a number of segregationists in the House and Senate and presented its "Statesmen of the Republic" award to several. In turn, it received these statesmen's endorsements for various Lobby fundraising appeals. The Lobby was an early and enthusiastic supporter of ardent segregationist George Wallace. It published a special tabloid-format political biography of the Alabama governor in 1965 and endorsed his presidential bid in 1968.

That year, through the United Congressional Appeal, the Lobby complex made legislative campaign contributions of \$90,000.²⁴

But the Lobby's network of legislative contacts and its support of conservative electoral campaigns failed to satisfy Willis Carto's deepest ambition: the creation of a powerful Yockeyite organization to transform the U.S. right wing and create a "National Revolution" like the one that had galvanized Germany in 1933.

LIBERTY LOBBY
100 Independence Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

from the desk of
Willis A. Carto
To: DAVID DIXE
Fax: 504-834-9176

Date: AUG - 2 1991

This is to confirm arrangements we made this morning regarding an exchange of lists. You will supply your up-to-date list of contributors totalling about 95,000 for one-time use for our list of subscribers and Board of Policy of about the same number, also for one-time use. Both lists will be shipped in appropriate format to our respective mailing houses immediately. You plan to use our names as soon as possible; we agree to delay use of your names until after October 19 if you do not make the runoff and after November 16 if you do.

I've informed Bill Sweet about this and will send him a copy of this fax. Your mailing address is 18-10000, Chesapeake, Va. 70181 but I will not give Bill your private number assuming that you will give him the number you wish him to use to call you. Our telephone number is 202-546-3626.

If the above is your understanding of our agreement, please initial below or send a fax in response to Bill at 202-546-3626.

Best,
Willis
To: Suzanne

I agree: DAVID DIXE

19. Carto, "What's Right ...," *op. cit.*, p. 39.

20. Mintz, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

22. The Noontide Press "Booklist," dated August 1965. Purchases of \$3 entitled the customer to a free copy of two booklets, *Cultural Dynamics* by E. L. Anderson, Ph.D. (one of Carto's pseudonyms), and *The Hybrid Race Doctrine*, Collection of Group Research, Inc., Washington, D.C.

23. Comments of Curtis B. Dall, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 982.

24. Joseph Trento and Joseph Spear, "How Nazi Nut Power Has Invaded Capitol Hill," *True*, November 1969.

As the 1960s came to a close, the Lobby took another step toward reaching that goal. According to a former associate (fellow conspiracy theorist Revilo P. Oliver) Carto had long dreamed of building a right-wing youth movement to embody Yockey's ideas and attract a new generation to fascism.²⁵ The Youth for Wallace organization, created in May 1968, provided the starting point. A leader of the group later said that Carto had assisted its creation with "a loan of at least \$40,000."²⁶ In November 1968, after the defeat of Wallace's presidential campaign, the group was reorganized as the National Youth Alliance.

During the critical period, money supplied by Liberty Lobby was diverted from funds ear-marked for membership and subscription promotion, but with the understanding that it was to be repaid by the permanent NYA. The original four points of NYA was [sic] adopted, opposing drugs, Black Power, foreign involvements, and supporting law and order. More significantly, Carto persuaded NYA's leaders to adopt *Imperium* as its bible; none (they maintain) had heard of it.²⁷

In a few months, NYA had branches on campuses throughout the country. They distributed "pictorial literature characterizing Jews and Negroes and urging sterilization of welfare mothers, and relocation of American Negroes to Africa."²⁸

The effort to create a Yockeyite youth organization proved a spectacular failure. By March 1969, NYA was in crisis. At meetings in Pittsburgh, some members had sported Nazi insignia, sang the Nazi anthem, "Horst Wessel Lied," and toasted Adolf Hitler. Carto had lectured on the necessity for Yockeyites "to collect as much political power as possible within all existing political institutions and to capture the leadership of as many conservative elements as possible as the nation swings to the right."²⁹ A faction opposed to Nazism sought to end Carto's influence. The Lobby-sponsored NYA eventually disintegrated amongst mutual recriminations of financial impropriety and mailing-list theft.

Elements from the NYA have, however, continued to play a role in the right. After breaking with Carto, the NYA remained active into the mid-1970s. Its newspaper *Attack!* published instructions on the fabrication and use of Molotov cocktails. And an NYA leader, William Pierce, later wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a novel about race war used as a blueprint by the violent survivalist-racist group, The Order.

Carto vs. the "Respectable" Right

By the early 1970s — a decade or so into its organizational life — the Liberty Lobby's project of pulling together the far right was a qualified success. The Goldwater and Wallace campaigns had revealed a sizable audience for the array of Lobby publica-

25. Letter of Oliver to Colonel Dall, December 17, 1970; in the author's files.

26. Don Tepper, "Willis Carto and the NYA," *The Dixon Line* (October 1972), p. 7.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Valentine, *op. cit.*

29. Affidavit of John Secord, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 986.

Links With Lyndon LaRouche

During the 1970s, the Lobby began a pattern of unlikely alliances. Perhaps the most bizarre was with a group claiming to be part of the revolutionary left — the U.S. Labor Party, a small and exceptionally strange organization led by Lyndon LaRouche. Founded as a Marxist study circle in the late 1960s, the LaRouche group gained notoriety in 1973 by launching a campaign of violent confrontations with other radical groups. Many of LaRouche's preoccupations overlapped with the far right's, particularly his focus on conspiracies involving the Rockefeller family, Henry Kissinger, and the "Eastern liberal Establishment." Like Mussolini, who had also started out on the left, LaRouche turned by degrees toward fascism. By 1975, his followers had sought out contacts with organizations in the Lobby's orbit. The Lobby and the Labor Party began to exchange information and Carto and LaRouche met at least twice to discuss the politics and funding of shared projects.¹

In connection with its political activities, the U.S. Labor Party created an intelligence-gathering apparatus fed by members throughout the U.S., Europe and Latin America. They sought out contacts with local police forces, right-wing organizations, government agencies, and intelligence networks, including the KGB and the CIA. "The ferocity with which they pursue intelligence," said a former LaRouche supporter, "is almost beyond the ken of outsiders."² The information went into the *Executive Intelligence Review* (a business/political analysis journal costing \$396 a year) and numerous other projects designed to extend LaRouche's influence. "What eventually emerged," wrote Dennis King, a journalist who covered the Labor Party throughout the 1970s and '80s, "was a highly profitable weekly newsmagazine, a global spiderweb of confidential sources, and one of the world's largest collections of private political files and dossiers, compiled through novel but effective snooping tactics."³

The alliance between Carto and LaRouche helped the U.S. Labor Party, despite its Marxist roots, to gain legitimacy with the far right. But it also caused problems for both groups. The working relationship with the Lobby's anti-Semites was one factor cited when a large group — many of whom were Jewish — quit the LaRouche organization in the early 1980s. Although the Labor Party eventually shed all traces of socialist ideology, its background occasionally resulted in some embarrassment for the Lobby. And, too, LaRouche's intellectual arrogance and extraordinarily convoluted conspiracy theories eventually proved difficult for the Lobby to digest. By the mid-1980s, relations between Carto and LaRouche had cooled. Nonetheless, the Liberty Library continues to distribute the LaRouche group's publications. •

1. Dennis King, *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 40. LaRouche confirmed the second conversation.

2. Quotation from former LaRouche associate, in King, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

tions aimed at conservatives. Along with the John Birch Society and George Wallace's American Independent Party (groups whose members were often also readers of the Carto group's publications), the Liberty Lobby was one of the largest, best organized, and best funded organizations on the hard right.

But this growth entailed a shift in program. Gradually, the goal of allying disparate elements of the right was superseded by a strategy to dominate them. To that end, the Lobby created a miniature fundraising empire — a set of publications and front groups which advertised and otherwise promoted one another. This tended to leave other rightist groups in the cold. "Carto the moneyman" was reviled by his less successful counterparts in the ultraconservative fringe.³⁰

Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Lobby was attacked from both left and right. Liberal columnist Drew Pearson was the first to expose the group in a series of articles. And as Carto's neo-fascist proclivities became an embarrassment to "mainstream" conservatives, right-wing commentator James Kilpatrick denounced the National Youth Alliance fiasco.³¹ The *coup de grace* came in September 1971, when William F. Buckley's *National Review* — the right wing's most influential journal of opinion — published a thoroughly researched cover-story on the Lobby's history and its links with Hitlerian currents.³² The Lobby's isolationism and anti-Semitism (which had roots in the old far right from earlier in the century) were out of step with the postwar

Carto termed Buckley and his associates the "dainty combatants of anti-Communism."

political consensus. In the world of *realpolitik*, military interventionism was the cost of U.S. power, and the state of Israel a key element in U.S. foreign policy.

Carto had long been hostile to mainstream conservatism anyway — he had once termed Buckley and his associates the "dainty combatants of anti-Communism" — and media scrutiny seems to have had little influence on the tone or content of Lobby politics. But it had other effects. Invitations to testify at congressional hearings became scarce. In 1975,

30. See, for instance, "The Carto File," a ten-page diatribe against the Lobby and its leader published in September 1973 by the National States Rights Party. This memorandum may be found in the collection of Group Research.

31. See Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "Washington Merry-Go-Round" columns of October 21, 1966, October 26, 1966, November 2, 1966, November 3, 1966, November 17, 1966, December 9, 1966, January 6, 1967, February 17, 1967; James Kilpatrick, "Embarrassing Thunder Heard From the Right," *Washington Post*, May 29, 1969.

32. Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 986. The Lobby launched lawsuits against media which reported on the group's anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi base. The Lobby invariably lost the libel suits it filed against Jack Anderson, William F. Buckley, *The National Review*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. The litigation, however, served another function which was clear enough to Robert Bork (unsuccessful 1987 aspirant to the Supreme Court), judge in one of the cases: The "message," Bork said, was that "discussion of Liberty Lobby is expensive. However well-documented a story, however unimpeachable a reporter's source, he or she will have to think twice about publishing where litigation, even to a successful motion for summary judgment, can be very expensive if not crippling." Quoted in *Entertainment Law Reporter*, October 1988.

the Mutual Radio network stopped broadcasting "This is Liberty Lobby" after a campaign of protest initiated by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The Lobby's network of publications, always central to its work, soon became its only real access to the public.

Counterattack: *The Spotlight*

The 1975 launch of *The Spotlight*—sometimes called, quite aptly, the *National Enquirer* of the right—turned necessity to virtue. This tabloid absorbed most of the Lobby's energies, and was far more ambitious and successful than its predecessors — *Liberty Letter* and other publications. Under sensational headlines, *The Spotlight* combined traditional rightist conspiracy theories with scandal and anti-establishment rhetoric to become one of the most popular journals of the right. Besides standard material on Communism, it reported on the doings (real and imaginary) of a sometimes bewildering array of less well-publicized conspirators, including the CIA, the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderbergers, the American Medical Association, the Federal Reserve, and sundry others.

And unlike the *National Review* — which until recently kept tight control on advertising — *The Spotlight* was open to a wide range of rightist entrepreneurs. One description of the newspaper listed:

ads for poetry, laetrile prescriptions, dating services for patriotic Christians, and devices for dramatically increasing a car's gasoline mileage (these devices have supposedly been kept off the market in a conspiracy against the American consumer). In addition, its classified section regularly offers Nazi paraphernalia, gun silencer parts, bullet-proof vests, clandestine mail drops, and instructions for manufacturing false identification.³³

Among the ideas *The Spotlight* promotes is the notion that the Holocaust was a myth created by the Zionists. First circulated by European fascists in the late 1940s and reiterated in Yockey's *Imperium*, the belief had been a minor part of Lobby ideology during the 1960s. By 1973, however, an ad for a trial subscription to the Carto-sponsored *American Mercury* included a "valuable coupon" for *The Myth of the Six Million*, an early booklet about what would later be called Holocaust revisionism. *The Spotlight* devoted substantial attention to revisionism, and in 1977, Carto founded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) to promote the "Holocaust never happened" doctrine. (See box, p. 27.)

Beware the Mattoids!

Like the electoral efforts of Goldwater and Wallace in earlier years, the Reagan campaign was a rising tide which helped to lift Carto's boat to a new level in the 1980s. *The Spotlight's* circulation reached an all-time high of more than 300,000 subscribers. One young senator closely associated with the

33. Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 151.

"Reagan Revolution," Dan Quayle, graced its front page twice in 1980. But if the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan helped *The Spotlight's* circulation, it also brought problems. Right-wing organizations were now thick on the ground, in pursuit of conservative money. Carto's aggressive pursuit of funds became notorious. A disgruntled former associate from this period dubbed him "Willis A. 'Get to the hospital fast with those Will & Testament forms in quadruplicate, BEFORE SHE KICKS THE BUCKET!' Carto."³⁴

While sharing Reagan's public hostility to big government and endorsing his anticommunism and many of his domestic policies, Lobby support for the administration was not unqualified. It remained highly critical of Reagan's more "mainstream" conservatism—especially support of Israel, which by the early 1980s was an essential part of the New Right agenda. During 1981-82, *Spotlight* editor Vince Ryan distanced the Lobby from the administration. "Is Reagan Saving America?" he asked in a fundraising letter. "Don't Be So Sure," he cautioned. "THE TRILATERALISTS ARE IN CONTROL."

Even before the mixed blessing of the Reagan presidency, Willis Carto had been thinking about how to present the Lobby's politics in a way which would continue to draw conservative support while maintaining distance from the "mainstream." Like Lyndon LaRouche — with whom he had formed an alliance (see box, p. 29)—he tried to attract the occasional liberal or left-winger who shared the Lobby's hostility to Israel and suspicion of the U.S. government. Carto's solution: The Liberty Lobby increasingly identified its politics as "populist," claiming descent from the late 19th century movement of "the common man" (poor farmers and workers) against bankers and big business.

In 1981, Carto published *Profiles in Populism*, a collection of essays he modestly described as "one of the most important books published in the past half-century." The featured "populists" included such notorious Hitler sympathizers as Henry Ford, Father Charles Coughlin, and Charles Lindbergh; yet all mention of their anti-Semitism and pro-Nazi sentiments was omitted. One left-leaning figure, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., was also profiled.³⁵

Especially important for understanding the Lobby's ideology was the book's glossary. There, capitalism is defined as "the symbiotic partner and bedmate of communism" — both being systems in which "the people" are dominated by "the mattoids." In Lobby usage, "mattoid" no longer means "congenital idiot" (as all other dictionaries define it) but rather its opposite, "a criminal of high intelligence. Mattoids often gravitate into international banking or politics. ... Subconsciously, a mattoid seeks to elevate himself to total power by destroying society," the glossary explained, "[this drive being] a heritable genetic disorder."



Lest one wonder who carried the gene for mattoidism, the entry on "Zionism" clarified things. Zionism had little to do with the state of Israel, but was rather "a world political engine of massive power which, allied with the power of the supercapitalists, effectively controls all aspects of Western political, intellectual, religious, and cultural life." In other words, the mattoids and the Zionists were Yockey's "culture distorters." Although the author of *Imperium* was absent from Carto's selection of America's great populists, Yockey's ideas, rewritten in more popular form, suffused the volume.

In 1984, in further pursuit of populist support, Carto helped to launch the Populist Party, which rapidly became a pole of attraction for various currents within the racist right. The Lobby provided funds, personnel, endorsements, and publicity through its newspaper. At the same time as it advocated electoral politics, the Lobby also encouraged "anti-Establishment" activities including tax resistance and the neo-Nazi skinhead movement, both of which were prominently featured in *Spotlight* articles.

Dealing with David Duke

Despite tensions that arose between Carto and the party, in the mid-1980s the Populist electoral strategy helped the Lobby to solidify relations with one of the rising stars of the racist right, David Duke, the party's 1988 presidential candidate. Duke's activity in the extreme right began in the 1960s, when he belonged to both Nazi and Klan organizations. Attempts by Duke to "mainstream" his white supremacist politics (including a run for office as a Democrat) were derailed by photographs of him in Nazi and Klan regalia. By 1986, at a conference of the Lobby-related Institute for Historical Review, Duke advised a young fascist enthusiast against such open affiliations: "If they can call you a Nazi and make it stick — I mean tough, really hard — it's going to hurt."³⁶ In 1989, despite his record as a racist leader, Duke was elected to the Louisiana state legislature as a Republican. With photogenic looks (enhanced by plastic surgery) and media savvy, Duke emerged as the most prominent representative of the extreme right in the United States.

But Duke's all too public fascination with neo-Nazi ideology and the Holocaust revisionist movement caused even the Lobby to publicly distance itself from Duke and denounce the notion of links between them as a "great myth." Nonetheless, a memo from Carto to Duke (discussing an exchange of mailing lists) showed a connection lasting at least through August 1991.

The link was also personal: Duke chose Liberty Lobby's former legislative director Trisha Katson to run his office. Later that year, when Duke campaigned for a Louisiana seat in the U.S. Senate, *The Spotlight* was enthusiastic. Although he lost the race, Duke drew 55 percent of the white

34. Keith Stimley letter, IHR letterhead, late February 1985.

35. *Profiles in Populism*, Willis A. Carto, ed. (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Flag Press, 1982).

36. Quoted in "Like Hitler: Duke on Extermination, the Right Package, and a Bengal Tiger," *Texas Observer*, January 17-31, 1992, p. 18.

vote.³⁷ Along with Patrick Buchanan's run for the Republican presidential nomination, the Lobby pointed to Duke's strong showing as evidence of new possibilities for the racial right.³⁸

Carto and the Liberty Lobby have made other efforts to broaden their base of support among the disaffected. Especially insidious are moves to recruit figures who may appeal to segments of the left for their anti-CIA critiques.³⁹ Among the "names" drawn into the Liberty Lobby orbit:

- Retired Air Force Col. L. Fletcher Prouty. The model for "Mr. X" in Oliver Stone's film *JFK*, Prouty served as Defense Department liaison to the CIA, experience which contributed to his book *The Secret Team*.⁴⁰ Prouty addressed a Liberty Lobby convention over Labor Day weekend in 1990. "If anybody really wants to know what's going on in the world today," Prouty told the audience, "he should be reading *The Spotlight*."⁴¹ *The Secret Team* has been reprinted by Noontide Press, the Lobby's book-publishing arm.
- Victor Marchetti. The longtime CIA agent came in from the cold with the best-selling *The CIA and the Cult Of Intelligence*, co-authored with John Marks.⁴² Articles by and about Marchetti appear in *The Spotlight*. Two newsletters he edited and published, *Zionist Watch* and *New American View*, have been endorsed and promoted by Liberty Lobby.
- Mark Lane. Lane's *Rush to Judgment* (1966) was one of the earliest books to question the Warren Commission report on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. In 1985, he served as Liberty Lobby's attorney in a libel case against William F. Buckley and *National Review*. The Lobby not only had its charges dismissed by the judge but lost three of Buckley's four counter-suits for libel. Lane's books are promoted by the Liberty Library. Interviews with Lane, and articles by and about him, are *Spotlight* staples.⁴³ An article in the October 5, 1987 issue announced that Lane had joined the staff of Marchetti's newsletter *Zionist Watch*.

Nationalist Internationalism

For most groups on the far right, the end of the Cold War has provided more consternation than jubilation. Although *Spotlight* circulation has declined by almost 75 percent from the Reagan era high of 300,000, the Lobby has survived the collapse of the Communist system in far better shape than other groups sharing its heavily anticommunist conspiratorial views (most notably the John Birch Society, now virtually defunct).

37. Peter Applebome, "Blacks and Affluent Whites Give Edwards Victory; Fearing Duke, Voters in Louisiana Hand Democrat Fourth Term," *New York Times*, November 18, 1991, p. B6.

38. Later in the 1980s, tensions developed between the Lobby and the Party. Recently, through its Populist Action Committee, the Lobby picks and chooses which fellow "populists" it will work with.

39. For more on the Lobby's attempt to co-opt the left, see Chip Berlet, *Right Woos Left* (Cambridge, Mass.: Political Research Associates, 1992).

40. L. Fletcher Prouty, *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

41. Reported in *The Spotlight*, October 8, 1990.

42. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

43. Lane's rather affectionate account of Willis Carto in *Plausible Denial* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991) discusses the Lobby case against Buckley. The book is curiously vague concerning the (rather decisive) outcome of the trial.

In recent years, Carto has found himself exploring strange new alliances. With fascism gaining influence throughout Europe, the staunchly isolationist and nationalistic Liberty Lobby and its satellite organizations have established connections with neo-fascist groups abroad. *The Spotlight* quickly found a kindred spirit in the Russian nationalist currents which fulminate darkly about international bankers and cosmopolitan corruptors. In 1994, the paper ran a lengthy interview with extreme nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky, its headline hailing him as an "inspired man of peace." *The Spotlight* has expressed enthusiasm for "the fast-growing French National Front led by the dynamic Jean-Marie Le Pen," who is best known for its hostility to African and Arab immigrants in France. And at the founding of the Lobby's Populist Action Committee in May 1991, the featured speaker was John Tyndall, chair of the British National Party, a political organization closely associated with the racist skinhead movement.

The Lobby's model and inspiration for international cooperation among far-rightists may well be the Waffen SS. As *The Spotlight* effused, "almost 1 million men from all over Europe and as far away as India voluntarily enlisted to fight communism under the leadership of the German high command."⁴⁴ At least two books on the Waffen SS are available from Liberty Library.

Waiting for the Millennium

In one sense, Carto has failed: The Lobby's original purpose of uniting the American right is no closer to fruition. And yet, as the Liberty Lobby approaches its 40th birthday and *The Spotlight* its 20th, Carto has achieved something remarkable. He has — as far as it is possible — refashioned European fascism into an Americanized form.

By its own account, the Lobby stands as the grand old institution of the common people in their struggle with the bankers; a beachhead on Capitol Hill in the fight against big government. *The Spotlight* has taken to describing Liberty Lobby as "the Washington-based populist institution" — rebellious, perhaps, yet also in its way respectable. But the core undercurrents of Lobby ideology — racism, anti-Semitism, and ultra-nationalism — belie its claims to respectability. An occasional inset box in *The Spotlight* still reads "HANG MAT-TOIDS and have a better world."

Patiently, the Lobby continues to search out an audience for Yockey's visions and Carto's schemes. Maintaining leadership on the right in the face of great global and domestic change requires pragmatism, flexibility, and great patience — along with a large measure of raw opportunism. The Lobby has preserved Francis Parker Yockey's ideas into the 1990s, an era when the term "ethnic cleansing" has entered the world's vocabulary.

And if unable to practice cleansing in the U.S., that is not the Lobby's fault. Carto prepares, waiting for the right time. •

44. Michael Vaughn, "Volunteers Flock to Iraq to Help Fight U.S., Israel," *The Spotlight*, front page, January 7-14, 1991.

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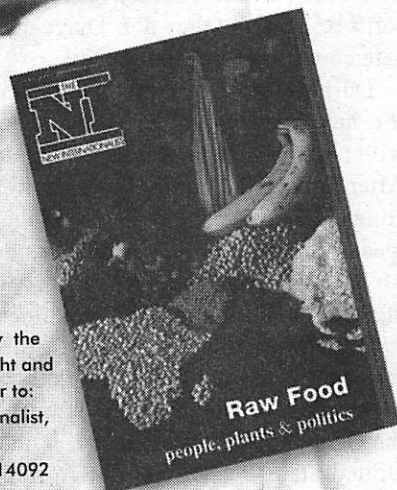
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Monfort's Disposable Meatpackers

Carol Andreas

*In Upton Sinclair's 1906 novel, **The Jungle**, immigrant Chicago meatpacker Jurgis Rudkis had heard people say the U.S. was a free country. But, "what," he asked, "did that mean?" Today's meatpackers, many of whom are also immigrants, are still wondering. Processing plants have moved to smaller cities, but the communities where immigrants work are held hostage by corporate control. Women and men labor under near-slave conditions in an environment hostile to health, safety, and democratic processes.*



Ken Monfort likes to think of himself as a good guy, a friend of the workers, an advocate for minorities. Recently retired heir to the family slaughter business, he took umbrage at a local newspaper editorial encouraging Hispanic dropouts to return to school so they wouldn't be "condemned for life to sweeping the floor of a factory or on the cutting floor at the meat packing plant."

"I happen to sit at a desk most of the day," he wrote in reply. "Sometimes when I go home at night, I really wonder if I accomplished anything. I can guarantee that this feeling is not prevalent at our meat packing plant, where the employees know each day that they have produced something and accomplished something. ... They deserve our respect—and they have mine."¹

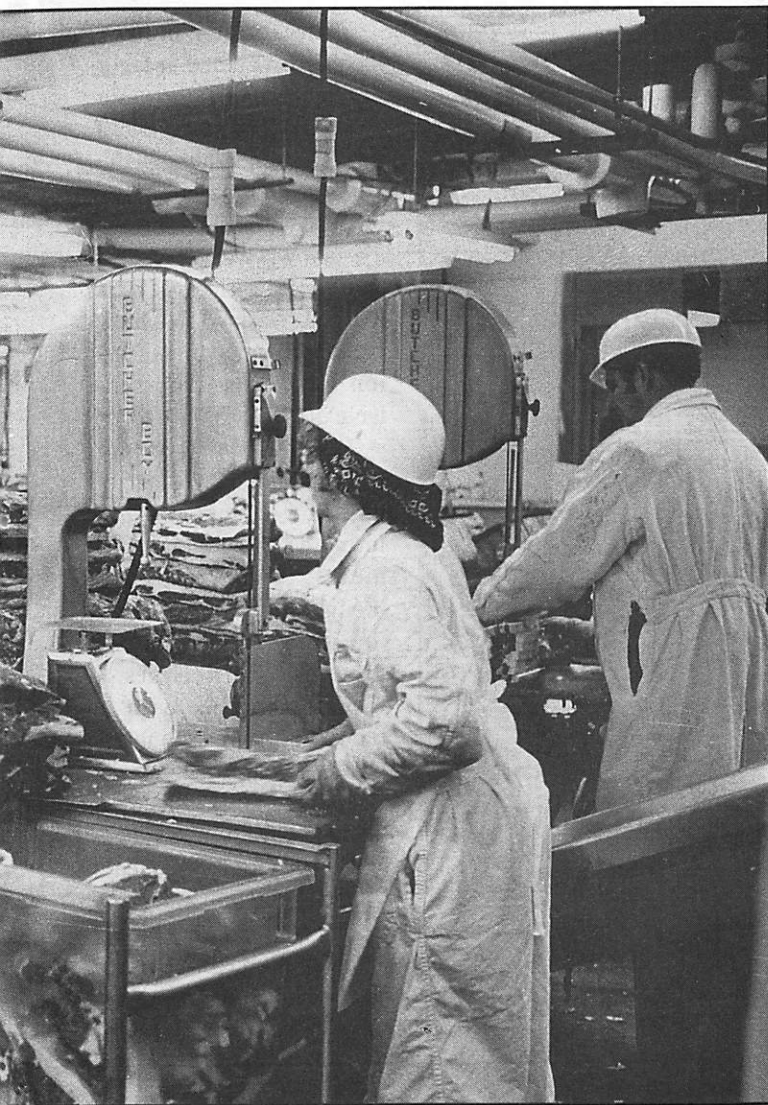
Carol Andreas is a sociologist who taught at the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley from 1988 to 1994. She is the author of *Meatpackers and Beef Barons: Company Town in a Global Economy* (Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1994); *When Women Rebel: The Rise of Popular Feminism in Peru* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1985, 1990); *Nothing Is As It Should Be: A North American Woman in Chile* (Rochester, Vt.: Schenkman Books, 1976) and *Sex and Caste in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971). Photo: Monfort disassembly line, Glen Martin, *Denver Post*, 1980.

1. *Greeley Tribune*, letter to the editor, February 1, 1989.

Workers at the Greeley, Colorado, plant may have Monfort's respect, but they don't have decent wages and benefits, safe conditions, or job security.

During several decades of company "restructuring," Monfort has, however, gained the respect of fellow beef barons with his unionbusting, unrelenting speedups, and black ink. After joining the family business in 1960, Monfort built the company into a major player in the rapidly expanding red meat industry. Later, even as sales declined, profits rose for Monfort and other industry leaders who cut workers' wages and meat quality. Prices to consumers held steady.

Government regulations did little to curb the CEO's enthusiasm for intimidating workers and for politicking. He outmaneuvered the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) inspection teams, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), state and county regulatory agencies, and local elites whose interests were threatened by company expansion. By the time Ken Monfort retired in 1989, the company owned eight slaughterhouses in the U.S. and a worldwide distribution



network. The most profitable operation remains that in Greeley,² which began in the 1930s as a small family-owned feedlot.

The Greeley operation has become the "fastest kill in the country."³ Several thousand workers butcher 9,000 cattle and 5,000 lambs daily and process them in three local plants. Even in a business known for high rates of turnover, accident and illness, Monfort sets a standard for food safety violations, labor intimidation, and worker injury.

Food Safety

After it failed to block regulation on the use of growth hormones in the production of beef, Monfort violated FDA rules and continued to use these chemicals implicated in cancer.⁴ The company lobbied for self-inspection of meat and became part of a pilot program, the Streamlined Inspection System (SIS). Even after

2. All the Monfort red meat slaughterhouses are now part of ConAgra. Greeley is also the home to ConAgra's farm chemical component.

3. Liane Clorfene-Casten, "Unhappy Meals," *Mother Jones*, July/August 1992, pp. 32-39.

4. Tim McGovern, "FDA Accused Monfort of Illegal DES Use," *Denver Post*, April 17, 1992. "Ken Comments," on diethylstilbestrol (DES) appear in a summer 1979 *Monfort of Colorado* newsletter.

scandals over meat-borne illness surfaced in 1992, Monfort fought to continue self inspection. It also endangered consumers and workers by backhauling toxic chemicals and garbage to the Midwest after delivering food products to the East Coast.⁵

Meat which is packed with breakneck speed, under filthy conditions, or with insufficient care to remove diseased parts can be contaminated with potentially deadly *E.-coli* or salmonella bacteria. Deregulation in the 1980s, which led the USDA to cut more than 700 meat and poultry inspectors, makes it even more likely that tainted meat will reach consumers. The 1993 Jack-in-the-Box food poisoning outbreak which killed three children in the Pacific Northwest and sickened hundreds more was only the most visible instance.

Rather than clean up the plant or slow down production, Monfort has joined with others in the industry to push for legalization of the irradiation of red meat. Already approved by the FDA for chicken, fruit, vegetables, spices, pork, and grains, this process kills bacteria and extends shelf-life. In July, Isomedix, a New Jersey-based irradiation company, filed a petition with the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) seeking approval for use of irradiation on red meat. According to Michael Colby of the Vermont-based organization, Food & Water, "The FDA's approval is the last hurdle for the legalization of meat irradiation, since the USDA Secretary Mike Espy has already announced his support of the process and asked the FDA to 'expedite' its approval process."⁶

While exposure to radiation does not make the food radioactive, it does change its molecular structure. Along with bacteria, it destroys essential nutrients and vitamins and creates new chemicals, some of which, like benzene, are known carcinogens.⁷ Needless to say, the risk to the public and to workers from handling radioactive materials involved in the industrial process and then disposing of them poses another set of environmental and health hazards.

Profiting Off Cheap Labor

Monfort (now a division of ConAgra) also sets an industry standard in bad labor relations and unionbusting. Like its turn-of-the-century predecessors, the modern meat industry feeds on cheap labor. The early beef barons (Cudahy, Swift, Armour, Wilson, and Morris) attained preeminence by hiring foreign-born workers from Europe, and later blacks from the U.S. South. Today's meat industry magnates rely heavily on Latin American and Asian immigrants. Young immigrant women work on beef-trimming tables that used to be staffed entirely by men. Racism and sexism are exacerbated by language barriers, vulnerability to sexual harassment by supervisors, and fear of deportation.

Monfort has carefully implemented a system which ensures high turnover and undercuts master union contracts won through half a century of struggle. At some plants, a two-tiered hiring strategy pits seasoned workers against lower-paid newcomers. That strategy and other labor cost-

5. Author's interview with Monfort trucker, July 1994.

6. Michael Colby, "Beef Irradiation, The Next Food Safety Battle," Food & Water, Marshfield, Vt.

7. *Ibid.*



© Sue Coe, 1991. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York. Photo: D. James Dee

Sue Coe: "Meat Flies"

cutting measures are supported by government programs that provide subsidies for hiring minorities, high school dropouts, seasonal farmworkers, and refugees. In 1965, Monfort established a separate processing plant in Greeley where women workers could produce specialty cuts at lower wages than those earned by meat trimmers at the main slaughterhouse.

Indeed, cutting labor costs was key to Monfort's ability to survive while many smaller companies were driven out of a contracting red meat market. In 1979, when the industry shakeout was peaking and small firms were being pushed out by the agribusiness giants, Monfort bought up plants in Denver, Florida, and Nebraska, and replaced union labor with non-union workers. The company then forced Greeley's unionized slaughterhouse workers into a bitter strike, and closed down the plant. Greeley, like numerous small towns throughout the Midwest, faced labor struggles in which the very survival of unions was at stake.⁸

The slaughterhouse re-opened in 1982, but Monfort refused to rehire hundreds of applicants who were former members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.⁹ When union elections were held a year later, the company told employees that if the UFCW came in, they would lose their jobs to former workers. The union lost by a small margin and filed suit.

8. One recent high-profile case was in Garden City, Kansas. See Louise Lamphere, Alex Stepick, and Guillermo Grenier (eds.), *Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigrants and the Restructuring of the U.S. Economy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), articles by Michael Broadway, Donald Stull, Ken Erickson, and Janet Benson, pp. 25-126.

9. The UFCW was formed in 1979 through a merger between the Amalgamated Meat

Ten years later, in 1993, the courts decided in favor of the union, and the NLRB ordered Monfort to hold a new election. Although the company threatened another plant closure, the union narrowly won. A contract agreement still has not been reached. Meanwhile, hundreds who voted for the union have been harassed, have quit, or were fired.¹⁰

Ken Monfort, ever the workers' friend, distanced himself from unionbusting through "closer management" techniques: He brought in outsiders to do the dirty work. Among these was Charlie Sykes, a Houston lawyer with a reputation as a unionbuster for IBP (formerly Iowa Beef Processors) who later became closely associated with the Monforts. Gene Meakins, Monfort's former college classmate, was hired as vice president in charge of public relations. Meakins had been expelled from British Guiana for allegedly promoting ethnic division among workers

while employed as a CIA undercover agent. He was in Guyana in 1963-64 when leftist-nationalist Cheddi Jagan was Prime Minister. Meakins was a representative of the British-based international trade secretariat for government employees, Public Services International, which the CIA used as a conduit for anti-Jagan strikes and demonstrations.¹¹

After several workers died, Monfort was cited for 105 "willful and egregious" safety violations.

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Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and the Retail Clerks International Union, becoming the largest AFL-CIO union on the continent. It is plagued with bureaucracy and weakened by an overall decline of U.S. union power.

10. A Notice to Employees posted pursuant to a judgment of the U.S. Court of Appeals was published several times in the *Greeley Tribune* in September 1992. In the notice, the company acknowledges specific labor rights violations for 1982 and 1983 and pledges to respect them in the future. In July 1994, company officials were found in non-compliance of the 1992 court order; although they had violated the rights of workers during the 1993 union election campaign, they were exempted from paying stipulated fines "unless the violations continued." ("Monfort Loses Appeal in Labor Suit; Fine Upheld," *Greeley Tribune*, July 8, 1994.)

11. Philip Agee, *CIA Diary: Inside the Company* (New York: Bantam Books,

By 1987, Monfort of Colorado, now one of the country's largest feedlot/slaughterhouse combinations,¹² negotiated a friendly merger with ConAgra, which along with Cargill and IBP, became the Big Three in the red meat industry. Two years later, Ken Monfort's son Richard took the company helm.

Flaunting Safety Standards

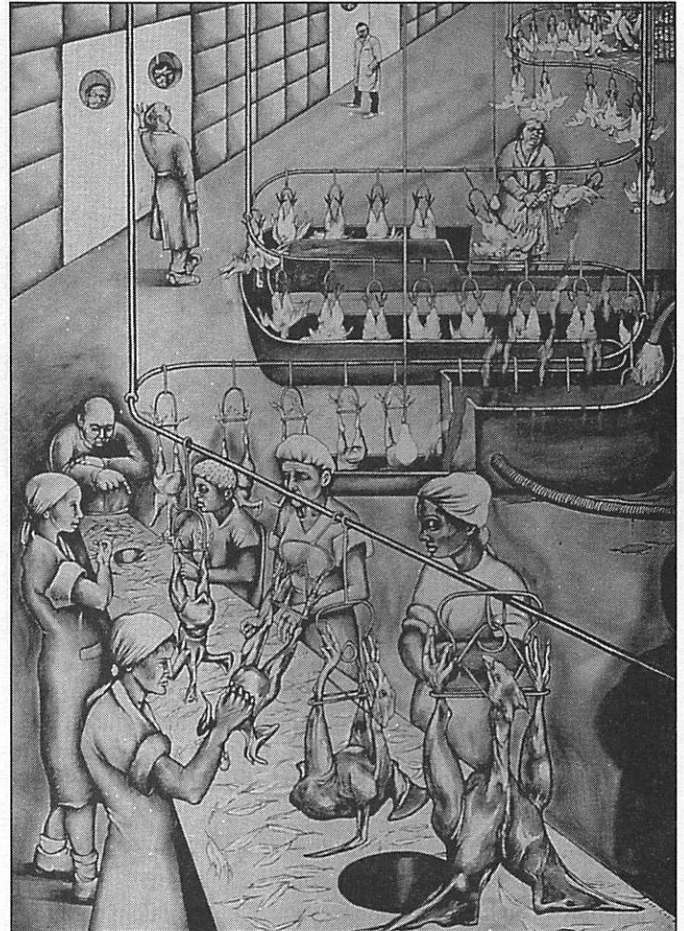
The third rail of the Monfort success story was the unrelenting animal disassembly line. High-speed production causes accidents and puts stress on muscles, nerves, and bones. When added to widespread disregard for safety and health precautions, it makes meatpacking among the country's most dangerous occupations. While Monfort's PR machine promoted the company as a "pioneer" in research on health and safety, the Greeley beef slaughterhouse had an accident rate 2.5 times the industry norm.¹³ Several of the company's own former safety and health services directors say they were fired for attempting to enforce safety standards.¹⁴ Following the deaths of several workers at Monfort's Grand Island, Nebraska, plant, the company was cited for 197 safety violations, 105 of them "willful and egregious."¹⁵ It is still appealing fines.

Despite Monfort's baleful record, OSHA exempted it from a general inspection after the plant introduced an ergonomics program.¹⁶ But instead of adapting the workplace to the workers, this program gives newly hired workers hand exercises, then awards them certificates as "industrial athletes" if they are still on the job after several months.

For Monfort workers, the inhuman pace of the disassembly line is the worst hardship. Management views any interruption as intolerable. Because the line is computerized, production is not slowed down when work stations are understaffed or to allow pregnant women — some of whom develop kidney ailments — extra bathroom breaks. Afraid of being fired if they leave work stations, a number of women have suffered miscarriages on the disassembly line. When people slip and fall on greasy, bloody floors, they are more likely to get yelled at or ignored than to be helped. Through-

out the day, women and men can be seen crying while trying to avoid being disciplined or "pink slipped" by supervisors. Additional stress is created when workers are asked to act as supervisors' helpers or translators. Although they know they will be distrusted and disliked for their collaboration, they are afraid to decline.¹⁷

An English-speaking Mexican woman, her arms and hands scarred from operations for meathook injuries and from carpal tunnel syndrome, described what she was expected to accomplish every 45 seconds, eight hours a day:



Meat, Animals and Industry, Women's Monograph Series, 1989, Photo: D. James Dee

Sue Coe: "The Pecking Order"

You have to hook your meat and cut one part out. You have to trim it down to specs. ... The first part has to have so much fat on it, can't have scores in it, can't have blood bruises on it. Then you turn it around and there's another piece where you have to pull a skin off it and you cut that piece off and then it's a longer piece, like this. Can't have scores in it, can only have so much percent fat around on it. Can't have gristle on it. Can't have tissue on the back of it. ... Then you have to cut another piece. Your hook is constantly in your other hand and you cut another piece off

1975), p. 635; *Sunday Times* (London), April 16, 23, 1967. See also Cheddi Jagan, *The West on Trial: The Fight for Guyana's Freedom* (Berlin: Seven Seas Books, 1966), pp. 341-42. Agee describes Meakins as "one of the principal agents in labour operations" which were key to the 1964 overthrow of Jagan.

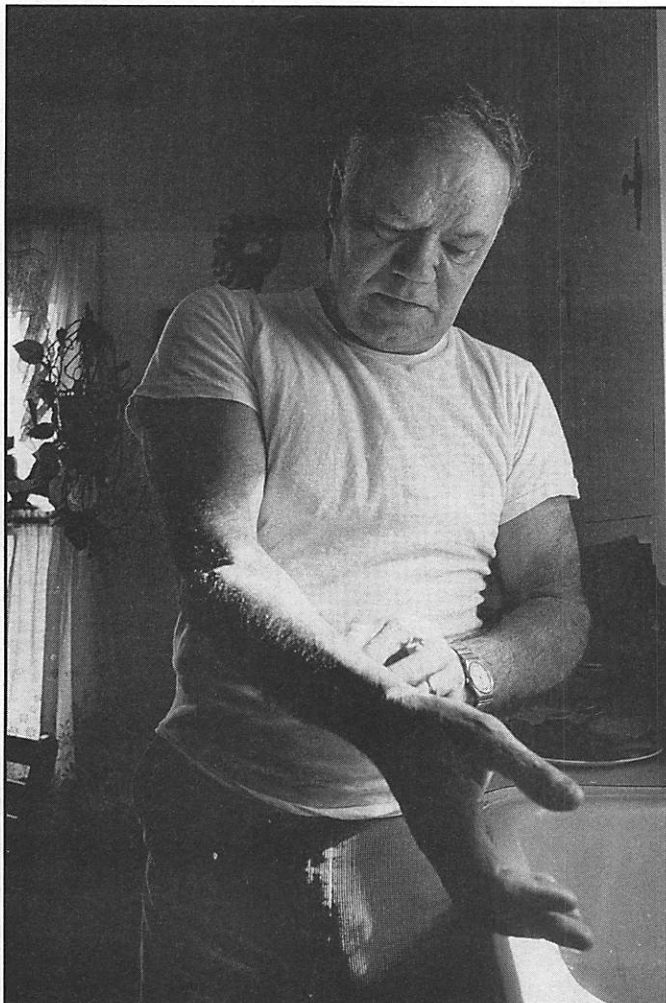
12. Monfort lost an anti-trust suit against Cargill a year before the merger with ConAgra.
13. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 1989 a seven-fold increase in repetitive motion illness during the previous decade. According to testimony given before the House Subcommittee on Employment and Housing, June 6, 1989 (pp. 4401-70), the actual number of cases is incalculably greater because many employers do not recognize the illness and many workers are afraid to report it. In 1988, the rate of injury and illness in meatpacking was 39 per hundred full-time workers, more than four times the average for manufacturing overall. During most of the past decade, meatpacking has led all other occupations in danger to workers.

14. Edward Murphy, testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations, concerning corporate whistleblower protection, August 5, 1992; Richard Lee Harris, author's interview, July 22, 1993.

15. U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Information and Public Affairs VIII, Denver, Colorado, OSHA: USDL 91138, press release, March 27, 1991.

16. In the 1980s, the Reagan administration provided incentives to industries with below-norm injury rates and reprieved them from workplace inspections by OSHA. OSHA's inspection teams were reduced in number. Iowa Beef Processors, which had led the way in establishing non-union plants and had been prosecuted for racketeering, was targeted by the government for fraudulent reporting of worker injuries. But IBP continued to produce more beef than any other company.

17. For government hearings, and testimony from workers and supervisors, see Andreas, *Meatpackers and Beef Barons*, op. cit. Union negotiations are presently under way. In the meantime, there is no indication that conditions have changed.



Nancy Siesel/Impact Visuals

When Hormel worker Robert Freitag's arm got caught, the machine he was cleaning ripped out a chunk of skin and an inch of artery. Each year, four in ten workers in the meatpacking industry report injuries or illnesses.

for hamburger. Then we turn it, and there's a big piece of fat they call a comb fat. You got to roll that off. Then the last piece you have, you are left with a big chunk of fat and there's another piece of meat you got to cut out and we got to trim that all the way off around on the back to certain specs, turning it around. We have to show lean on it and make sure there's no fat on the belly of it and no gristle.¹⁸

As workers are robotized by the introduction of computerized production, workplace injuries soar.¹⁹ "Deskilled" labor — continuous repetition of one specific task — not only merits less pay than butchering carcasses at supermarkets or meat shops; it is more dangerous. To cut costs, Monfort puts most workers on probation for the first six months, generally

18. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

19. "Monfort Pleads Guilty to Charges at Nebraska Plant," *Greeley Tribune*, September 3, 1993. In September 1993, Monfort, Inc. pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge and agreed to pay \$103,000 in fines following an INS investigation at its Grand Island, Nebraska, meatpacking plant.

without sick leave or other benefits. Using dulled knives on still half-frozen meat, many are injured and put on "light duty" where they are paid even less or humiliated until they eventually quit. If completely disabled, they may be offered a lump sum in exchange for saying they are voluntarily quitting. Many workers are uninformed about worker compensation rights, intimidated by the system, or unable to find lawyers willing to take on the company in the company town.

Living in Fear of the INS

In Greeley, where many employees are vulnerable to deportation, the workforce is at a particular disadvantage. The INS has conducted some of its biggest raids at Monfort plants, but the company has paid only a token fine for hiring undocumented workers.¹⁹ Scandals are periodically reported in the local media about Monfort personnel employees demanding bribes of up to \$600 to hire a job applicant.²⁰ One employee was fired, allegedly for accepting bribes, but no legal action was taken. Greeley's Monfort plants let the State of Colorado handle applications at a Job Service Center conveniently located adjacent to the main slaughterhouse. The county commissioner enthusiastically supports the arrangement, calling Monfort "our golden friend." The local University of Northern Colorado is also a booster. Recipient of donations from the Monfort family, it hired Ken Monfort to teach "business ethics."²¹ In 1989, the University recalled several thousand copies of a student publication that ran an article favorable to a newly initiated union drive. Several months later, a gift of \$1 million to the business school was received from the Monforts.

Chumminess extends to the state and federal level. Unlike most companies which insure their workers with outside insurance companies, the Greeley plants are self-insured, which means that every injured worker is placed in a directly antagonistic relationship to the company, not mediated by insurance carriers. State law restricts workers' legal representation and recognizes only the opinions of "approved medical care providers" (i.e., company doctors) in compensation claims. Limits are set on compensation for specific injuries. Re-employment after awards is restricted or banned, and loss of future work potential is not part of the calculation for compensation.

It is no surprise that the lopsided worker compensation legislation was introduced by Tom Norton, a former consulting engineer for the Monfort company who is now president of the Colorado Senate. Kay Norton, his wife, is Monfort's vice president in charge of legal and political affairs. The

(continued on p. 62)

20. David Algeo, "Monfort Ousts Illegals," *Greeley Tribune*, May 2, 1991; David Algeo, *Greeley Tribune*, "INS's Monfort Investigation Ongoing," June 11, 1991.

21. Ken Monfort has served terms in the Colorado legislature and on the state's Board of Agriculture, which governs three universities. He was given an honorary doctorate from Colorado State University in Fort Collins, where the family established an endowed chair in Animal Sciences. Gary Smith, who had worked with the company for years, was appointed as recipient. Since the passage of Colorado's "Veggie Bill" (HB1290), Smith's research can be cited in efforts to exact punitive damages from anyone who "knowingly makes any false statements" about perishable food products that lead to their destruction. The bill is aimed at environmentalists and consumer activists.

The Concentration of the Red Meat Industry

In the second half of the 20th century, the meat industry has undergone a major restructuring. The process began in the 1960s when boxed beef — shipped in refrigerated trucks from outlying areas to urban markets — replaced animals or whole carcasses transported by train. In the 1970s, processing plants located close to giant feedlots began to challenge union wage structures set in the big cities. Workers were increasingly subjected to militarized disassembly lines. Cargill, a huge transnational grain-trading company with meatpacking subsidiaries, got an initial edge on other companies in 1973 when President Richard Nixon, a former Cargill lawyer, opened up grain sales to the Soviet Union. Grain prices charged to feedlot owners soared at the same time that transportation costs and interest rates increased,¹ all of which drove hundreds of small- and medium-sized companies out of business. Those who survived did so by breaking unions; illegally feeding growth hormones to cattle; using influence to corner markets; making deals with local, state, and national government entities; engaging in carefully calculated mergers and buyouts; and perhaps most importantly, introducing line speed-up techniques. IBP led the way by locating new plants in right-to-work states. In 1987, Monfort's competitive maneuvers were consolidated when the company merged with ConAgra. The industry giant — a self-proclaimed “family of companies operating from farm to table” — processes seafood and poultry as well as red meat, and is aggressively opening up new operations outside the U.S. Having entered meat processing later than either Cargill or IBP, it has now passed them in overall production.

1. The 1973 oil crisis, a product of business-government collusion, affected both the price of fuel for transportation and the availability of credit.

Today, the beef oligopoly — IBP, Cargill (whose red meat subsidiary is Excel Corporation), and ConAgra (whose red meat subsidiary is Monfort, Inc.) — control up to 80 percent of U.S. beef production. The level of concentration is “unparalleled in any U.S. industry”² and far

greater than the level which triggered antitrust legislation at the turn of the century. Then, major scandals, exposed by newspapers and by novelist Upton Sinclair, created public outcry for reform and fueled union drives and government regulation. Many of those reforms have been eroded and workers and consumers have lost ground gained over a century of struggle.

The current round of health, public safety, and labor abuses has been masked by the departure of the beef processing industry from the major population centers of the Midwest. As agribusiness pushed out the family farm, the farm crisis that began in the 1970s became critical. Increased poverty and unemployment in rural areas brought social problems that used to occur only in large cities. Desperate

for jobs, agricultural communities were forced to provide incentives to businesses for industrial development. With no lack of impoverished communities, both in the U.S. and abroad, these industries could dictate terms and threaten to relocate if not catered to. In spite of consolidation by the Big Three, some competition continues because of the labor-intensive nature of the operation. Workers are the cannon fodder in the fight to drive down costs. •



©Sue Coe, 1988. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York

“Wall Street Makes A Killing”

2. Bruce M. Marion, University of Wisconsin economist, as quoted by Lewie G. Anderson, *Return to the Jungle: An Examination of Concentration of Power in Meat Packing* (Gaithersburg, Md.: 1989), p. 7. A thorough documentation of industry concentration appears in A.V. Krebs, *The Corporate Reapers: The Book of Agribusiness* (Washington, D.C.: Essential Books, 1992).

LOW INTENSITY DEMOCRACY:

The New Face of Global Domination

William I. Robinson

Just as support for “client regimes” and right-wing dictatorships characterized U.S. intervention during the Cold War, now “low intensity democracy” is the structural cornerstone of the new era. “Support for democracy,” declares one State Department policy document, “is becoming the new organizing principle for American foreign policy.”¹

Those who laud “democracy promotion” as a positive change in U.S. policy or condemn it as a duplicitous new term for the same old U.S. interventionism miss the point. It is an evolutionary adaptation of the U.S. attempt to impose abroad a model of government and economy that serves the U.S.-led transnational elite in the rich North. Its primary goal is to assure political stability in an integrated global economy dominated by the North.

Joseph Schumpeter, intellectual father of the notion of democracy advanced by U.S. policymakers, was candid. “De-

mocracy,” he asserted, “means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them.”²

The U.S. mission to export “democracy,” then, is less a change for the better than the pursuit of consistent goals through updated methods. The U.S. does, in fact, support “democracy” around the world — it just sent the term down through the looking glass first.

What U.S. policymakers and the intellectuals who legitimize those policies actually mean when they bask in the populist glow of “democracy” is more technically called “polyarchy” — a system in which a small group actually rules, and mass participation in decision-making is confined to choosing leaders in elections that are carefully managed by competing elites.³

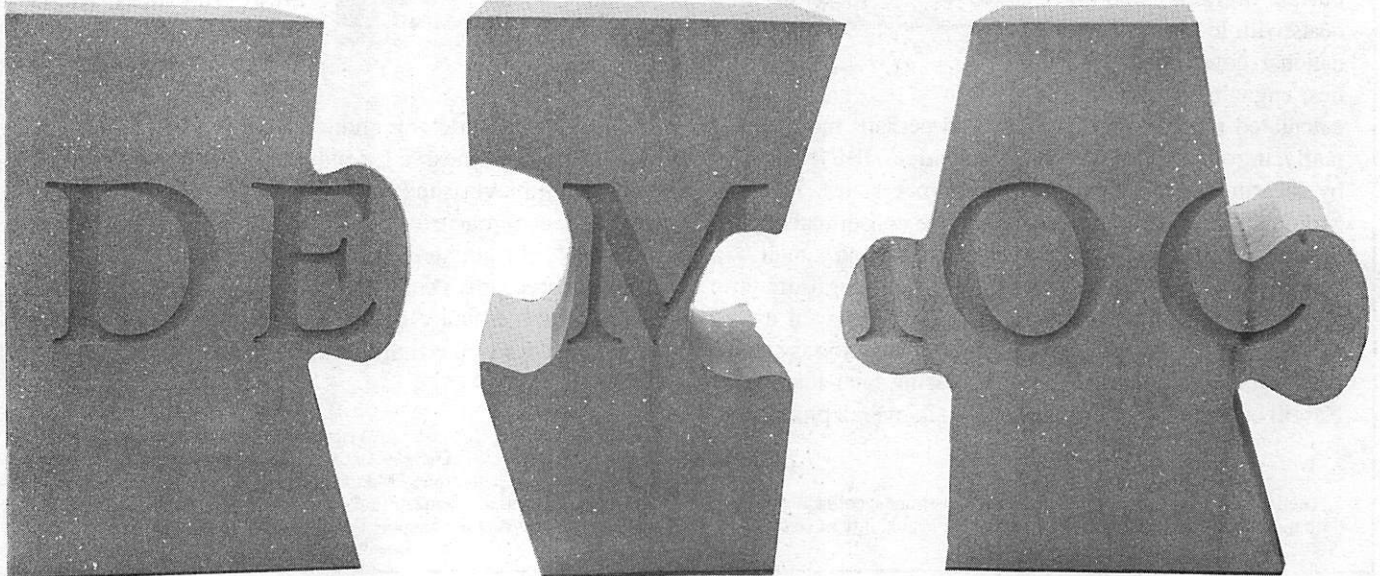
This system of elite domination — polyarchy or low intensity democracy — should not be confused with authentic or popular democracy. It may be a relatively new export item to the South, but polyarchy has a venerable tradition in the

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1. Department of State, *Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Promise and the Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Special Report No. 158, March 1987), p. 13.

2. Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 2nd edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1947).

3. The concept of polyarchy was first elaborated by U.S. political scientist Robert Dahl in *Polyarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).



U.S.⁴ Here, elites pride themselves on a political system that has been relatively stable, has controlled popular sectors, and has generally ensured that they settle internal disputes peacefully through compromise and accommodation. "The great difficulty lies in this:" wrote James Madison in *The Federalist*, No. 51, "You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."⁵

Exporting Pseudo-democracy

Two centuries of successful control at home have provided impetus for extending the system abroad. U.S. policymakers are motivated not by ideology but by pragmatism. Their concern is not "democracy" but stability, the former being but a mechanism for ensuring the latter. In a rapidly integrating world, the structures of low intensity democracy can effectively diffuse the

4. The term "democracy" is thrown around loosely and is often confused with polyarchy. The term "polyarchy" was developed by conservative intellectuals closely tied to the U.S. policymaking community in the post-WWII years. Polyarchy functions to justify the blatant and increasing monopolization of political and economic power by small minorities in the self-proclaimed "democratic" Western countries. "In all societies, two classes of people appear — a class that rules and a class that is ruled," noted Italian social scientist (and Mussolini fan) Gaetano Mosca early this century. "The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent." (Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* [New York: McGraw Hill, 1965], p. 51.)
5. Cited in Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

sharpest social tensions by coopting or marginalizing dissenters. The new policy relies more on persuasion than force.

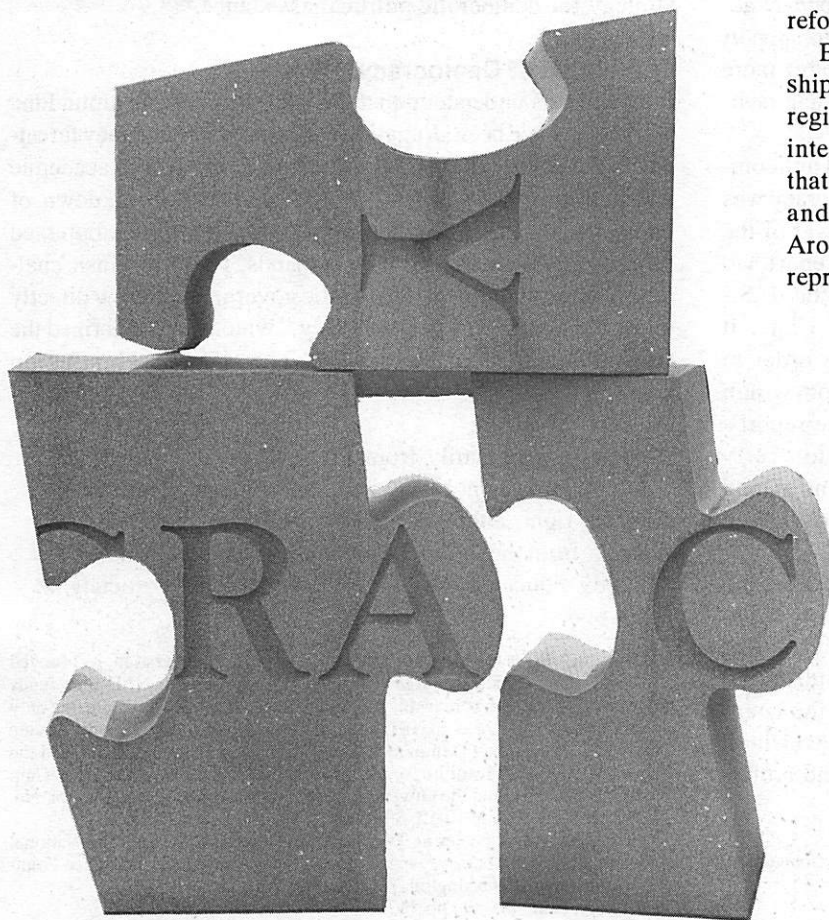
It was not always so. After World War II, the U.S. promoted and supported a global network of civilian/military regimes and outright dictatorships in Latin America, white minority and one-party dictatorships in Africa, and repressive states in Asia. It was not any propensity for dictatorship, but rather a cold calculation that such arrangements were the best means of assuring stability for U.S. benefit. But as globalization increased, authoritarianism and dictatorship fettered the smooth operation of capitalism in the developing world. The infusion of international money and goods, cou-

"Democracy means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them." — Joseph Schumpeter

pled with the spread of mass communications, broke down the barriers between groups and opened up once autonomous societies and cultures. The globalization of the economy and social life, then, pushed people into new roles, led them to demand democratization, and precipitated movements for reform and revolutions around the world.

By the 1970s, the benefits of supporting dictatorships were being overwhelmed by the costs. Military regimes and dictatorships represented or defended U.S. interests, but they also engendered popular opposition that could lead to more fundamental social, economic and political changes threatening U.S. interests. Around the world, mass popular movements attacked repressive political systems and exploitative socioeconomic conditions. Often these movements sowed unrest, occasionally they overthrew dictators, and generally they made governance and business a dangerous and unstable proposition. The "explosion of social interaction, and correlatively a tremendous increase of social pressure," noted a seminal 1975 Trilateral Commission Report, "made it possible for a great many more groups and interests to coalesce. ...The information explosion has made it difficult if not impossible to maintain the traditional distance that was deemed necessary to govern...[while the] democracy ethos makes it difficult to prevent access and restrict information."⁶

6. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 13. The Trilateral Commission brings together the highest echelons of the corporate, government and intellectual elite in the developed capitalist countries, and represents the thoroughly transnationalized faction of capital which has become dominant on a world scale. Its membership corresponds precisely to the transnational elite mentioned above.



William F. Herrick. Sculpture in Federal Plaza, Burlington, Vt.



David Maung/Impact Visuals

Guatemalan worker, part of a global economy, gets low intensity democracy and \$3 a day.

Promoting "Democracy"

As the structures of authoritarianism and dictatorship began to crumble and worldwide pressure for authentic democracy accelerated, U.S. policymakers adapted. They began to support the removal of the worst dictators as a way of preempting more fundamental changes. The 1979 Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions were compelling lessons.

In Washington, defense of national security and anticommunism were out, promotion of low intensity democracy was in. But democracy, traditionally defined as the power of the people, had its own dangers. The 1975 Trilateral report had sounded an early warning. Written in the wake of the U.S.-aided overthrow of the Allende government of Chile, it stressed the need to "reconstitute democracy" in order to assure that it does not generate its own instability, both within states and in the international system.⁷ One of the report's authors, Michel Crozier, emphasized the need to "carry through a basic mutation in [the] mode of social control [and to] experiment with more flexible models that could produce more social control with less coercive pressure."⁸

A decade later, a veritable industry of new governmental, quasi-governmental, and private "democracy promotion" agencies, bureaus, and institutes had sprung up. They drafted policies, designed programs, churned out policy studies, and sponsored "democratization" conferences around the country. The intellectual community joined the fray. At universities, the presses spewed "democratization" literature and profes-

sors offered courses on the trendy subject.

The quasi-governmental National Endowment for Democracy (NED), founded in 1983, was the most visible and influential agency.⁹ Its co-founder and current president Carl Gershman is a born-again democrat. The U.S., he asserts, must actively push for its brand of democracy because of the inability of "traditional autocrats simply [to] adapt to the pace of change and conflicting political pressures of the modern world. ... [Given] the declining utility of conventional military force...competition is likely to continue to shift from the military

to the political realm, and it will become increasingly important for the West to develop a sophisticated and long-term strategy for democratic political assistance."¹⁰

The Threat of Democracy

Policymakers understood that the masses of people around the world who have been struggling for authentic democracy threatened elite control. Samuel P. Huntington, influential academic and policy adviser, warned in 1975 that the "breakdown of democracy" occurred when popular sectors and oppressed groups mobilize and press their demands. These "intrinsic challenges to the viability of democratic government...grow directly out of the functioning of democracy," which he later termed the "dysfunctions of democracy."¹¹ The danger, Huntington went on:

comes not primarily from external threats, though such threats are real, nor from internal subversion from the left or the right, although both possibilities could exist, but rather from the internal dynamics of democracy itself in a highly educated, mobilized and participant society. ...

7. *Ibid.*; and Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

8. Crozier, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 55.

9. Although NED is registered as a private non-profit organization, it is funded with tax dollars channeled largely through AID and USIA. NED then funds programs through four core institutions: the Free Trade Union Institute, the only one not created to serve as an NED conduit; the Center for International Private Enterprise; the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs; and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs. (Holly Sklar and Chip Berlet, "NED, CIA, and the Orwellian Democracy Project," *CovertAction*, No. 39, Winter 1991-92, pp. 10-13, 59-62).

10. Carl Gershman, "Fostering Democracy Abroad: The Role of the National Endowment for Democracy," speech to the American Political Science Foundation convention, Washington, D.C., August 29, 1986.

11. Crozier, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

There are also potentially desirable limits to the indefinite extension of political democracy.¹²

The report he helped prepare was not so much about the "breakdown" of democracy as about the breakdown of social control. An "excess of democracy," it argued, was a "threat" to social order and established authority. Both polyarchy and authoritarianism/dictatorship stand opposed to popular democracy, which posits not only deeper forms of participatory democracy, but also social justice, economic equality, national sovereignty, and the democratization of international relations, including the international economic order. Popular democracy means a people's control over its own vital affairs, dispersal throughout society of political power, the redistribution of wealth, and majority control over the collective material and cultural resources of society. At the heart of this concept of democracy is the construction of a democratic socioeconomic order.

In fact, the new policy of "democracy promotion" is profoundly anti-democratic. Despite a garnish of democratic trappings, polyarchy remains a method by which elites maintain social control and economic dominance. It seeks to ensure that U.S.-led Northern elites, aided by their local counterparts in the South, not only control the state and stabilize low intensity democracy, but also penetrate civil society and place it under elite domination. "At its best," an NED journal article reported, "civil society provides an intermediate layer of governance [read: control] between the individual and the state that is capable of resolving conflicts and controlling the behavior of members without public coercion."¹³

This rendering of the role of civil society marked a significant change in U.S. policy: The composition and balance of power in civil society in a given Third World country became as important to U.S. interests as who controlled the government. Using the techniques of "democracy promotion," elites could manipulate civil society from below and within to manage change and preempt challenges. Under this strategy of political intervention, the target is not governments *per se*, but any group in civil society seeking to organize for change: trade unions, political parties, the mass media, professional guilds, peasant associations, women's, student, youth, and other popular organizations.

Politics, Society, the Global Economy
Framing the shift in U.S. foreign policy — from propping up dictators to promoting low intensity democracy — is the growing

consolidation of a truly global economy. Capital moves with total mobility across the globe in the search of the cheapest labor and the most congenial conditions for production and trade. As the international division of labor is restructured and national economies reorganized, as complex production processes are decentralized and management centralized, the old unit of analysis — the nation state — is becoming increasingly inappropriate for understanding our epoch.¹⁴

The shift to the global unit — which began with the post-war rise of the multinational corporations — accelerated with the scientific and technological revolution. In a reorganized world market, the rich economies of the North are increasingly based on control of technology, information, and services, including advanced electronics and computerization, telecommunications, administration and transportation, robotics, cybernetics, aerospace science, and biotechnology.

Meanwhile, labor-intensive production moves steadily South where wages are low. As developing countries are drawn into the global dynamic, not only their economic structures, but also their social and political textures are profoundly affected. Political and economic power gravitate toward those individuals, groups, and political systems most closely linked to transnational capital.

14. The issue of the diminishing importance of the nation state and the gradual transnationalization of states, social groups, and political processes is too complex to delve into here. Briefly, however, the resurgence of nationalism, regionalism, fundamentalism, and tribalism in recent years is not a countertrend to the logic of transnationalization but rather is explained by it. The diminishing power and importance of individual nation states under globalization has left vacuums of power, ideology, organization, and social cohesion at the level of individual nations. These vacuums have yet to be filled by emergent transnational or supranational institutions and are conducive to all sorts of local ethnic and other social conflicts. These conflicts can be seen in the abstract as rough bumps in the passage to a new global society and the institutions that will regulate it.



12. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

13. Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl, "What Democracy Is...And Is Not," *Journal of Democracy*, Summer 1991, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 80.

Those who control the flow of capital — the transnational elite — have a two-part project. The economic agenda, neoliberalism, seeks the total mobility of capital, and undermines the ability of individual nations — especially weak ones — to regulate their own economic affairs. Policy is coordinated not only by the U.S., but also by institutions controlled by transnational elites, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Treaties which supersede national boundaries and sovereignty, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (now the World Trade Organization), extend the global reach of the elites and enhance their ability not only to manage the process of global profit-making but also to settle internal disputes. Through structural adjustment programs, the North has sought to promote macroeconomic stability and to harmonize a wide range of fiscal, monetary, and industrial policies among nations. Not surprisingly, the results favor the capital-rich North and the Southern elites who are their allies — to the detriment of the majority of the population in both regions.

The other facet of the project is political: the creation of low intensity democracies to govern through consensual social controls rather than the unstable dictatorships that were the norm during the Cold War era. The engine of the political model is the new “democracy” industry managed by NED, the Agency for International Development (AID), the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), and a host of other less well-known government and quasi-private agencies.

As AID explains, promoting “democracy is complementary to and supportive of the transition to market-oriented economies.”¹⁵

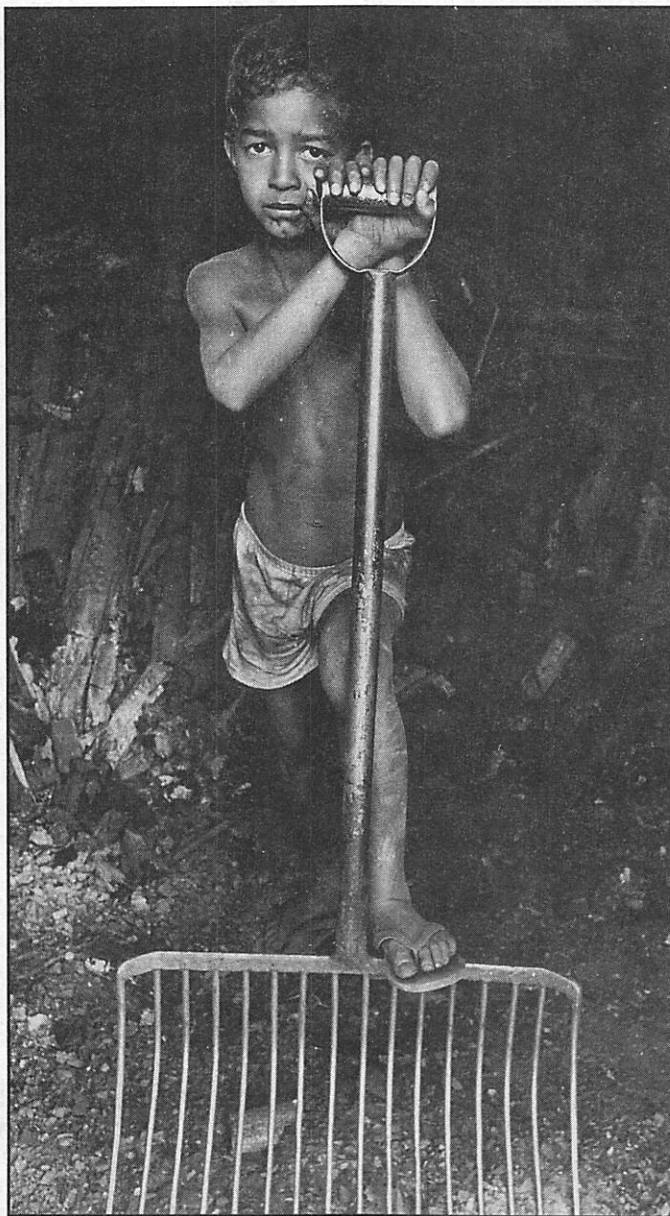
15. “The Democratic Initiative,” Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington, D.C., December 1990.

Emphasizing Political Intervention

The U.S. shift from backing authoritarianism to promoting polyarchy took several decades. Key to the transition was a coordinated policy of political intervention. Gradually, a working consensus in the foreign policy establishment developed new methods, instruments, and agencies. This reorientation entailed the expansion of an underdeveloped instrument — political aid — to supplement the military and economic aid programs which had been mainstays of post-World War II U.S. foreign policy.

“Programs to strengthen friendly political movements in other countries are one of the foreign policy arms of a modern great power,” noted two participants in Project Democracy, a semi-secret program launched in the early 1980s under the auspices of the National Security Council (NSC). Project Democracy eventually spawned both Oliver North’s illegal Iran-Contra operations and NED.¹⁶ “Until this century, there were three instruments for such efforts: diplomatic, economic, and military. This triad retains its primacy today, but it has been supplemented by two additional instruments,” they explained. “One is propaganda. The other new policy instrument — aid to friendly political organizations abroad — ... helps build up political actors in other polities, rather than merely seeking to influence existing ones.”¹⁷

Between World War II and 1990, the United States spent some \$400 billion in foreign military and economic aid (over \$1 trillion in 1990



J.R. Ripper/Impact Visuals

The world’s richest 20 percent have at least 150 times more than the poorest 20 percent. In rural Brazil, a child carries coal in exchange for food, shelter and medicine.

16. Much has been written on Project Democracy and the origins of the NED. See, for example, *National Endowment for Democracy (NED): A Foreign Policy Branch Gone Awry*, Council on Hemispheric Affairs (Washington, D.C.) and Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center (Albuquerque), 1990; William I. Robinson, *A Faustian Bargain: U.S. Intervention in the Nicaraguan Elections and American Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War Era* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992), Chapter One; and Sklar and Berlet, *op. cit.*
17. Michael A. Samuels and William A. Douglas, “Promoting Democracy,” *The*

The Democracy Industry

As the U.S. rose from the ashes of World War II — the dominant world power — policymakers set about to conceive, develop, and defend an international order largely under their control. From World War II to the end of the Cold War, the U.S. deployed military force beyond its borders more than 200 times, mounted large-scale wars in Korea and Indochina as well as “small wars,” counterinsurgency campaigns, and covert operations throughout Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Europe.¹

While competition from the former Soviet Union was an important factor explaining U.S. actions, it was not the force driving it. National Security Council Memorandum 68 (NSC-68) written in 1950, described “two subsidiary policies.” One aims to “contain [the USSR and] foster the seeds of destruction within the Soviet system.”

But the other policy described in NSC-68 makes clear that “Even if there was [sic] no Soviet Union, we would face the great problem” of achieving “order and security” for U.S. global interests. “Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish.”² Behind the East-West divide then, was a North-South chasm which threatened to engulf U.S. privilege and control.

In 1948, George Kennan, State Department Director of Policy Planning and a key architect of post-World War II U.S. foreign policy warned:

We have 50 percent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 percent of its population. In this situation we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will allow us to maintain this position of disparity. ... We should cease to talk about the raising of the living standards, human rights, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better.³

According to a recent U.N. report, in 1992, 83 percent of the world's wealth was concentrated in the North to the benefit of the 20 percent of the global population living there. Meanwhile, the vast population of the South consumes only 6 percent of the wealth. The report noted that the gap between the rich and the poor is becoming an abyss. In 1960, the wealthiest fifth of the world's nations were 30

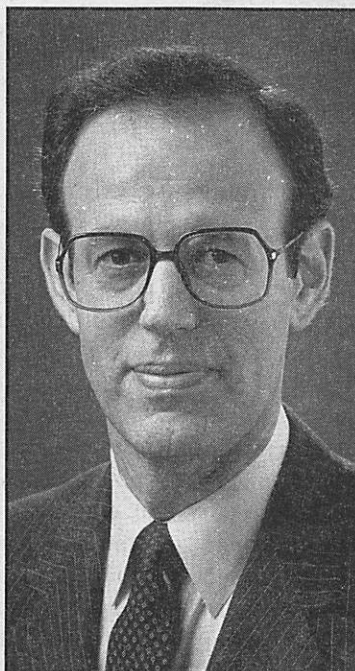
times richer than the poorest fifth. Thirty years later, in 1990, they were 60 times richer. This figure refers to the maldistribution of wealth *between* countries. Adding the maldistribution of income *within* countries — the report pointed out — the richest 20 percent of the world's *people* got at least 150 times more than the poorest 20 percent.⁴

Thus, neither the envy and resentment nor the need for pragmatism has abated since Kennan's time. Ideology is still a luxury more appropriate to the Sunday morning talking heads than the back rooms of power. But talk of living standards, human rights, and democratization — especially the promotion of the democratic ideals has become useful. It has replaced anticommunism as the ideological justification for what is in fact the self-interest of a rapacious elite. It also assumes the same combination of self-righteousness, semi-religious fervor, and cynicism as fueled anticommunism.

More than four decades after Kennan and NSC-68, Carl Gershman, President of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), admonished: “In a world of advanced communication and exploding knowledge, it is no longer possible to rely solely on force to promote stability and defend the national security. Persuasion is increasingly important, and the United States must enhance its capacity to persuade by developing techniques for reaching people at many different levels.”

Gershman went on to stress that “democracy” abroad should be a major consideration in the U.S. effort to “enhance its capacity to persuade” around the world.⁵

Thus, as the East-West frame in which Kennan and his generation fit the North-South struggle evaporated with the end of the Cold War, the fundamental objective endured: the defense of privilege in an unjust international system. Only the methods and strategies for securing this objective evolved.



NED head Carl Gershman

1. William I. Robinson and Kent Norsworthy, *David and Goliath: The U.S. War Against Nicaragua* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987), p. 15. For a good summary of CIA interventions and a chronology of U.S. wars, see William Blum, *The CIA: A Forgotten History* (London: Zed Press, 1986).
2. National Security Council Memorandum NSC-68, dated April 7, 1950, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 252, 263, 272. See Doug Henwood, “U.S. Economy: The Enemy Within,” *CovertAction*, No. 41, Summer 1992, pp. 45-49.
3. Policy Planning Study 23, Department of State, February 24, 1948, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1948 I (Part 2), p. 23.
4. United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1992* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 34-36.
5. “Fostering Democracy Abroad,” speech by Gershman, *op. cit.*



Robert Fox/Impact Visuals

U.S. "democracy promotion" agencies helped fund the Dominican Republic's 1994 election. Charges of fraud led President Joaquín Balaguer to halve his term.

dollars).¹⁸ Military aid served to bolster local repressive forces which could suppress dissent and maintain social control. Economic aid not only bought political influence, but helped integrate the economies of recipient countries into the world market. Economic aid was "a major instrument in the conduct of United States foreign relations. It is an instrument which can powerfully influence the world environment in ways favorable" to U.S. interests.¹⁹

Those arguing that political aid would reinforce economic and military programs included members of NSC-supervised Project Democracy. They made broad reference to the work of William A. Douglas.²⁰ In his assessment of whether authoritarianism or democracy best served U.S. interests, this academician who served in various administrations as a policymaker, coined the term "regimented democracy."²¹

Comparing people in the Third World with "children," Douglas argued that they required "tutelage," "regimentation," and "social control," but that "democracy" could achieve these goals more effectively than authoritarianism. "That a firm hand is needed is undeniable, [but] democracy can provide a sufficient degree of regimentation, if it can build

up the mass organizations needed to reach the bulk of the people on a daily basis. Dictatorship has no monopoly on the tutelage principle."²² Douglas detailed how political aid programs should be introduced. Third World nations:

need assistance in politics just as much as in building infrastructure, industry, or institutions such as universities, cooperatives, and trade unions. Without political aid, their political systems may lag behind development in the economic and institutional sectors, with the resulting political instability. ... [W]e should undertake an active policy of political aid, for both developmental and security reasons.²³

The trick, said Douglas, was to devise the correct "transplanting mechanisms" for establishing "democracy" in the Third World.²⁴ He advocated the creation of a specialized agency (what would become NED); the participation of the private sector in democracy promotion; and the modification of existing government institutions and programs to synchronize overall foreign policy with political aid. Two decades after his study, these "transplanting mechanisms" and "insulating devices" were embodied in the new "democracy promotion" programs. Douglas himself went on to become a senior consultant to Project Democracy.

Political aid programs — formerly conducted by the CIA with limited success and sophistication — have now come in from the cold. "It is not necessary to turn to the covert approach," commented former CIA Director William Colby in regard to the NED program. "Many of the programs which...were conducted as covert operations [can now be] conducted quite openly, and consequentially, without controversy."²⁵ The new political interventionists lobbied for a division of labor within the foreign policy establishment, a transfer of crucial aspects of the CIA's political operations to new agencies, including NED, and a dramatic expansion of political aid. Two of the original NED founders noted: "Since the advent of the Cold War, the United States has worked abroad politically, mainly covertly, with direct government action and secret financing [of] private groups." But efforts to date have proven inadequate: "[The] various covert means for filling the political gap in U.S. policy solved some short-term needs, but did not provide effective long-term solutions."²⁶ Although the CIA continued to intervene, with the ascendancy of the policy of political aid, NED took over much of the development and implementation of political operations that serve long-term U.S. interests: specifically, the funding and guidance for political parties, trade unions, business groups, media, and civic organizations that the CIA had traditionally supplied.²⁷

Washington Quarterly, Summer 1981, pp. 52-53. Samuels and Douglas were Project Democracy consultants.

18. See Doug Bandow, "Economic and Military Aid," in Peter J. Shraeder (ed.), *Intervention in the 1980s: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Third World* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989), p. 63. Note that if U.S. aid channeled through multilateral agencies is included, the figure nearly doubles.

19. National Security Council Memorandum NSC-68, dated April 7, 1950, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1950, Vol. I, p. 258.

20. William A. Douglas, *Developing Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Heldref Publications, 1972). Douglas draws heavily on Samuel Huntington's classic *Political Order in Changing Societies* and other political development literature. The NSC commissioned a report titled "A Commitment to Democracy: A Bipartisan Approach." The November 30, 1983 report was prepared by the American Political Science Foundation, which had been commissioned by the National Security Council to draft recommendations for developing democracy promotion in foreign policy. The report was written by NED's first acting president, Allen Weinstein, and is sometimes referred to as the "Weinstein Report."

21. Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-22.

23. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

25. William Colby, "Political Action — In the Open," *Washington Post*, March 14, 1982, p. D8.

26. Samuels and Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

27. David K. Shipler, "Missionaries for Democracy: U.S. Aid for Global Pluralism," *New York Times*, June 1, 1986. The article noted that NED is a

21st Century Intervention

The operation of NED-style intervention has been well-documented elsewhere, including in the pages of *CovertAction*.²⁸ Early programs were tied to the 1980s anticommunist crusade, but political aid programs made an easy transition to the post-Cold War era. Political aid, administered through the NED and other channels, has become a sophisticated instrument for penetrating political systems and civil society in many countries.

NED president Gershman divided U.S. political intervention into two types. The first targets both authoritarian or right-wing dictatorships and popular, nationalist or socialist left-wing regimes. The goal is "long-term democratic political development [leading to a] transition to democracy," i.e., the installation of a U.S.-backed civilian transnational elite.²⁹ On the left, the victims of political intervention have included Sandinista Nicaragua in the 1980s, Haiti under Aristide, and Cuba. On the right, the U.S. targeted Chile, Haiti, Paraguay, and the Philippines in the 1980s, and currently has programs in many African and several Asian nations. Programs in

"It is not necessary to turn to the covert approach. Many of the programs which ... were conducted as covert operations [can now be] conducted quite openly, and consequently, without controversy."

— ex-CIA Director William Colby

South Africa have sought to facilitate a transition from white minority rule to multiracial polyarchic rule (such as exists in the U.S.). Those aimed at former socialist countries prior to the collapse of the Soviet bloc aided the most conservative elite advocates of anticommunist and free-market agenda.

The second type, according to Gershman, operates when transnational elites are already in power and "democracy" has been declared. There, U.S.-designed and -funded programs help stabilize and consolidate polyarchy by bolstering elite leadership and inculcating the political culture of low intensity democracy. In the 1990s most Latin American and former Soviet bloc countries — considered democratic by virtue of a few elections — fell in this category.

"combination of Government money, bureaucratic flexibility and anti-Communist commitment...which mixes public funds and private interests." The NED's work "resembles the aid given by the Central Intelligence Agency in the 1950s, '60s and '70s to bolster pro-American political groups."

28. See, for example, Philip Agee, "Tracking Covert Actions into the Future," *CovertAction*, Fall 1992, No. 42; Robinson, "Low Intensity Democracy," *CovertAction*, Spring 1994, No. 48; pp. 6-7; Sklar and Berlet, *op. cit.*

29. Carl Gershman, "The United States and the World Democratic Revolution," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1989.

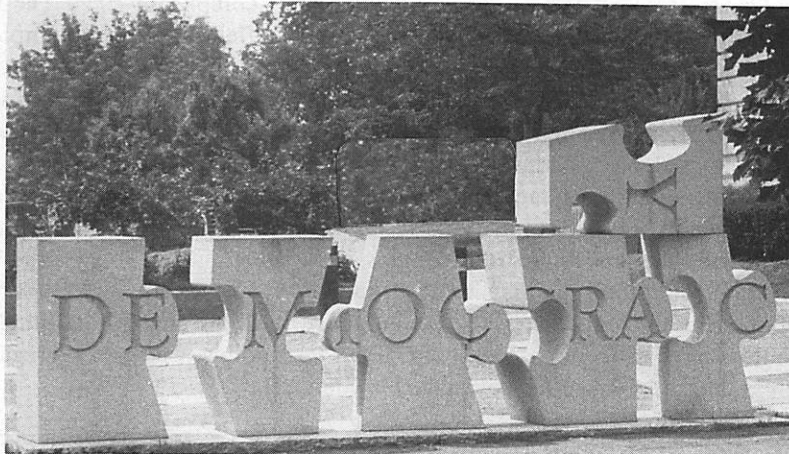
The new political intervention is more sophisticated than earlier forms of intervention by the U.S. and other former colonial powers. An increasingly cohesive transnational elite now seeks to legitimate its rule by establishing formal democratic institutions. These institutions are better able to neutralize or redirect the demands, grievances, and aspirations of the population with a minimum of direct repression. They rely instead on ideological mechanisms, political cooptation, and the limits imposed by the global economy. If all goes according to plan, they can diffuse the sharpest social tensions and control a large enough portion of the social base to ensure stability.

Although many of the mechanisms were developed during the right-wing Republican administrations of the 1980s, the current policy is not a holdover. The Clinton administration, in its first year in office, not only increased funding for NED and the State Department's Office of Democratic Initiatives, but also created numerous new offices and posts to deepen "democracy promotion," including a new Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Human Rights, an Office of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor in the State Department, and an Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs to oversee new policies in this regard.

Clinton has defined a three-part foreign policy: "promoting free markets, promoting democracy, and maintaining a U.S. military capacity."³⁰ Thus, "democracy promotion" and neo-liberal restructuring form the foundation of contemporary U.S. foreign policy, with military force ever ready to be integrated when required.

The new political intervention is thus waged through the full panoply of U.S. foreign policy instruments, as well as through transnational agencies in which the elites of the Northern countries and their junior partners in the South increasingly impose their will collectively on the world. It is much more than the same old interventionism with a kinder, gentler face. It is how elite domination will look as it marches into the next millennium. •

30. President-elect Clinton's remarks to the diplomatic corps, January 1, 1993, cited in *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, Vol. 3, Number 425, January-March 1993, Department of State, Washington, D.C., p. 8.



Sculpture: William F. Herrick / Photo: Terry Allen

Spies in the Skies

The National Reconnaissance Office and the Intelligence Budget

John Pike



Rob Sussman

For 32 years, the U.S. government denied that the NRO even existed. In fact, the agency in charge of spy satellites spends more than the CIA and NSA combined. Despite refusal by intelligence agencies to reveal figures, budget levels can be pieced together from leaks, unclassified information, and simple math.

Congress has just uncovered a 68-acre stealth complex in Chantilly, Virginia. The new \$300 million "Westfields" site will become headquarters for the super-secret National Reconnaissance Office (NRO), the agency which operates U.S. spy satellites. Besides focusing needed attention on the NRO—which has a budget roughly equal to the CIA and the National Security Agency (NSA) budgets combined—this revelation raises disturbing questions about intelligence priorities and the inadequacies of congressional oversight.

How could this site, the size of 60 football fields, escape notice? For the past two decades, intelligence oversight committees have followed a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. Congress doesn't ask and the spy agencies don't tell.

The high-priced NRO photomat is only the most recent example of failed oversight. Last year, NRO secretly awarded TRW a multi-billion dollar contract for a new space-based wide-area satellite system which would track Soviet ships and bombers. The contract disregarded explicit congressional instructions for advance notification. In July 1994, after competitors protested, the contract was overturned, and awarded to Martin Marietta.¹

The belated discovery of Westfields' cost added fuel to efforts by some members of congress and citizens' groups to reform NRO, redefine its mission, and force disclosure of the aggregate intelligence budget.

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1. Laurence Zuckerman, "U.S. Is Said to Cancel TRW Deal," *New York Times*, July 4, 1994, p. D1.

Secrecy and the Intelligence Budget

Such secrecy, they charge, often protects the intelligence community from taxpayers and domestic critics, not foreign intelligence agencies. Foes of disclosure argue that revelation of intelligence budget totals would be only the beginning. Expenditures and budgets of individual agencies, they say, would be next in line for exposure.

This argument fails; the Pentagon budget regularly reveals detailed budget data on U.S. intelligence agencies. Those supposedly hidden figures are only thinly disguised parts of the Defense Department's annual request and unclassified supporting documents.

Like the purloined letter, they are concealed in the open, for all to see if one knows where to look.

And if they do, they will find a total of at least \$28 billion for FY 1994. Simple arithmetic then readily reveals—with a margin of error of perhaps 10 percent—an NRO budget of over \$6 billion and an NSA budget approaching \$4 billion.

The pretense of secrecy is understandable. Much of the intelligence budget funds expensive satellites rendered obsolete by the demise of their primary target, the Soviet Union. Between 1980 and 1987, the NRO budget nearly tripled from \$3.5 billion (in constant FY94 dollars) to nearly \$9 billion.² The reduction of more than \$2.5 billion over the past five years and the current Clinton administration request for \$7 billion indicate that substantial cuts are indeed possible. Even the current level is double that appropriated during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

These trends provide fresh insight into the long debate over the complicated relationship between the national security state and the Cold War. In the conventional wisdom, the national security state's distortions of democratic values and the enormities it committed were unavoidable responses to the Soviet threat. Others suggest that the national security state found the existence of the USSR a convenient pretext for pursuing its own hegemonic aspirations. The persistence of the intelligence community, absent adversaries such as Nazi Germany or the USSR, bolsters the view that the national security state contributed more to the Cold War than vice versa.

A Normally Reclusive Organization

Of all the intelligence agencies, the NRO remains the most secret. Prior to the low-key acknowledgment of NRO in 1992 and the recent brouhaha over the new Westfields headquarters, little was known about its mission, methods, structure, and budget. And despite occasional grumbles, congressional oversight was virtually a rubber stamp.

Created in 1960, NRO remained unknown to all but a few select congressmembers for over a decade. The first major book on intelligence satellites, published in 1971, gave no hint of its existence.³ The first official mention was inadvertent. A 1973 Senate committee report mistakenly added NRO to a list of intelligence agencies whose budgets were being considered for declassification.⁴

For 35 years, the NRO quietly developed satellites, analyzed data, and fed information to the U.S. military and intelligence community. "Classified national security payload" launches announced by the Pentagon or NASA were in fact

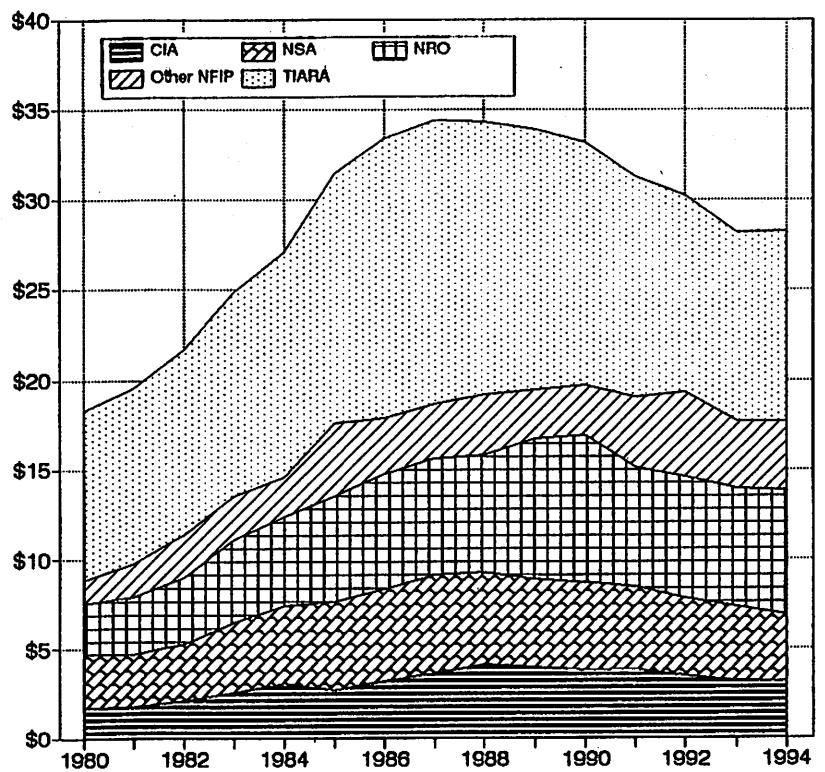
NRO spy satellites. This cover was also applied to other Air Force spacecraft in an unsuccessful attempt to hide NRO programs. Today, NRO launches are easy to spot; they are the only ones for which the payload is not identified.

NRO's proponents point to various arms control agreements to justify the \$250 billion spent on satellite intelligence over the years. Verification—a key concern of Cold War policymakers—would have been impossible without it, they say.

3. Philip Klass, *Secret Sentries in Space* (New York: Random House, 1971). Whether his silence was engendered by ignorance or reticence is unclear. He occasionally hinted at information he declined to publish in the national interest. This work remained the primary published source for over a decade.

4. "Special Senate Committee on Secret and Confidential Documents," report 93-466, p. 16, cited in Jeffrey Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing, 2nd edition, 1989), pp. 27-29.

*The national security state
contributed more to the making
of the Cold War than vice versa.*



John Pike

U.S. INTELLIGENCE BUDGET — constant 1995 dollars, billions.

2. Based on analysis of DoD documents subsequently cited.



U.S. Air Force

Until the Westfields facility is completed, NRO coordinates many of its programs out of the Space and Missile Systems Center at the Los Angeles Air Force Base.

Satellite intelligence, however, also contributed to the intelligence community's blindness to the Soviet Union's disintegration. The code name for one of these satellites, "Keyhole," is suggestive: It connotes not only the ability to peer into closed areas, but also a constricted panorama. Focused on missiles and tanks, these satellites missed other important indicators of socio-political health: hunger, scarcity of consumer goods, and declining life expectancy.

Inside NRO's Changing World

Now NRO faces a changed world. It would be surprising if its satellites, designed to collect data against the Soviets, could adapt to the radically different requirements of the post-Cold War world.

Priorities have shifted to promoting "peacekeeping" and economic competitiveness and combating terrorism and narcotics trafficking—problems for which spy satellites provide few answers. While NRO is silent on such pressing issues as Bosnia, Somalia, or Haiti, CNN's communications satellite broadcasts have become vital for policymakers.

NRO's congressional overseers have belatedly noticed the shifting ground. Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, noted:

It is not nearly as difficult to find out how long the runways are in Somalia or to intercept primitive communications in the former Yugoslavia as it was in dealing with the sophisticated KGB. ... I think we have to reallocate resources.⁵

Rep. David McCurdy (D-Okla.), Chair of the House Intelligence Committee, agreed. The bulk of intelligence spending has traditionally been for "the large satellite systems and the agen-

cies that operate them," he said. "I think we can rightly question the constellation of satellites we use."⁶

From the start, NRO's mission has been to:

ensure that the U.S. has the technology and spaceborne and airborne assets needed to acquire intelligence world-wide, including to support such functions as monitoring of arms control agreements, indications and warning and the planning and conduct of military operations. The NRO accomplishes this mission through the research and development, acquisition, and operation of spaceborne and airborne data collections systems.⁷

To fulfill that mission, NRO relies on three broad types of satellite intelligence gathering: imaging intelligence, signals intelligence, and wide area surveillance. Each has specific capabilities and uses, and each is now being reevaluated.

Cameras in the Sky: Imaging Intelligence

Imaging intelligence (IMINT) satellites use film and electronic cameras, or radars, to produce high resolution images of objects on the ground at ranges of up to 1,000 miles. Such satellites, with resolutions down to the size of a grapefruit, can distinguish among types of vehicles and equipment. Less powerful resolutions—several feet—can locate vehicles and identify installations, while resolutions on the order of ten yards can identify targets such as airfields and ports.

Development of IMINT satellites began in the 1950s.⁸ Since the 1960s, the U.S. has employed three basic types of photographic intelligence satellites.

One series of progressively more capable satellites performed the 'close look' mission, returning high resolution photographs to earth using small re-entry capsules. The last of these were the KH-8 Low Altitude Surveillance Platform, and the KH-9 Big Bird. NRO quit using satellites which had to physically return film to earth in the early 1980s.

Another series of increasingly sophisticated satellites performed area surveillance. These satellites returned electronic images to earth via radio signals. They provide a somewhat lower resolution than the film satellites. The most recent are the KH-11 and the Advanced Keyhole, sometimes called the KH-12. One of the older KH-11s, launched in December 1984, is still in orbit, along with two more powerful Ad-

6. "Newsmaker Forum: Rep. David McCurdy," *Space News*, May 11, 1992, p. 30.

7. Defense Department Press Release, September 18, 1992.

8. Jeffrey Richelson, *America's Secret Eyes in Space* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990).

5. "DeConcini: Simplify Future Spy Satellites," *Space News*, April 26, 1993, p. 2.

vanced Keyholes, which fly in orbits nearly twice as high as their predecessors.

Optical imaging satellites suffer a common shortcoming—they can't see through clouds. This limitation is especially serious in wartime, when intelligence requirements are highly time-sensitive. Space-based imaging radar, however, can see through clouds and produce images with a resolution near that of photographic reconnaissance satellites. A project to develop such a capability—Lacrosse—initiated in the early 1980s, had its first satellite launch in 1988.⁹ Two of these satellites are currently in orbit.

The near-tripling of NRO's budget during the 1980s financed a tenfold increase in collection capabilities and a doubling of the number of imaging satellites in orbit. New systems include satellites which can peer through clouds and see clearly in the dark. The hundreds of images made daily during the Cold War are dwarfed by the thousands which today's systems can produce.

Paradoxically, the increase in capability coincides with a dramatic decrease in collection requirements. The USSR encompassed over 22 million square kilometers, ten times the combined area of Iran, Iraq and North Korea, the U.S. military's identified potential foes. The USSR employed at least 100,000 persons in its nuclear weapons complex, far more than the estimated 3,000 employed by North Korea, or the 5-20,000 employed by Iraq.¹⁰ The Soviet Air Force included over 5,000 aircraft, while the air forces of potential regional adversaries include only a few hundred aircraft apiece.¹¹

9. Bob Woodward, "At CIA, a Rebuilder Goes With the Flow," *Washington Post*, August 10, 1988, p. A8.

10. For the Soviet Union figures, see "Nuclear Scientist Refutes Brain Drain Claims," Foreign Broadcast Information Service-SOV, February 3, 1992, p. 6.; for North Korea, see Lally Weymouth, "Peninsula of Fear," *Washington Post*, October 24, 1993, p. C4; for the low figure on Iraq, see Jeff Smith, "Report Shows Extensive Iraqi Nuclear Effort," *Washington Post*, October 5, 1991, p. A1; for the high figure, see David Fischer, "The Future of the IAEA," *Program for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation Issue Review*, Number 2, December 1993, p. 3.

11. International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1991-92* (London: Brassey's, 1991), pp. 35-40; and in the 1992-93 edition: pp. 108-11, 152-53.

Radio Eavesdropping: Signals Intelligence

Signals intelligence (SIGINT) satellites detect transmissions from broadcast communications systems such as radios, radars, and other electronic systems, and provide information on the

type and location of even low-power transmitters, including hand-held radios. These satellites cannot, however, intercept communications carried over land lines, such as undersea fiber optic cables, nor can they detect the spoken word. The U.S. operates two arrays of SIGINT satellites, one in geostationary (over one fixed point on earth) and one in elliptical orbit.

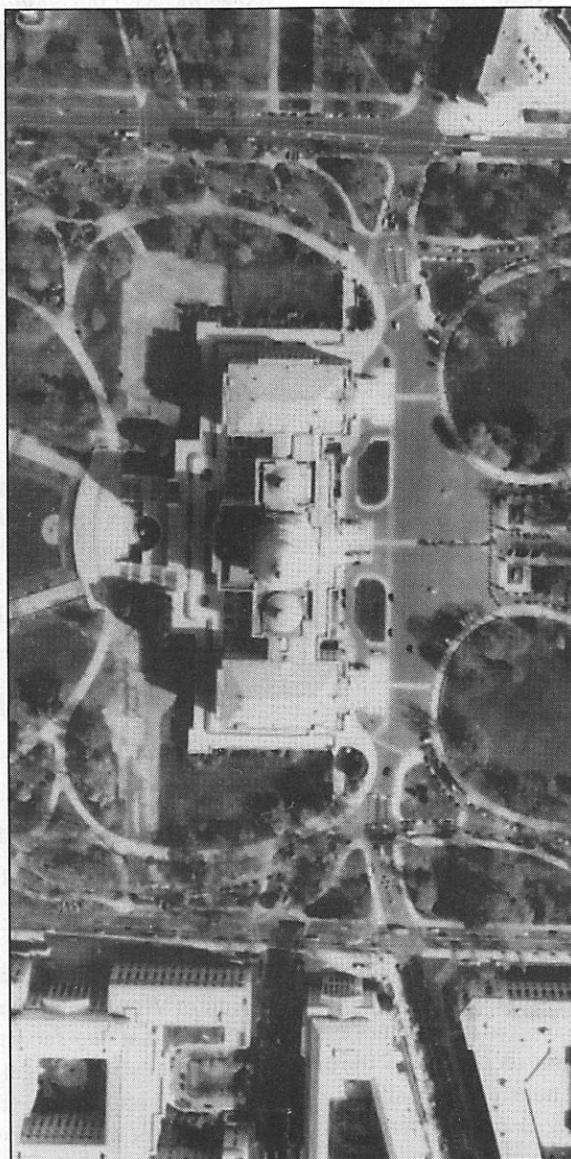
The geostationary SIGINT constellation consists of three or four satellites. They have evolved through four generations, each much larger than its predecessor. Increasing the diameter of the satellite's antenna allows detection of lower power transmissions and increased precision in determining the position of transmitters. Early geostationary satellites boasted receiving antennae over ten meters in diameter. The newest generation of satellites, first launched in 1994, have antennae several hundred meters across.

The first elliptical orbit satellites, which specialized in monitoring the USSR, were launched in the 1970s under the Jumpseat program. In early 1994, the first Advanced Jumpseat was launched on a Titan IV. That this booster can launch satellites roughly four times heavier than earlier Jumpseats, suggests that the new satellite is far larger than its predecessors.

Sophisticated SIGINT satellites monitored radio transmissions

from Soviet missile tests and military command posts. But they can be circumvented. Saddam Hussein frustrated NRO by using fiber optic cables. The ill-fated fall 1993 campaign against Somali Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed pointed up another shortcoming. The elusive Aideed "... rarely relies on radio for communication. When he does confer with his troops, he uses low-power portable devices that are difficult to detect even with the most high-tech equipment."¹²

12. Caleb Baker, "Manhunt for Aideed," *Armed Forces Journal International*, December 1993, p. 18.



Eyeglass International

Shot from a satellite 200 miles up, this photo of the U.S. Capitol has a 1-meter resolution.

Aideed's troops availed themselves of another communications technique that confounded the NRO technophiles:

... Aideed's loyalists used an ancient method to warn their comrades of the Rangers' attack — they beat wooden sticks on drums, only in this case the drums were empty 50-gal. oil drums. Followers of Aideed positioned at the Mogadishu airport began drumming when they saw the Rangers' helicopters take off, and as the message was heard, it was carried through the town by the same means.¹³

SIGINT can also be foiled on the high-tech end of the spectrum. In abolishing the State Department's code-breaking office in 1929, Secretary of State Henry Stimson observed that "gentlemen do not read other gentlemen's mail." Today, this dictum is often literally true. Encryption systems have rendered most vital communications undecipherable, even by NSA's mighty computers.

A 1991 study headed by future Director of Central Intelligence R. James Woolsey reportedly "... proposed eliminating one of the electronic eavesdropping satellites now in orbit"¹⁴ (apparently the Advanced Jumpseat), and directed the consolidation of separate CIA and Air Force SIGINT programs under Air Force supervision.¹⁵ In 1993, Senate Intelligence Committee chair DeConcini agreed, saying that "the extra cost to launch and operate the satellites was not worth the limited benefit as the Soviet threat ebbed. ..."¹⁶ But the program continues because of bureaucratic inertia and outdated national security concerns.

Watching the Waves: Wide-Area Surveillance

A third NRO satellite system, the Naval Ocean Surveillance System (NOSS) performs wide-area ocean surveillance, primarily for the Navy.¹⁷ Each NOSS launch placed a cluster of one primary satellite and three smaller sub-satellites (trailing at distances of several hundred kilometers) into low polar orbit. Using triangulation, these satellite arrays can determine the location of radio and radar transmitters and identify naval units by analyzing operating frequencies and transmission patterns.

The Space Based Wide-Area Surveillance System (SBWASS) is now replacing NOSS. This program, initiated in the early 1980s, tracks ships and aircraft around the world. The Navy was concerned primarily with defending carrier battle groups from long-range Soviet aviation, while the Air Force focused on extending the strategic air defense warning network over the Arctic Ocean.¹⁸ Initially, satellites were

launched by both the Air Force, using a rotating radar antenna, and the Navy, using an infrared sensor.

These satellites were used during the Cold War to monitor the Soviet navy, but today the Russian fleet is rusting at dockside. And the Navy's latest operational concept emphasizes coastal operations which have little need for such open-ocean surveillance systems.

Laying the Groundwork for Reorganization

In mid-1989, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Chair David Boren (D-Okla.) moved to reorganize NRO. His committee concluded that the NRO should be reformed to "facilitate greater communication, cross-system and cross-program fertilization, and common security, support, and administrative practices."¹⁹ In essence, the committee called for NRO to shift its organizational structure from one along agency or service lines to one based on programs. The reorganization would follow the Aldridge Plan, named for the proposals outlined in a November 1988 letter to the committee by then Air Force Secretary Edward C. Aldridge, Jr. The committee directed NRO to begin reorganization by November 1, 1989.²⁰

This reform effort was also the origin of what became this year's NRO Westfields scandal. The committee, following the Aldridge Plan, called for "... the collocation of the CIA,

NRO employs thousands of government and tens of thousands of contract workers scattered across dozens of federal agencies and private corporations.

Air Force, and Navy Program offices in a new facility in Northern Virginia."²¹ Then the senators apparently lost track of the cost of the facility about which NRO maintained a discreet but strictly legal silence.

Despite opposition from the CIA and Defense Department, reform moved forward. Reports surfaced in mid-1989 that the Air Force was in charge of NRO's photographic intelligence bureau.²² And later that year, claims emerged that restructuring was under way, with the CIA assigned responsibility for all satellites under the Imagery Branch, and the Air Force assigned responsibility for all satellites under the SIGINT Branch. The Navy would retain control of Ocean Surveillance.²³ Although these reports were premature, they reflected the options ultimately implemented in 1992.

13. "No Satellites Necessary," *Time*, November 8, 1993, p. 17.

14. Eric Schmitt, "Spy-Satellite Unit Faces a New Life in Daylight," *New York Times*, November 3, 1992, p. A16. Woolsey led a 13-member panel examining ways to "streamline, consolidate, reduce or enhance" NRO satellite programs. The study was completed in August 1991.

15. "Woolsey's Recommendation to Revamp NRO Seen as Factor in Hill Cuts," *Aerospace Daily*, July 20, 1993, p. 103.

16. Vincent Kiernan, "US Senator Rails Against Spy Satellite," *Defense News*, February 8, 1993, pp. 3, 50.

17. Richelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-43.

18. "Drug Wars Turning to Star Wars," *Space News*, October 9, 1989, p. 2.

19. *Senate Supplement to Report No. 101-78*, 1989, abstracted in: Director of Central Intelligence, "NRO Westfields Facility," no date, released at the August 10, 1994, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, NRO Westfields hearing.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. Bill Gertz, "Naval Intelligence Official Picked as Key Cheney Aide," *Washington Times*, July 12, 1989.

23. Neil Munro, "Defense Department, CIA Aim to Reorganize Satellite Intelligence," *Defense News*, November 13, 1989, p. 3.

NRO's Internal Structure



Steve Elfers/Space News

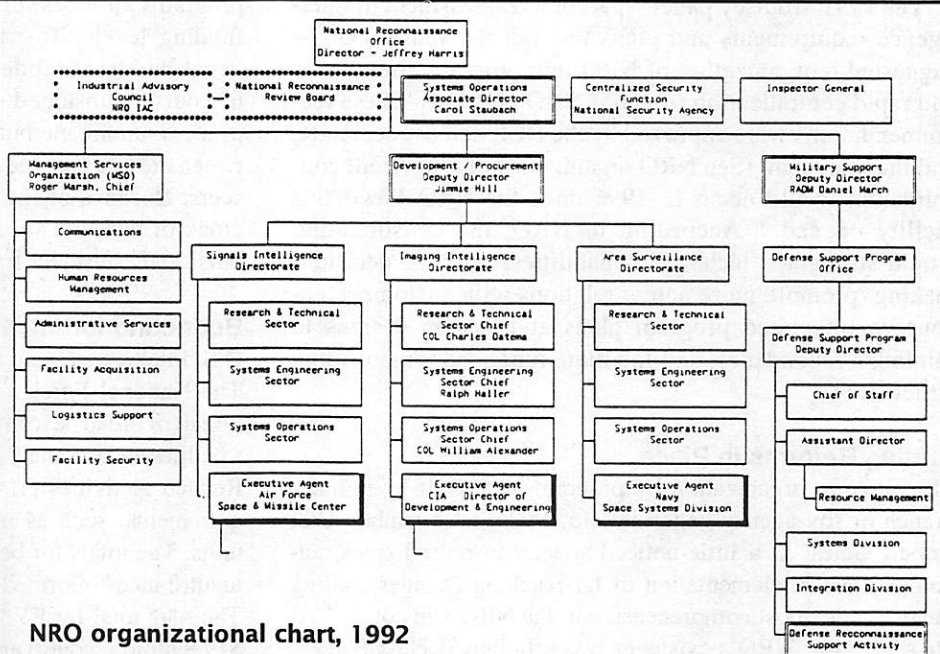
NRO Director, Jeffrey Harris

To support its spying mission, NRO employs thousands of government personnel and tens of thousands of contract workers scattered across dozens of federal agencies and private corporations. Traditional NRO use of other agencies and services as "executive agents" to run its programs mirrored the pattern established by the Advanced Research Projects Agency, and more recently by the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization. In each case, a small central agency staff directed and supervised work conducted by much larger service organizations, which in turn managed relations with the even larger network of contractors.

Since its formation, NRO has operated under cover of the undersecretary of the Air Force and the Office of Space Systems. The latter serves as the organization's staff director. For over a decade, the NRO Deputy Director has been an Air Force civilian, Jimmie D. Hill. The identities of the predecessors of the current NRO Director, Jeffrey Harris, could be readily tracked from the Pentagon phone book by finding Jimmie Hill's boss.¹

NRO was initially organized into four programs, each of which was responsible for systems design and development, coordination with contractors, and operations:²

- **Program A** included all Air Force satellite intelligence programs, which were managed by the Special Projects Office located at the Air Force Space and Missiles System Center at Los Angeles Air Force Base (AFB).



NRO organizational chart, 1992

John Pike



- **Program B** encompassed CIA satellite programs, under the Agency's Deputy Director for Science and Technology and Assistant Deputy Director for Research and Engineering.
- **Program C** was responsible for ocean surveillance satellites. The Naval Space and Warfare Systems Command in Crystal City, Virginia, and the Navy Space Project Office at Los Angeles Air Force Base conducted development activities. Operational control of naval systems lies with the Naval Security Group Command, headquartered in Washington, D.C.
- Prior to 1969, **Program D** covered aerial surveillance programs, such as the U-2 and A-11. These aircraft were subsequently operated by the Air Force Strategic Air Command, until the establishment of Air Combat Command, when control of the remaining U-2s reverted briefly to NRO.³ In late 1993, the Defense Airborne Reconnaissance Office took over these activities.

1. Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community*, op. cit., pp. 27-29.

2. The first public mention of the "three Program Offices" is in *Senate Supplement to Report No. 101-78*, 1989, abstracted in: Director of Central Intelligence, "NRO Westfields Facility," released at the August 10, 1994 NRO Westfields Project Senate Intelligence Committee hearing (hereafter cited as "NRO Westfields hearing"). For Program B, see cover letter from Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and Director of Central Intelligence William Webster, February 26, 1990, NRO, "Report to the Secretary of Defense and Director of Central Intelligence Regarding NRO Restructure," January 8, 1990 [TOP SECRET, declassified and released at the NRO Westfields hearing]. For Programs A and B, see Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Questions for the Record - Fiscal Year 1993 CBJB*, attachment to NRO Director Jeffrey Harris, "Letter to Dennis DeConcini, Chairman Senate Select Committee on Intelligence" [TOP SECRET, declassified and released at the NRO Westfields hearing].

3. "NRO Goes Public to Fight for Budgets," *Military Space*, October 5, 1992, p. 2; and Desmond Ball, *Pine Gap* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989), p. 5.

The 1991 Woolsey panel—part of a reassessment of intelligence requirements and plans through the year 2005²⁴—suggested reorganization of NRO into program directorates and rapid centralization of major NRO elements. These recommendations were approved by the DCI, defense secretary, and the president. (See NRO organization chart.)²⁵ Full consolidation would occur in 1996 once the NRO Westfields facility opened.²⁶ According to NRO, the consolidation would strengthen technical capabilities, improve decision-making, promote more active relations with customers, encourage integrated program plans and system designs to minimize redundancy, and facilitate functional organization structure.²⁷

Putting Reforms in Place

The move to organization by program instead of by military branch or spy agency began in late 1992. In November, DCI Robert Gates, in a little-noticed speech to retired spies, announced the implementation of far-reaching changes, calling them “... the most comprehensive in the NRO’s history.”²⁸ At the same time, NRO’s existence was officially declassified.

The designation of CIA as IMINT manager and Air Force as SIGINT manager was replaced by separate imaging and signals branches staffed by workers from the CIA and the military services. According to then NRO Director Martin Faga, under the new structure, “[w]e will have the CIA and the [Defense Department] people intertwined to carry out the particular functions we need.”²⁹

The NRO’s story is one of competition among the CIA, Air Force, and Navy to control spy satellites. The original structure encouraged interagency rivalry to foster technological innovation. The shift to a functional structure reduces competition in a time of declining resources. Building the Westfields facility is an important step to this end. Thus, the Chantilly saga is more than a story of real estate developers run amok; it illuminates the bureaucratic struggles within the NRO. The post-reform NRO’s continued reliance on other agencies to formulate and execute its programs, however, leaves it poorly situated to control spy satellite development. Instead, bureaucratic and corporate interests, abetted by secrecy, will continue to drive the agenda.

Although the reforms under way will change the way NRO is funded, the old budget structure for intelligence

programs provides sufficient information to determine recent funding levels. To paraphrase Albert Einstein, the intelligence budget is subtle but not perverse. The NRO budget is, of course, subsumed within the overall intelligence budget process, an arcane but not incomprehensible interaction between the intelligence community and its congressional overseers. Because of the exotic technologies involved and the cloak of national security, there is little input from anyone outside these select fraternities.

Budgeting for Intelligence

U.S. intelligence activities are budgeted under two programs. The National Foreign Intelligence Program (NFIP) funds national (or broad peacetime) requirements, including intelligence satellites and the analysis of their data. Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities (TIARA) funds operational (or tactical) requirements, such as intelligence aircraft assigned to combat units. The totals for both of these programs are classified, but unattributed “informed sources” regularly leak budget numbers. The NFIP total for FY 1993 was reportedly \$17 billion, with a \$17.8 billion request anticipated for 1994.³⁰ TIARA accounts for the remaining \$10 billion for 1993, a substantial decline over prior years.

In constant 1995 dollars, the intelligence budget doubled from about \$18 billion in 1980 to a peak of nearly \$35 billion in 1987 (See budget graph, p. 49). Although both NFIP and TIARA grew at equal rates in the early 1980s, the subsequent 20 percent decline has come almost entirely from TIARA and reflects general reductions in military spending. In contrast, NFIP today remains at record Cold War levels.

Given the overlap between NFIP and TIARA, it is not possible to reconstruct completely either of these programs from agency or program line items. But it is clear that three agencies account for the bulk of NFIP: CIA, NSA, and NRO.

National Foreign Intelligence Program

The National Foreign Intelligence Program (NFIP) includes a variety of national-level intelligence programs with budgets approved by the CIA director and submitted to the President and Congress as one consolidated program.³¹ NFIP provides funding for all units of the U.S. intelligence community, as defined in Executive Order 12333, including: the CIA; Department of Defense (DoD); Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA); NSA; NRO; Central Imagery Office; national-level intelligence activities of the Army, Navy and Air Force; State Department; Treasury Department; Energy Department; FBI; and DEA.³²

The DoD portion of the NFIP consists of five programs:

- Consolidated Cryptologic Program. Overseen by the NSA,

24. This broad-ranging review was codified as National Security Review Directive 29, signed by President Bush on November 15, 1991.

25. Martin C. Faga, Director, NRO, “Letter to David Boren, Chairman Senate Select Committee on Intelligence,” October 16, 1992, abstracted in: Director of Central Intelligence, “NRO Westfields Facility,” released at the NRO Westfields hearing.

26. “Excerpts from the FY 1994-1995 Congressional Budget Justification Book, 1993, abstracted in: Director of Central Intelligence, “NRO Westfields Facility,” released at the NRO Westfields hearing.

27. “Briefing Provided to Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Staff Members,” November 10, 1992, abstracted in: Director of Central Intelligence, “NRO Westfields Facility,” released at the NRO Westfields hearing.

28. Robert Gates, “Remarks to the Association of Former Intelligence Officers,” Boston, Mass., November 14, 1992.

29. Vincent Kiernan, “NRO Streamlines to Cut Intelligence Bureaucracy,” *Space News*, December 7, 1992, pp. 1, 29.

30. Douglas Jehl, “Clinton Seeking More Money for Spying, Aides Say,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1993, pp. A1, A16.

31. See Mark Weisenbloom, “Teaching Defense Intelligence Organization,” *Defense Intelligence Journal*, 1992, Vol. 1, pp. 95-104; and Lieutenant Commander Dan Elkins, USN, “The Critical Role of Resource Manager in the US Intelligence Community,” *Defense Intelligence Journal*, 1992, Vol. 1, pp. 205-21.

32. House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, “Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992,” 102nd Congress, 1st Session, Report 102-65, Part 1, May 15, 1991, p. 3.

it funds NSA's cryptologic (SIGINT) and Communications Security (COMSEC) activities, along with the cryptologic components of the Army Intelligence and Security Command, Air Intelligence Agency (AIA), and the Naval Security Group Command.

- General Defense Intelligence Program. Overseen by DIA, it is the broadest Defense NFIP program, and funds all strategic military intelligence activities not specifically covered by other NFIP programs.
- Navy Special Reconnaissance Activities (NRO's Navy component).
- Air Force Special Reconnaissance Activities (NRO's Air Force component).
- Defense Foreign Counterintelligence Program (conducted by various agencies).

The Central Intelligence Agency Program (CIAP) is the primary NFIP program outside Defense, and funds CIA activities.

Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities

In addition to NFIP funding categories, intelligence budgets include a substantial TIARA component. In the mid-1970s, the House Appropriations Committee created a new budget category termed "Intelligence Related Activities (IRA)," to consolidate military intelligence activities outside the NFIP. IRA encompassed a variety of programs devoted to tactical, research and development, and training activities. In 1982, IRA became Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities (TIARA), although TIARA actually includes programs serving both tactical and national requirements.³³

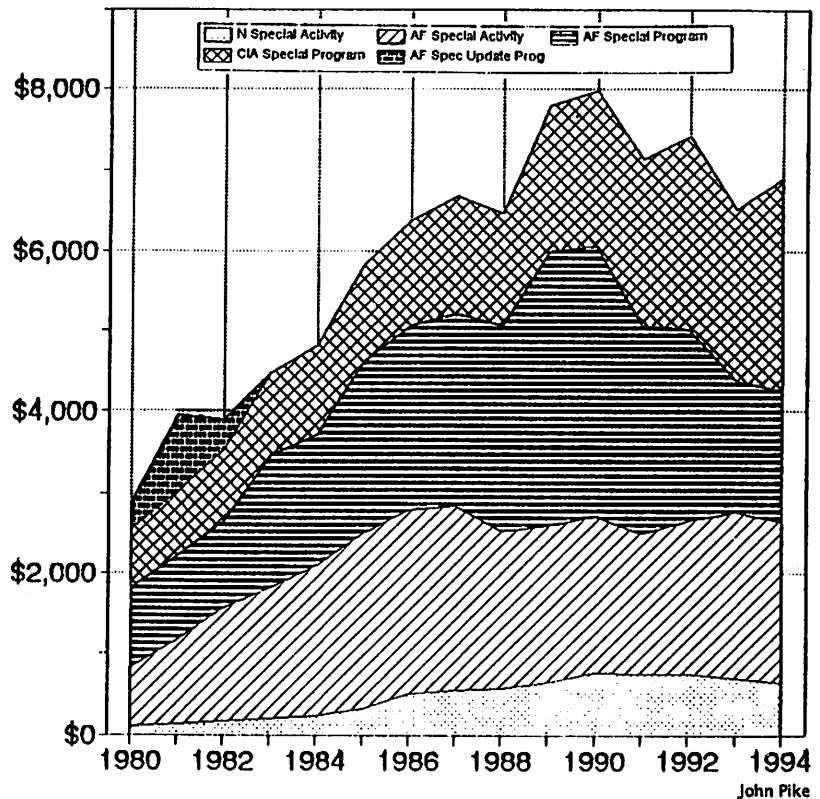
TIARA covers reconnaissance and targeting programs for military operations. It also includes military intelligence activities providing operational support to military commanders, as well as to national command, control, and intelligence requirements. Distinctions between NFIP and TIARA are blurry, with training activities and some types of reconnaissance systems sometimes overlapping.³⁴

The TIARA budget consists of:

- Tactical Intelligence, Reconnaissance, Surveillance and Target Acquisition, which covers most TIARA spending, and brings together the parts of service and defense agency budgets that provide tactical intelligence for military operations. Among items in this budget designation are reconnaissance aircraft and the advanced tactical airborne reconnaissance system. Defense Mapping Agency, Advanced Research Projects Agency, and Ballistic Missile Defense Organization activities also fit here.

33. Alfred B. Prados, "Intelligence Budgets: Contents and Releasability," Congressional Research Service, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, CRS 89-465 F, August 2, 1989; and Elkins, *op. cit.*

34. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, "Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992," 102nd Congress, 1st Session, Report 102-65, Part 1, May 15, 1991, p. 3.



NRO explicit budget line items in constant FY94 dollars, millions.

- Defense Reconnaissance Support Program, which consists of mission-specific programs cutting across service lines to support operational and tactical commanders, such as the Tactical Exploitation of National Capabilities (TENCAP) Program.
- Tactical Cryptologic Program, which provides SIGINT and COMSEC support to operational and tactical commanders.³⁵

Military service intelligence organizations receive funding from both accounts. The Office of Naval Intelligence, for example, has a \$1.8 billion annual budget, of which the Navy provides about \$300 million with the remainder provided by NFIP.³⁶ And programs sometimes move from one part of the intelligence budget to the other, usually out of TIARA into NFIP.³⁷

Unearthing the NRO Budget

Until its recent reorganization along functional lines, the NRO was structured around its three executive agents — Navy, Air Force, and CIA. Thus we can assume that the NRO budget was divided among these three organizations. Given the technical complexity of intelligence satellites, however, the distinction between research, development, test and evaluation (RDT&E) funding and procurement funding is less clear.

Program Element 34111 Special Activities, found in both the Navy and Air Force RDT&E budgets, is displayed in the unclassified *RDT&E Programs R-1* budget document. These

35. See Weisenbloom, *op. cit.*; and Elkins, *op. cit.*

36. "End of Cold War Brings Changes to Navy Intelligence Office," *Inside the Pentagon*, April 15, 1993, p. 12, citing Rear Adm. Edward Shaefer, Director, Office of Naval Intelligence.

37. Prados, *op. cit.*

budget figures are usually deleted from unclassified budget documents, but it is a matter of simple arithmetic to deduce them, since the total for Program 3 (intelligence) is given in the R-1 budget document. The 1991 version of the R-1 displayed budget figures for *all* the normally deleted line items, providing a check on calculations for other years.

It is clear that 34111 Special Activities funds the NRO, since unclassified *Program Element Descriptive Summaries* budget documents state that this budget item funds construction of support facilities for four classified spacecraft at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, the primary NRO launch facility.

Five line items in the Defense Budget account for the NRO budget (p. 55): 1) Program Element 34111N Special Activities Navy funds all aspects of the Navy's ocean surveillance signals intelligence (NOSS) program. 2) Program Element 34111F Special Activities Air Force funds development of other new intelligence satellites. 3) The Special Program line item in Missile Procurement Air Force, displayed in the

Procurement Programs P-1 unclassified budget document, funds production of satellites assigned by NRO to the Air Force. Funding for this procurement line item is publicly reported each year in the unclassified *P-1* budget document. 4) Air Force Special Programs line item funds procurement of SIGINT satellites. 5) CIA Special Programs line item fund procurement of IMINT satellites.³⁸

Forecasting the Future

If the Reagan-Bush decade of excess was good for the national security community, with annual military spending increasing 50 percent to roughly \$350 billion, it was very, very good for the NRO. The organization's spending nearly tripled, from about \$3 billion to over \$8 billion. Similarly, intelligence spending has declined less dramatically than military spending. Today's NRO budget of nearly \$7 billion remains twice the level of 1980, with no further reductions in sight.

In the second half of the Cold War, non-controversial technical collection took precedence over controversial human intelligence and covert operations. But the fall of the USSR has devalued technical collection, leaving the intelligence agencies with four options, all unpalatable.

Least objectionable to NRO is to continue as if little had changed, devoting the bulk of the intelligence budget to high-tech information collection. But for this option to work, NRO would have to continue to cloak its tremendous costs in secrecy. Public scrutiny and the resulting unfavorable cost-benefit analysis would doom NRO's present pre-eminence.

A second alternative is to focus more heavily on "open-source" collection. The global economy is increasingly information-rich, and a broad range of questions can now be answered by turning to commercial databases or simply by turning on CNN. But like a cult priesthood, the intelligence community's claim to a special competence depends on its access to esoteric "secrets." Increased reliance on open-source intelligence would call into question the very need for specialized spy agencies.

Thus, some in the intelligence community will wish to return to the glamorous past of spies and covert operations. But to do so means more bribery and blackmail and bloodier crimes. When such programs are revealed — as they eventually are — the cost for the agencies involved is great, as was the case for the CIA in the mid-1970s.

And last, anathema to the intelligence community but favored by taxpayers who finance these escapades, is to substantially reduce the resources and liberties afforded to these agencies. Certainly, NRO would be a good place to start. •

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38. By extrapolating from the known payload capacities of launcher vehicles used by the NRO, we see that the Air Force and CIA Special Program line items would support the procurement of one of each of the major types of intelligence satellites every year or two during the late 1980s. This fits the production rate to be expected on the basis of anticipated satellite lifetimes and required constellation sizes. These estimates are consistent with then House Intelligence Committee member George Brown's (D-Calif.) observation that the cost of a single "KH-12" was \$2 billion. Cited in *Congressional Record—House*, February 26, 1987, p. H 850.

(*Condor, continued from p. 13*)

"Operation Condor" would be dispatched to carry out the actual sanction against the target. Special teams would be issued false documentation from member countries of "Operation Condor."²⁰

According to a classified 1979 Senate Foreign Relations Committee report, based on CIA files, "Such a 'phase three' operation was planned in 1974 following the assassination of the Bolivian ambassador in Paris, a Chilean official in the Middle East, and an Uruguayan attaché in Paris. Condor thereupon planned an operation aimed at assassinating three well-known European leftists, one of whom was the notorious Carlos [the recently captured Illich Ramírez Sánchez]. The plot was foiled" after the CIA discovered it and "warned the governments of the countries in which the assassinations were likely to occur — France and Portugal — which in turn warned the possible targets." The operation was apparently called off and its existence denied.²¹

But none of this information became public until long after. Although evidence of cross-border cooperation in the kidnapping, torture, and murder of hundreds of people continued to mount, proof of Condor's existence, except that which emerged from the Letelier investigation, was rare.²² In the late 1970s, the Southern Cone was in the depths of the repression, and only a handful of activists and journalists dared confront the military regimes. And, as the dictatorships faltered and eventually fell in the 1980s, the weak civilian regimes that followed passed amnesty laws that mooted serious investigation of this Murder, Inc. International.²³

That some sort of clandestine operation was under way was clear, mainly because of accumulating denunciations from the families of victims. But testimonies vanished into the labyrinths of justice systems unconcerned with human rights. Impunity was the inviolable rule of the day. In the years that followed, it seemed that Condor operations would never face legal scrutiny.

Documenting Operation Condor

The discovery of the Paraguayan archives changed all that. Files uncovered so far provide a documentary outline of the origins, aim, and organization of Operation Condor.

In 1975, at the behest of the Chileans, Southern Cone intelligence services codified the informal cooperation that already existed. The archives contain a letter from DINA's Gen. Contreras to Paraguay's Gen. Guanes Serrano calling

the "National Intelligence First Working Meeting" in what would become Condor. Contreras offered DINA facilities as the headquarters for "the centralization of information on the antecedents of persons, organizations, and other activities connected directly or indirectly with subversion. In general outline, it would be something similar to the Interpol set-up in Paris, but dedicated to subversion," he wrote.²⁴

The meeting called for in Contreras's letter took place at DINA headquarters in Santiago in October 1975. The attendees were the heads of military intelligence from Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. A month later, Contreras hosted Guanes Serrano and Paraguayan Chief of Police Francisco Brites. Together, the men implemented Operation Condor by setting up "a data bank, an information center, and workshops." The innocuous sounding "workshops" were really planning sessions for the multilateral teams of agents charged with surveilling, arresting, jailing, torturing, and "repatriating" opponents of the various regimes.²⁵ One of the most significant documents explaining Condor's method of operation detailed a secret meeting in Asunción in 1978. Hosted by Guanes Serrano and attended by Argentine and Paraguayan officers, the "Second Bilateral Intelligence Meeting" fine-tuned the mechanisms of intelligence and prisoner exchanges.²⁶ Guanes Serrano reported to Stroessner that "[t]he first phase was the exchange of intelligence on enemies [political exiles]. The second phase corresponded to the identification of the target and the third phase to the detention [kidnapping] and transfer of the target to his country of origin."²⁷

Guanes Serrano noted that the prisoner exchanges would take place directly among the intelligence services, with military attachés at the embassies acting as links. Other documents in the archives confirm that the military attachés in the embassies of the countries involved were indeed the conduit through which the intelligence reports traveled.²⁸

In late 1993, searchers found a note dated in Chile in 1978. In this document typical of the day-to-day workings of Condor, "Condor One" warns "Condor Two" to undertake "surveillance on a meeting of Argentine and Paraguayan leftists in the northern state of Salta, Argentina, on the border with Bolivia."²⁹ "Condor One" was none other than Contreras, while "Condor Two" was the code name for Guanes Serrano.³⁰

Other documents request the capture of Chileans, Bolivians, Argentines, Paraguayans, and Brazilians, and report on other Latin American political figures. One of those cases

20. Cable from FBI Special Agent Robert Scherrer, September 28, 1976.

21. Jack Anderson and Michael Binsten, "How the CIA Spared Carlos the Jackal," *Washington Post*, August 22, 1994, p. C12. The same day, the *Post* quoted an unnamed CIA source who claimed a "key CIA contribution to the French success" in capturing Carlos was tracking Carlos across four continents for over 20 years and helping "close the noose by steadily denying Carlos safe havens." (*Ibid.*, *In Brief*, p. 3.)

22. See, for example, U.S. House of Representatives, *Human Rights in Uruguay and Paraguay*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, June 17-August 4, 1976.

23. See Jack Anderson, "'Condor': South American Assassins," *Washington Post*, August 2, 1979, p. D.C. 9

24. Boccia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Paraguayan Archives, Archivador 245, p. 156, Letter from DINA commander Gen. Manuel Contreras to Paraguayan Chief of Staff Gen. Benito Guanes Serrano.

25. Buffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2.

26. Boccia Paz, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Paraguayan Archives, Archivador 1008, p. 1344, Joint Report on the Second Bilateral Intelligence Meeting, from Gen. Guanes Serrano to President Stroessner, June 28, 1978. Guanes Serrano's report on the first bilateral meeting may be found in Archivador 147.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Paraguayan Archives, various unnumbered documents.

29. Paraguayan Archives, unnumbered document.

30. Author's interview with Paraguayan military officer requesting anonymity, Asunción, December 1993.

was the detention in Paraguay of Chilean citizen Jorge Fuentes Alarcón, later handed over by the Paraguayan police to a Chilean officer in May 1978.³¹

One of the most damaging documents includes an entry in a notebook kept by Paraguayan Technical Police chief Antonio Campos Alum. Left behind when Campos Alum fled Paraguay after being accused of having personally tortured prisoners, the notebook lists the names of Argentine, Bolivian, Chilean, and Uruguayan police and military officers who participated in the international repression.³²

Taken as a whole, the Paraguayan archives provide irrefutable documentary proof of the existence of Operation Condor. They may also provide a basis for the prosecution of those who committed crimes, provided that the political will exists.

Birds of a Feather

The Paraguayan archives shed new and revealing light on U.S. involvement with the Southern Cone's repressive agencies, especially — but not only — in Paraguay.

Paraguayans had long accused the U.S. of aiding Stroessner's secret police. U.S. military officers sent under the auspices of the Agency for International Development (USAID) oversaw the formation of the Technical Police. Former prisoners of the regime repeatedly declared that U.S. officials had interrogated them in Paraguay.³³ Based on those reports, Paraguayan historian Aníbal Miranda accuses the U.S. of assisting in the repression of an Argentina-based anti-Stroessner guerrilla movement in 1959.³⁴

Now, proofs and concrete examples of U.S. cooperation with and training of the dictator's secret police have emerged. One folder from the archives contains correspondence between Paraguayan ministers and U.S. Army Col. Robert Thierry. Thierry served as AID (then, the International Cooperation Administration) "public administration adviser" to the interior ministry and supervised the formation of the Technical Police.

One letter from the foreign minister requested that Thierry stay on for another two years to advise the Technical Police.³⁵ A response by Thierry showed the teacher-pupil relationship:

With respect to the leadership of Technical Affairs, you have been sufficiently trained. I am certain that under the direction of Antonio Campos Alum, this small but powerful organization will continue rendering the same highly satisfactory service that it has since its creation. I suggest that you continue conversations with the Director of the

U.S. Operations Mission in Paraguay with the end of establishing some similar Public Safety program.³⁶

Other documents show that the Technical Police continued as the principal link between U.S. intelligence agencies and Paraguay.³⁷ Such cooperation continued through the period of Condor. The FBI's man in the Southern Cone, Buenos Aires-based Special Agent Robert Scherrer, worked regularly and directly with Campos Alum. In 1974, he reported to Campos Alum on a Chicano theater festival held in Mexico and listed the names of all Latin American attendees. As a result, the Paraguayan police directed investigations at the Paraguayan cultural movement.³⁸

In another letter two years later, Scherrer asked Campos Alum for information on one Raúl Valentín Quintana because, he explained, the FBI believed that Quintana was a "Cuban agent."³⁹ Such requests for information had serious consequences for innocent people. "Now we know why various families with the last name Quintana were persecuted and jailed," noted Martín Almada.⁴⁰

The CIA also worked with the Paraguayans. Then Deputy Director Vernon Walters visited the country in early 1976 to meet with Stroessner's chief of staff, Conrado Pappalardo, and other high officials.⁴¹ A few weeks later, Pappalardo would tell U.S. Ambassador George Landau that Walters had approved an abortive effort to obtain false passports for two Chilean DINA agents. Pappalardo said he was acting on direct orders from Stroessner, who in turn was doing a favor for Pinochet. The Chileans, Armando Fernández Larios and Michael Townley, planned to use the false passports to travel to the U.S. on their mission to assassinate Orlando Letelier.⁴²

Another example of CIA cooperation with Paraguay occurred the following year. A warning signed by Guanes Serrano and directed to "friendly nations" describes a Venezuelan named Omar Rossel as a "terrorist." Guanes cites the "CIA (USA)" as his source.⁴³

Even after Condor had struck in Washington and the U.S. had supposedly mobilized both the FBI and the CIA to solve the Letelier-Moffitt murders, FBI Director Clarence Kelley sent a fawning letter bearing the FBI's seal to Campos Alum: " ... On Christmas Eve, I want to speak for all my collaborators and thank you wholeheartedly for the cooperation that you have with such good will lent to the FBI. Desiring for you all the good things that you so amply merit."⁴⁴

31. Paraguayan Archives, unnumbered document. Upon press announcements of the archives' discovery in February 1993, the government of Chilean President Patricio Aylwin asked the government of Paraguay for all its information on Operation Condor, and several Chilean congressmembers traveled to Paraguay to begin investigations that are still under way.

32. Paraguayan Archives, Notebook of "Special Instructions" belonging to Antonio Campos Alum, found in Technical Police Headquarters.

33. Testimonies of former political prisoners to the Movement for Peace, Solidarity, Sovereignty, and Liberty Among Peoples, Buenos Aires, May 29, 1993.

34. Author's interview with Aníbal Miranda, Asunción, December 1993.

35. Paraguayan Archives, Letter from Minister of Foreign Relations Raúl Sapena Pastor to Col. Robert Thierry, September 30, 1957.

36. Paraguayan Archives, letter from Col. Robert Thierry to Interior Minister Edgard Insfran (date illegible).

37. Paraguayan Archives, letters between Antonio Campos Alum and U.S. officials.

38. Paraguayan Archives, Letter from Robert Scherrer to Antonio Campos Alum, 1974 (day and month illegible).

39. Paraguayan Archives, Letter from Robert Scherrer to Antonio Campos Alum, June 1976 (date illegible).

40. Author's interview with Martín Almada, Asunción, February 24, 1993.

41. Branch and Propper, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3, 10-13; and García Lupo, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Walters denied any knowledge of the mission in an August 4, 1976 cable to Ambassador Landau. Taylor and Branch, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

43. Cited in Epstein, *op. cit.*

44. Paraguayan Archives, File marked "Confidential," Letter from Clarence Kelley to Antonio Campos Alum, December 1976.

Condor Rising:

The Strange Case of Eugenio Berrios

An incident in Uruguay suggests that Operation Condor endures. In the beach resort town of Parque del Plata in November 1992, a man broke out of the white bungalow where he was staying and rushed to a neighboring house to plead for help. He said he was a Chilean citizen being held prisoner and he feared for his life.¹

When he went to the local police station, he found an Uruguayan army intelligence officer waiting. The officer had arrived moments earlier, seeking help in locating an unbalanced "Chilean prisoner" who had escaped his custody. Within a few minutes, uniformed army troops arrived. So did the district police chief, a retired army officer, who released the man to the soldiers.

He has not been seen since. An entry in the police log noted that he recanted, claiming to have been under emotional stress. The incident remained hidden until an anonymous communique sent by "unidentified police" was sent to some Uruguayan political figures in May 1993.

The result was a political uproar in both Chile and Uruguay; the man in question was positively identified as fugitive former DINA "mad scientist" Eugenio Berrios. Berrios disappeared from Chile in November 1991, after a Chilean judge ordered him detained to testify in the Orlando Letelier assassination case. Berrios' former commanders in DINA, Gen. Manuel Contreras and Gen. Pedro Espinoza, have now been found guilty in that case. Contreras is considered to have been the moving force behind Operation Condor.

Berrios is best known for producing a customized form of Sarin nerve

gas for use against DINA's enemies in the 1970s. He worked in a lab in the home of Michael Townley, the U.S.-born DINA agent who pleaded guilty to the murders of Letelier and his assistant, Ronni Moffitt. According to testimony in the Chilean case, Berrios was involved in planning the Letelier-Moffitt murders.

"Berrios knows things about Pinochet and Contreras that would be so damaging, it would be better to get him out of the country," said Letelier's sister Fabiola, who is tracking the case.²

Berrios' disappearance, resurfacing, and subsequent new disappearance revealed a familiar clandestine network. Since leaving Chile, Berrios had traveled on four different passports — from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay — and crossed borders without any apparent problems despite an international police alert.

The Argentine foreign ministry has confirmed that Berrios entered that country in late 1992, and Uruguay now says he crossed into its territory in May 1993.³ After the incident at Parque del Plata, Berrios was escorted into Brazil by Uruguayan military intelligence officers.⁴

Berrios' fate is a matter of speculation. The most common explanation is that he is being hidden by intelligence officers still involved in the Condor network. Uruguayan officials doubt that Berrios is dead; instead they believe he is being hidden by Chilean agents abroad. To kill him, they say, would provoke others with knowledge of past human rights abuses to defect to the courts en masse.⁵

"Uruguayan intelligence officials, with the knowledge of senior army officers, definitely helped this man enter Uruguay, stay here for awhile, then exit when things got messy. This is more than an old-boy network. These people still think they're fighting an ideological war that ended years ago," said a high government official requesting anonymity.⁶

Although the Uruguayan government officially has "no position on Chilean or Uruguayan military involvement," Congressman Jaime Trobo told reporters that "there were several Chilean officers" with Berrios while he was in Uruguay.⁷

The Berrios case, besides signaling the possible re-emergence of Operation Condor, also raised fears among the region's democrats about how far their militaries will go to prevent being brought to justice. Generals in Uruguay made it clear to President Lacalle that they would not tolerate an open investigation and blocked his efforts to fire the army commander implicated in the case. In Chile last May, Pinochet — still commander of the army — put army units on alert and posted heavily armed troops around army headquarters to protest "harassment" of the army. •

1. Nathaniel C. Nash, "Spy Network Inflaming Uruguay-Chile Tension," *New York Times*, July 20, 1993, p. A7.

2. Quoted in *ibid.*

3. Malcolm Coad, "Missing Chilean Reawakens Fears of DINA Secret Police: Malcolm Coad in Santiago Uncovers a Deadly Legacy of General Pinochet," *Guardian* (London), June 11, 1993, p. 12.

4. Nash, *op. cit.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Quoted in Coad, *op. cit.*

Recall that Campos Alum is now a fugitive charged with gross violations of human rights — crimes that he committed before, during, and after this time. The FBI, thanks to special agent Scherrer, was aware of Campos Alum's crimes at the time this letter was written.

The fact that the U.S. and Paraguay were allies did not stop Paraguayan military intelligence from spying on U.S. politicians who, in its opinion, interfered in Paraguay's internal affairs. The archives include a report sent to detective chief Pastor Coronel from an informant in Buenos Aires. The informant had attended and reported on a meeting in Buenos Aires between Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and representatives of the National Accord, an umbrella grouping of Paraguayan opposition groups.⁴⁵

The U.S., of course, was also interested in obtaining information about its own perceived foes. A letter from the legal attaché in Buenos Aires, Calvin Clegg, asked for Pastor Coronel's help on a "subversive" organization:

I enclose a classified report, which was sent by the FBI office in New York. The report provides the history and antecedents of the World Peace Council, an organization that serves as a political instrument of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I pray that you examine your archives for any information related to the World Peace Council in your country that is directed against the United States or its citizens.⁴⁶

In a recent interview, opposition Authentic Radical Liberal Party leader Domingo Laino recalled that during one of his many detentions he was interrogated by Campos Alum, who bragged about photos showing him in a U.S. military uniform.⁴⁷ Campos Alum's boasting may have had some basis in fact. The archives include Campos Alum's curriculum vitae, which lists his special training in counterinsurgency at U.S. military bases and attendance at DEA-led drug enforcement sessions.⁴⁸

A folder labeled "Confidential" contained a manual from Fort Gulick (a U.S. military base in the Panama Canal Zone, formerly the site of the School of the Americas) produced for U.S. armed forces training for "interrogators as a reference for field interrogations."⁴⁹ The same folder, in a section

labeled "instruction at the School of the Americas," contains a manual teaching "interrogators" how to keep electric shock victims alive and responsive. The manual recommends dousing the victims' heads and bodies with salt water, and includes a sketch showing how this "treatment" should be carried out.⁵⁰ This folder also contains a letter from then U.S. Ambassador Timothy Towell in which he gave instructions to the Paraguayan police and encloses another interrogation manual.⁵¹

The Paraguayans Press Forward

In May 1993, Professor Almada and other relatives of those killed or "disappeared" in Paraguay sent a letter to President Clinton demanding compensation for the victims of repression in Paraguay. They charge that the Stroessner regime "was advised by U.S. military officers who instructed the principal torturers, and the persecution was inscribed within the war

between the United States and the Soviet Union, which produced a genocide in South America."⁵²

But U.S. Ambassador Jonathan Glassman, replying to the letter, argued that the U.S. had nothing to do with the repression in Paraguay. Months earlier, before the evidence from the arch-

ives began dribbling out, Glassman rejected similar accusations, which he attributed to "terrorist allegations in order to justify attacks on U.S. officials outside the country."⁵³

"Even when he said that," said the relatives, "the U.S. Embassy could never have been ignorant of what was happening in the country, and we have seen documents from officials such as Scherrer who knew of the existence of Operation Condor."⁵⁴

At present, six high Paraguayan police officials and a general are in jail because of the archives.⁵⁵ And Francisco de Vargas, a member of the Paraguayan congress's human rights commission, said he had oral testimonies accusing 12 generals, former Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro, and two former deputies of ordering the murder of four political prisoners in 1976. The victims were killed after being imprisoned for two years.⁵⁶

50. *Ibid.*

51. Cited in Federico Ferber, "Paraguay: Rights Activist's Resolve Breaks Repressive Apparatus," *Inter Press Service*, April 26, 1993.

52. Excerpted from letter delivered to the U.S. Embassy in Asunción by Martín Almada, May 1993.

53. U.S. Embassy press conference, Asunción, February 20, 1993. About the discovery of letters in which U.S. adviser Thierry praised Campos Alum, Glassman elaborated as follows: "It appears that Mr. Thierry was an official of an AID political aid program; [his task was] precisely to professionalize [the security forces] and to prevent those abuses of which Paraguayans have been the object."

54. Author's interview with group of relatives of the "disappeared" in Paraguay, Asunción, May 1993.

55. Epstein, *op. cit.*

56. Cited in Ferber, *op. cit.*

45. Paraguayan Archives, Confidential Report to Gen. Guanes Serrano, date illegible.

46. Paraguayan Archives, Letter with U.S. Embassy letterhead from Calvin Clegg to Pastor Coronel, October 18, 1979.

47. Author's interview with Domingo Laino, Asunción, February 26, 1993.

48. Paraguayan Archives, Curriculum Vitae of Antonio Campos Alum, unnumbered file. The six-page curriculum vitae includes the dates of his studies in U.S. military institutions and the dates of meetings of the World Anti-Communist League, where he represented Paraguay.

49. Paraguayan Archives, "Confidential" Folder, unnumbered.

Meanwhile, progress in Paraguayan trials has been agonizingly slow. In the Inzaurrealde case, none of the foreign officers indicted has bothered to appear. Efforts to win their extradition have so far been fruitless. And members of Inzaurrealde's family have complained in an open letter of numerous obstacles impeding the advance of justice.⁵⁷

Who Will Guard the Guardians?

When AID offered \$40 million to microfilm the archives, Faustino Centuri6n and other deputies of the dissident wing of the Colorado Party publicly declared their disagreement. "We cannot accept that the government of the United States, which trained the police who persecuted those who struggled for democracy, now wants to help in the microfilming," he said.⁵⁸ Despite the protests, AID now advises the Center for Documentation in Paraguay.

Nor was the concern misplaced. When, at the end of 1993, journalists returned to review the archives, files and folders with military themes had been separated out and removed from journalistic scrutiny because the judges considered that

"it was only a police matter." The most important documentary proofs about Operation Condor have begun to be whisked away. Also imperiled are documents containing correspondence between U.S. agencies and the Paraguayan dictatorship.

The Paraguayan Human Rights Commission will continue investigating jointly with kindred organizations in the region. Its leaders say that Washington "must take a responsible step and open its own archives so that it will be possible to reconstruct the tragedy of thousands of victims in Latin America."⁵⁹

Argentine Army Chief of Staff and junta member Gen. Roberto Viola, attempting to wave off questions about the reign of terror in the Southern Cone, said in 1979, "There are the dead, the wounded, the jailed, and those who are absent forever. Don't ask for explanations where there are none."⁶⁰ Viola was wrong — there are explanations, there are persons who are culpable, and, thanks to the "Horror Archives," some of them are being brought to at least partial justice. •

57. Letter signed by William and Alberto Inzaurrealde, Montevideo, April 5, 1994.

58. Cited in Stella Calloni, "Estados Unidos busca ocultar que fue complice de Stroessner," *La Jornada* (Mexico City), February 23, 1993, p. 49.

59. Author's interview with relatives of the "disappeared," Asunci6n, May 1993.

60. Juan de Onis, "Rights Inquiry in Argentina Finds Evidence of Violations and Reform," *New York Times*, September 17, 1979, p. A4.

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company's corporate medical director, Fred Groves, was a company doctor for 17 years before he became a Monfort executive. Workers say he consistently downplayed the seriousness of injuries, especially those related to repetitive motion. Most of the company's worker compensation claims are handled by Dr. Richard Steig, who is married to Lucille Gallagher, Monfort's risk management director.

The company is able to buy the loyalty of executive-level employees, and reap benefit from government experience. The company's lawyer in its dispute with OSHA, Robert Moran, is a former head of OSHA's review commission. In December 1992, in a last-ditch effort to pack OSHA's national advisory committee after Bush lost the election, his secretary of labor, Lynn Martin, named Monfort attorney Kay Norton as an employer-representative. The Clinton administration removed her in March 1993 after Colorado citizens organized a protest. The director for environmental protection from the county health department in Greeley, Wes Potter, repeatedly negotiated reduction of fines for Monfort. He was given a lucrative position heading up environmental operations for the company.

The government has also helped on the international level. In recent decades, while many U.S. consumers rejected red meat as the central ingredient in their diets, the beef industry sought government assistance in opening up markets. Industry giants also began to invest more in advertising; they diversified products and sought wider control over natural resources, labor, and industrial processes.

In 1993, Monfort allies in the U.S. government helped ConAgra win a huge contract to provide beef for U.S. troops in Europe, where U.S. beef imports have been banned by the European Common Market because of unsanitary production methods. Colorado's Senator Hank Brown (R), a former Monfort vice president in charge of development, has sat on numerous agriculture-related committees. At a time when the meat industry is under scrutiny for price-fixing and other unfair and deceptive practices, Brown sits on the powerful Judiciary Committee charged with enforcement of antitrust legislation. Another friend of Monfort, Republican Rep. Wayne Allard is on the Agriculture Committee and has seats on subcommittees charged with overseeing and regulating the livestock industry, as well as one dealing with antitrust cases.²²

Both Allard and Brown were active in promoting NAFTA, which Brown declared "the best thing for the United States

since the Louisiana Purchase."²³ Charlie Monfort (one of Ken's sons), who is in charge of international sales at ConAgra's Red Meat division, spoke for the company: "I think we are headed toward a world marketing system ... where everything will be bought and sold on a world basis."²⁴

On the list of commodities "bought and sold on a world basis" are the corporation's workers, who are constantly reminded that if they make too many demands, the plant could close down. Nevertheless, the company solicits their political support. A letter attached to ConAgra workers' paychecks in October 1993 told them NAFTA would not threaten their jobs because "American workers are six to seven per-

cent more productive than Mexican workers."

A Monfort employee, active in efforts to unionize the workforce, wrote the *Greeley Tribune* about this letter, saying it was "a slap in the face to the 85 to 90 percent Hispanic Monfort workers."²⁵

In its drive for "global

sourcing" of labor, markets, and natural resources unfettered by unions and government regulations, the red meat industry is encouraged by many elected officials. The strategy, they say, helps make the U.S. competitive in the world economy. ConAgra received government help in opening up businesses in the former Soviet Republics and Eastern Europe. With government assistance, it is establishing operations in Mexico, Canada, Chile, France, and Thailand, and is reportedly seeking trade agreements with South Korea, Hong Kong, China, and Vietnam. By buying into Australian firms, ConAgra has taken over a large share of that country's overseas markets, especially in Japan, where the U.S. has already negotiated a lowering of tariffs.

The global implications are potentially serious. In the developing world, dependency on imported food can threaten food security and ultimately contribute to internal and external wars. However beneficial the close association between business and government may appear to those who are determined to come out "on top," the international competitiveness of giant companies does not portend peace, prosperity, and political freedom for the people of the United States, much less of the world. Only with countervailing political struggle across state and national boundaries can men and women hope to challenge the institutions that threaten both their lives and their livelihood. Small towns and rural communities have as crucial a role to play as larger cities in creating a political framework for meaningful change. •

On the list of commodities "bought and sold on a world basis" are the corporation's workers, who are constantly reminded that if they make too many demands, the plant could close down.

22. Examination of Federal Election Commission records reveals that between January 1991 and July 1994, Wayne Allard got over \$20,000 in campaign support from Ken Monfort and five family members, the ConAgra Good Government Association PAC, Beef-PAC, Pork-PAC, the National Cattlemen's Association, the American Meat Institute, the Livestock Marketing Association, the National Pork Producers Council, etc. On September 14, 1992, the Hank Brown for U.S. Senate Committee even kicked in \$1,000 for Allard's second election campaign.

23. Bill Jackson, "Trade Pact a Big Plus for U.S.," *Greeley Tribune*, October 21, 1992.

24. Bill Jackson, "Monfort + Soviets = Trade," *Greeley Tribune*, September 29, 1991.

25. Walter Braden, "Here's Another Look at the Monfort-Company Town Idea," *Greeley Tribune*, February 6, 1994.

Letter to the Editor

Glen Ellen, Calif.

Much more needs to be said about the research and methodology of the Ward Churchill article "The FBI Targets Judi Bari" (Number 47, Winter 1993-94). It is outrageous that he failed to employ any fair standard of investigative reporting, fact checking, or research. It is full of inaccuracies, innuendo, and outright lies. I feel that I have been seriously slandered and ask you to set the record straight.

At no time did Churchill contact me while researching this article to offer some journalistic balance. Since the article appeared he has declined to communicate with me in spite of several attempts to reach him by phone or mail. Although he uses extensive footnotes, many are simply inaccurate. In footnote 40, he writes that according to Earth First! activist Pam Davis, Sutley "just sort of materialized on the scene." Pam Davis was never contacted by Churchill and denies making this statement. From whom did Churchill get this statement and why did he put it in Davis' mouth?

Simple fact checking would reveal that I did not "just sort of materialize on the scene." I have been an outfront activist since the mid-sixties, organizing the first anti-draft demonstration in Sonoma County during the Vietnam War. I have been an active member of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) on a statewide level since its beginning.

Churchill states, "Suspensions quickly centered on a rather mysterious peace activist named Irv Sutley who had ensconced himself in the Santa Rosa Peace and Justice Center about a year and a half earlier." This is ludicrous due to my long and visible involvement as a local activist. These "suspensions" were/are in Judi Bari's mind only and it is apparent that Churchill did no research on my political background. The headline "Irv Sutley, Unsubtle Provocateur" is untrue and again Churchill does not back it up with facts or proof. I am not now, never have been, and never will be an FBI informer or provocateur.

Churchill writes that I "staged" the gag photo of Bari and my Uzi. The truth is that Bari, Pam Davis, Darryl Cherney and myself "staged" this photo as a potential cover picture for an album Darryl and Judi were working on called "They sure don't make hippies like they used to." This was done months before the bombing and as Bari herself admitted, it was "one of the stupider things I've done in my life ... it was just a big joke." Why didn't Churchill check this out with any number of people who remember this incident as a shared responsibility?

Without any proof Churchill connects me to a typewriter that was used for an anonymous and unsolicited "informant report" sent to Ukiah Police Chief Fred Keplinger on January 6, 1990. I did not send this report and it is still uncertain if the typewriter found at the Peace and Justice Center is the source of this letter. Where is the laboratory analysis or forensic evidence to back this up and if it exists why was it not cited? Also the typewriters at the PJC are available to many people, another fact that could have been easily disclosed with even a minimum of research.

Churchill states that I have "no known means of support," another statement that could have been easily refuted with a minimum of fact checking. I have been on disability for about five years with multiple orthopedic injuries from years as a warehouseman and worker, one of the reasons that my activism has centered over the years on workers' issues.

Footnote 41 has Churchill asserting that I show no evidence of physical impairment and that I have declined to answer inquiries as to the nature of my infirmities. This is simply a lie as I have never so declined and there exists a long medical history since June 8, 1974 leading to my disability. My medical files are available, as are my surgical scars to anyone willing to do responsible research.

He further states that I "quickly left the area and moved to the home of Dr. James Gordon, a wealthy Oakland Republican." This person, as described, simply does not exist and when I moved from Santa Rosa I went to live in an old cabin in Glen Ellen, still in Sonoma county. Where did Churchill get this "fact" and why did he fail to check it out?

He also states that I have "a long history of political sabotage and intimidation of other activists" (who? where? when?) and that I "mailed signed and unsigned threats harassing Gene Pepi, a political rival and informed on Pepi to the police ... assaulted and beat two other Peace and Freedom Party members, and was arrested for one of these assaults in 1975." Again these are slanderous distortions of a long and complicated struggle that I (as well as others in P&F circles) had with Mr. Pepi. Lack of space here prevents me from a full explanation of this struggle but I gladly offer it to anyone willing to research its background and

again strongly take issue with Churchill's use of speculation and innuendo as fact. For the record, Churchill's reference to Pepi as merely a political rival of mine trivializes and demeans an important political story and the history of the Peace and Freedom Party and is yet another example that he did not bother to do the research to establish the facts.

I ask the editors at *CovertAction Quarterly* to print this letter in the interest of fairness and in order to correct the lies and distortions put out there by Mr. Churchill's unresearched and unprincipled article. I'd be happy to take up any remaining questions with your editorial staff. Your readers are entitled to know that my first response was heavily edited when it appeared in *CovertAction*, Number 48, Summer 1994 and the parts that were eliminated showed motivation as to why Ms. Bari made these unproven and unfounded allegations against me in the first place.

Once again I ask you to assign a reputable journalist to this very complicated story that is far from resolution. Local activists who have taken issue with Judi Bari's accusations about me and others have been subsequently targeted and this has been damaging to the solidarity and effectiveness of the movement. It is ironic that a journal that exists to expose covert actions has unwittingly been used to perpetuate them.

Irv Sutley

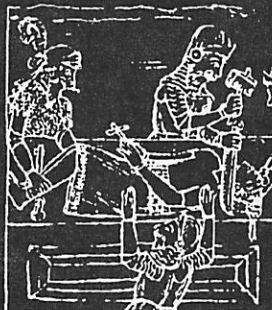
Churchill and CAQ reply.

Ward Churchill replies that he stands by the article as published. Our readers should know, however, that photo captions and subheads were composed by CAQ.

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Off the Shelf: CAQ's Books of Interest

Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America, James William Gibson (New York: Hill & Wang, endnotes, index, 357 pp., \$23.00 hb).

Author of the justly acclaimed *The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam*, Gibson now turns his sights on what he argues is an important and ugly consequence of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam: the development of a reactionary war culture, especially among white males.

This eloquent and broad-ranging work analyzes both the media representations of "paramilitary culture"—Rambo, gun magazines, Matt Bolan's "Executioner" series, etc.—and its disturbing real world manifestations, such as the gung-ho, macho militarism of the Reagan and Bush administrations; the rise of paramilitary organizations like the Aryan Nations; and the quintessentially American phenomenon of the mass murderer. Gibson visits a *Soldier of Fortune* convention, plays pseudo-combat games with enthusiasts, and undergoes combat pistol training at Gunsite Ranch as part of his investigations.

Warrior Dreams is engrossing and chilling. Gibson takes a hard look at the contemporary American male and links the trauma of "losing" Vietnam to the perceived threats of feminism and multiculturalism. This witch's brew of insecurities makes paramilitary culture an attractive option for some, but it is a decidedly defensive and reactionary—not to mention dangerous—response to a rapidly changing world.

The Massacre at El Mozote, Mark Danner (New York: Vintage, 1993, photos, endnotes, appendices, 304 pp., \$12.00 pb).

On December 9, 1981, the Salvadoran army's U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion swept into the village of El Mozote in rebel-controlled Morazán province. By the time they left the next day, nearly 800 villagers were dead. The massacre took place at a critical moment in the U.S. debate on El Salvador, just weeks before the Reagan administration was to certify that the Salvadoran government was making substantial progress on human rights. The State Department and Reagan administration officials denied reports of the massacre, and the junta was duly certified.

When Danner, a staff writer at the *New Yorker*, went to El Salvador in 1992, he visited El Mozote and talked to the few survivors. He also reviewed U.S. and Salvadoran reports on the incident, and interviewed soldiers and U.S.

Embassy employees. From the Atlacatl barracks to the State Department, the prevarications, insinuations, and just plain lies hemorrhaged. The flaw in Danner's work is that he refuses to assign blame for the failure of the U.S. to find any evidence of the massacre. Even so, Danner has produced a gripping and useful account of El Mozote.

Policing South Africa: The SAP and the Transition from Apartheid, Gavin Cawthra (London: Zed Press, 1993, endnotes, bibliography, index, 226 pp., \$19.95 pb); **Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa**, Gerhard Maré (London: Zed, 1993, bibliography, index, 126 pp., \$17.50 pb).

Nelson Mandela may wear the presidential sash now, but the South African police (SAP) are largely holdovers from the apartheid era. A crucial task for the new South Africa is to transform the SAP (and the rest of the repressive apparatus) from defenders of white privilege to servants of the new order.

South African writer and scholar Gavin Cawthra details the formation, strategies, and politics of the SAP. His research provides the necessary background for understanding the intricacies and dangers of the transitional period now under way and the pitfalls on the path to a new, more responsive police force.

Gawthra examines the SAP's "total onslaught" strategy of the mid-1980s, as well as explaining the permutations this strategy underwent as apartheid's end became visible. Gawthra documents the SAP's role in fomenting violence and removes any doubts about the identity of the "third force" that wreaked havoc on the country as apartheid crumbled.

Gawthra is most compelling, however, in his prescriptions for a new role for the SAP. His ideas on transforming the police should be required reading wherever democratic regimes replace dictatorships.

Professor Maré addresses an equally bedeviling issue confronting the Mandela government: Buthelezi, Inkatha, and the "Zulu nation." Roughly half this slim work is a theoretical discussion of ethnicity—of limited interest except to scholars—but when Maré applies theory to the politics of Zulu nationalism, he is much more interesting. His description of the use of Zulu ethnicity as a means of political mobilization and control is sharp and succinct. He illuminates the methods by which Buthelezi and his cohorts seek to strengthen their political power by appeals to Zulu nationalism, and outlines the dangers such a politicized ethnicity pose for multiracial South Africa.

CovertAction welcomes readers' suggestions.

A Rage to Punish: The Unintended Consequences of Mandatory Sentencing, Lois G. Forer (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994, endnotes, index, 204 pp., \$23.00 hb).

Forer, a long-time criminal court judge in Philadelphia, joined a growing number of state and federal judges who have resigned from the bench in protest of mandatory sentencing laws. All those politicians eager to impose ever harsher punishments should be held without bond until they read her meditation on the purposes and consequences of sentencing policy.

Arguing that the goal of the criminal justice system should be to protect society rather than "punish the sinner," Forer draws from criminological studies and her own experience to show that, for most crimes and most offenders (even some violent ones), imprisonment is unnecessary and counterproductive. Instead, she argues, probation, restitution, education, and treatment are far more efficient means of protecting society *and* enhancing human dignity.

Forer convincingly deflects hardliners' cries of "softness," noting that the primary result of two decades of harsh legislation is not a reduction in crime rates but only a huge increase in the number of prisoners—most of whom are poor, young, and people of color.

Burmese Looking Glass: A Human Rights Adventure and a Jungle Revolution, Edith T. Mirante (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1993, glossaries, 334 pp., \$12.00 pb).

Published as part of *Atlantic Monthly's* "Atlantic Traveler" series, Mirante's work has no scholarly pretensions and for the most part gets along quite well without them. She breezily relates her adventures in Burma's lawless border zones, replete with remote hill tribes, opium-smuggling warlords, venal bureaucrats, and fractious rebel armies.

Mirante first crossed into Burma illegally in 1983 and repeated the journey several times. As she came to understand the region, she changed from bohemian adventurer to human rights crusader and founder of Project Maje, an independent group monitoring rights abuses in Burma.

Mirante writes vividly of her travels and contributes to both the literature of adventure and our knowledge of conditions in Burma. Her occasional naiveté, condescension, and exoticism can be forgiven in light of the pleasure and information she delivers.

The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society, David Lyon (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, endnotes, bibliography, index, 270 pp., \$15.95 pb); ***Cyberia: Life in the Trenches of Hyperspace***, Douglas Rushkoff (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1994, endnotes, bibliography, index, 250 pp., \$22.00 hb); ***Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberspace***, Mark Dery, ed. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1993, 301 pp., \$14.00 pb).

Where technological innovation meets cultural response is the common point of departure for these three wildly different books. Only Lyons' *Electronic Eye* deals explicitly with the intrusive power of information technology, and he does so with a wealth of detail. From the jobsite and the home, to consumer and political activities, he explores the advance and impact of surveillance technologies. He notes the rapid expansion of electronic surveillance into previously private spheres of life and explains how our "data images"—the totality of computerized personal information—are becoming key determinants of our life chances.

No doomsayer, Lyons also shows how electronic surveillance has guaranteed certain rights and privileges. Indeed, he argues that the rise of complex modern societies and the rights of citizens within them were made possible by early forms of surveillance, *i.e.*, records of births and deaths, voters' registers, social security cards, etc. The question Lyons poses but does not answer is whether, as a result of technological innovation, surveillance is now qualitatively different from earlier eras.

While Lyons' material on the nature and extent of electronic surveillance is most useful, one must slog through pages and pages of sociological theorizing likely to be of

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(see next page)

Justice is the Best Revenge

Rushkoff has been among the believers, and he has the grace to let them speak for themselves. What they show us is a confounding mixture of New Edge technological

Nonetheless, there are some provocative essays in this volume. Vivian Sobchack's "New Age Mutant Ninja Hackers: Reading *Mondo 2000*" offers a withering critique of the privileged, apolitical mindset of cyberculture's leading journal, while Manuel De Landa's "Virtual Environments and the Emergence of Artificial Reason" paints a disturbing portrait of possible military and intelligence applications of information research. •

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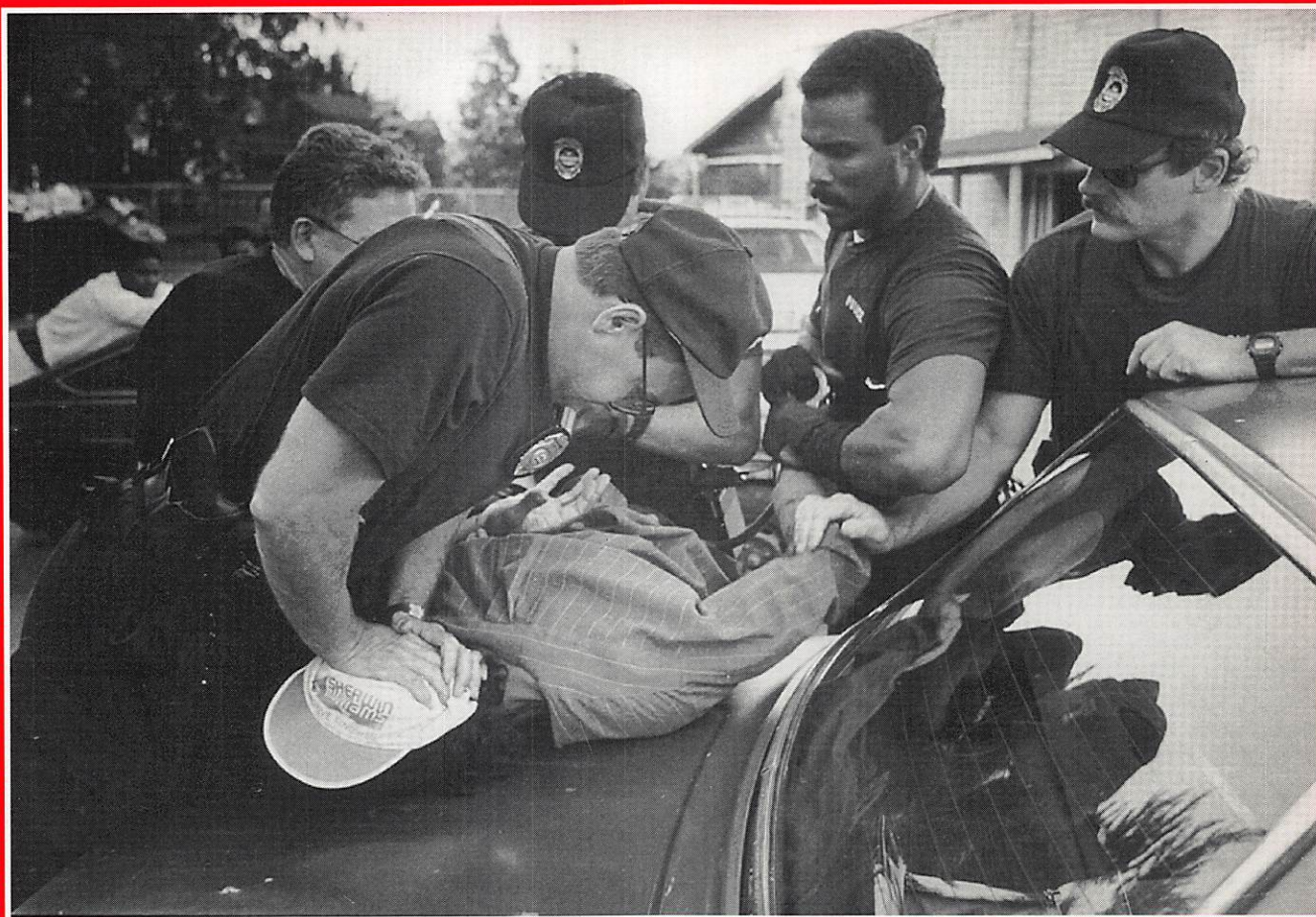
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