

# CovertAction

Q U A R T E R L Y

FAR-RIGHT THREATS:  
NEO-NAZI ABORTION ZEALOTS  
& CITIZEN MILITIAS

## GENOCIDE in Rwanda: U.S. COMPLICITY BY SILENCE

— by Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal —

**California Über Alles:**  
Proposition 187

—Mike Davis

**Rise of Citizen Militias:**  
Angry White Guys  
with Guns

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**Neo-Nazis Salute the  
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**Trawling the Internet**

—Wendell Minnick



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# Flip Burgers or Die

**A**ngry white guys have been complaining a lot lately that they are an oppressed group. Until the Newt Congress, it was too easy to dismiss this rage, both as silly (after all, white guys rule the world), and as harmless (displays of political chest thumping and boy bonding around sports or guns.) No more. These guys are dangerous and armed, some literally, some with a hatred so acid it consumes the fabric of society. Although the media hype would have us believe that this vocal minority represents all white men, according to polls, most people in this country support social programs far more progressive and compassionate than those passed by the current Congress.

But at the same time, politicians and the media are manipulating a very real and growing undercurrent of rage and alienation to justify their agenda. And it is not as if some white guys don't have reason to be mad. While it is certainly clear that those who dominate most of the industrialized world are white and male, still, most white guys are relatively poor, alienated, and powerless. And why not. They are part of a system that ensures inequity not only of circumstance but of opportunity. True, they are its most privileged part, but the world is changing. The advantages they saw as their God-given right are drying up at the same time as women and people of color are demanding their fair share.

It's quite a shock to these guys who were schooled in the myth that their skin/gender/religion entitled them to grow up to be president — or at least, to a stable upwardly mobile job, a house, an education for the kids, and a decent retirement. Now they have lost faith that they will be better off than their fathers and they fear their children will be worse off still.

They are starting to see the world as those not privileged by gender and race have long seen it. It's a lousy, limited view; no wonder they are not smiling. And even as they look out on it, the paths leading up to the American dream are being constricted or closed off. The U.S. is de-industrializing. High-pay low-skill jobs like those that brought a generation of male industrial workers into the middle class are being automated or exported to the Third World for \$3 a day. Higher education — another road out paved by the GI bill and student loan programs — is now priced beyond the range of all but the very comfortable, and even then is no guarantee for the future. The majority of new jobs are in the low-pay low-status service sector. These angry white guys fear their future will be: Flip burgers or die. This belief feeds a vast emptiness neither consumer goods, brain-deadening television, nor the bosom of the nuclear family can fill.

So they are pissed, these white guys, and who can blame them.

The problem is whom they can blame. With the new Congress piling on fuel, this white male anger is an engine aimed at people of color, immigrants, women, the disabled, gays and lesbians. Those who stand in its path are in danger of being mowed down. Those who don't, risk becoming "good Germans."

The pattern of scapegoating is all too familiar. The politicians and mainstream media have successfully diverted attention from the fundamental problems, the ones that disadvantage all races and genders (but least of all white men): This country has a political economy incapable of supporting full employment; the distribution of wealth is already one of the most disparate in the world, and it is increasingly concentrated in a few elite hands; the environment is a toxic shrine to corporate greed and government expedience; the legal system imprisons the poor and rewards corporate thieves and killers; and the political system is run by elites for elites. The politicians and media, along with the Christian right, distract the victims from these systemic flaws with a well-honed technique: They assume a pose of self-righteous innocence and point at scapegoats. The current atmosphere is redolent of the misogyny, racism, anti-Semitism, and homophobia that the politicians, media, and Christian right have used to their advantage. So what else is new?

Well, recently a whiff of fascism has begun to foul the air. The rise of citizen militias willing to avenge perceived grievances with guns (p. 20); the passage of Prop 187 and attacks on affirmative action (p. 15); and links between neo-Nazi movements and anti-abortion fanatics (p. 26) speak of profound alienation and a search for someone to blame. The angry white guy lashes out against affirmative action (women and African Americans took his job, his prospects); he demands immigration and welfare "reform" (foreigners and welfare cheats stole his tax dollars, created the deficit); excoriates big government (without its interference, he would be free to prosper); denounces abortion (women who make choices rob him of domination in the one arena in which he may be able to exercise control — the family).

These angry white men believe they can stay above water by standing on the backs of those even more victimized than they. Instead, they need to recognize who really benefits from the current distribution of wealth and rights. Unless they do, and help pull the plug on a fundamentally unjust system, everyone may drown in the greed and hatred that serves the few. ●

*Cover Photo: Rwandan refugee camp.*

*CAQ apologizes to Carol Halebian for not crediting her for the cover photo on the Winter 1994-95 issue.*

**CAQ welcomes *Lies of Our Times* readers and hopes you find CAQ interesting and useful. Please contact us with comments and suggestions.**



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# Covert Briefs

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATT WUERKER

## With a Defense Like That

Perhaps it's a good thing that Clarence Thomas — well-named *Strange Justice* by the Mayer-Abramson book — is best-known on the court for keeping his mouth shut. After the hearings in which Anita Hill detailed Thomas' proclivities for porno, puerile sex talk, and sexual harassment, Clarence had a heart-to-heart with his mom, Leona quoted in the *New York Review of Books*. She recounted how her boy defended himself:

"Mama, what kind of woman do I like?" asked Thomas, "... what color was Kathy [his first wife, part Japanese]?"

"She was brown."

"And the others?"

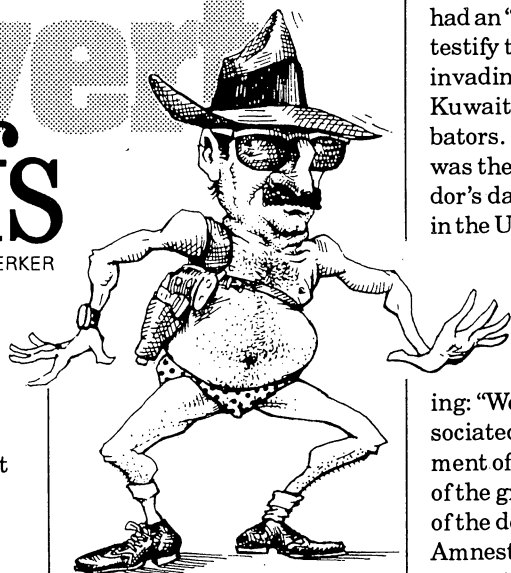
"They've all been light-skinned, too."

"Right. So what would I want with a woman as black as Anita Hill?"

His mother, by the way, is dark-skinned.

## Trick and Treat

So, Oscar Wilde was at a posh gathering and the conversation turned to what people would do for money. "Would you sleep with someone for money?" Wilde asked his bejeweled hostess. "Oh no!" she winced. "Well," asked Wilde slyly, "How about if he offered you a million pounds?" "Possibly," she allowed. "And for two shillings?" queried Wilde. The matron puffed with indignation, "Sir, what do you think I am?"



"Madam," said Wilde, "we have already established what you are; we are merely haggling over price."

It is a story not likely to draw chuckles at a gathering of PR hacks. After Indonesian government troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in East Timor, killing several hundred people (see *CAQ*, Spring 1992), the giant PR firm Hill and Knowlton worried about its ability to spin control the bad PR. "We specifically backed away from that issue," said Tony Whittingham who had handled H&K's Indonesia account for eight years while the firm defended numerous government-sponsored massacres. Whittingham said he "racked his brain" before deciding "it was not in our interest as a firm to take on an issue like this. It would have made us look venal, like the kind of organization that would take on anything for a buck."

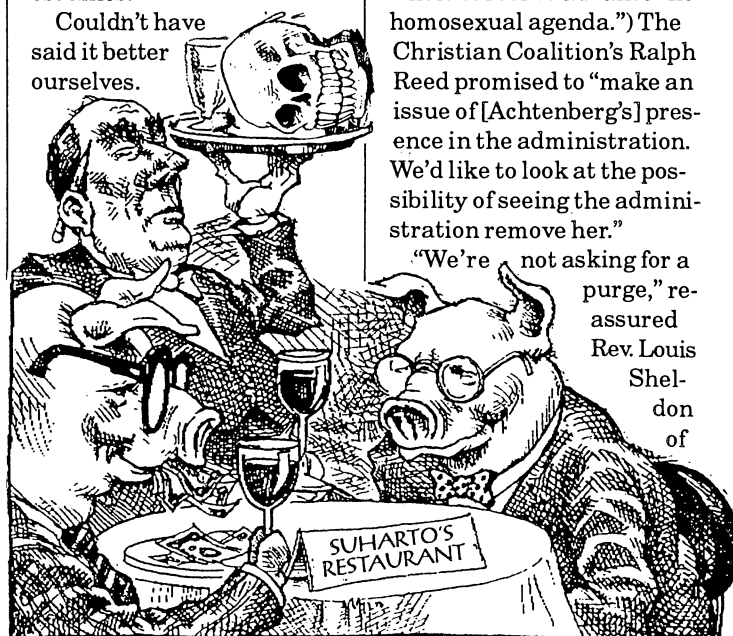
Other firms were less squeamish than H&K, which was distracted with its own damage control after the firm was caught fabricating testimony before Congress. (To help rouse Gulf war fever for its client,

the Kuwaiti regime, H&K had an "anonymous" woman testify that she witnessed invading Iraqi troops dump Kuwaiti babies out of incubators. It turned out she was the Kuwaiti ambassador's daughter, was living in the U.S., and the "atrocities" never happened.)

Burson-Marsteller's Patrick Ford stepped into H&K's breach, announcing: "We are proud to be associated with the government of Indonesia. It is one of the great success stories of the developing world." Amnesty International estimates that during Indonesia's 19-year occupation of East Timor, the regime "successfully" wiped out 20,000 East Timorese, abused human rights workers, and shut down media critical of U.S.-backed Pres. Suharto.

Washington-based KCM International is also apparently willing to take on anything for a buck, or in this case an annual 460,000 bucks. Says KCM's Vincent Coates, Jr., "If the U.S. were to apply the standards [that have been applied to Indonesia] to every country, we'd probably have trouble with some of the U.S.'s closest allies."

Couldn't have said it better ourselves.



## Three Strokes and You're Out

The Christian right has revived the campaign it aborted when Clinton fired Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders and has taken aim at Nashville obstetrician-gynecologist, Henry Foster, her potential successor. The get-Elders campaign had only entered the foreplay stage before Clinton went flaccid and terminated the surgeon general. Even in its embryonic stage, the right's witch hunt had spawned bumper stickers, a petition drive, and a massive muster of Christian media outlets. Rep. Cliff Stearns (R-Fla.) had already gathered 87 signatures for a sense-of-the-Congress resolution calling for Elders' resignation.

Now Foster tops the Christian right's hit list, but he is not alone.

Until his nomination loosed the scent of blood, the conservative sharks were circling HHS head Donna Shalala and starting to nibble on openly gay Housing official Roberta Achtenberg (whom Jesse Helms described as "not your garden-variety lesbian. She's a militant-activist-mean lesbian, working her whole career to advance the homosexual agenda.") The Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed promised to "make an issue of [Achtenberg's] presence in the administration. We'd like to look at the possibility of seeing the administration remove her."

"We're not asking for a purge," reassured Rev. Louis Sheldon of

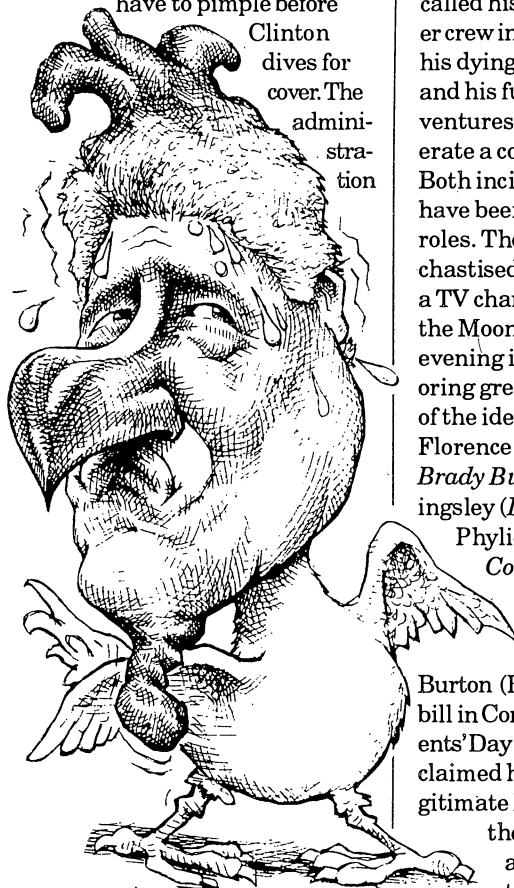


the Traditional Values Coalition. "If you do that, it becomes mean spirited." Rather, he said of the Elders firing, "We created the groundswell that led to her losing her job."

## Helms to Pay

Now the ground doesn't even have to pimple before

Clinton dives for cover. The administration



told James Hormel, who expected to be ambassador to Fiji, that his name will not be submitted to the Senate for confirmation because Clinton "wants to avoid a possible fight over homosexuality" with Foreign Relations Committee Chair Jesse Helms (R-N.C.). Hormel, the San Francisco meatpacking heir, philanthropist, and Democratic Party stalwart, would have been the U.S.'s first openly gay ambassador.

## Clinical Schizophrenia

Whoever the new surgeon general is, his or her first act should be to order psychiat-

ric examinations for some of this country's conservatives. The way they confuse fact and fantasy leads one to wonder if being out of touch with reality is a prerequisite for a leadership position in the right wing. Setting a high standard of loopiness, Ronald Reagan vividly recalled his stint with a bomber crew in WWII when he held his dying buddy in his arms, and his further excellent adventures when he helped liberate a concentration camp. Both incidents turned out to have been Grade-B movie roles. Then Dan Quayle chastised Murphy Brown — a TV character. Last year, the Moonies presented an evening in Washington honoring great fictional parents of the ideological '50s:

Florence Henderson (*The Brady Bunch*), Barbara Billingsley (*Leave It to Beaver*), Phylicia Rashad (*The Cosby Show*), and Harriet Nelson (*Ozzie and Harriet*). When Dan Burton (R-Ind.) introduced a bill in Congress to make Parents' Day official, critics claimed he was trying to legitimate Moon's belief that the Rev. and his wife are the "True Spiritual Parents of all

Mankind." Moon, owner of the right-wing *Washington Times*, who served a year in jail for income tax fraud, considers himself the son of God.

Now, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Texas) has denounced the Henry Foster nomination on ABC's *This Week*, by suggesting instead "a Dr. Welby, M.D., who can work with every element of American society." Noted David Brinkley: "He's not running."

## Bordering on Insanity

Those pessimists who predicted that NAFTA wouldn't create U.S. jobs were wrong. At least one sector is booming in the wake of the new

U.S.-Mexico alliance. On Jan. 8, soon after the peso and

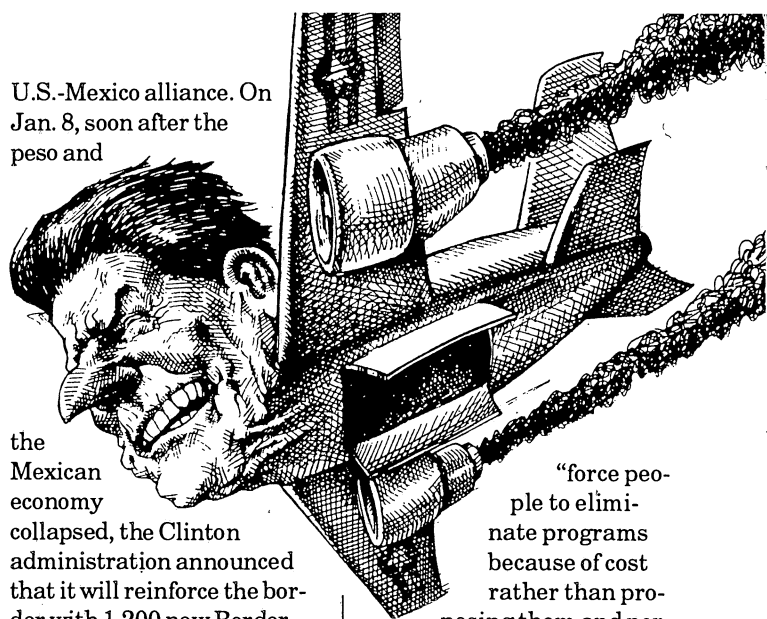
the Mexican economy collapsed, the Clinton administration announced that it will reinforce the border with 1,200 new Border Patrol agents, INS inspectors, and other personnel. The INS, already granted an unprecedented 25% budget increase by the 1993 Crime Bill, is growing like mold on month-old bread. Rep. Lamar Smith (R-Texas) plans to reintroduce a 1993 bill, co-sponsored by Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), that would raise the number of Border Patrol agents to 10,000, double the total mandated by Clinton's additions.

And then, perhaps the U.S. can hire the jobless to line up along the West Coast to hold back what Robert Perito, the State Department's coordinator for the prevention of alien smuggling, called "the tidal wave of Chinese alien smuggling which is breaking against our shores."

## OxyMoron

If an interview with the new chair of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is any indication, putting Rep. Larry Combest (R-Texas) in charge of intelligence gives new meaning to the word oxymoron. In an interview in the *Washington Post* headlined "A 21st Century Intelligence Test," Combest flunked.

The man is a little syntactically challenged. "Budget-driven choices," he says,



"force people to eliminate programs because of cost rather than proposing them and perhaps doing something else that already is being done."

For a man overseeing a \$28 billion budget, his grasp of math and planning is also a bit shaky. "Some projects may be needed ten years from now," he says, "and they may need five years to complete, so we need to start on them now."

He bemoaned "negative publicity" given spooks. There were headlines on the World Trade Center bombing, he said, but when the FBI prevented other bombings in New York, "That didn't get a lot of attention because it didn't happen."

But the Rep. does have a flair for vivid images. Noting Gen. Michael Carns' nomination for DCI, Combest said, "There is a real need for somebody to sink their teeth into the intelligence area and come forward and start dealing with it." And he lamented Woolsey's ouster. "They left him dangling out there." Perhaps by the teeth he too sank into the intelligence area.

## Calling a Spade a Silver Spoon

Says *Washington Post* deputy editorial page editor Stephen S. Rosenfeld about the Russian proclivity for intervention: "Let us stipulate that it comes naturally to a

# Arrest This Man

## ACCUSED CORPORATE KILLER OF BHOPAL FOUND

Warren M. Anderson  
111 South Catalina Ct.  
Vero Beach, Florida 32963



**W**arren Anderson is wanted by the Bhopal, India District Court for his role in causing one of the world's worst industrial disasters ten years ago. The December 1984 release of toxic gases from Union Carbide's Bhopal pesticide plant killed as many as 10,000 and injured hundreds of thousands of Bhopal residents. Former Union Carbide CEO Anderson was arrested in Bhopal, let out on bail, and later charged by India's Central Bureau of Investigation with culpable homicide.

The Bhopal court asked the Indian government to extradite, but the State Department says it has received no such request, and Indian diplomatic sources confirmed no request for his extradition has been forwarded to the U.S. Justice Department.

Judge Gulab Sharma of the Bhopal court also published a legal notice in the *Washington Post* on January 1, 1992, notifying Anderson that he had absconded from justice and ordering him to appear in court. He stated that since Anderson could not be found, the fugitive could not be served with an arrest warrant. Union Carbide won't release Anderson's address. On Feb. 23, CAQ notified Anderson of our story. He refused comment. His lawyer, Raymond Bergan, said on Mar. 9 that "within the last 10 days," he had notified the Dept. of Justice in writing that Anderson was available "anytime they want" to receive a warrant. Now, let justice be done. •

country with a long geopolitical reach (the United States) or an old imperial habit (Russia) to assign neighborhood intervention rights to the metropolitan power."

### Stay the Course and Plug the Leaks

No one can say that the CIA has failed to change in the bilgeous wake of the Aldrich Ames spy case. A Jan. 5 internal memo informed em-

ployees that future lie detector tests will ask if they discussed matters with uncleared U.S. or foreign citizens. The memo specifically mentioned the news media. "That's the first time we will be regularly tested about talking to the press," one employee said.

### What's Good for Uncle Sam

For those worried that U.S. aid programs throw tax dol-

lars down a "rat hole," as some of AID's conservative critics delicately refer to the Third World, rest easy. This January, AID head Brian Atwood informed the International Development Conference that the aid money is targeted to serve U.S. business interests. It was not always so, he claimed, referring to some mythical past altruism before Americans grew "tired of sacrificing for people in distant lands. ... [W]e seek to open new opportunities for American commerce. We must deal with the conditions that create instability if we are to practice preventive diplomacy."

But dangers lurk for the U.S. "Disease, food shortages, and poverty will cause more migration and more instability," he said. "Now more than ever we need a strong institution capable of addressing those threats."

### Headline of the Month

From the *Washington Post* while the Russians were leveling Chechnya: "U.S. Is Hoping the Real Yeltsin Will Reappear." What? The one who stormed the elected Parliament, or the one who created new and enlarged security organizations? On Dec. 2, Yeltsin launched his bodyguard force — newly quintupled to 4,000 men — on a military-style raid on Most, a group of companies that owns media critical of the other Yeltsin.

### Where Is He Now?

R. James Woolsey may have lost his job at the CIA, but he's still promoting the interests of the defense establishment. In January he got in touch with Stephen Pollak at Washington, DC's Shea & Gardner where he had represented major defense contractors before his botched tenure as chief spook. He was invited back as a partner.

William Colby is still hawking his "insider" credentials to the highest bidder. His ventures include an overpriced newsletter, a CD-ROM adventure game, and now you can hire him as a tour guide. For only \$10,000, the ex-CIA head will let you join a "high level investment fact finding tour" of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Singapore and share his "fascinating insider's perspective." Canings extra.

### Pelican Bay Update

The summer 1993 CAQ detailed the consistent pattern of civil and human rights violations at California's maximum security prison, Pelican Bay. In a class action suit on behalf of inmates, Judge Thelton Henderson found in January 1995 that prison officials are not simply indifferent to beatings and other abuses; they "follow a management strategy to permit the use of excessive force for the purpose of punishment and deterrence." Furthermore, guards who report brutality "risk reprisals from Pelican Bay officials." The judge found that the prison's Special Housing Unit (SHU) imposes such isolation and sensory deprivation that it "may press the outer bounds of what most humans can psychologically tolerate" and is likely to cause trauma in most prisoners.

Astonishingly, though he called for reform, Henderson ruled that the SHUs can continue to lock inmates down in small cells for all but 90 minutes a day with no human contact, and that such confinement is not cruel and unusual punishment.

He's half right anyway. With 1,500 inmates in Pelican Bay's SHUs and thousands more in similar facilities around the country, the punishment is hardly unusual. •

—Terry Allen

# U.S. COMPLICITY BY SILENCE

# Genocide in Rwanda

by Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal



A year ago, Rwanda did not figure on the horizon of U.S. foreign policy; strategic and commercial interests in the little central African country were insignificant. No State Department mandarin had made a career out of shining at the Rwanda desk; no diplomat savored a posting to Kigali. It is questionable even whether the U.S. ever had a "policy" toward Rwanda.

On April 6, 1994, Hutu extremists unleashed a genocide in which perhaps 800,000 people were murdered in one hundred days. Before, during, and after the meticulously planned slaughter, ac-

tions by the U.S. government were a highly significant factor in the unfolding of events. And the effects of those actions were almost universally malign.

The U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda, David Rawson, played a key role. In the absence of higher directives, the positions taken by this single man came to have a grossly disproportionate impact. The sympathy and support he showed for former President Juvénal Habyarimana and his coterie of extremists was no accident. They reflect the way a number of European organizations — primarily Belgian Catholic groups — played a similar game, with even more disastrous consequences.

The genocidal maniacs who ruled Rwanda chose an opportune moment to

launch their "final solution." In April, powerful individuals in the U.S. government were actively rewriting the rules of international politics. They implemented changes that went beyond merely revising the ground rules for peacekeeping so that the dispatch of United Nations troops to the world's trouble spots would be almost impossible. They knowingly stood by while genocide occurred. By this inaction, they systematically began to unravel the great achievements of humanitarian law of this century — most of them gained in the period 1945-51 by men and women driven by the visceral shock of Auschwitz and Dresden. The genocide in Rwanda — one of the greatest crimes against humanity in the second half of

Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal are co-directors of African Rights, a human rights organization based in London, 11 Marshalsea Rd., London SE1 1EP.  
Photo: Refugees from Rwanda in Goma, Zaire, 1994.



the twentieth century<sup>1</sup> — was an ironically opportune moment for these revisionists to stake their claim.

Rwanda is a tiny country of only 26,000 square kilometers (about the size of Maryland) but a pre-genocide population of seven million. Known as “the land of a thousand hills,” it has a balmy climate with excellent soil. In the late 1980s, one of Africa’s most promising economies began to slide, accompanied by authoritarian politics. President Habyarimana, avowing a policy of ethnic “balance” that supposedly allotted school places and jobs according to the national ratio of 85 percent Hutu and 15 percent Tutsi, was in fact a Hutu supremacist who reserved the spoils of Rwanda’s wealth for his own family.

In 1990, Rwandan exiles in neighboring Uganda formed the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) and invaded, plunging the country into civil war and a vicious cycle of human rights abuse. By 1992, there had been several large-scale massacres, and political assassinations were commonplace. International investigations concluded that responsibility lay in the president’s office.<sup>2</sup> But in mid-1993, it seemed as though an internationally mediated peace agreement would bring the country back from the brink. The government, the RPF, and civil opposition parties (almost all of the latter Hutu-led) signed a set of Accords in Arusha, Tanzania, that appeared to provide a model for transition to democracy.

### The Ungodly Missionary Legacy

It was around this time, in 1993, that David Rawson, after a stint in Somalia (1986-88), became U.S. ambassador to Rwanda. He was no stranger to U.S. complicity in slaughter or to the region itself. In 1988, when he was deputy

chief of mission in Somalia, the U.S. delivered \$1.4 million worth of arms to the dictator, Siad Barre. The June 28, 1988 shipment, part of broad U.S. support for the regime, arrived precisely at the time Barre’s army was waging indiscriminate warfare against the Issac clan family. Barre used the weapons in the early summer campaign in which 10,000 were killed, a half million were made



refugees (out of a population of 1.5 million), and two cities leveled.<sup>3</sup> So Rawson, from his post at the U.S. embassy, could be deemed something of an expert on crimes against humanity.

Nor was the Somalia post his first experience in the region; he had grown up as a child of Protestant missionaries in Burundi. Speaking Kirundi and some Kinyarwanda, Rawson claimed special insight into the politics and society of Rwanda and Burundi. But his background also left him captive to the politics of missionary Christianity in the region. In order to understand his sympathy for Hutu extremism, it is necessary to delve into the extraordinary way in which Rwandese society is a product of a century of Christian evangelism. In particular, the bizarre racist ideology that passes under the bland name “Hutu extremism” is the bastard offspring of nineteenth century European racial theories, refracted through missionary teachings.

For a century, the most powerful force shaping Rwandese society has been the White Fathers order of the Roman Catholic Church. The missionaries had arrived in the 1880s and staked

their religious claim in the German colony Ruanda-Urundi. In 1919, as part of the Versailles Treaty, Rwanda was awarded to Belgium as a League of Nations trust territory. Living in a secular Western society, it is difficult to appreciate the impact of this relationship and the depth of the emotional ties that still bind the Belgian Catholic Church and parts of the Rwandese Hutu political establishment.

Before colonial rule, “Hutu” and “Tutsi” were not ethnic groups as they exist today. The relationship between different Rwandese peoples was complex and mutable. At the hub of the state was a powerful, centralizing court, based on the Nyiginya (Tutsi) lineage. In the countryside, “Tutsi” were cattle-owners and representatives of the court; “Hutu” were farmers. “Hutu” could, and did, become “Tutsi” as chiefs were incorporated into the ruling elite, or farmers became wealthy and acquired cattle. Rwanda was certainly

an unequal society, but the ethnic boundary was permeable, and Nyiginya Tutsi dominance was mitigated by social institutions that gave much authority to certain Hutu chiefs, and imposed certain obligations on Tutsi administrators.

Colonial rule transformed this pattern. The Belgians made the Tutsi the privileged intermediaries in their rule. No mere cynical “divide and rule” strategy, this intervention reflected the racist thinking that was axiomatic of European imperialism. Since the European conquerors held that no civilization could have existed in black Africa, the centralized state of Rwanda was an anomaly that challenged a premise of colonial legitimacy. Colonial bishops, anthropologists, and soldier-administrators explained it away with a racial fantasy: the so-called “Hamitic hypothesis.” Long-since discredited, it held that all “civilized” institutions in central Africa were the result of an invasion by “Hamites” — variously identified as “black Caucasians” and “African Aryans.”

In the period from 1910 to 1940, the White Fathers, led by Bishop Léon Classé, developed this Hamitic ideology. Classé and his acolytes then rewrote Rwandese history to conform to it, designating the Tutsis as Hamites,

1. Under the Dec. 9, 1948 *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, whether in time of peace or war, genocide includes: “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnic or religious group, as such: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part...” Included as a crime punishable under the *Convention* is “complicity in genocide.”

2. “International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Violations in Rwanda since October 1, 1990,” *Report*, March 1993, p. 9.

3. Africa Watch, “A Government at War with Its Own People,” New York and London, 1990.

inventing a Christian origin for them, and arguing that they were "lapsed" Ethiopians destined for a privileged place in Christian evangelism.<sup>4</sup> The theory coincided neatly with colonial anthropologists' quest for racial topologies — Tutsis were on the whole taller, thinner, and more "European"-looking than Hutus.

In Rwanda, Hamitic ideology legitimized a rigid pseudo-racial hierarchy which had profound and long-reaching political consequences. The elevation of the Tutsi meant the relegation of the Hutu to the status of Bantu serfs, and of the Twa (a small group of potters and hunter-gatherers) to the lowest position of aboriginal "pygmoids" — supposedly remnants of an earlier stage of human evolution. Under the Belgians, Tutsi dominance was extended; Tutsi powers and privileges intensified; and the entire population was required to be registered as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa. Such was the slender basis of this formal racial classification that the authorities were obliged to use cattle ownership as their criterion — people with ten or more cows were Tutsi (in perpetuity); those with fewer were Hutu. These same ID cards tell modern-day killers whom to kill and whom to spare.

Toward the end of the colonial era, the Roman Catholic Church, and then the colonial authorities, reversed their preferences and inverted the hierarchy. The new generation of Belgian missionaries who arrived in Rwanda brought with them another strand of Catholic teaching — the social justice theory of the Young Christian Workers. These priests and colonial officers — most of them Flemish — turned away from the Tutsi who were a dominant minority. Instead, they readily identified with the oppressed Hutu majority, just as Hutu teachers and priests readily latched onto the new religious politics — egalitarian but conservative.<sup>5</sup> Thus, as independence approached in the 1950s, the racial classification remained, but it was the Hutu who reaped the rewards.

4. Edith Sanders, "The Hamitic hypothesis: Its origins and functions in time perspective," *Journal of African History*, v. 10, 1969, pp. 524-26. Ian Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, Manchester University Press, 1977.  
5. Another influence behind the Roman Catholic Church's reversal was the growing presence of Protestant evangelists — like Rawson's parents — who concentrated on converting the Hutu. In the neighboring country of Burundi, where the Catholics remained much more closely wedded to the still-dominant Tutsi, Protestant missions — notably the Baptists — became more and more closely identified with the Hutu cause.



**Amb. Rawson (l), Rwanda's new Vice President and Minister of Defense Paul Kagame, and U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry (back to camera).**

In 1959, Belgian paratroopers presided over a bloody uprising in which ten thousand Tutsi were slaughtered and over a hundred thousand driven abroad. In 1962, Gregoire Kayibanda, secretary to the Archbishop and founder of the Hutu supremacist Parmehutu party, duly became the first president of independent Rwanda.

### The Flow of Hatred

The legacy of the missions lives on — not merely in the huge and beautiful churches that dot the hillsides, not just in the fact that the late archbishop, Msgr. Vincent Nsengiyumva served for 15 years on the central committee of the ruling party,<sup>6</sup> but also in the way the Hamitic ideology underpinned that regime's racist extremism. These Hutu extremists took the "Ethiopian invasion" hypothesis, turned it back in the face of the Tutsi, and called for them to

return "home." A prominent Hutu ideologue, Leon Mugesera (recently arrested in Canada and likely to be charged with crimes against humanity), repeatedly incited Hutu peasants to send the Tutsi "back" to Ethiopia. Showing a contempt for geography equal to his disregard for history, Mugesera enjoined his followers to throw the Tutsi in the Nyabarongo river.<sup>7</sup> The order was not taken metaphorically. Last April and May, perhaps 40,000 corpses made the watery journey to Lake Victoria. In late 1992, Hassan Ngeze, the extremists' leading journalist (currently in Nairobi, Kenya), published the extremist manifesto, "The Hutu Ten Commandments." Commandment number two says that Hutu women are more beautiful and make better wives and secretaries; number eight commands the Hutu to "stop having mercy on the Tutsi."<sup>8</sup>

The Belgian church and political establishment deny the legacy of their ideologies and policies at work in the content and idiom of Hutu extremism.

6. From 1975 to 1990, the National Republican Movement for Development (MRND) was the sole party in Rwanda. In 1973, the country's leadership changed hands when Kayibanda overthrew Habyarimana in a putsch, but the ideology remained much the same.

7. "International Commission...Rwanda ...," *op. cit.*, p. 9.  
8. Kangura, "The Hutu Ten Commandments," Dec. 10, 1990.

On the contrary, many Belgian priests, academics, and politicians remain closely wedded to Hutu politics and continue to espouse the Hutu extremists' political cause with an extraordinary fervor. The European Internationale Democratique Chretien (IDC, related to the Christian Democratic Party), repeatedly endorsed the program of the government of Juvénal Habyarimana, stating as recently as 1992 that "there is no alternative to the MRND [his party]."<sup>9</sup>

In October 1994, Belgian Senator Dr. Jab Van Erps traveled to the extremists' headquarters in Zaire to coordinate meetings with the men primarily responsible for the genocide. An academic at the Catholic University of Leuven, objecting to an account that the genocide was centrally planned, echoed the mass killers' own words when he described the slaughter as "a people's genocide" mounted in spontaneous response to the supposed provocation of the Rwandese Patriotic Front.<sup>10</sup> His words were closely echoed in a sermon by Archbishop Nsengiyumva in which the genocide was obliquely justified as a means of ensuring democratic majority rule.<sup>11</sup>

Equally firm in their commitment to Hutu extremism — equating it with majoritarian rule and thus "democracy"

9. Andre Louis, Secretary-General of IDC, "La democratisation du Rwanda: a situation au debut de l'annee 1992," February 1992.

10. Jan-Luc Vellut, "Ethnicity and genocide in Rwanda," *Times Literary Supplement* (London), July 15, 1994.

11. RTLM radio transcript, May 23, 1994.

in a crude sense — are some of the Protestant missions, particularly those active in Burundi.<sup>12</sup> After the genocide, some foreign missionaries echoed the extremist propaganda, blaming the entire slaughter on "provocation" by the Tutsis. At a press conference held after they were evacuated to Europe, a group of Danish Baptists who had worked among Burundi refugees were among those who refused to blame Hutu extremists for the genocide.<sup>13</sup>

### Ambassador Rawson and the Unleashing of the Apocalypse

U.S. Ambassador David Rawson had much in common with those who continued to view the complex political and cultural landscape through the distorting lens of the colonial legacy. Like them, he failed to rise above the limitations of his background. While giving a sophisticated, balanced line in public, he consistently espoused the simplistic majoritarian politics of the government.<sup>14</sup>

12. Over the last 30 years, the Tutsi-dominated Burundi army has repeatedly carried out mass killings of Hutu, especially educated people. Escaping the massacres, tens of thousands of Burundi Hutu fled to Rwanda in 1972, 1988, and 1993, nursing hatred of the Tutsi. Not surprisingly, during the 1994 Rwandese genocide, Burundi refugees were among the worst killers. Sometimes when local Rwandese were reluctant to follow orders to execute their Tutsi neighbors, they simply drove them toward the nearest Burundi refugee camp, secure in the knowledge that the refugees would kill everyone. Among the murderers were a number of Protestant priests. (African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, London, 1994, pp. 523-24.)

13. Danish Committee for Solidarity with the People of Burundi, *Burundi Newsletter*, April 1994.

14. Interview with Rwandan minister, Jan. 1995.

At another time, such bias might not have mattered as much. But when Rawson arrived in December 1993, Rwandese politics rested on a knife edge. Four months earlier, the Habyarimana government, the rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), and the civilian opposition parties had signed a comprehensive agreement in Arusha, Tanzania. It would have ensured a multi-party system, power-sharing with the main opposition groups, an independent judiciary with respect for human rights, integration of the RPF into the national army, and an abolition of the extremist paramilitary forces. This step toward peace and democracy was successfully negotiated with the apparent support of African and Western governments, and guaranteed by the troops of the U.N. Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR). The U.S. government, under former Undersecretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, had also put its weight behind the process that led to the Arusha agreement. But Habyarimana — under pressure from the extremists he had promoted to dominant positions in the army and government — repeatedly stalled in implementing the provisions of the accords.<sup>15</sup> The extremists within the MRND and the CDR opposed the accords because they would have meant power-sharing and an end to their unfettered power and privilege.

According to moderate ministers in the government, Rawson, knowingly or not, encouraged the extremists in derailing the peace process by echoing their claims that it was the RPF that had created all the obstacles to peace. Senior RPF members report that when they presented evidence of the planned genocide, the ambassador dismissed them with the charge that they were just looking for a pretext to restart the war.<sup>16</sup> Most important, Rawson endorsed the demand by the ultra-extremist Coalition for the Defense of the Republic for a seat in the new National Assembly. Since the CDR was explicitly committed to eradication of the Tutsis (even before the April genocide) and de-



Refugees from Rwanda succumb to disease and privation. Goma, Zaire, 1994.

15. African Rights, *Rwanda: Death ...*, op. cit., Chap. 2.

16. Interview with RPF Central Committee member, Feb. 1995.



# IMF & World Bank Set the Stage

by Michel Chossudovsky

**T**he media presented the crisis in Rwanda as if it had erupted spontaneously from some simmering volcano of African tribalism and brutality. In fact, the genocide came close on the heels of an ill-timed IMF-World Bank program which restructured the agricultural system, sparked economic crisis, and threw the population into abject poverty and social destitution. Within the Rwandan political context, the "reforms" virtually guaranteed corruption at the top and misery at the bottom.

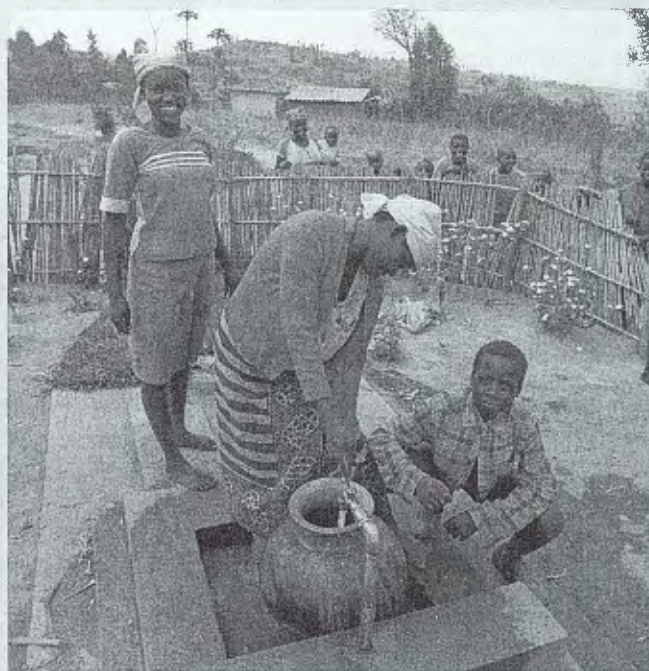
After visiting Rwanda in 1988, the World Bank plugged in the same formula it inserted throughout the Third World. In partnership with the IMF (International Monetary Fund) it recommended that Rwanda embrace the standard neo-liberal recipe: liberalize trade, devalue the currency, lift all subsidies to agriculture, privatize state enterprises and public utilities, and dismiss civil servants. Although the Bank's "scenario" was presented as an "option," the government had little choice but to accept.

In November 1990, barely six weeks after the rebel army of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) launched its civil war, the government, acting on IMF policy recommendations, imposed a 50 percent devaluation of the Rwandan franc, along with sizeable increases in the prices of fuel and consumer essentials.<sup>1</sup> Touted as a way to increase coffee exports and rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy, the measures had exactly the opposite effect. From a situation of relative stability, inflation soared, real earnings declined, state enterprises went into bankruptcy, child malnutrition rose, and health and education collapsed under the austerity measures.

The economic crisis escalated in 1992 when Rwandan farmers, in desperation, uprooted some 320,000 coffee trees.<sup>2</sup> Despite soaring costs and inflation, the government had frozen the price at which coffee was purchased from the farmer.

In June 1992, at the height of the civil war, the IMF ordered a second devaluation. It precipitated further escalation of the prices of fuel and consumer essentials, and coffee production tumbled another 25 percent in a single year.<sup>3</sup> The crisis of the coffee economy backlashed on the production of traditional food staples, leading to a substantial drop in the production of cassava, beans and sorghum. Moreover, with the liberalization of trade and the deregulation of grain markets, cheap food imports and heavily subsidized "food aid" from the rich countries undercut local markets. Under the "free market" system, neither cash crops for export nor food crops for the domestic market were economically viable. The entire agricultural system had been pushed into bankruptcy.<sup>4</sup>

In October 1990, just as the fighting started, the IMF gave the green light and millions of dollars of so-called "balance of payments aid" poured into the country's coffers. Administered by Rwanda's Central Bank, these funds were earmarked for commodity imports. It appears likely, however, that the regime diverted a sizeable portion of these "quick disbursing loans" to buy military hardware.<sup>5</sup>



SEAN SPRAGUE/IMPACT VISUALS

Rwanda in better times

While progress in pre-reform Rwanda — given its resources and prospects — had been merely disappointing, now the country was in a full-fledged disaster. The World Bank would no doubt contend that without its intervention things would have been worse. This counter-factual argument is absurd in the case of Rwanda. The World Bank team policies ignored the political and social repercussions of economic shock therapy applied to a country on the brink of civil war and consciously excluded the "non-economic variables" from its "simulations."

While the international donor community cannot be held directly responsible for the tragic outcome of the Rwandan civil war, the austerity measures combined with the impact of the IMF-sponsored devaluations contributed to impoverishing the Rwandan people at a time of acute social and political crisis. The deliberate manipulation of market forces destroyed economic activity, fueled unemployment, created a situation of generalized famine and despair and helped set the stage for the genocide to follow. ●

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1. The consumer price index increased from 1% in 1989 to 19.2% in 1991. The balance of payments situation deteriorated dramatically and the outstanding external debt, which had already doubled since 1985, increased by 34% between 1989 and 1992.

2. This figure is a conservative estimate. Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile, Rwanda Burundi 1993/94*, London, 1994, p. 10.

3. In 1993, a third devaluation of the order of 30 percent had been recommended by the IMF to eliminate the debts of the coffee stabilization fund.

4. *Marchés tropicaux*, March 25, 1994, p. 594. In 1993, the International Committee of the Red Cross estimated in 1993 that more than a million people were affected by famine (*Marchés tropicaux*, April 2, 1993, p. 898.) and the FOA noted a 33% decline in food production. (FAO, March 1994 communique.)

5. Although there is no official confirmation, the Washington-based Human Rights Watch reports that Egypt sold Kigali \$6 million in military equipment and South Africa sold it \$5.9 million. (*Marchés tropicaux*, January 29, 1994, p. 173.)

stroying the treaty, Rawson's support amounted to collaboration with a stratagem designed to derail the peace process.<sup>17</sup>

Habyarimana's failure to implement the accords was abetted not only by Rawson, but by an international climate which was auspicious for any dictator wishing to wriggle out of commitments to the world community. Following the military debacle of the U.S.-UN operations in Somalia in October 1993, assertive peacekeeping was deeply unpopular in both Washington and New York. One of the first casualties of Gen. Aidid's Mogadishu triumph was Rwanda.

Once burned, the U.S. acted to constrain the UN's peacekeeping role, thus undermining international efforts led by Belgium and Tanzania (with support from other forces) to prevent the crisis in Rwanda. First, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright pushed a proposal to downsize UNAMIR. Security Council Resolution 872 invited UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali to "consider ways of reducing the total maximum strength of UNAMIR" and asked him to "seek economies." Second, U.S. Presidential Decision Directive No. 25 of March 1994 greatly limited the peacekeeping operations that the U.S. would support — not just those to which it would contribute troops, but those to which it would give financial support and its vote in the Security Council.

In the prevailing climate, President Habyarimana and the extremists who surrounded him hoped that if they could prevaricate until UNAMIR's mandate expired on April 5, 1994, the Security Council would lose patience and withdraw the force. They would then have a free hand to dispose of the opposition and indeed the entire Tutsi population.

On April 4, the day before the deadline, the Security Council was scheduled to review the progress made by UNAMIR and the Rwandese parties' commitments to the Arusha Accords. Rwanda and its close ally and patron, France, were doing their best to undermine chances for a renewal of the mandate. The U.S. was at best lukewarm. But intense lobbying by Belgium — which had

contributed the largest number of troops to UNAMIR and had undertaken to underwrite the peace agreement with aid funds — ensured that the Rwandese extremists' expectations were confounded. On April 5, at a meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, African heads of state reaffirmed their commitment to the Arusha Accords and insisted that Habyarimana cease his delaying tactics and implement the power-sharing formula to which he agreed. On the way back to Kigali, Habyarimana's own handpicked extremists in the Presidential Guard shot down his plane and set in motion their final solution.<sup>18</sup>

### U.S. Fiddles While Rwanda Burns

What followed was a carefully planned extermination. The government specially trained and mobilized its militia, the *interahamwe*, compiled in advance a list of targets, and dismissed all administrators seen as moderates, replacing them with extremists. The extremist Hutu radio RTLM and the state-sponsored Radio Rwanda broadcast calls inciting mass murder. Interim president, Theodore Sindikukwabo,

## What followed was a carefully planned extermination with the extremist Hutu radio RTLM and the state- sponsored Radio Rwanda calling for mass murder.

also made incendiary speeches on radio and in person around the country congratulating the killers on a job well done and telling those in places such as Butare, where the killing had not yet started, that they should "set to work."

Within 48 hours of this zero hour, France and Belgium found enough troops to mount an evacuation of foreign

nationals from Kigali. But, after ten of their soldiers were killed protecting (Hutu, moderate) Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Belgium ordered its soldiers home — without even first informing the UN. On April 19, even as the slaughter escalated, the UN Security Council voted to reduce the UNAMIR force from 4,500 to 270 men and to restrict its activities to the bare minimum. Literally minutes after the UN troops abandoned their base at a former school, which had become refuge for several thousand Rwandese Tutsis and opposition Hutu, the *interahamwe* militia and the Presidential Guard stormed the compound and began to massacre those who had taken shelter there.

Ambassador Rawson stayed in Rwanda for ten days after the genocide was first unleashed, before returning to Washington. It was only on April 28 — a full three weeks into the slaughter — that he officially declared a "state of disaster." Then he characterized the genocide as tribal killings — exactly the description the killers wanted as a smokescreen for their program of extermination.<sup>19</sup> Had he or any other official invoked the word "genocide," all nations who were signatories of the 1948 convention on genocide would have been obligated by the terms of that treaty to condemn the slaughter and act to stop it.

Rawson's views need not have carried such weight. But there was a policy vacuum in Washington and officials who knew what was happening and could have sounded the alarm were more concerned with avoiding risks to their careers than with preventing slaughter in little Rwanda. At the State Department, Undersecretary of State for African Affairs George Moose focused on elections in South Africa and delegated responsibility to a deputy assistant secretary, Prudence Bushnell. Her insistence on adhering to the minutiae of bureaucratic procedure has come under widespread criticism, despite her subsequent attempts to portray her role as that of a vigorous exponent of action thwarted by others' obstruction.<sup>20</sup> In any case, Bushnell is a junior official easily outranked by those at the National Security Council and the Pentagon, who were even more hostile to any

17. The CDR is an ultranationalist Hutu party-cum-paramilitary force. It had refused to participate in the Arusha conference, rejecting the whole peace process, and had thus forfeited its chance to obtain a seat in the new National Assembly. If the CDR were admitted to the assembly, it would have opened the door to all sorts of delaying stratagems devised by Habyarimana, et al.

18. The interim government prevented any examination of the wreckage of the downed presidential plane, including the black box. Circumstantial evidence points irrefutably to the culpability of the Presidential Guard, who must have fired the fatal missile from their Kanombe base close to the international airport.

19. In fact, it was not only Tutsi who were targeted and killed. Any moderate Hutu who either opposed the government or refused to take part in the killing was also marked for death.

20. Interview with humanitarian activists in Washington, July 1994.



assertive U.S. policy. Since Clinton delayed in appointing a senior director for Africa at the NSC, responsibility was taken — or not taken — by the acting director, Col. MacArthur DeShazer. Even after Don Steinberg took up the position in February 1994, confusion continued for months as the State Department issued policy statements that contradicted those of the White House.

In any case, Rwanda became a test case for the new presidential policy of caution in all peacekeeping affairs. The director of peacekeeping at the NSC, Richard Clark, was one of the lead supporters of U.S. non-action. The Pentagon reportedly insisted that there was a slippery slope between UN involvement and the dispatch of U.S. troops, so that even though nobody had as much as suggested the idea of sending U.S. soldiers, Pentagon representatives opposed any multilateral involvement at all. These positions fed into strong U.S. advocacy for the April 19 pullout of UNAMIR.

### The UN's Scuttle Diplomacy

The UN's "scuttle diplomacy" became an international scandal and by April 29, Rwanda was again on the agenda of the Security Council. The secretary general pleaded for the deployment of enough troops to save some of the Rwandese civilians taking refuge in churches, hospitals, and football stadiums. The Ghanaian contingent of UNAMIR, just evacuated, was ready to return at any moment; it just needed transport and armored cars. The Ethiopians offered a fully equipped contingent, lacking only transport. And the remaining 450 UN soldiers (the complete reduction to 270 was never carried out) under the energetic and courageous leadership of the Canadian Gen. Romeo Dallaire, grossly handicapped by the lack of fuel and spare parts, were reduced to improvising to keep at least some vehicles running. Nonetheless, they managed to save some people.

Over the following weeks and months, U.S. parsimony and insistence on the utmost caution impeded the dispatch of UN troops to Rwanda. In fact, all the troops involved were African, and the U.S. financial commitment amounted merely to a contribution to the UN peacekeeping budget. Finally, despite U.S. recalcitrance and after considerable delay, the secretary general seemed to have cobbled together an



CRISPIN HUGHES/IMPACT VISUALS

One of the millions of refugees.

agreement to dispatch 4,000 troops. But then suddenly, Ambassador Albright insisted on a more modest plan — only 850 troops and observers to prepare the ground for a full force to follow at some unspecified date. On May 16, the Security Council acceded to this U.S. proposal, adopting Resolution 918. Still three weeks would pass until the UN worked out the precise terms of the deployment — a U.S. precondition for action under Presidential Decision Directive No. 25. Only on June 8 did the Security Council give the final authorization to a deployment that had been accorded the "utmost urgency" on April 29. In the intervening five weeks, at least 100,000 died; probably well over 200,000. Each day's delay in April and May meant at least 10,000 more people dead.

Then, the pressing issue became how to transport the troops and equip them with armored personnel carriers (APC) so that they could evacuate trapped civilians. Gen. Dallaire had publicly appealed to the U.S. for APCs.<sup>21</sup> The U.S. agreed — but introduced tough new preconditions. The Pentagon raised its price for leasing 60 APCs, and then insisted that the UN also pay for return-

ing the vehicles to their base in Germany. The whole exercise was priced at \$15 million, with \$11 million for transport.<sup>22</sup> The APCs finally arrived in Uganda on June 23 and the Ghanaians began training to use them. On July 2-3, while the vehicles were still being readied for action, the Rwandese government collapsed. On July 9, the Rwandese Patriotic Front took power and halted the genocide. Three months had passed since Habyarimana's plane was shot down. The death toll had reached 800,000.

### What Genocide?

Did the U.S. have a policy, or did it sit on its hands out of bureaucratic inertia, racist contempt for "tribal" warfare, or simple confusion? Certainly, there was a minimalist imperative at work: Do as little as possible without provoking serious condemnation, especially at home. Throughout this protracted episode of dithering and caution, the State Department was in tune with U.S. public opinion — at least as it was represented by the mainstream media. An April 13 *Newsday* editorial asked, "What is to be done?" and recommended "nothing." The *New York Times* was scarcely more subtle: "No member of the United Nations with an army strong enough to make a difference is willing to risk centuries-old history of tribal warfare and deep distrust of outside intervention."<sup>23</sup> Later, in support of the administration's position, the *Times* wrote: "...to enter this conflict without a defined mission or a plausible military plan risks a repetition of the debacle in Somalia."<sup>24</sup>

The lesson of Somalia might have led the *New York Times* and the administration to a different conclusion.<sup>25</sup> In that case, stinginess was combined with fear of setting a monetary precedent for the level of U.S. contributions to future militarized humanitarian operations. The human cost of this penny-pinching

22. Michael R. Gordon, "U.S. to supply 60 vehicles for UN troops in Rwanda," *New York Times*, June 16, 1994.

23. Elaine Sciolino, "Rwanda Is Not Worth the Political Candle," April 15, 1994, p. A3.

24. "Look before plunging into Rwanda," May 18, 1994, p. A22.

25. In early 1992, when the Somali crisis first came to the (belated) attention of the Security Council, the UN mission to Somalia recommended immediate deployment of 500 UN guards for humanitarian assistance. Since the operation was classified as a peacekeeping operation, the U.S. share would have been 30 percent. The U.S. blocked the effort, insisting that the operation be labeled a humanitarian initiative — which would keep its contribution to about 25 percent. The difference in funds amounted to something under a million dollars.

21. Associated Press, cited in "UN commander in Rwanda asks U.S. AID," *New York Times*, June 2, 1994.



became evident later in the year when 200,000 Somalis died in a famine that could have been prevented.

For Rwanda, the point of principle was somewhat different, but here, too, avoiding precedent was key. In 1948, the U.S. had signed the Convention against Genocide. A triumph of international humanitarian law, this Convention *obliges* contracting parties to prevent and punish the crime of genocide. In previous post-World War II cases — such as Cambodia under Pol Pot — the U.S. could pretend that it did not know about the genocide while it was being perpetrated. It could then fudge the issue of punishing those responsible, ostensibly in the name of seeking a peaceful political settlement. In Rwanda, no one could claim ignorance. But the U.S. did not want to act and its failure to condemn and take action to prevent genocide endorsed a more horrific precedent: flaunting an international law designed to never again allow a holocaust to happen while the world stood by.

### Legal Nicety Lost on the Dead

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, an accomplished lawyer, instructed his staff to avoid calling the situation in Rwanda genocide, but merely to say that "acts of genocide may have been committed." Ambassador Rawson went

one better: "As a responsible government, you don't just go round hollering 'genocide.' You say that acts of genocide may have occurred and they need to be investigated." The media rightly mocked this piece of legal obfuscation, and Christopher disingenuously conceded, "If there is any particular magic in calling it genocide, I have no hesitancy in saying that."<sup>26</sup> (Rawson has since compared the killings to a war crime, carefully avoiding the term "genocide.")<sup>27</sup>

Christopher's new-found lack of hesitancy was probably related to a policy statement, issued by the State Department, that the Genocide Convention

**U.S. policy had broken  
a solemn covenant  
undertaken nearly  
a half century ago that  
*never again* would  
the civilized world allow  
genocide to occur.**

26. Douglas Jehl, "Officials told to avoid calling Rwanda killings 'genocide,'" *New York Times*, June 10, 1994.

27. Interviewed in "A culture of murder," *Panorama*, BBC1-TV (U.K.), August 22, 1994.

"enables" contracting states to respond.<sup>28</sup> This required an imaginative interpretation of the term "obligation," but was not beyond Christopher's legal expertise or moral adaptability.

When the White House claimed on July 15 that "As the crisis in Rwanda has unfolded, the United States has taken a leading role in efforts to protect the Rwandan people and ensure humanitarian assistance,"<sup>29</sup> it was, as the British say, "economical with the truth." By that point, the genocide was over and the U.S. government could concentrate its moral energies on saving refugee children in Goma, Zaire, from cholera. The war had driven about 2 million refugees to overcrowded camps across the border. They certainly needed help, but, in fact, much of the assistance was gratefully appropriated by the Hutu extremists who had masterminded both the genocide and the mass exodus.

Like the killers in exile in neighboring countries, the U.S. government is hoping that the bodies will stay buried and that it can resume business as usual in central Africa. On July 16, the Clinton administration expelled the Rwandese ambassador to Washington. Washington had waited until that regime was militarily defeated and a new RPF-headed government was about to take power. Then, suddenly, the administration was indignant: "The United States," said President Clinton, "cannot allow representatives of a regime that supports genocidal massacres to remain on our soil."<sup>30</sup> Taken in April, the gesture and the words might have had meaning; in July they reeked of opportunism and hollow moralizing. The U.S. had broken a solemn covenant undertaken nearly a half century ago that *never again* would the civilized world allow genocide to occur. President Clinton may utter words in commemoration of Auschwitz, but there is little consolation to the survivors of the Rwandan holocaust of the 1990s. Meanwhile, around the world, dictators have noted the U.S. reaction, taking solace from the policy of non-action. Silence in the face of genocide, with no outcry of "never again" should disturb us all. ●

28. Testimony of Jeff Drumtra, U.S. Committee for Refugees, "U.S. response to the crisis in Rwanda/Central Africa," before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, July 26, 1994, p. 6.

29. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, July 15, 1994.

30. *Ibid.*

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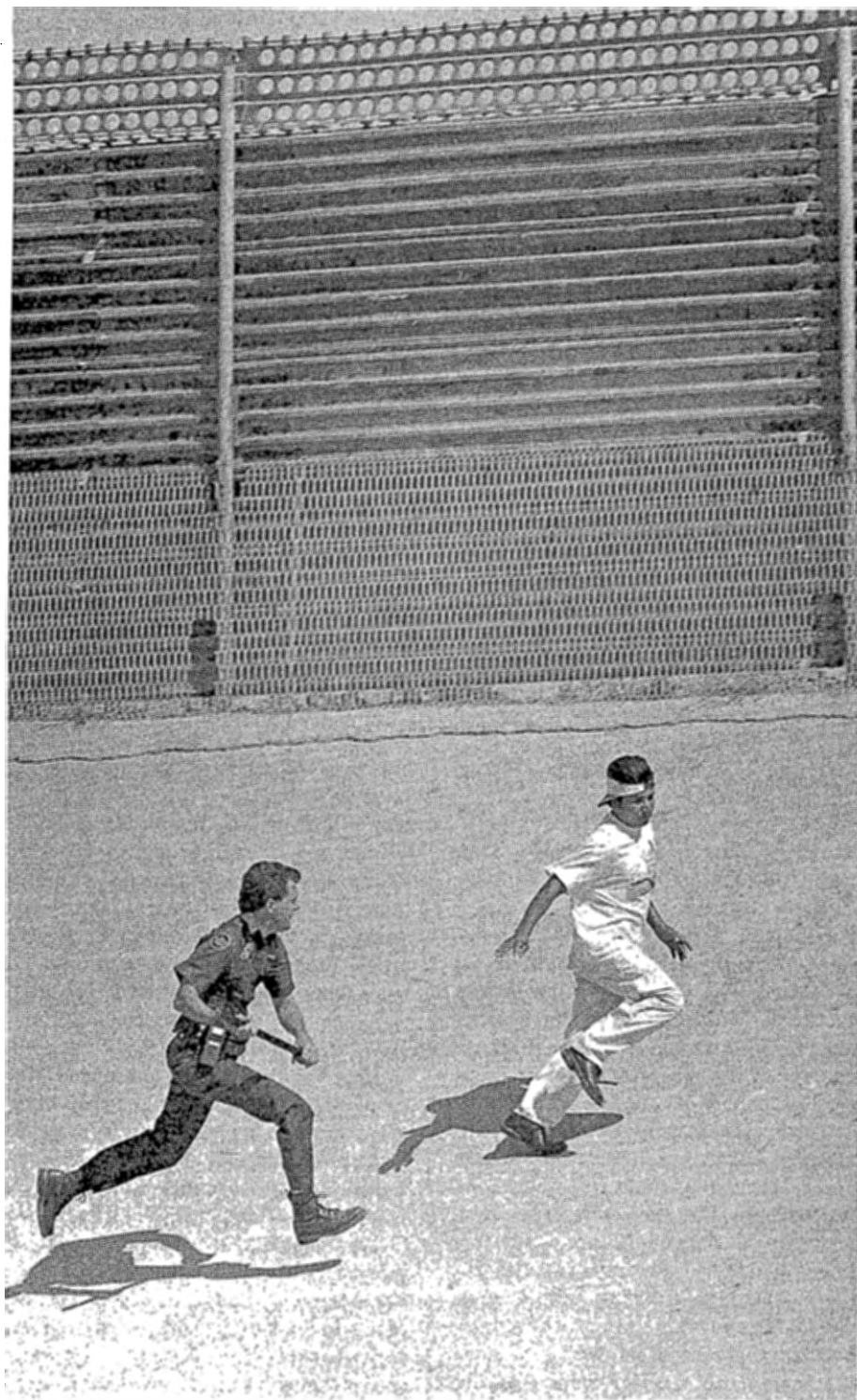
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# California Über Alles?

by Mike Davis



Backed by the wall that separates Tijuana and San Diego, a U.S. border guard chases a would-be immigrant crossing from Mexico.

The famous radical writer Upton Sinclair, who lived in Pasadena, once predicted that if fascism ever came to the United States, it would appear first in the "land of sunshine and vigilantes" cloaked in nativism. In this sense, the crushing victory in the November elections of Proposition 187 — California's ethnic cleansing initiative — is certainly a dark omen. Like a huge sewage spill, it has polluted state and national politics, perhaps irreversibly, with its strident bigotry.

Prop 187 is brutally terse. It "Save[s] Our State" (official title) by denying public education and non-emergency medicine (including prenatal examinations) to an estimated two million undocumented immigrants. At the same time, it conscripts school teachers and health-care workers as involuntary Border Patrol agents by requiring them to report all "suspected aliens."

Local police and sheriffs' departments are likewise mandated to check the immigration status of every suspect or arrestee for possible deportation. Although some 187 supporters halfheartedly claim that the law will be applied equally to Irish and Canadian, as well as Mexican and Salvadoran, illegals, no one really expects to see the cops trawling the streets for red-haired, freckle-faced *majados*.

As one of the proposition's key organizers — a homeowners' leader in the San Fernando Valley — publicly acknowledged, the real issue is the "reconquest of the American Southwest by foreign Hispanics [sic] ... Someone is going to be leaving the state. It will either be them or us."

## The "Brown Peril"

This perverse, upside-down view of California history — where the Anglo invaders are now portrayed as the endangered indigenous population — received its initial endorsement in the affluent, white-flight suburbs, mostly former citrus and agricultural towns, that surround L.A.

Mike Davis is a labor historian and author of *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage, 1991).

The first seeds were planted in the acid soil of Orange County, the traditional heartland of California conservatism, where the "brown peril" has recently supplanted the defunct "communist menace" as the dominant obsession. Local pro-187 newsletters, for example, spewed Himmlerian complaints about the "stench of urination, defecation, narcotics, savagery and death" supposedly associated with Latino and Asian immigration. Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach) warned that "if this doesn't pass, the flood of illegal immigrants will turn into a tidal wave, and a huge neon sign will be lit above the state of California that

reads "Come and Get It!" The proposition's major strategist, fittingly, was the mayor of Yorba Linda, home of the Richard Nixon Museum and Mausoleum.

Other organizing centers of xenophobia included the old John Birch Society suburbs of the San Gabriel Valley; northern San Diego County, where thousands of migrant workers live in primitive brush encampments a stone's throw from million-dollar homes; and Simi Valley, site of the original Rodney King beating trial and home to more than two thousand cops and sheriff's deputies.

In the former Ozzie-and-Harriet neighborhoods of the western San Fernando Valley, moreover, support for

the labor-intensive convenience of the vast army of servants and day laborers who clean its homes, prepare its meals, and wipe its babies' behinds.

The underlying thrust of Proposition 187, therefore, is somewhat different from similar immigrant-bashing legislation in parts of Europe. The real point is not to deport every last undocumented immigrant, but to restore a reign of terror in the underground labor markets and strip away any meager entitlements that might give immigrants' children some sense of hope or social mobility. Its essence is a superbly hypocritical meanness that aims to preserve a bloated supply of cheap labor while reducing the fiscal cost of its reproduction to near zero. It arrives, moreover, as the second wave in a protracted attack on entitlements and human rights that began three years ago with Governor Wilson's slashing denunciation of a "parasitic welfare class."

By itself, of course, Proposition 187 might have exploded in the face of its competing egos and eccentric agendas, some of them linked to the political shadow-world of white supremacism. But two forces intervened to give "Save Our State" unprecedented legitimacy. First, Pete Wilson — an unpopular governor on the verge of drowning in the opinion polls — grasped nativism as his political life-preserver. Secondly, the Democrats voluntarily (and disastrously) shifted the immigration debate toward the right.

For months, California's Democratic leadership, including Latinos, sat on its hands while Proposition 187 accumulated a frightening momentum in the angry edge cities of Southern California and the Central Valley. They allowed it to become a lightning rod for middle-class rage displaced from the deeper issues that neither party will dare confront, particularly the post-Cold-War collapse of high-wage defense employment and the attendant sense that traditional suburbs are in danger of becoming crabgrass slums.

When the Democrats finally wheeled "Taxpayers Against Proposition 187" into action, it was with the bizarre strategy of fighting the racists with their own racist logic. The conservative political consultants who managed the campaign (they had previously defeated California's "Big Green" pro-environment initiative) explicitly validated the other side's demonic image of an uncon-



The real point is not to deport every last undocumented immigrant, but to restore a reign of terror in the underground labor markets and strip away any meager entitlements that might give immigrants' children some sense of hope or social mobility.

#### **Workers remove the paper shielding from young pepper plants.**

Proposition 187 illustrated the awesome continuity of right-wing suburban populism. The major anti-immigrant group, the Sherman Oaks Homeowners Association, was also the original organizer of the massive 1970s protests against school busing, as well as the first sponsor of Proposition 13 — the Howard Jarvis tax-cut initiative that opened the floodgates to Reaganomics.

Ironically, the social core of the new nativism consists of affluent communities that utterly depend upon the domestic peonage of Latino immigrants. Travel far and wide through the suburban tractlands, and you will no longer see Anglo youths mowing lawns or raking leaves. Like Victorian England or white South Africa, upper-middle-class California has become slavishly addicted to



trollable population of illegal aliens. Expensive television and radio ads warned voters that Proposition 187 would merely dump undocumented youth into the streets where they would pose a larger criminal and public health menace.

The Democrats' own "alternative," moreover, was to dramatically put Senator Dianne Feinstein with hundreds of heavily armed INS reinforcements along the California-Mexico border at Tijuana. "Operation Gatekeeper," with its new excesses of Border Patrol arrogance and brutality, immediately provoked an international incident. The Mexican government formally complained about "abusive and unjustified acts of force." In Mexico City, too, had a boisterous demonstration against border fascism and Proposition 187. Meanwhile, proud Tijuaneños, led by local activists of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), responded with mass protests and a boycott of San Diego businesses ("Operación Dignidad"). Yet, with Proposition 187 hurtling down the tracks, not a single Latino Democratic elected official stood up to denounce the Clinton administration's ominous escalation of border militarization.

This bipartisan investment in immigrant-baiting may help explain the apparent paradox of why little more than half of registered Latino voters — that is to say, a mere 10 percent of California's nine million Spanish-surname residents — bothered to vote. At the same time the state Democratic Party, pleading destitution after wasting millions on futile television spots, cut off funds that were targeted to turn out voters in crucial Latino constituencies. Perhaps the cruelest disappointment of the election, as a result, was the success of Governor Pete Wilson and Proposition 187 in such predicted "break-through" areas of an emergent Latino majority as South-central L.A. and the giant Santa Ana *barrio* in Orange County.

Indeed, the one superficial "victory" for Latinos — the election of Miguel Pulido as the first Spanish-surname mayor of Santa Ana — only demonstrated the one-sidedness of the election. Pulido, the proprietor of a muffler-shop exploiting minimum-wage labor, promoted himself as tougher-than-tough on the immigration question. "Proposition 187 Does Not Go Far Enough!" shrieked the cover of his mailer financed by contributions from the Santa Ana police union. Inside, the candidate promised to work



RICK REINHARD

hand-in-glove with the INS to deport aliens, and with the police to evict the homeless. "I pledge to all the citizens of Santa Ana that taxpayers are my primary concern and I will fight to ensure their safety from violent criminals, government waste, and illegal aliens."

### "Hell No, We Won't Go!"

In the end, it was left to the school kids — the principal target of California's new Nuremberg law — to defend themselves and their families. Shouting "Hell No, We Won't Go!" and "We Didn't Cross the Border — It Crossed Us!" they began demonstrating outside their high schools at the beginning of October. The movement began in the gritty industrial suburbs southeast of Downtown, where 230,000 Mexican immigrants constitute the backbone of Los Angeles' sweatshop industrial economy.

Overcrowded South Gate High (home turf to the rap group, Cypress Hill) was the first campus to walk out, followed by Huntington Park and Bell high schools. In Paramount, sheriff's deputies fired "stingball" grenades (explosive devices that emit rubber pellets) into the faces of 750 kids blockading Alondra Boulevard. Meanwhile, just across the Los Angeles River, 1,200 students were attacked by phalanxes of police and sheriff's deputies as they tried to march through the center of Compton.

As former INS commissioner and Proposition 187 author Harold Ezell denounced the protesters as "savages," the movement spread like wildfire. For

California has become slavishly addicted to the labor-intensive convenience of the vast army of servants and day laborers who clean its homes, prepare its meals, and wipe its babies' behinds.

six weeks — despite mass suspensions and the provocations of shotgun-toting riot police — students rocked the state with their brave, boisterous and surprisingly disciplined walkouts. In Riverside County, hundreds of Latino students walked out when Dan Quayle tried to speak at Centennial High School in Corona. (Some were later expelled.) Eighteen-wheel rigs from the Latin American Truckers Association provided a formidable escort to thousands of junior and senior high school students who surrounded Los Angeles City Hall. In Southern California alone, at least 50,000 youths participated in the demonstrations: almost ten times the number involved in the famous high-school "blow-outs" that launched the original "Chicano Power" civil rights movement in 1969.

The children of Los Angeles' immigrant barrios and blue-collar suburbs were also the heart and soul of the great demonstration — the largest in the city's history — that flowed like molten lava down Cesar Chavez Boulevard in mid-October. Despite frantic efforts by leading Latino Democrats like County Supervisor Gloria Molina to stop the march, which they feared would alienate Anglo voters, more than 100,000 protesters crossed the river from the Eastside to symbolically "capture" the Ronald Reagan State Office Building in

## Disassembling California

It would be foolish to underestimate the dangers posed by California's latest gift to national politics. Even as the courts temporarily enjoin the implementation of the new law on the grounds that it may conflict with the supremacy of Congress to make immigration policy, the new Republican majority in Washington is promising to pass a federal version of Proposition 187, perhaps with the connivance of the demoralized and rightward-moving Clinton White

by renewed efforts — despite a recent tax surplus — to roll back welfare and slash social spending. The principal targets of Wilson's so-called "tough love" are constituencies with minimal political voice: unwed mothers and their children, farmworkers, the blind and disabled, indigent senior citizens, and disabled drug victims.

Wilson has also given his benediction to the grotesquely misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative" which would outlaw affirmative action policies in state government and higher education. The initiative has been targeted for the 1996 presidential primaries, when presumably it would act as the booster rocket to Wilson's candidacy. Although the campaign is still in the early signature-gathering stage, it has already ignited tremendous national excitement among Republicans and conservative Democrats who think that the abolition of affirmative action will be the crucial wedge issue in the next election.

Meanwhile, an experimental model of Wilson's ultimate California is being created in Orange County, where bankruptcy has become a pretext for contracting out government services and eliminating traditional social programs. Proposition 187 supporters

— including local franchises of the Rush Limbaugh National Fan Club and Ross Perot's United We Stand America — have recycled themselves as the "Committees of Correspondence," advocating the radical privatization, even total dismantlement, of county government.

Their views are echoed by the local robber barons and Republican officials who comprise the Lincoln Club — traditional seat of Orange County's "invisible government." While preserving huge public subsidies for Disneyland expansion and toll road construction, conservatives would shift the burden of the bond debacle onto the blue-collar, and heavily Latino, communities of north county.



**At dusk, as Mexican nationals wait for night to slip into San Diego, a U.S. border control agent orders them home.**

Downtown. It was a stunning revelation of the social weight and potential power of the Latino working class.

Indeed, the battle over Prop 187, in a profound sense, counterposed California's future to its past. The major combatants last fall were separated by a half-century of social and demographic change. On one hand, the active electorate on November 8 — 81 percent white and 85 percent over 30 years old — was a living fossil of California circa 1960. No less than two-thirds of Gov. Wilson's supporters were middle-income or higher Anglos over 50. On the other hand, the student protesters represented California 2010, when Latinos are projected to become the largest ethnic group in the state (as they already are in L.A.).

House. Meanwhile, several hundred thousand Salvadorean refugees with expired residential status — mostly concentrated in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. — now face the threat of the same kind of summary and brutal deportation that is being enforced against Haitian and Cuban refugees in Guantánamo and Panama.

Proposition 187 has also raised Pete Wilson from the dead. The one-time political corpse is now considered a viable contender for the Republican presidential nomination. Symbolically, his first act after reelection was to sign an executive order ending prenatal services for immigrant women. (Its implementation has been temporarily enjoined by a federal judge.) This has been followed

PETER KELLY/IMPACT VISUALS



THOR SWIFT/IMPACT VISUALS

**In Porterville, a central California farming community, 1,000 students walk out of school on election day to protest Proposition 187 (above), and tens of thousands more march in Los Angeles (right).**

But the most epochal accomplishment of 12 years of Republican rule and Democratic complicity in California has been the transformation of the state into a vast prison camp. In addition to Proposition 187, California voters also recently passed — without significant Democratic opposition — Proposition 184, which makes the state's "three strikes" law virtually unrepealable by future legislatures. Since 1980, California's inmate population has exploded from under 20,000 to more than 130,000. It is currently the third largest prison system on earth, exceeded only by China and the rest of the United States. Now, as a result of sentencing policies locked on auto-pilot, room will have to be found for an additional 200,000 inmates, primarily African American and Latino, within an already overcrowded and hyperviolent system. As a recent Rand Corporation study warned, the Legislature will have no choice but to strip funds from higher education in order to finance this expanded gulag.

With poverty and incarceration as its industrial policy for the 1990s, it is not surprising that California seems to be slipping back into the nineteenth century. Rated by student-teacher ratios, for example, public schools in the once "Golden State" are now next-to-last in the nation. In terms of per capita Medicaid reimbursements (a crucial index of health-care accessibility), California is dead last, providing only one-third of the care per recipient as New York does.

Meanwhile, the state's modern mental-health system has collapsed so completely that prisons and county jails now are the principal custodians of the mentally ill. And, perhaps most tellingly, hunger and malnutrition have returned on a shocking scale: Nearly two million school children now meet the federal requirements for free school meals. This helps explain why the April 1992 uprising in Los Angeles partially took the form of a "bread riot" as thousands of poor people looted supermarkets.



MARK LUDAK/IMPACT VISUALS

The state's history has now arrived at a great divide. Wilson and the Republicans, as well as ideologically cloned Democrats like Dianne Feinstein, are trying to lead a gerontocratic secession from California's inevitable multicultural future. But the decisive battles, less likely to be fought in the courts than in the streets, still lie ahead. The mass student protests have given birth to a new civil rights movement for the 1990s. The victory of Proposition 187 must be seen merely as the opening salvo — the moral Fort Sumter — in a long civil war for the very soul of California. ●



Angry White Guys With Guns:

# The Rise of the Militias

by Daniel Junas

**W**inter is harsh in western Montana. Short days, bitter cold and heavy snows enforce the isolation of the small towns and lonely ranches scattered among the broad river valleys and high peaks of the Northern Rockies. But in February 1994 — the dead of winter — a wave of fear and paranoia strong enough to persuade Montanans to brave the elements swept through the region. Hundreds of people poured into meetings in small towns to hear tales of mysterious black helicopters sighted throughout the United States and foreign military equipment moving via rail and flatbed truck across the country, in preparation for an invasion by a hostile federal government aided by U.N. troops seeking to impose a New World Order.

In Hamilton (pop. 1,700), at the base of the Bitterroot Mountains dividing Idaho and Montana, 250 people showed up; 200 more gathered in Eureka (pop. 1,000), ten miles from the Canadian border. And 800 people met in Kalispell, at the foot of Glacier National Park. Meeting organizers encouraged their audiences to form citizens' militias to protect themselves from the impending military threat.<sup>1</sup>

Most often, John Trochmann, a wiry, white-haired man in his fifties, led the

**Daniel Junas** is a Seattle-based political researcher and author of "The Religious Right in Washington State," published by the ACLU of Washington. Research assistance by Paul de Armond and David Neiwert. 1. Montana Human Rights Network, "A Season of Discontent: Militias, Constitutionalists, and The Far Right in Montana," May 1994.



agency controlling the U.S. government. MOM also provides "how to" materials for organizing citizens' militias to meet this dark threat.

## Militia Mania

It is difficult to judge from attendance at public meetings how many militias and militia members there might be in Montana, or if, as is widely rumored, they are conducting military training and exercises. The same applies across the country; there is

CRAIG BUCK

little hard information on how many are involved or what they are actually doing. But the Trochmanns are clearly not alone in raising fears about the federal government nor in sounding the call to arms. By January, movement watchers had identified militia activity in at least 40 states, with a conservatively estimated hard-core membership of at least 10,000 — and growing.<sup>3</sup>

**"If we can't get you at the ballot box, we'll get you with a bullet. We have a militia of 10,000."**

The appearance of armed militias raises the level of tension in a region already at war over environmental and land use issues. A threat explicitly tied to militias occurred in November 1994, at a public hearing in Everett, Washington. Two men approached Ellen Gray, an Audubon Society activist. According to Gray, one of them, later identified as Darryl Lord, placed a hangman's noose on a nearby chair, saying, "This is a message for you." He also distributed cards with a picture of a hangman's noose that said, "Treason = Death" on one side, and

2. Paramilitary formations are illegal in Montana. Militia organizers skirt the law by forming "support groups."

3. Interview with Chip Berlet, Dec. 21, 1994.

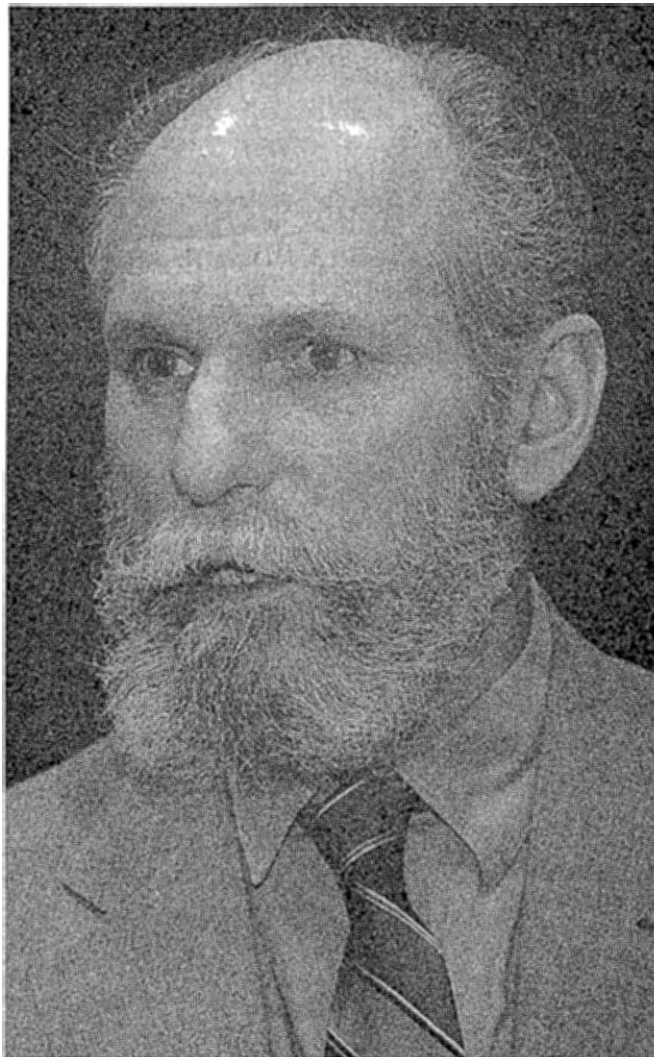
"Eco fascists go home" on the other. The other man told Gray, "If we can't get you at the ballot box, we'll get you with a bullet. We have a militia of 10,000."<sup>4</sup> In a written statement, Lord later denied making the threat, although he admitted bringing the hangman's noose to the meeting.<sup>5</sup>

### Militias, "Patriots," and Angry White Guys

As important as environmental issues are in the West, they are only part of what is driving the militia movement. The militias have close ties to the older and more broadly based "Patriot" movement, from which they emerged, and which supplies their worldview. According to Chip Berlet, an analyst at Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, who has been tracking the far right for over two decades, this movement consists of loosely-linked organizations and individuals who perceive a global conspiracy in which key political and economic events are manipulated by a small group of elite insiders.

On the far right flank of the Patriot movement are white supremacists and anti-Semites, who believe that the world is controlled by a cabal of Jewish bankers. This position is represented by, among others, the Liberty Lobby and its weekly newspaper, the *Spotlight*. At the other end of this relatively narrow spectrum is the John Birch Society, which has repeatedly repudiated anti-Semitism, but hews to its own paranoid vision. For the Birchers, it is not the Rothschilds but such institutions as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the U.N. which secretly call the shots.<sup>6</sup>

This far-right milieu is home to a variety of movements, including Identity



John Trochmann, leader of the Militia of Montana at a December 1994 meeting in Noxon, Montana.

Christians, Constitutionalists, tax protesters, and remnants of the semi-secret Posse Comitatus. Members of the Christian right who subscribe to the conspiratorial world view presented in Pat Robertson's 1991 book, *The New World Order*, also fall within the movement's parameters.<sup>7</sup> Berlet estimates that as many as five million Americans consider themselves Patriots.<sup>8</sup>

While the Patriot movement has long existed on the margins of U.S. society, it has grown markedly in recent years.<sup>9</sup> Three factors have sparked that growth.

One is the end of the Cold War. For over 40 years, the "international com-

munist conspiracy" held plot-minded Americans in thrall. But with the collapse of the Soviet empire, their search for enemies turned toward the federal government, long an object of simmering resentment.

The other factors are economic and social. While the Patriot movement provides a pool of potential recruits for the militias, it in turn draws its members from a large and growing number of U.S. citizens disaffected from and alienated by a government that seems indifferent, if not hostile, to their interests. This predominantly white, male, and middle- and working-class sector has been buffeted by global economic restructuring, with its attendant job losses, declining real wages and social dislocations. While under economic stress, this sector has also seen its traditional privileges and status challenged by 1960s-style social movements, such as feminism, minority rights, and environmentalism.

Someone must be to blame. But in the current political context, serious progressive analysis is virtually invisible, while the Patriot movement provides plenty of answers.

Unfortunately, they are dangerously wrong-headed ones.<sup>10</sup>

### Ruby Ridge and Waco

Two recent events inflamed Patriot passions and precipitated the formation of the militias. The first was the FBI's 1992 confrontation with white supremacist Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in which federal agents killed Weaver's son and wife. The second was the federal government's destruction of David Koresh and his followers at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, in April 1993.<sup>11</sup>

10. This analysis is based on interviews with long-time movement watcher Chip Berlet, Feb. 6, 1995.

11. The behavior of federal law enforcement agencies merits criticism. Weaver and actual shooter Kevin Harris were acquitted of murder charges in the death of a federal agent during the siege. A December 1993 Justice Department report on the Weaver stand-off found that FBI agents violated both bureau policies and constitutional guidelines when they issued "rules of engagement" allowing agents to shoot any armed adult. An

4. Diane Brooks, "Threats Replace Debate at Hearing," *Seattle Times*, Snohomish edition, Nov. 15, 1994, p. B1; interview with Ellen Gray by Paul de Armond, Nov. 22, 1994.

5. Statement to the press, Nov. 16, 1994.

6. For Birch Society theories, see its magazine, *The New American*; also James Perloff, *The Council on Foreign Relations and the American Decline* (Belmont, Mass.: Western Islands, 1988), and Dan Smoot, *The Invisible Government* (Belmont, Mass.: Western Islands, 1965).

7. Pat Robertson, *The New World Order* (Irving, Tex.: New Publishers, 1991).

8. Berlet interview, *op. cit.*

9. *Ibid.* Berlet notes that the John Birch Society has rebounded from a low of 20,000 members and claims to have doubled its membership in recent years. Berlet believes membership has probably increased by 10,000.

Key promoters of the militia movement repeatedly invoke Ruby Ridge and Waco as spurs to the formation of militias to defend the citizenry against a hostile federal government.

The sense of foreboding and resentment of the federal government was compounded by the passage of the Brady Bill (imposing a waiting period and background checks for the purchase of a handgun) followed by the Crime Bill (banning the sale of certain types of assault rifles). For some members of the Patriot movement, these laws are the federal government's first step in disarming the citizenry, to be followed by the much dreaded United Nations invasion and the imposition of the New World Order.<sup>12</sup>

But while raising apocalyptic fears among Patriots, gun control legislation also angered more mainstream gun owners. Some have become newly receptive to conspiracy theorists and militia recruiters, who justify taking such a radical step with the Second Amendment:

A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Right-wing organizers have long used the amendment to justify the creation of armed formations. The Ku Klux Klan began as a militia movement, and the militia idea has continued to circulate in white supremacist circles. It has also spread within the Christian right. In the early 1990s, the Coalition on Revival, an influential national Christian right networking organization, circulated a 24-plank action plan. It advocated the formation of "a countywide 'well-regulated militia' according to the U.S. Constitution under the control of the county sheriff and Board of Supervisors."<sup>13</sup>

Like the larger Patriot movement, the militias vary in membership and ideology. In the East, they appear closer to the John Birch Society. In New

Hampshire, for example, the 15-member Constitution Defense Militia reportedly embraces garden variety U.N. conspiracy fantasies and lobbies against gun control measures.<sup>14</sup> In the Midwest, some militias have close ties to the Christian right, particularly the radical wing of the anti-abortion movement. In Wisconsin, Matthew Trehella, leader of Missionaries to the Preborn, has organized paramilitary training sessions for his churchmembers.<sup>15</sup>

And in Indianapolis, Linda Thompson, the self-appointed "Acting Adjutant General of the Unorganized Militia of the U.S.A.," called for an armed march on Washington last September to demand an investigation of the Waco siege. Although she canceled the march when no one responded, she

## Some people angered by gun control legislation are receptive to conspiracy theorists and militia recruiters.

remains an important militia promoter.<sup>16</sup> While Thompson limits her tirades to U.S. law enforcement and the New World Order, her tactics have prompted the Birch Society to warn its members "to stay clear of her schemes."<sup>17</sup>

Despite slight variations in their motivations, the militias fit within the margins of the Patriot movement. And a recurring theme for all of them is a sense of deep frustration and resentment against the federal government.

Nowhere has that resentment been felt more deeply than in the Rocky Mountain West, a hotbed of such attitudes since the frontier era. The John

Birch Society currently has a larger proportional membership in this region than in any other.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the Rocky Mountain West is where anti-government presidential candidate Ross Perot ran strongest.

And nowhere in the West is anti-government sentiment stronger than along the spine of wild mountains that divide the Idaho panhandle from Montana. In the last two decades, this pristine setting has become a stomping ground for believers in Christian Identity, a religious doctrine that holds that whites are the true Israelites and that blacks and other people of color are subhuman "mud people."<sup>19</sup>

In the mid-1970s, Richard Butler, a neo-Nazi from California who is carrying out a self-described war against the "Zionist Occupational Government," or "ZOG," relocated to the Idaho panhandle town of Hayden Lake to establish his Aryan Nations compound. He saw the Pacific Northwest, with its relatively low minority population, as the region where God's kingdom could be established. Butler also believed that a racially pure nation needs an army.<sup>20</sup>

Butler is aging, and his organization is mired in factional disputes. But he has helped generate a milieu in which militias can thrive. In May 1992, one of his neighbors and supporters, Eva Vail Lamb, formed the Idaho Organized Militia. During the same year, Lamb was also a key organizer for presidential candidate Bo Gritz (rhymes with "whites"), another key player in the militia movement.<sup>21</sup>

### Bo Gritz and the Origins of the Militias

A former Green Beret, Ret. Lt. Col. Gritz is a would-be Rambo, having led several private missions to Southeast Asia to search for mythical U.S. POWs. He also has a lengthy Patriot pedigree.

18. Charles Jeffrey Kraft, "A Preliminary Socio-Economic and State Demographic Profile of the John Birch Society," Political Research Associates, 1991.

19. Leonard Zeskind, "The 'Christian Identity' Movement," National Council of Churches, 1986.

20. In 1984, Butler's vision briefly materialized in the form of an Aryan Nations offshoot led by Robert Jay Matthews. The Order committed a series of crimes, including bank robberies, bombings, and the murder of Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg. Matthews himself died in a shootout with police in December 1984 on Whidbey Island, in Puget Sound near Seattle. See Robert Crawford, S. L. Gardiner, Jonathan Mozzochi, and R. L. Taylor, *The Northwest Imperative* (Portland, Ore.: Coalition for Human Dignity, 1994), p. 1.16.

21. Robert Crawford, S. L. Gardiner, Jonathan Mozzochi, "Patriot Games," Coalition for Human Dignity Special Report, 1994.

Idaho prosecutor's investigation continues, and FBI head Louis Freeh expects two agents to be indicted. (Jerry Seper, "Probe of federal agents in siege killings continues," *Washington Times*, Feb. 13, 1995, p. A3). Similarly, the Justice Department's *Report to the Deputy Attorney General on the Events at Waco, Texas, February 28 to April 19, 1993* faulted BATF and FBI performance, but found no cause for indictments.

12. See "Under the Law of the Gun," *Taking Aim* (Militia of Montana newsletter), v. 1, n. 7, 1994, pp. 1-3.

13. Fred Clarkson, "HardCOR," *Church and State*, Jan. 1991, p. 26.

14. Anti-Defamation League, *Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government*, 1994, p. 20.

15. John Goetz, "Missionaries' Leader Calls for Armed Militia," *Front Line Research*, Aug. 1994, pp. 1, 3-4; Beth Hawkins, "Patriot Games," *Metro Times* (Detroit), Oct. 12-18, 1994, pp. 12-16.

16. Adam Parfrey and Jim Redden, "Patriot Games," *Village Voice*, Oct. 11, 1994, pp. 26-31.

17. Cited in Anti-Defamation League, *op. cit.*, p. 12.



With well-documented ties to white supremacist leaders, he has asserted that the Federal Reserve is controlled by eight Jewish families.<sup>22</sup> In 1988, he accepted the vice-presidential nomination of the Populist Party, an electoral amalgam of neo-Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and other racist and anti-Semitic organizations.<sup>23</sup> His running mate was ex-Klansman David Duke. Gritz later disavowed any relationship with Duke, but in 1992, Gritz was back as the Populist Party's candidate for president.

He has emerged as a mentor for the militias. During the 1992 campaign, he encouraged his supporters to form militias,<sup>24</sup> and played a key role in one of the events that eventually sparked the militia movement, the federal assault on the Weaver family compound at Ruby Ridge, Idaho.

In the mid-1980s, Randy Weaver, a machinist from Waterloo, Iowa, moved to Ruby Ridge in Boundary County, the northernmost county in the panhandle. A white supremacist who subscribed to anti-government conspiracy theories, he attended Richard Butler's Aryan Nations congresses at least three times.<sup>25</sup> And acting on the long-held far right notion that the county ought to be the supreme level of government, he even ran for sheriff of Boundary County.

But in 1991, after being arrested on gun charges, Weaver failed to show up for trial and holed up in his mountain home. In August 1992, a belated federal marshals' effort to arrest him led to a siege in which FBI snipers killed Weaver's wife and son, and Weaver associate Kevin Harris killed a federal marshal. Gritz appeared on the scene and interposed himself as a negotiator between the FBI and Weaver. He eventually convinced Weaver to surrender and end the 11-day standoff. The episode gave Gritz national publicity and made him a hero on the right.<sup>26</sup>

He moved quickly to exploit both his new-found fame and the outrage generated by the Weaver killings. In February 1993, Gritz initiated his highly profitable SPIKE training — Specially

Prepared Individuals for Key Events. The ten-part traveling program draws on Gritz's Special Forces background and teaches a rigorous course on survival and paramilitary techniques. Gritz — who has already instructed hundreds of Christian Patriots in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, California, and elsewhere — recommends the training as essential preparation for militia members.<sup>27</sup>

## MOM

The Randy Weaver shoot-out also led directly to the formation of the Trochmanns' Militia of Montana (MOM). In September 1992, during the Ruby Ridge standoff, John Trochmann helped found United Citizens for Justice (UCJ), a support group for his friend Weaver. Another steering committee member was Chris Temple, who writes regularly for the *Jubilee*, a leading Christian Identity publication. Temple also worked as a western Montana organizer for Gritz's presidential campaign. One of the earliest mailing lists used to promote MOM came from UCJ.

But despite Trochmann's links to their adherents, white supremacist and Christian Identity rhetoric is conspicuously absent from MOM literature.<sup>28</sup> Instead, Trochmann purveys the popular UN/New World Order conspiracy theory with an anti-corporate twist. The cabal, he claims, intends to reduce the world's population to two billion by the year 2000.<sup>29</sup>

At public events, he cites news accounts, government documents and reports from his informal intelligence network. Trochmann also reports on the mysterious black helicopters and ties them to the U.N. takeover plot. In one of his lectures, distributed on a MOM



**Middle American summer family gathering in Michigan ... to support private militias**

videotape, he uses as evidence a map — found on the back of a Kix cereal box — which divides the United States into ten regions, reflecting, he implies, an actual plan to divide and conquer the nation.<sup>30</sup>

The Trochmanns give talks around the country and are part of a very effective alternative media network which uses direct mail, faxes, videos, talk radio, TV, and even computers linked to the Internet to sustain its apocalyptic, paranoid world view.<sup>31</sup>

The Trochmanns use all these venues to promote MOM materials, including an organizing manual, "Militia Support Group," which provides a model military structure for the militias and lays out MOM's aims:

The time has come to renew our commitment to high moral values and wrench the control of the government from the hands of the secu-

22. Crawford, et al., *Northwest Imperative*, op. cit., p. 2.25; I. Gritz nonetheless denies that he is a white supremacist. Phone interview by David Neiwert, Nov. 10, 1994.

23. Crawford, et al., *Northwest Imperative*, p. 1.32.

24. Montana Human Rights Network, op. cit., p. 7.

25. Philip Weiss, "Off the Grid," *New York Times Magazine*, January 8, 1995, pp. 24-33.

26. Weiss, op. cit.; Crawford, et al., *Northwest Imperative*, op. cit., p. 2.27.

27. Phone interview by David Neiwert, op. cit.

28. Trochmann denies being a white supremacist. In 1990, however, he was a featured speaker at an Aryan Nations congress and has since admitted travelling to the white supremacist compound on at least four or five occasions. Interview by David Neiwert, Nov. 15, 1994.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Militia of Montana Information Video and Intel Update*, videotape, undated.

31. Interview with Ken Toole, president, Montana Human Rights Network, Jan. 9, 1995; Anti-Defamation League, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," 1994, pp. 7-9.

lar humanists and the self-indulging special interest groups including private corporations.<sup>32</sup>

It also reveals that MOM has recruited "Militia Support Groups" throughout the nation into its intelligence network, which provides MOM with a steady stream of information to feed into its conspiracy theories. Consequently, the Trochmanns were well aware when trouble was brewing in another remote corner of the West.

### The County Rule Movement

In Catron County, New Mexico, the militia movement has converged with some other strands of the anti-government right to create a new challenge to federal power. Catron, located in the desolate southwest of New Mexico and with a population of less than 3,000 people, has been the site of a novel legal challenge to federal control of public lands. In what has become known as the County Rule movement, Catron was the first county to issue a direct legal challenge to the federal government over those lands.

It grew out of a conflict between local ranchers and federal land managers over federal grazing lands. County attorney James Catron, whose ancestors gave the county its name, joined forces with Wyoming attorney Karen Budd, a long-time foe of environmental regulation,<sup>33</sup> to produce the Catron County ordinances. These purport to give the county ultimate authority over public lands — making it illegal for the U.S. Forest Service to regulate grazing, even on its own lands.<sup>34</sup>

32. Militia of Montana, "Militia Support Group," undated.  
33. Budd formerly worked for James Watt in the Interior Dept., as well as for Watt's former employer, the anti-environment, corporate-funded Mountain States Legal Foundation. Barry Sims, "Private rights in public lands?" *The Workbook* (Albuquerque), Summer 1993, p. 55.

34. Charles McCoy, "Catron County, N.M. Leads a Nasty Revolt Over Eco-Protection," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan.

But such regulations also serve the interests of natural resource industries. Since it is relatively easy for those industries to control county governments, the ordinances provide them with a convenient end run around federal environmental laws and rules. The Catron County legislation has since been disseminated throughout the West — and recently into the Midwest — by the National Federal Lands Conference of

Supreme Court has consistently upheld federal government authority over federal lands.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, the county rule movement has succeeded in shifting the balance of power between the counties and the federal government, if through no other means than intimidation. In Catron County, the sheriff has threatened to arrest the head of the local Forest Service office. And the county also passed a resolution predicting "much physical violence" if the federal government persists in trying to implement grazing reform.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, a climate of hostility greets environmentalists throughout the West. Author David Helvarg writes that there have been hundreds of instances of harassment and physical violence in the last few years.<sup>38</sup>

Sheila O'Donnell, a California-based private investigator who tracks harassment of environmentalists, concurs that intimidation is on the rise.<sup>39</sup>

Catron County has been the scene of at least one such incident. Richard Manning, a local rancher, planned to open a mill at the Challenger mine, on Forest Service land in the Mogollon mountains. Forest Service and state regulators want to determine if toxic mine tailings are leaching into watercourses. According to several Forest Service and state officials, Manning threatened to meet any regulator with "a hundred men with rifles." Manning denies having made the threat.<sup>40</sup>

### Militias and the Power of the County

The County Rule movement and the militias share an ideological kinship, revolving around the idea, long popular in far-right circles, that the county is the supreme level of government and the sheriff the highest elected official.

36. McCoy, *op. cit.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994), p. 326.

39. Interview, Jan. 9, 1995.

40. McCoy, *op. cit.*



Bountiful, Utah, which is part of the anti-environmental Wise Use movement.<sup>35</sup>

Over 100 counties in the West have passed similar legislation, despite the ordinances' shaky legal foundations. The Boundary County, Idaho, ordinances have been overturned in state court, and federal court challenges to county rule legislation in Washington state are expected to succeed; the U.S.

3, 1995; Scott Reed, "The County Supremacy Myth: Mendacious Myth Marketing," *Idaho Law Review*, v. 30, 1994, pp. 526-53; interview with Tarso Ramos, Western States Center, Dec. 21, 1994.

35. The "Wise Use" movement has recently emerged as a potent political force in the West. It is largely the brainchild of Ron Arnold, who has been helping logging, mining, and agricultural corporations fight the environmental movement since the mid-1970s. Since 1985 Arnold has headed the corporate-funded Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise (CDFE), controlled by Alan Gottlieb, a New Right direct mail fundraiser best known for his opposition to gun control. See Alan Gottlieb, ed., *The Wise Use Agenda*, (Bellevue, Wash.: Free Enterprise Press, 1989). The National Federal Lands Conference supported the first Wise Use conference. See National Federal Lands Conference brochure, 1994.

"Posse Comitatus" — the name for a far-right, semi-secret anti-tax organization — literally means "the power of the county."

A militia has formed in Catron County, quickly sparking an incident that demonstrates the high level of paranoia in the area. Last September, two days after the militia held its first meeting, FBI and National Guard officials arrived in Catron County to search for the body of a person reportedly killed a year earlier in the nearby Mogollon mountains. Several militia members refused to believe the official explanation and fled their homes for the evening.<sup>41</sup>

Catron County may be a bellwether: The county rule and militia movements are apparently converging. In October 1994, the monthly newsletter of the National Federal Lands Conference featured a lead article that explicitly called for the formation of militias. The article, which cited information provided by the Militia of Montana and pro-militia organizations in Idaho and Arizona, closed by saying:

41. Tony Davis, "Militia Members scatter as FBI, Guard turn up in Catron," *Albuquerque Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1994.

The militias represent a smoldering right-wing populism, with real and imagined grievances stoked by a politics of resentment and scapegoating, just a demagogue away from kindling an American fascist movement.

At no time in our history since the colonies declared their independence from the long train of abuses of King George has our country needed a network of active militias across America to protect us from the monster we have allowed our federal government to become. Long live the Militia! Long live freedom! Long live government that fear [sic] the people!<sup>42</sup>

### Smoke on the Horizon

Such incendiary rhetoric, commonplace in the Patriot/Militia movement, makes an armed confrontation between the government and militia members seem increasingly likely. If past behavior is any guide, federal law enforcement agencies are all too ready to fight fire with fire.

Obviously, militias do not pose a military threat to the federal government. But they do threaten democracy. Armed militias fueled by paranoid conspiracy theories could make the democratic process unworkable, and in some rural areas of the West, it is already under siege.

As ominously, the militias represent a smoldering right-wing populism — with real and imagined grievances stoked by a politics of resentment and scapegoating — just a demagogue away from kindling an American fascist movement.

The militia movement now is like a brush fire on a hot summer day, atop a high and dry mountain ridge on the Idaho panhandle. As anyone in the panhandle can tell you, those brush fires have a way of getting out of control. ●

42. Jim Faulkner, "Why There is a Need for the Militia in America," *Update*, National Federal Lands Conference, October 1994.

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# Neo-Nazis Salute the Anti-Abortion Zealots

by Tom Burghardt

**A**ttacks on women's reproductive freedom and abortion rights now form a cornerstone of ultraconservative organizing throughout North America. Having lost in the legislatures, the courts and the streets, anti-abortion zealots have shifted gears. They are building alliances with racist organizations and are trying to make it virtually impossible for women to obtain abortions. The campaign is escalating. Five murders at clinics in less than two years; 15 people injured; 400 death threats in 1994 alone. In the last dozen years, according to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, there have been 37 bombings in 33 states; 123 cases of arson; 1,500 cases of assault, stalking, sabotage, and burglary; and some \$13 million in property damage.<sup>1</sup> Last year, authorities discovered a how-to manual buried in the backyard of Rachelle Shannon, convicted of wounding an abortion clinic doctor in Kansas.

It gives detailed instructions for making plastic explosives, setting bombs, making and dispersing toxic chemicals through the ventilation systems at clinics, and avoiding leaving fingerprints on guns. The book urges readers to cut off the thumbs of doctors.<sup>2</sup> Other literature making the rounds of extremist factions

of the anti-abortion movement is overtly anti-Semitic, racist, and homophobic.

Although many in the anti-abortion movement denounce the violence, harassment, and racism, some members of Christian Right direct action anti-abortion groups, especially those espousing "dominion theology" or

Christian Reconstructionism,<sup>3</sup> have entered into an ideological and tactical alliance with factions of the racist right, the neo-Nazi movement, and Christian Patriot militia groups.<sup>4</sup>

What is significant about the political convergence among various far-right, anti-Semitic, white supremacist and Christian Reconstructionist factions is the ease with which conspiratorial rhetoric slips over into violent attacks



**Aryan Nations, Hayden Lake, Idaho. The group wrote: "15 million sheep ... are controlled not only by the Jew media ... into killing their children. ... We the enlightened minority must show the docile mass why these murders are happening. ... Periodic disruptions of these murder parlors can only slow down the real holocaust!"**

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1. Nina Totenberg citing Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms statistics, *Morning Edition*, NPR, February 3, 1995.

2. The anti-abortion movement has published an array of handbooks and manuals detailing techniques for targeting abortion providers or destroying clinic facilities. The buried manual was published by *The Army of God*, 1993, 3rd Revised Edition. See also: Kevin Sherlock, *Abortion Buster's Manual* (Blue Jay, Calif: Operation Rescue of California, 1992); Mark Crutcher, *Firestorm: A Guerrilla Strategy for a Pro-Life America* (Denton, Texas: Life Dynamics Incorporated, 1992).

organizations and causes. Under its broad umbrella, groups such as Missionaries to the Preborn, factions within Operation Rescue, the Defensive Action "network," the United States Taxpayers Party, Aryan Nations, the American Front, and Canadian anti-abortion groups with ties to the neo-Nazi Heritage Front, are forging ideological and operational links. According to the FBI, Patriot members rail against the "evils of the federal and state governments and provide training in areas of sur-

3. For a discussion of Christian Reconstructionism, see Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Reconstructionism: Religious Right Extremism Gains Influence," Parts 1 and 2, *The Public Eye*, Mar. and June 1994, Political Research Associates.

4. Loretta J. Ross, "Anti-Abortionists and White Supremacists Make Common Cause," *The Progressive*, Oct. 1994, pp. 24-25; for additional background see Michael Novick, "Women's Rights: Target For Racist Terror. Neo-Nazi Involvement in the Anti-Abortion Movement," Mar. 1993, 3rd revised edition, People Against Racist Terror, P.O. Box 1990, Burbank, CA 91507. The Christian Patriot movement is a militant amalgam of far-right organizations and causes.

on women's clinics, health care providers, racial minorities, queers, leftists, environmentalists and the trade union movement.<sup>5</sup>

### Common Themes

While the extent of formal organizational links between anti-abortion contras and neo-Nazi organizations is unknown, personal and ideological connections abound.

These go back at least a decade. "There must be nearly 15 million sheep here in the U.S.," said Aryan Nations Liberty Net 1985, "[They are] controlled not only by the Jew media but are pushed by unthinking people through peer pressure into killing their own children. We the enlightened minority must show the docile mass why these murders are happening. ... Periodic disruptions of these murder parlors can only slow down the real holocaust!!!!!"<sup>6</sup>

Another familiar theme linking the far right with the anti-abortion zealots is the charge that Jewish doctors control the "abortion industry." Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, has criticized Jewish doctors, charging that they perform a disproportionately large number of abortions.<sup>7</sup>

Former KKK leader Tom Metzger, currently führer of the California-based White Aryan Resistance, said, "Almost all abortion doctors are Jews. Abortion makes money for Jews. Almost all abor-

**"Jews must be punished for this holocaust and murder of white children along with their perverted lesbian nurses."**

— Tom Metzger, *White Aryan Resistance*

vital tactics, weapons, legal actions, removal of one's self and family from Social Security systems, tax rules and income-tax reporting, as well as other areas of government incursion." (Steve Lipsher, "The Radical Right," *Denver Post*, Jan. 22, 1995, p. A1.)

5. For further information contact Political Research Associates, 678 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 702, Cambridge, MA 02139; and *Front Lines Research*, Public Policy Institute/Planned Parenthood Federation (PPF) of America, FLR, 810 7th Avenue, 14th Floor, New York, NY 10019.

6. Floyd Cochran and Loretta Ross, "Procreating White Supremacy: Women and the Far Right," *Information Packet*, Aug. 1993, Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302.

7. *Newsweek*, May 1, 1989; cited in Skipp Porteous, "Anti-Semitism: Its Prevalence Within The Christian Right," *Freedom Writer*, May 1994, p. 3. Institute for First Amendment Studies (IFAS), P.O. Box 589, Great Barrington, MA 01230.

tion nurses are lesbians. Abortion gives thrills to lesbians. Abortion in Orange County is promoted by the corrupt Jewish organization called Planned Parenthood. ... Jews must be punished for this holocaust and murder of white children along with their perverted lesbian nurses."<sup>8</sup>

A Denton, Texas-based anti-abortion organization, Life Dynamics Incorporated, claims that 26 percent of all doctors who perform abortion are Jewish.<sup>9</sup> The group has distributed tens of thousands of copies of an overtly racist and anti-Semitic "comic book," *Bottom Feeder*. One of *Bottom Feeder's* "jokes" implicitly favors Hitler over physicians who perform abortions: "Q: What would you do if you found yourself in a room with Hitler, Mussolini and an abortionist, and you had a gun with only two bullets? A: Shoot the abortionist twice."<sup>10</sup>

The Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan also sounded that theme in a printed statement: "More than ten million white babies have been murdered through Jewish-engineered legalized abortion since 1973 here in America and more than a million per year are being slaughtered this way. ... The Klan understands that this is just one of many tools used to destroy the white race and we know who it is."<sup>11</sup>

In August 1994, after Rev. Paul Hill murdered Dr. John Bayard Britton and clinic escort James Barrett in Pensacola, the Florida Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan sponsored a rally in support of Hill. Around the same time, a spokesperson for the Aryan Nations urged racists to join the anti-abortion struggle. "It's part of our Holy War for the pure Aryan race," he said.

In Oregon, members of the neo-Nazi American Front joined Advocates for Life Ministries and some Operation Rescue members blockading clinics. According to the Christian Identity movement, another sect which provides the

8. Cochran and Ross, *op. cit.*

9. Porteous, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

10. *Bottom Feeder* (Denton, Texas: Life Dynamics Inc., 1993), p. 9.

11. Ross, *op. cit.*



Book cover, Canadian League of Rights

dominant theology for many white-supremacist organizations, whites are God's chosen people, only white Aryans have souls, and it is appropriate for Christians to murder anyone who engages in race-mixing, performs abortions, or practices homosexuality.<sup>12</sup>

### Christian Reconstructionism

The ideological ground zero of the tactical alliance in the U.S. is within the Christian Reconstructionist (also known as Dominion Theology) and the Christian Identity movements. Although these theologies emerged separately, and Identity is based on open race hate and anti-Jewish lore, there are points of ideological convergence. The most militant anti-abortion groups, including Operation Rescue, are increasingly influenced by this millennial brand of Protestant theology, which teaches that true Christians must physically challenge secular and sinful society and return it to God. Reconstructionists generally seek to replace democracy with a theocracy led by a group of elite men who would interpret and impose biblical law. The most mili-

12. *Ibid.*

tant in their ranks argue that it is morally justifiable to kill abortion providers.<sup>13</sup> More than one person has acted in accordance with their vigilante slogan: "If you believe that abortion is murder, then act like it is murder."

Research analyst Chip Berlet warns that the movement is growing.

Theological arguments encouraging direct confrontation—for example, the murder of abortion providers—inflect a growing right-wing social movement that indulges discussions of armed resistance and blames society's problems on gays and lesbians, feminists, immigrants, and even environmental activists. While right-wing radio personality Rush Limbaugh popularized the term "feminazis," militants use it to bolster their belief abortion is a genocide worse than Hitler's Final Solution for the Jews.<sup>14</sup>

### Racism and Theocracy

An overtly racist, authoritarian strain runs through the writings of Rousas John (R.J.) Rushdoony, the premier ideologist of Christian Reconstructionism:

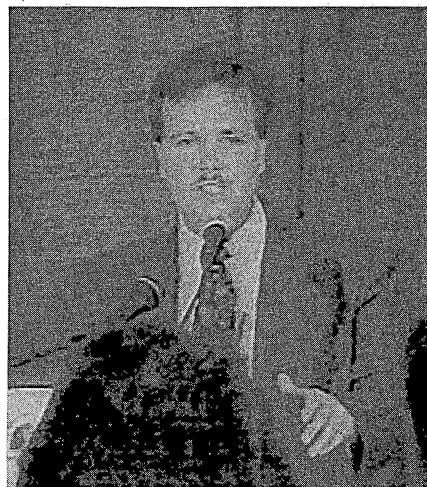
All men are *not* created equal before God; the facts of heaven and hell, election and reprobation make clear that they are not equal. Moreover, an employer has a property right to prefer whom he will in terms of color, creed, race or national origin. ... Segregation or separation is thus a basic principle of Biblical law with respect to religion and morality.<sup>15</sup>

More blatantly racist than Rushdoony, white supremacist Christian Identity leader Rev. Pete Peters asks:

[H]ow could churches call racism a sin? Racism is a sin in the HUMANIST religion, not in the true Christian faith based upon the Bible. There was a time in America when interracial marriage was against

the law and integration was not only socially but religiously unacceptable. In those days, America had no racial problems nor a killing plague such as AIDS. The white Nordic race who settled within her borders knew they were Israel and that the law of God forbid certain racial interactions.<sup>16</sup>

As these leaders take a more active part in the anti-abortion fight, they bring with them this overtly racist perspective. And some elements also bring contempt for democracy and hatred for the separation of church and state. One of the largest political manifestations of the theocratic wing of the Christian right is the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP).



**Rev. Matthew Trehwella, USTP leader, director of Missionaries to the Preborn, and signer of Paul Hill's "Defensive Action Declaration."**

It provides ideological and organizational links to the "dominion theology" or Christian Reconstructionist strain of the movement.<sup>17</sup> According to USTP literature, "all civic law should emerge from biblical law." Ironically, the party platform cites the founding fathers to legitimate establishing an authoritarian theocracy: "The U.S. Constitution," it purports, "establishes a republic under God, not a democracy." Under this proposed theocracy, says Rushdoony, "Supernatural Christianity and democracy are inevitable enemies," and democracy becomes a "heresy."<sup>18</sup> While

**More than one person has acted in accordance with their vigilante slogan: "If you believe that abortion is murder, then act like it is murder."**

the actual number of USTP members is unknown, their influence seems to be growing within ultraconservative circles. For example, when Joseph Slovenec, an Operation Rescue leader and current executive director of the USTP, ran for the U.S. Senate in Ohio in 1994, he got 263,000 votes on the USTP ticket.<sup>19</sup> Like Slovenec, Rev. Matthew Trehwella links this theocratic bent with anti-abortion zealotry. A National Committee member of USTP, Trehwella is also director of Missionaries to the Preborn (MTP) and an original signer of Paul Hill's "Defensive Action Declaration," which justifies the murder of abortion providers. Trehwella is currently under investigation by the FBI. At the May 1994 USTP Wisconsin convention, after excoriating "socialist elitists" and abortion providers, Trehwella advocated the formation of militias.<sup>20</sup> The next month, he and more than 20 MTP/USTP members, participated in a weapons training exercise at the rural farm of MTP members, Robert and Mary Briedis.<sup>21</sup>

### The U.S. Taxpayers Party

The National Committee of the USTP contains a cast of key actors, including anti-Semites, white supremacists and neo-Nazis, who are active in the direct action anti-abortion movement, the armed wing of the Christian Patriot militia movement, or both.

• **David Shedlock**, who sits on the committee, is communications director of Operation Rescue of Iowa.<sup>22</sup> In November 1992, he led an anti-Semitic demon-

13. Reconstructionist leaders also advocate the death penalty for such "crimes" as "apostasy, heresy, blasphemy, witchcraft, astrology, adultery, homosexuality, sodomy, incest, striking a parent, and in the case of women, unchastity before marriage." (Clarkson, *op. cit.*)

14. Chip Berlet, "John Salvi and the right wing's 'conspiracies,'" Knight-Ridder, Tribune News Service, Jan. 22, 1995.

15. Rousas John Rushdoony, "The Institutes of Biblical Law," v. 1, 1973, Craig Press, pp. 294, 296, 509-10, cited in Jerry Sloan and Marge Covino, "Christian Reconstructionism and Racism," Sept. 1993, Project Tocsin, P.O. Box 163523, Sacramento, CA 95816. Rushdoony heads the Chalcedon Foundation in Vallecito, Calif., a Christian Reconstructionist think tank.

16. Pete Peters, "The Bible: Handbook for Survivalists, Racists, Tax Protestors and Right Wing Extremists," Scriptures For America, La Porte, Colo., p. 5.

17. Clarkson, *op. cit.*

18. "U.S. Taxpayers Party Platform," cited in Howard Phillips, "The Next Four Years," n.d., p. 157; see also USTP "Constitution/Declaration" booklet, p. 1.

19. "A Party for Slovenec," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Jan. 29, 1995.

20. John Goetz, "Missionaries' Leader Calls for Armed Militias," *Front Lines Research*, New York (PPF), v. 1, n. 2, Aug. 1994, pp. 3, 4. During the convention, the 100-page *Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia*, was sold for \$1 to participants. Published by The Free Militia, the text is an amalgam of Christian Patriot doctrine on "biblical inerrancy" as well as a practical guide for organizing paramilitary combat cells.

21. Mike Mulvey, "Trehwella tied to 2 who held arms training. Pair are in abortion foe's church," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Aug. 19, 1994, p. 1.

22. Sandi DuBowski and John Goetz, "Bushwhacked!"





Raising the abortion debate to new heights.

stration at the Temple B'nai Jeshurun in Des Moines. Dr. Herbert Remer, an abortion provider and frequent target for harassment by Shedlock's group, is a member of the synagogue's congregation. Chanting, "Leave your religion, go to the true religion," the demonstrators called Rabbi Steven Fink a "murderer," and an "accomplice to the American Holocaust."<sup>23</sup>

• **Randall Terry**, founder of Operation Rescue, also is on the USTP National Committee. A Christian Reconstructionist, has written for *Crosswinds*, the journal of the Reconstructionist-influenced, Coalition on Revival (COR).<sup>24</sup> Terry, who has announced that he will run for office in 1996 as a USTP candidate, makes the Christian Coalition look moderate. In a recent op-ed in the *Washington Post*, he lambasts the Republican Party and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition for having "sold out the Law of Heaven."

The horrifying truth is that much of the Christian right, led by the Christian Coalition, has become the mistress of the Republican Party. The party has seduced us, used us, lied to us and made empty promises to us ... Now that the religious right mistress has made herself available for the political bedchamber, certain Christian leaders are pimping for us, declaring our willingness to betray our King and lie with the whoremongers of child killing, homosexuality, etc. as long as we get to be near the throne.<sup>25</sup>

• **Richard Viguerie**, new Right fund-raising specialist,<sup>26</sup> is credited with devising the strategy of direct-mail campaigns. His involvement with far-right politics is long-standing.<sup>27</sup>

• **Rev. Michael Bray**, a convicted clinic bomber, "Defensive Action Declaration" signer, and author of *A Time To Kill?*, a book which justifies the murder of abortion providers. Publisher of *Capitol Area Christian News* in Maryland, Bray is a friend of Paul Hill and helped the accused murderer draft "Defensive Action."<sup>28</sup> Bray is one of three dozen anti-abortion activists currently under investigation by federal authorities who are looking for evidence of an organized conspiracy to commit violent acts against abortion clinics or providers.<sup>29</sup>

• **Jeffrey Baker**, chair of the Florida USTP, declared at the Wisconsin convention, "Abortionists should be put to death. They are murderers." A representative of the "10th Amendment Militia, Church Status," Baker subscribes

spot for Viguerie on the AIP's national ticket. Formed as a vehicle for George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign, the AIP coalition includes "elements of the Ku Klux Klan, John Birchers ... and operatives of the Liberty Lobby." (Russ Bellant, "The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism," Apr. 1990, Political Research Associates, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 22-23.)  
<sup>28</sup> Judy Lundstrom Thomas, "Feds Make their Own List After Flier by Abortion Foes," *Wichita Eagle*, Jan. 29, 1995, p. 1A  
<sup>29</sup> "Conspiracy Theories: Feds Have Lengthy List of Their Own," *Abortion Report*, January 30, 1995.

24. Randall Terry, "Proclaim and Prepare: Readyng Ourselves for the Resistance," *Crosswinds: The Reformation Digest*, v. II, No. 2, Fall-Winter 1994-95, Coalition on Revival, Sunnyvale, Calif., p. 36.

25. "Selling Out the Law of Heaven," September 18, 1994.

26. DuBowski and Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

27. In 1976, far rightists Viguerie, Howard Phillips (head of the Conservative Caucus since 1974) and Paul Weyrich (director of the Free Congress Foundation), attended the American Independent Party convention, seeking a

The USTP and The Far Right," *Front Lines Research*, v. 1, n. 3, Nov. 1994, p. 5.

23. Chris Romans, "Rabbi blasts anti-abortion demonstration as anti-Semitic," *Des Moines Register*, Nov. 8, 1992, p. 5.

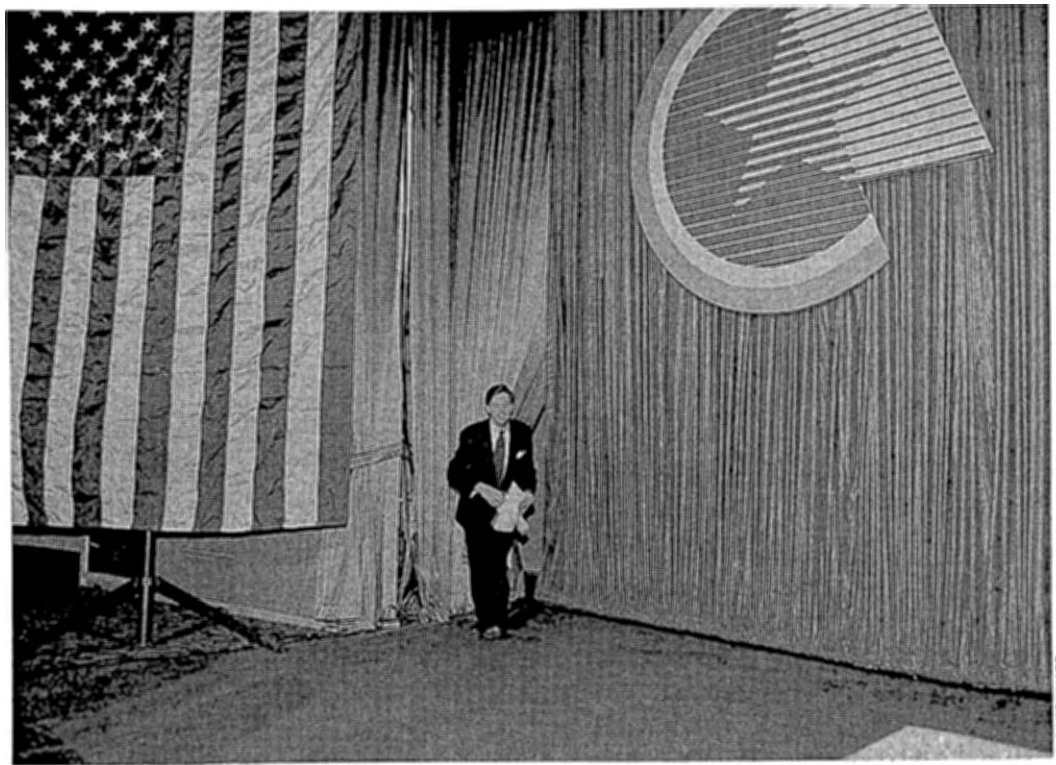
to a paranoid, conspiratorial world view that includes an obsession that the U.S. is about to be taken over and subsumed into the "New World Order" proclaimed by George Bush; that United Nations troops are about to invade using mysterious "black helicopters;" and that supermarket bar-codes are emblems of the Satanic "mark of the beast." Similar to the conspiracy theories of the John Birch Society, Jeffrey Baker identifies the "liberal" pro-capitalist, Council on Foreign Relations, the International Monetary Fund and the Trilateral Commission, as the leading players in a plot to destroy the United States and create a "One World Government," as a prelude to the "Reign of the Antichrist." Unlike the John Birch Society, however, which at least publicly has renounced anti-Semitism and racism, Baker identifies "The Star of David" as the best expression of the presumed plot.<sup>30</sup>

### Catholic Links

The combination of far-right ideology, overt racism, anti-Semitism, and militant anti-abortion activism is not confined to the Protestant fringes. Since Father Paul Marx founded Human Life International (HLI) in 1981, with encouragement from the Vatican, it has

30. DuBowski and Goetz, *op. cit.*

"[Moslems] are taking over Western Europe ... [and] they will kill you to please Allah." Turkish Moslem doctors are supporting their own large families with the profits from performing abortions on "German women." — *HLI head Father Paul Marx*



**Dueling demagogues.** Ralph Reed has threatened to throw his multi-million member Christian Coalition behind a third party if the Republicans nominate a presidential or vice presidential candidate who supports reproductive rights.

established 53 branches in 39 countries and chapters in 25 states. With a \$3.8 million a year budget, Marx and his followers have visited 90 countries and plan to "re-Christianize" Eastern Europe and "secure an anti-abortion beachhead in Russia."<sup>31</sup> This priest's world is cleanly divided into good and evil. "We are locked in a cultural civil war," he told a crowd of supporters in 1994. "There are two sides: Christendom and paganism."<sup>32</sup> Echoing the claims of the neo-Nazi movement, Marx asserts that an international Jewish conspiracy is the controlling force behind the "abortion industry."<sup>33</sup>

"Notice how many Jews led the infamous 1971 abortion-planning meeting in Los Angeles which I exposed," he wrote in his autobiography, *Confessions of A Pro-Life Missionary*. "[N]ote the large number of abortionists (consult the Yellow Pages) and pro-abortion medical professors who are Jewish ... [A] segment of the Jewish community ... more or less led the greatest holocaust of all time, the war on unborn

babies."<sup>34</sup> Thus, HLI resurrects what researchers Karen Branan and Frederick Clarkson call "that most vicious piece of historical anti-Semitism: child-killing Jews."<sup>35</sup>

It is not only Jews who fall under the category of the despised and dangerous pagan. Marx has emphasized that one of the goals of the church in the post-Cold War world is to "Re-educate Western Europe to help fulfill Pope John Paul II's dream of a re-Christianized, united Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals."<sup>36</sup> In his view, Moslems also threaten this holy goal. "[Moslems] are taking over Western Europe ... [and] they will kill you to please Allah."<sup>37</sup> Turkish Moslem doctors, he claims, are supporting their own large families with the profits from performing abortions on "German women."<sup>38</sup> It is hardly surprising, then, that one of Fr. Marx's closest allies in Germany is Dr. Siegfried Ernst, founder of European Doctors' Action (EDA), an openly ultra-nationalist and racist organization. Marx has appointed Ernst an HLI "International

31. Karen Branan and Frederick Clarkson, "Extremism in Sheep's Clothing: A Special Report on Human Life International," *Front Lines Research*, v. 1, n. 1, June 1994.

32. Speech, HLI conference, Irvine, Calif., April 1994.

33. Fr. Paul Marx, *Confessions of A Pro-Life Missionary* (Gaithersburg, Md.: Human Life International, 1988), pp. 268-71, cited in Branan and Clarkson, *op. cit.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. Steve Askin, "A New Rite: Conservative Catholic Organizations and Their Allies," 1994, Catholics For A Free Choice, Washington, D.C., p. 20.

37. Speech, HLI, *op. cit.*

38. Branan and Clarkson, *op. cit.*



Yael Rottenberg/Impact Visuals

**Dueling demagogues. Randall Terry, revealed the "horrible truth... that much of the Christian right, led by the Christian Coalition, has become the mistress of the Republican Party... [and] made herself available for the political bedchamber, certain Christian leaders are pimping for us, declaring our willingness to betray our King and lie with the whoremongers of child killing, homosexuality, etc. as long as we get to be near the throne."**

Advisor," called him "the greatest prolifer in Europe," and in 1991 awarded him HLI's highest international award. Ernst and his supporters believe that Germany's new role should be as the unquestioned leader of Europe and that this domination should be led by an ideological and moral elite.<sup>39</sup>

### Canada's Neo-Nazi Ties

The international dimensions of the alliance between the anti-abortion zealots and neo-Nazis were further documented in a 400-page report by B'nai B'rith Canada. Professor Stephen Scheinberg, the report's author, warned that "radical American right-wing groups may be camouflaging their entry into Canada by infiltrating the anti-abortion movement. ... [They] are moving into the anti-abortion movement with a vengeance. Anti-Semitism is a background to things that are taking place." What the *Vancouver Sun* called growing links "between elements of the anti-abortion movement and the neo-Nazi racist right"<sup>40</sup> may pre-

sage ever-greater levels of confrontation and violence.

Interestingly, while some anti-abortionists compare Hitler's genocide against the Jews to abortion, some in the ranks subscribe to the belief that the German Holocaust is a myth. Ann Molloy, the president of the Victoria Pro-Life Society, backed one of the ideological tenets of the anti-Semitic right

when she called Hitler's genocidal Holocaust against Jews a "myth." "The problem is there is a group trying to give the whole world, but particularly the Germans and the white Anglo-Saxons, a guilt trip for six million deaths that didn't take place." An acknowledged supporter of the far right Canadian Free Speech League, she defended Holocaust denier David Irving as a victim of "political correctness" in an anti-abortion newspaper, *The Interim*.<sup>41</sup>

Another Canadian Holocaust denier with links to the anti-abortion movement is Barry Wray, President of the local Pro-Life Society in Melville, Saskatchewan. His association with neo-Nazis goes back at least to 1986, when he attended a meeting of the Aryan Nations at Hayden Lake, Idaho, a leading center of the North American white supremacist movement.<sup>42</sup> He

currently counts among his associates Wolfgang Droege, founder of the neo-Nazi Heritage Front, and Ernst Zundel, one of the world's largest publishers of neo-Nazi literature. A frequent contributor to *The Interim* and *The Christian Info-*

41. *Ibid.* Molloy attended a 1992 dinner from which Irving was hauled away and later deported from Canada.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

## Salvi Plugged into Right

John Salvi, accused of murdering two employees of women's clinics in Brookline, Mass., and wounding five others on December 30, was deep in the milieu of the extreme right. In addition to subscribing to right-wing conspiracy theories involving freemasons and world government takeovers, he had expressed interest in participating in a "camping trip" with a Florida Militia group in 1992.<sup>1</sup>

According to published reports, literature seized from Salvi's home included lurid posters of aborted fetuses and brochures produced and distributed by Human Life International.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, authorities who searched Salvi's apartment discovered the name and phone number of Donald Spitz, the director of Pro-Life Virginia. Spitz, a supporter and signer of Paul Hill's *Defensive Action Declaration*, frequently targeted the clinic that John Salvi attacked in Norfolk and loudly proclaimed the righteousness of Salvi's actions. ●

1. Sarah Tipitt, "New Team: anti-abortion activists and militias. Salvi case evidence suggests link; books on bombs and guns at recent meeting in Massachusetts," Reuters, reprinted, *San Francisco Examiner*, Jan. 14, 1994, p. 1.

2. Chip Berlet, "Clinic Violence, the Religious Right, Scapegoating, Armed Militias and the Freemason Conspiracy," Jan. 1995, Political Research Associates, Cambridge, Mass.

39. *Ibid.* Another close associate of Marx and Ernst is EDA co-founder Wolfgang Borowsky, a member of the Freedom for Rudolph Hess Committee, who peppers his speeches with quotes from the anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and has written that "Communism is mainly a creation of the Jews."

40. Kim Bolan, "Pro-Lifers and Nazis linked," *Vancouver Sun*, reprinted, *The Sun Times of Canada* (Tampa, Florida), Jan. 2, 1995, p. 1.



# Making Violence Look Easy



Anti-abortion fanatic John Burt and his pet fetus demonstrate one example from his pamphlet, "101 Uses for a Dead (or Alive) Baby."

While his present links to the racist right are ambiguous, ex-Florida Ku Klux Klan member, John Burt draws on his Klan training to get media attention through provocative statements and confrontational tactics.<sup>1</sup> Now a Florida regional director of Donald Treshman's Rescue America, he claims to disavow "the Klan's violence and racial bigotry," but acknowledges that "Fundamentalist Christians and those people [the Ku Klux Klan] are pretty close, scary close, fighting for God and country. Some day we may all be in the trenches together in the fight against the slaughter of unborn children."<sup>2</sup>

By 1993, Burt, a former Marine, had recruited Michael Griffin into Rescue America and accepted him as a volunteer at "Our Father's House," Burt's home for unwed mothers. On Sunday, March 7, the two men went to church. Griffin prayed aloud "that [Dr. David] Gunn would give his life to Jesus Christ."

On March 10, Griffin gunned down abortion provider Gunn outside the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic during an anti-abortion demonstration which was organized by Burt's group, a branch of Rescue America. Burt

told the media, "No babies will die for the next three or four weeks. It's something good coming out of something bad."<sup>3</sup>

He then set his sights on learning the identity of Dr. Gunn's replacement. A key member of the Rescue America surveillance team was a soft-spoken, incessantly smiling ex-minister — Paul J. Hill — author of "Should We Defend Born and Unborn Children With Force?" In the immediate aftermath of Gunn's assassination, Hill founded the anti-abortion group Defensive Action and issued a manifesto signed by more than 30 leaders of the direct action anti-abortion movement.<sup>4</sup> The document said that murder was justified "for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children."

The Defensive Action manifesto, signed by more than 30 anti-abortion leaders, said that murder was justified "for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children." Asked what he would do to stop abortions, Burt replied, "Whatever it takes."

Burt's team identified Gunn's replacement as John Bayard Britton and issued a wanted poster "exposing [Britton] for the butcher that he is."

The wanted poster tactic has roots in the same corner of the racist right where Burt cut his political teeth. It was first used in 1985 against abortion providers when the White Patriot Party, formerly the Confederate Knights of the KKK, published a death threat in its paper *The Confederate Leader* announcing that the

Jew abortion king, Bernard Nathanson, of New York City, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death by hanging by a fair and unbiased judge and jury of the White Patriots on May 19 in Siler City, North Carolina. Nathanson was convicted of 55,000 counts of first-degree murder, treason against the United States of America, and conspiracy to commit genocide against the White Race.<sup>5</sup>

In 1992 in Alabama, Randall Terry issued his first wanted poster, reminiscent of those put out by the Klan, with David Gunn's photograph, home address, telephone number, and itinerary. The poster issued a year later by former Klansman Burt and his Rescue America accomplices had similar results. On July 29, 1994, Hill assassinated Britton and his escort, James Barrett.<sup>6</sup>

Asked what he would do to stop abortions, Burt replied, "Whatever it takes."<sup>7</sup> ●

1. Dallas A. Blanchard and Terry J. Prewitt, "Religious Violence and Abortion: The Gideon Project" (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 77.

2. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

3. Karen Houppert, "John Burt's Holy War: One Minister's Dangerous Battle To Save the Unborn," *Village Voice*, April 6, 1993.

4. Paul J. Hill, *Declaration*, revised Jan. 1994, Pensacola, Fla., Defensive Action.

5. Ross, *op. cit.*

6. For an account of Burt and Hill's covert operation, see "Florida pro-lifers ID replacement for Gunn," *Life Advocate* (Portland, Ore.), Sept. 1993, p. 19.

7. Larry Rohter, "Towering Over the Abortion Foe's Trial: His Leader," *New York Times*, Mar. 5, 1994, p. A6.



News, Wray wrote in the September 1994 issue of the latter that he couldn't condemn Paul Hill's double murder.

Wray's brother Dan, a former leader of the British Columbia Ku Klux Klan, spoke at a 1989 public meeting on "Satanism and Bolshevism," co-sponsored by the racist "white culture" group Canada First, the anti-abortion *Life Gazette*, and supporters of U.S. neo-fascist Lyndon LaRouche. Sharing the platform with unadulterated neo-Nazis and fascists were Peggy Steacey of the anti-abortion group REAL Women; Elaine Stewart of Concerned Citizens for Fetal Rights and Dignity; and Dr. Wayne Poley, editor of *Life Gazette*.<sup>43</sup>

### Fighting Back Against Terrorism

After the November 8 assassination attempt on the life of Dr. Garson Romalis in Vancouver, Allan Dutton, of the Canadian Anti-Racism Education and Research Society said, "there is no doubt that anti-abortion and extreme right are overlapping movements. ... There is no question that arms are circulating within the religious right and within the racist right."<sup>44</sup>

Thus, 22 years after *Roe v. Wade*, the far right-wing abortion opponents' cam-

paign resembles a low-intensity conflict (LIC) strategy. In so-called low-intensity conflict, one side tries to wear down its enemy through a comprehensive, coordinated set of tactics including economic sabotage, propaganda, espionage, psychological terror, and violence, including assassination. LIC is the strategy of choice when direct open engagement is politically untenable or unlikely to succeed. Instead, "soft targets" are struck repeatedly until the victims — Ronald Reagan's phrase during the U.S.-sponsored war in Nicaragua —

As some anti-abortion extremists cross the line from peaceful protest to militancy and violence, a more accurate term for their campaign is terrorism.

"cry uncle." Analogously, North American anti-abortion contras have zeroed-in on their own set of "soft targets:" women seeking abortions, the physicians who provide them, health care

workers and their family members, medical students wishing to learn the procedure, clinic staff, patient escorts and clinic defenders. The political objective in this case is the elimination of access to reproductive services for women. But as in the 1980s when the phrase gained currency, the term LIC is misleading: Despite the fact that the overall "intensity" is lower than that of all-out war, the costs for those targeted can be fatally high and the effects for society devastating.

Increasingly, as some anti-abortion extremists cross the line from peaceful protest to militancy and violence, a more accurate term for their campaign is terrorism. At present, the relatively small number of individuals and groups who fit this category are merely overlapping and not well coordinated. The groups contain deep ideological, tactical, and theological differences. What unity they have comes from a set of common enemies, scapegoats, and goals.

But more and more, the issue of abortion is a rallying cry and central unifying theme. Unless challenged and confronted by people of conscience, those who target women's clinics, bash gays and lesbians, and attack African Americans and other minorities will only be emboldened to escalate their attacks. ●

43. *Ibid.* It was held at the East Vancouver Croatian Cultural Center.

44. *Ibid.*



# Groom Lake: The Ba

*The official secrecy: For some aviation watchers, it proves supersecret aircraft  
evil or otherworldly; for those concerned with the state of democracy, it s*

by Glenn



**F**rom the crest of Coyote Summit, not a single tree interrupts the alien vista. Nevada Highway 375 dips to the valley floor, then climbs smoothly, arrow straight, to the rim of mountains 20 miles distant. At the base of this bowl-shaped crater, a few mobile homes lie scattered like buckshot. Don't bother looking for this town in your road atlas; it probably won't be there, but if you pass through be sure to fuel up at the single gas station since the next is at Tonopah, 110 miles to the west. Las Vegas is 150 miles in the other direction with nothing worth mentioning in between. No daily newspapers are delivered here, and radio and TV reception is spotty at best. It is possible, on entering the area, to lose touch with outside reality. Indeed, this has happened to many visitors and per-

haps also to the operators of a secret Air Force facility not far away.

Welcome to Rachel, Nevada, currently vying with Roswell, New Mexico, and Gulf Breeze, Florida, as "UFO Central." Whether the UFOs actually come here is a matter of debate, but the humans definitely do. In growing numbers, tourists have been making the pilgrimage to the desert outside town to see fantastic lights in the nighttime sky. Satisfaction is almost guaranteed, at least on week nights, because Rachel lies adjacent to a major Air Force war games area, the Connecticut-size Nellis Air Force Range.<sup>1</sup> Exotic-looking flares, dropped by jets to distract hypothetical heat-seeking missiles or launched by ground troops for illumination, are a frequent occurrence that must account for a large proportion of the area's UFO sightings. In the pristine desert skies, distant aircraft lights and even the planets and brighter stars seem to the urban observer to jump around in fan-

tastic ways that "could not possibly" be human or natural and therefore must represent alien spacecraft somehow operated or condoned by the government.

Since 1989, tourists have been searching the local skies for alien craft, often seeing exactly what they expect in the ambiguous lights. Some visitors claim to have been abducted by aliens along the highway; a few contend they are aliens themselves, imprisoned on this planet in human form. Ambassador Merlyn Merlin II from the planet Draconis is a frequent visitor, driving a beat-up Monte Carlo and knocking on doors of townspeople to read from the Bible. Interplanetary ambassador Venus-from-Venus, clad in leopard-skin tights, once stopped in Rachel en route to an alien convention, as did the intergalactic Wil-low from the Pleiades.

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slides gently to  
disappears be

Glenn Campbell is a government accountability activist and UFO researcher living in Rachel, Nevada. He is author of the *Area 51 Viewer's Guide* and publisher of an E-mail newsletter, *The Groom Lake Desert Rat*, which is available free by contacting: psychospy@aol.com.

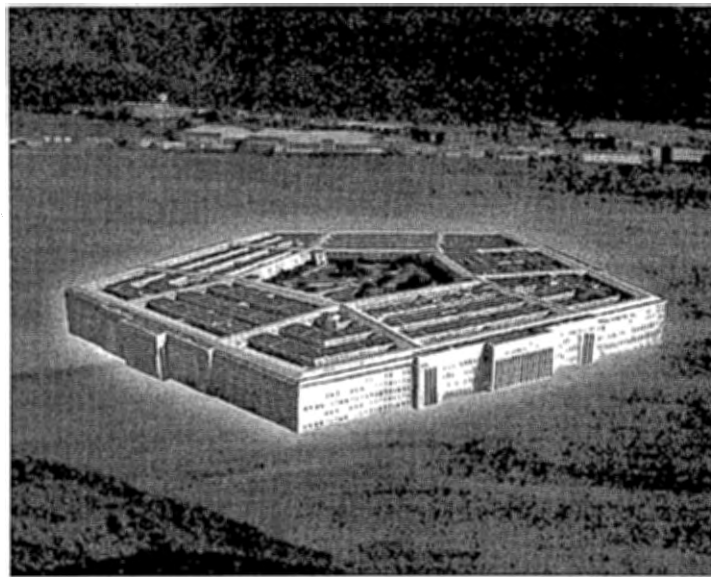
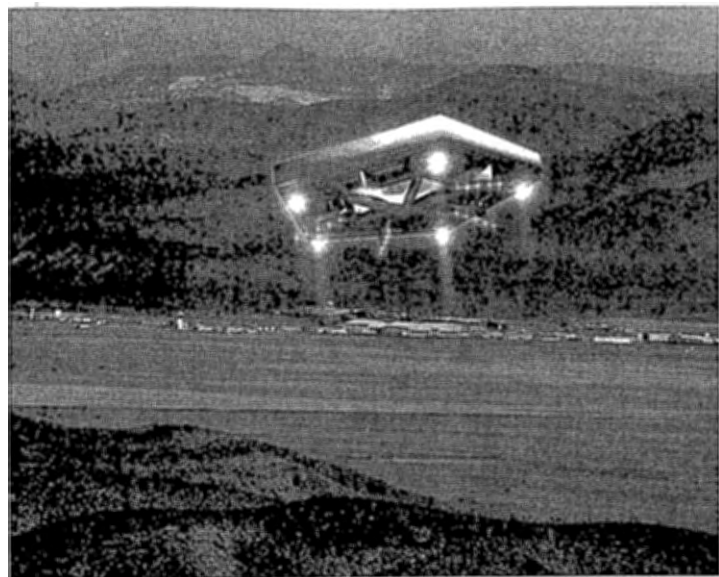
1. The base occupies a 4,742-square-mile land area, with 7,700 square miles of additional airspace. Source: Nellis Air Force Base (AFB) Public Affairs Directorate.



# ase That Isn't There

ircraft are being tested; for UFO and conspiracy buffs, it confirms something symbolizes a clandestine culture not accountable to civilian institutions.

a Campbell



JAY JOHNSON AND BERTHA GARCIA

In this isolated area with few points of reference, folklore and misperception often get jumbled up with fact until the only thing certain around Rachel is Rachel itself. Reality becomes flexible about 20 miles south. Just beyond the mountains is "Area 51," the base that

doesn't exist — at least until a few months ago when the Air Force released a brief statement to inquiring journalists: "There are a variety of facilities throughout the Nellis Range Complex [and] near the dry lake bed of Groom Lake." Nellis facilities

"are used for testing and training technologies, operations, and

systems critical to the effectiveness of U.S. military forces. Specific activities conducted at Nellis cannot be discussed any further than that."<sup>2</sup>

2. "Groom Lake Exists: USAF," *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, Oct. 3, 1994, p. 31.

## Secrecy Attracts Attention

Naturally, the last sentence grabs the reader's attention. What is going on at "Nellis," and why can't we be told? Therein lies the essential irony of this area and perhaps the root of the UFO problem. Like a celebrity famous for being reclusive, Groom Lake has captured the public imagination precisely because the Air Force won't talk about it. The facility has no public name or admitted history. The airspace around it, known on aviation frequencies as "Dreamland," is off limits even to most military pilots. The base is buffered by miles of empty desert, although it remains visible in the distance from certain hills still on public land. So what is going on there? The answer for the tourists seems to be, "Anything you want."

What brought the first wave of UFO watchers to Rachel were the publicized claims of a 30-year-old Las Vegas named Bob Lazar. In November 1989, he appeared on a local TV newscast,<sup>3</sup> to

3. Nov. 10, 1989, Las Vegas CBS affiliate, KLAS-TV. The series of reports, "UFOs: The Best Evidence," was pro-

duced by local reporter George Knapp. It has never been broadcast outside of Las Vegas or offered for legitimate sale, but pirated copies have long been making the rounds in the UFO subculture.

announce that he had worked with alien spacecraft at a secret government facility about 15 miles south of Groom Lake, deep within the military Restricted Zone and just beyond the ridge from the secret base. In hangars allegedly built into a hillside at the shore of Papoose Dry Lake, Lazar said he saw nine alien flying saucers — but no aliens — and worked extensively with one craft, helping to dissect and "reverse-engineer" its propulsion system.

Lazar claimed that while working in the government program, he secretly brought his friends to the deserts near Rachel on Wednesday nights to watch the saucers being flight tested over Papoose Lake. Following the broadcast, it seemed everyone was coming here on Wednesdays, scanning the skies from their cars parked beside the highway, and then descending like aliens themselves on the Rachel Bar & Grill, the closest watering hole. Soon, the restau-

duced by local reporter George Knapp. It has never been broadcast outside of Las Vegas or offered for legitimate sale, but pirated copies have long been making the rounds in the UFO subculture.

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below the horizon.

rant changed its name to the Little A'Le'Inn (pronounced "little alien"); the hamburger plate became the "Alien Burger," and Rachel became the epicenter of something big that no one could quite pin down.

The center of the UFO universe was the mysterious Black Mailbox, a prosaic rancher's mailbox that happened to be the only significant landmark on the empty stretch of Highway 375 about 20 miles southeast of Rachel. This is where many UFO watchers spend the night, and most are not disappointed. Every Thursday morning at 4:50 a.m., a shimmering white orb appears above the horizon in the direction of Papoose Lake. Although it has no discernible structure, one would swear it was disk-shaped. It hovers almost motionless above the hills, pulsating and growing steadily brighter for up to five minutes until it slides gently to the right and disappears below the horizon in the direction of Groom Lake. Skeptical observers — inevitably seen by the watchers as government spies — may point out that Boeing 737 airliners regularly transport workers from Las Vegas to Groom Lake. On their regular route, the planes with bright landing lights on fly directly toward the watchers — hence the "hovering orb." Some visitors who have staked their reputations on the veracity of this "Old Faithful" UFO counter the insinuation by claiming that they saw a flying saucer *turn into* a 737 in mid-air, part of a deliberate government deception.

For observers, Area 51 is like a Rorschach test which draws out their own personalities. For the Air Force, its function was more mundane — at least in the beginning.

### Born in the Black

The base at Groom Lake was born in the mid-1950s as a remote testing locale for the ultra-secret U-2 spy plane.<sup>4</sup> Lockheed officials selected the site based on its relative remoteness, the presence of a solid lake bed for use as a runway, and the proximity to the Atomic Test Site, which was nominally expanded to take in the area. The popular "Area 51" designation purportedly came from a numbered 60-square-mile block on the old Atomic Test Site maps.<sup>5</sup> The A-12 and

SR-71 spy planes and early versions of the F-117A Stealth fighter were tested here, long before the planes were made public.<sup>6</sup>

Starting with a few simple hangars and Quonset huts, the base grew relatively slowly during its first three decades. Until 1984, although workers were barred by their security oaths from discussing the facility, there seemed to be no official effort to hide its presence. The base appeared on U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) maps,<sup>7</sup> and anyone could drive to the lake bed itself and look across to the hangars in the distance. Back then, the only civilians interested in the base were hard-core aviation buffs and presumably a few real Soviet spies.

Then, in 1984, during the weapons buildup of the Reagan administration, the base went "deep black." In a controversial action initially without legal sanction, the Air Force seized control of the entire Groom Mountain Range,

## The Russians are having a fire sale, no reasonable offer refused, and much of the booty ends up at Groom Lake.

which overlooks the base, and posted armed guards.<sup>8</sup> After the Groom Mountains were later withdrawn by act of Congress, the base — not unlike the secret cities of the Soviet Union — disappeared from official maps. Current USGS maps and even most military air charts show only a blank lake bed with no significant roads or runway.<sup>9</sup>

mile block of land surrounding the Groom Lake base shown on the DoE's own current maps of the Test Site.

6. Paul F. Crickmore, "Lockheed SR-71: The Secret Missions Exposed," *Osprey Aerospace*, 1993, p. 11; and James Goodall, *America's Stealth Fighters and Bombers* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks International, 1992), p. 19.

7. Roads and the main airstrip are shown on the 1978 USGS map "Pahrangat Range Surface Management 1:100,000," still available from the USGS Branch of Distribution.

8. Ed Vogel, "Nevadans Question Air Force Seizure of Land," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 20, 1984; and Chris Chrystal, "AF Admits to Illegality of NTS land grab," *Las Vegas Sun*, Aug. 7, 1984.

9. In early 1994, a canister of previously unclassified film of the Groom to Papoose Lakes area, which had been on file at the USGS, was removed by Air Force personnel and classified. (Interview *CovertAction*, Oct. 25, 1994.)

In reality, the base expanded significantly. Standards of measurement are hard to find, but a 1990 satellite image revealed about twice as many buildings as on a 1968 Landsat photo. Ironically, the 1990 imagery comes directly from the Russians, who will sell it to anyone, friend or foe, willing to fork over between \$500 and \$2,000 per frame.<sup>10</sup> They and their former Soviet allies are also permitted to overfly and photograph the secret Groom Lake base, as well as the rest of U.S. territory, as part of the new Treaty on Open Skies.<sup>11</sup> Today, it seems that only the U.S. taxpayer is denied official information about the base.

### So What's Up?

Confirmable evidence about what might be going on at Groom since 1984 has been thin. Only a few peripheral facts are known about current operations. The 10 to 12 round-trip 737 flights ferrying workers to the base each weekday suggest a work force of between 500 and 1,500 people — depending on the number of empty seats and how many stay overnight. Russian satellite imagery showing recent runway construction suggests that aircraft testing is still a major mission of the base.

Conventional wisdom says that the base has been used primarily for the testing of Stealth aircraft and miscellaneous "Star Wars" systems, both intended to keep pace with a technologically sophisticated enemy which the U.S. no longer has. If projects relevant to the current world are indeed going on there, the Air Force isn't talking and neither are the employees. Mentioning Groom Lake to a current worker usually produces visible emotional distress and immediate silence, a reaction which seems to diminish only decades after employment. Since publicly verifiable sources are almost as nonexistent as the base, any review of projects taking place now is, for the most part, conjecture or hearsay.

Speculation over the past few years cites Groom as the testing ground for a high-speed, high-altitude spy plane which the popular press has dubbed "Aurora," based on an unexplained budget line item with that name.<sup>12</sup> Aurora seems as hard to pin down as

10. Available through Central Trading, Houston, Texas.

11. For an information sheet, contact On-Site Inspection Agency, Dulles International Airport, (703) 742-4326.

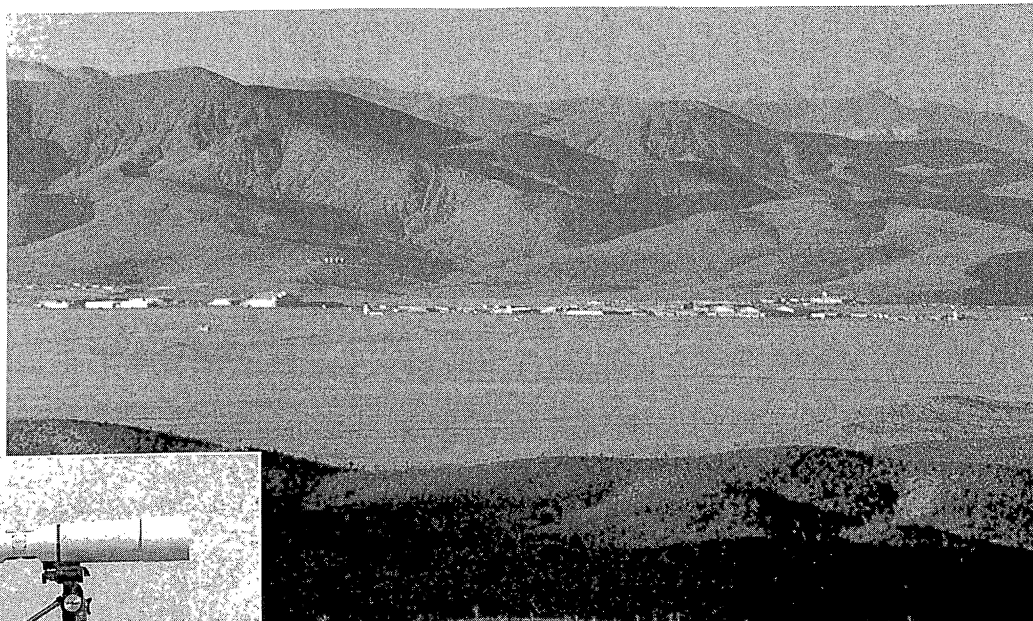
12. Department of Defense, *Procurement Programs (P-I)*, Feb. 4, 1985, p. F-6, line 28.

4. Chris Pocock, *Dragon Lady: History of the U-2 Spy Plane* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks International, 1989), p. 14.

5. Available for inspection at the Dept. of Energy reading room in Las Vegas. The area refers to the ten mile by six

UFOs. Some black budget aviation watchers, like Bill Sweetman who has written a popular book on the subject,<sup>13</sup> believe it *must* exist. They look for confirmation to the unexpected retirement of the SR-71 in 1990, mysterious "sky quakes" felt in southern California, and a sighting of a triangular aircraft by a reliable witness over the North Sea.<sup>14</sup>

The official response is unequivocal: "The Air Force has



GLENN CAMPBELL



MARK FARNER

**Although the government shrouds the base in secrecy, tourists come to look at the facility.**

workers say that three of the largest hangars at Groom were built to house our country's "Red Hat" squadron of purloined Soviet aircraft.<sup>18</sup>

Other plausible projects include another stealth aircraft intended to replace or supplement the aging F-117A,<sup>19</sup> and a plethora of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV). A UAV can be a big, slow, and very light "flying wing" that, if stealthy enough, could probably perform or even outperform most of the reconnaissance tasks of the Aurora. It could loiter over a target for hours instead of the mere minutes allowed a hypersonic craft. To the airplane watchers targeting Groom, UAVs aren't as sexy as something faster, higher or more maneuverable than planes of the past, so the UAV theory is rarely discussed.

But why should this secrecy be necessary after the fall of the USSR? Perhaps if the stolen planes were exposed, the corrupt Russians who traffic in the technology might still be at political risk and the program endangered. Alternatively, Groom Lake may retain its current secrecy, not because there is anything particularly secret going on now, but because the government wants

to protect the *ability* to run highly classified projects there in the future. Once a secret base is lost, the military might reason, it cannot easily be regained. And once granted, "leftover" secrecy tends to hang around after the initial justifications fade in order to prevent "meddling" by outsiders, including taxpayers and their elected representatives. Insulated from oversight and accountability, even legitimate concerns for national security become suspect.

### The Kind of Attention the Military Hates

While the Lazar story and the UFO wave that followed ended decades of successful obscurity for Area 51, it has taken two legal actions to attract the attention of the mainstream media.

When the military seized the Groom Mountain Range in 1984, it forgot two obscure hills, the most popular now known as "Freedom Ridge." Anonymous camouflage-clad security guards without name tags or insignia patrol this public land in white Jeep Cherokees. Said to be employed by the government contractor EG&G,<sup>20</sup> the well-armed, tightlipped "cammo dudes" are now as much a tourist attraction as the base itself. Visitors to Freedom Ridge who make the 45 minute trek on foot or by four-wheel-drive from a maintained dirt road are rewarded with a static view of hangars and support

(continued on p. 40)

no such program, either known as 'Aurora' or by any other name," asserted Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice.<sup>15</sup> Ben Rich, former chair of the Lockheed Skunk Works, most frequently cited as the alleged manufacturer, echoes the denial, explaining that "Aurora" was a code name for funding related to the B-2 bomber.<sup>16</sup>

John Pike, space policy expert for the Federation of American Scientists speculates that some of the talk about the elusive Aurora "has to have been actively inspired" as a distraction. "The main thing going on at Groom Lake," Pike contends, "is testingspyplanes and dissecting Russian aircraft. In the last few years, the U.S. has spent a significant portion of a billion dollars from the Foreign Materials Acquisition Program hauling off everything in the former Soviet Union that wasn't tied down. ... The Russians are having a fire sale, no reasonable offer refused," and much of the booty ends up at Groom Lake.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, former

13. Bill Sweetman, *Aurora: The Pentagon's Hypersonic Spyplane* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks Intl., 1993).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

15. *Washington Post*, letter to the editor, Dec. 27, 1992.

16. Ben R. Rich, *Skunk Works: A Personal Memoir of My Years at Lockheed* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), p. 310.

17. Interview, Nov. 1, 1994.

18. Keith Rogers, "Groom Lake Toxic Burning Alleged," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, Mar. 20, 1994. Includes map showing location of the Red Hat hangars, based on information provided by an anonymous worker.

19. Steve Douglas, "The Flying Artichoke," *Popular Mechanics*, Dec. 1994, p. 16.

20. Author's confidential sources.



# Not So Secret Weapons

by Mark Farmer

**S**o if the U.S. isn't concealing flying saucers there, what is the Air Force hiding in hundreds of thousands of square feet of hangar space at Area 51?<sup>1</sup>

Few people know for sure, but using

information from confidential industry and government informants, open source technical publications, and observation, the following is a provisional run-down of suspected special access programs lurking at Groom Lake:

- A family of very high-speed vehicles: A major source of speculation was a 100-foot long Mach 8 spyplane<sup>2</sup> that experts erroneously dubbed "Aurora" (a code name now attributed to Lockheed's non-winning B-2 bomber design).<sup>3</sup> Those who follow the Groom Lake story generally agree that this multi-billion dollar program was scrapped after the two or three 100-foot-long Mach 8 spyplanes built failed to meet performance goals.<sup>4</sup> A highly maneuverable hypersonic glide weapon with intercontinental range may be undergoing development at Groom. It is reportedly air-launched and rocket boosted to suborbital speed and altitude. The warhead is conventional with a kinetic en-

ergy boost provided by high speed.<sup>5</sup> Supposedly housed in the 150-foot-tall and 500-foot-wide Hangar 18<sup>6</sup> is a Trans-atmospheric Vehicle — an aerospacecraft that reaches orbital speeds. This rumored craft may have a global range and could carry hypervelocity precision guided weapons or intelligence gathering equipment.<sup>7</sup> Both systems might be carried aloft by the 200-foot long "mothership" also reportedly undergoing testing at Groom.<sup>8</sup> This Mach 4 aircraft may cause the "airquakes" reported by the U.S. Geological Survey geophone system.

- Recently, speculation has centered on a subsonic stealth attack aircraft, probably manufactured by Northrop-Grumman to replace the Air Force's aging though capable F-111F and the Navy's nearly obsolete A-6E. Called the "Black Manta," the craft looks like a stumpy baby brother to the stealth bomber.

High cost would keep the production run low.

- Although their presence at Groom Lake is uncertain, there is no doubt that the Pentagon is working on an expanding stable of Unmanned Air Vehicles (UAV) designed mainly for attack and reconnaissance.

Craft could range in size as well as in speed, altitude, and stealth capability. They may be variously equipped with spook gear, nuclear counter-proliferation equipment, less-than-lethal microwave, electromagnetic pulse, radiation confusion, anti-sensor, anti-mobility, or

Mark Farmer is a retired military photojournalist and a freelance black world investigator. Photo: Aurora hypersonic spyplane, artist's mock-up based on eyewitness accounts.

1. Calculation based on photographs of Area 51.

2. Bill Sweetman, *Aurora, The Pentagon's Secret Hypersonic Spyplane* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks International, 1993), pp. 65-95.

3. Ben R. Rich, *Skunk Works, A Personal Memoir of My Years at Lockheed* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), pp. 309-10. It should be noted that because Rich was bound by a secrecy oath, his statements concerning the nonexistence of a hypersonic spyplane should be treated cautiously.

4. Interview with John Pike, Oct. 1994, and interviews with industry and Air Force sources, 1993-94.

5. Sweetman, *Aurora* ..., *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52; interview with former Lockheed worker, 1994. Mach indicates the speed of sound, with Mach 2 being double the speed of sound, etc.

6. *Base Security Manual and Base Building Directory*, given to author by former Area 51 employee. Interview with Sweetman, May 1994.

7. Sweetman, *Aurora*, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-63; interview with Sweetman, Jan. 1994; interviews with Bill Scott, Senior National Editor, *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, Sept. and Nov. 1994.

8. "Multiple Sightings of Secret Aircraft Hint at New Propulsion, Airframe Designs," *Aviation Week and Space Technology (AW&ST)*, Oct. 1, 1990, pp.18-24; "Scientists' and Engineers' Dreams Take to Skies as 'Black Aircraft,'" *AW&ST*, Dec. 24, 1990, p. 41.

BILL SWEETMAN



anti-infrastructure payloads.<sup>9</sup> Night vision videos show high-speed craft with extreme agility (20-40 "g" turns). Unconfirmed reports indicate a "fast track" program for an intercontinental stealth attack drone carrying two 1,000-pound guided weapons.<sup>10</sup> Another classified program that certainly exists, the high-altitude, long endurance Tier II plus/Tier III minus spy drone, is due to begin testing soon.

- The playfully named yet deadly "Pumpkin Seed" is an unmanned 70-foot diamond-shaped Mach 10 attack vehicle reportedly capable of carrying over 100 miniaturized nuclear warheads. When the conjectured craft reaches Mach 2 or 3 using conventional turbojets, supersonic shock waves produced by the airframe would provide a confinement area for external fuel burning to act like a rocket nozzle and propel the Pumpkin Seed to high Mach speed.<sup>11</sup>

## But until oversight is instituted, untraceable billions in tax dollars continue to flow into bizarre secret weapons systems obscured by the desert sands of Dreamland.

- Many observers agree that Groom probably hosts several one-off, proof-of-concept aircraft to test propulsion, aerodynamic design, materials, stealthiness, avionics, optronics, targeting, intelligence gathering and electronic warfare. One of these aircraft may be responsible for the "donuts-on-a-rope" contrails (possibly produced by a pulse detonation wave engine) seen by credible witnesses and photographed.<sup>12</sup>
- Many of the odd-shaped aircraft spotted in the area may be ex-Soviet, Russian and other nations' flight hardware sold for badly needed hard cash to the U.S. as part of its covert foreign material evaluation program. They are likely sited in the four "Red Hat" hangars at the center of Groom Lake.<sup>13</sup>
- A stealth vertical takeoff and landing aircraft to transport special operations forces. This large, subsonic aircraft

reportedly has a double-delta platform similar to a space shuttle and an unlimited range with aerial refueling.<sup>14</sup>

- Testing of new missiles (such as the recently cancelled, multi-billion dollar, stealthy AGM-137 Tri-Service Stand-off Attack Missile) and secretly upgrading existing aircraft and air-launched weapons is another possible program. The venerable U-2R/S, a frequent flyer near Area 51, is slated for re-engining and new electronic and photographic equipment. An unmanned version with a larger wing may be planned.<sup>15</sup>
- Last year, there were several sightings of a highly modified C-5 Galaxy airlifter. Tentatively designated C-5C, two aircraft are said to be operated by U.S. Space Command to carry outsized cargo. Under cover of night, these two unacknowledged C-5s are said to have transported unassembled aircraft from the Lockheed Skunk Works to Groom Lake for assembly.<sup>16</sup>
- At the south end of the base are two squat, pyramidal earthen structures, several hundred feet on each side, ringed by extra security fences and lights. In these explosion-proof buildings, test and operational weapons, possibly nuclear, are assembled and stored.<sup>17</sup>
- Hatches on the dry lake bed open to reveal telescoping and hydraulically actuated black, cylindrical structures 15 to 30-feet-tall that may be part of radar cross-section testing for stealth aircraft and weapons.<sup>18</sup> To the north of the main facility are numerous radar and electronic warfare sites scattered across the desert. The twin parallel lines of the transmit/receive array of an over-the-horizon backscatter radar stand out clearly as do numerous other antennae — a statement to the investment the black world made in stealth technology and ways to defeat it.
- Unidentified Flying Objects. Over the years, intriguing photos and videos showing unexplainable shapes exhibiting unconventional flight characteristics have been publicized. Some are neither faked nor identifiable as known astronomical, atmospheric or geophysical phenomena. However, no matter how strange the image, how credible the witness or compelling the story, there is no physical evidence to support the conclusion that off-world spacecraft are being stored and tested at Area 51. The sightings indicate additional Waived Special Access Programs — ones that haven't been leaked, yet.

Some voices of sanity are calling for accountability — even within the blackworld. But until oversight is instituted, untraceable billions in tax dollars continue to flow into bizarre secret weapons systems obscured by the desert sands of Dreamland. ●

9. Artur Knoth, "Disabling Technologies — A Critical Assessment," *International Defense Review*, July 1994, pp. 33-39.

10. John Boatman, "USAF studies 'invisible' unmanned bomber," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, v. 22, n. 17, Oct. 29, 1994, p. 1; interview, Bill Scott, Senior National Editor *ASW&T*, Nov. 1994; interview, Greg Pope, Science and Technology editor, *Popular Mechanics*, Nov. 1994; and interview with Air Force source, July 1994.

11. "Multiple Sightings," *op. cit.*; interviews with Bill Sweetman, Jan. and Apr. 1994, and Bill Scott, Nov. 1994.

12. Brown, *op. cit.*; Sweetman, *op. cit.*; and industry and Air Force sources.

13. *Base Security Manual and Base Building Directory*; and interview with former base workers, Jan. 1994; and DoE workers July 1994.

14. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 84; and industry/Air Force sources.

15. Interview with John Pike, 1994; and industry source.

16. Interview with John Andrews, Testor Corp., Jan. 1995. Skunk Works is the Lockheed Advanced Development Project, which facilitated the production of classified aircraft and missiles.

17. *Base Security Manual and Building Directory*; and interview with former base and DoE workers, *op. cit.*

18. Interview with Bill Sweetman, May 1994.



(Groom, continued from p. 37)

buildings fronting a long runway about 13 miles distant. With a telescope, they can pick out aircraft, vehicles, and workers engaged in routine activities they cannot even report to their families. Scanner radio buffs can tune in the unacknowledged control tower frequencies.<sup>21</sup> When the controller says, "Watchdog is in effect," it is a warning to pilots that there are civilian observers on the ridge and, presumably, that they should not engage in any action that would expose a secret project. Some aircraft, according to the broadcasts, are even turned away by the control tower until the watchers leave.

In October 1993, the Air Force applied to the secretary of the interior to withdraw the two viewpoints from public use.<sup>22</sup> Apart from patriotic rhetoric about the need for a strong national defense and the importance of the Nellis Range for training pilots, the only explanation the Air Force provided was a single sentence:

"The purpose of the withdrawal is to assure the public safety and the safe and secure operation of activities in the Nellis Range Complex."<sup>23</sup>

The withdrawal application and the ambiguous explanation triggered immediate and widespread publicity and gave the media the kind of story the public seems to find irresistible: a government cover-up. From *Popular Science*<sup>24</sup> to the *New York Times Magazine*,<sup>25</sup> news outlets asked the same basic question: "What is going on at Groom Lake and why can't we be told?" When local sheriff's deputies seized videotape shot by ABC News<sup>26</sup> and KNBC-TV of Los Angeles,<sup>27</sup> the events became part of their stories and only heightened public interest. The Lincoln County Sheriff's Department was accused of deputizing the anonymous security guards and acting as Air

Force rent-a-cops, seizing film and arresting naive tourists who wandered across the unfenced border.<sup>28</sup> The crest of the media wave was a two-hour Larry King television special on UFOs broadcast "Live from Area 51," or more precisely, live from the desert across the highway from the Little A'Le'Inn.<sup>29</sup>

For now, Freedom Ridge remains open, and Watchdog seems to be in effect almost every day. The number of groups



hiking in to catch a glimpse of "the base that doesn't exist" has soared from one a week to four or five a day. Whatever importance the withdrawal may have for national security, it cannot be called a triumph for Air Force public relations.

A potentially worse disaster, both for public relations, and possibly for public health, is a recently-filed hazardous waste lawsuit. [See p. 40.] Unless the suit is settled out of court, it could linger for years, keeping Groom in the news and perhaps forcing some real changes in military policy. The fundamental problem is, how to sue a base that doesn't exist. Former workers are under oath not to talk about their employment, so how can they testify? In similar legal and political battles in the past, like the initial 1980s Groom range landgrab, the military has often triumphed simply by outlasting the enemy, but now the attacks are more broad-based and the public support for such secret operations is dwindling. In the post-Cold War era, blind public patriotism and employee trust are not what they were, making denial of the obvious increasingly difficult to maintain.

28. Glenn Campbell, *Area 51 Viewer's Guide*, version 2.04, p. 29. Available from author.  
29. Oct. 1, 1994, on the TNT cable network.

## The End of an Era?

About 90 miles west of Groom Lake is yet another secret base, the Tonopah Test Range (TTR), first operational base for the F-117A Stealth fighter.<sup>30</sup> It has a very long runway and an expanse of hangars and support buildings roughly equivalent to Groom's. Because it so closely resembles Groom, it should be a UFO hotbed and a popular tourist attraction, but it is not, either because the UFOs simply aren't there or because TTR doesn't have Groom's mystique. TTR "exists" while Groom does not. Guards at Tonopah have name tags, the facility has a sign on the highway, and the base itself is plainly visible from a remote but public road. Because it is not hidden, TTR is perceived by the public as too obvious to possibly hold any mysteries and thus has largely escaped public scrutiny.

Paradoxically, the very fact that Groom was once America's most secret air base may assure that it will soon be the least secret. Perhaps the management felt

that by acknowledging anything at all about the place, even its existence, it would be starting down the slippery slope toward releasing everything. That fear may be self-fulfilling. Now that the "nonexistence" of Area 51 has attracted so much attention, it seems doubtful that the Air Force can dilute interest with dribbles of information. The power of tourism and compulsive data collecting by civilian hobbyists may do more to expose the base than all the efforts of Soviet spies.

Until a few months ago, inquiries about Groom Lake to the staff at the Nellis A.F.B. Public Affairs Directorate yielded only facetious responses like, "Groom Lake, where's that?" or "Area 51? Never heard of it." Today, the caller is patched through immediately to the public affairs director, who provides the statement quoted at the beginning of this article: "We do have facilities within the complex near the dry lake bed of Groom Lake." For those who have long pursued "the base that doesn't exist," it is a remarkable admission. It is the first crack in the wall and probably won't be the last. ●

30. Bill Sweetman and James Goodall, *Lockheed F-117A: Operation and Development of the Stealth Fighter* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks International, 1990), p. 65.



# National Security's Wasting Illness

by Terry Allen

"The problems at Area 51 developed out of a culture of secrecy that is ultimately corrosive in its effects." —Jonathan Turley

One reason that the Nellis Air Force Range "doesn't exist" is that it hides the human price of military technology and allows the government to get away with murder.

Helen Frost, widow of a base worker, and several anonymous plaintiffs know that cost can be counted in lives. Despite fear of "extrajudicial harassment and even physical harm,"<sup>1</sup> as well as government threats to prosecute them for national security violations, they have filed two federal suits. These charge that the secrecy surrounding Nellis Air Force Range made the facility a perfect place for the government to dump dangerous pollutants and avoid regulation.<sup>2</sup> While some of the toxins originated on site, much of the waste — highly toxic coatings and resins used in the manufacture of Stealth aircraft — was illegally transported from plants in California for clandestine disposal at Nellis. The trucking company which made regular runs was nicknamed "NDB" — "none of your damn business."

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in violation of environmental laws, these toxins were thrown into open pits upwind of the facility and burned. The contamination of both land and workers was extensive.

Frost charges that her husband Robert was exposed to the fumes as a foreman at the base while the Stealth was under development. "He came home from work saying, 'My eyes are on fire, my face is on fire,' and splashed himself with cold water," his wife recalled. Later, he would be cold even in the blazing desert summer. "He couldn't tell anyone where he worked, or what he was working with," said his wife. "The phone at work was tapped." Frost's wife knew one sick man at Area 51 who committed suicide, and others who were treated in hospitals. "As with my husband," she said, "they can't talk to the doctor about their work, because it doesn't exist, and it was made clear that if they did, they'd go to jail."<sup>3</sup>

After he connected his symptoms to work, Robert Frost asked his supervisors for a respirator, but they told him he could "go down the road," which he took as an invitation to keep quiet or quit, she said. The Air Force also failed to provide protective clothing. Over the next few years, Frost lost weight rapidly and his stomach swelled; his skin developed weeping sores and began to crack and bleed. By the time he died in 1989 at age 57, he was almost blind.<sup>4</sup>

Tissues sent for analysis to a Rutgers University Agent Orange expert, Dr. Peter Kahn, and later to a laboratory in Sweden, showed potentially lethal levels of dioxins and dibenzofurans. The lawsuit alleges that these chemicals were among the hazardous wastes at Nellis.<sup>5</sup>

Terry Allen is editor of *CoverAction Quarterly*.

## A Toxic Trail All the Way to the Cabinet

The blatantly illegal operation at Nellis was covered by the same cloak of secrecy that obscures the base itself. According to Jonathan Turley, who is with the George Washington University's Environmental Crimes Project and represents Frost, *et al.*, this national security facade puts Frost and the other plaintiffs at a disadvantage. At a hearing in Nevada in November, Turley found himself sitting alone opposite a team of ten government lawyers whose opening move was to cry national security privilege. They claimed that the base was exempt from federal environmental requirements, and furthermore, that civil courts had no jurisdiction to try the case. But Turley asserts there is no legal basis for excluding the base, since the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) makes no such exceptions. And in an early legal round, the court decided the case could be heard in civil court.

There is much more at stake for the government than damage claims by a few individuals. If Turley can prove his case — that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) failed to require the Air Force to reveal that it handles hazardous waste at Nellis, and if it neglected to inspect the facility as a hazardous waste treatment, storage, and disposal facility, as required under RCRA<sup>6</sup> — then responsibility reaches all the way to the Cabinet. Turley names as defendants Secretary of Defense William Perry, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, and Secretary of the Air Force Sheila Widnall.

Although Cabinet members are usually exempt from subpoena, Turley plans to call the three as witnesses. An exception to immunity, he says, is when a member has specific personal knowledge of, or interest in, a case.

"Both Perry and Widnall headed companies with financial ties to this facility of black programs that precede their service in government," charges Turley. Before Perry became deputy defense secretary in the Carter administration — directly responsible for the classification of pre-Stealth black programs at Area 51 — he was president of ESL, a subcontractor for secret projects. That company later merged with the giant TRW aerospace conglomerate, a major contractor on the Stealth program. Widnall was a trustee of Aerodynamics. Although records for that company are now blocked for reasons of national security, plaintiffs say it supplied equipment for Air Force black programs.<sup>7</sup>

## "There is an Answer, But It's Classified"

In addition to protecting high-level involvement, the government has other reasons for denying responsibility for the poisoning of Area 51, said Turley. "[It] attempted to

(continued on p. 47)

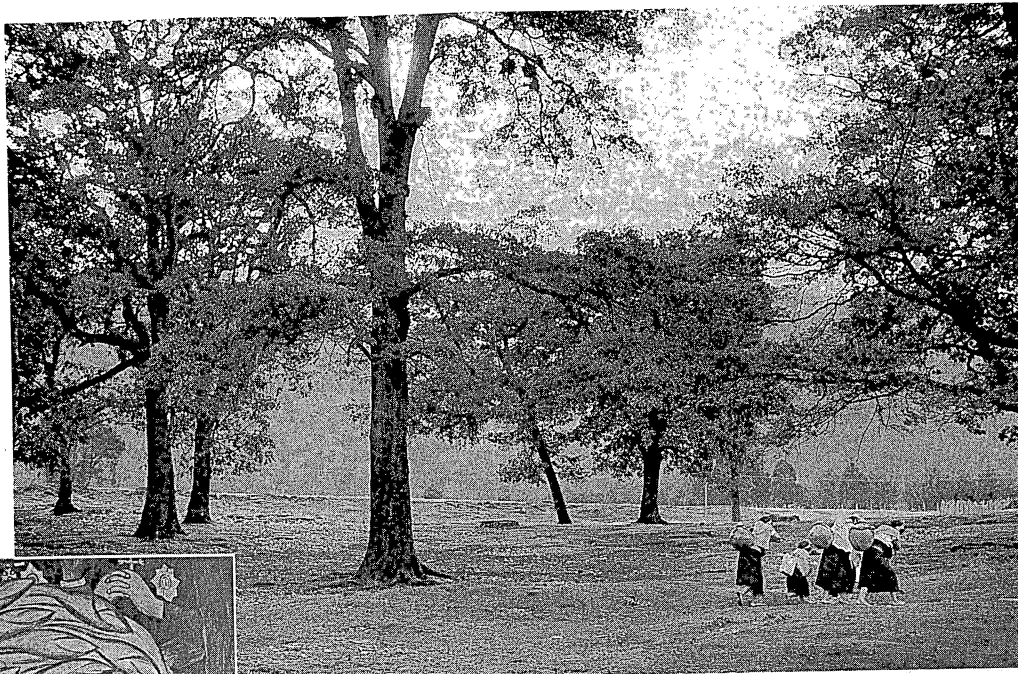


# Wall Street Declares War on Zapatistas

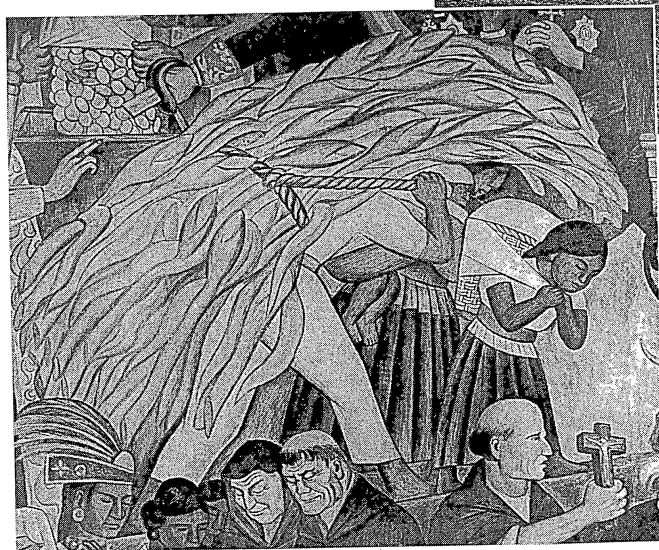
by Ken Silverstein

**W**ithin days of the announcement that the United States would guarantee a \$47.5 billion bail-out of the prostrate Mexican economy, President Ernesto Zedillo issued arrest warrants for the Zapatista leaders and launched an abortive offensive against the guerrillas.

To what extent Zedillo was responding to concerns of U.S. financial leaders—who view Chiapas with alarm—is unknown, but the timing was suggestive.



DAVID MAUNG/IMPACT VISUALS



DIEGO RIVERA, "Mexico from the conquest to 1930."

**With U.S. business and government demanding concessions in exchange for the bail-out, Mexicans will carry the burdens of failed policy and corruption. Above: In Chiapas, 1994, where poverty sparked insurrection, women and a child carry water home. Left, 1930s: Diego Rivera painting.**

A January 13 "Political Update" prepared by the Emerging Markets Group at Chase Bank of New York, which has billions at risk in Mexico, says that "there are three areas in which the current monetary crisis can undermine political stability. The first is Chiapas; the second is in the upcoming state elections; and the third is the role of the labor unions, their relationship to the government and the governing PRI."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Riordan Roett, "Political Update," Chase Bank, Emerging Markets Group, Jan. 13, 1995.  
2. *Ibid.*

to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and security policy."<sup>2</sup>

Having made billions of dollars in Mexico in recent years, major U.S. companies took a beating when the peso collapsed last December 20. But for those firms, and for the Clinton administration, chaos south of the border also offered opportunity. In the name of restoring "investor confidence," the U.S. pressured Mexico to make political and economic changes long sought by U.S.

business and political interests. The demand by Chase to wipe out the Zapatistas was high on the U.S. wish list, but it was not alone. With Mexico on the brink of collapse, the U.S. also pushed Zedillo to open up the economy (especially the oil reserves) to U.S. investors, and to downgrade his country's ties to Cuba.

For U.S. firms, the "boom" in Mexico began in 1988, when Carlos Salinas de Gortari took office. During his six-year term, hundreds of state-run firms were privatized, debt payments to Western banks were made on schedule, and new laws were passed giving foreign firms generous terms in repatriating their profits. The passage of NAFTA, which effectively finalized Mexico's insertion into the U.S. economy, was icing on the cake.

The last six years were also highly lucrative for Salinas. Hailed by the U.S. press as Mexico's great "modernizer," the Harvard man retired last December

as one of the world's richest men, thanks to kickbacks he received from local and foreign business officials. His friends and family also made out like bandits. Many of the firms privatized during his reign were snatched up by well-connected cronies at cut-rate prices.<sup>3</sup>

For a time, there was a lot of wealth to go around in Mexico. While U.S. industry reaped huge returns by exploiting cheap labor, American financiers also profited handsomely. Even before the peso's free fall, Mexican treasury notes were yielding 16 percent, a rate which reflects their highly speculative nature.

The prospect of such big returns lured billions of dollars in foreign capital into Mexico, most of it flowing into Mexican stocks and bonds. This money was largely used to finance a huge trade deficit, which hit \$30 billion last year.<sup>4</sup>

### Hot Money, Cooked Books

Stock market investment is called "hot money" for good reason: It can be pulled out as fast as it's put in. Since Mexico's "boom" has been dependent on foreign capital, U.S. institutional investors have had substantial leverage with Mexican authorities — all the more so because major banks, frightened by losses suffered during the 1980s' Third World debt crisis, have drastically reduced direct lending to southern countries. "In some ways, [investment houses and mutual funds] have taken over the financial role of big banks and quasi-governmental organizations," writes the *Wall Street Journal*. "[But] fund managers... want nearly instant returns on their investments, and are willing to use their clout to achieve those goals."<sup>5</sup>

Dependent on these highly reactive market forces, the system does not lend itself to stability. Mexico's fragile "boom" was badly undermined in February of 1994, when the U.S. Federal Reserve began raising domestic interest rates. That move attracted money back north,

straining Mexico's ability to finance the trade deficit. That same month, then-Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen touted Mexico's economic policy as "an example for all Latin America."<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, signs of imminent trouble multiplied. Mexico's foreign currency reserves fell from \$30 billion in early 1994 to \$17 billion by October 1; foreign investors shifted funds into dollar-denominated securities; and the nation's current account deficit rose to eight percent, a level most experts consider dangerously high. The seriously overvalued peso, which made imports cheap and exports from Mexico hideously expensive, exacerbated the trade deficit. "[It was] clear something was wrong," says economist Jonathan Heath, a former analyst for Mexico's Banca Serfin banking group. "If the American government didn't see that, it's blind."<sup>7</sup>

All analysts — even the IMF — concede that the peso should have been devalued long ago, but Mexico — and the U.S. — didn't want to reveal its underlying economic ills before Congress approved

**"The government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and security policy."**

— Jan. 1995 memo, Chase Bank

NAFTA. Salinas failed to act, even after the agreement passed last year, because he feared negative repercussions in Mexico's August 1994 presidential election.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, foreign investors — who prefer an inflated peso because it allowed them to convert their killings on Mexican stocks and bonds into the safety of the dollar — pressured the government to maintain the absurd rate of 3.5 to the dollar.

By the time Zedillo replaced Salinas last December, the trade deficit had reached alarming proportions and the new president was forced to let the peso float against the dollar. The Mexican currency promptly plunged by 40 percent.

6. R. Jeffrey Smith and Clay Chandler, "Peso Crisis Caught U.S. by Surprise," *Washington Post*, Feb. 13, 1995, p. 16.

7. Smith and Chandler, *op. cit.*

8. Keith Bradsher, "The World Shifted, But Not Mexico," *New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1995.

Foreign investors were horrified by their losses but swiftly turned to the task of restoring business as usual. While pleased by Clinton's \$47.5 billion bail-out, they still fear that the crisis in Mexico will end the "progress" of the Salinas years and will slow down the neo-liberal governments in other Latin countries and around the world. "Many institutional investors have taken a hit in Mexico and have concerns about whether it will happen in other countries," says Martin Redrado, director of Fundación Capital, a Buenos Aires-based think tank. "So the order is 'Let's get out.' Most want to cut down their exposure to Latin America, no matter what the fundamentals are."<sup>9</sup>

IMF head Michel Camdessus suggested in early February that 10 other countries could experience Mexico-like difficulties this year.<sup>10</sup> High on the IMF chief's list are Argentina, Thailand and the Philippines.

### Winners and Losers

As President Zedillo's February offensive demonstrated, the Zapatistas have become a convenient scapegoat for Mexico's troubles, both internally and externally. Foreign investors clearly want the EZLN removed from the battlefield by negotiations if possible, but by force if necessary.

The Chase memo — which is representative of a broad spectrum of opinion within the Wall Street community played down the possibility of a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Chiapas, saying that "it is difficult to imagine that the current environment will yield a peaceful solution."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, with foreign investors clamoring for first right to the dwindling reserves at the Mexican treasury, there may be insufficient crumbs left for Zedillo to distribute in the form of social and economic reforms he has promised Chiapas.

Nor is the EZLN the only guerrilla threat that Mexico faces. According to a story in the *Sunday Telegraph* of London, a report prepared by an outside agency during last year's election campaign warned "that guerrilla problems were spreading far beyond Chiapas. .... It says that armed guerrilla units are now operating in 14 Mexican states and

3. "Mexico Financial Expert Calls For Defeat Of Bailout Package," *Corporate Crime Reporter*, Jan. 23, 1995.

4. There is no correlation between a bullish stock market and a healthy national economy, as can be seen in other hot "emerging markets" that received similar infusions of foreign capital in recent years. Journalists and financial "experts" like to trumpet the glories of, say, the Polish stock market, which in 1993 climbed by more than 700%. These commentators rarely bother to inform readers that this bustling Warsaw market operates three days a week and offers shares in a grand total of 22 firms. Argentina's stocks leapt by 307 percent in 1991, at a time when dozens of retirees hanged themselves after the government slashed pensions to help ensure a budget surplus.

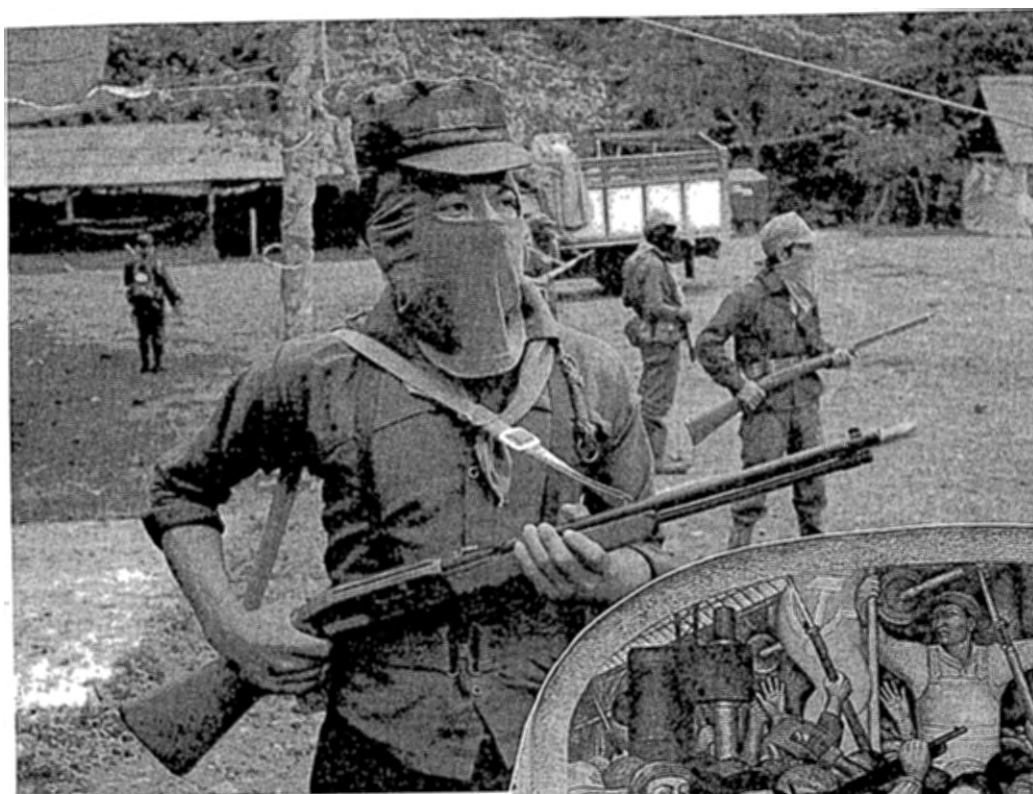
5. Craig Torres and Thomas Vogel, Jr., "Some Mutual Funds Yield Growing Clout in Developing Nations," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 1994.

9. Colin McMahon and Laurie Goering, "Mexico's troubles spill over," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1995.

10. Smith and Chandler, *op. cit.*

11. Roett, *op. cit.*





**EZLN soldiers train in the Lacandon jungle, Chiapas, 1995; arming the populace, 1910-17 revolution.**

under 11 separate organizations, and teachers have played a key role in organizing cells of resistance."<sup>12</sup>

In addition to calling on Mexico "to eliminate the Zapatistas,"<sup>13</sup> Chase also urged a hard-line approach to the other factors undermining "political stability." The PRI, Mexico's ruling party, has grim prospects for elections scheduled this year in five states, in all of which

"the opposition is historically strong and has a history of reacting strongly to electoral fraud, real or perceived."<sup>14</sup>

Despite some risks, Chase proposed that the PRI solve its electoral problems by stealing the vote if necessary. "The Zedillo administration will need to consider carefully whether or not to allow opposition victories if fairly won at the ballot box," counseled the bank. "To deny legitimate electoral victories by the opposition will be a serious setback in the president's electoral strategy. But a failure to retain PRI control runs the risk of splitting the government party."<sup>15</sup>

12. Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "Cocaine cartels in control as Mexico markets face meltdown," *Sunday Telegraph*, Jan. 22, 1995.

13. Roett, *op. cit.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*



DIEGO RIVERA "The Arsenal"

In mid-February, the PRI suffered a huge defeat in the first of the five elections referred to by Chase. In the economically important state of Jalisco, the right-wing PAN party handed the PRI its first loss in that state's governor's race in 66 years. With world attention focused on Mexico at the time, it would have been difficult for the PRI to adhere to its traditional tactics when confronted with electoral defeat: tweak the computers or stuff the ballot boxes. But Chase's plea for vote fraud will surely be an option for the PRI in elections scheduled for later this year.

### **Dreaming of Cuba**

One of the concessions on the table when the bail-out went through was that Mexico downgrade its ties to

Cuba.<sup>16</sup> Some members of the House Hispanic Caucus refused to press Zedillo. Representatives Nydia Velázquez (D-N.Y.) and Esteban Torres (D-Calif.) sent a letter, signed by 50 House colleagues, to House minority leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) saying that they would oppose any bail-out if it included restrictions on Mexico's ties to Cuba.

Those for whom Cuba has been a bone of contention, however, jumped at the chance. Some House Republicans reportedly pressured Zedillo to cut off all

commercial credits to the island. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), speaker of the House and Jim Leach (R-Iowa), chair of the House Banking Committee, drafted a more polite proposal, which would have barred Mexico from providing assistance, including debt-equity swaps or debt discounts, to any country that "refuses to hold multiparty elections."

According to an aide to a right-wing Florida congressman, the Mexican government had, prior to January 31, notified U.S. authorities that it couldn't accept any proposal which mentioned Cuba by name. However, Mexican officials had drafted a statement which offered some concessions to the U.S., but which only obliquely referred to Cas-

16. This account of congressional maneuvering on Cuba comes from *CubaInfo*, Feb. 7, 1995.

tro's government. The aide said that the statement was transmitted to U.S. ambassador James Jones, and had been signed onto by Zedillo.

Precise terms of concessions on Cuba may never be known, especially as Clinton's January 31 bail-out, in cutting Congress out of the picture, put a halt to congressional involvement in these negotiations. But given Mexico's weak negotiating posture, it is likely that Zedillo was forced to give some ground. In the future, increased indebtedness to the U.S. will clearly constrain Mexico's traditionally independent stance on foreign policy, one of the few areas in the past where it has challenged the U.S.

U.S. taxpayers may also be hurt by the Mexican crisis. Although not commonly known, the U.S. government has a long history of propping up the Mexican economy through discreet financial maneuvering, mostly by using currency swaps — essentially a line of credit made available to reinforce a given local currency in the event of economic or political crisis. The U.S. lent Mexico \$12 billion in the days before the NAFTA vote, fearful of the potential impact if Congress had rejected the trade pact. With its passage, Mexico has permanent access to an \$8.75 billion swap fund from the U.S. and Canada.

Although the Clinton administration has promised that most of the new \$47.5 billion bail-out plan represents guarantees, not new loans, some experts say taxpayers will take a hit if Mexico's economic crisis worsens. The prospect is not unlikely since Mexico's problems go deep and even the collateral for Clinton's guarantees is suspect. Revenues generated by Mexico's oil industry, which Clinton has said will back the new U.S. loans, are already posted as collateral on Mexico's \$83 billion public sector debt.<sup>17</sup>

Mexican small businesses, workers, and the poor will feel the squeeze as Zedillo fulfills the demands of U.S. investors. Domestic interest rates have been pushed up to 70 to 80 percent per year, which will force many small businesses into bankruptcy (a phenomenon which had already picked up steam after NAFTA, when foreign competition flattened many Mexican companies). Wage increases this year will be held to 7 percent, far lower than the expected inflation rate, while businesses will

simply be required to make an "extraordinary" effort to limit price increases. The government's budget will be cut by 1.3 percent, with social spending undoubtedly the first victim.<sup>18</sup>

Inflation in Mexico for 1995 is expected to at least double, meaning a rate of more than 20 percent for the year. The weaker peso also means, *ipso facto*, a huge increase in the country's foreign debt, which at \$166 billion is already far higher than in 1982 when Mexico's bankruptcy set off the Latin debt crisis. "There's no way they'll be able to service their debt with the new exchange rate," said a knowledgeable investment consultant. "Mexico is quickly headed in the direction of a new debt emergency."<sup>19</sup>

Mexican laborers will also have to be sacrificed in order to ensure the peaceful sleep of foreign investors. According to the Chase memo, even though workers have still not recovered the standard of living they had in 1980, the Zedillo administration must choose between "either rejecting worker demands for higher wages ... or yielding to worker demands which will further ag-

## Revenues generated by Mexico's oil industry, which Clinton has said will guarantee the new U.S. loans, are already posted as collateral on Mexico's \$83 billion public sector debt.

gravate the economic situation."<sup>20</sup> The phrasing here leaves no doubt as to the bank's preferences in this difficult choice. (Another easy choice for Chase, in the wake of the furor that followed publication of parts of this memo in *Counter-Punch*, was its decision to fire Roett.)

Sidney Weintraub, William Simon chair in political economy at the CSIS, conceded that the devaluation would have an inflationary impact which Zedillo would need to swiftly contain. Like Chase, though, he urged a crack-

down on labor, saying that "if wages rise to fully compensate for the new price rise, the devaluation will accomplish little other than to raise inflation further."<sup>21</sup>

## Business, As Usual

Meanwhile, corporate communities on both sides of the border are moving to protect their interests in the wake of the peso's collapse.

U.S. financiers see the Mexican crisis as a new opportunity to buy up the few remaining sectors of the Mexican economy still dominated by national capital. A number of speakers at a January 11 seminar organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) demanded that in exchange for a U.S.-organized bail-out, the Mexicans appease foreign investors with — in the words of David Malpass, senior managing director at Wall Street's Bear Stearns — a "giant reestablishment of confidence."<sup>22</sup>

Steps which investors would look on favorably, said panelists, include mammoth new privatizations, allowing for 100 percent foreign ownership of the banking system, and an opening up of Mexico's oil industry.

In a December 30 report, the *Wall Street Journal* said that "even if Mexico goes into a recession, analysts say many Mexican companies won't be hurt much. And the lower wages [in Mexico], when calculated in dollars, should attract much more U.S. interest after a few months of uncertainty."<sup>23</sup>

Clinton's rescue package also means that foreign investors, at least for the short term, will be able to redeem their Mexican bonds without fear of default. As Weintraub confidently told the CSIS seminar, "Despite the downside of recent Mexican economic actions, all need not be doom and gloom."<sup>24</sup> ●



DIEGO RIVERA: "THE WALL STREET BANQUET."

18. "Mexico's Devaluation: Why and What Next?" transcript of speech by Sidney Weintraub at "The Zedillo Administration: What Can We Expect," Jan. 11 seminar organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C.

19. Interview with investment consultant on Dec. 28, 1994. The consultant wanted to remain unidentified.

20. Roett, *op. cit.*

21. *Mexico's Devaluation*, *op. cit.*

22. "The Zedillo Administration: What Can We Expect," Jan. 11, 1995 seminar organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Broadcast by C-SPAN.

23. Paul Carroll & Craig Torres, "New Man in Mexico...", *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 30, 1994, p. A3.

24. "Mexico's Devaluation," *op. cit.*

17. *Corporate Crime Reporter*, *op. cit.*

# Damage Control on Human Radiation Experiments

by Glenn Alcalay

*For half a century, the U.S. government hid its extensive program of human radiation testing from both the victims and the public. What is currently known is that some 23,000 people were exposed in 1,400 experiments.<sup>1</sup> After public outcry in response to a series of investigative articles by Eileen Welsome,<sup>2</sup> the Clinton administration appointed a White House Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments. It now appears that the committee is a willing accomplice in covering up numerous experiments — especially those conducted by the CIA and the Pentagon.*



After regional hearings and testimony from scores of witnesses, many of whom are relatives of the experimentees, the committee faces numerous internal and external problems, including how to judge the experimenters. Committee member and bioethicist Ruth Macklin suggested that the most lenient approach would be to use the ethical standards of the time, and the most stringent would be to use today's standards. According to committee member Jay Katz, a medical ethics specialist and professor emeritus at Yale Law School, "We don't want to pass severe moral judgments, because it's really more important to look at the present."<sup>3</sup>

In fact, there is little change in the standards themselves over the years. Cold War ethical policy was set out in the 1946 Nuremberg Code, as well as in the 1953 "Wilson Memorandum." The Wilson Memorandum — named after Defense Secretary Charles Wilson — was almost identical to the Nuremberg Code and called for the informed consent of experiment volunteers. The main difference between then and now was that the government classified the Wilson

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1. "Radiation Test Involved At Least 23,000," *Seattle Times*, Oct. 22, 1994, p. A1.

2. Eileen Welsome, "The Plutonium Experiment," *Albuquerque Tribune*, Nov. 15-17, 1993. The series won a Pulitzer Prize. Also see Tod Ensign and Glenn Alcalay, "Duck and Cover(up): U.S. Radiation Testing on Humans," *CovertAction*, n. 49, Summer 1994, pp. 28-35, 65.

3. Robin Rauzi, "Victims' lawyer wants scientists punished for radiation tests," *Albuquerque Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1994, p. A6.



Memorandum top secret and withheld it from researchers seeking guidance at the time.<sup>4</sup> Still, they had no excuse for ignorance of the Nuremberg Code and its condemnation of some forms of human experimentation.

No matter what standards it applies, the committee cannot issue a comprehensive report without full knowledge of the extent of experimentation. Its October 1994 *Interim Report* charged that several government agencies had been less than forthcoming in releasing documentation about the radiation experiments. In particular, the Department of Defense, the CIA, and the Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory have not produced key documents.<sup>5</sup>

### The Clock is Ticking

A General Accounting Office report on the human radiation experiments acknowledged that "concern is growing that the Committee will not be able to adequately complete its work within the current one-year time frame. The

Committee is having difficulties satisfying its original charter ... and has done little of the ethical and scientific analysis of the Cold War experiments called for in its charter."<sup>6</sup>

Asked about CIA and Pentagon stonewalling and the possibility of extending the May 1995 deadline for completion of the committee's work, DoE Secretary Hazel O'Leary was adamant. "We must keep our commitment to the May time frame."<sup>7</sup>

With prospect of official redress increasingly dim, families of the radiation experimentees have asked a consortium of law firms, advised by former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, to bring a class action suit. E. Cooper Brown, a lawyer involved in the pending litigation, called for the criminal punishment of individual scientists. "The ultimate sanction is against the individual," Brown stated. "That sends a clear and loud message to people conducting research."<sup>8</sup>

6. "Status of Federal Efforts to Disclose Cold War Radiation Experiments Involving Humans," GAO/T-RCED-95-40, Dec. 1, 1994.

7. "Dismantling the U.S. Nuclear Arsenal," lecture, Hazel O'Leary, United Nations Plaza Hotel, New York City, Jan. 23, 1995.

8. Rauzi, *op. cit.*

In addition, individuals have filed suits against various contractors who performed the experiments for the government. In a preliminary victory for radiation plaintiffs in Cincinnati (who were subjected to some of the most egregious experiments), Judge Sandra Beckwith recently denied a motion by the defendants to dismiss.<sup>9</sup>

The legal actions will take many years and if other cases against the government and major corporations are any indication, these suits will be difficult to pursue and costly to win. In the meantime, the only real hope is that the discovery phase of litigation may force revelation of more data about the experiments. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration seems overly eager to wind down a highly embarrassing and odious chapter of the Cold War and quite willing to sacrifice just compensation and the public's right to know on the altar of political expediency and national security. ●

9. Opinion and Order of Judge Sandra Beckwith, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, re: Cincinnati Radiation Litigation, January 11, 1995. The defendants in this case include about a dozen physicians among whom is Eugene L. Saenger, and the University of Cincinnati Medical Center where they worked.

4. *Ibid.*

5. "Interim Report of the Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments," Washington, D.C., Oct. 21, 1994, pp. 37-38.

### (Wasting Illness, continued from p. 40)

create a secret enclave in which domestic laws were not applicable. ... And the minute the government acknowledges the existence of Area 51, it falls within the jurisdiction of domestic laws and penalties."<sup>8</sup>

Turley began the discovery process with a single question: What is the name of this facility? The government, which refers to the base only as "the operating location near Groom Lake,"<sup>9</sup> still refuses to confirm any name, including those in common use, such as "Area 51" or "Dreamland."

Asked why such secrecy is necessary, the government's lawyer, Lt. Col. Richard Sarver said, "There is an answer, but I can't give it to you. It's classified."<sup>10</sup>

The farce is made even more obvious by the existence of satellite photos of the base from the archives of the former USSR. Turley plans to introduce them as evidence and to authenticate them by calling an official in the Russian Embassy in Washington and an expert in Soviet satellites.

Responding to appeals to patriotism and national security interests, Turley argued that he has "absolutely no interest in what they fly out there. I don't care if they have Jimmy Hoffa buried at Area 51. I care about what my clients were exposed to."

Nonetheless, the plaintiffs face the fundamental problem of how to sue a base that doesn't exist. How can former and current workers, under oath not to talk about their employment, testify in court? And the public faces a military that claims the right to operate without accountability.

With more fatalities likely to be linked to the base, Turley says the military is so desperate to prevent any inquiries

because the range has existed so long under the misconception of immunity from environmental law and environmental criminal law. ... We have compelling evidence that the government and its contractors have used the secrecy of Groom Lake not to protect national security but to shield the illegal disposal of hazardous waste.... Over the years, secrecy became a value in and of itself at Area 51, wholly separate from any specific mission at the facility. When you create a place where anything can happen, most anything will.<sup>11</sup> ●

1. Ed Vulliamy, "Pentagon turns back on victims of air base it says doesn't exist," *The Gazette* (Montreal), Dec. 12, 1994, p. A1.

2. Keith Rogers, "Groom Lake toxic burning alleged," Mar. 20, 1994; and "State to examine Stealth base," Oct. 19, 1993, *Las Vegas Review-Journal*. The toxic substances involved include plastics, solvents, sealants, and paint wastes—all designated hazardous under the RCRA. Specific wastes named in the complaint are dioxins and furans, methylethyl ketone, and trichloroethylene.

3. Vulliamy, *op. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Frost v. Perry*, filed in Federal District Court in Las Vegas, Nev., Aug. 15, 1994. Case #V-S-94-00714-PMP.

6. *Ibid.*; and *Doe v. Browner*, DC DC, 94-CV-1684, August 22, 1994 which alleges 11 different sets of violations of the RCRA, including engaging in open burning of hazardous wastes, illegal land disposal of hazardous waste, and treating, storing, and disposing of waste at Groom Lake without a permit.

7. Vulliamy, *op. cit.*

8. Cited in Vulliamy, *op. cit.*

9. *Frost v. Perry*, *op. cit.*

10. Hearst News Service, "Accused of Chemical Misuse at Base That Officially Isn't There," *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix), Dec. 26, 1994, p. B14.

11. Interview, Jan. 1995.

# Truth to the Highest Bidder: Science for Sale

By Ron Nixon

*From the ivy halls to the pages of scholarly journals, corporate dollars are buying up scientific researchers, turning them into hired guns for big business — and jeopardizing public health.*



Last fall, Dr. Troyen A. Brennan, a professor at the Harvard School of Public Health, received a curious offer. Edelman Public Relations Worldwide offered him \$2,500 to write an editorial for one of its clients.<sup>1</sup> More accurately, the firm would pay for his signature on a ghost-written editorial.

According to Brennan, the PR company sent him articles it had commissioned for other medical journals and brochures it produced in response to bad publicity about its clients' pharmaceutical products.

To Edelman's dismay, Brennan went public with the offer and is now using it

to push for more detailed disclosure of financial arrangements, including preparation fees, by authors of medical journal articles.

"If I were to state that I was paid \$2,500 to help a public relations firm write an editorial, my opinion might carry less weight with readers," said Brennan. "That's the point."<sup>2</sup>

## The Business of Science

Not all his scientific colleagues share his ethical concerns. Many academic and scientific researchers have found a community of interest with corporate funders. They are essentially academic entrepreneurs eager to provide research for companies in exchange for further funding or even stock in the

products they help to produce. The line between science and business has blurred even further: Some have set up their own corporations while keeping tenured positions, as others join the staffs of these companies. And rather than set standards for academic integrity and independence, sometimes universities themselves share in the corporate profits.

To fend off critics, set the terms of debate, and, above all, ensure continued profits, corporations have increasingly sought—and found—scientific hired guns. Author Cynthia Crossen, in an in-depth study of the commercialization of scientific research, notes that, "Private companies ... have found it both cheaper and more prestigious to retain academic, government and commercial researchers than to set up in-house operations

Ron Nixon is an editor for *Southern Exposure* and writes on environmental issues. Photo: Environmental justice advocates demonstrate in "Cancer Alley," La. 1. Ron Winslow, "Drug Company's PR firm made offer to pay for Editorial," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 8, 1994.

2. *Ibid.*

that might be accused of bias. In the information business, truth has come to belong to those who commission it."<sup>3</sup>

And increasingly, it is private companies or industry consortia that determine not only who gets funding but what should be studied. The extent of corporate influence on scientific research today is staggering. According to a 1994 Carnegie Mellon University report, more than 1,000 university-industry cooperative research centers have been set up on some 200 U.S. campuses. More than half were created during the 1980s. In 1990, these centers spent \$4.3 billion on research and related activities and involved 12,000 faculty as well as one in six of the nation's doctoral Ph.D.s in the sciences and engineering.<sup>4</sup>

The National Science Board reports that the federal contribution for academic R&D continued its long-term percentage decline in 1993, dipping to 55.5 percent of university R&D dollars—down from 67.5 percent in 1980.<sup>5</sup> In some sectors, industry funding now exceeds government grants. In health research, for example, in 1979, government grants led corporate funding 60 to 29 percent. But by 1990, corporate dollars funded 46 percent, while government spending accounted for only 44 percent.<sup>6</sup>

While state and federal funding shrinks, pressures on the universities to produce research with practical applications continue to rise. The states want universities to improve regional economies by sparking growth in high-tech companies; the federal government wants R&D that boosts the national economy; private capital wants research it can turn into profits, or that protects it from criticism and litigation on health, environmental, and other grounds.

### Colleges and Corporations

The Northern Tier Land Grant Accountability Project (NTLGAP), an advocacy group monitoring land grant college researchers, carefully watches funding sources. It reports that corporate dollars provide only eight percent

of total R&D funding for universities. But, says NTLGAP, the figure is misleading because state and federal dollars are tied up in salaries, equipment and research facilities, and are unavailable to fund specific research projects.

"Consequently," says Jim Glassman of the NTLGAP, "a little bit of funding from a corporation or commodity group can provide a researcher with the discretionary money to get a project under way. Simultaneously, the corporation or commodity group gets an upper hand in determining what gets researched."<sup>7</sup>

While universities have long had a cozy relationship with corporate re-

## In the information business, truth has come to belong to those who commission it.

search funders, the increasing weight of private interests is beginning to cause concern in the halls of academe.

"Universities are finding themselves in a difficult bind," said Richard Florida, co-author of the Carnegie Mellon report and director of the university's Center for Economic Development. "This is the price that universities are willing to pay in order to make up for dwindling state and federal support."<sup>8</sup>

But proponents of industry-university cooperation say it is good for universities, industry, and society as a whole. "More and more companies are recognizing the need for partnerships," Vic Evins of chemical giant Hoechst Celanese said when the company announced a million-dollar grant to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "Our approach is to help university researchers do the research they would normally do anyway."<sup>9</sup>

Juliet Merrifield of the Highlander Research and Education Center, however, disagrees:

The image of the scientist whose research is shaped by a pure thirst for knowledge is misleading at best. Because of the structure within which

they must work, scientists may be 'persuaded' to do some kinds of research and not others. Money is the primary mechanism of control, but we must not overlook the system of internal controls on scientists, which are also effective in influencing them to serve the needs of the powerful rather than the powerless. In order to engage in scientific research today, scientists need not only access to funds but also access to facilities and equipment, access to the media of scientific communications, and the rewards of recognition.<sup>10</sup>

Burke K. Zimmerman of the Cetus Corporation, a California-based biotechnology firm, bluntly summed up the corporate view of the universities' partnership with industry. Referring to a ten-year, \$70 million grant Hoechst Celanese gave to the Massachusetts General Hospital to create a department of molecular biology, Zimmerman said: "Essentially, everyone in that lab is an indentured servant to Hoechst."<sup>11</sup>

The impact of increasing corporate control over R&D extends far beyond the academic community. Corporate-directed research, with its built-in conflicts of interest, poses demonstrable threats to public health and safety. It can also serve as a tool in corporate efforts to derail movements attempting to impose even minimal restraints on their behavior. An eye-opening example of such an abuse of science came last year in the struggle over environmental racism.

### Environmental Racism

For the past decade, the environmental justice movement had compiled an impressive list of victories in combating polluters' efforts to locate toxic dumps and other pollution sources in largely minority areas. The grassroots movement, led by people of color, had managed to get the issue on the scientific agenda. As a result, more than 60 studies have documented the existence of racial inequities in the nation's environmental laws and policies.<sup>12</sup> Pressure

10. Juliet Merrifield, "Putting Scientists in their Place: Participatory Research in Environmental and Occupational Health," Highlander Research and Education Center (New Market, Tennessee), Jan. 1989, p. 7.

11. Jack Doyle, *Altered Harvest: Agriculture, Genetics, and the Fate of the World's Food Supply* (New York: Viking, 1985), p. 359.

12. Benjamin A. Goldman, *Not Just Prosperity: Achieving Sustainability with Environmental Justice*, National Wildlife Federation, 1994.

3. Cynthia Crossen, *Tainted Truth: The Manipulation of Fact in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), p. 19.

4. Wesley Cohen, Richard Florida, and W. Richard Goe, "University-Industry Research Centers in the United States," Carnegie Mellon University, July 1994.

5. Cited in Chris Murphy, "Conflicts of Interest at the University," *BioIssues*, Nov.-Dec. 1994, p. 2.

6. *Ibid.* Federal R&D funds also reflect political priorities, but at least are subject to democratic accountability.

7. Jim Glassman, "University Research: Private Investment and Public Interest," *At the Crossroads*, July 1993, p. 1.

8. Laurent Belsie, "Corporate Research Funds Put Universities in Bind," *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 28, 1994.

9. Scott Lowry, "Going for all the Marbles," *Endeavors*, Nov. 1994, p. 7.

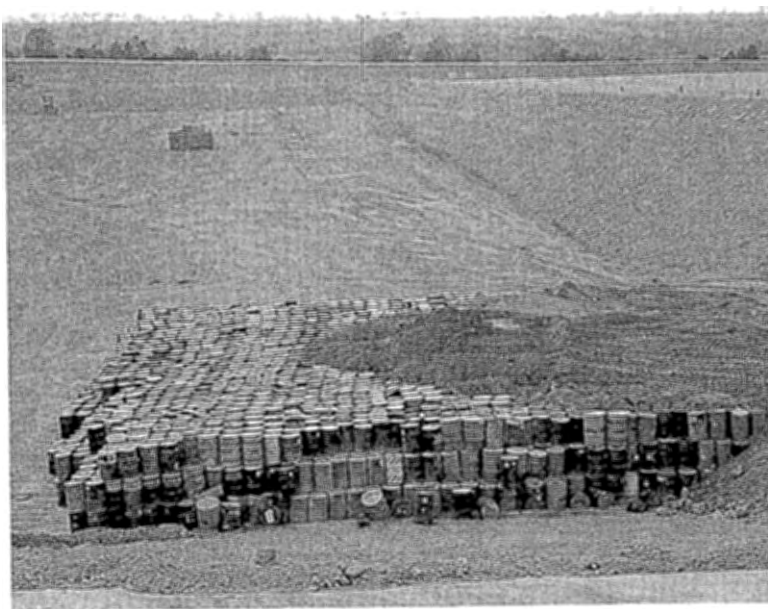


from the movement persuaded President Clinton to sign a 1993 executive order instructing federal agencies to avoid such inequities.<sup>13</sup> And environmental justice advocates pushed legislators in several states to introduce legislation on the state level to curb environmental racism.<sup>14</sup>

But last year, a study from the University of Massachusetts (UMass) slowed the movement's momentum. It found *no* racial inequities in the location and operation of the nation's toxic and hazardous waste facilities.<sup>15</sup> The authors reported that in the areas they studied, toxic dumps were slightly more likely to be located in white, working class neighborhoods than minority ones.<sup>16</sup>

The UMass results contradicted numerous earlier studies on environmental racism, and the waste management industry ate it up. The findings were widely circulated in industry circles. "Environmental Justice: Racism Questioned in Two Studies" read the headline in *Chemical Week*.<sup>17</sup> But environmental justice advocates soon discovered that the study was sponsored by the Institute of Chemical Waste Management, an industry trade group. WMX, the world's largest waste company, had kicked in \$250,000.<sup>18</sup>

After the corporate connection was revealed, co-author Douglas Anderton admitted the study was undertaken because the "environmental justice advocates had put industry under the gun,"



**The nation's largest hazardous waste landfill, in predominantly black Emelle, Alabama, is owned by WMX, which helped sponsor a study "proving" that environmental racism is a myth.**

but denied that its corporate benefactors influenced the findings.<sup>19</sup>

Bejamin Goldman, analyst for *Waste and Race*,<sup>20</sup> the ground-breaking report on environmental racism, begs to differ. When he examined the UMass study, he found distortions in its methodology—and thus its findings—that favored its waste industry sponsors. He concluded that built-in omissions "directly bias the results."<sup>21</sup>

**"Essentially, everyone in that lab is an indentured servant to Hoechst," the company that gave the grant.**

Goldman points out that the study was limited to urban areas with TSDFs (Toxic Storage, Disposal and Treatment Facilities), and that its comparisons were thus only invalid. The study's self-limiting research design excluded

19. *Ibid.*

20. United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice and Public Data Access Incorporated, "Toxic Waste and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites" (New York: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, 1987).  
21. Benjamin Goldman, comments on UMass study, 1994, unpublished, p. 5.

roughly 15 percent of TSDFs—over 70 facilities—and 20 percent of the population. Missing was the nation's largest commercial landfill, located in predominantly black Emelle, Alabama. Also missing was the nation's fifth largest landfill, in Kettleman City Hills, California, a heavily Latino community. Both dumps happen to be owned by WMX.<sup>22</sup>

While Goldman easily shredded the UMass study's science, the damage was already done. The waste industry successfully, if temporarily, detoured the environmental justice movement. Advocates were forced to argue the existence of environmental racism instead of moving to end it.

### Blowing Smoke

Universities are not the only places where scientific research has become a commodity. Across the board, independent research facilities have turned to corporations to subsidize their work. In return, private industry has reaped tremendous benefits. Research on tobacco and secondhand smoke illustrates the corruption of scientific method that can result.

Following the Environmental Protection Agency's classification of secondhand smoke as a carcinogen in 1994, Healthy Buildings International (HBI), a Virginia company, completed its own study on the issue. The tobacco industry has paid HBI millions of dollars to test indoor air quality and to testify on its behalf at various forums. HBI's results supported tobacco industry assertions that exposure levels of environmental tobacco smoke in the workplace were so low as to be trivial. The tobacco industry widely circulated the findings and cited them during congressional hearings on banning smoking in the workplace.<sup>23</sup>

But when Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), former chair of the House Health and Environment subcommittee, ordered his staff to review the research,

22. *Ibid.*

23. Phillip J. Hilts, "Secondhand Smoke Data Reported Faked," *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1994.

13. Executive Order #12898, Feb. 11, 1993.

14. Richard Regan, "State Policy Briefs," Center for Policy Alternatives, Washington, D.C., July 1993.

15. The results were cited in Barbara Ruben and Joseph Smith, "Jaundiced Justice," *Environmental Action*, Fall 1994, p. 32.

16. Andy B. Anderson, Douglas L. Anderton, and John Michael Oakes, "Environmental Equity: Evaluating TSDF Siting Over The Past Two Decades," *Waste Age Magazine*, July 1994.

17. Ronald Begley, "Environmental Justice: Racism Questioned in Two Studies," *Chemical Week*, Apr. 20, 1994, p. 9. The other study referred to in the headline was a report from the Washington University Center for the Study of American Business (St. Louis), which borrowed data from the UMass study. The only independent finding in the latter report was that minorities may move into an area after it is industrialized.

18. Ruben and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

they found that HBI had altered the data to favor the tobacco industry. One of the field technicians for HBI told Waxman's staff, "[A]fter I submitted my field notes to HBI, Gray Robertson, the HBI president, changed the measurement I recorded for the sample."<sup>24</sup>

Robertson admitted he changed the data, saying he "took the number and cut it in half," then raised it slightly in his final report. Robertson added that he fudged the figures because he "guessed" they were too high.<sup>25</sup>

HBI also reported measurements for secondhand smoke for a cafeteria even though there was no air monitoring system in the room to collect the data. And HBI reported that in some rooms where it measured, the reading for secondhand smoke was zero. But the monitoring equipment's manufacturers told Waxman's staff that because it is virtually impossible to get such readings in an ordinary building, the readings meant the equipment was broken.

Asked about the firm's credibility, a tobacco industry spokesman responded that HBI was "a fine firm."<sup>26</sup> It has certainly done well by its paymasters.

### Who Sets the Standards?

Corporate research has also helped determine some important regulatory guidelines. Federal and state governments have allowed industry employees to determine critical workplace safety standards, including the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) guidelines regulating exposure to toxic substances.

In 1990, independent researchers examined threshold limits values (TLVs), workers' safe exposure limits to hazardous substances, from which the OSHA standards are derived. They found that in many cases, the standards had been set at levels higher than those shown to cause damage in humans. Predicted ill effects from exposure at the "safe" levels ranged from eye and nose irritation, to permanent changes in the bodily structure, to disease.<sup>27</sup>

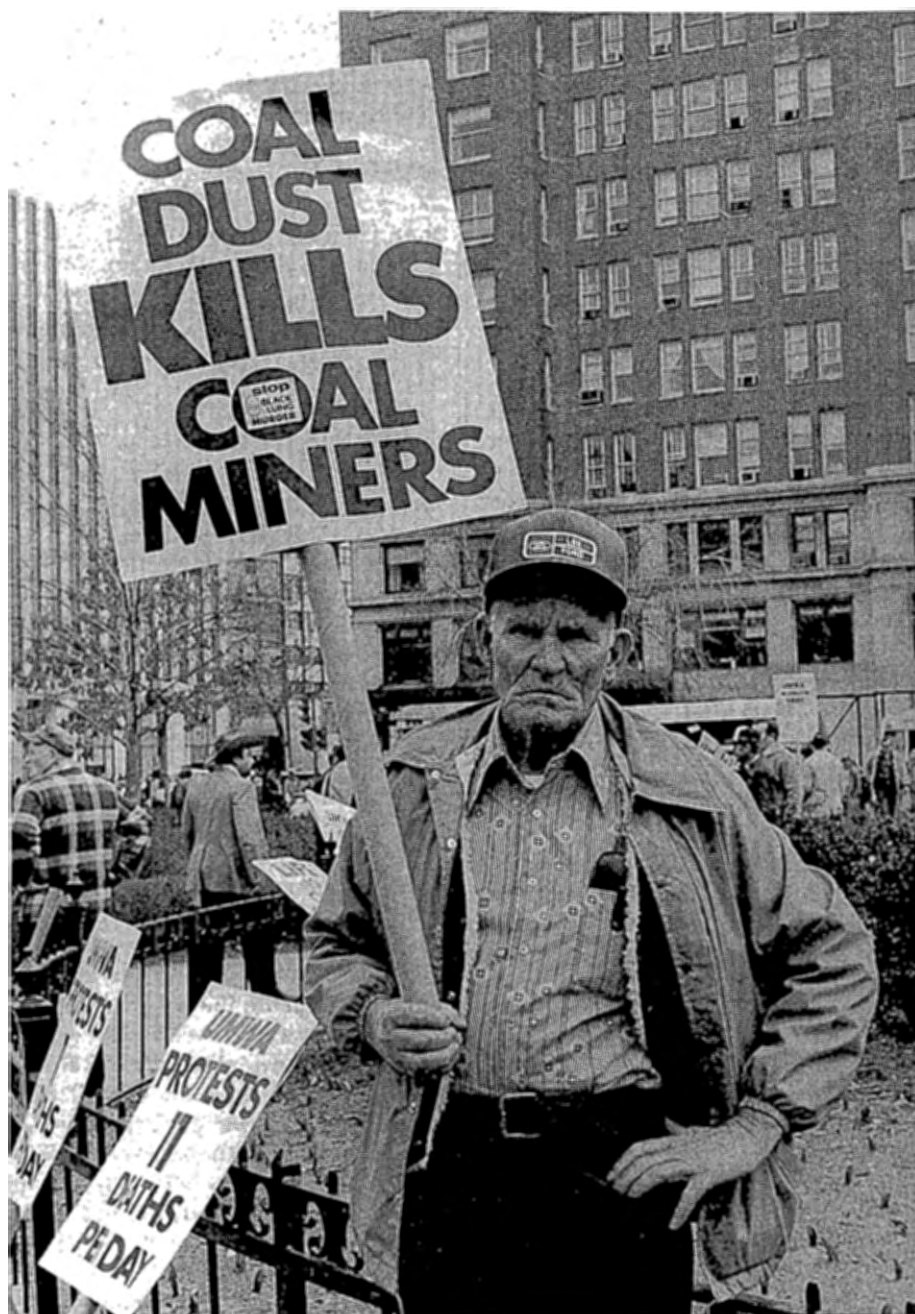
TLVs were originally established by the American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists (ACGIH), a private group of industrial hygienists from state and local government, plus

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Peter Montague, "The Scientific Basis of Chemical Safety," *Rachel's Environment and Health Weekly* (Annapolis, Md.), n. 415, Nov. 10, 1994.



MARTHA TABOR/IMPACT VISUALS

**OSHA standards for exposure to hazardous materials are too often based on recommendations from corporate researchers.**

academics and industry consultants. In 1971, OSHA adopted most of the TLV standards without further testing.<sup>28</sup>

Environmental Research Foundation analyst Peter Montague, who researched TLVs, uncovered serious problems in the way the standards were set. For instance, to prevent inducing bronchitis in workers, ACGIH set a safe upper limit for chlorine dioxide exposure at .01 parts per million. But a study at a sulphite cellulose production facility found bronchitis in 7 of 12 workers

exposed to the substance at concentrations *lower* than the ACGIH standards.<sup>29</sup>

Montague noted that the long-unexamined TLVs were determined by scientists who " ... were often employed by the same corporations that were major producers of the chemicals having their TLVs set."<sup>30</sup>

A particularly egregious example involved Dow Chemical. A Dow representative on the ACGIH set the safe exposure standards for 30 of Dow's halo-

28. Cited in *ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

generated hydrocarbons, pesticides and other industrial chemical products.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the loose standards, conflicts of interest, and poor scientific data used in setting TLVs, 37 states use this process to establish air emissions standards. The standards may eventually be used to establish groundwater contamination guidelines and standards for cleanup at the nation's Superfund sites.<sup>32</sup>

While OSHA and many states rely on corporate-influenced TLVs to set exposure limits, each year 50,000 to 70,000 Americans die of diseases developed on the job. An additional 350,000 new cases of occupational disease from toxic exposure occur annually.<sup>33</sup>

### The Perils of Peer Review

Despite a growing number of instances, many researchers discount claims that corporate funding influences research. Various systems are in place, they say, that help to weed out bias and bad methodology. One of the most frequently cited mechanisms is the peer review system.

Under the peer review system, research papers and articles are sent to two or three specialists in the field before publication. The process is supposed to eliminate research that fails to meet scientific standards, and it plays a

While OSHA and many states rely on corporate-influenced TLVs to set exposure limits, each year 50,000 to 70,000 Americans die of diseases developed on the job.

key role in editorial decisions on whether to accept or reject a given article. But according to science-watcher Cynthia Crossen, the system is inadequate. "Peer reviewers are unpaid volunteers and they can't take the time to scrutinize the data, let alone replicate the research." She also notes that peer review favors well-known professionals

from prestigious schools and those who use "current fashionable approaches."<sup>34</sup>

Having an article accepted in prestigious scientific journals such as the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) or the *New England Journal of Medicine* can bring more than professional standing and new funding opportunities for the authors. Articles accepted become part of science's conventional wisdom. As such, they help mold public opinion on scientific and social controversies.

A controversy over the drug Retin-A, manufactured by Ortho Pharmaceuticals, illustrates how the convergence of inadequate peer review and corporate influence on research produce bad science. In 1988, JAMA published an article on Retin-A, which claimed it could reverse skin wrinkles. Following the announcement, headlines across the country touted the new drug, and sales skyrocketed.<sup>35</sup>

Dr. John Voorhees, a University of Michigan scientist, was the lead researcher on the drug study. Not until a year later did investigators discover that Voorhees had received over \$1 million in research fees and honoraria from Johnson & Johnson, Ortho's parent company.<sup>36</sup> Boston University professor Barbara Gilchrest, who wrote a JAMA editorial praising the drug's effectiveness and who was cited in press releases as having no involvement in the study, was also on the corporate payroll. She got a \$9,000 honorarium from Johnson & Johnson, and her department at Boston University received more than \$500,000 in research grants from Johnson & Johnson in the two-year period preceding the editorial.

Later tests on Retin-A found no reductions in wrinkles. Rather, the drug caused puffiness and swelling that smoothes out the skin. When confronted with this finding, Dr. George D. Lundberg, editor of JAMA, replied, "The science was sound then, and I still think it's sound. How broadly applicable it is is still a question."<sup>37</sup>

### Editors and Ethics

Not all of the questionable science involves researchers; sometimes it's the editors of scientific journals them-

selves. In 1992 and 1993, Dr. Peter H. Schur, a nationally known rheumatologist, professor at Harvard Medical School, and editor of *Arthritis and Rheumatism*, the journal of the American College of Rheumatology, rejected two articles on breast implants that concluded they were harmful. Schur and three colleagues later published research on breast implants which found that "little or no association" between implants and health problems. In the same issue of the journal, the lead article—also supporting the safety of breast implants—was written by three medical officials of Dow Corning, maker of the implants.<sup>38</sup>

In an astounding case of ethical system deficiency, Schur failed to mention that he was earning \$300 an hour as a consultant to Dow's lawyers, who were defending the company against a massive lawsuit by women harmed by breast implants. Schur took in roughly \$300,000 for his services to Dow's lawyers.<sup>39</sup>

Schur said he was aware of the need to acknowledge potential conflicts of interest, but thought it necessary only in instances where "payment by industry had influenced the article."<sup>40</sup>

### The Feds to the Rescue?

Efforts to rein in the prostitution of science for private benefit are now under way. The federal government has belatedly taken some small steps to address conflict of interest and outright fraud in scientific research. Last year, the National Science Foundation, the Public Health Service, and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) jointly proposed a system that would require researchers to disclose their financial interests in research on products needing government approval.<sup>41</sup>

"There is a growing recognition in the academic and scientific communities that certain financial arrangements between the clinical investigators and product sponsors or the personal financial interest of the clinical investigators, can potentially bias the outcome of clinical trials on the safety and effectiveness of drugs," said FDA Commissioner Dr. David Kessler.<sup>42</sup>

38. Daniel Q. Haney, "Defense of implants stirs ethics debate," Associated Press, Dec. 13, 1994.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.* (Emphasis added)

41. *Federal Register*, "Financial Disclosure by Clinical Investigators," Sept. 22, 1994.

42. Philip J. Hiltz, "F.D.A. Seeks Disclosure from Re-

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. Crossen, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Robert Bell, *Impure Science: Fraud, Compromise and Political Influence in Scientific Research* (New York: Wiley, 1992), p. 185.

37. *Ibid.*



Under the FDA's proposal, drug companies would be required to give the agency information about researchers carrying out clinical trials on the safety and effectiveness of drugs, or to certify that the researchers have no stake in the drug or the company.

Drug companies would also have to provide information on their payments, gifts, grants, equipment, or honoraria to researchers and their families. The proposal also requires researchers to disclose stocks and other financial interests they hold in companies. The research-sponsoring corporations would have to show how they plan to minimize the potential for bias.<sup>43</sup>

Still, according to FDA spokesperson John O'Hara, the proposed disclosure requirements would not prohibit financial arrangements between industry and researchers. They would only ensure that the FDA is aware of such arrangements.<sup>44</sup> But the FDA's proposal, minimal as it is, might never see the light of day. Newly-emboldened Republican lawmakers, who have long criticized the agency as overzealous, want to dissolve it and turn its functions over to private interests.<sup>45</sup>

### Small Steps

The scientific community has also begun to take tentative steps to deal with problems arising from the influx of corporate dollars into R&D. In the wake of Dr. Brennan's attack on paid advertising disguised as serious science, those involved in publishing and reviewing scientific research are now requiring researchers to disclose their financial arrangements with sponsors of their research. Medical journals in particular have begun to seek disclosure.<sup>46</sup>

But reforms aren't always implemented. The *Journal of the National Cancer Institute* (JNCI) found itself in hot water after it ran an upbeat editorial on cancer by two University of Alabama researchers. One of them, Philip Cole, later said some of his work had been funded by the oil and gas industries, and his current research is supported by the International Institute of Synthetic Rubber Manufacturers.<sup>47</sup>

searchers," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1994.

43. *Federal Register*, op. cit.

44. "F.D.A. may require testers of new drugs to disclose any stake," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 26, 1994, p. B9.

45. James Bovard, "Double Crossing to Safety," *American Spectator*, Jan. 1995.

46. Winslow, op. cit.

47. Rick Weiss, "Scientist's Funding Raises Eyebrows," *Washington Post*, Health Supplement, Feb. 14, 1995, p. 18.



**FDA head Dr. David Kessler tightened research financing disclosure, but the reform—and the agency itself—are endangered by the Newly-emboldened Republican Congress.**

The journal's managing editor, Julianne Chappell, said Cole's funding sources should have been mentioned, but that the journal failed to ask Cole to disclose such information. Chappell added that JNCI's information about authors is "inadequate when it comes to conflict of interest," and that the journal had intended to update its author questionnaires since 1993, but hadn't gotten around to it.<sup>48</sup>

The same lackadaisical response is apparently also the rule in academia. As the Carnegie Mellon report suggests, universities are showing signs of unease with the situation, but there is little evidence that substantive reforms have yet been enacted.

The problem remains large and growing. The current political atmosphere threatens to make it worse. Not only will head-on attacks on federal regulation, such as the onslaught against the FDA, weaken already feeble controls on corporate influence over research agendas and results, but Republican budget hawks are certain to further slash government R&D spending, leaving research at the mercy of corporate funding.

While conscious manipulation of research data and findings is probably rare, scientists' reliance on financing from interested parties cannot help but

48. *Ibid.*

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influence not only their research results but even the projects they undertake. In the near term, with the federal government probably out of the picture and the scientific community only beginning to respond to a self-inflicted crisis of credibility, public health and safety remain under the gun. ●

# Silent Coup in Cyberspace

by Peter Cassidy

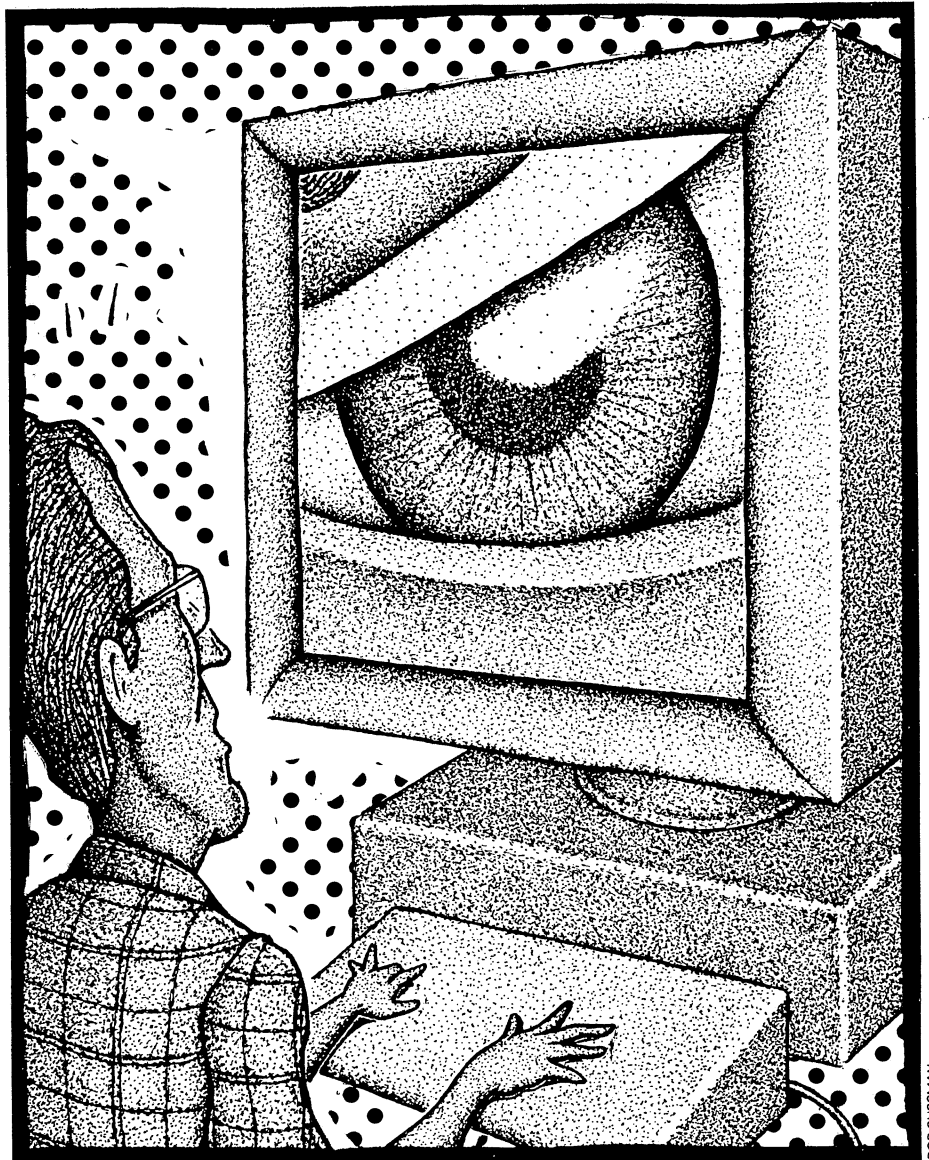
The future beckons from Cyberspace, that fusion of telephone, computer, video, radio, wired, and wireless information transport technologies that has coalesced into a dimension all its own. This new domain is, however, already a contested terrain. A twilight war for domination is well under way between the U.S. intelligence community and civilian users of the electronic realm. The National Security Agency (NSA), in strategic alliance with federal law enforcement agencies, is staking out Cyberspace, maneuvering to place itself in a commanding position in the development of the nascent civilian communications networks.

The NSA and its proxies in law enforcement claim that advances in telephone signaling, computing, and communications technologies could critically obstruct their intelligence-gathering activities and blind the nation to security threats. Their attempts to tame these technologies, however, threaten to compromise the privacy of all U.S. electronic communications.

Toward satisfying its agenda for control of the civilian communications technologies, NSA has played a key role in two public policy initiatives on electronic communications:

- The agency, along with the FBI, scored a victory last fall, when Congress passed the digital telephony bill, effectively outlawing telephone technologies that inhibit the government's ability to wiretap.
- The Clipper chip program, announced early in the Clinton administration, is the opening move in a strategy to impose a national civilian cryptography standard that is designed to allow government agents to decode encrypted communications at will.

Peter Cassidy writes on technology, white collar crime, and national affairs. His work has appeared in *The Progressive*, *Bankers' Monthly*, *CIO Magazine*, *Texas Observer*, and *OMNI*. Travel costs paid by the Fund for Constitutional Government. Research assistance by Lydia DeSanctis. E-mail: pcassidy@delphi.com.



ROB SUSSMAN

These related initiatives are part of an apparent concerted strategy to block communications and computer innovations that do not conform to the NSA's requirements for easy accessibility. Though these firefights take place in the grey domains of policy and regulation, they will directly affect that most personal of Americans' possessions: their communications. Federal agencies are now deciding policies on communications technologies that will have consequences for years to come. And, ultimately, they will define the points where private life ends and the state's prerogatives begin.

## Digital Telephony

The U.S. intelligence apparatus established an important beachhead in the nation's telecommunications network with the passage of the Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act, or digital telephony bill, signed into law last October. It requires telecommunications carriers and manufacturers to design their networks to optimize law enforcement's wiretapping ability. The government's ability to snoop has now become a legally enforceable design criterion in telecommunications systems.

Under the new law, "capacity requirements" announced by the Attorney General will inform manufacturers and telephone companies of changes necessary to keep the networks open for court-authorized wiretaps. Companies that fail to comply can be fined \$10,000 a day per violation. Giving the federal government such control over private communications networks indirectly places the NSA in an influential position. Although a branch of the Commerce Department has nominal control over the security of civilian communications, NSA's budget and expertise make it the leading player.

While the FBI officially sponsored the bill, NSA quietly advanced its own agenda, apparently playing an influential role in sculpting the bill's language and lobbying for its passage. The digital telephony act represents the first victory for a strategic alliance of intelligence and law enforcement to control domestic development of information technologies.

For years, digital telephony legislation got nowhere. The FBI had filed versions of the bill since 1991, and seemed to demand that any technology with a wire attached to it come with an extra wire for the bureau. The FBI painted the bill as a needed remedy for advanced telephone technologies, arguing that such advances obstructed wiretaps of terrorists, killers, child pornographers and drug traffickers. In one hot-button example, the bureau cites the case of a California child pornographer who encrypted his database and prevented them from finding the identities of his customers.<sup>1</sup> Even so, no congressional sponsors stepped forward until last year.

### National Security Tag Team

In 1994, Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) and Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) filed versions of the bill that were less encompassing than those of earlier years, which covered all data communications, including e-mail. The 1994 bill covered only voice communications, but its Big Brother aspects were still too much for some lawmakers. To change the minds of holdouts on the bill in Congress, FBI Director Louis Freeh summoned the NSA's cachet.

Senators Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.) and Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) were two big

1. Speech text of FBI Director Louis Freeh before the Senate Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Technology and the Law, Mar. 18, 1994.



NSA (l) / FBI (r)

**National security tag team: John M. McConnell (l), NSA director and Louis Freeh, FBI head. Would you buy a used encryption system from these men?**

stumbling blocks. The two senators had placed parliamentary "holds" on the bill. Hatch was apparently interested only in horse trading, but Wallop had serious reservations about the assault on privacy.<sup>2</sup> To blunt their opposition, Freeh called on NSA Director Vice Admiral John M. McConnell last October 7th and asked McConnell to accompany him to meet with Wallop and Hatch.<sup>3</sup>

Freeh and McConnell approached the senators after the bill left committee but before it made it to the floor, and played up the law enforcement angle. The senators' holds were removed; the bill sailed through the Senate and the House and reached Clinton's desk to be signed less than a month later.

McConnell's last-minute lobbying was no fluke. NSA had been in on digital telephony from the beginning. In one of a series of 1991 memoranda on the bill between Ken Clark, a senior Commerce Department attorney, and NSA legislative counsel Fritz Fielding, Clark wrote, "Attached is a partial draft and outline of a substitute for the Justice Department's draft bill on the same subject. Please let me know ASAP if it seems to be going in the right direction. I hope it suggests an avenue toward improving the DOJ approach."<sup>4</sup>

2. Interviews with staff members of Senators Malcolm Wallop and Orrin Hatch, Nov. 1994.

3. *Ibid.*; facsimile to author from NSA's Acting Director of Policy, Louis A. Baer, on Nov. 30, 1994. Serial: N51/098/94.

4. Memorandum from Ken Clark, Office of the General

The memo suggests that NSA held some sort of veto power over the bill's language, although the agency played down its role. In response to an inquiry about NSA's role, NSA's Chief of Information Policy, Linda I. Miller, wrote: "The Computer Security Act of 1987 does not preclude NSA from expressing its views regarding the digital telephony bill or any other legislation; however, NSA had no 'veto' over the language of the digital telephony legislation. Had NSA found language in the bill objectionable, NSA would have expressed its concerns within the Administration."<sup>5</sup>

James Kallstrom, chief of the FBI's high-tech surveillance section, the Special Operations Group, claimed in an interview that the bureau had "almost nothing to do with it. And you can take that to the bank."<sup>6</sup>

### Selling Digital Telephony

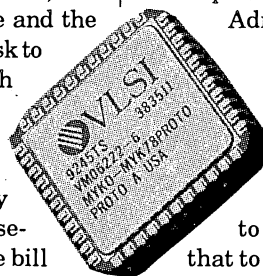
The FBI certainly took the public lead emphasizing crime prevention. In testimony before Congress last year, FBI Director Freeh, citing internal bureau studies of digital telephony's effect on wiretapping, was unequivocal: Advanced telephonics help criminals evade wiretaps.<sup>7</sup> Yet when the Electronic Privacy In-

Counsel, Department of Commerce, July 5, 1991.

5. Letter from NSA Chief of Information Policy, Linda I. Miller, to author, Feb. 1, 1995.

6. Interview, Nov. 1994.

7. Speech text of FBI Director Louis Freeh, *op. cit.*





formation Center (EPIC), a public-interest research group, requested those studies, the bureau balked, casting doubt on its publicly stated rationale.

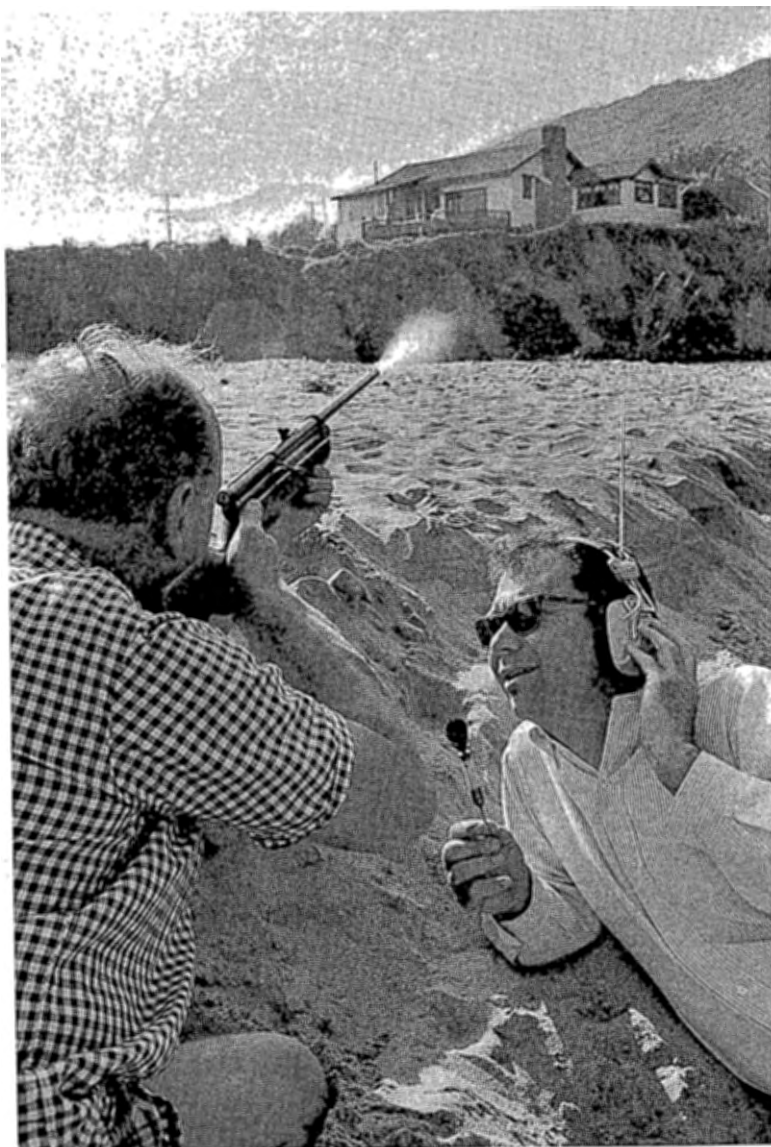
EPIC sued for the documents in early August, and in a hearing last fall, the FBI told the court it needed five years to furnish them, a claim U.S. District Court Judge Charles Richey rejected out of hand. Judge Richey ordered the FBI to proceed, and EPIC is now litigating the bureau's decision to withhold the documents.<sup>8</sup>

One reason for the FBI's reluctance to make its studies available may be that, despite the bureau's public stance, the primary motivation for digital telephony controls is not crime-fighting but spying. David Banisar, a policy analyst at EIC, said that Defense and Commerce Department memoranda his group pried loose through the Freedom of Information Act:

indicate that the NSA had a greater interest in the bill than initially admitted, indicating that the true purpose of the bill, as many observers have noted, was more for foreign intelligence than for domestic surveillance. Given relative infrequency of wiretaps in the U.S., this seems like a very plausible theory.<sup>9</sup>

Banisar also said the success of the digital telephony bill will embolden the NSA and government proponents of the Clipper chip. "It really makes it more likely that there will be legislation proposed for key escrow [the 'extra keys' feature of the Clipper chip]. Had this been defeated they would not have tried key escrow — but now the blood is in the water."<sup>10</sup>

8. Interview with EPIC Dir. Marc Rotenberg, Nov. 1994; interview with EPIC legal counsel David Sobel, Feb. 9, 1995.  
9. Interview with David Banisar, policy analyst with EPIC, Dec. 1994. Banisar cites internal FBI studies on wiretapping that EPIC recovered in a 1993 FOIA request.  
10. *Ibid.*



**Federal eavesdropping strategies have ranged from the ridiculous to the supine. In 1975, agents fire a bugged dart to transmit private conversations.**

### Clipper Chip: Putting the Genie Back in the Bottle

And the sharks at the intelligence and law enforcement agencies are circling. NSA's realization that its cryptanalysts can't crack currently available encryption systems, is at the root of its Clipper chip proposal. (See box, p. 57) The initiative would set a national encryption standard ensuring secure coded communications, with the catch that the government would hold an extra set of keys to the chip's encryption system — "key escrow." Legitimate users would have good, strong encryption to protect their communications — and those under suspicion could be tapped. With access to the keys held in escrow by as-yet-unnamed federal agencies, NSA

— or the FBI, or the CIA — would thus be able to "unlock" any coded message it wanted to read.

Imagine that a group of suspected "terrorists" attracts the suspicions of the FBI. The bureau would then obtain a warrant under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) to tap their phones. If the "subversives" are naive enough to use a Clipper-enabled phone set, the cops will record the special registration signal that each Clipper chip emits. They will take that to the two key-escrow agencies, each of whom will use it to identify and hand over half of the key they need to decode the communications.

The Clipper campaign is just the latest sortie in a struggle dating back at least eight years. NSA's goal — unfettered access to all electronic communications in the name of national security — hasn't changed, only its sales pitch. The agency first tried to sell Clipper's key escrow concept to industry in 1987 as part of the Commercial COMSEC Endorsement program (CCE).<sup>11</sup> Industry would get some powerful cryptography for the asking, but

NSA would keep an extra set of keys.

Bankers raged against CCE; they argued that it would undermine customer confidence in the banks' ability to ensure confidentiality — and their investment in the existing Data Encryption Standard (DES). Key escrow was quietly shelved — until Clinton and Gore arrived at the White House.

### The Clinton Administration

The code-breakers at NSA — and their customers — watched the Clinton administration's arrival with interest and anticipation. The White House's Information Superhighway initiative was a new opportunity to put a leash on crypt-

(continued on p. 58)

11. Bureau of National Affairs, "Banking Report," Mar. 2, 1987, v. 48, n. 9, p. 388.



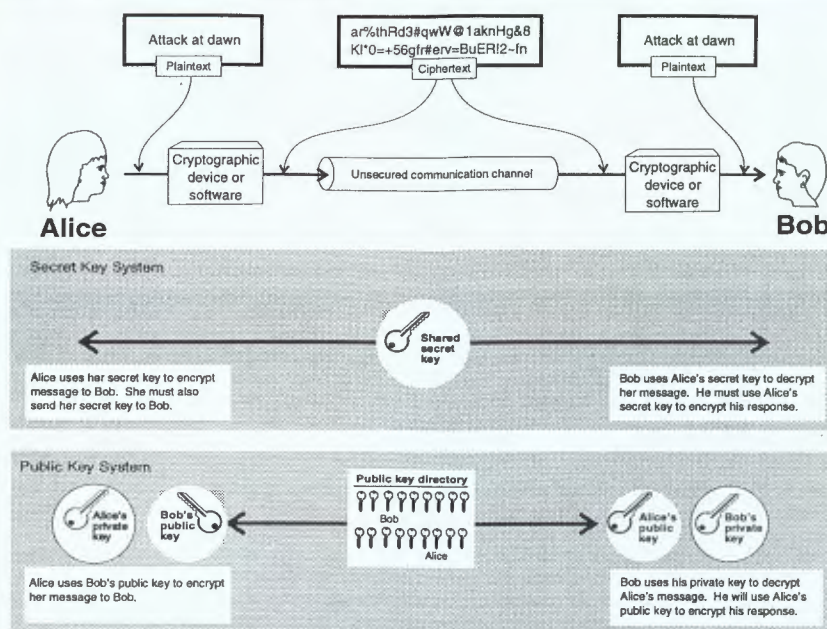
# NSA's Cryptographic Crisis

Cryptography — the science of making and breaking secret codes — can be done by anyone with the tools and the will, but NSA reigned for decades as the sole wizard of these black arts. It and allied agencies controlled cryptography by impounding patent applications, classifying strong encryption programs as munitions subject to export control, and intimidating civilian researchers with threats of prosecution under those laws. These barriers contained all but the most determined apprentices.

That changed with the development of public key cryptography in the 1970s, which employs two "keys." One is posted publicly to encrypt information. The second, private key — held by the intended receiver — unscrambles it. The development of public key systems eliminated the need for expensive measures to ensure that keys did not fall into the wrong hands. Now almost anyone could encrypt sensitive information. Public key cryptography flourished in the 1980s as banks, software companies and even defense contractors embraced it. A self-styled crypto-evangelist named Phil Zimmermann even assembled a public key cryptography system called PGP (Pretty Good Privacy) and distributed it over the Internet — free — in 1991.

Today, cryptography is everywhere. ATM machine PIN numbers are encoded as they pass from terminal to bank for confirmation; cable TV boxes use it to address the sets; bank wire transfers are scrambled; Internet E-mail correspondents use encryption the way pen pals use envelopes; and it is increasingly used to verify commercial transactions over the Internet. Also on the drawing board are such privacy-enhancing products as point-and-click E-mail encryption software, anonymous electronic cash, and anonymous credit cards employing encryption for privacy and to authenticate the identity of correspondents — all of which complicate the NSA's intelligence gathering role.

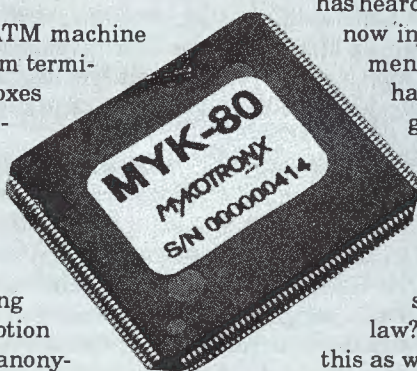
NSA is deeply concerned about its ability to crack new encryption schemes. Not only has public key cryptography brought communications security to the masses; advances in the science have exponentially increased the computer power required to "guess" keys and break codes.



Alice and Bob's excellent adventure: Attack at dawn.

As a result, NSA and its proxies in civilian law enforcement have become increasingly creative and politically savvy in their cryptographic suppression campaigns. The digital telephony and Clipper chip lobbying efforts are just two examples. The harassment of PGP creator Zimmermann is another. He faces felony prosecutions under arms export laws for exporting PGP. A federal grand jury has heard evidence in his case, and his lawyers are now in negotiations with the Justice Department. Zimmermann's lawyers contend he had no hand in posting PGP overseas, that government prosecutors know this, and that Zimmermann's harassment is an effort to chill the development of civilian cryptography.<sup>1</sup>

Will sending Zimmermann to Leavenworth stop the spread of strong cryptography — the basis for the law? Not hardly, and Justice and NSA know this as well. The Business Software Alliance reports in its last survey that there are some 300 cryptographic products made by foreign producers, firms with the tools, the will, and the liberty to profit from practical applications of knowledge.<sup>2</sup> ●



1. Philip Dubois (Zimmermann's lawyer), posting on Internet news groups, Dec. 1994.  
2. Interview with Rebecca Gould, director of public affairs, Business Software Alliance, Feb. 9, 1995.



# Privacy in Cyberspace: Trust Us

Three spooks, a domestic financial reconnaissance expert, some cops and tax collectors, and a harassed postman have been brought together to protect Americans' privacy on the Information Superhighway. The make-up of the Clinton administration's Information Infrastructure Task Force (IITF) Working Group on Privacy does not bode well for the protection of its nominal subject. Panel members include representatives of the NSA, IRS, the Justice Department and Treasury,<sup>1</sup> all outfits with an at best ambiguous posture on privacy rights.

The three NSA reps are presumably there as communications security consultants — undoubtedly the best available — although this does not jibe with the spirit of the Computer Security Act, which gave the role of administering civilian networks to the Commerce Department. The IRS as privacy protector? Not if we look at its proposal to amend the Privacy Act. It wants to link up its databases with local land registries, motor vehicle registries and credit bureaus, not a program supported by privacy advocates.<sup>2</sup> Justice is the agency that successfully lobbied the passage of the digital telephony bill — with help from NSA — legislation that criminalizes untappable telephones, not the mark of an outfit that would take a hard stand for citizens' privacy rights.

One of Treasury's reps on the panel is Stephen Kroll, counsel for the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FINCEN), an office that uses high-order artificial intelligence computer hardware to sift through federal and local databases to track down money launderers under federal investigation — and to target new subjects for investigation.

And why would the United States Postal Service be consulted on privacy issues? The USPS rep on the panel is Chuck Chamberlain, the official who gave a presentation at a smart card conference in Virginia last spring. Chamberlain discussed the exigencies of delivering 100 million national ID cards, another technology of surveillance the U.S. may soon confront. After his remarks caused an uproar, Chamberlain was chastised for his indiscretion — even though the ID cards were part of Clinton's re-inventing government and health care plans, and are also being considered as an immigration control move.<sup>3</sup>

With friends like these ... ●

1. Memorandum for Participants to Date, Working Group on Privacy Information Infrastructure Task Force (IITF), Dec. 3, 1993.

2. *Federal Register*, Dec. 20, 1994.

3. Interview with unnamed White House technology policy adviser, Nov. 1994.

(*Cyberspace*, continued from p. 56)

tographic technologies. Indeed, the intelligence community moved quickly to shape the administration's thinking. The National Security Council (NSC), the White House body closest to the intelligence community and the largest civilian consumer of its product, led the way.

In the first week of the new administration, NSC Director George Tenet wrote to Vice President Gore's national security adviser, Leon S. Fuerth:

If Clipper is to work,  
it must have no  
alternative that  
"outlaws" could  
use to evade  
surveillance.

Can you please provide us with your memo on encryption. We would be happy to have [it] typed up here, and then we can review/make edits as appropriate with you and create a list of decision options we need acted on by our leadership. god bless you. and god bless America [sic].<sup>12</sup>

Two months later, Tenet told his staffers, "Let's make sure we reach out and touch Mike Nelson on Vice President's staff on encryption. Need to get him up to speed fast to get his unique insights."<sup>13</sup>

As with the digital telephony bill, officials downplayed NSA's role in policy formulation. Nelson, special assistant for information technology in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, suggested that NSA was not central to the development of the administration's Clipper program and cryptography policies. The NSA was "one of a lot of different players," Nelson said.<sup>14</sup>

12. Memorandum to Leon S. Fuerth from George Tenet, Subject: Encryption, Jan. 26, 1993.

13. Memorandum for Michael J. Waguespack and David Kelly from George Tenet, Subject: Mike Nelson, Mar. 25, 1993.

14. Interview with Mike Nelson, Aug. 1994.

But he added that cryptography had become an important issue which the Clinton administration would address. Powerful encryption programs could, he noted, stop NSA from conducting overseas surveillance and thwart the FBI's implementation of court authorized wiretaps.<sup>15</sup>

The Defense Department's highest levels also got in on the act. In a May 1993 memorandum noting the beginning of the debates on the Clipper chip proposal, acting Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles Hawkins, Jr., wrote that the Information Superhighway was a worthy goal

independent of arguments as to whether or not law enforcement and national security officials will be able to read at will traffic passing along the information superhighway. ... In the meantime, DoD has trapdoor cryptography [an extra set of keys] and the Government is proceeding with the development of the processes needed to apply that technology.<sup>16</sup>

15. *Ibid.*

16. Memorandum from Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles A. Hawkins, Jr. to Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch, May 3, 1993.



Two weeks earlier, the Clinton administration had announced the Clipper chip program. It was formally proposed by the Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) as a "voluntary" Federal Information Processing Standard (FIPS) for unclassified federal computer systems.<sup>17</sup> As with digital telephony, this time around the intelligence community packaged it as a law and order initiative with the support of the administration and the FBI on point. Almost no one outside of government bought it. During the public comment period, the NIST only received two positive comments out of more than three hundred.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, the Clipper chip faced stiff opposition from computer scientists, telecommunications companies, civil libertarians, and Cyberspace denizens who had an intimate appreciation of what was happening. Stung by overwhelming opposition, the Clinton administration attempted conciliation. In a letter Gore sent to Rep. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.), who had filed legislation to reform laws that constrained the export of cryptography, he put everything about Clipper on the table, with one exception: key escrow.<sup>19</sup> The concept the NSA failed to sell on its own was now championed by civilian law enforcement and the sitting administration as a non-negotiable agenda item.

### A Looming Domestic Encryption Monopoly?

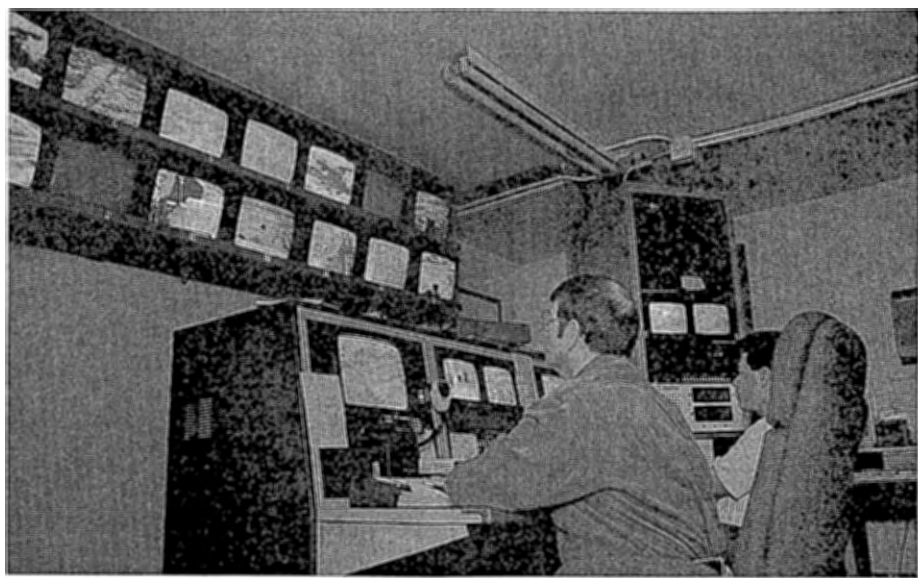
Despite the controversy, Clipper remains on the books as a FIPS for voice telephony and facsimile technologies. AT&T is selling Clipper-equipped telephone encryption devices — the Surety 3600 — to the Justice Department and more sales will follow as contractors and consultants who need to communicate with the federal government purchase Clipper-enabled phones. A FIPS for data transmission will presumably follow — with the same escrow criteria.

Meanwhile, NSA's wrangling for control has delayed the establishment of useable cryptographic standards,

17. "Voluntary" is something of a misnomer because FIPS standards can be applied by the federal government in setting specifications for equipment purchases. As a major consumer of communications hardware and software, the government can wield its contracts to supplant competing cryptographic systems.

18. Steven Levy, "The Cypherpunks Vs. Uncle Sam," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, June 12, 1994, p. 47.

19. Letter from Vice President Al Gore to Rep. Maria Cantwell, July 20, 1994.

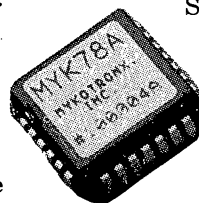


**Encryption monitoring and other new surveillance techniques will be used to apprehend undocumented immigrants. In this Nogales, Arizona, facility, Border Patrol agents monitor the U.S.-Mexican border.**

ironically, putting the security of electronic communications at risk. The last government-sanctioned cryptographic algorithm was the Data Encryption Standard (DES) approved by Commerce in 1977. Some cryptographers believe it should have been retired a decade ago. Current generation computers are theoretically powerful enough to break it. In the meantime, users who rely on secure communications face a Hobson's choice: Continue to use an antique cryptographic technology; use Clipper and trust the federal government; or upgrade to technologies that may be outlawed.

For if Clipper is to have its desired effect, it must have no alternative. It makes no sense to keep Clipper voluntary when savvy "out-laws" can simply use other means of encryption.

Whether non-Clipper domestic cryptography will be banned remains to be seen. The intelligence community has studied other nations' cryptography regulations, with an eye toward possible adoption. One counterintelligence memo outlines Taiwan's, France's, South Korea's and the UK's encryption regimes, all of which enforce various prohibitions — or demand key escrowing of cryptographic schemes.<sup>20</sup> William Murray, a data security consultant with accountants Deloitte & Touche, said,



"The NSA really likes Singapore's law" on encryption, which essentially outlaws non-escrowed forms.<sup>21</sup>

One possibility for the elimination of Clipper's rivals is legislation similar to the digital telephony law, which would mandate built-in government access to encrypted information. Another is domestic laws analogous to existing criminal statutes governing export of cryptography.

A telling exchange suggests where the federal government's rationale for wresting control of domestically available technology may come from: Two weeks before FBI Director Freeh called Vice Admiral McConnell to help him pass the digital telephony bill, Stephen Levy, author and columnist for *MacWorld*, asked Freeh if domestic regulation were a possibility.

Freeh answered, "The terms of encryption being a voluntary standard? Oh, yes, definitely, I mean if five years from now we solve the access problem but what we are hearing is all encrypted, I'll probably, ah, if I am still here, be talking about that in a very important way."<sup>22</sup>

### Ghosts in the Machine

NSA's incursion into the realm of domestic civilian communications is nothing new. After Operation Shamrock, the

21. Interview with William Murray, Aug. 1994.

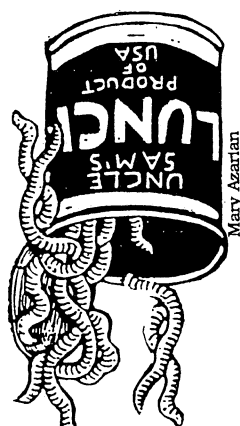
22. FBI Director Louis Freeh, Keynote Luncheon address at the International Cryptography Institute, Washington, D.C., Sept. 23, 1994.

agency's civilian surveillance program,<sup>23</sup> was exposed in the 1970s, Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) warned that NSA's electronic eavesdropping capacity, developed to glean intelligence from military rivals, threatened domestic privacy:

That capability at any time could be turned around on the American people and no American would have any privacy left, such is the capability to monitor everything: telephone conversations, telegrams, it doesn't matter. There would be no place to hide.<sup>24</sup>

23. Shamrock was a domestic surveillance program developed by the Signals Intelligence Agency, precursor to the NSA, and the FBI after World War II. Watch lists of Americans whose communications were intercepted were kept until May 1975 when, after its discovery by the Church Committee, Operation Shamrock was officially dismantled. James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), p. 241.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 4, citing National Broadcasting Company, "Meet the Press," transcript, Aug. 17, 1975.



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Church's concern was understandable. NSA's influence in domestic communications policy is as old as legalized wiretapping. The first statute that authorized wiretaps — the statute that the digital telephony bill modified — was crafted, in part, by the agency.

Then NSA Chief Counsel Roy Banner managed to insert language into the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, the legislation that created formal procedures for law enforcement to tap phones. In a memorandum to then NSA Director Lieutenant General Marshall Sylvester Carter, Banner said he had placed language into the act that would authorize the agency's domestic surveillance.<sup>25</sup>

Containing NSA has been a congressional concern since the 1960s — but its attempts to stop the agency's forays into the public networks have always fallen short. Even before NSA's effort to create a domestic role for itself, Congress took action to rein in the national security agencies. The Brooks Act of 1965 put the development of federal networks and information processing technologies into the hands of the Commerce Department.

President Reagan later attempted to skirt this law with National Security Decision Directive 145, which authorized the Defense Department to manage computer and communications systems transporting "sensitive but unclassified" information.<sup>26</sup> But Congress trumped Reagan with the Computer Security Act of 1987, which specifically assigned the responsibility of government-wide computer system security standards to the Commerce Department's National Bureau of Standards — now NIST.<sup>27</sup>

But in 1989, NSA and NIST signed a controversial Memorandum of Understanding that gave the agency control over security standards, again entrusting the most influential place in the development of cryptographic standards to an intelligence agency. For NSA, its Cold War mission continues, now in Cyberspace. While the agency describes its agenda as protecting the U.S. from foreign rivals, it is U.S. mathematicians, computer scientists, banks and telephone companies, and private citi-

zens who find the privacy of their communications under assault.

NSA still has enormous influence in law enforcement and in publicly funded research. The agency continues to act as a technical adviser to the FBI and NIST, which supposedly usurped NSA's jurisdiction. With an FY 1995 budget of nearly \$3.5 billion,<sup>28</sup> NSA has access to the greatest technical expertise money can buy. NIST, on the other hand, having no claim as guardian of the national security, has a budget of just \$854.7 million.<sup>29</sup> Clout accrues to those with the bucks.

## Marking Cyberspace

The national security apparatus' incursion into Cyberspace is one of the most curious ironies of the Information Age.

The Internet, that most advanced expression of computer-mediated social exchange, is an electronic commons populated by millions of jeering Cyberpunks, waving their libertarian, radical anarcho-capitalistic flags. But these electronic armchair rebels give little thought to the implications of the Internet's origins. Its physical backbone and its electronic transport protocols were designed and built by the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, first for military communications and defense contractors, then universities, and now, for anybody who can afford a computer and modem.

In a very real way, Cyberspace is of military origin and martial influence is built into the domain. The defense and intelligence communities have co-opted so much of the research and development budget over the decades that the very nature of advanced communications and computer research has been militarized. The Cyberpunk image hides a reality shaped by the needs of an information-hungry national security apparatus.

The question now is whether the soldiers, spies, and cops will willingly let go of the technologies that define and maintain Cyberspace. The laws enacted to remove them from a space they built have thus far been ineffective, and they continue to seek new powers. But they cannot be allowed permanent rule of the domain, if America's digital future is not to be permanently militarized. ●

25. NSCID No. 6, Department of Justice, *Report on Inquiry into the CIA*, p. 85, cited in Bamford, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

26. *Codes, Keys and Conflicts*, Association of Computing Machinery, June 1994, p. 39.

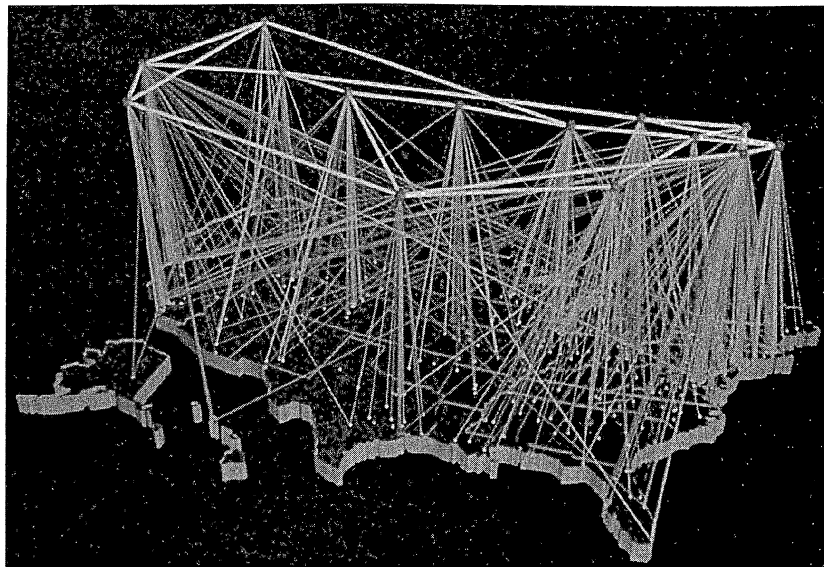
27. Office of Technology Assessment, *Information Security and Privacy in Network Environments*, Sept. 1994.

28. Pentagon Program Decision Memorandum, cited in *Defense Week*, Aug. 29, 1994, p. 1.

29. Interview with NIST Public Affairs Office, Feb. 1995.

# Trawling the Internet

by Wendell Minnick



DONNA COX AND ROBERT PATTERSON

**T**he rapid advance of electronic communications, especially the growth of the Internet, has opened up a vast world of information. The Internet—a collection of over 40,000 computer networks covering the world—provides a multitude of free resources, but for most users, two stand out: Usenet Newsgroups and Mailing Lists.

Usenet (User's Network) is a collection of over 5,000 Newsgroups, also referred to as discussion groups or conferences. Usenet allows anyone with a computer and a modem to join in as an active participant or observer. In Newsgroups, users will find news reports, commentary, discussions, and requests for information—all sent in by interested organizations and individuals.

With Mailing Lists, the user must subscribe and is automatically sent information. Subscribing is relatively easy, even for inexperienced Internet users.

For example, if Jane Doe wants to subscribe to the mailing list GOVDOC-L, which discusses techniques for gaining access to government documents, she would e-mail a one-line message to the designated e-mail address, in this case, *listserv@vm.ucs.ualberta.ca*. Skipping the "subject" line, she would leave the following message:

**subscribe GOVDOC-L Jane Doe.**

New GOVDOC-L messages will automatically be sent to Jane Doe's e-mail address.

New subscribers should be sure to print or download the Mailing List's introduction for future reference. Normally, the introduction lays down the ground rules of participation and for canceling subscriptions. For mailing lists mentioned below, subscribe at the address following the list name.

## World News and Discussion on the Internet

Given the global span of the Internet, there are Newsgroups or Mailing Lists for just about every country or region.

Wendell Minnick is the author of *Spies and Provocateurs: A Worldwide Encyclopedia of Persons Conducting Espionage and Covert Action* (McFarland, 1992). For questions and comments on Internet access, he can be reached at: [wminnick@delphi.com](mailto:wminnick@delphi.com)

Here is a sampling of Newsgroups for selected areas:

**alt.current-events.bosnia**  
**soc.culture.bosna-herzgvna**  
**soc.culture.croatia**  
**alt.current-events.russia**  
**soc.culture.mexican**  
**soc.culture.korean**  
**talk.politics.china**  
**soc.culture.japan**  
**talk.politics.mideast**

Mailing lists on selected countries:

**CRO-NEWS** (Croatia): [cro-news-request@well.ox.ac.uk](mailto:cro-news-request@well.ox.ac.uk)  
**ROKPRESS** (Yugoslavia): [ibenko@maveric0-uwaterloo.ca](mailto:ibenko@maveric0-uwaterloo.ca)  
**CUBA-L**: [listserv@unmvma.unm.edu](mailto:listserv@unmvma.unm.edu)  
**CHINA**: [listserv@pucc.princeton.edu](mailto:listserv@pucc.princeton.edu)  
**CHINA-NT**: [listserv@uga.cc.uga.edu](mailto:listserv@uga.cc.uga.edu)

## War and War Toys

War, security issues, and military technologies naturally are closely watched on the Internet. A sampling of some Newsgroups on war includes:

**alt.war**  
**alt.war.vietnam**  
**alt.desert-storm**  
**rec.aviation.military**  
**sci.military**  
**alt.engr.explosives**  
**alt.politics.org.un**

Mailing Lists on war-related topics:

**VWAR-L** (Vietnam): [listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu](mailto:listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu)  
**MILHST-L** (Military History): [listserv@ukanvm.cc.ukans.edu](mailto:listserv@ukanvm.cc.ukans.edu)  
**NAVNEWS** (U.S. Navy): [navnews@nctamslant.navy.mil](mailto:navnews@nctamslant.navy.mil)  
**SKUNK WORKS** (Aviation): [majordomo@gaia.ucs.orst.edu](mailto:majordomo@gaia.ucs.orst.edu)

## Spooks and Cops

Intelligence and law enforcement-related groups offer news and discussion of everything from impending intelligence reforms to code-breaking to the role of U.S. law enforcement agencies:



alt.politics.org.covert  
alt.politics.org.cia  
alt.politics.org.nsa  
sci.crypt  
alt.politics.org.fbi  
alt.politics.org.batf  
alt.law-enforcement

## Fighting Back

The Internet is also an excellent source of information on progressive activism. The best overall activist Newsgroups, which can connect you with a broad range of organizations, events, and causes are:

alt.activism  
alt.activism.d  
misc.activism.progressive

More narrowly focused activism Newsgroups include:

soc.rights.human  
alt.government.abuse  
alt.whistleblowing  
alt.discrimination  
alt.politics.equality  
alt.society.civil-disob  
alt.society.civil-liberties  
alt.society.anarchy  
alt.society.revolution  
alt.society.civil-liberty

An activists' Mailing List:

ACTIV-L: listserv@mizzou1.missouri.edu

## Beyond the Fringe

Because of the medium's inclusive and uncensored nature, any Newsgroup may include bigoted diatribes and paranoid rants as well as solid analysis and hard-to-find information. But some discussion groups positively revel in the bizarre or the hateful. There are discussion groups on every kind of conspiracy imaginable—from UFOs, mind control, and Elvis sightings to the endless debates over who killed the Kennedys.

Conspiracy-oriented Newsgroups include:

alt.conspiracy  
alt.conspiracy.jfk  
alt.jfk  
alt.conspiracy.abe-lincoln

Hate groups also stalk the Internet. Readers with strong stomachs can, for example, monitor aspiring neo-Nazis at:

alt.skinheads

But the following Mailing Lists courtesy of Political Research Associates provide a healthy antidote to the extreme right:

RIGHTDOCS: majordomo@igc.apc.org  
RIGHTFORUM: majordomo@igc.apc.org

## Journalist's Roundtable

Journalists and media watchers have access to a variety of useful resources. For discussions of journalistic ethics, techniques, and controversies, see:

alt.journalism  
alt.journalism.criticism  
alt.news-media  
misc.writing  
alt.freedom.of.information.act  
alt.society.foia

Mailing Lists on journalism:

JOURNET (General): listserv@qucdn.queensu.ca  
GOVDOC-L (Obtaining U.S. government public documents):  
listserv@vm.ucs.ualberta.ca

## Breaking Into the Net

Many people with perfectly good computers and modems balk at navigating the Internet. It can be frustrating and intimidating, but the rewards are great. Besides the relatively easy to use Newsgroups and Mailing Lists, the 'Net offers access to hundreds of libraries and specialists all over the world.

If you are unsure how to access the Internet, buy a good manual, then check ads for commercial servers in popular computer magazines. Most commercial services offer a few hours of free access to explore the system. But also beware of the commercial nets' limitations; many of the popular commercial networks do not give you access to the Internet (except e-mail). Choose a server providing full access to the Internet.

## Peacenet

A non-commercial server that provides complete Internet access is the Institute for Global Communications (IGC), a non-profit organization devoted to using technology for social justice. IGC operates the Peacenet network, along with its siblings Econet, Conflictnet, and Labornet.

Peacenet, which provides extensive coverage of social justice, progressive activism, and politics around the globe, allows you to participate in any of the thousands of Usenet conferences, but also offers hundreds of conferences available only to its subscribers.

A brief sampling by subject area follows:

### Activism:

boycott.alerts (*lists companies subject to boycotts*)  
gain.infobase (*information on Congress, Cabinet, etc.*)  
gen.bigbro (*state security activities, surveillance, etc.*)

### Africa:

africa.forum (*general news and discussion*)  
africa.news (*news and articles*)  
bitl.africa (*reproduces Bitnet mailing list on Africa*)  
econews.africa (*ecology forum from Climate Network Africa*)

### Asia:

hr.asiapacific (*human rights information on the region*)  
reg.china (*news and information about China*)  
reg.seasia (*news and information about Southeast Asia*)  
tibet.information (*urgent action and human rights in Tibet*)

### Central America:

carnet.general (*general information about Central America*)  
nicadri (*summary of news articles from Nicaraguan press*)  
reg.elsalvador (*news and information about El Salvador*)  
reg.mex.news (*news and information about Mexico*)

### Europe:

baltic.news (*news and information about the Baltic states*)  
env.europe (*environmental information about Europe*)  
list.nato (*public data from NATO*)  
yugo.antiwar (*finding a peaceful solution in Yugoslavia*)

### Military and Security:

bas.magazine (*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists on-line*)  
mil.accidents (*accidents involving various militaries*)  
toxics.militar (*environmental problems on military bases*)

These groups are only a small fraction of Peacenet discussion groups. To subscribe to Peacenet, call 415-442-0220. For more information on IGC and Peacenet, send an e-mail message requesting information to:

igc-info@igc.apc.org

Finally, CAQ is one of a growing number of magazines and newsletters now available on Peacenet. Selected articles from CAQ may be found at:

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# Off the Shelf:

## CAQ'S BOOKS OF INTEREST

### **Blond Ghost: Ted Shackley and the CIA's Crusades**

by David Corn

(SIMON & SCHUSTER, 1994, PHOTOS, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 409 PP., \$27.50 HB).

When, after lengthy negotiations, David Corn finally secured Ted Shackley's permission to interview him for this book, the infamous spook suspected his motives. Schooled in the art of double-dealing and suspicious of political attack, Shackley could not see the obvious: Corn wanted to write about Shackley's career in the agency.

And Corn has done just that, tracing Shackley's long ascent and sudden fall. From postwar Berlin, where he sent hapless agents to their deaths in futile efforts to infiltrate the East Bloc, to Miami, where he headed JM/WAVE's failed plots against Fidel Castro, and on to Laos and Vietnam, where he presided over the CIA's bloody and ultimately pointless operations, Ted Shackley — like the agency itself — made his reputation by painting failures as successes. He was the consummate covert operations bureaucrat: cold, dispassionate, demanding, rigid, and seemingly unable to question orders — only to follow them.

Corn makes a persuasive case that Shackley was not in fact the "Secret Team" bogeyman portrayed in the overheated Christic Institute affidavits, but that does not diminish his importance. Instead of a Manichean portrait, Shackley — and the CIA's covert apparatus — gets a subtler and truer reading. Shackley's career, with its lost causes, its body counts, and its toll on constitutional government, is ultimately a study not in evil's omnipotence but in its banality.

*Blond Ghost* may be the story of one man's life in the CIA, but it is an exem-

plary tale. For if any man symbolizes the trajectory of the CIA, it is Shackley. In his career, his foibles and follies, his successes and failures, one reads the story of the agency, or at least its clandestine arm. Corn has done more than write a Cold War bureaucrat's biography, he has opened a window on the CIA itself.

### **Pride of Small Nations: The Caucasus and Post-Soviet Disorder**

by Suzanne Goldenberg

(ZED BOOKS, 1994, ENDNOTES, INDEX, 233 PP., \$22.50 PB).

In recent weeks, Chechnya blasted onto the evening news as separatist rebels fought a desperate holding action against the Russian military. But prior to Yeltsin's misbegotten effort to hammer it into submission, the tiny republic was as little-known as its neighbors. Even today, while Chechnya has achieved an unfortunate notoriety, places like Ossetia, Abkhazia, Daghestan, and Ingushetia are for most people nothing more than exotic names.

Suzanne Goldenberg, a reporter for the London *Guardian*, has done an admirable job in producing the first full-length, English language treatment of the post-Soviet Caucasus. She excavates the region's tangled history and byzantine contemporary politics, even as she provides the necessary context for understanding post-Soviet power struggles.

Goldenberg devotes chapters to the three new Caucasian republics — Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia — as well as discussing in detail the above-mentioned tiny states still uneasily under Russian rule. She explores the impact of dissolution of empire on the region, the Islamic revival, ecological struggles, and the fragility of new political systems. Goldenberg also situates the Caucasus within the regional geopolitical context, with Iran, Turkey, and Russia vying for influence.

Given the volatile mixture of nationalism, religious upheaval, economic disruption, and outside interference, there is probably no other region in the world currently more likely to sink into violence and disorder. *Pride of Small Nations* is a solid introduction to a region that we are going to be hearing more about.

### **Hostile Acts: U.S. Policy in Costa Rica in the 1980s**

by Martha Honey

(UNIVERSITY PRESS OF FLORIDA, 1994, PHOTOS, TABLES, APPENDICES, ENDNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 640 PP., \$24.95 PB).

Journalist and scholar Martha Honey's name is familiar to followers of the Reagan-era wars in Central America. She and her husband, Tony Avirgan, helped lay the groundwork for the Christic Institute's ill-fated lawsuit against the "Secret Team." In it, Christic lawyer Daniel Sheehan argued that this "off the books" conspiracy organized the Contra war against Nicaragua — among myriad other misdeeds.

Here, Honey distances herself from Sheehan's overreaching. Instead, she carefully lays out the extent of U.S. manipulation of Costa Rica. It is a story that goes well beyond the clandestine skullduggery of Ollie North and his cohorts, which Honey meticulously documents. She describes a largely successful U.S. effort to reshape Costa Rica's political and financial institutions to serve the short-term ends of U.S. foreign policy.

But the book will be read by many for its sections dealing with the May 1984 La Penca bombing, an attempt to assassinate Eden Pastora that killed three and wounded 17, including Avirgan. After years of digging and many leads pointing toward the CIA and its henchmen, Honey convincingly identifies the bomber as an exiled Argentine leftist and ties him to the shadowy "Fifth Directorate" of Sandinista security. This revelation was unwelcome for many of Honey's erstwhile allies, and she and Avirgan have suffered for pursuing the trail even when it turned toward Managua.

Honey acknowledges the murkiness and ambiguity of the clandestine world of La Penca. She documents three separate underground networks — two of them linked to the U.S.'s Contra operation — out to get Pastora, and details U.S. government efforts to derail the bombing's investigation. She also acknowledges the mystery surrounding the Argentines, who may well have been working for several masters at the same time. Clearly, questions remain. But, as Honey shows, the bigger story is the all-out U.S. effort to subvert Costa Rica. She ably portrays that process.

## **Basta!: Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas**

by George Collier with Elizabeth Lowry Quaratiello

(FOOD FIRST BOOKS [398 60TH ST, OAKLAND, CA 94618], 1994, MAPS, PHOTOS, ENDNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 184 PP., \$12.95 PB).

## **The Chiapas Rebellion**

by Philip Russell

(MEXICO RESOURCE CENTER [P.O. BOX 7547, AUSTIN, TX 78713], 1995, PHOTOS, ENDNOTES, APPENDICES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, INDEX, 154 PP., \$10.95 PB).

## **Rebellion from the Roots: Indian Uprising in Chiapas**

by John Ross

(COMMON COURAGE PRESS, 1995, INDEX, PHOTOS, 454 PP., \$14.95 PB).

## **Zapata's Revenge: Free Trade and the Farm Crisis in Mexico**

by Tom Barry

(SOUTH END PRESS, 1995, TABLES, ENDNOTES, APPENDIX, BIBLIOGRAPHY, 300 PP., \$15.00 PB).

## **Zapatistas!: Documents of the New Mexican Revolution**

(AUTONOMEDIA [P.O. BOX 568, WILLIAMSBURG STATION, BROOKLYN, NY 11211], 1994, GLOSSARY, INDEX, PHOTOS, 352 PP., \$12.00 PB).

The Zapatista uprising is well into its second year and the Mexican political system may never be the same. The rebellion has shaken the country and the international markets, and it has shown enough resilience to suggest it is not going away soon. It has also lasted long enough for the first wave of books to come off the presses. These five works together represent an excellent beginning to what will undoubtedly be a growing literature.

John Ross' *Rebellion from the Roots* and Phillip Russell's *Chiapas Rebellion* both provide narratives of the uprising, but differ widely in personality and presentation. Ross, a long-time Mexico hand, displays a vast and nuanced knowledge of Mexican society and politics as he interweaves historical exegesis with a blow-by-blow account of the uprising.

His account of the Zapatistas' origins is especially engaging. Ross describes the dual political forces that ultimately created the Zapatista army — the organized peasants of the Lacandon and the Chiapas highlands and urban leftist cadre who went "to the people" after

1968 — demonstrating in the process his keen grasp of leftist currents in Mexican political life. A fascinating — and for the Mexican government, deeply troubling — aside is that the same long-term organizing processes, and presumably preparations for guerrilla war, are under way in other parts of the country.

Ross' style is engaged and breezy and easily draws in the lay reader. Overall, *Rebellion from the Roots* is the best general introduction to the rebellion and the social forces behind it.

At times, Ross could have used a heavier editorial hand. The book is nearly double its announced pre-publication size, and while most of the material is highly readable and important, he has a tendency to florid prose and occasion overstatement.

While Ross wears his political sympathies on his sleeve, Philip Russell personifies the detached chronicler. *Chiapas Rebellion* is short on interpretation, but provides a detailed chronological narrative through the August 1994 elections. Russell not only lays out the high drama of war and the minutiae of negotiations in scrupulous detail, he also supplies the reactions of the Mexican government, political parties, and press to unfolding events. Russell's straightforward, "just the facts" journalism makes *Chiapas Rebellion* an essential resource for serious students of the Zapatista rebellion.

George Collier's *Basta!* and Tom Barry's *Zapata's Revenge* share a broader, more scholarly approach. Both books concentrate less on the Zapatista rebellion itself than on its regional and national contexts. Collier, a social anthropologist with long experience in Chiapas, zeroes in on the complex social and economic forces at work: land pressures and reform, ethnicity, differentiation among the peasantry, and the increasing role of religious conflict.

Collier writes eloquently, with tightly structured arguments. For those who wish to dig deeper into the social origins of the Zapatistas, *Basta!* will prove of immense value.

Tom Barry's perspective is broader still; his book is first and foremost about Mexican agricultural policy within the confines of the global free market, and only one chapter is devoted exclusively to the Zapatistas. But like *Basta!*, *Zapata's Revenge* will prove useful for students of Mexico's agricultural crisis and

will deepen understanding of the roots of rebellion.

Barry implies that there may be more to follow. He finds few grounds for hope for the peasantry; subsistence economies are probably "structurally incapable" of competing in the world economy, and, given the economic strictures binding Mexican development policy, there is little likelihood that the state will come to its rescue.

All of these books to some degree speak for the rebels, but no one speaks more eloquently than the Zapatistas themselves. Whether written by the university-educated Marcos or by the guerrillas' faceless leaders, their manifestos and communiques have a literary as well as political resonance rarely seen in the literature of revolution.

*Zapatistas!* is a well-translated and comprehensive compilation of Zapatista documents from Marcos' dramatic introduction to Chiapas, "The Southeast in Two Winds," through "The Second Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle," written after the rebel bases rejected the 1994 peace accords. Also included are numerous interviews with Marcos and others, and transcripts of press conferences. *Zapatistas!* is not only a valuable primary resource; it is an inspiring work of literature.

## **Tune In Tomorrow**

by Tom Tomorrow

(ST. MARTIN'S PRESS, 1994, 119 PP., \$8.95 PB).

One of the most intellectually satisfying, provocative, and stylistically innovative cartoonists on the scene today, Tom Tomorrow's work has appeared in publications from *Spin* and *The Nation* to the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. This, the second volume of his collected cartoons, shows why.

The Bay area cartoonist's instantly identifiable retro style heightens the contradiction between the All-American values we supposedly share and the meanness, greed, and downright idiocy of much of contemporary U.S. political and cultural life. The stuff of daily headlines is his subject matter, and his razor wit has no lack of targets.

Whether he is zapping the CIA for its lapses ("Sir, I've been analyzing the data—and apparently George Bush lost the '92 election! A man named Bill Clinton is now president!" "Clinton, eh? I'll notify the director IMMEDIATELY!"),



ridiculing the selling of youth culture, or lambasting rightist monstrosities, Tom Tomorrow wraps his astute and pointed commentary around snickers and belly laughs. Tom Tomorrow reminds us that even in these grim times, we can laugh as we organize.

## Powderburns: Cocaine, Contras, and the Drug War

by Celerino Castillo and Dave Harmon

(MOsaic Press, 1994, PHOTOS, ENDNOTES, 240 PP., \$13.95 PB).

Cele Castillo is not a man who will appeal to most *CovertAction* read-

ers. He fondly reminisces about assassinating village leaders while in the Army in Southeast Asia and tells how his drug war colleagues in Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru torture and murder trafficking suspects. Terrible stuff, he says, but he was powerless to do anything. Besides, his subtext suggests, these were wars against an unmitigated evil and such excesses are sometimes necessary, if unseemly.

From the Army to the police to the Drug Enforcement Administration, Castillo devoted his best years to fighting what he saw as the good fight, and his morality—questionable as it may be—was outraged when he discovered clear proof of U.S. toleration of drug trafficking by the Contras. In 1985, he became the lead DEA agent in Central America and promptly began finding evidence that Ollie North's Contra support operation was up to its nose in Colombian coke.

In this book, Castillo lays out the documentation, including his reports sent to Washington as early as December 1985. The evidence, from flight logs to unrelated DEA files to informants inside Ilopango Air Base to official non-denials, is strong and compelling. And, after all, Castillo was the DEA's man in Central America—not some questionable coke pilot.

Where Castillo is weak is in directly implicating Oliver North. He says he believes North had to know about the drug flights, but makes only a strong circumstantial case against him. Yet again, Slick Ollie slithers out of harm's way.

What happened with Castillo's bell-ringing is illuminating. He was eventually forced out of the agency, the DEA said it had no record of his reports (although he has copies), and official Washington showed a disappointing if not surprising queasiness at the prospect of poking around in his story. Now, Cele Castillo is twiddling his thumbs back home in the Rio Grande Valley and Oliver North is a star attraction on the conservative fund-raising circuit. This is an instructive book in more ways than one. ●

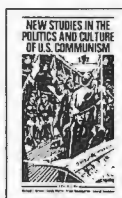
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## Who Is Marcos?

Responding to a press report that EZLN Subcomandante Marcos is a homosexual, the Zapatistas wrote:

**M**arcos is gay in San Francisco, black in South Africa, an Asian in Europe, a Chicano in San Ysidro, an anarchist in Spain, a Palestinian in Israel, a Mayan Indian in the streets of San Cristóbal, a gang member in Neza [a huge Mexico City slum], a rocker in the National University [a folk music citadel], a Jew in Germany, an ombudsman in the Defense Ministry, a communist in the post-Cold War era, an artist without gallery or portfolio...

A pacifist in Bosnia, a housewife alone on Saturday night in any neighborhood in any city in Mexico, a striker in the CTM [the docile pro-government union federation], a reporter writing filler stories for the back pages, a single woman on the metro at 10 p.m., a peasant without land, an unemployed worker...an unhappy student, a dissident amid free-market economics, a writer without books or readers, and, of course, a Zapatista in the mountains of southeast Mexico.

So Marcos is a human being, any human being, in this world. Marcos is all the exploited, marginalized, and oppressed minorities, resisting and saying, "Enough!" ●

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