

CovertAction Quarterly

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Mumia Abu-Jamal *and the Media*

NATO Bombing
and "Greater
Albania"

Tupac's
Takedown

Labor's Secret
History



Dear CovertAction:

I have to question Diana Johnstone's refusal to express the reason why the Bosnian Muslim negotiators were so reluctant to make peace. Why did she avoid mentioning the fact that hundreds of thousands of the people they represented had lost their homes, been terrorized and brutally driven out in the Serb ethnic cleansing? That's a lot of political pressure to deal with. With that background, added to the slow build up of a Bosnian Muslim military force that could hold its own with the Bosnian Serbs, how could anyone not expect some reluctance? None of these people are angels, but the Muslims are the prime victims of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they were bound to be difficult about making peace which gave away so many people's homes (effectively).

At this point, Johnstone moves over the line from objectivity to being pro-Serb. Her treatment of Milosevic is also remarkably bland. "Not a dictator"? And yet all dissent is crushed and critical publications are banned. Anyone who speaks up gets beaten up. Bizarre propaganda filled with outright lies and hate speech goes out on Serb TV night after night. These are the acts of dictatorship.

It's great to read an alternative view of Balkan events, but please, *CovertAction Quarterly*, let's not descend into pro-Serb, anti-Turkish polemic. Go down that road and next you'll be telling us that the Albanians are in flight because of their fear of NATO bombing and that Serb paramilitaries in Kosovo are there to oversee an orderly evacuation of the population. K.M., (e-mail)

Diana Johnstone replies:

Probably the principal "reason why the Bosnian Muslim negotiators were so reluctant to make peace" is the fact that they had been encouraged by the U.S. government from the eve of the war to hold out for more than they could get by negotiations.

In early 1992, the European Union brokered a deal in Lisbon to prevent the civil war that was about to break out in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the question of independence from Yugoslavia. The deal would have granted substantial local self-government to each of the three ethnic communities within an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. The EU deal was signed by leaders of the three rival ethnic communities, the Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The former U.S. Ambassador

to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman, thereupon visited the Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and told him he could get a better deal with U.S. support. Izetbegovic then withdrew his signature and war broke out.

After nearly four years of suffering and devastation, the Dayton deal was not much different from Lisbon. No wonder Izetbegovic and his negotiators felt cheated. But the U.S. had profited in at least two ways: the EU and the U.N. had been discredited as peacemakers, leaving the United States and NATO as the only arbiters; and the U.S. had presented itself to the oil-rich Muslim world as a friend and protector of Islam, despite its support for Israel.

As to the other comments, I may observe that "Bizarre propaganda filled with outright lies and hate speech" goes out on American TV night after night, and that for years, U.S. editorialists, columnists, and cartoonists have employed outright lies and hate speech to prepare public opinion to applaud the total destruction of Serbia and the Serbs. A feature of this propaganda is to reduce Serbia to Milosevic, presented as a racist dictator like Hitler, and to claim that "all dissent is crushed, critical publications are banned, anyone who speaks up gets beaten up." Since U.S. viewers generally rely solely on U.S. media, they have no way of judging what is true and what is false. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, viewers for years have been able to compare what they hear on their three public and five or six private TV channels with what is presented by such foreign channels as CNN and BBC. Moreover, until NATO launched all-out war against Yugoslavia, anti-government publications were easy to find on newsstands all over Serbia, including Albanian separatist newspapers in the Albanian language in Kosovo. People were constantly criticizing Milosevic in the press, in private, and at public meetings. This is simply the truth, and those who know the truth have a duty to speak out, before all traces of the reality of a small European country have been destroyed by NATO.

Dear CovertAction:

The article, "Algeria: Theocracy by Terror?" was excellent. A 100% improvement on the previous article by Farhan Haq. What a difference between the typical explanation of "bad fundamentalists vs. bad government" and the interviews with PADS activists and Rahim Talbi.

The violence in Algeria is a fight

over which social groups will control the resources and decide the economic and political future of a nation still emerging from colonial subjugation. There are always scallywags willing to sell out homeland and fellow citizen to the highest bidder so long as they (the sellers) get a juicy cut of the action. That is what *comprador* means.

Sadly, you followed that very thoughtful meditation on the political uses of Islamic fundamentalism with Khalid Amayreh's gratuitous attack on Arafat. Why does Amayreh attack Arafat? Because the Palestinian Authority is jailing the religious fanatics Ray and Foerstel just exposed in Algeria as powerful local collaborators in an imperialist destabilization campaign against the people of Algeria!

Doesn't everyone agree that Hamas was created by Mossad? Doesn't it continue to receive funding from those groups least interested in justice for the Palestinian people? Didn't the recent congress of Communist parties pass a resolution condemning Islamic fundamentalism as a form of fascism? Is Arafat supposed to battle Mossad, the Israeli army of occupation, the CIA, and Hamas all at once? Give me a break!

Whether it's in Afghanistan, Iran, Sudan, Turkey, Indonesia, or the West Bank, Islamic fundamentalism is a devious, dirty, cutthroat-vicious enemy of working people, most especially if they happen to be female.

Just when I think you folks are going to truly expose the role of reactionary religious movements in the multi-cultural arsenal of post-modern imperialism, you do another belly-flop! J.G., New York

Khalid Amayreh replies:

The comments on my article "Protecting Friends: The PA Clamps Down (Again) on the Press" (*CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 66, p. 49) suggested that J.G. knows very little about what is going on in Palestine, particularly since the signing of the Oslo Accords five years ago.

To begin with, Arafat is not only jailing "religious fanatics" opposed to the sell-out of Palestinian rights under the rubric of the peace process; he is actually imprisoning (and torturing) all Palestinians who dare criticize his mafia-like regime, usually without charge or trial, and for prolonged periods of time. In this respect, Arafat's police state (without a state) resembles very

(continued on page 75)

CovertAction Quarterly, Issue Number 67, Spring-Summer 1999: Chris Agee, Phil Agee, Jr., William Blum, Mark Cook, Anne Gallivan, Bill Montross, James Murphy, Dolores Neuman, Ellen Ray, William Schaap, Michele Stoddard, Louis Wolf. Cover pages designed by Michael John Carley. Front cover: portrait of Mumia Abu-Jamal; copyright © by Nolen Edmonston; courtesy of MOVE. Back cover: top: passenger train hit by NATO bomb south of Belgrade (AP/Wide World/Photos); bottom left: ethnic Albanian weeps after family members killed by NATO bombing of refugee convoy, Meja, Kosovo; bottom right: corpses lie near trailer hit by NATO bombs, Bestrazin, Kosovo (both Reuters/Goran Tomasevic Archive). More than 95 civilians were killed in the two attacks.

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

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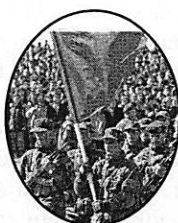
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NATO "ARMED FORCE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION"

"The question is whether the Balkans can be civilized, that is to say Europeanized," wrote Ismail Kadaré in *Le Monde* April 10, as NATO bombed Belgrade. "The very meaning of the war which the Atlantic alliance, the armed force of western civilization, is now leading is linked precisely to this question."

The theme of NATO as a force for democracy and human rights, even a force to "civilize" the populations of Eastern Europe, was a constant refrain building up to NATO's 50th anniversary ceremony in Washington in late April.

For years, "Western" has been used as an Orwellian euphemism for rich capitalist states, having nothing to do with geography (Japan is a member, Cuba and other "Third World" countries are not).

In keeping with Orwell, it is also used to convey a subliminal feeling of openness and sunlight. It was used by the British and French imperialists in the 19th century to justify their conquests east of Suez, where societies were depicted as closed, rulers as despotic, and religious services as dark, smoky and obscurantist.

Phrases like "western values and institutions" are constantly used in the media for NATO, and it is very clear which "western values and institutions" are meant.

Included are the Magna Carta, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the American Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, the British House of Commons, the New England town meeting.

Excluded are the Spanish Inquisition, the worldwide system of slavery, the genocidal campaigns against indigenous populations, the Opium War, the Ku Klux Klan, fascism, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the War in Vietnam, the School of the Americas.

The monopoly of the mass media is so absolute that this ludicrously one-sided depiction of "western" history, values and institutions can be presented with the certainty that everyone will understand the coded language and virtually no one will question it.

There is the same one-sided depiction of "non-western" areas of the world, only in reverse.

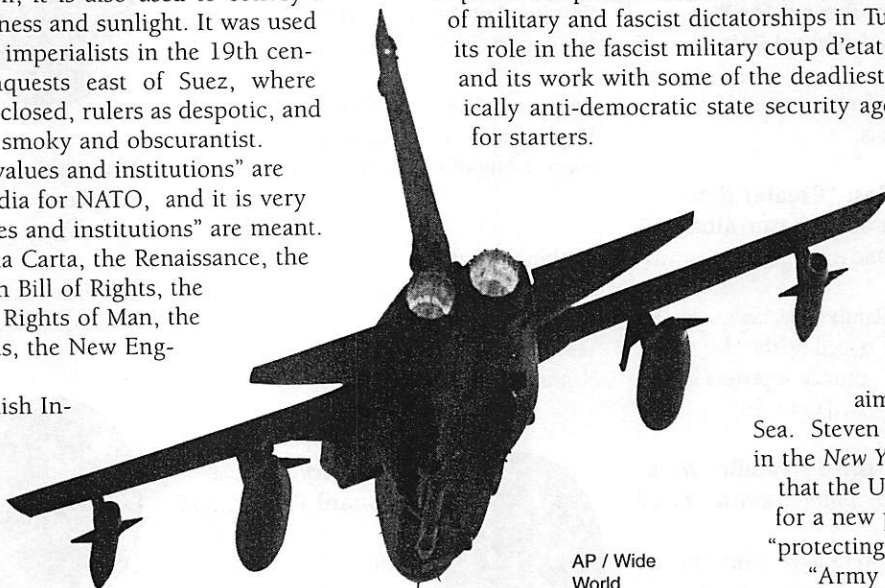
"The Balkans produce more history than they consume," *Le Monde* quotes Churchill as saying, with the obvious suggestion that much of the export-quality excess production of history is sent abroad, causing uninvited catastrophes in those lands as well. The Balkans are the source of both World Wars, declares Clinton, echoing the same line in a statement widely ridiculed for its brazen display of historical ignorance.

In fact, from the Crusades to the IMF, the Balkans are the lands that have been importing murderous insanity, from the West. It was Germany, Austria, and Italy that invaded Yugo-

slavia in World War II entirely without provocation, carved it up, and parceled it out among their fascist cohorts. SS head Heinrich Himmler then cut the infamous "river of blood" between ethnic communities, the better to divide and rule. The Croatian Ustashe, created by the Nazis, carried out a mass murder campaign against Serbians. After the war, the CIA brought many of the worst Ustashe war criminals to the United States.

NATO's arming of the "Kosovo Liberation Army" (UCK or KLA) appears to copy U.S. imperial recruitment of local armies in Laos, Central America, and Afghanistan. It more closely resembles Himmler's effort and is a continuation of NATO's decade-long policy of dividing and subdividing Yugoslavia.

NATO's effort to pose as champion of "human rights," has required a superhuman effort to air-brush out its sponsorship of military and fascist dictatorships in Turkey and Portugal, its role in the fascist military coup d'état in Greece in 1967, and its work with some of the deadliest and most emphatically anti-democratic state security agencies in Italy—just for starters.



AP / Wide
World
Photos

German Luftwaffe takes to the skies to bomb for the first time since World War II.

There is no mystery where NATO's, and the U.S.'s, "Drang nach Osten," or drive to the East, is now aimed: at the Caspian Sea. Steven Lee Myers reported in the *New York Times* March 15 that the U.S. Army is training for a new post-Cold War role: "protecting" Caspian Sea oil.

"Army strategists who once conducted war games against the Soviet Union will soon be waging their mock wars in former Soviet states like Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan," he wrote, quoting military sources who discussed the new "stew of

challenges" they would face.

"Among them: ethnic rivalries, austere terrain, a lack of major seaports, regular and irregular forces, and a threat of chemical or biological weapons," wrote the *Times*. By remarkable coincidence, the war in the Balkans includes most of that "stew of challenges."

The fact that NATO, instead of disappearing after the Cold War, is actually growing in global reach, scope and aggressiveness, has revealed what many long suspected: that NATO, falsely labeled a defensive alliance, is and always was a military organization aimed at seizing control of markets, natural resources, and cheap labor markets on behalf of capitalist transnational corporations. That, in essence, has been its only business since 1989.

—Mark Cook

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN KOSOVO: A HIGHLY SUSPECT PRETEXT FOR WAR

BY JULES LOBEL AND MICHAEL RATNER

On September 23, 1938, German Chancellor Adolf Hitler wrote to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain that ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia had been "tortured," that 120,000 had been "forced to flee the country," that the "security of more than 3,000,000 human beings was at stake," and that they had been "prevented from realizing also the right of nations to self-determination." Hitler was laying the basis for humanitarian intervention: a claim to intervene militarily in a sovereign state because of claimed human rights abuses. Although NATO is obviously not Hitler, the example illustrates the mischief caused when countries assert the right to use force on such a basis: It is often a pretext for acting in their own geopolitical interests and it sets a dangerous precedent—other governments can do the same.

Hitler's assertions were not the first time a country has used humanitarian excuses to mask social, political, and territorial goals. It is a frequent occurrence, whether the Russians in the Balkans in the 19th century, the Japanese in Manchuria in the 1930s, or the United States in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Panama.

International law professors Thomas Franck and Nigel Rodley concluded in a 1973 study that "[i]n very few, if any, instances has the right [to humanitarian intervention] been asserted under circumstances that appear more humanitarian than self-centered and power seeking." They further pointed out that the failure of countries to intervene when real humanitarian atrocities take place—such as those in Nazi Germany, South Africa under apartheid, and Indonesia (and today we could add the Tutsis, the Kurds, the Timorese, and others)—should make claims of humanitarian intervention "highly suspect." They conclude that countries have no legal right of humanitarian intervention under international law.

Jules Lobel is a professor of international law at the University of Pittsburgh Law School; **Michael Ratner** is an international human rights attorney who works with the Center for Constitutional Rights.

This historical background should make us very skeptical regarding current U.S. and NATO claims that the war against Serbia is to stop "ethnic cleansing," let alone "genocide." President Clinton says the bombings were necessary to prevent a "humanitarian catastrophe," to end "instability in the Balkans," and "to prevent a wider war."

THE EVIDENCE

But the evidence is otherwise. The NATO countries, as the historical record predicts, appear to be acting primarily in their own self-interests. To date, the bombings have created the very evils President Clinton claims he is trying to prevent: Over 500,000 refugees have fled Kosovo. Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, and even Bosnia are being destabilized, and Russia is threatening a wider war.

The administration claims that Serbia was planning this ethnic cleansing and that it would have occurred even without the NATO attacks. But even if this were the case, it was the NATO attacks that gave Serbia the opportunity to carry out its alleged plans, particularly in a circumstance when all of the monitors from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe were withdrawn. Nor should it be overlooked that the bombing itself probably caused many of the refugees to flee their homes. NATO had to have realized that its massive bombing campaign had the potential to create a serious humanitarian crisis, yet incredibly it had made no preparations for housing, feeding, or caring for the refugees. Had humanitarian concerns been at the forefront of NATO policy or even a serious concern, such plans would have been a priority.

If the U.S. and NATO really believed that Serbia was planning "ethnic cleansing," then the bombing was the absolute worst strategy; it was almost guaranteed to bring about that result. If the goal was really to prevent expulsions of people from Kosovo, there were other peaceful alternatives that should have been undertaken. A sticking point in the nego-

tiations with Yugoslavia was the deployment of 28,000 NATO troops in Kosovo; a compromise could have been worked out by making that force an international force of the United Nations or one that at least included Russian troops.

What is remarkable, and almost completely ignored in the Western press, is that shortly before the NATO bombing began, the Serbian Parliament supported the idea of U.N. forces to monitor a political settlement. But the U.S. and NATO, bent on either an occupation by NATO or bombing, never even acknowledged such a proposal. Had these and other peaceful means been employed, there is a fair chance that the human tragedy unfolding in the Balkans could have been avoided.

A PRETEXT

Once again it appears that the claim of humanitarian intervention is a pretext for countries acting in their own self-interest and for their own geo-political reasons. Western countries are ensuring that it is they, not Serbia and Russia, who will be the dominant force in the Balkans; NATO is pushing Europe's borders into the edge of Asia. A NATO military base in the region cannot be far behind. Also at play here is the broader underlying interest of the United States to mold the world to its will through a policy of coercive diplomacy. Under this doctrine, when the United States tells another country to do something, it must buckle under or suffer the consequences.

That is what the U.S. told Yugoslavia: Sign the Rambouillet agreement or get bombed. It is not a way to negotiate and certainly not a way to create a safer world. That is why after World War II, the nations of the world through the Charter of the United Nations mandated that only the Security Council could authorize the non-defensive use of force; unlike the current U.S./NATO bombing, force was to be used in the interest of the international community and not individual states. ■

HAWKS & EAGLES:

BY DIANA JOHNSTONE

"GREATER NATO" FLIES TO THE AID OF "GREATER ALBANIA"

On March 24, NATO launched its first full-scale aggressive war against a sovereign state. It was certainly not meant to be the last. NATO, it was repeatedly stated, had to prove its "resolve." The action was meant to be exemplary, a model for future NATO actions elsewhere and a warning to the world.

Yugoslavia had neither attacked nor threatened any other country. NATO acted illegally, without any mandate from the United Nations Security Council. By flouting the basic principles that underlie the fragile structure of international legality, the Clinton administration and NATO chose "might is right" as the law of the new millennium.

This appalling adventure, presented by servile media and ignorant politicians as a "humanitarian" necessity, set off precisely the "humanitarian catastrophe" its apologists claimed it was meant to prevent. Countless thousands of frightened ethnic Albanian civilians fled over rough terrain into neighboring countries. They were fleeing from the NATO bombing and Serb reprisals, in proportions it was not possible to measure. Both NATO and its armed Albanian allies in the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK or KLA) needed to persuade the world that "Milosevic" (the semi-fictional personification of evil on the one hand, and Serbia on the other) was carrying out "genocide" in Kosovo. The "genocide" story was necessary to justify both the bombing and the next phase of the NATO-KLA scenario, the invasion of Serbia to "liberate" Kosovo.

After a week of bombing, this much could be said with certainty: NATO leaders had lied so blatantly about things that could be checked, that there was no reason to believe anything they say about things that could not.

Diana Johnstone is currently working on a book on former Yugoslavia. She was European editor of *In These Times* from 1979 to 1990, and press officer of the Green group in the European Parliament from 1990 to 1996. She is the author of *The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe in America's World* (London/New York: Verso/Shocken, 1984).

Among the many lies in the current torrent, one lie played a key role in the justifying of the NATO bombing, the "no alternative" lie: *Since Milosevic refused peace negotiations, we had no choice but to bomb.*¹

The "no alternative" lie incorporated several falsehoods in one.

Milosevic had not refused peace negotiations. For months, the Serbian government had been offering to negotiate, while the ethnic Albanian leaders refused. The Serb side had presented quite comprehensive and reasonable proposals for extensive self-government in Kosovo.

For years, but especially during recent months, both the Serbian government and non-governmental groups have made compromise proposals for Kosovo, all including autonomy, democracy and extensive cultural rights, while the nationalist leaders have insisted on only one demand: secession.

The "Rambouillet peace agreement" was in reality an ultimatum to Yugoslavia to accept a NATO protectorate on its soil. It was designed by State Department official Christopher Hill to satisfy KLA leaders, and was "agreed" upon only by those two parties and the European Union representative, not by the entire Contact Group (including Russia) which was theoretically sponsoring it. No sovereign state in the world could accept such an ultimatum.

Top U.S. officials openly coaxed reluctant Albanians into signing the agreement by telling them that their signatures were needed in order to justify NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia. The "peace agreement" was thus in reality a *war agreement*.

1. Acceptance of this lie was prepared by previous lies relating to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to Kosovo itself, lies too numerous to refute in a single article, all leading to the fallacious conclusion that Milosevic was conducting "ethnic cleansing" of Albanians in Kosovo. In fact, the Serbian police and military were engaged in, at worst, a classic counterinsurgency operation.

THE WAR AGREEMENT OF RAMBOUILLET

The conflict between ethnic Albanians and Serbs is a very old one, which can be traced back over three centuries. It is older than the Israeli-Palestinian or Northern Ireland conflicts, not to mention countless other ethnic conflicts in the world. The "peace process" in such cases is expected to be long and delicate. Only in Kosovo, governments and media suddenly decided that the conflict had to be settled in two weeks, at Rambouillet, on terms laid down by the United States.

Why the hurry? Because the United States was keen to lock in NATO's new mission as global intervention machine with a show of force prior to the 50th anniversary of NATO summit in April.² NATO had carefully planned the operations six months in advance. Peace negotiations "broke down" just when NATO was all set to go.

2. Sec: Jim Hoagland, "Beyond the Rambouillet Effort Looms the NATO Anniversary," *Washington Post/International Herald Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1999: "The talks at Rambouillet are negotiations within a negotiation. The diplomats work against a second deadline beyond the competing March offensives in Kosovo: In late April the leaders of 19 members of NATO will gather in Washington to celebrate the alliance's 50th anniversary and unveil a new 'strategic concept' of its missions and responsibilities.... The road to a Washington summit that reflects glory on the good and great of the Atlantic community now passes through the police stations and city hall of the pitiable Kosovar capital of Pristina." William Pfaff, "Washington's New Vision for NATO Could Be Divisive," *Los Angeles Times Syndicate/International Herald Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1998: "The Holbrooke-Milosevic agreement on Kosovo in October was accurately described by Richard Holbrooke as an unprecedented event. NATO had intervened in an internal conflict inside a sovereign non-NATO state.... Washington sees this as a precedent for a new NATO that would deal with a variety of existing and future problems inside and outside Europe." Roger Cohen, "Europeans Contest U.S. NATO Vision," *New York Times Service/International Herald Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1998: "At the root of the differences lies the American conviction that NATO should now be seen as an 'alliance of interests' as much as one dedicated to the defense of a specific territory, and that those interests may in some instances push NATO into far-flung activities...." Etc.

For many months, the Serbian government had offered to negotiate. High-level government teams went repeatedly to the provincial capital, Pristina, to hold talks with Ibrahim Rugova and other non-violent ethnic Albanian leaders. On one pretext or another, the Albanians refused to negotiate. It is probable that two factors weighed heavily in their refusal: fear of going against the rising armed rebel movement, the "Kosovo Liberation Army," (UCK/KLA), hostile to any compromise and ready to assassinate "traitors" who dealt with the Serbs; and expectations that strong U.S. pressure on Yugoslavia would bring them more than negotiations with Belgrade.

At Rambouillet, the older generation of nationalist leaders such as Rugova never had the slightest opportunity to enter negotiations with the multi-ethnic official Serbian delegation, which included members of the various ethnic communities in Kosovo. They were flanked and overshadowed in the ethnic Albanian delegation by KLA outlaws, who by then were assured of United States support. Rambouillet was a charade staged by the United States in order to provide a pretext for a NATO demonstration of force on the eve of the Alliance's fiftieth anniversary.

A genuine negotiation would have at least paid attention to the extensive 10-page proposal of the Serbian government side, calling for, notably:

- Equality of all citizens and guaranteed human rights.
- Facilitated return of all citizens to their homes.
- Safe unhindered access of all international and national or non-governmental humanitarian organizations to the population for purposes of aid.
- General amnesty for all political crimes related to conflict in Kosovo except for persons properly convicted of crimes against humanity and international law.
- Widest possible media freedoms.
- Preservation and promotion of the national, cultural, and linguistic identity of each national community.
- The commune (county) as basic unit of local self-government.
- An Assembly of 130 members, 95 elected directly by citizens through proportional representation and 35 elected by national communities of Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Romani (Gypsies), Egyptians, and Gorani (mountain Serbs of southwestern Kosovo, converted to Islam), five members each.
- Election by the Assembly of a President and 6 vice presidents, at least one from each national community, for a four-year term.



AP / Wide World Photos

Madeleine Albright, confident of success in her trademark cowboy hat, enters Rambouillet Castle to deliver ultimatum to Serbian delegation.

- Responsibility of the Assembly for: budget and taxes; educational arrangements, with respect for the authorities of national communities and communes; electing judges; establishing a framework for local self-government; protecting the environment where intercommunal issues are involved; adopting regulations governing medical institutions, urban planning, agriculture, elections, property ownership, as well as economic, scientific, technological and social development, among other things.

- The right of citizens to choose whether to be tried in a Kosovo court or in a court of the Republic of Serbia, and the right to request that members of the panel hearing their case be chosen from their own national community.

- Voluntary establishment of courts of national communities to settle disputes among members of a national community who accept separate national community rules.

This last point is clearly designed for the Albanian community which, particularly in rural areas of Kosovo as in neighboring northern Albania, has never fully accepted any governmental law and prefers to be guided by the archaic traditional "Qanun" based on family honor and clan loyalty. Other measures, such as the provision for election to the Assembly, reflect fear of oppression by the Albanian majority of non-Albanians in Kosovo.

No doubt this proposal is inadequate. But in any normal negotiation, it would have at least been acknowledged as a basis for discussion. This did not occur. As for

the Albanian side, it was interested in only one thing: secession from Serbia and total independence, if not today, then certainly in three years' time.

The stubbornness of the Albanian delegation surprised Madeleine Albright. Perhaps the U.S. sponsors of the KLA hadn't realized that the purpose of the armed rebellion was to seize power in any future "independent Kosovo," and did not fully trust the United States to give it to them under the ambiguous terms of Rambouillet. For that purpose, war is a better method than any peace agreement, even one specially designed to detach Kosovo from Serbia. The KLA finally agreed to sign the Christopher Hill document once it was clear that Belgrade could not possibly agree to it, and that the KLA would thus get the war it wanted, complete with air cover.

It was evident that Belgrade could not accept the U.S.-drafted two-part Rambouillet ultimatum, not only because it was a thinly veiled plan to detach Kosovo from Serbia, but also because it contained provisions even worse than loss of that historic province, provisions no country in the world could possibly accept. This has been clearly analyzed by Jan Oberg, director of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research in Lund, Sweden.³ The Rambouillet ultimatum came in

3. Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, Vegagatan 25, S 224 57 Lund, Sweden; tff@transnational.org; <http://www.transnational.org>. Oberg has been on over thirty missions to Kosovo as head of TFFPR's Conflict-Mitigation Team to the Balkans and Georgia.

two parts, civilian and military. In the civilian part, three aspects stand out as obviously unacceptable.

- Kosovo would in effect be independent of Serbia, but Serbia would not be independent of Kosovo. Kosovo would be able to influence Yugoslavia as a whole by sending its representatives to both Yugoslav and Serbian parliaments, governments, and courts, whereas Yugoslavia would be barred from influencing Kosovo's internal affairs. This is precisely the aspect of the 1974 version of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia that made major economic reforms impossible in Serbia in the 1980s and led to virtually unanimous Serbian demands for a return to pre-1974 terms of Kosovo's autonomy.⁴ The Albanian veto made Serbia ungovernable.

- "Self-governing" Kosovo would actually be run by a NATO imperial pro-consul, with the title of Chief of the OSCE/EU Implementation Mission, or CIM. The CIM, who would effectively be chosen by the United States, would have the authority to issue binding directives on all important matters, hire and fire officials and security personnel, and overrule election results. During the three-week period between Rambouillet I and Rambouillet II, while the Clinton administration and ex-Senator Robert Dole were scrambling to cajole the Albanians into signing up for NATO bombing, the "High Representative" in Bosnia, model for the CIM, demonstrated his powers by dismissing the democratically elected President of the Serbian entity.⁵

- Economically, the Rambouillet ultimatum would continue to drain economic resources from Serbia to Kosovo. In Tito's Yugoslavia, Kosovo was the main recipient of development aid from the Federation. Nevertheless, due in part to population growth (by far the highest birthrate in

4. The endlessly repeated statement that "the dictator Milosevic stripped Kosovo of its autonomy" is false. The Serbian Parliament voted to change the constitution to reduce Kosovo's autonomy to more normal federal standards as had prevailed earlier, not to abolish it. While technically legal, the change was not managed with the necessary political consideration for Albanian sensibilities. It provoked a revolt that led the Albanian population to reject the very considerable democratic rights it still possessed as part of a general boycott of Serbian institutions.

5. On the same day, he announced that the town of Brcko, which provides the only link between the two parts of the Serb entity, had been taken from its present Serb government and established as a third separate unit within Bosnia-Herzegovina. This decision was rendered by "arbitration": in reality a single U.S. official, Robert Owen. This decision reducing the Serbian entity is in violation of the basis of the Dayton Accords, which ensured the Bosnian Serbs 49% of the territory. These are only the latest in a series of one-man lessons in democracy by NATO dictators in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Europe,⁶ as well as clandestine immigration from Albania), per capita income in Kosovo remained the lowest in Yugoslavia. The Rambouillet ultimatum demanded that Yugoslavia give Kosovo an "equitable" share of benefits from international transactions, without indicating what might be Serbia's share of state or social property there. Since Kosovo would have its own "constitution," overruling the Yugoslav and Serbian constitutions, making it a "free market economy," it is to be expected that formerly Serbian resources would flow rapidly into the hands of the rich Albanian mafia as well as any interested buyers from the NATO countries. The agreement did not even mention suspending economic sanctions against Serbia, much less any economic aid or help to the 650,000 refugees in Serbia. But substantial economic aid was promised to Kosovo.

The only operational remnant of the formal Yugoslav "sovereignty" supposedly retained by this proposal would be the obligation for Serbia to keep paying for Kosovo.

Dr. Oberg points out that the civilian side of the "agreement" lacked any reference to confidence building, reconciliation, peace or human rights education—measures vitally needed to enable the ethnic communities to live together. In short, there was nothing to suggest any serious effort to prevent "ethnic cleansing" of the Serb minority by the triumphant Albanian majority.

Still, the Serbian negotiating team at Rambouillet was ready to consider seriously this extremely unjust arrangement. The real sticking point was the military side of the ultimatum. This amounted to nothing less than unconditional surrender of Kosovo to NATO.

- Kosovo would be occupied by a NATO force called "KFOR" headed by a Commander, COMKFOR, who would "have the authority, without interference or permission of any Party, to do all he judges necessary and proper, including the use of military force, to protect KFOR" or to order cessation of any activity he judges to be a "potential threat." Judging from experience in Bosnia, that could include forcibly shutting down media that differ with NATO doctrine.

- No ceiling is set on COMKFOR forces.

- The government had to disarm, but disarmament of the armed rebels, considered dangerous terrorists by the Serbs, was

6. In the 1970s, the average fertility rate for Yugoslavia was 2.3 as a whole, but 5.4 in Kosovo. About 2.1 renews a population. Catherine Samary, *Le Marché contre l'autogestion*, La Brèche, 1988, p. 181.

left up in the air. Yugoslav defenses within Kosovo would be withdrawn except for 1,500 border guards supported by up to 1,000 logistics personnel placed in predetermined barracks. On the other hand, the "Other Forces," apparently meaning the KLA (never mentioned by name), would be called on to "publicly commit themselves to demilitarize on terms to be determined by COMKFOR." This meant that the Yugoslavs had no way of knowing to what extent or how the KLA might ever be disarmed.

- COMKFOR would have full control of airspace over Kosovo as well as 25 kilometers into Serbia and Montenegro along the borders with Kosovo.

- NATO would not be liable for any damages to local property, would be immune from all local jurisdiction or legal process, and would be ensured free and unrestricted access through all of Yugoslavia. This amounts to a license to invade other parts of Yugoslavia.

"The military provisions," said Dr. Oberg, "have nothing to do with peacekeeping." The more appropriate term, he suggested on March 18, the day the Albanians signed, would be "peace-prevention."

Dr. Oberg observed that among all the leading media, commentators, scholars, and diplomats condemning the Yugoslav side for refusing to sign, none was examining what the accords contained. Having studied earlier versions of Christopher Hill's text and the final February 23 version, Dr. Oberg came to the conclusion that "this document has been adapted to be acceptable to the Albanian delegates to such an extent that the Yugoslav side—ready to accept the political parts at an earlier stage—now find the changed document unacceptable both in terms of political and military aspects."

Why this change? "Because the worst case for the international community would be Yugoslavia saying yes and the Albanians saying no," concluded Oberg.

So the Serbs were given an offer they could not accept.

Although KLA leaders were not enthusiastic about this agreement either, the United States apparently obtained their consent by promising a privileged role for the rebel gunmen as military partners of the United States.

ELIMINATING THE ALTERNATIVE

It is preposterous to suggest that there was no alternative to unconditional surrender of Yugoslavia to CIM and COMKFOR. It would have taken time to work them out, and bringing the intransigent KLA into the

negotiations made matters vastly more difficult. But that intransigence was largely the result of their certitude that they ultimately commanded full United States and NATO support.

During the time needed for a peace process, the presence of truly neutral peacemakers could have played a constructive and indispensable role.

Last October 12, Richard Holbrooke got Belgrade to allow 2,000 "verifiers" to enter Kosovo to monitor compliance of the Yugoslav side only with a cease-fire the KLA had never been obliged to keep. This was already an extreme oddity: a one-sided cease-fire, in which the legal police of a country agrees not to pursue armed groups which, whether called "liberation army" or "terrorists," had been murdering citizens for well over a year and showed no inclination to stop.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) was chosen to organize this Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM). In Western Europe, since the demise of the 1980s peace movement, objections to the qualitative and geographical expansion of NATO have tended to take refuge in proposals to strengthen the OSCE which, unlike NATO, involves Russia and indeed all European countries except, since 1992, Yugoslavia.

Early suspicions in some pro-OSCE circles, confirmed by later events, suggested that this assignment was used largely to discredit the OSCE as a viable "alternative" to NATO. Although the champions of OSCE had seen it as less U.S.-dominated, the U.S. put one of its own "dirty war" specialists, William Walker, in charge of the KVM. The "verifier" force never approached 2,000, and it was widely assumed that many of the verifiers were agents of various NATO intelligence services, in particular U.S. military or civilian intelligence. Walker's "diplomatic" experience in assisting the Contra guerrillas to mount a spoiling war against Sandinista Nicaragua was good background for cooperation with the KLA, the only "liberation" movement in the world (so far) which enthusiastically calls for NATO bombing of the territory it is out to conquer. In mid-January, Walker himself broke the fragile peace his force had been sent to solidify by endorsing the KLA version of the extremely controversial events in the village of Racak. Walker's hasty and unquestioning condemnation of a "Serbian massacre" which many believe (and on the basis of solid evidence) was a propaganda set-up, arranging battlefield dead to give the appearance of an execution, discredited the KVM as a neutral observer.



William Walker, contradicting Associated Press TV crews which filmed the KLA-Serb combat in Racak, calls the event a massacre.

Some of the resulting dissension within the OSCE has come into public view. In particular, the German vice-president of the OSCE, Christian Democratic Bundestag member Willy Wimmer, called the KVM a "fairly hopeless mission" because some people "apparently did not at all want it to succeed." Who? "For instance the UCK. For instance those who are behind the UCK and pull the strings." Wimmer said that the international OSCE observers had unambiguously agreed that the Yugoslav side had kept to the October cease-fire agreement, while the UCK had "systematically evaded it" and engaged in provocations.⁷

Asked by Deutschlandradio Berlin whether he considered the NATO military assault a mistake, Wimmer answered: "I personally consider it a very big mistake. And I am in agreement with the OSCE parliamentary assembly, which with a majority of nearly 90% has repeatedly stated that military engagements can be undertaken only with a mandate from the United Nations Security Council." However, the interests of the United States and Britain were "diametrically opposed to us."

⁷ *Junge Welt*, Mar. 26, 1999, interview with Willy Wimmer by Kirsten Lemke of Deutschlandradio Berlin, "War der NATO-Angriff ein Fehler?"

FROM "GREATER ALBANIA" TO GREATER NATO

The war against Yugoslavia has been sold to the public as a humanitarian necessity, when in reality it is a political project. For the Albanian leaders, the purpose was always clear: Albanian rule over Kosovo, not "human rights" and certainly not "peace."

Veton Surroi, publisher of the leading Kosovo Albanian newspaper *Koha Ditore*, financially supported by the Soros Foundation and the National Endowment for Democracy, is often mentioned as the West's dark horse to be President of "independent" ethnic Albanian Kosovo. He was a member of the Albanian delegation that signed the Rambouillet war agreement with the U.S. and the EU. He told the *New York Times* a week later that when he signed, he "also accepted that there would be consequences for the people of Kosovo, that if the Serbian side did not agree to the pact, it would have to be imposed by force—even at risk to the civilian population." He continued: "...these kinds of political arrangements require war, both as the driving force and as the action that seals them."

Surroi also recognized the political interest of NATO: "The inhabitants of southeastern Europe will have to face the fact that NATO has created a security umbrella over them..."

In reality, the whole thrust of U.S. policy has been toward a violent conflict in

Yugoslavia that would shatter Serbia, the last bastion of old-fashioned independence in the Balkans, and bring NATO in as occupier and arbiter. The United States did not want to bring Yugoslavia into NATO, but NATO into Yugoslavia.

To most people, it seems incredible that the apparently blundering Clinton administration could have hatched and carried out such a Machiavellian plot. And no doubt it didn't. The monstrous policy seems, from what one can discern, to have grown more or less by chance out of a strange encounter between two very different interest groups: Balkan revanchist lobbies, both Croatian and Albanian, on the one hand, and a circle of strategic policy planners looking for the means to transform NATO from a West European defense alliance focused on containing the Soviet Union into the military arm of U.S. global hegemony, able to act anywhere in the world without regard to national sovereignty, the United Nations or international law.

THE ALBANIAN LOBBY

First came the lobbies. Already in the 1980s, when Albanians were actually running Kosovo, and the mainstream press was reporting that Albanians were harassing Serbs in order to establish "an ethnically clean Albanian republic" before merging with Albania to form "a greater Albania,"⁸ the Albanian lobby in the United States was working to reverse the image. The center of this lobby was New York Republican Congressman Joseph DioGuardi, of Italian-Albanian background.

On June 18, 1986, Representative DioGuardi and Senator Bob Dole introduced Concurrent Resolution 150, "Expressing Concern over the Condition of Ethnic Albanians Living in Yugoslavia." This was an early significant victory for the Albanian lobby. Of course, neither Dole nor, probably, any other congressman had the slightest idea of conditions in Kosovo, if they could tell where it was, but it's a rare politician who isn't ready to "express concern" over the condition of an ethnic minority that has an active lobby operating in Washington. This sort of resolution can then be used as documentary proof of whatever it alleges.

The reward was not long in coming. In May 1987, Dole and DioGuardi attended an Albanian-American fund-raiser in New

York City that raised \$1.2 million for Dole's campaign and \$50,000 for DioGuardi.⁹ Even so, DioGuardi lost his seat, whereupon he formed the Albanian-American Civic League to pursue lobbying for the Albanian cause.

Cuba has long been the most striking illustration of how a relatively small ethnic lobby—that of the counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles in Florida—could have a long-term negative influence on U.S. foreign policy. The Balkans provide a second, even more surprising, example.

Ethnic lobbies offer mediocre politicians two precious assets. The most obvious is money in the form of campaign contributions. The other is the semblance of an idealistic cause: Championing some obscure "oppressed people" seeking American support for its "righteous cause" can provide a glow of international vision to mediocre provincial politicians with not a glimmer of understanding of the outside world.

The ethnic lobbies are not partisan. Republicans and Democrats are eligible to support their causes. For the 1996 elections, the Democrats "established nine steering committees to concentrate on Albanians, Arabs, Croatians, Greeks, Irish, Hungarians, Italians, Lithuanians and Poles.... An energetic 31-year-old Albanian American, Ilir Zherka, was put in charge of the drive, which was called Ethnic Outreach," *The European* reported.¹⁰

Once upon a time ethnic lobbies were concerned with the social welfare and advancement of their constituents. To some extent, that may still be the case, but since America became top superpower, the focus has shifted to bringing that power in on the side of exile groups with an agenda. The Clinton administration, Zherka told *The European*, "has concentrated on trying to solve age-old problems in Ireland, Bosnia, and the Middle East. In addition, Clinton has worked on expanding NATO, and the Poles, Hungarian, and Baltic citizens appreciate his efforts. He has also supported Ukrainian independence."

Here is where the agendas of exile groups and the post-Cold War problem of finding a new "mission" for NATO have dovetailed dangerously. With the collapse of the communist "enemy," a small number of very special interests have rushed in to fill the foreign policy void.

"Minority groups have leverage because their support can mean the difference between a candidate winning or losing an entire state," according to William

Kimberling of the Federal Election Commission.¹¹ Smaller ethnic groups can be more effective than big ones because they are more compact. "One of the problems of American politics is that the two biggest groups, Blacks and Hispanics, are the least organized and don't vote." The lesson he drew is that "if you vote together, candidates will pay attention."

The leading role of the Albanian lobby in the Clinton campaign's "Ethnic Outreach" program is striking, as is the absence of any Serbian lobby. One can assume that this is not because there are no Americans of Serbian origin in the United States, but because Serbian-Americans have not, in recent decades, been united by an activist revanchist agenda. Serbs identified totally with the victorious Allied side in both world wars; many considered themselves Yugoslavs first and foremost, and if they opposed Tito, the changes they hoped to see in Yugoslavia were political and democratic, not a reshaping of the Balkans with help from the U.S. Superpower.

In contrast, right-wing Croatian exile groups in particular nursed dreams of restoring the fascist Ustashe "Independent Croatian State," which had existed only during World War II thanks to the occupation and dismantling of Yugoslavia by Germany and Italy. In 1993, it was reported that "Croatia has built up the most effective lobbying and public relations network on Capitol Hill since the days when the Israeli and Greek lobbies were at their peak."¹² Croatian lobbying efforts, congressional investigators were quoted as saying, "could well exceed \$50 million."

Culturally, there is little in common between Croats and Albanians. But extreme Croatian and Albanian exiles nursing the hope of restoring the Greater Croatia and the Greater Albania that had existed only thanks to the Axis Powers during World War II shared something very important: a common enemy. That common enemy was multi-national Yugoslavia, which deprived them of their ethnically defined independent states. Politically, it was more effective to define that enemy as the Serbs, the people who had played the leading historic role in creating multi-cultural Yugoslavia. Denouncing the Serbs as communist oppressors was the formula for winning support from American politicians. Serbian-Americans were without a well-funded revanchist agenda, and politically divided: no clout.

A key role in the joining of the anti-Serb forces was reportedly played by a young aide

8. "Serbs...have...been harassed by Albanians and have packed up and left the region. The [Albanian] nationalists have a two-point platform, ...first to establish what they call an ethnically clean Albanian republic and then to merge with Albania to form a greater Albania." David Binder, "Exodus of Serbians Stirrs Province in Yugoslavia," *New York Times*, July 12, 1982.

9. From a Jan. 1, 1988 interview, cited by SIRIUS, Benjamin C. Works, Feb. 28, 1999, archive.

10. Ian Mather, "Ethnic Europeans lend Clinton a hand," *The European*, Nov. 7, 1996.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*, Mar. 31, 1993.



Department of Defense

U.S. Air Force armament personnel load bombs at Aviano, Italy.

of Senator Dole, Mira Radievolc Baratta. Within the "small circle of those who monitor U.S. policy toward the Balkans," *The Weekly Standard* reported in 1995, "her influence and her expertise are widely recognized." Richard Perle, an informal Dole adviser who worked on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims at the Dayton peace talks, says that "other than Richard Holbrooke, Baratta has been the most influential individual in shaping U.S. policy."¹³ Baratta began working for Dole in June 1989 and in May 1995 received the "Award for Excellence in Politics" from the National Federation of Croatian Americans. In a bastion of ignorance, Baratta easily became the congressional expert on the Balkans. Baratta has "as good an understanding of the Balkans as anyone on Capitol Hill," *The Weekly Standard* reported admiringly, adding that "she is probably the only congressional staffer monitoring ex-Yugoslavia who speaks and reads both Croatian and Serbian"—a statement which itself indicates the prevailing ignorance, since Croatian and Serbian are the same language.

13. Matthew Rees, "Bosnia's Mira Image," *The Weekly Standard* (Washington, D.C.), Dec. 25, 1995.

Baratta clearly understood the importance of concentrating on the villain—the Serbs—as a better way to influence policy than to try to sell Congress on the Croats. She also advocated the Albanian cause and was publicly credited with getting the Senate to adopt a resolution calling for lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims.

Even after leaving politics, Dole continues his support of the Albanian cause. "In articles and TV appearances, Dole has glorified the KLA and vilified the Serbs," *Investor's Business Daily* reported.¹⁴

Matthew Rees predicted that Baratta would succeed in "climbing the foreign-policy establishment's greasy pole. Dole advisers such as Perle, Wolfowitz, and Jeane Kirkpatrick are among Baratta's biggest boosters."¹⁵

By a not so strange coincidence, Baratta's fans include the most hawkish veterans of the Reagan administration. "Many former Reagan officials—U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Perle, and Defense Secretary

14. Brian Mitchell, "The GOP's Tangled Foreign Policy," *Investor's Business Daily*, Mar. 4, 1999.
15. *Ibid.*

Caspar Weinberger—have publicly endorsed sending NATO ground troops to Kosovo."¹⁶ Caspar Weinberger, whose name is synonymous with the big California-based transnational infrastructure-construction company, Bechtel, is described as "the most hawkish on the Balkans." Bechtel, incidentally, has already been selected to build Croatia's new coastal highway. The ravaged Balkans should supply plenty of infrastructure construction opportunities—not least the future oil pipeline to bring Caspian Sea oil from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, in line with the Clinton administration's great concern to divert the oil away from Russia or Iran.

THE EAGLES AND THE HAWKS

Albania—in the Albanian language, Shqipëria, the land of the eagles—is by far the poorest, least developed country in Europe. After the fall of its uniquely repressive communist regime, Albanians came into world view trying desperately to flee their poor country toward Italy. During Enver Hoxha's dictatorship, that exit had been closed tight from within.

16. *Ibid.*

The easiest exit route for Albanians in that period had been across the mountains of northern Albania into Kosovo, where local authorities—often ethnic Albanian kinfolk—let them settle. Compared to Albania, Kosovo was the land of milk and honey, even if it was the poorest part of Yugoslavia. With a Yugoslav passport, travel was easy. From Kosovo, enterpris-

The alliance of the Hawks and the Eagles solidified around the dangerous project of "Greater Albania," sold by lobbies and public relations campaigns to American politicians and public opinion as a "human rights" rather than a nationalist cause. This project filled a foreign policy vacuum. Veterans of the Cold War policy elite were groping around for new "threats" and a

before Y2K renders them obsolete). If it worked, NATO would have a formula that could be put into operation in other trouble spots, notably what Zbigniew Brzezinski calls the "Eurasian Balkans," a vast area of mixed ethnic composition interestingly located around the Caspian Sea and all those oil reserves.¹⁷ The idea is to find an "oppressed minority," promise support to its fiercest warriors, preferably drug dealers who can afford to buy their own weapons, and when all hell breaks loose, one moves in to "avoid humanitarian catastrophe." Yugoslavia is a test case.

Supposing U.S. mastery of airspace and television time, this mixed propaganda-missile mechanism should meet the needs of those who perceive that eternal U.S. economic supremacy needs a military arm. "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist—McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15," is how Thomas L. Friedman summed it up.¹⁸ This is the imperative behind the rush to assert NATO's "right to intervene" all over the world.

Thus, observed columnist Jim Hoagland, "the Kosovo war is about the global future, not the European past."¹⁹

The American people not being considered mature enough for such Realpolitik, it has been necessary to feed them children's fairy tales about the Big Bad Milosevic eating babies for breakfast, with Slick Willy and Slick Tony reincarnating FDR and Churchill to stop "the new Hitler." The future of the Albanians and the Serbs is only one of the stakes in the Kosovo war of 1999. Another is the capacity of the American people to tell reality from fiction. ■

17. See Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), especially the maps at pp. 124 and 146.

18. Thomas L. Friedman, "A Manifesto for the Fast World," *New York Times Magazine*, Mar. 28, 1999.

19. *Washington Post/International Herald Tribune*, Mar. 29, 1999.



AP / Wide World Photos

A Serbian miner from Aleksinac weeps outside homes bombed in "collateral damage," killing civilians early in the war.

ing Albanians went out to make their fortunes in Germany or Switzerland. Thanks in part to their very tight clan structure, Kosovo Albanians have notoriously taken control of the heroin smuggling routes through the Balkans from Turkey to Switzerland and Germany. After the fall of communism, rich Kosovo Albanians have tended to treat Albania itself as a colony for exploitation and a base for various illegal operations. Considering the potential dominance by Kosovo Albanians in a "Greater Albania," the prospect does not delight all people in Albania itself, in particular in the south, where the Tosk dialect is spoken, in contrast to northern Albania and Kosovo where the Gheg dialect prevails.

If, as has been widely reported, the KLA is the armed branch of the ethnic Albanian mafia, it would not be the first time that the CIA has ended up working hand in hand with drug dealers.

new mission for NATO and the U.S. military-industrial complex. As for the American left, or what remained of it after the end of the Cold War, it largely stopped thinking seriously about international problems of war and peace. The "single issue" approach made paradoxical connections invisible. Reduced to sentimental humanitarianism, the liberal left has become easily manipulated by public relations campaigns framed in terms of human rights and victims. A contemporary version of the old "white man's burden" or *mission civilisatrice* has emerged to be exploited by the designers of NATO's new global mission.

Thus by championing a supposedly "oppressed people," NATO could prove in the Balkans its ability to act as a "humanitarian" police force anywhere in the world. Bombing Iraq and Serbia simultaneously, it could prove its "two wars at once" capacity (and use up its stock of cruise missiles

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NATO's Parallel Wars

BY DIANA JOHNSTONE

NATO is waging parallel wars in Yugoslavia. One is the war against Kosovo. The chaos it has created is then served up as justification for the other, parallel war against Serbia.

The conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo is not an easy one. It is not a matter of "Serbs mistreating Albanians." In the 1980s, as was reported in the *New York Times*, the Albanian majority in Kosovo was harassing Serbs in order to drive them out and create an "ethnically pure" Kosovo that would eventually merge with neighboring Albania.¹ This was one of the reasons that the Serbian Parliament in 1989 reduced (but did not "abolish") the extraordinary autonomy that had been granted the province in 1974 as part of Tito's policy of distracting from calls for democracy by granting more power to the leaders of Yugoslavia's ethnic parties.

Thereafter, Albanian secessionists in Kosovo stepped up the boycott of Serbian institutions (including voting in elections, school curriculum, tax-paying) already begun earlier. This boycott, which extended even to the excellent Serbian public health service in the province, to the detriment of children's health, was presented to the world as "Serbian apartheid" by very active ethnic Albanian lobbies in Germany and the United States, which (campaign contributions aiding) already in the 1980s had gained such influential advocates as then-Senator Robert Dole. The purpose and goal: to detach the historic Serbian province from Serbia and make it a purely Albanian land.

The boycott of institutions was cleverly presented to the world as Gandhian non-violence. But as the Albanian author of a recent book² points out, this civil disobedience was in line with the historic rejection by the Albanian clans of northern Albania

and Kosovo to respect any law other than their traditional *Kanun*, the unwritten patriarchal rules of conduct, ranging from strict obligations of hospitality to relentless blood feuds. The lawlessness of present-day Albania itself testifies to this.

The conflict between Serbs and Albanians, even more cultural than historic (with religion having little to do with it),

men and private citizens, including uncooperative Albanians. The KLA attacks were a classic provocation, designed to trigger the police action, which in turn was falsely described as attacks on the Albanian population. The casualties on all sides were in the hundreds (the "2,000" victims figure put out by the KLA is surely an exaggeration, and even so, scarcely even the

beginning of a "holocaust"). Many homes were destroyed, because rural Albanian houses are built for a double function: dwelling and defense. This stems from the blood feud tradition.³ It is visible. Albanian houses are often walled compounds, with small windows on upper floors.

Former OSCE observer in Kosovo Rolly Keith told a meeting in Vancouver on April 10 that until his observer mission was pulled out of Kosovo four days before the bombing began, he saw no signs of genocide or ethnic cleansing. Other OSCE observers agree, but were shoved onto the sidelines by the observer mission's chief, William Walker, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador and specialist in Central American "banana republic" management.

Since the observers were pulled out and NATO began ripping Kosovo to shreds with its various hi-tech weapons, it is impossible to know exactly what is going on. Refugees are fleeing from the hell of war. Among the terrible things happening, Serbian forces are apparently—and predictably—expelling ethnic

Albanians, considered NATO's "fifth column," from many areas.⁴

The misery of the fleeing civilians—absolutely foreseeable after the NATO bombing—was greeted at first not with organized relief efforts but with television cameras. Thus the media could tear at the heartstrings of good people back home in Minnesota and create the impression that NATO was making war to

3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

4. After Pearl Harbor, the U.S. "ethnically cleansed" Japanese-Americans from the West Coast, although Japan was not claiming that its war was on behalf of armed ethnic Japanese aiming to detach California.



Belgrade citizens defiantly demonstrate in Republika Square against NATO bombing.

required very patient and wise mediation by outside parties having no selfish interest in the region.

Instead, it has been mediated by institutions that thrive on conflict: the media and NATO. Between them they have transformed a difficult problem into a catastrophe.

Before NATO bombing, there was no Serbian "ethnic cleansing" of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Rather, there were Serbian police operations against the armed "Kosovo Liberation Army" which for over a year had been assassinating both police-

1. E.g., David Binder, "In Yugoslavia, Rising Ethnic Strife Brings Fears of Worse Civil Conflict," *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1987.

2. Dardan Gashi, *Albanien: Archaisch, orientalisches, europaisch* (Vienna: Promedia, 1997), p. 69.

stop the ethnic cleansing that in fact it started. Cause and effect were reversed by imagery.

Now whatever ethnic cleansing is actually happening has been verbally escalated into "genocide." It is being exploited by NATO's war propaganda to allow NATO to come in and occupy Albania in the guise of "humanitarians," now poised for a "humanitarian" invasion of devastated Yugoslavia. The spectacle of blond, blue-eyed refugees has touched the hearts of Europeans and Americans as never before.

This spectacle serves as a screen behind which NATO is continuing its other, parallel war: the total destruction of Serbia. The bombing is presented to the West as aimed at "making Milosevic back down." In reality, actions speak louder than words, especially in wartime. The targeting of bridges linking central Serbia to the northern province of Voivodina (the rich breadbasket of Yugoslavia), to Macedonia in the south and to Bosnia in the West makes it clear that the strategic aim is to isolate central Serbia from its outlying provinces and from neighboring countries. The targeting of factories and infrastructure makes it clear that the object is to impoverish this isolated remnant of Serbia, and to destroy the future of its youth.

This war to destroy Serbia is the *real* war. The parallel war in Kosovo is its pretext and its entering wedge.

People in Belgrade, with whom I have been in contact every day, by telephone and e-mail, see this very clearly. They do not learn about the war from watching television. They learn from the bombs falling all around them.

Still a third parallel war is the propaganda war. NATO has gone so far as actually to target Serbian television. Serbian television "has filled the airways with hate and lies over the years.... It is therefore a legitimate target in this campaign," declared NATO's air commander, commodore David Wilby.

Americans and Western Europeans have no way of knowing this is a lie. They do not watch Serbian television. Serbs, however, do watch Western television—especially, these days, CNN—to get advance news of what's going to be bombed. They can compare what both

sides are saying. Even people without satellite dishes hear what CNN is saying. A friend back from a trip to Belgrade told me, "Serbs are extremely well-informed. People are talking to each other all the

time, telephone lines are jammed with people calling each other, relaying news. What is happening is in a way no surprise to Serbs. They knew this was going to happen, because they have observed U.S. behavior all over the world. The United States bombs. People talked about

this all the time, but even so, it's a shock when it happens."

In Belgrade, my friend could get seven Yugoslav TV channels, three government channels (RTS 1, 2, and 3) and several private ones: Studio B, Politika, Palma, Pink, and BK, owned by the Karic brothers banking group.

If Milosevic is "the new Hitler," he is a strangely discreet one. Whereas Hitler went on radio ranting and raving, Milosevic is practically invisible. Even his worst enemies have forgotten about him. He seems irrelevant. Nobody talks about Kosovo or Albanians either, except for the refugees—Serbs, Roma, Albanians—who have fled to Belgrade from the intensive bombing of Kosovo. They also seem irrelevant to NATO's war against Serbia.

Now, under war conditions, several useless restrictions on the press, adopted only recently, are sporadically enforced. Radio B92 was shut down, for no good apparent reason. Others continue. Foreign journalists have been allowed back into Serbia after initial expulsions. War conditions produce restrictions and censorship. This was true in the United States during World War II. But today, with satellite dishes, e-mail, and the web, hearing what all sides are saying is no problem for people who are motivated—and being the target for NATO is very motivating.

"NATO dropped leaflets over Serbia to explain the good intentions of the war," my friend said. "It reminded people of leaflets dropped by the Nazis when they bombed Belgrade in 1941. Ridiculous."

Serbs, especially in Belgrade, used to be very divided, arguing politics all the time. "Now," said my friend, "there is not one single person who does not believe that the Serbs are right. Perhaps, if there had been a few warning strikes, a little demonstration of force, things might have been different. But to destroy absolutely all

potential for the future life of the country is beyond anyone's understanding."

The Serbs know they cannot defeat NATO. Confronted with such furious forces of destruction, they have only their dignity and their sense of humor to defend themselves. NATO has its purpose and its projects, and it vows to pursue them to the end. Serbs do not think that getting rid of Milosevic, or accepting this or that agreement, would make any difference. NATO is out to destroy them, in order to transform the Balkans into a patchwork of ethnic client states, or protectorates, used as NATO bases. They know this not because Milosevic told them, but because, being very well informed by world media, they've figured it out for themselves.

In the West, the comparison constantly made with Jewish history is the Holocaust. In the East, where the people of Serbia stand defiantly on their bridges night after night, the parallel is different. It is Masada. ■

U.S. SERIAL BOMBINGS:

THE GRIM RECORD

American military and political leaders are clearly partial to bombing. Here is the record of countries the United States has bombarded since the end of World War II:

- China 1945-46, 1950-53
- Korea 1950-53
- Guatemala 1954, 1960, 1967-69
- Indonesia 1958
- Cuba 1959-61
- Congo 1964
- Peru 1965
- Vietnam 1961-73
- Laos 1964-73
- Cambodia 1969-70
- Grenada 1983
- Lebanon 1983, 1984
- Libya 1986
- El Salvador mid-1980s
- Nicaragua mid-1980s
- Panama 1989
- Iraq 1991-99
- Kuwait 1991
- Bosnia 1994, 1995
- Sudan 1998
- Afghanistan 1998
- Yugoslavia 1999

(Oops Department: Countries recently bombed "by accident": Pakistan, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria.)

- Compiled by William Blum

WILLIAM WALKER: "MAN WITH A MISSION"

BY MARK COOK

William Walker, the U.S. diplomat who first acquired notoriety in Central America in the late 1980s, is now being used to promote a seriously discredited atrocity story to justify NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia [see box]. It has been a hard sell for someone with Walker's reputation.

Walker was U.S. ambassador to El Salvador in November 1989 when six leading Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter were dragged from their beds and murdered by the Salvadoran Army.

The killings were carried out by the Atlacatl Battalion, which was recruited, trained, and deployed by the U.S. military, supposedly in order to improve the Salvadoran Army's human rights performance. The Atlacatl was responsible for the worst atrocities of the entire war.

WALKER'S COVER-UP

As declassified State Department cables later showed, Walker worked diligently to cover up the real authors of the Jesuit murders, particularly Army Chief of Staff René Emilio Ponce, who was identified in the 1993 United Nations Truth Commission on El Salvador as the senior officer behind the crimes.¹

Although journalists suspected Ponce from the first days, Walker suggested the killers were FMLN guerrillas. The suggestion was dismissed as absurd by Jesuits, given the proximity of the murder scene to Salvadoran Armed Forces headquarters, where soldiers would certainly have noticed the shooting.²

When Lucia Barrera de Cerna, a neighbor of the Jesuits and the only eyewitness who dared to come forward, said that she had seen men at the murder scene dressed in camouflage uniforms similar to those of the Salvadoran Army, Walker launched a smear campaign against her, telling journalists that Ms. Cerna had fabricated her story under instructions from a human rights worker.³ He played a key role in organizing the ordeal in Miami in

1. Arthur Jones, "El Salvador revisited: a look at declassified State Department documents - some of what U.S. government knew - and when it knew it," *National Catholic Reporter*, Sept. 23, 1994.

2. As noted by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, representing U.S. Jesuits, the killers lobbed grenades, fired a stationary M-60 machine gun, shot off flares, and set fire to the building. Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, *A Chronicle of Death Foretold: The Jesuit Murders in El Salvador*, report, Feb. 1993, p. 236.

3. "U.S. Brainwashed Witness, Salvadoran Archbishop Says," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1989, p. 4.

WALKER'S RAKAK STORY: THE "TURNING POINT"

U.S. diplomat William Walker's denunciation of an alleged execution-massacre of 45 people by Yugoslav police in the Kosovo village of Rakak January 15, 1999, was "a turning point" in NATO's road to war, the *New York Times* wrote April 18 quoting unidentified U.S. sources.

But Walker's claims conflict sharply with press reports in leading European newspapers and subsequent reported findings by forensic investigators.

The Yugoslavian government said that the deaths were the result of a battle with elements of the Kosovo Liberation Army. The battle had in fact been filmed by an Associated Press TV (AP TV) crew, and observed by at least two U.S. teams of international monitors, Walker's own staff.

Le Monde and *Le Figaro* first broke the AP TV crew's story. "New eyewitness accounts," *Le Monde* noted January 21, 1999, "throw doubt on the reality of the horrible spectacle of dozens of piled-up bodies of Albanians supposedly executed by Serb security forces last Friday."

Le Figaro on January 20 summed up the version compiled for the world by Walker and the press that accompanied him: "All the Albanian witnesses gave the same story. At midday, the police forced their way into homes and separated the women from the men, whom they led to the hilltops to execute them without more ado."

"What is disturbing is that the pictures filmed by the AP TV journalists—which *Le Figaro* was shown yesterday—radically contradict that version," noted the newspaper's longtime Balkan war correspondent Renaud Girard.

Both papers said that most of the residents had fled the village long ago. The AP TV reporters saw smoke coming from only two chimneys, *Le Monde* pointed out. The village is known as a bastion of KLA separatist guerrillas. The police entered the town in the morning in search of KLA members suspected of murdering a police officer, and came under intense fire from KLA elements dug into the hillside in the woods outside the town. A long firefight took place until police managed to surround most of the KLA unit.

"Watching from below, next to the mosque, the AP journalists understood that the UCK [KLA] guerrillas, encircled, were trying desperately to break out," *Le Figaro* noted. "A score of them in fact succeeded, as the police themselves admitted."

At 3:30 p.m., after reporting to the press office in Pristina that they had killed at least 15 KLA "terrorists," the police left, still accompanied by the AP TV crew, and carrying a large amount of captured weapons.

The AP TV camera crew saw no evidence of any execution-massacre, nor did a French journalist from *Le Monde* who drove through at 4:40 p.m. and spoke with the monitors from Walker's KVM organization. Nor did the monitors

report any. Nor did the French journalist see or hear of any such atrocity when he returned at 6:00 p.m. Night fell shortly after.

By the next morning, *Le Figaro* writes, "the village was once again taken over by armed UCK soldiers who led the foreign visitors, as soon as they arrived, toward the alleged massacre site. Around noon, William Walker in person arrived and expressed his outrage."

"What really happened?" asked *Le Figaro*. "During the night, could the UCK have gathered the bodies, in fact killed by Serb bullets, to set up a scene of cold-blooded massacre? A disturbing fact: Saturday morning the journalists found only very few cartridges around the ditch where the massacre supposedly took place."

Both papers noted the efforts the Yugoslav police made to bring journalists to the town during the battle, and the notification given to the monitors, which sent two cars with U.S. diplomatic license plates to the scene.

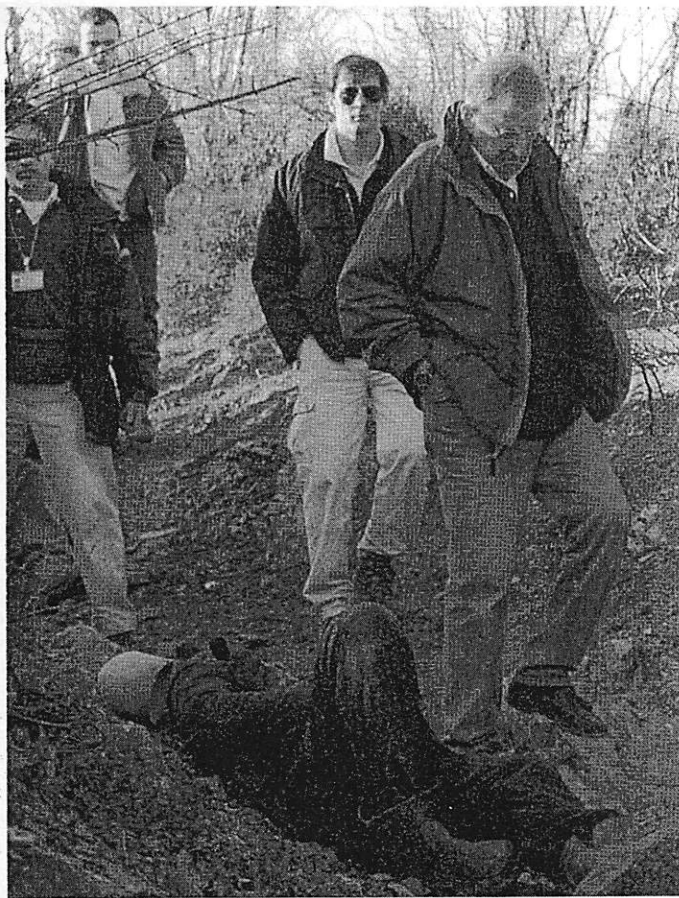
"The police didn't seem to have anything to hide," remarked *Le Figaro*.

The Yugoslav government appeared stunned and outraged by the charges from Walker, and insisted on autopsies for all victims, in the face of efforts to bury the dead immediately in conformity with normal Muslim practice.

Belarussian and Finnish forensic experts, unable to investigate the scene adequately because Walker had led the media over it, nonetheless did a careful study. (See: "Belarussian Forensic Experts Say Victims of Rakak Shot from Distance," *Agence France-Presse*, February 23, 1999; "Finnish Experts Refuse to Give Opinion on Rakak Killings," *Agence France-Presse*, March 17, 1999.) Although the two teams reportedly reached similar conclusions, the Finnish report was not released due to opposition from NATO powers.

NATO had been seeking a pretext to place troops in Yugoslavia, or to punish the Yugoslavs for refusing. Three days after Walker's accusations, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had come up with a new demand: NATO military occupation of all of Yugoslavia, the only Balkan country still refusing NATO bases. Moreover, virtually all police and military had to withdraw from Kosovo, and Kosovo would be granted "autonomy." If Yugoslavia did not accept all of NATO's demands, Belgrade would be bombed. (*New York Times*, April 18, 1999, p. 13.)

Within a month, the U.S. was at the Rambouillet conference in France desperately trying to get the Albanians to sign a NATO-imposed "agreement" that had been carefully designed to make it impossible for the Yugoslav government to sign. "If this fails because both sides say 'No,' there will be no bombing of Serbia," Secretary Albright declared February 21. (*New York Times*, April 18, 1999, p. 13.) ■



AP / Wide World Photos

William Walker steps through pile of bodies in disputed Racak killings, precipitating the NATO war.

which she was held incommunicado and terrorized in an effort to get her to recant her story.

When Walker learned that the Jesuits and the Spanish and French embassies were flying Ms. Cerna and her husband out of El Salvador for safety, he hurried with aides to the airport. He insisted that U.S. officials accompany the Cernas on their flight to Miami, supposedly to ease their way through passport control. After arguments with French diplomats who were providing the plane and seemed to smell a rat, Walker got his Embassy legal officer and an FBI agent aboard the flight.

Once in Miami, instead of being received by American Jesuits as planned, she and her husband were hustled by U.S. authorities to a hotel where they were held by the FBI for a week of "questioning."⁴

Ms. Cerna was subjected to what Jesuit Provincial José María Tojora later called a "cruel interrogation." San Salvador's Roman Catholic Archbishop, Arturo Rivera y Damas, called it "aggressive and violent" and "blackmail," saying her questioners threatened to send Mr. Cerna, or both of them, back to El Salvador if she didn't change her story and "tell the truth."⁵

4. "A Chronicle of Death Foretold: The Jesuit Murders in El Salvador," Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, New York, report, Feb. 1993, p. 247.
5. "U.S. Brainwashed Witness, Salvadoran

Faced with the threat to her husband, whom U.S. officials were already accusing of being a member of the FMLN, Ms. Cerna recanted her testimony and said she had heard and seen nothing, and in fact never even got out of bed that night. She returned to her original testimony as soon as she was free of the control of U.S. authorities.

Walker denied that government officials had subjected Ms. Cerna to pressure. "Full professionals do not involve themselves in psychological torment," Walker said.⁶

As for Archbishop Rivera y Damas' charges, Walker said his information was incorrect. "I am saddened that the archbishop doesn't believe that the U.S. government and he are in the same quest for the truth" about who killed the priests.

"Quest for truth" was the last thing Walker was involved in, as State Department cables released in 1994 reveal. He

was requesting Washington to halt all investigation of the Jesuit killings immediately, and to order the Embassy to do the same.

"I have reached the conclusion," he wrote in a cable on the Jesuits' case, "that the [U.S.] Embassy [in San Salvador] must cease the pursuit of unilateral overt information-gathering or face continued no-win decisions and criticism. I recommend that the Embassy be so instructed and that all further investigative effort be left to the GOES [government of El Salvador]. SECRET."⁷

A DIFFICULT RESUME

Such details look bad on the resume of a human rights and peace monitor, even for a NATO operation in Kosovo. Like an attorney who knows that opposing counsel has devastating information about a witness's past and is about to introduce it on cross-examination, NATO media handlers in the Balkans have tried to diminish the impact by putting out a sanitized version of the unpleasant details. In Walker's case, it

Archbishop Says," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1989, p. 4.

6. George Gedda, "U.S. Denies Salvadoran Witnesses Mistreated," *Associated Press*, Dec. 18, 1989.

7. Quoted in: "El Salvador Revisited: A Look at Declassified State Department Documents - Some of

involves presenting the witness as a man who had learned his lesson.

On ABC-TV's *Nightline* special on Walker's Racak allegations, he confessed, "I was somewhat disappointed when maybe the press, maybe others thought I had been too cautious in pointing the finger when the Salvadoran armed forces did something as atrocious as killing Jesuit priests."⁸

The *Washington Post's* R. Jeffrey Smith, in a similar piece January 23, claimed that Walker regretted his "silence" on the Jesuits and has vowed never to repeat it.⁹ Walker has been accused of lies, blackmail, and criminal coverup in the Jesuit murders, but never silence.

Walker first emerged in the Iran-Contra Scandal as the right-hand man of Oliver North and Elliott Abrams in illegal arms shipments to the Contras out of Ilopango airbase in El Salvador. Before that, he was deputy chief of mission at the embassy in Honduras when U.S. authorities were recruiting officers from Somoza's deposed National Guard to establish the Contras, and forming military death squads that murdered hundreds of Honduran workers, labor organizers and students.

Any "regrets" he felt must not have lasted long. In May 1996, a decade after the Iran-Contra debacle, Walker was head of a ceremony honoring more than 5,000 U.S. soldiers who secretly fought in El Salvador, in direct violation of the congressional restriction limiting the number of U.S. military "advisers" to 55.¹⁰

Walker testified on April 6 in Washington as head of the Kosovo Verification Mission. Abandoning all pretense of running a non-partisan monitoring organization, he declared that the lessons he has learned are: "One, the mission must be armed, and two, attempting to be balanced and non-partisan does not work." These are exactly the same policies he pursued ten years ago in Central America. ■

What U.S. Government Knew - and When It Knew It," *National Catholic Reporter*, Sept. 23, 1994.

8. *Nightline*, ABC-TV, Jan. 29, 1999, devoted its entire half-hour to a heroic depiction of Walker in Kosovo. Ted Koppel began, "...this American ambassador is trying to stop the bloodshed armed only with two-way radios, four-wheel drive vehicles and the knowledge that he may not have done enough to stop past atrocities. Tonight: 'Man with a Mission.' ABC correspondent Mike Lee took it from there: 'But perhaps the most fitting description of Walker's role here is that of sheriff.' Walker, looking thoughtful and earnest, responded modestly, 'Maybe I will accept the Gary Cooper sort of role.'"

9. "This Time, Walker Wasn't Speechless; Memory of El Salvador Spurred Criticism of Serbs," *Washington Post*, Jan. 23, 1999, p. A15.

10. Bradley Graham, "Public Honors for Secret Combat," *Washington Post*, May 6, 1996, p. A1.

"I am not remotely interested in getting involved in an argument over the actual number of people killed."

Richard Holbrooke, a Wall Street banker now with Credit Suisse-First Boston, presented NATO's last ultimatum to the Yugoslav government hours before the bombing campaign began.

Known as the U.S. diplomat who brokered the Dayton Accords in 1994, leading to the partition and ongoing military occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Holbrooke's reputation was made 20 years earlier, in East Timor and South Korea.

His notoriety comes from his role in the 1980 massacre of an estimated 2,000 unarmed students and workers in Kwangju, South Korea, and his long-term involvement in the Indonesian occupation army's campaign of mass murder in East Timor in the late 1970s, resulting in the deaths of at least 200,000 people, a third of the East Timorese population.

In 1975, East Timor had been on the verge of gaining independence from Portugal, with governmental authority expected to go to FRETILIN (Timor National Liberation Front), a leftwing popular movement with a modest reform program.

However, the Ford administration—while going through the motions of disapproving the unprecedented invasion of the territory of a U.N. member state—underwrote the invasion of East Timor by the Suharto regime in Indonesia, a government itself installed by Washington a decade earlier in one of the worst bloodbaths in postwar history.

From the start of the Carter administration, Holbrooke carried on the policy that the Indonesian seizure of East Timor, although regrettable because it denied East Timorese self-determination, was nevertheless a "fait accompli." But it was not a fait accompli. As Sunil Sharma notes in a recent article, by 1977 the Indonesian army was running out of military supplies to use against the Timorese.¹

Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific under the Carter administration, immediately launched a mammoth weapons shipment to Indonesia's military to replace supplies

depleted by the fighting in Timor. According to Matthew Jardines in *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise*, arms sales to Jakarta by late 1977 were up almost 2,000 percent from the previous fiscal year.²

MASS STARVATION

The Indonesian military, as part of the repression, herded masses of Timorese into concentration camps ("refugee centers"), and imposed a policy of mass starvation. Holbrooke did nothing.

On a visit to the camps, Holbrooke's underling, Ambassador to Indonesia Edward Masters "came away so shocked by the conditions of the refugees that [he] immediately contacted the governor of East Timor...to explore the possibilities for providing foreign humanitarian assistance," Sharma writes.

Masters, however, kept silent until June 1979, while staggering numbers of people starved, before urging the U.S. to provide humanitarian assistance. As Sharma notes, the timing coincided with the Carter administration's enormous shipment of military supplies to Indonesia. Prof. Benedict Anderson of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project testified in congressional hearings in 1980 that, "Until the generals in Jakarta gave him the green light, Mr. Masters did nothing to help the East Timorese, although Mr. Holbrooke insists that 'the welfare of the Timorese people is the major objective of our policy towards East Timor.'"³

Masters had visited the concentration camps. Holbrooke certainly knew of them and knew of the policy of starvation the Indonesian military authorities were imposing. In congressional testimony in December 1979, however, they said the famine resulted from Portuguese colonial neglect and slash-and-burn agriculture.⁴

When, in April 1997, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik admitted to Australian journalists that 50,000 to 80,000 East Timorese—a tenth of the

population—had been killed in less than two years ("but we saved 600,000 of them"⁵ who "want to join Indonesia,"⁶ he added), Holbrooke was embarrassed. His own deputy had told Congress only weeks earlier that the "total casualties, civilian, military, everything else, is probably under 10,000."⁷

"I am not remotely interested in getting involved in an argument over the actual number of people killed," Holbrooke told an Australian press conference a few days after Malik's admission. "People were killed and that always is a tragedy but what is at issue is the actual situation in Timor today," an apparent reference to the decision to treat the Indonesian seizure as a done deed and to focus on "the welfare of the Timorese people."⁸

In April 1977, when Holbrooke made that statement, the U.S. was doubling the supply of military weapons to Indonesia, particularly for counterinsurgent purposes. The worst period of the genocide, between 1977 and 1980, followed.

HOLBROOKE IN KOREA

For years, Holbrooke has denied an official U.S. role in the South Korean military's 1980 massacre of students and workers in the city of Kwangju. But those denials began to unravel in 1996 after journalist Tim Shorrock obtained declassified cables on the Kwangju massacre and the period leading up to it, through the Freedom of Information Act.

When students in Kwangju took to the streets to demonstrate against martial law and other edicts of South Korean military strongman Chun Doo Hwan, military Special Forces were deployed to launch what Shorrock has called a "reign of terror."

"Soldiers burst into houses searching for anyone under the age of 30 and dragged them out to face clubs, bayonets, and machine guns," wrote Shorrock in *The Nation*, December 9, 1996. "The death toll, estimated by city residents at 2,000, may never be known."

The State Department claimed for years afterward, notably in a 1989 "White

1. Quoted in Sunil Sharma, "200,000 Skeletons in Holbrooke's Closet," *Z Magazine* webpage, Mar. 22, 1999. Australian Diplomat James Dunn writes that Holbrooke made the "fait accompli" remark to him in March 1977. (James Dunn, *Timor: A People Betrayed* (Adelaide: Jacaranda Press, 1985), p. 349.

2. Matthew Jardines, *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise* (Trenton, N.J.: Odonion Press, 1995), p. 42. Sixteen more Broncos were shipped in 1977, according to Jose Ramos-Horta, along with 16 A-4 Skyhawk II jet attack planes, 16 Bell "Huey" helicopters and other supplies. He notes that the Skyhawks, "capable of spraying wide areas with weapons-fire and high explosives," were, with the Broncos, the major weapons of attack against the Timorese. James Dunn, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 91.

3. *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

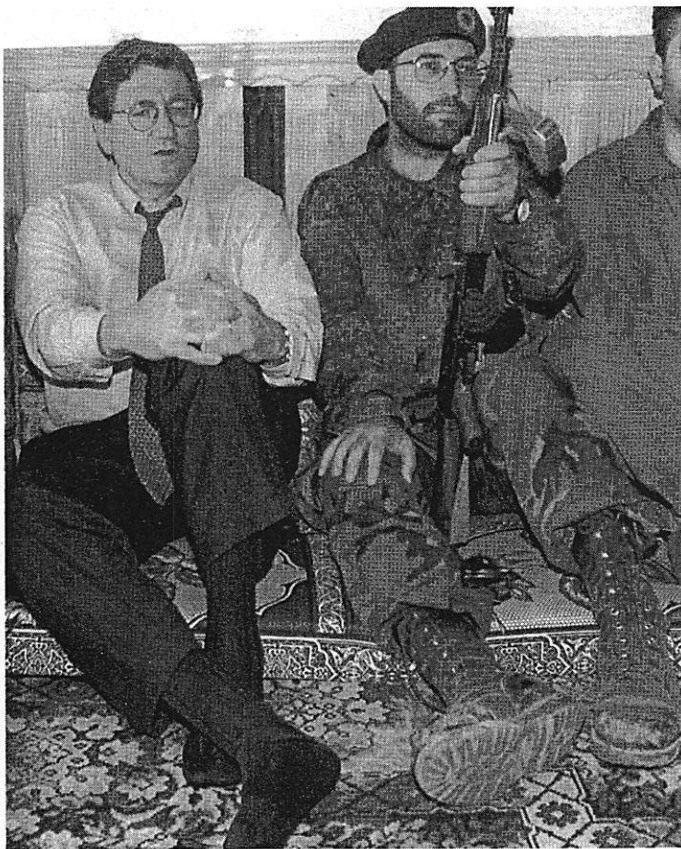
4. Graham Hovey, *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1979.

5. *Melbourne Age*, Apr. 1, 1977, quoted in *op. cit.*, n. 2.

6. *Canberra Times*, Apr. 1, 1977, quoted in *op. cit.*, n. 2.

7. Quoted in James Dunn, *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 352.

8. John Hamilton, "Timor death toll not the issue: US," *Melbourne Age*, quoted in Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Boston: South End Press, 1979), p. 148.



AP / Wide World Photos

Holbrooke brokering deal at KLA headquarters in Junik, Kosovo, June 1998. A few days later, C-130s arrived in Albania with military supplies.

Paper," that Holbrooke and other Carter administration officials did not know that the South Korean Special Forces, trained to operate behind enemy lines in a war with North Korea, were being deployed against students and workers in May 1980. The State Department further claimed that the Carter administration was alarmed by South Korean strongman Chun's threats to use the military against the nationwide demonstrations.

Embassy and Defense Intelligence Agency cables sent in early May 1980 and obtained by Shorrock quite clearly contradict those claims.

SPECIAL WARFARE COMMAND

"Senior officials in the Carter administration approved South Korean plans to use military troops against pro-democracy demonstrations ten days before former General Chun Doo Hwan seized control of the country in a May 17, 1980, military coup, according to newly released U.S. government documents," Shorrock wrote in a special series in the Korean magazine *Sisa*, February 28, 1996. "U.S. officials also knew the contingency plans included the deployment of Special Warfare Command troops to Seoul and Kwangju, the documents show."

Shorrock's revelations sparked large

protests in Kwangju and Taegu and in front of the U.S. Embassy when first published in *The Journal of Commerce* on February 27, 1996, and beginning the next day in *Sisa*, one of Seoul's largest magazines.⁹

The sequence of events is clear. On May 7, 1980, the Embassy cabled that it had been officially informed that the South Korean military was deploying two Special Forces brigades "to cope with possible student demonstrations." On May 8, a Defense Intelligence Agency cable reported on the deployment of Special Forces units against campus unrest in Kwangju.

State Department approval for the use of military force came the following day, May 9.

Two brigades of the Special Forces units in Kwangju were later held responsible for killing hundreds of people, Shorrock wrote in the *Sisa*

article.

The cables he obtained further reveal that the Carter administration had set up a secret policy group on South Korea, headed by Holbrooke, after the assassination in October 1979 of South Korean dictator Pak Chung Hee. The aim of the group was to prevent "another Iran" in South Korea. According to Shorrock, "The cables document for the first time the extent of U.S. intervention in the [South Korean] political process in 1979 and 1980."

In November 1979, Holbrooke began to hear that Christian dissidents were defying martial law commands, leading to mass arrests by Chun's security forces. "In one of his most significant cables," Shorrock reported in *The Nation*, "Holbrooke lashed out not at the military but at the 'potential polarization that exists as a result of the actions of what appear to be a relative handful of Christian extremist dissidents.'"

"The generals understood, rightly, that they were free to do almost anything," Shorrock observes.

The following May, the U.S. authorized

the deployment against the students of the special military forces, with the knowledge that they were going to Kwangju. "The cables also show that U.S. officials knew as far back as February 1980 that Chun was mobilizing Special Warfare Command troops, trained to fight behind the lines in a war against North Korea, in his repression of dissent in Kwangju," Shorrock wrote.

"TRAGIC, BUT..."

"Kwangju was an explosively dangerous situation, the outcome was tragic, but the long-term results for Korea are democracy and economic stability," Shorrock quotes Holbrooke as telling him in a recent interview. "The idea that we would actively conspire with the Korean generals in a massacre of students is, frankly, bizarre; it's obscene and counter to every political value we articulated."

Shorrock, still quoting Holbrooke, adds that when the Carter administration heard that South Korean military strongman Chun Doo Hwan was sending Special Forces to Kwangju, "we made every effort to stop what was happening."

The cables Shorrock uncovered appear to show exactly the opposite.

"Holbrooke was scornful when I asked about those documents," Shorrock wrote. "I've read them and they're being completely taken out of context by people who don't know what was said on the telephone," he said. "If you think you have a smoking gun, go out and have fun with it."

Looking back on his work in Korea, Holbrooke expressed satisfaction, Shorrock reports.

"We managed between 1977 and the 1980s a policy that kept strategic stability and encouraged democracy without losing economic growth," he quotes Holbrooke as saying. "It was an astonishing achievement." Holbrooke's parting comment was, "You ought to talk about the overall policy. Otherwise, it's simply unfair."

Students and workers in Kwangju might differ with him, were they still alive. So might millions of South Koreans whose living standards have been destroyed in the meltdown of the Korean "tiger" economy. But Holbrooke certainly did well. As Shorrock notes, he went on to become an adviser to the Hyundai Group, one of South Korea's largest conglomerates, in the 1980s. Holbrooke's appointment as Ambassador to the United Nations has languished for months, mired in allegations that he had used his diplomatic positions in a particularly extreme fashion to aid his private business deals. ■

9. The English-language version of the *Sisa* articles can be found on the Korea Web Weekly, which can be accessed through the Internet version of Shorrock's Dec. 9, 1996, *Nation* article.

THE ROMA AND THE KOSOVO CONFLICT

BY SHANI RIFATI

In all the television and newspaper reports of the war in Yugoslavia, in all the heart-wrenching coverage of the flood of refugees from Kosovo, there is no mention of the Romany people. Yet there were about 1.2 million Roma in former Yugoslavia, about 250,000 of them in Kosovo (invisible, according to the mantra that Kosovo was 90 percent ethnic Albanian and 10 percent ethnic Serbian). Now, there are close to a million refugees and displaced persons, including nearly half the Roma of Kosovo. While many have fled to Serbia and to Western Europe, many thousands have joined the streams of ethnic Albanians pouring into Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania.

Statistics on Roma refugees, however, are almost impossible to come by, since most Roma seeking asylum from Kosovo must present themselves as Albanian in order not to be refused entry, victims of the age-old discrimination against the Romany people. Some Romany refugees have reported that other members of refugee convoys told them menacingly that they should declare themselves as ethnic Albanians in order to make the number of displaced Kosovo Albanians higher. Indeed, in the past, most Roma who had emigrated to Western Europe were intimidated by representatives of the KLA, who entered their homes at gunpoint and demanded money every month. This continues for recent refugees.

Roma have experienced human rights violations in Yugoslavia as a direct result of the conflict between ethnic Albanians, Yugoslav security forces, ethnic Serb paramilitaries, and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. The Roma who remain in Kosovo are virtually ignored by the dozens of NGOs offering humanitarian aid to the ethnic Albanians.

SOME EXAMPLES

An armed group of ethnic Albanians beat six Romany men on January 14 in the village of Brusnik, near Vucitrn. The bodies

of two Roma were found on February 8, in Djakovica; they were reportedly killed with automatic weapons by ethnic Albanians. Two Romany men were among nine wounded after a bomb exploded in the southern Kosovo town of Urosevac on February 13. On February 14, unknown perpetrators killed a Romany man from the village of Jerli Tainovac. Several days earlier, the corpse of a Romany man from Pristina was found on the road from Pristina to Urosevac. A bomb explosion in the main market of Kosovska Mitrovica, in northwest Kosovo, killed a Romany girl on March 13. Two other people died in the blast, and at least 30 were wounded.

In Serbia proper, on April 7, the NATO bombing caused a significant damage to the building of a primary school attended predominantly by Romany students in Nis, central Serbia. On the same day, NATO planes bombed an oil refinery near Novi Sad causing damage to the nearby predominantly Romany settlement of Sangaj. In both instances, there were no casualties reported. A witness from Novi Sad said that local non-Roma initially did not allow some Roma into a shelter during an air raid at the end of March.

In just one example of many, a group of 27 Romany refugees from Kosovo are stranded in Budapest, with 30-day permits, denied entry into Austria, Italy, and Germany. If they register as refugees in Hungary, they will be forced to live in refugee camps almost entirely filled with ethnic Albanians, where they will face oppression both from the camp authorities and the other refugees.

The number of Roma who have fled from the province to other parts of Serbia is high. Belgrade Romany organizations state that there are as many as 5,000 Romany refugees from Kosovo in and around the capital city. Local Romany NGOs recorded 1,500 Romany refugees from Kosovo in Macedonia; a Romany member of the Macedonian parliament, Amdi Bajram, stated April 7 that the number might be as high as 8,000.

Romany refugees interviewed in Macedonia stated they fled Kosovo because of heavy NATO bombing; some said they were expelled by the Yugoslav Army and police. Some Roma from Kosovo are Muslim, some Christian. Muslim Roma are reportedly treated as Albanians by Serbian authorities and have been expelled from their homes. Christian Roma have suffered violence and threats from ethnic Albani-

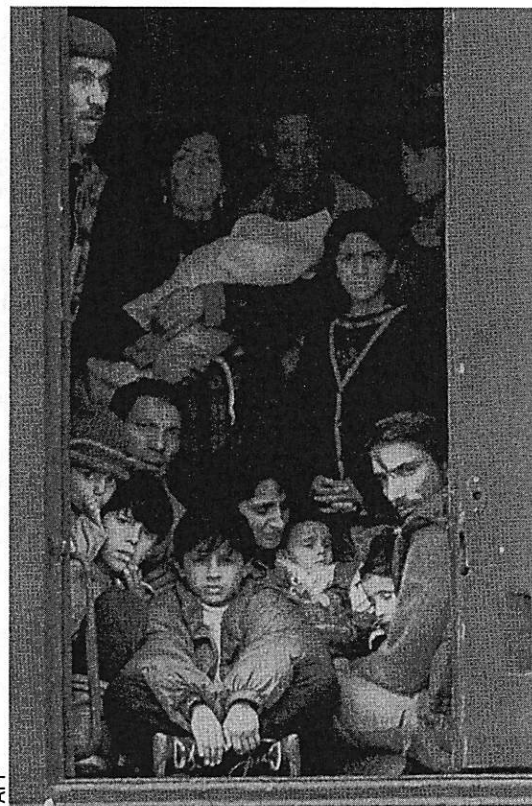
ans, as well as forced conscription of their youth into the KLA.

DISCRIMINATION

There are reports of Romany refugees being discriminated against in the distribution of humanitarian assistance. Mr. Bajram stated that, at the Yugoslav-Macedonian border crossing, he saw ethnic Albanians receiving food from members of El Hilal, a local Muslim humanitarian NGO, while Romany refugees were not given any. Bajram said he witnessed the same kind of discrimination against Roma by the Macedonian Red Cross.

The U.S. has announced it will take 20,000 Kosovo refugees, but only ethnic Albanians via Macedonia, where Roma have been turned back (see photo below).

The world's eyes are on the crisis in Kosovo, but they are focused only on the ethnic Albanians. But the Roma, the Gorani, the Turks, and other minorities are substantial, and the suffering they face is as great as anyone's. ■



Roma in a boxcar stopped at the Macedonian border and sent back to Kosovo. The caption in the March 31 *New York Times* did not refer to their nationality, and said "no reason was given" for their being denied entry.

Shani Rifati, originally from Kosovo, is a chemist. He works with the organization Rom Activistrom. His sources for this article include Amnesty International, B92, ERRC, Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia, *Politika*, Radio 021, RTV Serbia, IANJUG, and UNHCR. He notes that Rom means person or human being in the Romany language; the plural is Roma, and the adjective is Romany. "Gypsy" is a derogatory term that stems from the mistaken belief that the Roma were Egyptians. The Roma came from the Punjab in the 12th century, through Persia, Egypt, Turkey, and Europe. They have a long tradition, and a rich culture and language.

KOSOVO "FREEDOM FIGHTERS"

Financed by Organized Crime

BY MICHEL CHOSSUDOVSKY

Heralded by the global media as a humanitarian peacekeeping mission, NATO's ruthless bombing of Belgrade and Pristina goes far beyond the breach of international law. While Slobodan Milosevic is demonized, portrayed as a remorseless dictator, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) is upheld as a self-respecting nationalist movement struggling for the rights of ethnic Albanians. The truth of the matter is that the KLA is sustained by organized crime with the tacit approval of the United States and its allies.

Following a pattern set during the War in Bosnia, public opinion has been carefully misled. The multi-billion dollar Balkans narcotics trade has played a crucial role in "financing the conflict" in Kosovo in accordance with Western economic, strategic, and military objectives. Amply documented by European police files, acknowledged by numerous studies, the links of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) to criminal syndicates in Albania, Turkey, and the European Union have been known to western governments and intelligence agencies since the mid-1990s.

The financing of the Kosovo guerrilla war poses critical questions and it sorely tests claims of an "ethical" foreign policy. Should the West back a guerrilla army that appears to be partly financed by organized crime?¹

While KLA leaders were shaking hands with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright at Rambouillet, Europol (the European Police Organization based in The Hague) was "preparing a report for European interior and justice ministers on a connection between the KLA and Albanian drug gangs."² In the meantime, the rebel army had been skillfully heralded by the global media as broadly representative of the interests of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

Ironically, until recently, Washington has not denied the links of the *Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves* (UCK) to organized crime. Christopher Hill, America's chief negotiator and architect of the Rambouillet agreement, "has...been a strong critic of the KLA for its alleged dealings in drugs."³ In the words of Robert Gelbard, America's special envoy to Bosnia: "We condemn very strongly terrorist actions in Kosovo. The UCK [KLA] is, without any question, a terrorist group."⁴

Moreover, barely a few months before Rambouillet, the State Department had acknowledged (based on reports from the U.S. Observer Mission) the role of the KLA in terrorizing and uprooting ethnic Albanians:

[According to a police informant]...the KLA harass or kidnap anyone who comes to the police, ...KLA representatives had threatened to kill villagers and burn their homes if they did not join the KLA [a process which has continued since the NATO bombings].... [T]he KLA harassment has reached such intensity that residents of six villages in the Stimlje region are "ready to flee."⁵

FROM "TERRORISTS" TO "POLITICAL PARTNERS"

With KLA leader Hashim Thaci (a 29-year-old "freedom fighter") appointed as chief negotiator at Rambouillet, the KLA had become the de facto helmsman of the peace process on behalf of the ethnic Albanian majority, and this despite its links to the drug trade. The West was relying on its KLA puppets to rubber-stamp an agreement which would have transformed Kosovo into an occupied territory under Western military rule. With Thaci as Prime Minister designate, the KLA

had already been promised a central role in the formation of a government under the Rambouillet treaty.

In order to get the Albanians' "...acceptance [of the peace plan], Ms. Albright offered incentives intended to show that Washington is a friend of Kosovo.... Officers in the Kosovo Liberation Army would...be sent to the United States for training in transforming themselves from a guerrilla group into a police force or a political entity."⁶

BYPASSING THE KOSOVO DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE

While backing a "freedom movement" with links to the drug trade, the West was also intent in bypassing the civilian Kosovo Democratic League and its leader Ibrahim Rugova, who has called for an end to the bombings and expressed his desire to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Yugoslav authorities.⁷ It is worth recalling that a few days before his March 31 press conference, Rugova had been reported by the KLA (along with three other leaders including Fehmi Agani) to have been killed by the Serbs.

Rugova had openly criticized both Belgrade and NATO: "The bombing should stop. I recommend to Belgrade to cooperate with the international community, and to NATO to understand the other side, and not to kill people, but to help find a solution."⁸

Both NATO and Western governments have cursorily disregarded these statements. The KLA has accused Rugova of being a traitor.

COVERT FINANCING OF "FREEDOM FIGHTERS"

Remember Oliver North and the Contras? The pattern in Kosovo is similar to other CIA covert operations in Central America, Haiti, and Afghanistan, where "freedom fighters" were financed through the laundering of drug money. Since the

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1. Roger Boyes and Eske Wright, "Drugs Money Linked to the Kosovo Rebels," *The Times* (London), Mar. 24, 1999.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Philip Smucker and Tim Butcher, "Shifting stance over KLA has betrayed Albanians," *Daily Telegraph* (London), Apr. 6, 1999.

4. Agence France-Presse (AFP), Feb. 23, 1998.

5. KDOM Daily Report, released by the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Office of South Central European Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., Dec. 21, 1998; compiled by EUR/SCE (202-647-4850) from daily reports of the U.S. element of the Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission, Dec. 21, 1998.

6. *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1999.

7. "Rugova, sous protection serbe appelle à l'arrêt des raids," *Le Devoir* (Montreal), Apr. 1, 1999.

8. *Ibid.*



AP / Wide World Photos

German contingent on Macedonia-Kosovo border near Tetovo, March 29, as NATO attempted to smash Serbian military units.

onslaught of the Cold War, Western intelligence agencies have developed a complex relationship to the illegal narcotics trade. In case after case, drug money laundered in the international banking system has financed covert operations.

According to author Alfred McCoy, the pattern of covert financing was established in the Indochina war. In the 1960s, the CIA-backed Hmong army in Laos was funded by the narcotics trade as part of Washington's military strategy against the combined forces of the neutralist government of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao.⁹

The pattern of drug politics set in Indochina has since been replicated in Central America and the Caribbean. "The rising curve of cocaine imports to the U.S.," wrote journalist John Dinges "followed almost exactly the flow of U.S. arms and military advisers to Central America."¹⁰

9. See Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

10. See John Dinges, *Our Man in Panama: The Shrewd Rise and Brutal Fall of Manuel Noriega* (New York: Times Books, 1991).

The military in both Guatemala and Haiti, to which the CIA provided covert support, were known to be involved in the trade of narcotics into southern Florida. And as revealed in the Iran-Contra and Bank of Commerce and Credit International (BCCI) scandals, there was strong evidence that covert operations were funded through the laundering of drug money. "Dirty money" recycled through the banking system—often through an anonymous shell company—became "covert money," used to finance various rebel groups and guerrilla movements, including the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan *mujahedin*. According to a 1991 *Time* magazine report:

"Because the U.S. wanted to supply the *mujahedin* rebels in Afghanistan with Stinger missiles and other military hardware, it needed the full cooperation of Pakistan. By the mid-1980s, the CIA operation in Islamabad was one of the largest U.S. intelligence stations in the World. 'If BCCI is such an embarrassment to the U.S. that forthright investigations are not being pursued, it has a lot to do with the blind eye the U.S. turned to the heroin trafficking in Pakistan,' said a U.S. intelligence officer."¹¹

AMERICA AND GERMANY JOIN HANDS

Since the early 1990s, Bonn and Washington have joined hands in establishing their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans. Their intelligence agencies have collaborated in covert activities. According to intelligence analyst John Whitley, undercover support to the Kosovo rebel army was established as a joint endeavor between the CIA and Germany's *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND) (which previously played a key role in installing a right-wing nationalist government in Croatia under Franjo Tudjman).¹² The task to create and finance the KLA was initially given to Germany: "They used German uniforms, East German weapons, and were financed, in part, with drug money."¹³ According to Whitley, the CIA was subsequently instrumental in training and equipping the KLA in Albania.¹⁴

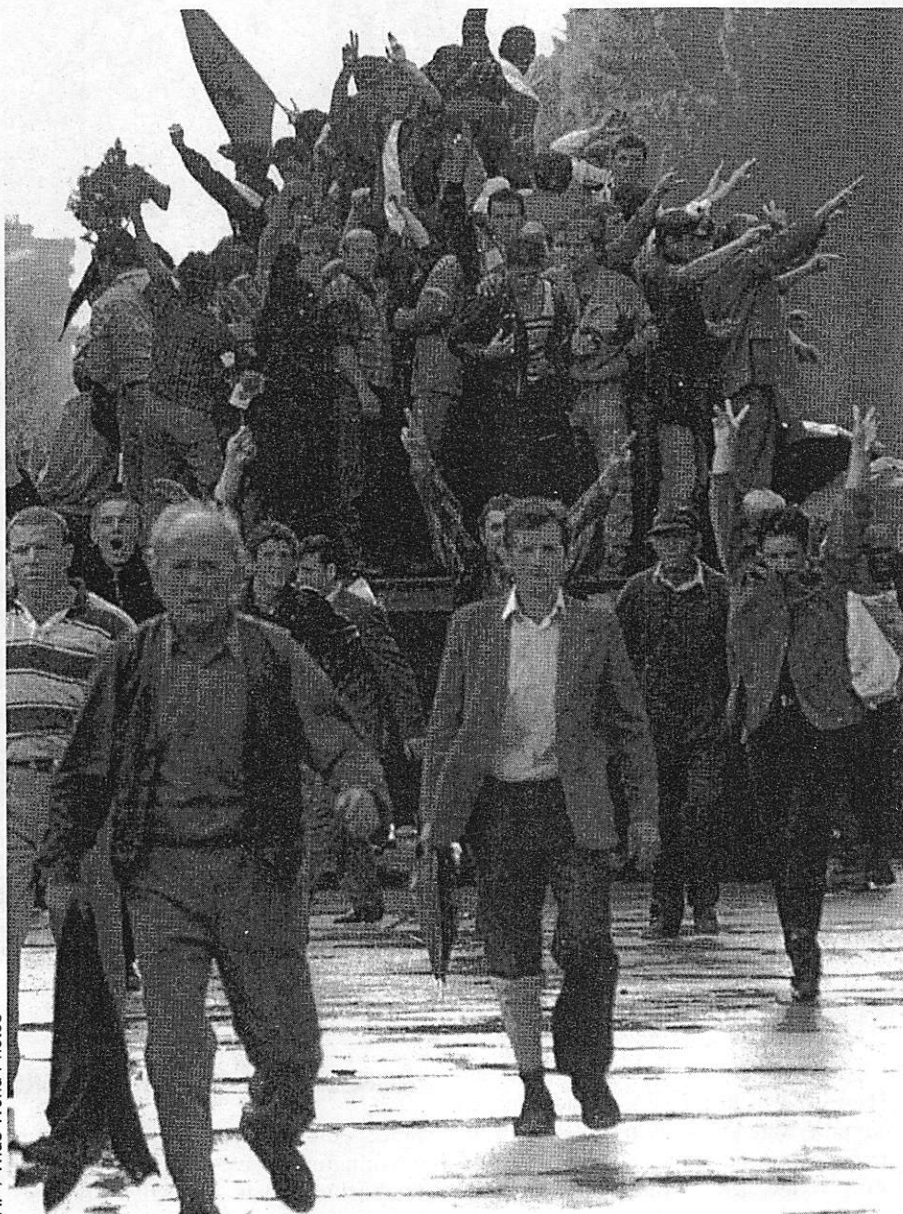
The covert activities of Germany's BND were consistent with Bonn's intent to

11. "The Dirtiest Bank of All," *Time*, July 29, 1991, p. 22.

12. *Truth in Media* (Phoenix), Apr. 2, 1999; see also Michel Collon, *Poker Menteur* (Brussels: Editions EPO, 1997).

13. Quoted in *Truth in Media*, op. cit., n. 12.

14. *Ibid.*



Supporters of former Albanian narco-President, Sali Berisha, march with stolen tank in Tirana, September 1998.

expand its *Lebensraum* into the Balkans. Prior to the onset of the civil war in Bosnia, Germany and its Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, had actively supported secession; it had "forced the pace of international diplomacy" and pressured its Western allies to recognize Slovenia and Croatia. According to the *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, both Germany and the U.S. favored (although not officially) the formation of a "Greater Albania" encompassing Albania, Kosovo, and parts of Macedonia.¹⁵ According to the late Balkans scholar, Sean Gervasi, Germany was seeking a free hand among its allies "to pursue economic dominance in the whole of Mitteleuropa."¹⁶

15. *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, No. 32, June 1994, p. 4.
16. Sean Gervasi, "Germany, U.S., and the Yugoslav Crisis," *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 43, Winter 1992-93.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN SUPPORT OF THE KLA

The CIA had used Islamic fundamentalist organizations in Afghanistan to finance its covert operations. The pattern was replicated in the Balkans. Bonn and Washington's "hidden agenda" consisted of triggering ethnic strife and nationalist liberation movements in Bosnia and Kosovo, with the ultimate purpose of destabilizing Yugoslavia. This objective was implemented by turning a blind eye to the influx of money and mercenaries from Islamic organizations, including direct support provided by Osama Bin Laden's Al Qa'ida, accused of masterminding the African embassy bombings in August 1998.

"Bin Laden had visited Albania himself. His was one of several fundamentalist groups

that had sent units to fight in Kosovo.... Bin Laden is believed to have established an operation in Albania in 1994.... Albanian sources say Sali Berisha, who was then president, had links with some groups that later proved to be extreme fundamentalists."¹⁷

This infiltration by Islamic fundamentalist organizations was not only known and accepted by the U.S. State Department; it was an integral part of CIA covert activities.¹⁸

FOREIGN MERCENARIES

Mercenaries financed by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait had been fighting in Bosnia. And the Bosnian pattern was replicated in Kosovo: *Mujahedin* mercenaries from various Islamic countries are reported to be fighting alongside the KLA in Kosovo. German, Turkish, and Afghan instructors were reported to be training the KLA in guerrilla and diversion tactics.¹⁹ According to Deutsche Press-Agentur, financial support from Islamic countries to the KLA had also been channeled through the former Albanian chief of the National Information Service (NIS), Bashkim Gazidede.²⁰ "Gazidede, reportedly a devout Moslem who fled Albania in March of last year [1997], is presently [1998] being investigated for his contacts with Islamic terrorist organizations."²¹

"[B]y early December 1997, Iranian intelligence had already delivered the first shipments of hand grenades, machine guns, assault rifles, night vision equipment, and communications gear.... Moreover, the Iranians began sending promising Albanian and UCK commanders for advanced military training in al-Quds [special] forces and IRGC camps in Iran...."²²

THE LAUNDERING OF DRUG MONEY

The supply routes for arming KLA "freedom fighters" are the rugged

17. Chris Steven, "Bin Laden opens European terror base in Albania," *Sunday Times* (London), Nov. 15, 1998.

18. "U.S. Alarmed as Mujahedin Join Kosovo Rebels," *The Times* (London), Nov. 26, 1998. A Defense Department statement (Aug. 20, 1998) had acknowledged that Bin Laden's organization was supporting Moslem fighters in both Bosnia and Kosovo.

19. *Truth in Media*, "Kosovo in Crisis," *op. cit.*, n. 12. For further details see also Collon, *op. cit.*, n. 12, p. 288.

20. Deutsche Presse-Agentur, Mar. 13, 1998.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Yossef Bodansky, "Italy Becomes Iran's New Base for Terrorist Operations," *Defense and Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*, London, February 1998. Bodansky is Director of the U.S. House Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare.



AP / Wide World Photos

KLA army marches with Albanian flag on March 6. After failed Rambouillet talks, they were given another chance to sign in order to give NATO its go-ahead to bomb.

mountainous borders of Albania with Kosovo and Macedonia. Albania is also the hub of the Balkans drug route which supplies Western Europe with grade four heroin. Seventy-five percent of the heroin entering Western Europe is from Turkey. And a large part of drug shipments originating in Turkey transits through the Balkans. According to the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), "it is estimated that 4-6 metric tons of heroin leave each month from Turkey [through the Balkans] having as [their] destination Western Europe."²³ A recent intelligence report by Germany's Federal Criminal Agency suggests that: "Ethnic Albanians

are now the most prominent group in the distribution of heroin in western consumer countries."²⁴

In order to thrive, the criminal syndicates involved in the Balkans narcotics trade need friends in high places. Smuggling rings with alleged links to the Turkish state are said to control the trafficking of heroin through the Balkans "cooperating closely with other groups with which they have political or religious ties," including criminal groups in Albania and Kosovo.²⁵ In this new global financial environment, powerful

undercover political lobbies connected to organized crime cultivate links to prominent political figures and officials of the military and intelligence establishment.

The narcotics trade nonetheless uses respectable banks to launder large amounts of dirty money. While comfortably removed from the smuggling operations per se, powerful banking interests in Turkey but mainly those in financial centers in Western Europe discretely collect fat commissions in a multi-billion dollar money laundering operation. These interests have high stakes in ensuring a safe passage of drug shipments into Western European markets.

24. Quoted in Boyes and Wright, *op. cit.*, n. 1.

25. ANA, Athens, Jan. 28, 1997; see also *Turkish Daily News*, Jan. 29, 1997.

23. *Daily News* (Ankara), Mar. 5, 1997.

THE ALBANIAN CONNECTION

Arms smuggling from Albania into Kosovo and Macedonia started at the beginning of 1992, when the Democratic Party came to power in Albania, headed by President Sali Berisha. An expansive underground economy and cross-border trade had unfolded. A triangular trade in oil, arms, and narcotics had flourished as a result of the embargo imposed by the international community on Serbia and Montenegro and the blockade enforced by Greece against Macedonia.

Industry and agriculture in Kosovo were spearheaded into bankruptcy following the IMF's lethal "economic medicine" imposed on Yugoslavia through an embargo in 1990. Ethnic Albanians and Serbs were driven into abysmal poverty. Economic collapse created an environment which fostered the progress of illicit trade. In Kosovo, the rate of unemployment increased to a staggering 70 percent (according to Western sources).

Poverty and economic collapse served to exacerbate simmering ethnic tensions. Thousands of unemployed youths (including young girls) "barely out of their teens" from an impoverished population were drafted (often by force and intimidation) into the ranks of the KLA.²⁶ KLA intimidation (according to an Agence France-Presse report) consists of threatening to burn the houses of those who refuse to join the KLA: "Either you are with us or we will burn down your houses. Join your brothers." It was signed: "Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves," the words for Kosovo Liberation Army.²⁷

In neighboring Albania, the free market reforms adopted since 1992 had created conditions which favored the criminalization of state institutions. Drug money was also laundered in the Albanian pyramids (Ponzi schemes) which mushroomed during the government of former President Sali Berisha (1992-97).²⁸ These shady investment funds were an integral part of the economic reforms inflicted by Western creditors on Albania.

Drug barons in Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia (with links to the Italian Mafia) had become the new economic élites, often associated with Western business interests. In turn, the financial proceeds of the trade in drugs and arms

were recycled toward other illicit activities (and vice versa), including a vast prostitution racket between Albania and Italy. Albanian criminal groups operating in Milan, "have become so powerful running prostitution rackets that they have even taken over the Calabrians in strength and influence."²⁹

The application of "strong economic medicine" under the guidance of the Washington-based Bretton Woods institutions had contributed to wrecking Albania's banking system and precipitating the collapse of the Albanian economy. The resulting chaos enabled American and European transnationals to carefully position themselves. Several Western oil companies, including Occidental, Shell, and British Petroleum, had their eyes riveted on Albania's abundant and unexplored oil deposits. Western investors were also gawking at Albania's extensive reserves of chrome, copper, gold, nickel, and platinum. The Adenauer Foundation had been lobbying in the background on behalf of German mining interests.³⁰

Berisha's Minister of Defense, Safet Zoulali (alleged to have been involved in the illegal oil and narcotics trade), was the architect of the agreement with Germany's Preussag (handing over control of Albania's chrome mines) against the competing bid of the U.S.-led consortium of Macalloy Inc., in association with Rio Tinto Zimbabwe (RTZ).³¹

Large amounts of narco-dollars had also been recycled into the privatization programs leading to the acquisition of state assets by the mafias. In Albania, the privatization program had led virtually overnight to the development of a property-owning class firmly committed to the "free market." In northern Albania, this class was associated with the Guegue "families," linked to Albania's Democratic Party.

Controlled by the Democratic Party under the presidency of Sali Berisha, Albania's largest financial "pyramid," VEFA Holdings, had been set up by the Guegue families of northern Albania, with the support of Western banking interests. VEFA was under investigation in Italy in 1997 for its ties to the Mafia, which allegedly used VEFA to launder large amounts of dirty money.³²

According to one press report (based on intelligence sources), senior members

of the Albanian government during the presidency of Sali Berisha, including cabinet members and members of the secret police, Shik, were alleged to be involved in drug trafficking and illegal arms trading into Kosovo:

"The allegations are very serious. Drugs, arms, contraband cigarettes, all are believed to have been handled by a company run openly by Albania's ruling Democratic Party, Shqiponja.... In the course of 1996, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali [was alleged] to have used his office to facilitate the transport of arms, oil, and contraband cigarettes.... Drug barons from Kosovo...operate in Albania with impunity, and much of the transportation of heroin and other drugs across Albania, from Macedonia and Greece en route to Italy, is believed to be organized by Shik, the state security police.... Intelligence agents are convinced the chain of command in the rackets goes all the way to the top and have had no hesitation in naming ministers in their reports."³³

The trade in narcotics and weapons was allowed to prosper despite the presence since 1993 of a large contingent of American troops at the Albanian-Macedonian border with a mandate to enforce the embargo. The West had turned a blind eye. The revenues from oil and narcotics were used to finance the purchase of arms (often in terms of direct barter): "Deliveries of oil to Macedonia (skirting the Greek embargo [in 1993-94]) can be used to cover heroin, as do deliveries of Kalashnikov rifles to Albanian 'brothers' in Kosovo."³⁴

The northern tribal clans or "fares" had also developed links with Italy's crime syndicates.³⁵ In turn, the latter played a key role in smuggling arms across the Adriatic into the Albanian ports of Dures and Valona. At the outset in 1992, the weapons channeled into Kosovo were largely small arms including Kalashnikov AK-47 rifles, RPK and PPK machine-guns, 12.7-calibre heavy machine-guns, etc.

The proceeds of the narcotics trade had enabled the KLA to rapidly develop a force of some 30,000 men. More recently, the KLA has acquired more sophisticated weaponry including anti-aircraft and anti-armor rockets. According to Belgrade, some of the funds have come directly from the CIA "funneled through a so-called

26. See Brian Murphy, "KLA Volunteers Lack Experience," AP, Apr. 5, 1999.

27. AFP, Oct. 9, 1998.

28. See *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, No. 35, 1994, p. 3; see also Barry James, "In Balkans, Arms for Drugs," *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), June 6, 1994.

29. *The Guardian* (London), Mar. 25, 1997.

30. For further details see Michel Chossudovsky, *La crisi albanese* (Torino: Edizioni Gruppo Abele, 1998).

31. *Ibid.*

32. Andrew Gumbel, "The Gangster Regime We Fund," *The Independent* (London), Feb. 14, 1997, p. 15.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, op. cit., n. 28.

35. *Op. cit.*, No 66, p. 4.

'Government of Kosovo' based in Geneva, Switzerland. Its Washington office [employed] the large public relations firm Ruder Finn—notorious for its slanders of the Belgrade government."³⁶

COORDINATING WITH NATO Air Raids

Since the onset of NATO's "humanitarian bombings," foreign mercenaries and volunteers (recruited in Western Europe, the U.S., and Canada) have joined the ranks of the KLA. In turn, the U.S. and its allies are now supplying the KLA directly with military hardware. According to Yugoslav sources, the KLA training camp in Albania is now "concentrat[ing] on heavy weapons training—rocket propelled grenades, medium caliber cannons, tanks and transporter use, as well as on communications, and command and control."³⁷

The KLA has acquired electronic surveillance equipment which enables it to receive satellite information as well as relay to NATO command intelligence concerning bombing targets. In turn, British and American special forces teams are "advising the rebels at their strongholds in northern Albania, where the KLA has launched a major recruitment and training operation. According to high-ranking KLA officials, the [British] SAS is using two camps near Tirana, the Albanian capital, and another on the Kosovan border to teach KLA officers how to conduct intelligence-gathering operations on Serbian positions."³⁸

The KLA is also negotiating "for a long-term training deal with Military and Professional Resources International, a mercenary company run by former American officers who operate with semi-official approval from the Pentagon and played a key role in building up Croatia's armed forces."³⁹

THE POSTWAR AGENDA

The fate of Kosovo had already been carefully laid out prior to the signing of

the 1995 Dayton agreement. Deliveries of weapons to the Kosovo rebel army since the mid-1990s were consistent with Western geopolitical objectives. Not surprisingly, there has been a deafening silence from the international media regarding the Kosovo arms-drugs trade. In the words of a 1994 report of the *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, "the trafficking [of drugs and arms] is basically being judged on its geostrategic implications.... In Kosovo, drugs and weapons trafficking is fueling geopolitical hopes and fears...."⁴⁰

NATO had entered an unwholesome marriage of convenience with the Mafia. "Freedom fighters" were put in place, the narcotics trade enabled Washington and Bonn to finance the Kosovo conflict, with the ultimate objective of destabilizing the Belgrade government and fully recolonizing the Balkans.

In turn, a terrorist movement with links to organized crime has become the sole political "voice" representing ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. In the words of State Department spokesman James Foley:

"We want to develop a good relationship with them as they transform themselves into a politically-oriented organization.... [W]e believe that we have a lot of advice and a lot of help that we can provide to them if they become precisely the kind of political actor we would like to see them become."⁴¹

INSTALLING A "NARCO-DEMOCRACY"

With the KLA poised to play a central role in the formation of a government,

NATO's hidden agenda consists of installing in Kosovo a "mafia state" with links to the drug trade. The State Department's position is that the KLA would "not be allowed to continue as a military force, but would have the chance to move forward in their quest for self-government under a 'different context,' meaning the inauguration of a 'narco-democracy' under NATO custody. 'If we can help them and they want us to help them in that effort of transformation, I think it's nothing that anybody can argue with.'"⁴²

In turn, "free market reforms" are envisaged for the postwar Kosovar State under the supervision of the Bretton Woods institutions. The IMF's deadly economic therapy transforms countries into open territories while fostering the growth of illicit trade and the criminalization of state institutions. Post-war reconstruction, financed by the World Bank and the European Development Bank (EBRD), will largely benefit Western investors and construction companies while fueling external debt well into the third millennium.

The destruction of an entire country is the outcome. Western governments which participated in the NATO operation bear a heavy burden of responsibility in the deaths of civilians, the impoverishment of both the ethnic Albanian and Serbian populations and the plight of those who were brutally uprooted from towns and villages in Kosovo as a result of the bombings. ■

40. *Geopolitical Drug Watch*, op. cit., n. 15.
41. *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 1999.

42. *Ibid.*

36. *Workers World*, May 7, 1998. The work was picked up eighteen months ago by former Ruder Finn Balkans point man, James Harff, now doing PR for Albanian-American groups at Washington-based Global Communicators, and by the Washington International Group, headed by former State Department Balkans desk officer, Marshall Harris, generating PR on Serbian human rights issues.

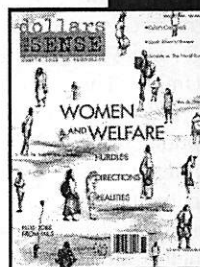
37. See Government of Yugoslavia at <http://www.gov.yu/terrorism/terroristcamps.html>.

38. *Sunday Telegraph* (London), Apr. 18, 1999.

39. *Ibid.*

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CARVING ANOTHER SLICE FROM YUGOSLAVIA

BY GREGORY ELICH

The image of Western involvement in the Balkans following the Yugoslav civil war is one of benign peacekeeping, an attempt to bring civilization to the uncivilized. NATO's war against Yugoslavia is painted as a "humanitarian" gesture. That these images should be so widely accepted, even among those on the left, is a tribute to the efficacy of Western media obfuscation. Forgotten is the primary role of the West in dismembering Yugoslavia, and creating and fueling the war. Its involvement since the 1995 Dayton peace accord has been no less significant. The demise of the Soviet Union has left in its wake a unipolar world which has greatly enhanced Western access to resources. It has also created the opportunity for a return to the crudest forms of imperialism. NATO's savage bombing of Yugoslavia, the culmination of Western destabilization and intervention in the region, is only the most visible manifestation of a larger policy to place that nation in a dependent position.

OVERTURNING THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The common theme running through Western policy is the further fragmentation of Yugoslavia and the overturning of its economic system. Montenegro, one of Yugoslavia's two remaining republics, receives support and encouragement from Western leaders, who make no secret of their desire for its secession from Yugoslavia. While Serbia, Yugoslavia's other republic, continues to suffer under draconian Western economic sanctions, which have continued unabated in one form or another since 1992, Montenegro has received a pledge from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to "shield" it from sanctions. Already Montenegro receives \$5.9 million in aid from the U.S., and \$3.3 million from the European Union. The Prime Minister of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic, declared the entire republic to be an "offshore center," in which foreign businesses can benefit from an income tax of only 2.5 percent. Foreign investors are also granted a host of additional benefits. Montenegro has embarked on a massive privatization program, in which the majority of its state assets are to be turned over to

private investors. No doubt it is these moves which led Albright to exclaim, "The United States salutes Montenegro's achievements...."¹

Privatization in Serbia is far more limited, and many elements of socialism remain. Consequently, both Serbia and the federal government of Yugoslavia face unremitting Western hostility. Reports surfaced last November of an American plan to topple Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his Serbian Socialist Party-Yugoslav United Left-led coalition government. A high-ranking DIA official disclosed that "activation of a policy of the end of Milosevic and his power in Yugoslavia is very much on the table." The plan calls for supporting Montenegro's secession from Yugoslavia, as well as expanded CIA and DIA contacts with the Yugoslav right-wing opposition, with the overthrow of the left-wing government as its goal. "Clinton is doing this right now," said a White House source, "and it's beginning at a local level."² "It's a cornerstone of our policy in the Balkans," said U.S. State Department spokesman James Rubin, "to promote democracy...."—a euphemism for capitalism. Along those lines, "We are spending \$15 million in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including \$2 million for independent TV."³ Most of the funds to the opposition are channeled through such organizations as the National Endowment for Democracy, the National Democratic Institute, and the National Republican Institute. Significant financial assistance to the opposition is also provided by the European Union and George Soros's Open Society Institute.⁴

The primary component of the Western destabilization campaign is support for the violent secessionist movement in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia. According to a report by the Russian Federal

Security Service, the CIA has operated in Kosovo at least since 1995, and the number of its operatives multiplied rapidly just prior to the explosion of violence in early 1998. Most of these agents act "under cover of 'humanitarian' missions and various observer teams," the report stated.⁵

The military arm of the secessionist movement is the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which not only engages in military operations, but has also assassinated several hundred pro-Yugoslav civilians of all ethnic groups, including Albanian. The policy of killing civilians, KLA spokesman Jakup Krasniqi declared, is justified because "collaborators are warned that we will kill them if they continue to follow the wrong path."⁶ A number of execution sites have been discovered, and last August, when Yugoslav police captured a KLA stronghold at Klecka, they discovered the charred remains of 22 executed men, women, and children, and a handcuffed, decapitated body in a cellar. An examination of the remains showed evidence of torture. A captured KLA soldier confessed to executions, saying that "after the shooting the firing squad threw the bodies into the lime-pit," poured gasoline on the bodies and set them afire. "Some of them were still alive," he added, "since whining could be heard."⁷

A large proportion of the KLA's force is composed of mercenaries and Kosovar Albanian expatriates, and Krasniqi has admitted that half of the KLA's soldiers come from abroad. Many of these mercenaries act as training instructors.⁸ According to a Yugoslav policeman, "The way in which [the KLA] conduct their operations, prepare the ground for attack, or build fortifications, confirms that they are very well-organized and that they have very good trainers."⁹

5. Tomislav Kresovic, "Numerous U.S. Agents in 'Humanitarian Missions,'" *Politika Ekspres* (Belgrade), Apr. 9, 1998. In 1995, a USIS "information center" opened in Pristina.

6. Interview with Jakup Krasniqi, "The Reality is War," *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), July 6, 1998.

7. M. Laketic, "The Testimony of Bekim Mazrekaj on the Albanian Terrorists' Crimes Against the Kidnapped Serbs in the Village of Klecka," *Politika* (Belgrade), Aug. 31, 1998; "Mass Grave Found in Former Kosovo Rebel Stronghold," *AFP*, Aug. 29, 1998; "Serbs Show Mass Grave Found in Kosovo," *AFP*, Aug. 29, 1998.

8. Interview with Jakup Krasniqi, "The Reality is War," *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), July 6, 1998; Mirjana Nilic, "After Bosnia Dogs of War Arrive in Kosovo," *Politika* (Belgrade), June 3, 1998; D. Stevanovic, "Dogs of War Arrive from Croatia, Bosnia and the Islamic Countries," *Politika* (Belgrade), June 24, 1998; "There are 40 Mercenaries from Croatia Fighting in Kosovo," *Vecernji List* (Zagreb), June 14, 1998.

9. "New Phase of the Kosovo Fighting Stench of War," *Beta* (Belgrade), June 11, 1998.

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AP / Wide World Photos

KLA soldier marches with grenade-launcher after battle with Serbs, the day before Rambouillet "war talks."

Many Kosovar Albanians living in Western Europe donate three percent of their income into bank accounts of the organization, "Homeland Calling." The German Foreign Ministry notes that those unwilling to pay this "solidarity tax" are often forced to do so.¹⁰

The bulk of the KLA's financing for arms purchases derives from the drug trade. A report in the Swedish press points out that "it is mainly Kosovo Albanian rings that organize heroin smuggling into the Nordic area.... [T]hey have pushed other groups out of competition from portions of the European market." Swedish police report that up to 90 percent of heroin seized in Sweden "can be linked to Kosovo Albanian rings."¹¹ Last June, a nationwide police sweep in Italy netted 100 drug traffickers, including

members of a Kosovar Albanian mafia. Profits from the sales of drugs were used to purchase arms in Italy, which were then shipped to Kosovo.¹² A report by the German Federal Criminal Agency states, "Ethnic Albanians are now the most prominent group in the distribution of heroin in Western consumer countries."¹³

Hundreds of tons of weapons have flooded across the border from Albania into Kosovo. Many of these arms were purchased on the black market or looted from armories during the July 1997 uprising in Albania, but the KLA also receives arms through contact with Western intelligence agencies. The German "Monitor" television program on ARD Television Network reports that the German Military Counter-intelligence Service was involved in "several illegal arms supplies" to Albania and that "via these channels" German military equipment reached the KLA. In the program, a former counterintelligence official claimed that the arms supplies

were "ordered by the very top."¹⁴ One NATO official noted, "We have seen sophisticated weapons like the German-designed Armbrust anti-tank weapon being used."¹⁵ Austrian radio reported that a photograph of a KLA soldier holding a Steyr automatic rifle "caused quite a stir." The Steyr, the report said, "is a showpiece of Austria's military technology" and "is considered one of the best automatic rifles in the market by military circles."¹⁶

On July 2 last year the Albanian press noted mysterious flights by U.S. military cargo planes, flying into Albania without reporting their presence. "An average of two U.S. C-130 military aircraft have landed daily at Gjadar," the report said, alarming civil aviation personnel, who worry that the lack of notification may lead to air collisions with civil aircraft.¹⁷ The *New York Times* reported that an officer in the Western observer mission "was taken aback when a powerful U.S.-made Barret sniper rifle was brought out for display" by a KLA soldier. "He was told the guerrillas had more of them and additional ones would be coming in." This rifle, a NATO officer claimed, is capable "of blowing a head off from a mile away."¹⁸ Last December, a Western journalist reported that the KLA had "acquired satellite communications" and "smuggled in significant amounts of anti-tank rockets, anti-aircraft guns, shoulder-fired Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and long-barreled sniper rifles." He was told by a KLA deputy commander, "We're getting more and more arms every day."¹⁹

Last summer, Albanian Secret Service director Fatos Klosi said that relations with the CIA were "intensified in recent months," and that "CIA specialists" were active in Albania, including northern Albania, a region under the control of the KLA.²⁰ According to Yugoslav special units expert Stojan Jovic, the entire Kosovo-northern Albania operation was "being

10. Peter Muench, "Secret Weapons Aid to Kosovo," *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), July 4-5, 1998; Pekka Mykkanen, "Albanians From Kosovo Living in Sweden Suspected of Collecting Money for Rebels," *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki), July 10, 1998; Florian Klenk and Wolfgang Paterno, "When the Homeland Calls," *Profil* (Vienna), July 20, 1998.

11. Elisavet Andresson, "Record Seizures of Heroin from the East," *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), June 22, 1998.

12. "Police Break Up Kosovar Drug, Gun-Running Gangs," AFP, June 9, 1998.

13. Roger Boyes and Eske Wright, "Drugs Money Linked to the Kosovo Rebels," *The Times* (London), Mar. 24, 1999.

14. "German-KLA Ties," ARD Television Network (Munich), Sept. 24, 1998.

15. Paul Beaver, "Fear Grows That Aid is Buying Arms in Kosovo," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, July 29, 1998.

16. Klaus Webhofer, broadcast, Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network, Mar. 15, 1999.

17. "Unreported U.S. Military Flights to Kosovo Could Pose Threat to Civil Aviation," *Gazeta Shqiptare* (Tirana), July 2, 1998; "Officials Warn Against Unscheduled U.S. Military Flights," *ATA* (Tirana), July 2, 1998.

18. Jane Perlez, "Guerrillas in Kosovo Rebound, Provoking Concern," *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1998.

19. Dave Carpenter, "Kosovo Rebel Group Grows and Rearms," *Associated Press* (AP), Dec. 19, 1998.

20. "CIA Helping Albania Upgrade Its Own Secret Services," AFP, Aug. 13, 1998; Arlinda Causholli, "Albanian Official Reportedly Admits CIA Operating in the Country, Even in the North Near Kosovo," AP, Aug. 13, 1998.

carried out by American Green Berets," and the KLA has "intelligence support" from NATO's South Wing Headquarters in Naples. KLA fighters, he said, "maintain satellite contacts with U.S. intelligence agents who conduct aerial surveillance...."²¹

Western news reports last summer may have inflated the scale of refugee flight to justify NATO intervention. Austrian journalist Paul Flieder pointed out that such figures were "impossible to verify," and that he could find "no trace" of such large numbers of refugees in northern Albania and in Kosovo. "I got the impression that the refugee figures are being deliberately exaggerated to get hold of relief supplies. An Albanian who houses a couple of refugees told me that none of the relief supplies get through to the refugees. Everything seems to go into arms dealing."²² This year, the abrupt termination of the Rambouillet, France, peace conference by Western leaders and NATO saber-rattling merely ignited the region into full-scale warfare, resulting in a genuine mass refugee crisis.

Last September, the Western policy of low-intensity conflict in the region seemed on the point of collapse, as the KLA, forced out of most of Kosovo, faced defeat at the hands of the Yugoslav police and army. NATO responded by threatening to bomb Yugoslavia. Such threats enabled NATO to win Yugoslavia's agreement to allow Western monitors to patrol Kosovo and NATO spy planes permission to overfly the region. While this fell short of NATO's objectives, it essentially got what it wanted: a Western presence and further opportunities for meddling in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Under terms of the agreement, Yugoslav police and army presence in the region greatly diminished, and large areas of Kosovo fell into the hands of secessionists—a not unintended consequence.

NATO needed a pretext for more direct intervention, and this arrived with the alleged massacre in the village of Racak on January 15. Brandishing the threat of bombing Yugoslavia, Western leaders brought both parties in the conflict to a peace conference in Rambouillet, to negotiate over a U.S.-drafted peace and autonomy plan. A high-ranking American official admitted the plan would be "basically imposed" upon the negotiating parties.²³

The attitude that a complex and difficult conflict could be resolved rapidly through belligerence is stunning in its arrogance.

The two negotiating teams presented a stark contrast. The secessionist delegation consisted solely of Albanians, with heavy representation from the KLA. The KLA's position, as stated by its spokesman, Bardhyl Mahmuti a few months before, was that "We will never change our position. The independence of Kosovo is the only solution.... We can't live together [with Serbs]. That is excluded."²⁴ The composition of the Yugoslav delegation reflected Kosovo's ethnic complexity, consisting not only of Serbs, but also two Albanians, a Slavic Muslim, a Turk, a Goran, a Roma, and an Egyptian. Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic declared, "We want a solution that guarantees equality for every national community and enables everyone to be master of his own fate," but that "we are not going to allow foreign rule over a single inch of Serbia."²⁵

FARCE AT RAMBOUILLET

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the peace negotiations were intended to fail. Repeated requests by the Yugoslav delegation for face-to-face talks were rejected by Western mediators. Serbian President Milan Milutinovich complained, "We have not received all the documents for this conference. It is clear...there are games being played here and we don't know what these games are."²⁶ He soon found out. During the 17 days of negotiations at Rambouillet in February, the Yugoslav delegation substantially accepted the Western political proposals, but they understandably rejected the demand for occupation by NATO troops. On the final day, just hours before the conclusion of the conference, Western mediators presented a new document, containing 56 pages for the first time.²⁷

The following month, when the Yugoslav delegation arrived in Paris for the resumption of negotiations, Western officials told them that no discussion of the new proposal would be permitted. Western mediators would allow discussion only of "implementation" of this new plan, which had never been discussed. For weeks Western officials had begged the KLA to sign the plan, and British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook tipped the Western hand

when he urged the KLA, "If you don't sign up to these texts, it is extremely difficult to see how NATO could then take action against Belgrade."²⁸ Once the KLA signed on, Western officials immediately aborted the Paris conference. Milutinovich denounced the Paris talks as "a fraud, some sort of deceit, a very big deceit," and pointed out that "no one consulted us during these four days in Paris. Now we got an imposed document. We saw that we have been betrayed."²⁹

The text of the new peace plan contains several provisions that no sovereign nation could accept. The plan allots Kosovo a status transcending either of Yugoslavia's republics and provides for direct Western involvement. A Chief of the Implementation Mission (CIM), appointed by NATO, would be empowered to "recommend to the appropriate authorities the removal and appointment of officials and the curtailment of operations of existing institutions" and to "issue binding directives to the parties and subsidiary bodies on police and civil public security matters...." Western officials would also appoint the chief prosecutor, and "when necessary, direct the operations of the office of the Prosecutor...." Censorship would be effectively imposed, as the CIM would be responsible for "allocation of radio and television frequencies." The CIM would also act "as the final authority" and "his determinations" would be "binding on all parties and persons." Yugoslavia, according to the plan, would "invite" occupation by hostile NATO troops. A provision stating that "the economy of Kosovo shall function in accordance with free market principles" would ensure Western corporate interests. Additionally, the plan provides for "the free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital to Kosovo, including from international sources."³⁰

The plan covers a three-year transition period, at the end of which "an international meeting shall be convened to determine a mechanism for the final settlement for Kosovo." The fate of Kosovo would be decided by "the will of the people," presumably only those residing within Kosovo and not the rest of the nation, and by "opinions of relevant authorities," unquestionably a reference to NATO. State Department spokesman James Rubin was clear about what is intended to follow the

21. Dragan Vujacic, "Terrorists Under NATO Helmet," *Vecernje Novosti* (Belgrade), July 5, 1998.

22. Interview with Paul Flieder by Hans-Christian Scheidt, "Chaos Within KLA," *Oesterreich Eins Radio Network* (Vienna), July 21, 1998.

23. Steven Erlanger, "Kosovo Negotiators Will Look to Impose a Quick Settlement," *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1999.

24. "Albanian Rebels Say Kosovo Independence Vital," *Reuters*, Oct. 27, 1998.

25. Broadcast report of address by Mirko Marjanovic, *Radio Belgrade Network* (Belgrade), Mar. 16, 1999.

26. Dusan Stojanovic, "Serbs Accuse Foreign Mediators," *AP*, Feb. 12, 1999.

27. Press Conference by Serbian President Milan Milutinovich, *Tanjug* (Belgrade), Feb. 23, 1999.

28. Barry Schweid, "Albright Makes No Headway on Kosovo," *AP*, Feb. 21, 1999.

29. "Kosovo Talks Set to Be Adjourned in New Reprieve for Serbia," *AFF*, Mar. 19, 1999.

30. "Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo, Feb. 23, 1999"; Ronald Hatchett, "Serbs Had Little Choice," *Houston Chronicle*, Mar. 28, 1999.



German paramilitary soldier breaks up fight between Kosovo Albanian refugees in Macedonian NATO-run camp.

interregnum covered by the plan. "Some Kosovar Albanian leaders are starting to understand that an interim arrangement doesn't mean that the Kosovar Albanians need to forgo permanently their aspirations, but rather it is an interim solution...."³¹

According to an analyst from Pax Christi, American mediators told the secessionist delegation at Rambouillet that they need only "symbolically disarm," and they "would be allowed to keep large parts of their weaponry, provided they concealed them."³² One high-ranking official from the Clinton administration indicated that "some members" of the KLA "are going to have to morph into a new role" as the Kosovo police force, and another was quick to assure the KLA "they can still exist" as part of the police force.³³

As revealed by a German intelligence official, "The [German] Chancellor and Foreign Minister knew from the outset that no Yugoslav government could ever sign" the Rambouillet plan. "Both understood clearly that this would mean the end of Yugoslavia as a sovereign state. War was therefore inevitable." The last-minute additions to the plan were so extreme that

"experts of the [German] Justice Ministry poked fun at these passages."³⁴

DISINFORMATION

Western propaganda has succeeded in winning over a majority of public opinion in support of a blatant violation of the U.N. Charter and international law. The emotional pretext for NATO's war of aggression was an alleged massacre in the village of Racak. Yet, Western European observers and an Associated Press film crew covering the police action did not witness a massacre. The bodies of the victims did not appear until the next day, several hours after the departure of Yugoslav police. Forensic tests showed traces of gunpowder on 37 of the 40 bodies, indicating that the individuals had been engaged in combat.³⁵

34. "Erklärung eines Insiders aus dem Bonner Regierungsapparat zum Balkan-Krieg vom 7. April 1999," from web site of the Party of Democratic Socialism, Apr. 7, 1999, ww2.pds-online.de/bt/index.htm.

35. Christophe Chatelot, "Were the Dead in Racak Really Massacred in Cold Blood?" *Le Monde* (Paris), Jan. 21, 1999; Renaud Girard, "Massacre Under a Cloud," *Le Figaro* (Paris), Jan. 20, 1999; Helene Despic-Popovic, Pierre Hazan, Jean-Dominique Merchet, "Nine Questions Concerning the Racak Dead," *Liberation* (Paris), Jan. 21, 1999; "Victims of Racak Massacre Shot From a Distance: Belarussian Experts," AFP, Feb. 23, 1999; "Yugoslav Forensic Team Statement," *Serbia Info News*, Mar. 18, 1999; "Yugoslav Forensic Expert Says 'No Massacre' in Racak," *Tanjug* (Belgrade), Mar. 17, 1999; M. Lake-tic, "Albanians Killed in Racak Were Armed," *Politika* (Belgrade), Mar. 18, 1999; Interview with Vladimir Kuzmichov, "There Was No Massacre in Racak," *Politika* (Belgrade), Mar. 22, 1999.

Pentagon press conferences often focus on the suffering of refugees, resorting to highly emotive and overwrought terms like "genocide" and "great terror." No doubt abuses have taken place, and on both sides, but there is a policy of deliberate exaggeration and fabrication, in order to build public support for the death and destruction that NATO is inflicting. The execution of secessionist leaders was widely reported, including "eyewitness accounts," but these same leaders achieved a remarkable resurrection when they were found very much alive several days later.³⁶ Another Kosovar Albanian leader, Ibrahim Rugova, was said to be either killed or in hiding, and his home demolished. Inconveniently, he was found very much alive in his intact home.³⁷ Another story charged Yugoslav police with rounding up 100,000 Albanians in a Pristina stadium, in preparation for a massacre. A French reporter went to the stadium and found it "completely empty."³⁸

A reporter from *The Times* of London visiting Macedonia heard two refugees relate stories of their village being burned and civilians driven away. Noticing their spotless white running shoes, a Red Cross worker commented, "These men don't look as though they have walked 20 miles. They look as though they arrived by Mercedes." According to the reporter, "There were so many discrepancies" in the stories of refugees from the village of Kotlina, "it was impossible to know the truth." The same reporter noted that there was speculation that villagers from Kotlina had fled from the KLA, and there have been reports of "forcible conscription" by the KLA, including attacks on those refusing to join. The KLA issued an order for all Kosovar Albanian men between 18 and 50 to join its forces. In addition to accepting volunteers, a KLA officer says, "we will also use force to recruit" men, and a KLA statement announced that "if the men refuse to join the KLA...the military police will act even outside Kosovo." According to Reuters, "Some refugees reaching the relative sanctuary of Albania said they were willing to pay local taxi drivers hefty sums to help them escape KLA press gangs."

There are many reasons people flee their homes, some due to abuses, and

31. U.S. State Department Report, "U.S. Pushes for Three-Year Deferment of Question of Kosovo's Permanent Status," Nov. 17, 1998.

32. Peter Dejaegher, "Serbs Feel Cheated," *De Standaard* (Groot-Bijgaarden, Netherlands), Mar. 31, 1999.

33. Jane Perlez, "Albright Due at Kosovo Talks to Push Pacts on Forces," *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1999; Barry Schweid, "Albanian Leaders Invited to D.C.," AP, Feb. 26, 1999.

36. Douglas Hamilton, "NATO Expands Bombing, 'Dead' Kosovans Alive," *Reuters* (London), Mar. 31, 1999.

37. "Stop the Bombings, Rugova Says," AFP, Mar. 31, 1999; "Milosevic 'Meets' Albanian Leader," *BBC News*, Apr. 1, 1999; "Rugova Wants Bombing to Stop," *BBC News* (London), Apr. 5, 1999.

38. "No Sign of Serbs Massing Kosovars in Pristina Stadium," AFP, Mar. 31, 1999.

some due to the all-out warfare that has erupted between the KLA and Yugoslav forces. But NATO itself is also responsible for generating the refugee crisis. When asked if Serbian police had driven her from her home, one woman told *The Times* reporter, "There were no Serbs. We were frightened of the bombs." Red Cross officials told the reporter that "many of the most recent arrivals intend to return to Kosovo as soon as the NATO bombardment stops."³⁹

A statement released anonymously by a high-ranking German official, declaring he "can no longer remain silent," accused "both the entire NATO propaganda staff," as well as German leaders, of "unabashedly lying to the public with nearly every 'fact' they present about the Balkan way, while a willing media pack is keenly spreading these lies, unverified, as gospel truth." Furthermore, the German government "is cynically playing with the calculated misery of the refugees." NATO, he added, does not have at its "disposal photographic intelligence knowledge, indications, and proof leading to the conclusion that there is systematic expulsion or deportation of refugees by Yugoslav special forces, army, or police."

The German defense ministry, he claimed, has determined that the following factors are equally responsible for refugee flight:

Excess on the part of Yugoslav soldiers and police forces, often triggered in part by KLA attacks carried out under cover of Kosovar Albanian civilians. Information is on hand that Yugoslav soldiers caught looting are summarily court-martialed.

The results of the NATO bombing, such as the lack of potable water in nearly all cities of Kosovo, and general devastation.

Understandable fear of getting caught in the crossfire between the KLA, the Yugoslav military, and NATO attacks.

Constant spreading of panic and horror stories in the broadcasts of dozens of small KLA, NATO, or Albanian shortwave stations located in the mountains alongside the propaganda broadcasts of the KLA over Radio Tirana.

Pillaging bands of the Albanian mafia, who...extort money, search abandoned houses for anything of value, and then burn the houses down to create a political effect.

KLA irregular troops, who have declared a "general mobilization" and are forcing every available man into their military service. Those objecting are submitted to grave physical abuse and released only upon paying a ransom, and having sworn under threat of vendetta not to tell the truth but to tell family and the media that they had been mishandled by Serbs.

The announcement by the KLA that NATO will inevitably have to carry out a ground attack and that this attack is imminent.⁴⁰

TRANSFORMING LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT

NATO's bombardment has spared nothing. Not only military targets, but factories, public buildings, residential areas, schools, pharmaceutical plants, chemical plants, oil refineries, bridges, and roads have been destroyed. The city of Novi Sad was without a supply of water for two weeks. NATO is deliberately destroying Yugoslavia as an industrial economy. Each day sees more factories obliterated and more workers faced with a loss of income. Several hundred civilians have been killed, and countless more wounded. This ruthless unprovoked savagery has only brought more suffering to the people of the Balkans.

NATO and the KLA are closely coordinating operations during the bombing campaign. A French reporter was told by a KLA soldier, "The KLA gives information on targets to NATO. Tuesday I transmitted information on a bridge and a road used by Serbs. The bridge was bombed and destroyed Wednesday morning."⁴¹ An Italian journalist visiting a KLA camp was surprised to see walk in an officer "from NATO special forces. He does not seem surprised to see me, nor worried. He sat down next to [KLA soldiers] and began looking at a number of military maps."⁴² According to the anonymous German official, "NATO and the German army are logistically supporting the KLA. Food, uniforms, and in-

structors are furnished mainly by the Bundeswehr as well as by the U.S.A. All KLA commanders are in constant radio contact with NATO."⁴³

NATO has also completed "detailed plans" for a ground invasion that is scheduled to take place no sooner than the end of May. The plan calls for 80,000 troops to invade the Kosovo region, and for an additional 200,000 troops in Bosnia, Hungary, and Romania "to all but throttle Serbia and to cage Milosevic." A Romanian diplomat revealed that U.S. officials had discussed the deployment of NATO troops in Romania. According to a NATO officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, "There would be no point in just taking Kosovo. You'd have to take the whole country down."⁴⁴ Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, Russia claims to have obtained "reliable information" that the invasion would ensure the secession or splitting off of Kosovo.⁴⁵

"Since the first term of the Clinton administration," the German official's statement states, "the CIA, DIA, and German BND have undertaken a covert action aimed at 'the destruction of Yugoslavia...the last bastion of resistance in the Balkans.'" The objective of the plan "is the dissociation of Kosovo as the principal source of raw materials for Yugoslavia through a comprehensive autonomy, by Albanian annexation or total independence; the secession of Montenegro, its only remaining access to the Adriatic and the dislocation of Vojvodina, the 'bread basket' and another source of raw materials for Yugoslavia, leading to the total collapse of Yugoslavia as a viable industrial state."⁴⁶

The West, U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia Christopher Hill asserts, will be "heavily involved" in Kosovo for decades.⁴⁷ Madeleine Albright has declared that "NATO will be in charge of the real estate in Kosovo, just as they are in Bosnia."⁴⁸

A precedent is being set. NATO's abrogation of international law and the United Nations Charter will have profound ramifications far beyond the Balkans in the years ahead. ■

39. Tony Allen-Mills, "Truth Chokes on the Fog of War," *The Sunday Times* (London), Mar. 28, 1999; Benet Koleka, "KLA Needs More Than Volunteers to Hit at Serbs," Reuters (London), Apr. 8, 1999; "Kosovo Rebels Seek Refugee Recruits," AP, Mar. 31, 1999. Yet, U.S. and NATO spokespeople, and wire service reports, continue to ask, "Where are all the refugees?"

40. *Op. cit.*, n. 34.

41. "KLA Helping NATO Bombing Raids: French Reporters Inside KLA Areas," AFP, Apr. 8, 1999.

42. G. Mik, "On the Road with the UCK Taking Arms to the Front," *Il Giornio* (Milan), Apr. 14, 1999.

43. *Op. cit.*, n. 34.

44. Peter Beaumont, Andy McSmith, Patrick Wintour, Ed Vulliamy, "NATO Gears Up for Invasion of Kosovo at End of May," *The Observer* (London), Apr. 18, 1999.

45. "U.S. Has Secret Plan for Kosovo Independence-Moscow," CBC TV, Mar. 31, 1999.

46. *Op. cit.*, n. 34.

47. R. Jeffrey Smith, "Kosovo Plan Spells Out Local Powers," *Washington Post*, Nov. 10, 1998.

48. Jane Perlez, "Albright Due at Kosovo Talks to Push Pacts on Forces," *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1999.

Ocalan's Odyssey

BY JANE HUNTER

On the morning of February 16, Turkish commandos captured the founding leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party, Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan (PKK), Abdullah Ocalan, in Kenya. They flew him to Turkey, put a sack over his head and ferried him to an island prison off Istanbul where he awaits a treason trial and possible execution.¹ Help from Washington and other governments made the commandos' grab as easy as shooting fish in a barrel.

In the immediate aftermath of Ocalan's capture, with Washington's role still to be fully exposed, Kurdish protesters on three continents directed much of their rage at the diplomatic posts of Greece and Kenya, which had betrayed Ocalan, and of Israel, which, said early news reports, had helped track him down. Demonstrators occupied 20 Greek diplomatic offices in Europe and marched on Greek consulates in Vancouver and Sydney.² In Berlin, Israeli guards shot dead three Kurdish demonstrators and wounded 16 others as they attempted to occupy that country's consulate.³ One of the wounded subsequently died.⁴

As the leader of the only Kurdish political movement that Turkey has not smashed, Ocalan symbolizes the aspirations for autonomy of some 12 to 14 million Turkish Kurds and some of an equal number outside Turkey's borders.⁵ The Kurds, said to be the largest people without a state, have lived since ancient times in parts of the area currently divided among Syria, Iraq, Iran, Armenia, and Turkey.

Following the path set for it in the 1920s by Kemal Ataturk, founder of the modern state, Turkey doggedly insists that

the Kurds (who comprise about a fourth of the population) are "mountain Turks," and so forbids the public use of the Kurdish language. The PKK's war for autonomy, launched in 1984, followed earlier Kurdish revolts against Turkish rule in the impoverished southeast, where the Kurds are concentrated. Turkey responded with a fearsome scorched-earth counterinsurgency campaign. The PKK extended its attacks to western Turkey and Europe.

The U.S. classifies the organization as "terrorist," alleging it commits human rights abuses against Kurdish civilians.⁶ PKK supporters say the organization adheres to the Geneva protocols, caring for its prisoners and refraining from targeting innocent civilians.⁷

ETHNIC CLEANSING TURKISH STYLE

Villagers in the southeast say the army gives them a brutal choice: either take up arms against fellow Kurds, or watch as the army razes their homes. According to reliable estimates, the army has burned more than 3,000 settlements, bombing many of them from the air. Nearly two million inhabitants have been expelled; few have been allowed to return.⁸

It's a criminal offense to advocate a negotiated end to the fighting.⁹ The military has rejected several PKK calls for a truce.¹⁰

Ocalan's fateful journey began last October when Syria, his long-time host, succumbed to U.S.-backed Turkish threats and ousted him.¹¹ The Syrians put Ocalan on a plane to Russia.¹² From that beginning of what became a desperate quest for sanctuary, the Clinton administration dog-

ged him every step of the way. At times, Israel joined the hunt.

Soon after Ocalan arrived in Moscow, seeking asylum, a State Department briefer said, "We have asked the Russian Government to investigate whether PKK leader Ocalan is in Russia, and to take the necessary steps to expel, deport or extradite him immediately."¹³ Israeli intelligence agents reportedly traced Ocalan to the secret police compound where he was living by intercepting his cell phone calls. After that, the U.S. pressed Russia to oust him, and Turkey promised Moscow some high-tech military gear.

On November 12, Ocalan arrived in Italy,¹⁴ where he was arrested on a 1990 German arrest warrant for murder.¹⁵ Turkey demanded Ocalan, but Italy rejected its extradition bid on the basis of Italian law barring surrendering a suspect to possible execution.¹⁶

After fanning public fury into a boycott of Italian consumer items—and igniting a political crisis in NATO—Turkey backed off and said it would be satisfied if Italy or Germany prosecuted Ocalan.¹⁷ Germany, reportedly concerned that his trial would stir political emotions in its large Kurdish immigrant population, decided not to seek his extradition.¹⁸ Ocalan asked for asylum, but Italy asked him to leave.¹⁹

So, in mid-January, Ocalan had to go. The problem was, where? Washington made sure no country was willing to take him. A "senior government source" told the *Los Angeles Times*: "Whenever there was a sense he was someplace new or intended to go someplace else, we were active in discouraging either giving asylum or allowing him passage." So effective was the U.S. campaign, said then Greek Foreign Minister Theodore Pangalos (his job was a casualty of the affair) that "there was a full alert at Europe's airports; not even a mosquito could get past."²⁰ Ocalan spent most of late January trying in vain to stay in Russia, which denied hosting him. Meanwhile, the Turks warned South Africa, Ukraine and Estonia not to take him in.²¹

Jane Hunter is a free-lance writer based in California.

1. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 17, 1999.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999.

4. Associated Press (AP), Feb. 27, 1999.

5. Writes Richard Boudreaux in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 24, 1999, "[B]y refusing to allow anyone less brutal to emerge as a legal advocate for Kurdish rights, the Turks have given him legitimacy as a 'freedom fighter' among millions of Kurds who never took up arms." Mehrdad R. Izady, *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor & Francis, 1992), p. 119, states that there are 13.7 million Kurds in Turkey and 12.6 million outside Turkey. Nicole and Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1998), p. 247, states that there are about 12 million Kurds in Turkey (a figure admitted by the president of Turkey) and 13 million outside. Almost all those outside Turkey are in Iran, Iraq, and Syria, although, according to the Popes (p. 189), 25% of the two million Turkish guest workers in Germany, i.e., half a million, are Kurds.

6. U.S. State Department, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998*, section on Turkey, Feb. 26, 1999.

7. Author's interviews. For more background on the PKK, see Vera Beaudin Sacedpour, "Conflicted Kurdistan," *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 54 (Fall 1995).

8. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 24, 1999. According to Nicole Pope, "the Turkish Parliament's own figures show that some 3,400 villages have been emptied in the course of 15 years of conflict between the PKK and the government, and at least 378,000 people—some say up to two million—have been forced out of their homes." "Turkey's Missed Chance," *New York Times*, op-ed, Apr. 17, 1999, p. A17.

9. Reuters, in *Washington Post*, Nov. 29, 1998.

10. *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1998.

11. U.S. State Department Press Statement, "U.S. Welcomes Turkey-Syria Agreement," Oct. 22, 1998, explicitly describes the agreement as Syria banning the PKK.

12. *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1999.

13. State Department briefing, Nov. 5, 1998.

14. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 17 and 19, 1999.

15. Reuters, *Washington Post*, Nov. 11, 1998.

16. *New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1998.

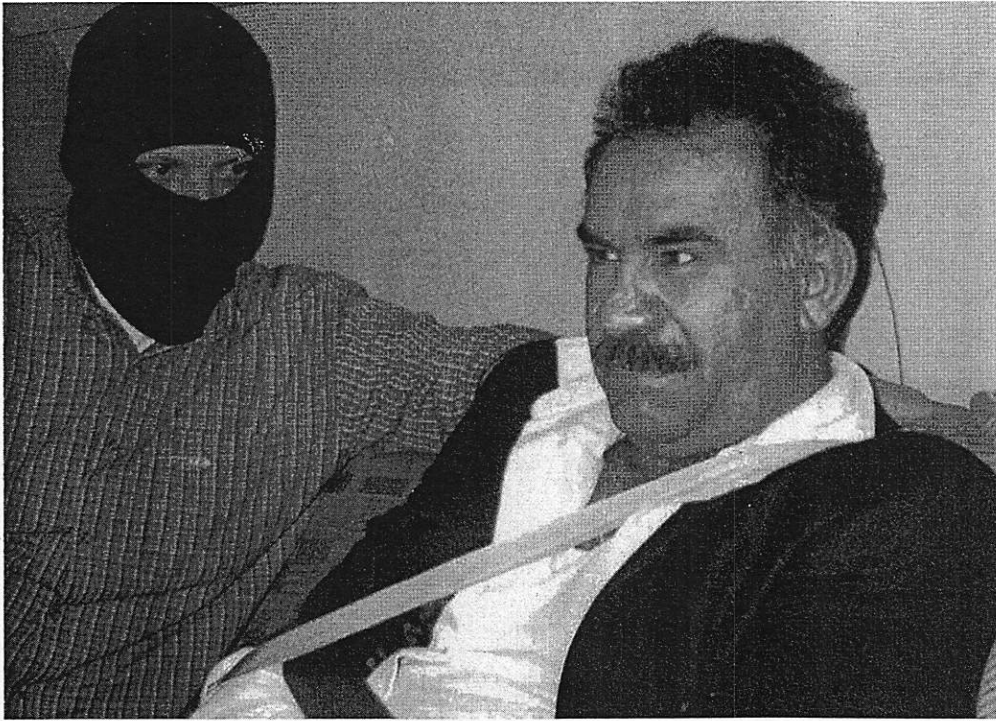
17. Reuters, *Washington Post*, Nov. 26, 1998.

18. *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1998.

19. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 17, 1999.

20. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1999.

21. *New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1999.



AP / Wide World Photos

Ocalan on plane to Turkey, after his capture by Turkish Intelligence Service.

At the end of January Ocalan quietly arrived in Greece, the guest of a retired admiral. But Prime Minister Costas Simitis ordered him out immediately. He reportedly flew, on a supporter's plane, to Holland on February 2, hoping to plead his case before the World Court. But the Dutch authorities didn't let him land. After an unsuccessful attempt to land in Minsk, Belarus, the plane landed in Corfu, a Greek island.

Anticipating that Ocalan would get asylum in one or more African countries, the Greek government slipped him into Kenya under diplomatic cover.²² It was a big mistake, since more than 100 FBI agents were in the country investigating last August's bombing of the U.S. embassy. They reportedly discovered Ocalan's presence even before the Israelis did. Turkey's "Operation Safari" reportedly took eight days because the U.S. needed "time to gain assurances of cooperation from the Kenyans and the Greeks."²³

While Greek diplomats tried desperately to secure an African refuge for Ocalan, they negotiated his surrender with Washington, which told Turkey his location on February 4. Then the U.S. gave Kenyan officials records of Ocalan's (again, ill-advised) cell phone calls and photos of him in the garden of Greece's ambassador to Nairobi.²⁴ The Greeks negotiated with Kenyan officials and a new detachment of Greek security officials arrived in Nairobi.²⁵

According to Nukan Derya, a Kurdish representative in Cyprus who was with Ocalan in Nairobi, on February 14, Kenyan troops surrounded the ambassador's house. On the 15th, Derya said, Pangalos telephoned to tell Ocalan he could go anywhere in Europe he wanted. He fell for the ploy and chose Amsterdam. Kenyan security officials then forced Ocalan into a jeep by himself to ride to the airport. The jeep soon sped ahead of the convoy transporting his companions.

The Turkish "maroon berets" didn't even have to leave their rented plane (which they'd disguised with Malaysian markings²⁶). The Kenyans delivered Ocalan right to the door. The *New York Times* cited "news reports from Kenya suggest[ing] that the American and Israeli secret services had assisted Turkey."²⁷ *Middle East International* reported that South Africa had offered to give Ocalan asylum.²⁸

On the day of Ocalan's capture, the State Department's briefer told reporters:

The United States did not apprehend or transfer Ocalan or transport him to Turkey. In other words, U.S. personnel did not participate in any of those actions that I just described.... We have had extensive diplomatic efforts that we have undertaken to bring him to justice. We have been in frequent diplomatic contact with all governments concerned...ever

since he turned up in Italy some months ago.

At the next day's briefing, a reporter asked:

Have you had the opportunity to see the videotape the Turks took of him as they were lashing him to his chair in the airplane and apparently giving him some sort of medication or tranquilizer or something, whether that would qualify as the humane treatment...?

Television stations were playing the video repeatedly. But briefer James Foley declared: "I have no knowledge of any of the facts you're talking about."²⁹

Back on February 1, when Ocalan's plane was bouncing around European cities, another State Department briefer quipped "I would hate to be the pilot of that small plane." When the laughter quieted, he said, "In addition to denying terrorists, such as Ocalan, safe haven, refuge or asylum, countries should take steps consistent with their national legal system to assist Turkey's efforts to bring Ocalan to justice."

U.S. Policy

Washington fully supported Turkey in its search for Ocalan. "We do want extradition," Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said last fall, after Italy arrested him. "We have said that the PKK is a terrorist organization.... Because we are dealing with the whole problem of terrorist acts, it is very important that he be brought to justice. We have said that we would prefer that this take place in Turkey."

Where Turkish human rights practices scream out for a reprove, Washington has two tin ears. What else can explain how the U.S. equates the 768 atrocities which Human Rights Watch attributes to the PKK with the 25,000 plus deaths the Turkish government concedes it has killed in its battle against the Kurds³⁰ and arrives at the conclusion that Turkey should get the PKK leader?

The counterpoint, playing mellifluously in Clinton administration ears, is Turkey's strategic geography, with its borders on Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Greece, and Bulgaria. During the Cold War, Turkey's geographic luck won it quasi-European status as a member of NATO. Now, Washington uses Turkey's Incirlik air base for attacking Iraq and appreciates

22. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 19, 1999.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Middle East International*, Feb. 26, 1999.

25. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 19, 1999.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1999.

28. *Op. cit.*, n. 24.

29. Press conference, NATO secretary general, Nov. 20, 1998.

30. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 24, 1999. Quoting Turkish government figures the paper says: "of the 30,678 war dead...21,598 were armed rebels, 4,748 government soldiers and 4,332 civilians."

Turkey's good offices in Central Asia. Someday Ankara may provide the U.S. facilities to keep interlopers away from Persian Gulf oil.

Although Turkey receives a moderate amount of foreign aid from the U.S., it is far below the levels of several years ago, and much of the aid now is in the form of subsidized loans. In early 1998, it declared it wouldn't allow the U.S. to launch attacks against Iraq from Turkish bases, necessitating bowing and scraping. It finds distasteful Washington's support of the Kurds in northern Iraq for use against Saddam Hussein. Last fall, when the Clinton administration got Kurdish factions in northern Iraq to sign a pact calling for a Kurdish government in the area, Turkey responded by threatening to restore ambassador-level ties with Baghdad, downgraded since the 1991 war.³¹

It is not surprising that the U.S. endorses Turkey's repeated military incursions into the zone to attack PKK bases.³² Indeed, last year U.S. taxpayers financed on easy terms weapons worth \$240.5 million.³³ But, after debating the applicability of a new human rights law denying arms aid to states using torture, the Clinton administration refused loan guarantees for General Dynamics' sale to Turkey of heavy police gear, including armored vehicles equipped with gun ports, water cannons and ramming arms, for use in the southeast. So the company financed the sale itself.³⁴

For years, the European Union has denied Turkey membership because of its human rights record.³⁵ The Council of Europe's human rights monitor for Turkey warned that failure to give Ocalan a fair and open trial could result in Turkey's ex-

pulsion from that body.³⁶ Every year, when the U.N. meets on human rights in Geneva, the U.S. blocks moves to censure Turkey, according to an individual who has lobbied the conference.

ISRAEL'S ROLE

Despite scanty specifics, there is widespread belief that Israel's Mossad helped hunt down Ocalan. Israelis themselves "are convinced Mossad played some role in the abduction," wrote columnist Haim Baram in *Middle East International*. The magazine's Cyprus correspondent reported that Russia denied Ocalan refuge "after he was spotted by Israeli agents in St. Petersburg."³⁷

The London newsletter *Foreign Report* said it was told Mossad agents had been tailing Ocalan and gave high "probability" to reports that Mossad had tipped off Turkey to his whereabouts.³⁸ Some Turkish media said that Israel's secret services had helped the Turks hunt down Ocalan.³⁹ Greek Justice Minister Evangelos Yannopoulos suggested that a Greek security guard who accompanied Ocalan to Kenya was a Mossad agent.⁴⁰

Unlike past occasions, when Israeli officials winked in acknowledgment of Mossad operations,⁴¹ they adamantly denied any involvement. The head of Mossad, Ephraim Halevy, issued an unprecedented public denial,⁴² as did Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who said, "We did not cooperate with any element in Ocalan's capture."⁴³ The foreign ministry denied Yannopoulos's suggestion.⁴⁴

Israeli officials defended the Berlin consulate guards' action—the only lethal force used during the Kurdish days of rage. The head of the Israeli internal intelligence agency, Shin Bet, praised the consulate guards' handling of the protest.⁴⁵ The *Jerusalem Post* quoted a purported "Kurdish source with close links to the PKK," who portrayed the "traumatized" party as "mistaken" to try to occupy the consulate and "open a new front" against Israel.⁴⁶

Israeli Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon noted when denying involvement in "the Ocalan affair" that "Israel has long, continuous friendly relations with the Kurds."⁴⁷ Sharon was not the only Israeli to focus on the connection. But its reality has become a bit misty with time and sentiment.

Israel was once friendly with the Kurds of northern Iraq. In the 1960s, under the leadership of legendary Mossad operative David Kimche,⁴⁸ Israel curried favor with Iran (its main oil supplier) by supporting a Kurdish rebellion against Iraq. An Israeli paratroop officer, Tzuri Sagui, led the Iraqi Kurds to a significant victory in 1966. The U.S. was supporting the same Kurdish faction. After a decade of guerrilla warfare, Iran made peace with Iraq, requiring the U.S. and Israel to abruptly halt their aid.⁴⁹ Since then, Israel's Kurdish links endured chiefly through thousands of Jewish emigres from Kurdish areas.⁵⁰

Israel has called the Kurds in Turkey "terrorists."⁵¹ Indeed, its recently intensified military and intelligence relationship with Turkey depends on helping Turkey fight the PKK.⁵² After the Berlin killings, Israel "beefed up security at its diplomatic missions, on El Al planes and at Ben-Gurion Airport to prevent possible reprisals by Kurdish militants."⁵³

Joel Greenberg reported in the *New York Times* that Israel has shared intelligence with Turkey and "advised" it on "antiterrorism methods" for use against the PKK:

"The methods have reportedly included fencing-off and mining border areas, curfews and interrogation techniques, cross-border incursions against guerrilla bases in Iraq and establishment of a Turkish controlled 'security zone' there."⁵⁴

Long a factor in the Middle East power balance, Turkish-Israeli military and intelligence cooperation intensified after the

31. *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 29, 1998; *Washington Post*, Nov. 26, 1998.

32. *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1999.

33. Figure courtesy of Federation of American Scientists.

34. *Washington Post*, Dec. 30, 1998. The report quotes from a report on a visit to Turkey by Sen. Carl Levin, a Michigan Democrat, who lobbied for financing of the vehicles, which are produced in his state. "[I]t is clear that the torture of detained or confined people is the primary human rights issue involving the Turkish National Police.... These vehicles, however, are not instruments of torture and, although the Turkish National Police already has more than 100 of these vehicles, I am unaware of any allegations that they have been misused."

35. See, for example, Frank Viviano, "Camps Offer Grim Testimony to Turkey's Ruthless Civil War, Thousands of Kurds Without Homes or Hope," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 24, 1996. Echoes of the Ottoman campaign of genocide against the Armenians early in the century still are heard. According to the Popes, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 44, Turkish newspapers report that Armenians are colluding with the rebellious Kurds. And they suggest periodically to their Turkish readers that it was the Kurds, not the Ottomans, who massacred the Armenians! *Ibid.*, p. 42.

36. AP, Feb. 27, 1999.

37. *Op. cit.*, n. 24.

38. *Foreign Report*, Feb. 25, 1999, cited by *Jerusalem Post* of the same date.

39. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999.

40. AP, Feb. 24, 1999.

41. When asked if Israeli agents had bombed a ship in a Cyprus port that the PLO had bought to use to "return" refugees to Palestine, one Israeli official replied, "Wait a minute. I'm just taking off my underwater wet suit." (Cable News Network, Feb. 15, 1988.)

42. *Irish Times*, Feb. 19, 1999.

43. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999.

44. AP, Feb. 24, 1999.

45. *Ma'ariv*, Feb. 19, 1999, cited by Reuters' Israeli Press Digest for that day.

46. *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 28, 1999.

47. Reuters, Feb. 21, 1999.

48. In the 1980s, as director of the foreign ministry, Kimche played a lead role in the Reagan administration's Iran-Contra scandal.

49. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Feb. 22, 1999.

50. *Op. cit.*, n. 24.

51. *The Independent* (London), Feb. 24, 1999.

52. In its above-cited Feb. 22 report from Israel, the JTA tells its international readership that memories of Israeli help to the Iraqi Kurds "explains why last week's storming of the Berlin consulate came as a particular blow to Israeli officials. Suddenly Israel was being drawn into a conflict that was not theirs—as if they did not have enough troubles of their own in the region."

53. *Op. cit.*, n. 49.

54. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999. Greenberg quotes Netanyahu suggesting the distinction: "Israel's activity does not include any role in the struggle against Ocalan, and we did not cooperate with any element in apprehending Ocalan," Netanyahu told a news conference. "We always fight terrorism, and we will always fight terrorism, but we certainly had no part in the capture of Ocalan."

1991 war. Israel enjoys lucrative Turkish arms contracts.⁵⁵ According to one account, Mossad and its Turkish analog Milli Istihbarat Teskilati (MIT) signed a cooperation agreement in 1993; Mossad got bases in Ankara and Istanbul in exchange for its "anti-terrorist" help against the PKK.⁵⁶ Veteran Middle East journalist Robert Fisk reported that Turks and Israelis now share listening posts on Turkey's borders with Iraq, Iran, and Syria, and compare notes on their respective occupations of the Kurds' and the Palestinians' homelands.⁵⁷

Fisk points out that Turkey modeled its threats to Syria, which set off Ocalan's search for haven, on Israel's threats regarding the Syrian-backed Hezbollah guerrillas fighting Israeli forces in southern Lebanon.⁵⁸ Turkish leaders said Syria could avoid military attack by expelling Ocalan.⁵⁹ Underscoring the threat, Turkey sent troops and jets to its Syrian border.⁶⁰ Syria soon signed the agreement barring PKK activities.⁶¹

After the Israeli ambassador to Germany met with Kurdish representatives in a bid to defuse tensions over the consulate killings,⁶² and after Prime Minister Netanyahu instructed Mossad to pass word to PKK "figures" that Israel intended to stay out of their conflict with Turkey,⁶³ Turkey warned Israel not to talk to the PKK.⁶⁴ "If Israel disregards its anti-terrorist principles for the sake of political expediency, it will suffer," said Ankara's ambassador to Israel.⁶⁵

The *Jerusalem Post* condemned "Turkey's attempt to soften Israel's very strenuous denials that it was involved in the capture of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan.... [R]ather than reinforce the denial, Turkish officials from the prime minister down have been hinting that journalists 'draw their own conclusions' when they ask questions about third-country assistance in the capture."⁶⁶

Netanyahu has said that the bilateral military relationship could serve as the "axis" of a regional defense structure.⁶⁷ Egypt and Jordan have declined invitations to participate in "axis" military

exercises,⁶⁸ although Jordan reportedly sent intelligence representatives to meetings. Other Arab governments view the alliance as inimical. According to Fisk, Turkey has allowed transit to Israeli jets overflying northern Iraq. The U.S. officiates at regular meetings in Tel Aviv of Turkish and Israeli intelligence officers.⁶⁹

Columnist William Safire refers to the "phantom alliance" of this threesome as "the strategic tie that so frustrates fundamentalist Muslims and southward-looking Russians."⁷⁰

TRYING OCALAN

Fifteen lawyers applied to see Ocalan, soon after he was imprisoned on the remote island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara. They wanted "to find out about his health and to remind him of his rights under domestic and international law." Osman Baydemir, one of the lawyers, recounted how authorities stonewalled them. Then, he said, the police provoked a mob to attack them. The mob attacked the lawyers again the next day, as they made another attempt to see Ocalan.

"The lawyers' lives are in danger," wrote Baydemir, who was barred from a second visit and arrested as he arrived for a press conference—for making statements to the news media. Authorities released him after several hours. Baydemir accuses the government of trying to intimidate lawyers who might represent Ocalan. "The lawyers are made targets. Under these circumstances it is impossible to talk about the right to defense."⁷¹

By late March 1999, a member of the defense team reported, they had only been allowed a total of three hours with Ocalan since his abduction, and were only able to talk about his health and world events, with security guards always present.⁷²

Leaked "confessions" from Ocalan's interrogation, implicating mainstream organizations and prominent Kurds, are appearing in Turkish newspapers; activists fear the allegations will serve as a pretext for crackdowns.⁷³ On February 26, Turkey's Constitutional Court abolished a Kurd-led political party, the Democratic Mass Party, and confiscated its assets. Its offense: "separatist" propaganda.⁷⁴ And Turkey's chief

prosecutor has asked for a ban on another Kurdish party.⁷⁵

"In a nation where the defense of human rights is often associated with terrorism and subversion, the patriotic fervor that has followed this month's capture of Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan has only made life more dangerous for activists," noted the AP in a story about public hostility to an organization whose lawyers volunteered for Ocalan's defense.⁷⁶

The leaks replicate past government propaganda about training bases outside Athens and landmines from Italy.⁷⁷ Turkey bellowed for Greece to be labeled a "terrorist" state.⁷⁸ Replied the Greek foreign ministry: "It is presumptuous of Turkey to make accusations when it illegally occupies half of Cyprus and systematically violates legal and human rights."⁷⁹

Turkey will try Ocalan at the prison on Imrali before a special security court, with a military judge joining two civilian jurists. The government has refused to allow international observers at his trial.⁸⁰

Citing sections of the European Convention on Human Rights pertaining to liberty, security, the right to life, to a fair trial, and to freedom from torture, Ocalan's European lawyers have appealed to the European Court of Human Rights to intervene with Turkey. Turkey does belong to this European institution and has obeyed its past rulings. However, Turkey's responses to an initial inquiry—that Ocalan could meet his lawyers and family—contradicted his lawyer's account of one short visit in the presence of the government prosecutor.

Moreover, the European court may take several years to rule on Ocalan's appeal,⁸¹ while the Turkish trial goes full speed ahead. "It need not last too long," said Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, "because all the illegal actions, the crimes of the PKK's leadership, are well known."⁸²

If Turkey refrains from executing Ocalan, perhaps, years from now, Turkish leaders will go furtively to meet with him, as South African leaders sought out their prisoner, Nelson Mandela, when, finally, they were ready to negotiate an end to a conflict exacerbated and prolonged by hard-line policies. Perhaps it is worth remembering that in 1962, U.S. intelligence operatives betrayed Mandela to the apartheid regime; three decades later the Washington establishment was lionizing him. ■

55. *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 17, 1997.

56. *Op. cit.*, n. 38, which also says that, under the agreement, Mossad's "Itevel," which cooperates with foreign organizations, and "Tzomet," which recruits Arab agents, began operating in Turkey, facilitating Mossad penetration of Iran and Syria.

57. *The Independent*, Feb. 24, 1999.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Washington Post*, Oct. 8, 1998.

60. *AP, Washington Post*, Oct. 5, 1998.

61. *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1998.

62. *Reuters*, Feb. 21, 1999.

63. *Ha'aretz*, Feb. 19, 1999, cited by Reuters' Israeli Press Digest for that day.

64. *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 19, 1999, cited by Reuters' Israeli Press Digest for that day.

65. *Op. cit.*, n. 24.

66. *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 21, 1999.

67. *AP*, Sept. 8, 1998.

68. *AP*, Sept. 25, 1998.

69. *The Independent*, *op. cit.*, n. 57, citing a lecture by Bar Ilan University Professor Efraim Inbar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., in the autumn of 1998; *AP*, Sept. 28, 1998.

70. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999.

71. Account by defense attorney Osman Baydemir, Mar. 1, 1999, courtesy of American Kurdish Information Network, Washington, D.C.

72. Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty broadcast, interview with attorney Okcuoglu, Mar. 25, 1999.

73. *Washington Post*, Mar. 5, 1999.

74. *Turkish Daily News* (Ankara), Feb. 27, 1999.

75. *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1999.

76. *AP*, Feb. 27, 1999.

77. *New York Times*, Mar. 6, 1999.

78. *Washington Post*, Feb. 23, 1999.

79. *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1999.

80. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1999.

81. *Irish Times*, Feb. 19, 1999; *Reuters*, Mar. 9, 1999.

82. *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1999.

EMERGENCY ALERT: LEONARD PELTIER

Imprisoned American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier is gravely ill and feared near death in Leavenworth Prison, while prison authorities deny him adequate medical treatment.

Mayo Clinic specialists have offered to provide treatment without charge, either at the clinic's facilities in Rochester, Minnesota, where federal prisoners are regularly treated, or at the prison itself. So far, despite a storm of criticism, the Bureau of Prisons has said no.

Peltier, who has inspired a worldwide campaign for political prisoners, spends his days in excruciating pain since enduring two botched maxilla-facial surgeries in a prison hospital. A member of his legal staff who did see him says his face is swollen beyond recognition; he can only eat by softening his food with his tongue; in the last six months his hair has turned completely white.

Peltier has been in prison for 23 years, the victim of a trial now widely accepted as a sham. The evidence has long since been overwhelming that Peltier is not guilty of the crime of which he is charged, the shooting deaths of two FBI agents at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1975. In fact, it is generally known in the Pine Ridge Reservation who really did the shooting.

However, for the U.S. authorities to admit that would be to admit that the FBI, far from making a mistake, had fabricated evidence to obtain Peltier's extradition from Canada, where he had fled.

Clearly embarrassed by press coverage and protests from around the world, the Bureau of Prisons created a special web site and released a carefully worded statement regarding Peltier's medical condition, which, far from providing answers, raised additional concerns about the motives of the Bureau of Prisons and the FBI.

The statement noted that Peltier had earlier received treatment at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri. In fact, the treatment he received was horribly bungled, so that he was virtually unable to open his mouth, and for a time a wire protruded through his cheek. His recovery room was the filthy and cockroach-infested prison "hole."

Beyond refusing access to Mayo Clinic doctors, Leavenworth Prison has denied face-to-face interviews with all

nadian government to "protest the fraud perpetrated on our judicial system" in order to extradite Peltier.

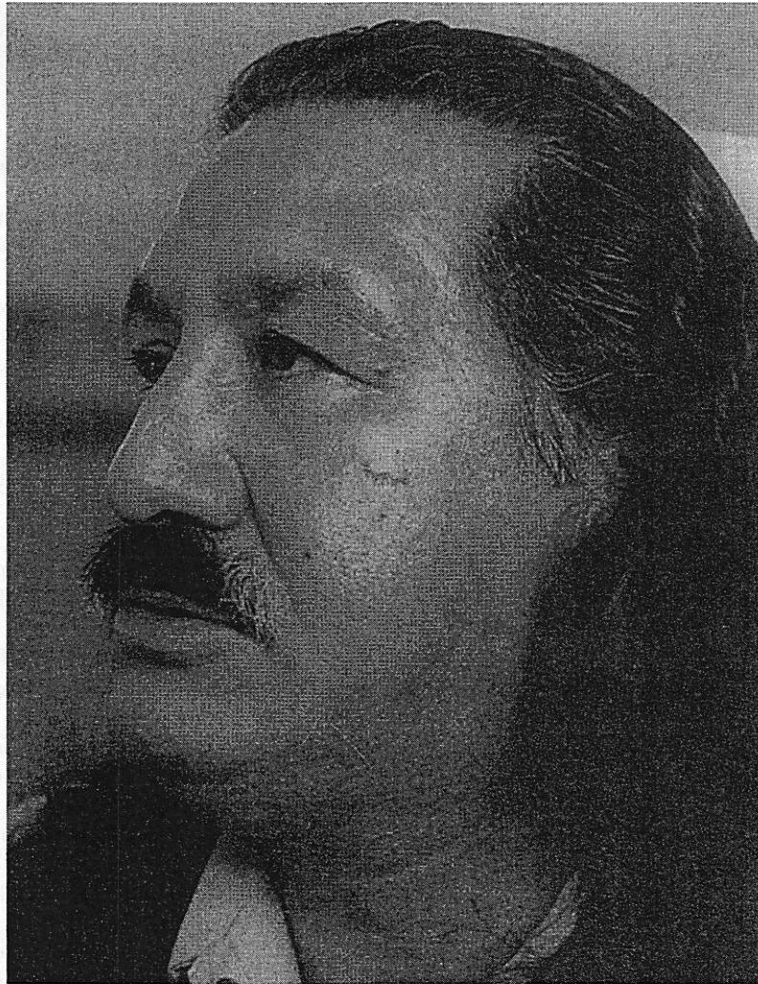
He writes that at the extradition hearing the FBI presented an affidavit by a purported girlfriend of Peltier, who said that she had seen him shoot the FBI agents. But, he notes, it turned out that the "girlfriend" was a mental patient who had never met Peltier, was nowhere near Pine Ridge at the time of the shooting, and was coached and pressured to sign the FBI's affidavits.

"It's become widely accepted that Peltier's trial was a farce," Worthington wrote. "Indians and others know who executed the two FBI agents, but the FBI doesn't care. They've got their man."

He sees a move by Canada as the key to Peltier's freedom. Until there is more pressure in the United States, not much can be expected from the federal Bureau of Prisons, the FBI or President Clinton, despite his pre-election promise.

If Peltier were to die, it would let the FBI off the hook. That may explain the Bureau of Prisons' assertion in its carefully worded statement that Peltier had refused a transfer to the Springfield, Missouri, facility for more "medical" treatment.

The FBI may believe it will be off the hook if Peltier dies but, as Worthington remarked in the *Toronto Sun*, "America may soon have yet another martyr on its conscience." ■



LPDC

reporters, including those from the *Toronto Sun*, CNN, and the *British Guardian*.

Peter Worthington of the *Sun* wrote on April 19, 1999, "At the time [of Peltier's extradition from Canada], as editor of the *Toronto Sun*, I wrote editorials supporting the FBI and criticizing Amnesty International, which questioned the extradition." Worthington has since publicly campaigned for a rectification and called on the Ca-

The Bureau of Prisons has been flooded with protest letters, faxes and e-mails. Readers can contact: Ms. Kathleen Hawk, Director, Bureau of Prisons, 320 First Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20534, fax 202-514-6878; 202-307-3198, e-mail khawk@bop.gov and swolfson@bop.gov.

The Defense Committee can be reached at P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66064; 715-842-5774; e-mail: lpdc@idir.net; web site: <http://members.xoom.com/freepeltier/index.html>.

SAMORI MARKSMAN

Samori Marksman, program director of WBAI radio in New York and one of the finest journalists of his generation, died in his sleep from a heart attack March 23. He was 51. He is survived by his wife Rita, two daughters, Lindiwe Ona and Zindzi Sonjay, and a son, Kaifa Samori.

Samori's death followed a tense and exhausting meeting, part of the ongoing struggle to keep Pacifica Radio committed to the principles for which it has existed for 50 years. Over three thousand people turned out for his funeral at Manhattan's Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

The *New York Times*, which has made no secret of its support for those who want to make Pacifica a clone of NPR, sent a reporter to join the thousands at the funeral, and then censored all mention of Marksman from its obituary page. Marksman might have smiled at the unintended compliment.

As Samori's associate and close friend Elombe Brath said at the memorial, "Samori's true impact is best measured by the vast audience he reached over the airwaves to present the truth." He will be most remembered for his programs "Behind the News" and "Worldview." Marksman provided background about areas of the world ignored by the corporate media, raised questions about NATO's real agenda that virtually nobody was asking, and focused listeners' attention on the "New World Order" economic policies that have ruined living standards and provoked or exacerbated conflicts worldwide.

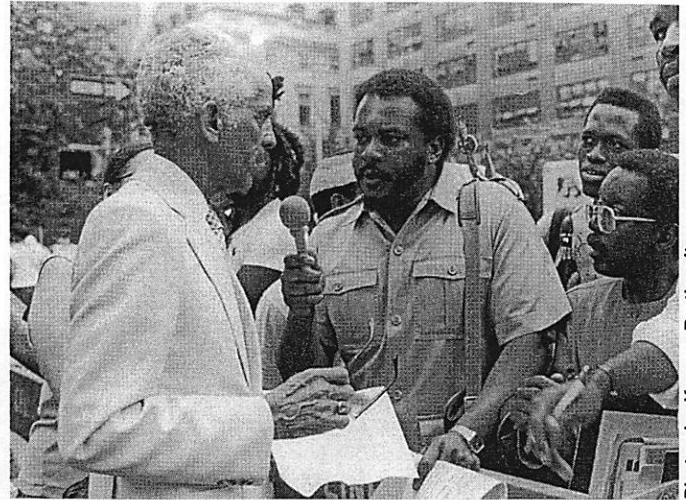
Well before the bombing of Yugoslavia, Samori analyzed the obvious parallels between the re-balkanization of the Balkans and similar imperialist plans, particularly in Africa, against the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and elsewhere.

Samori Marksman was born Stanley Theodore Marksman on October 27, 1947, in the town of Coalhill, St. Vincent, in the Caribbean. He came with his family to the U.S. in 1963, at age 16. An early stint in the U.S. military involved work at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware as a member of a burial detail for young soldiers killed in Indochina, in which Samori had to accompany the bodies home to their families.

On leaving the military, he studied at New York University, later transferring to Columbia where he received degrees

in political science and journalism. He was one of the founders in 1971, along with Brath and with other Caribbean students, of the African Mobilization Committee to promote Pan-Africanism.

After the attempted overthrow by Portuguese colonialists of President Sekou Touré of Guinea, Samori became involved in political work in defense of that West African country. Guinea had received Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah after his overthrow, and made him Co-President of the nation. As Elombe



Photos by Kwame Brathwaite

Samori and Elombe interviewing Franklin Williams, former U.S. Ambassador to Ghana, at anti-Savimbi rally.

Brath has pointed out, when Kwame Touré, then known as Stokely Carmichael, came to Guinea with his wife Miriam Makeba, the country became the logical center of the Pan-African movement.

It was Marksman's work in Guinea and his devotion to the country that caused him to adopt the name of one of its most illustrious historical figures, Alamy Samori Touré, the grandfather of the country's president, who had fought valiantly against French colonialism in the 19th century.

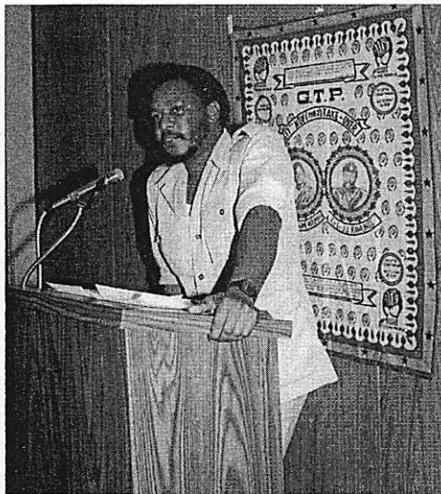
Samori's international renown grew from his unstinting work with the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia, Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement in Grenada, the Michael Manley governments in Jamaica, the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, and especially the Cuban revolution.

Samori's skills, both as radio journalist and as WBAI program director, involved reminding people of the international connections to local struggles, and reaching across ethnic and national divides. In the last weeks of his life, Marksman was closely involved in the movement protesting the brutal police slaying of Amadou Diallo. His effort not only contributed to a healthier and more experienced political environment in New York, but also helped WBAI. Beginning in 1996 and for three successive years, he engineered fundraising campaigns that each raised the unheard-of sum of \$1 million for the radio station.

We can never replace our comrade, brother, and friend Samori, who worked closely with us throughout this magazine's twenty years, probing the crimes of U.S. clandestine intervention. We will always treasure our work with him.

As his colleague Rosemary Mealy wrote: "Our journalist brother Samori was...like a warm embrace in the midst of a snowstorm. He now shares the Spirit Winds, sending forth to us who remain here in this place, the energy to 'Carry it ON.' We will fly, guided by the wisdom and truth that he taught."

—The staff of *CovertAction Quarterly*



Samori addressing a rally on Ghana.

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL:

THE ABC HATCHET JOB

BY JAMES OWENS

Harvey Finkle/Impact Visuals



“**M**ore Americans get their news from ABC News than from any other source.” While this is good for Disney/ABC, it says something quite different for those whose interests are outside of the corporate political beltway. Such was the case on December 9, 1998, when ABC’s *20/20* presented a story called “Hollywood’s Unlikeliest Hero,” which focused on the case of U.S. political dissident Mumia Abu-Jamal. In the late 1960s and early ‘70s, Abu-Jamal was a Black Panther and the victim of illegal surveillance and harassment by the FBI and the Philadelphia Police as part of J. Edgar

James Owens is an independent writer and researcher who has worked for a public interest law firm and for Congressman Bobby Rush (Dem.-Ill.). He has organized coverage of fair housing issues, and currently serves on the executive committee of Chicago Media Watch.

Hoover’s COINTEL-PRO operations.¹ But since 1982, when he was convicted of first degree murder for the killing of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner, Abu-Jamal has been an inmate on Pennsylvania’s death row.

Abu-Jamal was recently denied his petition for a new trial, and now will try to have his case heard by the U.S. Supreme

1. Over 700 pages of FBI documents specifically involving Jamal were obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests by New York attorney Paul Cooperstein. “Mr. Abu-Jamal was subjected to surveillance, harassment, disruption, politically motivated arrests, and attempted frame-ups by the FBI who worked in conjunction with the Philadelphia Police Department,” Affidavit of Cooperstein, June 1995.

Court. There has been little national television coverage of this story, so the ABC piece may be the only coverage many Americans hear on the subject. Unfortunately, *20/20* carefully chose issues and angles that would support only one side of the story, and provided analysis given only by the prosecution. In this way, *20/20* chose not to give the audience a full view of this complicated story and the issues it touches upon, but rather sought to justify the impending state execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

On December 9, 1981, just before 4:00 a.m., Philadelphia Police Officer Daniel Faulkner pulled over a blue Volkswagen near 13th and Locust Streets. Before even approaching the VW, Faulkner radioed a request for backup, specifically a police wagon. The driver of the VW was William Cook, the brother of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Over the next 45 seconds, Cook and Faulkner became involved in a struggle, Abu-Jamal arrived on the scene and was shot, and Faulkner was also shot. Abu-Jamal and Faulkner were taken to the same hospital, where Faulkner died. Attending physicians described Abu-Jamal as “barely conscious,” with a bullet lodged near his spine.

Prosecutor Joe McGill claims witnesses saw Abu-Jamal shoot Faulkner and that he confessed at the hospital. Abu-Jamal claims he was framed by police who

withheld evidence and coerced witnesses, a prosecutor whose tactics were improper and illegal, and a judge who was openly biased in favor of the prosecution. Sam Donaldson and 20/20, however, focused the viewer's eye on only half the story.

SELECTIVE STATEMENTS, SELECTIVE WITNESSES

ABC went far out of its way to give the impression that there was "a spectacular array of evidence" against Abu-Jamal. Chief among this evidence was the testimony of three eyewitnesses, who, according to ABC, "all say they saw Jamal run from across the street and shoot the Officer in the back. As the Officer spun around, he grabbed his revolver and, as he fell to the sidewalk, fired a shot that wounded Mumia in the chest. It was then that Abu-Jamal, according to witnesses, executed Officer Faulkner."²

2. Transcript of ABC 20/20 show, Dec. 9, 1998, "Hollywood's Unlikeliest Hero" (hereinafter "ABC

transcript"), p. 2.

Each of these three witnesses, however, gave significantly different statements prior to the trial. It was only as time went on that their stories all changed to conform to the prosecution version of events, the version ABC presented.

Mark Scanlan, the first of the witnesses referred to by ABC, saw the scene from behind the police car and across an intersection, 50 to 120 feet from the scene. On the night of the shooting, Scanlan actually identified Abu-Jamal, not as the shooter, but as the driver of the VW.³ His initial statement was that "the guy running across the street pulled out a pistol and started shooting at the officer...the officer fell down. Then he stood over the Officer and fired three or four more shots point blank at the Officer on the ground."⁴ But

transcript"), p. 2.

3. Transcript of the trial, June 25, 1982, 8.46 (hereinafter thus: "Tr. 6/25/82, 8.46").

4. Police interview, Scanlan, Dec. 9, 1981.

two days later, Scanlan stated that he hadn't seen the man running across the street holding a gun or firing a gun. Scanlan stated he "assumed" that the man crossing the street had fired the shot that he had heard.⁵ Scanlan also stated, "I don't know if the Officer fired his gun or not, I didn't see him pull his gun or fire it." During the same interview with detectives on December 11, 1981, he was asked, "Did you see which male shot the officer?" His answer, "No, all I saw was the flash.... I don't know which male shot the officer." Also on December 11, he stated, "I don't know which one it was [standing over Faulkner]" and "I don't know which male had the gun." Scanlan even drew a diagram on the night of the shooting that, in contrast to the prosecution theory put forth by ABC, shows Faulkner facing Abu-Jamal when the first shot was fired.⁶

5. *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1981.

6. *Ibid.*

MUMIA FACT SHEET

Mumia Abu-Jamal, an African American activist and award-winning journalist, is imprisoned on death row in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. He is one of hundreds of political prisoners in U.S. jails.

Abu-Jamal joined the Black Panther Party in 1967, at the age of 15. He went on to a distinguished career as a radio journalist. An untiring opponent of racism and police brutality, he earned the wrath of the notoriously racist Mayor Frank Rizzo and the Philadelphia police department.

At the time of his arrest, Abu-Jamal was president of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia. Because of his untiring advocacy for Philadelphia's Black community, he was known as the "Voice of the Voiceless."

Abu-Jamal has continued his work on death row, exposing the racist character of the death penalty and inhuman conditions in the prison system through articles and radio commentaries. He is the author of two books, *Live from Death Row* and *Death Blossoms*.

On December 9, 1981, Abu-Jamal was driving a taxi when he saw that police had stopped his brother. He got out of the car to make sure police were not violating his brother's civil rights.

In an altercation that followed, Philadelphia Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed. Witnesses saw a man flee the scene who did not look like Abu-Jamal. But when police arrived, they arrested Mumia Abu-Jamal, who had also been shot.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has always maintained his innocence. His lawyers and supporters say Abu-Jamal was in the wrong place at the wrong time. Because he had earned the enmity of the Philadelphia police for his political stance, Abu-Jamal made a convenient target for a frame-up.

Judge Albert Sabo presided over Abu-Jamal's trial in 1982. Judge Sabo has sent more people to death row than any other judge in the United States, most of them Black and Latino. There are more people on death row from Philadelphia than from any other city.

Judge Sabo is a member of the Fraternal Order of Police and was openly hostile to the defense. He prevented Abu-Jamal's court-appointed attorney from getting the money necessary to investigate and prepare a defense. Sabo also refused to let Abu-Jamal represent himself.

The prosecution used what have since been ruled illegal means to keep Black people off the jury. Only two Black jurors served on this case, in a city that is 40 percent Black.

The prosecution's case centered around condemning Abu-Jamal for having been a member of the Black Panther Party, which they falsely portrayed as a hate group.

Ballistics reports prove that the gun found on Mumia Abu-Jamal, a .38 caliber weapon, was not the gun that killed Officer Faulkner. He was shot with a .44 caliber weapon. Police did not even test Abu-Jamal's weapon to see whether or not it had been fired.

Eyewitnesses who were not called to testify in 1982 have come forward. They say Mumia Abu-Jamal was not the shooter. Eyewitness Veronica Jones says police threatened to jail her if she testified. Other witnesses who testified against Abu-Jamal in the original trial have changed their stories, saying police threatened and intimidated them.

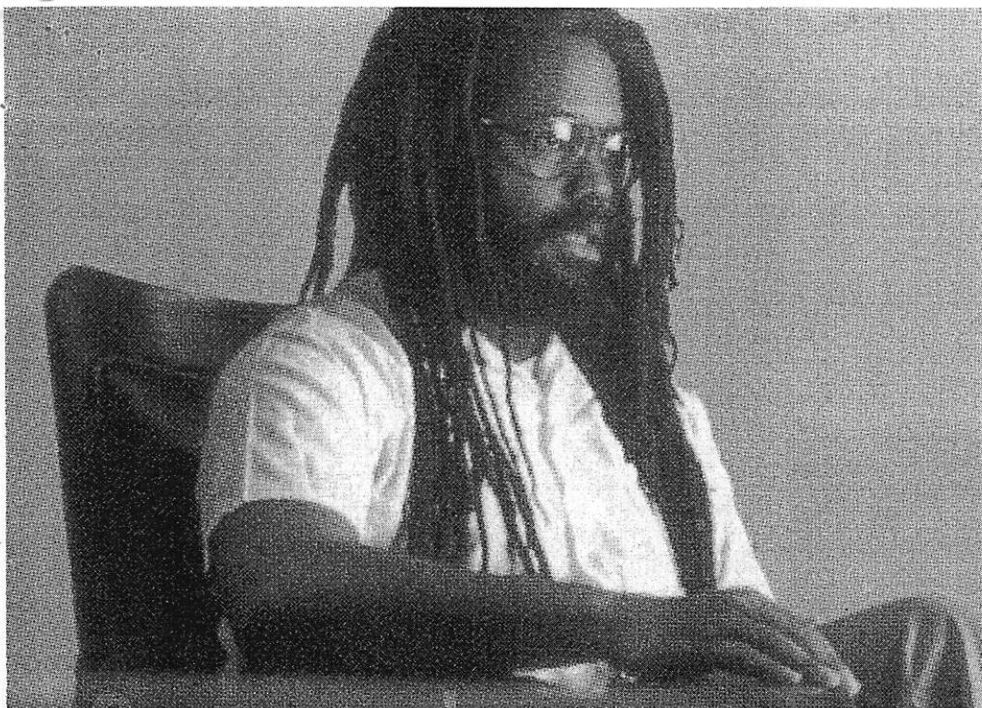
This and other evidence was presented to an International Peoples Tribunal in December 1997, made up of prominent political and community leaders, trade unionists, jurists, and others. They found Abu-Jamal innocent.

Pennsylvania's Supreme Court reviewed the same evidence. But on October 30, 1998, the Court refused to grant Abu-Jamal a new trial. His legal team is now appealing the case to a Federal court.

Time is running out for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Although he is innocent, Abu-Jamal faces execution this year.

Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Ridge, a rightwing Republican who won re-election in 1997 with police support, has vowed to sign a new death warrant.

This information provided by the International Action Center. For more information, contact Millions for Mumia, 39 W. 14 St., Suite 206, New York, NY 10011; Phone (212) 633-6646; Fax (212) 633-2889; email npcny@peoples campaign.org; Web: <http://www.peoples campaign.org>.



Jennifer Beach

On two occasions, I spoke with Harry Phillips, the producer of the 20/20 story. Phillips agreed that Scanlan had made these contradictory statements, "but his story fits with what the others said for what he did see."⁷ The problem is that ABC uses Scanlan to corroborate details that his statements simply do not support. Even Harry Phillips agreed that Scanlan did not identify Abu-Jamal as the shooter, did not see who fired the first shot, did not see Faulkner grab or fire his weapon, and places Abu-Jamal in front of Faulkner when the first shot was fired.

Robert Chobert was a prosecution witness who was in his cab directly behind the police car during the shooting. ABC described him to be "in plain view of the murder." Yet, how he could be "in plain view of the murder" when a police car with flashing lights on sat directly between him and the murder scene? His statements on the night of the shooting and prior to trial are also different from what he later testified under oath.

Chobert originally stated, on the night of the shooting, that he was writing a receipt for his fare when the first shot was fired and only saw the officer fall to the ground.⁸ According to a report filed on the morning of the murder by Inspector Alphonse Giordano, about ten minutes after the killing Chobert told him that "a black MOVE member did it and apparently ran away." (Like Abu-Jamal, MOVE members wear their hair in dreadlocks.) The jury would never hear this information. When shown Abu-Jamal, lying on his back in a

paddy wagon, Chobert stated, "That is the man that shot the policeman."⁹

But Chobert said the shooter "ran away," so how could he be the critically injured Abu-Jamal?

Later, at the police station, Chobert changed his statement to say the shooter ran "maybe 30 or 35 steps. Then he fell...then the cops got him and stuck him in the back of the paddy wagon."¹⁰

Case closed? Not yet. If the shooter ran "35 steps" that would still rule out Abu-Jamal as the shooter because Abu-Jamal was found about four feet from the dying Faulkner. On December 12, 1981, Chobert changed his statement again, to say that the shooter ran only about ten feet away from the policeman.¹¹ At the trial, on June 19, 1982, Chobert described the shooter as "walking about ten feet."¹²

Abu-Jamal was quite thin at the time, and wearing dark clothing when he was arrested. This is in contrast to Chobert's second statement on the night of the shooting, describing the shooter as "heavy-set...wearing light tan shirt and jeans." By the time of his December 12 interview with police, Chobert changed his description of the shooter's clothes to "dark gray."

Chobert further said that it was Abu-Jamal who was shot first, but that he did not see who shot him.¹³ Here we see another divergence from the prosecution theory of the events, and certainly not "essentially the same statement," as ABC inaccurately purported.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Police report, Giordano, Dec. 9, 1981.

11. Police interview, Chobert, Dec. 12, 1981.

12. Tr. 6/19/82, 211.

13. Tr. 6/19/82, 267-269.

Finally we come to the prosecution's strongest witness, a prostitute named Cynthia White. She is a crucial witness for the prosecution because her testimony exactly corroborates the police version of events and places her as the closest witness to the crime scene. But her presence is unsupported by at least five other witnesses, who could not recall seeing her at the scene, though they did recall other people near where she claims to have been.¹⁴ Dessie Hightower, the only witness who did recall seeing White, stated that she was nearly half a block to the west of the intersection.¹⁵ Even White herself gave conflicting testimony as to her location, stating on January 8, 1982, that she was "seven or eight feet" from the shooting, but on January 11, she said that she was "three cars away."¹⁶

I asked ABC producer Harry Phillips about White. He told me she was a credible witness; "There is nothing out there that says she changed her story."

But, as has been articulated by the defense, transcripts of her own police statements show that she did change her story. On December 9, 1981, in her initial statement to police, she said the shooter "fired his gun at the police officer four or five times. The police officer fell to the ground." She also stated "there was no struggle" involving Faulkner and the driver of the VW.¹⁷

But other prosecution witnesses said that there was only one shot prior to Faulkner's collapse, and that Faulkner was fighting with Cook. White was arrested twice (December 12 and December 17) between the time of the shooting and the start of trial. In both instances she was brought to the Homicide department where she changed her statement.¹⁸ On December 17, she changed her story to say that there was a struggle between Faulkner and Cook, and that the shooter fired "one or two times," then stood over him and shot him "three more times."¹⁹

I asked Phillips about the possibility of police coercion regarding witnesses. Referring to White, he argued, "She had no reason to lie or to change her story, she was already in jail. If she had received favors, why was she in jail?"²⁰

Although it was not mentioned by 20/20, White was indeed in jail at the time

14. Scanlan and Magilton PCRA record, Ex. 21; interviews, Chobert, June 19, 1982, 227; Jones, June 25, 1982; Tr. 6/25/82, 8.58, 8.86.

15. PCRA record, Ex. 21.

16. Tr. 1/8/82, 28, 1/11/82, 98.

17. Police interview, White, Dec. 9, 1981.

18. White, Tr. 6/22/82, 5.31.

19. Police interviews, White, Dec. 12, 17, 1981.

20. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

7. Telephone interview with author, Feb. 4, 1999.

8. Police interview, Chobert, Dec. 9, 1981.

of trial. White had 38 arrests for prostitution in Philadelphia, was serving 18 months for prostitution convictions,²¹ and was facing trial in three additional cases.²² Contrary to the comments of Phillips, it is not hard to see why a person with a lengthy record, serving time and faced with serving more time would have incentive to strike a deal with police. An example of White receiving such a favor occurred in 1987, when she was facing

already on the scene" when she was looking out her window and that "she did not testify that she saw someone running away, simply that she saw someone running."²⁴ Whatever that subtle difference may be, Kordansky reported a man running on the south side of Locust Street immediately after the shooting. The fact that police were on the scene may not diminish the relevance of this observation, because, as ABC reported, "back up of-

ficers arrived within 45 seconds."²⁵ Kordansky is not the only one who saw someone running on the south side of Locust Street immediately after the shooting. Veronica Jones also saw someone running on the south side of the street. When ABC presents this fact they again use qualifying and misleading language to discredit and limit the importance of this corroborating statement. "Defense witness number four, was a prostitute," is how ABC introduced Jones. Note that ABC never mentioned that prosecution witness Cynthia

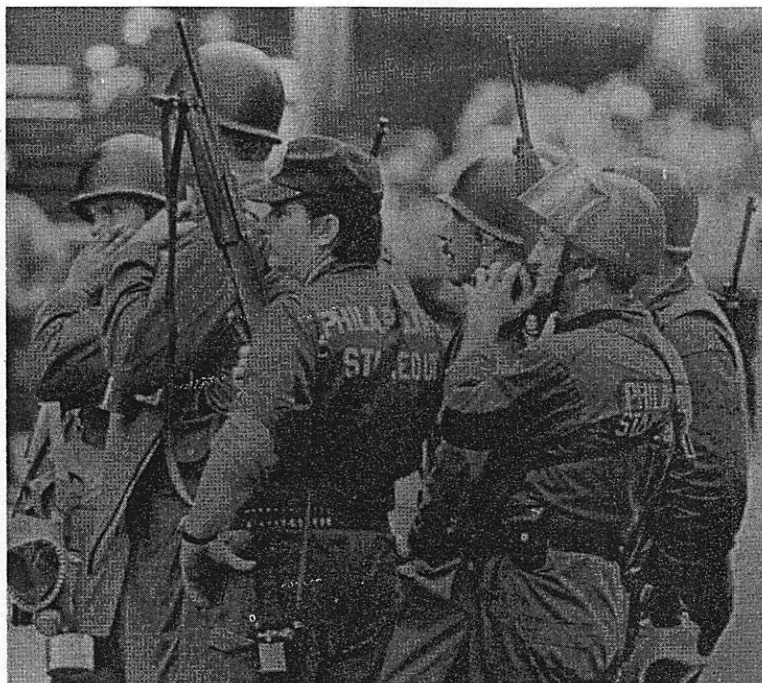
sure and that she had indeed seen two men flee the scene.²⁸ In this instance, we see how carefully ABC chose their words. They reveal only that Jones had kept silent for years, but not that she was part of the original trial or that she admits to lying at the behest of police who gave her "a deal."

Phillips informed me that he had actually met with Jones and had considered her for an interview. Although Jones was willing to do an interview, Phillips said, "I found her barely coherent. She made contradictory statements and proved herself incredible to me."²⁹ Unfortunately, Phillips does not give his audience a chance to make up their own minds about Jones's credibility or her statements. Rather, he excludes her claims of coercion, obscures the order of her statements, and subjects her to a scrutiny none of the prosecution witnesses are put to.

The severity of these distortions are compounded by the fact that these two were not the only witnesses who reported someone fleeing east on Locust that night. They are, however, the only witnesses mentioned by ABC. Witness Dessie Hightower, who is never mentioned in the story, also reported seeing a man with dreadlocks fleeing eastward on the south side of Locust³⁰ and that police arrived "maybe ten seconds" after this individual disappeared from sight. In all, at least five witnesses stated to police that at least one man fled the scene, all say he fled on the same street and in the same direction and shortly after the shooting. At least three of them stated he wore dreadlocks. Thus, regarding witness statements, ABC distorted the facts to support the prosecution theory, while excluding statements that strengthen the defense's theory.

COMMON COERCION, COMMON CORRUPTION

Many of Abu-Jamal's claims of police coercion and withholding of evidence are repeated in case after case throughout Philadelphia's troubled police department. Federal probes revealed an extensive network of corruption that ran from police officials at the highest level, through the department, and into the vice crime of Philadelphia.³¹ In 1985, the second highest ranked officer in Philadelphia, Deputy Commissioner John Martin, along with Chief Inspector Eugene Sullivan, were found guilty



Courtesy of MOVE

In 1978, police staked out and attacked MOVE headquarters. Free-lance journalist Mumia reported on city's war against MOVE members.

felony charges. Appearing in court, Philadelphia police detective Douglas Culbreth urged that she be released without posting a cash bail as she had been "a Commonwealth witness in a very high profile case."²³

DOUBLE STANDARDS, HIDDEN EVIDENCE

ABC did not subject prosecution witnesses to the same degree of review as they did defense witnesses. For example, ABC mentioned Debbie Kordansky, a resident of a hotel that overlooked Locust Street and the crime scene, who witnessed a man running on the south side of Locust Street shortly following the shooting. Note how sharply ABC tries to limit her statement by saying that "police were

White was also a prostitute. ABC continues with Jones "who, after 14 years' silence, claimed she saw two men jogging from the scene."²⁶ Again, this is highly misleading, as it was not "after 14 years" that Jones first claimed to have seen someone running on the south side of Locust Street, but in a statement that she made to police on December 15, 1981. She stated that she was on Locust Street by 12th when she "heard three shots," saw a policeman fall to the ground, and saw two black men cross Locust and head east "sort of jogging."²⁷ When she finally took the stand in June of 1982, Jones would retract this statement.

The "14 years of silence" stated by ABC is a poor way of reporting that, in 1996, Veronica Jones testified that she had lied during the 1982 trial due to police pres-

21. Tr. 6/21/82, 4.79 and 4.85.

22. Tr. 6/21/82, 4.80-4.81.

23. *Commonwealth v. White*, MC 87-06-2351, June 29, 1987, transcript, p. 29.

24. ABC transcript, p. 7.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Police interview, Jones, Dec. 15, 1981.

28. Associated Press, Oct. 1, 1996.

29. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

30. Tr. 6/28/82, 126-127, 149-150. See also Police interview, Hightower, Dec. 15, 1981.

31. See *United States v. City of Philadelphia*, 644 F.2d 187 (3rd Cir. 1980).

of extorting over \$350,000 from vice figures.³² Much of this involved the extortion of money and services from local pimps and prostitutes.

This practice was also carried out by officers serving in the 6th district, the same district involved in investigating and collecting evidence for Abu-Jamal's 1982 trial. It is also known that prosecution witness and prostitute Cynthia White had contact with two 6th district officers, later convicted of extorting prostitutes, on at least six occasions in the year prior to the shooting. It is quite likely that she was familiar with the process of "dealing" with police.³³

It has been further proven that police withheld evidence, and used false evidence and false testimony in order to gain wrongful convictions. The *New York Times* stated that "nearly 300 jail sentences were overturned recently because of police corruption."³⁴ In several cases the wrongfully convicted were sentenced to death.³⁵ An important example is the case of Raymond Carter. Carter served ten years on death row in Philadelphia for a murder he never committed. He was released in 1996 after a police officer informed FBI agents that prosecution witness and prostitute Pamela Jenkins had given perjured testimony in exchange for \$500 paid by police officers. The police in question were two of six Philadelphia police officers who pleaded guilty in 1991 to framing defendants, stealing money, assault, and civil rights violations.³⁶ One of them, Richard Ryan, was a detective in the Central Division in 1981-82, an area that included the 6th district.³⁷ Jenkins testified that Officer Ryan repeatedly pressured her to provide such false testimony in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.³⁸ Phillips described the testimony and history of Pamela Jenkins as having "no bearing" on the Abu-Jamal case.

32. *Philadelphia Daily News*, Dec. 7, 1985.

33. Officers Richard Herron and Joseph Goffre pled guilty in 1985 to shaking down prostitutes in the 6th district. Cynthia White had been arrested approximately 6 times in 1981 by these same officers. See case nos: 8005-2895, 8007-0195, 8006-2855, 8103-0493, 8104-0062, 8107-1610. See also Abu-Jamal Petition for Remand Hearing, 1997, p. 10.

34. *New York Times*, Apr. 3, 1997.

35. Rev. Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old grandmother, served nearly four years because police planted drugs in her home during an illegal search; see *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 14, 1998. Neil Ferber and Jay Smith were sentenced to death on the basis of perjury and withheld evidence, respectively. See Equal Justice USA, 1995 Report on Philadelphia Police Department, "Trampling the Public Trust," p. 2.

36. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Dec. 31, 1996; Equal Justice USA, *op. cit.*, n. 35.

37. Petition for Remand Hearing, 1997, p. 5.

38. Affidavit of Jenkins, 1997; see also *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 27, 1997.

Phillips's opinion is in keeping with that of Judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the original trial and the petition for a new trial, and who ruled that Jenkins's testimony was inadmissible.³⁹

Such testimony, however, corroborates the statements of Veronica Jones, whose testimony in the 1982 trial explicitly describes police attempts to coerce false testimony as part of a deal. "They were getting on me telling me I was in the area and I seen Mumia, you know, do it, you know, intentionally. They were trying to get me to say something the other girl said... we had brought up [prosecution witness] Cynthia's name and they told us we can work the area if we tell them." Judge Sabo ordered this portion of the testimony stricken.⁴⁰ (This stands in contrast to 20/20 producer Harry Phillips's comments to me regarding Jones's testimony, where he stated, "Clearly, the jury listened to [Jones] and heard the value of what she had to say."⁴¹) In 1995, when Jones testified that she had succumbed to police pressure to change her statement at the 1982 trial, Judge Sabo ruled that testimony was also inadmissible.

UNEXAMINED INJUSTICE

Why did the judge disallow such powerful arguments and testimony? A good question, but not one examined by ABC, even though the issue was raised on the show by defense spokespersons. That ABC spent zero time examining judicial impropriety is an alarming indicator of bias. Especially since systemic failures of justice have been previously acknowledged by Ed Rendell, Philadelphia Mayor, former DA, and one of the prosecution spokespersons on the 20/20 broadcast.

In 1992, Rendell openly described the Philadelphia system as "easily susceptible to influence," in the form of "politics, or who the defendant is."⁴² He also stated there were "incredible inconsistencies and randomness of justice from courtroom to courtroom" and that "the trial depends literally on what judge the case is assigned to."⁴³

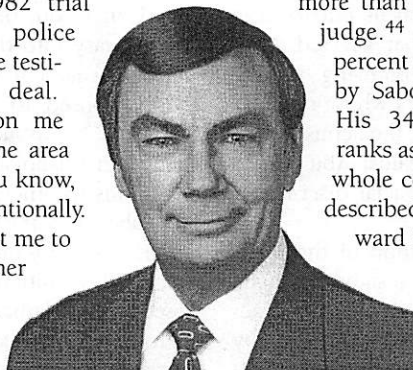
39. PCRA ruling, 1997.

40. Tr. 6/29/82, 129, 135, 141.

41. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

42. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 12, 1992.

43. *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1992.



"[A]s far as I'm concerned...the death sentence has to be carried out."
- Sam Donaldson

Abu-Jamal was assigned to Albert Sabo. Sabo, a former member of the Fraternal Order of Police, served for 16 years as the Undersheriff of Philadelphia County. Famous as the judge who has sentenced the most people to death in America, in 1995, his total of 32 death sentences was more than twice that of any other judge.⁴⁴ In addition, over 90 percent of those sentenced to die by Sabo are people of color.⁴⁵ His 34 percent reversal rate ranks as one of the highest in the whole country. He has also been described as extremely biased toward the prosecution.⁴⁶

In responding to questions about Sabo, producer Phillips said, "Sabo may have a history of bias, I don't know." Phillips pointed out that Sabo was under "incredible pressure" and suggested Sabo's background might be irrelevant. "In this case, transcripts do not indicate that Sabo was acting in a biased manner." He summed up his reasons for omitting reference to Sabo with, "In my non-lawyer opinion, he didn't handle it that badly."⁴⁷ On this basis, Phillips excluded the opinion of many actual lawyers that there were problems with the way the courts, and Sabo in particular, have handled the case. Attorneys involved with organizations like the National Conference of Black Lawyers,⁴⁸ and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund,⁴⁹ as well as Johnnie Cochran, and even Republican Senator and former Philadelphia DA Arlen Specter, have all voiced strong criticisms.⁵⁰ "The unfairness of Abu-Jamal's 1982 trial was almost guaranteed once it was assigned to Judge Albert Sabo," said *American Lawyer* magazine, describing Sabo as "notoriously pro prosecution."⁵¹

CONTROLLING THE JURY

One of the ways Sabo's influence had lasting impact on the trial and the subsequent appeal was his handling of the jury selec-

44. NAACP and Equal Justice USA, Jane Henderson, "Philadelphia's Judge Sabo"; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 13, 1992; "Guilty and Framed," *American Lawyer*, Dec. 1995.

45. Henderson, *op. cit.*, n. 44, p. 9.

46. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 13, 1992.

47. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

48. *The Nation*, Sept. 11, 1995.

49. See 1996 report by NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and Equal Justice USA, "Philadelphia's Judge Sabo: The Judge who Became Death Row's King."

50. *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 13, 1995.

51. *American Lawyer*, Dec. 1995.

tion process. Eleven African Americans were removed from jury selection by prosecutorial peremptory challenges, though the original trial record only shows eight. The confusion over the exact number arises from Sabo's refusal to allow the race of the eliminated jurors from being entered into the record.⁵² This turns out to have been a crucial ruling that affected Abu-Jamal's 1989 appeal. Following a state challenge regarding jurors whose race did not appear on the record, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled against Abu-Jamal's assertion of intentional racial discrimination.⁵³

The illegal manipulation of the jury's racial composition was a standard tactic that the Philadelphia prosecutor's office actively encouraged. A videotape made by Philadelphia Assistant Prosecutor McMahon in 1986 taught prosecutors how to lie to judges and exclude Blacks from juries. McMahon said on the tape, "The only way you're going to do your best is to get jurors that are unfair and more likely to convict than anybody else in that room."⁵⁴

The well-documented questionable rulings of Sabo went completely unmentioned by ABC, even when directly relating to the alleged confession that was prominently featured in the broadcast. ABC described the allegation as "a nail in Abu-Jamal's coffin." 20/20 did include in its story that the alleged confession was not reported for more than eight weeks, and was produced by the deceased officer's partner. ABC then gives a statement designed to increase the credibility of the alleged confession: "But security guard Priscilla Durham told the jury that she reported it to her supervisor the next day."⁵⁵ Although Durham did testify that she reported it to her supervisor, no evidence has been produced to confirm the accuracy of her claim. In court, a one-page typed document was offered as the report in question. Durham, however, denied the report was hers. The authorship was not authenticated, the witness denied it was her report, yet Sabo allowed the prosecution to read parts of it in front of the jury.⁵⁶

FRAMING THE STORY

An examination of the story structure underlying ABC's December 9 piece makes it difficult not to conclude that ABC built the story to support the prosecution perspective. The prosecution side is introduced to

the audience first, defense representatives are shown only in highly edited context, analysis is exclusively conducted by the prosecution, and defense evidence is largely omitted or when mentioned, ABC does not investigate its merits.

Instead, ABC News, in the person of Sam Donaldson, began to insert a subtle commentary into the story, characterizing Abu-Jamal as a "charismatic" leader, and those opposed to his execution as "his followers."⁵⁷ Application of these labels creates an unspoken association in viewers' minds to others who have been similarly labeled by the media: people like David Koresh, Osama Bin-Ladin, or Jim Jones. While initially describing those opposed to Abu-Jamal's execution in limited terms such as "campus rebels," 20/20 quickly transformed them into "followers...taken by his charisma."⁵⁸ Donaldson culminates the impression of "cultism" by referring to Abu-Jamal supporters as "zealous disciples" who believe that "Mumia Abu-Jamal is a prophet. To call him a murderer is sacrilege."⁵⁹

While ABC allowed selective issues to be raised by defense representatives, there was little follow-up review of the evidence or issues cited, or ABC would turn to the prosecution for evaluation. This "bait and switch" tactic allowed 20/20 to maintain an appearance of fairness while actually limiting the evidence to one side of the story.

Such was the case when defense attorney Leonard Weinglass raised the issue that Abu-Jamal's brother was being beaten by Officer Faulkner, and that witnesses reported a third man fleeing the scene. In a ridiculous example of bias, ABC turned to Maureen Faulkner, the widow of the slain officer, for the only assessment of these defense issues.

Sam Donaldson: "Have you looked over the evidence that Leonard Weinglass says would prove Abu-Jamal was innocent?"

Maureen Faulkner: "Yes, I have."

SD: "There's no substance to it?"

MF: "No, [Weinglass] has duped the world...."⁶⁰

ABC does not allow the viewers to know what this evidence is; instead 20/20 turns to the person most emotionally involved in the entire case, and most likely to be biased, for exclusive analysis.

As to the allegation of Faulkner beating Abu-Jamal's brother, at least three witnesses reported the officer either struggling with someone or hitting him with a billy

club or flashlight.⁶¹ In addition, arresting officers reported William Cook to be bleeding from the face, and Faulkner's flashlight was recovered from the scene with a broken lens.⁶²

In contrast to his own report, ABC producer Phillips acknowledged to me that Faulkner had beaten Cook at the scene. "Witness statements indicate a struggle. He was beating [Cook] with a flashlight or billy club." Phillips's only explanation for why he did not focus more clearly on this was that Cook was not seriously injured, and that it was therefore irrelevant.⁶³

Whether or not Faulkner beat Cook is certainly relevant in a legal sense, as it could show mitigating circumstances, which could have lowered the charge to manslaughter or allowed Abu-Jamal to claim self-defense.

EMOTION AS EVIDENCE

Maureen Faulkner played the role of emotional centerpiece, around which ABC set incomplete information disguised as serious investigation. Note that although 20/20 devotes considerable time to Maureen Faulkner, Abu-Jamal's family is never mentioned. One could see only too clearly how an interview with Abu-Jamal's children and grandchildren would change the emotional framework of the story, allowing Abu-Jamal to be seen as a human being. In the same manner that ABC selectively displays its facts, emotional issues of family and loss are only presented in support of the prosecution. Producer Phillips disagrees with this analysis: "As far as I know these people are not as important to the story as Mumia Abu-Jamal himself or Maureen Faulkner." Phillips insists that Faulkner's appearance was to present factual information and not for emotional impact. "She happens to be one of the most knowledgeable and credible people available on that side of the issue," Phillips said.⁶⁴

While ABC certainly did turn to Faulkner for analysis and assessment of fact, just as clearly she was used as the key emotional representative. For example, in the segment where ABC unveils the results of its "investigation," Sam Donaldson states, "We conducted a four-month investigation, and here is what we found. On a cold December day in 1981, Maureen Faulkner buried her husband. But for 17 years there has been no closure because of

52. Tr. 6/7/82, 20.

53. *Commonwealth v. Abu-Jamal*, 555 A.2d 846.

54. *New York Times*, Apr. 3, 1997.

55. ABC transcript, p. 6.

56. Tr. 6/24/82, 109-113.

57. ABC transcript, p. 4.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 4.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

61. Tr. 6/25/82, 8.6; see also Police interview, Scanlan, Dec. 9, 1981.

62. Tr. 6/30/82, 5.151; Tr. Ex 1.

63. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

64. *Ibid.*

the voice that won't go away."⁶⁵ (The voice is, of course, Abu-Jamal, who has been referred to as "the voice of the voiceless.") The segment is a montage of photos of Maureen Faulkner and her family, grieving at the funeral, and accompanied by bagpipes playing "Amazing Grace." Notice how the lead-in is an announcement of the findings of the investigation, but the follow-up is pure emotion, with Maureen Faulkner center stage. Using Maureen Faulkner's suffering to create appeal, ABC blames "the voice that won't go away."

The segment goes on to tell the story of Maureen Faulkner's outrage and grief over a series of radio commentaries by Abu-Jamal as part of the Prison Radio Project and National Public Radio. Giving no context or opposing view, and with Maureen Faulkner describing Abu-Jamal's voice as "haunting," the segment is a disguised attack on both Abu-Jamal's right to practice journalism while incarcerated, and on the right of prisoners to exercise their First Amendment guarantees. Nowhere in the report does ABC find time to mention that he won a federal lawsuit against the prison authorities. The three-judge panel unanimously agreed that the Pennsylvania prison authorities had violated Abu-Jamal's First Amendment rights and that they were punishing him for the *content* of his writings and commentary. The court went on to say that officials acted against Abu-Jamal only after "complaints concerning Abu-Jamal's proposed NPR commentaries were made by the Fraternal Order of Police."⁶⁶

HIDDEN SOURCES

It is very telling that ABC would not mention these facts, considering that the Fraternal Order of Police may have worked directly with 20/20 on the construction of this piece.

In a letter from ABC to prison authorities dated June 30, 1998, regarding the 20/20 segment (then still in production), ABC representative Phuong Nguyen clearly states, "We are currently working in conjunction with Maureen Faulkner and the Fraternal Order of Police." ABC kept their association with the FOP in the background, never mentioning the organization once during the entire piece. In my conversations with Harry Phillips he told me, "The FOP played no role whatsoever" in the construction or production of the story, and that he had only one phone conversation with them. Yet, he also stated, "I did call for their opinions on certain points." When I

raised the issue of the letter, he distanced himself from it. Describing the letter as "unfortunate," he stated that Nguyen, "was simply trying to make the point that Mumia Abu-Jamal wouldn't be the only one speaking."⁶⁷

Next, ABC spotlighted Maureen Faulkner's "crusade." The camera shows a web site proclaiming "Justice For Daniel Faulkner," while Maureen Faulkner sits in front of the computer, looking through books and making notes. Sam Donaldson tells us, "[Maureen Faulkner] has written a 100-page document attempting to debunk [Abu-Jamal's] claims."⁶⁸ Faulkner's document, appearing at www.justice4danielfaulkner.com, is strikingly similar to the ABC piece, in both content and structure. This document makes several highly questionable claims of its own, even to its authorship. The document describes its authors as "private citizens." "We are not affiliated with any police organization," it states, "simply a group of individuals."⁶⁹ Ms. Faulkner, herself, is referred to in the third person, and nowhere could I find any claim to authorship, neither Maureen Faulkner's nor anyone else's.

Now, assuming Faulkner is the author, as ABC portrays, then she has intentionally obscured her authorship to create a false impression of impartiality. The document also argues vehemently in favor of the death penalty, describing the anti-death-penalty movement as a "culture of lies and deceit" that "specializes in the abolition of truth." Faulkner's document, however, holds truth in no high esteem, presenting statistics that are designed to produce inaccurate results. In order to bolster claims regarding the rarity of executions, Faulkner claims "there have been approximately 560,000 murders and 358 executions from 1967 to 1996" or "one execution for every 1,600 murders."⁷⁰ Yet, the truth is that there were no executions between 1967 and 1976, while the six years between 1977 and 1983 saw only ten executions, with no persons executed in 1978 or 1980. The remaining 348 executions took place between 1983 and 1996. The figures cited by Faulkner include 12 years when no executions took place, four years when five or fewer persons were executed, leaving only 13 active years of executions compared to the total number of murders from a 29-year period.⁷¹

67. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

68. ABC transcript, p. 5.

69. www.justice4danielfaulkner.com/myths.html.

70. www.justice4danielfaulkner.com/DP.html.

71. Execution statistics cited from University of Alaska, Anchorage, Justice Center, and University of Northern Illinois University, Critical Criminology Division.

Predictably, ABC does not question Maureen Faulkner about her role in authorship or promotion of this "document" nor her position on the death penalty.

IRRELEVANT HISTORY

One of the main issues that Abu-Jamal was following in his journalism immediately prior to his arrest was the issue of repressive police action towards the MOVE organization. Less than three years after Abu-Jamal's trial, on May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police dropped a bomb from a police helicopter on the MOVE organization headquarters. Two hundred and fifty people were rendered homeless and six adults and five children were killed in the ensuing blaze.⁷² By painting a scenario free of the history of longtime political repression of domestic dissidents, ABC conditions viewers to accept the execution of current political dissidents. On the day of the 20/20 story, Sam Donaldson said that, "as far as I'm concerned...the death sentence has to be carried out." Donaldson claimed that, "The people who support [Abu-Jamal's] release don't do so from a position of knowledge."⁷³ ABC certainly did little to put its viewers in "a position of knowledge."

Fascinating and revealing to me was that Phillips's greatest concerns over this case seemed to be that Abu-Jamal is "charismatic" and trying to exercise some kind of control over the angle that the media take on him.

Phillips portrayed this as evidence that Abu-Jamal is not to be listened to. "One side is making use of half truths and exaggeration. The Mumia movement supporters get information prepared and spun for their benefit," he told me. He then asked, "Could it be that [Mumia's] people are trying to control and spin his media?"⁷⁴ The irony is that there is absolutely nothing unusual about personality and spin control in media; in fact, that is what modern corporate media are all about. From Reagan to Clinton, from Sam Donaldson to Mumia Abu-Jamal, the battle has always been to project an *image* that the press will echo, and to control which issues the press will focus on.

Perhaps the real issue is that Abu-Jamal has done such a surprisingly effective job of getting his message out, despite the deceptive spin of corporate outlets like ABC. ■

72. CNN, June 24, 1996.

73. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Dec. 10, 1998.

74. Phillips interview, Feb. 4, 1999.

65. ABC transcript, p. 5.

66. Associated Press, New York, Aug. 25, 1998.

NATO/U.S. OUT OF YUGOSLAVIA!

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

As a deadly rain of high-tech bombs falls on Yugoslavia, a deadening rain of propaganda falls on Americans, media-manipulated lies designed to prime the populace into supporting harsher military measures against a sovereign nation, in the name of protecting human rights.

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of Yugoslavia is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire. A demonstration? The monstrous atomic bombing of Japan, after it was virtually beaten in World War II, was not a military necessity, but a political one, designed to demonstrate to the Soviets that the U.S. was, and would ever be, boss. It was a massive, deadly demonstration.

So, too, the Yugoslavia bombing treats Serbs as the U.S. treated Japanese during the war—as props to demonstrate the power of the empire.

Let us consider the claims that the U.S. is concerned about "human rights" or about the "rights of ethnic minorities," as the corporate press projects hourly. What of America's largest national minority—African Americans? The world-respected Amnesty International group, speaking through its secretary general, Pierre Sané, announced just days before the bombing, "Human-rights violations in the United States of America are persistent, widespread, and appear to disproportionately affect people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds."

Sané was critical of police violence and executions in the U.S. Further, internationally, let's see how the U.S. responds to "liberation movements" of the oppressed. When fighters for Puerto Rican independence began to raise their voices, the U.S. didn't support this "ethnic minority"; they sought (and continue) to crush, incarcerate, and silence them.

Consider the case of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the East Timorese, the Colombian rebels—who has the U.S. consistently supported, the oppressed or the U.S.-armed governments?

This isn't about "human rights." It isn't about "ethnic minorities." And it also isn't about "genocide." It's about

establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the European Union under the thumb of Wall Street.

The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months—of Iraq, Sudan, and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason—to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror throughout the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute what former president George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order.

Days before the bombing, NATO signed up Poland, Hungary, and the former Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) as its newest members, thereby virtually isolating Russia. Only Serbia and the Yugoslav states have refused to join NATO—their bombing is their punishment.

Our brilliant, revered nationalist leader, Malcolm X, taught us to examine history. If we look at history, the bombing of Yugoslavia becomes clear.

Empires are maintained, not by reason, but by ruthless terror. It was so in Rome. It is so in the U.S. The brilliant revolutionary, Dr. Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, explained in 1973, "The United States was no longer a nation. We called it an empire. An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling all the world's lands and people."

Huey was right then, and our response then was to oppose the empire. We must do that now.

Down with imperialism! Stop the bombing! NATO/U.S. out of Yugoslavia! ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a journalist and activist on death row in Pennsylvania. His status as an unjustly convicted political prisoner has attracted worldwide attention. Copyright © 1999 by Mumia Abu-Jamal; all rights reserved.

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THE MILITARIZATION OF THE POLICE

BY FRANK MORALES

In the early morning of February 5, 1999, Amadou Diallo, 22, was killed in a hail of bullets in the vestibule of his apartment in the Bronx. He was shot by four white officers of the New York City Police Department's plainclothes Street Crime Unit, who later claimed they were

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searching for a suspect in the vicinity, and they feared Diallo had a weapon. He did not. Diallo, who had come to New York from Guinea two years before, was struck by 19 of the 41 shots fired at him and died on the way to the hospital.

Within two days of the shooting, a thousand people gathered in front of his apartment house, the first of a stream of protest gatherings. After nearly two

months of demonstrations, including the arrest of 1,166 people in nearly daily incidents of civil disobedience in front of police headquarters at One Police Plaza, the officers were all indicted by a Bronx Grand Jury on charges including a count of second degree murder, which alleges that the officers intended to kill Mr. Diallo. If convicted, they could face 25 years to life.



Courtesy of MOVE

In 1978, seven years before the Philadelphia Police bombing of the MOVE house, Delbert Africa was dragged out and later savagely beaten by four police officers which was caught on videotape.

Other investigations of the shooting have begun, including a federal Justice Department civil rights inquiry involving the Street Crime Unit. In the aftermath of Di-allo killing, the Unit has come under vigorous media scrutiny. Reports have documented the Street Crime Unit's violations of the rights of innocent, mostly non-white, people, particularly by unjustified searches. While the press covered the protests,¹ most media voices, generally friendly to the administration, have supported the Mayor's "right or wrong" defense of the police, stressing the overall drop in crime along with a purported decrease in police shootings. These reports concede merely an over-reaction, and justify the shooting, despite the 41 shots. The implication is that "aggressive policing" is a price worth paying for a better "quality of life." But is it? A number of reports confirm that across America police killings are up. In 1990, 62 people died at the hands of the police, while in the first nine months of 1998 the number had grown to 205, an annual increase of more than 230 percent.²

POLICE KILLINGS ON THE RISE

There is little record-keeping of police homicides, like the nameless graves at Potters Field. According to Amnesty International, "since 1994, the federal government has been legally required to collect national data on police use of excessive force, but Congress has failed to provide the funding necessary for it to do so.... Disturbingly, there are no accurate, national data on the number of people fatally shot or injured by police officers."³ Those who insist that police killings have decreased over the last twenty years rely upon *Deadly Force: What We Know*, a 1992 publication of the Police Executive Research Foundation, which is not only biased, but sorely out of date. In fact, Amnesty International reports that after a low of 14 police killings in 1987, "the number of police shootings in NYC started to rise again from the late 1980s onward, a trend seen also in some other major cities. In 1990, 41 civilians were shot dead by NYC police officers, the highest number since the mid-1970s." There has been no letup since then. Amnesty also noted that "a disproportionate number of people shot in apparently non-threatening or questionable circumstances in New York City are

racial minorities."⁴ Concurrently, since 1980, there has been a 500 percent growth in the activities of police paramilitary SWAT-type units across the country.⁵

THE COMMANDOS OF THE NYPD

What some laud as aggressive police work, and others call police brutality, has become a major political issue, not only in New York City, where it is threatening to undo Mayor Giuliani's bid for higher office. What both critics and defenders of the police fail to probe is the background of the Street Crime Unit. Is it a peculiarly New York City phenomenon, or is it typical of urban policing nationwide? The Street Crime Unit has operational, political, and ideological roots that need to be understood if all the pious talk about better police-community relations is to have any meaning. The concepts of "aggressive policing" and "quality of life," and the relationship between them, must be subjected to a more probing analysis than it has received.

Members of the NYPD's Street Crime Unit are known as "the commandos of the NYPD."⁶ In existence since 1971, the unit has undergone a 300 percent build-up since 1997. Former NYC Police Commissioner William Bratton encouraged the men to "become far more aggressive."⁷ Currently made up of roughly 400 mostly white officers, this unit, along with the 7,000 strong Narcotics Unit, represent the front line in Mayor Giuliani's "quality of life" crackdown on—and criminalization of—people of color, especially young, poor, and homeless people. They wear (and peddle) tee shirts that say: "Certainly There Is No Hunting Like the Hunting of Men." And their slogan is, "We own the night."

According to police data, the unit's activity "has in the last two years resulted in 45,000 street searches to net fewer than 10,000 arrests."⁸ Nearly all of those stopped by police were people of color. But New York State Attorney General Eliot L. Spitzer, who has launched a civil rights investigation into the "stop and frisk" practices of the Street Crime Unit, "said the unit may have searched hundreds of thousands of people in the last two years

without finding any basis for arresting them."⁹ In fact, the *New York Times* reported, "half the gun arrests made by the Street Crime Unit in the last two years were thrown out of court."¹⁰

FEDERAL AID

Meanwhile, federal government efforts are now aiming to provide the unit with the latest in "hunting" technology. The Clinton administration extended the police/military connection by mandating that the Department of Defense and its associated private industries form a partnership with the Department of Justice to "engage the crime war with the same resolve they fought the Cold War." The program, entitled, "Technology Transfer From Defense: Concealed Weapons Detection,"¹¹ calls for the transfer of military technology to domestic police organizations to better fight "crime." Previously, direct "transfers" of this sort were made only to friendly foreign governments.¹² This latest directive from the Clinton administration ensures the formalization of direct militarization of the police.

Speaking to members of the defense, intelligence, and industrial communities in November 1993, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno contrasted the victory over the Soviet Union to the "war against crime." "So let me welcome you," she informed her guests, "to the kind of war our police fight every day. And let me challenge you to turn your skills that served us so well in the Cold War to helping us with the war we're now fighting daily in the streets of our towns and cities across the nation."¹³

Shortly after this challenge was issued, the Department of Justice and the Department of Defense entered a five-year partnership to formalize joint technology sharing and development efforts for law enforcement and those military operations unrelated to war.¹⁴ Stated areas of "shared" law enforcement technology include "devices to detect concealed weapons," including unobtrusive scanners,¹⁵ to avoid "Fourth Amendment limitations" against unreasonable searches. Another shared technology is in the area of "virtual reality training, simulation, and mission planning."¹⁶

9. *Ibid.*, Mar. 23, 1999.

10. *Ibid.*, Mar. 22, 1999.

11. "Technology Transfer From Defense: Concealed Weapons Detection," *National Institute of Justice Journal*, No. 229, Aug. 1995, pp. 42-43.

12. Usually those with rampant death squads. "The United States gave money and training to a Guatemalan military that committed acts of genocide," *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1999.

13. *Op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 42.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

1. See, for example, the *New York Times* for April 14, 1999.

2. See *Stolen Lives*, published by the National Lawyers Guild; and the reports of the Anthony Baez Foundation and the October 22nd Coalition.

3. *Rights for All*, Amnesty International U.S.A., 1998, pp. 18, 21.

4. *Police Brutality and Excessive Force in the New York City Police Department*, Amnesty International U.S.A., 1996, pp. 38, 39.

5. Peter B. Kraska and Victor E. Kappeler, "Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Paramilitary Units," *Social Problems*, Vol. 44, No. 1, Feb. 1997, p. 7. See also "Soldiers of the Drug War Remain on Duty," *New York Times*, Mar. 1, 1999, p. A1.

6. *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1999.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1999.

THE ATTACK ON MOVE

Under the Memorandum of Understanding between the DoJ and the DoD, the "systematic transfer of existing technologies into the law enforcement and criminal

special tax waivers for the police to obtain such weaponry...specifically for the purpose of confronting MOVE."⁵ Significantly, "in January, 1985, the FBI provided 37.5 pounds of



AP / Wide World Photos

Fire rages in Philadelphia after the MOVE house was hit by aerial bombardment.

justice communities is permitted for the first time."¹ An odd statement, since what the Memorandum describes as "nonwar-related research and development work on producing better tools for law enforcement"² has been going on for quite some time. Many documented instances exist of previous police-military "technology transfers."

One of the most notorious and brutal involves MOVE, the Black activist self-help organization in Philadelphia. On May 13, 1985, "the police dropped a bomb on MOVE's fortified headquarters in an assault launched to serve arrest warrants on four members of the group barricaded with their associates inside their row house. The resulting fire killed 11 individuals, including five children, destroyed 61 homes, and left 250 men, women and children homeless."³ According to MOVE, the full-scale military assault on their house, which came about after a decade of Philadelphia police repression, was carried out using "tear gas, water cannons, shot guns, Uzis, M-16s, silenced weapons, Browning Automatic Rifles, M-60 machine guns, a 20mm anti-tank gun, and a 50 caliber machine gun."⁴ "The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms provided both permission and

worrisome that such an event was able to take place...C-4 was taken, which is highly dangerous and used by terrorists."⁹ ■



AP / Wide World Photos

In 1985, police fire on MOVE house and occupants after bomb and fire killed eleven people, including five children.

1. "Technology Transfer From Defense: Concealed Weapons Detection," *National Institute of Justice Journal*, Issue #229, Aug. 1995, pp. 42-43.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 242-43.

4. "25 Years on the Move," published by MOVE, P.O. Box 19709,

Philadelphia, PA 19143, p. 49.

5. Richard Poe, "Preemptive Strike: A New Kind of Policing," *East Village Eye*, June 1986, p. 12.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Op. cit.*, n. 3, p. 243.

9. *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1998.

A HISTORY OF BRUTALITY

Historical instances of collaboration between the police and the military reveal not only the operational aspects of such "transfers," but political and ideological ones as well. The current NYPD Street Crime Unit, along with the former Civic Affairs Unit in Philadelphia, active in the targeting of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal for his spirited and informed defense of MOVE (see sidebar), grew out of the anti-radical "red squads" of the sixties. These police units, laden with the most dedicated and brutal white supremacists, adapted, over time and changing circumstances, their hatred of radicals to a hatred of "druggies and criminal perpetrators."

This change coincided with the broader criminalization of protest, the boom in drug busts, and the ideological and practical dehumanization of certain people, especially Blacks (as in the promotion of books like *The Bell Curve*, the move to "workfare" neo-slavery, the depiction of Black and Latino youth as born into a violent "underclass," etc.). Thus, by the 1980s, "the police were confronted with charges of brutality in the treatment of Blacks, but not in a context of racial or political protest."¹⁷ Organizations like the Street Crime and Narcotics Units are the spearhead of politicized police departments and carry on the strategies of yesterday's "red squad" war on radicals. In addition, these police units have become, and remain, the chief beneficiaries of generous military largesse. Throughout the seventies, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration facilitated these military "transfers" through the creation of entities like Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units which were modeled on the U.S. military's Special Forces.

In the 1970s, the NYPD's Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) functioned in this role. It "bore a distinction akin to that of the Green Berets."¹⁸ Seeing themselves in a "war for survival," BOSS targeted the Black and Latino liberation movements in NYC as "part of a trade-off to appease elements in the police that threatened self-help and vigilantism unless punitive courtroom measures were taken against the ghetto militants"¹⁹ Hardline police factions like the Law Enforcement Group orchestrated a 1968 mob attack on a Brooklyn court-

room demanding the removal of the judge hearing a case involving three members of the Black Panther Party. When Mayor Giuliani told a rally of police officers on the steps of City Hall some years ago during the Dinkins administration, "I love the New York City Police Department," Black and Latino politicians were roughed up.

In December 1997, two former NYPD undercover detectives told the story of one of the most secretive units within the Police Department. The unit, which functioned as a "Black Desk" beginning in the mid-1980s, "aimed at investigating dissident Black groups and their leaders." The unit worked out of the Protective Research Unit, which was in the Public Security Section of the NYPD's Intelligence Division, headed at the time by Deputy Chief Robert Burke. Black groups that were targeted included the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the December 12th Coalition, then known as the New York 8. "Historically, the department's political surveillance unit has held some of the NYPD's most closely guarded secrets. It was nicknamed the Red Squad, because it had investigated supposed Communists and political activists in the McCarthy era. In the 1960s, the unit, known as the Bureau of Special Investigations, turned its attention to Malcolm X and later to the Black Panthers...." These units were, and continue to be, outfitted with the latest in surveillance ("stealth") and weapons technology.²⁰

The recent upsurge in popular resistance to incidents like the Diallo shooting has spawned much debate on the problem of a runaway militarized police. Soon after the shooting, NYC Police Commissioner Howard Safir ordered the commander of the Street Crime Unit to have daily discussions with his officers about the use of firearms. Patrick E. Kelleher, first deputy commissioner, said at a news conference that "what we are doing is taking a close look at our training procedures and ways police officers communicate among each other in enforcement situations."²¹ Mayor Giuliani, for his part, "set aside \$15 million for sensitivity training for officers."²² The Mayor and his Police Commissioner popped into Harlem's 32nd Precinct one recent morning touting their wallet-sized politeness cue cards. "The police officers listened politely, in a way that members of paramilitary organizations are obliged to listen."²³

One often hears of the need to "sensitize"

the police, presumably by making them feel at home in the ghetto. Discussion of issues regarding police training usually assume some form of humanistic behavior modification. The assumption is that the few bad apples need only to read a manual or two and talk to a counselor. In fact, the police have been trained to kill. The only role psychiatric behavior modification is playing is to assist in the brainwashing required to create a killer through conditioning, cultivating in the officer a near instinctual reaction to a programmed stimulus, and a "manufactured contempt" for the "perp." Ron Hampton, a retired police officer and executive director of the National Black Police Association, told Amnesty International in 1988 that "in a training video, every criminal portrayed is Black."²⁴

FATS

One of the most interesting illustrations of the evolution of local police forces toward "paramilitarization" is the success of Firearms Training Systems, Inc. (FATS), which, since 1984, has specialized in customized firearms training and psychological conditioning of police forces in the U.S. and foreign military organizations, including the armies of Singapore and Italy, the U.S. Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and the BATF, FBI, and LAPD.²⁵

The military's involvement in domestic law enforcement is subsumed under doctrines entitled Operations Other Than War (OOTW) and Military Operations in Urban Terrain (MOUT), along with divisions known as Military Support to Law Enforcement Agencies (MSLEA) and Military Support to Civil Authorities (MSCA) divisions. In addition, there is much overlap within current U.S. military doctrine and planning for domestic "civil disturbance." For example, a 1994 DoD directive states that "military resources may be employed in support of civilian law enforcement operations in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories and possessions only in the parameters of the Constitution and laws of the United States and the authority of the President and the Secretary of Defense, including delegations of that authority through this Directive or other means."²⁶

24. *Op. cit.*, n. 3, p. 27.

25. The *New York Times*, in a Feb. 16, 1999 article focusing on the issue of police officer training referred to FATS as "a company that provides training programs to 450 law enforcement agencies, including the New York department." The success of this firm testifies not only to the pervasive militarization of civilian law enforcement but also to the Pentagon's increasing "police" and "peacekeeping" missions abroad. FATS was involved in preparing U.S. units for service in the Gulf War and in Bosnia.

26. Department of Defense Directive 3025.12, "Mi-

17. Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1990), pp. 242-43.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

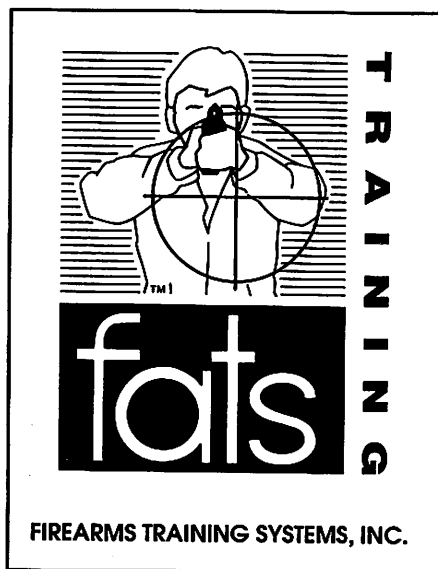
19. *Ibid.*, p. 194; see also, Leonard Ruchelman, *Who Rules the Police* (New York: NYU Press, 1973).

20. Leonard Levitt, "Secret Cop Squad," *New York Newsday*, Apr. 29, 1999, p. A42.

21. *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1999.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1999.



A recent scholarly journal notes:

The military and the police comprise the state's primary use-of-force entities, the foundation of its coercive power. A close ideological and operational alliance between these two entities in handling domestic social problems usually is associated with repressive governments. Although such an alliance is not normally associated with countries like the United States, reacting to certain social problems by blurring the distinction between the military and the police may be a key feature of the post-cold war United States. With the threat of communism no longer a national preoccupation, crime has become a more inviting target for state activity, both internationally and in the United States.²⁷

Nearly half of the hundreds of paramilitary police units in the U.S. have "trained with active duty military experts in special operations,"²⁸ while another 30 percent trained with "police officers with special operations experience in the military."²⁹ A "special operations" trainer had this to say: "We've had special forces folks who have come right out of the jungles of Central America. These guys get into the real shit. All branches of military service are involved in providing training to law enforcement."³⁰ In New York City, ground

zero for the "quality of life" police crack-down, these units target "disorderly" areas, in other words, poor communities of color involved in a war for survival.

SIMULATED PARAMILITARY POLICING

"You've got him in your sights. Drawing a gun, he turns, you fire. A life and death situation? Not if it's a simulation system from Firearms Training Systems (FATS).... FATS is the leading worldwide producer of interactive simulation systems designed to provide training in the handling and use of small and supporting arms."³¹

In 1985 FATS developed its first video simulation system for police and military application. Since that time they have sold more than 2,200 systems in over 30 countries. FATS simulation systems, according to its manufacturer, "enable users in law enforcement agencies and the military the ability to train in highly realistic scenarios through the integration of video and digitalized projected imagery and modified, laser emitting firearms that retain the fit, function and feel of the original weapon.... The FATS simulator evaluates each officer on a series of judgment, accuracy and reaction time exercises.... Using video or computer images projected onto a screen, the simulator's easy to use menu guides the user through a series of training exercises, which include appropriate use of deadly force."³²

The company believes that it "has been an integral training tool for federal, state and local enforcement agencies honing their judgment skill in shoot/don't shoot situations." And should these "shoot situations" generate public controversy, "FATS systems used by law enforcement agencies are a viable defense tool against liability lawsuits relating to alleged uses of excessive force. The reason: officers training on FATS systems receive the most realistic training available to law enforcement personnel."³³

The President and CEO of FATS is Peter A. Marino, who was formerly the Director of the Office of Technical Services of the Central Intelligence Agency.³⁴

MILITARY COUNTERPARTS

In order to improve the realism and increase the effectiveness of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team training, the Naval Air Warfare Center Training Systems Division (NAWCTSD) has developed the Weapons Team Engagement Trainer (WTET) prototype. This system provides

realistic tactical engagements for team members of military special forces, SWAT teams and other law enforcement personnel...in close quarter combat."³⁵

Recently, FATS Inc. contracted with the Office of Naval Research. They will be producing a commercial version of the Weapons Team Engagement Trainer (WTET) and will be working directly with potential military and law enforcement customers to develop a commercial version of the system.

The WTET police/combat training simulators, which "link large, video projection and digital audio technology, infrared (IR) location sensors, and realistic, multi-room training experience,"³⁶ have replaced traditional marksmanship exercises. According to Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, a former Army Ranger and paratrooper, and author of *On Killing*,³⁷ "modern training uses what are essentially B.F. Skinner's operant conditioning techniques to develop a firing behavior in the soldier. This training comes as close to simulating actual combat conditions as possible." Grossman asserts that operant conditioning is "the single most powerful and reliable behavior modification process yet discovered in the field of psychology, and now applied to the field of warfare." Grossman points out that "soldiers who have conducted this kind of simulator training often report, after they have met a real life emergency, that they just carried out the correct drill and completed it before they realized that they were not in the simulator."

Grossman explains that behavioral engineering geared to producing better killers is relatively recent. Citing a veritable "technological revolution on the battlefield," he states that "boot-camp deification of killing was unheard of during World War I, rare in World War II, increasingly present in Korea, and thoroughly institutionalized in Vietnam." According to Grossman, it has been demonstrated that "in World War II, 75 to 80 percent of riflemen did not fire their weapons at an exposed enemy, even to save their lives and the lives of their friends." The problem was evidently addressed before the Vietnam War, where "the non-firing rate was close to 5 percent." This was accomplished through a process of desensitization, denial and conditioning. "The method used to train today's U.S. Army and USMC soldiers

lity Assistance for Civil Disturbances (MACDIS)," Feb. 4, 1994, pp. 1-3.

27. Kraska and Kappeler, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 2.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The militarization of law enforcement has a long history. See Joan M. Jensen, *Army Surveillance in America, 1775-1980* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991); and Ron Ridenhour with Arthur Lubow, "Bringing the War Home," *New Times*, 1975.

31. Report of Firearms Training Systems, Inc., 7340 McGinnis Ferry Road, Suwanee, Georgia, 30024-1247.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. FATS 1998 Annual Report, p. 13.

35. U.S. Navy, Technology Spotlight, Weapons Team Engagement Trainer, October 1998, www.ntsc.navy.mil/tech/wtet/wtet.htm.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1996), pp. 177-78, 252, 255.

is nothing more than an application of conditioning techniques to develop a reflexive quick-shoot ability."

This is not to suggest that the officers who killed Amadou Diallo were program-

med to kill. But police training which is geared toward the cultivation of a reflexive, quick-shoot ability, reinforced by a violent and racist police culture, and founded upon an authoritarian municipal governmental

system, needs to be thoroughly overhauled, or the killings and brutality will continue. Psychological conditioning will remain implicated in the rising rate of police killings. It is time to demilitarize our police. ■

HOMELAND DEFENSE AND THE POSSE COMITATUS ACT

While the Clinton administration seeks to redefine warfare as "humanitarian intervention," it also seeks to bring back one of the most mind-numbing concepts of the Cold War's glory days, namely, the Threat. As Clinton, with his NATO allies, undermines the concept of the nation-state in Yugoslavia, he has seized upon a definition of the Threat that fits his world-view at home. A terrorist group is likely to use, or threaten to use, chemical or biological weapons, or other weapons of mass destruction, against the United States, Clinton said, "sometime in the next few years."¹

His response has been to create an unprecedented role for the military, a role he called "the last big kind of organizational piece" in the defense against the new menace, terrorism.² Such a move flies in the face of long-standing tradition.

Since the passage of the Posse Comitatus Act in 1878, the American military has been forbidden to engage in domestic law enforcement. Indeed, there are fears of just such problems if Clinton's counter-terrorism planners are given a free hand. Warns the ACLU's Gregory Nojeim, "The Pentagon ought not be doing any of this work."³

The erosion of Posse Comitatus ("power of the country" in Latin) over the years has not been challenged in the courts. Former Senator Sam Nunn observed recently that legislation exists waiving its provisions in cases involving drug interdiction, nuclear terrorism, and chemical, and germ attacks.⁴

The President has appointed an unreconstructed Cold War hawk, at Cabinet level, as its anti-terrorism czar. Richard A. Clarke, a member of the National Security Council (he occupies Oliver North's old office in the White House), is the only administration holdover from the Reagan-Bush years. He came to the NSC from the State Department, where he had been forced out for unilaterally pushing a pro-Israeli policy on Israeli transfers of Ameri-

can technology to third countries, contrary to law and policy. Earlier, while pursuing a psychological warfare operation against Libya, Clarke had been caught placing false reports in the *Wall Street Journal*.⁵

With no oversight but the President, Clarke will be commanding a \$10 billion annual budget to coordinate military and

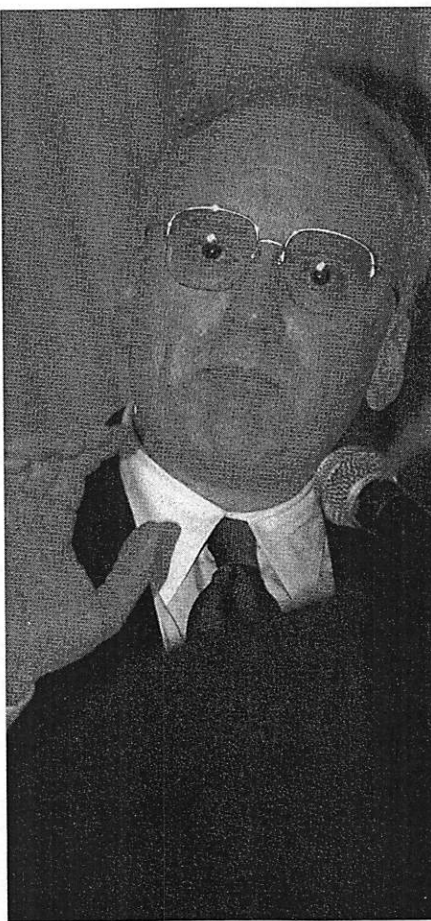
ed forces to aid federal agencies in times of domestic crisis, according to the *Times*.⁶

Hinting at the dangerous potential of this radical break with the past, Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre acknowledged that "most Americans" are "apprehensive" about military involvement in domestic policing. But, he pointed out, in Clintonpeak, "Frankly, we're not seeking this job.... But we know we're being asked to be involved because we do have the only part of the government that has the resources that can be mobilized."⁷

No such false modesty emanates from the low-profile but aggressive Richard Clarke, for whom defense of the U.S. against states or rogue groups is "almost the primary responsibility of the government." Clarke sees the Threat in the form of cyberwar, nerve gas, deadly germ attacks, or an "electronic Pearl Harbor."⁸ He believes the Threat must be relentlessly pursued wherever it may be. He was an eager proponent of attacking the pharmaceutical factory in Sudan which he claimed was connected to the Saudi Osama bin Laden.

In Clarke's thinking, the military is being given an enhanced role in domestic policing, because the Threat can cross borders without warning. Meanwhile, Attorney General Janet Reno has established a National Domestic Preparedness Office within the FBI. "Presidential directives issued last May put the FBI in the lead if terrorists use a weapon of mass destruction in the United States."⁹ The FBI has seen its counter-terrorism budget vastly increased, from \$256 million in fiscal 1995 to over \$608 million in fiscal 1999.¹⁰

Inevitable intra-government turf battles aside, there is little doubt that the Clinton administration is committed to enhancing the government's ability to monitor and repress the activities of citizens, under the pretext of an ill-defined, but all-encompassing New Threat, and to use the military to do so. ■



Richard A. Clarke, Clinton's powerful terror czar.

local police training, equipment, and planning to respond to the new Threat. And President Clinton is on the verge of approving a proposal, endorsed by Secretary of Defense William Cohen, to create a Joint Task Force for Civil Support, which would develop ways for the branches of the arm-

AP / Wide World Photos

1. *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1999, p. A12.

2. *New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1999, p. A21.

3. *Washington Post*, Feb. 1, 1999, p. A2.

4. *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1999, p. A3.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Op. cit.*, n. 2.

7. *Op. cit.*, n. 3.

8. *Op. cit.*, n. 4.

9. *Dallas Morning News*, Feb. 9, 1999.

10. *Legal Times*, Nov. 9, 1998.

TUPAC'S PANTHER SHADOW:

THE POLITICAL TARGETING OF TUPAC SHAKUR

BY JOHN POTASH

Top-selling rap and film star Tupac Amaru Shakur was murdered in Las Vegas in September 1996. He was riding in the passenger seat of his record label owner Marion "Suge" Knight's BMW on the city's main strip, when a white Cadillac with gunmen inside pulled up on the rapper's side. Many of the 15 or more shots fired would fatally wound Shakur, while Knight's head was slightly grazed by one ricocheting bullet. This killing followed a near-fatal shooting of Shakur in New York two years earlier.

At 25, Tupac Shakur was one of the most dynamic and successful artists of his generation. His chart-topping albums sold over nine million copies before his death, and he co-starred in six films with well-known actors such as Jim Belushi, Tim Roth, and his friend Mickey Rourke.¹ The brutal end of so promising a career attracted widespread attention, but fundamental questions about the case remain unanswered. They concern vicious police actions and harassment against Shakur by law enforcement authorities.

One less publicized aspect of Shakur's high-profile life was that his mother and extended family were leading Black Panther figures of the 1960s and 1970s. Research on FBI monitoring of Shakur from his early adolescence, reflects patterns

of police surveillance, evidence of government ties to some of his associates, suspicious deaths of people connected to him, and mainstream media's misinformation about Shakur's political activism. All these factors mirror Tupac Shakur's Black Panther heritage.

SHAKUR'S DEATH

While numerous media accounts portray the rap world as extremely violent, a product of the rough ghetto gang life some rap lyrics dramatize, most of the murders in that world began with the

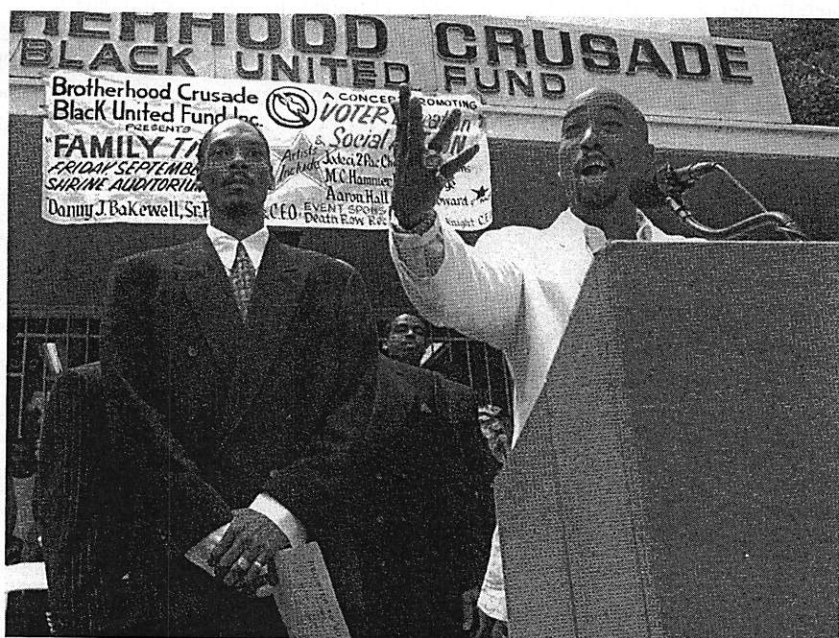
Shakur's backup singer, his cousin Yafeu Fula, immediately told police that he thought he could identify the killer in a line-up. They failed to follow usual procedures and did not detain Fula as a witness. Two months later, in New Jersey, Fula was murdered in his girlfriend's apartment stairwell. The local police reported the death as drug-related, later admitting there was no substantiation for this claim.³

In another unusual police action on the night of Shakur's murder, the two Las Vegas motorcycle officers who heard the shots failed to split up—one to secure the crime scene and gather witnesses and evidence, the other to pursue the fleeing vehicles—standard procedure.

A PANTHER LEGACY

While police acted suspiciously in the events surrounding Shakur's murder, their behavior long before his death is even more telling. As part of the FBI's well-documented Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) against radical activists,⁴ in 1969, New York police arrested Shakur's mother, New York Black Panther member Afeni Shakur. As one of the Black Panther 21, she was charged with 30 counts amounting to "an over-

all plan to harass and destroy elements of society."⁵ Despite little formal education, Afeni successfully defended herself in court and was acquitted with the other Panther members.



Tupac speaking at Los Angeles voter registration rally with Snoop Doggy Dogg.

apparent targeting of Tupac, and continued after his death.

The Las Vegas Police Department murder "investigation" failed to come to any conclusion. Award-winning Las Vegas *Sun* police reporter Cathy Scott wrote a page-long "list of questionable decisions in the Tupac Shakur homicide investigation,"² suggesting no conclusions were actually ever sought.

The Las Vegas Police claimed that no witnesses to the murder came forward. But

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-15.

4. The existence of COINTELPRO first became known when activists broke into an FBI office in Media, Penna., on Mar. 8, 1971, and took thousands of documents from classified files. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), p. 39. Much of the information on the Black Panthers herein came from the FBI's own documents.

5. Michael Newton, *Bitter Grain: Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party* (Los Angeles: Holloway House, 1991), p. 184.

John Potash is the founding editor and publisher of *Social Justice Action Quarterly*—a national social work school newspaper. He lives in Brooklyn, New York, and is currently writing a book on Tupac Shakur's life and times with the perspective of this article.

1. *Vibe* Editors, *Tupac Shakur* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1997), pp. 140-41. Upon release, Shakur's double album, *All Eyez On Me*, sold more in its first week than any other album except *The Beatles Anthology* the year before. Ronin Ro, *Have Gun Will Travel: The Spectacular Rise and Violent Fall of Death Row Records* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), p. 281.

2. Cathy Scott, *The Killing of Tupac Shakur* (Las Vegas: Huntington Press, 1997), p. 59.

Afeni had developed a relationship with fellow Panther 21 revolutionary Mutulu Shakur who later became Tupac's surrogate father. In addition to being charged in the 1979 jailbreak of New York Panther Assata Shakur, in 1981 Mutulu was sought, along with a coalition of revolutionaries, for the robbery of a Brinks armored truck.⁶ Until Mutulu's capture in 1986 by New York's Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF), the FBI periodically entered Tupac's schools to question him regarding the whereabouts of his fugitive surrogate father.⁷

Tupac was heir to a militant family. Afeni named Los Angeles Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt her son's godfather. COINTELPRO's targeting of Pratt was an example of how the FBI cooperated with local police intelligence to target Panther chapters in dozens of cities.

Police meddled in the lives of many Black Panthers through false arrests leading to beatings, attempted murder, and murder. These well-documented cases include evidence (i.e., partial admissions by police and FBI) that, in 1969 an undercover agent drugged Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton so that the police could murder him in his sleep.⁸ Shortly before the Chicago raid, Hampton had flown to L.A. to meet with local Panther leader Pratt. Soon after the Chicago raid, L.A. Panther headquarters was also raided and Pratt's bed shot at, though he was luckily sleeping on the floor.

Pratt was later convicted of a Los Angeles robbery and murder in 1972. The massive police and prosecutorial misconduct, including the use of a police informant as the witness to his alleged confession, convinced a judge to rule in 1997—after 25 years—that Pratt should be released from prison. Defense lawyers eventually forced the FBI's release of phone taps of a Panther meeting in Oakland which Pratt was attending at the time of the murder in L.A. The FBI admitted that the specific sections of the tape which would have had Pratt on it were "accidentally lost or destroyed."⁹

FBI actions against Pratt, in conjunction with the state's Criminal Intelligence and Investigation unit and Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section,¹⁰ suggest similar police tactics as part of continued COINTELPRO interest by law enforcement agencies in Panther families that would be echoed throughout Shakur's life.

Despite the Black Panthers' wildfire spread to dozens of cities by the early 1970s, the FBI and police departments' COINTELPRO activities all but extinguished the group by the end of the decade. The Black Panthers, and the radical Black nationalist movement more generally, had been effectively destroyed. But the underlying problem of racism that had given rise to the movement remained.

COINTELPRO CONTINUES

Although COINTELPRO formally ended in 1971, at least one ex-FBI agent stated that the FBI informally continued the same program by framing it in different terms.¹¹ Particular evidence of COINTELPRO's informal continuance has come out in class action suits in New York City.

In a landmark case challenging COINTELPRO activities in New York City, "[Police] Commissioner Murphy conceded that the Police Department was engaged in the vast bulk of activities described in [the class action] complaint, including surreptitious surveillance and undercover infiltration of the political activities of individuals and groups."¹² The class action suit, brought by a coalition of activists, also exposed the activities of "physical and verbal coercion...provocation of violence, and recruitment to act as police informers," against New Yorkers involved in lawful political and social activities.¹³ One Panther historian noted that "at least five BOSS [Bureau of Special Services] agents were planted inside the Panther Party almost from its inception, beginning at once to worm their way into positions of power."¹⁴

ed convict Panther leader Pratt in the early seventies, pleaded guilty to four felony charges yet was somehow allowed to complete law school and enter the California Bar in the years following his trial. *Op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 168. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 53. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 91.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 79.

11. Ward Churchill, "The FBI Targets Judi Bari," *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 47, Winter 1993-94, p. 54. This well-documented article argues that the FBI paralyzed environmental leader Judi Bari with a car bomb in 1989, a proposition given some credence in a 1997 federal suit against the government.

12. *Handschu, et al. vs. Special Services Division, a/k/a Bureau of Special Services; Patrick Murphy, et al. U.S. District Court, S.D.N.Y.*, 71 Civ. 2203 (CSH), Memorandum Opinion and Order, Mar. 7, 1985, p. 26.

13. *Ibid.*, Memorandum Opinion and Order, May 24, 1979, p. 3.

14. *Op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 174.

The settlement of this case led to a court order in 1985 stipulating specific "Guidelines" for future police activity.¹⁵ Police admitted there was a special unit called "The Black Desk" to monitor Black New Yorkers. BOSS illegal police surveillance on the Black Liberation Movement in the 1980s, which included Tupac Shakur's lawyer, Michael Warren, was found to have violated the Guidelines in a 1989 opinion.¹⁶ Statewide, the JTTF, an FBI-police amalgam, had hunted down Mutulu Shakur, among other "terrorists," and harassed their supporters.¹⁷

The question remains whether the COINTELPRO activities carried out by BOSS under the auspices of The Black Desk, and JTTF, were continued under a different police unit name in the 1990s. Often described as the special elite police unit with an almost completely white racial make-up, New York City's select Street Crime Unit would be the most likely candidate.¹⁸

New evidence detailed below suggests that COINTELPRO tactics against Blacks in particular may have been behind the first near-fatal shooting of Shakur in New York in 1994.

FAME AND POLITICS

By the end of the Reagan/Bush era, Shakur's auspicious musical debut, including lyrics discussing his Black Panther family, coupled with leading movie roles, threatened to bring the Panthers back into vogue.

Thus it is no coincidence that Shakur attracted police attention in direct proportion to his fame and success. In line with Shakur's quote, "I never had a record until I made a record," shortly after his successful solo debut, Oakland police ticketed him for jaywalking, then arrested and beat him in custody.¹⁹ Shakur's first record, *2Pacalypse Now*, railed against the FBI, the CIA, and President Bush. In 1992, a year

15. *Op. cit.*, n. 13, Appendix A. Stipulation and settlement—"General Policy" (referred to as "Guidelines").

16. *Handschu, et al. vs. Special Services Division, Rev. Calvin Butts, Michael Warren et al. Intervenor*, 71 Civ. 2203 (CSH), Memorandum Opinion and Order, July 18, 1989; Black Desk, p. 13; Guidelines violation, p. 34.

17. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, pp. 364-65, 465.

18. Sergeant Delacy Davis, a 14-year veteran New Jersey police officer and anti-police brutality activist, reported that NYC's Street Crime Unit is "virtually all white." Richard Goldstein, "The R-Word," *Village Voice*, Apr. 6, 1999, p. 43. Also described as an "overwhelmingly white plainclothes unit," Robert McFadden, "Elite Police Unit in Diallo Slaying Gets Overhauled," *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1999, p. A1.

19. *Vibe's* Editor-at-large Danyel Smith reported seeing Shakur's battered face and dented head the next day. Shakur sued police for \$10 million. *Vibe* Editors, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 17.

6. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 464. This coalition, calling itself the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF), included Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, Susan Rosenberg, Timothy Blunk, Silvia Baraldini, and Linda Evans, along with former Panther 21 defendants Sekou Odinga (formerly Nathaniel Burns) and Edward Joseph, among others. The group was using the money from heists to fund an acupuncture clinic and underwrite health care for the slum community of the South Bronx. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

7. *Op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 65.

8. Partial admissions such as that by FBI agent Marlin Johnson, *op. cit.*, n. 4, pp. 68-73; and Police Sgt. Stanley Robinson, *op. cit.*, n. 5, pp. 152-53.

9. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, pp. 82-84. Julius Butler, an undercover FBI agent who infiltrated the L.A. Panthers and help-

after that album's release, Vice President Dan Quayle, and later Senator Bob Dole, singled him out as responsible for police deaths.

With the FBI watching Shakur since he was a teen, and his leadership in the New Afrikan Panthers, a group dedicated to replicating the Black Panthers,²⁰ police involvement in his life deserves more scrutiny.

While Shakur's lyrics often dramatized inner-city life, including what some might view as negative images, glorifying gang life and denigrating women, they also included many positive political messages: ideas about Malcolm X and various Black Panthers.²¹ As a youth, Shakur performed benefits for Black Panther prisoners. By nineteen, he sang with the Grammy-nominated band Digital Underground. Besides his stint as a Panther Chairman and his Underground Railroad/Thug Life Movement, Shakur participated in a Stop the Violence program, helped with a home for at-risk youth, sponsored a "Celebrity Youth League," joined Central American solidarity benefits, and regularly spoke at rallies for voter registration and progressive activist groups.²²

The nature of the beneficiaries of Shakur's ever-increasing success must have set off alarms in the intelligence world. Some of Shakur's enormous wealth (the estimated worth of his 200 unreleased recordings alone was over \$100 million) was donated to programs and causes his Panther family supported, including Afeni Shakur's research efforts, with her imprisoned partner Mutulu, which eventually contributed to the release of Pratt in 1997.²³

Shakur was also achieving a newfound maturity in his mid-twenties. His engagement to Kidada Jones, daughter of music mogul and *Vibe* magazine owner, jazz composer Quincy Jones must have worried police and intelligence officials, because of the vast wealth and influence of the elder Jones, and concern that Shakur's

activist projects, such as his "Thug Life Movement" to turn drug dealers into lawful singers,²⁴ and his last interview statements of going back to his family's ways, would mark a return to his earlier radical activism.

THE SETUP

The finding of continued COINTELPRO-type activities adds weight to evidence that Shakur's associate Jacques Agnant (a/k/a Ricardo Brown, a/k/a Nigel) was an undercover agent who infiltrated his life and contributed to his legal problems. In 1993, after befriending Shakur, Agnant introduced Shakur to Ayanna Jackson the night she had consensual sex with the singer, first on a dance floor and then in his hotel room.²⁵ In a second visit to Shakur's hotel room several days later, set up again by Agnant, Jackson charged Shakur, Agnant, and two others with sexual assault.

Events around the trial point to Agnant's government connections. Agnant's trial lawyer, Paul Brenner, had represented the Policemen's Benevolent Association for many years.²⁶ In addition, Agnant's case was severed from that of the other defendants without protest from the prosecutors. And, after Shakur's trial, Agnant's felony indictment was dismissed, and he simply pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors.²⁷

Shakur was convicted of three of the nine charges, relating only to non-consensual touching of Jackson's buttocks (typically reported only as "sexual abuse"), and sentenced to one-and-a-half to four-and-a-half years, an extremely harsh sentence.²⁸

24. First begun as the Underground Railroad in 1990, *Thug Life Volume 1* became a gold record. Shakur's cousin Billy Lesane said Shakur's Thug Life Movement was intended to establish an ethical code in the ghettos. Personal interview, Mar. 26, 1999.

25. From court testimony, *People of the State of New York v. Tupac Shakur*, Indictment No. 11578/93. Access provided by legal assistant Mike Turner and law firm, Stillman and Friedman.

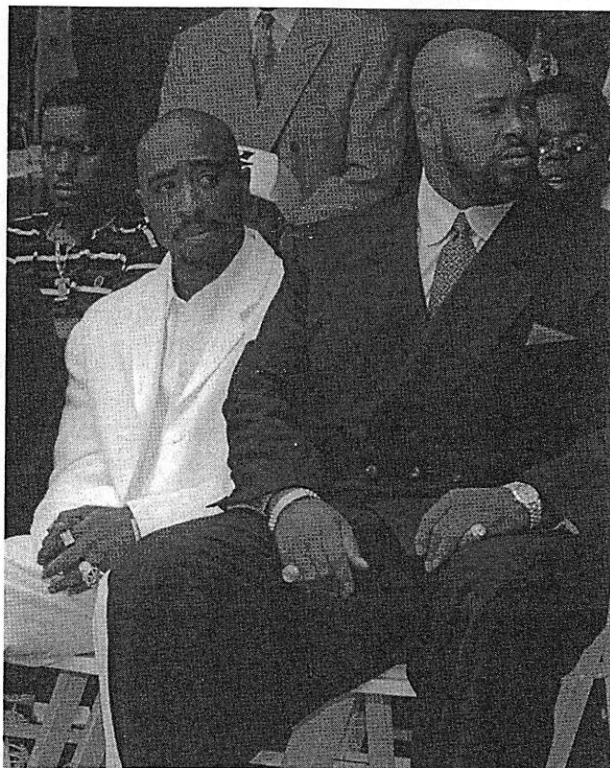
26. Connie Bruck, "The Takedown of Tupac Shakur," *The New Yorker*, July 7, 1997, p. 54.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

28. A jury of nine women and three men found Shakur guilty of only three of the nine counts. The judge

(In 1994, New York City police admitted "accidentally erasing" a tape Shakur and companions had of Jackson that supported Shakur's defense. His lawyer, Michael Warren, successfully argued that the police also planted guns in the hotel suite where the supposed assault occurred.²⁹

Jacques Agnant was also connected to Shakur's near-fatal mugging in late November 1994. Toward the end of Shakur's sexual assault trial, Agnant was seen several times secretly following Shakur.³⁰



Tupac with "Suge" Knight a month before the singer was murdered in Knight's car.

Several days later, "Booker," a man Agnant had introduced to Shakur, paged the singer and asked him come to a studio in Times Square to record with a new rapper. Booker called Shakur insistently that night, lied to him about who would be there, and offered \$7,000 cash from his pocket to get Shakur to the building.

gave Shakur a 1½ to 4½ year prison sentence for three "counts of sexual abuse—specifically, forcibly touching Jackson's buttocks." *Ibid.* The *New York Times* described it as a felony sexual abuse charge for "groping...the woman's buttocks." Dec. 1, 1996, p. A1. Despite reports to the contrary, the jury found no one guilty of "sodomy by forcible compulsion." The jury found Shakur not guilty of six counts, including forced sodomy, attempted sodomy, and weapons possession. The judge set Shakur's bail at \$3 million and refused the \$1.4 million bail, mostly offered by Atlantic Records, until forced to on appeal six months later.

29. From court testimony.

30. Billy Lesane, personal interview, Mar. 26, 1999.

20. Armond White, *Rebel for the Hell of It* (Los Angeles: Thundermouth Press, 1997), p. 38.

21. Some might label Shakur sexist and, thus, indefensible. Yet, the primary example of sexism—the sexual assault—is, as shown above, suspect. That Shakur's lyrics use such slang as "bitches" and "hos" for certain women, albeit regrettable, might better be understood in its cultural context. Critics such as *Vibe* editor Danyel Smith described early Shakur songs about women as "uplifting, pro-choice and anti-abuse." Seven months after Shakur's sexual assault trial and first shooting, noted feminist political writer bell hooks defended Shakur by deriding other "young Black men who want to go out and destroy this talented young Black man." *Vibe* Editors, *op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 17, 43.

22. *Op. cit.*, n. 20.

23. Personal interview with former Black Panther Watani Tychimba, who was also Shakur's business manager, Nov. 3, 1998.

When Shakur arrived with three companions, two men held him at gunpoint in the lobby and stripped him of his gold jewelry, although they left his diamond-encrusted Rolex, which Agnant had bought for him. Then they shot him in the groin and twice in the head, while he was face-down on the floor.³¹

NY STREET CRIME UNIT

Some suspicious aspects of the event were noted by editors of the *Amsterdam News*.³² Shakur and a companion both said they saw a police car outside the lobby doors on Broadway, immediately after the assailants fled, guns in hand. The New York Police reported this as a random mugging, yet the assailants picked an extremely well-lit Times Square area for a robbery.

In what the *Washington Post* described as "one of the many strange twists in the case,"³³ three of the same cops who first appeared a year earlier at Tupac's hotel in the sexual assault arrest were the first to arrive at this near-fatal "mugging."³⁴ And at least one has been identified as a member of New York's now infamous Street Crime Unit.

A HISTORY OF PROVOCATIONS

There are many examples of police and intelligence provocations against Panthers, including infiltrators, fake letters, fabricated rivalries, etc.³⁵

31. *Vibe* Editors, *op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 50-51, 69-70. Deposition of Barbara Justice, MD, *New York v. Tupac Shakur*, Dec. 21, 1994.

32. Editorial, "Thoughts and Notes on Tupac," *Amsterdam News*, Dec. 17, 1994, p. 24.

33. Malcolm Gladwell, "Shakur Guilty of Sex Abuse," *Washington Post*, Dec. 2, 1994, pp. F1, F2.

34. *Vibe* Editors, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 41.

35. Manufacturing murderous rivalries was a modus operandi of the FBI's COINTELPRO. See Congress's *The FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, under the heading "The Effort to Promote Violence Between the Black Panther Party and Other Well-Armed, Potentially Violent Organizations." One example is undercover Los Angeles Agent Louis Tackwood. Tackwood's confessions were recorded (he passed a polygraph test), and various parts of his information were corroborated by other informers. *Ibid.*, pp. 410-11. He said that the FBI paid and supplied guns to Ron Karenga, leader of the Black Nationalist "United Slaves (U.S.)," to wage warfare on the Black Panthers, which led to their carrying out the unprovoked murder of several Panthers. Undercover prison and Panther agent "informants" also framed Black Panthers, trying to fuel a rivalry with the United Slaves, and using fake FBI-fabricated "informative" letters for such purpose. *Ibid.*, p. 42. For example, George Sams, a paid FBI informer in the New York Panthers, tortured and killed a New York Panther candidate, Alex Rackley, claiming that he was an FBI informant. The FBI had given Sams a fake letter attesting to the charge. New Haven Panther Captain Lonnie McClucas received a 12-year jail sentence as an accessory while Sams "ultimately took a plea bargain which resulted in his doing light time" for his direct involvement in Rackley's murder. *Op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 43.

After Shakur's imprisonment for the sexual abuse conviction, jailmate "informants" and anonymous letters he received led the singer to believe that his fellow rapper friend Biggie Smalls (a/k/a Christopher Wallace) had set up the shooting, even though Smalls lacked a motive for doing so.

Biggie Smalls was killed in Los Angeles in 1997, seven months after Shakur's murder. The *L.A. Times* reported that New York police officers were near the murder scene when it occurred, supposedly taking part in a federal investigation into Smalls's record label.³⁶ His death helped "substantiate" the East/West rap war that the authorities were trying to foster, and directed suspicions toward Brooklyn-based Smalls for California-based Shakur's death.

Political writer Christian Parenti suggests that the East/West rap music feud, as well as Shakur's sexual assault charge, may have been a latter-day COINTELPRO against rap artists.³⁷

A DESPERATE AGREEMENT

After rejecting two previous offers from Death Row Records owner/producer Marion "Suge" Knight, an imprisoned Tupac Shakur was finally forced to sign a contract that included his bail money.³⁸ But people close to Shakur knew he wanted to leave Death Row and start his own label. Ten days before his murder, Shakur fired Death Row lawyer Dave Kenner, who had been assigned to him by Knight. Friends of Shakur reported that this move was very dangerous because of Kenner's power in Death Row Records and Knight's violent business practices.³⁹

LAPD intelligence operations suggest Knight's connection to a government program.⁴⁰ Los Angeles was the site of the largest western FBI/police intelligence collaboration against Black activists in the 1960s and 1970s, as described above in the targeting of Geronimo Pratt. L.A. was also the site of the CIA-Contra connection to crack cocaine in the 1980s, and there is evidence that Knight was involved in drug dealing at that time.⁴¹ Crack cocaine infiltrated into South Central L.A., created

millionaires, some of whom worked with the authorities, particularly the notorious government collaborator "Freeway" Ricky Ross.⁴²

One of L.A.'s two top cocaine dealers who came on the scene at the same time as Ross and reportedly "ended up buying from him... and... learning from him," was Michael Harris.⁴³ Harris, who ended up in jail, was represented by David Kenner, who convinced him to put up the first million dollars to start Death Row Records. Kenner made himself president of Death Row Records and later completely cut Harris out of the company. Harris is currently suing Kenner.

SUGE'S ROLE

It was Suge Knight who was driving the car in Las Vegas the night of Tupac's murder. Kidada Jones, Tupac's fiancée, reported that Tupac wanted to drive his own car that night, but Knight convinced the rapper to ride with him in an open-windowed BMW. According to an ex-bodyguard of Knight's, the murder scene was "aberrant" because there were no armed bodyguards in Knight's car nor in the accompanying car behind them.⁴⁴ Although Knight had lived in Las Vegas for several years, and knew the area well, he made a curious U-turn away from a nearby hospital as Shakur lay dying next to him. Weeks later, Knight stated that he wouldn't give anyone information about the killers because "it's not my job."⁴⁵ Knight was arrested and jailed for violating his probation a few days after Shakur's death. He has continued to run Death Row Records from his jail cell. (In early April, Knight was named as a suspect in Biggie Smalls's murder, which the authorities claim he masterminded from jail.)

After Tupac's death, Afeni Shakur was told that her son owed Death Row money, even though his albums for the company had grossed over \$150 million in sales (70 percent of rap albums are bought by white

42. Gary Webb, *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998). It has been suggested that the CIA used the Crips and the Bloods, two L.A. gangs, to distribute crack cocaine in Black neighborhoods throughout the country.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

44. It was odd that armed bodyguards were supposed to be in some of the other six to fifteen cars following Knight and Shakur, but there is no evidence that any of them fired at the shooters. Further, Knight reported to police that he pulled Shakur back down as the entertainer was trying to get in the back seat and, of the fifteen or more shots, only one bullet grazed Knight. *Op. cit.*, n. 25, p. 326. Knight may have been forced to admit this as another witness stated seeing Shakur trying to escape to the back seat.

45. *Ro, op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 326.

36. *Op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 123.

37. Christian Parenti, "Interview with Assata Shakur," *Z Magazine*, May 1998.

38. *Ro, op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 152, 162, 249-50.

39. *Op. cit.*, n. 21, p. 63. For many examples of Knight's violence, see *Ro, op. cit.*, n. 1.

40. For how long and in what manner Knight might have been an intelligence collaborator is unknown. It is possible that Knight was an unknowing collaborator as some of the U.S. members might have been when they carried out the killing of several Black Panthers in California.

41. *Ro, op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 20, 76.

youth). While Afeni won the legal right to obtain all of her son's unreleased recordings, she only received a portion of them from Death Row. And their more than \$100 million estimated dollar value would soon decrease. With very little financial motive for the only suspect, Death Row, government pressure probably led Knight to let 13 illegal bootleg discs hit the streets and massively devalue Afeni Shakur's inherited estate.⁴⁶

TUPAC'S LEGACY

In his last interviews, Shakur espoused radical political ideas and plans. He

spoke of religion as social control, of returning to his family's ways but "with a more militant philosophy," of plans to start an interracial "lost-tribe" political party, and to devote future album proceeds to start community centers. He also explained that his trademark "W" hand sign, which had indicated the West Coast, would now mean "War." He said, "West Coast and East Coast together [to gain] power" for "Black America."⁴⁷

Shakur's incredible fan devotion and societal influence were likely thorns in the side of the intelligence community.

After his death, Shakur received tributes by leading intellectuals and was memorialized in mass assemblies at Black colleges. His legacy sparked courses devoted to his work at prestigious universities, including the University of California at Berkeley.⁴⁸

While unsubstantiated versions of the story behind Tupac Shakur's death are frequently asserted, there has been no real independent investigation of government involvement. Shakur's political-activist life and radical heritage call for such an inquiry. ■

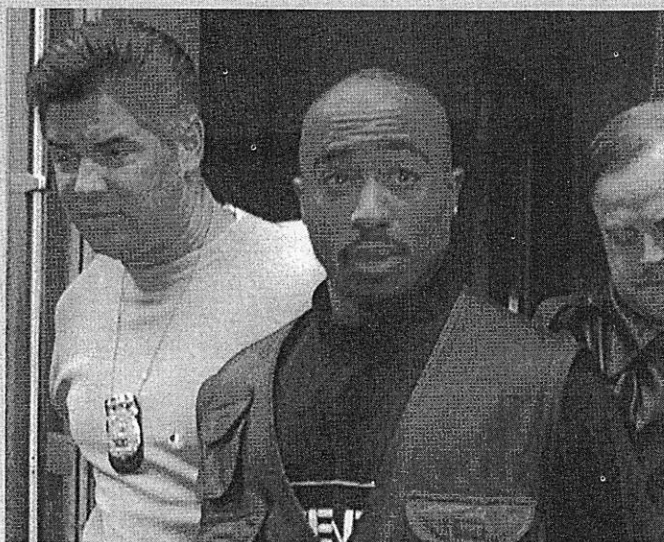
46. Veronica Lodge, "The Raping of Tupac," *Rap Pages*, Sept. 1998, pp. 64-71.

47. *Vibe* Editors, *op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 97, 98, 126.

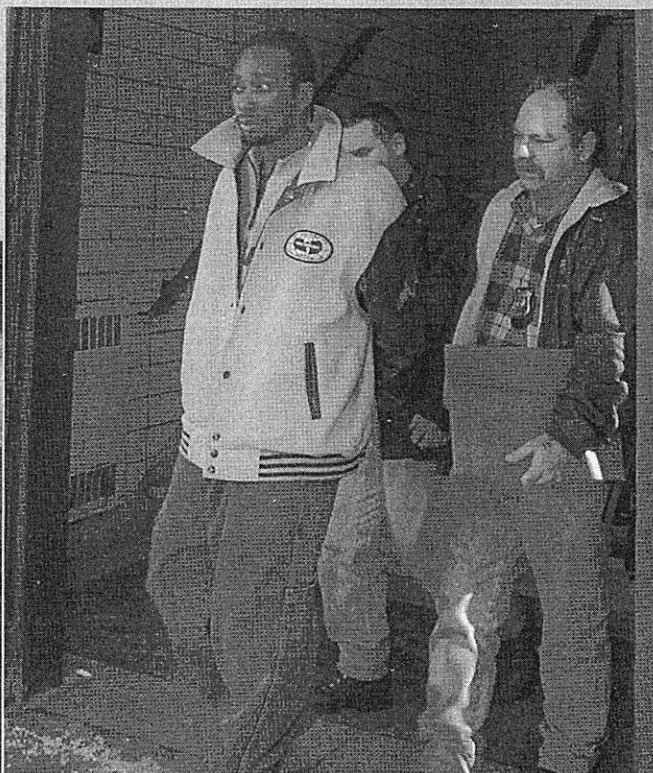
48. Interview with Harvard professor Cornel West, after his introductory tribute to Shakur at an AFL-CIO teach-in in New York City, Oct. 10, 1996.

RAPPERS HARASSED BY NEW YORK CITY COPS

A possible motive for police intelligence units may have been to make young Black rap millionaires look murderous to cover up their own dirty work against those Peter Noel called "raptivists," or rap activists.¹ Consider the police assault on a member of Grammy-nominated rap group, Wu Tang Clan. After his group toured with top radical activist group, Rage Against the Machine, Wu Tang Clan's lead singer Russel Jones (a/k/a ODB)



Tupac after 1993 Manhattan arrest on sexual abuse charge.



Photos: AP / Wide World Photos

Rapper ODB arrested in Brooklyn in 1999 on phony attempted murder charges.

was pulled over by two plainclothes New York cops who claimed he was driving with his headlights off. The two cops then shot at the unarmed rapper and his cousin without any evidence of provocation, according to a recent grand jury ruling. A law enforcement source told the *New York Daily News* that Jones's headlights were on.²

Jones's lawyer, Peter Frankel, is filing a lawsuit against the City, claiming the police targeted the singer for no

constitutional reason.³ Other incidents in Jones's life also parallel police targeting of Shakur. Police in several cities canceled Shakur's shows as security risks. They also attempted this when Jones's band toured with Rage Against the Machine. In July 1998, Jones was shot by a robber in his home. He was also arrested and held on \$115,000 bail for wearing a bulletproof vest (after the grand jury ruling against the police).⁴

1. Peter Noel, "A Bullet for Big Baby Jesus," *Village Voice*, Feb. 2, 1999, p. 45.

2. Patrice O'Shaughnessy, "Rapper Vows Suit, Sez Cops Did Him Dirty In Shooting," *New York Daily News*, Feb. 5, 1999, p. 4.

3. *Vibe* magazine, May 1999, claims ODB's arrest involved the Street Crime Unit.

4. Associated Press, "Rapper's in the Clink," *New York Daily News*, Mar. 11, 1999, p. 3.

THE ORIGINS OF CIA FINANCING OF AFL PROGRAMS

BY ANTHONY CAREW

Was the American labor movement used by the CIA in the early years of the Cold War, and if so to what extent? Did CIA money finance some ostensibly independent labor projects?

Now, the newly available papers of two of the key trade union figures involved—Jay Lovestone, the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC) executive secretary,¹ and Irving Brown, its European representative²—provide a wealth of new evidence. From the late 1940s this semi-independent American Federation of Labor (AFL) body became highly dependent on CIA finance while providing the latter valuable cover and additional sources of intelligence on Communism abroad from 1949 to at least 1958.

Yet the relationship was not a smooth one and far from the commonplace caricature of a labor movement in the pocket of the CIA. For Lovestone, the CIA was "Fizz-land." He referred to its Ivy League officers derisively as "Fizz Kids" or "Fizzers."

Anthony Carew works at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. This article is abridged from the original, which appeared in *Labor History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1998), at p. 25. Copyright © 1998 by Carfax Publishing Ltd. on behalf of the Tamiment Institute. Reprinted with permission. The author acknowledges generous financial support from the British Academy and the Nuffield Foundation in researching this topic, and is also indebted to colleagues Ian Bullock, David Murphy and Joan Keating for helpful editorial advice.

1. Jay Lovestone was General Secretary of the Communist Party (USA) until 1929. He led the Communist Party Opposition throughout the 1930s before aligning with anti-communist labor leaders in the garment and auto industries. After the war, while on the payroll of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), he headed the FTUC, which acted as the focal point for AFL foreign policy during the early Cold War. His extensive collection of papers is divided between the Lovestone Collection (hereinafter LC), Hoover Institution, Stanford, and the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department (Lovestone) Collection (hereinafter IAD-L) at the George Meany Memorial Archives, Silver Spring, Maryland.

2. Irving Brown was a follower of Lovestone from his student days in the early 1930s. In the late 1930s, he worked for Lovestone as an organizer in the auto industry in the factional fights with the Communists. After working for the War Production Board during World War II, he was assigned to Europe in 1945 as the representative of the FTUC working under Lovestone and remaining there for 17 years. His papers are part of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department Collection (hereinafter IAD-B) at the George Meany Memorial Archives.

ROOTS OF THE FTUC-CIA CONNECTION

From the end of the Second World War, the FTUC had a loose and conveniently ambiguous relationship with the AFL. Sponsored by a minority of AFL unions, with an annual grant of \$35,000 from the Federation, it was run to all intents and purposes by a handful of AFL leaders—Matthew Woll of the Photo Engravers as chairman, David Dubinsky of the ILGWU as treasurer, and AFL secretary-treasurer George Meany providing the link with the Federation's head office. To the world at large, the FTUC was simply the publisher of *Free Trade Union News* in a number of languages. Its operational side was shrouded in secrecy, its accounts seen only by a handful of people.³

The FTUC's initial contact with the intelligence community was through the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) which from 1948 to 1950 operated under State Department auspices though with CIA funds and was responsible for most of the covert activity waged against international Communism. Not until 1950 was the OPC fully integrated into the CIA.⁴

Large donations from outside the labor movement were listed by individual names, separately from contributions from sponsoring unions. In fact, the money came from the CIA via the OPC.⁵ By 1950 these donations were running at an annual rate of \$170,000.⁶

3. Roy Godson, "The AFL Foreign Policy Making Process from the End of World War II to the Merger," *Labor History*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer 1975), pp. 325-37; Philip Taft, *Defending Freedom: American Labor and Foreign Affairs* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1973) ch. 4; Anthony Carew, *Labor Under the Marshall Plan* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), ch. 4.

4. Eric Thomas Chester, *Covert Network* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 26-28.

5. In the code used by Lovestone, \$1,000 was referred to as a "volume" or "book" and CIA funds as a "library." Lovestone wrote to Brown regarding a donation: "The arrangement was that Ray [Murphy] of the State Department's Euro-X department which liaised with the OPC] was to let you know through right channels the full story of the 35 volumes given to our library by the...colonel.... It is grand to have a library with books concerning all countries and at least four languages. But that costs funds to maintain and I have a tough time raising it to keep books and buildings in order." Lovestone to Brown, February 1949, IAD-B, 29 (6).

6. FTUC Financial Accounts, 1949, 1950. Financial

Activities supported by CIA funds were wide-ranging. In France, there was an ongoing subsidy to the non-communist trade union center, Force Ouvrière. There was assistance to favored non-communist newspapers read by trade unionists such as *Franc Tireur* and *Notre Parole*. And from 1950, Irving Brown began to finance anti-communist dockers and seamen who, under the aegis of the International Transport Workers Federation's Mediterranean Vigilance Committee, combated communist attempts to prevent the landing of American arms. In Italy, there was funding for the fledgling anti-communist labor center LCGIL (later CISL). In Germany, a secret Ostbüro provided a window on East Berlin and a base for espionage activities.

The FTUC funded the Paris-based International Center for Free Trade Unionists in Exile (ICFTUE), which acted as a focus for emigré labor and socialist groups of Eastern Europe and provided an entrée to dissident groups behind the Iron Curtain. Beyond these core labor movement activities, through Irving Brown the FTUC also began a productive association with the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), convened to carry the anti-communist struggle into the ranks of intellectuals and artists. The FTUC helped organize and finance the CCF's founding congress in Berlin in 1950, and Brown played an important role in creating a permanent organization.

From 1949 to 1958, the FTUC received \$464,167 directly from the CIA in the form of numerous relatively small contributions. All were earmarked for particular operations.⁷

Funds were transferred wherever needed in a variety of ways. Initially the FTUC relied on the New York-based Jewish Labor Committee's network in Europe to effect transfers through its own bank account.⁸ Courier services on behalf of the

Accounts are to be found in LC Boxes 403 and 417 and in IAD-L 73. Typically the "donors" would be listed with innocent sounding names such as R. Cowley, M. Slater, Richard Hunt, J. Lawrence and Henry Smallwood.

7. FTUC Financial Accounts, 1949-58.

8. On the use of the JLC as a conduit, see for example, Brown to Lovestone, Mar. 13, 1947, IAD-L 11 (8); FTUC Minutes, Mar. 21, 1947, IAD-L 35 (29); Brown

FTUC were often performed by Bert Jolis, a New York dealer in jewelry who had served in the Labor Division of OSS during the war and derived cover for CIA work as a "special representative" in Europe for the Marshall Plan.⁹ Many of Irving Brown's activities in France within the anticommunist labor movement were financed directly from the CIA rather than through the FTUC, local currency being provided for his projects by the U.S. Assistant Labor Attaché in Paris, John Phillips-born.¹⁰ For Mediterranean Committee operations Brown also had a Zurich bank account in the name of the Committee's chairman, Pierre Ferri-Pisani, to which funds were periodically credited.

FTUC-CIA TENSION

Systems of financial accounting were primitive. Jay Lovestone was under pressure from both the OPC/CIA and his FTUC officers to account for disbursements. Tom Braden, the director of the Agency's international organizations division, later responsible for cutting back the FTUC grant, recalls:

The CIA was handing over enormous sums of money to Lovestone and Brown for their network abroad, and it was always a sore point that we never got any accounting from them. Lovestone and Brown successfully managed to say, well, we spent that in Marseilles, or that in Paris, or there's a Communist dock strike and we broke it up.¹¹

Concern to know how funds were being spent led the Agency's security chief, Sheffield Edwards, to open FTUC mail on occasion.¹² Lovestone resented this "book-keeping psychology," but he went through

the motions and demanded Brown maintain accounts. But Brown was too much a man of action to devote much time to such bureaucratic detail. On occasion he would spend money before it had been released. Funds would then be juggled around between different headings and on one occasion he borrowed money privately in the expectation that an official allocation would later materialize.¹³

If OPC/CIA were concerned about the absence of systematic bookkeeping, the FTUC's counter-complaint was that agree-

it. In 1949, the FTUC officers were appalled at the huge amounts of money showered on the Italian labor movement, mostly by the U.S. Labor Attaché in Rome, Tom Lane. "I think our Italian friends have been overfed," wrote Lovestone. "They don't need anything for some time to come.... If they keep on with their present high caloric diet they will get acute indigestion."¹⁵ Sharing the field with Lane and CIA personnel in the Rome Embassy was definitely no way to encourage Italian labor to abide strictly by the FTUC line.



Paris, 1949: French labor members of Force Ouvriere, created by the CIA, report back on a "study tour" conducted in the U.S.

George Meany Memorial Archives

The Committee's second major complaint surfaced in the latter part of 1950. Under the Marshall Plan, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the AFL's rival, was beginning to take an interest in European labor affairs in competition with the Federation, encouraged by the prospect of access to government funds. What made this CIO activity so threatening to the FTUC was that the large counterpart funds generated by the Marshall Plan included a substantial amount for use by the American government on undisclosed projects, and these sums were now being tapped by the

CIA.¹⁶ A significant CIO role within the Marshall Plan therefore meant the FTUC risked losing its monopoly as dispenser of CIA largesse. The Marshall Plan's new Administrator, Averell Harriman, and its head in Europe, Milton Katz, were keen to encourage a joint international effort by the two wings of the American labor movement. This development therefore posed a challenge to the FTUC's preeminent role in covert activities.¹⁷

A third factor contributing to the gradual souring of relations between FTUC and CIA was more general, though it came to have a very specific manifestation. Within the CIA officialdom were strongly anti-labor people deeply concerned about

to Lovestone, Aug. 25, 1947, IAD-L 11 (7); Lovestone to Brown, Jan. 12, 1948, IAD-L 11(9); Hannah Haskel to Brown, May 13, 1948, IAD-B 29(4).

9. On instances of Jolis's work, see Lovestone to Brown, May 28, 1947; Lovestone to Brown, June 2, 1947; Lovestone to Brown, June 24, 1947, IAD-L 11 (7). Eventually they concluded that his political judgment was suspect and avoided using his services. Lovestone to Brown, July 10, 1950; Brown to Lovestone, Oct. 23, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

10. Interview with Paul Sakwa, September 1995. Sakwa was Brown's CIA Washington Desk Officer.

11. Burton Hersch, *The Old Boys: The American Elite and the Origins of the CIA* (New York: Scribners, 1992), p. 296.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

13. Lovestone to Brown, Jan. 26, 1949, IAD-L 11(11); Brown to Lovestone, July 8, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

14. Lovestone to Brown, Oct. 31, 1950, IAD-L 11(12); Brown to Lovestone, Nov. 16, 1950, LC 283 (I. Brown).

15. Lovestone to Brown, May 16, 1950, IAD-L 11(12), June 21, 1949, IAD-L 11(10).

16. Memorandum, Nov. 24, 1950, *loc. cit.*, 5% of counterpart funds worth \$200 million per annum was put at the disposal of the U.S. government and from this a portion was available for use on secret projects.

17. CIO International Committee, Minutes, Oct. 24, 1950, Ross Collection 7(19).

American trade unionists having such an important role in the Intelligence service's fight against Communism.¹⁸ Such people remembered Lovestone as a pre-war Communist, his field representatives, Brown, Goldberg, and Etter as ideological soulmates, and wondered if their politics had really changed. Lovestone viewed this mindset as a further explanation of the frequent delays in meeting financial commitments and the harassment he experienced at the hands of CIA accountants.

A prime focus of anti-labor criticism within the CIA was Carmel Offie, a man central to FTUC-CIA relations. Carmel Offie was a career foreign service officer who, in the late 1940s worked as Frank Wisner's personal assistant, with responsibility for East European refugee affairs, an all-purpose "Mr. Fixit" with influence extending beyond the limits of his formal position.¹⁹

Offie came to identify closely with the FTUC and was deeply distrusted by elements within the CIA. Compounding his vulnerability to internal Agency criticism was the fact of his homosexuality which had long since attracted the attention of the FBI. When Senator McCarthy also began to take an interest in him, to spare the Agency's embarrassment he was formally placed on the payroll of the FTUC in June 1950, though the CIA continued to fund his salary.²⁰

In 1950 strains in the FTUC-CIA relationship increased. Lovestone's and

Brown's response was to withhold from the CIA some intelligence reports gleaned from labor sources. "Why should we give information after the treatment we get from his [Offie's] associates in Washington," asked Brown. Lovestone answered:

Believe me...I am far more terribly disgusted with the Monk outfit [i.e. the CIA—"Monk" was Offie's code-name] than even you are.... Some people are taking us too much for

ber 24, 1950, involving Bedell Smith, Wisner, Meany, Dubinsky, Woll, Lovestone, and Offie.²² Lovestone conceded grudgingly that their joint work had been valuable, but implied that the funds involved were not all that large. Wisner countered by pointing out that in addition to upwards of \$250,000 channeled directly to the FTUC in the past year, there were considerable amounts of counterpart funds for labor projects in France and Italy. This brought them to the nub of the FTUC's concern—the prospect of CIO involvement in CIA work.

Lovestone expressed concern about the risk to security if the CIO was to be admitted to the international labor program. The CIO was unreliable because of penetration by Communists. Meany insisted that he would prefer to withdraw from the program rather than work with them. Bedell Smith attempted to reassure them that he was under no pressure to bring the CIO in. Wisner explained that if the CIO were to have a role, it would have to be on condition that it would be handled



Jay Lovestone (second from left) and Irving Brown (right) with fellow activists busy "rooting out Communists" from American labor unions.

granted and use our name as if they owned us....²¹

In addition to the ongoing friction over broken commitments, there was now much uncertainty arising from personnel changes at the CIA. Political criticism of the performance of Director of Central Intelligence, Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter led to his replacement by General Walter Bedell Smith in October 1950. As his assistant, Bedell Smith brought into the Agency on a consultancy basis the former wartime head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Europe, Allen Dulles. What impact these changes would have on the FTUC and whether Frank Wisner, the man they had been used to doing business with, would survive this shuffle were matters that exercised Lovestone and his colleagues.

THE NOVEMBER 1950 SUMMIT

A top-level meeting to review progress in the labor program took place on November

by a small group of men experienced in international affairs sworn to secrecy.

As the meeting closed there was a revealing exchange. The Director of Central Intelligence remarked that he did not regard the CIA funding of the FTUC as a subsidy for labor. Though this was exactly what Lovestone wanted, the independence of the labor movement was also something to be safeguarded, and Woll seized on Bedell Smith's remark, commenting that the chief value of labor in foreign relations was its independence. But full independence in policy was easier said than done. Italy and France had revealed how, as paymaster, the CIA had been in a position to use the name of the FTUC without authority to legitimize its activities.

Lovestone's pessimism remained. He explained to Brown, "Scarcely a day

18. Interview with Robert Crowley, Sept. 19, 1995.

19. Offie was a personal friend of former Ambassador to Moscow and Paris Bill Bullitt. He was one of Mrs. Wallace Simpson's favorite bridge partners. He was close to Ambassador Joseph Kennedy who used to phone him for advice. And he acted as host to Kennedy's sons, Joseph Jr. and John F. Kennedy during a holiday visit to Paris. He was a regular correspondent of Franklin Roosevelt's secretary Missy LeHand and he was in the habit of enclosing occasional friendly notes for the President himself. While working for the OPC/CIA, it was variously said of him that he was the last man to see a piece of paper before it went to Wisner, and the last man to see \$2 million before it disappeared. Herish, *op. cit.*, n. 11, pp. 44, 63-64, 66.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 442-43. For details of an episode in Sept. 1943 when Offie was arrested in Washington for loitering and was supplied with an alibi by future Ambassador James Dunn, see LC 529 (Offie); Lovestone to Brown, June 26, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

21. Brown to Lovestone, Nov. 16, 1950, LC 283 (I. Brown 1951); Lovestone to Brown, Nov. 20, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

22. A full account of this meeting is reported in Memorandum, Nov. 24, 1950, *loc. cit.* The participants are thinly disguised as "Soldier" (General Bedell Smith), "Lawyer" (Frank Wisner), "Plumber" (George Meany), "Garment Worker" (David Dubinsky), "Photo Engraver" (Matthew Woll), "Intellectual" (Jay Lovestone) and "Liaison" (Carmel Offie). The following passage draws on this report.

passes when I don't get hit by their irresponsibility and slovenliness of work, by their utter disregard for our own basic interests." His relations with Wisner too were showing signs of strain and the OPC Director was now telling people that Lovestone was a hard man to work with. "Maybe he is right," admitted Lovestone; adding defiantly, "maybe he better try the other crowd [i.e., the CIO]."²³

Unhappy over what they had heard from the Director of Central Intelligence, the FTUC decided to cut back some of their joint activities not strictly "labor" in character and seek funding from other sources. That meant, for example, disentangling themselves from the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), with whose launch in June 1950 the Committee had been deeply involved as organizer and conduit for funding.

Brown shared Lovestone's perception of a deteriorating relationship. Short of cash for his numerous projects and still uncertain about future budgetary arrangements for France, he wrote in blistering terms of CIA inefficiency and talked about breaking off all relations.

I cannot conceive how we can lend our good name and organization to such a group of uninformed and irresponsible sophomores. I absolutely refuse to be put in the position of being run by people who have never been in the labor movement, who have never lived intimately with the problems that we are dealing with, and who are merely intellectually on our side for certain moments....

He was particularly concerned by the Agency's short-term approach to funding when what was needed was permanence and continuity.²⁴

RENegotiate the TERMS OF the RELATIONSHIP

In March 1951, Lovestone submitted a proposal to the Agency under which the FTUC would be allocated a block grant for operations, thus allowing them to plan their work over a longer period without recurrent interruptions in the flow of funds and the constant need to submit financial reports. The proposed arrangement would have gone a long way toward meeting the FTUC demand for operational independence.²⁵

23. Lovestone to Brown, Dec. 1, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

24. Brown to Lovestone, Dec. 9, 1950, Jan. 22, 1951, LC 283 (I. Brown 1951) Dec. 22, 1950, IAD-L 11(12).

25. Lovestone to Brown, Jan. 15, Mar. 26, Apr. 2, 1951, LC 283 (I. Brown 1951).

However, not only was the CIA disinclined to make this concession, it had its own demand on the FTUC. Allen Dulles told Lovestone that Offie had to be removed from liaison with the FTUC. Various reasons were given but Dulles told Offie himself that he had been giving away confidential information to outsiders. When pressed to say who these were, Dulles told him he had in mind Lovestone and Brown.²⁶ Offie was under close surveillance by the FBI at this time arising from their concerns about his pro-labor views and sexual habits.²⁷ The CIA also believed that the FTUC was becoming too assertive. Irving Brown's outspoken criticism of the Agency only weeks earlier when he had met senior officials for talks in Washington had clearly upset them.

In general, the difficulties were viewed in the FTUC as a product of their operations being relegated to a minor priority in CIA thinking. Yet they saw themselves as having a legitimate interest in international labor operations and an entitlement to be treated as insiders—not as outsiders or, in Offie's graphic language, "whores to be used and directed by politically incompetent dilettantes."²⁸

THE 1951 "SUMMIT MEETING"

The FTUC leadership arranged a further meeting with General Bedell Smith in April 1951. On the agenda would be the FTUC's long-standing grievances about the way in which money was handed out in Italy, the mingling of CIA and Marshall Plan funds, and the potentially disruptive influence of the CIO.²⁹ They were also to complain that there had been no CIA support for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the only effective organization in the fight against the communist-controlled WFTU.³⁰

To outflank Dulles, Lovestone was aware that he needed to establish a direct line to the Director of Central Intelligence. Offie suggested that he press Bedell Smith that all FTUC transactions with the CIA be

26. Lovestone to Brown, Mar. 13 and 26, 1951, LC 283 (I. Brown 1951).

27. Hersh, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 279.

28. Offie to Lovestone, Apr. 6, 1951, LC 381 (Monk 1951).

29. Lovestone wrote to Brown: "I am now convinced that Victor [Reuther] and his friends are operating not only with a lot of catnip [counterpart funds controlled by Milton Katz] but with the aid of substantial injections of Dr. Fizzer." Apr. 30, 1951, LC 283 (I. Brown 1951).

30. The ICFTU had been formed in 1949 by trade union centers which had broken away from the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. Viewed by some as the voice of labor in the Western Bloc, it was often the subject of Communist allegations that it was financed by the CIA. Therefore it is interesting to see the FTUC lamenting that this was not the case.

handled by someone in the Director's office. Even if that person had a military background and no knowledge of organized labor, the arrangement could work as long as he had the ear of the Director.³¹

The meeting with Bedell Smith went badly and degenerated into a shouting match. In reality the parting was not so final. Within the process of reviewing their joint, work Lovestone continued his attempt to refashion the FTUC-CIA relationship and obtain more reliable financing, though the bargaining advantage was very much with the CIA.

Lovestone was to make clear that the Committee could no longer trust the CIA with too much knowledge of how the FTUC operated and that for reasons of security it was revising its procedures. This was only likely to reinforce a view held in the CIA that the union leaders were "money scroungers."³² Dulles answered that he was willing to meet at any time to discuss outstanding balances due, "together with the amount of any unexpended balances which you may be holding." The Agency, he said, had the highest regard for Brown's work. As to new operations, Dulles reminded him of Smith's proposal a couple of weeks earlier, that they should "handle work project by project...."³³

In June 1951 Offie was removed from the FTUC payroll. Petty haggling over relatively small sums occupied Lovestone and the Agency's finance division and captured much of the spirit of the relationship.

Yet a degree of mutual dependency still existed. Labor operations directed at the Eastern bloc provided the strongest evidence of the CIA's intention to curtail Lovestone's influence. When the CIA established the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE) in 1950 it created, with FTUC support, a Labor Contacts Division in New York responsible for coordinating the activities of Eastern European emigré labor groups in North America. A trusted Lovestone colleague, Henry Kirsch, had been appointed Director. This gave Lovestone considerable scope for influencing the emigré community.

LOVESTONE, BROWN, AND THE COMMUNIST STIGMA

In the midst of this dispute over FTUC/NCFE relations Lovestone and Brown found themselves the subject of concerted attacks in the syndicated column of the right-wing journalist Westbrook Pegler. Pegler identified the pair as Communists who had now infiltrated American government programs overseas.³⁴

31. "Monk" to Lovestone, Apr. 6, 1951, *loc. cit.*

32. Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA Is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1967.

33. Dulles to Lovestone, Apr. 26, 1951, LC 367 (Dulles 1951-64).

34. Westbrook Pegler "Fair Enough," *Washington*

Lovestone was convinced that Pegler was primed by people at the highest level within the CIA. "This experience has served to cause the FTUC to decide to terminate at the earliest possible moment present arrangements still in effect between it and the CIA," he wrote the Agency.

Lovestone still left the door open for a resumption of the relationship. What did happen from this point on is that the CIA subsidy to the FTUC continued but on an ever diminishing basis. From a peak of \$172,882 in 1950, it declined by 30 percent to \$126,169 in 1951 and to \$96,060 in 1952.³⁵

Within the FTUC itself, renewed doubts about the program were creeping in. David Dubinsky queried the value of continued work abroad. The CIO was planning to withdraw from international work in Europe and Dubinsky felt the AFL ought to follow suit. Brown wanted Lovestone to try once more to rebuild relations with the CIA and restore the financial link but the latter was unwilling to attempt this in a climate soured by Pegler's continuing public attacks.³⁶

Indeed, in this respect, the situation deteriorated further in 1954 when Spencer Miller, Assistant Secretary for Labor resigned after giving evidence to a closed session of the House Un-American Activities Committee in which he described the existence of a network of Communists in the Department of Labor. He claimed they had been placed there by a "kingpin," and in doing so pointed the finger at Lovestone.³⁷ It was hardly a climate conducive to any attempt by the FTUC to breathe new life into the relationship.

DEMISE OF THE FTUC — AND AFTER

As CIA subventions dried up, the very existence of the FTUC came under concerted attack within the labor movement following the merger between the AFL and CIO in 1955. The CIO had now abandoned its high profile international role with representatives based overseas, and within the framework of the AFL-CIO they expected the FTUC operations also to cease. In fact there ensued a struggle between Meany and Walter Reuther that lasted for two years over the substance and style of AFL-

Times-Herald, Mar. 26, 1951; "Plans to Sift Dubinsky's Union Activities in Europe," *New York Journal American*, Nov. 9, 1951. Similar columns followed on Nov. 15, Dec. 31, 1951; Jan. 3, 16, and Oct. 9, 1952.

35. FTUC Financial Accounts 1950-52.

36. Lovestone to Woll, May 12, 1953, IAD-L 65(5); Brown to Lovestone, Nov. 26, 1953, IAD-L 11(19); Lovestone to Brown, Nov. 30, 1953, IAD-B 29(16).

37. *New York Times*, Mar. 5, Dec. 16, 1954; Offie to Brown, Mar. 13, 1954, IAD-B 32(2).

CIO foreign policy and had at its heart the question of the role of Lovestone and the status of the FTUC. Reuther wanted the Committee disbanded on the grounds that its continuation would involve further reliance on sub rosa payments from outside sources rather than a healthy recognition of the need to develop, within the labor movement, adequate fund-raising in support of democratically determined international policy. Lovestone fought back vigorously in favor of retention of the FTUC as a vehicle for an independent AFL-CIO foreign policy, losing no opportunity to play on Meany's fear that Reuther and his circle were soft on Communism.³⁸

Not until December 1957 was agreement finally reached within the AFL-CIO that the freewheeling overseas activities associated with the FTUC should cease. By the early 1960s, the AFL-CIO's international work was generously supported by the Agency for International Development. Nevertheless it is reasonable to conclude that a working relationship between Lovestone and more especially Brown and the CIA continued in subsequent years.

In support of the latter possibility, George Meany's long-serving secretary tells the story of receiving one day in the late 1960s a letter addressed to Meany from the President of Force Ouvriere's railway union complaining that Irving Brown had cut off their monthly subsidy. She did not show the letter to Meany but waited until Brown's next visit to headquarters and handed it to him with the request that he ask the Frenchman to

38. Victor Reuther to Walter Reuther, Feb. 6, 1956, UAW International Department Collection, Reuther-Carlner, 1956-62, 83(24), Walter Reuther Library, Detroit; Lovestone to Meany, June 18, Oct. 1, 1956, Meany Presidential Papers, 56 (11) and (15); Anthony Carew, "Conflict Within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s," *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 41 (1996), pp. 160-71.

tear up his file copy. Brown accepted it without a word.³⁹ It was not an official AFL-CIO transaction.

It is an irony that the FTUC should have fallen foul of the excesses of the McCarthyite climate of the early 1950s. Carmel Offie was removed from the labor program at least in part because of his association with Lovestone and Brown. And the supreme irony is that Jay Lovestone, the arch anticommunist, was vilified among sections of the intelligence community because of his former communism. Allen Dulles may not have numbered among those who questioned Lovestone's politics, but the climate of suspicion doubtless gave him an excuse for keeping Lovestone at a distance. Dulles was content to use his expertise on a selective basis, but was clearly unwilling to give him scope to dominate the partnership.

This account concludes with the winding up of the FTUC and the termination of CIA operations funded through it. However, there is no reason at all to suppose that this marked the end of Lovestone's and Brown's association with the Agency. But if they did maintain their intelligence connections thereafter, the business was evidently conducted with little or nothing committed to writing. ■

39. Virginia Tehas to the author, Feb. 7, 1996.

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THE FRENCH CONNECTION REVISITED:

THE CIA, IRVING BROWN, AND DRUG SMUGGLING AS POLITICAL WARFARE

BY DOUGLAS VALENTINE

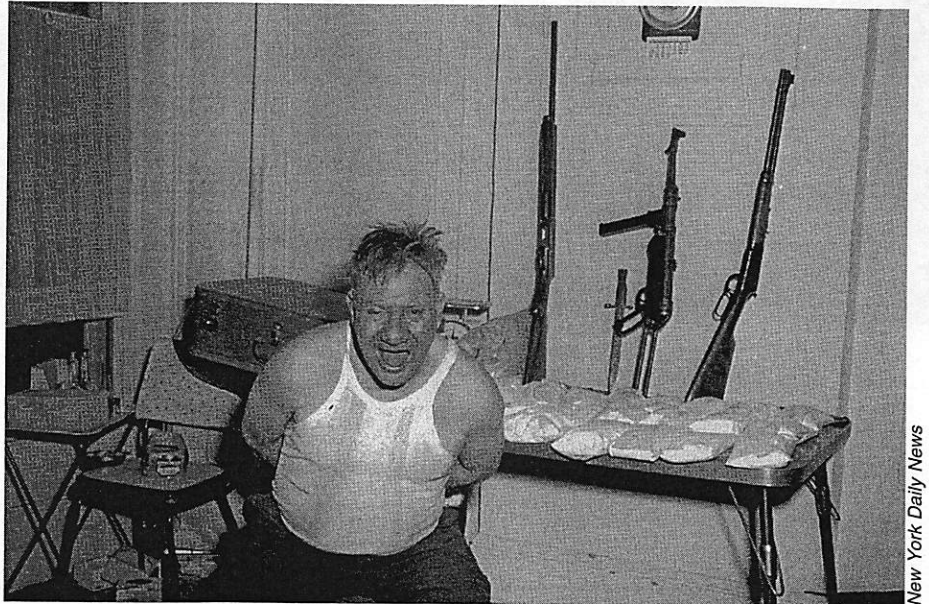
When they hear the words "the French Connection," most people think of the 1971 Gene Hackman movie, in which a rough and tumble New York City detective corralled a group of Mafia heroin traffickers in January 1962, but failed to capture the suave, insouciant Frenchman who was their source of supply. Indeed, most people think of "the French Connection" as an action-adventure story—not as an example of political warfare. But, in fact, the French Connection is a keyhole through which to view the CIA's use of the underworld in its larger strategy of political and psychological warfare.

Simply stated, this secret war is a function of American capital's use of organized criminals in the employ of its private police force, the CIA, to smash Communism everywhere; to suppress labor and undesirable minorities at home; and to expand its influence worldwide, at the expense of unfriendly and friendly foreign nations alike.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Indeed, based on four newly discovered documents, generated by the defunct Federal Bureau of Narcotics (1930-1968), it is now evident that the U.S. government, through the CIA, has historically employed drug smugglers to effect its unstated domestic agenda.¹ The French Connection is a prime example, and a principal player in that sordid episode was labor leader Irving Joseph Brown, the American Federation of Labor's chief overseas representative from 1945 until 1962.

Brown had a long history of involvement with the CIA, gangsters, and drug smugglers; but it was not until April 1962



New York Daily News

The front-page Daily News photo that made the French Connection famous: Joe Fuca, father of mobster Pasquale "Patsy" Fuca, arrested in New York in 1962 with assorted weapons and 24 pounds of pure heroin. Others arrested at the time were later found to be associated with Irving Brown.

that he first came to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN).² The circumstances are both bizarre and revealing, and center on Etienne Tarditi, a short, potbellied, Corsican drug smuggler, who first implicated Brown in drug smuggling activities.³

Tarditi's job in the 1950s was twofold: on behalf of his underworld sponsors, he purchased morphine base in Lebanon and smuggled it to France, where it was converted into heroin; then he "recruited" diplomats to smuggle the heroin to Mafiosi in America.⁴

Tarditi's operation began to unravel, however, in mid-1960, when a rival drug smuggler told the FBN Agent in Beirut that a diplomat named "Maurice" was carrying heroin to America.⁵ The ensuing investigation revealed that the diplomat, whose luggage was passed through U.S. Customs without being checked, was Maurice Rosal Bron, Guatemala's Ambassador to the Netherlands. Rosal, it was discovered, had an unrestrained sexual desire for young

boys—a fatal flaw which Tarditi used to blackmail the dapper diplomat into carrying heroin to America. Further investigation revealed that Rosal made frequent trips to America, often with Tarditi, and that he always left with less baggage weight than when he arrived. The investigation itself climaxed in October 1960 in New York City, when FBN agents busted Rosal, Tarditi, TWA purser Charles Bourbonnais, and Nick Calamaris of the Gambino Mafia family.⁶

The bust netted 100 kilograms of pure heroin, and the intelligence take provided the FBN with enough leads to keep it busy for the next five years. Most of the information, notably, came from Tarditi, who identified his sources in France, and claimed that he "was involved in intelligence work beneficial to American interests."⁷ Tarditi would also, after 18 months of steady interrogation, implicate labor leader Irving Brown in drug smuggling activities.

Meanwhile, two related cases unfolded. One was the famous French Connection case of January 1962, in which FBN

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1. Bureau of Narcotics, District No. 2, Memorandum Reports, Narcotic Agent Mortimer L. Benjamin, General File Title Maurice Castellani et al.: 1) Oct. 11, 1965; 2) Oct. 19, 1965; 3) Nov. 17, 1965; 4) Nov. 30, 1965.

2. *Ibid.*, Report 1.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*; and see Tom Tripodi, *Crusade* (New York: Brassey's, 1993); Jill Jonnes, *Hep Cats, Narc and Pipe Dreams* (New York: Scribner, 1996).

5. Confidential FBI source.

6. Rosal was arrested Oct. 3, 1960; an article appeared on the front page of the *Daily News* on Oct. 4.

7. See Andrew Tully, *The Secret War Against Dope* (New York: Coward McCann, 1973), pp. 142-43.

7. Jonnes, *op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 185.



Pierre Ferri-Pisani, Marseilles drug smuggler (standing left), Irving Brown (standing center), and George Meany (seated clapping).

Agents and NYPD detectives busted Mafioso Patsy Fuca, along with his father Joe, French heroin smuggler Francois Scaglia (co-leader of the Trois Canards Gang in Paris), and Scaglia's unsuspecting courier, Jacques Angelvin, the host of a popular French television show. Eluding authorities in the case were Jean Jehan, the debonair mastermind of the plot, and mystery man Jacques Mouren, who was never identified.

Another occurred in March 1961 (right after French President Charles de Gaulle decided to negotiate with nationalist rebels in Algeria), when Air France stewardess Simone Christman was arrested by U.S. Customs agents for smuggling heroin in her brassiere. Christman said the powder, which she thought was perfume base, had been given to her by a Mr. Mueller in Paris.

In March 1962, Christman was sentenced to four years in prison—but at the intervention of an unknown outside force, she was quietly and quickly released.

According to an FBN agent on the scene at the time, Christman was, in fact, a spy for the Secret Army Organization (OAS), a group of French soldiers who, with the support of the CIA, were fighting the forces of President de Gaulle in Algeria.⁸ The OAS was known to be financing its operations through the drug trade, and, being “a good soldier,” Christman “took a small fall to protect her bosses”—who in return continued to receive CIA support.

In addition to Christman's quiet and quick release, the FBN agent stationed in Paris was told not to investigate the mysterious “Mr. Mueller.” The agent was told that U.S. Customs was handling the case; but he knew that the CIA had, in fact,

blocked the investigation in order to conceal its involvement with the protected OAS drug smuggling ring.⁹

Likewise, it is conceded by FBN agents that they were not allowed to follow up leads relating to Jean Jehan and Jacques Mouren in the French Connection case, for the very same, intelligence-related reasons.

“MR. MUELLER” UNMASKED

The unexpected does happen, however, and just as Customs agents had inadvertently uncovered a protected CIA drug route when they busted Simone Christman, “Mr. Mueller's” identity was revealed in April 1962, when Etienne Tarditi, seeking leniency in his case, named Irving Brown in connection with the busts of Ambassador Rosal in October 1960, and of Simone Christman in March 1961.¹⁰

Like most professional crooks, Tarditi's allegations about Brown (as well as his own work for U.S. intelligence) normally would not have been believed. But all of the information he had provided about the drug smuggling milieu had proven accurate, so in May 1962, FBN agent Andrew Tartaglino launched an investigation of Irving Brown.¹¹ And through a routine background check, Tartaglino learned that Brown (who was then the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' representative to the United Nations) frequented a restaurant owned by George Bayon in Paris. Tartaglino subsequently learned that Irving Brown was Bayon's friend; that Bayon used the alias “Mueller”; and that Bayon's restaurant was used by drug smugglers to “recruit” diplomats, like the hapless Ambassador Rosal, as couriers in their drug smuggling ventures.

9. Interview with Andrew Tartaglino.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 1, Report 1.

11. Interview with Tartaglino.

These facts fueled the agent's curiosity, and his investigation of Brown was widened; and after checking with other government agencies, Tartaglino learned that Brown had been granted port privileges in New York (meaning that his baggage was never checked by Customs); that his wife, Lilly, was a secretary for Carmel Offie, a CIA agent who owned an import-export business in Manhattan; and that there was “a possibility” that Brown himself was “connected in some manner with the CIA.”¹²

The implications were unmistakable, and at this point in June 1962, Tartaglino was told to drop his investigation; that another Agency was handling it.¹³ Which begs two questions: 1) who were Irving Brown and Carmel Offie, and 2) were they smuggling drugs for the CIA?

THE ANGLETON CONNECTION

In regard to the second question, leads to the CIA's notorious chief of counter-intelligence, James Jesus Angleton, had emanated from the Rosal case. Specifically, inside Ambassador Rosal's pocket at the time of his arrest was the address of Stig Wennerstrom, a former Swedish military attaché to the United States, and a close friend of Philippe de Vosjoli. De Vosjoli at the time was the French intelligence service's liaison to Angleton. But more importantly, de Vosjoli was also a double-agent working for Angleton against his own country.

By de Vosjoli's account,¹⁴ Wennerstrom was “an associate” of several French intelligence officers stationed in Washington. De Vosjoli's charge led Angleton to believe that the Soviet intelligence service, the KGB, had penetrated the French intelligence service, SDECE. In Angleton's mind, this belief was confirmed in December 1961 by the famous KGB defector, Anatoly Golitsyn. And for this reason, Angleton, who had long been associated with Irving Brown,¹⁵ apparently decided to penetrate the French drug smuggling milieu, as a way of uncovering further evidence that SDECE, which had long been involved in smuggling narcotics out of Indochina, was penetrated by the KGB. And Angleton's use of drug smugglers as counter-intelligence agents brings us back to the first question: who were Irving Brown and Carmel Offie?

Briefly, Irving Brown was a disciple of Jay Lovestone, who in the 1920s was the leader of America's Communist Party. But

12. *Op. cit.*, n. 1, Report 1.

13. Interview with Tartaglino.

14. In his autobiography, *Lamia* (Boston: Little Brown, 1970), pp. 314-15.

15. Tom Mangold, *Cold Warrior* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), pp. 314-15; confidential sources.

after a dispute with Stalin in 1929, Lovestone defected, and with Brown's help, began rooting Communists out of American labor unions. In return for his counter-espionage work, Brown was assigned as the AFL's representative to the War Production Board during World War II, and afterwards began to work for the CIA under AFL cover in Europe and Africa.

Using CIA money, Brown established a "compatible left" labor union in Marseilles with Pierre Ferri-Pisani. On behalf of Brown and the CIA, Ferri-Pisani (a drug smuggler connected with Marseilles crime lord Antoine Guerini), hired goons to shellack striking Communist dock workers. According to Brown's case officer, Paul Sakwa, Ferri introduced Brown to Guerini; and according to one of Brown's associates, Ferri also introduced Brown to Maurice "Le Petit" Castellani. A comrade of Ferri's from the French Resistance, Castellani, along with the aforementioned Francois Scaglia (busted in the French Connection case of January 1962), headed the Trois Canards Gang, whose members often met for homestyle bouillabaisse at George (a/k/a Mueller) Bayon's restaurant in Paris.¹⁶

Brown's association with Maurice Castellani, co-leader of Les Trois Canards, supports the theory that Brown was involved in the French Connection, Rosal, and Christman cases. So it is worth noting that, according to Alain Jaubert,¹⁷ the Trois Canards gang was formed by an erstwhile Marseilles policeman, Robert Blemant. During the War, Blemant worked for French intelligence in North Africa, and afterwards for the Surété in Marseilles. Ostensibly fired in 1947, he went underground with his files, formed Les Trois Canards, and set up a chain of nightclubs across the Mediterranean with his old informant, Antoine Guerini.

By 1954 Blemant was in Tangiers working with the American Mafia's French connection, Jo Renucci; and when Renucci died in 1958, Blemant reportedly took over his operation and began acquiring narcotics from drug smuggler Marcel Francis in Lebanon. Author Steve Rivelle claims that by 1960 Blemant's influence included "narcotics trafficking from Turkey to the U.S."¹⁸

The timing of Blemant's descent into the underworld is intriguing, for it happened at the same time that Brown, having neutralized the Communists in Marseilles, moved to Italy, where cash he sprinkled

from the CIA's black bag bought votes and funded media blitzes that kept the Communists out of power. In 1953, according to former CIA labor officer Paul Sakwa, Brown also contacted the CIA's Mafia affiliates in Sicily—at approximately the same time Trois Canards founder Blemant formed associations with the American Mafia. When the CIA's subsidies to Brown stopped in 1953, Blemant's heroin business was self-sustaining, and Brown himself began to operate under the aegis of James Angleton.

Moreover, according to author Alfred McCoy,¹⁹ the CIA in the mid-1950s, through its South Vietnamese ally, inherited SDECE's drug smuggling allies in Indochina. Likewise, according to the diaries of FBN agent George White, Angleton in 1953 met with FBN Commissioner Harry Anslinger and former OSS chief William Donovan regarding the narcotics situation in Southeast Asia. Considering that the U.S. would snatch hegemony in the region from France in 1954, after the fall of Dienbienphu, there is ample circumstantial evidence to indict James Angleton, Irving Brown, and the CIA in an international drug smuggling conspiracy.

CARMEL OFFIE'S GUIDANCE

It was also during the mid-1950s that CIA operator Irving Brown came under the guidance of Carmel Offie. A Foreign Service officer in Honduras in the mid-1930s, who later served as an aide to Ambassador William Bullitt in Russia, Offie took a CIA contract after World War II. From his base in Frankfurt he formed refugee groups and ran agents posing as black marketeers behind the Iron Curtain. And through a Radio Free Europe front, he also smuggled Nazis to Argentina. In both of these smuggling-related endeavors, Offie worked closely with James Angleton.

Carmel Offie was also involved in labor activities in postwar Europe, and as political adviser to the AFL's Information Service, he guided Irving Brown in Europe until 1954 when, amid rumors of pouch abuse and gun running, he was ostensibly fired from the CIA. He may, however, have simply gone under deep commercial cover, opening an import-export company that did business in France, South Vietnam, and Italy. According to author Burton Hersh, Offie also bought a piece of a mining company in North Africa in 1957, at the same time Brown was both representing the AFL at the Tunis labor

conference, and recruiting Algerian students for the CIA while directing them as *agents provocateurs* against France.²⁰

When his subversive activities were discovered by SDECE, Brown became persona non grata in France and Algeria. He returned to New York and in 1962 set up an office near the U.N., while his wife, Lilly, became a secretary at Carmel Offie's import-export firm. As head of the African American Labor Center, Brown started working closely with Algeria's first chief-of-state, Ahmed Ben Bella, as well as with Roger Faulques, the commander of Moise Tshombe's forces in the Congo. And his covert war against the French continued apace.

Here it must be noted that during this turbulent time, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was being blamed by FBN Commissioner Harry Anslinger as the main source of America's heroin problem. In June 1962, at the same time the FBN's first investigation of Irving Brown was obstructed, Anslinger told the United Nations that heroin was being moved from the PRC on horse caravans to Burma.

That particular myth, however, was becoming increasingly hard to defend, for in his 1960 book, *The China Lobby*, Russ Koen had claimed that Nationalist Chinese were smuggling into America, "with the full knowledge and connivance" of their government. "[P]rominent Americans have participated [in] and profited from these transactions," Koen said. But after Anslinger denounced the book, the publisher stopped printing copies, and Koen was remanded into obscurity.²¹

Then in his 1962 book, *Treasury Agent*, Andrew Tully told about a CIA officer arriving in Burma from Taiwan. The CIA officer saw no soldiers, only a vast plantation. "You see," said the Kuomintang colonel in charge, "it takes money to run an operation like this and so...we're growing opium."²²

"Up until 1962 we thought the source was Turkey," FBN agent Tom Tripodi explains. "But the French were taking drugs out of Southeast Asia. French Intelligence was running the show. Thirty to forty people were involved, including Rosal, who was being blackmailed by Tarditi, who was part of the Brown-Lovestone-Angleton net."²³

20. *The Old Boys* (New York: Scribners, 1992). According to Jonnes in *Hep Cats*, op. cit., n. 4, p. 184, after the Rosal case, the Treasury Secretary asked Secretary of State Dean Rusk to raise the drug issue with the French, but Rusk was told by the French that no extra men could be assigned until the problem in Algeria was settled.

21. John McWilliams, "Seeing Red," unpublished manuscript, p. 22.

22. Andrew Tully, *CIA: The Inside Story* (New York: William Morrow, 1962), p. 197.

23. Interview with Tripodi.

16. Op. cit., n. 1, Report 1; confidential sources.

17. *Dossier D...comme Drogue* (Paris: Alain Moreau, 1973).

18. Steve Rivelle, "Death of a Double Man," *National Reporter*, Spring 1987, p. 49.

19. *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper Row, 1972) and *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill, 1991).

According to Agent Tripodi, Brown's friend, handsome Maurice Castellani, was the net's operations manager. And as another FBN agent, Francis Waters, suggests, Castellani, whose nickname was "Le Petit Maurice," may even have been mystery man Jacques Mouren in the French Connection case. "Patsy Fuca talked about Le Petit Maurice with great deference," Waters recalls.²⁴

"On one occasion I followed Patsy to the garage where [Jacques] Angelvin's Buick was stashed," Agent Waters continues. "I saw Patsy talk to Toots Shoenfeld, and I did some checking and found that Toots was connected to the guy who was bankrolling Jean Jehan's operation. A few years before we'd found the same address (to the apartment where Jehan was staying in New York City) in the possession of Marcel Francis; so we got a search warrant and went in. It was a beautiful place, owned by an executive of Michelin Tire. So we had to back out."

"Think about it," Waters adds. "Mouren was never identified; Scaglia had been trained by the OSS; and people from U.S. Army Special Forces were involved in the French Connection case."

"By the 1960s," FBN agent Martin Pera explains, "it was obvious that Far East Asian dope was coming to the U.S., and everyone was pre-occupied with the fact that it couldn't happen without SDECE." Pera pauses. "And if it was to CIA's advantage [read Angleton] to have these sources left intact, so be it."²⁵

Back in New York in 1965, Irving Brown's involvement in the French Connection surfaced again when agent Waters learned that Maurice Castellani had been bringing money to his fellow Canard, Francois Scaglia, at Attica Prison since May 1964. As has been noted, Scaglia was convicted in the 1962 French Connection case based on traces of heroin found in Jacques Angelvin's Buick—traces that matched the heroin found in Patsy Fuca's basement in Brooklyn.

Handling the Castellani investigation was agent Mort Benjamin, who in September

1965 learned that Castellani and Irving Brown had arrived together in New York via Air France, and that Brown had been ushered through Customs without having to open his bags.²⁶ Next, Benjamin

powerful Maggadino Mafia family. The agents also noted that American Airlines had no record of Maurice Castellani ever having boarded his flights to and from Buffalo—an omission that reeks of the CIA.

On November 27, 1965, Castellani threw a party for Brown at the Beaux Arts Hotel in New York. Afterward, Castellani met with a few unidentified persons, then returned to Paris. And the FBN dropped its investigation.

So Castellani (who would operate well into the 1970s without ever being arrested on narcotics charges) and Brown were allowed to slip away, at a time when the *guerre sale* had reached a critical point. By the mid-1960s, the U.S. military had decided to occupy South Vietnam, and the CIA had allowed the FBN to make cases on Corsicans in Laos, so that U.S.-backed warlords in South Vietnam could profit from a greater share of the narcotics market.

Within two years, the FBN itself had been abolished and replaced by a new organization, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, which was more heavily penetrated by the CIA.

In closing, it is worth noting that the CIA element of the French Connection would continue to engage SDECE in

Southeast Asia, even after the so-called French Connection was finally smashed in 1973, concurrent with the ceasefire in Vietnam; a ceasefire negotiated in France. Moreover, the CIA expanded its use of drug smuggling, as an instrument of political warfare, into South America, Nigeria and Afghanistan. Indeed, the doctrine of Low-Intensity Warfare, which emerged as the CIA's post-Cold War strategy in the Third World, has itself devolved, and now has as its main ingredient the *bête noire* known as counter-narco-terrorism.

But is it acceptable for the CIA to smuggle drugs, even under the aegis of national security?

One need only look at the devastation of America's inner cities and minority communities to answer that question. But then again, pacifying minorities and undermining civil liberties are integral parts of the CIA's overall strategy in waging its clandestine campaign of domestic political warfare. ■

MEMORANDUM REPORT BUREAU OF NARCOTICS DISTRICT NO. 2 GEN. FILE TITLE: MAURICE CASTELLANI et al.		
CASE FILE NO. REPORT NAME AT: New York, New York DATE: November 17, 1965 BY: Mortimer L. Benjamin Narcotic Agent	RELATED FILE NY:R 1327 NY:S 10787	OTHER OFFICERS Narcotic Agents Francis E. Waters John O'Leary
SUBJECT OF THIS MEMORANDUM Investigation of MAURICE CASTELLANI and IRVING JOSEPH BROWN.		RECOMMENDATION PENDING: CLOSED FURTHER INVESTIGATION: XXXX
DETAILS (If report is over two pages in length summarize in first paragraph)		
<p>1. Reference is made to memorandum report dated November 8, 1965 by Mr. Ernest M. Gentry, Assistant Deputy Commissioner, concerning the activities of suspect IRVING JOSEPH BROWN.</p> <p>2. BROWN, who is connected with the United Nations through his position with the AFL-CIO United Nations Committee, is now known to be closely associated with MAURICE CASTELLANI and other French underworld characters. Both BROWN and CASTELLANI are believed to be periodically flying in and out of this country together, arriving and departing from JFK International Airport.</p> <p>3. On November 17, 1965, Group Leader Francis E. Waters, conferred with Customs Agent Julian Zamosky concerning this investigation. Agent Zamosky was informed, that even though BROWN does not have diplomatic status, we believe the possibility exists that at New York, because of his frequent travel during the past 20 years, he may enjoy officially or unofficially courtesy of port privileges. This might enable him to move luggage through Customs unopened. Agent Zamosky indicated that he would discreetly attempt to determine whether or not BROWN did in fact enjoy such privileges. Agent Zamosky agreed that any investigation conducted by his office would be made in a manner showing the utmost discretion.</p> <p>4. It is requested that District #17 should, if possible, ascertain BROWN's next arrival date in New York, so that close surveillance can be conducted while he passes through Customs.</p>		
<p>COPY OF THIS MEMO FURNISHED TO BUREAU: 2 DISTRICT NO. 2 US Customs Agt. Zamosky... 1 FILES: 1</p> <p>SIGNATURE <i>Mortimer L. Benjamin</i> Mortimer L. Benjamin (DISTRICT SUPERVISOR) George H. Solik</p>		

1965 FBN document, implicating Irving Brown.

checked with INS and found that Brown had not filled out the form, and that three forms were missing for that particular flight. Photos of Brown and Castellani were sent to Customs agents and on November 23, Benjamin was notified that the pair had arrived together again at JFK Airport. Benjamin and another agent were told to follow Castellani to Attica, and to record his conversations with Scaglia.

Unfortunately, the visit was scheduled for the day after Thanksgiving, and there were so many visitors making so much noise, that Castellani's chat with Scaglia could not be recorded. The agents did, however, overhear the conversation—in which Scaglia gave Castellani explicit instructions on how to smuggle dope—and learned that Castellani had traveled to and from the prison in a taxicab (with Canadian and American plates) that belonged to a company controlled by a front man for the

24. Interview with Waters.

25. Interview with Pera.

26. *Op. cit.*, n. 1, Report 3.

NED AND THE EMPIRE'S NEW CLOTHES

BY JAMES CIMENT AND IMMANUEL NESS

Since the first Reagan administration, the U.S. taxpayer has been enlisted in the export of "American-style democracy" through a hybrid organization called the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The component parts of the NED—the two major political parties, big business, and big labor—represent the acceptable boundaries of American politics. The NED, in effect, represents the American system. And by giving it its missionary role, the U.S. government could not be sending a clearer message abroad: that this is how politics must be.

The modern promotion of U.S.-style democracy abroad stems from an earlier form of American ethnocentrism, one which posited that the rest of the world, not being like us, was dangerous, probably evil. Foreign policy consisted of promoting our sons of bitches on the grounds that theirs posed a threat to world peace.

However, according to NED president, Carl Gershman, the NED has moved beyond the old sterile argument that the U.S. should favor authoritarian regimes over totalitarian ones, "a debate which was based upon the assumption that the best we could hope for was the lesser evil."¹

Gershman—who has headed the program virtually since its inception—knows whereof he speaks. Before taking up his NED post, he served as aide to Reagan's U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, whose sole claim to geopolitical fame is the now wholly discredited theory that America should support authoritarian regimes over totalitarian ones because the former were more prone to reform.² Before that, he was chairman of Social Democrats-USA and an intellectual gofer for AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland.

Indeed, consistent with an SD-USA line, so-called totalitarian states were targeted by the NED. For example, groups connected to the reactionary Polish Catholic Church were offered grants during the 1980s. But other

money went to countries that might strike the uninitiated as not especially in need of American-sponsored tutelage in democracy—that is, "dictatorships" like Costa Rica and France, where right-wing opponents of Nobel Peace Prize winner Oscar Arias and Socialist President François Mitterrand received grants. In effect, NED's program could have been written by Kirkland and some of his neoconservative allies.

Overall, in its first ten years of operations, the NED—whose funding comes from Congress but whose grants are dispersed largely by four private foundations (the Republican Party-controlled International Republican Institute, the Democratic Party's National Democratic Institute, the quasi-independent and politically correctly named American Center for International Labor Solidarity [formerly the Free Trade Union Institute], and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce-headed Center for International Private Enterprise)—spent roughly \$200 million dollars on some 1,500 grants.³ Although backing pro-American political forces abroad has always been the main weave of the program, the promotion of American-style business unionism represents a critical accessory.

A HISTORY OF COOPERATION

Of course, the history of American union-government overseas cooperation goes back decades. Long before the NED was a glint in the Reagan administration's eye,

conservative AFL-CIO presidents George Meany, and later Kirkland, actively collaborated with the Central Intelligence Agency in identifying militant labor leaders and infiltrating popular, mass-based labor movements (see the articles by Anthony Carew and Douglas Valentine in this issue). Moreover, the AFL-CIO participated in the formation of rump, or "kept," labor organizations and sought to promote new leaders, usually through patronage, who opposed any fundamental change and favored the U.S. model of trade unionism that sees labor as just another interest group—not the basis of class struggle.

Then, in its first decade, the NED worked with the AFL-CIO to undermine militant labor movements, while fostering "democratic and independent trade unions," a thinly veiled euphemism for American-inspired labor organizations devoid of worker participation. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Washington recognized that working-class organizations were bound to form throughout the world. Thus, the NED/AFL-CIO's major goal was undermining any movement that displayed pro-Soviet tendencies. The two encouraged the formation of relatively weak and feeble trade unions that opposed state control over national economies, such as the Force Ouvrière in France, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions in South Korea, and the Free China Labor League in the People's Republic of China. The NED used the AFL-CIO as an extension of American Cold War policy to promote toothless labor organizations—

3. "\$200 Million!: Sponging Up Grants for Democracy," *Columbus Dispatch*, Oct. 15, 1993, p. 8A.

U.S. Dollars to Serbian Opposition

U.S. funds have been flowing for several years to the Serbian opposition, both within Kosovo and throughout Yugoslavia, much of it from taxpayers.

According to the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington (an organization with a long record of anti-Serbia involvement), the Agency for International Development sent nearly \$10 million to Yugoslavia in 1998 through two programs, Support for East European Democracy and the Office of Transition Initiatives. The U.S. Information Agency granted more than \$1 million that year, and the National Endowment for Democracy nearly a million.

But by far the largest amount has been given to anti-government organizations by the Fund for an Open Society-Yugoslavia, a branch of the Soros Foundation based in Belgrade, until recently in Pristina, and in Montenegro. In fiscal year 1998, it bestowed some \$14.8 million in grants for a wide range of activities, mostly for "information," "arts and culture," "education," and "youth" programs.

It is likely that the 1999 figures are much greater, and the overall totals are undoubtedly increasing exponentially every day. ■

James Ciment is the author of the recently published *Encyclopedia of Conflicts Since World War II* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999). Immanuel Ness is assistant professor of labor politics at Brooklyn College.

1. Mike Feinsilber, "One Expert's Views on How Democracy Triumphed," *Associated Press*, Feb. 13, 1990.

2. Gershman, when executive director of the conservative Social Democrats-U.S.A., once praised Jonas Savimbi—longtime leader of the CIA-sponsored mercenary force in Angola—as "one of the most impressive political figures I have ever met." *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 7, Dec. 1979-Jan. 1980, p. 25.

usually in the form of labor federations with leadership over national labor movements—as a foil for genuine labor movements. In Poland, however, the grantee of choice was Solidarity, which did, in effect, undermine the regime.

The NED's operations were carried out through the AFL-CIO's foreign labor organizations, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD); the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), and the African-American Labor Center (AALC). Operations were concentrated in regions where significant labor movements—such as those in South Africa and South Korea—posed a special threat to the interests of transnational corporations and U.S. foreign policy.

Since the fall of communist and authoritarian regimes around the world in the early 1990s, the program has promoted "the globalization of democracy" because, a recent NED annual report has stated, "it works," though neither "work" nor "democracy" seem to have much to do with the program; indeed, it is unclear that there is a single example of political reform, democratic or otherwise, anywhere in the world that can be attributed to an NED program.

Rather, the NED serves two functions. First, it exists as a junket-sponsoring cash cow for "conventional-wisdom"-spouting political experts, right-wing ideologues, rabidly anticommunist and frequently corrupt trade unionists, and businesspeople hot on the trail of emerging market opportunities. Much of the money lavished by the program is spent sponsoring conferences in exotic lands, where the participants get no closer to the democracy-deprived persons they claim to serve than the maids at the four-star hotels where they hole up.

Harper's magazine editor David Samuels, who reported on a 1995 NED-sponsored conference at the elegant Esplanade Hotel in Zagreb, Croatia, summed up the absurdity of the event—the theme of which was "Strengthening Democracy." "All the [Eastern European] participants now understand...the Americans have come to talk not to them but to each other," Samuels noted. "For the next two days, [the Americans] will eat all they can at the breakfast buffet...order coffee from room service, and watch CNN and MTV, all the while feeling guilty about the great and unnecessary expenses they have incurred in order to come here."⁴

4. David Samuels, "At Play in the Fields of Oppression," *Harper's*, May 1995, p. 50.

WASTE AND CORRUPTION

But extravagant waste is just part of the problem. Over the years, the NED has also faced numerous corruption charges of its own. Irving Brown, a Gershman mentor, was accused of funneling NED funds to right-wing groups in France, such as the Union Nationale Inter-universitaire, in the mid-1980s for overt political activities. In February, an appeals court overturned a suit the right-wing Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) had brought against the former chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Wayne Smith.⁵ Smith had charged—truthfully, the court's decision implied—that the NED gave nearly \$400,000 to CANF between 1984 and 1988 at the same time the foundation was setting up a political action committee that donated an equal amount to the campaigns of pro-CANF congressmen in Washington. Federal law prohibits the use of government funds for campaign purposes.

In a 1993 report, Barbara Conry of the libertarian Cato Institute—an outspoken foe of U.S. foreign aid—noted that General Accounting Office audits "have repeatedly revealed financial mismanagement at the program," including personal credit card payments made from NED accounts and grantees filing rent receipts and staff payments for non-existent offices.⁶

Yet the NED has survived numerous attempts to kill it. Most recently, after Clinton proposed upping its budget by half in 1994, freshmen Republicans in the House voted to cut off all funding, as an anti-foreign aid gesture. But the effort was reversed by the Senate after appearances from Andrei Sakharov's widow, Elena Bonner, and no less than three ex-presidents: Ford, Carter, and Bush. Still, some of the organization's \$31 million annual budget does get through to recipients. And when it does, the agenda is an insidious one.

Again, labor unions offer a useful example. In South Africa, the NED and AFL-CIO sought to undermine the growth of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, a Black federation that had close ties to the South African Communist Party. On the other side of the globe, in South Korea, the NED supported and funded the development of the FKTU, the government-dominated labor federation, in opposition to the more militant KCTU

5. "Florida Libel Verdict Reversed; Ex-Diplomat Had Accused Exile Group of Misuse of Funds," *Washington Post*, Feb. 4, 1999, p. A9.

6. Barbara Conry, "The NED Is No Friend of the Taxpayer," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1993.

independent labor federation, which has advocated greater workers rights and democracy and waged damaging strikes against leading corporations, even after Washington went on record praising the establishment of the KCTU as a sign of growing civic pluralism in South Korea.

Conversely, the NED has refused to support the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia—despite the fact that it represents the vast majority of Russian workers and has displayed a remarkable degree of independence and militancy since the fall of the Soviet Union—because it was originally a creation of the Soviet government. Thus, the NED continues to evince its roots in Kirkpatrick-inspired political theory, supporting the Korean federation organized by a formerly authoritarian regime but refusing to work with a Russian one, because it was set up by a communist government.

None of this surprises veteran NED watchers, as they note how the program was founded both to replace and augment traditional covert funding to pro-American political groups around the world. Hoping to diminish the impact of the 1970's congressional exposés of CIA covert action, the NED was intended as a respectable, overt means to the same ends. As Allen Weinstein, founding and then acting president of the NED told the *Washington Post* in 1991, "a lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA."⁷

Weinstein was not being entirely fair; the NED—though its funding remains a fraction of that still devoted to covert action by the CIA—offers a more subtle, sophisticated, and politically acceptable method for furthering U.S. foreign policy interests. Where the Cold War-era CIA once crushed genuinely democratic movements and organizations in countries allied with the U.S., the NED attempts to coopt them—by making them dependent on U.S. funding or by recruiting their leaders—or exclude them altogether from a political consensus shaped in America's own image.

In his pathbreaking book on America's newly revised role as civics teacher to the world, William Robinson points out the connection between the promotion of globalized markets and polyarchy, a kind

7. David Ignatius, "Innocence Abroad: The New World of Spyless Coups," *Washington Post*, Sept. 22, 1991. This view was reiterated by former CIA Chief William Colby. Discussing NED programs, he opined, "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." "Political Action—In the Open," *Washington Post*, Mar. 14, 1982, p. D8.

of "low intensity" democracy in which multiple voices and institutions broaden civic participation—or, at least, the appearance of same—while at the same time excluding more "excessive," high intensity forms like the original *lavalas* movement in Haiti, radical free trade unionism in South Korea and South Africa, or anti-free market parties in Russia.⁸

REALPOLITIK

Saluting the efforts of NED and its partners—the Agency for International Development (AID), the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), Voice of America and others—Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott formulated the equation more crudely. "It's an issue not just of moral politik, but of realpolitik," he told a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace audience in 1996. "Democracies are more likely to be reliable partners in trade and diplomacy and more likely to pursue foreign and defense policies that are compatible with American interests."⁹

This, of course, is nothing new. Washington has mouthed banal paeans to democracy. Even Henry Kissinger's overwrought memoir—*Years of Renewal*—makes the argument that the Nixon State Department's role in the overthrow and murder of Salvador Allende—Chile's popularly elected president—was yet another milestone in America's ongoing crusade to further democracy around the world.¹⁰

Still, to fully understand the NED's mission, it is necessary to think in terms of supply as well as demand. Clearly, the demand side of promoting democracy has changed with the fall of communism; pro-American forces abroad, NED supporters recognize, should be finessed rather than coerced. At the same time, the NED is a more pluralistic institution than was the CIA.

The NED's political durability is guaranteed through bipartisan support, says analyst Elizabeth Cohn, author of a forthcoming report on the American democracy-promoting institutions.¹¹ But to maintain this support, it must give a piece of the action to each of the elements that comprise what Cohn calls "Democracy, Inc.": the Democratic and Republican

8. William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, U.S. Intervention, and Hegemony* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

9. Strobe Talbott, "Support for Democracy and the U.S. National Interest," *State Department Dispatch*, Mar. 18, 1996, p. 121.

10. Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999).

11. To be published by the Albuquerque-based Interhemispheric Research Council.

NE

Democracy

National Endowment for Democracy
News and Information
Summer 1998

Democracy involves the right of the people freely to determine their own destiny. The exercise of this right requires a system that guarantees freedom of expression, belief and association, free and competitive elections, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, free communications media, and the rule of law.
(From NED's founding "Statement of Principles and Objectives," 1984)

Kosovo— World's Largest NGO?

Kosovo, Veton Surroi likes to tell people, is the world's biggest nongovernmental organization. Surroi, editor-in-chief of Kosovo's *Koha Ditore* newspaper, is only partly joking. Two million people, of whom 90 percent are ethnically Albanian, live in Kosovo, Serbia's southwestern province. In 1989, a belligerently nationalistic Serbian parliament stripped Kosovo of its autonomy and has since ruled the province with a massive military and police presence. The ethnic Albanian community protested by boycotting Serb-dominated official institutions. It set up a parallel society, complete with its own health, taxation, parliamentary, and education systems—hence Surroi's quip.

However, their shadow state could not protect Kosovars from brutal human rights violations by Serbian police and armed forces. In response, a group of activists came together in Pristina to establish the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms. Since it was founded in 1989, the Council has become the most important domestic source of information on human rights in Kosovo. A wide variety of international human rights organizations and news agencies use its information, including the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, the U.S. Commission for Human Rights, and the Associated Press.

(continued on page 2)



Above:
Demonstrators protest Yugoslav army attacks on Kosovar villages in March 1998. (Photo: Albert Cevallos)

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Summer 1998

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National Endowment for Democracy

"Kosovo—The World's Largest NGO"—coined by Veton Surroi, founding Editor of *Koha Ditore*, a weekly that became a daily with NED and Soros dollars. "A success story of the media in rump Yugoslavia," Surroi said last year.

parties, mainstream unionism, and the business community. This diversity, of course, is no broader than the ruling institutions of America, and, as there, the right remains in the ascendance.

Yet, says Cohn, to understand what the NED does, "we have to move beyond the Cold War framework of thinking. Some of what it promotes we [progressives] would all support," just as, presumably, there are things about the American form of democracy that we agree with. The NED "was clearly set up to create a world in the image of U.S.-style democracy." This, of course, begs two important questions: Is American-style democracy a good thing for the world? And what happens when forces

abroad seek another form of democracy? The first question is left to the reader to answer. The second can best be understood by looking at the record.¹²

In locations as far afield as Serbia, Mongolia, and Peru, the NED plays a zero-sum game. The money and perks it dispenses—measly by American standards but enticing to half-starved democracy advocates in the developing and former communist worlds—lures the best and the brightest overseas, ensconcing them in organizations approved by NED and, since all NED grants must ultimately receive State Department approval, by

12. Elizabeth Cohn, interview with authors, Mar. 19, 1999.

Washington.¹³ There, the locals get caught up in a process where the rules and boundaries of permissible ideological content and political activism are laid down by NED-approved American political experts and ideologues. At the same time, more radical, "excessive" democratic movements and institutions dry up.

And just as the NED's board of directors ranges from the liberal (former New York University President John Brademas) to the moderate (former New Jersey Governor Tom Kean) to the extreme right (Reagan's Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé), so NED-sponsored projects vary from the worthy (funding anti-dictatorship newspapers among Burmese exiles) to the ridiculous (distributing tens of thousands of copies of Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America," retitled as "Contract with the Mongolian Voter") to the vicious (supporting former Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti-FRAPH-members).

Yet, during the 1990s, the political consensus that gave the NED its pluralistic cover and assured it bipartisan support in Washington has frayed somewhat. Congressional Republicans have opposed the NED or any organization that favors even watered-down labor rights, while it has attempted to promote labor unions that embrace neo-liberal capitalist principles. In the former Soviet Union, the NED and the AFL-CIO have sponsored independent unions representing the approximately five percent of all workers in Russia who were supporting privatization against the former communist Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR). As the 45 million-member FNPR opposed privatization, the NED-inspired federation defended government neoliberal reforms.

CHANGING ORIENTATION

At the same time, the election in 1995 of John Sweeney as president of the AFL-CIO significantly changed the orientation of the American labor movement in the international arena. In the post-World War II era, the AFL-CIO has been one of the great labor failures worldwide as membership has declined from 35 percent of the labor force in 1955 to about 15 percent in 1995. Any foreign labor movement looking to the AFL-CIO could see that it was an utter failure and a poor model for building worker power. Indeed, by 1995, even American workers

were aware of this failure. Though old cold warriors within the AFL-CIO continued to support the international policy of promoting weak unions worldwide, the new leadership sees neoliberal capitalism as the greater threat to labor.

Shortly after Sweeney became president, the four international institutes of the AFL-CIO were closed and folded into the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), an NED front organization in Washington known colloquially as the "Solidarity Center" and founded by AFL-CIO, AID, and the NED. Asked if the AFL-CIO continues to work with the U.S. government in undermining progressive labor unions abroad, San Francisco-based labor activist Michael Eisenscher noted, "most of the spooks from the CIA that were on the Federation's payroll have been mothballed."¹⁴ At the same time, the AFL-CIO has supported progressive labor activists that the U.S. government considers suspect. The AFL-CIO's delegate to a hemispheric labor conference held in San Francisco last year intervened with the State Department to get visas for communist labor leaders from Chile to attend.

Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO continues to take NED funding and use it for purposes that remain in sync with the program's overall agenda. In Russia, for example, an AFL-CIO backed-campaign against the non-payment of wages by Russian industry leans toward amelioration of the symptoms, rather than a militant attack on the cause: the Yeltsin government's wholehearted embrace of free market ideology.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO's partial defection—though denying the NED an important domestic constituency and a union cover for its pro-free market activities abroad—has not stopped the program's work in this field. ACILS has taken over the AFL-CIO's regional field offices throughout the world and has reinforced the federation's contacts, in order to promote the faddish principles of neoliberal capitalism and the development of "free democratic and independent trade unions." Although the AFL-CIO is not actively involved in the operations of ACILS, some of its international unions, particularly the once staunchly anticommunist American Federation of Teachers, are actively involved in its educational and institution-building affairs, particularly in the former communist bloc. And, of course, NED's political wing has actively supported Russian president Yeltsin and his allies, offering funds to 41 parliament-

arians in the 1996 elections (despite NED rules that funding not go directly to politicians abroad) and even providing make-over artists so that Yeltsin could go on television without looking like a walking corpse.¹⁵

With or without the AFL-CIO, the NED continues to serve American foreign policy, funding organizations that promote economic restructuring, undermine workers' rights, and increase layoffs, while paying lip service to labor rights. In China, it funds organizations that encourage privatization and train employers in anti-labor strategies. Moreover, in 1997, while the NED offered extensive funding for an American-inspired free labor development in Burma, it provided no support for a grassroots labor movement in American ally Indonesia under Suharto, the recently deposed dictator of 33 years, where workers have actively sought to organize independent trade unions and whose leader languished in jail.

Ultimately, with the NED, Washington sets a double standard for itself and everybody else. In 1997, congressional opponents of the Clinton administration expressed outrage over foreign—specifically, Chinese—interference in U.S. elections, a story picked up and played repeatedly by the media. Eventually, the investigation was dropped for fear it would gore too many bulls on both sides of the aisle. But imagine if the Chinese had gone further: openly funding congressional candidates, researching low-voter turnout and America's antiquated voter registration system, infiltrating trade unions, sponsoring conferences in Washington supporting groups critical of the U.S. government and actively promoting the efficacy of Chinese-style state-run enterprises. Imagine the NED.

15. Saul Landau, "U.S. Spends \$30 Million a Year to Meddle in Foreign Elections," *Sacramento Bee*, Apr. 19, 1997, p. B7.

Errata:

In Greg Speeter's "More Bucks for the Bang," in the last issue, the end of the second paragraph of the third column on page 20 should read: "...the Pentagon is expected to ask for an aggregate of \$110 billion extra during the next six years."

On page 59 of that issue, in the last sentence of the last full paragraph of the middle column, the phrase "...all-orthodox Christians and..." should have read "...all of them orthodox christians, and..."

In the Errata in that issue, we incorrectly corrected the date error in Diana Johnstone's previous article. Her book was published in 1984, not 1994.

13. In its most recent reported annual spending (for FY 1997), NED's four components made grants totaling \$26.4 million out of a total budget of \$31.6 million. *Annual Report, National Endowment for Democracy*, 1997 (Washington, D.C.: NED, 1998).

14. Michael Eisenscher, interview with authors, Mar. 21, 1999.

BOOKS

A Covert Life: Jay Lovestone, Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster

by Ted Morgan. 402 pp. (New York: Random House, 1999)

Reviewed by Dashiell Shenk

Jay Lovestone was born Jacob Liebshtein in 1897 to Orthodox Jewish parents who never felt quite at home in the bustling America whose political life their son helped shape. He was one of the most influential individuals in American foreign policy, particularly during the Cold War. He believed that the "long twilight struggle," as John Kennedy called it, between the capitalist West and the communist East was decided as much by cloak-and-dagger operations as by U.S. economic and military might. Lovestone became a spy and a spy-master, a schemer and a conspirator, a faction-fighter and a political insider—as well as a grand strategist who never doubted that the "final battle" would be between the communists and the ex-communists. He certainly helped define America's anti-Soviet and anti-communist mission.

Sympathetic to its subject, Ted Morgan's superficial biography makes no attempt to diminish or apologize for Lovestone's principal life's work, not merely collaborating with the CIA in subverting labor movements and democratic organizations around the world with CIA money, but actually being on the Agency's payroll.

It is fashionable in certain conservative circles to claim that the only thing wrong with CIA involvement in the labor movement was that there was not enough of it. This argument is, of course, based upon the premise that America's foreign policy instruments, including the CIA, were overwhelmingly forces for good in the world. Morgan limits himself to describing how the cooperation between the labor movement and the CIA was a cause of strain and trouble. In this regard, the conservatives' point about the CIA is turned on its head: According to Morgan, Lovestone thought the "fizz-kids," as he called them for their shallowness, were *insufficiently* anti-communist, and the problem was not too much CIA in the AFL, but not enough AFL (e.g., Meany, Lovestone, and Dubinsky) in the CIA.

At one level, this was because their fundamental purposes were different. Lovestone had been a leader of the American communist movement in the '20s and '30s (after graduating from City College of New York),

first as a Party leader, and later, after he was removed and nearly killed on Stalin's orders, as a dissident. Like James Cannon, the Trotskyist leader, Lovestone hoped the Stalinist factions around the world would see the error of their ways and reinstate them.

The great purges convinced him that the communist movement was beyond repair, and he devoted the rest of his life to anti-communism within the labor movement. Lovestone believed the overriding purpose of U.S. foreign policy must be the defeat of the Soviet Union, a belief he pursued with relentless deviousness.

But the function of intelligence agencies should be to *gather* intelligence and *present* it to "intelligence consumers," those officials whose job is to formulate and carry out policy. Those goals often did not coincide with Lovestone's. America's foreign policy, even when viewed as driven by hegemonic ambitions, was always less coherent than grand theorists would like to believe. Lovestone complained that U.S. policymakers, including those in the CIA, were fickle, often stupid, and almost always too soft on communism. It is not surprising to learn that the only man he deeply trusted in the CIA was counterintelligence chief James Jesus Angleton, himself notorious for distrusting and despising most of his own colleagues.

One person Angleton did have full confidence in was a beautiful Boston debutante and model, Louise Page Morris ("Pagie"), whom he recruited in 1949. Pagie had worked with the OSS during the War in the Russia division and then, after the War, for the OSS chief, "Wild Bill" Donovan, infiltrating "communist" women's groups. Angleton hired her away from Donovan as his personal secret agent, outside the CIA hierarchy. For the next 25 years, under the cover of a librarian at Lovestone's Free Trade Union Committee, she traveled the world on dangerous assignments for both Angleton and Lovestone, paid off the books with CIA money.

She also had a 30-year affair with Lovestone, along with flings with Donovan and Henry Cabot Lodge. An entire chapter in Morgan's book is devoted to how Pagie and Lovestone, from such disparate backgrounds, were connected through the worlds of espionage and love, in a relation-

ship "based on trickery, deception, and the need-to-know principle."

Throughout the second half of his life, as one of the leaders of the AFL and head of president George Meany's cadre of international agents, of whom the most notorious was Irving Brown, Lovestone wielded tremendous power and influence. Yet this was often in an effort to change, not to support, U.S. foreign policy.

But the American government establishment is not so much ideological as conservative and pragmatic, concerned with the promotion of U.S. corporate interests. The CIA and other agencies were quite willing cynically to use Lovestone and his foreign friends, who saw themselves fundamentally in perpetual political combat against the communists. Lovestone was well aware of this, and often railed against the intelligence agencies, but in the last analysis felt he needed all the help he could get, even from the U.S. government.

Who got the better of the bargain? Morgan notes drily, "The CIA connection and the AFL's unconditional support for the Vietnam War seemed to show that organized labor had become an arm of the government. In fact, the Lovestone-Meany policy was often at variance with the government.... Yet...the union membership knew only in the vaguest terms how their dues were being spent in the foreign field." Not so much by their uncompromising anti-Sovietism as by their secretiveness, Morgan suggests, Lovestone and his allies overstepped their mandates and thereby made it more difficult for American labor to build, or rebuild, an international program.

Though it is not touched upon in the book, the wholesale torture and murder by U.S. state security agencies of honest labor leaders in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and throughout the Third World made possible the closing of U.S.-based factories and their export to those countries. With independent, democratic labor unions crushed and their leaders physically eliminated, workers could be more easily exploited, and toxic waste dumps more easily created. Lovestone's legacy is clear: Not only was he operating without the informed consent of American labor union members, he was acting against their interests. U.S. labor union bureaucrats are painfully re-learning the truth: If wages go down anywhere, they go down everywhere.

Angleton at the CIA and Lovestone at the AFL were both forced into retirement in 1974, marking the end of the influence of the purest Cold Warriors. ■

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Sentimentality and Responsibility in the University

BY ALI S. ZAIDI

The hidden history of the University of Rochester (UR) includes plutonium and uranium injection experiments during the late forties, CIA-sponsored mind-control experiments during the fifties, and lead injection experiments during the sixties. UR's problems with human medical experimentation continue well into the nineties.

Since their perceptions are conditioned to a great extent by the upbeat pronouncements in university publications, UR alumni and students remain largely unaware of their university's moral crisis.

Rochester Review is such a publication, containing features that enhance the appeal and reputation of the University of Rochester. The Spring-Summer 1996 *Review*, for instance, noted that *U.S. News & World Report* ranked Strong Memorial Hospital, UR's teaching hospital, among the 100 best hospitals in the country.¹ The Spring-Summer 1998 *Review*, to take another example, celebrated the UR School of Medicine and Dentistry's third place ranking among the nation's top primary-care schools in the 1998 *U.S. News & World Report*.²

In *The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in Education*, David Purpel distinguishes between sentimentality, which does not acknowledge how one's actions contribute to a moral crisis, and responsibility, which acknowledges how those actions shape that crisis.³ Recent events at the University of Rochester serve to illustrate Purpel's thesis and raise questions about the ethics of human experimentation and the adequacy of regulatory oversight at university teaching hospitals.

CAMPUS DEATHS

On March 29, 1996, a symposium on the ethics of medical experimentation on human subjects was held at the University. That same day, a sophomore, Nicole Wan, took part in a UR-sponsored medical experiment that cost her life.

Wan had been paid \$150 for participating in an experiment at Strong Memorial Hospital, UR's teaching hospital, which involved having cells extracted from her lungs in order to study the effects of smoking and pollution. Wan left the broncho-

scopy unit trembling from an overdose of lidocaine, an anesthetic. A couple of hours later, Wan had a seizure and was rushed to Strong, where she was placed on life support. She died a few days later.

Calling Wan's death an "isolated, very unfortunate incident," UR President Thomas Jackson offered what he called "an imperfect analogy." "If a student or somebody was hit by a car, would that lead people to think the campus was not safe? I hope not."⁴

Was Wan's death comparable, however imperfectly, to a car accident? The facts speak for themselves. The autopsy by the Monroe County medical examiner revealed lesions in Wan's lungs. The doctors failed to record the amount of lidocaine administered to Wan, who was given four times the maximum allowable dosage that UR had established in 1981. This maximum dosage was inexplicably absent from the research protocol of the experiment in which Wan participated. Finally, the hospital staff failed to assess Wan's condition before she left the bronchoscopy unit.⁵

Just seven months prior to Wan's death, an inspector from the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) warned UR that its failure to follow proper procedures for human experimentation placed subjects at risk. UR officials denied that there was a link between Wan's death and the deficiencies cited by the FDA inspector.⁶

In October 1996, evaluators from the National Institutes of Health (NIH) visited UR and found that many research projects lacked the files that would enable their proper review. The NIH ordered UR to provide more staff and resources for UR's Human Subjects Review Board, and to write quarterly reports regarding progress in safeguarding research subjects.⁷

In his condolence letter, published in the April 4, 1996 *Campus Times*, UR's student newspaper, UR President Thomas Jackson wrote that Wan's death "occurred following her willing participation in support of one of the basic missions of the university—research that will enable individuals to live better."⁸

Jackson claimed in his letter that UR would "immediately and rigorously explore the circumstances" of Wan's death, and would "continue to press for all relevant facts." (The administration has never released the findings of its internal investigation into Wan's death.) In April 1996, Wan's family filed a \$100 million lawsuit against UR, which later settled the case for an undisclosed sum.

Around the time of Wan's death, Strong underwent a major restructuring. In the Winter 1996-97 *Review*, readers learned of changes in store for UR's hospital. Jay Stein, UR vice provost for health affairs, wrote: "The challenge to hospitals is clear: Cut your costs or you will be out of business... The University of Rochester Medical Center and the rest of the nation's academic medical centers must adapt if we are to continue to fulfill our role as the keystone of the health care system that is the envy of the world."⁹ Lost on the *Review*'s readers were the implications of the UR administration's sentimental view of a corporatized health care system in which profit takes precedence over human well-being.

The UR administration cut \$40 million from Strong's \$360 million budget in just two years, eliminating 412 hospital jobs, including 114 nurse positions. It also eliminated the nurses' contractual weekend pay, and, according to many nurses, was forcing them to do "mandatory voluntary overtime."¹⁰ Nurses complained that lower-paid aides were being hired to do bedside care formerly undertaken by themselves,¹¹ that patient units were dangerously understaffed, and that they were being assigned to new units without adequate training or sufficient advance notice of unit closings.¹² The staff cuts left many nurses feeling isolated and unable to ask for help in the event of an emergency. The solution of the administration was to give the nurses walkie-talkies.¹³

In spring 1996, contract negotiations stalled between UR and Local 1199, the Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, which represents clerical and cleaning crew workers at Strong. The UR

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1. "Strong Memorial Ranked Among Top 100 Hospitals," *Rochester Review*, Spring-Summer 1996, p. 6.
2. "Graduate Programs Among the Best, Says U.S. News," *Rochester Review*, Spring-Summer, 1998, p. 5.
3. David Purpel, *The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in Education* (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1989).

4. Kellie Patrick, "UR Not Worried About Its Reputation," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N.Y.), Apr. 6, 1996, p. 5A.

5. Michael Wentzel, "State Criticizes UR After Wan's Death," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Oct. 27, 1997, pp. 1A, 12A.

6. Michael Wentzel, "UR Received FDA Warning," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Jan. 23, 1997, p. 1A.

7. Michael Wentzel, "Cut Research Risk, UR Told," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1997, pp. 1A, 5A.

8. Thomas A. Jackson, "President Addresses Loss of Family Member," *Campus Times*, Apr. 4, 1996, p. 9.

9. Jay Stein, M.D., "Preserving Academic Centers as the Keystone of America's Health Care System," *Rochester Review*, Winter 1996-97, p. 11.

10. Joan Collins Lambert, "Making the Rounds: Fighting a Union at Strong," *City*, March 19-25, 1997, p. 7.

11. Susan J. Smith, "Strong's Nurses Nix Unions," *Times-Union*, May 2, 1997, p. 1A.

12. *Op. cit.*, n. 11.

13. *Ibid.*

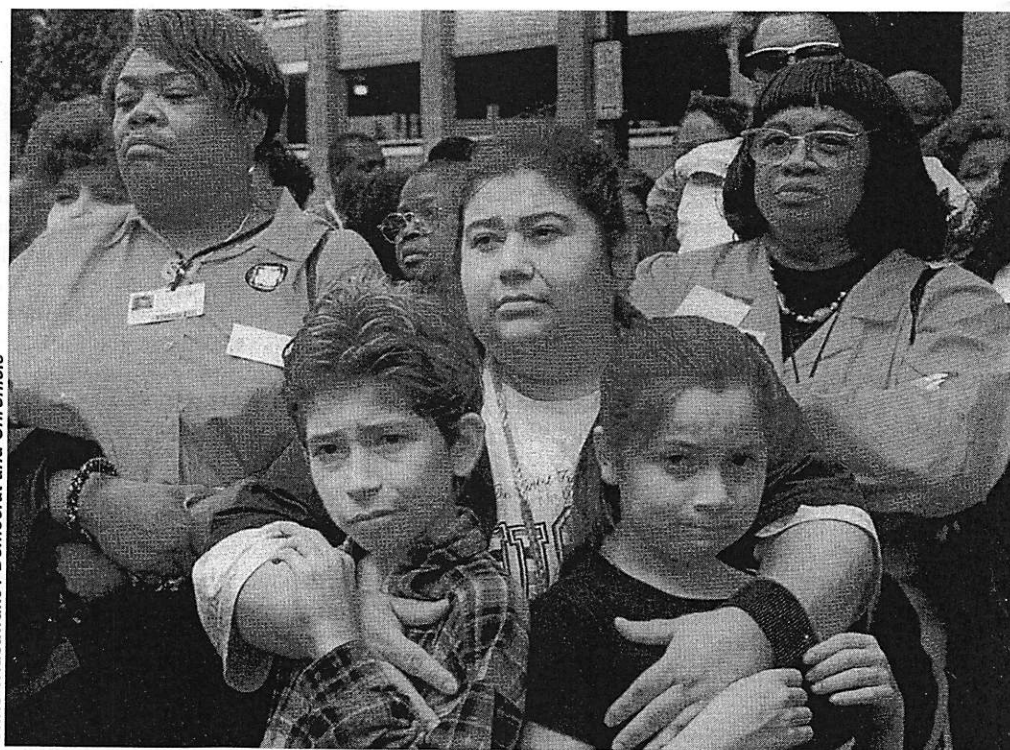
administration sought to reduce vacation pay, compensation for overtime, and tuition assistance for its union health care workers, most of whom earn between \$17,000 and \$19,000 a year. The UR administration wanted workers to contribute \$150 a month for their health benefits package, and intended to cut health benefits for its future retirees who were 50 or older. UR, meanwhile, was doubling its contribution to the retirement fund of its managers.

The following year, 1997, saw a unionization drive for Strong nurses fail because of a barrage of UR administration anti-union propaganda and the lack of a student-labor coalition at UR to support the nurses. The nurses' concerns about patient safety at Strong did, however, become a public issue.

In the spring of that year, two health care workers and three patients in Strong's maternity unit were infected with a strain of invasive Group A streptococcus. One patient, Susan Dougherty, died after developing necrotizing fasciitis, the flesh-eating form of the disease. In the ensuing panic, some patients canceled operations at Strong, which was deluged with phone calls from individuals seeking information about the disease. A Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* editorial criticized Strong for contributing to the panic by not releasing enough information about the outbreak:

It's not the first time the University of Rochester's teaching hospital has opted for the silent treatment. A year after a student died in a medical research study, the hospital has yet to disclose exactly what went wrong and what precautions have been put in place to prevent it happening again.¹⁴

New York Health Commissioner Barbara DeBuono hastened to reassure the public that Strong was "perfectly safe." "I would have no hesitation," she said, "in recommending any member of my family [to] go there."¹⁵ Nonetheless, the New York State Health Department cited several deficiencies in the care given to Dougherty and another patient. There had been a delay in recognizing Dougherty's condition and in aggressively treating it. Dougherty's attending physician had failed to see her for almost 60 hours. Even though they knew that Dougherty was allergic to latex, hospital staff twice used the substance in treating her. When Dougherty's heart stopped beating, it took ten minutes for personnel to locate



Chris Wideawake / Democrat and Chronicle

Protesting cutbacks, employees at University of Rochester Strong Memorial Hospital hold silent vigil during opening of new outpatient center.

emergency equipment.¹⁶ No cardiac monitor or defibrillator was on hand in the maternity unit. Strong's Chief Medical Officer, Raymond Mayewski, later explained that the equipment had been moved a few days earlier when a unit closed.¹⁷

At a press conference, Mayewski refused UR's responsibility for Dougherty's death even while confirming the state health department's findings:

Today, I would like to tell you and the public what I've already told Susan's family: We let you down. And we are deeply, deeply sorry. And we are going to do whatever is necessary to make sure that these problems never happen again in this institution. Could we have prevented Susan's death? We believe the answer is no. We believe that there was nothing we could have done because of the horrible nature of this infection. But we're not asking anyone to accept that. The fact is she died, the fact is we made mistakes.¹⁸

In July 1997, the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education issued a warning letter to UR for its deficiencies in seven residency programs, for its inadequate supervision of residents, and for failing to conduct internal reviews of its pro-

grams until 1995, 13 years after the reviews were first required.¹⁹ Interviewed by the *Campus Times*, UR Provost Charles Phelps denied that the deficiencies cited in the report jeopardized patient care.²⁰

In March 1998, state health department inspectors visited Strong in response to patient complaints concerning the lack of resident supervision. Residents told inspectors that they often worked 10 to 30 hours beyond the 80 hour a week limit mandated by state regulations.²¹

Thanks to a 1976 National Labor Relations Board decision, the status of medical residents in private hospitals is that of students rather than employees. That decision is up for review soon. As matters stand, many UR medical residents are reluctant to bring institutional shortcomings to the attention of superiors whose letters of recommendation and evaluations will determine their suitability for the profession.²²

A HISTORY OF HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION

UR's moral crisis in medicine has a long history. During the late 1940s, UR physicians injected uranium, plutonium, and

14. Editorial, "A Little More Openness," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Mar. 12, 1997.

15. Michael Wentzel, "Five Cases at Strong Linked to One Strain," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Mar. 15, 1997, p. 1A.

16. New York Department of Health, "Statement of Deficiencies and Plan of Correction," Aug. 22, 1997, pp. 1-2.

17. Michael Wentzel, "State: Hospital Erred," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Oct. 4, 1997, p. 6A.

18. "Statement by Raymond J. Mayewski, M.D., Apr. 19, 1997.

19. Susan J. Smith, "UR Med School Warned," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Apr. 25, 1998, pp. 1A, 5A.

20. Craig Linder, "UR Medical School Residency Program Faulted by Council," *Campus Times*, Apr. 30, 1998.

21. Susan J. Smith, "State Looks Into Doctors' Long Days," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Mar. 13, 1998, p. 1A.

22. Joan Collins Lambert, "If It Works Like a Doc," *City*, May 20, 1998.

polonium in unwitting human subjects. Eileen Welsome's 1993 Pulitzer Prize-winning series on the plutonium experiments drew attention to Atomic Energy Project activities at UR, which, in 1943, was chosen to host the medical division of the Manhattan Project and to monitor workers at nuclear plants around the country.

Eleven of the nation's 18 plutonium injection experiments took place at UR's Strong Memorial Hospital. UR research teams prepared an experimental plan for injecting human subjects with radioisotopes and following up the injections with the collection of tissue, urine, and stool samples. Researchers used the code-word "product" for "plutonium" in all communications and documents. The human subjects had code numbers preceded by the letters "HP"—for "Human Product."

Henry Slack, a 69-year-old alcoholic suffering from liver disease and pneumonia, was admitted to Strong on December 12, 1945. In a report, a UR physician described Slack as a "poorly nourished, weak, thin male who is slightly confused." After spending two months in the metabolism ward, Slack was injected with 6.5 micrograms of plutonium, subjecting him to about 56 times the radiation the average person could expect in a lifetime. Slack, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, died six days later, having served his country for the last time. The cause of death given was cirrhosis of the liver.²³

After doctors had taken tissue samples from Slack's corpse to trace plutonium, Wright Langham, group leader in radiobiology at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, who coordinated the plutonium injection experiments nationally, wrote to Samuel Bassett, head of UR's metabolism ward and the head of the plutonium and uranium injection experiments at UR. He recommended that terminal cases be injected with 10 times more plutonium than healthier patients. "In case you should decide to do another terminal case, I suggest you do 50 micrograms instead of 5. This would permit the analysis of much smaller samples and would make my work considerably easier... I feel reasonably certain there would be no harm in using larger amounts of material if you are sure the case is a terminal one...."²⁴

23. Corydon Ireland, "A Resurrected Number Returns to Haunt UR," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Nov. 15, 1995, pp. 1B, 4B.

24. *Final Report: Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1995), pp. 44-45.

In his March 27, 1946 reply to Langham, Bassett wrote: "This case did turn out to be terminal but at the time I started the experimental period, there was sufficient uncertainty regarding the outcome to make me feel that the dose would be within the range of tolerance.... The larger doses that you mention, particularly 50 micrograms, might be given if a suitable opportunity occurred and if you are anxious that I should carry it through. I will see what can be done."²⁵

Janice Stadt, a hairdresser, was another unwitting guinea pig at Strong. UR physicians injected Stadt with plutonium-239 dissolved in a citrate complex so that the isotope would be effectively deposited in her muscles and bones.²⁶ Milton Stadt, her son, commented at a 1995 public hearing on the radiation experiments:

My mother, Janice Stadt, had a number, HP-8. She was injected with plutonium on March 9th, 1946. She was forty-one years old, and I was eleven years old at the time. My mother and father were never told or asked for any kind of consent to have this done to them. My mother went in [to the hospital] for scleroderma...and a duodenal ulcer, and somehow she got pushed into this lab where these monsters were.²⁷

In 1974, three survivors of the plutonium experiments came to Strong to provide blood, urine, and stool samples, not knowing that the purpose of the follow-up tests was to trace the plutonium remaining in their bodies. The patient-subjects were provided with first-class hotels, limousines, and fresh flowers—sentimental touches indeed. Two UR research scientists even gave their autographs to a patient-subject.²⁸

UR researchers also injected or fed radium, polonium, uranium, and lead to human subjects. The uranium experiments at Strong were explicitly designed to harm the subjects. The researchers stated in a 1948 report that the experiments were "designed to find the dose of a soluble uranium salt that when introduced intravenously would produce a just detectable renal injury...."²⁹

25. Samuel Bassett, Letter to Wright Langham, Mar. 27, 1946.

26. Corydon Ireland, "Strong Sued Over Radiation Research," *Democrat and Chronicle*, June 17, 1995, pp. 1A, 7A.

27. *Op. cit.*, n. 24, p. 245.

28. Eileen Welsome, *The Plutonium Experiment* (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Tribune, 1993), pp. 12-13.

29. Samuel Bassett, Albert Frenkel, et al., "The Tolerance of Man for Hexavalent Uranium," 1948 report, p. 1.

Mary Jean Connell is the only living survivor of the uranium experiments. Connell, a farmer's daughter who weighed only 81 pounds at the time of the experiment, went to Strong at the request of a physician who believed that she needed to gain weight. Upon her arrival at Strong in September 1946, Connell immediately gained 584 micrograms—the amount of uranium that a Strong doctor injected into her vein. In later years, Connell suffered from urinary tract infections and kidney pain. After she got an apology and a \$400,000 settlement from the federal government in 1996, Connell commented, "I'm afraid it's going to happen again you know."³⁰

CONDEMNATION — 50 YEARS LATER

The federal Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments, which was established early in Clinton's presidency, concluded in its 1995 final report that there was "no expectation that the patient-subjects would benefit medically from the plutonium injections" and that the recollections of those involved in the plutonium experiments "all suggest that the patients did not know they had been injected with radioactive material or even that they were subjects of an experiment."³¹ While guidelines for human medical experimentation during the 40s and 50s were lax by today's standards, the need for informed consent was understood even then. In 1942, the chair of the federal Committee on Medical Research advised a UR researcher who sought to "work out a human experiment on the chemical prophylaxis of gonorrhea," as follows: "When any risks are involved, volunteers only should be utilized as subjects, and these only after the risks have been fully explained and after signed statements have been obtained which shall prove that the volunteer offered his services with full knowledge and that claims for damage will be waived. An accurate record should be kept of the terms in which the risks involved were described."³²

The Advisory Committee summed up the ethics of the radioisotope injection experiments in this way:

The egregiousness of the disrespectful way in which the subjects of the injection experiments and their families were treated is heightened by the fact that the

30. Corydon Ireland, "Survivor Afraid It Will Happen Again," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Dec. 17, 1996, p. 11A.

31. *Op. cit.*, n. 27, p. 245.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

subjects were hospitalized patients. Their being ill and institutionalized left them vulnerable to exploitation. As patients, it would have been reasonable for them to assume that their physicians were acting in their best interests, even if they were being given "experimental" interventions. Instead, the physicians violated their fiduciary responsibilities by giving the patients substances from which there was no expectation they would benefit and whose effects were uncertain. This is clearest at Rochester where at least the uranium subjects, and perhaps the plutonium subjects, were apparently the personal patients of the principal investigator.³³

A legacy of the radiation experiments is the contamination of the UR campus. In 1945 or 1946, UR researchers buried rat carcasses and waste contaminated with plutonium, radium and polonium, at a remote point on UR grounds, 50 to 100 yards from a barge canal. A UR spokesman recently described the incident as a "historical footnote." UR officials foresee no health hazards.³⁴

In another historical footnote, UR Manhattan Project researchers deliberately contaminated a field next to the UR medical school with radiosodium in order to ascertain the shielding requirements for radiation-measuring equipment. In a 1980 interview, UR researcher Harold Hodge recalled what happened after the researchers mixed sodium-24 with water and poured it into sprinklers:

We walked along and sprinkled the driveway. This was after dark.... The next thing, we went out and sprayed a considerable part of the field.... It was sprayed and then after a while sprayed again, so there was a second and third application. We were all in rubber, so we didn't get wet with the stuff...then Staff [Stafford Warren, head of the medical division of the Manhattan Project] said that one of the things we needed was to see what would be the effect on the inside of a wooden building. So we took the end of the parking garage, and we sprinkled that up about as high as

our shoulders, and somebody went inside and made measurements, and we sprinkled it again. Then we wanted to know about the inside of a brick building, and so we sprinkled the side of the animal house.... I had no idea what the readings were.... I hadn't the foggiest idea of what we were doing, except that obviously it was something radioactive.³⁵

CIA MIND-CONTROL

During the 1950s and 1960s, UR participated in CIA-sponsored mind-control experiments, for which it has yet to accept responsibility. The experiments, codenamed MK-ULTRA, were intended to develop surreptitious means to cause amnesia, shock, confusion, or impulsive behavior in individuals, to program people to carry out instructions, to incapacitate individuals with a knockout pill, and to publicly discredit individuals through the use of chemical substances. CIA director Richard Helms destroyed the MK-ULTRA records in 1973, shortly before congressional committees began investigating the CIA.

UR psychology chairman Richard Wendt, who served on 25 national defense committees, participated in Operation Chatter, an MK-ULTRA program designed to find methods of eliminating free will in others. The CIA was particularly interested in finding a "truth serum" that would make subjects dependent on their interrogators.

Using the Office of Naval Research as a front, the CIA funded Wendt's research under the guise of continuing his grant to study motion sickness. Wendt and his colleagues experimented on UR students in a testing facility in the university library attic. They observed the test subjects through a two-way mirror and took notes on their reactions.

John Marks recounts Wendt's 1952 trip to West Germany on behalf of the CIA in his book on the MK-ULTRA experiments, *The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate."* Wendt had developed a concoction consisting of seconal, a depressant; dexedrine, a stimulant; and tetrahydrocannabinol, the active ingredient in marijuana. Tested on involuntary subjects who were defectors and double agents, the drug combination proved useless for interrogatory purposes of the CIA.³⁶

A Department of Defense document on Wendt's CIA project concluded that while he "is producing certain results, he

has lost sight of the original requirement and has become enthralled by research on human behavior." Consequently, Wendt's CIA grant was terminated. His private assistant destroyed the heroin, morphine and mescaline that were found in Wendt's private safe after his death in 1977.³⁷

Besides the MK-ULTRA experiments, there were dangerous experiments at Strong that involved children. In 1963, a UR researcher under an Atomic Energy contract studied the intake of iodine-131 in children, including a six-year-old, who were given milk from a cow that had been fed the element. While iodine concentrates in the human thyroid gland and is essential to human health, its unstable form, known as I-131, has four extra neutrons, is radioactive, and can alter the DNA gene code or cause cancer. One of the children involved in the UR I-131 experiment subsequently developed thyroid cancer.³⁸

FEARS FOR THE FUTURE

The tragedies at Strong underscore the need for better regulation of human subject experimentation and patient care at teaching hospitals. Institutions that violate research guidelines or federal and state laws ought to suffer consequences, whether in the form of hefty fines, loss of institutional research grants, suspension of the professional licenses of researchers, or public embarrassment. There is little indication that federal or state regulatory agencies are up to the task. The state health department failed to fine UR for the deficiencies that led to Wan's death, and waived the \$8,000 fine it imposed on UR in the Dougherty case.

UR recently announced that it would construct a state-of-the-art research facility estimated to cost \$73 million and would spend \$40 million in renovations to existing laboratories and offices. The project will be funded by donations, grants, loans, and medical center operating funds.³⁹ The extravagance underscores UR's phenomenal growth in corporate-sponsored research.

Until UR comes to terms with its past, it may never come to terms with its present. For now, questions remain. What is the human toll of cost-cutting? What has UR sacrificed on the altar of science and profit? When will public relations sniffles give way to acceptance of responsibility? ■

33. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

34. Steve Mills and Corydon Ireland, "Radium Buried at UR," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 4, 1994, pp. 1A, 6A.

35. *Op. cit.*, n. 25, p. 29.

36. John Marks, *The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate"* (New York: Times Books, 1979), pp. 34-42.

37. Nancy Monaghan, "CIA at UR," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Oct. 2, 1977, p. 1A.

38. R.G. Cuddihy, "Hazard to Man from I-131 in the Environment," *Health Physics*, Vol. 12 (1966), pp. 1,021, 1,025.

39. Michael Wentzel, "Medical Center Has High Hopes," *Democrat and Chronicle*, Mar. 6, 1997, p. 1B.

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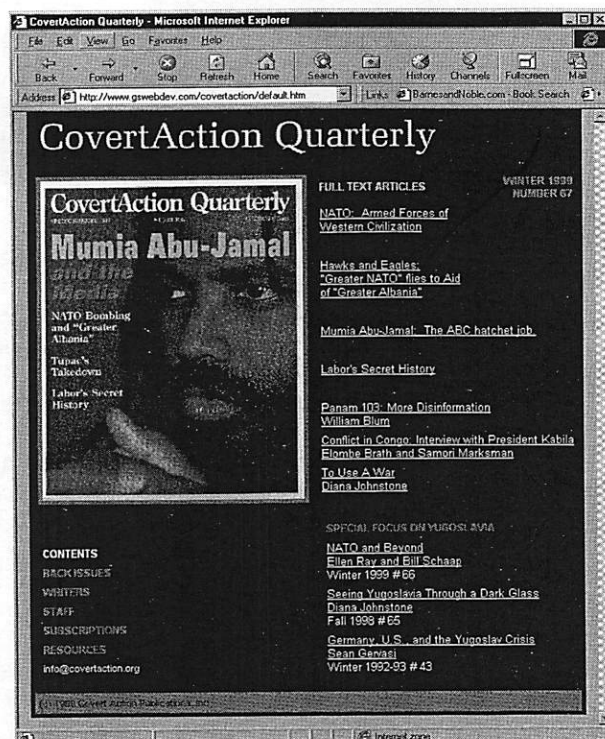
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(continued from page 2)

much all repressive and fascist regimes around the world, with only one difference: Arafat is not his own master. He nearly always acts at Israel's beck and call, and his virtual subservience to the CIA is known to everybody in our part of the world. So, Arafat is neither fighting the Israeli army nor the CIA; he is conniving with them against his own people.

In the Wye River memorandum, which Arafat described as "a great national achievement for Palestinians," the Palestinian leader agreed in effect to make the memorandum "the law of the land" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, effectively making all aspects of Palestinian civilian life (including freedom of the press and expression) subject to the whims of Israeli security. With the CIA becoming the ultimate arbiter between Arafat and Israel, the Palestinian autocrat very often strives to appease the CIA, usually at the expense of his people's rights and interests. (For example, he agreed to allow the CIA to erect a huge espionage building in Ramallah which even townspeople can't get near.)

As for the claim that Hamas was created by the Mossad, this is nonsense. Hamas is viewed by most Palestinians as a liberation movement, very much like the PLO before it surrendered to Israel and the United States. Indeed, Hamas today controls the student councils of most Palestinian colleges, a popular vindication for the movement.

Hamas cannot be equated with "the cutthroats" in Algeria. The movement never attacked or targeted its Palestinian political or ideological opponents, and even its attacks against Israeli settlers and civilians were in response to Jewish terrorist attacks against Palestinian civilians, e.g., the Ibrahim Mosque massacre on February 25, 1994 (Hamas has now stopped suicide operations).

It is hard to consider Hamas an enemy of the working class. The bulk of the movement's followers happen to be educated workers, college students, and intellectuals. One can argue that Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, not Hamas, is undermining the interests of Palestinian workers through the many shadowy "business partnerships" which Arafat's officers have forged with Israeli businesses (e.g., the fuel monopoly by the PA Preventive Security).

If Hamas was that bad, why would the followers of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an orthodox communist Palestinian organization, support it in several college elections at Beir Zit University and elsewhere.

Dear CovertAction:

On this 50th anniversary of NATO, the purpose and aims of this organization are changed, without any democratic discussion or consent, by our U.S. and European leaders. The aims appear to be the oppression of any government that chooses to differ with NATO views, and to obtain this by subversion and war. In many countries there is no support for such policy.

It is clear that human rights are only violated in "enemy countries," not of course in NATO countries such as Turkey. The situation of the Kurds in Turkey however, is much worse than that of the Kosovo Albanians. The TV station Med-TV, broadcasting from Denderleeuw (Belgium) for the Kurdish people, has been silenced by the British government that issues the licenses. Again we see that freedom of the press does not exist in the new Europe. President Clinton is now targeting TV stations in Yugoslavia and does not mind if foreign correspondents and journalists are killed.

Clinton has been severely damaged psychologically during the Lewinsky impeachment procedures, and this is the result: an unjust war that threatens to engulf the whole of Europe. This is the time to impeach for breach of democracy and international laws. Mr. Clinton has now attained only the exact opposite of what he proclaimed. He has laid the basis for the future dissolution of NATO, when European countries will realize how undemocratic and totalitarian the new NATO will be. I do hope he actually succeeds in ruining a new NATO.

H.L., Amsterdam

Dear CovertAction:

Stripped of its euphemistic verbiage, such as "alliance," "world community," "defense" and so on, this NATO creature is essentially a gang of nations on a colossal scale, mirrored on the structure of the criminals of an earlier era which had one undisputed leader. In that context, once a member, extrication was virtually impossible without the risk of "elimination" because you know too much about other members, future plans and techniques.

Conformity in NATO is demanded because this stifles opposition and real

debates. In Canada, for example, there are no substantive lengthy debates on foreign affairs in parliament; question period is little more than a vulgar circus with questions and answers tendentious and evasive. This, we are invited to believe, is democracy at work.

The U.N. is a captive of the U.S. and its partners. The veto in the Security Council is totally undemocratic. E.S., Ontario

Dear CovertAction:

While your piece on the trial of Terry Squillacote and Kurt Stand (Winter 1999) cites the *Washington Post*, the trial received no notice in the West Coast press, so it was news to us.

More remarkable than the relative lack of national press coverage was the failure of the Committees of Correspondence newsletter, to which I subscribe, to mention the case. Given that Terry was one of their own (and Kurt's DSA is essentially their sister organization), such an omission is comparable to the fact that the Communist Party ignored the Rosenbergs until after their death sentence had been passed, and they had become a cause célèbre in Europe.

Of course, there are differences. In the Rosenbergs' time, a conscious decision was made by Party leaders to abandon them during their arrest and trial, which decision was made for reasons of self-preservation. In our time, the abandonment of Squillacote and Stand by their national organization is more likely due to the complete collapse of any sense of personal community in the American left.

Both cases, however, underscore what has often been a vulnerability of the left: the relatively low priority given to taking care of our own. If we cared as much about each other as say, the Mafia or the Aryan Nations care about their rank and file, perhaps the FBI would not have such easy pickings on us. D.L., Santa Cruz, Calif.

Dear CovertAction:

I for one have greatly appreciated the research and reporting you all are doing. I generally read *Z*, *CovertAction*, *Extra!*, *The Progressive*, *In These Times*, *Earth First!*, and *The Nation*, and note that yours was the first to expose the role of Germany and the U.S. and the various factors that have brought NATO into the role of enforcer among all these, or for that matter, anywhere else on the so-called "left."

J.C., (e-mail)

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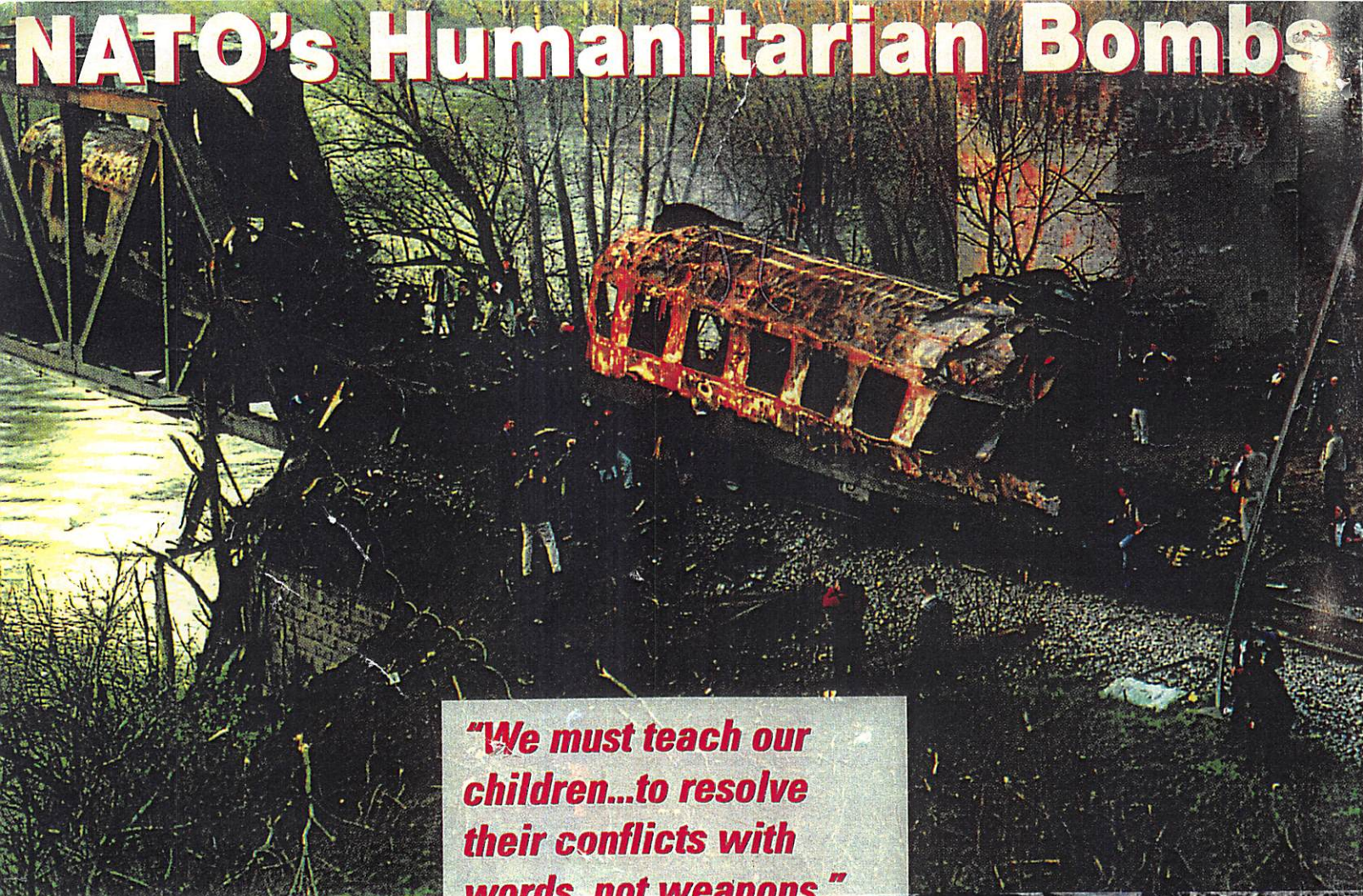
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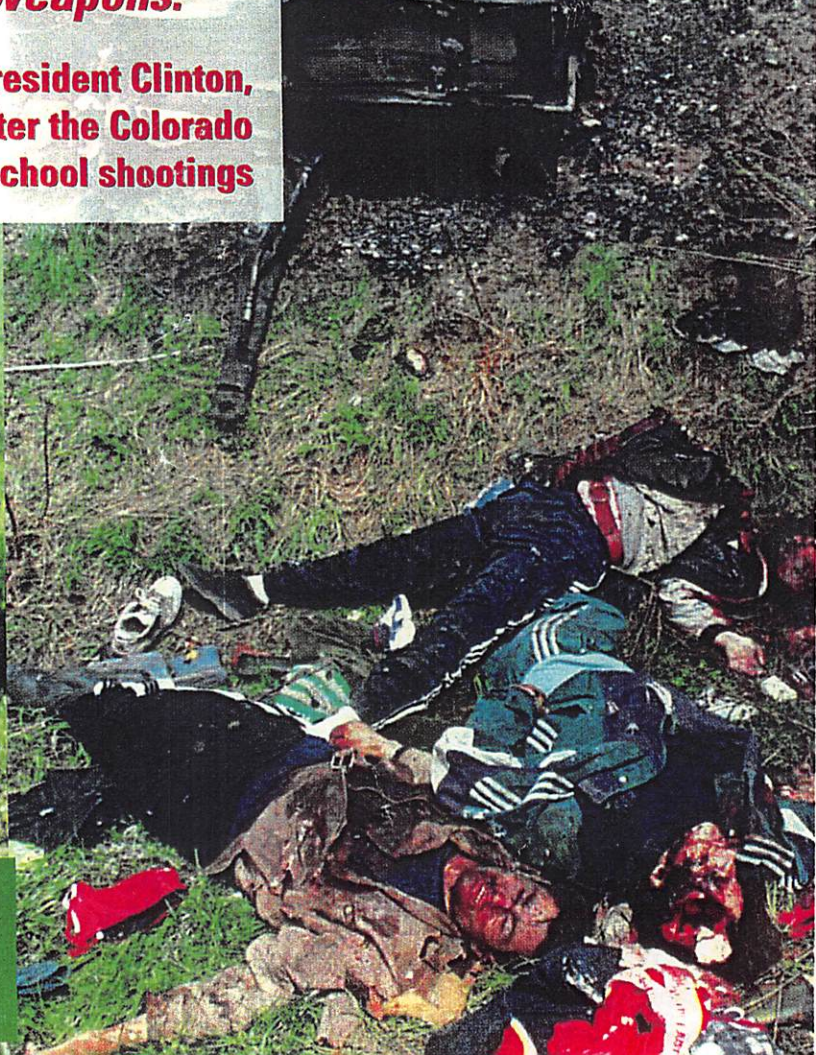
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