

# CovertAction

## QUARTERLY

**TORTURE** are U.S.

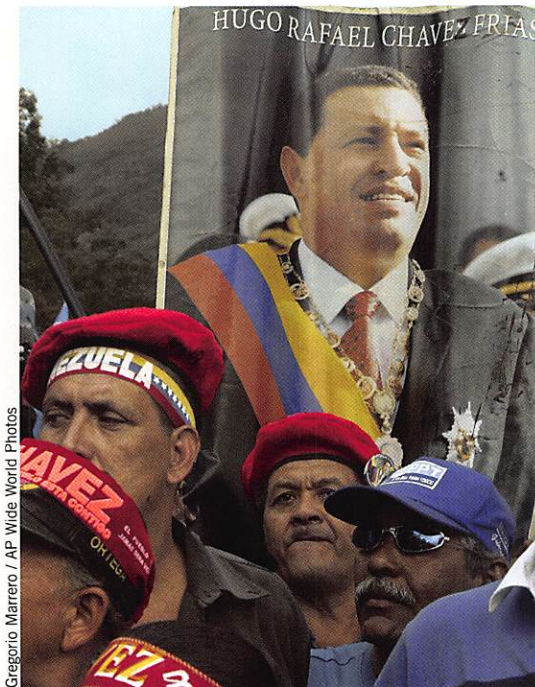


**1953-2002—the first coup to the last  
Massacre in Jenin  
Pakistan's spy agencies  
CIA infiltrating the academy  
Israel's media flak attacks**

USA \$5.95 CAN \$8.95







**Celebrating May Day 2002 in Caracas, Venezuela.**

Gregorio Marrero / AP Wide World Photos

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**Cover:** February, 2002. Guantanamo Naval Base. U.S. soldiers return a "detainee" to his cell following "interrogation." The Bush II administration is abandoning international agreements at breakneck speed. The Convention Against Torture is one of them. Credit: Marc Serota/Getty Images.

### Back Cover:

Above: Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq, *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year, 1952: deposed by the CIA, 1953.

Below: May Day parade, 2002, Caracas, Venezuela. Credit: Jesus Ochoa/AP Wide World Photos.

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# Strangling the Messengers

## PALESTINE & THE HIGH PRICE OF TRUTH-TELLING

Dennis Bernstein

The word is out: Any U.S. journalist, columnist, editor, college professor, student-activist, public official or clergy member who dares to speak critically of Israel or accurately report the brutalities of its illegal occupation will be vilified as an anti-Semite by the well-oiled Israeli lobby and its supporters. And any who dare speak truth about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict aren't simply vilified: Many have been threatened with death, some have been fired from their jobs; others' families have been driven from their homes. Every effort is made to silence these voices and suppress discussion of what Israel is actually doing to the Palestinian people.

Israel's defenders have a special vengeance for Jews who don't fall in line behind Sharon's scorched earth policy because they give the lie to the charge that Israel's critics are simply anti-Semites. Adam Shapiro, whose family is Jewish, is an International Solidarity Movement (ISM) activist who has been working in the West Bank for several years. As a member of Seeds of Peace, he works with Jews and Palestinians to create better understanding between them.

All hell broke loose on March 29, 2002, Good Friday, when Shapiro seized a rare opportunity on CNN to sketch out some of the savage realities of the Israeli occupation and remind people that it is heavily financed by U.S. tax dollars. Shapiro found himself trapped inside Yasser Arafat's compound after the Israelis had surrounded it and opened fire. "The Sharon government sometimes will apologize after it kills an innocent civilian," Shapiro told CNN from the besieged compound, "but it does not apologize for raping the cities and for going in and carrying out terrorist actions, going house to house much like the Nazis did in World War II, tearing holes through the walls, roughing up people, killing people, assassinating people. This is a terrorist government funded, by the way, by the United States government to the tune of \$3 billion a year in U.S. military aid. These are American helicopters and tanks and F-16s doing this damage to the Palestinian people."

The response to Shapiro's CNN appearance was swift and cruel. On April 1st, the *New York Post*, launched its opening salvo with a series of scathing attacks on Shapiro and his family. Overnight, Shapiro

*Israel's defenders have a special vengeance for Jews who don't fall in line behind Sharon's scorched earth policy because they give the lie to the charge that Israel's critics are simply anti-Semites.*

became the "Jewish Taliban," and his family was characterized in bold print as vile "traitors" to the Israeli cause. Pro-Israeli forces then widely distributed the Shapiros' home address, and his family was besieged by smears and threats. According to Shapiro, his parents—who publicly supported him—were forced to flee their home in Brooklyn and to seek police protection. "My father, who is a New York public high school teacher and a part time teacher at the Yeshiva [Jewish Day School], was informed that he was fired from his job at the Yeshiva, without any reason or grounds," Shapiro told me. Shapiro's brother Noah said, "...the threats my parents and I are receiving are severe death threats, calling for our death, calling for my brother's death, calling for him to burn in hell in a fiery death."

Then there's the case of Livi Regenbaum Saleh, a former reporter for the *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle*. She's convinced she lost her job for marrying a Palestinian and is now suing the paper for discrimination. Regenbaum's boss gave her stories "rave reviews" and "good com-

ments," until he found out that she'd married a Palestinian. "Then unfortunately, I got married." Regenbaum-Saleh told me in an April 30th interview, "and I told my boss my husband's name and he asked me how to spell it. The next day I was called into his boss's office and fired."

Rabbi Michael Lerner, the editor and founder of *Tikkun Magazine* and a biting critic of Israel's occupation, has also been repeatedly attacked and threatened. "I certainly get lots of death threats every single day and I get lots of disgusting attacks," says Lerner. "Americans are attacked for merely raising questions, or not being enthusiastic enough for Israeli policies. You hear Bush's line repeated a thousand times: 'If you're not with us, you're against us.'" Lerner says he knows rabbis and prominent members of the Jewish community who are terrified of speaking out and being vilified as traitors to Israel. "Even [Jewish] parents say this kind of stuff to their kids, if they ask 'what about the Palestinians, weren't they there first?'"

### TARGETING THE PRESS

Lerner notes that pro-Israeli forces have methodically gone after the media—leading many a news editor or TV producer to think twice before putting an Adam Shapiro or a Michael Lerner on to discuss Israel and Palestine. "These people," says Lerner, "call up the media day after day. When they hear a Michael Lerner getting quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, you know the editor, the assignment editor, the author of the article, everybody is going to be receiving 20–30 phone calls of complaints."

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dennis Bernstein is producer and host of the radio news magazine "Flashpoints," heard regularly on Pacifica Network stations KPFA in Berkeley and KPFT in Houston. He is an award-winning investigative reporter specializing in coverage of U.S. national security and human rights issues. Contact the author at: <[www.flashpoints.net](http://www.flashpoints.net)>

As the Jewish host of "Flashpoints," a daily news magazine on Pacifica Radio, I know just what Rabbi Lerner is talking about. We've reported extensively on the punishing cruelties and apartheid character of Israel's actions in the West Bank and Gaza, including its program of ethnically purging the Palestinian population. And for this reporting, we have been viciously attacked.

Here's a sample. I received the following e-mail after noting that my grandfather was a revered Orthodox Rabbi of international prominence. "Dennis spare us this crap about your family. If your grandfather knew that you—Dennis the homosexual—was slandering Israel and the Jewish community in the U.S. daily on KPFA [he wouldn't support you]...Jewish blood is on your hands; you are known as anti-Semite by the Jewish community in Berkeley."

Of course, labeling me anti-Semitic is about as accurate as Bush's Orwellian characterization of Sharon as a "man of peace" at the height of the Jenin onslaught. My grandfather not only wrote and interpreted prayers and blessed Matzo (his name appeared on the Matzo boxes), but I am told by my mother that he also helped rescue Jews from pre-war Nazi Germany. When my mother was a teenager, her job was to help those he brought to the U.S. get their papers and find places to live. My uncle, the late Dr. Leo Pfeffer, was special counsel to the American Jewish Congress and a leading constitutional authority on the separation of church and state.

But this history matters little to Israel's unquestioning defenders. They are simply out to quash on-the-ground, truthful coverage from Occupied Palestine. And the more blatant and extreme Israel's atrocities, the greater their frenzied determination to suppress coverage of it.

During Israel's March and April invasion of the West Bank, "Flashpoints" did over 100 interviews with people on the scene. We spoke with people inside Yasser Arafat's compound, talked with people in Jenin while Israeli tanks were rolling in, and spoke daily with those inside Bethlehem's besieged Church of the Nativity. These interviews made it possible for us to paint a picture of what was really going on, in contrast to the mainstream media's pro-Israel bias and its refusal to expose the full extent of Israel's scorched earth policy. Invariably, after these reports, I received e-mail and phone call attacks far more vicious and hateful than any I've received in 20 years of reporting. Some were quite personal and specific, and clearly meant to spook me and derail my

work. The e-mail attacks were most vicious after Israel had carried out or was about to carry out a particularly violent operation—

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*Many people here are buried under the rubble, but that rubble is not simply the rubble of a house that was destroyed. It's rubble created by bulldozers that have turned over the earth...*

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such as the assault on and collective punishment of civilians in the Jenin refugee camp.

One particularly troubling account came from Chivvis Moore, an American teacher at Birzeit University in Ramallah, who managed to get into the Jenin camp just after it had been ravaged by Israeli tanks and U.S.-made Apache attack helicopters. "There are dead bodies and the smell of dead bodies throughout the camp," Moore reported. "I have seen people who were burned to death after their houses had missiles dropped on them or some kind of explosive thrown through the walls. These people are burned sometimes down to the skeleton. Many people here are buried under the rubble, but that rubble is not simply the rubble of a house that was crashed down, that was destroyed. It's rubble created by bulldozers that came after the destruction and that have turned over the earth so that now we found one foot in one place and one foot in another place six yards away from one another in a way that would probably not have occurred had it just been a death caused by the falling of a house."

Immediately after Moore's report "AdolfHitler@ss.org" e-mailed me: "You mother-f...ing-self-hating Jewish piece of shit. Hitler killed the wrong Jews. He should have killed your parents, so a piece of Jewish shit like you would not have been born. God willing, Arab terrorists will cut you to pieces Daniel Pearl style, AMEN!!!"

Homicidebomber@killajew.org added: "Dennis, keep up the good work. It gives me more power to commit more Passover massacres. Thank you!!!" After an especially

compelling interview with Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi, I received the following gem from "terror@plo.gov": "Thanks for your support. God willing we will kill all the f...ing Jews in the world." And soon after *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl was killed and savagely beheaded, I began to receive e-mails that purported to be from "danielpearl@wsj.com," such as: "A good Jew like me is dead, headless and cut to pieces...a mother f...ing asshole like you lives in Luxury in Berkeley. What the f... is wrong with this picture?"

Israel and its supporters strike hardest at those whose work reaches the widest audiences. There is perhaps no other journalist in the West who more vividly conveys the realities of Israel's actions than Robert Fisk, an award-winning reporter for the London *Independent*, based in Beirut, Lebanon. Fisk was recently threatened by none other than Hollywood heavyweight, John Malkovich.

In a May 14th column titled "Why does John Malkovich want to kill me?" Fisk writes, "In 26 years in the Middle East, I have never read so many vile and intimidating messages addressed to me. Many now demand my death. And last week, the Hollywood actor John Malkovich did just that, telling the Cambridge Union that he would like to shoot me. How, I ask myself, did it come to this? Slowly but surely, the hate has turned to incitement, the incitement into death threats, the walls of propriety and legality gradually pulled down so that a reporter can be abused, his family defamed, his beating at the hands of an angry crowd greeted with laughter and insults in the pages of an American newspaper, his life cheapened and made vulnerable by an actor who—without even saying why, says he wants to kill me. Much of this disgusting nonsense comes from men and women who say they are defending Israel," wrote Fisk. Fisk received a recent e-mail that proclaimed "Your mother was Eichmann's daughter." "My mother Peggy," he responded, "who died after a long battle with Parkinson's three and a half years ago, was in fact an RAF radio repair operator on Spitfires at the height of the Battle of Britain in 1940."

Unquestionably, such attacks are the work of an organized campaign, not a few independent crazies. Frank Rich, a columnist of Jewish descent for the *New York Times* and a strong supporter of Israel, wrote on May 11th that just about every major and mid-size news organization is now being accused of being pro-Palestinian simply for reporting some of Israel's most egregious attacks and carry-



ing some Palestinian perspectives. Rich notes, "just a partial list of those targeted by protesters for alleged pro-Palestinian bias includes, in addition to the *Times* and the *Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Miami Herald*, *Sacramento Bee*, 'Nightline': well, you get the idea...Even now the nation's foremost Jewish newspaper, the *Forward*, is fielding not just subscription cancellations but threats for accepting an ad for Jews Against the Occupation, according to its editor, J.J. Goldberg."

*Los Angeles Times* media writer David Shaw stated in an April 28th piece on the subject that "major Jewish organizations and other supporters of Israel in this country have increasingly bombarded newspapers in recent weeks with charges of biased reporting." According to Shaw, nearly 1,000 subscribers to the *Los Angeles Times* suspended home delivery for one day to protest what they called inaccurate reporting.

## BURYING KEY STORIES

Today, more than ever, the U.S. media are taking their marching orders from the Bush administration, and its coverage is largely shaped by the so-called "war on terror." And Israel and its supporters are waging an unrelenting campaign to cloak their actions in the rubric of "anti-terrorism," while suppressing coverage of the real impact and motivations of its "security" operations.

This is why stories about thousands of house demolitions—where Palestinian families are given 15 minutes to move out of houses they've lived in for generations and then the house and everything inside is reduced to rubble in a few terrifying seconds right before their eyes—are rarely seen.

When have we read coverage of settlers stoning Palestinian children on their way to school, or attacking them with dogs—Bull-Connor style—while Israeli soldiers stand by?

How often do stories run about the massive expansion of illegal settlements, or on how these settlements are used as IDF military outposts, and for jailing and interrogating illegally arrested Palestinians?

And what about exposure of the politics of water—the most vital resource in the Middle East—and how it is controlled and abused by settlers, while Palestinians are often left high and dry? And consider some of the stories suppressed or ignored by the mainstream media.

## STORIES TOO HOT TO HANDLE

The Jewish *Forward* was not attacked simply for accepting a few ads against Israel's occupation. It was attacked because on March 15th it published two explosive sto-

ries concerning Israeli spy rings in the U.S., and the withholding of evidence regarding the 9/11 attacks.

*None other than House Majority Leader Dick Armey (Rep.-Tex.) called for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, which is now being widely talked about in Israel, where it is euphemistically called "transfer."*

In one story, the *Forward* reported that two out of the five Israeli "moving men" arrested in New Jersey eight hours after the Twin Towers attacks were Mossad agents. They had been arrested after witnesses reported a group of men were "acting strangely" as they watched Manhattan's Twin Towers burn from the roof of a New Jersey warehouse. The paper quoted a former high-ranking intelligence official that "Urban Moving Systems [the moving company for which the arrested men were working] was a front for the Mossad and operatives employed by it."

A number of potentially incriminating items were found at the time of the arrests—some in the men's possession, some in the moving van they were driving. "In addition to their strange behavior... suspicions were compounded when... \$4,000 in cash were found in the van. Moreover, one man carried two passports and another had fresh pictures of the men standing with the smoldering wreckage of the World Trade Center in the background."

In a separate story, the *Forward* reported on an alleged network of Israeli spies posing as art students and collectors. According to the New York-based weekly, "...a preliminary DEA report stated that more than 100 were arrested, mostly in California, Florida and Texas...The report said they tried to penetrate several government facilities, including the Tinker Air Base in Oklahoma City where AWACS surveillance planes and many B-1 bombers are repaired. The draft report allegedly states that most of the students questioned acknowledged serving in military intelligence, electronic-signals intercept-

tion or explosive-ordnance units.

"The news picked up steam after it was relayed and amplified by *Le Monde*," notes the *Forward*:

*In its own reporting, Le Monde added that Israeli spies may have been trailing Al Qaeda members in the United States without informing Washington. Le Monde noted that more than one-third of the Israelis under investigation lived in Florida, which served as a temporary home base to at least 10 of the 19 hijackers in the September 11 attacks. Those elements, Le Monde wrote, support 'the thesis according to which Israel did not share with the U.S. all the elements it had about the planning of the September 11 attacks.'*

Where might all this lead if a major news organization devoted serious resources to following the trail?

Then there is the explosive revelation that the U.S. military was in Israel during the height of the Jenin attacks to learn something about contemporary urban bulldozer warfare and house to house searches.

## U.S. MILITARY IN JENIN

In its May 31 edition, the *Marine Corps Times*, a weekly that serves soldiers and their families, reported that "...while Israeli forces were engaged in what many termed a brutal—some even say criminal—campaign to crush Palestinian militants and terrorist cells in West Bank towns, U.S. military officials were in Israel seeing what they could learn from that urban fight.

It is not yet clear whether Pentagon representatives were on the scene in Jenin, but the fact that they were nearby taking notes puts the lie to any notion that the U.S. is a neutral party. That this went unreported in the U.S. press is astounding.

Just weeks after the atrocities in Jenin, a senior Israeli Defense Force intelligence officer visited the United States to watch U.S. Marines experiment with new urban-warfare tactics. The *Marine Corps Times* quoted Marine Lt. Col. Dave Booth, who oversees the Marine Corps-Israeli Defense Force exchanges: *We're interested in what they're developing, especially since Sept. 11. We're interested in their past experience in fighting terrorism. So there's a lot of things we could learn from them.*

It speaks volumes about U.S. media coverage that such stories are rarely reported—and that Congress's allocation of an additional \$200 million in aid to Israel following its bloody attack on Jenin goes unquestioned. Meanwhile, right-wing politicians and columnists, along with Israeli spokespeople and lobbyists, are regularly given a forum to ruminate on solutions to Israel's "Palestinian problem,"

ranging from the mass murder of the families of suspected militants and suicide bombers to the pros and cons of assassinating Yasser Arafat. None other than House Majority Leader Dick Armey (Rep.-Tex.) called for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, which is now being widely talked about in Israel, where it is euphemistically called "transfer."<sup>1</sup>

In this atmosphere, the unthinkable becomes totally acceptable. Consider the following: Attorney Nathan Lewin is an outspoken supporter of Israel's clenched fist policies against Palestinians and an adjunct professor at Columbia University. Lewin suggested in a recent article for the on-line 'zine, *Sh'ma*, that Israel not only target militants, but their families as well. Lewin writes that since most "terrorists" have "closely knit" families...*what if Israel and the United States announced that henceforth the perpetrators of all suicide attacks would be treated as if they had brought their parents and brothers and sisters with them to the site of the explosion? Suicide killers should know that they will take the lives of not only themselves and the many people they don't know... but also the lives of their parents, brothers, and sisters.*

Despite the vicious tactics of the Israeli lobby, Palestinians on the ground and their supporters in the U.S. say they have no intention of backing down. Many in the International Solidarity Movement see themselves as carrying on the civil rights traditions of the 1960s or following in the footsteps of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, whose members went to Spain to fight Franco's fascists in the 1930s. They say they will not be intimidated by Israel or its

bullying supporters and will stand up for justice. They're organizing a "Freedom Summer," modeled after the civil rights movement's Freedom Summer organizing in the South during the 1960s.

"I will stand against this brutal occupation until they put me in the ground," says Barbara Lubin, founder of the Middle East Children's Alliance, which supports the building of cultural centers, clinics, and playgrounds in occupied Palestine. "And every time the Israelis blow up a playground or center or ransack a clinic, I'll be back there rebuilding it with my bare hands if I have to."

For every e-mail I receive threatening me for my Palestine coverage, I receive five others in support. They come from across the spectrum—from Holocaust survivors, from devout Muslims, and from Jews; from people of different ages, nationalities, and political perspectives. One Ph.D. candidate at the University of California, Santa Cruz, wrote "Dear Dennis, I don't know how to thank you...I have cried every day, and been enraged, over the horrendous reports from the West Bank."

One young woman wrote that "Flashpoints" inspired her to activism. *Yours is the voice I turn to each day to find caring, unyielding truth. I am frightened and outraged by the U.S. government's stance regarding the invasion and destruction of Palestine. I am equally disturbed by the distortion and annihilating silence in the newspapers and other media I have surveyed outside of KPFA. I have been shaken out of my inactive stupor by your urgency. My baby steps in activism, while small, are dedicated to you and all those whom you love and support each day.*

One Muslim wrote: *After I heard you for the first time on the radio, you signed off and I turned to my husband and said, did he say Bernstein? Is he Jewish? I commend you for building bridges between the Muslim faith and yours, and giving me hope that there are more people like you and that someday we Jews, Muslims, Christians can live in peaceful co-existence.*

One "disaffected Jew" shared his letter to the April 12, 2002, edition of the *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*:

*The moral high ground held by Jews as the premier victims of atrocities has forever been bulldozed by Sharon and his storm-troopers' fantasies that a civilian population can be bludgeoned into submission are simplistic, not to mention not worthy of Jews. Sharon's brutality cannot succeed. Palestinians will only resist more, as they have little left to lose. Israel will not have peace until its right wing is forced to give back the Occupied Territories. American Jews would be wise to pressure Israel to pull back. This is no time for uncritical support.*

Despite the best efforts of Israel and its U.S. shock troops, many more eyes are being opened to Israel's brutality, and many, many people are questioning just what is going on in the Middle East—why are the Palestinian people resisting so desperately, and just what role is the U.S. really playing in the region?

## NOTES

1. For more on the Israeli plan of "transfer," see: *CovertAction Quarterly*, No. 72, Spring 2002.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS

*Do you know how I held out for 75 hours? I didn't get off the tractor. I had no problem of fatigue, because I drank whisky all the time. I had a bottle in the tractor at all times. I had put them in my bag in advance... I didn't give a damn about demolishing their houses... I had no mercy for anybody. I would erase anyone with the D-9... I wanted to destroy everything. I begged the officers, over the radio, to let me knock it all down; from top to bottom. To level everything... For three days, I just destroyed and destroyed. The whole area... They were warned by loudspeaker to get out of the house before I come, but I gave no one a chance. I didn't wait. I didn't give one blow, and wait for them to come out. I would just ram the house with full power, to bring it down as fast as possible... I didn't give a damn about the Palestinians... It was all under orders. Many people were inside houses we started to demolish. They would come out of the houses we were working on. I didn't see, with my own eyes, people dying under the blade of the D-9, and I didn't see houses falling down on live people. But if there were any, I wouldn't care at all. I am sure people died inside these houses, but it was difficult to see... I found joy with every house that came down, because I knew they didn't mind dying, but they cared for their homes. If you knocked down a house, you buried 40 or 50 people for generations.*

—Interview with Moshe Nissim, nicknamed "Kurdi Bear 1," published in *Yediot Aharonot*, May 31, 2002.



# Torture

## STATE TERRORISM vs. DEMOCRACY

Orlando Tizon

THE FEELING OF BEING PERMANENTLY INJURED AND CHANGED... ESPECIALLY THE FEELING OF BEING PERMANENTLY CHANGED, ARE PART OF THE CONTEMPORARY TORTURER'S OBJECTIVE: TO DESTROY THE VICTIM'S HUMANITY THROUGH A SYSTEMATIC INFLICTION OF SEVERE PAIN AND EXTREME PSYCHOLOGICAL HUMILIATION.

The United States is reportedly holding 536 prisoners at Guantanamo. Human rights organizations have expressed serious concern about the treatment of these prisoners, who are being held incommunicado and whose legal status floats in limbo.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the so-called war against "terrorism" has been used as an excuse for more repressive measures in the United States. On the international front, governments that have joined the "anti-terrorist" bandwagon have used the war to justify harsher methods, including torture on their own population, especially the opposition. Among the conspicuous examples are Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, Israel and Uzbekistan. At the center of the entire discussion is the issue of torture. In the United States a growing number from the media, academe, the legal profession and government have voiced the idea of legalizing some form of torture on suspects who refuse to cooperate with authorities. The reason proffered is that this may be the only way to save many lives.<sup>2</sup>

The trend has disturbed survivors of torture and worried many human rights advocates. In late October 2001, members of the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT), representing health professionals caring for survivors of torture throughout the world, gathered at the annual Council meeting on the Greek island of Syros. At the conclusion of the four-day conference, the group published the Syros Declaration. The Declaration condemns "the proposed and actual use of torture to extract information from detainees and alleged terrorists" as well as signs that the war was being used by some governments to justify the resort to more repressive methods of social and political control.

Modern torture is designed to destroy the personality of the individual and by extension the community. Ultimately, it is a strategy designed to defeat democratic aspirations at the root, which makes it a tool of choice for unpopular regimes around the world.

As defined by the 1987 UN Convention Against Torture, torture is "an act by which severe pain or suffering whether physical or mental is intentionally inflicted on a person," to obtain information or a confession, punish, intimidate or coerce "or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind." The Convention is concerned with torture by government agents or those with official sanction. Unfortunately, this definition excludes state and religiously sanctioned forms of torture and acts committed by those not in a position of authority, such as paramilitary groups. The Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture defines torture more broadly as "the use of methods upon a person intended to obliterate the personality of the victim or to diminish his physical or mental capacities, even if they do not cause physical or mental anguish."<sup>3</sup>

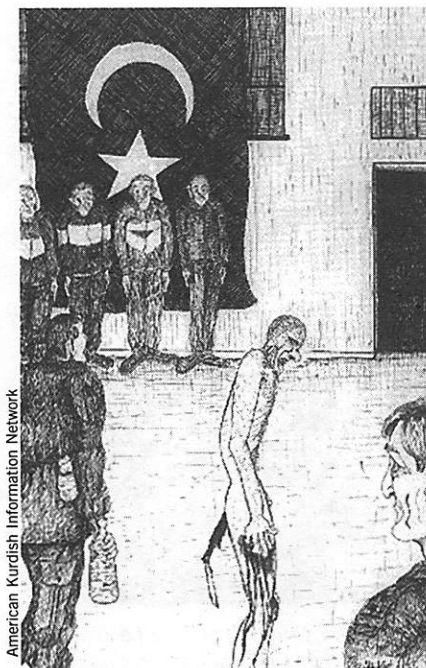
A survivor of torture from Africa describes his experience: "It is the most dreadful and unforgettable experience in my life. There is nothing worse than torturing and subjecting a helpless person under one's control to unbearable pain." A survivor from another country writes: "To this day, I feel the pain and suffering from this inhuman and barbaric treatment that was meted out to me for my belief and for the freedom of my people." It is not unusual for a person being tortured to beg the torturers to kill her. Another survivor says: "Only the person who has been tortured

can tell how painful it is. The people who torture you don't let you die and they don't let you be alive."<sup>4</sup>

Today the methods that torturers use are highly sophisticated, applying the latest scientific findings and technology—a far cry from the wheel and the rack of medieval times. Current methods efficiently cause pain while keeping the victim alive and avoiding visible body marks. Witness the following instructions: "The interrogator should use his power over the resistant subject's physical environment to disrupt patterns of response, not to create them. Meals and sleep granted irregularly, in more than abundance or less than adequacy, the shifts occurring on no discernible time pattern will normally disorient an interrogatee and sap his will to resist more effectively than a sustained deprivation leading to debility." Torturers today use a combination of methods to terrorize and break down the individual, including physical, psychological and sexual.

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

*Orlando Tizon, Ph.D., was arrested on September 21, 1982 in Davao City, Philippines, for defending the human rights of the rural poor. For three weeks he was kept blindfolded and incommunicado. He endured beatings, interrogations, mock execution and solitary confinement during his imprisonment. He was released in April of 1986. Shortly thereafter, he immigrated to the U.S. where he received treatment and completed a doctorate in sociology. He is assistant director of the Torture Abolition and Survivors Support Coalition (TASSC) in Washington, D.C.*



**Drawing by a Kurd reflecting his experiences inside a Turkish prison. "A truncheon with a string on the handle is inserted into the prisoner's anus. He is then called 'Kurd with a tail.'" Not unlike the torture of Abner Louima in a New York City police precinct in August 1997.**

## EFFECTS OF TORTURE

The effects of torture are complex. While wounds, bruises and broken bones heal over time, the deeper psychological trauma often last for a lifetime. Anxiety, depression, insomnia, nightmares, memory difficulties, social withdrawal, irritability, feelings of helplessness, affective numbing, flashbacks, shame, mistrust, ruminations, unexplained pain, the feeling of being permanently injured and changed, many medical complaints, and digestive and sexual difficulties, are some of the most common symptoms. All these, especially the feeling of being permanently changed, are part of the contemporary torturer's objective: to destroy the victim's humanity through a systematic infliction of severe pain and extreme psychological humiliation.

Survivors of torture frequently have difficulties in trusting themselves and others and in building relationships. A number of therapists hold that disempowerment and disconnection from others are the core experiences of the psychological trauma of torture, which are expressed through depression, fear, feelings of isolation and powerlessness. Thus torture affects not only the individual, but the family and the entire community.

Amnesty International's medical groups discovered three things after collecting and analyzing the findings of twenty-five years

of work with survivors of torture:

1. Torture continued to persecute the survivors many years later with its physical and mental sequelae.

2. In modern times it is not aimed primarily at the extraction of information, as commonly portrayed in films. Its real aim is to break down the victim's personality and identity.

3. Torture is aimed at strong personalities, people who have stood up against repressive regimes. Breaking down these persons effectively cows the rest of the community into silence.

In the twenty-first century the practice of torture persists and is widespread. According to human rights groups, it is practiced by state officials in more than 150 countries, and is widespread in more than half. Ironically, following the anti-monarchical revolution of 1979 in Iran, which overthrew the U.S.-installed regime of the Shah, the new Islamic Republic soon led the world in both innovation and use of torture. "According to Amnesty International, the United Nations, and Human Rights Watch, in a world in which prison brutality was rampant, Iran outdid most other countries in its systematic use of physical torture."<sup>5</sup>

Torture as practiced today is primarily for the purpose of maintaining unpopular governments in power. "We therefore refer to torture as an instrument of power. Our research has shown that the torturers who work for governments try to break down the victims' identity, and this affects the family and the society as well." Thus the main purpose of torture is not to extract a confession but to break the individual's humanity and make an example of the victim before the community and thereby suppress all political opposition. Torture is the ultimate weapon for terrorizing and controlling the individual human being and the community. When members of a community are made powerless and lose trust in themselves and in one another, building a democratic community is rendered extremely difficult and complex. Torture then is an instrument to destroy democratic aspirations and actions, as history has clearly shown.

## TORTURE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

"No one shall be subjected to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment," Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 5; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 7. This was reaffirmed by the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT). The pro-

hibition against torture is one of the most absolute in international law, admitting of no exceptions. CAT Article 2.2 states: "No exceptional circumstances whatsoever, whether a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency, may be invoked as a justification of torture." Furthermore, the Convention against Torture, Article 3.1, states that: "No State Party shall expel, return ("refouler") or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture."

124 countries have signed the Convention against Torture and 147 the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The United States ratified the Convention Against Torture in October 1994 which went into force for the United States on November 20, 1994. As a party to the Convention against Torture, the United States has to submit periodic reports regarding its compliance with CAT to the Committee against Torture of the UN.

In 1999 the United States submitted an Initial Report to the Committee against Torture. The Committee responded in May 2000 by commending among other things the extensive legal protection against torture and efforts of U.S. authorities to achieve transparency of its institutions and practices. The Committee, however, expressed concern at certain failures to incorporate the terms of CAT into U.S. law.

The Committee expressed concern about the use of stun belts and restraint chairs as methods of restraining those in custody; the "excessively harsh regime" in U.S. supermax prisons; allegations of sexual assault on female prisoners by corrections officers and the degrading conditions under which female prisoners are held; the number of cases of police ill-treatment of civilians and by prison guards, much of which "seems to be based on race discrimination"; children held with adults in U.S. prisons and juvenile offenders held on death row.

The Committee recommended that the U.S. enact a federal crime of torture consistent with Article 1 of CAT and withdraw its "reservations, declarations and understandings" regarding the treaty; abolish the use of stun belts and restraint chairs against people in custody; take steps so that those who violate the Convention are prosecuted and punished, especially those who are motivated by discrimination or sexual gratification; consider declaring in favor of Article 22 of CAT which would recognize the competence of the Committee to consider communications from individu-



## THE ROLE OF THE CIA IN THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TORTURE TECHNIQUES AND THE TRAINING OF TORTURERS IS WELL-DOCUMENTED...

als who claim that their rights under the treaty have been violated; ensure that minors are not held in prison with the regular prison population.

Article 22 is an important measure to ensure that states observe their obligations. But before the UN Committee can act on an individual's communication, the State Party should have recognized the competence of the Committee and the individual should have exhausted all local proceedings. In April 2000, 40 countries had recognized the competence of the Committee out of 129 that have signed or ratified the Convention.

Despite international legislation the use of torture continues to expand today, mainly because of the globalization of torture through trade, the free movement of torturers and technology, and the ineffectiveness of international legal sanctions.

### GLOBAL TORTURE TRADE

Torturers and governments who employ them are increasingly using sophisticated instruments and the torture trade is growing, Amnesty International reported last year. The instruments range from high voltage electric shock stun weapons, chemical crowd control devices and old-style restraint devices. Amnesty International reports that the global trade in high voltage electro-shock batons, shields, stun guns and stun belts has been growing in the 1990s. This includes "tasers" which can shoot fishhook darts on wires into victims from 30 feet away. When the dart hits the victim's body, a high voltage current is released through the nervous system incapacitating the person sometimes for as long as 15 minutes. Electric stun belts are strapped to prisoners and operated by remote control, sending up to 50,000 volts through the prisoner's kidneys for up to eight seconds. Electro-shock technology began in the United States and has spread to Asia, Europe and South Africa. In the 1970s there were only two companies known to market these weapons, there are now over 150 worldwide operating in 22 countries manufacturing or marketing them. Since there are no stringent controls to ensure that these instruments are not

used for torture, human rights organizations have asked governments to ban their export.

More than 80 U.S. companies were involved in the manufacture, marketing and export of equipment used to torture over the last decade, more than any other country. Amnesty International released its analysis of Department of Commerce data on \$97 million in U.S. export licenses granted since 1997 for "crowd control equipment," a category that includes electroshock weapons and restraints. The analysis furthermore revealed that the major recipients of these exports were Saudi Arabia, Russia, Taiwan, Brazil, Israel, and Egypt, all countries known to use these instruments for torture. The instruments were also exported to Sweden and Switzerland where the possession of electroshock weapons is illegal.

A major factor in the global proliferation of torture is the worldwide expansion of its training to the military, security and police forces. Among the main providers of such training are the United States, China, France, Russia, and the UK. Much of this training is in secret and kept from the eyes of the public and legislatures of recipient countries. States, both donor and recipient, are careful to hide the details of this training, so that it is extremely difficult to find out what the training curriculum includes, or who the instructors and the students are.

Occasionally, as in the case of the School of the Americas, at Fort Benning, Georgia, information becomes publicly available, due to the untiring efforts of human rights activists. In September 1996, the U.S. Department of Defense released information that between 1982 and 1991, intelligence training manuals were used that advocated execution, torture, beatings and blackmail. The manuals written in Spanish were used to train thousands of police and military forces in Latin and Central America.

The role of the CIA in the research and development of torture techniques and the training of torturers is well-documented. In 1997, the CIA released two of its torture manuals under an FOIA request filed by the *Baltimore Sun*. The reports were titled "KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation—July 1963," and "Human Resources Exploitation Training Manual-1983." (*Baltimore Sun*, January 27-28, 1997)

Another example of the known involvement of U.S. agencies in torture is the case of Operation Condor which coordinated the military intelligence operations against opponents of the regimes of Augusto Pinochet of Chile, Alfredo



**Drawing by a Kurd reflecting his experiences inside a Turkish prison. "Prisoners are undressed, taken for fresh air and military drills. They are also beaten and tortured there."**

Stroessner of Paraguay, Jorge Videla of Argentina, Hugo Banzer of Bolivia led by former Secretary of State Kissinger and General Vernon Walters. Documents regarding the operations were discovered by Dr. Martin Almada, a Paraguayan lawyer who survived torture under the dictatorship of Stroessner.

An important factor in the spread of torture worldwide is the global movement of torturers. Each year thousands of immigrants, refugees and tourists flock to the United States. Yet U.S. officials and human rights groups know that mingled among them are many human rights offenders, including torturers and murderers, who find their way here and enjoy a good life in the United States. U.S. law provides no legal mechanisms for officials to remove known offenders or deny them entry into the U.S. The Center for Justice and Accountability in San Francisco has identified 15 alleged violators and is pushing for their prosecution in U.S. courts under the 1994 torture treaty. The organization has identified 60 human rights abusers living in the country and estimates that 7,000 have immigrated here. A well-known case that the CJA took up is the case against two former generals from El Salvador, Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, Director-General of the El Salvador National Guard and later Minister of Defense and Jose Guillermo Garcia, also a former Minister of Defense. The two were charged together in both cases. The two were sued in U.S. District Court in Florida by relatives of four American churchwomen raped and shot to death by Salvadoran troops in 1980. Four survivors of torture from El Salvador have also sued these former generals and are waiting for their case to be scheduled by a Florida court. The recently released PBS documentary "Justice and the Generals" is highly recommended.

I personally know of several military

and police officers with known human rights abuse records who served the regime of Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines and immigrated to the United States after the fall of the Marcos regime. Some of them came armed with diplomatic passports.

## IMPUNITY AND PREVENTION

The stark reality is that, until recently, torturers from countries or regimes toward which Washington is favorably disposed have enjoyed an unofficial grant of immunity for their crimes. Until torturers and their sponsors are held accountable, there is little the international community can do to abolish the practice. One problem is the major contradiction in the implementation of the Convention Against Torture, that "while it is left to the contracting states to implement the Convention, torture is normally practiced with the sanction of the government and by those at the apex of political power." Hence, the impunity of torturers and the relative ineffectiveness of international legal sanctions.

The UN Commission on Human Rights established an open-ended working group to draft an Optional Protocol to CAT. The Protocol would establish a global system of inspection and allow the UN Committee against Torture to carry out regular, independent, impartial and unrestricted visits to all places in those countries ratifying the Protocol where torture or ill-treatment is suspected. This visiting mechanism is seen as a means to prevent torture and other forms of ill-treatment. Most governments have resisted the idea of an international visiting mechanism for fear that this would infringe on their national sovereignty and interfere with their own criminal justice system.<sup>6</sup>

Another attempt to strengthen international legal sanctions is the establishment of the International Criminal Court that would have jurisdiction over genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Judge Baltazar Garzon who sought the extradition of former Chilean dictator Pinochet emphasized that the court will not try countries but individuals. The United States was one of seven countries, including China and Israel voting "no" when 120 countries met in Rome in June 1998 to approve a statute creating the International Criminal Court. On April 11, 2002, sixty-six nations ratified the treaty, formally creating the court. The countries ratifying the treaty include Britain, France, Germany and Canada. India and China have not signed the treaty, Russia signed but did not ratify it. The Bush administration has refused to support the ICC, reasoning that since such a court would not

be accountable to any review body, it would hold unchecked power, able to prosecute U.S. citizens and officials. Among Bush administration officials, Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has especially expressed the strongest opposition to the treaty on the grounds that its flaws would make it more difficult for U.S. military involvement in the world at a time when it is carrying on a war against "terrorism."<sup>7</sup>

A loophole that certain countries have used to get around the Convention Against Torture is the "outsourcing" of torture, either by extraditing suspects to friendly countries where they can be tortured without causing difficulties for the authorities, or by accepting suspects who have been made to confess under torture in other countries. A recent case is that of Abdul Hakim Murad who was turned over to American authorities after he confessed under torture by Philippine interrogators to blowing up a local airliner.<sup>8</sup> The U.S. has also bypassed extradition procedures and legal formalities by releasing suspects to countries whose intelligence services have close ties to the CIA and routinely practice torture, in order to avoid the charge of practicing torture.<sup>9</sup> U.S. authorities make an exception to the CAT prohibition of extraditing suspects to countries where they will be tortured. If a receiving country gives "diplomatic assurances" that the person will not be tortured, this is enough for the U.S. to extradite the person.<sup>10</sup>

Another disturbing event is the CIA relaxation of 1995 Congressionally-imposed restrictions that limit the recruitment of agents with unsavory backgrounds. All these create more obstacles to the defense of human rights and will make the struggle to end torture more difficult.

## TREATING SURVIVORS

A final issue that I must address concerns the treatment and rehabilitation of survivors of torture. The treatment of survivors of torture is fairly recent, starting in the 1970s with Danish initiatives and ideas. The National Consortium of Torture Treatment Programs estimates that there are about 500,000 survivors of torture now residing in the United States.

Mental health professionals more and more realize the importance of the issue of torture and the need to understand it. They have seen that people can substantially recover from its effects. A recent important development in the research and treatment of torture trauma is the understanding that survivors of torture are not just subjects to be observed, evaluated and treated. Survivors must be included in the evaluation and analyses for meaningful research

and must actively participate in their own treatment for this to be successful.

In the summer of 1998 a small group of survivors of torture met to commemorate the UN International Day in Support of Torture Victims and Survivors on June 26. This was the beginning of Torture Abolition and Survivors Support Coalition (TASSC). Last year it changed its name to TASSC International. It is the only international organization founded by and for survivors and is dedicated to end the practice of torture wherever it occurs.

The organization operates independently of any political ideology, government, economic interest or religious creed and is guided by two principles: that torture is a crime against humanity and that survivors are the strongest and most effective voice in the campaign to end the practice of torture. Survivors in TASSC International build communities of healing among survivors and their immediate family members and work to influence U.S. and international policy related to torture by advocacy and collective action with other groups and individuals. They believe that the most effective way to build a world where future generations will live free of the plague of torture is to work for its prevention by changing public policy, domestic and international, with the help of an informed public. Ending torture wherever it is practiced is a precondition to ensuring life in a free and democratic world for all.

## NOTES

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## FURTHER READING

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# Interview: Amnesty on Jenin

DENNIS BERNSTEIN AND DR. FRANCIS BOYLE  
DISCUSS THE POLITICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS



Voices in the Wilderness

Jenin, May 2002. View from the doorstep of a young Palestinian medical relief worker. Her fiancé was killed in the fighting. Standing in her doorway looking in disbelief over the destruction, we asked if there had been a road there. "No," she replied, "just homes." —Jeff Guntzel, VITW

## EDITOR'S NOTE

It has often been said that Amnesty International's agenda tends to fit nicely with the political needs of the United States and Great Britain. Around the world, supporters of the Nicaraguan people's struggle for self-determination were outraged by the *timing* of a 1986 Amnesty report critical of the Sandinista government, which helped Reagan push another Contra Aid appropriation through a reluctant congress, at exactly the moment when the anti-Contra movement was beginning to get serious political traction.

With regard to South Africa's apartheid regime, AI was critical of the human rights record of the South African government. However, as you will see below, AI never condemned apartheid *per se*. By the time Amnesty endorsed the Hill & Knowlton nursery tale concerning Kuwaiti infants pulled from incubators by Iraqi soldiers, many oth-

erwise sympathetic observers of Amnesty's work became increasingly alarmed.

More than a decade of grassroots organizing within Amnesty's membership base finally succeeded just two years ago in moving the organization to take a position critical of the genocidal sanctions against the people of Iraq, sanctions which have killed approximately a million and a half Iraqis, one third of them children. According to Dr. Boyle, this was political, and it clearly served the interest of the U.S. and Britain, the two governments on the Security Council preventing the lifting of the sanctions.

A recent search of the internet shows that AI Venezuela very quickly took up the U.S. line by charging President Chavez with crimes against humanity for the bloodshed during the recent failed coup attempt against his administration.

Amnesty's performance on the April massacre at Jenin is another blot on its frequently laudable record. As our readers are aware, the United Nations attempted to investigate the Jenin massacre, but was prevented from doing so by Sharon and Bush. The announcement on May 3 by Human Rights Watch of "no massacre at Jenin" effectively killed the story, although there was a lot of argument about what constitutes a massacre. No such arguments were heard when a suicide bomber turned a Passover dinner into a tragedy.

This magazine will cover the topic of Human Rights Watch in a future issue. For this issue, we were fortunate to be forwarded the transcript of a June 13th interview with Dr. Francis A. Boyle, professor of International Law and former board member of AI. What follows is a shortened version of the transcript.

**T**here has been much criticism of late about the role of Western Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in international politics. Following the massacre in Jenin, a less-than-vigorous response from Western NGOs helped make it possible for Sharon to delay and finally derail a UN investigation. One NGO which seems to enjoy a kind of teflon immunity to criticism, particularly regarding the illegal Israeli occupation of Palestine, is Amnesty International, a human rights organization so big and so influential that its reports and investigations are cited everywhere, including the halls of Congress. Yet in Jenin, its lackluster investigation—a few initial press releases, compared to a timely fifty page report by the much smaller Human Rights Watch—only added to the suffering there. It is indeed troubling, that while respected forensic pathologist, Dr. Derrick Pounder, who works with AI, reported, after a visit to Jenin, that there was a “prima facie case for war crimes,” Amnesty didn’t follow up. Without question, Amnesty does a great deal of crucial work, which is relied on by journalists and activists around the world. However, Amnesty has made huge mistakes in the Middle East and these cannot be overlooked in any fair and balanced assessment of Amnesty’s role in international politics. For instance, as you will see below, as the first Bush administration was maneuvering the nation toward war in Iraq, Amnesty played a crucial role in preparing U.S. and international public opinion by lending credence to the notorious Hill & Knowlton “Kuwaiti dead babies” scam. To shed light on the question of why Amnesty’s record seems to be so uneven, I interviewed longtime human rights activist and International Law scholar Francis Boyle. Boyle has a long and shaky relationship with Amnesty. While serving on the board of Amnesty USA in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Boyle repeatedly tried to get the group to investigate the brutal Israeli treatment of Palestinians with little success. —Dennis Bernstein

**Dennis Bernstein:** We are going to be talking about the restrictions and hesitations that seem to be coming out of Amnesty International, and I think before we get into the substance of the questions, why don’t you just talk a little bit about your own background and your experience with Amnesty International over the years.

**Francis Boyle:** I got very actively involved in 1982. At that time I was leading the legal charge against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and I tried very hard to get Amnesty International USA to do something.

You had massive death and destruction, carnage, ultimately 20,000 people in Lebanon were pretty much exterminated. And Amnesty International USA refused to do anything at all because of the pro-Israel bias that concerns that organization. And finally, I remember when having given up getting them to do anything, calling the late Irish Nobel Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride, a friend of mine, at his home in Dublin, and explaining to him the situation and asking him to intervene with Amnesty International in London at the headquarters to get them to do something.

And it was curious of course—they hadn’t done anything either. But Sean did place a call to the Amnesty secretary-general. He was on their international board, Sean was, at the time. And I think they put a half-researcher on it, which was pretty pathetic between you and me. And I think if you go back and read the Amnesty report for ’82, it’s pretty shameless given the death and destruction that was inflicted in Lebanon.

Amnesty was no worse than any other so-called human rights organization here in the United States at that time. None of them said or did absolutely anything at all about 20,000 dead Arabs in Lebanon except the American Friends Service

Committee. They put together a working group on Lebanon, asked me to join, I was involved. And they did put out a very courageous, hard-hitting report, spent a lot of time on it. It’s very objective, very thorough. They had people on the ground over there in some danger for their lives to get this information for us.

But Amnesty wouldn’t do anything. And eventually what happened—members of Amnesty knew of my efforts and were very upset that they refused to do anything about 20,000 dead Arabs in Lebanon. So they ran me and a group of others for the board of directors by a petition process, and we were all knocked off the ballot by pro-Israel members of the board. So everyone else asked me to represent them with Amnesty International, and I threatened a lawsuit on behalf of my colleagues that, if we were not returned to this ballot, I would invalidate all their elections. And not only did I threaten a lawsuit, I had to go out to New York to file the lawsuit. And finally, they settled on our terms on a Sunday afternoon before I was to file the lawsuit Monday morning.

I was elected to the board of directors in 1988. I spent four years on the Amnesty board for two terms and, you know, tried very hard to get them to do something on behalf of Lebanese and Palestinians, as well as many other issues. Amnesty is bad not just on Israel. I tried to get them to do more on Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, American Indians, a lot of other subjects that are not necessary to go into here. And then you know after four years on the board, I basically figured I had done enough and it was time to move on.

**DB:** Let’s talk about Amnesty International and the carnage at Jenin. I’m thinking specifically of Jenin, but generally speak-

ing, how does Amnesty International decide what to focus on and what to say and what not to say?

**FB:** Amnesty International is primarily motivated not by human rights but by publicity. Second comes money. Third comes getting more members. Fourth, internal turf battles. And then finally, human rights, genuine human rights concerns. To be sure, if you are dealing with a human rights situation in a country that is at odds with the United States or Britain, it gets an awful lot of attention, resources, man and womanpower, publicity, you name it, they can throw whatever they want at that. But if it’s dealing with violations of human rights by the United States, Britain, Israel, then it’s like pulling teeth to get them to really do something on the situation. They might, very reluctantly and after an enormous amount of internal fightings and battles and pressures, you name it. But you know, it’s not like the official enemies list.

Amnesty International sent three people out there and came back with nothing more than a news release dated April 22, saying well, we received credible evidence of serious human rights violations, and they came up with a list of eight. And that was it. It’s pretty shameless that that’s the best they could do. And indeed it seemed to me, given the way Amnesty works, this was a typical “CYA” [cover your ass] operation, which is, they knew they were going to have to do something on Jenin, so they did the least amount possible in order to cover themselves.

**DB:** So they did a preliminary report and very little follow-up.

**FB:** Well this is not even a preliminary report, Dennis. This is nothing more than a news release, it’s a press release. There is no preliminary report. As I said, I think more inves-



tigation must be done in Jenin. As you know, the United States government headed off the UN fact-finding commission.

Now we know in the massacre in Sabra and Shatila, certainly one of the best reports was by a very courageous Israeli journalist, Amnon Kapeliouk, and that was investigated ultimately by different organizations that got over there, one of whom was not Amnesty International. And eventually we did have a pretty good idea of exactly what happened at Sabra and Shatila.

Amnesty does not have any report. This is a press release, that's all they have. There's absolutely nothing there that you know you can really get your hands on. And again, my conclusion on this was that this was a typical "CYA" operation, that they knew various people were going to say to them, you know, 'What did you do on Jenin?' So they sent this team out. They

*...if you are dealing with a country at odds with the U.S. or Britain, it gets an awful lot of attention, resources, publicity, manpower, womanpower, you name it...*

came back with very little, put it on their web site and said, 'There, that's what we did on Jenin.'

**DB:** And of course it is troubling because their own people—for instance Dr. Derrick Pounder a forensic pathologist, whom I interviewed—have said there was a prima facie case for war crimes. And yet Amnesty did not follow up.

**FB:** Let me say one thing. In fairness to Amnesty International, after twenty years of not dealing with Israel, they finally are prepared to use the word "war crimes." They've done the best they can for the last twenty years to avoid using the term "war crimes" when it comes to Israel. They'll use euphemisms like "human rights violations" or "violations of international humanitarian law." If you're an expert, you know a violation of international humanitarian law is a war crime. But only recently, and with respect to Jenin, did they finally come out and use the word "war crime." But it's taken them about twenty years to get to that point with respect to Israel.

I understand there is some conflict here as to exactly what happened and why and

what were the circumstances, charges on both sides. I know that it is emotional for people on both sides with attachments to the different sides. But all I can say about Amnesty International is, well after twenty years, at least they use the word war crimes. I guess that's progress. Maybe twenty years from now, they might do something more. I really don't know.

**DB:** Well I want to talk to you now a little bit about the connections between the British and U.S. foreign policy circles and Amnesty International. Again, I'm talking in the context of Jenin. We now know, according to the *Marine Corps Times* (May 31, 2002) that the U.S. military was with the Israeli military. They were there as the Israeli military went into Jenin and went door to door and attacked with the helicopters, and they were there, they say, to

out any doubt at all. And this happened at, for example, Sabra and Shatila. Eventually, it did come out that the United States Embassy had been notified that a massacre was going on at Sabra and Shatila and, despite that, did nothing for 48 hours so that the massacre could be concluded before the U.S. Embassy said anything at all about it to the Israelis. And this despite the fact that Philip Habib [then U.S. Envoy to the Middle East] himself, on behalf of the United States government, had personally promised Arafat that if the PLO fighters abandoned the camps where they were protecting the innocent civilians, from the Christian Phalange, from outright massacres that the Phalange had said they were going to perpetrate, as well as [from] the Israeli Army, that the U.S. would guarantee their protection. And yet we knew,



Voices in the Wilderness

Jenin, May 2002. Camp residents, including many children, watched in a daze as loved ones and neighbors were buried in a mass grave dug in one family's garden. A man doused each body with a fragrant liquid to dampen the stench of the badly decomposed corpses.—Jeff Guntzel, VITW

study the way in which Israelis do this kind of urban action. So could you talk a little about Amnesty, its relationship to U.S. and British government, and how perhaps the relationship between the U.S. military and the Israeli military, particularly in working with them in Jenin, might have something to do with Amnesty's reluctance to thoroughly investigate what happened.

**FB:** Well of course we know the U.S. military is over there and has been over there, Special Forces and whatever, working with the Israelis. And we also know the whole place has been penetrated by the CIA. So clearly this raises the question of U.S. complicity in what happened at Jenin. Or it could be participation, I don't know. Again, I'm a lawyer, I try to be cautious and careful in my characterization. But certainly it raises the question of complicity with

the U.S. government knew for a fact, that the massacre was going on. Apparently they had an intelligence source there at the scene—we're not sure who it was—and they let it happen anyway.

So it would not surprise me if we were in a similar situation here. I'm not surprised at all that the United States government knew exactly what was going on. They very well might have coordinated, I don't know. But certainly that aspect needs to be investigated as well.

**DB:** Now, having said that about these connections between the U.S., British and Amnesty International foreign policy...

**FB:** Sure, you'll see a pretty good coincidence of the enemies that Amnesty International goes after and the interests of both the United States and the British governments. Let's take an older example—



**Jenin, May 2002. Hitan, age 20, digs through the rubble of her former home with her bare hands. She recovered her coat and several university textbooks. —Jeff Guntzel, VITW**

apartheid in South Africa under the former criminal regime in South Africa. Amnesty International refused adamantly to condemn apartheid in South Africa. Despite my best efforts while I was on the board, and other board members, they would not do it. They are the only human rights organization in the entire world to have refused to condemn apartheid in South Africa. Now they can give you some cock-and-bull theory about why they wouldn't do this. But the bottom line was that the biggest supporter, economic and political supporter of the criminal apartheid regime in South Africa was the British government, followed by the United States government. And so no matter how hard we tried, no matter what we did, they would not condemn apartheid in South Africa. Now I just mention that as one among many examples.

When I tried to work with the Amnesty International chapter down in Puerto Rico, they had invited me to go down there to speak—they're separate from AI USA—they invited me, I met them, they came to our convention, I worked with them. I helped get the AI USA general meeting to adopt two resolutions dealing with the human rights situation in Puerto Rico, as well as the deplorable condition of Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. jails. They then asked me down there to give the keynote address on the right of Puerto Rican political prisoners to be treated as prisoners of war. Amnesty International London and New York did everything humanly possible to sabotage and prevent and interfere with my trip to Puerto Rico,

and my ability to get up there and give that keynote address.

So again, on Israel, I could give you twenty years of what they've done to try to sabotage, interfere with, prevent, cover up on Israel. Of course the worst instance is well known, and that's the Kuwaiti dead babies report. I was on the Amnesty International USA board at that time. It was the late Fall of 1990 and, as you know, we were on the verge of going to war. There was going to be a debate coming up in the United States Congress and a vote. And at the end of November or so, mid-November, since I was a board member, I got a pre-publication copy of the Amnesty report on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. So I immediately read through this report and it was sloppy, it was inaccurate even its statement of applicable law. It did not seem to me that it had gone through the normal quality control process.

As for the allegation about the Iraqi soldiers taking babies out of incubators and putting them on the floor of the hospital where they died, I didn't know if that was true or not, but it certainly sounded very sensationalist to me. And as a result of that, I made an effort to hold that report back for further review, on those grounds that I gave you. And indeed I also enlisted a fellow board member for the same reason, and he and I both tried, and I made the point, even if this story about the dead babies is true, it's completely sensationalist, and it is simply going to be used in the United States to monger for war, and could turn the tide in favor of war. And so you know, we really need to pull back on this,

further review, more study.

They wouldn't do it. It was clear it was on the fast track there in London. This was not AI USA, this was in London. And it had been put on the fast track, they were ramming it through. They didn't care. Finally I said look, let us at least put out an Errata report to accompany it on those aspects that are clearly wrong. They refused to do that either. They then put the report out, and you know what a terrible impact that had in terms of war propaganda. Of the six votes in the United States Senate that passed the resolution to go to war, several of those senators said that they were influenced by the Amnesty report. Now I want to make it clear this was not a job by Amnesty International but by London, and what happened then, when the war started, at the next AI USA board meeting, I demanded an investigation. By then it had come out that this was Kuwaiti propaganda put together by the PR firm Hill & Knowlton, and I demanded an investigation.

Absolutely nothing happened. There was never an investigation, there was total stonewalling coming out of London. They refused ever to admit that they did anything wrong. There has never been an explanation, there has never been an apology. It's just down the memory hole like 1984 and Orwell. My conclusion was that a high-level official of Amnesty International at that time, whom I will not name, was a British intelligence agent. Moreover my fellow board member, who also investigated this independently of me, reached the exact same conclusion. So certainly when I am dealing with people who want to work with Amnesty in London, I just tell them, 'Look, just understand, they're penetrated by intelligence agents, U.K., maybe U.S., I don't know, but you certainly can't trust them.'

**DB:** Now, is Amnesty International a democratic organization whose leadership is accountable to its members?

**FB:** Well, I can only speak of AI USA. In theory it's supposed to be, in theory it's elected. But what you have is a board that is basically selected by a process of co-optation. That is, it's basically a small clique of people who have been in power for a good twenty years, or their friends and their buddies that they co-opt through a bogus nominating process to put on there. Now there is a petition process from the grassroots to have other voices on there. That's how I got on that board—so many members were disgusted with the fact that Amnesty would not do anything on Israel, that I was nominated by means of the petition process. It's not easy to do, you have to get at least a hundred signatures and

(continued on page 27)

# CIA and RIT

## FUNDAMENTALLY INCOMPATIBLE: "INTELLIGENCE" AND HIGHER EDUCATION

*The following is the shortened text of a talk given at Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) in Rochester, New York on Thursday, May 23, 2002. Around 250 people attended.*

**W**ith some reluctance, I agreed to come to RIT at the invitation of those faculty and students who question the propriety of having Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet as this year's commencement speaker and recipient of a doctorate honoris causa. In a certain sense my agreeing to do so was, in Yogi Berra's famous comment, *deja vu* all over again.

Ten years ago, I was director of the Washington office of the Association of National Security Alumni, a group of former CIA and other U.S. intelligence agency officers who had organized to oppose certain U.S. government practices involving intelligence agencies—especially the use of the CIA and other agencies, including the armed forces, for covert military and paramilitary actions, terrorism, if you will, in the conduct of foreign policy. Our organization had come into being during the 1980s when the intensification of such practices under the Reagan and Bush senior administrations led to what I believe was the most significant constitutional crisis in this country since the Civil War, the Iran-contra affair.

We were not only concerned about these foreign activities but what we saw as the extraordinary and illegal expansion of covert intelligence agency activity within the United States itself. One manifestation of this was the presence of secret government activity at colleges and universities. Members of our organization, usually in response to faculty or student concern, frequently came to universities to investigate and organize opposition to such secret activities. One prominent instance of this was at RIT where then university President M. Richard Rose (a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Education) and his assistant, retired Air Force Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew J. Dougherty, who had been Rose's military colleague at the Pentagon, established in

the early 1980s an RIT affiliate research corporation (RITRC) specifically to offer RIT's technical facilities for contract use by the CIA. By 1990 RIT was doing almost \$2 million a year in CIA business, mostly in technical fields like document forgery, computer scanning, and, even construction of special furniture to conceal listening devices. Some students and faculty even received off campus secret training

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from the CIA.<sup>1</sup>

The situation at RIT became blatantly illegal in 1990 when the issue of employing the CIA for the gathering of so-called economic intelligence was a matter of national debate as the post-Cold War intelligence agencies scrambled for new missions to justify their budgets. Suffice it to say that Rose and Dougherty, secretly working with active and former CIA officers, including the then National Intelligence Officer (NIO) for the Far East Kent Harrington and former National Security Council official Robert McFarlane who had been convicted of felonies for his role in Iran-contra and whom Rose had named to an RIT faculty post as "special chair in communications," used RIT funds to produce two reports emphasizing the special post-Cold War economic dangers faced by the United States and naming, in the second report, Japan as posing the great danger. Interestingly, in that report, Japan 2000, the Japanese are described

as "creatures of an ageless, amoral...culture...[lacking] the moral imperatives...of the Judaeo-Christian ethic." The conclusion to the report, signed by President Rose, says, in a measured academic phraseology for which that distinguished scholar was renowned, "...the rising sun is coming...the attack has begun." This did not sit well, by the way, with the Japanese firms whose financial support RIT was actively seeking at the time nor with the Japanese government and public, as the headlines in the Japanese press revealed. Side effects were also felt elsewhere. The University of Capetown in post-apartheid South Africa indignantly broke off negotiations to affiliate with RIT, condemning Rose for not revealing the CIA tie when he had visited there in 1990. Nor did the report itself go down well with decision makers in Washington who had already decided not to pursue the "economic intelligence" phantom.

NIO Harrington told journalist John Judis at the time that he knew that he and the other CIA officers who took part in the RIT studies were in opposition to the Bush administration policy and were, in his words, "dissenters within the administration." If, in fact, the CIA, or members of it, were using the Rose connection to advocate policy—the ultimate sin for an intelligence organization—this was bad enough. Moreover, it can be argued that the issuance of the two reports was an illegal domestic CIA operation to influence public opinion in the United States. If so, it was patently an illegal act in which president Rose involved RIT.

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to see how current RIT president Albert J. Simone can say in his 19 April memo to faculty and staff on the subject of the com-

David MacMichael

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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**May 24, 2002, Rochester, New York. Student activists at Rochester Institute of Technology march in a mock funeral procession mourning the millions of victims of CIA covert operations around the world. Director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet delivered RIT's commencement address.**

mencement invitation to DCI George Tenet that had he been at RIT at the time he "would have supported that relationship strongly..." I'm not sure he quite gets it.

With regard to Tenet himself, note that he was originally nominated for the post of DCI by former President Clinton and was asked to remain by the current head of the U.S. administration—the first DCI in the history of the CIA to be allowed to remain after a partisan change of administration. I am not altogether happy that he accepted the assignment last year to negotiate publicly with Arab states and Israel over the Palestinian question. I am a purist in these matters and regard it as wrong in principle for intelligence organizations, or their leaders, to involve themselves directly in operational matters. The job is to provide the decision makers with relevant information, period, and even to avoid making recommendations as to what policy should or should not be followed. To do so inevitably corrupts the intelligence process as the careers, *inter alia*, of Allen Dulles and William Casey so sadly demonstrate. Well, in Tenet's case, I'm sure he didn't volunteer and simply did what he was told. On the other hand, he did have the integrity to threaten to resign as DCI if Clinton, as he considered doing, had pardoned or released from prison the convicted Israeli spy, Jonathan Pollard. He also established a non-university connected CIA technological facility in California called In-Q-Tel to do directly for the CIA the sort of tasks that the lamented former president Rose had

RIT doing for the Agency a dozen years ago.

And, so long as we are being *ad hominem* here, there are some other matters where I have been gravely disappointed in Tenet's intelligence system (I refuse to use the warm and cuddly phrase "intelligence community") leadership. For years people in and out of Congress have queried plaintively why it is that in view of the plain constitutional requirement that expenditures of public money be publicly accounted for that the \$30 billion or so currently appropriated each year for "intelligence" remains classified in the Defense Appropriations Act. (This figure, of course, which is generally accepted as essentially accurate and of which the CIA itself gets probably something more than \$3 billion, does not include the many scores of billions in the Pentagon's so-called black budget). As indicated, those interested, such as the redoubtable Stephen Aftergood of the American Federation of Scientists, have been able to calculate the amount and so, we may assume, have foreign governments and others both friendly and unfriendly to the United States. Why the people of the United States, whose taxes pay for all this, cannot be trusted with the information is a good question which, as have his predecessors, Mr. Tenet has dodged during congressional hearings. It is a question he might be asked while he is here. In fairness it should be said that no DCI can act independent of the president on this matter and no president in my

memory, even Jimmy Carter, so often denounced by intelligence 'old hands' was willing to take such a daring step.

Like so many other DCIs, Mr. Tenet has from time to time pledged to reduce unnecessary secrecy and overclassification of information. However, he has unfortunately recently followed the lead of his current White House boss who has taken the unprecedented step of placing even unclassified presidential records (public records by definition) out of the reach of the public effectively forever, by last August 7th informing Congress that he, Tenet, was refusing to comply with the 1999 presidential order to release all CIA-held documents relating to activities in Chile from 1962 to 1975 when the United States covertly intervened in that country resulting in the establishment of the terrorist regime of Augusto Pinochet. In doing so he caved in, as a number of his predecessors, notably Admiral Stansfield Turner, had done to the pressure of the Directorate of Operations, that branch of the CIA which carries out, among other things, covert operations. The lame and usual excuse Tenet offered was that "sources and methods" would be exposed and the national security of the United States threatened by such exposure. We have all heard that before, and doubtless we will all hear it again. Sources and methods—a has mantra-like quality.

In this connection, we might note also the consternation in congressional intelligence committees about lack of CIA cooperation into the most recent glaring failure of U.S. intelligence, the inability to warn of the terrorist attacks of last September 11. To compound the consternation, the committees' chief investigator, former CIA general counsel Britt Snider, has resigned amid charges that he was more concerned to protect former colleagues than to provide information.

This explains why some faculty and students here at RIT question whether Mr. Tenet, on his own record or as representative of the organization he heads, should be receiving academic accolades. Frankly, I sympathize with their point of view.

I would now like to turn my attention again to President Simone's memorandum, to which I previously referred. I respect his opinions and his genuflections in the direction of the rights of free speech and dissent while raising my eyebrows a bit at his condemnation of those who exercise those rights as showing "unrestrained discourtesy to an invited guest of the university" and apparently accusing them of possible criminality (sending "custom-

designed [yet] postcards to Mr. Tenet possibly at RIT expense asking [him] to rescind his acceptance of his invitation to speak." President Simone concludes: "I am aghast at such unprofessional behavior by those who should know better. I wonder at their pretentiousness." Yep, exercise those rights but do so courteously, professionally, and unpretentiously. Patrick Henry or Thomas Paine couldn't have said it better. It may be a low blow, but it is just a trifle amusing to find President Simone especially exercised by those who protest anonymously the invitation to the head of an organization whose officers routinely operate not only anonymously but under false names throughout the world.

We are, as the memorandum points out, at war. That this, like all our wars since 1945, is being waged without benefit of constitutional authorization is wearisomely true and, in the context of the past half century or so, probably beside the point. Two weeks ago, at the 50th anniversary of my own Marine Corps officer class reunion, I stood with my graying fellows at the parade ground at the San Diego Marine Corps Recruit Depot. I think I know what patriotism means and what it can do.

Appeal to patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel. Mark Twain, as usual, said it best "Patriotism means being loyal to your country all the time and to its government when it deserves it." Twain, by the way, said this in opposition to the U.S. conquest of the Philippines where our government and military buoyed by waves of patriotic sentiment at home carried out one of the notable genocides of modern times. Whatever else patriotism may be, it does not mean blind obedience to and support for the government at any given time. We may now have a properly teutonic-sounding Homeland Security Office—whose head, Pennsylvania's ex-governor Tom Ridge, patriotically refuses to appear before Congress to justify or explain the activities for which it is appropriating billions of dollars—but deutschland (or bushland) uber alles is not exactly a slogan to which I subscribe.

At the present time I do question the wisdom, let alone the constitutionality, of the policies our country is following in response to the events of last September 11. Wars against terrorism (however defined) like the war against drugs have no visible end, ever increasing monetary costs and, inevitably, terrible collateral costs. Indeed, ironically, past covert wars by the CIA, with the participation of many other agencies of our government, in Southeast Asia, in Central America, and, indeed, in

Afghanistan, have stimulated the production and global distribution of narcotics, not to mention, in the last case, Afghanistan, the production of opium and Osama bin Laden. And I resent attempts of those in authority—at universities or within government—to question the patriotism of those who, courteously or impolitely, anonymously or openly, professionally or otherwise, question the current policies.

I do want to address what I think is the underlying issue. It is one that President Simone addresses forthrightly in his memorandum under the heading What About Partnering with the CIA? Earlier I referred to a previous experience in RIT's "partnering" with the CIA. Let us say, although President Simone apparently does not quite appreciate the difference, that this earlier "partnering" was more in the nature of unlawful cohabitation rather than the sort of legal marriage he has in mind. However, even in marriage or legal partnership there is the matter of propriety. President Simone may believe fervently that, and I quote: "If the CIA, or any other government entity, believes that RIT has resources that can help it achieve its goals—then out of a sense of patriotism, if nothing else, RIT should be, in my judgment, proud to partner with the CIA."

Now this is going a bit far. The CIA or any other government entity? Sense of patriotism? He may not be able to remember the excesses of the CIA or the FBI or the White House itself (President Nixon's "plumbers") during the Vietnam War era. The CIA (under Lyndon Johnson's orders to be sure) employed student spies on U.S. college campuses to report on anti-war activists. Likewise, the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO activities, targeting and sometimes murdering social activists disliked by Director J. Edgar Hoover, were undoubtedly being carried out by a government entity and Hoover was, in his own eyes and doubtless that of the majority of his countrymen at the time, a patriot. In 1954 the CIA, in one of those successes you never hear about, ran an operation that overthrew the elected government of Guatemala—which had the temerity to require the United Fruit Company to sell some of its unused lands for distribution to landless peasants—establishing a series of terrorist military dictatorships that lasted, with full United States government support, for almost 40 years slaughtering, in the process, well over 250,000 Guatemalans who, probably discourteously and unprofessionally, resisted in one way or another. In the same Caribbean context and slightly later, would President Simone

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TRYSIDE TO HAVANA...**

have had RIT support the post-Bay of Pigs CIA operations mounted from Miami against Cuba under the designation JM Wave and Mongoose, including under the separate CIA designation ZR Rifle, literally scores of attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro? Numerous Cuban civilians—could there be such a thing as innocent Cuban civilians?—were killed in various attacks over the years. Among the JM WAVE activities that has always disturbed me the most was the placing of cement powder, by U.S. agents operating in Cuba, in the tankers transporting milk from the countryside to Havana. Probably choked a few kids before they could grow up to be commies. I could discuss at length the acts of U.S.-directed and funded terror I witnessed through the 1980s in Nicaragua which were personally directed and ordered by then DCI William Casey employing first the CIA and then, quite illegally, that other government entity, the National Security Council where Oliver North presided over the fun and games.

To return to the campus connection—"partnering"—I can't forget to mention an even earlier and nastier CIA project, MK ULTRA that required, or, at least, used the cover of a nearby institution here in New York, Cornell University. MK ULTRA was a project, essentially carried out in Canada, in which a cooperating Canadian psychiatrist, at one time president of Canada's psychiatric association, subjected some dozens of unwitting psychiatric patients to large doses of LSD and other substances and techniques to test theories of mind control. It is worth noting in this case that after the affair was exposed in the 1970s an embarrassed U.S. government arranged financial compensation for survivors and their next of kin but that under the Reagan administration DCI Casey threw up every possible legal obstacle to actually paying them and partly succeeded. Again, we are

talking government entities and their goals—which (in President Simone's estimation) are, by definition, American goals.

## RELATIONSHIP OF ACADEMIA TO GOVERNMENT

It has ever been a vexed one, as the example of the proto-typical academic, Socrates who earned his dose of hemlock from the Athenian government of the time for, precisely, undermining the patriotism of the state's youth, amply demonstrates. Indeed, as the periodic governmental massacres of dissenting students (and faculties) as in Mexico City in 1968 (where, incidentally, the President, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, who ordered the suppression of the student demonstration and the Minister of Interior, Luis Echeverria—later himself President of Mexico—who actually directed the killings of the several hundred peaceful demonstrators were at the time both paid CIA agents; in Bangkok in the early 70s where the U.S.-supplied military shot down hundreds of Thammasat University students who had the temerity to ask for free elections; ditto a few years later in Korea; and perhaps we should not forget Kent State in Ohio where at about the same time the National Guard killed some students who were exercising their constitutionally guaranteed right to assembly and free speech in opposition to U.S. government policy in southeast Asia. I should also mention, so as not to seem un-American, the events in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989 as more recent examples of the continuing tension. Students, and faculty, in the view of governments, should know their place.

Otto von Bismarck, during his long work of creating a unified German ethnonationalistic state—das Reich—was a firm believer in recruiting academia to support his policies. If you can't beat 'em, get 'em to join you, was his motto. He found, not surprisingly, that patriotism among the professoriat was enhanced when government grants and honors were provided. And so it has ever been. We might note, as does President Simone, not very subtly, that "I think it important to note that partnerships with organizations like the CIA can lead to jobs and education that our students might not otherwise have, and experience and research opportunities that our faculty might not otherwise have." Pragmatic, to say the least. MK ULTRA, anyone?

In the U.S. during the Vietnam era the Department of Defense was particularly active on campuses—relying heavily on DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency which, I must acknowledge provided me while at the then Stanford University-affili-

ated Stanford Research Institute with a handsome salary. Parenthetically, as a result of Stanford student protests about the DOD connection Stanford Research was divorced by the university and currently operates as a private entity, SRI International. It would be going too far to say that significant numbers of professors actually were bribed by DOD grants, but gaining their support for or at least acquiescence in U.S. military activities was a consummation devoutly wished for in the Pentagon. In fact, this wish was openly expressed in a then classified project,

**...A THEN CLASSIFIED PROJECT, PROJECT THETIS, WAS SUPPOSED TO SPREAD DOD GELT ON AMERICAN (AND FOREIGN) CAMPUSES SO THAT FACULTY MEMBERS WOULD NOT BITE THE HAND THAT FED THEM.**

Project Thetis, which was supposed to spread DOD gelt on American (and foreign, for that matter) campuses so that faculty members would not bite the hand that was feeding them. A scandal erupted when, during the height of student anti-Vietnam action after 1968, students—illegally, if you will—broke into the offices of distinguished professors, especially of anthropology, and found the secret contracts, some of which, not surprisingly, showed that students were unwittingly employed on the research. (A personal note: while I was attached to the office of the Special Assistant for Counterinsurgency at the U.S. embassy in Thailand, the State Department was somewhat annoyed by the intrusion of DOD and its contracted scholars into areas it felt was none of their business.) The response by Senator William J. Fulbright, a late comer to the anti-Vietnam War camp but an effective one, was to push through the amendment to the 1970 defense appropriation bearing his name that prohibited DOD from funding any research that did not have a demonstrable military purpose. This reduced, if it did not end, questionable academic-military relationships.

The CIA, was, of course, not insulated from the 60s and 70s controversy. The CIA from its earliest days when its forerunner,

the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II, employed significant numbers of professors on leave from their universities to conduct its mysterious missions has been close to the campus, a subject on which you can learn more by consulting Yale professor Robin Winks's dated but still valuable book, *Cloak and Gown*. (Again an observation: The effectiveness of OSS during the war, despite the romantic heroics of some of its behind the lines operatives, has been widely questioned, especially by the regular military, and the continuing tension between the Pentagon and Langley is left over from those days). The OSS heritage, particularly at Ivy League campuses, continues. Here is how W. H. Auden, the late and great British poet saw it in his wonderful 1946 Harvard Phi Beta Kappa poem, *Under Which Lyre: A Reactionary Tract for the Times*: "Professors back from secret missions, Resume their proper eruditions, Though some regret it; They liked their dictaphones a lot, They met some big wheels, and do not, Let you forget it." The point is, though, that there is, as C.S. Lewis, Graham Greene, John LeCarre, and others have pointed out in notable works, a real thrill in having access to "secret" or even merely "confidential" matter. You may have evidence or even absolutely reliable information on some topic, but you can always be trumped by that chap with the clearances who can nod and respond that what you say is all very well but that his intelligence sources, which he cannot, of course, reveal, show a different picture.

Not surprisingly, the CIA had its own version of Project Thetis. It, too, wanted to have an academic support base and it, too, was concerned about campus animosity. In 1968 CIA consultant Earl Bolton produced a report recommending that when the CIA campus presence was challenged it be defended by "some distant academic...not under attack...in a 'respectable' publication of general circulation...with full use of the jargon of the academy." Bolton went on: "As a general rule contracts and grants should be made only in response to proposals that 'originate' with the principal investigator on campus. The real initiative might be with the Agency but the apparent or record launching of the research should, wherever possible emanate from the campus. . . ." Hardly ingenuous, on the face of it. Indeed, when RIT's economic intelligence caper provoked the scandal which ended with the departure of Rose and Daugherty, Daugherty frantically appealed to his CIA contact Robert Rhule to plant an article in *The Chronicle of Higher*



*Education* presenting “the ‘cloak and gown’ perspective and why there is a natural and needed voluntary relationship between the intelligence community and the academic community.” Incidentally, in this letter Dougherty condemned the Rochester press, damning “the monopolistic position of these liberal newspapers—they’re drawing blood.” Ah yes, freedom of speech and press—except when you don’t like it.

Exposure of this sort of thing and some measure of subsequent embarrassment occur from time to time elsewhere in academia. A colleague of mine at the National Intelligence Council, on loan from a major eastern university returned, as Auden says, to his proper erudition and carried with him a secret contract from the CIA to continue his researches. His graduate students were assigned tasks in support of that research but Professor X (as I will call him) did not inform them as to the ultimate use of their work. When, at the height of Iran-contra revulsion, Professor X was exposed, his career was, of course, ruined. Well, almost.

And that brings us to the nub of the question regarding the relationship of the intelligence system and its agencies, or other national security state-related agencies, and academia. I would even extend this, since President Simone does, to relationships with corporations and proprietary, as distinguished from classified, information. How, in fact, does the university—academia—whose basic principle is the full and open debate in which every participant, as a condition of participating, must defend his or her position by revealing the documentation, the sources and methods, by which he or she defends that position, deal with that contradiction?

Obviously, in a world in which universities, their separate departments and even individual faculty members contract with corporations to perform research on terms that prohibit them from revealing what they do or what they have learned and, increasingly find that tenure and salary depend on pursuing and gaining such contracts—sort of a reversal of the old publish or perish dictum—it’s now publish or you’ll be sued—I am advancing an increasingly outdated position. I recognize this and while I regret, I cannot condemn. The task of the university president is, after all, to raise money. That is a fact and not an indictment. Were I any good at raising money, I might have been a university president myself.

During Mr. Tenet’s period of service as chief of staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, David Boren, Democrat from Oklahoma, was chairman.

Boren, incidentally, became president of the University of Oklahoma when he left the senate. When he arrived Boren found on campus the State Department’s diplomat-in-residence, one Edward Corr. Corr had been a target of Independent Counsel Judge Lawrence Walsh’s Iran-contra investigations and documents published by that investigation showed that Corr, while U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, had roundly and officially lied about his knowledge of and involvement in congressionally prohibited assistance to the contra forces attack-

**SENATOR DAVID BOREN SPONSORED THE NATIONAL SECURITY EDUCATION ACT OF 1992, ESTABLISHING A \$150 MILLION TRUST FUND TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE COLLEGE... OF WHICH THE DCI IS A MEMBER**

ing Nicaragua. When this was revealed a television news team went to interview Corr in his office. ABC viewers the next day had the edifying sight of Mr. Corr cursing and physically assailing the journalists before he went off to teach his next class in diplomacy.

In any event, Boren had his own contribution to make to the CIA-on-campus debate. In 1991 he sponsored and pushed through Congress the National Security Education Act.<sup>3</sup> This interesting piece of legislation (Title VIII of the Defense Appropriation Act of 1992) established a \$150 million trust fund to be administered by the Defense Intelligence College under a board of trustees headed by the Secretary of Defense and of which the DCI is a member. The money (\$35 million in the first year) would provide undergraduate scholarships and graduate fellowships to U.S. nationals for study abroad and in the U.S., grants to universities to establish or improve their foreign language and area studies programs. The ultimate purpose, the act declared, was to provide an increased pool of applicants for U.S. government national security departments and agencies. The act was careful to explain that such agencies could not task scholarship and fellowship recipients while they were students in order not to offend

foreign governments and universities. It did not, of course, explain how foreign governments or universities would appreciate the distinction between hosting actual spooks and those merely studying to be spooks.

Although the Act gave to the Defense Intelligence College and the trustees extraordinary powers to monitor and control their foreign studies programs, universities, especially those composing the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA) were ecstatic. They made the proper noises about how our national security and economic good health were threatened by the lack of foreign language training and knowledge of foreign cultures. APSIA’s member institutions are notorious for their close ties to the national security agencies. Indeed, DCI Tenet holds his BS in Foreign Relations Studies from Georgetown and his MS in Foreign Affairs from Columbia, both APSIA members. Beyond collegiate concern for national security there was, of course, money involved.

APSIA officials with whom I spoke at the time allowed that they were conscious of the danger that foreign universities might misperceive the role of visiting National Security Act scholars but assured me that since Iran-contra the intelligence system was undergoing basic changes that would allow it to function in an open society and that closer relations with academia would hasten that process. When I referred to the recent events at RIT as indicating that the reverse was more likely, the APSIA spokesperson told me she was unaware of that. Evidently not a *New York Times* reader. The spokesman for the Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange likewise applauded the Act but acknowledged to me that he was aware of the problems he would have with his foreign collegiate counterparts. “We have to convince our friends that this is not a wolf in sheep’s clothing but instead a sheep in wolf’s clothing,” he said.

By the way, why this educational program was not funded under the Department of Education is an interesting story. Since Bush I, there has been an unbreachable wall between national security and domestic spending, and in 1991 the limit of domestic spending had already been reached. Hence, the need to go to DOD where limits do not apply. Unaddressed either was the obvious alternative of increasing foreign language and area training at the excellent existing military and intelligence system schools. I do

(continued on page 47)

# Lengthening Shadows

## THE SPY AGENCIES OF PAKISTAN

Hamid Hussain, MD

Every national government, big or small, has at its disposal organizations that work behind the scenes. These so-called intelligence bodies come in all shapes and forms and perform different tasks. Some are assigned the task of getting vital data about the adversary and its preparation and resources. Others work to keep an eye on the population to warn the government

order in the armed forces. ISI's primary task was gathering of intelligence on the hostile countries and counterintelligence. Due to the overt involvement of the military in running the country, all boundaries between civil and military arenas have been obliterated. Active military officers now run all intelligence agencies. The civilian IB is currently headed by a serving

staff headed ISI. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who assumed the country's leadership after the military's defeat and separation of the eastern wing of the country for a while had a good control over the military. He created a formal political cell in ISI to keep an eye on his political opponents although the organization has been involved in keeping a tab on political opponents of the government. ISI and MI had been active in domestic surveillance during the military rule of Field Marshall Ayub Khan (1958–69) and General Yahya Khan (1969–71).<sup>2</sup> During the military rule of General Zia Ul-Haq (1977–1988), in the process of Afghan covert operations, ISI was enlarged enormously. Army officers and rank and file are posted to ISI for a limited time period, usually three years, a process called Extra Regimental Duty (ERD).

Each province has an ISI head at the rank of Brigadier who has 1000–2000 active military personnel for intelligence purposes. Although the Prime Minister appoints DGISI, he reports both to the Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff (COAS). This has caused significant irritation in civil-military relations since 1988. The intelligence chiefs have used their unique position from time to time to advance their own career and personal agendas. There are no career specialists of espionage in ISI as is the case with other agencies like CIA and Mossad. Some officers usually mid-level (major or colonel) who work long enough in one area become specialists on their own and their services are utilized for that special task. This was the case with many officers who worked in Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup> ISI has a work force of approximately 10,000. It has domestic,

*A former DGISI, Lt. General Hameed Gul, admitted that Pakistan's Afghan policy was run by ISI during his term. He added that the foreign office and foreign minister were told clearly that their job was to implement policy, not to formulate*

about emerging political and security threats. Authoritarian governments rely primarily on intelligence apparatus for total control. This allows them to achieve effective control with coercion and repression without the need of excessive visible use of force. Pakistan, with its history of repeated military interventions in political arenas, has a peculiar history of evolution of its intelligence agencies.

There are several civilian and military intelligence bodies in Pakistan, which have mushroomed over the last fifty years. According to one estimate, in 2001, the Pakistani intelligence community was 100,000 men strong with an annual budget of Rs. 2.5 billion (\$150 million).<sup>1</sup> Intelligence Bureau (IB) is a civilian federal agency. A senior police officer or political appointee usually heads it. Its main task is collection of information about friends and foes inside the country. Special Branch is the intelligence arm of the provincial police departments with the primary task of issues related to law and order. Pakistan's army has two intelligence organizations, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and Military Intelligence (MI). Originally, the task of MI was related to battlefield intelligence and discipline and

Major General (Talat Munir) who reports to the Chief of Staff (COS) to the President General Musharraf.

MI was a small organization at the time of independence (1948). ISI was established in the same year, after Pakistan found itself without sufficient intelligence during its first war with India over Kashmir. In fact, the first coup attempt by Chief of General Staff (CGS) Major General Akbar Khan in 1951 was thwarted due to timely information from police sources. After 1951, the roles of ISI and MI were expanded. A Major General heads MI. Under him are individual Brigadier Generals assigned to each province of Pakistan.

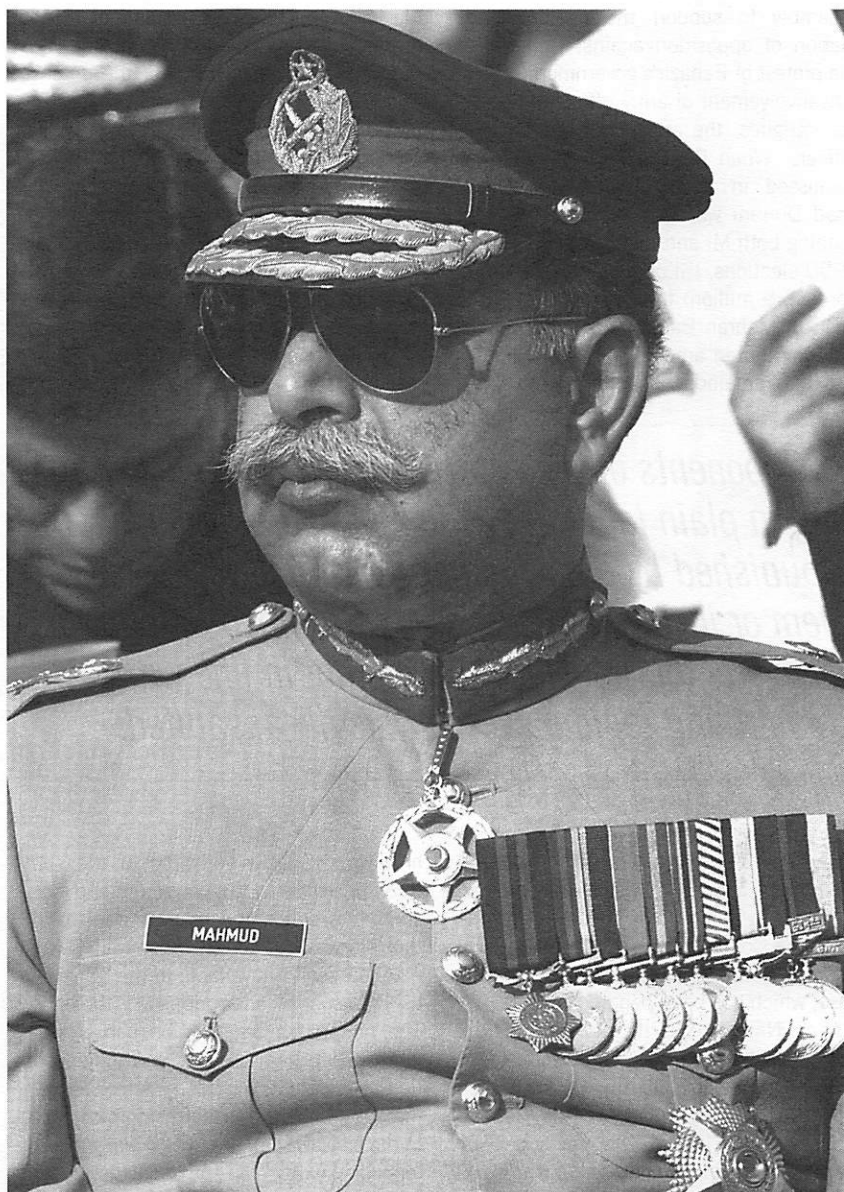
Military deployment in the country is organized into ten Corps. Each of the ten Corps Commanders runs a separate intelligence battalion headed by a Lt. Colonel. These intelligence battalions maintain direct liaison with police and other civilian officials. Corps' intelligence has been expanded dramatically and Field Intelligence Units (FIUs) and Field Intelligence Teams (FITs) gather information from the lowest levels of the government and channel it to the military leadership. In 1971, a Brigadier with a small

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Hamid Hussain, a physician by profession, was born in Peshawar, Pakistan and practices in New York. He teaches at SUNY Stony Brook, and writes regularly on defense and intelligence matters for the Pakistan press.

international and political wings, each with their respective assigned tasks. The armed forces political agenda is managed by ISI.<sup>4</sup> It is organized into various sections including Joint Intelligence X (administration and accounts); and Joint Intelligence North dealing with Kashmir. There is a separate Afghan cell; Joint Intelligence Bureau (human intelligence collection and collecting from all open sources); Joint Counter-Intelligence Bureau (counter intelligence especially thwarting activities of Indian intelligence); Joint Signal Intelligence Bureau (communications intelligence including collection of information from a chain of stations along the Indian border); and Joint Intelligence Technical Unit (collection of all technical intelligence and use of state of the art surveillance equipment). ISI also has separate explosives and chemical warfare sections. A special wing is involved with intelligence training of personnel and liaison with foreign intelligence agencies. Active officers posted as defense attaches to foreign missions and retired officers with diplomatic assignments collect relevant information in foreign countries. Major General Chaudhry Shujaat, Major General (Retired) Sultan Habib (served as defense attaché in Moscow from 1991–93 and now ambassador to North Korea) and Captain (Retired) Shafqat Cheema (served as third secretary and acting head of mission in North Korea from 1992–96) played a key role in the procurement of materials for missile development.<sup>5</sup>

The level of cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies is not clear. In the 1980s, there was close cooperation between ISI and CIA from the senior most level (Director CIA and DGISI) to the lower field levels during operations in Afghanistan. At present, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has a liaison with ISI. Pakistan has a long history of military presence in Saudi Arabia but a close relationship with Saudi intelligence started after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Since 1988, this relationship strengthened as Saudis became the major financial supporter of different Afghan factions. The Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki Al-Faisal was a frequent visitor of Islamabad and Qandahar, the Taliban political center. The most professional and successful section of ISI, which dodged Indian intelligence for decades with almost no blunders, was dedicated to procurement of nuclear and missile technology—the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). The enormous amounts of secret funds, provision of latest monitoring and surveillance technology from United States and the



Mian Kuresheed/Reuters

**Chief of Inter Services Intelligence Mahmud Ahmed was in the U.S. visiting high-level Pentagon contacts on September 11, 2001. Shortly after his return to Pakistan, he was fired. *Time* alleged (May 6, 2002) that refusal to cooperate in the hunt for Bin Laden was behind the dismissal.**

increasing role allowed by General Zia resulted in the influence of this organization not only in foreign policy but the economy, media and domestic politics and a host of other areas.<sup>6</sup> A former DGISI, Lt. General Hameed Gul in an interview admitted that Pakistan's Afghan policy was run by ISI during his term. He added that the foreign office and foreign minister were told clearly that their job was to implement policy, not to formulate, and ISI will not share information with them.<sup>7</sup> This expanded role not only cast long shadows on Pakistani politics but changed the inner dynamics of the armed forces. ISI was used for intelligence monitoring of the armed forces to keep an eye on ambitious colleagues. According to one senior former

ISI officer, "If an officer was on the ISI staff, his peers, and indeed his seniors, tended to shun him socially."<sup>8</sup>

In 1989, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, leery of ISI machinations, chose a retired officer, Lt. General Shamsur Rahman Kallu to head the ISI. As army high command was not consulted, he was completely blacked out by his own organization. General Musharraf had admitted that because "Benazir Bhutto had brought her own man to head the ISI, the result was that he was never invited in the military meetings."<sup>9</sup> The Army chief expanded the role of MI to cover the internal arena also. In November 1989, Brigadier Imtiaz and Major Amir of ISI were involved in a plot to bribe various members of national



assembly to support the no-confidence motion of opposition against Benazir. At the protest of Benazir's government on blatant involvement of army officers in political intrigues, the army chief retired both officers. When Benazir's government was dismissed in 1990, DGMI Lt. General Asad Durrani was given the dual task of running both MI and ISI for a while. In the 1990 elections, ISI obtained Rs. 140 million (\$6.5 million) from Yunus Habib, the head of Mehran Bank. Part of the money was distributed among various candidates and the remainder is unaccounted for.<sup>10</sup>

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*Opponents of the establishment are given warning in plain language. The more stubborn ones are punished by pressure on their employers to sack them or involved in cases with trumped up charges. Several journalists who were not in line with the ruling regime were physically assaulted.*

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Army Chief General Aslam Beg and DGISI Lieutenant General Assad Durani had admitted to this in their statements to the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The Supreme Court has yet to pass judgment on this case, which has been pending since 1997. When Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister, he appointed his confidant Brigadier Imtiaz to head IB. On the advice of Imtiaz, Sharif appointed Lt. General Javed Nasir as DGISI. The new super spy was a born again religious zealot who started to divert foreign nationals to fight in Kashmir. Many Islamic radicals from Afghanistan, Egypt and Algeria found safe havens in Pakistan. Egypt and Algeria, finding no response from Islamabad, turned to Washington and complained about the issue. Under pressure of being declared a terrorist state, after the sacking of the Sharif government, cleansing of ISI was done.<sup>11</sup> In April 1993, Nasir was sacked and DGMI Lt. General Javed Ashraf Qazi was given the task of cleansing the ISI and chose Major General Iftikhar Hussain Shah as his right hand man to complete the task.<sup>12</sup> Several officers of ISI who began their service under Zia were either retired or posted back to their units.

The modus operandi of intelligence organizations is very diverse. Money and intimidation are the two most common methods. Informers in different strata of society including journalists are on the reg-

ular payroll. The exact amount of money available to intelligence organizations is not known, as most items of the defense budget are classified. Opponents of the establishment are given warning in plain language. The more stubborn ones are punished by pressure on their employers to sack them or involved in cases with trumped up charges. Several journalists who were not in line with the ruling regime were physically assaulted. Recently, a Pakistani newspaper got hold of the confessional statement of the main suspect in Daniel Pearl's murder case, which links

him with ISI. ISI got wind of the story through a mole in the newsroom and pressured the editor and management to kill the story. The editor, Shaheen Sehbaei made himself unavailable to the owners of the newspaper and published the story. The newspaper organization came under intense pressure, the editor resigned and fled to the United States.<sup>13</sup> After his overthrow by General Musharraf, former prime minister Nawaz Sharif was tried and sentenced. During the proceedings, Sharif intended to disclose some matters relating to intelligence agencies and his attorney was preparing the statement regarding that. The attorney was assassinated and his work files are missing. This shows the lengths to which ISI will go if it feels threatened.

Pakistani military intelligence agencies try their best to stay away from such dirty work. The dirty work of picking up suspects and intimidating individuals is assigned to the police. Most of the time, the formalities of court orders, warrants, informing the family members are not deemed necessary. Pakistani police are notorious for use of brutal torture, rape of female suspects and extra-judicial killing in fake police encounters. The normal routine for arresting a missing suspect is to detain close family members including females and the message is clear to the suspect that he has to give up or his family will pay

the price. This method was used to arrest all suspects in the Daniel Pearl murder case. Male members of the family of the main suspect, Sheikh Ahmad Omar were detained and a message was sent that his wife would also be detained if he did not give up. Sure enough, a few days later Omar was in police custody. Pearl's murder has brought into the international limelight the activities of Pakistani intelligence agencies. The main suspect, Omar, had a long standing relationship with ISI. Pakistan had not acknowledged his presence in the country since his release from an Indian prison in exchange for passengers of a hijacked Indian plane in Qandahar in 1999. In fact, he surrendered to his ISI handler, Brigadier Ijaz Shah, who is currently Home Secretary of the province of Punjab (home department of a province is involved with internal security and law and order matters. Omar started to talk about his ISI links when the United States demanded his extradition. Talking was the only sure way to prevent that outcome. Pakistan's government is now in a dilemma. It is under pressure from the U.S. but will not extradite Omar, because he is going to spill all the beans. Most likely, he will be sentenced to death in a Pakistani court and the sentence will be quickly carried out. The movement towards this end is already clear. Omar is held in solitary confinement and the Pakistani government is stating that he is an Indian agent. His case was first transferred from a special Anti-Terrorist court to another and now being transferred to another city and proceedings will be held in secret.

The lack of scrutiny of intelligence agencies has resulted in a complex situation both for the military organization and general polity of the country. There is a very complex and confusing relationship of intelligence agency heads, army chiefs and civilian prime ministers. Personal, institutional, ideological and doctrinal interests freely intermingle in this arena. The civilian interim from 1988 to 1999 saw palace intrigues of dramatic proportions. Civilian prime ministers, well aware of the clout of ISI, tried to bring their loyalists to head the organization. The army chiefs tried to block free access of information to intelligence chiefs if their loyalty to the military was suspect. The end result of this game was that civilian leaders tried to undermine the military supremacy whenever they got a chance and army chiefs kept civilian chief executives off balance by keeping constant pressure on them. In the process of frequent purges of intelligence agencies, many competent and professional mid-level field intelligence officers saw their

careers cut short. Nawaz Sharif, in his second term chose Lt. General Ziauddin Butt who was a Sharif loyalist. Army chief Musharraf outmaneuvered him by promoting his trusted friend Major General Muhammad Aziz Khan who was serving as Deputy Director at ISI in charge of Afghanistan and Kashmir operations. Aziz was made Chief of General Staff (CGS) (the most important post after the army chief. CGS is usually the most trusted confidant of the army chief) and Afghanistan and Kashmir sections were transferred to MI which reports to CGS.

Political parties, well aware of what they are up against, have tried to induct former armed forces personnel into their political organizations. Brigadier Imtiaz and Major Amir of ISI were sacked when they were caught red handed in a plan to oust the Benazir Bhutto government by bribing the members of the national assembly. During the Nawaz Sharif government, Brigadier Imtiaz was made head of IB. Major Amir served as special adviser to the Chief Minister of North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.). When the army chief sacked DGISI Javed Nasir, Nawaz Sharif appointed him as his special adviser on intelligence matters during his second term as Prime Minister. Brigadier Aman, a former intelligence officer, is in charge of the secretariat of Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Former Intelligence Bureau Chief Masud Sharif is a member of the Central Working Committee, the highest decision making body of PPP. A former army chief, General Tikka Khan served as general secretary of PPP for a long time and another retired Major General, Naseerullah Khan Babar, has been a key decision maker during two terms of Benazir Bhutto's time as Prime Minister. Many officers, while serving in ISI, developed their own personal agendas and later took them forward after retirement. Some officers were involved in drug and weapon smuggling. In 1983, the whole staff of an ISI detachment in Quetta was sacked on charges of siphoning weapons destined for Afghan resistance fighters and selling them in the market. Some officers were influenced by the ideological motives of different religious groups and after retirement continued to work with them. Colonel Sultan, who is known as Colonel Imam, continued to work with the Taliban for years, when after retirement, he was posted as Consul to the Pakistan Consulate in Herat. Another officer, Squadron Leader Khalid Khwaja worked for ISI in the eighties. Since his retirement in 1988, he has been running a business firm doing research and development for Pakistan's Navy and the telecommunica-

tions sector. He also formed a small organization named Islamic Solidarity Movement. His name appeared during the investigations of the murder of Daniel Pearl. Pearl had contacted him to get his help interviewing different people. Khalid has not been charged with any crime and does not appear to have anything to do with the disappearance of Pearl. Khalid admitted that he has been contacted by former CIA director James Woolsey and Manzur Ijaz (a Pakistani-American businessman and lobbyist based in Washington D.C. who has played a role in backdoor

Musharraf would be forced to mend fences with the militants in Pakistan.<sup>16</sup>

The complex nature of penetration of civil society by former intelligence officers and the lack of checks and balances are quite evident by the role assigned to various officers who have served in ISI. Lt. General Ghulam Jilani Khan, who served as DGISI from 1971 to 1977, served as governor of Punjab province during the Zia period (Punjab is the largest province. During his stint as governor, Jilani was instrumental in grooming the industrialist Nawaz Sharif for a future political role to

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*The most dangerous and damaging effect of uncontrolled activity by ISI was a self-inflated image. When in 1989, the Soviets left Afghanistan, ISI officers perceived themselves as chosen by the lord to beat the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan, out of the cold war and out of existence.*

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diplomacy between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir issue during the Clinton administration) since September 11 in opening negotiations with the Taliban.<sup>14</sup> Many groups who were fighting the Indian troops in Kashmir also developed links with ISI officers. Maulana Masud Azhar, a firebrand religious orator, was released from the Indian jail in a deal after the Indian plane hijacking in 1999 and found safe haven in Pakistan. Masud founded an extremist militant organization, Jaish-e-Muhammad, in Pakistan. Pakistan's government came under international pressure when he started addressing public meetings. He was banned from entering the Sindh province. When civilian authorities tried to detain him in Sindh, the Larkana Deputy Commissioner found that the armed guards escorting Masud were actually ISI agents.<sup>15</sup> He has been under arrest since his organization was declared a terrorist outfit. Almost all militant organizations operating in Kashmir are outraged at the Musharraf government's attempt of gaining some kind of control. Some of them are trying to put pressure on the government in various ways to slow down the government's drive against militants. Omar in his confession statement to police stated that the attacks on Kashmir State assembly and Indian parliament in New Delhi in 2001 were attempts to provoke India to take a tough stand so that

counter PPP). General Aziz, presently Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCOSC), has served as chief of the Afghan cell of ISI. Lt. General Ghulam Ahmad served as Chief of Staff (COS) to President General Musharraf and was head of ISI's political wing in 1993. (He died in a car accident in 2001.) Javed Ashraf Qazi, former DG, is federal minister for communications and railways. Iftikhar Hussain Shah, another former DG, is governor of North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.). Brigadier (Retired) Ijaz Shah, who is Home Secretary of Punjab, has served as head of ISI of that province. Pakistan's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Asad Durrani, is former DGISI. Another former DG, Hamid Gul, is head of a small political party. Two former chiefs of ISI, Lt. General Ziauddin Butt and Lt. General Mahmud Ahmed, are presently under house arrest. Brigadier Imtiaz is in jail on charges of corruption. Since 1989, several chiefs of ISI have been sacked prior to completion of their term (The list includes Lieutenant General Hameed Gul, Asad Durrani, Javed Nasir, Ziauddin Butt, Mahmud Ahmed).

The most dangerous and damaging effect of uncontrolled activity by ISI was the creation of a self-inflated image. When in 1989, the Soviets left Afghanistan, the ISI officers perceived themselves as being chosen by the lord to beat the Soviet Union

out of Afghanistan, out of the cold war and out of existence. A section of officers came to believe that they have "mastered the art of covert warfare better than anyone else in the world, including the CIA and the KGB." An eminent Pakistani defense analyst, Eqbal Ahmad, warned in early 1999 that, "This is self delusion. We accept it at our peril."<sup>17</sup> In one commentator's words, "a military machine that is intoxicated by so dazzling a self-image is a dangerous machine."<sup>18</sup> They tried to replicate the Afghan adventure in Kashmir. Small religious militias were patronized by ISI. Civilians were trained in guerrilla warfare in camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan and dispatched to Kashmir. It markedly increased the resistance inside the valley and a large number of Indian troops were tied down in Kashmir. The resistance fighters gave a tough time to Indian security forces. The problem is that many militants frequently rotate between militias fighting Indian forces in Kashmir and sectarian organizations operating inside Pakistan. Pakistani intelligence ignored this connection, the result of which was a worsening law and order situation in Pakistan. The civil society paid the high price with rapid escalation of ethnic and sectarian violence. Pakistani intelligence officers never bothered to keep a low profile. Even senior most intelligence officers visited these trainees in their camps.<sup>19</sup> ISI, just like other intelligence agencies (Mossad in the case of Hamas, CIA in the case of the Taliban), have found to their grief that patronizing the reactionary forces is a dangerous game.

In time, such forces feel strong enough

to carry their own agenda and refuse to play second fiddle. It is important to remember that Pakistan is a conservative society. Army officers, like most civilians, adhere to the daily rituals of Islam and take their religion seriously. It would be erroneous to assume that every practicing Muslim Pakistani officer holds extremist and reactionary ideas. The institutional policy of patronizing militants in Kashmir was more strategic defense policy and less a doctrinal shift. The military mind did not have the analytical capability and long-term strategy to foresee the negative fallout despite their recent experience in Afghanistan, where various groups fought as savagely each other as they did against the Soviets. Some officers may disagree with the current policy of completely abandoning it as far as Kashmir is concerned, but it is highly unlikely that they will organize in a way to threaten General Musharraf. Gradual shift of Kashmir policy without antagonizing a large number will be a difficult task which even a member of General Musharraf's cabinet admitted, "The real challenge, however, will come over restructuring the ISI, which has become a state within a state and is running our foreign and domestic policies."<sup>20</sup>

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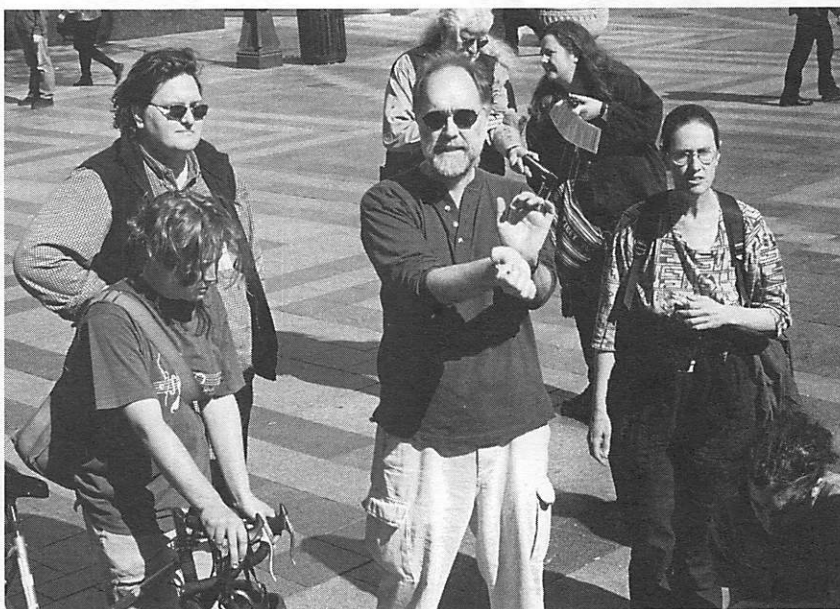


# Palestine Solidarity

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: ONE MODEL

George Hickey

May 10, 2002: to protest U.S. aid to Israel Seattle activists organized a civil disobedience action in front of the Federal Building in downtown Seattle. Two small groups were involved in this direct action: a support group which created a diversion for the police, and interacted with bystanders and the police during the action; and a group of "arrestibles" who physically blocked the street and were arrested.



(Above) The support group meets to plan the diversion.



(Left) The support group creates a diversion for the police by marching on sidewalks distributing leaflets and chanting slogans.

### ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHER

George Hickey's photography focuses on social issues and appears in the Seattle alternative press, including *Real Change*, *Washington Free Press* and *Eat the State*. He was recently awarded a settlement of \$25,000 from the City of Seattle for infringement of his civil rights during the demonstrations against the World Bank in 1999. Although he carried valid press credentials and was not interfering with police activity, Hickey was pepper-sprayed directly in the face and on the back of his head as he fled.



(Above) As the support group approaches the Federal Building, the group of arrestibles rushes into the intersection with a large banner and forms a line in the street. (Below) The arrestibles have successfully blocked the intersection.







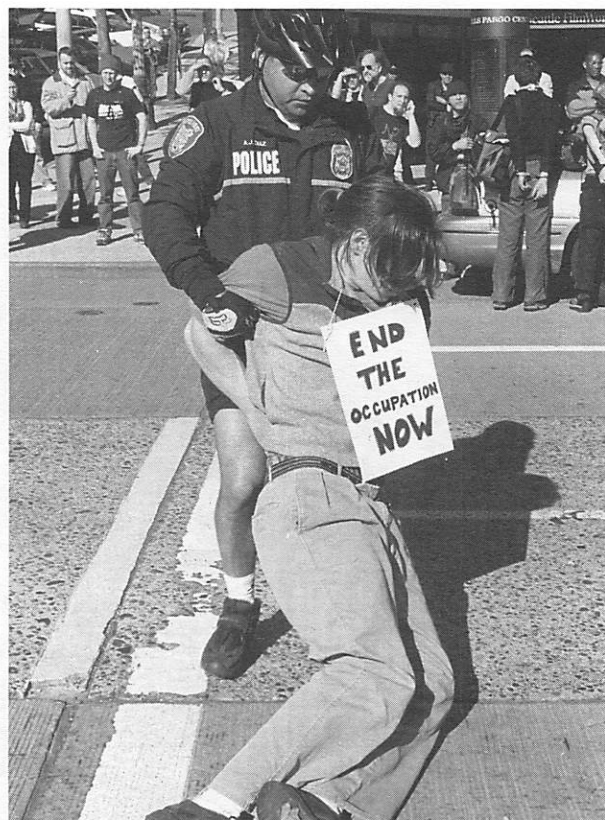
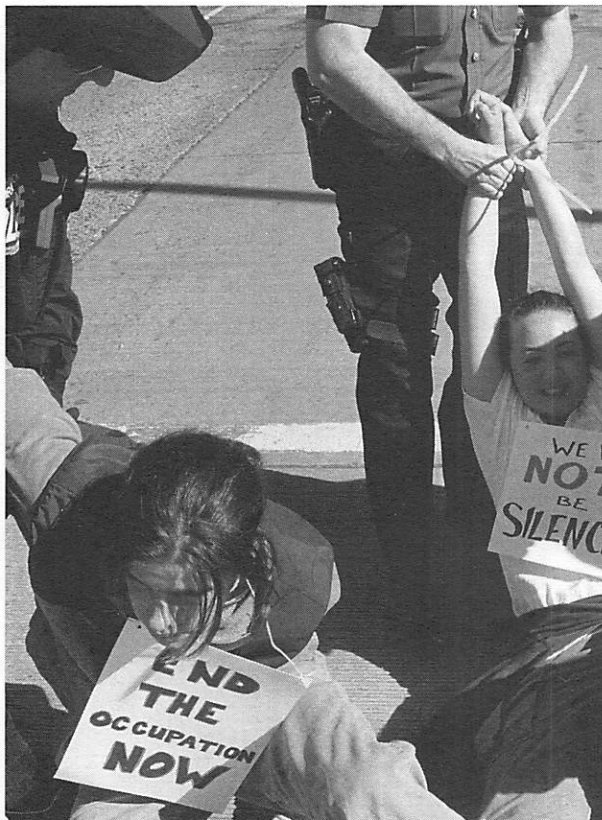
(Above) The arrestables sit in the street linking arms and legs. (Below) A member of the support group leaps onto the hood of an SUV to prevent the driver from injuring arrestables.







(Above) Police arrive and begin to make arrests. (Below) Arrestibles offer "passive resistance" and are dragged from the intersection. Next stop: Central Booking.



(continued from page 12)

they're all very carefully scrutinized and this, that and the other thing. And even then, I and my colleagues were disqualified by the little clique who sits on this board, and then I had to threaten a lawsuit. And as I said, not just threaten a lawsuit but fly out to New York to file the lawsuit. And only then did my name appear on the ballot and then I was elected.

Moreover another interesting point back in 1982, because of my efforts to try to raise what Israel was doing in Lebanon, I was asked to attend the first meeting of what later became the Amnesty International USA Middle East coordination group that's supposed to coordinate human rights work on the Middle East, which I did. So in other words, I was one of the founders of the Amnesty International Mideast coordination group. Shortly thereafter, I gave a speech here in town condemning what Israel was doing in Lebanon that was reported in the local news media. And I made it clear I wasn't speaking on behalf of Amnesty International or anyone else but myself, but it was an Amnesty meeting. And immediately thereafter, the chair of the board of directors of Amnesty International ordered no one to have anything more to do with me. And they didn't. It was just a total cutoff.

**DB:** Was this order put in writing?

**FB:** It was verbal, for sure. So even though I was on their committee and even though I was one of the founders of their committee, thereafter they would have nothing at all to do with me, except that when I got elected to the board, then they had to deal with me. That's the way they certainly worked when it came to Israel, sure. And that continued. As I said, in 1992 or so, I figured I had better things to do with my time.

I keep my membership and I do keep an eye on the reports that come out to see what they're saying, what position they're taking. Indeed I've gone on the Internet [and read] dissections of some of their reports when it comes to Israel, and the people who do these reports over in London and here in the United States, they're very clever, sharp and sophisticated people. They know exactly what they're doing. And if you go through it, you'll see that basically, it supports the Israeli party line on whatever the issue is. Or finally, after many years of outing them on this, now they're no

longer supporting it but they're not doing much. At least the thing on Jenin here is not supporting any Israeli party line. But previous reports in the not too distant past, if you go through them carefully, you'll see that their legal characterization of the nature of the conflict, the status of these territories, the status of Jerusalem, tracks the Israeli party line.

**DB:** How does the leadership reconcile its stated objectives with its actual practice? How do they go about rationalizing their actions?

**FB:** They don't care. They're completely and totally arrogant. 'We are Amnesty International. We are the world's largest and most powerful human rights organization. We won the Nobel Peace Prize for our work. So we do whatever we want.' And again, if you don't believe me, go search your Lexis-Nexis database and see if there has ever been an apology by Amnesty International for the Kuwaiti dead babies report. To the best of my knowledge, there was no official apology or investigation or explanation. They just toughed it out.

**DB:** Now we know that at the end of that war, the United States was responsible for killing perhaps as many as 100,000 people who were trying to flee at the end of the Gulf War. Did Amnesty ever do a report on that?

**FB:** I don't know. After a certain point, I realized that I was wasting my time worrying about what Amnesty International was doing on that.

**DB:** So just to be clear Professor Boyle, in terms of Jenin, are you suggesting that it is because of these close connections between Amnesty International, British-U.S. intelligence, the Israelis, the fact that the U.S. plays such a close role with the Israelis, there's so much CIA and military intelligence on the ground, that that would be the reason that Amnesty International would step back and not touch it.

**FB:** Well that, and in addition, you have here in the United States the very powerful role played by the Israel lobby on Amnesty International USA. They are very powerful; they apply enormous pressure on Amnesty International USA, headquartered in New York. Amnesty International USA pretty much kowtows to them, and they use contributions to make sure that Amnesty International USA tows the line on Israel, and Amnesty International USA pays about 20% of the London budget. So that has an impact over in London too. I do

not know about direct lobbying with the London Amnesty International office by the British equivalent of the Israel lobby here. I don't know personally about that, but I do know AI USA pays 20% of their budget.

And I remember once—this was when I was on the board—I got the agenda of, the Amnesty International secretary general was coming over to the United States for a trip, and I got his agenda and he was meeting with just about every pro-Israel group and leader you could possibly imagine on that list here in the United States, and undoubtedly, they were all going to claim that Amnesty was even doing too much with respect to Israel.

And if I remember, on that list, they might have scheduled him to meet with one or two Arab American leaders. And internally, this is the way it's done. And you have large numbers of people on that board of directors here in the United States who are pro-Israel and do everything possible to prevent, sabotage, obstruct effective work on Israel, up to and including getting rid of a former executive director here in the United States because, I hate to say this but, under my influence and one or two others, we did try to get him and some others to do more effective work on Israel and finally, when I was off the board, there was a purge. So that's the way it works and it's highly political, highly coercive, and eventually if you get out of line, they'll get rid of you.

## FURTHER READING

1. For extensive discussion of the role of public relations in preparing public opinion for the Gulf War and other crimes against humanity, see: *CovertAction Quarterly*, Number 44, Spring 1993.
2. For full coverage of the Gulf War, see: *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 37, Summer 1991.
3. "Physicians for Human Rights Forensic Team Preliminary Assessment, Jenin, April 21-23, 2002," <[www.phrusa.org](http://www.phrusa.org)>.
4. "Jenin: IDF Military Operations" Human Rights Watch report, Vol 14, No. 3, May 2002, <[www.hrw.org/reports/2002/israel3/index.htm#TopOfPage](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/israel3/index.htm#TopOfPage)>.
5. Charmaine Seitz, "Excavating the Crimes of War; What really happened in Jenin?" *In These Times*, May 27, 2002.
6. For the forthright, uncensored views of Israeli peace activists living in Israel see: <[www.gush-shalom.org/english/](http://www.gush-shalom.org/english/)>

# "We Know What a Coup Looks Like"

OLD HABITS DIE HARD, ESPECIALLY  
WHERE LANGLEY IS INVOLVED

Mahmoud Gudarzi

When, in November 2001, the French publishing house Denoel published *Ben Laden, La Verite Interdite*, (*Bin Laden, the Forbidden Truth*), the French daily *Le Monde* predicted "this book will create sensation!" On the contrary, no sensation was created, since no publisher in the United States or any other English speaking country was interested in touching this

activity as Vice President was the creation of the Energy Policy Task Force. This was the bridge between government and the energy industry. The result of the cooperation between Washington and power producers and traders is now well known. Cheney's involvement with the Enron corporation and his various meetings with the principals of this best-known player of the

*The question is, how do Condoleezza Rice's current activities differ from her past efforts on the Board of Directors of Chevron? And this question is naturally not restricted to her, since in the case of other Bush administration members, it appears that only their office address has changed.*

hot iron. Fortunately, Europe is different. The Swiss publisher Pendo published the book in German under the title *Verbotene Wahrheit*.<sup>1</sup> The only difference is the subtitle: *Entanglement of USA with Osama Bin Laden*. Allegedly, *The Forbidden Truth* will appear in an English edition in July of this year.<sup>2</sup>

For political observers with a little sense of smell, the second Bush administration has had, from its first day in office, the strong odor of oil. The Bush family's association with oil-related industries; George Jr.'s role as founder and executive director of Arbusto Energy Inc. and later Harken Energy Inc., both partly financed by some suspicious Saudi Arabian figures; his insistence on exploring for oil in Alaska, in spite of the negative environmental impact; and the members of his administration—all smell of oil.

Vice President Dick Cheney was, until his settlement in the White House, Chief Executive of the world's largest oil-service company, Halliburton. With such a background, it was hardly strange that his first

power privatization game, has dominated the business pages for months.

Congress finally invited the officials of Enron to a congressional hearing. The hearing became a senseless show, as Enron executives refused to answer any question. By revealing the corrupt policies of Enron, such as creation of a false energy crisis in California, a more thorough investigation became necessary, in spite of White House resistance. Since the repeated requests of congressional investigators remained without response, on May 24, 2002, Senator Joseph Lieberman (Dem.-Conn.), chair of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, subpoenaed the White House for an array of Enron-related documents. That evening, the committee received a bunch of papers. Senator Lieberman said, "in many cases, they've left out details the committee asked for, such as who attended meetings or took part in communications and when all of the communications occurred." Points of interest revealed by the documents include:

*Portions of the chronology document the deep ties between the Bush administration and Enron, including three phone conversations between former Enron chairman Kenneth L. Lay and Bush's senior adviser, Karl Rove. Enron's top executives were some of Bush's earliest and most generous supporters, and pursued a broad agenda with the administration that ended only after its huge losses and accounting irregularities became public. Robert McNally, a special assistant to Bush on energy policy, met with Enron representatives several times and received at least one e-mail from Enron's Chief Washington lobbyist. Enron officials briefed members of Cheney's energy task force about a liquefied natural gas project in Venezuela. The chronology does not say why the company felt it necessary to inform the White House about the project.<sup>3</sup>*

Let us return to *Forbidden Truth*: Many names in this administration are worth mentioning that will highlight the Bush people's oil connection, but let it suffice to point out the star of Bush's cabinet, Ms. Condoleezza Rice. The mainstream media of the country present Bush's National Security Adviser as a Russian specialist with credentials from Stanford. But the media gloss over other known facts. For instance, the media seldom mention that Ms. Rice, from 1991 to 2000, served on the Board of Directors of the Chevron Group, one of the world's largest oil conglomerates. She was, before everything, responsible for the areas of Kazakhstan and Pakistan.<sup>4</sup>

The question is, how do Rice's current activities differ from her past efforts on the

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mahmoud Gudarzi was born in Tehran, Iran in 1937. He studied in West Germany and the U.S., taking degrees in Journalism and Education. In 50 years of journalism, he has published over 1,000 articles on Iran and problems of the Middle East. He writes regularly for the weekly *Shahrvand* (Toronto and Dallas).





Gregorio Marro / AP Wide World

**April 13, 2002, Caracas, Venezuela.** Supporters of ousted President Hugo Chavez flood the streets of Caracas, demanding his return. Burning tires are a defense against tear gas.

Board of Directors of Chevron? And this question is naturally not restricted to her, since in the case of other Bush administration members, it appears that only their office address has changed. Again Brissard and Dasquie: "The men and women who settled on January 26, 2001 in the White House were not as isolationist as one could assume, since their international relations easily smell of oil."<sup>5</sup>

Bush's close connection with energy markets, and the undeniable involvement of Dick Cheney in the Enron scandal are the inescapable background to the sudden upheaval in Venezuela which resulted in the incarceration of President Hugo Chavez. This country on the northern rim of South America within a short distance from the U.S. shores, is fourth in international oil production, with a daily export of approximately two million barrels to the United States.

### A NIGHTMARE RESURRECTED

For me, and I believe for many politically aware people around the world, those

headlines of the U.S. press, gleefully reporting the forced resignation of the Venezuelan President by a military coup, awakened a past nightmare. That nightmare was the overthrow of the popular and democratically elected government of Prime Minister Dr. Mohammad Mossadeq by a coup, organized by the CIA 50 years ago in August 1953. By closely reading the reports of different phases of the Venezuelan event, one finds many similarities with what happened in Iran half a century ago.

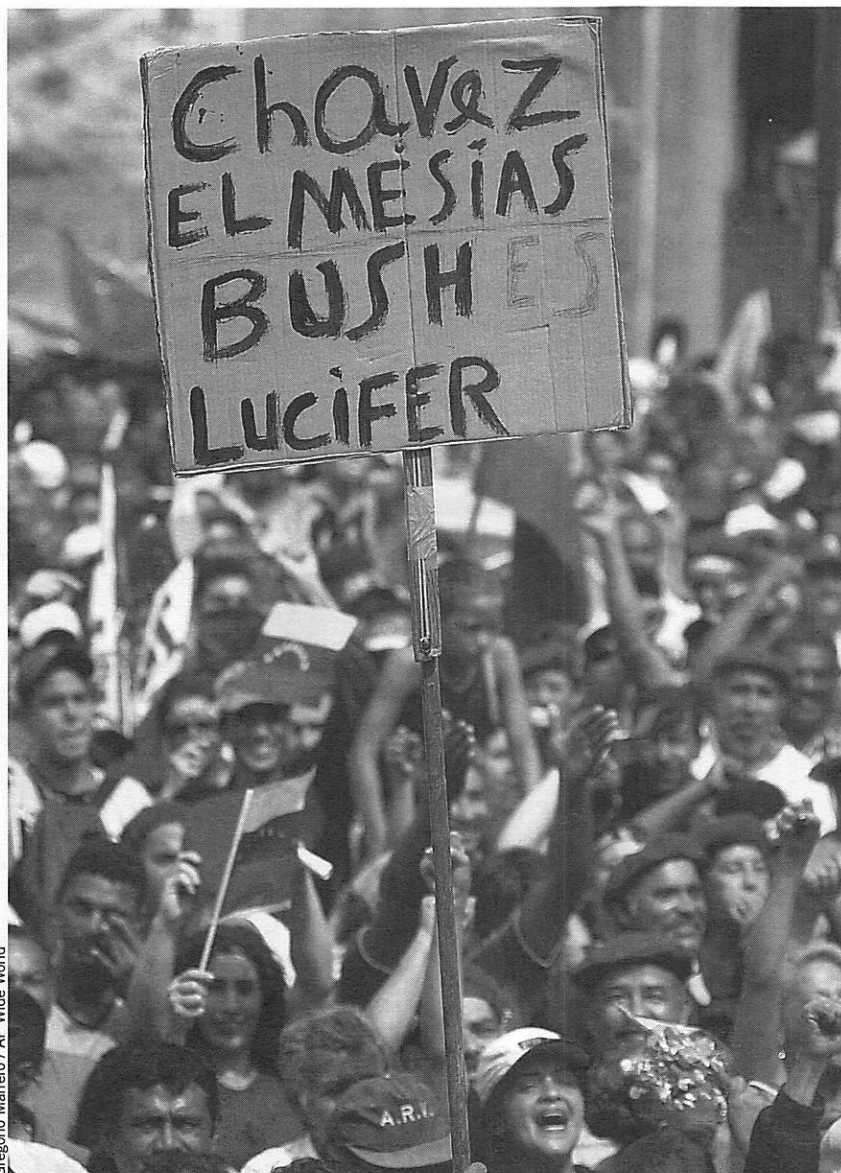
The *Wall Street Journal's* man in Caracas, Marc Lifsher, reported on April 12, under the headline "Venezuelan Crisis Deepens, Cutting Oil Flow and Threatening Chavez." The first two paragraphs reported "a prolonged national strike and violent demonstrations...choking off...oil exports to U.S...." the rumors that "President Hugo Chavez had agreed to leave the country" and a clash between the demonstrators and supporters of the President. The clues and motifs of the event are given in the next paragraph:

*The demonstrations and a crippling strike across this nation of 24 million threaten to loosen Mr. Chavez's grip on power. The protests are the fruit of an unusual alliance between big business and labor, led by a burly 56-year old former refinery cleaner named Carlos Ortega.... The actions have bottled up oil output, jolted global oil markets and stunned a government that Washington considers a political pariah. U.S. officials dislike the Venezuelan ruler for his national oil policy...<sup>6</sup>*

### NOW AND THEN

Chavez's national oil policy is the same crime for which Dr. Mossadeq was punished with the first covert action of the CIA. Let's not forget that the CIA success in Iran became a model later used in Guatemala, Ghana, Congo, Chile and many other places in the world. Marc Lifsher described Chavez's policy as follows:

*Mr. Chavez's prickly nationalism has made him a big irritant for Washington and a bit of a wild card on the global oil scene. He*



May 1, 2002, Caracas, Venezuela. Supporters of Venezuela's elected President gather during May Day celebrations. One waves a sign: "Chavez the messiah, Bush is Satan."

has increased royalties charged to foreign oil investors and shifted Venezuelan's traditional high-production, low-price oil policy by aligning with OPEC in an effort to push prices higher. Apart from that, there's evidence that Mr. Chavez has consorted with Marxist guerrillas in neighboring Colombia, where the U.S. is backing the government in a \$1.3 billion assistance program. Mr. Chavez has also maintained warm relations with a host of leaders whom the U.S. considers pariahs, including Fidel Castro, Saddam Hussein and Muammar el-Qaddafi.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1950s, except for the Soviet Union, not many "pariahs" existed. In his book *Countercoup*, Mr. Kermit Roosevelt, "field commander" of the coup, asserted that, at the time of the CIA coup in Iran, Dr. Mossadeq "had formed an alliance of

his own with the Soviet Union to achieve the result he wanted."<sup>8</sup> This was not true.

A clearer picture of Dr. Mossadeq can be found in the carefully documented book *The Eagle and the Lion*:

...Mossadeq was no more stubborn than the British... Besides his personal convictions in these matters, Mossadeq's unyielding position was essential within the context of the social forces then at work in Iran. The communist left, the growing nationalist middle, and the xenophobic religious right exerted continual fierce pressure.... In a secret meeting of the Majlis [Iranian parliament] Oil Commission in 1951, he argued that in order to defeat communism, reforms were necessary. In order to implement reforms, money was essential. In order to obtain money, nation-

alization was vital...<sup>9</sup>

Based upon those facts, the previous administration of Truman/Acheson hesitated to interfere in the controversies between Iran and the U.K. For the Republican administration of Eisenhower/Dulles, with their so-called concern about communism, the logical reasoning of Mossadeq did not have any validity. Consequently, his oil policy, focused on the nationalization of Iranian oil, sufficed to make him accused of being a communist who consorted with the Soviet Union. Fifty years ago, Iranian oil was very important for the United States—important enough to make it ready to overthrow a democratic government. When we understand that most Venezuelan oil is consumed by the U.S., and some Texas refineries are actually dependent upon this source, the current U.S. position toward Venezuela becomes similarly clear.

The importance of Venezuelan oil for the U.S. was reported by the *Wall Street Journal's* man in Caracas:

Venezuela...has long been a strategic source of crude oil of the U.S. and is only a few days tanker run to refineries in Louisiana and Texas. *Petroleos De Venezuela, S.A. (PDVSA)* wholly owns *Citgo*, a Tulsa, Oklahoma-based company that operates a number of refineries and 14,000 service stations.... Venezuela regularly ranks among the top four foreign sources of U.S. oil and usually shipped to the U.S. about 1.7 million barrels a day of crude oil and refined products like gasoline. Many of the U.S. refineries are specially engineered to handle heavy Venezuelan crude and could find themselves facing shortage in the coming weeks if Venezuela doesn't resume full production and exportation.<sup>10</sup>

The reaction of the administration in Washington and the corporate media to the Venezuelan event was practically identical. Here, the *Washington Post* can serve as a sample of the American press. On April 13, 2002, the paper had three reports and one editorial about Venezuela. The report of Scott Wilson from Caracas under the headline "Leader of Venezuela Is Forced To Resign" informed the readers in the first two paragraphs:

...President Hugo Chavez, the former paratrooper whose leftist politics roiled this oil-rich country for three years, resigned this morning hours after military leaders seized control of the country. His resignation followed anti-government protests that left more than a dozen people dead.... An interim government headed by Pedro Carmona, leader of the country's largest business group, was sworn in at the presidential palace this afternoon in a ceremony.

ny attended by a cross section of Venezuela's civil society. Backed by the country's top generals, who will join him on the governing junta, Carmona declared Chavez's two-year-old constitution invalid, dissolved the Chavez-controlled legislature and Supreme Court, and pledged to hold new presidential and legislative elections within a year.<sup>11</sup>

## LEGALITY OR LEGITIMACY?

The second report of Scott Wilson was titled "Chavez's Gloomy Legacy for The Left." Wilson presents Chavez as a man "...superimposed between the guerrilla heroes of old—the face of a new generation of leftist Latin American leaders ready to antagonize the United States," with a bleak legacy for the radical left of Latin America, "...now pushing against the prevailing political current of free trade, capitalism and a general nod to U.S. interest." Two citations in that analysis which sound like music to Washington's ears are very revealing. The first is from an official of the state oil company who said "Cuba would not get one more drop of Venezuelan oil," and the second is from Anibal Romero, professor of political science at Simon Bolivar University. Professor Romero, like Francis Fukuyama or Dinesh D'Souza, is the sort of ideologue much in demand at Washington think-tanks. His lecture about the Venezuelan event:

*The lesson here is that charismatic demagogues can still win elections in poor countries. The economic and social instability is still with us. The field is still open to the successful appearance of these figures that, by distorting reality and securing the hearts and minds of the uneducated, win election....Chavez showed what was wrong with a U.S. policy that endorses democratic government regardless of how it is carried out. Democracies operate differently in each country, and should be treated differently as a result. It is a great improvement that the U.S. is committed to democracy and the rule of law in Latin America, and it's a big change from the past. But this is not a policy that should be implemented indiscriminately. Legality is one thing, legitimacy is another.<sup>12</sup>*

The White House was apparently familiar with the opinion of Professor Romero, as becomes clear from the statement of Scott Wilson:

*The emerging response to Chavez's forced resignation, which he tendered to three generals this morning, highlights how fragile democracy is in an Andean region that has had three presidents ousted by coup or popular protest in the last three years. U.S. officials declined today to call*

*Chavez's removal a coup, even as the leaders from 19 Latin American nations condemned 'the constitutional interruption' in Venezuela.<sup>13</sup>*

## U.S. CONTACT WITH THE OPPOSITION

According to Wilson's first report, some members of the opposition contacted the U.S. Embassy in Caracas in the weeks before the event. They were seeking U.S. support for toppling Chavez. One U.S. official confirmed the contact: "The opposition has been coming in with an assortment of... what if this happened? What if that happened? What if you held it up and looked at it sideways? To every scenario we say no. We know what a coup looks like, and we won't support it."<sup>14</sup>

The third article, by Peter Slevin and Karen DeYoung, has one purpose: washing the administration's hands. This is reflected in the headline: "Chavez Provoked His Removal, U.S. Officials Say," which repeats what Ari Fleisher said the previous day: *The Bush administration yesterday blamed former Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez for the events that led to his forced resignation and arrest, calling his toppling by the nation's military a "change of government" rather than a coup. Officials said Chavez's departure was the will of Venezuela's people.<sup>15</sup>* Wonderful how the will of Venezuela's people so closely parallels the designs of the Bush administration.

Chavez lost his job '...as a result of the message of the Venezuelan people,' said White House spokesman Ari Fleischer... [He] said the Chavez government tried to suppress peaceful demonstrations, ordered its supporters to fire on unarmed protesters and blocked media broadcasts of the events.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to such reporting and analysis, the *Washington Post* felt it necessary to clarify the paper's position in the case of the Venezuelan change of government. The *Post* published an editorial that tries to demonstrate the paper's patriotism without compromising its so-called liberal face. The opening paragraph is a masterwork of hypocrisy.

*Any interruption of democracy in Latin America is wrong, the more so when it involves the military. The region's history of military coups is too long and tragic, and the consolidation of democracy too recent, for any unconstitutional takeover to be condoned.*

This is a beautiful opening for an editorial. Unfortunately, its validity is not always guaranteed, and under some circumstances there is legitimate reason to ignore the consolidation of democracy. The editorial presented the difference between legality and legitimacy in the following sentence:

*But first facts from Venezuela suggest*

*that the violation of democracy that led to ouster of President Hugo Chavez Thursday night was initiated not by the army but by Mr. Chavez himself. Confronted by tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators protesting his increasingly destructive policies, Mr. Chavez forced television stations off the air and allegedly ordered snipers and other armed loyalists at the presidential palace to open fire. More than a dozen people were killed and scores wounded. It was only then the military commanders demanded the president's resignation; they would not, they said, tolerate his attempt to stop his opposition with bullets.<sup>17</sup>*

The editorial admits that "There is no question that democracy brought Mr. Chavez to power three years ago." But it tries to rationalize his removal by military means by proclaiming:

*Along the way, Mr. Chavez seriously compromised the integrity of democratic institutions such as Congress and the Courts. And unfortunately for the poor, who make up 80 percent of the population of an oil-rich country, Mr. Chavez was a terrible leader.<sup>18</sup>*

The jubilant atmosphere in Washington and the corporate media was short-lived. The next day's headlines were unexpectedly sober. Many dailies in the U.S. followed the *Post's* lead and joined in the White House jubilation by repeating Ari Fleischer's daily statements. On April 16, the *New York Times*, at least, confessed the error of its editorial of April 14.

Scott Wilson of the *Washington Post* gave a precise picture of the event. In his previous report, he called "...the media, labor unions and the Catholic Church..." enemies of the Chavez government. In the subsequent report, he informed the readers that in the Fall, two officers, Pedro Soto and Carlos Molina from Air Force and Marines respectively, began to organize a group of officers for a plot to topple Chavez. The plot was discovered and the two officers were forced out of service. But their idea was supported by two high-ranking officers, General Rafael D. Bustillos of the army, and Vice Admiral Hector Ramirez of the navy. After the coup, Hector Ramirez became defense minister, and Rafael Bustillos became interior and justice minister in the interim government of Pedro Carmona. Scott Wilson found out later that Soto and Molina received \$100,000 each from a Miami Bank. The *New York Times*, under the title "Bush Officials Met With Venezuelan Who Ousted Leader" quoted a Pentagon spokesperson saying that U.S. military officials were not discouraging coup plotters, and were sending informal signals that they don't like Chavez.<sup>19</sup>



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*...Mossadeq sought to restrict the neo-patrimonial powers of the Shah and to reduce him to a constitutional monarch and a ceremonial figurehead. To achieve that constitutional goal, he forced a showdown with the Shah in July 1952.*

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#### **TUMULTUOUS 48 HOURS IN 2002**

According to the official story of the interim government, on Thursday, April 11th, about 3:00 p.m., demonstrators opposing Chavez arrived at the presidential palace. Chavez, concerned about the loyalty of some high-ranking military officers, called directly the commander of 3rd division in Caracas, asking for 30 tanks to defend the palace, Miraflores. As Chief of the Armed Forces Lucas Rincon received the order, he stopped it and sent only seven tanks. About one hour later, Hector Ramirez, as the new minister of defense, accompanied by a group of officers, appeared on television, denounced Chavez as dictator and demanded his resignation. On Friday, April 12th, the military named Pedro Carmona interim President, claiming that Chavez had resigned. Carmona immediately dissolved the Congress and Supreme Court. The United States, unsurprisingly, endorsed the interim government. Latin American leaders refused to support the coup. As the coup was stimulating harsh international criticism, the supporters of Chavez took to the streets surrounding the presidential palace demanding his return to office. The insistence of Chavez supporters day and night around the palace forced some part of the military to reconsider their position. A series of rebellions among army units warned the Carmona clique and cooperating officers.

Mark Lifsher's report in the *Wall Street Journal*, cynically titled "In Under 48 Hours, Venezuelans Have Enough of a Coup," describes the events as follows:

*When a group of military men and the head of Venezuela's main business association ousted leftist President Hugo Chavez last week, the coup-plotters denounced the former paratrooper as a dictator....But once in power the plotters revealed that they too were undemocratic—and lacking in Mr. Chavez's flair with Venezuela's aggrieved working class. The brief government, headed by business leader Pedro*

*Carmona, immediately issued a decree shutting down the Congress, suspending the Supreme Court and authorizing the firing of elected officials, including state governors and mayors.<sup>20</sup>*

Both the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal* interviewed Anibal Romero, professor of political science. After Chavez returned to power, the professor said he has been...*immensely strengthened both domestically and internationally, he is a martyr who's come back from the grave. This is not simply a setback but is a tragedy, and it's going to take the opposition a long time and enormous effort to rebuild.<sup>21</sup>*

#### **TUMULTUOUS 48 HOURS IN 1952**

The fact is that the 16th parliament of Iran generally supported the view of Mossadeq. But the election for the 17th parliament was a great risk, since all his opponents such as the Shah, the military and the clerics (including Ayatollah Khomeini) were mobilized to destroy his legislative support. The loyalty of high-ranking officers of all branches of the military to the Imperial Court, and their broad influence over regional governments was a well-known fact. To encounter such sabotage, Dr. Mossadeq did not have any other choice than to break this cycle. In this light, Amir Arjomand analyzes the situation at that time:

*Furthermore, Mossadeq also sought to restrict the neo-patrimonial powers of the Shah and to reduce him to a constitutional monarch and a ceremonial figurehead. To achieve this constitutional goal, he forced a showdown with the Shah in July 1952.<sup>22</sup>*

As the Shah refused the Prime Minister's demand, Mossadeq resigned. For this the British and the Shah had waited a long time. The Shah immediately nominated Ahmad Ghavam as prime minister. This was clearly against the existing Iranian Constitution at that time, and was demonstrably a coup d'etat. Much as it

happened in Venezuela in April 2002, mass demonstrations in Tehran and other major cities, forced the Shah to dismiss Ghavam and invite Dr. Mossadeq back. This spontaneous demonstration of the people was a real counter coup.

#### **CONCILIATORY COMEBACK**

In spite of condemnation by 19 Latin American leaders, the White House stuck to its position. The day Chavez reclaimed the presidency, the White House released the following statement:

*The people of Venezuela have sent a clear message to President Chavez that they want both democracy and reform. The Chavez administration has an opportunity to respond to this message by correcting its course of governing in a fully democratic manner.<sup>23</sup>*

Although Chavez's first speeches were conciliatory, the relationship between the two countries has been damaged. On the first day of his return to power, Chavez made the following appeal: "Organize yourselves, members of the opposition! Engage in politics that is fair, just and legal!" Three weeks later, on May 3, Chavez gave an interview primarily focused on future relations between the two countries. He discussed not only the role of the U.S. in the coup, but also the existence of a plan to assassinate him. The indirect message in this interview was to Washington, where political assassination has been outlawed for thirty years.

*The evidence includes information collected from a coastal radar installation that tracked a foreign military ship and aircraft operating in and over Venezuelan waters a day after his ouster. The ship, helicopter and plane—identified by their transponder codes as military—disappeared from the radar the morning he returned from his imprisonment on the island of La Orchila, he said....In addition, Chavez said, an American was involved in what he characterized as an assassination plot against him uncovered in Costa Rica four months ago. He said the details of the plan revealed at the time essentially predicted what transpired on April 11, when a protest march on the presidential palace turned violent and led to his arrest by senior military officers.<sup>24</sup>*

The revelation of the alleged assassination plan occurred as Chavez and his family were vacationing in January 2002. Chavez received a phone call from his foreign minister, urging him to return to Caracas. On his arrival, discovery of the plot was disclosed. The unexpected breakdown of interim government was very puzzling. But, having knowledge of such a plan; observing the mutiny of some offi-

cers; and knowing about the contact of the opposition members with U.S. officials, in Caracas as well as in Washington; the Chavez administration was fully aware of the threat of a coup, and prepared a thorough defense.

On May 13th the *Guardian* corroborated this by publishing an investigative report. The *Guardian* had reported one month earlier that a former U.S. intelligence officer claimed that the overthrow of Chavez has been considered by the U.S. for nearly a year. The report did not find any echo, although it revealed that the Chavez administration received an advance warning of a coup attempt from the Venezuelan Ali Rodriguez, the secretary general of OPEC. This advance warning, first reported on the BBC program "Newsnight" allowed the Chavez administration to counter the coup by an extraordinary plan.

*Mr. Rodriguez, a former leftwing guerrilla, telephoned Mr. Chavez from the Vienna headquarters of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries...several days before the attempted overthrow in April. He said OPEC had learned that... Libya and Iraq, planned to call for a new oil embargo against the United States because of its support for Israel.*

*The sudden collapse of the coup was for a time a mystery. According to Chavez insiders, several hundred Chavista troops were already hidden in the basement of the presidential palace. At the time of coup, Mr. Juan Barreto, a Chavista member of the National Assembly, was trapped along with Chavez in Miraflores. Mr. Barreto said that Jose Baduel, chief of the paratroop division loyal to Mr. Chavez, had waited until Mr. Carmona was inside Miraflores. Mr. Baduel then phoned Mr. Carmona to tell him that, with troops virtually under his chair, he was as much a hostage as Mr. Chavez. He gave Mr. Carmona 24 hours to return Mr. Chavez alive. Escape from Miraflores was impossible for Mr. Carmona. The building was surrounded by hundreds of thousands of pro-Chavez demonstrators who, alerted by a sympathetic foreign affairs minister, had marched on it from the Ranchos, the poorest barrios.<sup>25</sup>*

## COUP AND COUNTERCOUP

According to an interview with President Chavez on BBC's "Newsnight," his administration has

*...written proof of the time of the entries and exits of two U.S. military officers into the headquarters of the coup plotters—their names, whom they met with, what they said—proof on video and on still photographs.*

***Organizing a coup today is not as easy as it was in 1953 Iran, where most participants were paid only thirty cents for their destructive role. Kermit Roosevelt professed amusement that he had a million dollar budget to overthrow Mossadeq but spent only \$100,000.***

Here lies the key difference between the first American coup in August 1953, in Iran, and the last in April 2002, in Venezuela. Apparently, based upon early warning, the Chavez administration had a precise plan, not only to counter the coup, but also to document it.

Dr. Mossadeq also had such information, and somehow was prepared to counter the coup and ordered the arrest of a senior coup plotter. But he did not believe that the plot would continue after that arrest. One American researcher in the field of U.S. policy toward Iran gives the following picture of the first phase of the coup:

*Well, the coup was supposed to take place on the night of August 15-16. The main plan was that selected military units would take certain actions and in particular certain officers would go and arrest Mossadeq, and so they did. But the Prime Minister had learned about this, apparently through Tudeh party informants in the U.S. Embassy who had passed the word to their party and the Tudeh passed it on to Mossadeq. This is apparently how it happened, although this is not certain. Anyway, Mossadeq somehow knew; he was expecting visitors and he knew that they were coming to arrest him. So when the officer arrived, he had him arrested, and then a number of other things didn't work out very well. There were military units that were supposed to occupy certain locations in Tehran, but officers got cold feet. So the initial coup plan which was scheduled to occur on the night of August 15-16 quickly fell apart.<sup>26</sup>*

Although at that time, Mossadeq could have unmasked the coup plotters, and used his enormous popularity to mobilize people against them and enhance his national movement, he didn't do anything. The reasons for Mossadeq's inconsistency are both personal and historical.

Like many politicians of the 19th century (this year marks the 120th anniversary of his birth), Mossadeq viewed politics as an inescapably moral enterprise. He was one of the rare Iranian politicians who opposed Reza Khan, founder of Pahlavi

dynasty and father of Mohammad Reza Shah, who was key to the plot against him. During the reign of Reza Shah, Mossadeq was for many years under house arrest until the occupation of Iran during World War II by the allied forces and the subsequent expulsion of Reza Shah from Iran.

On September 17, 1941, Mohammad Reza Shah's inauguration began with his oath before parliament to be faithful to and supportive of the Iranian constitution. Mossadeq was now freed, and soon elected to parliament. He once told the young Shah that he had sworn to be faithful to the Iranian monarchy. For him it was immoral to break this oath, although the Shah was breaking his oath to be faithful to the constitution.

Mossadeq took a positive view of the United States. (Even Ho Chi Minh believed the Truman administration might help free his nation from the yoke of French colonialism.) In contrast to European countries like England, France, Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal, in Mossadeq's view the United States never had any colony. For Dr. Mossadeq's hope of ending the dominance of England and nationalizing Iranian oil, the U.S. appeared to be a helpful ally. Because of this viewpoint and despite copious evidence, Mossadeq did not want to believe that the U.S. would assist in a coup in favor of British oil interests. In the end, the fact is that Mossadeq's passivity resulted in the continuation of the coup in its second phase by CIA man Kermit Roosevelt, as described by James A. Bill:

*The first act of Operation Ajax failed when Mossadeq got word that he was to be ousted. Colonel Nimatullah Nassiri, the officer who tried to serve him with political eviction orders signed by the shah, was arrested on the spot, and the shah made a hasty flight out of the country on August 16, 1953. Rather than cancel the operation at this point, Roosevelt took it upon himself to move forward with plans to call into the street his paid mobs from south Tehran along with the royalist military officers led by Gen. Fazlollah Zahedi... After*



Sunday morning, April 14, 2002, Caracas, Venezuela. A supporter of President Hugo Chavez sleeps in front of Miraflores, the Presidential Palace.

*much confusion and street fighting, the royalists won the day, and on August 19, Muhammad Mossadeq was forced to flee his residence and was arrested soon thereafter. On August 22, the shah flew back to Iran in triumph.<sup>27</sup>*

To justify the second phase of the initial coup, which crumbled, Mr. Roosevelt coined the name "Counter coup" for its followup. Unfortunately, James A. Bill and others have followed his lead.

According to the pre-coup Iranian constitution in place in 1953, the prime minister could resign, or his government might fall upon a no-confidence vote of parliament. In either case, parliament alone had the right to nominate his successor. The Shah would then invite the nominee to appoint the next government. This was a pro forma role for the Shah. He did not have the power to veto the nomination of parliament. In the first phase of the coup, the officer who was designated to arrest Mossadeq carried a decree with him signed by the Shah, dismissing Dr. Mossadeq as prime minister, and appointing Gen. Fazlollah Zahedi—who was on the payroll of the CIA. This act by the Shah was an outright violation of the constitution, and a real coup d'état. Hence the arrest of the officer sent to arrest Dr. Mossadeq, was a real counter coup. Referring to Kermit Roosevelt's overthrow of Mossadeq as a

"counter coup" is nothing but a public relations fraud.

The resistance of Hugo Chavez's administration and the Venezuelan people can be legitimately called a counter coup. Organizing a coup today is not as easy as it was in 1953 Iran, where most participants were paid only thirty cents for their destructive role. Kermit Roosevelt professed amusement that he had a million dollar budget to overthrow Mossadeq but spent only \$100,000. The reaction of most Latin American leaders showed respect for democratic principles and national rights. Some of today's leaders of the hemisphere were former partisans of democracy who are now practicing it. As an example, it is interesting to note that the man who gave warning of the Venezuelan coup, Mr. Ali Rodriguez, secretary general of OPEC, was a former active guerrilla. The political sharpness of such people cannot be compared to the sincere belief of a 19th century social democrat like the late Dr. Mossadeq. In spite of all that, one should not take the victory of the Chavez administration as a fully guaranteed matter. As mentioned before, the first attempt against Mossadeq, a joint project of the Shah and the British in June 1952 was defeated by the people on the streets of Tehran and put Mossadeq back in power within 48 hours. But he was not immune

against the subsequent attempt, in August 1953, which unfortunately succeeded. There are still many Pinochets in Latin America who would not mind going through one or more blood baths to serve their master. The recent demonstrations by black shirt wearers in Caracas on May 11 and 23, very similar to fabricated demonstrations in Mossadeq's time should alert the Chavez administration.

The warning should not be treated as a prediction of gloom and doom, but an appeal for alertness. The Venezuelan people can and must utilize the historical experience of the millions of victims of other CIA coups around the world. Planners of a coup do not easily renounce their plans. They postpone their work only to find other ways to pursue the initial plan. They do not hesitate to use all possible avenues to reach their goal. Let us refresh our memory by a fast review of the different episodes of the British against Mossadeq.

The British knew Mossadeq very well, as a law-abiding democrat. They first took the case of nationalization of Iranian oil to the Security Council of the UN. The Council supported Mossadeq's argument that the case was between Iran and a private company and not between two nations or governments. Britain next went to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Mossadeq argued Iran's case. On July 22,



1952, the majority of the Court acknowledged Iran's rights to nationalize its own resources as a sovereign nation. Even the British judge ruled in Iran's favor. As the British judicial arguments were exhausted, the tactics shifted to more political intrigues for overt actions inside Iran, and diplomatic initiatives to win American support for covert actions. The British were encouraged by Mossadeq's opponents—the Shah, the military and the clerics were ready for cooperation. In this instance:

[T]he British indicated openly and frequently that no negotiations were possible with him, and that they would prefer to do business with his successor. Mossadeq's only hope was to maintain the momentum of nationalist movement, with its built-in anti-British stance, in order to minimize his government against orchestrated parliamentary machination and other activities sponsored by the British and the Court.<sup>28</sup>

History tells us that Dr. Mossadeq was not alert enough. Today, when Mr. Pedro Carmona openly boasts of backing from the United States, and eventual future attempts, it is clearly still high noon for President Chavez and his administration.

Coups do not occur in a vacuum, so the CIA has typically relied on black propaganda as a preparatory measure in every coup since 1953. Disinformation, planted through news agencies or hired journalists is a very effective and important way to create the necessary social tension. Typical of such propaganda is the *Washington Post* characterization of Chavez's presidency as "unfortunate for the poor who make up 80 percent of the population of an oil-rich country." Chavez's response to such charges was printed in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, but never showed up in the *Washington Post*:

We have lowered unemployment... created 450,000 new jobs... Venezuela moved up four places on the Human Development Index. The number of children in school has risen 25 percent. More than 1.5 million children who didn't go to school are now in school, and receive clothing, breakfast, lunch and afternoon snacks. We have carried out massive immunization campaigns in the marginalized sector of population. Infant mortality has declined. We are building more than 135,000 housing units for poor families. We are distributing land to landless campesinos. We have created a Women's Bank that provides micro-credit loans. In the year 2001, Venezuela was one of the countries with the highest growth rates on the continent, nearly 3 percent... We are delivering the country from prostration and backwardness...<sup>29</sup>

Such a balance of achievements rarely finds the smallest reflection in the main stream media of the United States. But Mr. Stephen Johnson from the Heritage Foundation has the opportunity, as "Policy Analyst for Latin America," to use the opinion page of *Wall Street Journal* to criticize President Chavez:

In October 2000, Mr. Chavez signed an agreement with Fidel Castro to provide Cuba with a sizeable chunk of its oil needs in exchange for welcoming Cuban experts to train Venezuelan teachers and help develop new school curricula. In March 2001, some 10,000 parents and teachers gathered in various cities across the nation to protest what they perceived as an effort to indoctrinate their children.<sup>30</sup>

The history of U.S. covert operations in the Third World shows clearly that such operations are seldom planned as one-shot deals. Coups are generally the last resort in a series of multifaceted covert operations, implemented only when all other methods have failed. Once the advantage of surprise is lost, coup planners must resort to other clever tricks as they mount their second, third or fourth attempts. One such trick is a smokescreen of saturation media coverage on a simultaneous overt operation in another part of the world. Once international attention is focused elsewhere, a blitzkrieg is unleashed. As long as the U.S. continues to rely on covert operations to achieve its goals, eternal vigilance is essential to preserving democratic gains anywhere around the world.

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# Plutonium in Space (Again!)

## BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR OMNICIDE

Karl Grossman

### EDITOR'S NOTE:

*As the undeclared war in Afghanistan stumbles on, and the Bush administration searches frantically for its next target in the hypocritical and open-ended "war on terror," the people of the U.S. should be thinking deeply about the road this nation is on. NASA, an ostensibly civilian agency dedicated to the scientific exploration of space, has long been criticized for too great an emphasis on precisely those programs with the most potential for military application. Today, NASA no longer disguises its collaboration with the Pentagon, but cheerfully boasts of assisting in the targeting of U.S. bombing runs in Afghanistan. ("Navy Enlists NASA in the War on Terror" Aviation Week and Space Technology, April 8, 2002) Given this state of affairs, the following article is important both as protest and warning that the worst is yet to come.*

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is moving to revive its scheme to build nuclear-propelled rockets—on which \$10 billion in 1950s and 1960s dollars were spent.<sup>1</sup> The program was cancelled because of the problem, still present, of disaster happening if such a rocket fell back to Earth. Also, NASA is moving to expand its use of atomic power to generate electricity on space probes and planetary rovers.

NASA calls the program its Nuclear Systems Initiative. Some \$125.5 million would be spent on it next year—an appropriation request now moving through committees in Congress and expected to undergo a final vote in Fall 2002, according to congressional staffers.<sup>2</sup> This is to be the first installment of \$1 billion that NASA is seeking over the next five years for its new atomic space program.

The Nuclear Systems Initiative is "a new element" in NASA's "space science program," NASA Administrator Sean O'Keefe told the House of Representatives Committee on Science in February.<sup>3</sup> Three months before, O'Keefe replaced Daniel Goldin as NASA administrator. Goldin, increasingly concerned about opposition to NASA's use of nuclear power on space

devices and the potential political and public impacts on NASA, sought to avoid their use during his tenure.<sup>4</sup> As Apollo astronaut John Young complained at a Space Technology and Applications International Forum in 1999, Goldin "doesn't want nuclear power."<sup>5</sup>

But O'Keefe, appointed NASA chief by President George W. Bush and U.S. secretary of the Navy under Bush's father and, before that, comptroller and chief financial officer of the Department of Defense working for then Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, has made it clear he is bullish on the use of nuclear power in space.<sup>6</sup>

"Nuclear propulsion greatly increases mission flexibility, enabling new science missions, more in-depth investigations, and greater flexibility in reaching and exploring distant objects," he told the House Committee on Science. He described the Nuclear Systems Initiative as "a program to develop safe and reliable nuclear power and propulsion systems."<sup>7</sup>

The Nuclear Systems Initiative comes as scientists in the European Space Agency—ESA, the European counterpart of NASA—in the space industry and at NASA itself have made breakthroughs in developing safer ways of propelling rockets and energizing space probes and planetary landers. This includes solar electric propulsion and the use of "solar sails" and other solar technologies that stress the generation of electricity with new high-efficiency solar cells.

In fact, next year ESA is to launch a solar-powered space probe called Rosetta named after the Rosetta Stone which, notes ESA, "led to a revolution in our understanding of the past. By comparing the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone, historians were able to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics for the first time. Just as the Rosetta Stone provided the key to an ancient civilization, so the European Space Agency's Rosetta Spacecraft will allow scientists to unlock the mystery of the oldest building blocks of our solar system—the comets."<sup>8</sup>

Rosetta's on-board electricity will come from solar cells with 25% efficiency—a quarter of the sunlight striking its panels

will turn into electricity. "Until now, deep space probes had to use thermonuclear power generators," ESA explains in its informational material on Rosetta, but because such atomic "technology is not available in Europe, ESA attempted to develop a power source based on very high-efficiency solar cells."<sup>9</sup>

The "25% mark represents the highest efficiency ever reached worldwide with silicon cells" and Rosetta will be drawing sunlight from far, far off. Its voyage is to include "two excursions" into the asteroid belt and it then will fly beyond Jupiter to rendezvous with a comet called Wirtanen.<sup>10</sup>

"Rosetta," says ESA, "will be the first space mission to journey beyond the main asteroid belt and rely solely on solar cells for power generation, rather than traditional radioisotope thermal generators."<sup>11</sup> "After a 5.3 billion km space odyssey, Rosetta will make first contact with Wirtanen about 675 million km from the Sun," explains ESA on its website. "At this distance, sunlight is 20 times weaker than on Earth."<sup>12</sup> Despite the decline in available sunlight at such distances, current solar cell technology will be able to supply the needs of the Rosetta mission.

In contrast, NASA's new stress on nuclear power in space "is not only dangerous but politically unwise," says Dr. Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the City University of New York. "The only thing that can kill the U.S. space program is a nuclear disaster. The American people will not tolerate a Chernobyl in the sky. That would doom the space program."<sup>13</sup>

"NASA hasn't learned its lesson from

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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its history involving space nuclear power," says Kaku, "and a hallmark of science is that you learn from previous mistakes. NASA doggedly pursues its fantasy of nuclear power in space. We have to save NASA from itself." He cites "alternatives" to space nuclear power. "Some of these alternatives may delay the space program a bit. But the planets are not going to go away. What's the rush? I'd rather explore

sources of power and it is very useful for the U.S. government to be able to bury some of the costs for the development work in 'civilian' or 'dual use' programs."<sup>18</sup>

"Firing nuclear material into space on the top of rockets subject to frequent failures is just asking for trouble," says Webb. "How long will it be before the residents of central Florida are subjected to a shower of nuclear debris from a launch that goes

electricity collected by panels is concentrated and used to accelerate the movement of propellant out of a thrust chamber. NASA's Deep Space 1 probe, launched in 1998, is the first space probe to be propelled with solar electric propulsion."<sup>25</sup>

Then there are "solar sails" making use of the ionized particles emitted by the Sun which constitute a force in space.<sup>26</sup> They can be utilized just like wind by a sailboat

**NASA HASN'T LEARNED ITS LESSON FROM ITS HISTORY INVOLVING SPACE NUCLEAR POWER, AND A HALLMARK OF SCIENCE IS THAT YOU LEARN FROM PREVIOUS MISTAKES. NASA DOGGEDLY PURSUES ITS FANTASY OF NUCLEAR POWER IN SPACE. WE HAVE TO SAVE NASA FROM ITSELF. —DR. MICHIO KAKU**

the universe slower than not at all if there is a nuclear disaster."<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Ross McCluney, a former NASA scientist, says the Nuclear Systems Initiative "is a surprise to me because I thought the issue of using nuclear in space had been settled at NASA because of the history of problems and the dangers."<sup>15</sup>

McCluney regards the new nuclear program as "an example of tunnel vision, focusing too narrowly on what appears to be a good engineering solution but not on the longer-term human and environmental risks and the law of unintended consequences. You think you're in control of everything and then things happen beyond your control. If your project is inherently benign, an unexpected error can be tolerated. But when you have at your project's core something inherently dangerous, then the consequences of unexpected failures can be great."<sup>16</sup>

"As a former NASA employee and a great NASA supporter, I am fearful of the future of NASA if it gets too involved with nuclear material," says McCluney, principal research scientist at the Florida Solar Energy Center.<sup>17</sup>

## FROM PROPULSION TO DESTRUCTION

Although NASA stresses doing interplanetary exploration with nuclear power—including propelling rockets on voyages to Mars—a military link is seen by Dr. Dave Webb, who had been a scientist in the British space program and is now secretary of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space. "The recent increase in the U.S. budget for Star Wars and NASA's plans to spend \$1 billion in the next five years on its nuclear power and propulsion programs is no coincidence," he says. "Star Wars projects like the Space-Based Laser require significant

wrong? Historically there is about a 1-in-10 chance of a catastrophic accident during satellite launches. Who will cover the costs including the medical costs if things like that happen to a nuclear payload?" Webb, principal lecturer at the United Kingdom's Leeds Metropolitan University's School of Engineering, also points to the solar option and stresses the use of solar energy on Rosetta by ESA of which the U.K. is part.<sup>19</sup>

A branch of NASA—its Photovoltaics and Space Environment Branch headquartered at the John Glenn Research Center in Cleveland—has, like ESA, been working at the cutting-edge of space solar energy development.

The silicon solar cells "developed decades ago" which now power the International Space Station, notes NASA's website, have 14.5% efficiency, and the branch is "exploring new ways to harness the Sun's power—including more efficient solar cells, laser-beaming energy to distant spacecraft and solar power systems for the Moon and Mars." This includes solar systems for exploring and powering bases on Moon and Mars.<sup>20</sup>

NASA's website includes detailed NASA plans such as "Photovoltaic Power for the Moon,"<sup>21</sup> "Power Systems for Bases and Rovers on Mars"<sup>22</sup> and "A Solar Power System for an Early Mars Expedition."<sup>23</sup>

There is no "edge" or limit to solar power, says a solar scientist at the NASA branch, Dr. Geoffrey A. Landis. "In the long term, solar arrays won't have to rely on the Sun. We're investigating the concept of using lasers to beam photons to solar arrays. If you make a powerful-enough laser and can aim the beam, there really isn't any edge of sunshine."<sup>24</sup>

Solar is also being developed to propel spacecraft. In solar electric propulsion,

on Earth. NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in California is considering a launch at the end of the decade of a space probe to Pluto using either solar sails or solar electric propulsion.<sup>27</sup>

A space device with solar sails built in Russia for the International Planetary Society, based in California and founded by the late astronomer Carl Sagan, was launched last year. Russia's Interfax news service noted that the "objective of the mission is to test the system for opening the paddles of an experimental transport vehicle, which looks like a giant windmill, using for the first time in space exploration solar wind for propulsion."<sup>28</sup>

Jack Dixon, for 30 years an aerospace engineer, takes issue with those against nuclear power in space for being critical of it for "politically correct," anti-nuclear reasons. His criticism is cost—what he says is an enormous cost. The solar sail system "may be implemented at about 10% of the cost of nuclear and quickly." It is "simple and relatively low tech."<sup>29</sup>

Yet despite the costs, dangers and the advances in solar energy and other benign forms of power for use in space, NASA would emphasize nuclear power. In fact, the situation is not so different from how the Bush administration has been pushing to "revive" nuclear power on Earth despite the availability today of safe, clean, economic, renewable energy technologies. And like terrestrial atomic power, space nuclear power has a problematic past.

Early U.S. space satellites were powered by plutonium. The first nuclear satellite was Transit 4A, a navigational satellite launched on June 29, 1961. It was a time when space and nuclear power were seen by some as coupled.

Space exploration "in large measure depends upon the common destiny of



space and the atom," former U.S. Senator Albert Gore—the father of the ex-vice president—declared in a 1962 Senate speech. In Gore's home state, importantly, was Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Oak Ridge and the other U.S. nuclear laboratories then and to this day have promoted the development of space atomic power as a means of expanding their activities, to bring in more work. Gore, a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, advocated nuclear-powered rockets

University of California at Berkeley, an M.D. and Ph.D. who was involved in isolating plutonium for the Manhattan Project and co-discovered several radioisotopes.<sup>34</sup>

The SNAP-9A accident caused NASA to become a pioneer in developing solar photovoltaic energy technology. And in recent decades, all U.S. satellites have been solar-powered.

But NASA continued to use plutonium-powered systems for a series of space probe missions, claiming that solar power

Rocket Vehicle Application—program. Projects Pluto, Rover and Poodle to build nuclear-powered rockets followed.

Westinghouse was a major contractor in the original U.S. nuclear rocket efforts.

A former Westinghouse president, John W. Simpson, related how to get the contracts "we pulled out all the stops—not only technical effort but also marketing and political savvy."<sup>38</sup>

Ground tests of nuclear rocket components were conducted. No nuclear-pro-

**THE 2.1 POUNDS OF PLUTONIUM-238 (AN ISOTOPE 280 TIMES MORE RADIOACTIVE THAN THE PLUTONIUM 239 USED IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS) IN THE SNAP-9A SATELLITE DISPERSED WIDELY OVER THE EARTH. A STUDY TITLED "EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS FOR NUCLEAR-POWERED SATELLITES" DONE BY A GROUP-ING OF EUROPEAN HEALTH AGENCIES REPORTED THAT A WORLDWIDE SOIL SAMPLING PROGRAM CARRIED OUT IN 1970 SHOWED SNAP-9A DEBRIS PRESENT AT ALL CONTINENTS AND LATITUDES.**

and atomic power "for a wide variety of miscellaneous functions in space."<sup>30</sup>

"If the United States fails to develop nuclear rocket engines," said Gore, "it will be left a second-class space power . . . Nuclear energy is essential for leadership in space."<sup>31</sup>

Along with the national nuclear laboratories—set up during the World War II atom bomb-building Manhattan Project and thereafter run by the Atomic Energy Commission and now the Department of Energy—the corporations involved in building space nuclear systems have also been active in promoting their use.

The Transit 4A's plutonium system was manufactured by General Electric. The plutonium system—SNAP-9A for Systems Nuclear Auxiliary Power—aboard Transit 5BN-3, launched on April 24, 1964, also was built by GE. But this nuclear satellite failed to achieve orbit, falling from the sky and disintegrating as it burned in the atmosphere.<sup>32</sup>

The 2.1 pounds of Plutonium-238 (an isotope of plutonium, 280 times radioactively "hotter" than the Plutonium-239 that is used in nuclear weapons) in the SNAP-9A dispersed widely over the Earth. A study titled Emergency Preparedness for Nuclear-Powered Satellites done by a grouping of European health and radiation protection agencies reported that "a worldwide soil sampling program carried out in 1970 showed SNAP-9A debris present at all continents and at all latitudes."<sup>33</sup>

Long connecting the SNAP-9A accident and an increase of lung cancer on Earth has been Dr. John Gofman, professor emeritus of medical physics at the

could not be gathered on them. The ill-fated shuttle Challenger was to launch a plutonium-fueled space probe in its next planned mission in 1986. The nuclear probe was to generate on-board electricity for the Ulysses space probe mission to study the Sun. A postponed Ulysses shot was launched in 1990.

The most recent nuclear space probe mission was called Cassini. It was launched in 1997 with more plutonium fuel—72.3 pounds—than on any space device ever. NASA conceded the serious dangers of a Cassini accident in its Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Cassini Mission. It stated that if an "inadvertent reentry occurred" and Cassini fell back into the Earth's atmosphere, it would break up (it had no heat shield) and "5 billion of the...world population...could receive 99 percent or more of the radiation exposure."<sup>35</sup> NASA said the "estimated size of the footprint" of radioactive contamination could be as high as 50,000 square kilometers. As for "decontamination methods," NASA listed as planned remedies: "Remove and dispose all vegetation. Remove and dispose topsoil. Relocate animals....Ban future agricultural land uses." And for urban environments, "Demolish some or all structures. Relocate affected population permanently."<sup>36</sup> Dr. Gofman estimated the death toll from cancer in the event of the plutonium on Cassini being released at 950,000.<sup>37</sup>

The U.S. nuclear-propelled rocket program began at Los Alamos National Laboratory in the 1950s with the building of the Kiwi reactor for what became known as the NERVA—for Nuclear Engine for

pelled rocket ever flew. By the early 1970s, the catastrophe that could result if a nuclear-powered rocket crashed to Earth had been recognized and the program ended.

But in the 1980s and the first incarnation of a U.S. Star Wars program under President Ronald Reagan, consideration of a nuclear-propelled rocket resumed—for use to loft heavy Star Wars equipment into space. The project was named "Timberwind" and plans were made for both ground and flight tests. To avoid heavily populated parts of the Earth, the plan was to fly a prototype atomic rocket around Antarctica but the rocket was also to pass over New Zealand and an analysis by Sandia National Laboratories projected the probability of the nuclear rocket crashing on New Zealand at 1-in-2,325.<sup>39</sup>

Babcock and Wilcox, builder of the ill-fated Three Mile Island nuclear plant, was selected by the government to build the atomic engine for the Timberwind rocket. The reactor design was based on work done at Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island, New York.

The late Dr. Henry Kendall, chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists and a Nobel Laureate, said of the Timberwind rocket that for such a vehicle "the needle just goes up to the end of the [danger] scale and stays there." Such a rocket would "release a stream of radiation" as it flew, he said, and if it underwent an accident and broke up, "you've got radioactive material spraying all over the place . . . the risks are extremely great."<sup>40</sup>

With President Bill Clinton taking office, the Timberwind endeavor was

renamed the Space Nuclear Thermal Propulsion Program and the aim changed to using the atomic rocket for voyages to Mars. The project was cancelled in 1993.

The new nuclear-propelled rocket push is seen by Bruce Gagnon, coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, as "the foot in the door, the Trojan horse, for the militarization of space" in the Star Wars plans of the George W. Bush administration. "Control and domination of the space program by the Pentagon proceeds apace," he says. Also, he warns that beyond accidents impacting people, "the production process at Department of Energy laboratories making space nukes will lead to significant numbers of workers and communities being contaminated." He says: "Serious questions need to be asked: Where will they test the nuclear rocket? How much will it cost? What would be the impacts of a launch accident? These nuclearization of space plans are getting dangerous and out of control."<sup>41</sup>

Gagnon also notes that the U.S. government agency in charge of the production of the radioisotope power systems used on space probes is the Department of Energy's Office of Space & Defense Power Systems and the devices have long had a military dual use.<sup>42</sup>

"The U.S.," says Green activist Lorna Salzman, a founder of the New York Green Party, "is now allocating billions of taxpayers' dollars, mobilizing all its police, military, investigative and spy powers to head off potential bio- and nuclear-terrorism—not to mention suicide bombers, airplane hijackers and makers of chemical weapons—to protect American citizens while preparing to invest a fortune on space nukes that could inundate those same citizens with radiation....Is NASA trying to tell us that terrorism inflicted by religious fanatics is bad but self-inflicted nuclear terrorism is OK? Or is NASA itself so infected by fatal hubris that it refuses to entertain the possibility of rocket failure. There are viable alternatives that do not put lives at risk."<sup>43</sup>

"Why on Earth," asks Alice Slater, president of the New York-based Global Resource Action Center for the Environment, "would any sane person propose to take nuclear poisons to a whole new level?"<sup>44</sup>

"Nuclear power," says Sally Light, executive director of the anti-nuclear Nevada Desert Experience, "whether in space or on Earth is a risky business. Why is the U.S. blindly plunging ahead with such a potentially disastrous and outmoded concept? We should use solar-powered

technologies as they are clean, safe and feasible. Committing \$1 billion for NASA's Nuclear Systems Initiative is unconscionable. Did the people of Earth have a voice in this? One of the basic principles of democracy is that those affected have a determinative role in the decision-making process. We in the U.S. and people worldwide are faced with a dangerous, high-risk situation being forced on us and on our descendants."<sup>45</sup>

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# U'wa vs. la Oxy

## VORACIOUS MULTINATIONALS AND INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

Charles H. Roberts

Late one night in November 1999, a respected elder from the U'wa Traditional Authorities carried a bottle of blessed water to a hill located near the center of their ancestral lands. This was one of the areas where engineers from U.S.-based Occidental Petroleum (generally known in Colombia as "la Oxy") planned to explore for oil—the sacred substance known to the U'wa as Riurí, or "the blood of our mother earth." The Werjayá (spiritual leader) prayed to the sky, and poured the blessed water on top of a concrete slab: a place that Oxy technicians had marked as a site for exploratory drilling. He asked the U'wa god Sirá to "hide" the oil from Oxy's drill bit.

Over the course of the past ten years, the U'wa people have consistently opposed oil exploitation on their territory. Despite their opposition, the Colombian government has repeatedly denied their legal rights to cultural and ethnic integrity and to be consulted about projects impacting their territory.

Over the next few months, the U'wa Traditional Authorities launched a multifaceted international campaign to stop Oxy from finding oil on their well-protected cloud forest lands. They organized mass mobilizations of U'wa men, women and children at the border of the drill site, organized by the upcoming young leaders of their communities. They asked for the support of their ancestral spirits through community fasting, prayers and ceremonies. They pursued all legal avenues open to them to try to revoke Oxy's drilling license. They reached out to grassroots environmentalists around the world, who responded with acts of solidarity.

Two years later, the U'wa's prayers have been answered. On July 27, 2001, Oxy announced that it was ending all of its operations at Gibraltar 1—the exploratory drill site at which the company had invested over 60 million dollars—due to the highly complicated rock structures, which blocked their access to the oil field below. Oxy's drilling bits reportedly broke three times since the drilling began.

U'wa leader Roberto Pérez has called this victory a "cultural triumph," explain-

ing: "This is a battle which has been won, although the war of understanding continues, in defense of the life of our Mother Earth and the lives of our non-U'wa brothers and sisters."<sup>1</sup>

In May 2002, Occidental announced it was returning its drilling license to Ecopetrol, the state oil company. "There may be oil there, but not enough to be commercial," said company spokesman Larry Meriage.<sup>2</sup>

Now, the latest battle in this war of understanding is taking shape over the Bush administration's plans, announced in mid-February, to earmark \$98 million in military aid to "pipeline defense." The money would go to training and equipment for the Colombian Army's 18th Brigade, entrusted with defending the Caño Limón-Coveñas oil pipeline, also operated by Occidental, which has been attacked almost a thousand times by guerrilla forces since it opened in 1986.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Occidental has already been collaborating with the Colombian Army, including an incident in which 11 adults and seven children were killed in December 1998 in the village of Santo Domingo, Arauca. Recent revelations about that incident may have contributed to Occidental's apparent decision to reduce its involvement in Colombia.<sup>4</sup>

### DEFENDERS OF THE EARTH

Almost 5,000 U'wa live in the tropical cloud forest of northeastern Colombia. Their ancestral territory falls within what today are the five departments of Arauca, Boyacá, Santander, Santander del Norte, and Casanare; the U'wa lands are by the border with Venezuela. Of the 82 indigenous communities in Colombia, the U'wa are known for being one of the most traditional.<sup>5</sup> Despite the brutality of centuries of colonization and Western development, the U'wa have been able to maintain ancient practices and complex laws. Practically, the U'wa are guardians of a haven of biodiversity; their territory also includes headwaters that feed many Andean and Orinoco basin rivers and tributaries, and the Sierra Nevada del Cocuy National Park. Embedded within the songs that carry the U'wa prayers is

knowledge tracing back thousands of years about how to protect these riches.

Under Colombia's 1991 constitution, Indigenous tribal governments are considered official government entities with independent territorial jurisdiction, and therefore have new and important rights to participate in administrative processes. Like most Indigenous communities in Colombia, the U'wa are represented in Colombia's political arena by the Cabildo Mayor, or Traditional Tribal Council. This council is composed of U'wa leaders selected from their indigenous leadership body, the U'wa Traditional Authorities (UTA). Members of the UTA are chosen by the Werjayá, or U'wa wise elders.

One of the central tenets of U'wa philosophy is the need for harmony between human beings and nature, and it is this belief that has led to the ongoing preservation of the cloud forest environment in which they live.

### THE "DEVELOPMENT" STRUGGLE

With the entry into force of a new constitution in July 1991, Indigenous communities throughout Colombia won official recognition of many rights, which meant that they now had more legal and judicial levers for waging their struggle for survival and autonomy. In 1992, the equilibrium of U'wa culture and the physical survival of their communities came under attack when Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum, in consortium with Anglo-Dutch Shell, and Ecopetrol, the state oil concern, obtained seismic exploration rights to the Samoré block lying within the U'wa ancestral territory. From the beginning, U'wa elders had categorically rejected oil development within their territory and its periphery. Regardless, in 1995, through Resolution 110, the government approved an environmental license, opening the doors for Occidental to begin seis-

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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mic exploration on U'wa land. On August 29, 1995, the Defensor del Pueblo (Human Rights Ombudsman) of Colombia filed suit in Colombian courts (Tribunal Superior de Santa Fé de Bogotá) on the U'wa's behalf requesting that the license be voided, claiming that the Colombian Government had violated the constitutional rights of the U'wa people. At the same time, the Defensor went before the Council of State (Colombia's highest administrative court) claiming that Occidental failed to meet legal requirements of consultation with the U'wa and asking the Council to invalidate the permit.

On September 12, 1995, the trial court ruled in favor of the U'wa, holding that the granting of the environmental license threatened the U'wa's basic rights and that a proper process of consultation was required. Occidental immediately appealed; the decision was overturned in October 1995 by the Supreme Court. The Defensor then appealed to the Constitutional Court.

Occidental resumed its seismic exploration activities in February 1996. The Constitutional Court handed down its decision in February 1997, ruling that the U'wa had not been consulted and that the issuance of the environmental license threatened their ethnic, cultural, social, and economic integrity. The Court demanded that an appropriate consultation be conducted within 30 days. However, taking advantage of the Colombian judicial system's multiple jurisdictions, Occidental continued to defend its position before the Council of State, which, on March 4, 1997, one month after the Constitutional Court ruled in favor of the U'wa, contradicted the ruling of the Constitutional Court, by a 14-to-7 vote in favor of Occidental. The Council held that a valid consultation with the U'wa was held and that Occidental and the government had complied with the legal requirement of prior consultation.

Notwithstanding the second ruling, Occidental stated it would hold consultations. On April 19, 1997, Occidental published an open letter in a major Colombian newspaper reiterating its position that it would not undertake exploration in the U'wa territory without the consent of the U'wa. Yet to this day, such consultations have never taken place and the U'wa have never consented to oil exploration.

In addition to insisting on consultation, the U'wa have sought to expand the area recognized by the government to be under their control, known as the Resguardo Unico, or Unified U'wa Reservation. On August 24, 1999, the government and U'wa traditional authorities signed an



U'wa Defense Project

**Protesters, many from the National University of Bogotá, demand: "Self determination/ autonomy of Indigenous people: NO to the OXY-chewing-up of U'wa land!"**

agreement expanding the official borders of the Unified U'wa Reservation to encompass 543,000 acres. While the U'wa had sought recognition of a larger area, their struggle for an expanded reservation is framed by the fact that their ancestral territory is so large that it includes, for example, the city of Saravena, with a population of 20,000, and thousands of non-indigenous peasant settlers in rural areas. Politically, then, U'wa claims for a larger territory are bound to be limited to a smaller area. In signing the agreement that expanded the reservation, the U'wa again made it clear that they remained opposed to oil exploration and exploitation anywhere within their larger ancestral territory.

Less than a month later, however, on September 21, 1999, Colombia's Environment Minister, Juan Mayr, granted Occidental Petroleum a permit to begin exploratory drilling in the Gibraltar Area of Exploratory Interest. Occidental then proposed an initial drillsite, Gibraltar 1, approximately 500 meters from the newly created Unified U'wa Reservation, and within the U'wa ancestral homeland. Despite requirements in the Colombian Constitution and international agreements, the U'wa were not included in a formal consultation process.

After a visit to the area of Gibraltar 1, two Colombian officials—the deputy director for indigenous affairs and a representative of the Defensor del Pueblo—issued a report confirming the presence of Indigenous communities and sacred sites in the area, contradicting the initial findings of the director for Indigenous affairs, which were the basis of the Ministry of Environment's decision not to consult with

the U'wa.

Occidental continued to bring in machinery, cutting roads through U'wa territory. The U'wa were forcibly and illegally evicted from two farms they purchased near the wellsite on January 25, 2000. In March 2000, the U'wa filed an emergency request for an injunction with the 11th Circuit Court of Colombia, arguing that drilling at Gibraltar 1 would cause irreparable harm to the integrity of the U'wa and that the failure to consult with the U'wa prior to issuing the drilling license violated the Colombian constitution and international law.

The court ruled in favor of the U'wa and issued an injunction with immediate effect. Occidental appealed and won on a motion decided on May 15, 2000. Occidental again began activity and moved equipment to the wellsite. In June 2000, the National Indigenous Federation of Ecuador (CONAIE) denounced Occidental's "inhuman and aggressive attitude" towards Indigenous peoples and called for the company's "definitive exit from Ecuador and Colombia," promising non-violent direct actions against its facilities in Ecuador if it did not abandon plans to drill on U'wa lands.<sup>6</sup> In early November 2000, exploratory drilling began, culminating in the August 2001 abandonment of the site by Oxy.

## NEUTRALITY FOR LIFE

The U'wa struggle unfolds in the larger context of the 38-year armed conflict that has pitted guerrilla forces against the Colombian government forces and the paramilitary groups that support the government. The U'wa, like other Indigenous peoples and local communities throughout



**Hospital of Cubará, the village nearest to the U'wa lands. It is 4-10 hours by foot, plus four hours by car, depending on which U'wa community a patient may be coming from.**

Colombia, have had to contend with all of the armed actors, each of which seeks to assert territorial control as part of its military strategy, and to maintain neutrality vis-a-vis each of them. In January 2000, for example, when guerrillas from the National Liberation Army (ELN: *Ejército Nacional de Liberación*) threw Occidental equipment off a cliff (four backhoes, four caterpillars, and six containers), the U'wa declared that they "...don't agree with the actions of the ELN to destroy the machinery and equipment of the transnational oil company OXY, since actions like these only make the conflict worse."<sup>7</sup>

International solidarity for the U'wa took a tragic turn in March 1999, when Terry Freitas, a biologist and founder of the U'wa Defense Working Group in 1996, along with U.S. Indigenous leaders Ingrid Washinawatok and Lahe'ena'e Gay, were murdered after visiting the U'wa. The killings, carried out by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the larger of the two main guerrilla forces, evidenced the guerrilla movement's lack of interest in if not hostility to the Indigenous rights movement, and highlighted the challenge of asserting territorial claims amidst

a war in which the competing armed factions are vying for territorial control.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the Indigenous peoples of Colombia have had a special interest in the success of the peace initiative pursued by President Pastrana from 1998 until the project of peace with the FARC was ended last February 20. Like other actors in Colombian civil society, the Indigenous peoples have complained at the failure of the peace process to include a space for them, as their interests are not represented by the government or any of the other warring parties.

The February 2001 proposal by the Bush administration to expand U.S. military involvement in Colombia to include protection for the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline, operated by Occidental, and running through the U'wa ancestral territory, is the latest threat the U'wa face. The administration is asking Congress to approve \$98 million for fiscal year 2003 to train troops and provide 12 helicopters specifically for the protection of this one pipeline. The 18th Army Brigade, which would receive the support, has been found to be responsible for egregious human rights violations.

In a particularly emblematic case, the

18th Brigade was found responsible for killing 17 people, including 7 children, in the village of Santo Domingo (Tame municipality, department of Arauca) on December 14, 1998.<sup>9</sup> The massacre, initially investigated by Colombian civilian prosecutors, and since then bogged down in the military courts, was the subject of an international "opinion" tribunal held in Chicago in December 2000 (for the arguments and findings, see <[www.law.northwestern.edu/depts/clinic/ihr/issues/colombia-us.htm](http://www.law.northwestern.edu/depts/clinic/ihr/issues/colombia-us.htm)>). On January 24, 2002, peasant leader Angel Trifilo Riveros Chaparro, one of the witnesses at the Chicago tribunal, was assassinated, along with Mario González Ruiz and Heliberto Delgado, by 12 heavily armed men, who had at the very least the support of military units under the 18th Brigade, according to a communiqué issued by a coalition of social organizations in the Arauca. According to the same communiqué, the 18th and 16th Brigades, charged with protecting the oil pipeline, have been directly involved in paramilitary activities, including massacres at La Cabuya and Santo Domingo in November and December 1998, respectively; and military operations in 1999 and



*We are born as  
children of the  
earth...Each time a  
species becomes extin-  
guished, mankind  
becomes closer to his  
own extinction...*

—Berito Kuwar'Uwa

2000, announcing that the paramilitaries were coming.<sup>10</sup>

Adam Isacson of the Center for International Policy has noted of the aid proposal: *Occidental, which many activists know as the company that has pushed for oil exploration on land claimed by the U'wa indigenous nation in Arauca, has spent years lobbying for additional military assistance to Colombia. The \$98 million 'Critical Infrastructure Brigade,' as the Bush administration aid proposals call it, would be protecting a pipeline that, when operational, pumps about 35 million barrels per year. This adds up to nearly \$3 per barrel in costs to U.S. taxpayers to protect a pipeline for which Occidental currently pays security costs of about 50 cents per barrel, according to the Wall Street Journal.*<sup>11</sup>

Information from the Colombian investigations into what happened at Santo Domingo on December 13, 1998, recently reported in the *Los Angeles Times* suggests that Occidental, the Colombian Army, and the U.S. military presence in Colombia have already been working to protect the pipeline and to plan attacks on the FARC in the region. The *LAT* reported on March 17, 2002, that according to the Colombian court records, "...the U.S. government helped initiate military operations around Santo Domingo that day, and two private American companies helped plan and support them." The *LAT* article reports four key findings:

- The events leading to the battle outside Santo Domingo and to the explosion, began when a U.S. government surveillance plane detected an aircraft allegedly carrying weapons for the guerrillas. In doing so, the surveillance plane may have violated rules that restrict American activities in Colombia to counter-narcotic operations.
- Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum, which runs an oil complex 30 miles north of Santo Domingo, provided crucial assistance to the operation. It supplied, directly or



U'wa mother and child.

U'wa Defense Project

through contractors, troop transportation, planning facilities and fuel to Colombian military aircraft, including the helicopter crew accused of dropping the bomb.

- AirScan Inc., a private U.S. company owned by former Air Force commandos, helped plan and provided surveillance for the attack around Santo Domingo using a high-tech monitoring plane. The U.S. Coast Guard is investigating whether the plane was flown by a U.S. military pilot on active duty. Company employees even sug-

gested targets to the Colombian helicopter crew that dropped the bomb.

- In violation of U.S. guidelines, the U.S. military later provided training to the pilot accused of dropping the bomb, even after a Colombian prosecutor charged him with aggravated homicide and causing personal injury in the Santo Domingo operation.

Finally, the *LAT* reported: "AirScan officials deny involvement in the incident, saying their plane was used only to survey Occidental's oil pipeline, and the company



is not accused of any illegal activity. Occidental officials say they routinely supply nonlethal equipment for military operations in northeastern Colombia but they could neither confirm nor deny their role on the day of the explosion."

According to U'wa leader Roberto Pérez, "We see Plan Colombia as an all-out invasion by the United States."<sup>12</sup> The U'wa sent 10 representatives to the city of Arauca in early February to join in protests opposing the \$98 million aid plan, and opposing the increased presence of paramilitary groups in the region. Based on their experience and world view, the U'wa have sought to keep all armed actors out of their territory, as the presence of large groups of soldiers, be they guerrillas, army or paramilitaries, brings the encroachment of outsiders, not to mention death and the subsequent massive displacement of communities from lands coveted by the warring parties. They have specifically condemned various actions by the FARC, the ELN, and the Army and paramilitary forces.

According to a February 14, 2002, statement by the U'wa:

*The United States is financing Plan Colombia, the struggle against drug trafficking, which signifies the increase of violence in the departments of Arauca, Boyacá, and Norte de Santander, and our Ancestral Territory, allocating \$98 million to protect the Caño Limón-Coveñas oil pipeline, just because oil was found in the Capachos 1 well, without seeing that what Colombia needs is more investment in social, health, education and employment programs, so that we can live in peace... The government and oil multinationals bear primary responsibility for the social and environmental problem in Arauca and the piedmont, and second are the actors in the armed conflict, for dynamiting the pipeline, causing contamination of the water, pastures, and watersheds of the Arauca river. These actions are affecting climate change and the basic survival of our communities. We have the right to freedom of expression and thought... We want to reiterate to Ecopetrol, the Colombian Government, multinationals, and especially Occidental de Colombia, that we will never step back from territorial defense, and neither will we change our cultural principles, as it is clear that cultures with principles have no price.<sup>13</sup>*

Because of their well-grounded legal claims, the unwavering commitment of their leaders, and the international support system they have cultivated, the U'wa are uniquely positioned to compel the Colombian government to comply with its own ground-breaking legislation. The U'wa

have served as an example to Indigenous communities worldwide. Today, as they prepare for yet another phase in their self-defense, the U'wa elders have prioritized the need to strengthen themselves internally, working to take care of their greatest assets in this fight. "The youth are the future of the U'wa people" said Roberto Pérez in a meeting with the U'wa Defense Project in December 2001 in Bogotá, "...our young and emerging leaders must have the necessary technical and organizational skills in this struggle to defend our territory." Though the U'wa have prioritized internal leadership formation this past year, they continue the groundwork for precedent-setting legal cases to establish their land rights as a community. The viability of their projects, however, will be increasingly jeopardized as attempts to increase U.S. military aid persist, and as the armed confrontation continues to spread.

The U'wa consider that the international support that they have received over the years serves them as an invisible shield. Though they declared a cultural victory last September, they once again appeal to the international community, knowing that this new \$98 million towards "pipeline protection" means machine guns, boots, bullets, attack helicopters and fighter jets invading their lands and spirits. In particular, since the collapse of the peace talks between the government and the FARC, both sides are engaged in military offensives, further endangering Colombia's civilian populations, especially the rural poor. The continuing collaboration of environmentalists and human rights activists with the U'wa will be increasingly crucial as the challenge of effecting change in U.S. policy has become more complex.

## NOTES

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9. The complaint filed before the international tribunal held in Chicago, and setting forth the basic facts, can be found at <[www.colombiasupport.net/tribunal/complaint.htm](http://www.colombiasupport.net/tribunal/complaint.htm)>.

10. "La protección de los intereses de los Estados Unidos en Colombia," Communiqué from organizations of Arauca, February 13, 2002. See also, Human Rights Watch, "The Sixth Division: Military-Paramilitary Ties and U.S. Policy in Colombia," September 2001, p. 92.

11. Adam Isacson, *NACLA Report*, Update: Colombia, at <[www.nacla.org/bodies/body12.php?nacla-Session=92e8aa17a49360ced5b6660a36ea9f5](http://www.nacla.org/bodies/body12.php?nacla-Session=92e8aa17a49360ced5b6660a36ea9f5)>.

12. Personal interview, U'wa Defense Project, December 2001.

13. Roberto Pérez Gutiérrez, President, Cabildo Mayor, "Comunicado a la Opinión Pública Nacional e Internacional," February 14, 2002.

## FURTHER INFORMATION:

Contact the U'wa Defense Project at <[ami-gas@mindspring.com](mailto:ami-gas@mindspring.com)> or call (510) 524-7027. In full consultation with the U'wa Traditional Authorities, U'wa Defense Project (UDP) provides legal, community development, advocacy, and research support to the U'wa people.

For more information on the crisis in Colombia generally, contact Colombia Human Rights Network: (202) 232-8148, or visit their website at <[www.igc.org/colhmet](http://www.igc.org/colhmet)>.

# Why NATO?

## U.S. DROPPING AN IMPERIAL CLUB

Immanuel Wallerstein

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was created on April 4, 1949, joining together twelve "North Atlantic" countries. It was the central Western military structure against the Soviet Bloc. One might therefore have thought that, with the collapse of that bloc, NATO would have been dissolved. But far from it. NATO not only continued to exist, but it has taken in new members, countries that were formerly part of the Warsaw Pact, which was the prime antagonist of NATO.

So we need to ask: why? What purpose does NATO serve? What is it intended to do? The answer depends upon whom you ask. There are four major actors in the continuation of NATO as a structure: the United States; the 15 other states that were members by 1952; the new members and prospective members in east and central Europe, and Russia. Each of the four has a different perspective, and a different set of motivations.

Let us start with the Western European states. When NATO was founded, they saw it as military protection from what they considered to be a potential military threat from the Soviet Union. They saw it as a way to ensure that U.S. troops would be stationed in Europe and that the U.S. would be committed to join them immediately in using their military in case of an attack, or even of a military measure like the Berlin blockade. To be sure, there were persons and movements in all these countries who were hostile to (or at least unenthusiastic about) NATO: Pacifist movements, Communist parties, and some others. But one can say that the clear majority of the populations in these countries strongly supported the NATO treaty.

To be sure, there were some complaints. The governments of those countries with colonial possessions felt that NATO should be extended to cover their colonial territories. But the United States categorically refused, not wishing to commit its military power or even its political support to the struggle of European states with national liberation movements. NATO was defined as strictly limited to European/North Atlantic area conflicts.

During all this time, the U.S. insisted on having a U.S. military officer as commander-in-chief of the NATO forces, and this seemed acceptable to West Europeans, as both reasonable and as a guarantee that the U.S. would remain committed to the treaty.

As Western Europe became stronger economically and politically, and began to construct the European Union, the idea of a European army began to be seriously discussed. France and Germany committed themselves in 1987 to this objective. The United States was distinctly cool on the whole idea. While it did not voice absolute public opposition, it did whatever it could to slow down and/or sabotage the idea. And it certainly insisted loudly that any West European force should somehow be "integrated" into NATO. However, with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and then of the Soviet Union itself in 1991, efforts to construct a European army began to take off.

The U.S. position engaged in two measures designed primarily to make sure that no independent European army would come into existence. One was to invent a role for a European force within NATO: the Europeans were to be the "peacekeeping" force, once presumably the war had been won (by the United States, primarily). This concept would be implemented in Bosnia, in Kosovo, and now to some extent in Afghanistan. The Europeans were thus to have the dirty, unpleasant, but in the long run not that important, task of "clean-up" which the U.S. found politically unpalatable in terms of its own public opinion.

And NATO would be "expanded." Why was this important? Against whom was the alliance arming now? The inclusion of East/Central European states in NATO (already the case with three of them and in process for many others) was designed to achieve two things. It was to make far more difficult, if not impossible, any politico/military alignment of the West Europeans with Russia. This is the principal geopolitical nightmare of the U.S. It is more immediate than the other nightmare, the growing military might of China.

Secondly, it was to make West

European politico-cultural unity more difficult by intruding reliably pro-American elements from East/Central Europe into the decision-making structures of the European Union. Once NATO expanded, the European Union was pressured to "expand" immediately also, and in the same way more or less. Such expansion would not only complicate enormously Europe's ability to construct a strong political center, but would weaken it economically, by committing West European (not U.S.) resources to the improvement of economic conditions in East/Central Europe.

The East/Central Europeans of course have been delighted to play the role assigned to them. They do want to be part of "Europe" and to be accepted as the cultural equals of the West Europeans. But they want even more to be part of the American world, and to be linked in whatever way they can be to the U.S., seen both as earthly paradise, and as anti-Russia. The last thing they want is the inclusion of Russia into any European structure.

The Russians of course see all this clearly. First, they tried to stop NATO expansion by threats. But the threats were bluster, and impressed no one, least of all the United States. So they have now decided to sneak in the back door, estimating that they could better control the situation from within NATO. A new special arrangement (known colloquially as 19 + 1) has just been approved at Reykjavik, making Russia a semi-member of NATO.

There are two questions about what has been happening: Why have the West Europeans allowed this to happen? And what does the U.S. really want? The first question is harder to answer than the second. There are several elements to the

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On September 13, 2001, General George Islay MacNeil, Lord Robertson, Secretary General of NATO, offered full military help in the U.S. "war on terror" under Article 5 of the treaty, an article never before invoked. The offer was quietly declined.

answer about the West Europeans. There is still a large older generation (who of course are heavily represented in the higher political councils) who remain "grateful" to the U.S. and feel they should pay the price of gratitude. And there are some who agree that Western Europe should stand by the U.S. politically against the demands of the "uncivilized" peoples.

But perhaps more important is the fact that the Europeans, quite apart from these immediate geopolitical considerations, are unsure how far and how fast they wish to proceed with political unification. And therefore, they are also unsure how far and how fast they wish to pull Russia into their house. Were Europe to assert itself as a rel-

atively unified political and economic force on the world stage, it would of course need Russia, both for its potential addition to Europe's military force and as a key element in the European internal market.

As for the U.S., the curious thing, after all of this, is that the U.S. needs and wants NATO least of all. They want NATO primarily to keep Western Europe from detaching itself from U.S. influence/control. But they do not want NATO militarily. The U.S. reaction after September 11 made this preeminently clear. On September 13, General George Islay MacNeil, Lord Robertson, on behalf of NATO, offered full military help under Article 5 of the treaty, an article never before invoked. The offer was quietly

declined. The U.S. sees NATO as a military drag. In Kosovo, a battle that was fought under the NATO banner, the U.S. military had to clear military decisions with other NATO members. This was a constraint the U.S. did not appreciate and is not about to allow to be repeated. The U.S. is supremely confident that it does not need NATO and can handle the world military situation on its own. In other words, Europeans should stick to logistical support and peacekeeping, as ordered by the U.S.

The interesting thing these days is that it is the U.S. that is doing the most to undermine the solidity, perhaps the very existence, of NATO.

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## TENET AT RIT, CONT.

(continued from page 17)

suspect that the old Thetis Project mentality was at work. If you give them money they won't oppose you. I say this knowing full well, of course, that those directing higher educational institutions in this country cannot be influenced by the mere offer of money.

The other questionable entanglement of academia and the intelligence system, this time specifically the CIA, is the Agency's CIA officer-in-residence program. This is identical, mutatis mutandis, to the State Department's diplomat-in-residence program referenced earlier in the case of Oklahoma and Ambassador Corr. I want to talk about this at perhaps too great length simply because it seems to me to epitomize the essential incompatibility between the university and the national security system and to compromise the real nature of the university.

In short, the CIA offers to willing institutions of higher education the opportunity, at no cost to the institution, to have a CIA officer of appropriate academic attainment (advanced degrees, foreign experience, etc.) serve for a period of three years or so in a relevant department—history, political science, area studies—as a faculty member, teaching courses and holding seminars under, of course, the direction of the concerned department chairperson. Arguably, the CIA officer-in-residence will bring, besides his or her academic skills, the experience he or she has gained working in the field of intelligence and covert operations throughout the world, to the classroom. As Elizabeth Rindskopf, then chief counsel for the CIA, in an astonishing and disarming burst of candor, told the Associated Press back in 1993, "Yes, we may sometimes cheat, steal, and lie, but overall the folks in the CIA are as nice a bunch as you are likely to meet."

### INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEM

The university, as it has evolved in the western world and in the United States, is a very special place and its specialness, no matter how in today's world it grows increasingly linked to the larger society outside and is seen, especially by students and, considering the tuition they pay, understandably so as primarily a place to become qualified for well paying jobs, is that it provides a time and a place for the contemplation of one's self and how one will interact with the world, what kind of life one will create. It is not, even in a very

skills oriented institution such as RIT, merely a training ground. It is a process, the academic process.

That process involves an ongoing and never ending debate among those involved—the faculty as a matter of life-long vocation, students as temporary residents, but also as participants. The fact that that debate is at the core of education is why you are here tonight.

Essential to that debate is that those who participate in it must do so fully. Participants who advance ideas or respond to or challenge the ideas of others must, as the essential condition of participation, be willing and able to expose completely their

**THE CIA OFFERS TO WILLING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION THE OPPORTUNITY, AT NO COST, TO HAVE A CIA OFFICER OF APPROPRIATE ACADEMIC ATTAINMENTS (ADVANCED DEGREES, FOREIGN EXPERIENCE, ETC.) FOR A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS...**

background—where they are coming from, in the idiom—and the sources of their information and the methods by which they acquired it. Sources and methods, as we have discussed tonight.

Unfortunately, however otherwise qualified for participation in that academic debate, the CIA officer, by the very terms of his employment, by the restrictions in existing classified information legislation, cannot do so. If his or her background was in the Directorate of Operations he or she cannot even give an honest accounting of positions held or countries in which he or she served. Their biographies are routinely falsified. If his or her information comes from classified material or as a result of service in operations still classified he or she cannot reveal this to debate partners. Even if the officer wants to publish scholarly material in which his or her service background plays any part, he or she must, for the whole of his or her life, submit this material to the CIA's publications review board. For a discussion of this process at the present day under DCI George Tenet I refer you to an article by John Hedley, the CIA's publications review officer, entitled

"Secrets, Free Speech, and Fig Leaves," in the Agency's own publication, *Studies in Intelligence*, Spring 1998, where the CIA censorship process is described accurately and in detail.

In short, the CIA officer—even the retired CIA officer, if we are going to be purists about this, and several retired CIA officers of my acquaintance have been forced to face the harsh truth of this when attempting to publish their memoirs—cannot be even a temporary faculty member because he or she cannot, under the traditional and accepted rules, participate in the academic debate which is the heart and soul of the university and of university education. As I have said frequently in past years when, sometimes successfully, opposing a university's acceptance of a CIA officer-in-residence, even a university president ought to be able to understand that.

I think this is a good place to stop. Before doing so, however, I want to say a last word about Mr. Tenet's appearance here. If you object to having him honored at your commencement ceremonies, it is your right to do so. I hope I have given you some legitimate reasons to support your objection. George Tenet does not lack for forums from which he can give his views and opinions, his free speech is by no means threatened. As Director of Central Intelligence, it is inappropriate for him to attempt from any forum to try to influence public policy or public opinion. On the other hand, his appearance does give those of you who oppose current U.S. policy in this or that relevant area, an excellent forum to express your opposition and opportunity, as President Simone has promised in his memorandum, to confront and question him. I urge you to prepare for that opportunity and seize it to the fullest extent possible. Don't worry about being called unpatriotic, unprofessional, pretentious, disdainful, or even discourteous—although you should strive to be courteous. This is all part of the aforementioned academic debate. Get in it. *Carpe diem*; if necessary go ahead and throw the tea in the harbor. There is precedent for that.

### NOTES

1. For further discussion of the 1991 scandal at RIT, see: Jean A. Douthwright, "Rochester Institute of Technology: A CIA Subsidiary," and Stephen Judd, "A Marriage Made in Langley," *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, No. 38 (Fall 1991).

2. *Ibid*, p. 7.

3. For a summary of this legislation, see: Leonard Minsky, "Espionage 101: The National Security Education Act," *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, No. 39 (Winter 1991-92).

# Back Issues

**Number 72** (2002) Police violence; ISI, CIA & Taliban; Palestine; Venezuela plotting & coup; Earl Silbert & Enron; US Designs on Iraq; Argentina bankrupted; Attack on Indian Parliament; Global rollback; Elie Hobeika.

**Number 71** (2001) Depleted uranium; Political Islam; Plan Puebla-Panama; USA Patriot Act; War Criminals; Israel and Hamas; Palestinian right of return; Domestic Anthrax; Plan Colombia; CIA visa machine; DoD vs. environment.

**Number 70** (2001) Bush and environment; Mullah Aid; Dick Held; Non-lethal weapons; Summit of the Americas; Israeli Nukes; Kissinger; Star Wars; Yugoslavia; Antonin Scalia; Bush and Blair; Rep. Rob Simmons; 10 Worst Corporations; Statement by Leonard Peltier.

**Number 69** (2000) Congo; Chechnya; Colombia; Ecuador; Iraqi oil; Depleted uranium; Yugoslavia; India; Cyprus; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Seattle/WTO; "Emergency management;" Hunger politics; Global water; Climate; Prison-industrial complex; Military civil disturbance planning; CIA and Cold War.

**Number 68** (1999) East Timor; Colombia; Panama; Cuba vs. U.S.; Serbia; NATO in Kosovo; KLA and drugs; MPRI; Urban Warrior; Homeland defense; Poverty globalization.

**Number 67** (1999) Mumia Abu-Jamal; NATO bombing and "Greater Albania"; Humanitarian intervention in Kosovo; Roma people; William Walker; Richard Holbrooke; Ocalan; Police militarization; Tupac Shakur; CIA and labor; CIA drug smuggling; Leonard Peltier.

**Number 66** (1998-99) Pinochet; Palestinian Authority; Tomahawks; Sudan; Pentagon bucks; PanAm 103; Laurent Kabila interview; Algeria; Richard Holbrooke; NATO; Iztbegovitch; FBI's D.C. "espionage" trial.

**Number 65** (1998) Philip Agee, Ramsey Clark; Mumia Abu-Jamal; Serb demonization; Bosnia TV disinformation; Media evasions; NGOs in Latin America; Russian reform; War on Cuba; Assata Shakur; Ron Ridenhour; CIA vs. Daniel Tsang; CIA mistaken identities

**Number 64** (1998) Vietnam; Iraq sanctions; Political control technology; Jihad; Pinochet; Drug war fungus; Burma-Singapore heroin trade.

**Number 63** (1997) Right-wing think tanks; South African torture; chemical-biological warfare; NSA's Crypto AG; Promise Keepers.

**Number 62** (1997) U.S. and Pol Pot; Paramilitary policing; Selling SWAT; Mercenary armies and minerals; Mad Cow disease; Free radio; Che and the CIA; Visit to CIA; Vaclav Havel.

**Number 61** (1997) Turkey's state killers; Privatizing Hanford; Spying on activists; U.S. torture manuals; Arming Mexico's drug war; NSA, Russia and Dudayev; NATO moves East; Spooks in Congress.

**Number 60** (1997) Cassini plutonium missing; Japan and Peru; MRTA; Prison labor; Unionbusting; Universities and business; Colombia; Sudan; FBI-CIA teamwork.

**Number 59** (1996-97) Surveillance: ECHELON; NSA's business plan; NIMA; Spooks in the internet; Canadian spies; Privatizing welfare; Mexico and SOA; Afghanistan; CIA and drugs.

**Number 58** (1996) Pilger on Burma; Estrogen & endocrine; Crime & capital globalization; "Counter-Terrorism" documents; Church burn-

ings; AID & environment; Brookhaven; AIDS.

**Number 57** (1996) Racism in the ranks; White collar crime; Common Law courts; INS detention centers; Buying Russian elections; Noam Chomsky on Haiti; U.S.-Israel; Anonymous remailers; Nuclear proliferation in space.

**Number 56** (1996) Noam Chomsky; High-tech surveillance; Militarizing the border; Pepper gas; Guyana; Yugoslavia; Russian nationalism; U.S. and Korea; La Belle bombing.

**Number 55** (1996) Police vs. citizen review; Corporate assault on FDA; PR industry vs. activists; Colin Powell; UN at 50/Fidel Castro; Economic intelligence; Spain's dirty war; East Timor - Britain Arms Indonesia; Bosnia.

**Number 54** (1995) Noam Chomsky on corporate propaganda; Bosnia; Kurdistan; Sasakawa obit; NAFTA layoffs; Prison labor; AFL-CIO in Russia; Private security guards; Walter Reuther.

**Number 53** (1995) Gulf War Syndrome; Militias and the military; Frank Donner; Arab bashing; Hiroshima: Cold War bomb; Iraqi embargo; Guatemala; Bhopal; Secret FISA court; Antiterrorism Act; Fourth Amendment mugged.

**Number 52** (1995) Rwanda; Proposition 187; Militia movement; Neo-Nazis and anti-abortion; Groom Lake; Wall Street vs. Mexico; Human radiation; Corporations fund research; NSA in cyberspace; Far Right/spies internet resources; Union Carbide's Warren Anderson.

**Number 51** (1994-95) U.S. in Haiti; Canadian intelligence abets Neo-Nazis; Brookhaven and cancer; Bulgaria; Population; Women's asylum rights; CIA budget; Paramilitary vacations; Bud McFarlane.

**Number 50** (1994) Operation Condor; Clinton crime bill; Liberty lobby; Monfort meatpackers; Low intensity Democracy; NRO & intel. budget.

**Number 49** (1994) Montesinos and Fujimori; Sudan; Operation Gladio; Human atom testing; Armenia and Azerbaijan; South Africa's left; El Salvador death squads.

**Number 48** (1994) Chiapas uprising; CIA and NAFTA; Haiti; Iran-Contra Report; L.A.-8; Mercenaries in Azerbaijan; Council for National Policy; Guatemala and drugs; Reader survey.

**Number 47** (1993-94) FBI vs. Judi Bari; Russian coup; Rocky Flats; NAFTA; Howard Zinn on FBI; Dave Dellinger on 90s; Cold War quiz; Allen Ginsberg on CIA; Mumia Abu-Jamal; World Bank/IMF; Evergreen Air.

**Number 46** (1993) Economic intelligence; CIA's assassination record; Israel and the bomb; NSA Clipper Chip; School of Americas; Ex-adviser on El Salvador; Private prisons; Delta death row; Savannah River; France's Groupe Bull; CIA banking.

**Number 45** (1993) South African Right global links; Chris Hani assassination; German Neo-Nazis; HIV Haitians; Russia; ADL spying list; Pelican Bay prison; Ireland's youth; Police vs. black youth; Angola profiteers; Benjamin Chavis.

**Number 44** (1993) Public Relations: Hill & Knowlton, Burson-Marsteller; Clinton Cabinet; Somalia; Rio Summit; BCCI-CIA; Clinton National Security Act; Religious Right's anti-gay plans.

**Number 43** (1992-93) Chemical and biological warfare: Zimbabwe, South Africa, anthrax; Gulf War Syndrome; Agent Orange; Scientific racism; "Yellow Rain"/Wall Street Journal; Yugoslavia destabilization; Religious Right; Somalia.

**Number 42** (1992) Phil Agee on CIA; Peru; Fluoride; VP Bush & CIA; Nicaragua; Special Ops.; Drug war; CIA vs. Hen. Gonzalez; Bush inaugural speech leak; Moon buys university.

**Number 41** (1992) Next enemies; LA Uprising; Nuclear threats; Bush and CIA; Bush family preys together; UN: U.S. Tool; Eqbal Ahmad; Nuclear proliferation; Environmentalist attacked; Dissent as subversion.

**Number 40** (1992) Native American struggle history; Toxic dumps; Leonard Peltier; Hollywood's racism; Guatemala; Rigoberta Menchu interview; Pol Pot returns; East Timor massacre; U.S. in Pacific, GATT; David Duke in India.

**Number 39** (1991-92) "Good" agencies: NED; Peace Corps; USAID/AIDS; USIA; National Cancer Institute/biowarfare; World Bank; Population control; Danny Casolaro; FBI & Supreme Court; Robert Gates; USSR destabilization; BCCI.

**Number 38** (1991) DoD-CIA foreign/U.S. student recruitment; Rochester Institute of Technology; Harvard; Militarism in academia resources; Judi Bari; Arif Durrani; Rev. Moon and academia; Targeting environmentalists; CIABase review.

**Number 37** (1991) Gulf War: Media; CIA Iraq broadcasting; U.S. trading with enemy; UN; Nuclear war evangelicals; Domestic costs; North Korea next?; Libya; Iran; Illegal arms deals; Georgie Anne Geyer; Journalists and CIA.

**Number 36** (1991) Racism and national security; FBI vs. Arab-Americans and Black officials; Chad, Uganda, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zaire; Haiti; Panama; Gulf War; COINTELPRO "art"; National security humor.

**Number 35** (1990) Changes in Eastern Europe; Reinhard Gehlen; Destabilization of USSR; NED in Lithuania; Balkan nationalists; Free Congress Foundation; Cuba; Iran-Contra; 1965 Indonesia massacres; CIA banking.

**Number 34** (1990) Panama invasion; Noriega-CIA; South African death squads; FBI-CIA and Martin Luther King, Jr. assassination; NED in Nicaragua; U.S. and Pol Pot; Philippines; Operation CHAOS; Taiwan's agents; Council for National Policy.

**Number 33** (1990) Bush Issue: CIA Bush agents, secret team; Terrorism Task Force; Reagan's CIA; Skull and Bones; NED in Nicaragua; El Salvador election; Chile; Cuba; Republicans and Nazis; Rise of national security state.

**Number 32** (1989) Tenth Anniversary Issue: Best of CAIB. 27 condensed articles: Naming Names; CIA and NSA at home, abroad, in the media; Philip Agee.

**Number 31** (1989) Domestic surveillance: FBI, CIA on campus; Office of Public Diplomacy; Geronimo Pratt; Lexington prison; Puerto Rico; Intl. Freedom Foundation; Disinformation.

**Number 30** (1988) Middle East: Intifada, Israeli arms sales, chemical & nuclear warfare, Israel in Africa & Central America; Disinformation & Libya; CIA's William Buckley; Afghan contra lobby.

**Number 29** (1988) Pacific: Philippines, Fiji, New Zealand, Belau, Kanaky, Vanuatu, Maori in Hawaii; atom testing; media on Nicaragua; Reader's Digest; CIA in Cuba; Tibet; FBI-CIA surveils Gorbachev; Philip Agee on Veil; AIDS.

**Number 28** (1987) CIA, drugs, secret wars: S.E. Asia, Afghanistan, Central America, Nugan Hand; MKULTRA/Canada; Delta Force; AIDS and CBW.

**Number 27** (1987) Religious Right: Nuclear war theology; Christian underground; Fatima; Religious Right and Blacks; NY Times/Pope plot; Samora Machel; Carlucci; Southern Air Transport; Iran-Contra documents; Michael Ledeen.

**Number 26** (1986) US terror; Vernon Walters; Libya bombing; Contra agents; Israel & South

Africa; Jon. Pollard; CIA & Costa Rica; Duarte; Nicaragua; Greece; Index to Nos. 13-25.

**Number 25** (1986) U.S., Nazis, Vatican; Klaus Barbie's Bolivian coup; Nazi doctors in U.S.; Brazil torture; Knights of Malta; Greek civil war/Eleni; WACL supplies contras.

**Number 24** (1985) State repression; Infiltrators and provocateurs; Sanctuary movement, American Indian Movement; Leonard Peltier; NASSCO strike; Arnaud de Borchgrave and Rev. Moon; Robert Moss; Tetra Tech.

**Number 23** (1985) Pope Plot/Bulg. Connection; Claire Sterling; CIA, Turk. & Ital. neofascists.

**Number 22** (1984) Mercenaries; Terrorism; Soldier of Fortune; CAIB Special Forces investigation; Privatizing Nicaragua war; CIA terror manual; Secret GAO DoD/CIA Honduras report; US-South African terror; Stefano Delle Chiaie.

**Number 21** (1984) Salvadoran election: NY Times/Time/Newsweek distortions; Nicaragua; Israel in Central America; Accuracy in Media; Rev. Moon; CIA occult research.

**Number 20** (1984) Grenada invasion; Nicaragua; Ft. Huachuca; Israel and South Korea in Central America; KAL Flight 007; CIA assassinations.

**Number 19** (1983) CIA and media history; "Plot" on Pope; Grenada airport; NSA spies on Canadian journalist; Georgie Anne Geyer; CIA legends.

**Number 18** (1983) CIA & religion; Nicaragua "Secret" war; Miskitos; Opus Dei; Guatemala; El Salvador; Institute of Linguistics; World Medical Relief; AID; CIA & BOSS; South African torture;

Vietnam; Suriname; "Free Lebanon"; Court & NSA; Spying on Canada; Heritage Foundation.

**Number 17** (1982) CBW history; "Yellow rain"; Cuban dengue epidemic; Scott Barnes in Laos; Bangkok mystery death; Executive mercenaries; CIA and academia; CIA assassinations.

**Number 16** (1982) Green Beret El Salvador torture; Argentine death squads; CIA media operations; Constantine Menges; Seychelles; Angola; Mozambique; Ku Klux Klan coup attempt; Nugan Hand; CIA germ warfare.

**Number 14-15** (1981) Index to Numbers 1-12; Intelligence legislation; Extended Naming Names; Deep cover businessmen.

**Number 13** (1981) Secret South Africa documents; Namibia; Mercenaries; Ku Klux Klan coup attempt; Globe Aero; Angola; Mozambique; BOSS; Central America; Max Hugel; Stanley Sporkin; Thomas Pauken; mail surveillance.

**Number 12** (1981) El Salvador; Guatemala; New Right/US intel.; Senate terrorism comm.; Wm. Casey; Mozambique; Norway; mail surveillance.

**Number 11** (1980) Right-wing terror; S. Korea; KCIA; Portugal; Guyana; Caribbean; AFIO; NSA interview; CIA stamp; CIA assassinations.

**Number 10** (1980) Caribbean: Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada; Antigua; Dominica; Cuban exiles; The Spike; CIA deep cover manual.

**Number 9** (1990) Intel. Tech: NSA in Norway, Glomar Explorer; Mind control; NSA; Jamaica; Hmong in Guyana; South Africa forgery; Canada bombing; CBW research; Intel. tech. politics.

**Number 8** (1980) CIA vs. Philip Agee; Naming Names legislation - CAIB statement before Congress; Zimbabwe; Northern Ireland; CIA Florida recruiting; CIA assassinations.

**Number 7** (1979-80) CIA and media: Destabilization in Jamaica; Robert Moss; CIA propaganda budget; UNITA - Savimbi in U.S., his secret letters; Iran; CIA uses pigeons.

**Number 6** (1979) Caribbean; Cuban exile terrorists; CIA Nicaragua plans; CIA's secret "Perspectives for Intelligence"; U.S. helps South Africa surveillance; CIA uses cockroaches.

**Number 5** (1979) U.S. intelligence in SE Asia; Chinese diverted Soviet weapons from Vietnam; CIA in Denmark & Sweden; Grenada; AIFLD; CIA officer and JFK assassination evidence theft.

**Number 4** (1979) Spying on allies: Secret Italy cable; CIA in Spain; CIA Africa recruiting; Angola; Subversive academics in Southern Africa; CIA and human rights; CIA firearms authority; Intelligence budgets; In Search of Enemies.

**Number 3** (1979) CIA attacks CAIB; Top Secret Army spy manual; CAIB CIA poster; CIA in Mexico; Australia US spy satellite base; John Paisley mystery death.

**Number 2** (1978) CIA recruits diplomats; Researching CIA officers; Cuban double agent in CIA; CIA North Carolina demolit. training base.

**Number 1** (1978) Philip Agee on CIA; Cuban exile trial; "Consumer research" in Jamaica.

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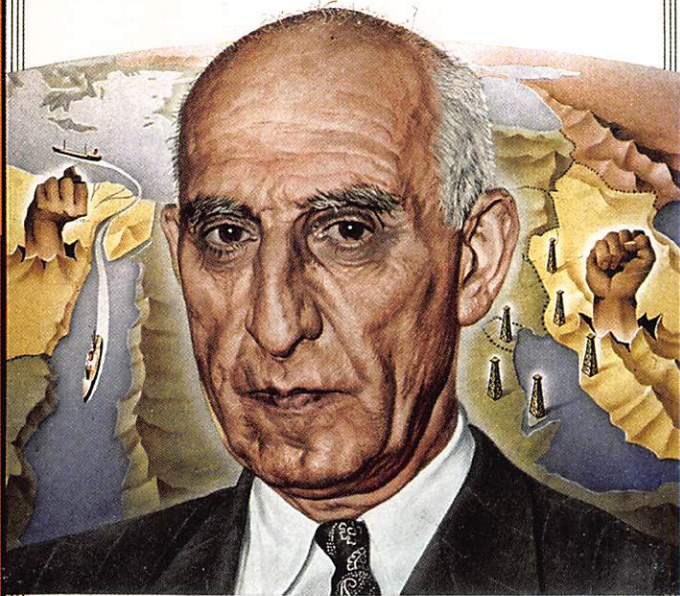
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