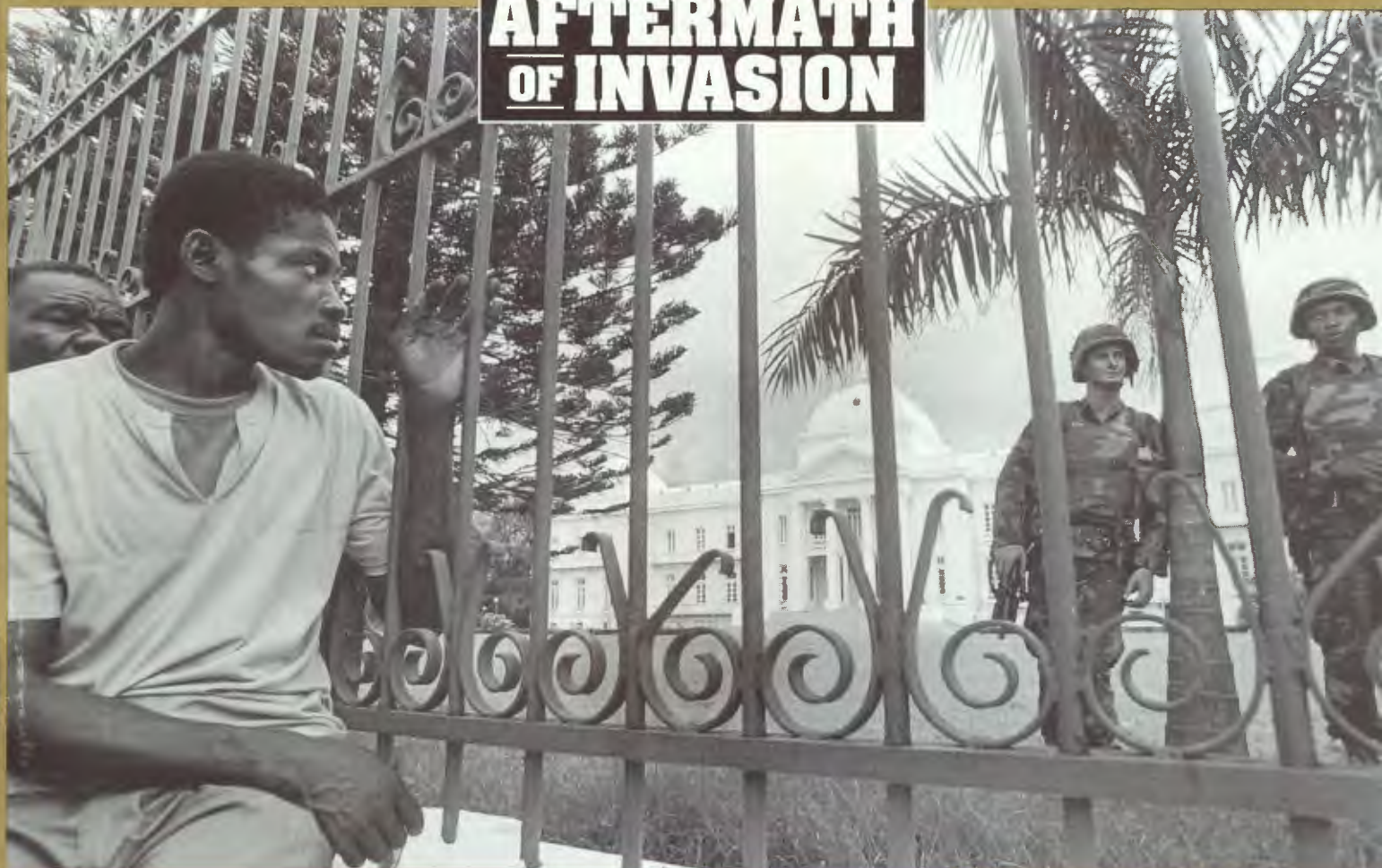


Covert Action

CIA BUDGET
SECRETS REVEALED

AFTERMATH OF INVASION



A.I.D.ing U.S. Interests in Haiti

— by Jane Regan —

Canadian Intelligence Service Abets Neo-Nazis

—Richard Cleroux

Brookhaven Labs: The Cancer Connection

—Laura Flanders

Bulgaria: Teaching Communists What Democracy is All About

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—Nancy Kelly

Leapin' Lizards: Paramilitary Vacations Among the Dictators

—Ed Connolly

It's a Rough Time to Give a Damn

Dear Reader,

When Henry Kissinger won the Nobel Peace Prize, satirist Tom Lehrer hung up his pen. "There is nothing left to satirize," he said. We know how he feels. Newt Gingrich, speaker of the House? Jesse Helms, head of foreign relations? We hope you are not counting on the Democrats to fight the right turns at almost every intersection. And we hope you are resisting the temptation to hunker down and wait it out.

The mean streets now stretch across America from Proposition 187 in California to the White House. They stop along the way at overcrowded prisons, devastated farms; they run pockmarked with despair through small towns with no jobs and big cities collapsing from the rot of racism and greed.

It is a rough time to give a damn, but we at *CovertAction* still do. We care about the kind of journalism that makes a difference in people's lives, that provides the information and insight all of us need to hold our own and fight back. We care about exposing the dirty deals that might end up

as headlines in the mainstream media years later when the damage is done; about revealing the secret acts that sabotage communities around the world. We also care about supporting the writers, activists, artists, and whistleblowers who have worked with us for 16 years.

It's also a rough time to try to keep the independent media alive. Many fine progressive magazines and newspapers have gone under in the last few years. Others have sold out to commercial interests. With your help, we don't intend to do either. We have many plans for the future.

You, our readers, share our commitment; we turn to you now to share our costs. We take no paid advertising and no corporations are beating down our doors offering grants.

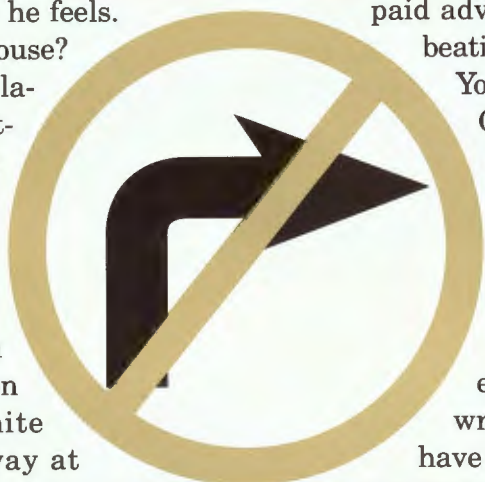
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Gratefully,
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CovertAction

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ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATT WUERKER

Scoop! Gates Reveals CIA's Fatal Flaw

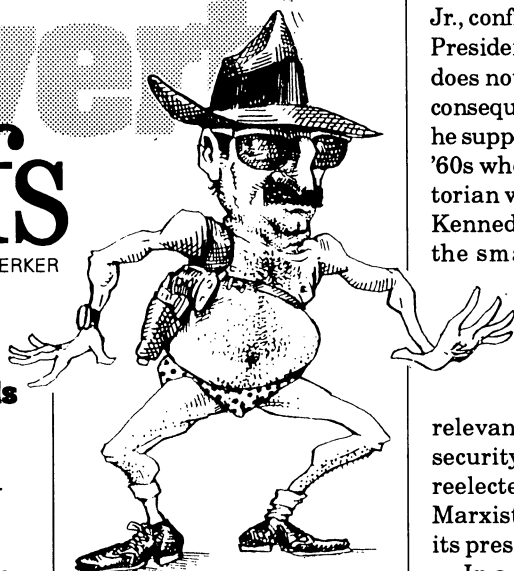
In early November, when the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence issued what the *New York Times* called "a damning 116-page report," NPR's Mara Liasson interviewed Robert Gates, the man in charge of the CIA when Aldrich Ames was collecting millions from the Soviets and Russians. The report details security breaches that would have raised suspicions in a corpse. Apparently Ames was well known around the Agency for such peccadilloes as falling into his soup in a drunken stupor at official dinners and losing his CIA identification cards when he passed out in public.

Why do you think, Liasson asked the former DCI, the CIA failed to notice that one of its own was a colossal security risk?

Gates pondered and then admitted the system was indeed flawed. The fault lay, he explained, in the CIA employees' mentality of "minding your own business and not getting involved in someone else's affairs."

Commode Hugging Sanctimony

During the confirmation hearing of Clarence Thomas for Supreme Court justice, Thomas, his chief Senate sponsor John Danforth (R-Mo.), and their wives trooped to the senator's Russell Office Building bathroom. Together, they stood in a circle



and prayed, wrote Danforth in his book *Resurrection*. In what AP described as "the book's most poignant scene," the Reverend Danforth then played a tape recording of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." Danforth confesses that he then put his hands "on Clarence's shoulders and spoke as a minister, 'Go forth in the name of Christ, trusting in the power of the Holy Spirit.'"

Somebody should have flushed.

Deadbeats of History

On the chilly nights of autumn, when the winter of mortality creeps closer, yesterday's statesmen and advisers remember the past as they sink into their wingback chairs and watch the fireplace glow through the gentle swirl of fine brandy. If it turns out that the adventures they sanctioned in the name of Cold War and hot ambition were little but mistakes and massacres, how do they assess their roles in history, these morally refined men, and how do they tally the debt they owe the victims of failed policy?

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., confidant and adviser to President John F. Kennedy, does not shrink from the consequences of the policies he supported. In the early '60s when the Harvard historian was a player in the Kennedy administration, the small country of

Guyana on the northeast coast of South America could hardly have been more irrelevant to U.S. national security interests—until it reelected independent Marxist Cheddi Jagan as its president in 1961.

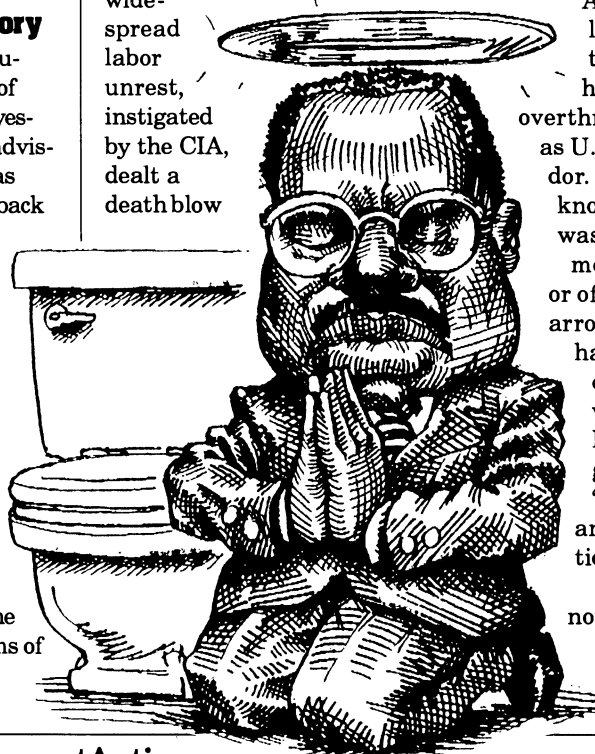
In a campaign that presaged Chile a decade later, the CIA, taking time off from the Bay of Pigs invasion, unleashed a scheme to destabilize and then overthrow the democratically elected president. A new anti-Jagan radio station went on the air, newspapers printed false stories of approaching Cuban warships, arson destroyed most of the center of the capital city, and eventually the CIA imposed a full air and sea blockade. As the '63 elections neared, wide-spread labor unrest, instigated by the CIA, dealt a death blow

to the economy and a worn-down populace voted Jagan out of office.

The key strategy of strikes and worker riots was spearheaded by William C. Doherty, Jr., head of the CIA's pet labor front, AIFLD, which operated under the AFL-CIO. The immediate consequences of the CIA's covert operation in Guyana were the riots that killed hundreds and the destruction of a functioning democratic system and a growing economy. The far reaching effect was the installation of racist demagogue Forbes Burnham, who oversaw the plummeting Guyana from one of the most promising countries in Latin America to a close rival of Haiti for the hemisphere's bottom place in poverty and misery. Now, every man, woman, and child in Guyana—a nation with a per capita income of about \$250 a year—owes an international debt of \$2,400.

Then, in 1992, Guyana got another chance when it elected the 74-year-old Jagan president. The Clinton administration responded

by nominating AIFLD's William Doherty—the man who helped the CIA overthrow Jagan—as U.S. ambassador. It is hard to know if that act was one of enormous ignorance or of insuperable arrogance. It is harder yet to decide which would be worse. In any case, Jagan said he was "flabbergasted," and the nomination was derailed. Whether or not the White House remembered history,



it decided to keep the public in the dark. In an initial burst of openness, the Clinton administration had ordered the declassification, after 30 years, of all records "needed to provide a comprehensive documentation of major foreign policy decisions and actions." As the CIA and State Department balked over opening the files on Guyana, and Clinton dithered, Schlesinger recommended unsealing the records.

"We misunderstood the whole struggle down there," he admitted. Jagan "wasn't a Communist." Hundreds dead, tens of thousands plunged into poverty, democracy and national sovereignty undermined. Whoops.

But sipping cognac in Cambridge, Schlesinger ponders the debt this country owes to Guyana and to the truth. Sophisticated and urbane, he quotes Oscar Wilde and pontificates: "The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it."

Sayonara Democracy

Another case scheduled to be declassified under a Clinton administration ruling is that of U.S. tampering with Japanese elections. Now a standard technique of U.S. intervention, it is usually thought that Nicaragua, or for those with longer memories, Guyana, was the first instance of a successful U.S. manipulation of an election to install its favored candidate. But long before the perversion of democracy was a gleam in NED founder Allen Weinstein's eye, the CIA was infiltrating and funneling

bundles of covert cash to the Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (which is neither). Reigning for 38 years until its 1993 defeat, the right-wing LDP dominated

postwar Japan with corrupt, autocratic one-party rule.

And it now turns out, it had a lot of help from its friends. In the 1950s and '60s The CIA gave

the LDP and its members millions of dollars to gather intelligence on Japan, to make the country a bulwark against communism in Asia, and to undermine the Japanese left, according to retired intelligence officials and former diplomats quoted in the October 9, 1994 *Washington Post*.

The payments were "so established and so routine," that they were a fundamental if highly secret part of the U.S. foreign policy toward Japan, said Roger Hilsman, head of the State Department's intelligence bureau in the Kennedy administration.

"That is the heart of darkness," said one retired CIA official involved with payments, "and I'm not comfortable talking about it, because it worked."

It worked not only to influence the LDP to support U.S. bases on Japanese soil, and the secret docking of

the U.S. nuclear navy—in violation of the Japanese constitution, but also to undermine democratic opposition. Throughout the postwar years, the CIA had close contact with various Japanese cabinet officials and maintained paid informers and agents in youth, student, and labor groups. It also infiltrated the moderate Japanese Socialist Party, which managed nonetheless to hold office on the municipal and provincial levels. Obstructing the opposition "was the most important thing we could do," said one ex-CIA officer.

The U.S. also worked with the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's chief Japanese ideological and financial backer, Yoshio Kodama, who funded the LDP. And the Agency helped rehabilitate Kodama's fellow accused war criminal Nobusuke Kishi, who went on to become prime minister.

Some experts report that in the 1970s, after the notoriously crooked LDP became financially independent through various illegal schemes, the CIA stopped the covert aid.

Perhaps, but it certainly did not halt its toxic policy of rigging elections with guns, money, and propaganda. Haiti beware.

Completely Safe—Barring Human Error

That wave of skepticism you feel when scientists insist their experiments are safe? Hold on to it, and to your health insurance, as well.

Considered state-of-the-art, the Yale Arbovirus Research Laboratory sits in downtown New Haven. It became the research site for the Brazilian *sabia* virus after facilities in Brazil gave up the project as too dangerous. Last August, a Yale researcher accidentally

broke a test tube and some of the deadly virus splattered in his eyes. Instead of reporting the incident, he went about his daily life and traveled to Boston, where he stayed with a family and had contact with their two small children.

After 12 days, the scientist developed a high fever and was put in isolation. This was the second known escape of an exotic disease from the cutting edge facility in 25 years.

University leaders argued against closing the lab, saying that the public was never in danger and that the lab is safe as long as established safety rules are followed. Which is kind of like saying children are well behaved as long as they don't get overtired.



Update on Monfort

The National Labor Relations Board has finally ruled on the 12-year-old unfair labor practices case against Monfort Inc., the giant meatpacking firm. As detailed in CAQ's Fall 1994 issue, the company had interfered with union elections and refused to hire back employees who had been active in the United Food and

Commercial Workers union. In the fourth largest back-pay settlement in history, the board awarded over \$10.6 million in pay and benefits to be shared by 286 ex-employees. It also ordered the reinstatement of all workers who would have been hired if the company had not discriminated against them.

LaRouche Couples with Nation of Islam

As distasteful and embarrassing as low budget pornography, the coupling of Lyndon LaRouche and Louis Farrakhan makes skin—both black and white—crawl. On September 1, in the insistent institutional luxury of the downtown Washington Vista Hotel, longtime Lyndon LaRouche crony Anton Chaitkin and Nation of Islam (NOI) spokesperson Abdul Alim Mohammad joined up to vilify the forces of evil. A LaRouche front group, the Schiller Institute, paid for the hall and, according to LaRouchite Lynn Speed, would contribute to any costs not covered by the gate.

The evening's panel, "The ADL: Spies, Lies, Murder, and Deceit," was part of a decade-long link between the two seemingly disparate groups under the banner of "Your enemy's enemy is my friend." The common enemy that night was the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

As *CovertAction* reported in Summer 1993, 34-year veteran ADL employee Roy Bullock had illegally gathered information on hundreds of organizations he grouped as "Right," "pinko," and "Arab," including, of course, NOI and LaRouche. Both groups seized on this scandal and unleashed a web of weird conspiracy theories in which Jews were a secret elite bent on world domination.

"The alliance angers me," says Loretta Ross of the Center for Democratic Renewal, "because it allows that ultimate devil, white supremacy, to get off the hook [and]...serves as a dangerous distraction that could have serious consequences for the struggle for justice." It also undermines what Rodney Orange, president of the Baltimore NAACP, calls NOI's "message of self-respect and nationalism [which] resonates with underprivileged communities."

In the old days, before LaRouche started courting black support, NOI would have considered his openly racist organization anathema. A 1974 LaRouche publication warned whites that "Soon you will lose your jobs probably to a welfare loafer, a methadone-crazed dope-fiend, [or] some gang member brought in from a ghetto neighborhood." Now, he rants on about international Zionist conspiracies to rule the world and the control of global narco trafficking by British royalty.

I got a taste of LaRouchian tactics when I called the Washington-based Schiller Institute to interview Anton Chaitkin for an article I was writing on the alliance for the Canadian press. He was evasive, hostile, and instantly accused me of being a CIA agent. I left my number in Vermont where I was staying and suggested we talk again after he confirmed that I was indeed a journalist on assignment. A few days later, on a gaudy fall Saturday morning, I was on the phone with a friend discussing the pitfalls of taping sheetrock. An operator interrupted announcing an emergency call from Anton Chaitkin. When I took it, he launched into such

an unstoppable flood of accusation, I could feel the spittle through the phone.

In the course of a few minutes, Chaitkin branded me a Nazi, a CIA agent, a Royal Mountie, a terrorist, a Canadian spy, an *agent provocateur*, a paid employee of the ADL, and suggested I cohabitated with domestic animals one of which was a Mountie's horse. Daunted by this overestimation of my prowess, both political and sexual, I suggested that he might want to pick one or the other. "They are all the same, that's what we are talking about," he screamed into the phone. Oh, silly me.

I tried to get him back to the issues. As easy as distracting a chicken with a passage from Proust. He wanted to know what town in Vermont was I calling from? Was it my home? Was this my home number? Did I live alone?

I took his repeated demand for this last bit of information as an attempt to intimidate. When he hung up, I called the village police and reported a threatening call.

An hour later the serious, somewhat confused officer showed up at my house. Chaitkin, he told me, had contacted the police and accused me of having made threatening calls to *him*. When the cop asked, Chaitkin said he didn't want to press charges or reveal the nature of the threats, but did

ask where I lived and how big the town was. He told the puzzled cop that he (Chaitkin) could not be an anti-Semite (a charge I had not made and the cop couldn't pronounce), because he was Jewish.

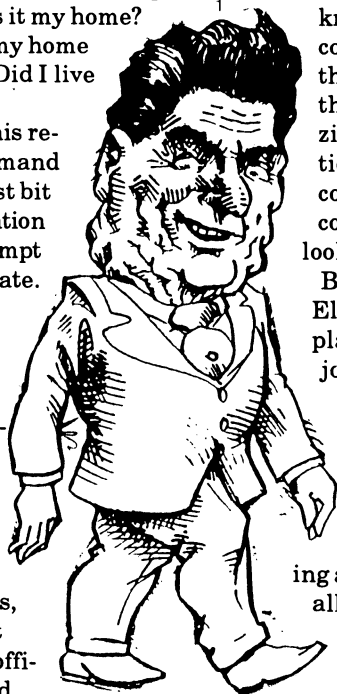
Over a cup of mint tea, the young officer checked my press credentials, read some clips on Chaitkin and the LaRouchians from major papers, and looked over my notes on the bizarre phone call. He also read some of the LaRouche and NOI literature.

Astonished, he asked, "Do they really believe this?"

Before leaving, he offered to send a patrol car around occasionally to check that I was OK. I thanked him, but said it wasn't really necessary. As I watched him pull away, I rested secure in the

knowledge that my co-conspirators at the Royal Mounties, the CIA, the neo-Nazis, the international Jewish conspiracy, and narcoterrorists were all looking out for me.

Besides, Queen Elizabeth and I were planning to smoke a joint together later that afternoon and enjoy the fall foliage, and I really didn't want the village cop roaming around. Who, after all, knew whom he was *really* working for?



Ronald Reagan Has Alzheimer's

So even if we never find out what he knew and when he knew it, at least we finally know what he didn't know and why he forgot it. ●

—Terry Allen

AFTERMATH OF INVASION

A.I.D.ing U.S. Interests in Haiti

by Jane Regan



The first time the U.S. invaded Haiti in 1915, the 19-year occupation was awash in blood. Five thousand *Caco* guerrillas died fighting the Marines and their newly trained "Gendarmerie d'Haiti." This year's invasion is bathed in the kleig-lit glow of good intentions. Behind this facade, the goal — keeping Haiti firmly within the U.S. sphere of influence¹ — remains constant. So too does the spirit of *Caco* resistance which lives on in the democratic and popular movement.

During the 1915 to 1934 occupation, the U.S. Marines established an

extensive repressive apparatus. They built hundreds of barracks and military posts for the new Haitian army, one in every small town and hamlet. For six decades, the army and its appendages, the Duvaliers' *Tonton Macoute* and the over 500 repressive Section Chiefs (rural magistrates) repeatedly crushed the Haitian movement for democracy.

Home of the first successful slave revolution in the hemisphere from 1794 to 1804, Haiti has a long history of struggle for independence and justice. In 1986, after the Haitian popular movement ousted the hideously repressive and corrupt Duvalier regime, the U.S. embassy and the Haitian military launched numerous overt and covert maneuvers to bring the country back in line. But in 1990, the population surprised U.S. planners and Haitian elites by voting for the last minute presidential candidate, liberation-theologian Father Jean-Bertrand

Aristide. Immediately, U.S.-funded institutions began working against the president's planned reforms such as higher wages and army restructuring.

Despite government protests, the CIA continued to support the secret police apparatus within the Haitian army. On September 30, 1991, with CIA approval and U.S. intelligence officers present at army headquarters, Haitian soldiers staged a coup d'etat against the democratically elected Aristide.² Gen. Raoul Cedras took ef-

Jane Regan is a freelance writer who reports frequently from Port-au-Prince. She recently collaborated with James Ridgeway on *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: Essential Books, 1994).

Photo: Vendor in Soloman Market, which Aristide helped rebuild after the *Tonton Macoute* had torched it during 1987.

1. See Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1994) especially Part I; also see Ridgeway, Regan, *The Haiti Files*, *op. cit.* for extensive and detailed information and analysis of U.S. policy and intervention into Haiti.

2. On U.S. support for anti-Aristide groups, see National Labor Committee in Support of Worker and Human Rights in Central America, "Haiti After the Coup: Sweatshop or Real Development?" Apr. 1993. On the CIA-founded and -funded Service d'Intelligence National, a secret police unit, and also on possible U.S. involvement in the coup, see Tim Weiner, "CIA Formed Unit Later Tied to Narcotics Trade," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1993; and John Canham-Clyne, "U.S. Policy on Haiti: Selling Out Democracy," *CovertAction*, n. 48, Spring 1994, p. 9; Allan Nairn, "Behind Haiti's Paramilitaries," *The Nation*, Oct. 24, 1994; *The Haiti Files*, *op. cit.*; also, George J. Church, "Lying Down With Dogs," *Time*, Oct. 17, 1994, p. 29, reports that the CIA knew about the coup in advance.

fective control of the country and reinstated the section chiefs system outlawed by Aristide. Under this mechanism of terror, each of 525 rural sections was patrolled by up to 150 assistants known as *siveye-rapòtè* (watch and report), *adjoint* (assistant), *attache* (attached) and *chèkèt lawouze* (dew-covered stump because he rises early to go after or spy on people). But the modes of repression — spraying entire neighborhoods with automatic gunfire, gang-raping women, endlessly exploiting peasant farmers with nothing left to give — are no longer as effective as in the Duvalier days. Along with the Marines, the U.S. is now importing more subtle means of control to ensure “stability” and deliver Haiti into the U.S.-dominated “new world order.”³

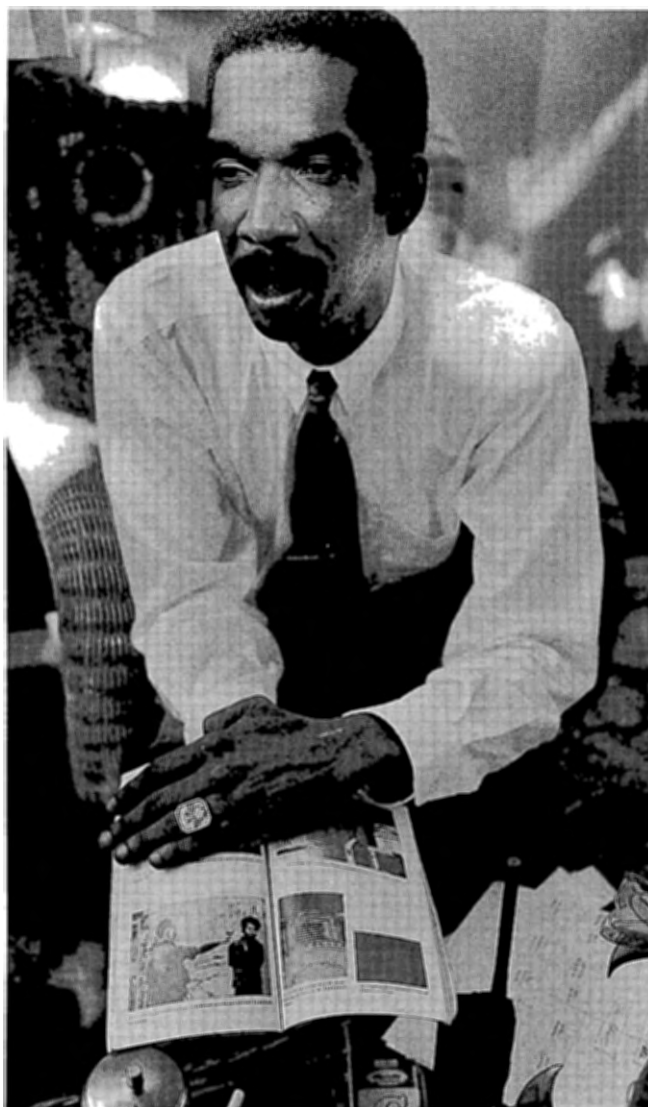
U.S. Ices Out the U.N.

The coup created more problems than it solved. The plight of Aristide and of the Haitian people became a *cause célèbre*. Especially irritating to the U.S. — which demands unilateral control of its “backyard” — was the international support for Aristide. Not only did the U.N. pass numerous resolutions, but countries with historical and economic ties to the island nation, including Venezuela, Canada and France, took an active interest in the president's reinstatement.

Even before the coup, Aristide had tried to use European, Latin American, and Canadian support to counterbalance the overwhelming U.S. economic and political presence. For example, much to U.S. consternation, newly elected President Aristide turned to the Swiss government to train a new security service for the National Palace. During the coup, it was the French Ambassador, Rafael Dufour, who came to Aristide's rescue.⁴

3. In “The Eagle Is Landing,” *The Nation*, Oct. 3, 1994, Allan Nairn said the occupation would undoubtedly go according to doctrine described in an Army manual as “the Imperative of political dominance.” A U.S. psychological operations official said the intervention would make sure Haitians “don't get the idea that they can do whatever they want.”

4. Dufour was later removed from his post and transferred



FRAPH leader “Toto” Constant shows a favorite photo.

And when he fled the country, Aristide's first stop was not Washington, but Caracas. Within a few months, however, to the great disappointment of many in the democratic movement, he sought exile in the U.S. despite strong evidence of Washington's involvement in funding and organizing his opposition and the coup itself. Belying his CIA-fed reputation as “mentally unstable” and the media's penchant for labeling him a “firebrand radical,” the essentially reformist president-in-exile pursued a careful strategy for return

to Havana, Cuba, reportedly at the request of U.S. Ambassador Alvin Adams, a former member of the National Security Council and also operative in Operation Phoenix in Vietnam, where thousands of grassroots leaders, students and others were assassinated. (Fritz Longchamp and Worth Cooley-Prost, “Breaking with Dependency and Dictatorship,” *CovertAction*, n. 36, Spring 1991, p. 54.)

which relied on U.S.-led negotiations rather than on his popular base in Haiti.⁵

Meanwhile, the Haitian military was also relying on the U.S. — with considerably more to show for it. According to Ian Martin, director for human rights of the Organization of American States (OAS)/U.N. International Civilian Mission in Haiti from April 1993 until he resigned in December of that year,⁶ Haiti's high command:

sought U.S. assistance to ensure the army's future. They mistrusted the U.N. ... and the proposal for the Canadians and French, both more committed supporters of Aristide than the United States ... The United States hoped to preserve the military — an institution it had often assisted and in fact had created for purposes of internal control during the American occupation of 1915-34.⁷

The extent of U.S. control went even deeper. Many high level military leaders, some U.S.-trained, were paid CIA informants.⁸ For decades, the Haitian army has benefited from direct cash aid, weapons and even used G.I. uniforms.

Although Aristide continued to maneuver within the limited space created by international rivalry, France and Canada predictably fell in step with the U.S. Subsequent negotiations produced the U.S.-orchestrated Governor's Island Accord, which Aristide reluctantly signed on July 4, 1993, despite its obvious loopholes and traps. The accord ensured that the military would stay in power four more months while the embargo was lifted.⁹

5. For an excellent analysis of Aristide's choice see Kim Ives, “The Unmaking of a President,” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, v. XXVII, n. 4, Jan./Feb. 1994.

6. Martin resigned because of what fellow workers euphemistically called “disappointment.” (Author's interviews with former observers on various occasions since the 260-member mission was pulled out of Haiti on Oct. 15, 1994.)

7. Ian Martin, “Haiti: Mangled Multilateralism,” *Foreign Policy*, n. 95, Summer 1994, p. 77.

8. Tim Weiner, “Key Haitian Leaders Said to Have Been in CIA's Pay,” *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1993.

9. For discussion of the Governor's Island fiasco, see Ives, *op. cit.*, and *Haiti Info*, v.1, n. 23, July 6, 1993. *Haiti Info* is the

As the accord was being signed, Emmanuel Constant (son of a Duvalier general), who had been on the CIA payroll since the mid-'80s, went into action. Within a few months, and with U.S. intelligence advice and encouragement, he had formed FRAPH. A political front and paramilitary death squad offshoot of the Haitian army,¹⁰ it began to systematically target democratic militants and hold the country hostage with several armed strikes. On October 11, 1993, the day the U.S.S. Harlan County was to land U.S. and Canadian soldiers, even though the CIA had been tipped off,¹¹ FRAPH organized a dockside "demonstration" of several dozen armed thugs. After a few cars were thumped and a few diplomats roughed up, the U.S. ship turned around without even telling the U.N. and its Haiti negotiator, Argentine diplomat Dante Caputo.

Caputo testily explained to foreign journalists that the boat would be pulling back into the dock soon; the U.S. — "only one" of the hundreds of U.N. member nations — was not in charge of the operation. As he spoke,

Belying his CIA-fed reputation as "mentally unstable" and the media's penchant for labeling him a "firebrand radical," the essentially reformist president-in-exile pursued a careful strategy for return which relied on U.S.-led negotiations rather than on his popular base in Haiti.

biweekly bulletin of the *Haitian Information Bureau*, an alternative news agency in Port-au-Prince. *Haiti Info* is available from P.O. Box 407139, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33340. 10. FRAPH, pronounced like the French "frappe" meaning "hit," was founded by Constant, with Defense Intelligence Agency advice. For an excellent exposé of the U.S. intelligence role in creating and overseeing this death squad, see "Behind Haiti's Paramilitaries," *op. cit.*; and Allan Nairn, "He's Our S.O.B." *The Nation*, Oct. 31, 1994, p. 481.

11. R. Jeffrey Smith, "CIA Paid FRAPH Head as Informer—Constant Tipped US That Haitian Thugs Would Meet Ship in 1993," *Washington Post*, Oct. 8, 1993.



JEUN VOIETEN / IMPACT VISUALS

Supporters prepared a little monument to Aristide in preparation for his return.

his aides in a hotel high above the capital watched the Harlan County steam toward the horizon. U.S. Special Assistant Lawrence Pezzullo later revealed that the CIA had recommended the retreat.¹²

Afterwards, a French military adviser said, "Do you know what the real problem is? The Americans don't want Aristide back, and they want the rest of us out."¹³

The next day, despite Cedras' public praise for FRAPH "patriotism," a visiting U.S. general affirmed that the Haitian military was still "on board," and expressed his trust in its "professionalism." A few days later, hours after Clinton warned the army to protect the constitutional cabinet, Justice Minister (and the U.S. embassy's attorney) Guy Malary was gunned down. The new U.S. ambassador, William Swing, fresh from South Africa, called for "dialogue" and "reconciliation."

Washington Turns Blind Eye

During the year that followed, the U.N. Civilian Mission, which had left after the Harlan County, limped back into the country but was promptly insulted and attacked in a "confidential" cable "leaked" from the U.S. embassy.¹⁴ Mean-

while, the U.S. pressured Aristide to "enlarge" his government-in-exile, stalled on tougher U.N. economic sanctions, and continued cutting backroom deals with anti-Aristide elements. The sanctions in place disproportionately impacted on the poor while allowing the elites to get by. In one year alone, the cost of living rose 75 percent while the value of the currency was halved.

The popular movement faced severe obstacles. The U.S. asylum processing program chipped away at it by hand-picking and exporting almost 2,000 grassroots leaders. The U.S. also turned a blind eye to the increasing repression. In the three years after the coup, the 7,000-man army and its paramilitary assistants killed at least 3,000 and probably over 4,000 people, tortured thousands, and created tens of thousands of refugees and 300,000 internally displaced people. But despite the violence, poverty, and exploitation, hundreds of peasant, popular, student, church and labor organizations endorsed the embargo and refused to cooperate with the *de facto* authorities.

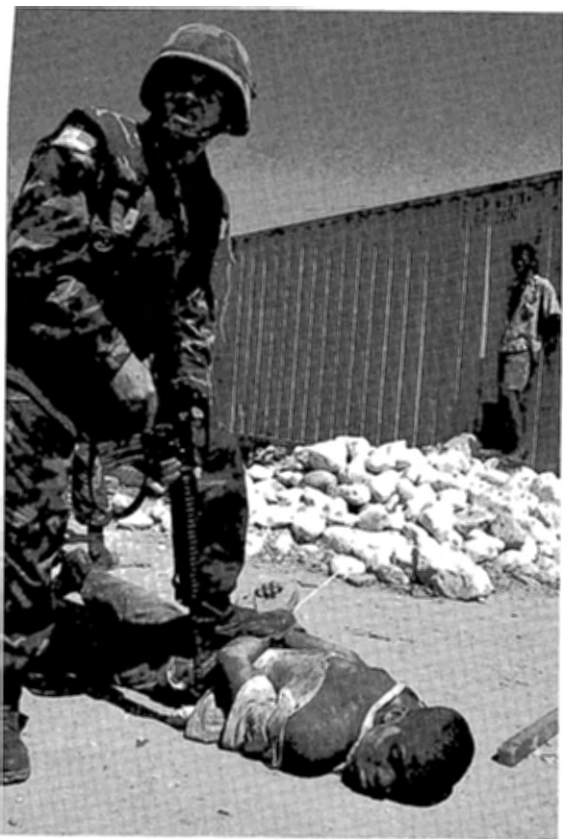
U.S. liberal sectors, including the Congressional Black Caucus and TransAfrica, finally joined the outcry against the administration. Washington, threatened with a continuing refugee problem and charges of waffling, prepared for a full-fledged invasion.

On July 31, 1994, the U.S. got the U.N. fig leaf it needed. Resolution 940 allowed the U.S. to intervene at the head of a "multinational force" to "fa-

12. "House on Fire — America's Haiti Crisis," a Peter Jennings special on ABC, July 27, 1994.

13. Quoted in Noam Chomsky, "Democracy Enhancement Part II," *Z Magazine*, July/August 1994, p. 65.

14. "US Embassy's Bias & Racism Exposed," *Haiti Info*, v. 2, n. 19, May 21, 1994, has a lengthy analysis of the cable's contents, exposing the disinformation and lies.



FUMINORI SATO/IMPACT VISUALS

U.S. military hold suspected grenade thrower.

cilitate the departure of the Haitian military chiefs." Clinton rounded up a couple dozen "partners" and Marines began training a token force of 266 Caribbean soldiers in Puerto Rico.

Send in the Cavalry

With the U.N. out of the way, Clinton went after public support for an invasion. Labelling the Haitian military "thugs" and "criminals," he showed visiting journalists photos of disfigured and dismembered victims. A last-minute sleight of hand by former President Jimmy Carter turned this century's second U.S. military occupation of Haiti into the "permissive entry" of 20,000 troops and millions of dollars worth of weapons and matériel.

On September 19, the day the U.S. invaded, Caputo resigned, denouncing the "unilateral action" of the U.S. as part of a "scenario" planned long before and saying the U.S. treatment of the Haitian military regime with honor and as "heroes of the film" was "scandalous." When U.S. soldiers stood by as Haitian police beat citizens, he said it was "revolting."¹⁵

15. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television interview, Sept. 20, 1994. Other quotes are from his interview on

Rather than disarm the Haitian army and its paramilitary assistants (Clinton's "thugs" and "criminals") as promised in writing to the Aristide government, or purge the human rights violators,¹⁶ the U.S. is now in effect overseeing a kind of massive "School of the Americas" for the entire Haitian armed forces. Everyone can now be trained at once, rather than piecemeal at bases in Georgia or Texas.¹⁷

On-the-job training began under the banner of "cohabitation and cooperation."¹⁸ Working side-by-side, U.S. and Haitian soldiers make arrests, share intelligence, and respond jointly to calls from the homes and shops of the bourgeoisie and coup supporters. When a Haitian soldier "misbehaves" or a paramilitary unit gets out of hand, a few underlings are arrested, turned over to the Haitian police, and then usually released.

In the capital, cohabitation is overseen by two Americans. Former New York City Police Commissioner Ray Kelly oversees the "police monitors" who are accompanying Haitian police and soldiers on their patrols, while Col. Mike Sullivan directs the 1,250-person Military Police.¹⁹

Sept. 19, 1994, on Radio France International.

16. Douglas Farah, "U.S. Troops Find Haiti Calm, Military Cooperative," *Washington Post*, Sept. 20, 1994, pp. A1, 10.

17. As in other Latin American countries, Haitian army officers are frequently trained at the U.S. School of the Americas and other bases. Haitian soldiers were being trained up through Oct. 1993, despite the coup and the embargo. Both Col. Joseph-Michel Francois and Col. Philippe Biamby received U.S. training. Rather than curb human rights abuses, U.S. training has been linked to some of the most repressive regimes and some of the worst massacres in the hemisphere. See Vicky A. Immerman, "SOA—School of Assassins," *Covert Action*, n. 46, Fall 1993, pp. 15-19.

18. U.S. spokesman Stanley Schragar called it "cooperation" at his daily press briefings after the invasion. Lt. Jeffrey Shuck, in an interview on Sept. 23 at Ft. Dimanche, called it "cohabitation." First set forth by Cedras, it was "a political term that would allow [Cedras] to remain as head of the armed forces after the return of Aristide." (*Miami Herald*, July 29, 1993, p. 10). Then, the term was used by FRAPH leader and CIA operative Constant and Haitian army spokesman Col. Pierre Antoine, at a Sept. 26, 1994 press conference, where Constant referred to "cohabitation pacts FRAPH has been asking for." (BBC, Sept. 26, 1994.) Evans Paul called "political cohabitation" his "own doctrine." (Jonathan Freedland, "U.S. Sees Mayor as Next Haiti Leader," *Guardian* [London], Oct. 21, 1994, p. 16.) "Cohabitation" has stuck and is used by U.S. troops in Haiti.

19. Press briefing Oct. 11, 1994, at U.S. Information Service (USIS), Port-au-Prince.

Quickly, "cohabitation" has turned to complicity. On October 3, two dozen low-level FRAPH members and police were arrested in a showy raid, but most were later released. Two days later, the U.S. embassy organized a press conference — complete with U.S. embassy equipment and U.S. security forces — to promote the CIA-linked FRAPH's new message of "reconciliation." No mention was made of the fact that the Civilian Mission has repeatedly and directly accused FRAPH of responsibility for specific, heinous crimes.

In Port-au-Prince, embassy and U.S. army officials claim that FRAPH has been "dissolved" and that the army "is in sad shape."²⁰ The reality on the ground is that both forces remain armed and present in virtually every community across the country.

U.S. failure to disarm the paramilitary squads is "absolutely disquieting," said a U.N. official who feared U.N. troops would pay for the U.S. laxity when they take over "Phase 2" of the Resolution 940 mission next year. "We would like to see a much more massive disarmament."²¹

A U.S. officer confirmed that his "Special Forces" unit had not disarmed the local soldiers (or *Tonton Macoutes* or FRAPH members) because theirs was "a joint, co-op type mission. ... Whether they have actually committed an atrocity in this country, that's not up for us to ... determine," he said. "They still have to protect themselves ... and have to uphold the law."²²

Aristide has practically given up fighting U.S.

"development" schemes and "democracy enhancement" projects.

"We realized we can't fight this huge machine."

20. Press briefing, USIS, Oct. 21, 1994.

21. Julia Preston, "U.S./U.N. Clash on Disarming Haitians: Planned Transition From GIs to International Peacekeepers at Issue," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, Oct. 20, 1994.

22. Based on reporting and taped interviews by Amy Goodman and Laurie Richardson of WBAI radio, New York City, in Hinche on Oct. 16 and 17. See also "Thousands Greet MPP Leaders," *Haiti Info*, v. 3, n. 2, Oct. 22, 1994.



FUMINORI SATO / IMPACT VISUALS

Cité Soleil, 1994. Aristide supporters demonstrate for first time since the coup of 1991.

The laws the U.S. is most concerned about upholding are those that control "endemic looting" and establish "stability in the streets."

"I think there's a greater degree of confidence on the part of the Haitian police," Sullivan proudly assured foreign reporters. "I think you can see on the streets that the Haitian people are more calm than they were two days ago ... I think we have had an impact on the looting."²³

The impact on human rights abuses is less definitive. In one incident, U.S. soldiers helped Haitian soldiers arrest three people, one a member of the peasant movement, on the unfounded suspicion of involvement in the killing of a Haitian soldier and an attaché. When U.S. journalists visited them in jail, one had not been fed in three days. Another time, U.S. soldiers protected the home of a Haitian soldier who had just knocked out a woman's six front teeth because she had been cleaning the street for Aristide's return. Seven weeks after the "permissive entry," Haitian soldiers

and their assistants continue to threaten, beat and even murder pro-democratic citizens.

U.S. To Train New Forces

According to a member of Aristide's transition team, the U.S. originally promised that the Haitian government would be allowed to vet the entire military structure and to kick out human rights abusers.²⁴ Over the next three to five years, the Haitian army and police are to be replaced by a police force of 10,000 new recruits and re-trained former soldiers. The army itself will be pared down to about 1,500.

With success predicated on weeding out corruption and human rights violators, prospects for genuine reform are not good. Over the last four decades, a virtually unchecked Haitian army, police, and paramilitary have operated with impunity. According to the transition team member, the constitutional government has been given information on fewer than 1,000 of the up to 4,000 human rights abusers it

would like to expel. To top it off, control of the vetting has shifted. A panel of five Haitian army officers, most chosen by the U.S. and two of whom actually participated in the coup, will have the final say on who is in and who is out.²⁵

Furthermore, the new forces will be trained by the International Criminal Investigations Training and Assistance Program (ICITAP), an institution which was founded by the FBI in 1986 and is currently being run by the Justice and State departments to "fortify the development of emerging democracies in the Western hemisphere."²⁶

Staffed by FBI agents, Secret Service, narcotics agents, and police officers, ICITAP has been involved in many Latin American countries, most notably Panama, Guatemala, and El

23. From an extensive interview on Oct. 11 with a member of Aristide's Washington-based transition team. The goal was to "keep as much space as possible for the democratic movement." He asked to remain anonymous.

25. Col. Jean-Claude Duperval (named interim head of the army's high command by Lt. General Raoul Cedras when he left) and Brigadier-General Bernadin Poission (former head of the fire department, which supported the coup). From an interview with a member of the International Liaison office for President Aristide visiting Port-au-Prince on Oct. 17, 1994, Allan Naim, "He's Our S.O.B.," *The Nation*, Oct. 17, 1994, and other sources in Port-au-Prince.

26. ICITAP document handed out at U.S. embassy in Oct. 1994. Translated from French.

23. Press briefing, Oct. 11, 1994, USIS, Port-au-Prince.



PHOTOS: FUMINORI SATO / IMPACT VISUALS

FRAPH demonstrators cry "No Aristide," "No Caputo."

Salvador. Its record is not encouraging. In Guatemala, the "reformed" military and police have been implicated in numerous human rights violations. The Catholic Church there reported 257 summary executions so far this year.²⁷ In El Salvador, the "new" police force accepted a number of human rights abusers from the repressive National Police, and many observers, including those from the U.N., have criticized the force for violations.²⁸ A former ICITAP employee stationed in Guatemala admitted that "Giving the Haitian police training and skills will not stop kidnapping and murders carried out at the behest of the military."²⁹

Although the Haitian government wants France and Canada to participate in running the program, ICITAP is demanding exclusive control.

The Invisible Invasion

While the Aristide government is struggling to maintain some control over personnel and training for the new security forces, it has practically given up fighting U.S. "development" schemes and "democracy enhancement" projects. "We realized we can't fight this huge machine," said a transition team member.³⁰

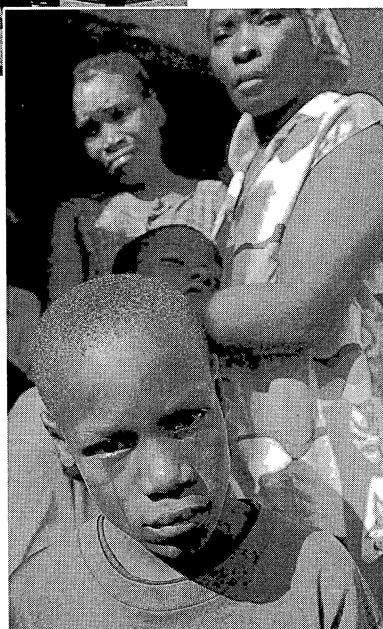
Behind closed doors, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and scores of U.S.-funded groups are institutionalizing a more permanent, less reversible invasion. The troops of this intervention — called "democracy enhancement" by AID and "low intensity democracy" by others — are technicians and experts. Their weapons are "development" projects and lots of money. Their goal is to impose a neoliberal economic agenda, to undermine grassroots participatory democracy, to create political stability conducive to a good business climate, and to bring Haiti into the "new world order" appended to the U.S. as a source for markets and cheap labor.

As in other countries, this democracy promotion industry will support those projects and people willing to go along with its agenda and will mold them into a "center." In the crude old days, grassroots organizers unwilling to be co-opted would have been tortured or killed. Now, they will simply

be marginalized by poverty and lack of political clout. Sophisticated propaganda campaigns will set the stage for the "demonstration elections" that will bestow legitimacy on the project.³¹

A month before the invasion, on August 26, in Paris, representatives of the Aristide government met with some of the major cogs in this U.S.-dominated machine: the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank and bilateral funders. The Aristide team verbally agreed to impose a neoliberal structural adjustment plan (SAP) that included the sale of public utilities and publicly owned businesses (euphemis-

tically called "the democratization of asset ownership"), liberalization of trade, and payment of debts. The agreement implied a reduction in already pitifully inadequate social services and an increasing reliance on "non-governmental" institutions and the private sector.³² Asked if the plan would support a raise in minimum wage — static since 1983 at about \$1 a day — AID chief Brian Atwood said: "I don't think that this economy is ready to consider such measures."³³



Brothers cry after finding their father shot by unknown gunman.

A transition team member said that demands by the World Bank and other funders go beyond a neoliberal economic structure and include a political agenda. The international funders "hoped" to see a "government of reconciliation" which would guarantee "stability and a sound economic environment,"³⁴ he said. In the context

27. Philip Heymann, "Reinventing Haiti's Police," op-ed, *Washington Post*, Sept. 27, 1994.

28. Dan Coughlin, "U.S. Police Trainers Eye Salvador Model, Questions Mount," *Interpress Service*, Oct. 7, 1994.

29. Philip Heymann, *op. cit.*

30. Interview with transition team member, Oct. 11, *op. cit.*

31. For an excellent and succinct description of "low intensity democracy," see William I. Robinson, "Low Intensity Democracy: The New Face of Global Domination," *CovertAction*, n. 50, Fall 1994, pp. 40-47.

32. "Strategy of Social and Economic Recovery," Government of Haiti, August 22, 1994. For more information on the plan, see "Aristide Banks on Austerity," *Multinational Monitor*, July/August 1994; and "Tough Economic 'Adjustment' Planned," *Haiti Info*, v.2, #26, Sept. 23, 1994.

33. Press briefing with Secretary of State Warren Christopher at USIS, Oct. 15, 1994.

34. Interview with a member of the International Liaison Office for Pres. Aristide in Port-au-Prince, Oct. 17, 1994.

The Occupation's Best Kept Secret

When the U.S. Marines invaded Haiti 79 years ago, they immediately established a customs receivership and took over the Ministry of Finance. U.S. soldiers had seized the country's gold reserves eight months earlier and promptly deposited them in New York's National City Bank. But to ensure complete control, a "financial adviser" reigned supreme, overseeing all expenses and state salaries, and even on occasion holding up the paychecks of the new client-president when he failed to comply with U.S. orders.

Under today's occupation, the control is only a little harder to spot. The U.S. government, or more precisely, the Army, has a desk in most of the country's ministries.

"Civil Affairs is what we call the best kept secret in the army," Brigadier General Bruce Bingham proudly told a handful of journalists at the U.S. Information Service on November 14.

Bingham hails from Norristown, Pennsylvania, and his unit, the 500-person strong Civil Affairs Brigade, is based at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. These men and women and thousands of reservists have worked in numerous areas which have been targets of U.S. military aggression.

In Haiti the goal is an unabashed preparation of the terrain for U.S.-funded and -directed projects, and Bingham's team of 30 (called the "Civil Affairs Ministerial Advisory Team") started out by telling the new ministers their jobs, or as he phrased it, helping them "learn more about the national structure of their responsibility."

"The ambassador had a vision about possibly providing what he called 'instant advisers,'" Bingham explained.

Coordinating its work closely with the U.S. embassy, AID, and the Tenth Mountain Division, the team's goal "is to serve as advisers and assistants ... to help them prepare to receive long-term aid projects from U.S. AID" and the other funders.

Bingham said the advisers — bankers, businesspeople and engineers who work in civilian clothing "to emphasize their civilian skills" — are in the ministries of the interior, education, justice, foreign affairs, tourism and information. The reaction of the Haitian government to all this help, he noted, has been "heart-warming." Despite space constraints, the ministers are "providing office space so that we can actually be in their ministries, on a day-to-day basis." And although Aristide's paycheck has not been held up so far, a Pennsylvania banker is already inside the finance ministry "to help facilitate the process of opening the Central Bank." He also worked in Panama and in Kuwait, where he worked with the central bank when Kuwait City was "liberated."

Although only scheduled to stay until December 15, Bingham's team will decide "which ministries continue to need assistance. *"[We] haven't really had the full merging of their plans with AID ... and if they are required, we will present ... follow-on plans."* (Emphasis added.) ●

of Haiti, reconciliation is a codeword for sharing power with the people who engineered and supported the coup d'etat, and maintaining their ability to control much of the political and economic life of the country.

Aid Bypasses Aristide

Like ICITAP police and military training, most of the financial aid will bypass the Aristide government. Not only those funds slated for SAPs, but also the almost \$600 million earmarked for economic, "governance" and "humanitarian" projects will remain largely under U.S. control. A transition team member reported that when members of the constitutional government ask about or criticize AID projects, "U.S. officials say: 'It doesn't really concern the Haitian government.'"³⁵

Any hopes that the U.N. might intercede on Haiti's behalf dissipated when U.N. Development Program director in Haiti, Juan Luis Laraburre,

resigned in May 1994, blaming pressure and restrictions placed on him by "the most powerful states."³⁶

A more recent UNDP technician was more amenable to the U.S. agenda. "The government has no absorption capacity," he explained. "The best situation would be for the government to oversee the projects without having government employees do the actual work."³⁷

Under this arrangement, the monies will go straight to the private sector, non-governmental organizations (NGO), or local leaders and politicians chosen by AID and NGOs. The most important U.S.-based groups — NED, the Washington-based Center for Democracy (CFD), the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute — are almost wholly funded by U.S. taxpayers. The

key "Haitian" player — the U.S.-founded and funded Programme Integre pour le Renforcement de la Democratie (PIRED) — is headed by U.S. anthropologist and longtime Haiti resident Ira Lowenthal.

PIRED

The bulk of PIRE's funds and the font of Lowenthal's influence is a \$15 million, five-year "democracy enhancement" project funded wholly by AID through the Alexandria, Virginia-based America's Development Foundation, a spinoff of NED. It has pumped hundreds of thousands of dollars into popular organizations, labor unions, peasant groups, "foundations," and "human rights groups" linked to political leaders and parties.

PIRED has also promoted the U.S. asylum processing program, through which at least 60,000 grassroots militants were interviewed extensively about their activities, enabling the U.S. government to create a detailed database of the democratic movement

36. Excerpts from an interview with Laraburre appear in *Haiti Info*, v. 2, n. 19, June 18, 1994.

37. Dieter Hannusch quoted in Ted Bardacke, "Haitian disarm ray poses threat to aid," *Financial Times*, Oct. 11, 1994, p. 24.

(Continued on p. 56)

Canadian Intelligence Service Abets Neo-Nazis

by Richard Cleroux

The scandal that a top man in Canada's largest neo-Nazi group was on the payroll of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) has exposed official involvement in funding, organizing, and abetting racists. It has also opened up the possibility that CSIS interfered in Canadian electoral politics and allowed its funds to be transferred to U.S. white supremacists.

The spymasters at the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS)¹ woke up on the morning of August 14 to find their top spy inside Canada's white supremacist movement staring back at them from the front pages of the Sunday tabloids. Grant Bristow, a tall, athletic, 46-year-old with a fondness for leather jackets and dark glasses, had just been exposed as a full-time \$48,000 a year CSIS informant.²

But that revelation was only the first in a series of embarrassing scandals that emerged over the next three months, leaving the service reeling. Beginning with the *Sun's* feature, the story of a CSIS operation within Canada's white supremacist movement began unravelling like an old woolen sweater.

Although CSIS refused to comment on the *Sun's* story, the rival *Toronto Star* confirmed the allegations five days later when it published a "Top Secret" CSIS memo on its front page.³ The memo detailed a conversation between two men. One was an undercover agent inside Canada's leading white supremacist organization, the Heritage Front. The other was the Front's



Wolfgang Droege (l) and Grant Bristow at the docks in Malta en route to Libya.

leader, Wolfgang Droege. The two men were discussing how the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) investigative television program *The 5th Estate* had discovered neo-Nazis in the Canadian armed forces.⁴

The memo, stamped "Read and Destroy," was dated June 5, 1993, the day the TV program aired. The top secret document was a briefing note to the Cabinet minister in charge of CSIS, Conservative Party MP Doug Lewis.

Richard Cleroux is a freelance political journalist in Ottawa who covers security and intelligence issues. He is the author of *Official Secrets: The Story Behind the Canadian Security Intelligence Service*.

1. CSIS was created in 1984 after Canadians belatedly uncovered repeated instances of domestic spying by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP, the Mounties). CSIS was given responsibility for domestic intelligence, while the Mounties' role was limited to law enforcement.

2. Bill Dunphy, "Spy Unmasked," *Toronto Sun*, Aug. 14, 1994, p. 3.

3. David Vienneau, "Spy agency kept watch on CBC," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 19, 1994, p. A1.

4. The *5th Estate* program reported that some members of the crack Canadian Airborne Regiment were neo-Nazis. Canadian public opinion was outraged when members of that unit who were assigned to the U.N. mission in Somalia tortured and killed a Somali teenager after capturing him in their encampment at Belet Huen in Mar. 1993. There is no direct link between the Heritage Front and the soldiers who killed the

young Somali. According to Canadian journalist Warren Kinsella, at least two former Airborne Regiment officers, however, are currently involved in neo-Nazi or racist organizing. One of them presently works security for the Heritage Front. See Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994), p. 348.

For Droege, the memo's publication left no doubt that the original *Sun* story naming Bristow as a government informer had not been part of a CSIS disinformation campaign. The clincher was that the information in the leaked memo reprised a discussion that he had had with Bristow in early 1993. In that conversation, Droege told Bristow of being interviewed by *5th Estate* associate producer Howard Goldenthal about neo-Nazis in the military. Droege couldn't remember the exact date, but it was about that time, he said, and everything in the memo seemed to be a paraphrase of their conversation.⁵

Droege felt betrayed by Bristow, whom he described as "a man who has been like a brother to me these past four years."⁶ His extremist politics and fanaticism notwithstanding, Droege was capable of feeling hurt. In the weeks that followed, he got even with Bristow (and Bristow's masters) by revealing to the news media as much as he could remember about what Bristow had done while inside the Front.

And Droege has a very good memory. Between his revelations and independently developed information, a clear portrait of CSIS involvement in funding, organizing, and abetting Canada's largest extreme right organization has emerged. The scandal also encompasses possible CSIS interference in Canadian electoral politics, as well as claims that Bristow passed CSIS funds to U.S. white supremacists. While the official line is that Bristow's mission was to infiltrate and spy on white supremacist groups, Bristow's behavior went far beyond that passive role.

Droege Bust

While Droege had a long history in the racist right, Bristow's antecedents, political and otherwise, are less clear. He appeared in Toronto in 1985 and worked as a repo man, shipping line security agent, and strip joint bouncer. His first contact with CSIS employees developed at the strip joints, as did his murky relationship with members of the Toronto police.⁷

When Bristow's CSIS handler, Al Treddinick, sent him to infiltrate the white supremacists in 1989, Droege



1994. Members of Canada's Heritage Front demonstrate for white rights.

was an obvious target. A former Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan organizer, Droege had just finished seven years in U.S. federal prison for drug smuggling and illegal gun-running convictions in New Orleans. Those charges resulted from a botched operation in which Droege and U.S. neo-Nazis attempted to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island of Dominica.⁸ In early 1989, the FBI tipped off CSIS that Droege would return to Canada, his adopted country, after serving his sentence.

Bristow quickly struck up a friendship with Droege, taking him

under his wing and paying the impoverished neo-Nazi's bills. Bristow's uncanny ability to peel off banknotes from a seemingly inexhaustible wad to pay for meals, trips and other expenses for the white supremacist cause did wonders for his popularity among the movement's members.

In the summer of 1989, Bristow, Droege and several other white supremacists managed to wangle an all-expenses-paid junket out of Muammar Qaddafi's representative in Ottawa. They put aside their hatred for all Semites long enough to enjoy two weeks in Libya at Qaddafi's expense.⁹

5. *Ibid.*

6. Author's interview with Wolfgang Droege, Aug. 25, 1994.

7. The information on Bristow's background comes from well-placed law enforcement and intelligence sources, all of whom demanded anonymity.

8. Ken Lawrence, "Behind the Klan's Karibbean Koup Attempt," Part I, *CovertAction*, n. 13, July-Aug. 1981, pp. 22-27; and Part II, *CovertAction*, n. 16, Mar. 1982, pp. 44-50, 21.

9. Interview with Droege, *op. cit.*

On their return, Bristow, Droege and two pals made plans to found a new white supremacist organization. They envisioned the Heritage Front as an umbrella group and clearinghouse for all the white supremacist, neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and extremist anticommunist groups in Canada. Within months, Droege's contacts on the far right and Bristow's technical and organizational skills turned the Heritage Front into the leading organization of the Canadian extreme right.

bigotry. The news media quickly dubbed it "Dial-a-Bigot" and the Canadian Human Rights Commission launched an investigation.

Bristow also developed techniques to harass the Front's adversaries. He showed Heritage Front members how to break into the voice mail of major Canadian anti-racist groups. Once inside, the Front could monitor their activities. The Front's people would listen to recorded incoming messages and note the names and telephone numbers of people who called to volunteer in the fight against racism and bigotry. Then they would erase the messages and, posing as anti-racist leaders, call up the unsuspecting volunteers and assign them to harass "dangerous racists." But instead of "dangerous racists," the Front provided the home telephone numbers of anti-racist leaders. Bristow's band thought using anti-racists to harass other anti-racists was hilarious.¹⁰

Bristow and Droege built up the Front into a dynamic, hard-hitting organization with a growing appeal to the young and plenty of muscle for street clashes. Soon, in major cities across Canada, it was attracting hundreds of people to rallies, often featuring prominent U.S. anti-Semites and white supremacists. The Front launched separate campaigns to recruit disaffected high school youth and

10. Author's interview with Anti-Racist Action leader Kevin Thomas, Oct. 27, 1994; and Droege interview, *op. cit.*

FROM THE FRONT DESK..

There's no "official" Heritage Foundation position on the Grant-Brown affair. Each of us who has been involved in the controversy has his or her own opinion. We each have our own memories of the man — some stark, some not so stark.

Grant could be abrasive. He could be belligerent. Some people have described him as mean-spirited and nasty. One reporter, a lady working for a local liberal rag, remembers Brown as a bully, who used to back her into a corner and throw her, in an effort to intimidate her. That sounds like Grant. But there's another side to the man, a side that's often overlooked by those who feel — maybe rightfully so — that their trust was somehow betrayed.

For nearly a decade, I called Grant my friend. "I just didn't see it," he never questioned his integrity, or his sincerity. "No," I said, "with all that's come to light, we're forced to say, 'we just don't know.' Did he use CSIS to finance the promotion of his own — and our — ideas, or was he too realistic, what he new appeared to be — an agent provocateur of his own kind?"

When I let it pass, I tried to consider, but even his own supporters had this problem. He could be so confident in his own integrity that he was often too confident in his efforts. He could be so confident on so many issues that he was often too confident in his own understanding. As I do now, he did not content to sit back and dream. He put his energy — and his money — where his mouth was. That's all too true a trait today.

There is no question about it. The Heritage Foundation is stronger today because of the foundation that Grant-Brown helped to build. For that, we thank him. For the rest of it, we haven't heard his side, and we never will. That makes it hard to keep an open mind — almost as hard as to avoid someone who you called a friend.

Cherry Lincoln

NOVEMBER, 1994



crossing on the rickety ship — the S.S. *Toronto* — where Bristol, buoyed by copious quantities of ultra-strong Turkish coffee, took a leading role.

Evidently, the caffeine eventually got to him. At one point, he announced that the lack of fresh fruit juice, and an endless supply of sugar-saturated colas, were part of some Libyan conspiracy to wear people down, so they would be more susceptible to "indoctrination." Unable to sleep, due to the coffee, as well as constant interruptions by harried Libyan officials knocking on his cabin door, seeking sleeping space for new arrivals who had not been assigned cabins, Bristow was convinced that this "sleep deprivation" was a brainwashing technique being employed by his hosts. All the while, he quipped that "Libyan Intelligence" was an oxymoron.

Bristow regained his composure.



Taking time out from security duties, Grant Bristow addresses a crowd of over 100 enthusiastic HF supporters at a Kitchener Ontario meeting in May, 1993

custody by waiting INS officials. Bristow remained in Chicago to expedite Wolfgang's release, contacting the Ca-

The Heritage Front went public in a modest way in November '89, when the trio attended a Northern Foundation Conference in Ottawa, at the invitation of an unsuspecting Anne Hartmann. Comfortably ensconced in a luxurious suite in the downtown Radisson Hotel, the triumvirate conducted after-hours networking sessions, entertaining local skinheads and other prominent right-

WE ASKED FOR A GOVERNMENT GRANT AND THEY GAVE US ... GRANT BRISTOW

"OUR RACE IS OUR NATION"

The Heritage Front's November newsletter deals with Bristow's "betrayal."

The Mess at CSIS Leaks Out

When a CSIS "Top Secret" memo revealing an agency "source" in the Heritage Front hit the front pages, it didn't take the Mounties long to get their man. But instead of going after Grant Bristow and investigating his possible misconduct, they quickly fingered the source of the leak, Brian McInnis, a former press officer to the man who oversaw CSIS, then Solicitor-General Doug Lewis.

McInnis had goofed when he gave the *Toronto Star* the original copy of the secret memo. When the *Star* ran it on the front page, the Mounties simply read the secret routing code in the upper right-hand corner. It told them where the memo had been sent. They set up a 24-hour surveillance on McInnis, and when they saw him moving about furtively and meeting reporters in bars, the Mounties moved in.¹

The Mounties arrested McInnis on August 25, questioned him, and then released him without charges. He may never be charged. The government has a secret expert legal opinion which says that Canada's Official Secrets Act is probably unconstitutional. Its provisions for a secret trial without the right to confront one's accusers may not pass muster under the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.²

McInnis told an interviewer that he leaked the memo because he wanted to expose CSIS for having created the Heritage Front at taxpayers' expense, not out of spite toward his former boss.³ But McInnis's actions focused public attention on the Solicitor-General's and the Conservative Party's possible links to CSIS involvement in the Heritage Front.

Who's in Charge Here?

The leak raised other awkward questions as well.

First, the "Top Secret" memo attached more importance to the possible political fallout from the upcoming CBC television program than it did to the program's exposure of neo-Nazis in the Canadian Armed Forces. The memo's peculiar emphasis fueled accusations that CSIS was more concerned with the partisan interests of its political masters than with keeping them abreast of legitimate security and intelligence issues.

Second, the question of whether Lewis ever saw the ministerial briefing memo has never been answered. Neither is it known — if he did see it — whether he informed then Defense Minister Kim Campbell (later to become prime minister), or simply kept the matter to himself to protect Campbell's deniability.

Third, McInnis should never have seen the memo in the first place since he did not have the required Level III "Top Secret" security clearance.

Fourth, the memo had been stamped "Read and Destroy" in red ink by CSIS. McInnis later said that such

documents regularly came to the minister's office. The documents were routinely read by various people in the office and stashed away in a filing cabinet.

Documents? What Documents?

When the Mounties raided McInnis's Ottawa home, they found 10 boxes full of Canada's most highly secret documents.⁴ They contained original documents dealing with Canadian spy operations, including secret security intelligence agreements with the U.S., Israel, Italy, even Jamaica, as well as hundreds of "Read and Destroy" memos to the minister.⁵ One memo featured a report on the number and identity of CSIS agents operating out of the Canadian embassy in Paris and a brief note detailing French government interest in the Quebec separatism question.⁶

McInnis's explanation, confirmed by the Mounties, was that after his Conservative Party lost the elections in October 1993, he had simply told office clerks to clean out his filing cabinets and send everything to his home. The clerks followed his orders.

No one seems to have an explanation as to why 10 boxes of the most secret security and intelligence documents in Canada could go missing for 10 months with-

Asked why no one noticed that ten boxes of secret documents were missing, Herb Gray offered, "Maybe we didn't need to refer to them. ...We don't consult documents like that every day, you know. Are you sure they were the originals?"

out anybody in the new Liberal government noticing their absence until the Mounties found them.

"Maybe we didn't need to refer to them," offered the new Liberal Solicitor-General, Herb Gray. "We don't consult documents like that every day, you know. Are you sure they were the originals?"⁷ ●

1. David Vienneau, Rosemary Speirs, and Shawn McCarthy, "Ex-aide admits leaking spy note," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 26, 1994, p. A1.

2. Interviews with government officials who demanded anonymity, Sept.-Oct. 1994.

3. David Gamble, "Tory aide admits leak," *Ottawa Sun*, Aug. 26, 1994, p. 3.

4. *CTV National News*, Sept. 6, 1994.

5. Robert Fife, "CSIS leak took secret papers," *Ottawa Sun*, Sept. 7, 1994, p. 4.

6. *CBC Prime Time News*, Sept. 8, 1994.

7. Interview, Oct. 27, 1994.



White Pride rally in Minnesota, 1994. While on Canadian government payroll, Bristow passed information on Jews and possibly cash to U.S. neo-Nazi groups. Like their Canadian counterparts, U.S. racists target young people for recruiting.

unemployed skinheads. It also began sponsoring youth dances and concerts with white supremacist bands, and organized violent clashes in the streets with anti-racist groups.

Grant Bristow, U.S. Nazis, and Canadian Jews

Bristow set about cementing links with U.S. neo-Nazis using a list he obtained from his Heritage Front pals. Bristow's U.S. neo-Nazi connections once got him detained in Toronto. Looking for Sean McGuire, a U.S. neo-Nazi who had entered Canada illegally, Toronto police surrounded a car in which he and Bristow were riding. After searching the car and finding handguns, a police radio scanner, and a portable red flashing light, police took both men in for questioning. McGuire was sent back to the U.S., but Bristow was released without charges after he convinced police to call his CSIS handler.¹¹

In May 1992, Bristow escorted U.S. neo-Nazi and White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger around Toronto. Metzger had sneaked across the border to speak at a Front-organized skinhead rally in Toronto, but before the rally was held he was arrested and hustled back across the border.¹²

It was not Metzger's first visit to Toronto. Earlier, the bald-headed leader of the White Aryan Resistance had entered Canada illegally wearing a dark wig to address a Heritage Front rally where he proudly showed off his disguise. Bristow had been one of several speakers who preceded Metzger on stage that night.

In a recent interview, Metzger claimed Bristow had passed him "enough money to make the Canadian taxpayers angry."¹³ The U.S. neo-Nazi also recalled that Bristow gave him a list of prominent Canadian Jews, and that on three separate occasions Bris-

tow provided information about the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) and the Canadian B'nai B'rith.¹⁴ Metzger's allegations have not been independently corroborated.

CJC national community relations director Bernie Farber says providing such information would be an outrageous thing for a paid CSIS agent to do just to gain credibility with U.S. neo-Nazis.¹⁵ Farber has other reasons to be disturbed. He reports that in 1992, someone approached a woman in the Jewish Students Network for information about racist and extremist groups in the CJC files. The man misrepresented himself as a researcher for *Ottawa Citizen* reporter Warren Kinsella, who was writing a book about racist groups in Canada.

Farber knew Kinsella was working alone and quickly pegged the researcher as an imposter. After looking through the CJC's photo files on

11. MP Tom Wappel, statement before the House of Commons Subcommittee on National Security, Sept. 13, 1994.

12. CBC-TV, *The Fifth Estate*, Oct. 4, 1994.

13. Interview, Oct. 6, 1994.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Author's interview with Bernie Farber, Sept. 8, 1994.

prominent neo-Nazis, the woman identified the visitor as Bristow, says Farber.¹⁶ Kinsella filed a complaint with Ottawa police, but again Bristow was not charged.

Cozying Up to the Respectable Right

Bristow and the Heritage Front also attempted to wriggle their way into the right flank of the political mainstream. CBC-TV reported that Bristow had somehow ended up as a volunteer bodyguard at Reform Party political rallies in Southern Ontario in 1991 and 1992 and had even managed to get himself videotaped standing beside Reform Party leader Preston Manning.¹⁷ In part, the Reform Party, a fledgling right-wing party which did remarkably well in the 1993 federal elections,¹⁸ had brought the scandal on itself by inviting Al Overfield, a Toronto bailiff with Heritage Front friends, to provide security at its two rallies.

Overfield promptly brought in Heritage Front members who were only too happy to rub shoulders with a legitimate right-wing party. But instead of guarding the door and staying out of sight, as any well-trained spy might do, Bristow purposely went, uninvited, to the front of the hall and helped usher Reform leader Preston Manning to the stage.

At a rally in the Toronto suburb of Pickering in 1992, Bristow was even bolder. He went into the back room before the speeches and posed beside Manning. He offered to become Manning's personal bodyguard but was turned down by aides who didn't know who he was. Neither CSIS nor Solicitor-General Doug Lewis, the minister in charge of CSIS, warned Manning's people about Bristow's presence in their ranks. That task was left to the Canadian Jewish Congress—not exactly the Reform Party's closest ally.

Reform Fights Back

Once Bristow had been exposed, his shenanigans with the Reform Party caused a media and parliamentary uproar. Bristow's actions had all the markings of a

CSIS intervention in the political process. The Reform Party charged that the agency had become a partisan tool of the Conservatives in the forthcoming elections.

At the same time as he was over-seeing CSIS, Conservative leader Lewis had also been in charge of his party's counterattack against Reform's growing popularity in Ontario. One of his strategies was to try to discredit the Reform Party by linking it in the public mind with extremist right-wing elements. Lewis' constituency of Simcoe-North was one of two Conservative-held districts in the nation used to try out the anti-Reform smear tactics before the 1993 election campaign.¹⁹

Bristow's uncanny
ability to peel off
banknotes from a
seemingly inexhaustible
wad to pay for ...
expenses for the white
supremacist cause did
wonders for his
popularity among the
movement's members.

Reform leader Preston Manning noted in an interview:

If you were inclined to be paranoid, you could suggest that certainly the Conservative government of the day had a vested interest in creating this misconception that Reform was all linked and riddled with right-wing elements. We don't know whether these are isolated events, or some individual running amok, or whether there's some real problem with the agency. Was a cabinet minister involved in authorizing these payments to this individual and directing what his activities were? How high up did that go?²⁰

19. Gazette News Service, "Tories used CSIS for 'dirty tricks' on us, Reformer says. MP links former solicitor-general with accusations of racism," *Montreal Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1994, p. 3.

When parliamentary hearings provoked by Bristow's exposure convened this August, the Reform Party used them to pursue its suspicions—and to jab at the Conservatives. Reform MP Val Meredith, invoking parliamentary immunity, accused Lewis and the Conservatives of using Bristow and CSIS to mount a campaign to discredit her party. She vowed to continue using her powers of office to ask questions.²¹

The Beginning of the End

By the spring of 1993, Heritage Front membership had soared to more than 1,800 members in major cities across the country and had made great inroads among young people.²² Thanks to Bristow's organizing and taxpayers' funding, the Heritage Front became "the largest, most successful hate group in Canada since the Second World War," said Farber, who added that "Bristow was not the leader, Droege was, but Bristow was there behind the scenes organizing everything."²³

Things took a turn for the worse for the Front in the summer of 1993. A 1988 complaint by the Canadian Jewish Congress against the telephone hatelines had led to an investigation by the Canadian Human Rights Commission. The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal issued a cease and desist order against the people involved, and pulled the plug on the phone lines.²⁴ When Heritage Front members tried to reopen for business in defiance of the tribunal's order, they quickly found themselves in jail for contempt of court.

Meanwhile, anti-racist groups turned up the heat. Young anti-racist militants clashed openly in street battles with the Front, provoking Ottawa police to file criminal charges against Heritage Front leaders, among others. While Droege was not charged, several members of the Front's inner circle were not so lucky. By the fall of 1993,

20. Journal News Service, "Reform demands inquiry into CSIS informer," *Edmonton Journal*, Aug. 24, 1994, p. 3.

21. Kate Malloy and Mike Scandiffo, "Reform Party suspects Doug Lewis of spy campaign," *Hill Times* (Ottawa), Aug. 25, 1994, p. 3.

22. The figure for the Front's size is accepted by both foes and supporters. Droege interview, *op. cit.*; and author's interview with Anti Racist Action leader Kevin Thomas, Oct. 20, 1994.

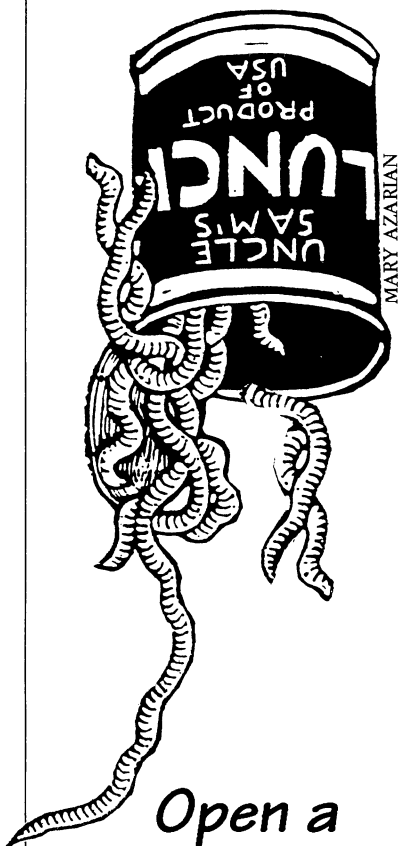
23. Interview with Farber, *op. cit.*

24. The Canadian Human Rights Act makes it a violation of civil law to expose people identified by race, creed, color, or ethnic origin to hate or contempt.

16. *Ibid.*

17. CBC-TV, *Prime Time News*, Aug. 22, 1994.

18. The Reform Party adheres to many of the same conservative beliefs on religion, crime, the family, immigration, health issues and social policies as the U.S. Republican Party. It elected 52 members to the 295-member House of Commons.



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most of the Heritage Front leadership was either in jail, out of business, or facing trial. Bristow quietly slipped out of the movement, possibly for a rest or reassignment elsewhere. If not for the *Toronto Sun's* exposé, he might never have been heard of again.

A Wall of Silence

Under CSIS regulations, a major operation such as Bristow's penetration of the white supremacist movement and his building up the Heritage Front would have required approvals all the way up to the Solicitor-General's office. But the Canadian government seemed more concerned with tracing the source of the leaked memo (see p. 17) than with looking into the implications of its contents.

The new Liberal Solicitor-General, Herb Gray, did say he would ask CSIS Inspector-General David Peel for a report on Bristow's activities, but it will not be made public. The largely powerless House of Commons Subcommittee on National Security has also volunteered to take on the onerous task of trying to get to the bottom of it all.

The Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), a civilian-appointed body which is supposed to act as an oversight committee on CSIS but which is usually a rubber stamp, said it would investigate. It promised to issue a report to the new Solicitor-General and to include its findings in its next annual report. But in an indication of SIRC's probable posture, Maurice Archdeacon, the committee's executive director, expressed skepticism about the allegations and raised the possibility that unnamed "people" were conducting a smear campaign "to destroy CSIS."²⁵

The Subcommittee on National Security's August hearings did not bode well for clearing up the Bristow affair. In its first appearance before the subcommittee, SIRC distinguished itself by refusing to share publicly any of its findings with either MPs or the public.

Former Solicitor-General Doug Lewis was also less than helpful. In his single appearance before the subcommittee, he alternately claimed he couldn't remember or declined to answer the important questions. Invoking the Official Secrets Act, he refused

to admit even that he knew of Bristow, much less what Bristow did for CSIS. Lewis joked that he was taking the equivalent of the Fifth Amendment on the Bristow affair.²⁶

And no one should count on Grant Bristow to provide any answers. He has dropped out of sight and is believed holed up with his family in a CSIS safehouse on the outskirts of Toronto. The family's Toronto bungalow has been deserted since August and is up for sale,²⁷ leading to speculation that Bristow has gone into the Canadian equivalent of the Federal Witness Protection Program. CSIS has refused to make him available, saying it has no idea where he is. The subcommittee, to its discredit, did not demand that he be produced.

It may represent a reprehensible interference in the political process...

In Canada, it has usually been left up to the news media to get to the bottom of spy scandals and pass the final judgments.

The *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) trumpeted in an editorial:

Indeed, all this may be a little mid-summer hysteria over some silly skullduggery. On the other hand, it may represent a reprehensible interference in the political process, an intrusion in the legitimate activities of legitimate organizations well beyond the agency's purview.

It could be that an inquiry will show these accusations to be unfounded. But if they are true — if CSIS is setting up racist organizations and harassing legitimate ones — it is abusing its power. The government must get to the bottom of this. Canada's security service is either innocent and maligned or it is paranoid, misguided and inept.²⁸ ●

25. Rosemary Speirs and David Vienneau, "Who's Watching Whom," *Toronto Star*, Aug. 27, 1994, p. A9.

26. Subcommittee on National Security hearing, Sept. 13, 1994.

27. The Mississauga home is listed in the TRW Multi-Listing Service as on sale for Canadian \$159,000.

28. "Some questions for the spies," editorial, *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Aug. 25, 1994, p. A16.

Brookhaven Lab: The Cancer Connection

by Laura Flanders

*If Brookhaven National Laboratory has been a sacred cow,
last spring, some sacrilegious women started worrying the herd.*



Judy Sturniolo moved to Wading River looking for the peace and safety of a leafy Long Island, New York, style of life. She never thought her neighborhood was dangerous. Now she's counting the sick and dead.

In the immediate vicinity of her home, Sturniolo can pinpoint ten houses where a woman has either died or been diagnosed with breast can-

Laura Flanders is executive producer and host of *Counter-Spin*, a nationally syndicated radio show, and coordinator of the Women's Desk at the N.Y.-based FAIR, a national media watchdog group. Photos: (l) Long Islanders concerned about the high rate of cancer hold second annual rally, 1992; (r) Brookhaven.



cer. "Out of 80 families in this development," she says, "that's just the ten I know."¹

Like many women on Long Island, Sturniolo is witnessing a breast cancer epidemic for which she wants an explanation and an end. Like her friends, she's new to activism, but she's lived long enough on Long Island to know that there are environmental hazards

all around her. Pesticides, heavy metals, electrical power lines and air pollution have all fallen under the women's suspicion. The question that hit home in the spring of 1994 is whether Brookhaven National Laboratory, a nuclear lab, will soon be added to the list.

Founded in 1947, under contract from the Department of Energy (then the Atomic Energy Commission, before that, the Manhattan Project), Brookhaven National Laboratory operates under the auspices of Associated Universities (a consortium comprising Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, MIT, Rochester, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Pennsylvania and Yale). Along with Argonne and Oak Ridge, Brookhaven is one of the country's major multi-program federal nuclear facilities. It's been dedicated since the beginning to finding "safe" appli-

cations for radiation in peacetime. For just as long, the lab has been emitting radiation and other toxins at what officials call "acceptable levels" into Long Island's water and air.

"The lab's federal and Nobel prize-winning aura combine to set Brookhaven above reproach. Brookhaven is Long Island's sacred cow," said Gregory Blass, a former Suffolk County legislator. In the early 1980s, fishermen drew Blass' attention to schools of stiff, dead fish found floating in the Pe-



1. Interview with Judy Sturniolo, Mar. 1994.

conic Bay just downstream from the lab. After years spent wrangling with lab officials, Blass' investigation resulted in federal action: In 1989, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) designated Brookhaven a Superfund site. The EPA report documented a five-mile long area littered with partially radioactive landfills containing among other things, lab garbage, contaminated clothing, radioactive animal carcasses, and sewage sludge. Well monitoring showed that local groundwater contained radioactive strontium-90, tritium, and organic chemicals.

Brookhaven's own published reports admitted that the lab had been a source of radioactive emissions and toxic waste for over 40 years.² With the lab sitting above Long Island's sole-source aquifer, directly at the headwaters of the Peconic River, the scope of the waste problem is extensive. In 1990, the DoE estimated that the contamination could affect 15,400 people, while cleanup could cost \$338 million and take more than 20 years.³

Given that breast cancer is one of the dozen cancers officially linked to the effects of ionizing radiation,⁴ can-

cer activists expected that the Superfund designation would lead to serious scrutiny of the lab. It didn't. Five years later, with even clearer evidence that the breast cancer crisis on Long Island is environmentally linked, Brookhaven Laboratory and its experts continue to elude scrutiny.

necticut or the research reactors at Suffolk County's own Brookhaven Lab — no plans exist to do a comparable study on nuclear effects.

Dr. James Mellius, author of the study and New York state's director of environmental epidemiology admits his study is limited. "This was just a



A year after a radical mastectomy, a mother, with her daughter, awaits test results.

Brookhaven's own reports admitted it had been a source of radioactive emissions and toxic waste for over 40 years.

Greg Blass is appalled. "To study breast cancer on Long Island without looking at Brookhaven National Laboratory is like studying transportation and missing the streets," he said early in 1994.⁵ But that is just what has happened.

In April 1994, a New York State Department of Health study on cancer clusters found that women with postmenopausal breast cancer were 60 percent more likely than comparable cancer-free women to have lived within one kilometer of a chemical-releasing industrial plant.⁶ The state's own breast cancer incidence statistics show elevated rates in several areas (including several close to BNL) where there are few or no industrial plants. But although almost all of Long Island has been exposed to decades of emissions — either from nearby nuclear power plants in Westchester and Con-

start," he explains. DoE-owned sites such as Brookhaven fall outside state and county jurisdiction, and "aren't like private facilities, where we almost always have some leverage to get access." In addition to the difficulty of investigating a high security facility, Mellius acknowledged methodological problems. "What we rely on are available records, and some records may not always have been so well compiled."⁷

Dogma of the Standard Man

Like Judy Sturniolo, Marsha Clopton is sick of excuses. She lives in Brentwood, north of West Islip, an African American in a community of people from two dozen countries, who speak 19 languages. "Personally," she said the day after the Health Department study was released, "I don't have much faith in any of the official studies. Maybe those studies were relevant for white, upper middle class

2. "Site Environmental Reports," Safety and Environmental Protection Division, Brookhaven National Laboratory.

3. John Rather, "Dumps Are Closing, but Increased Costs Loom," *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1990; and Phil Mintz, "EPA Seeks to Add Brookhaven Lab to U.S. Superfund," *New York Newsday*, July 14, 1989.

4. Under the Radiation Compensation Act of 1990.

5. Interview, Mar. 5, 1994.

6. Dan Fagin, "Pollution Link; Breast cancer study finds risk," *New York Newsday*, Apr. 13, 1994.

7. Interview, Apr. 15, 1994.

women who have lived here 20 years. But my community's not in it. No one ever talked to me."⁸

"The grassroots people know things the ivory tower people don't," says Marsha's longtime ally, environmental expert Elsa Ford. With other

his twenties, in perfect health. Even for this mythical Standard Man, "safe" levels have been subject to political winds, new scientific information, and what can be gotten away with.

But there is an even more fundamental flaw in the model Standard Man:

Even the influential National Research Council which produces regular reports on the biological effects of ionizing radiation, admitted in 1990 that the danger of prolonged exposure to radiation, even at low levels, had been severely underestimated.

But Brookhaven and Standard Man have been buddies from the start. As part of its federal function, Brookhaven houses the Department of Nuclear Energy (DNE), original headquarters for worldwide radiation effects data. Deputy Head of Radiology at the DNE, Charles Meinhold, is also President of the National Council on Radiation Protection, prime defenders of "safe" radiation. He is also a past member of the ICRP, the father of Standard Man.¹⁰

One of the longest projects of Brookhaven and DNE has been surveying the Marshall Islanders' response to U.S. atomic explosions.¹¹ Today, while Brookhaven's health physicists continue to monitor the Pacific Islanders, Brookhaven's staff also provides training and technical support to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), which li-

icensed power plants such as Three Mile Island and Shoreham. In 1993, the Clinton administration approved \$58 million for research into "advanced reactors" that the industry calls "inherently safe."¹² If this new generation ever gets past the research



A clinic staff member gives the good news that the breast cancer has not recurred.

women from the church and PTA, they started Brentwood/Bayshore Breast Cancer Coalition.

After one meeting, early in March, Marsha and Elsa drove to the local industrial park. Through the darkening fog, they pointed out roads that are not actually where the map shows them to be. They passed a landfill where the kids hang out, and a chemical dump they're sure is still in use by Hooker Chemicals, the contaminators of Love Canal. "We're always told it's safe," says Elsa. But she's heard that word before.

"Acceptable levels," she says, "are what's acceptable to a 180 pound man. That leaves us out."

She's right. Since the start of the commercial nuclear industry, the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) has based dose estimates on theories of how radiation affects the "Standard Man." Officially, he's white, male, from a temperate zone, in

It assumes that there is a safe level of exposure to radiation and that level is something scientists can accurately predict. The problem, says John Gofman, M.D., former Manhattan Project participant and a founding director of biomedical research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, is that standard setters start from the premise that at a low dose, radiation can be safe, instead of starting by saying that any amount is somewhat dangerous and judging the risks upward from there.

Early in 1994, Gofman published a report charging that even the smallest amount of radiation — from external sources ("high level") or internal ("low") — could leave a cell unable to reproduce or capable of reproducing wrongly.

"The lowest dose of ionizing radiation is one nuclear track through one cell. You can't have a fraction of a dose," he says. "Either a track goes through the nucleus and affects it, or it doesn't."⁹

medicine, such as x-rays for "thyroid enlargement," TB scans, fluoroscopies and the rest, have and will cause cancers. Twenty years ago a so-called "safe" dose was 50 rad, now that's down to less than five. "There is no logical escape from the conclusion that past medical irradiation of the breasts explains a large share of today's breast-cancer incidence." John Gofman, "A Prime Cause of Breast Cancer: What Did We Know and When Did We Know It," Presentation to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, Feb. 22, 1994.

10. *Brookhaven Bulletin*, Aug. 28, 1992.

11. In 1958, four years after the detonation of the deadly Bravo Shot in Bikini, Robert Conard, director of the project, reported on BNL's study of the indigenous Marshallese: "Greater knowledge of [radiation] effects on human beings is badly needed, considerable research is being carried out on animals, but there are obvious limitations in extrapolating such data to the human species. The habitation of these people on the island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings." (Glenn Alcalay, "Pax Americana in the Pacific," *CovertAction*, n. 40, Spring 1992, p. 49.)

12. David Mutch, "Despite a Pledge of 'No Increase' Clinton Backs a New Generation of Nuclear Plants," *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 29, 1994.

8. Interview, Mar. 1994.

9. Gofman is convinced that past applications of nuclear

stage, it will be to Brookhaven that the NRC will come for help before deciding to grant U.S. safety certificates. According to BNL spokesperson Mona Rowe: "Even if they're never built in the U.S., NRC certification makes it easier for GE or Westinghouse the manufacturers, to sell abroad."¹³

High Cancer Rates

To get to the "next generation," the experts at BNL have to deal with the critics milling around Long Island today. The nuclear industry is having an increasingly hard time selling its safety record to people who believe they face an epidemic of environmental diseases and are fighting back.

At an April 9 meeting in Oyster Bay, Long Island, 200 breast cancer activists voted loudly to endorse a citizen's resolution to close down Brookhaven's nuclear research reactor. "It finally just got to me," said Barbara Balaban, director of the State Breast Cancer Hotline and support program at the Adelphi School of Social Work.¹⁴

A week before the Oyster Bay meeting, Balaban heard the news that Brookhaven had experienced its most serious fire. A small piece of volatile uranium had ignited, releasing radiation in the building that houses the lab's 60-megawatt reactor. Seven workers were slightly exposed, but all releases were well within "safe levels" persisted Mona Rowe, the lab's public relations officer. "There was absolutely no risk to the public."¹⁵

Barbara Balaban has been hearing that sort of comment for years. "I'm looking at all this breast cancer" she said, "and we have no good explanations."¹⁶

Former EPA Science Advisory Board member and statistician Jay Gould and radiology professor emeritus Ernest Sternglass think they have

found one link. Last November, under pressure from activists including Balaban and pioneering *Women's Record* reporter, Joan Swirsky, the New York state Tumor Registry released small-area statistics for 1978-87. Gould analyzed the data and at the April 9 meeting, he charged that women living within a radius of 15 miles of Brookhaven Labs show a combined incidence rate for breast cancer 11 percent above the Suffolk County standard. In one community, Brookhaven/ Bellport, which lies about ten miles southwest of the lab, 134.64



BNL's Birthday book boasts of its "long history caring for the health of these people," on the Marshall Islands. Critics charge that Islanders were guinea pigs who, according to AEC minutes, "afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings."

cases of breast cancer are registered for every 100,000 women. The figure is 40 percent above the New York state norm.¹⁷

"Their observations make no sense," said PR woman Rowe, who points to areas adjacent to Brookhaven lab that show lower-than-average rates. "Besides, it's just not possible to point to a single cause for radiation on Long Island."

Sternglass and Gould agree that pollution from the lab is not the only contaminant threatening Long Islanders. The island is jam-packed with carcinogens, ranging from electromagnetic radiation from power lines and transformers, to organochlorines and

heavy metals from pesticides and fertilizers; they all potentially interact. "The point is, the lab can't deny that there's an issue anymore," said Gould. "Local women have scored a tremendous victory. The breast cancer activists are like the Women Strike for Peace reborn."

Radiation Is Good for You

Just as in the fight over the responsibility of the tobacco industry or that of the government concerning Agent Orange, there are powerful interests at stake in denying a link between exposure and

cancer. Establishing a causal link between Brookhaven and increased incidence of breast cancer would hit two delicate nerves: the Standard Man measure and the even more fundamental notion of the existence of a safe level of radiation. Without convincing talk of "acceptable" and "safe" radiation doses, it would have been hard to convince a post-Hiroshima world that nuclear technology could be safe. If the real risks were acknowledged, it would become even harder to convince people to accept bases, research facilities and dumps in their hometowns. Harder still, to

make a profit out of x-rays, fluoroscopes, nuclear power plants, and irradiated food.

"These scientists aren't evil," says John Gofman, "they're just defenders of the citadel. ... The notion that there can be a safe threshold for radiation is the atomic industry's Holy Grail."¹⁸ Tarnish that grail and you'll run into trouble on Long Island. After all, Brookhaven and the governing generation on the island graduated together from the same long Cold War class.

Our Friend the Atom

It was during the first chill of the Cold War that Shirley Kurovics moved to the little town of Wading River. Then, the lab's buildings were not even visible

13. Interview, Mar. 1994.

14. Interview, Mar. 1994.

15. John Rather, "Brookhaven Reactor Fire Raises Questions," *New York Times*, Apr. 10, 1994; and interview with Rowe, Apr. 10, 1994.

16. Interview, Mar. 1994.

17. Gould and Steinglass, "The Long Island Breast Cancer Epidemic: Evidence for a Relation to the Releases of Hazardous Nuclear Wastes," Long Island University School of Public Service, June 1994.

18. Interview, Apr. 1994.

through thick trees. Her husband, a professional painter, worked on construction crews at the lab while she set up a new home for her family on a plot of land that until recently had been part of her father-in-law's potato farm. "You could stand chatting on the road for half an hour then, before a single car would come along," Kurovics recalled recently at a meeting of Brookhaven breast cancer activists.

Now, despite the Long Island Expressway which ends at BNL, 44 miles east of Manhattan, the summer traffic that passes her driveway stands in one continuous line. Just visible from the road, about where beach-bound traffic starts to clear, is the bald-headed dome of one of the lab's three nuclear research reactors (two functioning). Now too, her husband is dead, one of a frightening number of cancer cases Shirley has seen in her community. And today, Kurovics is an activist.

Another member of the Brookhaven breast cancer group, Joanne Gaffney, has a cousin who was one of the first veterans to get a government loan to buy in Levittown. "People didn't worry about the environment then. They didn't make the connection," said Joanne, sitting with the little clutch of activists over tea. "We were city people. Everything came in pipes from somewhere we'd never seen."

William Levitt and the men at Brookhaven, each in different ways, cashed in on a lucrative post-war

Some hospitals were still gauging radiation doses according to visible effects on the patient's skin.

boom. Levitt constructed cheap, identical houses for white, nuclear families. "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a communist. He has too much to do," he said in 1948.¹⁹ A year earlier, Brookhaven was founded on the grounds of an old army base called

19. Quoted in Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 231.



BNL employee arranges potted plants around a radiation source. Later, in a project dubbed the "Gamma Forest," scientists irradiated pine and oak trees which they say "are slowly recovering."

Camp Upton to give graduates of the Manhattan Project a piece of the lucrative atomic industry pie. "Los Alamos on Long Island," Brookhaven brought together the big bucks and big thinkers of New England's prestigious universities and dedicated them to a single mission. That mission, explicitly stated: "to ensure the continued progress of nuclear science in peace time."²⁰

It was an era in which members of the Atomic Energy Commission were officially discussing plans to use nuclear explosives to excavate the Panama Canal and to dam the Straits of Gibraltar. (Closing the Mediterranean would irrigate the Sahara, an advance which "would have to be weighted against the loss of Venice and other sea level cities," said AEC advisor Glenn Seaborg.)²¹

20. "BNL's Fabulous Forty," *Brookhaven Bulletin*, July 17, 1987.

21. Glenn Seaborg and William Corliss, *Man and Atom: Building a New World Through Nuclear Technology* (New York: Dutton, 1971), quoted in Karl Grossman, *Power Crazy* (New York: Grove Press, 1986), p. 172.

In 1954, U.S. bomb testers blew the middle out of the Bikini Atoll and the island became the sick inspiration for an eponymous swim suit. A few years later, BNL's own Robert Conard, director of the lab's Marshall Islands Project, declared that although levels of radioactivity on the island were "higher than those found in other inhabited locations" of the world, "the radioactive contamination of [Bikini's neighbor] Rongelap Island is considered perfectly safe for human habitation." With that, islanders were returned to the Marshalls and a new profession, "health physicists" from BNL, initiated a long-term study of radiation's human toll for the U.S. government.²²

During the same period, outside the nuclear industry, the boom generation's doctors were wild about radiation. Thousands of 1940s and '50s children, including newborns, were systematically given chest x-rays to

22. Rosalie Bertell, *No Immediate Danger* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986), p. 70.

No Risk, Nowhere

"I would not characterize this as a leak," DoE official Gist said [after six pounds of weapons grade uranium was found in a filter pipe]. "We found some uranium in a place where it shouldn't have been and we're taking care of it."

Gist said the levels of uranium detected **were not high enough to endanger** the health of Oak Ridge workers, but acknowledged that the amount of uranium found was enough to start a nuclear chain reaction, which is impossible to control.¹

"Swedish experts say Chernobyl fallout no risk to consumers. Radioactivity from Chernobyl, though still high in northern Sweden, poses no serious threat to consumers, experts said on the eighth anniversary of the accident at the nuclear plant in Ukraine. Levels of radioactive Cesium-137 in the soil and water of northern Sweden are virtually unchanged since the accident and were not expected to decline in the foreseeable future, the Swedish Institute for Radiation Protection said Tuesday.

But it said there was **no health risk** for average consumers. "This is no big problem," SSI Director Gunnar Bengtsson said. "The average person need not even concern himself with what he eats...The heightened levels of radioactivity found in fresh water fish, game, mushrooms and berries will remain the same for the foreseeable future."²

"A complicated physics experiment caught fire early this morning, releasing radiation inside and outside a nuclear reactor building and contaminating seven workers....But lab officials said the radiation doses were quite small and the exposed workers were unharmed. They said the **risk to the public was minimal**, adding that the doses of radiation that might have reached the public were far too small to measure, equivalent to a few minutes of natural background radiation. Of nine people in the reactor building at the time of the fire, seven were found with contamination. 'We sent them home to sleep,' said Mona Rowe, a spokeswoman."³

"County-owned Catawba Memorial Hospital in Hickory [N.C.], dug up medical waste used in radiological procedures that had been dumped in 1967. Hospital officials stressed that the waste posed **no risks for residents**."⁴

A scientist responding to revelations of human radiation experiments said "three of these eight [experiments] involved heavy radiation doses to the hands and forearms. It was not uncommon for this to cause a reddening of the skin, akin to sunburn, called erythema. In the 1940s and 1950s, the normal response was to take extra care to reduce exposure for a few days until the redness disappeared. There was no reason to expect long-term consequences.

"[Another experiment] at New York University in 1955, was to study the use of electric current to draw radium into the skin for treatment of sub-surface skin diseases. Three subjects received localized doses up to 1,000 rem. The irradiated tissue was later removed surgically, so **no risk of cancer** was involved."⁵

"The four Iraqi tanks found to be radioactive by Kuwait's Radiation Protection Division at the permanent exhibition in Mishref have been taken out of the country for

further testing, and said [Dr. Yousif Bakir, head of RPD] were transferred possibly to the U.S. He however added that even if the tanks had stayed in Mishref, the level of radioactivity was so low that it **posed no threat** to the people visiting the exhibition. ...In spite of there being **no real risk of exposure**, Dr. Bakir advised those who were worried about radiation to get a tissue culture test done either at the Kuwait Cancer Centre or the RPD laboratory in Sharq. 'Any chromosomal aberration relating to radiation will be studied,' he said. However the tests are expensive and not all people will be tested."⁶

"Today's mammograms use a very low dose of radiation, so there is **no real risk**....Aside from the chances of wasting money—yours or your insurer's—there are only two drawbacks to early mammography [including] a hypothetical increased risk of breast cancer from the X-ray radiation—hypothetical because the dosage is so low and because there's **no evidence** that a woman can develop breast cancer as a result of mammography."⁷

"A company sitting on more than a million tons of low-level radioactive slag in Varennes [Quebec] announced it plans to level the mountain of waste and cover it with soil or asphalt to make the site safe. The company's studies show that radioactivity from the slag **presents no risk** to the environment or the health of neighboring residents."⁸

"Six miles from the center of [Tomsk], work at the Siberian Chemical factory goes on as normal, despite an explosion last week that contaminated 35 square miles of forest with radioactive waste.

The blast, in a reprocessing tank, rated three on a seven-point international scale of nuclear accidents. Officials said it was the worst such accident since the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, which rated seven, although they say there is **no risk to health**."⁹

John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) speaking to Congress said, "One of the largest groups of likely American victims of the Cold War are the workers who labored for years in our vast nuclear weapons production complex across the nation. ...These workers were continually assured by their government that there was **no risk to their health or safety**. In reality, conditions at many, if not all, of the plants may have been extremely hazardous. Monitoring programs — critical to identifying high risk areas and ensuring effective health and safety practices — were inaccurate, inadequate and, in many cases, non-existent. Yet, during this period, the government continued to assure the workers that they were **completely safe**."¹⁰ ●

— Terry Allen

1. Gary Lee, "Uranium Seeps Into Pipe In Old Nuclear Reactor At Oak Ridge Laboratory," *Washington Post*, November 26, 1994, p. A2.

2. Agence France Presse, Apr. 27, 1994.

3. Bernard L. Cohen, "Human radiation experiments: Looking beyond the headlines," *Nuclear News*, Mar., 1994.

4. *Medical Waste News*, Aug. 18, 1993.

5. Bernard L. Cohen, "Human Radiation Experiments," *Nuclear News*, Mar. 1994.

6. Nirmala Janssen, "No threat' to visitors of Depleted Uranium tanks at Mishref, Kuwait," *Arab Times*, Aug. 3, 1993.

7. Trisha Thompson, "When women doctors..." *Readbook*, Oct. 1993.

8. Graeme Hamilton, "Company plans to level and cover radioactive slag heap in Varennes," *Gazette* (Montreal), July 28, 1993.

9. Zoya Trunova, "Tomsk-7 Factory Works on after Nuclear Blast," *Reuters*, Apr. 11, 1993.

10. Capitol Hill Hearing Testimony, Dingell is chair of the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee House Energy/Oversight and Investigations DoE Worker Safety, Mar. 17, 1994.

diagnose an enlarged thyroid (a condition not now perceived as needing treatment), and as a precondition for surgery. In many cases, mothers would be asked to hold their children during the scan. On other occasions, women's breasts were zapped with massive 200 to 900 rad doses as "treatment" for various non-malignant "problems," including fibrous tissue, post-partum inflammation and unequal breast size. Some hospitals were still gauging radiation doses according to visible effects on the patient's skin. In 1950, New York City hospitals had a maximum dose of 100 rad to the chest per chest exam. Today's mammograms expose highly radiosensitive breast tissue to no more than 0.4 rad.²³

Boys Will Be Boys

BNL scientists were also playing around with radiation like kids with a new toy.²⁴ In 1961, a Brookhaven employee posed for a photo, reprinted in 1987 in BNL's *First Forty Years* birthday book, arranging potted plants around a radiation source. Later, scientists tried the same thing in the pine and oak forest that grew onsite. Terminated in 1979, the project is referred to as the Gamma Forest. Another 1950s project (see photo) led indirectly to the discovery that food irradiation could stunt decay. In 1966, years before food irradiation was approved by the FDA, Brookhaven scientists irradiated 15 tons of bacon for the U.S. Army and the Air Force, the first large-scale field test. In the 1970s, an Air Force scientist at BNL even put his own head in the path of radioactive ions to help NASA research the effects of solar radiation flares.²⁵

As the benevolent patina of the nuclear age tarnished and budgets for research into civilian nuclear technology shrank, Brookhaven ventured into projects outside its "peacetime" guidelines. In 1986, the lab was mentioned in a Department of Energy document listing "Nuclear Reactors Built, Being Built or Planned" in connection with SDI — the so-called Star Wars program. BNL scientists, it turned out, were getting SDI funding to develop a

small but powerful reactor for use as a power-source for the SDI weapons tests. The reactor was to use active Uranium-235 as fuel and orbit the earth 400 miles in space.²⁶ Six years later, Dr. James Powell, a senior nuclear engineer at Brookhaven told a meeting of colleagues that despite the collapse of the Star Wars program, a new Space Nuclear Thermal Propulsion program was under way.

At a project price of \$800 million through the mid-1990s, BNL was helping to design a nuclear fission device the size of a 55-gallon drum in which tiny "fuel pellets" would perform the function of commercial fuel rods. Brookhaven's *Bulletin* called the contraption a "nuclear thruster" with a "variety of military and civilian" applications.²⁷ Columnist Karl Grossman called it a "boondoggle." When he asked Powell what would happen if the nuclear rocket fell to earth, the scien-

Forty years on,
the illusion has
shattered and women
are showing the scars
of something gone
horribly wrong.

tist explained that: "Beyond a couple of kilometers the radioactivity would be 'back to natural background' levels." And if it fell in midtown Manhattan, or another heavily populated part of the planet? "What we say if people ask us that," said Powell, "is that the probabilistic risk of that happening is very low."

"Chernobyl couldn't erupt," commented Grossman, "it was highly unlikely that the Challenger could blow up, Three Mile Island wouldn't happen."²⁸

And Brookhaven couldn't contaminate the land and people near it. Declassified Atomic Energy Commission minutes from a 1958 meeting explain that Brookhaven routinely

evaporated liquid nuclear waste into a slurry, pouring it into "drums with cement" and burying the drums 200 miles off shore. The lab's graphite reactor (which operated from 1950 to 1966) released fission products at a rate of 15,000 curies of Argon per day into the air. "Dispersal is good," said the folks at BNL. "And while activity may on occasion be a nuisance, there has been no hazard." Since then, safety standards for emissions from reactors like Brookhaven's have fluctuated wildly. "What's considered safe has been reduced by a factor of 100," says Tom Cochran, a senior scientist at the Natural Resources Defense Council in Washington, D.C. The maximum annual exposure permitted by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission from a reactor today is a dose of 5 to 25 millirems to an adult standing at the perimeter of a nuclear installation. That maximum was 500 millirems 40 years ago, when Brookhaven began.²⁹

Over almost half a century, from Bikini to the Gamma Forest to SDI, even while downplaying leaks, accidents and emissions, BNL's approach reeked of a carefully crafted confidence that radiation could be safe and safely controlled. "There's an obvious contradiction," said local environmental reporter and former NBC newsman, Karl Grossman. "The folks at Brookhaven have been shameless hustlers for nuclear technology at the same time as they've been in the vanguard of those posing as objective scientists, telling the public it would be safe."³⁰

Glowing Dreams of Suburbia

When Judy Sturniolo moved to Wading River in 1971, local confidence in nuclear technology was at an all-time high. "I moved here for the peace and the security," said Sturniolo, a teacher's assistant. She was seeking quiet. It didn't worry her that there was a nuclear power plant at the bottom of the hill. "We were told the neighborhood was safe."

"I laughed when I saw the China Syndrome," she says now. "I said, I've been there." One Sunday before it opened, she and a group of friends from church got an upbeat tour of Brookhaven. With an official guide, they climbed inside the water coolant tanks

(Continued on p. 59)

23. Gofman, *op. cit.*

24. The video game was born at Brookhaven, as was the drug L-dopa, a genetic adaptation developed at BNL to treat Parkinson's disease.

25. Letter from Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) to Daniel Goldin, NASA Administrator, Feb. 18, 1994, citing *Nature*, v. 234, n. 10, 1971. The Air Force scientist was P.J. McNulty.

26. Karl Grossman, *Easthampton Star*, Nov. 27, 1986.

27. *Brookhaven Bulletin*, Aug. 28, 1992.

28. Karl Grossman, *Easthampton Star*, Sept. 9, 1992.

29. Interview, Mar. 1994.

30. Interview, Mar. 1994.

BULGARIA

Teaching Communists What Democracy Is All About

by William Blum

*When the Bulgarians had the nerve to elect the wrong people,
the U.S. moved in quickly to undo the mistake.
The upheaval that followed was a textbook case of "new interventionism."*

During the summer and fall of 1990, after the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) — formerly the Communist Party — unexpectedly won that Eastern Bloc country's first free elections in 45 years, anti-government protests filled the streets. As one demand was met, opponents raised new ones, putting the new democratic regime under siege and making governance impossible. For observers with a historical memory, the protest movement in Bulgaria had a familiar feel. The strikes and demonstrations that wracked Bulgaria recalled the general strike in British Guiana to topple socialist Cheddi Jagan in 1962 and the campaign to undermine Salvador Allende in Chile in the early 1970s — both CIA operations.

Even the sounds of protest evoked a sense of déjà vu. In Bulgaria that summer, women demonstrated by banging pots and pans to protest the lack of food in the shops,¹ just as their counterparts had done in Chile, and in Jamaica and Nicaragua, where the CIA had also financed anti-government demonstrations. In British Guiana, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade came from the U.S. to spread money and the gospel, and similar groups had set up shop in Jamaica.

William Blum is author of *The CIA, A Forgotten History: U.S. Global Intervention Since World War 2*, published in 1986. An extensively revised and expanded edition of the book is to be published in early 1995 by Common Courage Press, under the title *Killing Hope: U.S. Global Intervention Since World War 2*. This article is adapted from the new book.

1. Alan Durnell, "A revolution brewed in the classroom," *Times Higher Education Supplement* (London), Dec. 14, 1990, p. 8.



Paul Weyrich (I) with
Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev.

In 1990, Bulgaria became the target of a similar campaign. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED), assisted by the Free Congress Foundation, took over the functions formerly undertaken by the CIA and private anticommunist groups. As former CIA Director William Colby earlier explained, the reason for the shift to NED was that "[m]any of the programs which ... were conducted as covert operations [can now be] conducted quite openly, and consequently, without controversy."²

Getting rid of the Bulgarian communists didn't seem to pose much of a problem. For U.S. and Bulgarian anti-

communist Cold-warriors in early 1990, things couldn't have looked more promising. The Cold War was over. The Soviet Union was falling apart. The Communist Party of Bulgaria was in disgrace. Todor Zhivkov, its dictatorial leader of 35 years, was being prosecuted for abuses of power. The party had changed its name, but that wouldn't fool anybody. And the country awaited its first multiparty election since World War II.

Then, as in Chile, Nicaragua, and Haiti, the people made the wrong choice. The former communists won the elections. For the anticommunists reborn as free-marketeers in Washington and Sofia, it was as if a cosmic mistake had occurred, a mistake which could not be allowed to stand.

U.S. Campaign in Bulgaria

The Bush administration had expressed its interest early, with no pretense of neutrality. In February, Secretary of State James Baker became the highest-ranking U.S. official to visit Bulgaria since World War II. His official schedule said he was in Bulgaria to "meet with opposition leaders as well as Government officials." Usually, the *New York Times* noted, "it is listed the other way around."³ Baker leapt into Bulgarian domestic politics, consulting with the opposition about political strategies and election preparations. The State Department profile of Bulgaria listed the "Type of Government" as "In transition."⁴

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

3. Thomas Friedman, "Baker Asks Bulgaria for Fair Election," *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1990, p. 20.
4. *Ibid.*

Three weeks before the June elections, a row broke out over Western attempts to influence the outcome. The main opposition group, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), claimed that only it could garner international aid. Petar Beron, leader of the coalition of 16 parties and movements, said that many Western politicians pledged they would not provide financial assistance to a socialist Bulgaria — even if the Socialists won the elections fairly.⁵

Meanwhile, NED and the Agency for International Development poured some \$2 million into Bulgaria to influence the outcome of the election, a process NED calls “promoting democracy.”⁶ NED funneled \$233,000 in newsprint to the opposition UDF’s newspaper, *Demokratia*, “to allow it to increase its size and circulation for the period leading up to the national elections.” The UDF got another \$615,000 from NED for “party training,” “material and technical support,” and “post-electoral assistance for the UDF’s party building program.”⁷

No party named Socialist could win the support of the West, even with a popular mandate and a moderate economic program.



Sofia, 1990. Followers of the UDF protest in front of the Bulgarian National Assembly after the Socialists won the election.

In early June, the State Department took the unusual step of publicly criticizing Bulgaria for what it called the inequitable distribution of resources for news outlets, especially newsprint for opposition newspapers. The Bulgarian government responded that the opposition had received its mutually agreed upon allocation of newsprint and access to broadcast media. The government also provided the printing plant to publish the UDF newspaper and gave it its headquarters building.⁸

U.S. officials also actively campaigned for UDF. During his February trip, Secretary of State Baker enthusiastically addressed a street rally organized by opposition groups. In his speech, he praised and encouraged the crowd.⁹ And on June 9, the day before the election, U.S. Ambassador Sol Polansky appeared on the platform of a UDF rally.¹⁰ Polansky, who had previously worked in the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, had

long experience in East European intelligence and political matters.¹¹

Socialist Strength

As the elections neared, the BSP led the polls, despite the best efforts of the U.S. and the domestic opposition. Unlike its communist brethren in Poland or Czechoslovakia, the BSP was not tainted by its ties with the Soviets. Bulgaria has a continuing tradition of genuine friendship with the Russians, who helped liberate the country from the Turks during the last century. More than 10 percent of the country’s population held party membership, and the BSP drew support from pensioners, farm-workers, and the industrial workforce as well. These strata represented well over half the voting population.¹² The Socialists also capitalized on fears of rapid change, pointing to the disastrous unemployment and inflation resulting from the “shock therapy” free enterprise in Russia.¹³

In fact, the BSP supported movement toward a market economy, but pro-

5. Denise Searle and Mike Power, “Bulgaria opposition says West will refuse to help socialists,” *The Guardian* (London), May 21, 1990, p. 6.

6. National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., *Annual Report, 1990* (Oct. 1, 1989 - Sept. 30, 1990), pp. 23-24.

7. *Ibid.* The NED grants also included \$111,000 for an international election observation team.

8. John Tagliabue, “U.S. Envoy to Bulgaria Reports to Baker on Campaign Irregularities,” *New York Times*, June 6, 1990, p. A15; Friedman, *op. cit.*

9. Friedman, *ibid.*

10. Carol Williams, “Hope of U.S. Aid Helped Inspire Bulgaria Revolt,” *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 3, 1990, p. 13.

11. Dept. of State, *The Biographic Register*, 1974, p. 274.

12. Denise Searle and Mike Power, “Bulgaria will vote cautiously,” *The Guardian*, June 9, 1990, p. 6.

13. Luan Troxel, “Socialist Persistence in the Bulgarian Elections of 1990-1991,” *East European Quarterly* (Boulder, Colo.), Jan. 1993, pp. 412-14.

posed a more gradual course, which would produce considerably less and slower privatization. The BSP program thus differed from the opposition only in nuance, but it seemed that no party named "Socialist," née "Communist," and recently wedded to the USSR, could win the trust and support of the West, even with a popular mandate and a moderate economic program.

The Wrong Side Wins

Nonetheless, in the June elections the Socialists won 47 percent of the vote and 211 seats in the 400-seat parliament to the UDF's 36 percent and 144 seats. Charging fraud, the opposition took to the streets, chanting "Socialist Mafia!" and "We won't work for Reds!"

But international election observers saw no evidence of fraud. "The results... will reflect the will of the people," said Geoffrey Tordoff, the leader of a British observer delegation. "If I wanted to fix an election, it would be easier to do it in England than in Bulgaria." Other West European observers rejected the opposition claims as "sour grapes" and "utter rot."¹⁴

"The opposition appear to be rather bad losers," concluded one Western diplomat.¹⁵

Despite the consensus of the Europeans, U.S. observers claimed that fear and intimidation arising from "the legacy of 45 years of totalitarian rule" had produced "psychological" pressures on Bulgarian voters. Asked if his team's report would have been as critical had the opposition won, one of the Americans replied: "That's a good question."¹⁶

Before the election, Socialist Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov had called for a coalition government if his party won. "The new government," he said, "needs the broadest possible measure of public support if we are to carry through the necessary changes."¹⁷

14. Carol Williams, "Opposition Partisans Cry Foul in Bulgaria," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1990.

15. Denise Searle and Mike Power, "Sofia demonstration demands new poll," *Guardian* (London), June 12, 1990, p. 7.

16. *Ibid.*; Tim Judah, "Sofia opposition accuses Socialists of poll fraud," *The Times* (London), June 12, 1990, p. 15.

17. Denise Searle and Mike Power, "Sofia opposition switches to

His leadership newly ratified, he overcame opposition within the BSP and repeated his call for a coalition.

Correcting the Voters' Mistake

But the opposition was in no mood for compromise. The UDF rejected Lukanov's offer and refused to accept the Socialist victory.¹⁸ UDF-backed street demonstrations became a daily occurrence as supporters built barricades and blocked traffic. Led by the NED-funded



Sofia boy inhales glue. With a failing economy, social problems such as drug abuse and crime have increased.

SEAN SPRAGUE / IMPACT VISUALS

Federation of Independent Student Societies, university students launched a wave of strikes and sit-ins.

The student organization received NED grants totalling \$100,000 "to provide infrastructure support to... improve its outreach capacity in preparation for the national elections."¹⁹ NED provided "faxes, video and copying equipment, loudspeakers, printing equipment and

positive line," *Guardian*, May 28, 1990, p. 6.

18. Tim Judah, "Re-emergence of Zhivkov will escalate turmoil," *The Times*, July 20, 1990, p. 10.

19. *NED Annual Report*, 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

low-cost printing techniques", as well as the help of various Polish advisers, U.S. legal advisers, and other experts.²⁰

The opposition scored its first victory when, after a month of chaos in the streets, Socialist President Mladenov resigned. A clearly pleased UDF official, Ivan Eftimov, commented, "We are rather happy about all this. It has thrown the Socialists into chaos."²¹

The agitation continued during July. Protesters erected a "City of Freedom" of some 60 tents in central Sofia and vowed to remain until all senior Bulgarian politicians who served under the communists were removed.²² At one point, demonstrators built a huge ceremonial pyre and burnt party cards and flags, along with textbooks from the communist era.²³

Increasingly, Bulgarians had much to protest: The standard of living plummeted, the government was paralyzed, and desperately needed reforms could not be implemented. As thousands of hostile demonstrators surrounded the parliament, Prime Minister Lukanov observed: "The problem is whether parliament is a sovereign body or whether we are going to be forced to make decisions under pressure." His car was attacked as he left the building.²⁴

On August 1, UDF leader Zhelyu Zhelev, running unopposed, won parliament's nod as the new president. Although the presidency is a largely ceremonial position, the vote demonstrated the increasing frailty of the newly-elected government.

A few weeks later, Prime Minister Lukanov's government agreed to pro-

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

21. Tim Judah, "Sofia celebrates as Bulgaria president is forced to resign," *The Times*, July 7, 1990, p. 11.

22. "Bulgarians build on 'success' of sit-in strikes," *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, July 13, 1990, p. 9.

23. Denise Searle and Mike Power, "Sofia's activists pitch tents and demand purge of communists," *Guardian*, July 12, 1990, p. 10; Judah, July 20, 1990, *op. cit.*

24. Tim Judah, "Bulgaria minister quits in row over Zhivkov," *The Times*, July 28, 1990, p. 8; Tim Judah, "Deadlock in Bulgaria may force new poll," *The Times*, July 30, 1990, p. 6.

testers' demands to remove communist symbols from Sofia's buildings. But even as it moved to comply, protesters set the BSP headquarters on fire while 10,000 people swarmed around it. Many of them broke in and ransacked the building before it was destroyed.²⁵

Witnesses and police claimed that Konstantin Trenchev, a senior figure in the UDF and a leader of the independent trade union Podkrepa, had urged demonstrators to storm the BSP building during the fire. In a move that the Socialists branded "tantamount to a coup d'etat," he also called for the dissolution of parliament and presidential rule.²⁶



LEO ERKEN/IMPACT VISUALS

Sofia, March 1991. Stoian Ganev, a UDF leader, talks to demonstrators.

U.S. "Promotes Democracy"

Like the students, Podkrepa had received NED funding — \$327,000 "to help Podkrepa organize a voter education campaign for the local elections."²⁷ The money bought computers and fax machines, and advisers helped the union "get organized and gain strength," according to Oleg Tchulev, Podkrepa's vice president.²⁸ The assistance reached Podkrepa via the Free Trade Union Institute,²⁹ set up by the AFL-CIO in 1977 as the successor to the Free Trade Union Committee, which had been formed in the 1940s to combat left-wing unionism in Europe. Both groups had long, intimate relationships with the CIA.³⁰

U.S. organizations also influenced parliament and guided economic programs. The Free Congress Foundation (FCF), a U.S. right-wing organization with an anticommunist and religious ideology, played a key role. The FCF

was flush with cash, including NED money, and had been busy throughout Eastern Europe as communism crumbled. It imparted American know-how in electoral and political techniques and shaping public policy, while holding seminars on the charms of free enterprise. That one of its chief Eastern European program directors, Laszlo Pasztor, was a former Nixon-era operator with genuine Nazi credentials drew little notice.³¹ In August, FCF representatives met with about 50 opposition parliamentarians and President Zhelev's chief political adviser. Zhelev himself visited the FCF's Washington office the following month.³²

By October, a group of U.S. financial experts and economists, under the auspices of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, had drawn up a detailed plan for transforming Bulgaria into a free market economy. President Zhelev said he was confident the government would accept virtually all the recommendations, even though the BSP held

a parliamentary majority. "They will be eager to proceed," he said, "because otherwise the government will fall."³³

Getting the Communists

In early November, students again occupied Sofia University, now demanding not merely the removal but the prosecution of leading figures in the former communist regime, as well as the nationalization of the BSP's assets. Prime Minister Lukanov's position was perilous; he threatened to step down unless he gained opposition support for his economic reforms. The UDF now demanded that it be allowed to dominate a new coalition government, taking the premiership and most key portfolios. The majority BSP refused to surrender the prime minister's position; other cabinet posts, however, were negotiable.³⁴

The movement to topple Prime Minister Lukanov accelerated. The man described just months earlier by a Western correspondent as "a skilled

25. *Ibid.*, "Sofia crowd burns party offices," Aug. 27, 1990, p. 8.
26. Ian Traynor, "Bulgarians swap charges on riot," *Guardian*, Aug. 28, 1990, p. 8; Tim Judah, "Bulgarian union leader in hiding," *The Times*, Aug. 30, 1990, p. 8.

27. *NED Annual Report, 1990, op. cit.*, 1990, p. 23.

28. Williams, *op. cit.*

29. *Ibid.*; *NED Annual Report, 1990, op. cit.*, p. 23.

30. Howard Frazier, ed., *Uncovering the CIA* (New York: The Free Press/Macmillan, 1978), pp. 241-48.

31. Russ Bellant and Louis Wolf, "The Free Congress Foundation Goes East," *CovertAction*, n. 35, Fall 1990, p. 32.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

33. David Binder, "Bulgarian Strategy Is Made in U.S.," *New York Times*, Oct. 9, 1990, p. D20.

34. Ian Traynor, "Students occupy university as Bulgarian crisis deepens," *The Guardian*, Nov. 7, 1990, p. 10.



COALITIONS FOR AMERICA

Hungarian-born Laszlo Pasztor, a chief FCF Eastern European program director, has genuine Nazi credentials.

politician who impresses business executives, bankers and conservative Western politicians, while maintaining popular support at home, even among the opposition,"³⁵ was now the target. Thousands marched, calling for his resignation. Students agitated, proclaiming their distrust in the government's ability to cope with the political and economic crisis, and calling for "an end to one-party rule," a strange request in light of Lukanov's advocacy of a coalition government.³⁶

By now, even some opposition leaders viewed the seemingly boundless student protest movement uneasily. UDF leader Petar Beron urged the students to give democracy a chance and not resort to sit-ins.³⁷ Student leaders ignored his concerns, and kept up the pressure, as did the Podkrepa unionists.

The end for Lukanov came on November 29, as the UDF boycotted parliament and a Podkrepa-led general strike spread to members of the media, the medical professions, and teachers. The embattled prime minister announced that since his proposed economic program was stymied, it was "useless to continue in office." A caretaker coalition would be set up that would lead to new general elections.³⁸

Misplaced Trust

Throughout the period of protest and turmoil, the U.S. continued to give financial assistance to various opposition forces and "whispered advice on how to apply pressure to the elected leaders."³⁹ The vice president of Podkrepa said: "[U.S. diplomats] wanted to help us and have helped with advice and strategy." This solidarity gave rise to hopes of future U.S. aid. Podkrepa leader Konstantin Trenchev, now out of hiding, confirmed that opposition activists had been assured of more U.S. assistance if they managed to wrest power from the former communists.⁴⁰

These hopes may have had as much to do with naiveté as with U.S. support for the UDF. Most Bulgarians, even more than other Eastern Europeans and Soviet citizens, had led very sheltered political and intellectual lives. It is little exaggeration to say that in 1990, their ideological sophistication was at the level of "if the communist government was bad, it must have been all bad; if it was all bad, its principal enemy must have been all good."

The Bulgarian Socialists complained that the U.S. had violated democratic principles in working against freely-elected officials. One Socialist official contended that the U.S. had reacted to his party's victory as if it represented a failure of U.S. policy. "The U.S. government people have not been the most clean, moral defenders of democracy here," he said. "What cannot be done at home can be gotten away with in this dark, backward Balkan state."⁴¹

Is That All There Is?

In the years since, the Bulgarian people have tasted the fruits of U.S.-style reforms. Unemployment has reached 20 percent, while the economy is now in its third year of negative growth.⁴² Bulgaria has endured the now-familiar pattern of freely-rising prices, an end to subsidies on basic goods, shortages of all kinds, and IMF and World Bank demands for further belt-tightening.

The UDF came to power in the next elections (with the BSP a very close second) but, because of the failing economy, lost a confidence vote in parliament. The entire cabinet resigned, followed by the vice-president, who warned that the nation was heading for dictatorship. In July 1993, protesters prevented the president from entering his office for a month.

By 1994, even anticommunist foreign correspondents had to concede that:

Living conditions are so much worse in the reform era that Bulgarians look back fondly on communism's 'good old days,' when the hand of the state crushed personal freedom but ensured that people were housed, employed and had enough to eat.⁴³

But for Washington, the ideological bottom line was clearly drawn. Bulgarian Socialists would not be given the chance to prove that a democratic, socialist-oriented mixed economy could succeed in Eastern Europe.

"What cannot be done at home can be gotten away with in this dark, backward Balkan state."

Neither, apparently, would the nearby Albanians. In 1991, the Communist government overwhelmingly won in elections there. Following the Bulgarian pattern, widespread unrest ensued, including street demonstrations and a general strike lasting three weeks. After two months, the government collapsed.⁴⁴ NED had been there also, providing \$80,000 dollars to the labor movement and \$23,000 "to support party training and civic education programs."⁴⁵ ●

35. Searle and Power, June 9, 1990, *op. cit.*

36. Vera Rich, "Protests threaten new premier," *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, Nov. 16, 1990, p. 11.

37. Vera Rich, "Tension rises as sit-ins shut Sofia campus," *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, Nov. 30, 1990, p. 8.

38. Nikolai Stevanov, "Protests force out Sofia government," *Guardian*, Nov. 30, 1990, p. 9; Tim Judah, "Bulgarians cheer fall of leader," *The Times*, Nov. 30, 1990, p. 10.

39. Carol Williams, "Hopes of U.S. Aid Helped Inspire Bulgaria Revolt," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 3, 1990.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. John Pomfret, "The Big Leap Into Capitalism: Nations' Road to Free Economy Uneven, Unmarked," *Washington Post*, Oct. 25, 1994, p. A13.

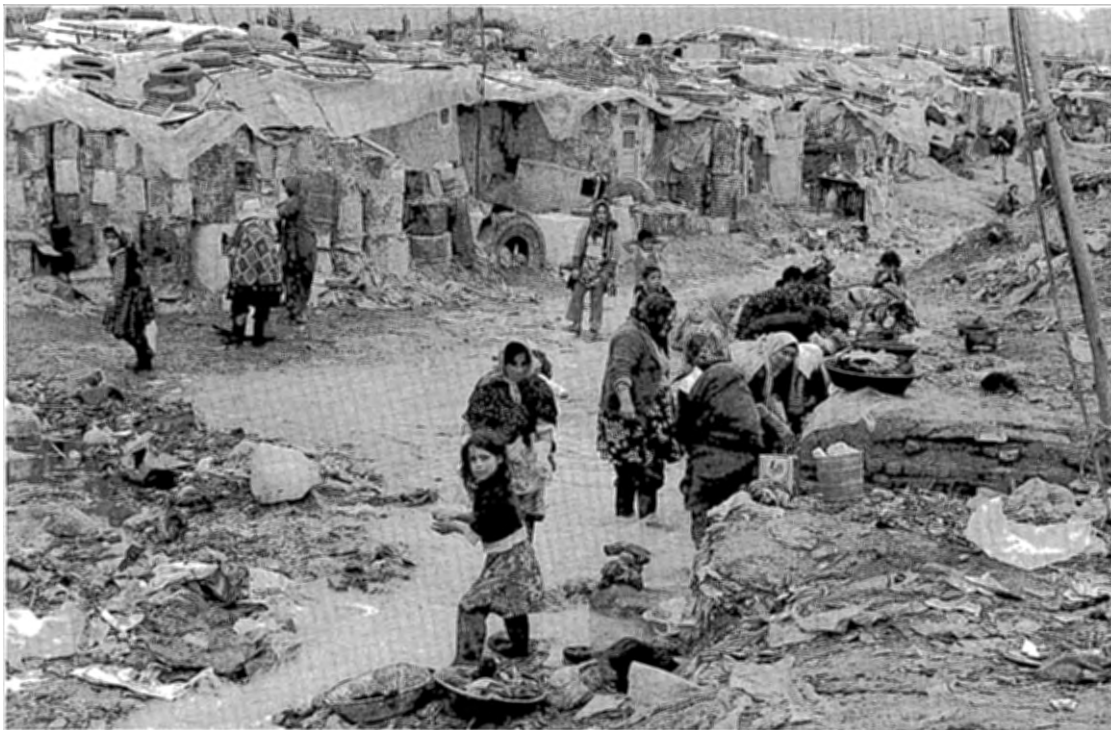
43. Carol Williams, "In Bulgaria, Looking Back With Longing," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 6, 1994.

44. *Ibid.*; Michael Montgomery, "Non-Communist Rule Begins in Albania," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1991, p. 14.

45. National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., *Annual Report, 1991* (Oct. 1, 1990 - Sept. 30, 1991), p. 42.

Repackaging Population Control

by Helen Simons



SEAN SPRAGUE / IMPACT VISUALS

Every problem plaguing the Third World — from ecological catastrophe to ethnic crisis, from poverty to social instability — is being blamed on overpopulation.

The United Nations International Conference on Population and Development held last September in Cairo was a lively affair. Even before it started, rumors abounded that the Vatican and the Islamic governments were in secret talks to sabotage the proceedings. Once the debate got under way, it seemed that open warfare had been declared. For more than four days, the conference was locked in a fierce debate about the rights and wrongs of abortion. Sessions ended in uproar as anti-choice campaigners clashed with conference delegates. Conflict even spilled over into the women's toilets where stickers denouncing "Contraceptive Im-

perialism" vied for space with notices declaring "I'm Poped out."¹

But while the abortion controversy captured the world's headlines, the real significance of the UN's conference went largely unnoticed. Despite all the disputes on the conference floor between the feminists and the Holy See, the bureaucrats at the UN undoubtedly look back on the proceedings with a satisfied smile. After decades of failure, the UN has finally pushed the issue of population control center stage by repackaging it in a blurry concern for the rights of women.

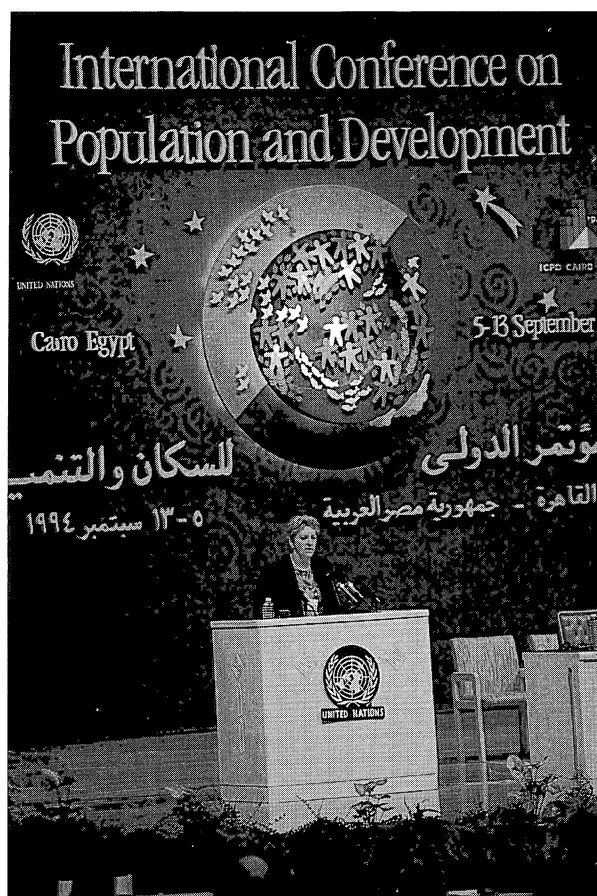
In the past, the majority of Third World countries, feminists, and non-

governmental organizations (NGOs) were suspicious of population control policies. They charged that it diverted attention from the real problem in the Third World: too much poverty, not too many people.² Others, noting the impact of population programs in India and China, saw the policy as nothing short of blackmail and coercion directed against the people of the Third World. As one author explained: "Coercive population control is stimulated and then made acceptable by racism. ... Nonsensical ideas about the cheap-

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1. Anton La Guardia, "Women carry abortion row to Cairo talks," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), Sept. 9, 1994.

2. As British environmentalist Jonathan Porrit admitted: "The population issue has been an unwelcome guest at the non-governmental organisations' ball for as long as I can remember... it has U.K. environmentalists and the aid experts ducking and diving for sheer embarrassment, threatening their geo-politically correct posture at every appearance," Jonathan Porrit, "Birth of Brave New World Order," *Guardian Weekly* (London), Sept. 11, 1994.



The conference spotlighted the role of women in population and virtually ignored issues of development.

ness of life among Asians and highly documented analyses of the different structure of the black family such as patriarchal theory have served to justify coercion to reduce non-white birth rates.³

This view had predominated at the first UN conference held in 1974 in Bucharest. It ended in shambles as delegates from Latin America, Africa and the Soviet bloc denounced the whole notion of controlling the population of the Third World as racist and imperialist.⁴ The 1984 event in Mexico City went no further toward reaching international consensus.

By the time of the Cairo conference, nearly all participants—from environmental activists to White House officials, from Vatican representatives to feminists—agreed that overpopulation was an urgent matter the world ignored at its peril. While there may still be disagreements about how, when,

also denounced Latin American society as macho and charged that African women were often disempowered and marginalized.

Development vs. Overpopulation

Even while population control was still being dismissed at the UN as a racist and interventionist policy, Western-based NGOs gradually began to act on this critique.⁵ Women's empowerment and women's needs in health, childcare and work became a priority concern for radical NGOs. Increasingly, development became inseparable from issues of gender. In an effort to put women's empower-

and what kind of contraceptives should be dished out, almost no attendees doubted that controlling population was imperative—not to protect First World interests, but to save the Third World from being crushed under the weight of its environmental, economic, and human burden.⁵

This shift was made possible when the population lobby keyed into some of the concerns of its critics and reoriented its message. While those NGOs with feminist or left agendas were critical of Western influence, they were no great fans of either Third World governments or the backward aspects of some Third World societies. For example, many in NGO circles criticized Third World society as male-dominated and pointed out that women bore the brunt of degradation and poverty; they

ment center stage, NGOs challenged the cultural assumptions in Third World societies. This preoccupation with women's issues in the Third World has made many blind to the ways others have used those issues to very different ends.

Early on at Cairo, while furor raged around abortion rights, participants jettisoned from the Draft Programme of Action any consideration of the right to development. Gone was a discussion of access to resources and unpolluted environment; eliminated was deliberation on the urgency of alleviating poverty, international debt, and unequal trade relationships.⁷ While actively resisting the imposition of the agendas of the religious fundamentalists, the NGOs unwittingly advanced the goals of the demographic fundamentalists who believe that everything — from ecological crisis to ethnic crisis, from poverty to social instability — can be blamed on overpopulation.⁸ Although 70 percent of the planet's resources are used by 20 percent of the population in the industrialized North, in Cairo, the numberless poor of the South were identified as the real threat to the planet. And women, who kept on reproducing more and more of these burdensome poor, were transformed into the source of the problem.

For all the talk at Cairo of empowering the people of the Third World, the real conference agenda had little to do with the development of the South and much to do with blaming the peo-

The South's numberless poor were identified as the real threat to the planet. And women, who kept on reproducing more of them, were transformed into the source of the problem.

3. Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Rights: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York: Grossman, 1976), p. 401.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

5. Even the Catholic Church agrees on the need for some form of population control. George Gelber, Head of the Policy Unit at the Catholic agency CAFOD, wrote: "No one denies that rapid population growth is a cause for concern. And in recent years a consensus has emerged on the crucial issue of population growth and population policies between economists and demographers, health experts and scientists, first and Third World governments and between Catholic and non-Catholic agencies." George Gelber, "Population myths explode in Cairo," *Catholic Herald*, Sept. 2, 1994.

6. For an interesting discussion of this development, see Sandy Deegan, "A civilizing mission," *Living Marxism* (London), Oct. 1994, pp. 8-10.

7. U.N. International Conference on Population and Development, "Draft Programme of Action," Cairo, Egypt, Sept. 5-13, 1994, pp. 18-19.

8. "Was Cairo a step forward for Third World women?" Drs. Vandana and Mira Shiva, Internet, position paper for Cairo Conference.

ple of the Third World for their problems. Tipper Gore, wife of the vice-president, explained to the assembly that even the genocide in Rwanda was precipitated by population growth. U.S. representative Tim Wirth omitted any reference to Chapter 3, which covered the right to development. He was supported by the Indian delegation, which asserted that development was not germane to the population issue and India would not be putting up a fight to retain references to the right to development.

Thus, governments both North and South joined with the major NGOs to put aside issues of economic and social justice.⁹ Center stage was left free for women's rights, more accurately, reproductive rights; more accurately yet, population control—two layers of language distant from the same old agenda. Indeed, once the population control lobby had couched its arguments in more appealing language, many NGOs and feminist groups found population policies not just more acceptable, but positively desirable.

Secret U.S. Agenda

Although it appeared that the shift within NGOs arose out of genuine, if misguided, concern for women, there were more calculating forces at work. After their embarrassing failure to win support for population policies directed against the Third World in Bucharest in August 1974, U.S. policy makers reevaluated their strategy. Four months later, the National Security Council published a secret report. It is possible to trace from this document the origins of the new language and new institutions that would be cultivated to promote future policies.

9. Vandana, *op. cit.*

The report warned against any provocative action that could give the appearance that "the policy was directed against the Less Developed Countries." Instead of promoting the

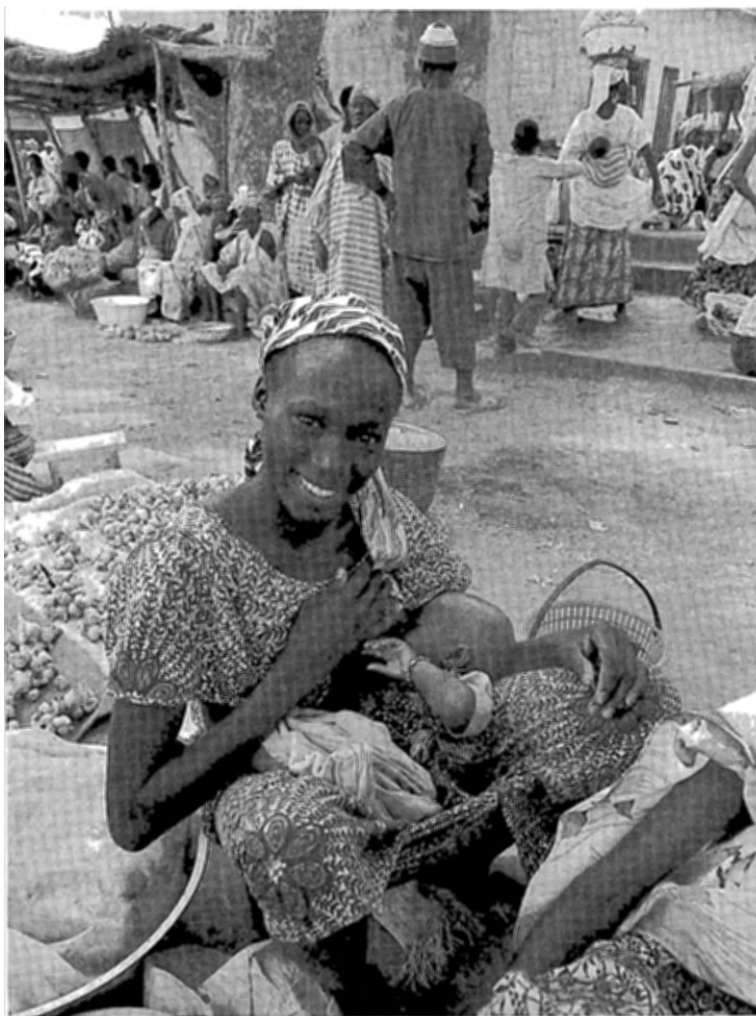
riculture, education, social services, organized labor, women's activities and community development."¹¹ In other words, population control should be repackaged to appeal to its critics.

The report spelled out the cynical motives behind the presentational changes in the U.S. policy:

The U.S. can help minimize charges of an imperialist motivation behind its support of population activities by repeatedly asserting that such support derives from a concern for: a) the right of the individual to determine freely and responsibly their number and spacing of children ... and b) the fundamental and economic development of poor countries.¹²

The image of population control policies would no longer be anti-Third World. Instead it would be about giving the people of the Third World, *especially women*, basic rights in family planning. Once this switch had been made, it became possible to present population control as a legitimate concern in development circles.

Over the past 20 years, NGOs have lent vital credibility to Third World family planning projects. While shying away from schemes that smack too overtly of population management, many endorse family planning, child spacing, maternal health, and women's education. This support from the increasingly influential NGO community provides an important platform for the population control lobby. Today, the biggest NGOs have more money and more clout than some African states. CARE, the U.S. NGO, has an annual income roughly



SEAN SPRAGUE / IMPACT VISUALS

Mali. Despite women's vital contribution to production, their role in reproduction dominates the international agenda.

policy themselves, the U.S. authorities should seek to use their leverage in more neutral bodies like the U.N. and other multilateral institutions, to assist officials in developing countries "in integrating population factors in national plans, particularly as they relate to health services, education, agricultural resources and development."¹⁰ The National Security Council report suggested that the U.S. should attempt to "relate population policies and family planning programs to major sectors of development: health, nutrition, ag-

10. "Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for US Security and Overseas Interests," *National Security Study Memorandum 200* (NSSM 200) Dec. 10, 1974.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

equivalent to the income of the Ethiopian government.¹³ The international children's charity, UNICEF, which acts in many ways like an NGO, for example, had an annual income of \$938 million in 1992. In recent years, it has spent about \$65 million per year on work directly related to family planning—or more than double the annual income of the government of Eritrea.¹⁴

Over the past two decades, Western population policy makers have become expert in presenting their policies in politically acceptable language, as reports commissioned for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) confirm.¹⁵ Back in 1981, for example, one report argued that population activities “should be integrated with maternal and health care delivery” because projects that focus too narrowly on family planning as a solution “only increase suspicion in the host country.”¹⁶ By the end of the 1980s another report was advising that “in some countries (particularly in Africa), family planning as a fertility reduction measure may not be acceptable for cultural or political reasons. At the same time, the use of family planning to space births for maternal/child health reasons may be quite acceptable. In such case, child survival presentations can be an effective policy tool.”¹⁷

Occasionally the veil slips off the face of racism. Paul Kennedy, for example, questioned whether the

relative diminution of their share of the world population presents the industrial democracies with their greatest dilemma over the next 30 years ... It has raised the interesting question of whether “Western values” — a liberal social culture, human rights, religious tolerance, democracy, market forces — will maintain their prevailing position in a world overwhelmingly populated by societies which did not experience the rational scientific and liberal assumptions of the Enlightenment.¹⁸

The first professor of family planning in Britain, John Guillebaud, was even less guarded, “No wall will be high enough,” he said in his inaugural speech, “as people see the enticements of consumer society and vote with their feet. No wall will be high enough to keep the hordes out.”¹⁹

International institutions and governments have encouraged the NGOs' shift with generous official funding. Since the mid-1970s, much of the aid from Western governments, the World Bank, and the European Union has been channelled through them.²⁰ The donor agencies have used their financial clout to influence NGO policy.²¹ Sometimes this means offering the

“The U.S. can help minimize charges of an imperialist motivation behind its support of population activities by repeatedly asserting concern” for development and child spacing.

— U.S. National Security Council report

most generous grants to NGOs which are prepared to toe the line on population control. The World Bank, which was present in Cairo in full force, has emerged as a major funder of population control. During 1969-70, it only spent \$27 million on population programs. In 1987, the then president promised to increase the amount to \$500 million by 1990. In 1993, it had already shot up to \$1.3 billion. Lewis Preston has now promised to jack it up further to an annual \$2.5 billion by 1995.²²

The World Bank has cleverly redefined the “population and development” sector as “population and women,” thus making invisible the destructive impact of its policies on the lives of Third World women and ironically appearing as a champion of women's rights.

Significantly, at Cairo, the World Bank did not once refer to the role of structural adjustment in undermining health care.²³

World Bank promotion of population control ranges from subtle to coercive. In some cases, it offers 100 percent funding only to projects that promote some aspect of population control.²⁴ In other cases, official donors have been known to “piggyback” population policies onto other projects. One agricultural credit union in Bangladesh that currently receives funds from many official donors and which the World Bank may fund in the near future was persuaded to make borrowers agree to abide by a strict code of conduct, including “good family planning methods,” before loans were approved.²⁵

But NGOs have not been reluctant partners in this relationship. Many commentators stress that the NGOs have been movers and shakers in getting family planning projects rolling.²⁶ In fact, such has been the enthusiasm for the whole notion of empowering the

13. CARE income in 1990 was \$294 million, one million more than that of the Ethiopian government for the next year. (CARE figures from Ian Smillie and Henry Helmich, *Non-governmental organizations and governments: Stakeholders for development* (Paris: OECD, 1993), p. 304. Ethiopian figures from *The Economist Intelligence Unit Country Profile 1993/94. Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti* (London: EIU, 1994), p. 45. 14. While UNICEF was set up by the U.N. and so is not strictly an NGO, it increasingly operates in and is treated as one in the development circles. Even relatively modest NGOs still have fantastic incomes in African terms. The Save the Children Fund's (SCF) income of over \$149 million in 1991-92 outstrips that of the Eritrean government five times over. SCF and UNICEF figures from All Parliamentary Group on Population and Development, *NGO Review 1993—The well-spent pound: an assessment of aid agencies' priorities for population activities* (London: House of Commons, Mar. 1994), p. 48. Eritrean income from *Economist Intelligence Unit*, *op. cit.*

15. For an excellent account of the cynical way that population policies have been represented over the last 20 years, see *Ambassadors of Colonialism: the International Development Trap. An essay on the Benevolent Superpower, Sustainable Development, and Other Contemporary Myths*, (Washington, D.C.: Information Project for Africa, Inc., 1993).

16. Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., *Report to Africa Bureau, Office of Regional Affairs, Agency for International Development, Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers*, Nov. 6, 1981, pp. 15-16.

17. James C. Knowles, “Tools for Population Policy Development” OPTIONS for Population Policy Project, (AID-funded project), p. 23.

18. *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 45-46.

19. Darwin Lecture Theater, University College, University of London, Jan. 18, 1993.

20. “Voluntary Aid for Development: the Role of NGOs,” OECD (Paris: OECD, 1988), p. 25.

21. As early as 1982 a General Accounting Office report warned that many American NGOs were becoming increasingly dependent on USAID for the financing of their projects. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 113.

22. Vandana, *op. cit.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. The British government has adopted the same policy of giving 100% JFS financing only to population projects. *NGO Review 1993*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

25. OECD, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

26. World Bank officials stress that NGOs “have had a key role in civil rights, environmental and women's movements and in focusing world attention on population issues. These efforts have changed global perceptions and policies on fundamental social issues.” See *Non Government Organisations and the World Bank: Co-operation for Development*, Samuel Paul & Arturo Israel, eds. (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1991), p. 52.

women of the Third World, that few have taken the time to carefully examine the on-the-ground implications. Even the most perfunctory examination of African society reveals that the needs of women there are very different from those of their Western counterparts. As one critic noted "in most of sub-Saharan Africa it is infertility — not unwanted pregnancies — that women rank as their top priority. The fate of barren women in much of the region is a pitiable one. Yet while the fertility enhancement in the industrialized north is a multi-billion dollar industry, little attention is accorded to the population problems that most concern Africans themselves."²⁷

Blaming Environmental Problems on Population

In the 1980s, as environmentalism became a preoccupation of many NGOs, they embraced population control with even greater zeal. Rather than being seen as racist, concern over increase in population became a logical preoccupation of those who saw Third World crises through the prism of limited resources and abuse of the planet.²⁸ If the problem were really too little to go around, then who could deny that the most obvious solution was to limit the number of mouths to feed?

Nor has the logic of this argument been missed by the conservatives. Just as the Western establishments have used women's issues for their own ends, so the environmental arguments have been used to repackage the old population control arguments. Concern for the planet is another accepted way to dress up old racist rantings. As Robert Kaplan wrote:

Mention "the environment" or "diminishing natural resources" in for-

27. Nicholas Eberstadt, "Foreign Aid and American Purpose" (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1988), p. 104.

28. See for example the recent Presidential address of Anne MacLaren, President of Cambridge University (and a geneticist), as quoted in *Daily Telegraph* (London), Sept. 9, 1994.

eign-policy circles and you meet a brick wall of skepticism or boredom. To conservatives especially the very terms seem flaky ... [but] ... it is time to understand "the environment" for what it is: the national security issue of the early twenty-first century. The political and strategic impact of surging populations spreading disease, deforestation and soil erosion, water depletion and possibly rising sea levels in critical overcrowded regions like the Nile Delta and Bangladesh — developments that will prompt mass migration and in turn incite group conflicts — will be the core foreign policy challenge from which most others will ultimately emanate.²⁹

29. Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1994, p. 58.

With the ground so well prepared and the arguments carefully rehearsed it was little surprise that the United Nations was finally successful in pulling off its Population Conference in Cairo. While there were differences in emphasis from many of the participants, there were large areas upon which all felt able to agree. Aid agencies, some feminists and other progressive non-governmental organizations who had once denounced population control programs as racist interference in the Third World, found common cause with those institutions and governments which had previously been the most suspect.

Wrapped up in the language of women's empowerment and environmental concern, the establishment's old arguments about there being too many non-white babies in the world have finally won the day. ●



Nepalese woman and her child.

M. DEVON CUMMINGS / IMPACT VISUALS

MAKING THE ASYLUM PROCESS WORK FOR Women Refugees

by Nancy Kelly



UNHCR/A. HOLLMANN

Many women face oppression directly related to their gender. In some cases, as in Bosnia (above), women are attacked specifically because of their central role in maintaining civil society. Destroying the woman's role in maintaining the family is seen as a way to devastate the very core of a community and a society.

When Louise¹ arrived in the U.S. from Haiti in 1993, she applied for political asylum. She told the court that after the coup against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, opponents of the deposed president had repeatedly threatened her and other members of *Ti Komite Legliz*, a church group Aristide had founded. Then, one of her close associates was taken away by the military and killed. Finally, soldiers came to Louise's home and asked for her by her nickname. They accused her of being a "fanatic for Aristide" and three of them beat and raped her so brutally she cannot bear children.

Nancy Kelly is an attorney with the Women Refugees Project, a joint project of Cambridge and Somerville Legal Services and Harvard Law School, in Cambridge, Mass., and a clinical instructor at Harvard Law School.

1. Throughout the article, first names are used to indicate pseudonyms. In other cases, names have been withheld.

The immigration judge who heard Louise's case denied her application for political asylum. He ruled that the harm she suffered was not political persecution but was based on "general conditions of violence" in Haiti. The Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) disagreed and granted Louise's application, finding her rape was persecution because of her political opinion and religion. Advocates hoped that Louise's case would become not only the first binding case in which the BIA specifically recognized rape as persecution, but also the first published decision in which asylum was granted to a Haitian. But the Board declined to publish the decision and thus avoided setting a precedent binding on the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) or the immigration courts.²

2. The Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) of the Executive Of-

On September 26, 1994, Louise's case was one of those presented by a coalition of attorneys, activists and human rights groups before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States. The treatment of women in Haiti under the Cedras regime, they charged, constituted systematic abuse. The illegal government and its paramilitary arms had routinely used rape and other sexual torture to stifle any form of community or political organizing or any show of support for Aristide.³ After presenting its evi-

for Immigration Review, is an administrative board created by federal regulations, see, e.g., 8 C.F.R. Sec. 3.1(a) (1) (1990). Only a small number of decisions of the BIA are published. Published decisions serve as precedent, binding on immigration judges throughout the country except in jurisdictions where there is a federal court ruling to the contrary. (Deborah E. Anker, *The Law of Asylum in the United States* 14 [second ed., 1991].) 3. Lieut.-Gen. Raoul Cedras, Brig.-Gen. Philippe Biamby, Police Chief Joseph-Michel Francois, military-installed *de facto*

dence, the coalition called on U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno to designate Louise's case as binding precedent. So far, she has failed to act.

Special Oppression

The Haitian case is emblematic of an international movement to gain official recognition for the claims of women seeking protection against gender-related human rights abuses and to make those abuses grounds for asylum. While 80 percent of the world's refugees are women and their dependent children, their asylum claims and the human rights abuses which lie at the heart of those claims, have traditionally been ignored. The common picture of an asylum applicant is a person who has been arrested, tortured, or faces persecution for opposing government policies. While many women fit this mold, they also face oppression directly related to their gender.

- Many women experience abuses that do not come directly or exclusively from the government.
- Their activities and the harm they suffer — such as forced marriage, forced sterilization or abortion, and domestic violence — occur largely in private.
- Women are subjected to rape and other sexual torture by soldiers and government officials in retaliation for their political activities or those of their male family members.
- They are excluded from participation in political activities or public life simply because they are women.
- They are punished for organizing to stop such practices or refusing to conform to gender-specific norms of behavior.
- Often the harm they face is at the hands of their families and community.
- Women are subjected to harmful practices which are justified as culture or tradition.
- Governments assist in imposing gender-discriminatory traditions and practices, and refuse women protection from their imposition.
- In times of war or civil strife, when men leave their homes to take part in armed conflict or go into hiding to escape political repression, women are

left behind to maintain the home and family, caring for children and elderly relatives. They become the targets of agents seeking to obtain information, to punish the woman for her relationship, or to punish the male family member by damaging his "property."

- In some cases, as in Haiti and Bosnia, women are attacked specifically because of their central role in sustaining civil society. Destroying the woman's role in maintaining the family is seen as a way to devastate the very core of a community and a society.

Standard Discrimination

One of the main problems facing women who flee these legal, social, and political abuses and seek asylum abroad is the legal standard applied to their claims.⁴ To establish that she is a refugee and therefore eligible for political asylum, she

While torture in detention at the hands of a government official is an abuse of internationally protected human rights, torture in the home by a spouse in a situation where the government systematically fails to provide protection is not.

must prove that she is unable or unwilling to return to her country because she has been persecuted in the past or has a well-founded fear that she will be persecuted in the future based on one of five grounds: race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Although this legal standard is gender-neutral, most case law has been built around male applicants and the kinds of abuses they suffer. Within this context, U.S. immigration courts routinely recognize the kinds of claims made by male refugees as political oppression, while dismissing those of

women as private or personal. While persecution for public expression of a political opinion is a basis for asylum, exclusion from public political debate is not. While torture in detention at the hands of a government official is an abuse of internationally protected human rights, torture in the home by a spouse in a situation where the government systematically fails to provide protection is not. While violence by official forces to intimidate a dissident or terrorize a community is a political matter, rape — even in detention or at the hands of a government official — is often viewed as a personal matter.

Sophia Campos-Guardado of El Salvador,⁵ was denied asylum after being raped and later threatened by uniformed men who tortured and killed her family members. The immigration judge, the Board of Immigration Appeals, and the Circuit Court all determined that her harm was "personal."

The petition of Elzbieta Klawitter of Poland⁶ was rejected after she explained that the chief of security and internal affairs had sexually abused her. The court found that asylum laws could not be interpreted to protect against "sexual harassment."

Maria from Haiti was found not credible and ordered deported when she refused to discuss her rape by paramilitary forces in a hearing in which all other participants were male.

Pressure for Change

Over the last few years, several countries and international bodies — under pressure from women's groups, human rights activists and asylum advocates — have begun to examine how women are harmed *because* they are women. The European Parliament, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the governments of Canada, England, Germany, and New Zealand have taken an important first step. They all recognize that women who face persecution because they refuse to conform to cultural or religious norms, can be considered "a particular social group" and can be granted asylum on that basis.⁷

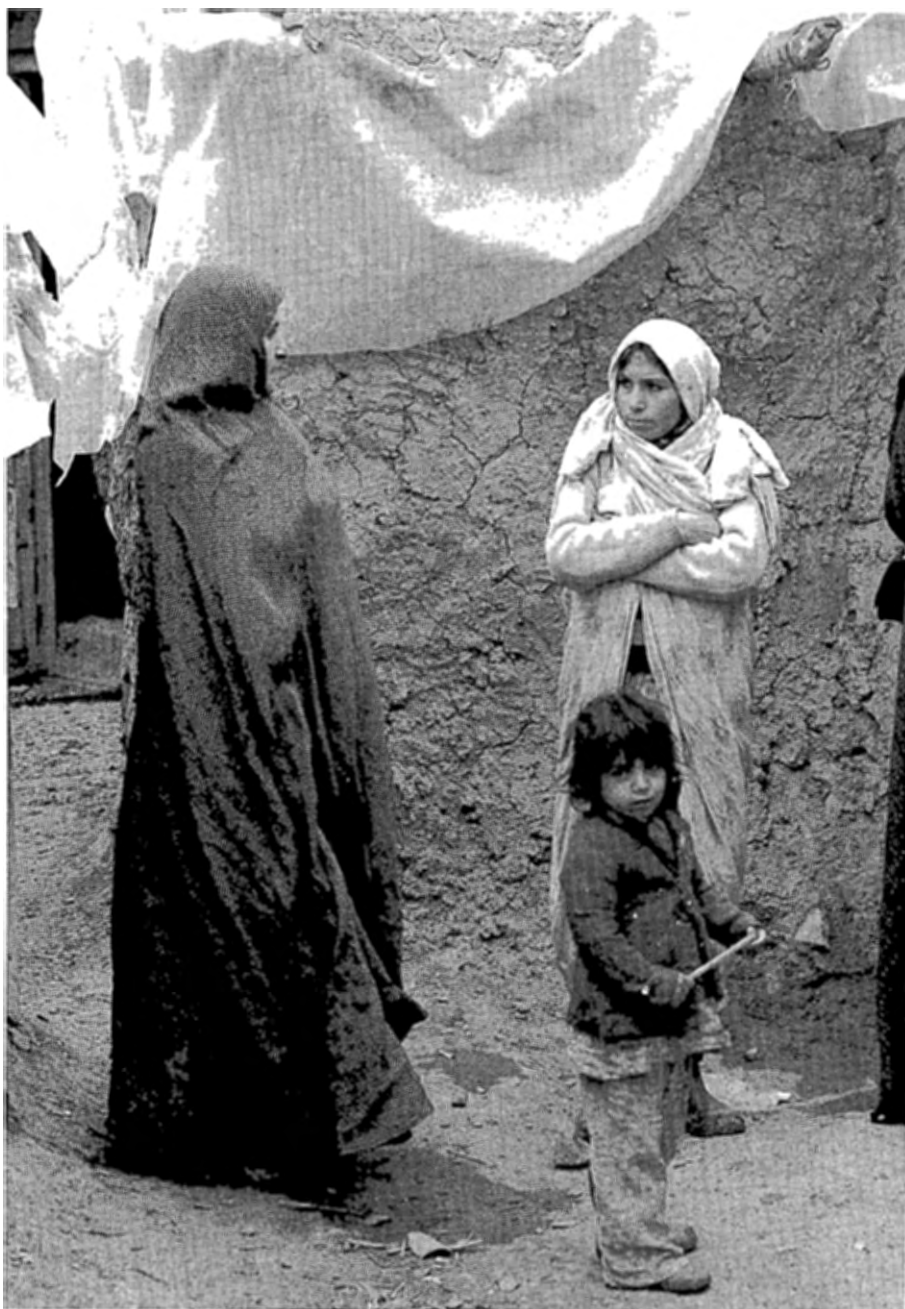
5. 809 F.2d 285 (5th Cir. 1987).

6. 970 F.2d 149 (6th Cir. 1992).

7. For the European Parliament, see Resolution on the Application of the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1984 O.J. (C 127) 137; for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, see Report on the Thirty-Sixth Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Geneva, U.S. Doc. A/AC.96/673 (1985), para. 115(4)(k); for Canada, see e.g., *Incirciyan v. Minister of Employment*

president Emile Jonassaint and other members of the military regime had unseated democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on Sept. 30, 1991. For information on the treatment of women by the *de facto* government, see Human Rights Watch, National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, and *Rape in Haiti: Weapon of Terror*, July 1994.

4. Eligibility requirements come from the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees, and are incorporated into U.S. law through the 1980 Refugee Act.



SEAN SPRAGUE / IMPACT VISUALS

Iran. Women who refuse to conform to legally mandated religious practices can face political persecution and yet not be eligible for asylum in the U.S.

The 1991 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees *Guidelines for the Protection of Refugee Women* offer a legal interpretation of the refugee standard which includes

and *Immigration*, Immigration Appeals Board Decision M87-1541X, Aug. 10, 1987 (Can); for England, see *M.M.G. v. Secretary for the Home Department*, Immigration Appeal Tribunal, Case No. Th/9515185 (5216), Feb. 25, 1987 (U.K.); for Germany, see Decision of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees, 439-26428-86, Nov. 24, 1988; and for New Zealand, see Refugee Appeal No. 80/91 re: N.S. (Refugee Status Appeals Authority) Feb. 20, 1992 (N.Z.).

protection for women fleeing gender-related persecution, and gives procedural recommendations to provide access for women to the asylum adjudication process. In March 1993, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada also adopted guidelines for evaluating the cases of female claimants who fear gender-related persecution.

The U.S., however, lags far behind. Neither of the agencies responsible for determining eligibility — the

INS or the Executive Office for Immigration Review — has procedures to address the particular circumstances of women applicants. The same was true in Canada until, after years of work by women's rights and immigration advocates, Canada became the first country to develop guidelines for the evaluation of women's claims. The issue was brought to public attention by Nada, a young woman who openly challenged the Canadian system.

At school in Saudi Arabia, she had studied nursing because it was one of the few subjects open to women. When she refused to wear the veil required in public, men threw rocks and spit at her; they called her obscene names. She was prohibited from driving a car or traveling without the permission of a male relative. In 1991, she fled her home to escape the severe restrictions placed on women and the punishments for those who step out of line. On arrival in Canada, she applied for refugee status arguing that she faced arrest and possible torture by the religious police if returned. The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) denied her application for asylum, ordered her deportation, and recommended that she simply learn to obey the laws applied to all women in Saudi Arabia.⁸ Instead of complying, Nada fought back and went public.

Her case gained wide public support after Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt refused to intervene. Granting status to women fleeing gender-based persecution, he argued, was cultural imperialism and would open the floodgates to vast numbers of women.⁹ Denouncing the ruling as paternalistic and discriminatory, legal advocates and women's groups flooded the minister with telephone calls, letters, and faxes. In January 1993, Valcourt backed down and granted Nada permanent resident status for "humanitarian" reasons.¹⁰

8. "Like all Saudi Arabian women, the claimant would have to obey the laws of general application that she denounces, in all circumstances and not only, as she did to attend school, work or accommodate the feelings of her father who, like the other members of his large family, was opposed to the liberalism of his daughter." C.R.D.D. n. 1096, n. M91-04822 (T), Sept. 24, 1991 (translation). See also Jacquie Miller, "The Nature of Persecution; Refugee Laws Unclear in the Case of Saudi Women Protesting Restrictions," *Ottawa Citizen*, Sept. 4, 1992 (Quoting IRB decision).

9. Janet Dench, "Does Gender a Refugee Make?" Address given at Boston College Law School, Owen M. Kupferschmidt Holocaust Human Rights Project, Mar. 23, 1994.

10. *Déclaration du Ministre Valcourt*, Communiqué, Jan. 29, 1993.

Canada granted asylum to a Pakistani who became pregnant as a result of rape and fled a possible death penalty for adultery.

In March 1993, Canada became the first country to issue a comprehensive legal framework for the evaluation of refugee claims of women. In addition to a legal framework, the IRB *Guidelines*¹¹ sets out procedures to ensure that women can present their claims independent of male family members and can be heard in a setting that takes into account their particular circumstances.

With the *Guidelines* came a series of ground-breaking decisions. The first granted asylum to a Zimbabwean who sought protection from a polygamous, arranged marriage to an abusive man. Her claim was based on her religion, which forbade polygamy, and on her membership in "a particular social group" — women subjected to the traditional practices of bride price and arranged marriage.¹²

An Ecuadoran systematically abused by her husband also qualified under the new *Guidelines*. When she sought protection from the police in her home country, they laughed at her and said she "must have done something wrong to be beaten."¹³ Other women granted refugee status in Canada include a Pakistani who became pregnant as a result of rape and fled a

possible death penalty for adultery,¹⁴ a Chinese woman who faced forced sterilization,¹⁵ and a Somali girl facing female genital mutilation (FGM).¹⁶

Groundbreaking Case Offers Hope in U.S.

The U. S. version of Canada's Nada case was that of Lydia Oluluro, a Nigerian woman facing deportation with her two U.S. citizen daughters. She had been living in Portland, Oregon, since she entered the U.S. as a visitor eight years earlier. At her March 1994 hearing, Oluluro filed an application for political asylum claiming that if returned to Nigeria, her five- and six-year-olds would be subjected to FGM.¹⁷ She had undergone the procedure at age four, and would be powerless to prevent her family from performing it on her daughters. The injury to them and the harm she would face for trying to prevent the procedure, she argued, both amounted to persecution.

The case attracted widespread attention¹⁸ and to some degree provoked

anti-immigrant and racist fears that a precedent in Oluluro's case would open the U.S. shores to a flood of similar cases. It also provided a focus for criticism that U.S. feminists were feeding cultural stereotypes and attempting to impose Western feminist views on other cultures.¹⁹ Oluluro herself was accused of exploiting stereotypes for personal gain.²⁰ Importantly, however, the case raised the issue of FGM and brought attention to the work being done by African women to change the practice. And inevitably, the discussion broadened to include gender-based persecution and the denial of protection because of sex.

With much at stake, the immigration judge hearing her case reached a decision that avoided setting an asylum precedent. He granted Lydia Oluluro protection — but not political asylum. She was allowed to stay in the U.S. through a grant of "suspension of deportation," a discretionary form of relief available based on the prospective harm to her U.S. citizen children.²¹

14. IRB Decision U83-06372, Canada, Oct. 1, 1993.

15. *Cheung & Lee v. Minister of Employment and Immigration*, A-785 Federal Court of Canada, Apr. 1, 1993.

16. IRB Decision T83-12198, T83-12199, T83-12197, Canada, May 10, 1994.

17. Also referred to as female circumcision or female genital surgeries, the term is used to refer to three types of procedures: 1) the sunna form, which involves the removal by cutting or burning of the tip of the prepuce of the clitoris; 2) excision, which involves the removal of the clitoris, part or all of the labia minora and, in some cases, part of the labia majora; and 3) the pharaonic form, or infibulation, which involves the removal of the clitoris, the labia minora and labia majora. In the third type, the two sides of the vulva are then stitched together, leaving only a tiny opening for urine and menstrual blood.

18. Ms. Oluluro was interviewed on many national news programs and her story appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the country.

19. See Bunmi Fatoye-Matory, *Boston Globe*, Apr. 8, 1994.

20. See *eg.*, Ellen Goodman, "Rescued from a Cruel Ritual," *Boston Globe*, Mar. 27, 1994; and Sally Jacob, "Persecution Based on Sex is Called Cause for Asylum," *Boston Globe*, Apr. 8, 1994; Sophronia Scott Gregory, "At Risk of Mutilation: Can a Woman Win Asylum for Fear of Circumcision?" *Time*, Mar. 21, 1994, p. 45.

21. The Immigration and Nationality Act provides that suspension of deportation, which results in lawful permanent resident status, can be granted as a discretionary matter to an applicant who has been continuously present in the U.S. for seven years and who is a person of good moral character when the applicant or her U.S. citizen relative would suffer "extreme hardship" if she is deported. In granting suspension of deportation, the immigration judge found that the practice constituted extreme hardship.

1992. In Kuwait, women demonstrate for the right to vote as police watch.



11. *Guidelines Issued by the Chairperson Pursuant to Section 65(3) of the Immigration Act: Women Refugee Claimants Fearing Gender-Related Persecution* (Ottawa, Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board [IRB], Mar. 9, 1993).

12. Issued in Feb. 1993, a month before release of the *Guidelines*.

13. IRB Decision U92-08714, Canada, June 4, 1993.



PHYLLIS CHRISTOPHER

Meserak Ramsey underwent FGM in Ethiopia. Now living in the U.S., she works to educate medical personnel about the physical and psychological consequences of FGM and to counsel other women subjected to the procedure.

While the Oluluro case has been recognized as an important, if partial, victory, a similar case has received little attention. Eunice DeShields, another Nigerian, raised substantially the same asylum claim before the same immigration court. But because she was not eligible for suspension of deportation,²² the immigration judge was obliged to consider her asylum claim. He found that neither the FGM she experienced as a child, nor the pain she would suffer by being unable to prevent the procedure from being imposed on her daughter, constituted

to Oluluro's U.S. citizen daughters. See *transcript of decision* at 17. 22. She did not have the seven years of continuous residence necessary to apply for suspension of deportation. Additionally, she had an outstanding order of deportation and presented her asylum claim after the order had entered, in the context of a motion to reopen her deportation proceedings.

persecution within the meaning of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. She was ordered deported, and her case is being appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals.

Strategies for Reform

Alongside the fight to protect individual women from deportation, there is a broader struggle in the U.S. to establish gender-based persecution as a ground for political asylum. One strategy calls for reinterpreting and properly applying existing definitions of who is a political refugee. Being persecuted for membership in a particular social group — people who share a “common immutable characteristic” — is already an internationally recognized criterion for asylum.²³

If gender were recognized as such an “immutable characteristic,” advocates argue, then women would find much needed protection under current law. Some argue for a change in the existing wording of the Immigration and Nationality Act to specifically include

gender as a sixth category for asylum. Most advocates have countered that this approach would be harder to implement and ultimately less effective. Because the standard applied in the U.S. is adopted from an international treaty, it is shared by other countries including Canada and most European countries. If the U.S. unilaterally circumvented the international standard and changed its criteria, that action would devalue the moral and legal force of the convention internationally. Nor, critics argue, would simply adding the word “gender” be likely to solve the problem. Decisions would still lie in the hands of a

23. See *Matter of Acosta*, 19 Immigration and Naturalization, Dec. 211 BIA 1988.

U.S. system which has traditionally used an extremely narrow reading of the law to define refugees.

In any case, proper recognition of the gender-related claims of women will require fundamental change. Asylum adjudicators will have to understand the nature of gender-related persecution and courts will have to restructure the environment in which women's cases are presented and decided.

With these obstacles in mind, immigration advocates and women's and human rights groups have been working to affect all levels of the asylum process — from the INS asylum office and local immigration courts to federal appeal courts, from requests for female interpreters and interviewers to demands for broader policy changes at the national level. And no matter what their overall strategy, advocates around the country have been presenting individual asylum cases in a way which forces adjudicators to examine the gender-specific elements of their clients' claims.

Feminism as Political Activity

The gains for women have been slow but significant. Last year, two Iranian women won important legal victories. In one case, a woman sought asylum based on her membership in the particular social group of “Iranian women who refuse to conform to the government's gender-specific laws and social norms.”²⁴ In a process which began in 1984, her appli-

When the court found that feminism constitutes a political opinion, it opened the door for asylum claims by women persecuted because they oppose the mistreatment of women.

24. *Fatin v. Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 12 F3d 1233 (3rd Cir. 1993).

cation had been considered and then denied by the INS, an immigration court, and the Board of Immigration Appeals. When it reached the Third Circuit in 1992, the court considered the evolving recognition of gender-based asylum claims and made two significant legal findings. First, it found that women can constitute a particular social group. Therefore, a woman claiming persecution because of gender can now be granted asylum within U.S. law. Second, the court found that feminism constitutes a political opinion within the meaning of the Immigration Act. This determination further opened the door for asylum claims by women persecuted because they oppose the mistreatment of women.

The second case was recently decided by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Although the applicant was Moslem, her interpretation of the Islamic Code differed substantially from that officially imposed in Iran, and she had been punished on several occasions for her failure to comply. The court found that the treatment she described — based on her failure to conform to an interpretation of the Islamic code which conflicted with her own religious views — could constitute persecution and therefore be a basis for political asylum. As Circuit Court rulings, both of these decisions are binding on lower courts and the INS.

A number of other cases recently approved by individual asylum officers and immigration judges have helped establish the legitimacy of gender-based asylum claims. Women who have been harmed because of their feminist beliefs, raped by soldiers or other government functionaries, or abused by their husbands and denied government protection because of his connection to the government, have all been found eligible. But other women in similar situations continue to be denied. Because most decisions are not published or made binding on other decision-makers, the judicial treatment of women remains very inconsistent.

Meanwhile, women and their advocates are increasingly pursuing asylum claims by emphasizing gender. They hope that some of the cases currently under consideration will help develop a consistent body of decisions.



Politically active women, like this Salvadoran union member, are in danger of being persecuted with rape and other sexual torture by soldiers and government officials.

The case of Ananda is one with particular significance and poignancy. When she was a child in West Africa, her father had arranged her marriage to a man many years older than she. Ananda, however, had other plans for her life and refused to leave high school to marry the man her father had chosen. Over the course of several years, in an attempt to force her compliance, her family confined her to her home, beat her, and denied her food. When she attempted to escape, the police arrested her and returned her to her family. Finally, with the help of a

sympathetic relative, she fled to the U.S. and eventually applied for asylum. She is now fighting deportation.

Kiara, also from West Africa, lived with a member of her country's military. When she differed with his political views, her partner became physically abusive and threatened her life. When she fled her home, he found her and denounced her to the government, which sent agents to her new home to arrest her. Although she escaped arrest, he came after her again. Finally, with a group of several other soldiers, he beat and raped her, leaving her to die in a building he had set on fire. Once again, she escaped. At the airport in the U.S., after Kiara explained her circumstances and asked for asylum, she was scheduled for a hearing before an immigration judge. If her claim is denied, she faces deportation.

U.S. Advocates Call for Guidelines

In March 1994, the Women Refugees Project, in coalition with women's and refugee rights organizations, submitted their *Guidelines for Women's Asylum Claims* to the INS. Modeled largely on the Canadian *Guidelines*, the draft analyzes gender-related persecution in two ways: gender-specific persecution, or types of harm imposed primarily on women, (including rape and other sexual abuse, female genital mutilation, dowry

deaths, forced marriage, forced abortion and sterilization, and domestic violence); and gender-based persecution, imposed primarily because of a woman's gender (including refusal to conform to gender-specific laws or customs). Significantly, the *Guidelines* call for a recognition not only of harms committed by public officials but also of those perpetrated in private, often by family members, when the government fails to protect the women. The *Guidelines* also recommend procedures to make the asylum adjudication process more accessible to women. The courts should provide female interpreters and interviewers and allow women to

present asylum claims independent of other family members. They should train adjudicators to recognize the effects of post traumatic stress and rape trauma syndrome and help them to understand how the status and treatment of women in different countries and cultures may affect their ability to present testimony.

In April, advocates met with the INS to review the *Guidelines*. The INS representatives agreed in principle that a policy on both procedural and substantive aspects of gender-related asylum claims is necessary. They agreed to issue guidelines for asylum officers within the next few months. If such guidance is issued, however, it will likely be directed to the INS asylum adjudications system only, and will not be binding on immigration judges or federal courts. Additionally, the guidelines are only a beginning step. A serious commitment must be made to implement them through training and the development of a lasting environment in which unequal treatment of women applicants will not be tolerated. Ultimately the challenge is to develop a body of cases at all levels which permanently secure these rights for women.

The success or failure of the movement to recognize gender-related human rights abuses as a criterion for asylum depends on the interplay of two clashing trends. The first is the substantial progress, described above, made by activists and advocates for legal reform. The second is a growing trend in Europe and North America to seal borders and limit all immigration. The recently-approved Proposition

187 in California is but one of numerous moves to limit access to asylum and the rights of immigrants generally. If not found unconstitutional, Proposition 187 would provide for a five-year prison term for anyone using

If well-funded anti-immigrant forces have their way, asylum seekers arriving at U.S. borders without proper documents could not apply for political asylum, and the Constitution could be amended to deprive citizenship to children born in the U.S. of non-citizen parents.

false documents to conceal immigration status. It would restrict access of undocumented elementary school children to schools, and force teachers, doctors, and other service providers to effectively become enforcement agents for the INS.

Other pending proposals offer even more severe restrictions. If well-funded anti-immigrant forces have

their way, asylum seekers arriving at U.S. borders without proper documentation could not apply for political asylum²⁵ and the Constitution could be amended to deprive children born in the U.S. to undocumented parents of citizenship.²⁶ At the same time, arguing that asylum applications are being used simply to gain access to employment authorization, the INS is amending its asylum regulations to eliminate employment authorization for those with applications pending less than 150 days, thus effectively limiting the rights of applicants without independent financial resources to seek asylum.

Fortress Europe

Similar restrictive measures have already passed in what is being called "Fortress Europe." Throughout Western Europe, right-wing, anti-immigrant sentiment — tinged with racism — is becoming a national movement. Germany has amended its constitution to deter immigration. Now, asylum seekers who lack proper documentation can be summarily deported back to the country from which they entered Germany. In the name of "harmonization," the European Economic Community has established policies for returning asylum seekers to the first country in which they *could* have sought protection, and for tightening controls on the outer borders of E.E.C.

Those involved in the movement to stop violence against women and to secure their human rights are well-aware of the political terrain in which they work. Despite the increasingly hostile environment for immigrants generally, however, they feel certain that the momentum of their movement cannot be stopped. They are hopeful that an affirmative statement from the INS on the rights of women to asylum will provide one basis on which to build.

With this in mind, advocates await the INS's guidelines. These guidelines could constitute a significant step in providing a coherent and meaningful system of protection to women. For refugees like Kiara, they could mean their lives. ●

25. See Exclusion and Asylum Reform Amendments of 1993, H.R. 1355, Mar. 16, 1993. For information on the funding of Proposition 187, see Ken Silverstein and Alexander Cockburn, "Bell Curve Politics," *Counterpunch* (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 1, 1994.
26. See H. J. Res. 396, Aug. 1994.

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Leapin' Lizards

by Ed Connolly

No other Guatemalan army unit surpasses the Kaibiles, the elite counterinsurgency forces, in sheer cruelty—due in part to their unique training. Consider their jungle survival course: Former Kaibiles testified that they were dropped by helicopter into dense forest alone with only a knife and a dog. After the long ordeal, they were ordered to butcher and devour their pets.¹

Such savage conditioning has prepared the Kaibiles to commit some of the worst atrocities on record in Guatemala, including the 1982 massacre of some 350 unarmed peasants at Finca San Francisco in San Mateo parish.² Today, death squad activity continues around their base in the Petén.³

Now the Kaibiles are training U.S. tourists at that same base. The trips are organized by the Phoenix Group, one of several low-profile businesses specializing in paramilitary vacations with foreign armies. Some of these private operators have longstanding connections with the U.S. military or paramilitary organizations, as well as with foreign armed forces.

The "tourists" include veterans, some National Guardsmen, state militia members, well-known figures in U.S. paramilitary circles, and at least one high California official. As far as

THE PHOENIX GROUP NEWSLETTER

A PUBLICATION FOR ENTHUSIASTS OF ADVENTURE AND PARACHUTING

FALL 1993



KAIBIL!

The First International group to ever train with the elite "Kaibil" Rangers of Guatemala, as seen prior to graduation from the "Jungle Phase", April 15 - 29, 1993. Six countries were represented, United States, Argentina, Italy, England, Norway and Finland.

can be determined, their agenda is limited to fun and war games, but some officials worry that more unsavory activities may be involved.

Phoenix Falling

The Phoenix Group belongs to the father and son team of Mike and Clint Trial, who ran the unincorporated business from a Michigan office with an unlisted telephone number before relocating to San Antonio this fall. Clint was briefly an officer in a special infantry company of the Michigan Army National Guard trained in long-range patrol. Trial's Guard membership later raised eyebrows at state National Guard headquarters because of fears that his tours could involve mercenary activities.⁴

4. Interviews with an official of the Michigan Department of

Clint Trial denies involvement with mercenaries,⁵ and has explored the legalities in correspondence with the State Department and the U.S. embassy in Guatemala. In response to Trial's inquiries, the embassy wrote: "The activities of your group ... are not in violation of any U.S. federal law."⁶

In 1994, the Phoenix Group offered three different Guatemalan excursions. The twelve-day "Special Forces Advanced Scout/Shooter Course" provided the opportunity to:

Learn special techniques of the KAIBIL to improve your shooting abilities. Use of camouflage [sic], movement, tracking and land navigation are all part of this

course. All weapons and ammunition provided, also, all transportation and certification on graduation.

Phoenix also offered a "Jungle Survival Course" taught by the Kaibiles. Either trip could be combined with an 18-day, airborne soldier course taught by Guatemalan army paratroopers.⁷

Phoenix brochures advertise a demolitions course to certify volunteers to defuse bombs and mines in Kuwait, and a waterborne infiltration

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1. Victor Perara, *Unfinished Conquest: The Guatemalan Tragedy* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), pp. 239-40.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 161-62.

3. Interview with Guatemala-based journalist Matthew Creelman, Oct. 25, 1994.

Military Affairs and an officer attached to Company 5, 425th Infantry, Michigan National Guard, both of whom requested anonymity, Oct. and Nov. 1994.

5. Interview, Nov. 15, 1994.

6. Letter from Mary Ellen Grandfield, Consul, U.S. Embassy, Guatemala City, to Clint Trial, March 12, 1993.

7. *The Phoenix Group Newsletter*, Fall 1993; and Phoenix Group bulletins, 1994.

course taught by Honduran special forces.⁸ The Phoenix Group also coordinates trips to Asia with another such business, Friendship Airborne Tours of Racine, Wisconsin, run by Franklin Osanka.

Soldier of Profit

Osanka gained a reputation among Pentagon counterinsurgency experts in the 1960s with his book, *Modern Guerrilla Warfare*.⁹ From 1964 to 1968, while employed as a behavioral expert at the Stanford Research Institute, Osanka also advised the Thai government in anti-communist counterinsurgency.¹⁰ With Thai and U.S. military officials, Osanka established schools in Thailand during the Vietnam War, in part financed by paratroop exhibitions.

During an October 1993 tour, Osanka jumped with government troops in Thailand. Then, moving on to China, he led 17 men in a parachute jump with the People's Liberation Army (PLA) from a Chinese military airplane. The airfield where they landed had been a staging area for the PLA troops who murdered students and workers in and near Tiananmen Square four years earlier.¹¹

Following the jump, the group assembled at attention on a runway apron. As a PLA colonel called their names, each man marched forward, saluted, and received an official badge.

Ads for Osanka's trip also offered promised demonstrations by "counter-terrorist police."¹² Student leader Li Lu, who was president of the Chinese Student Congress, a major force behind the Tiananmen protests, knows all about the counter-terrorist police who entertained the tour:

It's a special division of the secret police. They used to be in charge of protecting the central government officials in Beijing. Very secretive. They are the ones who were in the square everywhere and remembered the leading activists, who they targeted to be killed first.¹³

Now a Columbia University law student, Li is on China's 21-most-wanted list. "The so-called terrorists," he notes, "include me."¹⁴

Fine Company

One of those who signed on for the Asian parachuting adventure was *Soldier of Fortune's* explosives-and-demolitions editor, John Donovan. Among his paramilitary exploits, Donovan trained the Salvadoran army's U.S.-trained Atlacatl battalion,¹⁵ the unit that slaughtered the peasants of El Mozote in 1981 and murdered six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter in 1989.

Unfortunately for Donovan, a groin injury suffered during the Thai jumps ended his tour. Although he had to bail out, a friend of his, California Supreme Court Judge Armand Arabian, joined the group in Beijing. Arabian and Donovan share an interest in parachuting; the two jumped together with Taiwanese military units in 1989.¹⁶

The conservative judge from the state's highest court shrugged off criticisms such as Li Lu who think collaborating with the PLA and police undermines Chinese seeking greater freedom:

We're not there investigating human rights, we're over there as a bridge of friendship with people. Are we angry with the Chinese population in Chinatown because of Tiananmen Square? No. This is people to people; we're not dealing government to government or jails.¹⁷

Still another entrepreneur took 72 jumpers on a tour with the PLA barely two years after Tiananmen. Mike Epstein of Chicago, who heads the International Association of Airborne Veterans, proclaims the trip was a smashing success. "It worked fine. We parachuted with the Chinese paratroopers at their base about 30 miles outside of Beijing. The same troops who were brought into Tiananmen Square during the problem."¹⁸



Judge Armand Arabian

China scholar Orville Schell disagrees:

At this point in their history, the Chinese will do pretty much anything if they can extract hard currency from it, so in many ways this sort of activity is not surprising. But it does strike me as deeply ironic that people [such as Osanka], who once were heart and soul waging counterinsurgency efforts against Communists should now be going to sit at the feet of the PLA and recreate in their skies.¹⁹

What's It All About?

In part, the paramilitary tourist business is about money, for both entrepreneurs and host governments. The tours aren't cheap: \$2,695 per person for Phoenix's Guatemala parachute course, although Phoenix offers a shorter "Jump Honduras!" excursion for only \$1,295.²⁰ For the foreign militaries, the income from tours certainly doesn't hurt. But for these armies, some with well-deserved bad reputations, a more important consideration is building "good will" and connections.

Whatever the motivations of the different actors, the paramilitary tours are an indicator of the continuing allure of militarism. They should also ring alarm bells over the emerging ties between some of the world's most reprehensible militaries and homegrown warriors of a distinctly right-wing bent. ●

8. *Ibid.*

9. Published by the Free Press (New York) in 1962.

10. "Guerrilla Briefing for RTAF," *Bangkok Post*, June 27, 1968.

11. The PLA's 15th Airborne Division, which spearheaded the assault on Tiananmen. *China in Crisis* (London: Jane's Information Group, 1989), p. 28.

12. *Friendship Airborne 1994 News-1995 Plans*, no date. Osanka's brochures and videotape also bragged of jumps with Cambodian and Burmese forces.

13. Interview, Oct. 1994.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Robert K. Brown, "Has the U.S. Forgotten How to Win a War?" *Soldier of Fortune*, Sept. 1983, pp. 56-63.

16. Interview with Armand Arabian, Sept. 1, 1993.

17. *Ibid.* Friendship Airborne Tours has produced a videotape of the trip, with extensive footage of Judge Arabian (and background music by Rod Stewart). A tour, which will include weapons training by the PLA, is being planned for 1995.

18. Interview, Dec. 1993. Epstein also jumped with the South African army in 1987.

19. Interview, Sept. 1993.

20. *Phoenix Group Newsletter*, Fall 1993.

Uncloaked Daggers



CIA SPENDING FOR COVERT OPERATIONS

by John Pike

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is in the spotlight these days. The Aldrich Ames fiasco, sexual harassment and discrimination lawsuits, the uproar over the new and luxurious National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) headquarters, and rumors of an impending shakeup at the top of the Agency have all received extensive attention. But a much bigger story, one that goes to the heart of the CIA's role in U.S. foreign policy, has been untouched: Covert operations remain a central CIA function, even after the downfall of the Soviet Union—at spending levels much higher than commonly recognized.

Despite scandal after scandal and calls for its reform or elimination, the CIA remains the preeminent covert

arm of U.S. foreign policy. Its employees number in the thousands, its budget is large and relatively stable, and its passion for covert action as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy remains unquenched.

That the CIA's covert operations still consume hundreds of millions of dollars annually flies in the face of the emerging conventional wisdom about the nature of U.S. manipulation of foreign polities. The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and its kindred agencies are now viewed by some observers as replacing the CIA at the forefront of U.S. political intervention,¹ but that assessment may need to be revised in light of the CIA's apparent continuation of massive covert operations spending.

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1. See, for example, William I. Robinson, "Low Intensity Democracy: The New Face of Global Domination," *CovertAction*, n. 50, Fall 1994, pp. 40-47.

Finding the CIA Budget

Journalists, scholars, and congressional committees have exposed many CIA operations—usually long after the fact—but the Agency resists accountability and continues to blunt efforts to examine the full scope of its activities. Cracks in the CIA's much vaunted veil of secrecy, however, suggest that the current covert operations budget is in excess of \$500 million a year, vastly exceeding the levels of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Intelligence spending, including the CIA budget, is one of the most tightly held secrets in Washington. Arguing that the CIA's budget must remain classified, intelligence and defense apologists strive to justify such secrecy on increasingly flimsy national security grounds. One result is public skepticism and confusion. Some think that perhaps the Agency is financed by a hidden accounting charge levied on other government agencies.

Novelist Tom Clancy even suggested that the Agency's budget could be found in the bowels of the Agriculture Department. Reality is more prosaic.

The entire 1995 CIA budget of approximately \$3.1 billion, as well as the CIA's \$2 billion share of the NRO satellite acquisition and operations budget, is contained in one element of the Air Force budget, the Selected Activities line item in Other Procurement Air Force.² (See graph, p. 54) Because of overlap in CIA and NRO budgets, this figure is accurate only to within a few hundred million dollars. Nevertheless, it is a reasonable point of departure.

Covert Operations Spending

Although the Agency employs thousands of analysts, scientists, and support personnel (see box), the public image of the CIA is covert operations. While the percentage of the Agency's budget devoted to covert operations spending has sharply declined from a reported half of the CIA budget in the 1950s,³ it still accounts for hundreds of millions of dollars per year.

Knowledgeable insiders have provided estimates that support this figure. Former DCI William Webster noted that in 1987 "about three percent of the Intelligence Community's resources are spent on covert action."⁴ And in 1993, former CIA Deputy Director for Operations Richard Stolz estimated that "2 or 3 percent" of the intelligence community's budget was dedicated to covert operations, as was "about 10 percent" of CIA's Directorate of Operations' (DO) budget.⁵ With an



overall intelligence community budget running at about \$28 billion annually over the past eight years,⁶ covert operations funding has thus declined from about \$1 billion in 1987 to at least \$500 million, and as much as \$800 million now.

Stolz's assertion that "about 10 percent" of the Operations Directorate's budget is devoted to covert action is more slippery. If approximately 40 percent of CIA employees are in Operations, a safe assumption is that Operations has a similar percentage of the CIA's overall budget. This calculation yields a figure of about \$120 million for covert operations, which suggests that the overwhelming bulk of covert action is currently funded through another agency.

Stolz may, however, have been referring only to the regular salary and administrative portion of the Operations budget currently dedicated to covert action. The overall \$500-\$800

million figure would then refer to expenditures for specific covert actions over and above these bureaucratic expenses.

Second Guessing the Numbers

Press reports provide astonishingly detailed, and generally quite consistent, estimates of annual funding levels for particular covert operations, notably Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua. Other operations more popular with Congress, such as Poland or the former Soviet Union, have come under less scrutiny. But even for closely watched

Reagan administration spending on covert action probably topped \$2 billion a year, nearly double the amount then reported. Current annual spending totals continue to exceed \$1 billion.

2. An analysis of outlay rates (the rate at which appropriated money is actually spent) for Other Procurement Air Force demonstrates that the CIA is funded through this line item. The outlay rate is much faster than for any other procurement budget category. See U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Comptroller, *National Defense Budget Estimates for FY 1995*, Mar. 1994, p. 47. Personnel, operations and research have much faster outlay rates than do procurement accounts. Since Selected Activities comprises roughly half of Other Procurement Air Force (and neither the Army nor Navy have such line items), this line item conceals the budget for an operational activity, rather than "other procurement." This operating activity is not for some other intelligence agency, since the budgets of other agencies, such as the National Security Agency, are explicitly accounted for elsewhere in the budget (even if details are slightly obscured). For further notes on the methodology involved, see John Pike, "Spies in the Skies: The National Reconnaissance Office and the Intelligence Budget," *CovertAction*, n. 50, Summer 1994, pp. 48-56.

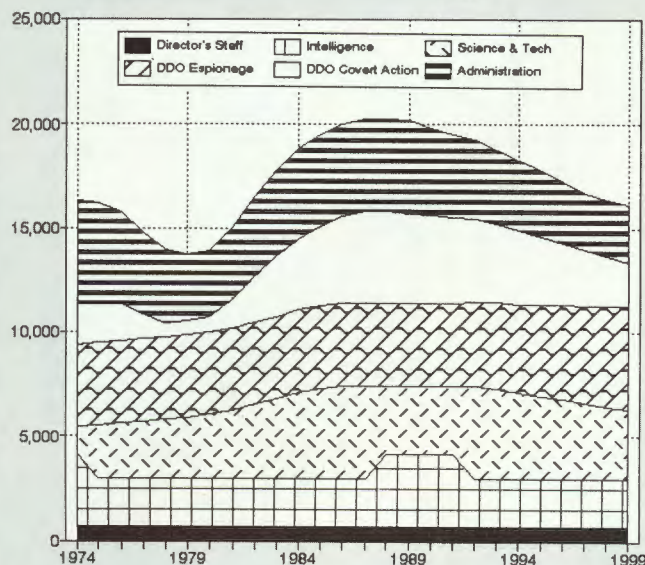
3. Bob Woodward, *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), p. 64.

4. William Webster, "Remarks before the Council on Foreign Relations," Washington, D.C., Dec. 12, 1988, cited in Alfred Prados, "Intelligence Budgets: Contents and Releasability," Congressional Research Service, CRS 89-465F, Aug. 2, 1989, p. 23.

5. CIA, *Symposium on the Teaching of Intelligence — Oct. 1-2, 1993* (Washington, D.C.: CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, Apr. 1994, CSI 94-001), p. 16.

6. George Lardner, "Amid Defense Cuts, Intelligence Funding Allocations May Shift," *Washington Post*, Oct. 9, 1990, p. A4; and Tim Weiner, "\$28 Billion Spying Budget Is Made Public By Mistake," *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1994, p. 54.

Current Structure Impending Reform



Estimated CIA Personnel

In July 1994, Director of Central Intelligence R. James Woolsey announced an impending overhaul of agency structures, programs, and procedures.¹ The adjustments are part of a comprehensive Strategic Plan for the intelligence community, to be finalized by the end of 1994.

Woolsey's speech provides some indication of personnel trends within the Agency, but his figures are potentially deceptive. He does not specify a base year against which future reductions can be measured. He may also be playing something of a shell game by claiming reductions when employees are actually being shifted among the Agency's directorates, or to other intelligence agencies.

Woolsey presides over a CIA workforce estimated at anywhere from 10-30,000,² with 18,500 being a likely current figure. CIA employment has been relatively stable; in the wake of the Vietnam War, observers put total direct employment (excluding foreign agents and workers for CIA proprietary companies) at about 16,500,³ which declined slightly under Carter and then rebounded under Reagan, peaking in the mid-1980s at 20,481.⁴

One indication of current staffing levels is the Agency's constantly expanding facilities. CIA has outgrown its 1,400,000 square foot 1961 Original Headquarters Building,⁵ designed to house 15,000 people. Part of the overflow now uses the 1,100,000 square foot 1988 New Headquarters Building, also at Langley, but some departments reside at other facilities across Northern Virginia.⁶

The Agency is organized into four broad administrative divisions, or directorates, each headed by a Deputy Director who reports directly to Woolsey.

Directorate of Operations

The Directorate of Operations (DO) conducts covert actions and classical espionage. It is organized into five area divisions, a domestic collection division, two topical centers (terrorism and narcotics), an operations requirements tasking center, a military liaison, and a defector resettlement center.

Leaving aside foreign agents and employees of CIA proprietary companies, Operations currently employs up to 8,000 people, as many as during the Reagan administration and roughly the same number as during its post-Vietnam peak.⁷ In the Carter era, personnel reductions were taken almost entirely from the covert action staff. The professional Clandestine Service is estimated to have grown from 3,000 to 5,000 in the early 1980s and has probably remained stable since then. This growth almost certainly was entirely to support covert operations, since espionage networks cannot be rapidly expanded. DO employees include roughly 2,000 case officers, responsible for supervising several thousand foreign agents.⁸

Clandestine Service personnel are deployed at country stations around the globe, as well as at regional Special Reporting Facilities in London, Bonn, Panama, and Yokota, Japan, each of which employs up to 300 people. DO also stations several hundred employees at its Camp Peary (Virginia) and Harvey Point Defense Testing Activity (North Carolina) training centers.⁹

DO will reduce its staff by approximately 700 by 1997.¹⁰ With the recent emphasis on human intelligence, some employees working on covert operations have probably moved to espionage. Even with these reductions, the covert operations staff will still approach 1970s levels.

Directorate of Intelligence

The Directorate of Intelligence (DI) produces the bulk of CIA's finished intelligence products. Five area offices (Africa and Latin America, East Asia, Europe, Near East and South Asia, and Slavic and Eurasia) analyze regional and country-specific topics. The directorate also has three offices that focus on particular issues or kinds of analysis (Resources, Trade and Technology; Scientific and Weapons Research; and Leadership Analysis).

Current Deputy Director for Intelligence Douglas MacEachin put DI employees at 2,500 in 1994, down roughly 1,000 from its post-Vietnam peak.¹¹ This decline and planned reductions to 1977 levels may simply reflect the transfer of the National Photographic Intelligence Center (NPIC) out of DI.

Directorate of Science and Technology

DS&T collects and processes intelligence from satellites, espionage, open sources, and other information collected by clandestine technical means. DS&T includes the Office of Development and Engineering, which is responsible for the

operations, there are several reasons for believing that these calculations significantly underestimate total spending.

First, these budget figures apparently encompass only spending for specific covert operations and not the cost of personnel and everyday activities of the Directorate of Operations (DO). This is not an unusual government accounting practice. In calculating the cost of the Space Shuttle, for example, NASA includes direct program expenses, but not staff and other operational support costs.

Fluctuations in staffing of the Operations Directorate largely reflect changes in the number of people devoted to covert action. With some 4,000 DO employees, including both Clandestine Service and clerks, during the Reagan administration, it is likely that at least \$500 million in DO staff costs was devoted to covert operations. Also, the Directorate of Administration provides substantial infrastructure and



DEBORAH G. MOSES-SANKS / IMPACT VISUALS

Angola, site of CIA covert ops, has the world's highest per capita number of amputees.

organizational support to Operations. Its support for covert operations certainly amounts to over \$100 million annually. These calculations suggest that Reagan administration spending

on covert action probably topped \$2 billion, nearly double the amount reported at the time, and that current annual spending continues to exceed \$1 billion. (See chart p. 52)

CIA's portion of NRO's satellite intelligence programs, and is located at a new facility in Reston, Virginia.¹²

DS&T also took over NPIC in the early 1990s. Located at Building 213 in the Washington Navy Yard, this joint CIA/Defense Department center, with approximately 1,200 employees, produces imagery interpretation reports and provides support for the military. DS&T also includes the 1,700 staffers working under Commerce Department cover at the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) facility in Reston, Virginia.

DS&T employed some 1,300 engineers, physicists, chemists, economists, computer programmers, imagery analysts, and linguists in the early 1970s.¹³ This number probably doubled in the late '70s as CIA undertook more extensive satellite reconnaissance programs. Woolsey's announced restructuring will cut 40 percent of the directorate's managers in two key offices, and includes a 26 percent overall personnel reduction by 1999.¹⁴ Much of the reduction may simply reflect transfer of CIA personnel to NRO.

Directorate of Administration (DA)

DA provides administrative and support services for the other directorates. The directorate's 1,000-employee "Blue U" at 1000 North Glebe Road in Arlington, Virginia, provides training in such clandestine tradecraft as surveillance photography, letter-opening, and lock-picking.¹⁵ Administration also operates the Site B Warrenton (Virginia) Training Center for communications and signals intelligence specialists.¹⁶

DA employed some 5,000 people in the early 1970s, with most of them supporting the Directorate of Operations.¹⁷ DA staffing has fluctuated along with that of Operations. Under the Woolsey plan, CIA will eliminate some 1,700 administrative jobs by the end of the decade.¹⁸ ●

1. Adapted from: R. James Woolsey, Director of Central Intelligence, "National Security and the Future Direction of the Central Intelligence Agency," Address at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., July 18, 1994 (as prepared).

2. Bill Gertz, "Bias Complaints Illustrate Growing Problems at CIA," *Washington Times*, Nov. 13, 1993, p. A12; Don Clark, "Coming in From the Cold War," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 18, 1992, p. B-1; and Michael Wines, "Washington is Tiring of Supporting All Those Spies," *New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1990, sec. 4, p. 5.

3. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1974), p. 95.

4. Walter Pincus, "CIA Struggles To Find Identity in a New World," *Washington Post*, May 9, 1994, p. A1.

5. Central Intelligence Agency, *Factbook on Intelligence*, Oct. 1993, p. 24.

6. John Ranelagh, *The Agency* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986), p. 412.

7. Bill Gertz, "CIA Puts Spying in Russia on Hold," *Washington Times*, Mar. 4, 1994, p. A13; and Paul Blackstock, "The Intelligence Community Under the Nixon Administration," *Armed Forces and Society*, v. 1, n. 2, Feb. 1975, p. 243.

8. Gertz, Nov. 13, 1993, *op. cit.*, p. A12; and John Walcott and Brian Duffy, "The CIA's Darkest Secrets," *US News & World Report*, July 4, 1994, p. 36.

9. *CovertAction*, n. 1, July 1978, p. 22; and Robert Walters, "Going Underground," *Inquiry*, Feb. 2, 1991, pp. 12-16.

10. Woolsey, *op. cit.*

11. Douglas MacEachin, *The Tradecraft of Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Working Group on Intelligence Reform, 1994), p. 33; and Marchetti and Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

12. Jeffrey Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1989), p. 13.

13. Marchetti and Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

14. Woolsey, *op. cit.*

15. Richelson, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

16. Walters, *op. cit.*

17. Marchetti and Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

18. Woolsey, *op. cit.*

Second, the CIA is not the only player in the covert action arena. If Stolz's 10 percent estimate is taken at face value, only a small fraction of the current \$500-\$800 million covert action budget is accounted for by the CIA. Other agencies, such as the Delta Force or other parts of the Joint Special Operations Command, could make up the additional half-billion per year.⁷

Third, other intelligence expenditures are not counted as part of the covert action budget, although they support such operations. While direct support to the Contras in Nicaragua during 1986 was about \$100 million, press reports put the cost of additional support activities, including reconnaissance aircraft operations and signals intelligence support, at over \$400 million.⁸ Similarly, in Cambodia, the U.S. intelligence community provided satellite intelligence for its proxy armies, an expense not included in CIA totals.⁹

Fourth, CIA-sponsored covert actions often enjoy significant operational

and financial support from other countries. In Poland in the early 1980s, the Vatican assisted U.S. operations. And China, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt provided at least \$500 million for operations in Afghanistan from 1980 to 1986, while Pakistan kicked in millions more in logistical support.¹⁰

Fifth, there is no way of accounting for the multitudinous off-the-books financial transactions of CIA proprietaries and proxies (notably gun-running and narcotics smuggling), both of which produce revenues that ultimately support covert action capabilities.

And finally, some politically-oriented activities which were previously accomplished through the CIA are now conducted overtly through the National Endowment for Democracy, the Agency for International Development, and similar government and quasi-governmental organizations.

Calculating these additional expenditures is more complicated than simply adding up published estimates

of specific covert actions. Estimates of direct costs of actions in Poland and the former Soviet Union in particular are no more than rough estimates of upper bounds. Nonetheless, it is possible to obtain a fairly comprehensive accounting of recent covert action funding levels, and in the process gain some insight into a few of the more obscure corners of this nether world.

An estimate of the cost of selected covert operations can be arrived at by a careful review of published sources, along with some reading between the lines. These same methods make it possible to examine the size and scope of covert operations not yet uncovered.

Afghanistan

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, the Carter administration responded by allocating \$30 million in covert military assistance, including old Soviet weapons from Egypt, to anticommunist Afghan rebels.¹¹ (See chart, p. 55) Under Reagan, covert assistance steadily escalated, as did casualty figures and the flow of refugees.¹² By 1985, Rep. Charlie Wilson (D-Tex.) goaded Congress into increasing assistance to \$250 million—double the budget for the previous year.¹³ The U.S. millions supported up to 300,000 insurgents at the war's peak. Huge covert funding increases continued yearly until 1988, when the annual appropriation apparently peaked at \$700 million.¹⁴

Even after the Soviet defeat, CIA dollars continued to pour in. Funding estimates for 1991 ranged from \$180 million to \$300 million.¹⁵ Over the dozen years of covert intervention, the CIA spent \$3.3 billion to drive the Russians out of Afghanistan and the communists out of power.

11. Carroll Doherty, "Wars of Proxy Losing Favor as Cold War Tensions End," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, Aug. 25, 1990, pp. 2721-25.

12. The U.S. Committee on Refugees, *World Refugee Survey 1991*, pp. 90-91, counted some seven million Afghans as refugees; Afghan and U.S. congressional sources put the death toll at more than one million.

13. Bob Woodward and Charles Babcock, "US Covert Aid to Afghans on the Rise," *Washington Post*, Jan. 14, 1985, p. A1; Robert Pear, "Afghanistan's Guerrillas: Congress Pushed the CIA," *New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1988, p. A1.

14. Tim Weiner, "The CIA's Leaking Pipeline," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 28, 1988, p. 1. Weiner also noted that up to one-fifth of the aid was lost or stolen.

15. David Rogers, "Covert Aid to Afghan Rebels Is Facing Significant New Opposition in House," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 1990, p. A4; Carroll Doherty, "New Openness Marks Debate on Intelligence Bill," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1990, pp. 3625-26; and Doherty, Aug. 25, 1990, *op. cit.*

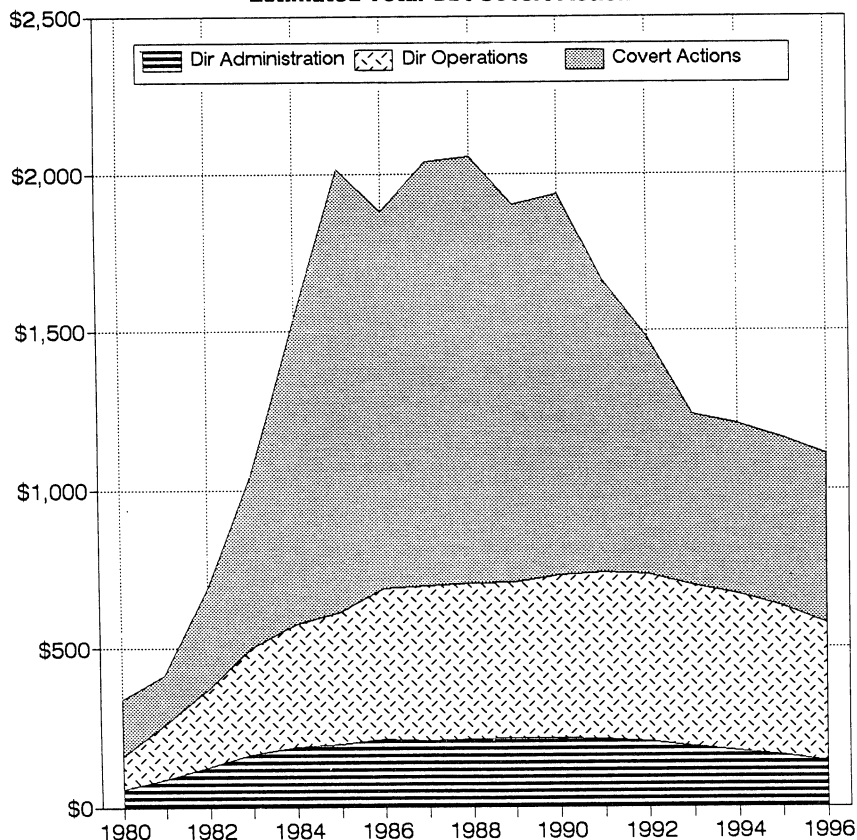
7. Philip Taubman, "The Secret World of A Green Beret," *New York Times Magazine*, July 4, 1982, p. 18.

8. Joanne Omang, "Administration Mobilizes To Direct Aid to Rebels," *Washington Post*, July 13, 1986, pp. A1, A16.

9. Michael Haas, *War by Proxy* (New York: Praeger, 1991), p. 84.

10. Selig Harrison, "Afghanistan: Soviet Intervention, Afghan Resistance, and the American Role," in Michael Klare and Peter Kornbluh, eds., *Low Intensity Warfare* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 200.

Estimated Total CIA Covert Action





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The CIA's Afghanistan operation was one of the Agency's largest. The cost in dollars was estimated at almost \$3.5 billion. The cost in lives and the long-term consequences in terms of support for drugs and extremist movements is incalculable.

Angola

After Congress repealed the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert aid to UNITA in 1985, the Reagan administration significantly increased the level of activity in Angola in 1986, with initial funding that year of \$15 million.¹⁶ (See chart, p. 55) By 1990, observers put annual support for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA at approximately \$50-60 million.¹⁷ As it had in the 1970s, this support helped UNITA continue its endless war against the central government, a posture the rebels assumed anew after losing national elections in 1992.

Cambodia

The CIA's covert support for the Khmer Rouge began in 1981, as the U.S. attempted to weaken the Vietnamese-dominated government in Phnom Penh. (See chart, p. 55) Published reports put spending through the 1980s at between \$10 and \$24 million per year.¹⁸ According to an October 1986 letter from Jonathan

Winer, an aide to Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.), "Washington had given the ousted Khmer Rouge forces \$85 million since 1980."¹⁹ Although Winer subsequently characterized his figure as "erroneous," the Congressional Research Service provided annual CIA funding levels for the Khmer Rouge from 1980 (\$54.55 million) through 1986 (\$60,000),²⁰ an aggregate that dovetails with Winer's claim.²¹ The CIA also funded the non-communist resistance, to the tune of about \$12 million a year from 1982 through 1986.²²

Nicaragua

The Reagan effort to defeat the Sandinistas began with initial CIA funding for the Contras of \$19.5 million in 1981.²³ (See chart, p. 55) In 1982, Congress allocated an additional \$19 million, with the pro-

viso that the money could not be used to overthrow the Sandinista government.²⁴ According to data provided to congressional intelligence committees, in December 1981, Contra forces numbered approximately 500, but with CIA dollars rolling in and each fighter receiving a \$23 per month stipend, their strength increased to 10,000 by summer 1983.²⁵ Total funding for the Contras in 1984 was reportedly \$24 million.²⁶

In November 1984, Congress adopted the Boland Amendment, which mandated a halt to covert funding of the Contras. Seven months later, however, Congress approved \$27 million in "humanitarian assistance."²⁷ Observers estimated the CIA's budget for Nicaraguan activities at more than \$100 million by 1986.²⁸ The House ap-

19. Eva Mysliwiec, *Punishing the Poor* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1988), p. 146.

20. Craig Etcheson, "The Reagan Doctrine in Cambodia," Conference on the United States and Vietnam, University of Notre Dame, Dec. 2-4, 1983, pp. 9, 19.

21. The precision of these figures, and the fact that the CRS analyst who provided them was later fired, suggest that the error lay in the release of the data rather than its accuracy.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Don Oberdorfer, "US Support Bolsters Rebels' Confidence Inside Nicaragua," *Washington Post*, Apr. 3, 1983, p. A1.

24. Lou Cannon and Tom Kenworthy, "Contra Aid Concession Offered," *Washington Post*, Feb. 3, 1983, p. A1.

25. Don Oberdorfer and Patrick Tyler, "US-Backed Nicaraguan Rebel Army Swells to 7,000 Men," *Washington Post*, May 8, 1983, p. A1; Don Oberdorfer, "House Acts to Bar CIA Rebel Aid," *Washington Post*, July 29, 1983, p. A1.

26. Woodward and Babcock, *op. cit.*

27. "Hiding the War in the White House (editorial)," *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1985, p. A22.

28. Patrick Tyler and David Ottaway, "Casey Enforces Reagan Doctrine With Reinigorated Covert Action," *Washington Post*, Mar. 9, 1986, pp. A1, A10.

16. Doherty, *ibid.*

17. Lardner, *op. cit.*; and Michael Wines, "House Openly Debates CIA Aid in Angola," *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1990, p. A11; Doherty, Aug. 25, 1990, *op. cit.*

18. Lardner, July 24, 1990, *op. cit.*; Doherty, Aug. 25, 1990, *op. cit.*

proved \$100 million more for 1987, including \$70 million in military aid. Finally, in late 1987 Congress approved an additional \$20 million in "non-lethal" aid through February 1988.²⁹

Poland

The Solidarity movement in Poland in the early 1980s garnered wide support in Washington, and CIA covert operations did not attract much media scrutiny or any political outcry. In his account of CIA activities in Poland, Bob Woodward left his readers with the impression that Agency efforts there were minuscule:

... a minor secret channel through a Catholic Church organization in Poland to funnel CIA funds of \$20,000 to \$30,000 to benefit the Solidarity trade union was closed down because of political risk.³⁰

But later reports revealed a much larger CIA operation, as his old partner, Carl Bernstein, noted:

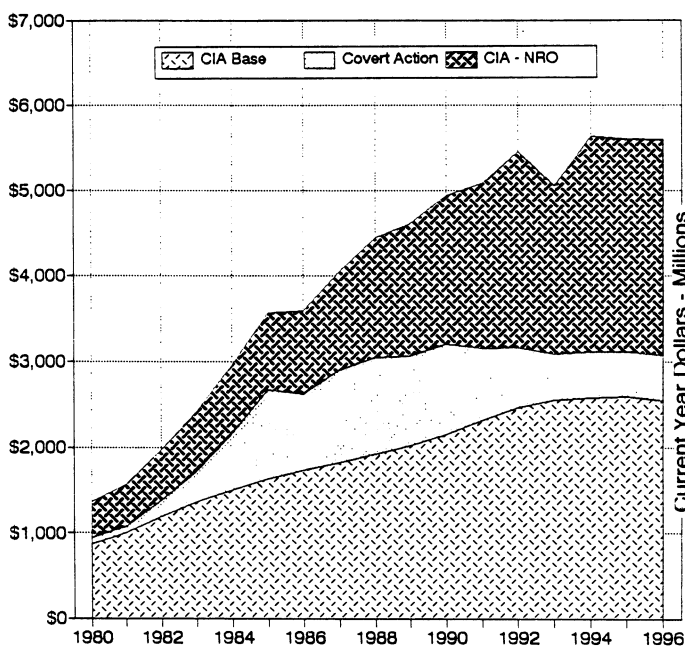
Tons of equipment — fax machines (the first in Poland), printing presses, transmitters, telephones, shortwave radios, video cameras, photocopiers, telex machines, computers, word processors — were smuggled into Poland via channels established by priests and American agents and

representatives of the AFL-CIO and European labor movements. Money for the banned union came from CIA funds, the National Endowment for Democracy, secret accounts in the Vatican and Western trade unions.³¹

Mass media disinterest aside, other sources can be used to gauge the magnitude of covert operations. In 1984, a trade publication printed portions of the Pentagon's classified Five Year Defense Program, which included yearly totals for the budget line item that funds the NRO.³² Normally, the CIA's portion of the NRO budget is concealed in the larger Air Force Selected Activities budget line item that includes all CIA funding (and thus must be estimated). But for the mid-1980s period, the CIA-NRO funding may be subtracted from the Selected Activities total, with the remainder constituting the CIA's non-NRO budget.

After subtracting CIA-NRO and CIA administrative expenditures from the Selected Activities total, what is left is presumably covert operations funds.³³ Comparing these budget numbers with estimated costs of already identified covert actions in subsequent years reveals a discrepancy of many hundreds of millions of dollars in the early and mid-1980s, the period of greatest Solidarity activity. The obvious implication is that the CIA support for Solidarity approached the level

of Agency activity in Afghanistan—hundreds of millions of dollars a year.



CIA Budget (Selected Activities line item, Air Force budget)

Other Covert Ops

The Carter administration sponsored approximately a dozen covert operations, which grew to over 50 under Reagan.³⁴ Most of these smaller actions eluded public attention. Funding in Ethiopia, for example, was reportedly \$500,000 annually from 1981-86, but media coverage was almost nil.³⁵

Although the Clinton administration was initially reluctant to initiate new covert actions, the CIA was busy in Haiti. After a propaganda campaign against exiled President Aristide and buying influence among the military and its paramilitary allies, the Agency attempted to win plaudits by claiming it had tried to induce the military leadership to depart prior to U.S. military action in late 1994.³⁶

Besides Haiti—the only publicly identified ongoing covert operation—there must be an as yet unknown range of secret CIA activities. The methodology used to approximate CIA spending in Poland, and statements from insiders like Stolz, indicate that current covert operations program costs remain quite large.

Without authoritative reports on the CIA's share of the NRO budget in recent years, however, such estimates are necessarily imprecise. The CIA's 1991 budget (excluding NRO activities) was approximately \$3.5 billion,³⁷ and the 1992 budget was \$3.2 billion.³⁸ With the current CIA budget at about \$3.1 billion, calculating current CIA administrative costs yields an unaccounted for \$500 million. This figure is generally consistent with published estimates of the CIA's budget during this period and with reliable reports that the CIA's 1991 budget included \$600 million for covert action.³⁹ The reported \$600 million covert action figure is roughly double the total of published figures for all other identified covert actions (primarily Afghanistan) in the early 1990s.

31. Carl Bernstein, "The Holy Alliance," *Time*, Feb. 24, 1982, p. 28.

32. "Five Year Defense Program," *Defense Week*, Jan. 3, 1984, p. 16.

33. CIA administrative costs may be estimated on the basis of CIA staff levels during this period, multiplied by a per-capita expenditure. For the sake of a preliminary calculation, this may be assumed to total twice the direct NASA expenditure per employee, to account for contractor and service costs. This assumption is probably close to the mark, since it closely reproduces the budget around 1980, when covert action spending was negligible compared to the rest of the CIA's budget.

34. The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Covert Action and American Democracy, *The Need to Know* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1992), p. 40; and Louis Wolf, "Lest We Forget," *CovertAction*, n. 28, Summer 1987, p. 28.

35. James Brooke, "In Ethiopia, Rulers Seem Widely Resented," *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 1987, p. 14. This figure was also reported in Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

36. Doyle McManus and Robin Wright, "US Tried Covert Action to Rid Haiti of Rulers," *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 16, 1994, p. 1.

37. George Lardner, "Amid Defense Cuts, Intelligence Funding Allocations May Shift," *Washington Post*, Oct. 9, 1990, p. A4.

38. Patrick Tyler, "The Task: Slip Spies Into the New World Order," *New York Times*, May 19, 1991.

39. Lardner, *op. cit.*

The Current Scope

If CIA covert actions today are costing half a billion dollars annually, it is difficult to imagine precisely where all the money is going. While Iraq, Eastern Europe, and Haiti surely consume some of this amount, the major CIA initiatives of the 1980s are largely finished.

It is, however, very likely that at least some of this money is being used in the former Soviet Union. The methodology used above suggests that CIA covert operations in the former Soviet Union and other East European countries could have amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars annually during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

And while the media have not reported on operations in Iraq, some programs are likely under way in the wake of Desert Storm. That details on operations in Iraq or Eastern Europe have not emerged is not unexpected, given the broad U.S. consensus against Saddam Hussein and the remnants of communism in the former Soviet bloc.

Because such activities, like those in Poland in the early '80s, would not be particularly controversial with Congress, they have not been investigated. But there are hints that an operation is under way in the Trans-Caucasian republics. In July 1993, Georgian President Shevardnadze accepted CIA help in creating a security force.⁴⁰

In June 1994, Russian authorities forced down a U.S.-chartered airplane en route to Tbilisi.⁴¹ Although the veil of secrecy was soon back in place, the incident had the aura of a covert activity inadvertently exposed.

There are also signs that the CIA is involved in Bosnia. British press reports, denied by Washington, say the U.S. is "secretly training and assisting" and providing satellite intelligence to Bosnian government forces.⁴²

That the CIA was actively involved in the ex-USSR would come as no surprise to at least some Russians. According to Ivan Polozkov, a Central Committee member in 1990-91:

40. Suzanne Goldenberg, *Pride of Nations: The Caucasus and Post-Soviet Disorder* (London: Zed Books, 1994), p. 111. In Aug., CIA employee Fred Woodruff was killed outside Tbilisi while riding with Shevardnadze's security chief. The U.S. called it "a chance killing," but Georgians remain skeptical.

41. Daniel Williams, "Russia Orders US-Chartered Plane to Land Temporarily," *Washington Post*, June 8, 1994, p. A20.

42. Reports cited in Associated Press, "U.S. Training Bosnia Government Forces," Nov. 17, 1994.

43. David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb* (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. 513.

We know the CIA financed parties here. You gave them Japanese cameras, German copying machines, money, everything! You had your dissidents who worked for you, the liars, the diplomats, the military double agents. Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, these men were all yours, too.⁴³

Though the accusations against specific individuals are reminiscent of the John Birch Society's accusation that Dwight Eisenhower was a paid agent of Moscow, the more general proposition appears widely credited in Russia. David Remnick also quotes one conservative Russian who asked if it were plausible that

only the CIA was smart ... Do you think East Germany fell apart on its own? Do you think Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and finally the Soviet Union fell apart on their own?⁴⁴

While historians will no doubt fell entire forests disputing the sources and dynamics of the Soviet Union's unravelling, any history that neglects the role of the CIA would be incomplete.

Still Spooky After All These Years

In the mid-1990s, with the U.S. the world's sole superpower, it is still spending hundreds of millions of dollars — perhaps as much as a billion dollars — per year for covert operations. Despite the increasing emphasis on "public diplomacy" and "overt" operations by NED and other agencies, CIA clearly continues as a major actor in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy.

But CIA and NED budgets are not the only sources of covert operations funding. Military special forces programs, friendly foreign governments, and off-the-books CIA proprietaries and proxies all contribute a share.

44. Remnick, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

	Afghanistan	Angola	Cambodia	Nicaragua	Other estmt.
1980	30		55		
1981	50		18	19	
1982	50		5	38	*100
1983	60		2	19	*250
1984	140		4	40	*475
1985	250		1	80	*700
1986	470	15		100	*300
1987	660	30		100	*300
1988	700	45		100	*275
1989	280	60		50	*600
1990	280	55			*700
1991	250	25			*500
1992	200	10			*500
1993					*500
Total	3,420	240	85	546	*5,200

Covert Action Spending in millions.

(Based on journalistic and official sources. Estimates for "other" are derived from the author's calculations.)

The numbers are startling. At its height, the CIA's Nicaraguan adventure consumed only a fraction of the Agency's covert operations budget. Only at the peak of the Afghanistan intervention does a single program appear to have accounted for the bulk of available dollars.

What these numbers clearly imply is that the U.S. government is still all too willing to resort to covert operations to advance its foreign policy goals. They also imply that scholars and journalists have much work to do to uncover and document continuing CIA operations. In 1994, the Haitian operation is only the tip of the iceberg that remains unthawed by the end of the Cold War.

The Aldrich Ames affair and the latest scandal *du jour* pale in importance before these huge expenditures. Having apparently learned no lessons (or having learned the wrong ones) from past covert interventions — Indonesia, Iran, Afghanistan, for instance — the CIA continues down the path of deniability, unaccountability, and destabilization "in the national interest." ●

which many speculate has been used for more than immigration matters. With PIREd's tutelage and cash, scores of labor unions and neighborhood groups have gone from demanding higher wages and denouncing U.S. imperialism to thanking Bill Clinton and promoting "reconciliation."³⁸

A \$200,000 PIREd grant went to a foundation associated with Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul, a strong proponent of reconciliation apparently being groomed by the U.S. to succeed Aristide. When Paul was reinstalled in his office by U.S. troops in October, Lowenthal was there, beaming. A mainstream newspaper noted with relief that Paul is "very different" from Aristide and that he "has matured from leftist street agitator to statesman." In the same story, wealthy businessman and former coup-backer Gregory Mevs gave his nod to Paul and "a U.S. diplomat" said, "There's no one on the horizon who can come near the guy."³⁹

Many are concerned that Lowenthal, who was also a frequent visitor to army general headquarters in recent months, has too much power over the millions being pumped into Haiti. In a confidential memo to U.S. lawmakers, an Aristide aide complained that PIREd should be taken out of the loop because it has been repeatedly "involved in attempting to create political solutions through power sharing arrangements with the military regime."⁴⁰

"Lowenthal is basically running the show," explained the transition team member. "He is like the new governor of Haiti. All local programs go through him."

Some AID "Successes" Exposed

A consistent pattern of AID funding to groups which cooperate with the military and paramilitary is hard to ignore. One AID-funded project, the Centres pour le Developpement et la Santé (CDS) has had FRAPH members — including those

accused of brutal murders — on its payroll. CDS operates 12 health centers around the country and received at least \$4 million in AID funding last year. It also has a database which includes records on most of the 180,000 residents of the poor, staunchly pro-Aristide neighborhood of Cité Soleil and is directed by Dr. Réginald Boulos, a close associate of Marc Bazin, the presidential candidate the U.S. had supported against Aristide in the 1990 election. According to residents, CDS, which offers the only health care in the area, turned away people who admitted to voting for Aristide in the 1990 elections.⁴¹

Another major channel for U.S. aid also shows few qualms about associating with the army's death squads. The New-York-based Planning Assistance (PA) has already carried out pilot "local governance" projects in Les Cayes and Gonaïves. Head of the project in Haiti, Joe Coblantz, admitted that programs included FRAPH members. Coblantz said he was worried that with the return of constitutional-ity, local participants would not allow "opposition" members like FRAPH to take part. The two FRAPH people in Cayes, he said, were "the most civic-minded members" of the community committees PA set up.⁴² In Gonaïves, PA was working with "local leaders," but not the legally elected mayor, who has been in hiding during most of the past three years. When a vice mayor took over the office, he adorned it with a portrait of François Duvalier.

AID's collaboration with Duvalierists and death squads goes back decades and reflects a consistent policy. During the embargo, when other major donors — such as Canada and France — suspended all but emergency humanitarian programs, AID took the opportunity to work extensively and safely with pro-regime people and groups who were not part of the democratic movement. This summer, the development group Oxfam America charged that AID has been working with the cooperation or at least tacit approval of the Haitian military and paramilitary apparatus.

In a letter and report to the House Appropriations Committee, Oxfam asked that all "non-humanitarian funding" be frozen until the restoration of the constitutional government.

It is impossible for opponents of the coup regime, either in the legislature, civil society, political parties or local government, to operate openly. ... Numerous allegations have been made by the Haitian and U.S. media, citizens delegations and others, that USAID funded projects have been knowingly or unknowingly ... politically and financially manipulated by the military regime and its civilian supporters.⁴³

Ballots vs. Bullets

With the U.S. publicly committed to restoring Haitian democracy (while retaining control over the economy), aid is targeted less at relief of suffering than results at the ballot box. In early January, over 2,000 elected offices at the regional and local levels expire. The U.S., through its aid entities, is trying to build a "grass-roots" movement complete with hand-picked "leaders" and local political parties to ensure a favorable result.⁴⁴ In December 1995, when Aristide's term is up, the presidency itself will be the prize.

"Those elections are the insurance policy for our aid," an AID official said.⁴⁵

A large chunk of aid is directly keyed to the elections themselves. A \$24 million Elections Assistance project will help create a powerful council to oversee all elections; "support civic education campaigns by non-governmental organizations," and engage in "political party strengthening, media training and support, mediation" and other activities. Perhaps anticipating cries of "foul," the project is backed by "multilateral donors" with \$4 million coming from non-U.S. sources.⁴⁶

Despite that veneer, U.S. manipulation of the electoral process is fairly blatant. In Hinche, one AID consultant told a visiting delegation that Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, head of the pro-Aristide *Mouvman Peyizan Papay* (MPP) is "out of touch" and "too political" to be involved in the upcoming elections.⁴⁷

38. For more information on PIREd work and other "democracy enhancement" projects in Haiti, see an extensive two-part article, "Democracy Deterred," Pierre Embar, *Haiti Info*, v. 2, n. 12 and n. 13, and various other issues of *Haiti Info*, Canham-Clyne, *op. cit.*, and Robinson, "Low Intensity Democracy," *op. cit.*

39. José de Cordoba, "In The Wings: Aristide Is Returning, But Future May Belong to his Ally Evans Paul," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 14, 1994.

40. Three-page memo presented to a congressional aide in Oct. 1994, so that the congressman could prepare for a meeting with AID's Latin American chief, Mark Schneider.

41. For background on CDS ties to FRAPH and similar activities see *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Mar./Apr., 1994, p. 5, *Haiti Info*, v. 2, n. 9, Jan. 8, 1994; and James Ridgeway, "C'est Plus Ça Change," *Village Voice*, Mar. 1, 1994, p. 14.

42. Meeting on August 3 in Washington attended by a number of development organizations and also Haiti lobbying groups.

43. Letter and report sent by Oxfam America, June 15, 1994.

44. Interview with transition team member, Oct. 11, 1994.

45. Bardacke, *op. cit.*

46. From "AID briefing papers," dated August 31, 1994, and obtained by the author in Oct. 1994.

47. Comment from Office of Transition Initiatives to a mem-

On a national level — side-stepping the fact that with 67 percent of the vote, Aristide personifies Haiti's political center — the U.S. is trying to create its own "moderate center." In May and June, the U.S. ambassador, PIREN, and Marc Bazin — who was supposed to have focused that center in 1990 — hosted a series of meetings of different "centrist" parties and personalities, most of whom were open supporters of the coup and subsequent *de facto* regimes.⁴⁸

The Center for Democracy — headed by CFD president and NED founder Allen Weinstein — takes a slightly different tack. One participant in their mission to Haiti wished "to build an opposition in parliament." Deputy Samuel Madistin said the team was openly looking "to support political groups who supported the coup d'état." The CFD has joined up with the right wing before to meddle in Haitian affairs. Last spring it flew mostly right-wing parliamentarians, including Deputy Robert Mondé, a former *Tonton Macoute* and FRAPH supporter, to Washington. They presented a compromise "parliamentary plan" in which Aristide would make some concessions in return for the resumption of negotiations. The plan was exposed as having originated in the State Department, and Aristide refused to go along.⁴⁹

An Aristide transition team member who has studied the AID briefing papers and talked to representatives of various programs, has a rather glum assessment of the upcoming campaign season. Many of the new AID programs will be run through the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), a new AID-linked institution which is supposed to oversee transitions to "democracy." OTI will work with PIREN, and the Office of International Migration (OIM), which has worked in Haiti for two-and-a-half years helping the INS carry out its extensive asylum interviews. The transition team member sees the OTI and OIM approach as a combination of psychological pressure and thinly

veiled bribery. The representatives come to a town or hamlet, offer funding for "development" projects, and then attempt to influence townspeople in their choice of candidates for the upcoming local and regional elections. They will go so far as to recommend that people from *Lavalas*, the movement that brought Aristide to power, not run for office. AID projects, they explain, would work much better with more "professional" people.⁵⁰

This pressure will undoubtedly be coupled with an increasingly organized presence from the right. If FRAPH does not emerge as a distinct political party, as Constant has promised on several occasions, then it will reinvent itself. In whatever form, it will probably receive funding and support from its traditional sources — the army and the CIA — just as El Salvador's ARENA has for so long. And as in El Salvador and Nicaragua, the paramilitary right may continue to target democratic leaders.

But despite the threat of continued repression from the yet-to-be-disarmed paramilitary forces and the complex dance of cooptation, the president and the democratic and popular movement retains some maneuvering room and still hopes to counterbalance U.S. influence. Recently, the European Union promised at least \$128 million in "long-term development," some of it direct to the government of Haiti; France committed another \$50 million, and the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization announced a new project — together with the Haitian government agriculture ministry — to strengthen local peasant farmers. These programs may help support the government slightly and offset AID's planned decentralized disbursements to handpicked officials and groups.

PSYOPS and Proud of It!

In addition to aid and overtly political projects, the U.S. is also engaging in psychological operations. An official PSYOPS handout from the embassy this fall said their work consists of "planned operations to convey se-

lected information to influence the emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior" of people, organizations or governments, but claims it is "not propaganda, brainwashing or disinformation" since PSYOPS "relies on the truth." Col. Jeff Jones, who heads the mission, said his team has worked in Panama, Somalia, and the Persian Gulf. Their goal is to "contribute to U.S. national interests." He added that his operations "always use persuasion ... first [to] try to teach what this thing called democracy is all about [since] there's not a lot of experience down here."⁵¹

The PSYOPS team has admitted to preparing radio campaigns, taped messages broadcast from tanks and helicopters ("We came to install democracy in this country!", "Stay calm!" and so on), leaflets dropped from the air, songs, posters ("Avoid this!" under a picture of looting, "Friends!" with a picture of a police officer, Haitian and U.S. flags together) and numerous other operations. Tanks blast popular music in the streets and U.S. soldiers are told to interact with the populace.

The overt objectives of the PSYOPS are, among other things, to "discourage Haitian on Haitian violence," encourage "reconciliation," "present a positive image of U.S. intent," and "support the restructuring of the Haitian military."⁵² The underlying goal, said an Aristide aide recently, "is to make the Haitian people see the troops as their saviors. In order for this whole plan to work, they have to break down the anti-Americanism. Then the two states become merged and go forward hand-in-hand for U.S. style democracy and development."⁵³

Next for the Movement?

The most visible and profitable merger is that between the U.S. military and the Haitian business class. Haitian-American Maj. Louis Kernisan of the Defense Intelligence Agency, posted in Haiti from 1989-92, predicted: "You're going to end up dealing with the same folks as before, the five families that run the country, the military and the bourgeoisie."⁵⁴ The smart money, then, is on the occupation

ber of the New England Observers Delegation, Oct. 16, 1994.

48. "New Political Initiative," *Haiti Info*, v. 2, n. 10, June 18, 1994.

49. Pezzullo resigned shortly after. See "State Department Exposed: Aristide Gains Small Victories in Congress, U.N.," *Haiti Info*, v. 2, #12, Mar. 13, 1994, and "The Latest US-/UN-backed Plan for Haiti: A Diplomatic Coup d'Etat In The Making," *The Haiti Public Information Campaign Briefing Paper Series*, Quixote Center (Hyattsville, Md.), Mar. 1994.

50. Haiti has an illiteracy rate of about 85 percent, and because education goes hand-in-hand with economic level or class, the majority of those supporting Aristide and the democratic movement have a lower education level. However, in contrast to what the team member implies, there are many pro-democratic people with high school, junior-college and university level training.

51. Oct. 14, 1994, briefing at USIS, with four-page handout.

52. "PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS — PSYOPS," four-page document handed out at the USIS briefing, Oct. 14, 1994.

53. Meeting with Aristide aide, Oct. 20, 1994, Port-au-Prince.

54. Allan Nairn, "The Eagle Is Landing," *op. cit.*

and its "low intensity" tactics to help control the troublesome population. The modern sector of the business class is already rebuilding, restructuring, reorganizing, and reaping profits. The Mevs family — one of the most outspoken supporters of the coup and the subsequent regimes — has numerous contracts with the occupying forces. It is renting them an industrial park, storing their fuel and leasing land for a weapons depot. They are also in on a huge joint venture with Florida Light and Power to electrify Haiti with a 110-megawatt plant and World Bank-funded power lines.⁵⁵

In the meantime, President Aristide and the *Lavalas* sector, or what could be defined as the reformist strains of the democratic movement, appear to be satisfied with working within the limits imposed by the U.S. So far, there is no sign the government will balk at the structural adjustment guidelines being imposed.

Aristide has endorsed the "democratization" of the economy and is currying favor with the private sector. His ministers speak only of "reconciliation" and "peace," and appear to have forgotten the need for justice and judgement. And when asked why the Aristide government does not expose the high-level U.S. maneuvers and meddling, one close adviser and human rights activist said: "Denounce them, don't denounce them. They're still there. Maybe we can find a way to keep them from taking up all of the terrain."⁵⁶ In October, the Haitian masses got a hint of the lay of the land when the Aristide government announced gasoline would double in price. Workers at two state industries — electricity and the flour mill — have already held massive press conferences to protest privatization and denounce the stalling on anti-corruption reforms.

With or without Aristide and his entourage, however, the democratic and popular movement will continue. Now that there is a temporary break in the targeted repression — which prevented telephone calls and small meetings as well as congresses and demonstrations — many groups are beginning to organize again.

The U.S. military, "development," political, and propaganda apparatus

does not control all elements in Haiti. The population, about 65 percent of which lives outside the major cities, is highly politicized and proud of Haiti's history as the first independent black republic. The culture and language are not easy for the U.S. to penetrate. (The PSYOPS people, for example, had to hire 33 extra linguists.)

Although no open rifts have yet occurred, some development, church, popular and peasant organizations are threatening to fight the new government's neoliberal agenda, and thus break openly with the president. Also, some of the U.S. institutions in Haiti, including AID and PIRE, are being increasingly discredited. There are anti-CDS graffiti and protests in Cité Soleil. Many organizations choose no funding rather than accept U.S. largess.

Despite the continuing danger, leaders and organizations of the democratic and popular movement are beginning to organize and members are returning from exile or hiding. Anti-occupation leaflets and bulletins are circulating. Urban organizers are putting together neighborhood watch committees to protect their areas and carry out their own disarmament. Peasants are meeting in the villages and hamlets. By mid-October, the state university student organizations had emerged and successfully wrested control of five of the 11 faculties from the illegal regime. Long a center of democratic struggle, the university is demanding the autonomy guaranteed in the 1987 constitution.

Although the population at large is still positive or at least ambivalent about the occupying troops, the leaders and organizations of the democratic and popular movement are organizing against the occupation and all that it forebodes. Calling it an "outrage to our pride," the Federation Nationale des Etudiants Haitiens decried the occupation as "nothing more than the logical follow-up to the coup ... against the Haitian popular masses and their arrival on the political scene."⁵⁷

The representative of a popular organization from a small city west of the capital, already targeted for harassment by U.S. troops and for arrests by the Haitian army after a large, pro-

justice demonstration, reminded people:

that the Haitian people, together with the popular organizations, are principal victims of the September 30 coup d'état, because the coup is the endeavor of the pillaging class that is totally opposed to the Haitian masses' will to change. The Haitian people have to be crystal clear that if they want to terminate the coup and bury the *Macoute* system forever, they will have to count first on their own forces and their own arms.⁵⁸

And in its monthly bulletin, an outspoken human rights organization wrote:

A military occupation will always be a military occupation no matter how it is made — with brutal force like in 1915 or sweetly like today. It is always a violation of the rights. A full-grown country has to live and operate as it wants, however it wants. ... We see clearly that the fight for another kind of justice will not be possible with a military occupation. It is a fight against the occupant, a fight for liberty. Remember these words: They never give you liberty as a gift. You have to take it. Liberty is for a people that struggles.⁵⁹ ●

58. Kombit Kòmiflo, press release, Sept. 22, 1994.

59. *Pou Yon Alternativ Jistis* (For A Different Kind of Justice), editorial, n. 37, Oct. 1994.

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55. James Ridgway, "Moving Target," *Village Voice*, Oct. 26, 1994.

56. Interview with human rights monitor and close Aristide associate, Oct. 12, 1994.

57. Press release, Sept. 22, 1994.

where contaminants, they were assured, would be contained. Then they took a spin around the control room where command panels were covered with plastic like a complicated living-room suite in the guests-only parlor.

If suburbs in the middle of the 20th century were, as Lewis Mumford called them, "an asylum for the preservation of illusion,"³¹ Long Island was the monument to false optimism that guarded the portal. While the Brookhaven crew discovered new and saleable ways of using nuclear technology, suburban nuclear families in perfect, pest-free homes found security and privacy in tidy, car-connected, mostly segregated towns.

Forty years on, the illusion has shattered and women are showing the scars of something gone horribly wrong. Before 1945, breast cancer incidence was decreasing. Today it's not.³² And a long list of things Long Islanders were told were safe are suddenly suspect.

Lorraine Pace is one of the women who has lived through the change. Her parents moved to Suffolk County forty years ago, when DDT trucks still visited. The kids would get on bikes and ride behind them in the spray.

"I did whatever the kids did," Lorraine admits, for one short second shy. Until it was banned, she was putting cadmium fungicide on her lawn. This March, Pace testified at an environmental hearing at Stony Brook Hospital and almost caused a riot when her cadmium sample spilled out of its container in a smelly stream from her bag and started eating up the floor wax. Men from hazardous waste control came in with long rubber gloves. "Who knew?" asks Pace. "All we wanted were beautiful green lawns. They increased property values."

Then she found the lump in her breast. Around the same time, she noticed that the sea gulls that used to hammer clam shells on her deck had disappeared.

"Just ten years ago, I had no privacy, what with all the sea gulls and the clambers outside the window." Now Pace looks from her table out across the Great South Bay and both are gone.

"What's killing the clams, now it's killing us," she says.

The highly prized, private, cul-de-sacs like the one on which Pace lives, turn out to have a water circulation problem. Pace keeps rusty water, gathered from her pipes the day of her diagnosis, in a salad-dressing jar in her kitchen above her microwave oven. When she was young, she had yearly

Pace almost caused a riot when her cadmium sample spilled in a smelly stream from her bag and started eating up the floor wax.
"Who knew? All we wanted were beautiful green lawns."

x-ray scans for tuberculosis; she went for shoe-shop fluoroscopies and peered down to watch her bones move in her shoes. She has lived for 40 years downstream from a chemical-releasing factory, drinking Suffolk County water. And for all that time, she's been here, in the immediate vicinity of five functioning nuclear power plants and one research reactor — each one regularly emitting "safe levels" of radiation. She was three when the first atomic bomb exploded into the New Mexico air in 1945. And in the first year after she finally found a lump, Pace was given 60 mammograms.

According to current research, any and all of this could have contributed to the cancer Lorraine is fighting. Traditionalists point to age: More than half of all cases of breast cancer strike women over 50. Age relates to hormones: A majority of malignant tumors show elevated levels of estrogen. Early menstruation, no breast feeding, a family history of breast cancer,

even genetic and cultural factors are popularly targeted suspects.

But more than 30 years ago, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* warned that "genetic deterioration through man-made agents is the menace of our time."³³ In the tradition of Carson, Rosalie Bertell, who has worked for 25 years in cancer research and environmental health, believes the factors so far identified explain less than ten percent of breast cancer cases.

Some scientists, she says, emphasize the threat of estrogenic chemicals, such as those found in some hormone drugs and a wide array of synthetic compounds. Substances containing DDT, certain PCBs, dioxins, heavy metals (such as cadmium, mercury and lead), and some nonbiodegradable detergents have been found to disrupt the endocrine system.³⁴ Settling in fat deposits, they're under heavy suspicion around the world, but their precise role in promoting mammary tumors in women remains unclear.

Another concern is exposure to electromagnetic fields. Electromagnetic radiation (EMR), such as that from power lines, transformers, transmitters, microwaves, and video displays, heats the body and disrupts circadian rhythms related to menstruation and sleep. In the late 1980s, several researchers claimed to find an association between breast cancer and exposure to EMR.³⁵

But apart from heredity, the one proven breast cancer predictor remains exposure to ionizing radiation — the sort emitted in x-rays, fluoroscopy, mammography, other types of radioisotope-scanning, as well as releases from a nuclear reactor or an atomic bomb.³⁶ Alongside external sources such as x-rays or bomb blasts,

31. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformation, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961), p. 494.

32. "The incidence (occurrence) of female breast cancer in the U.S. is steadily increasing: According to the National Cancer Institute, between 1973 and 1989, among women of all ages, breast cancer incidence rose at the rate of 1.7 percent per year (2.1 percent per year among women over the age of 50). "What Causes Breast Cancer," *Rachel's Hazardous Waste News* (Annapolis, Md.), n. 389, May 12, 1994, citing NCI statistics. See also Barry A. Miller and others, eds., *Cancer Statistics Review 1973-89*, pp. IV, XI, and XV.

33. *Silent Spring* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1962), p. 208.

34. *Rachel's Hazardous Waste News*, op. cit.

35. See Paul Brodeur, "The Great Power-Line Cover-Up" (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993.)

36. In the 1960s, an increase in breast cancer was reported among women exposed to radiation for tuberculosis treatment. Of 271 women TB sufferers treated by Nova Scotia physician Ian MacKenzie between 1940-49, 13 developed breast cancer; of 510 female patients not treated with x-rays, only one breast cancer case emerged. Researchers in Massachusetts have even been able to quantify how breast cancers develop in relation to a single rad-dose of radiation. In the 1970s, studies on girls at Hiroshima and Nagasaki showed that girls exposed to the atomic bomb explosion showed an increased incidence of breast cancer in direct proportion to how much radiation they received and at what age: the effect is most damaging on the young and shows up in 20 to 40 years after exposure. Rosalie Bertell, "Breast Cancer and Mammography," *Mothering*, Summer 1992, p. 49.

radioactive substances ingested through contaminated food or water act as internal sources of radiation. Undetected by scanners, this is officially called "low level" radiation. But these isotopes spend life breaking down, causing what Rosalie Bertell calls "microscopic explosions" inside the body. Strontium-90, which is structured in a similar way to calcium, may play a particular role in causing breast cancer. It lodges in bone like calcium. In women, this may involve particular accumulation near the breast.

Nuclear defenders argue that the body is perfectly able to recover from up to 90 percent of the damage caused to the cell structure by radiation whether the source is internal or from the outside. But that leaves at least 10 percent unrecovered. Even a tiny amount of damage can leave a cell unable to reproduce or capable of reproducing in an altered form, says John Gofman. Depending on the cell's type, that can result in immune deficiency, hormone changes, the creation of a tumor, even birth defects.³⁷

"We've known about this for 25 years," says Gofman. "There is massive speculation throughout the medical literature about possible causes of breast cancer such as diet, pesticide residues, and environmental estrogens. But the one proven cause of breast cancer is almost never mentioned."³⁸

"It's time we paid attention," Bertell, a former nun, says quietly. Assaulting living cells with radiation hurts them regardless of its source; it hurts young cells worst and accumulates over time. "Most of the cancer related programs right now are what I would characterize as blame the victim programs, telling people not to smoke or eat fat, or sit in the sun." Bertell would rather see programs that targeted polluters, instead of victims of a polluted environment. "We need to work on a community, not an individual level."³⁹

Which is precisely what Lorraine Pace and her colleagues on Long Is-

land have done. In 1992, Pace initiated the first town survey, plotting tumors on a street plan. Since then, dozens of other women's groups have followed her example. From Huntington to Riverhead, women are leaving their homes to talk to neighbors.

The breast cancer activists better watch out: The nuclear establishment isn't called complex for nothing. In June 1993, the National Cancer Institute began a five-year cancer project to use computer-geographers at Brookhaven to study the overlap between various local environmental hazards. At first, low-level radiation like that from reactors and power plants was not even on the list of suspect substances to be investigated by the NCI. In fact, the only mention of Brookhaven Lab was as a collaborating agency, whose experts are to work with researchers from the NCI. This April, after the reactor fire and the public's reaction, NCI project Director Iris O Abrams agreed that low-level radiation would be included in the investigation. There are still drawbacks:

It has a part-time staff, a budget, and even its own customized stationery that says Long Island Breast Cancer Study Project. But 11 months after the National Cancer Institute created the multimillion-dollar environmental research project under heavy pressure from local activists and Congress, something is still missing: research. No Long Island women have been interviewed about their breast-cancer histories, or have had their blood tested for toxic chemicals. No air, water, dust or soil samples have been collected, and no electromagnetic fields measured.⁴⁰

"We're exceedingly disappointed," said Fran Kritchek, co-president of the Long Island activist group, One in Nine: The Long Island Breast Cancer Action Coalition. "We have a five-year project, and one year is almost down the drain and we haven't seen anything concrete come forth from it."⁴¹ At the same time, the small-area maps being gathered by the women are going to a bio-statistician at Stony Brook who has his own set of nuclear industry ties. Among his other work, Roger

Grimson, who will be assessing the women's laborious surveys, studied cancer clusters at the Nevada Test Site for the DoD, and at Oak Ridge for the DoE. He also worked for Brookhaven in the 1980s studying the Marshallese.

"I'm not going to ignore radiation," says Grimson today. "It's a known carcinogen, and no one knows what's causing breast cancer for sure."⁴²

But the lawyer for the Nevada Test Site workers says watch out. This July, workers there lost a 15-year legal battle for compensation for cancers because the judge refused to believe the illnesses were caused by radiation.

"This whole field is extremely slippery," says Stuart Udall, lawyer for the vanquished Nevada Test Site workers. "The industry's like an octopus running through the medical field."⁴³

Karl Grossman agrees. "The nuclear promoters have always inserted themselves as experts, in the vanguard of telling everyone what is safe," he sighs, from among the mounds of documents that spill off every surface in his small North Shore home.

"Today the folks at Brookhaven will talk about things they have always regarded as absurd, like cancer from power lines, but will they consider radiation which challenges their assumptions? — no."

Elsa Ford and Marsha Clopton, Judy Sturniolo and the rest, are in the position to make a change. Passive pioneers of peacetime radiation, they're also the civilian victims of the nuclear age. Their activism and that of groups like Long Island One in Nine has ignited action in neighborhoods around the country and at the federal level. They also stand a chance to force a re-assessment of years of "safety standards" set by atomic scientists. "It's time we started studying the world as we actually experience it," said Elsa recently over tea. "It's sad," she says, "that people need something ugly like breast cancer before they'll make a change." All around are women for whom the change has come too late. Like the little yellow birds that coal miners use to signal oxygen deficiency, the women of Long Island may turn out to have been canaries in the mine of Standard Man. ●

37. Interview, Apr. 1994.
38. *Ibid.*

39. Interview, Feb. 1994.
40. Interview, Mar. 1994.
41. Interview, Mar. 1994.

42. Interview, Apr. 1994.
43. Associated Press, "Lawsuit by Workers at Nuclear Site fails," July 24, 1994; and interview, July 1994.

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Special Trust Betrayed: Meditations on McFarlane

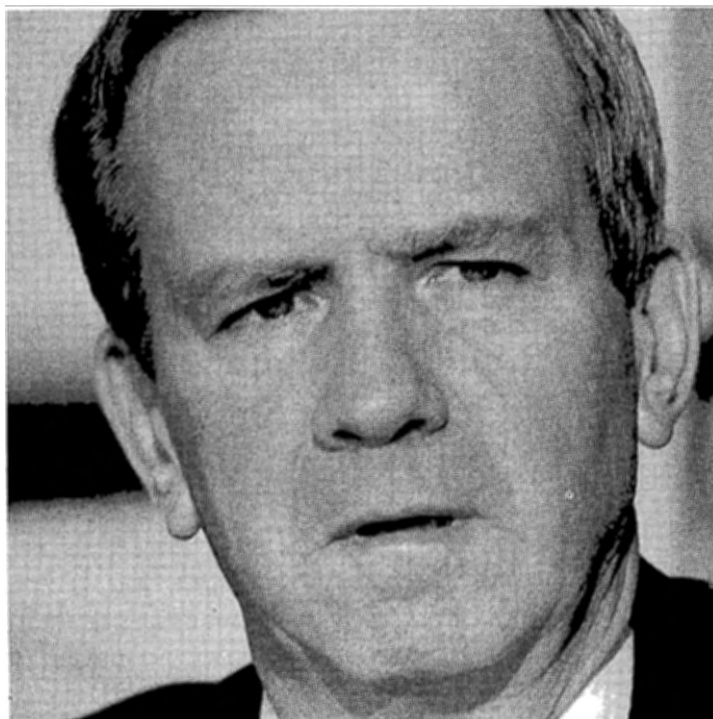
by Doug Vaughan

Special Trust, by Robert C. McFarlane & Sofia Smardz (NEW YORK: CADELL & DAVIES, 1994, appendices, index, 368 pp., \$25.00).

One night in February 1987, a highly respected former government official, depressed by the scandal that enveloped him and his president, tried to kill himself. Robert C. McFarlane, former National Security Adviser to President Reagan, intended what samurai called *seppuku*, ritual atonement for the disgrace he had caused his family, clan and country. But his was a peculiarly American attempt at suicide: Rather than disemboweling himself on his bayonet, the former Marine sipped a glass of wine, swallowed some pills, prayed for forgiveness, crawled into bed, kissed his wife goodnight, and curled up to die. (pp. 8-16.)

Instead he woke up and wrote this book. It is an act of expiation of the shame he justifiably felt for helping launch Iran-Contra, which he sees as a violation of that "special trust" conferred on public servants. It is also a self-serving justification of his role in shaping Reagan-Bush foreign policies. But McFarlane makes partial penance with the brief he brings against his erstwhile coreligionists, and especially with his unrelenting indictment against Oliver North, whom he declared "traitorous" and a "degenerate liar."¹

McFarlane wants to be taken seriously. His tone is bland, monotonous,



Tormented Cold Warrior Bud McFarlane manfully shoulders the guilt—sort of.

NANCY SHIA

self-consciously objective. There are no personal loose ends, no gristle on his bare bones of fact. Describing his suicide attempt, he says, "My actions ... were calm, deliberate, almost mechanical, unaccompanied by fear, regret or second thoughts of any kind. My only vestige of guilt was towards my wife and children." (p. 15.) His effort at self-control conveys a contrary impression: One gets the feeling Bud is still wound a little too tight.

McFarlane's Morality

Although McFarlane devotes considerable space to his upbringing and military and government service, Iran-Contra's labyrinthine plot lines and ethical conundrums (at least for belatedly conscience-ridden Cold Warriors like McFarlane) take up a full third of his memoir. In between sharp

jabs at the Reagan foreign policy inner circle, McFarlane goes to great lengths to rationalize his actions.

One telling incident draws out both McFarlane's sense of morality and its inherent contradictions. He relates a conversation between himself and David Kimche, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. When Kimche subtly suggests that perhaps the Ayatollah Khomeini could be killed, McFarlane very carefully rejects the offer. (pp. 20-21.)

The moral example we are meant to draw from this is McFarlane's rectitude in the face of temptation. But his fastidiousness has to be measured against two standards: First, his own,

as embodied in his pledge to uphold and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States, which bar the use of assassination. While McFarlane apparently didn't okay assassination plots, he did lie to Congress—a lesser crime, but still a crime.

The second standard is convenience: The rule against political murder does not apply to people farther down the totem pole. The law did not stop CIA Director William Casey's vendetta against Hezbollah spiritual leader Sheikh Fadlallah, which led directly to the Phalangist bombing of a Beirut mosque, killing 83 people. Hezbollah's kidnapping of CIA Beirut station chief William Buckley, which had so enraged Casey, also touched off the frantic search-and-rescue operations coordinated by Oliver North that led to the shipments of missiles as ran-

Doug Vaughan is a Denver-based investigative reporter.

som. But McFarlane doesn't even mention the murderous mosque bombing.

Neither do the ghosts of 30,000 dead Nicaraguans nor the 70,000 in El Salvador rise from their mass graves to haunt his conscience. McFarlane's nightmares are selective, conjured from his Manichaeian struggle with his own Great Satan: communism. All lesser conflicts are subsumed within and are mere expressions of the fight against "Soviet imperialism." McFarlane's morality allows for mass murder in the good fight, if not assassination.

McFarlane casts Reagan and Casey, whom he identifies as the secret architect of an insanely counter-productive policy, as well-intentioned dupes of wily Middle East *bazaari* con-men who traded on their heartfelt desire to free the hostages. He doesn't waste much ink on the Shia families destroyed by the Israeli invasion of June 1982; nor does he mention Buckley's role in supporting the Phalange. He does, however, accuse Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger of an unauthorized, "criminally irresponsible" and "treacherous" withdrawal of Marines, which allowed the Phalangists, instigated by the Israelis, to massacre hundreds of Palestinian refugees.

Such is McFarlane's apologia for the genesis of Iran-Contra. McFarlane's insight into policy failures is myopic: He blames Weinberger, but can go no deeper without questioning his own ideological *raison d'être*. That would be *political* suicide.

Shot Down in Flames

The Reagan administration's policy disaster in Lebanon unleashed Ollie North, the prankster-foil to hapless McFarlane in this tragicomedy. Like their nemesis Khomeini, both were on a mission from God. McFarlane at least doesn't wear his medals on his chest, as desk-jockey North did to testify before cameras and Congress. Nor does he wear his religion on his sleeve like the sanctimonious Oliver North, who has been spotted in local Virginia churches talking in tongues.

McFarlane reasonably claims to have been ill-served by his subordinates, Poindexter and North. Poindexter, says McFarlane, dutifully complied when Casey asked them to pursue weapons-for-hostages negotiations with Iran. Both were manipulated and eventually dragged down by

the machinations of the "determined, intelligent, wily" Casey (p. 352), who was conniving enough to use their underling, North, to bypass the official chain-of-command when legality got in his way. McFarlane at first thought his young colleague was merely enthusiastic, but as North's plots thickened, he belatedly began to doubt North's mental stability. When he tried to send Ollie back to the barracks, Marine Corps Commandant P.X. Kelley demurred, also questioning North's sanity.

McFarlane's nightmares are selective, conjured from his Manichaeian struggle with his own Great Satan: communism.

McFarlane's suspicions about North "crystallized into near certainty" (p. 86) after their *opera bouffe* visit to Tehran in May 1986. When McFarlane tried to stop the arms flow to Iran, Casey and North ran an illegal covert operation to divert funds to the Contras. They knew Reagan would approve but could conveniently and plausibly disremember authorizing it. McFarlane, Poindexter and North would take the fall.

Honorable Men?

When Iran-Contra blew up, McFarlane testified to Congress without a grant of immunity. Based largely on that testimony, he was indicted, unlike North, who took the Fifth. After his suicide attempt, McFarlane was the main witness for the prosecution against North, even though he deemed it "unfair to prosecute the most junior subordinate involved. Whatever he did when I was his superior had been my responsibility, and I would do my part to prevent his conviction." (p. 360.)

Thus, at the May 1991 hearing to determine whether North's congressional declarations, given under grant of immunity, had colored the testimony of witnesses, McFarlane said his own testimony had indeed been affected. Despite covering for North,

McFarlane's disgust with his fellow Marine was evident:

Ollie North went scot-free ... The man I had thought was patriotic, self-sacrificing and loyal was revealed to be devious, self-serving, self-aggrandizing and true first and foremost to himself. ... He violated the special trust. It's astounding that today, having relegated Iran-Contra to the shelf of 'ancient history,' he could have the audacity to seek to have that special trust reposed in him again. (pp. 362-63.)

In response, North called McFarlane's book "a pitiful and mean-spirited attempt to glue his broken reputation back together again."² As one of the few Republicans to face defeat in the 1994 elections, Ollie should know about such pitiful attempts. Then again, so should Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh. Walsh's "Final Report" on Iran-Contra concludes that McFarlane, despite having been convicted of perjuring himself to Congress, told the truth to his investigators while the others lied.

Throughout, McFarlane has few good words for his cohorts. Even Reagan comes off as a man of limited intellect who had "no sense of history and no interest in foreign affairs" — a prisoner of his aides' competitive egos and his own soft-headed illusions. McFarlane, naturally, plumps for himself, but his special pleading and ideological tunnel-vision notwithstanding, he deserves some credit.

Still, there is something sanctimonious about the claim to moral superiority implicit in McFarlane's description of his motivations. This is autobiography as theodicy, public policy as justification of the ways of God. Yet, McFarlane alone testified without immunity and, apparently, he alone was capable of feeling the shame that tarnished them all. McFarlane's shame, however, came not from having helped to fashion those misbegotten policies, but because of their spectacular failure. If "success has a thousand fathers, but failure is ever an orphan," McFarlane has written a brief for a paternity suit. ●

1. Reuters, "Reagan security adviser blasts North," Sept. 9, 1994; and *60 Minutes*, Sept. 11, 1994.

2. David Reed, "Va. Senate Race," Associated Press, Sept. 9, 1994.

Off the Shelf:

CAQ'S BOOKS OF INTEREST

The CIA's Greatest Hits

by Tom Zepezauer

(ODONIAN PRESS, 1994, CARTOONS, BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE, INDEX, 96 PP., \$6.00 PB)

This slim volume provides succinct (two-page) introductions to 42 CIA capers or connections, ranging from the Gehlen organization to BCCI and from Angola to Yugoslavia. Zepezauer is not a groundbreaking researcher, but he has compiled an extensive list as well as pointing curious readers to more in-depth literature. *CovertAction* is frequently mentioned as a source of further information.

Zepezauer mentions some events — the assassinations of JFK, RFK, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., for instance — where CIA complicity has not been definitively established, but he has the good sense to avoid dogmatic accusations and instead merely points out the questions, coincidences, and suggestive evidence.

This is not a book that will reveal anything new to serious CIA-watchers. It is, however, a concise, appealingly written introduction to the Agency's misdeeds, as well as an instigation to dig deeper.

The Best of *Granta* Reportage

(PENGUIN, 1994, 424 PP., \$11.95 PB)

Granta, the British literary review shaped like a paperback book, doesn't know that it isn't supposed to do journalism, and we can be thankful for that. This volume brings together 13 of the best pieces of reporting to grace the journal's pages over the years, and nearly all of them are shining examples of journalism as it should be committed.

Most of the pieces offered here escape the boundaries of genre, mixing elements of the essay, on-the-scene re-

porting, and historical synopsis to produce stories that are both informative and a pleasure to read. James Fenton's "The Fall of Saigon" is a masterpiece of engaged reporting, while Ian Jack's digging around on the gunning down of three IRA agents by the British SAS in Gibraltar is a fine example of critical investigative journalism.

Granta's writers report from the world's hot spots — South Africa, Los Angeles, Tiananmen Square, El Salvador, Romania — and while the TV cameras may have moved on, these uniformly insightful stories provide excellent reason to revisit those scenes.

Rebel Radio: 1001 Tales of Radio Venceremos

by José López Vigil, translated by Mark Fried

(CURBSTONE PRESS, 1994, 295 PP., \$19.95 HB)

During the Salvadoran civil war of the 1980s, one of the FMLN rebels' most effective propaganda tools was Radio Venceremos, a clandestine mobile transmitter based in the liberated zones of Morazán province and broadcasting to most of the country, including the capital. This engrossing book tells the story of Radio Venceremos in the words of staffers.

Their stories sometimes read like revolutionary propaganda, but they have the flavor of authenticity. *Rebel Radio* provides a valuable inside account of the history of Radio Venceremos — squabbles, love interests, farce and tragedy, as well as massacres, military sweeps, and divisive political questions.

Certainly one of the highlights of the book — both dramatically and militarily — is the story of Radio Venceremos' crucial role in the assassination of Col. Domingo Monterrosa, the planner of the El Mozote massacre and the great white hope of the gringo military advisers. Monterrosa's death was not only sweet revenge for the rebels, it also severely wounded the Salvadoran army's offensive capability. But the story of Monterrosa is only one among many brought together in this book. For partisans of the rebels, students of guerrilla war, and lovers of adventure, *Rebel Radio* will be a pleasure.

Death Beat: A Colombian Journalist's Life Inside the Cocaine Wars

by María Jimena Duzán

(HARPERCOLLINS, 1994, BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE, 282 PP., \$22.00 HB)

Washed in Gold: The Story Behind the Biggest Money-Laundering Investigation in U.S. History

by Ann Woolner

(SIMON & SCHUSTER, 1994, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 391 PP., \$25.00 HB)

Death Beat and *Washed in Gold* are two recent examples of the journalistic subgenre perhaps best described as "cocaine cops chronicles." This reportorial form shares the conventions of its more established cousin, the crime exposé: Overwhelming reliance on law enforcement sources, a general lack of political context, extensive interviews, strong narrative structure, and gleeful reveling in sensationalistic events.

Such works can be useful, not only for their inadvertent insights into the mentality of the enforcers, but also for their scrutiny of the drug trade's dark corners. Duzán, a Colombian journalist with family ties to the national elite, brings a unique, privileged perspective on the political violence surrounding the drug trade. But her position is her weakness as well as her strength: She is, for the most part, unable to see past her class. Peasants gunned down by army/drug trafficker death squads bring only perfunctory laments; the story is different when her upper class friends and relatives are victimized. Still, Duzán's account remains a valuable look at the impact of the drug wars on Colombian politics and society.

Woolner, an Atlanta journalist, focuses on the DEA's investigation of *La Mina*, the largest money-laundering ring uncovered so far. Privy to law enforcement sources and records, Woolner follows the DEA's climb to the top of the Colombian drug trafficking ladder as the investigation unfolded. She provides a case study of the making of an informant, and details the petty rivalries of competing law enforcement agencies. The *La Mina* bust stopped a multi-million dollars a month operation, but had no apparent impact on the larger trade. Woolner doesn't address this awkward fact.

War of Numbers: An Intelligence Memoir

by Sam Adams

(STEEFORTH PRESS, 1994, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 251 PP., \$22.00 HB)

The Tet Offensive marked a crucial point in the Vietnam War: the U.S. government's loss of political will. Tet was by no means a military victory for the Viet Cong and NVA, both of which sustained heavy casualties in the fighting, but the fact that the Vietnamese were able to launch a coordinated, nationwide offensive effectively destroyed any illusion of a "light at the end of the tunnel."

Sam Adams' memoir of his career as a CIA intelligence analyst specializing in Vietnam centers on just how the U.S. government arrived at enemy strength estimates — guesses that, according to Adams (and the evidence of Tet itself), severely undercounted Viet Cong numbers. Adams tells a tale of deliberate undercounting by military analysts prodded by commanders who wanted to make the war effort look good. Coupled with bureaucratic infighting among the agencies involved and within the CIA, the deceptive counts led the U.S. public down the primrose path and U.S. soldiers to their deaths, says Adams.

Sam Adams should be a familiar name to students of the CIA and Vietnam; his charges were first aired in *Harper's* in 1975 and later became the basis for a CBS documentary blaming Gen. William Westmoreland for the funny numbers. Westmoreland in turn sued both CBS and Adams for libel, but dropped his suit just before trial. Westmoreland's suit, however, made possible the release of thousands of documents substantiating Adams' claims. Adams was at work incorporating the new evidence into his memoirs when he died suddenly in 1988. This volume was stitched together from Adams' work in progress.

Better Than Sex: Confessions of a Political Junkie Trapped Like a Rat in Mr. Bill's Neighborhood

by Hunter S. Thompson

(RANDOM HOUSE, 1994, PHOTOS, 246 PP. \$23.00 HB).

Hunter S. Thompson has a well-deserved and carefully cultivated

reputation as a deranged, whiskey-guzzling, dope-sucking, gun-loving political junkie. So, who better to write about the ugliness of contemporary U.S. politics?

From his vantage point as contributing editor to *Rolling Stone*, Thompson once again turns his bloodshot eye on the uniquely American ritual of debasement and degradation known as the presidential election campaign. Thompson interviews candidate Clinton — a strange and disturbing piece of reportage — at Doe's Cafe in Little Rock, exchanges barbs with James Carville, and faxes bizarre suggestions to George Stephanopoulos, all in his trademark hot-wired style.

How should progressives read Clinton? Thompson relates the tale of the old woman who finds a wounded, poisonous snake and nurses it back to health only to have it savagely attack her, laughing at her betrayed and horrified questions: "Lady, you knew I was a snake when you first picked me up."

Thompson has grown old and tired — he says this will be his last book on politics — and has a hard time sustaining the manic pace of earlier work. Still, gems like "Chapter 666: The Death of Richard Nixon" shine with a malevolent splendor and sucker-punch directness — a refreshing antidote to the fulsome soliloquies trotted out by the political class on Nixon's death.

There are no charts and graphs in Thompson's work, no surveys, no careful and measured analysis. But his deranged screeds go to the sordid underbelly of U.S. politics. How can any textbook get closer to the nub of things than Thompson's description of high-stakes, hard-ball campaign pros as having "the ethics of a weasel on speed"?

The Uses of Haiti

by Paul Farmer

(COMMON COURAGE PRESS, 1994, ENDNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 432 PP., \$14.95 PB)

Haiti is slipping from the front pages, but in the wake of the U.S. invasion and Aristide's restoration, the country has entered a critical period. Who will control the new government? The U.S.? The "morally repugnant elite"? The military? The popular organizations? The World Bank?

Paul Farmer, an Assistant Professor at Harvard Medical School who

spent the last decade doctoring and doing research in Haiti, has written a book that provides a reply to decades of misrepresentation of Haiti in academia, government, and the mainstream media. Farmer is impassioned and engaged, and the scope of his work is impressive. He surveys Haitian history from Columbus to the present, taking pains to contrast the "official" version of events with history from the Haitian perspective.

Farmer's approach is not only eye-opening but extremely useful; in some respects it is a case study of deliberate distortion in U.S. foreign policy-making, from the craven rhetoric of government spokespeople to the one-sidedness of the *New York Times'* Howard French. For readers searching for information on Haiti that is clear, accurate, and timely, this book is indispensable.

As an added bonus, Noam Chomsky contributes an introduction. In his inimitable style, Chomsky slashes and burns his way through the lies and prevarications of the last few years of U.S. discourse on Haiti. Between Chomsky and Farmer, no reader will ever be able unblinkingly to swallow official and press accounts of Haitian reality again.

Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Post-Communist Eastern Europe

by Paul Hockenos

(ROUTLEDGE, 1994, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 330 PP., \$17 PB).

This updated paperback edition of Hockenos' groundbreaking 1993 work is an extremely readable and important survey of the rightist renaissance taking shape across Eastern Europe. With chapters on the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Romania, and Poland, *Free to Hate* places rightist trends within each country's history and political culture, as well as situating them within a broader regional process.

Hockenos examines recent outbreaks of political violence — usually motivated by race or ethnicity — and analyzes not only the events leading up to the violence, but also the responses of police, government officials, intellectuals, and common people.

The ugly specter of reactionary nationalism is raising its head in Eastern Europe, from spectacular anti-for-eigner skinhead violence in Germany

to ethnic bloodletting in Romania and vicious anti-Semitic diatribes in Hungary. Hockenos has interviewed ultra-right leaders and foot soldiers, delved into the primary sources, and brought his considerable journalistic and analytical talents to bear in providing the best English language look at the disturbing new politics of Eastern Europe.

Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media

(ZEITGEIST FILMS LTD., 1994, 166 MINUTES [TWO CASSETTES], \$59.95)

World Orders Old and New

by Noam Chomsky

(COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1994, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 311 PP., \$24.95 HB.)

As Rush Limbaugh, Newt Gingrich and company haunt our TV screens, a nagging question haunts our minds: Where is Chomsky? America's leading dissident intellectual is alive and well, thank you, though you wouldn't know it from perusing the mass media. Undeterred by *de facto* media blacklisting, the irrepressible Chomsky continues his lonely quest for truth, understanding, and radical critique of U.S. power, at home and abroad.

World Orders is not a slim distillation of Chomsky's work; it is a detailed,

demanding, but ultimately rewarding analysis of a half-millennium of capitalist growth and imperial domination. Based on a series of lectures at the American University in Cairo, the volume combines the broad sweep of history with impeccable attention to detail.

In one chapter, Chomsky pulls apart the mythology of the Cold War and redefines that era as just another chapter in the never-ending war of the rich on the poor. In another, he dissects the growth and dominance of "business" in the U.S., and in a third, he describes the Middle East as the locus of a new colonialism.

Throughout, Chomsky pulls together an abundance of up-to-date information and a vigorous, original perspective to produce a remarkable reinterpretation of the capitalist era.

And for those seeking a more accessible look at Chomsky's thought, the award-winning and eye-opening *Manufacturing Consent* is now available on videocassette. Focused on Chomsky's tightly-reasoned critique of the media, and featuring appearances by Bill Moyers, Michel Foucault, and Tom Wolfe, among others, *Manufacturing Consent* is a call for "intellectual self-defense" in the face of a skewed media and political culture. In this video, Chomsky provides the ammunition needed to heed that call.

School of Assassins

(MARYKNOLL WORLD PRODUCTIONS, 1994, SUSAN SARANDON, NARRATOR, 18 MINUTE VIDEO, \$16.95).

On November 15 and 16, seven fasting protesters at the U.S. Army School of the Americas (SOA) were arrested after chaining and locking SOA's gates and throwing blood on a headquarters sign. The action was only the latest act in an ongoing campaign to shut down the school. This video explains why SOA has attracted such unwanted attention.

From its opening image — a shovel scraping dirt from a shallow grave containing the bodies of four murdered American nuns in El Salvador — *School of Assassins* is quick to draw the gruesome connections between SOA and Latin American military officers responsible for some of the hemisphere's worst human rights violations. The video shows the aftermath of massacre after massacre and, in each case, documents that most officers involved were SOA alumni.

SOA has trained more than 55,000 Latin American military personnel, and some of them have constituted the upper reaches of the region's many murderous dictatorships. *School of Assassins* is a cogent and powerful weapon in the effort to shut down SOA. This work deserves a wide audience. ●

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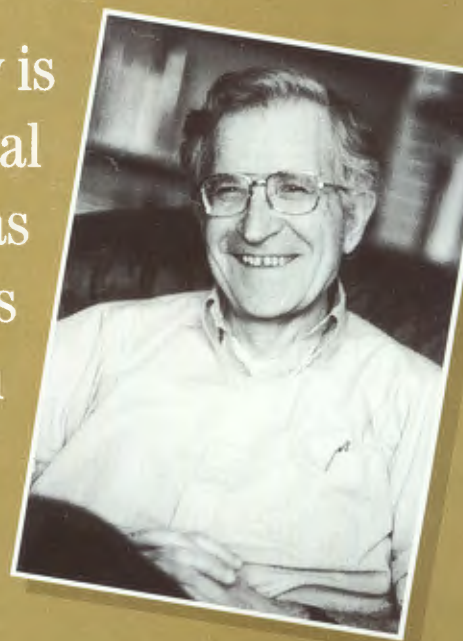
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