

CovertACTION

QUARTERLY



Welcome to the Free World

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Israel's Bomb • CIA's Secret War • Star Wars II • Bush Seen Abroad



THE HEAVENS AND EARTH ARE BUSH'S WAR ZONE

The monstrous charade called a "free election" that went down on November 6, 2000, transpired in the very spotlight created by Washington's own pious rhetoric — that the U.S. has so much to teach the world about how to conduct "free and fair elections."

President George W. Bush is the man who on election day blurted "They underestimated me," and who on an earlier occasion said, "If I'm the president, we're going to have emergency-room care, we're going to have gag orders."

Just a couple of hours before his final departure from the White House on January 20, Bill Clinton's last public foreign policy move was to bomb Iraq, killing six agricultural warehouse workers.

Dubya, the "compassionate conservative," immediately picked up the bomb as U.S. and British warplanes based in Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait continued the assault for two more days.

On February 16, the bombing was resumed, this time with loyal British ally Tony Blair's enthusiastic support and collaboration, killing at least three children. Bush was quoted as saying that "our intention is to make sure the world is as peaceful as possible."

And the planes had not even landed when oil, defense, and energy stocks on Wall Street shot up.


At home, the new president's Republican friends in Congress are openly calling for the estimated undercount of three million Americans — primarily the poor, the homeless, and people of color — in the 2000 national census to be left unreported, since conventional wisdom says this strategy will help Republicans in future electoral campaigns.

Fear not, alongside this monstrosity, the Bush "justice" agenda is already clear — to continue what Clinton set in motion, and to intensify, the construction of new prisons across the land, selling it as a job-creation program.

Now that Republican hawk George W. Bush has decided to keep George Tenet on as his CIA director — where he has been since July 1997 — we are struck by the fact that the CIA, whose Langley, Virginia, headquarters complex was in 1999 renamed the George Bush Center for Intelligence, is headed by what one seasoned reporter on the intelligence beat called a "nominal" Democrat, in the administration of the son of the former CIA director after whom the complex is named.

Bush's damaging agenda extends beyond home shores, to the planet and the heavens. His corporate pals running polluting industries are priming their smokestacks in celebration of the election of the pro-oil, pro-business president they bankrolled to the White House. The U.S., already viewed abroad as the Dirty Man of the Planet, is going to make the planet dirtier still.

And now the U.S. is set to become a celestial warmonger. The Bush administration has intimate links with the Star Wars industry, political and financial. We will have bombs in space, regardless of the arms race and unrest this will certainly precipitate.

The primary task of this magazine is to uncover, to analyze, and to examine the secret domestic and international agendas of the national security state. We owe this much to the Bush family which, as one major investigative article published in *CovertAction Quarterly* in 1992 put it, is "the family that preys together." 

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COVER: Police use pepper spray on peaceful demonstrators and photographer George Hickey at WTO demonstration, Seattle, November 30, 1999.
Photo: George P. Hickey/Impact Visuals.

BACK PAGE, MAIN PICTURE: Demonstrators are sprayed with high-pressure water hoses, World Bank protest, Prague, Czech Republic, 2000.
Photo: Michael Barkin.

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Industry Spies

CORPORATE ESPIONAGE “is the dirty little secret of big business in America,” a report has warned. The March 6 issue of the email report *Focus on the Corporation* says: “To protect their reputations corporations don’t admit to spying: But they do it.”

The report adds that the corporate spooks even have their own professional organization, the Society for Competitive Intelligence Professionals.

Corporate spy Marc Barry comments: “I provide my clients with actionable intelligence that they either don’t know how to get themselves, or they don’t want to get caught collecting themselves.

“I provide plausible deniability to my clients. In the event that an operation is blown and there is litigation or worse — a criminal charge — they can deny all responsibility by denying knowledge.”

Barry says he runs 40 capers a year, dealing at executive level with Fortune 500 companies. Many corporate spies are recruits from U.S. government security agencies, he adds. His company, C3I Analytics, is in a joint venture with Raytheon to create a \$12 million “corporate espionage war room” in New York City, the report says.

► **Focus on the Corporation:** <http://www.corporatepredators.org>

Bad Environment

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH could be bad news for the environment.

State of the World 2001 report, published in February by Worldwatch Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based research organization, warns that “international negotiators are worried by the anti-environmental rhetoric” of the Bush campaign. “The prospect of a new U.S. president entering office has raised questions about whether the United States will choose to be a leader or an impediment to global environmental progress in the decade ahead,” said report author Christopher Flavin.

Negotiators at last year’s failed climate change summit in The Hague tried desperately to agree a global warming treaty ahead of the U.S. election. Bush’s pro-oil, pro-business agenda was perceived as a looming threat to all global environmental agreements.

► **State of the World 2001 can be obtained from the Worldwatch Institute website:** <http://www.secure.worldwatch.org> Printed copies can be obtained by phoning 800-555-2028 or by email: wwpub@worldwatch.org

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PRESIDENT’S BRIEFS: CIA Director George J. Tenet has refused to allow the “President’s Daily Brief” to be declassified even for historical purposes after 25 years.

The CIA argues that an intelligence summary written specifically for the president offers a unique insight into the agency’s sources and methods, according to State Department records released in February. Senior CIA analysts hand deliver the PDB to the White House six days a week and brief the president, vice president and a few other top officials.

The *Washington Post* reported February 19 that after President Clinton declined to receive the daily briefing early in his first term, special efforts were made to spice up the PDB with clandestine reporting, intercepts and spy satellite imagery unique to the intelligence community.

ENERGY RAY: The Marine Corps is preparing to unveil an “energy ray,” a non-lethal weapon that fires directed energy at human targets.

A February 23 report in *Marine Corps Times* says the weapon, the “Vehicle Mounted Active Denial System,” is “designed to stop an individual in their tracks and make them turn and flee.” The VMADS project is co-sponsored by the Marine Corps and the Air Force.

► **More on non-lethal weapons**
Pages 6-13

UNIONS AT FTAA: AFL-CIO, the U.S. union confederation covering 13 million trade unionists, is urging union members to support protests against the negotiations for a Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement (FTAA), scheduled for Québec in mid-April.

A February 14 statement says AFL-CIO is “for a rejection of the current FTAA and for a new direction on the negotiations — away from the failed NAFTA model of corporate privilege and toward a new

hemispheric model that prioritizes equitable, democratic, and sustainable development."

It adds: "We call on our members to make their voices heard in Québec City as part of the international actions, and join in the activities to 'Localize the Movement for Social Justice' in partnership with Jobs With Justice and other allies in communities across the country."

► **More on FTAA**
Pages 14-15

SMOKE RINGS: A major investigation by the Center for Public Integrity has discovered evidence of cigarette multinationals working closely with companies running a global cigarette smuggling ring.

British American Tobacco, Phillip Morris and R.J. Reynolds are all implicated in the report from the Center's International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. The findings are based on a review of thousands of pages of corporate and government documents and on dozens of interviews with law enforcement officials, smugglers and others.

The Center says the tobacco companies have orchestrated smuggling networks in Canada, Colombia, China, Southeast Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and the United States "as a major part of their marketing strategy to increase profits."

The companies have sought to undercut rising government taxes and to secure market share. Studies show that price hikes are one of the main reasons smokers quit.

The Center estimates that about one in every three cigarettes exported worldwide is sold on the black market.

► **The eight-part CPI report is available on the web**
<http://www.publici.org>

I SPY C3D2: Spookspeak is becoming harder to understand, a *Washington Post* report suggests.

Columnist Vernon Loeb, commenting on the February 2001 annual threat assessment presented to a Senate committee by security agency top brass, says Rear Adm. Thomas Wilson, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, "wins the award for the most creative neologism, C3D2." For the uninitiated, C3D2 stands for "cover, concealment, camouflage, denial and deception," as in: "Many potential adversaries – nations, groups, and individuals – are undertaking more and increasingly sophisticated C3D2 operations against the United States."

FBI MULLAH AID: The FBI has arrested seven Iranian dissidents in Los Angeles. The February arrests, described by the Iranian-American Community organization as a measure "to appease the terrorist regime of the Islamic Republic," was for the "crime" of soliciting funds for their cause.

The arrests have led to accusations from Iranian dissidents that the Bush administration is protecting a regime with few democratic credentials. Iran was described in a February 19 release from Reporters Without Borders as "the biggest jail for journalists in the world." Nonetheless, the bridge-building continues. On March 2, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced that Iran and the U.S. had declared 2001 "the year of dialogue among civilizations."

Critics say Iran does not have a dialogue with either its own journalists or any segment of Iranian society, and practices ethnic cleansing against its own Kurdish population.

GOT NEWS? Tell the editor on
editor@covertactionquarterly.org
or tel: 202.331.9763.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

NUMBER 1: DICK HELD

Richard Wallace Held's career spans decades as an FBI covert operative and a more recent stint in the business world as an executive vice president for credit card giant VISA.

In the 1960s, "Dick" Held was a major player in COINTELPRO – the FBI program created secretly to "neutralize" political dissidents in the United States.

Dick Held's covert credits range from political executions in Puerto Rico to killings throughout the U.S.,¹ and include:

- Six deaths of Black Panther Party members "directly attributable" to his operation, according to FBI papers.²
- Helping frame Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a Panther activist, for murder. After serving 27 years, Pratt's conviction was overturned in June 1997 when it was revealed that a key witness was an FBI informer directly supervised by Held.
- Burying evidence that could have led to the acquittal of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier,³ now in the twenty-fourth year of a sentence for a double murder (see pages 48-49).
- Clear attempts at a cover-up in the 1990 car bombing of environmental activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney.

The corporate Dick Held remains elusive. A call to VISA's Foster City, California, HQ elicited this response: "You've reached the voicemail box of Dick Held at VISA International Risk Management and Security... I'll return your call as soon as possible."

A colleague in his division told *CovertAction*:

"Dick Held has not worked here since sometime last December." Another said, "he hasn't worked here in two years."

So why the VISA voicemail message?

1. Ward Churchill, "The FBI Targets Judi Bari," *CovertAction*, no. 47, 1993-94.

2. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, "The Case of Geronimo Pratt," *CovertAction*, no. 31, 1989.

3. William M. Kunstler, "The Ordeal of Leonard Peltier," *CovertAction*, no. 24, 1985.



FBI: Unwelcome in 185 countries.

WELCOME TO THE FREE WORLD

GAS ME • STUN ME • SHOOT ME • ZAP ME • DOUSE ME • DRUG ME • SHUT ME UP

by Frank Morales

OVER THE LAST NINE YEARS, peace operations in Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia placed demanding challenges on our soldiers and leaders. The presence of non-combatants and civilians in those operations required our troops to use imaginative techniques when executing missions to avoid endangering innocent bystanders. Having the right tools to execute missions in volatile and dangerous situations enhances the capability to succeed. Non-lethal weapons provide that enhanced capability... Recent history shows that the most likely threats are from civil disturbances... Examples include: (1) Peace operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina where a local political party paid civilians to demonstrate against the newly elected government... (2) According to news reports, groups organized and instigated civil disturbances in Seattle, WA, to protest U.S. support of the World Trade Organization..."

— Center for Army Lessons Learned, 2000

The U.S. military is expanding its missions under globalization. It recognizes that in "operations other than war... recent history shows that the most likely threats are from civil disturbances." The Pentagon is preparing to counter popular protest and grass roots resistance to *the new world order* utilizing the latest in "non-lethal" weapons technology.

"Non-lethal weapons" is a term straight out of Orwell, utilized for public relations purposes, and designed to mask through language an increase in the overall scope of violence directed against civilians in both warfare and "law enforcement" scenarios.

Non-lethal weapons have been central to the U.S. military's domestic "civil disturbance planning" for

some time, in the form of "riot control agents" and other technology. Their use in domestic policing and "corrections" is widespread. As a Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) newsletter¹ suggests, U.S. military contingency plans to suppress "civil disturbance" in America — codified as Department of Defense Civil Disturbance Plan 55-2 and codenamed "Operation Garden Plot"² — is currently being tailored to fit the military and political requirements of American corporate global domination and social control, at home and abroad.

While the bulk of American military/corporate research and development of these so-called non-lethal weapons (NLWs) is classified,

a secret arms race in the production and fielding of "directed energy weapons," lasers, stun guns, acoustical and electromagnetic pulse weaponry, psychotronic and other gases is building steadily.

Sold by their advocates as humane tools of restraint, these "abusable" weapons actually escalate levels of violence.³ This is no surprise. Violence breeding violence is the lifeblood of capitalism. NLWs are designed to fill a tactical gap in the strategy of social control and societal domination, or as the military puts it, designed to fill the gap between "a warning and lethal force." Specifically, NLWs are designed to assist in the control of civilian populations, the so-called non-combatants, especially those who resist the imposed directives of the Pentagon Inc. and its various "partners."

Within the context of "operations other than war," NLWs facilitate the repression of civilians, legally immune as targets of war, by allowing military forces to expand their "rules of engagement" during "military operations in urban terrain" (MOUT).

Frank Morales is an Episcopal priest and independent researcher, active on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

The process, multiplied by police units wielding NLWs, expands the category of combatants. NLWs are gifting the police and military a new and powerful role, one embraced enthusiastically by both weapons peddlers and the security forces.

Virginia Hunter/Impact Visuals

NON-LETHAL TACTICS

CALL, located at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, has responded to the demand for field weaponry in step with the requirements of globalization. In June 2000 it issued a primer, *Civil Disturbances; Incorporating Non-Lethal Technology, Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTP)*.⁴ This 36-page CALL newsletter, "written by soldiers for soldiers," claims to be designed primarily for foreign military operations — although chapter one, interestingly, is entitled, "learning from the riots of the 1990s."

The CALL primer collapses the distinction between domestic and international military NLW requirements. It "addresses new non-lethal weapons that have been developed based on the latest technologies available today and how to apply them at the unit level." It documents "the tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) developed by combat forces executing recent peace operations missions," concluding "new non-lethal weapons and updated TTP are needed by Army forces to give commanders broader options in applying graduated responses during civil disturbance missions. Non-lethal weapons, TTP, and training provide commanders those options."

Frustrated by the incomplete and insufficient guidance offered by *U.S. Army Field Manual 19-15, Civil Disturbances, 1985*, which is geared to addressing domestic "disorder," the authors state that "the manual does not take into account the new technological advances in non-lethal weapons and munitions." Further, "there is no Army doctrine on the use of non-lethal weapons and munitions."

CALL says "the manual must be updated to include doctrine and TTP on



WTO ASSAULT: Seattle police officers were guilty of breach of the peace.

the use of the new non-lethal weapons that are available today" in order "to deal with the civil disturbance threat."

The CALL analysts recommend that when the goal of the soldier is to "incapacitate personnel" and "to induce the crowds to back off," forces use "the Sponge grenade," which is "currently available" and "is designed to knock down a person up to 30 meters away when hit in the chest or abdomen. The stinger and foam baton round disperses a shot group similar to that of a shotgun... It should be aimed at one individual, such as the principal instigator or leader of the mob inciting the disturbance... so that he can be captured by a riot control 'snatch-and-grab' team."

They caution though that "soldiers who used the grenade in training commented that the grenade could easily injure or possibly kill someone if it hit a person in the head." Still, the soldiers will be taught not to worry, that it is the intent that counts.

CALL notes that "tactical commanders should be aware of the types of non-lethal technologies that are being developed."

It points out that "federal projects involved in developing non-lethal weapons include: anti-traction technology ('environmentally neutral lubricants'), sticky foam ('adhesive foam

that immobilizes individuals'), anesthetics ('tranquilizers, dispensed with gas or darts, that could put people to sleep'), infrasound ('low-frequency sound generators that incapacitate individuals by causing nausea, disorientation and bowel spasms'), microwave transmitters ('heat skin to an unbearable degree'), lasers ('personnel flashers'), electrical shockers ('electrical shock projectiles'), pyrotechnics ('smoke grenades'), and vortex weapons ('shock wave')."

LAW ENFORCEMENT

U.S. Army proponents for these and other classified weapons are the Army's Infantry Center in the area of "tactical applications," while the U.S. military police "is the proponent for law enforcement applications."

The current plan dictates that "when a unit is notified to deploy and conduct a non-traditional military operation...it will draw and use a Non-Lethal Capability Set (NLCS) to enhance its force protection and to reduce noncombatant casualties."

The capability set includes such items as portable bullhorns, oleoresin capicum and CS "riot control dispensers." CALL analysts say these are intended "to keep rioters out of arm's reach of the soldiers conducting crowd-control tactics or engaged in missions

where a noncombatant threat exists." The kit also contains disposable restraints, sting ball/stun grenade, a 12-gauge non-lethal area cartridge "to stun/deter two or three people without penetrating the body," a "40mm Crowd Dispersal Round (Area)," and a "40mm Sponge Round (Point)."

Currently funded NLW "acquisitional programs" are buttressed by a series of initiatives in the "technology investment program" where "governmen-

buses transported the demonstrators." And so that the soldiers don't get soft fighting a non-war, "preparation for peace operations must be based on sound civil disturbance doctrine..." in which "plans and unit battle drills must be developed for peace operations just as they are for combat."

DOMINATION IS THE GOAL

The Army believes that "information is the key to developing plans for ap-

propositional "contingencies," "leader training on basic disturbance control procedures" is derived from the 1985 U.S. *Army Field Manual 19-15, Civil Disturbances*, written specifically for domestic application.

In July 1996 the Department of Defense (DoD) published Directive 3000.3, "Policy for Non-Lethal Weapons,"⁵ that "establishes DoD policies and assigns responsibilities for the development and employment of non-lethal weapons."

The directive designates the Marine Corps Commandant as "executive agent" for the non-lethal weapons program — an odd choice given the Marines' penchant for extreme violence.

While the Joint Chiefs would "promulgate joint doctrine," Directive 3000.3 assigns primary "policy oversight for the development and employment of non-lethal weapons" to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict. The post is occupied by civilian DoD employee Robert J. Newberry, proposed by Bush as a successor to Clinton appointee Brian E. Sheridan.

Michael Barkin



PRAGUE 2000: World Bank leaders wanted heavy-handed policing.

tal laboratories, industry, and academia... work together to solve problems," generating "new technological concepts and solutions that meet current or future NL mission needs and requirements." A few of these new technological concepts involve "airborne tactical lasers" and "pulsed chemical lasers" that "deliver a massless, blunt shrapnel impact."

CALL analysts note that "in addition to the need for non-lethal civil disturbance doctrine and equipment and the graduated response matrix, effective TTP are needed to employ non-lethal weapons in contingency operations." They go on to describe ingenious techniques used in Bosnia in "delaying the occurrence of a civil disturbance" in which troops "block(ed) the road on which the

appropriate responses to civil disturbances." With it "units can dominate a civil disturbance using non-lethal munitions." Domination being the goal, CALL stresses that "non-lethal weapons and munitions should always be accompanied with lethal munitions and the capability to employ them."

The authors note that "at the time of the publication of this newsletter, only grenadiers in rifle platoons were equipped with the 'sponge' M203 rounds. All other soldiers carried the same equipment and ammunition they would use in a combat situation."

The report goes on to provide various pointers on suppressing civil unrest e.g., "detain personnel who are leading the civil disturbance."

And finally, although the TTPs are meant to address possible interna-

INCAPACITATE PERSONNEL

The DoD defines non-lethal technology as "weapons that are explicitly designed and primarily employed so as to incapacitate personnel or materiel [equipment and supplies]...", utilizing "means other than gross physical destruction to prevent the target from functioning." This frees troops to "take military action in situations where use of lethal force is not the preferred option."

By January 1997, moving to implement "Public Law 104-106, Section 219, Non-lethal Weapons Study," the DoD went ahead to officially designate the Marine Corps as the lead agency in a joint program to develop and field non-lethal weapons. Consequently, the Joint Directorate for Non-Lethal Weapons (JDNLW), based at Quantico, Virginia, was born, set up as the "action office" for the day-to-

day activities of the joint (meaning all services) NLW program.

A June 23, 1999, "Memorandum of Agreement between the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force and Special Operations Command" formalized bureaucratic relationships in the NLWs program. The Directorate, with a staff of about 20, oversees a budget of \$24 million. About \$11 million of this amount is for Army and Marine "procurement" of NLWs. The annual budget is expected to increase to \$28 million by 2005.

WEAPONS SHOWCASE

On the congressional front, during January 1999 the Directorate "participated in a static display to the Senate Armed Services Committee," providing "the Directorate with a great opportunity to showcase the Joint Non-lethal Weapons Program to Senate members and professional staffers."

The chief of the NLW Directorate at the time, Marine Corps General Charles C. Krulak, a leading theorist in the area of urban warfare and "military operations in urban terrain," testified before the Senate Committee, displaying various "static" weaponry before the "professional staffers" including "modular crowd control munition" and the "40 mm Crowd Dispersal Cartridge."⁶

The Directorate's brief is to develop and field NLWs. It is also "tasked" with providing leadership in joint service training, including tactics, communications, crowd dynamics, weapons and munitions, rules of engagement, and the development of ratio-

nalizing doctrine and policy.

In addition the Directorate, allegedly — given the proclivities of the separate services to shield their work on NLWs from public view, including the Directorate — sponsors all experimentation in NLWs including NLW "advanced concept technology demonstrations" (ACTD) as part of "military operations in urban terrain" (MOUT) training.

The Directorate has initiated an "insight" program that will supply it with some information on highly classified single service (i.e., not "joint") strategic level non-lethal weapons. In terms of future experimentation, the Directorate is looking at canister-launched area denial systems, non-lethal Claymore mines (command-detonated explosive systems that project hundreds of small hard-rubber balls), and a non-lethal vehicle trap, among others.

For the mid-term to 2004, it is exploring bounding non-lethal munitions, weapons that leap into the air before firing their pellets, dye, malodorants, or other non-lethal payload. And since 1999 the Directorate has been an active member of the Defense Joint Radio Frequency Technical Integration Group, looking at high-power radio frequency and microwave applications.

The Directorate conducts an annual call for new ideas as part of its Technology Investment Program, financing two-year demonstration projects in order "to provide a decision point for pursuing the technology more formally."⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL), "Civil Disturbances: Incorporating Non-Lethal TTPs", *CALL Newsletter* 00-7, June 2000. <http://call.army.mil/call/newsletters/00-7/00-7fwd.htm>

2. Frank Morales, "U.S. Military Civil Disturbance Planning: The War at Home," *CovertAction Quarterly*, #69, Spring/Summer 2000. Article also available online: <http://cryptome.org/garden-plot.htm> Recently, "Operation Garden Plot Plan for Civil Disturbance" was referenced by the Federal Emergency Management Agency as part of contingency planning in July 2000 for the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia. See FEMA's RNC 2000 Plan:

<http://216.167.120.50/rnc2000-frp.htm>

3. Steve Wright, "War Without Blood? Hypocrisy of 'non-lethal' arms," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1999; see also Steve Wright, "An Appraisal of Technologies of Political Control, Report to Scientific and Technological Options Assessment," European Parliament, 1998, and "Crowd Control Technology, Working Document for STOA Panel," Luxembourg, June 2000. www.europarl.eu.int/dg4/stoa/en/publi/pdf/99-14-01-A_en.pdf

4. *CALL Newsletter*, op cit.

5. Department of Defense Directive 3000.3, Policy for Non-Lethal Weapons, July 9, 1996.

RESOURCES

HELP ME!

- **Ruckus Society:** Trains activists in non-violent civil disobedience to help environmental and human rights organizations achieve their goals. Ruckus Society, 2108A Dwight Way, Berkeley, CA 94704. Tel: (510) 848-9565. Fax: (510) 848-9541. <http://ruckus.org>
- **National Lawyers Guild:** Provides legal support to safeguard the rights of workers, women, farmers and minority groups, bringing together all those who seek to eliminate racism and protect civil liberties. Its national office is in New York, but it has chapters around the country. The National Lawyers Guild, 126 University Place, 5th floor, New York, NY 10003. Tel: (212) 627-2657 Fax: (212) 627-2404. Email: nlgno@nlg.org web: www.nlg.org
- **Center for Constitutional Rights:** Defends people challenging the status quo on political and constitutional issues, and pursues through the courts those responsible for human rights abuses. Center for Constitutional Rights, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. Tel: (212) 614-6430. Email: ccr@igc.org
- **Globalization Challenge Initiative:** Supports the efforts of citizens' groups in developing and transitional countries to promote national development alternatives to the prescriptions of foreign creditors and donors. Particularly active in challenging the role of IMF and the World Bank. Globalization Challenge Initiative, 7000-B Carroll Avenue, Suite 101, Takoma Park, MD 20912. Tel: (301) 270-1000. Fax: (301) 270-3600. Email: global.challenge@juno.com web: <http://www.challengeglobalization.org>
- **Independent Media Center:** A network of collectively run media outlets. Formed to provide independent grass roots coverage of the Seattle WTO protests, it provides the best up-to-the-moment news on activism, and now has web-based centers in the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Czech Republic, Belgium, France, U.K. and Italy. <http://www.indymedia.org>

PUBLICATIONS

- *Waging War on Dissent: A report of the Seattle National Lawyers Guild WTO Legal Group.* N30 Anniversary Edition, Winter 2000. Extraordinary, well-documented 24-page report. WTO Legal is seeking to launch a center for the study of militarization of law enforcement. Correspondence, requests for copies or more information, or offers of contributions to: WTO Legal, PO Box 95242, Seattle, WA, 98145. Email: wtolegal@yahoo.com Tel: (206) 405-4651.
- *Bringing an Undemocratic Institution Brings an Undemocratic Response*, Seattle Lawyers Guild WTO Legal Group, July 7, 2000. By mail (address above) or online at: <http://www.nlgseattle.org> Each \$70 contribution will enable NLG to reprint 1,000 issues of *Waging War on Dissent* (see above).
- Gary T. Marx, *Undercover: Police surveillance in America*, 1988, University of California Press.
- Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert action against US activists and what we can do about it*, 1989, South End Press.

The Directorate recently "tasked Raytheon to conduct R&D of non-lethal technologies." Current projects include: the "OLDS canister" which "provides the ability to rapidly disperse non-lethal chemical agents over large areas"; "the Tasers" which "provides a non-lethal denial device that is effective against dismounted targets. It fires small darts attached to wires that deliver an incapacitating electrical current"; the "Non-Lethal 81 mm payload round"; a "120 mm NL mortar munition"; an "Airborne Tactical Laser (ATL)" that "provides ultra-precision engagement with graduated effects on target and system-level capabilities to support non-lethal engagements"; an "invisible laser pulse" that "strikes a target and creates an intense shrapnelless flash-bang burst"; "microencapsulation," that "identifies the best suited encapsulation techniques for anti-materiel and anti-personnel NLWs... those that will release and spread a variety of chemical payloads"; and a "bio-materials survey" in which "the University of New Hampshire is concentrating on the organizations involved in the research or commercialization of certain bio-materials."

Marine Corps Commandant General James L. Jones said this and other efforts on the part of the Directorate are designed "to leverage 21st Century technology to enable our warfighting Commanders in Chief to capitalize on a full-spectrum non-lethal capability."⁸

Central to capitalizing on NLW capability is maintaining secrecy. The

Directorate is continually updating its "Joint Non-lethal Weapons Security Classification Guide that will provide policy and guidance, and uniform criteria for the security classification of information on DoD NLWs... Annexes on specific technologies include: Mechanical, Electromagnetic, Acoustic, Chemical/Biological and Lasers."⁹ It is also continually updating what the JDNLW refers to as the "Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Program Master Plan," which was officially "signed" on August 25, 2000.

ANTI-PERSONNEL

An influential 1998 research report, *Non-Lethal Weaponry: A Framework for Future Integration*,¹⁰ authored by Air Force Major Mark R. Thomas, provides commentary and an extensive bibliography on NLWs, including a "cross section of non-lethal technologies and whether the of the technology is anti-materiel (AM) or anti-personnel (AP) in nature."

Some distinction, as if "biodeteriorative microbes," which "degrades road and bridge surfaces, turns aviation fuel to jelly," and "eats rubber off vehicle wheels" is completely harmless to persons.

Thomas notes that "the concept of non-lethality, accompanied by the development and employment of non-lethal weapons (NLWs), has been a material element of civilian law enforcement for many years," while "focused consideration of non-lethality and related weaponry by the DoD as an application of the military instru-

ment of power (IOP) is a relatively new yet growing phenomenon."

He adds that "a 1985 U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the use of deadly force to prevent the escape of an unarmed burglary suspect led to the formation of a 'less than lethal' development program within the Department of Justice's (DoJ) National Institute of Justice (NIJ). By 1993, the NIJ had expanded its mission to include the examination and transfer of existing and emerging technologies within the defense and intelligence establishments under an initiative known as the Technology Assessment Program (TAP)."

TAP involves grants and cooperative/interagency agreements to research NLWs. According to Thomas, "in 1994 the DoD and the DoJ formalized their desire to cooperatively pursue non-lethal weaponry and have developed several prototypes to help law enforcement and military personnel close the wide and dangerous gap that exists in the range of tools available to them."¹¹

Commenting on the result of this DoD/DoJ cooperation, Thomas concludes that the Secretary of Defense should "partner with the Attorney General to redraw the increasingly blurred lines between military operations and domestic law enforcement in accordance with applicable statutes."

He notes: "Civilian leaders may be more inclined to address future domestic crisis situations using military forces... when a broadened military mindset toward conflict instinctively

FOOTNOTES

6. *Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Directorate Program News*, Volume 2, Issue 2, February 1999. The newsletter also noted a February 9, 1999 "event" in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations "may be of interest throughout the joint community in the development and fielding of non-lethal weapons".

7. Technology Investment Programs, Joint Non Lethal Weapons Directorate, April 2000. The work of the Directorate is also greatly enhanced by the "innovations" derived from the growing demand for NLWs. Some companies involved in meeting that demand include: Armor Holdings, Defense Technolo-

gies, M2 Technologies, Jaycor, Zarc International, and HSV Technologies which "is developing a non-lethal weapon that uses ultraviolet laser beams" to immobilize an individual, doing so by utilizing a current within these beams that "is a close replication of the neuro-electric impulses" in the brain. The "beam" is also "imperceptible to the target." Good old American know-how.

8. Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Directorate, Quantico, Virginia, www.U.S.mc.mil/nlw The busy calendar of recent Directorate events included an April 6, 2000 "NATO R&TO NLW Exploratory Team Meeting" which took place in Brussels, Belgium, an April 11-14, 2000

"U.S./UK Wargaming Session/Workshop" at Quantico, and a May 12 session, "U.S./Israel NLW Data Exchange Agreement Planning Meeting." In addition, a recent Directorate grant to the University of New Hampshire/ Non-Lethal Innovation Technology Center totaling \$1,805,677 is up for renewal in April of 2001. www.unh.edu/apl/funding.htm

9. JNLWD Program News, op cit.

10. Mark R. Thomas, Major, USAF, *Non-Lethal Weaponry: A Framework for Future Integration*, Air Command and Staff College, Air University (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama), April 1998. <http://tuvok.au.af.mil/au/database/projects/>

includes non-lethality and NLWs are the mainstay of a soldier's individual equipment issue." And inevitably, "as non-lethal confrontation becomes second nature to U.S. fighting forces, one of the few remaining pragmatic objections to their use in domestic scenarios (i.e., the likelihood of lethal military force being exercised against the citizenry) will be radically diminished. This is an ominous prospect to say the least."

Ominous indeed. From Seattle to Philadelphia, from D.C. to Prague, and most recently Davos, Switzerland, "non-lethal confrontation" has become second nature to U.S. fighting forces and those inspired and trained by U.S. affiliates.

NON-LETHAL TERRORISTS

On the eve of massive protests surrounding the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland from January 25-31, 2001, the U.S. State Department issued a public "travel advisory".

"Several groups have publicly stated their intention to disrupt the Forum by means of protest actions both in Davos and in the surrounding area. As in previous meetings... there is potential that some demonstrations may become disorderly and violent."¹²

Although advising against "travel to Davos during this period," the Department did note that Swiss authorities were, in the interests of corporate security, "taking appropriate steps to ensure the security of visitors."

Indeed they did. Against the declarations of the Swiss Supreme Court, the Swiss Financial Establishment created the "united police forces of



SEATTLE 1999: Peaceful protests were met with pepper gas and brute force.

Switzerland" with assistance from their "colleagues from Australia, Seattle and Prague."¹³ Armed with tear gas guns and tanks, water cannons, rubber bullets and truncheons, the "security forces" were able to meet the "threat" of violence and disorder, a threat beat into the heads of the public by the likes of the U.S. State Department.

In fact, the recent phase of criminalizing protest and demonizing protesters as violent terrorists¹⁴ goes back to the days immediately following the protests against the Seattle WTO round and last year's Washington, D.C. World Bank/IMF meeting.

At that time, World Bank president James Wolfensohn, making the global circuit preaching the gospel of looming left-wing violence, stated at The Hague, Netherlands, immediately prior to demonstrations there, that he was "afraid for Prague" given that "militant groups in the U.S." were "already

training for Prague," groups who "teach how to make Molotov cocktails and how to use other violent tactics."¹⁵

It is against this background that the stepped-up use of so-called non-lethal weapons is taking place. These weapons, commodities in a growing world market, facilitate the more effective targeting of overwhelmingly non-violent global movements. In this manner an increasingly militarized and coordinated global police apparatus is moving to extend its sway, its war-making, to those civilian sectors of the world in opposition to the global corporate agenda.

Under the guise of undeclared "operations other than war" — and other Pentagonisms — "non-lethal weapons" allow for more repression and torture of non-combatant populations, particularly those opposed to this agenda.

Essentially, as this new phase in the global class war emerges and grows, along with the internationalization of U.S.-initiated and exported methodologies of "civil disturbance suppression," the utilization of "non-lethal weapons" will increase, both here and around the world. An organized worldwide anti-war movement must neutralize this real threat to global humanity, a threat spearheaded by U.S. militarism and its myriad private and academic appendages. **CA**

ay1998/acsc/98-279.pdf <http://tuvok.au.af.mil/au/database/projects/ay1998/acsc/98-279.pdf>

11. David Hemenway and Douglas Weil, "Phasers on Stun: The Case for Less Lethal Weapons", *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, vol.9, no.1, Winter 1990.

12. Travel Advisory, Switzerland, U.S. Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, January 19, 2001. www.travel.state.gov/switzerland_announce.html


13. Indymedia, Switzerland, Webcast News, "WEF - Protests in Davos and Restructuring of the Swiss Police", January 7, 2001. http://switzerland.indymedia.org/display.php3?article_id=16

14. See above, RNC 2000 Plan. Also, *The Oregonian*, "FBI Target Proactive Oregon Activists," December 6, 2000, wherein the Portland, Oregon Joint Terrorism Task Force will "identify and target... Left Wing movements" under the heading of "criminal terrorism."

15. A-Infos News Service, "Subject: Wolfensohn criminalises U.S. activists against IMF/WB," May 29, 2000, <http://www.ainfos.ca/> derived from *de Volkskrant Nieuws*, the Netherlands. <http://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws/economie/350021299.html>

KILLING ME SOFTLY

Forget the PR. Non-lethal weapons can kill. Whether it is CS-induced asthma attacks or a rubber bullet fired at close range, non-lethal action can have lethal effects — and you could be the innocent victim.



**LESS
LETHAL
MUNITIONS**

A November 1999 report on Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) policing methods in Northern Ireland noted: "Seventeen people have been killed by rubber or plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, many of whom were subsequently found not to have been rioting or otherwise engaged in violent behavior directed at the police. Thousands of life-altering injuries have been sustained by persons wounded by plastic bullets and the RUC has paid out hundreds of thousands of pounds in settlement of compensation claims to such injured persons."

In private moments, even the industry's supporters would seem to acknowledge the dangers.

Zarc International, Inc — "the founder of pepper spray (OC) technology and the world leader in non-lethal weapon innovation" — carries articles on its website suggesting that "non-lethal" is a deadly misnomer.

An April 1997 news alert reproduced on Zarc's website notes that the Ottawa-Carleton regional police force suspended use of the beanbag shotgun after a man died shortly after being struck by one of the weapon's projectiles. The man, cutting himself with a knife, was fired upon by a SWAT team after he refused to give up the weapon.

On another page headed "non-lethal weapons," Zarc admits a "variety of problems have been found with Sticky Foam: It can be lethal if sprayed toward the face, causing immediate suffocation... Currently there is no 'antidote'..."

"Non-lethal weapons" may be a misnomer with a limited life, to be replaced by a less reassuring euphemism.

Prominent on the website of the National Tactical Officers Association — "the only national nonprofit organization in America established by and for SWAT officers to advance the Special Weapons and Tactics Profession" — is the logo of "NTOA silver sponsor" Less Lethal Munitions, "proudly manufactured by Combined Tactical Systems," of Jamestown, Pennsylvania.

Any fatalities are presumably less dead than victims of "more lethal" weapons.

"Northern Ireland: A New Beginning to Policing?" Human Rights Watch Report, vol.11, no.15, November 1999. www.hrw.org
Zarc International, Inc. www.zarc.com
"Force agrees to stop using weapon." *Blue line: Canada's National Law Enforcement Magazine*. April 1997.
NTOA website: www.ntoa.org

IT MAKES YOU SICK

A 1998 USAF research report describes the available armory of "anti-personnel" items. "Infrasound/VLF" or very low frequency sound "disorients and frightens" and "interferes with organ functions, causing nausea and bowel spasms;" "neural inhibitors... incapacitates personnel, paralyzing synaptic pathways;" "hallucinogens" or "narcotics that disorient, confuse and incapacitate;" "calmatives" or "sedatives delivered through the lungs or skin;" "neuroblockers" or "tranquilizer darts and anesthetic bullets;" "electronic rifles" or "stun guns" that "debilitate the central nervous system;" "pulsed high-power microwave (HPM)" that "induces confusion, stupor and coma in personnel and animals;" "non-penetrating projectiles" or "crushing, deforming, spalling systems, including stinger grenades; wax, wood, and plastic bullets" whose "effects vary with shapes, materials, and speed;" "low energy lasers" including "laser rifles;" and "optical munitions" or "flash-bang grenades."

Non-Lethal Weaponry: A Framework for Future Integration, USAF, 1998¹⁰ (see page 10).

WE, THE ENEMY...

Obeying the law? No matter, draconian powers allow the FBI, CIA, police and armed forces to turn their non-lethal weapons on you anyway. They are especially keen to take civil liberties if you protest on issues including civil rights, politics, labor issues, environmental issues or if you are the whipping boy of the day, the global trade activist.

- ▶ **GLOBAL TRADE** The December 1999 WTO protest in Seattle may have been a bad day for the global money men, but it was a great day for the street weapons pushers. Special forces expertise combined with a non-lethal weapons deployment that included liberal use of pepper spray on peaceful protesters — even exhausting supplies at one point — set the standard for police practice in civil protests in the U.S. and abroad (*CovertAction* 69).
- ▶ **BRUTAL BANKERS** After the April 2000 protests against the World Bank and IMF in Washington, D.C., the U.S. Attorney's office remarked: "The FBI provided valuable background on the individuals who were intent on committing criminal acts and were able to impart the valuable lessons learned from Seattle." A 2001 review of the World Bank's developing nations' Structural Adjustment Programs — SAPs, loans-with-strings including crippling cuts in public funding, rampant privatization and the adoption of a monetarist national budget — could lead to more hardship in developing nations and consequently more protests. World Bank president James Wolfensohn upped the stakes with allegations that militants were training others in the use of violent tactics, including the use of Molotov cocktails.
- ▶ **POLITICAL ACTS** Following the 2000 Democratic convention in LA, Jim Lafferty of the National Lawyers Guild accused police of political profiling. "They target organizers. It's a new level of crackdown on dissent." Police fired rubber bullets into an overwhelmingly peaceful crowd.

Press reports in January 2001 claimed the FBI has now formed "joint terrorism task forces" in 27 of its 56 divisions, integrating local, state and federal law enforcement agencies.

TAXONOMY OF TERROR What they'll be firing this season

MECHANICAL

Kinetic Energy Devices

Projectiles

- ▶ Soft Projectiles
 - Rubber/Plastic Bullet
 - Rubber/Plastic Donut
 - Small/Soft Shot
 - Beanbag

Fluids

- ▶ Water
 - Water Cannon Foam
 - Slippery Foam
- ▶ Other fluids
 - Lubricants

Binding devices

- ▶ Adhesives
- ▶ Entangling Device
- ▶ Sticky foam



Michael Barkin

Conductive devices

- ▶ Conductive Particles
- ▶ Conductive Whiskers
- ▶ Conductive Fibers
- ▶ Conductive Ribbons

Obscurants

Fogs and smokes

- ▶ Visual
- ▶ Multispectral

Mechanical sabotage devices

Fillers

- ▶ Filter Clogging Agent
- ▶ Polymer Agent
- ▶ Particles
- ▶ Dust
- ▶ Fibrous Material
- ▶ Tread Filler

Penetrating devices

- ▶ Caltrop

Coatings

- ▶ Paint
- ▶ Aerosols

ELECTROMAGNETIC

High energy particle devices

- ▶ Particle Beam Generator

X-Ray devices

- ▶ X-Ray Weapon



Ultraviolet devices

Lasers

- ▶ High Energy Laser

Visible light devices

Lasers

- ▶ High Energy Laser
- ▶ Antipersonnel Low Energy Laser
- ▶ Antimateriel Low Energy Laser
- ▶ Laser Stun Weapon
- ▶ Chemical Laser

Beams

- ▶ Light Reflector

Omnidirectional sources

- ▶ Omnidirectional Optical Munition
- ▶ Pulsing Light
- ▶ Optical Stun Weapon
- ▶ Non-Pyrophoric Flash Bang Device

Infrared devices

Lasers

- ▶ High Energy Laser
- ▶ Antipersonnel Low Energy Laser
- ▶ Antimateriel Low Energy Laser

Microwave devices

(continuous, pulsed, variable frequency, adaptive)

- ▶ Microwave Deception
- ▶ Antipersonnel Microwave Weapon
- ▶ High-Powered Microwave Weapon

Radio wave length devices

(continuous, pulsed, variable frequency, adaptive)

- ▶ RF Deception
- ▶ High-Powered RF Weapon EMP
- ▶ EMP mine
- ▶ EMP Weapons



Michael Barkin

Direct current devices

- ▶ Stun Gun (Taser)
- ▶ Stun Gun (Fluid)
- ▶ Stun Gun (Wireless)
- ▶ Cattle Prod
- ▶ Vehicle Stopper

ACOUSTIC

Subsonic devices

- ▶ Acoustic Projection Weapon
- ▶ Infrasound Weapon

Sonic devices

- ▶ Acoustic Projection Weapon
- ▶ Acoustic Jamming
- ▶ Non-Pyrophoric Flash Bang Device

Ultrasonic devices

- ▶ Acoustic Projection Weapon

BIOLOGICAL

Organic biocides

Consuming or Attacking Organisms

- ▶ Paper-Eating Bacteria
- ▶ Oil-Eating Bacteria

Pathogens

CHEMICAL

Material modifiers

- ▶ Viscosity Agents
- ▶ Corrosive Agents
- ▶ Caustic Agents
- ▶ Embrittling Agents



- ▶ Depolymerization Agents
- ▶ Environmental Control Agents
 - Soil Destabilizers
 - Cloud Seeding
- ▶ Combustion modifiers
 - Contaminating Chemicals
 - Metallic Particles
 - Carbon Dust
 - Other Fuels

Anti-Biological Agents

- ▶ Gastrointestinal convulsives
 - IPECAC
 - Enematic Chemicals
- ▶ Neuropharmacological Agents

Calmative Agents

- Sedative
- Tranquilizer
- Hypnotic
- ▶ Neural inhibitors
- ▶ Disassociative hallucinogens
 - LSD
 - Ketamine
- ▶ Irritants
 - CN
 - Pepper Spray/Gas
 - CS
 - Foam



- ▶ Odor Producing Chemicals
- ▶ Persistent Riot Control Agent
- ▶ Livestock Agents
- ▶ Herbicides

SUPPORTING TECHNOLOGIES

Delivery vehicles

- ▶ Robot
- ▶ RPV

Sensors

- ▶ Shock Wave Detection and Locator Device
- ▶ Microelectromechanical Device
- ▶ Magnetometer
- ▶ Radiation Detection Device
- ▶ LIDAR
- ▶ Intrusion Alert Device

Miscellaneous

- ▶ Identification Technologies
- ▶ Translation Device

SOURCE: "Non-lethal Weapons Taxonomy," The Non-Lethal Weapons Debate, Lieutenant Colonel Margaret-Anne Coppernoll, Naval War College Review, Volume LII, Number 2, Sequence 366, Spring 1999.



AT AN ARMS DEALER NEAR YOU!

Have a look at the National Tactical Officers Association website, for links to lots of NLW suppliers. www.ntoa.org

WORLD BEATERS

Global trade baton passes from U.S. forces to Canada's Mounties

By Darryl Leroux

From April 20-22, Québec City will host the third Summit of the Americas, bringing together the 34 heads of state of the Americas and the Caribbean – all except Cuba's President Fidel Castro. On the agenda is the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement, the latest trade-at-any-cost transnational fix – and they want a deal, even if it takes the mass jailing of objectors in a prison vacated for the purpose.

April's Summit of the Americas will seek to finalise a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) agreement. Pierre Pettigrew, Canada's trade minister, says: "The FTAA is inextricably linked to the Summit of the Americas process."¹

This agreement will affect the everyday lives of millions. It massively extends the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The proposed pact has been the subject of intensely secretive negotiations since the first Summit was held in Miami in 1994. Negotiators have set 2005 as the implementation deadline.²

Predictably, the FTAA intends to submit health and education, as well as hard fought environmental and labor standards, to the forces of the "free market." The FTAA promises to be fully WTO-compliant, further expanding and entrenching corporate globalization.

Since Seattle the utter failure of the neo-liberal regime in protecting citizens' rights has become clear. Canadian authorities are aware of what is at stake in Québec — and they do not want Québec to become another Seattle, Washington, or Prague.

The security measures planned for the Summit involve the largest police deployment in Canadian history. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) estimates that the overall budget for

the police operation during the three-day Summit will be well over CDN\$30 million (US\$19.5 million).³

Over 5,000 officers from the RCMP,⁴ provincial Sureté du Québec and local municipal forces are slated to work during the three days, while the Sureté du Québec assures people on its website that if need be it will "co-ordinate and establish the necessary liaisons with the Canadian Armed Forces."⁵

Apparently, this need has already arisen, as the Armed Forces have been called in and are training 800 riot police just outside of Québec City.⁶

Police say they will establish a security perimeter in Québec, around the Vieux-Québec and the Haute-Ville, areas where the Summit will take place. They plan on erecting a 3.8 km-long metal fence, similar to those found around prisons, in the streets of the provincial capital sometime in early spring.⁷ The perimeter will cover about 5 square kilometers downtown.

All those residing or working within the security perimeter, nearly 25,000 people, are being issued a security pass to enter, as will over 5,000 official delegates and nearly 3,000 accredited media.⁸ The original police plan to run criminal record checks on all Québec residents receiving a pass was quickly shelved, at least publicly, in the face of public outrage.

"PREPARE FOR WAR"

At a November 2000 press conference, Serge Ménard, Québec's minister for Public Security, surprised many by explaining that the Orsainville provincial prison will be emptied of its over 600 inmates during the Summit to make room for arrested protesters⁹ — an act described by Canadian author Naomi Klein as the creation of "a modern day Bastille."¹⁰

The minister justified these drastic police measures, saying: "If you want peace, you must prepare for war."¹¹

Rick Reinhard



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U.S.-MEXICO BORDERS — STOP THE FTAA
Mexico-U.S. Border Action Project
por la justicia sin fronteras • for justice without borders
Tijuana-San Diego • April 20-22, 2001
A chance to speak... NO to the FTAA!

Tel: (626) 403-2530.
Email: BorderActions@aol.com
www.actionla.org/border.htm (Los Angeles)
www.stopFTAA.org/sf (San Francisco)
http://libertad.ucsd.edu/ftaa/ (San Diego)

Québec (the Rights and Liberties League of Québec), urged police not to create the impression that protesting is illegal, as it is a basic legal right.

Spokesperson André Paradis explained "the necessity to establish a security perimeter shouldn't transform the provincial capital into a city under siege, where the fundamental rights of civil society to express itself cannot be exercised in public space."²¹

In mid-February, the organization announced the formation of a 25-member surveillance committee made up of lawyers and community members that will report on security measures throughout the Summit. The committee has invited Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch to observe the protests. They will provide legal representation to arrested protesters.²² **CA**

This falls in line with the RCMP's portrayal of the Summit as "an eventual crisis situation,"¹² justifying in advance any police excesses.

The war preparations go further. The RCMP announced it had rented all vacant apartments and houses within the security perimeter, and reserved all hotel accommodation, to avoid leaving anything vacant for protesters.¹³

NO ROOM AT THE SUMMIT

The RCMP even forced several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that had reserved hotel accommodations and conference rooms in preparation for the parallel People's Summit out of their reservations, assuring the official space monopoly.¹⁴

In a sure sign of Québec officials' resolve, Joan Russow, the leader of the Green Party of Canada, was arrested in the midst of the November election campaign for taking photographs of the prison. She was detained for 45 minutes; police destroyed her films. Apparently, Ms. Russow had "trespassed" — on public property.

In a late January border incident, Canadian officials further demonstrated their zeal.

Ten New York City-based individuals trying to attend a strategy meeting organized by the Summit of the Americas Welcoming Committee (CASA in French) were denied entry to the country. Canadian officials proceeded to search the van without consent, collecting and copying all documents pertaining to the mobilization against the Summit. As the activists were leaving, one Canadian official added wryly: "It is my job to protect the Canadian economy."¹⁵ Even within Québec City,

the paranoia surrounding Summit security is reaching fever pitch.

On February 4, 2001, two plainclothes officers arrested three youths on one of the main avenues downtown¹⁶ — for handing out pamphlets denouncing the Summit security's violation of their civil rights!

Once the story became public, both the police and Québec City Mayor Jean-Paul L'Allier quickly apologized for the "mistake" by explaining that the officers had misunderstood a local bylaw.¹⁷ However, only days before, members of the largest Québec-based coalition mobilizing against the Summit were confronted by officers for passing out the same pamphlet. The officers threatened to arrest any group of people numbering more than two, in a bizarre new legal interpretation of unlawful assembly.¹⁸

Even the local governments are getting involved. In the second week of February, the City of Ste-Foy, Québec's sister city, passed a bylaw making it illegal "to wear or to have in their possession a mask, scarf or any other object that could be used to cover one's face, in whole or in part."¹⁹

The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) has also been getting involved. They began visiting individual activists in Montreal and Québec in late January, targeting leaders of various organizations.²⁰ In February, CSIS leaked a "confidential" report to major news outlets, warning people about the high possibility of violent groups preparing for Québec. The leak happened only hours after news broke of the arrests in Québec.

In response to these police moves, la Ligue des droits et libertés du

FOOTNOTES

1. Quotation from www.quebec2001.net
2. *National Post* (Toronto), Jan. 20, 2001.
3. *Le Journal du Québec*, Nov. 3, 2000.
4. *Montreal Gazette*, Feb. 15, 2001.
5. www.suretequebec.gouv.qc.ca, Dec. 21, 2000.
6. *Le Soleil* (Québec City), Oct. 29, 2000 and personal communication.
7. *Le Soleil*, Nov. 2, 2000.
8. www.quebec.indymedia.org, Jan. 15, 2001.
9. *Le Devoir* (Québec City), Nov. 2, 2000.

10. Naomi Klein, "Fighting Free Trade Laws," *The Guardian* (London), March 1, 2001.
11. see 7.
12. www.suretequebec.gouv.qc.ca, December 2000.
13. *Le Soleil*, Sept. 1, 2000.
14. Personal communication with NGO "Operation Québec, Spring 2001."
15. Press release, Québec Independent Media Centre, Feb. 15, 2001, and personal communication.
16. *Montreal Gazette*, Feb. 15, 2001 and press re-

- lease Québec Independent Media Centre, Feb. 6, 2001.
17. see note 14.
18. Québec Independent Media Centre press release, Jan. 31, 2001.
19. *Le Soleil*, Feb. 28, 2001.
20. *Montreal Gazette*, Feb. 15, 2001.
21. La ligue des droits et libertés du Québec, press release, Feb. 10, 2001.
22. La ligue des droits et libertés du Québec, press release, Feb. 15, 2001.

NUKE NATION

Israel's weapons of mass destruction

By John Steinbach

In the first months of 2001, efforts to secure peace in the Middle East were hit by two dangerous developments. Right winger Ariel Sharon was elected to power in Israel, the world's neglected nuclear nation. And President George W. Bush's first foreign policy adventure saw Iraq bombed by U.S. and British forces, in what was justified as a "defensive" act.

Since the Gulf War in 1991, much attention has been lavished on an alleged threat from Iraqi weapons of mass destruction while the major culprit in the region, Israel, has been largely ignored.

With between 200 and 500 thermonuclear weapons and a sophisticated delivery system, Israel, population 6 million, recently supplanted Britain as the world's 5th largest nuclear power. It may now rival France and China in the size and sophistica-

tion of its nuclear arsenal.

Possessing chemical and biological weapons, an extremely sophisticated nuclear arsenal, and an aggressive strategy for their actual use, Israel provides the major regional impetus for the development of weapons of mass destruction, and represents an acute threat to peace and stability in the Middle East.

The hypocrisy inherent in the condemnation of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the obsessive focus on "rogue states" such as North Korea, while totally ignoring Israel's provocative arsenal, is breathtaking.

The existence of the Israeli nuclear program is a serious impediment to meaningful nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. The time is long overdue for citizens concerned about sanctions against Iraq, peace with justice in the Middle East, and

nuclear disarmament, to confront directly the issue of Israeli weapons of mass destruction.

THE ISRAELI BOMB

The Israeli nuclear program began in the late 1940s. It was established at the Department of Isotope Research at the Weissman Institute of Science under the direction of Ernst David Bergmann, "the father of the Israeli bomb," who in 1952 established the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission.

From the very beginning the U.S. was heavily involved in developing Israel's nuclear capability, training Israeli nuclear scientists and providing nuclear-related technology, including a small "research" reactor in 1955 under the "Atoms for Peace" program.

It was France, however, that provided the bulk of nuclear assistance to Israel, culminating in construction

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TRACKING ISRAELI'S NUCLEAR TRAJECTORY



of Dimona, a heavy water-moderated, natural uranium reactor and plutonium reprocessing operation situated near Bersheeba in the Negev desert.

Israel had been active in the French nuclear weapons program from its inception, and provided critical technical expertise. Dimona became operational in 1964 and plutonium reprocessing began shortly thereafter. Despite Israeli claims that Dimona was "a manganese plant, or a textile factory," the extreme security measures employed belied the bogus claims.

In 1976, Israel shot down one of its own Mirage fighters, and in 1973 shot down a Libyan civilian airliner that approached too close to Dimona, killing 104.¹

There is substantial credible speculation that Israel may have exploded at least one, and perhaps several, nuclear devices in the mid-1960s in the Negev near the Israeli-Egyptian border, and that it participated actively in French nuclear tests in Algeria.²

By the time of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Israel possessed an arsenal of perhaps several dozen deliverable atomic bombs and it went on full nuclear alert.³

Possessing advanced nuclear technology and top nuclear scientists, Israel was confronted early with a major problem — how to obtain the necessary uranium.

Israel's own uranium source was the phosphate deposits in the Negev, totally inadequate to meet the need of a rapidly expanding program. The short-term answer was to mount commando raids in France and Britain to successfully hijack uranium shipments, and in the 1968 "Plumbatt Affair," to collaborate with West Ger-

many in diverting 200 tons of yellowcake (uranium oxide).⁴ These

pounds of enriched uranium to Israel from the mid-1950s to the mid-



DIMONA REACTOR: A satellite photo reveals what Israel killed to hide.

"Should war break out in the Middle East again... or should any Arab nation fire missiles against Israel, as the Iraqis did, a nuclear escalation, once unthinkable except as a last resort, would now be a strong probability."

— Seymour Hersh

clandestine acquisitions of uranium for Dimona were subsequently covered up by the countries involved.

There was also an allegation that a U.S. corporation, Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC), diverted hundreds of

1960s.⁴ Despite an FBI and CIA investigation, and congressional hearings, no one was ever prosecuted, although most other investigators believed the diversion had occurred.⁵

In the late 1960s, Israel solved the uranium problem by developing close

1976 Israel prepares to build plant adjoining Dimona to extract lithium6, tritium and deuterium, all required for advanced thermonuclear weapons.

1979 U.S. detects an atmospheric test of thermonuclear device in Indian Ocean.

1981 Israel bombs Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq.

1982 Israel trains UNITA, the CIA/South Africa mercenary force in Angola. Sharon meets Contra leaders in Nicaragua.

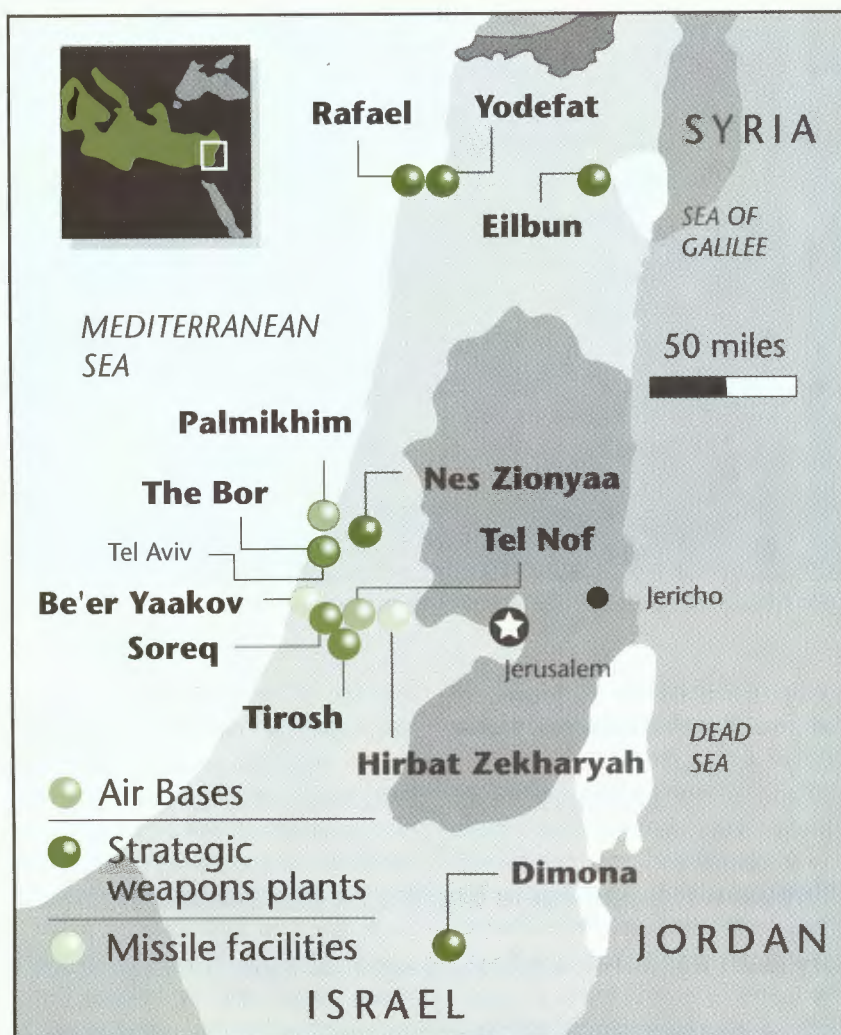
1987 Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir says Israel may have to "fall back on a riskier defense which will endanger itself and the world at large."

1978 Israel invades Lebanon with a force of 10,000 and 200 tanks.

Early 1980s Israel plants nuclear landmines near Golan Heights.

1982 Led by Ariel Sharon, Israel invades Lebanon and massacres Palestinian civilians at Sabra and Shatila, destroying Beirut and killing some 20,000.

1986 Just before Mordechai Vanunu's revelations are published, he is lured by Mossad from London to Rome, drugged, and hauled to Israel. After a secret trial, he is sentenced to 18 years for treason.



NUCLEAR SECRETS: There are missile bases and test ranges across Israel. The Bor houses Israel's nuclear command center, under the defense ministry in Tel Aviv. Aircraft carrying nuclear warheads are based at Tel Nof Air Base.

ties with South Africa in a quid pro quo arrangement whereby Israel supplied the technology and expertise for the "Apartheid Bomb," while South Africa provided the uranium.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE US

In 1977, the Soviet Union warned the U.S. that satellite photos indicated South Africa was planning a nuclear

test in the Kalahari desert. The apartheid regime backed down under pressure from the Carter administration.

On September 22, 1979, a U.S. satellite detected an atmospheric test of a small thermonuclear bomb in the Indian Ocean off South Africa, but because of Israel's involvement the report was quickly whitewashed by a carefully selected scientific panel, kept in the

dark about important details. Later it was learned through Israeli sources that there were actually three tests of miniaturized Israeli nuclear artillery shells.

The Israeli/South African collaboration did not end with the bomb testing, but continued until the fall of apartheid, especially with the developing and testing of medium range missiles and advanced artillery. In addition to uranium and test facilities, South Africa provided Israel with large amounts of investment capital, while Israel provided a major trade outlet undermining the international economic sanctions imposed on the apartheid regime.⁶

Although the French and South Africans were primarily responsible for the Israeli nuclear program, the U.S. deserves a large part of the blame.

An observer remarked the Israeli nuclear program "was possible *only because* [emphasis in original] of calculated deception on the part of Israel, and willing complicity on the part of the U.S."⁷ Beginning with the provision of a small reactor in the mid-1950s, the U.S. played a critical role in Israel's nuclear plans.

Israeli scientists were trained largely at U.S. universities and were generally welcomed at the nuclear weapons labs. In the early 1960s, the controls for the Dimona reactor were obtained clandestinely from a company called Tracer Lab, the main supplier of U.S. military reactor control panels, purchased through a Belgian subsidiary apparently with the acquiescence of the U.S. intelligence community.⁸

In 1971, the Nixon administration approved the sale to Israel of hundreds of krytons, a type of high speed switch necessary to the development of sophisticated nuclear bombs.⁹ And in 1979

1997 Israel's ex-president Ezer Weizman says: "The nuclear issue is gaining momentum... the next war will not be conventional."

2000 Submarine-launched Israeli nuclear missile travels 950 miles.

2001 Ariel Sharon elected to power in Israel.

1988 Israel assassinates PLO Fatah leader Khalil al-Wazir, escalating the 1987 Palestinian uprising or Intifada. At least 288 civilians killed, over 5,000 imprisoned. Start of policy of breaking captives' bones with rocks. Ongoing detention of 400,000-plus refugees in Gaza.

1998 Media reports say Israel is researching an "ethno bomb." Israel launches its own reconnaissance satellite.

2000-01 With a 1,000-strong Israeli military police guard, Sharon enters Palestinian-owned Al-Aqsa compound in Jerusalem, setting off a second Intifada. More than 300 killed and 9,800 injured.

President Carter provided Tel Aviv ultra-high resolution photos from the KH-11 spy satellite, which were used two years later to bomb the Iraqi Osirak reactor.¹⁰ Throughout the Nixon and Carter administrations, and accelerating dramatically under Reagan, U.S. advanced technology transfers to Israel continued and continue to the present.

THE VANUNU REVELATIONS

Following the 1973 war, Israel intensified its nuclear program, while continuing its policy of "nuclear opaqueness." Until the mid-1980s most intelligence estimates of the Israeli nuclear arsenal were of the order of two dozen, but the explosive revelations of Mordechai Vanunu, a nuclear technician working in the Dimona plutonium reprocessing plant, changed everything overnight.¹¹

A leftist supporter of Palestinian rights, Vanunu believed that it was his duty to humanity to expose Israel's nuclear program to the world. He smuggled dozens of photos and valuable scientific data out of Israel and in 1986 his story was published in London's *Sunday Times*.¹²

Rigorous scientific scrutiny of the Vanunu revelations led to the disclosure that Israel possessed as many as 200 highly sophisticated, miniaturized thermonuclear bombs. His information indicated that the Dimona reactor's capacity had been expanded manyfold, and that Israel was producing 1.2 kilograms of plutonium a week, enough to make 10 to 12 bombs per year, and that it was producing advanced thermonuclear weapons.

Laurent Guerin/Impact Visuals



WEST BANK: Israeli sniper targets a Palestinian stone thrower, December 2000.

Seymour Hersh, an investigative journalist and scholar on U.S. intelligence, commenting on the Vanunu data said: "The scope of this is much more extensive than we thought. This is an enormous operation."¹³

Just prior to the publication, Vanunu was lured to Rome by an Israeli-American Mossad "Mata Hari", and was beaten, drugged and kidnapped to Israel. Following a campaign of disinformation and vilification in the Israeli press, Vanunu was convicted of treason by a secret security court and sentenced to 18 years in prison. He served over 12 years in solitary confinement in a 6 by 9 foot cell, according to Amnesty International, the longest known modern solitary imprisonment.

After a year of modified release to the general prison population — he was not permitted contact with Arabs —

Vanunu has been from the year 2000 subject to punishment spells in solitary and faces more than three years' further imprisonment. The Vanunu revelations were largely ignored by the world press, especially in the United States, and Israel continues to enjoy a free ride regarding its nuclear status.¹⁴

U.S. Campaign to Free Mordechai Vanunu

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CRUISE CONTROL

There is little doubt that Israeli nukes are among the world's most sophisticated and are largely designed for "war fighting" in the Middle East.

signed to kill people while leaving property intact.¹⁵ Weapons include ballistic missiles and bombers capable of reaching Moscow, cruise missiles, land mines — in the 1980s Israel

had a target 950 miles away. Israel had become only the third nation after the U.S. and Russia with this capability. It will deploy this year three of these virtually impregnable submarines, each carrying four cruise missiles.¹⁸ The nuclear bombs themselves range in size from "city busters" larger than the Hiroshima bomb to tactical mini-nukes.

Regardless of its size and scope — and it would be a serious mistake to underestimate Israeli capabilities — the Israeli arsenal of weapons of mass destruction clearly dwarfs the actual or potential arsenals of all other Middle Eastern states combined, and is vastly greater than any reasonable need for "deterrence."

Israel also possesses a comprehensive arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. According to the *Sunday Times*, Israel has produced both chemical and biological weapons with a sophisticated delivery system. A senior Israeli intelligence official acknowledged: "There is hardly a single known or unknown form of chemical or biological weapon... which is not manufactured at the Nes Tziyona Biological Institute."¹⁹ The same report described F-16 fighter jets specially designed for chemical and biological weapon payloads, with crews trained to load the weapons on a moment's notice.

In 1998, the *Sunday Times* reported that Israel, using research obtained from South Africa, was developing an "ethno bomb." "In developing their 'ethno bomb,' Israeli scientists are trying to exploit medical advances by identifying a distinc-

"Arabs may have the oil, but we have the matches."

— Ariel Sharon

A staple of the Israeli nuclear arsenal are neutron bombs, miniaturized thermonuclear bombs designed to maximize deadly gamma radiation while minimizing blast effects and long-term radiation — in essence de-

planted nuclear land mines along the Golan Heights¹⁶ — and artillery shells with a range of 45 miles.¹⁷

The *Sunday Times* (London) reported in June 2000 that an Israeli submarine had launched a cruise missile, hitting

HURT: Palestinians carry a gunshot victim to an ambulance, December 2000.



Laurent Guerin/Impact Visuals

FOOTNOTES

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tive gene carried by some Arabs, then create a genetically modified bacterium or virus... The scientists are trying to engineer deadly micro-organisms that attack only those bearing the distinctive genes."

Dedi Zucker, a leftist Member of Knesset, the Israeli parliament, denounced the research saying: "Morally, based on our history, and our tradition and our experience, such a weapon is monstrous and should be denied."²⁰

NUCLEAR AGGRESSION

In popular imagination, the Israeli bomb is a weapon of last resort, to be used only at the last minute to avoid annihilation. This strategy, described by U.S. journalist Seymour Hersh as the "Samson Option," is backed by many supporters of Israel.

Whatever truth this formulation may have had in the minds of the early Israeli nuclear strategists, today the Israeli nuclear arsenal is inextricably linked to and integrated with overall Israeli military and political strategy. As Seymour Hersh says in classic understatement: "The Samson Option is no longer the only nuclear option available to Israel."²¹

Israel has made countless veiled nuclear threats against the Arab nations and against the Soviet Union and by extension Russia since the official end of the Cold War. One chilling example comes from Ariel Sharon, now the Israeli Prime Minister: "Arabs may have the oil, but we have the matches."²²

In another example, Israeli nuclear expert Oded Brosh said in 1992, "...we need not be ashamed that the nuclear option is a major instrumentality of our defense as a deterrent against those who attack us."²³

Israeli academic Israel Shahak commented in 1997: "The wish for peace, so often assumed as the Israeli aim, is not in my view a principle of Israeli policy, while the wish to extend Israeli domination and influence is." He added: "Israel is preparing for a war, nuclear if need be, for the sake of aver-

ing domestic change not to its liking, if it occurs in some or any Middle Eastern states... Israel clearly prepares... to use for the purpose all means available, including nuclear ones."²⁴

Israel uses its nuclear arsenal not just in the context of deterrence or of direct war fighting, but in other more subtle but no less important ways. For example, the possession of weapons of mass destruction can be a powerful lever to maintain the status quo, or to influence events to Israel's perceived advantage, such as to protect the so-called moderate Arab states from internal insurrection, or to intervene in inter-Arab warfare.²⁵

In Israeli strategic jargon this concept is called "non-conventional compellence" and is exemplified by a 1962 quote from Shimon Peres: "Acquiring a superior weapons system [read nuclear] would mean the possibility of using it for compelling purposes — that is forcing the other side to accept Israeli political demands, which presumably include a demand that the traditional status quo be accepted and a peace treaty signed."²⁶

Robert Tucker asked plaintively in a 1975 *Commentary* magazine article in defense of Israeli nukes: "What would prevent Israel... from pursuing a hawkish policy employing a nuclear deterrent to freeze the status quo?"²⁷

Another major use of the Israeli bomb is to compel the U.S. to act in Israel's favor, even when it runs counter to its own strategic interests. As early as 1956 Francis Perrin, head of the French A-bomb project, wrote: "We thought the Israeli Bomb was aimed at the Americans, not to launch it at the Americans, but to say, 'If you don't want to help us in a critical situation we will require you to help us; otherwise we will use our nuclear bombs.'"²⁸

During the 1973 war, Israel used nuclear blackmail to force Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon to airlift massive amounts of military hardware to Israel. At that time the then Israeli Ambassador,

REGIONAL NEWS

DEPLETED URANIUM: Israeli forces have used depleted uranium weaponry to suppress recent unrest in Palestine, Yasser Arafat has said. The Palestinian National Authority president told the January 2001 Davos World Economic Forum: "Given Israel's own nuclear program and well developed military industry... the likelihood is that Israel is a manufacturer of depleted uranium ammunition. The firm Rafael of Israel is named in numerous reports as being such a manufacturer. But even if this were not the case, Israel has been able to import DU weapons from the United States." A December 21, 2000 PNA environment ministry report says extensive radioactive contamination of the region "is a crime against all humanity and a threat to the entire region now and for generations to come."

PNA on the web: <http://www.pna.net>

EDWARD SAID: Ariel Sharon's election in Israel marks a return "to the thoroughly discredited policy of bashing Arabs that has made Israel a more and more isolated and discredited country than it has ever been," U.S.-based Palestinian academic Edward Said warns. "This is pure punitive sadism: It serves no security or long-range purpose except to make life a hell for all Palestinians who spend most of their time on the roads in the normal course of their lives, enduring endless delays, detours, searches, humiliations, interrogations and, much of the time, failing to reach their destinations just because of Israeli caprice. How can that possibly help anyone, and how can anyone, except someone so hopelessly out of touch with reality believe otherwise?"

ISRAEL ON HIGH MISSILE ALERT

The Middle East nearly exploded in all-out war on February 22, 2001, reports say.

According to DEBKAfile, an Israeli-based "counter-terrorism" information service, Israel went on high missile alert after receiving news from the U.S. of movement by six Iraqi armored divisions stationed along the Syrian border, and of launch preparations of surface-to-surface missiles.

DEBKAfile claims that the Iraqi missiles were deliberately taken to the highest alert level in order to test the U.S. and Israeli response.

The Israelis have warned Iraq that they are prepared to use neutron bombs in a preemptive attack against Iraqi missiles.

DEBKAfile, February 23, 2001 www.debka.com

Simcha Dinitz, is quoted as saying: "If a massive airlift to Israel does not start immediately, then I will know that the U.S. is reneging on its promises and... we will have to draw very serious conclusions..."²⁹

One example of this scenario was spelled out in 1987 by Amos Rubin, economic adviser to then Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "If left to its own Israel will have no choice but to fall back on a riskier defense which will endanger itself and the world at large... To enable Israel to abstain from dependence on nuclear arms calls for \$2 to \$3 billion per year in U.S. aid."³⁰ Since then Israel's nuclear arsenal has expanded hugely, both quantitatively and qualitatively, while the U.S. money spigots remain wide open.

IMPLICATIONS

It is clear Israel has no interest in peace except that which is dictated on its own terms, and has absolutely no intention of negotiating in good faith to curtail its nuclear program or discuss seriously a nuclear-free Middle East.

Israel Shahak notes: "Israel's insistence on the independent use of

its nuclear weapons can be seen as the foundation on which Israeli grand strategy rests."³¹ Seymour Hersh says "the size and sophistication of Israel's nuclear arsenal allows men such as Ariel Sharon to dream of redrawing the map of the Middle East aided by the implicit threat of nuclear force."³²

There is an abundance of evidence to lend credence to this analysis. Ezer Weizman, Israel's ex-President, said: "The nuclear issue is gaining momentum [and the] next war will not be conventional."³³

Ze'ev Schiff, an Israeli military expert writing in *Ha'aretz*, said: "Whoever believes that Israel will ever sign the UN Convention prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons... is daydreaming."³⁴ And Munya Mardoch, Director of the Israeli Institute for the Development of Weaponry, said in 1994: "The moral and political meaning of nuclear weapons is that states which renounce their use are acquiescing to the status of vassal states. All those states which feel satisfied with possessing conventional weapons alone are fated to become vassal states."³⁵

As Israeli society becomes more and more polarized, the influence of the radical right becomes stronger. According to Shahak: "The prospect of Gush Emunim, or some secular right-wing Israeli fanatics, or some of the delirious Israeli Army generals, seizing control of Israeli nuclear weapons... cannot be precluded... while Israeli Jewish society undergoes a steady polarization, the Israeli security system increasingly relies on the recruitment of cohorts from the ranks of the extreme right."³⁶

During a future Middle Eastern war — not at all unlikely given the ascension of Ariel Sharon, an unindicted war criminal with a bloody record stretching from the massacre of Palestinian civilians at Qibya in 1953 to the massacre of Palestinian civilians at Sabra and Shatila in 1982, and beyond — the

possible Israeli use of nuclear weapons should not be discounted.

Seymour Hersh warns: "Should war break out in the Middle East again... or should any Arab nation fire missiles against Israel, as the Iraqis did, a nuclear escalation, once unthinkable except as a last resort, would now be a strong probability."³⁷

FLAWED STRATEGIES

Many Middle East peace activists have been reluctant to discuss, let alone challenge, the Israeli monopoly on nuclear weapons in the region, leading to incomplete and uninformed analyses and flawed action strategies.

But placing the issue of Israeli weapons of mass destruction directly on the table would have several salutary effects.

First, it would expose the primary destabilizing dynamic driving the Middle East arms race and compelling the region's states to each seek their own "deterrent."

Second, it would expose the grotesque double standard which sees the U.S. and Europe on the one hand condemning Iraq, Syria and North Korea for developing weapons of mass destruction, while simultaneously protecting and enabling the principal culprit.

Third, exposing Israel's nuclear strategy will help focus international public attention, resulting in increased pressure to dismantle its weapons of mass destruction and negotiate in good faith.

Finally, a nuclear-free Israel could reasonably be expected to result in a Nuclear-Free Middle East, making a comprehensive regional peace agreement much more likely.

Unless and until the world community confronts Israel over its covert nuclear program, it is unlikely there will be any meaningful resolution of the Israeli/Arab conflict, a fact that Israel is apparently counting on as the Sharon era dawns. **CA**

KISSINGER'S CRIMES

How Dr. Henry Kissinger orchestrated global repression

By Nora King

Some stones tossed in the pond make an amazing splash. Weight, not luster, causes the best splashes, and so it is with Christopher Hitchens' slim new volume, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*,¹ whose weight is in the gravity of the human loss it documents.

Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and East Timor stand out for the sheer casualty numbers, Chile and Cyprus for the conniving and intrigue.

Timing is everything, and Hitchens has the luck of a publication coinciding with public realization that Bill Clinton had actually signed the Rome Accord, facilitating the extradition of war criminals based in the U.S. Although the publication date for *Trial* is May 2001, Hitchens serialized his book in *Harpers* magazine in the February and March 2001 issues, and the editions sold out.

Tremble thou wretch that hast within thee undivulged crimes unwhipp'd of justice.

—Shakespeare, King Lear

The bard's words passed through my head as I saw a most remarkable interview with Henry Kissinger by Elizabeth Farnsworth on February 20, 2001 on PBS' Jim Lehrer News Hour. As part two of the *Harpers* series hit the newsstands, Kissinger faced a woman he

Nora King is a freelance journalist and visual artist who was overtly surveilled by Kissinger and friends in her youth and now lives with her pit bull in a large urban area.

Reuters/FILES/Archive Photos



GUILTY: Kissinger's crimes extend from Chile to the U.S. Operation CHAOS.

had spied on in her youth and whose friends and fellow journalists were killed, imprisoned and tortured during his watch.

Farnsworth, a congenial and upbeat reporter for the most part, was extremely sober as she asked probing questions about his thoughts on the overthrow of Allende in 1973. Kissinger actually said that he and Nixon were "adolescent" and that he would not play it the same on second look.

For a man who has, to my knowledge, barely mentioned Chile in his

own writings, he looked appropriately troubled as he mumbled and looked down. Ever watchful of his reputation, he would never have granted such an interview had Hitchens not pressed forward with *Trial* as a magazine nail-biter.

Damning though *Trial* is, it doesn't chronicle the true extent of Kissinger's crimes.

The U.S. was also extremely active in covert actions to stop U.S. citizens breaking out of our homegrown apartheid while we fought bloodthirsty policies. As on other continents, some paid

with their lives, many with their freedom or health. There was plenty of suffering here, some having to do with Operation CHAOS, the CIA's illegal spying on domestic activists from 1967 until discovery by Congresswoman Bella Abzug in 1976. When she called the then CIA chief (later President) George Bush and challenged him about it, he admitted the CIA had over-reached its legal authority.²

What about Africa? The war in Angola was a hastily manufactured war using Africans to play psychological warfare with the Soviets and to my

Over time, bits and pieces have come out and the picture emerged of an ugly conspiracy to silence her husband for his knowledge of U.S. involvement in the ambush killing of Constitutionalist General Rene Schneider. The Schneider assassination is the focus of the Chile section in *Trial*.

As told in the 1980 film "Missing," Charles Horman had only recently completed his research into the U.S. role in Schneider's killing when he was kidnapped off the street in front of neighbors on September 17, 1973. He

When the D.C. District Court judge ruled in *Horman v. Kissinger* to dismiss without prejudice in 1980, this meant that Kissinger et al and their lawyers failed to refute the Horman family claim that the U.S. knew of the coup at least 18 hours in advance. While Joyce Horman is still seeking declassification of many of the documents from the government which are still classified almost 30 years later, the ones now declassified seem to bear out her claim.

Discovery is now underway in Chile in Joyce's Chilean case and in many other cases sparked by the return of democracy's sense of accountability to those who have suffered at the hands of torture.

When Chile's files on the seventies are married with our own, it is reasonable to expect that valid evidence will emerge to show cause for reopening *Horman v. Kissinger* in the D.C. District Court. Kind of like the German folk tale about a bone, thrown by a tyrant under a tree, which with the vicissitudes of time becomes a flute which sings of the wrongs done to the ones who fell for the love of justice.

If the trail of Henry Kissinger leads to the trial of Henry Kissinger, we need to hone the questions down, paint with a less broad brush. How about, for instance:

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger, did you approve, or did anyone under your order authorize, the use of USAF B57 LIC#63103289 in the overthrow of the legally elected government of Chile in September of 1973?⁵

QUESTION: Did you, Dr. Kissinger, authorize the use of smart bombs or rockets in the overthrow of the Chilean government, as aerial reconnaissance photo analyst Tim Butz indicated in February 1974?⁶

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger, why the dictators, why? **CA**

Some governments implored the U.S. not to assign CIA agents, because they knew what it meant to have a coup team come to town.

mind cannot be overlooked. CIA Angola Task Force leader John Stockwell left the agency in disgust to write *In Search of Enemies* because the decision to make an illegal war was based on a Kissinger underling interpreting a grunt by the good doctor.³

Some African governments implored the U.S. not to assign some of their CIA agents, because they knew what it meant to have a coup team come to town. The violent death of 21 year old student leader Steven Biko and other crimes of South African apartheid in which CIA was complicit can now be extensively explored using the South African truth and reconciliation provisions.

What about *Horman v. Kissinger*? Joyce Horman sued Henry Kissinger for \$4.9 million and information on the murder in Chile of her husband, American journalist Charles Horman.

Joyce Horman's case against Henry Kissinger was filed in 1977 after four years searching for answers about her husband's brutal murder in 1973.⁴

had been on a story in Valparaiso when the coup began, and the Americans around him were a bit too forthcoming about the U.S. role, not knowing at first who Charles was.

Chile hadn't seen a political killing in a hundred years, but Charles had been a civil rights activist and an anti-war activist before his 1972 foray into Chile. He had seen the evil of the stolen vote, the abused soldier, the sinister gunman before and recognized it, with his filmmaker's nose for a story. Charles was an idealist, like many others who died that year.

Horman v. Kissinger names a number of other U.S. officials, including Nathaniel Davis, who was Kissinger's man at the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, and who was promoted after the coup to become an undersecretary of state. He was rewarded for being a coup team player, well able to come in to keep his own spoon in the pot on the old cable traffic before it might reach the inquiring mind of a congressperson.

VICTIMS OF KISSINGER'S CHAOS

The weapon used to kill best-selling prison poet George Jackson was a Spanish 9 mm,⁷ what Gordon Liddy calls the gun of choice for overseas hits on communists by the CIA.⁸ His was just one of many suspicious deaths on the left during the Operation CHAOS years. It is important to remember that CHAOS would not have had a budget without the National Security Council, chaired by one Henry Kissinger.⁹

The August 29, 1970 shooting death of brilliant Los Angeles journalist Reuben Salazar was ruled a homicide, on TV, on all seven networks, in two languages, although no one has done time for the crime. As an expert on the Texas prison system and a seasoned Vietnam War correspondent, he was set to cover for Spanish television the Black Panther trials in which police informants were the main witnesses. He had recently spoken out against the bombings in Cambodia. He was being investigated by the FBI and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) at the time of his death.¹⁰


Immediately after United Auto Workers (UAW) President Walter Reuther had spoken against the Cambodia bombings and for ending the war his plane went down, in May of 1970.¹¹

Congressman Hale Boggs, Democratic Speaker of the House when his plane disappeared from radar in Alaska in October 1972, was focused on the gross campaign finance violations at the Committee to Reelect the President (CREP) and had coincidentally sat on a committee which had investigated Nixon's 1952 slush fund and on the Warren Commission, and so was quite familiar with E. Howard Hunt's and Frank Sturgis' reputation as agents. His voice would have enriched our probes into Watergate and what lay behind it.¹²

The list goes on. It is worth adding that those supportive of Kissinger's actions sometimes fared no better if they got out of line. Maryland congressperson Rogers Morton joined the Nixon cabinet in 1970. By 1972 Morton was dead of a gunshot wound, supposedly self-inflicted. He had taken an illegal campaign contribution of \$25,000. Al Haig and Nixon had a very weird discussion of his death in the Oval Office which I recommend to anyone interested in the attitudes towards the life and death of their own.¹³

The plane crash which took the life of CIA agent Hunt's wife Dorothy was also highly suspicious and took the lives of 43 people, including several Republican Party lawyers. Plumbers from Nixon's team were dispatched to cover both ends of the investigation, with both United Airlines and the Department of Transportation suddenly taking on new employees. Records of high cyanide levels measured in the victims were changed. Decimal points moved around on autopsy reports, but the adjusted figures were a scientific impossibility in bodies found on a plane that had burned. Evidence connecting the crime to the Sarelli Airplane gang, reputedly peddling papers found on the plane for \$5 million, was never used at inquest.¹⁴

Martha Mitchell, wife of Attorney General John Mitchell, is now often remembered as a nutty wife rather than the savvy party fund-raiser she once was. A vocal patriot with a respectable office at Republican headquarters, she was drugged and incarcerated by agents in her own apartment. Her right to free speech, like the students and reporters and prisoners, was considered a threat to National Security.¹⁵

These are just a few of the strange moments that deserve a second look if we are to consider the domestic aspect of criminality of the Kissinger years. — *Nora King* 

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SPACE CORPS

The dangerous business of making the heavens a war zone

By Karl Grossman

The Bush-Cheney White House has close links to the corporate Star Warriors — and an arms race in space could be the costly consequence.

The blueprint for the U.S. space military program is revealed in the report of the Commission to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization. The "Space Commission" was chaired by Donald Rumsfeld, now installed as the Bush-Cheney administration's Secretary of Defense.

"In the coming period," states the report issued January 11, 2001, "the U.S. will conduct operations to, from, in and through space in support of

its national interests both on the earth and in space."¹

The report urges that the U.S. president "have the option to deploy weapons in space to deter threats to and, if necessary, defend against attacks on U.S. interests."²

"We know from history that every medium — air, land and sea — has seen conflict," declares the report. "Reality indicates that space will be no different. Given this virtual certainty, the U.S. must develop the

means both to deter and to defend against hostile acts in and from space. This will require superior space capabilities."³

The report continues a PR spin of citing a need for a "National Missile Defense" as a pretext for space military expansion — indeed it warns several times of a "Space Pearl Harbor."⁴ Media accounts of the report went along with this spin. But, in fact, the report reflects a far wider program of space warfare.

It is "possible to project power through and from space in response to events anywhere in the world," it stresses. "Unlike weapons from aircraft, land forces or ships, space missions initiated from earth or space could be carried out with little transit, information or weather delay. Having this capability would give the U.S. a much stronger deterrent and, in a conflict, an extraordinary military advantage."⁵

The Commission recommends a transition of the U.S. Space Command, established by the Pentagon in 1985 to coordinate Air Force,

Rick Reinhard



HEAVENLY PLANS: The election of Bush could trigger a space arms race.

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Army and Navy space forces, to a "Space Corps."

This Space Corps would function as a quasi-independent military arm like the Marine Corps,⁶ and possibly "transition" to a fully separate "Space Department" — on par with the Army, Navy and Air Force — several years hence.⁷

The 13-member Rumsfeld "Space Commission" included two former commanders in chief of the U.S. Space Command and an ex-commander of the Air Force Space Command, along with retired U.S. Senator Malcolm Wallop (R.-Wyo.). The report's thumbnail biography of Wallop notes he is now with the Heritage Foundation, an arch-conservative think tank with close White House ties, adding "in 1977 he was the first elected official to propose a space-based missile defense system."⁸

The report has a section addressing the U.S. maneuvers around international laws on space military activities such as the Outer Space Treaty of 1967. Enacted in an effort to keep war out of space, the treaty has been ratified by 111 nations.⁹ The Space Commission emphasizes: "There is no blanket prohibition in international law on placing or using weapons in space."¹⁰

The legislation that got the Space Commission established in 2000 was authored by Senator Bob Smith (R.-New Hamp.), who is thrilled with the panel's report. "It is our manifest destiny," said the member of the Senate Armed Services Committee in an interview. "You know we went from the East Coast to the West Coast of the United States of America settling the continent and they call[ed] that manifest destiny and the next continent if you will, the next frontier, is space and it goes on forever."¹¹

The report is being applauded by the U.S. military, too. "The Air Force welcomes the Space Commission's report and is enthusiastic about the observations and recommendations that

determined a realigned and rechartered Air Force is best suited to organize, train and equip space forces," said a dispatch on the U.S. Air Force website.

It quoted Brigadier General Michael A. Hamel, space operations and integration director, as saying: "This is a

proclaims the U.S. Space Command's mission — "dominating the space dimension of military operations to protect U.S. interests and investment. Integrating Space Forces into warfighting capabilities across the full spectrum of conflict."¹⁵

"The globalization of the world economy will continue, with a widening between 'haves' and 'have-nots,'" says the U.S. Space Command. By controlling space and the Earth below, the U.S. will be able to keep those "have-nots" in line.

golden opportunity for the Air Force to create a strong center of advocacy and commitment to national security space efforts."¹²

On the other hand, Bruce Gagnon, coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, declares: "If the House and the Senate allow Bush to carry out this space weaponization plan they will have all created the conditions that will surely move the arms race into the heavens. The aerospace industry will get rich from it and the taxpayers will get a more unstable world. The people of the world must speak out loudly and clearly if we are to stop this new insanity!"¹³

The report follows up a series of U.S. military reports in recent years that call for the U.S. to "control space" and from space "dominate" the Earth below.

The U.S. plans are laid out in documents including the *Vision for 2020* report¹⁴ of the U.S. Space Command. The multi-colored cover of *Vision for 2020* depicts a laser weapon shooting a beam down from space zapping a target below. *Vision for 2020* then

Vision for 2020, issued in 1996, compares the U.S. effort to control space and the Earth below to how centuries ago, "nations built navies to protect and enhance their commercial interests," how the great empires of Europe ruled the waves and thus the world.¹⁶

2020 VISION

Vision for 2020 stresses the role of space in managing the global economy. "The globalization of the world economy will also continue, with a widening between 'haves' and 'have-nots,'" says the U.S. Space Command.¹⁷ The view is that by controlling space and the Earth below, the U.S. will be able to keep those "have-nots" in line.

The U.S. Space Command is readying itself to be "the enforcement arm for the global economy," says Bill Sulzman, director of Citizens for Peace in Space, the group challenging U.S. space military activities, based in Colorado Springs, Colorado, where the U.S. Space Command is headquartered.¹⁸ The U.S. Space Command points to U.S. corporate interests being involved in helping set U.S. space mili-

tary doctrine. President Dwight Eisenhower warned in his "farewell address" to the nation in 1961 of the "military-industrial complex." The U.S. Space Command's *Long Range Plan*¹⁹ begins by stressing that involvement.

"The *Long Range Plan* has been U.S. Space Command's #1 priority for the past 11 months, investing nearly 20 man-years to make it a reality," it starts out. "The development and production process, by design, involved hundreds of people including about 75 corporations."²⁰

The *Long Range Plan* subsequently provides a list of these corporations — beginning with Aerojet and Boeing and going through Lockheed Martin, Rand Corp., Raytheon, Sparta Corp., and TRW to Vista Technologies.²¹

"Now is the time," says the *Long Range Plan*, issued in 1998, "to begin developing space capabilities, innovative concepts of operations for warfighting, and organizations that can meet the challenges of the 21st Century... Even as military forces have become more downsized in the 1990s, their commitments have steadily increased. As military operations become more lethal, space power en-

ables our streamlined forces to minimize the loss of blood and national treasure... Space power in the 21st Century looks similar to previous military revolutions, such as aircraft-carrier warfare and Blitzkrieg."²²

"The time has come to address, among warfighters and national



policy makers," the *Long Range Plan* goes on, "the emergence of space as a center of gravity for DoD [Department of Defense] and the nation. We must commit enough planning and resources to protect and enhance our access to, and use of, space. Although international treaties and legalities constrain some

of the LRP's [*Long Range Plan's*] initiatives and concepts, our abilities in space will keep evolving as we address these legal, political, and international concerns."²³

The *Long Range Plan* states: "The United States will remain a global power and exert global leadership... It is unlikely that the United States will face a global military peer competitor through 2020... The United States won't always be able to forward base its forces... Widespread communications will highlight disparities in resources and quality of life — contributing to unrest in developing countries..."

"The global economy will continue to become more interdependent. Economic alliances, as well as the growth and influence of multinational corporations, will blur security agreements... The gap between 'have' and 'have-not' nations will widen — creating regional unrest... The United States will remain the only nation able to project power globally... One of the long acknowledged and commonly understood advantages of space-based platforms is no restriction or country clearances to overfly a nation from space. We expect this ad-

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vantage to endure... Achieving space superiority during conflicts will be critical to the U.S. success on the battlefield."²⁴

The *Long Range Plan* then continues on for more than 100 pages detailing U.S. plans for "Control of Space," "Full Spectrum Dominance," "Full Force Integration," "Global Engagement."²⁵

"Space is the ultimate 'high ground,'" says *Guardians of the High Frontier*, a 1997 U.S. Air Force Space Command report.²⁶ The Air Force Space Command is committed to "the control and exploitation of space," it says.²⁷

"Master of Space" is a motto of the Air Force Space Command. "Master of Space" appears as a Space Command uniform patch displayed in *Guardians of the High Frontier* and is emblazoned in jumbo letters on the front entrance of a major Space Command element, the 50th Space Wing in Colorado.

Almanac 2000 is a recent Air Force Space Command report that flatly declares: "The future of the Air Force is space."²⁸

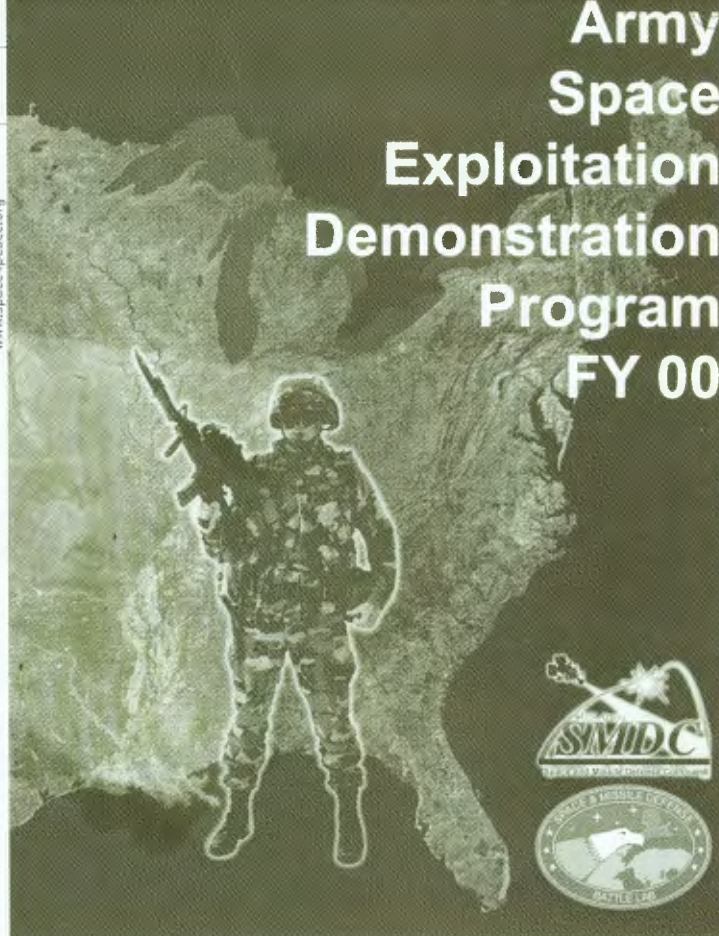
"Into the 21st Century," it says, the U.S. Air Force needs to be: "*Globally dominant* — Tomorrow's Air Force will likely dominate the air and space around the world... *Selectively lethal*

— The Air Force may fight intense, decisive wars with great precision hitting hard while avoiding collateral damage in both 'real' space and in computer cyberspace. *Virtually present* — Space forces compliment [sic] the physical presence of terrestrial forces. Although they are not visible from the ground, space forces provide virtual presence through their ability to supply global mobility, control the high ground, support versatile combat capability, ensure information dominance and sustain deterrence. The future Air Force will be better able to monitor and shape world events..."²⁹

U.S. military leaders have been blunt in describing U.S. plans to make war in, from and into space, as General Joseph Ashy, then commander in chief of the U.S. Space Command, put it in 1996.

"It's politically sensitive, but it's going to happen. Some people don't

www.spacepeace.org



SPACE TROOPER: The U.S. Army is ready for space wars.

want to hear this, and it sure isn't in vogue, but — absolutely — we're going to fight *in* space. We're going to fight *from* space and we're going to fight *into* space," Ashy told *Aviation Week & Space Technology* (italics in *Aviation Week and Space Technology*).

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"That's why the U.S. has development programs in directed energy and hit-to-kill mechanisms."³⁰

In the article, headlined "USSC [U.S. Space Command] Prepares for Future Combat Missions in Space," Ashy spoke of "space control," the U.S. military's term for controlling space, and "space force application," its definition for

Far more than reports and rhetoric have been involved. Some \$6 billion-a-year — plus funds in the "black" or secret budget — has in recent years been going into U.S. space military activities.

One project underway is the "Space-Based Laser Readiness Demonstrator." The promotional poster for

ellites would orbit the Earth."³⁶

A second space-based laser project underway and already in testing is the Alpha high-energy laser. Built by TRW, it conducted its 22nd successful test firing on April 26, 2000. "In addition to producing about 25 percent more power than previous tests, Alpha generated an output beam that was al-

The Bush-Cheney administration has a foreign policy platform written by a top executive of Lockheed Martin, a kingpin in U.S. space warfare operations. Cheney was a member of the TRW board; his wife was a member of the Lockheed Martin board.



dominating Earth from space. Said General Ashy: "We'll expand into these two missions because they will become increasingly important. We will engage terrestrial targets someday — ships, airplanes, land targets — from space. We will engage targets in space, from space."³¹

SPIES IN THE SKIES

Created in 1960, the U.S. government denied for 32 years the existence of the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO). With a budget roughly matching the combined budgets of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, NRO oversees the nation's array of spy satellites.

Keith R. Hall, confirmed as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Space) on March 18, 1997, was appointed Director of NRO just 10 days later.

He told the National Space Club in 1997: "With regard to space dominance, we have it, we like it, and we're going to keep it."³² Hall, responsible for keeping the spies in the skies flying, served under Clinton and has been retained by Bush, a distinction few appointees at this level can claim.

this laser shows it firing its ray in space while a U.S. flag somehow manages to wave in space above it.

A joint project of TRW, Boeing, Lockheed Martin and the military, it "follows more than 15 years of TRW work developing technologies" for U.S. military—"sponsored space-based initiatives," declared a 1998 press release announcing the project.³³

In November 2000, the Clinton administration's Defense Department began to "finalize details" on a development of this laser.³⁴ The cost of its development program "is estimated at \$20-\$30 billion," said the Public Affairs Office at the Army's Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama.³⁵ In December, the Pentagon chose the Stennis Space Center in Mississippi as the development site.

"Located in a swamp in southwest Mississippi, the Stennis Space Center is one more indication of the power Trent Lott wields as the Senate majority leader," comments Bruce Gagnon. "The space-based laser program is the real Reagan Star Wars — and one of George W. Bush's preferred technologies. A constellation of 20-30 SBL sat-

most perfectly round and more uniform in energy density," proclaimed a happy Dan Novoseller, TRW's Alpha Laser Optimization program manager, after the firing.³⁷

"Megawatt Laser Test Brings Space Based Lasers One Step Closer," exclaimed *Space Daily*, the internet space website, about the test in the article which included a drawing of the Alpha laser with the caption: "Turning swords into lasers."³⁸

Star Wars proponents regard missile defense — and have through the years — as a "layer" of a broad U.S. program for space warfare. The program is to be "multi-layered" and to include "theatre defense" — weaponry used in or in close proximity to an area of conflict — space-based weaponry and missile defense.

WEAPONS OUTTA SPACE

Although U.S. citizens may not be familiar with the full sweep of the U.S. space military plans, because of a media lazy or worse, other nations are.

On November 20, 2000, because of the U.S. plans, a resolution on "Prevention of An Arms Race In

Outer Space" was voted on before the UN General Assembly. The resolution sought to reaffirm the Outer Space Treaty and specifically, its provision that space be set aside for "peaceful purposes." Some 163 nations voted in favor. Abstaining were the U.S., Israel and Micronesia, a cluster of Pacific islands dependent on U.S. aid.³⁹

Canada, certainly in no way a potential foe, has been highly active at the UN in seeking to strengthen the Outer Space Treaty with an agreement to ban all weapons in space.

In a UN presentation in October, 1999, Marc Vidricaire, counsellor of the Permanent Mission of Canada, noted that "Canada first formally proposed... a legally binding instrument" for a "ban of the weaponization of space" in January 1997 and "renewed our proposal" earlier in 1999. He cited the U.S. Space Command's *Long Range Plan* "including its recommendation to 'shape [the] international community to accept space-based weapons.'"

The Canadian diplomat said: "Our objective is to ensure that pursuing the concepts of space control and force application are not extended by any state to include actual deployment of weapons in outer space."⁴⁰

On October 19, 2000, Vidricaire was again sounding the alarm on behalf of Canada at the UN. "Outer space has not yet witnessed the introduction of space-based weapons. This could change if the international community does not first prevent this destabilizing development through the timely negotiation of measures banning the introduction of weapons into outer space," he said.⁴¹

"It has been suggested that our proposal is not relevant because the assessment on which it rests is either premature or alarmist. In our view, it is neither. One need only look at what is happening right now to realize that it is not premature..."

Vidricaire said: "There is no question that the technology can be de-

veloped to place weapons in outer space. There is also no question that no state can expect to maintain a monopoly on such knowledge — or such capabilities — for all time. If one state actively pursues the weaponization of space, we can be sure others will follow."⁴²

Russian President Vladimir Putin, in his first address at the UN, to the "Millennium Summit" on September 6, 2000, stated that "particularly alarming are the plans for the militarization of outer space."⁴³ In Canada in December 2000, he and Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien issued a joint statement

announcing that "Canada and the Russian Federation will continue close cooperation in preventing an arms race in outer space."⁴⁴

Interestingly, it was the U.S. that was deeply involved in initiating the Outer Space Treaty, according to Craig Eisendrath, a former U.S. State Department officer who helped in its creation. The Soviet Union had launched its Sputnik satellite in 1957 and "we sought to de-weaponize space before it got weaponized."

A model the State Department used for its draft of the Outer Space Treaty, says Eisendrath, was the Antarctic Treaty, barring weapons from that



PAYLOAD: U.S. arms manufacturers will make billions from weapons in space.

continent.⁴⁵ The Soviet Union and the United Kingdom joined the U.S. in presenting the treaty, adopted by the

With the assumption of power by Bush and Cheney and a U.S. administration intimately linked to corporate

development of Lockheed Martin, proudly told me. Jackson was selected as chairman of the Foreign Policy Platform Committee at the Republican National Convention, at which he was a delegate.⁵⁰

Thus the Bush-Cheney administration is using a foreign policy platform written by a top executive of Lockheed Martin, the world's biggest weapons manufacturer and a kingpin in U.S. space warfare preparations.

Jackson said that during the campaign, advocacy on space military activities was done by Stephen J. Hadley, an assistant secretary of defense for international security policy and member of the National Security Council in the administration of Bush's father and partner in the law firm of Shea & Gardner — which represents Lockheed Martin in Washington.⁵¹

"Space is going to be important. It has a great future in the military," Hadley, speaking as "an adviser" to Bush, told the Air Force Association in an address at its national convention September 11, 2000.⁵² He became deputy director of the National Security Council in the Bush II administration.

Jackson and Hadley worked closely on an entity called the Committee to Expand NATO. Jackson was president, based in the Washington office of the right-wing American Enterprise Institute; Hadley was secretary.⁵³ Cheney, before

becoming vice president of the U.S., was a Distinguished Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute.⁵⁴

In the Bush choice of Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense, the U.S. got a man whom the pro-Star Wars ultra right-wing Center for Security Policy describes as a "trusted

Vision for 2020 proclaims the U.S. Space Command's mission — "dominating the space dimension of military operations to protect U.S. interests and investment."

UN General Assembly in 1966. It entered into force in October 1967.⁴⁶

The intent of the Outer Space Treaty is "to keep war out of space," said Eisendrath, who went from the State Department to becoming an educator and is now a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy in Washington, D.C. He is a co-author of the forthcoming book, *The Phantom Defense: America's Pursuit of the Star Wars Illusion*.

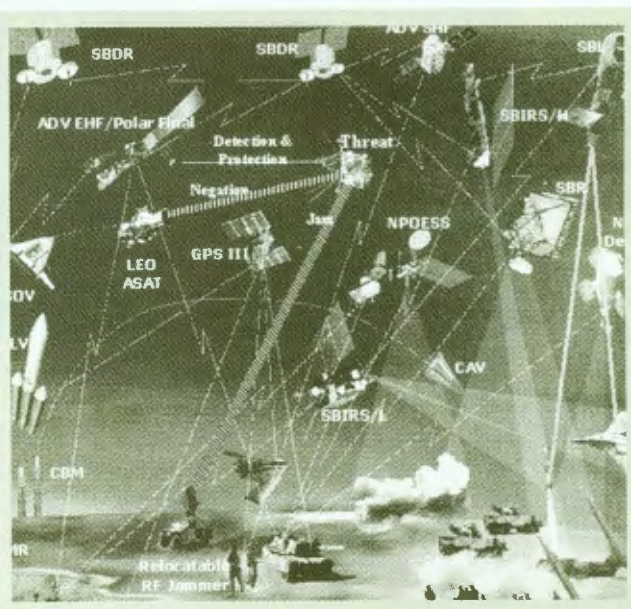
Eisendrath views as "a violation" of the Outer Space Treaty the deployment in space of weapons such as the lasers that the U.S. military has been and is pursuing.⁴⁷

The final wording of the treaty provides for a ban on "nuclear weapons or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction."

Endeavoring to clear up any confusion and specifically bar all weapons in space have been Canada and China. But the U.S. has successfully fought back those efforts — and this was before George W. Bush and Richard Cheney took office.

and right-wing interests committed to expanding space military activities, Star Wars has received a huge boost. The corporate links include Cheney

From: Report of the Rumsfeld "Space Commission," 2001



READY FOR WAR: U.S. Space Command says United States forces are going to fight in space, from space and into space.

himself, a former member of the TRW board.⁴⁸ His wife, Lynne Cheney, was until January a member of the board of Lockheed Martin.⁴⁹

There is no subtlety. "I wrote the Republican Party's foreign policy platform," Bruce Jackson, vice president of corporate strategy and de-

adviser" and a financial supporter and who in 1998 was awarded its "Keeper of the Flame" award.⁵⁵

The Center's advisory board includes such Star Wars promoters as "the father of the H-bomb" Edward Teller and Lockheed Martin executives including Bruce Jackson.⁵⁶

Says Gagnon of the Bush-Cheney administration: "This so-called election is a major victory for those who intend to put weapons into space at an enormous cost to the U.S. taxpayer and to world stability."⁵⁷

START OF A SPACE RACE

The book *The Future of War: Power, Technology & American World Dominance in the 21st Century* by George and Meredith Friedman concludes: "Just as by the year 1500 it was apparent that the European experience of power would be its domination of the global seas, it does not take much to see that the American experience of power will rest on the domination of space... Just as Europe expanded war and its power to the global oceans, the United States is expanding war and its power into space... Just as Europe shaped the world for half a millennium, so too the United States will shape the world for at least that length of time. For better or worse, America has seized hold of the future of war..."⁵⁸

For the Friedmans, like the U.S. military and the Star Warriors of the Bush administration, the view is that the rest of the world will somehow let the U.S. achieve "world dominance" from space. In an interview, defense expert Friedman declared that other nations "lack the money and/or technology to compete with us in the development of space-age weapons." He described China and Russia as "passing blips."⁵⁹


This is a tragic miscalculation, for if the U.S. moves to "control" space and from it "dominate" the world below, other nations will respond in kind — China and Russia right off —

and there will be an arms race and inevitably war in space.

Kofi Annan, in opening the July 1999 Third United Nations Conference on Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, held in Vienna, declared: "Above all, we must guard against the misuse of outer space. We recognized early on that a legal regime was needed to prevent it from being another arena of military confrontation. The international community has acted jointly, through the United Nations, to ensure that outer space will be developed peacefully..."

"But there is much more to be done. We must not allow this century, so plagued with war and suffering, to pass on its legacy, when the technology at our disposal will be even more awesome. We cannot view the expanse of space as another battleground for our earthly conflicts."⁶⁰

"If the U.S. is allowed to move the arms race into space, there will be no return," says Gagnon. "We have this one chance, this one moment in history, to stop the weaponization of space from happening."⁶¹

There is a narrow window to keep space for peace, to strengthen the Outer Space Treaty and ban all weapons in space. We must join with peoples from around the world and stop this move by the U.S. to turn the heavens into a war zone. 

RESOURCES

The Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space can be reached at (352) 337-9274. P.O. Box 90083, Gainesville, Florida 32607. Email: globalnet@mindspring.com web: <http://www.space4peace.org>

Karl Grossman's new video documentary, *Star Wars Returns*, is forthcoming from EnviroVideo — 1-800-ECO-TV46 or <http://www.envirovideo.com> — and new book, *Weapons In Space*, available from Seven Stories Press, <http://www.sevenstories.com> or telephone (212) 226-8760.

WAR GAMES: The U.S. held its first series of space war games at Schriever Air Force base, Colorado, January 22-26. Space Warfare Center commander Brigadier General Doug Richardson said the classified games, set in 2017, "...highlighted our vulnerability to attacks... Similarly, our dependence on commercial space systems, and its multidimensional, global implications, played heavily in this game." Major General Brian Arnold, director of space and nuclear deterrence in the Air Force secretary's acquisitions office, said the war games showed that a robust U.S. military presence in space was "much more stabilizing" than a weaker U.S. presence.

More: Air Force Space Command News Service. <http://www.af.mil/news/>

SPACE RACE II: Russia will double its defense spending over the next 10 years if Washington proceeds with the "Son of Star Wars" missile defense shield. A January 25 report in *The Times*, London, claimed that Russia will earmark for defense up to 5 percent of its gross domestic product for the next 10 years. According to a report on the Russian National Information Service's strana.ru website, run by a political adviser to President Putin, Russia will ensure its missiles will be able to pierce any National Missile Defense system the U.S. builds. Russia has threatened to tear up the Start II arms control agreement if the U.S. proceeds with the new Star Wars system.

THE CIA'S COVERT WAR

How the U.S. achieved the overthrow of Milosevic in Yugoslavia

By Gregory Elich

For one long decade, the West waged a fierce campaign to subjugate Yugoslavia. Every means was utilized; support for violent secessionists, the imposition of severe sanctions, a 78-day bombardment, followed by forcible occupation of the region of Kosovo. The Yugoslav Federation withstood it all. It took Western covert operations to finally bring disaster.

In November 1998, President Clinton launched a plan for the overthrow of the government of Yugoslavia. The initial emphasis of the plan centered on supporting secessionist forces in Montenegro and the right-wing opposition in Serbia.¹

Several months later, while NATO bombs fell on Yugoslavia, Clinton signed a secret paper instructing the CIA to topple the Yugoslav government. The plan called for the CIA to secretly fund opposition groups and for the recruitment of moles in the Yugoslav government and military.² The effort to recruit moles in the police and army eventually yielded fruit nearly two years later, when renegade policemen aided the mob assault on the Federal Parliament.

There were several components to the plan, and assassination was a key element in the Western arsenal. On July 8, 1999, U.S. and British officials revealed that commando teams

were training snatch operatives to seize alleged war criminals and Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. As an encouragement to mercenaries, the U.S. State Department also announced a \$5 million bounty for President Milosevic.³

Several Yugoslav government officials and prominent individuals, including Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, were gunned down. Most of those crimes remained unsolved, as the assassins managed to escape.

Goran Zugic, security adviser to secessionist Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic, was murdered late on May 31, 2000. The assassin escaped, allowing Western leaders to place blame on President Milosevic. Coming just one week before crucial local elections in Montenegro, forces opposing President Milosevic stood to gain from the murder, as the effect would tend to sway undecided voters in favor of secessionist parties.

A few days after the assassination, Yugoslav Minister of Information Goran Matic held a press conference, at which he accused the CIA of complicity in the murder. Matic played a

taped recording of two telephone conversations between head of the U.S. mission in Dubrovnik Sean Burns, U.S. State Department official James Swaggert, Gabriel Escobar of the U.S. economic group in Montenegro and Paul Davies of the U.S. Agency for International Development. Excerpts of the conversations, recorded 20 minutes after the assassination and again three hours later, included comments such as "it was professional" and "mission accomplished."⁴

KILL MILOSEVIC

The first publicly known Western plan to assassinate President Milosevic was drafted in 1992. Richard Tomlinson, a former British MI6 employee, later disclosed the plan. His task as an MI6 agent was to carry out undercover operations in Eastern Europe while posing as a businessman or journalist.

Tomlinson frequently met with MI6 officer Nick Fishwick. During one of their meetings, Fishwick showed Tomlinson a document entitled, "The Need to Assassinate President Milosevic of Serbia."

Gregory Elich is an independent journalist and researcher and has published several articles on the Balkans and Southeast Asia.

Three methods were proposed for the assassination of Milosevic. The first method, Tomlinson recalled, "was to train and equip a Serbian paramilitary opposition group," which would have the advantage of deniability but an unpredictable chance of success. The second method would employ a specially trained British SAS squad to murder President Milosevic "either with a bomb or sniper ambush." Fishwick considered this more reliable, but it lacked deniability. The third method would be to kill Milosevic "in a staged car crash."⁵

Seven years later, on October 3, 1999, the third method was employed against the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, Vuk Draskovic, when a truck filled with sand plowed into his car, killing everyone inside except for Draskovic. The temperamental Draskovic had been a major factor in the chronic fragmentation of the right-wing opposition, frustrating Washington's efforts to forge a unified opposition.⁶

During NATO's war against Yugoslavia, a missile struck President Milosevic's home on April 22, 1999. He and his wife were staying elsewhere that evening. Pentagon spokesman Ken Bacon was quick to announce that "we are not targeting President Milosevic." What else would a missile striking Milosevic's bedroom at 3:10 am be?⁷

Flagrant Western interference distorted the political process in Yugoslavia. U.S. and Western European funds were channelled to right-wing opposition parties and media through such organizations as the National Endowment for Democracy and George Soros' Open Society Institute. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is yet another of the myriad semi-private organizations that have attached themselves like leeches on Eastern Europe.

The NDI opened an office in Belgrade in 1997, hoping to capitalize on opposition attempts to bring down the government through street



MEDDLING ALBRIGHT: The U.S. channelled millions to right-wing groups.

demonstrations. By 1999, the NDI had already trained over 900 right-wing party leaders and activists on "message development, public outreach and election strategy." NDI also claimed to have provided "organizational training and coalition-building expertise" to the opposition.⁸

FIGHTING FOR MARKETS

The New Serbia Forum, funded by the British Foreign Office, brought Serbian professionals and academics to Hungary on a regular basis for discussions with British and Central European "experts." The aim of the meetings was to "design a blueprint for post-Milosevic society."

The Forum developed reports intended to serve as "an action plan" for a future pro-Western government. Subjects under discussion included privatization and economic stabilization. The Forum called for the "reintegration of Yugoslavia into the European family," a phrase that translated into the dismantling of the socialist economy and turning it over to Western corporations.⁹

Western aims were clearly spelled out in the "Stability Pact for South-

eastern Europe" of June 10, 1999. This document called for "creating vibrant market economies" in the Balkans, and "markets open to greatly expanded foreign trade and private sector investment." One year later, the White House issued a factsheet detailing the "major achievements" of the Pact. The Pact's Business Advisory Council "is visiting all of the countries of Southeast Europe" to "offer advice" on investment issues. Another initiative was Hungarian involvement with opposition-led local governments and opposition media in Serbia leading up to the September 24, 2000 election in Yugoslavia.

On July 26, 2000, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) inaugurated an investment fund to be managed by Soros Private Funds Management. The Southeast Europe Equity Fund "will invest in companies in the region in a range of sectors." Its purpose, according to the U.S. Embassy in Macedonia, is "to provide capital for new business development, expansion and privatization."

In March 2000, Montenegro signed an agreement permitting the opera-

tion of OPIC on its territory. Billionaire George Soros spelled out what all this means. U.S. involvement in the region, he said, "creates investment opportunities," and "I am happy to put my money where they are putting theirs." Bluntly put, there is money to be made.

a Yugoslavia that would "respect" the Pact's "principles and objectives" would be "welcome" to become a full member. "In order to draw the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia closer to this goal," the document declared, Montenegro would be an "early beneficiary."

In August 2000, the U.S. opened an office in Budapest to assist opposition parties in Yugoslavia. Among the staff were at least 30 psychological warfare specialists.

George Muñoz, then president and CEO of OPIC, was also clear. "The Southeast Europe Equity Fund," he announced, "is an ideal vehicle to connect American institutional capital with European entrepreneurs eager to help Americans tap their growing markets. OPIC is pleased that Soros Private Funds Management has chosen to send a strong, positive signal that Southeast Europe is open for business."

The final text of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe suggested that

Western leaders expressed hope that a future pro-Western Yugoslavia would, as had the rest of Eastern Europe, be "eager to help Americans" make money.¹⁰

Western leaders yearned to install a puppet government in Belgrade, and placed their hopes in the fragmented right-wing opposition parties in Serbia. In 1999, American officials encouraged these parties to organize mass demonstrations to overthrow the government, but the

rallies quickly fizzled. When upcoming Yugoslav Federal and local elections were announced on July 24, 2000, American and Western European officials met with leaders of Serbian opposition parties, urging them to unite behind one presidential candidate.

The opposition presidential candidate, Vojislav Kostunica, was essentially hand-picked by U.S. officials when American-run polls demonstrated that he was the only candidate capable of garnering enough support to win the election.¹¹

At the beginning of August 2000, the U.S. opened an office in Budapest specifically tasked to assist opposition parties in Yugoslavia. Among the staff were at least 30 psychological warfare specialists, some who had earlier been engaged in psychological warfare operations during NATO's war against Yugoslavia and against Iraq in the Gulf War.¹²

Members of the student opposition group, Otpor, were invited to attend ten-day courses, beginning August 28, and again on September 11, 2000, at the American embassies in Bulgaria and Romania. The courses, conducted by CIA personnel and propaganda experts, focused on political and public image techniques.¹³

In Bulgaria, the Western-financed Political Academy for Central and Southeastern Europe established a

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program for training the Serbian opposition. The academy was tied to Vojislav Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia, Otpor and various opposition groups. Another Bulgarian-based and Western-financed organization, the Balkan Academy of Leading Reporters, gave "financial, technical and expert assistance" to Yugoslav opposition media prior to the election.¹⁴

Later that month, on August 13 through 15, CIA Director George Tenet visited Bulgaria. In a series of extraordinary meetings, Tenet met with Bulgarian President Petur Stoyanov, as well as the prime minister, interior minister and defense minister.

Officially, the purpose of Tenet's visit was to discuss the problem of organized crime and narcotics. However, Tenet spent a combined total of only 20 minutes at the headquarters of the National Security Service and the National Service for Combating Organized Crime. Unnamed diplomatic sources revealed that the proposed oil transit pipeline from the Caspian Sea was also a topic of discussion.

The driving motivation for Tenet's visit, though, was to discuss Yugoslavia. According to an unnamed diplomatic source, Montenegrin secession from Yugoslavia topped the agenda. Following the meeting between Tenet and Major General Dimo Gyaurov, Director of the National Intelligence

JoMarie Fecchi/Impact Visuals



KOSOVO: U.S. troops came under the KFOR banner, but were acting out CIA plans.

Service, a public statement was issued which stressed their "commonality of interests."

Reports in the Bulgarian press revealed that various options were discussed with Bulgaria's president and prime minister. Leaked information from the meetings indicated that Tenet's preferred option was the removal of the Yugoslav government, either as a result of the September 24 election, or by street demonstrations or an internal coup. Another alternative Tenet discussed was a NATO military assault that would install a puppet government. The third option was Montenegrin secession from Yugoslavia. Were open warfare to break out over

Montenegro's secession from Yugoslavia, then the United States planned to wage a full-scale war, as it did in spring 1999.

Sofia's *Monitor* reported that the "CIA coup machine" was forming. "A strike against Belgrade is imminent," it warned, and "Bulgaria will serve as a base."¹⁵

In preparation for possible military action, the Italian army signed a lease contract to conduct training exercises beginning in October at the Koren training ground, near Kaskovo in southeast Bulgaria. The French army signed a similar agreement, in which French soldiers and tanks would train at the Novo Selo grounds in central Bulgaria from October 11 to Decem-

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ber 12. Plans called for the U.S. military to lease the Shabla training grounds in northeastern Bulgaria. All could have served as a launching pad for a NATO strike.¹⁶

An amphibious training exercise with Croatian and U.S. forces was conducted near Split, Croatia, immediately following the Yugoslav election, and 15 British warships were sent to the region.¹⁷

Tenet's third option, the secession of Montenegro from Yugoslavia,

TARGET SOCIALISM

Serbia's economy included a strong socialist component, and large and medium-sized firms were socially owned. In contrast, Montenegro had embarked on a program to place its entire economy at the service of the West.

November 1999 saw the introduction in Montenegro of the German mark as an official currency and the passage of legislation eliminating socially owned property. One month

The U.S. pumped \$35 million into the pockets of the right-wing opposition in the year before the election. Immediately following the election, the U.S. House of Representatives authorized an additional \$105 million for right-wing parties and media in Yugoslavia.

would follow the well-tested model of swallowing Yugoslavia, bite by bite. The paths of Yugoslavia's two republics had sharply diverged. Only Serbia stood in the way of the West's grand scheme to integrate the Balkans into an economic model in which the region's economies would be subordinated to Western corporate interests.

later, several large firms were publicly offered for sale, including the Electric Power Company, the 13th July Agricultural Complex, the hotel-tourist firm Boka and several others.¹⁸ The republic's privatization program for 2000 called for privatization of most state-owned industries, and included measures to "protect domestic and foreign investors."

In early 2000, the U.S. signed an agreement to provide Montenegro \$62 million, including \$44 million from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). According to the agency, it will also undertake "assistance programs to support economic reform and restructuring the economy... to advance Montenegro toward a free market economy."

U.S. policy adviser on the Balkans James Dobbins indicated that the U.S. viewed the "market-oriented reforms of the Djukanovic regime as a model and stimulus for similar reforms throughout the former Yugoslavia." The U.S. also offered guarantees for private investors in the republic. Additional aid was provided by the European Union (EU), which approved \$36 million for Montenegro. "From the first day," admitted Djukanovic, "we have had British and European consultants."¹⁹

The Center for International Private Enterprise, an affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, is providing support to the Center for Entrepreneurship (CEP) in Montenegro. According to the center's executive director, Petar Ivanovic, the organization "focuses on elementary and high schools," establishing entrepreneurship as a new subject to be taught in schools. As Ivanovic explained it: "Introducing young people to the concept of entrepreneurship will make them less resistant to the private sector." The CEP also intends to "educate government officials about the

FOOTNOTES

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potential rewards of the private sector," and to help them "understand the benefits of economic reform and privatization."²⁰

According to President Djukanovic, when he met with President Clinton on June 21, 1999, the U.S. president gave the privatization process a shove by telling Djukanovic that the U.S. planned to "stimulate the economy" by "encouraging U.S. corporations and banks to invest capital in Montenegro."²¹

Djukanovic moved steadily toward secession from Yugoslavia, indicating that he would push for separation if President Milosevic was re-elected in the September 24 election. In a phone call to Djukanovic in July 2000, Madeleine Albright promised that the U.S. would provide him with an additional \$16.5 million. That same week, Djukanovic blurted out that Montenegro "is no longer part of Yugoslavia." He also made the astonishing claim that he considered it a "priority" for Montenegro to join NATO, the organization that had bombed his country only the year before.

The next month, Albright announced that she and Djukanovic "try and talk to each other and meet on a regular basis," and that the "United States is supportive of the approach that President Djukanovic has taken in terms of democratic development and his approach to the economic reforms also."²²

Western support for secession extended beyond Albright meeting and talking with Djukanovic. More than half of the population of Montenegro opposed secession, and any such move was likely to explode into violence. In preparation for a rift, Djukanovic built up a private army of over 20,000 soldiers, the Special Police, including units armed with anti-tank weapons and mortars.

Sources in Montenegro revealed that Western special forces trained Djukanovic's private army. Prior to the



DIRTY TRICKS: A CIA-backed coup brought down the Yugoslav government.

election, Djukanovic requested that NATO establish an "air shield over Montenegro." One member of the Special Police, named Velibor, confirmed that they had received training from the British SAS special forces. "If there is a situation where weapons will decide the outcome, we are ready," he said. "We are training for that."

BRITISH TRAINED

At a press conference on August 1, 2000, Minister Goran Matic declared that the "British are carrying out part of the training of the Montenegrin special units. It is also true," he added, that the Special Police "are intensively obtaining various kinds and types of weapons, starting with anti-aircraft and anti-helicopter weapons and so on, and they are also being assisted by Croatia, as the weapons go through Dubrovnik and other places."

Furthermore, Matic pointed out, "last year, before and after the aggression, a group from within the Montenegrin MUP [Ministry of Interior Affairs] structure left for training within the U.S. police structure and the U.S. intelligence structures."

In August 2000, two armored vehicles bound for Montenegro were discovered in the port of Ancona, Italy. One of the vehicles was fitted with a turret suitable for mounting a

machine gun or anti-tank weapon. Italian customs officials, reported the Italian news service ANSA, were "convinced" that arms trafficking to Montenegro was "of far greater magnitude than this single episode might lead one to believe." Revelling in anticipation of armed conflict, Djukanovic bragged that "many will tuck their tails between their legs and will soon have to flee Montenegro."²³

A violent conflict in Montenegro would have provided NATO with a pretext for intervention. As early as October 1999, General Wesley Clark drew up plans for a NATO invasion of Montenegro. The plan envisioned an amphibious assault by more than 2,000 Marines storming the port of Bar and securing the port as a beachhead for pushing inland. Troops ferried by helicopters would seize the airport at Podgorica, while NATO warplanes would bomb and strafe resisting Yugoslav forces.

According to U.S. officials, other Western countries had also developed invasion plans.²⁴ Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to the UN declared, "We are in constant touch with the leadership of Montenegro," and warned that a conflict in Montenegro "would be directly affecting NATO's vital interest."²⁵ NATO Secretary General George Robertson was more explicit. "I say to Milosevic: watch out,

look what happened the last time you miscalculated..."²⁶

What the U.S. truly wanted, though, was all of Yugoslavia, not merely another piece. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright expected and demanded street demonstrations to topple the government if the election result did not satisfy her. At meetings held in Banja Luka in spring 2000, Albright expressed disappointment with the failure of past efforts to overthrow the legally elected Yugoslav government. Albright said that she had hoped sanctions would lead people to "blame Milosevic for this suffering."

An exasperated Albright wondered: "What was stopping the people from taking to the streets?" Indicating that the U.S. was casting about for a pretext for intervention, she added: "Something needs to happen in Serbia that the West can support."²⁷

Every contingency was planned for in the multifaceted U.S. destabilization campaign. In the end, it was CIA director George Tenet's preferred scenario that unfolded.

An electoral process distorted by Western intervention, combined with street action, finally toppled the government of Yugoslavia. The U.S. pumped \$35 million into the pockets of the right-wing opposition in the year preceding the September 24, 2000 election. This haul included transmitters for opposition radio, and computers, telephones and fax machines for several organizations.

Right-wing media received an additional \$6 million from the European Union during this period. Two organizations under the umbrella of the National Endowment for Democracy, the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute, provided \$4 million for a door-to-door campaign and get-out-the-vote programs.²⁸

American officials assured opposition media "not to worry about how much they're spending now," because much more was on the way.²⁹ Immediately following the election, the U.S. House of Representatives passed by voice vote a

bill authorizing an additional \$105 million for right-wing parties and media in Yugoslavia.³⁰

Organizations such as the International Republican Institute and the Agency for International Development pumped several million dollars into the pockets of Otpor, building up the small student opposition group into a major force. By the time the election date was announced in Yugoslavia, Otpor had already printed over 60 tons of campaign material.³¹

Alone and isolated, Yugoslavia resisted imperial domination from 1990, withstanding Western-backed secessions, sanctions, war, and covert operations. Against all odds, they remained independent and committed to an economy in which socially-owned property played a primary role. The most powerful forces on the planet were arrayed against them, and yet they held out for 10 years.

The NATO-backed coup swept all that away, but still the struggle continues. The left in Yugoslavia fights on. **CA**

AFGHANISTAN: CIA helped "create the Taliban"

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) worked in tandem with the Pakistani security forces to create the "monster" Taliban today ruling Afghanistan, a U.S. researcher has claimed.

The link is made by Selig Harrison of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, an academic in close contact with the CIA. "I warned them they were creating a monster," Harrison told a March conference, "Terrorism and Regional Security: Managing the Challenges in Asia."

The March 7 edition of the *Times of India* reports Harrison as saying: "The CIA made a historic mistake in encouraging Islamic groups from all over the world to come to Afghanistan." The U.S. provided \$3 billion for building up these Islamic groups, said Harrison.

The report adds that Harrison believes the old associations between the intelligence agencies continue. "The CIA still has close links with ISI (Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence)."

Harrison said: "The Taliban are not recruits from 'madrassas' (Muslim theological schools), but are on the payroll of the ISI." He added that the Taliban are now "making a living out of terrorism."

CovertAction reported in 1996/97 that U.S. efforts to overthrow the Soviet-backed Afghanistan government had led to the arrival of the reactionary Taliban as a major force (*CovertAction* 59).

U.S. hopes that the Taliban would impose a business-friendly stability in the country were quickly dashed, the article says. **CA**

BIGOT ON THE BENCH

Nine good reasons why Justice Antonin Scalia should go

1 HE'S TAKING LIBERTIES. Speaking at Princeton University, February 24, 2001, Justice Antonin Scalia said: "The best way to ensure tranquility is to allow unreasonable searches and seizures. We will have a tranquil society."

2 HE'S A BIGOT (I): GAY RIGHTS. An outspoken opponent of gay rights, Scalia wrote a scathing dissent in *Roy Romer, et al. v. Evans et al.* (1996): "In holding that homosexuality cannot be singled out for unfavorable treatment, the Court... places the prestige of this institution behind the proposition that opposition to homosexuality is as reprehensible as racial or religious bias... this court has no business imposing upon all Americans the resolution favored by the elite class from which the members of this institution are selected, pronouncing that 'animosity' toward homosexuality is evil. I vigorously dissent."

3 HE'S A BIGOT (II): RACIST HATE CRIMES. Resolutely opposed to affirmative action or any federal attempt to redress social injustices, Scalia is nevertheless a great defender of the rights of racists. Scalia wrote the Supreme Court's decision in *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* (1992), which ruled that prosecution of cross burning under a municipal hate-crime statute was an unacceptable infringement of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

4 HE'S A BIGOT (III): WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Scalia has worked actively to strike down *Roe v. Wade*. Dissenting in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992), Scalia wrote: "...the issue in this case [is] not whether the power of a woman to abort her unborn child is a 'liberty' in the absolute sense; or even whether it is a liberty of great importance to many women. Of course it is both. The issue is whether it is a liberty protected by the Constitution of the United States. I am sure it is not."

5 HE'S A BIGOT (IV): AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. According to University of Southern California professor of law Erwin Chemerinsky: "I can't think of a single instance where Scalia or Thomas has found discrimination against a racial minority, or women, or the aged, or the disabled, to be unconstitutional."

6 HE'S A DANGER: GUN LAW. Scalia wrote the decision effectively gutting the Brady Bill. In *Printz v. United States* (1997), the Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the background check provision of the

Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, which required a system for checking the backgrounds of all handgun purchasers pending implementation of a national system under the supervision of the Attorney General.

7 HE'S A PARTISAN REPUBLICAN. Scalia is the leader of the Supreme Court's right wing. According to Vincent Bugliosi, writing in *The Nation* on February 5, in deciding *Bush v. Gore* the Court acted as "a knowing surrogate for the Republican Party instead of being an impartial arbiter of the law." Scalia justified the unprecedented federal judicial intervention in the Florida election on the grounds the recount would cause irreparable harm to Bush "by casting a cloud on what he claims to be the legitimacy of his election." Bugliosi concludes he is "not only a disgrace to the judiciary, but to the legal profession, for years being nothing more than [a] transparent shill for the right wing of the Republican Party." Even staunchly conservative legal scholars say *Bush v. Gore* was a travesty. Terrance Sandalow, former dean of the Law School at the University of Michigan, wrote the decision was "an unmistakably partisan decision without any foundation in law."

8 HE'S UNCONSTITUTIONAL. The Court of Last Resort is designed as the ultimate arbiter of the meaning of the Constitution. Far from demonstrating a clear and consistent understanding of the Constitution, *Bush v. Gore* is both a perverse and deliberate misinterpretation of that document, completely at odds with Scalia's alleged championship of states' rights and opposition to federal "judicial activism."

9 HE'S A DISGRACE. As Bugliosi argues, Scalia and his colleagues "by their conduct, have forfeited the right to be respected, and only by treating them the way they deserve to be treated can we demonstrate our respect for the rule of law they defiled, and ensure that their successors will not engage in similarly criminal conduct." As ringleader, Scalia must be the first called to account. **CA**

SOURCES AND RESOURCES

Cult of Scalia: <http://members.aol.com/schwenkler/scalia/index.htm>

This site has links to the texts of many important Scalia opinions.

Scalia Shrine: <http://www.well.com/user/tfiore/scalia.html>

Impeach the five Supreme Court Justices, online petition:

<http://petitiononline.com/insure/petition.html>

Vincent Bugliosi, "None Dare Call it Treason," *The Nation*, Feb. 5, 2001.

A COMPLETE FRAUD

The new democracy according to Bush, Blair, bombs and business

By Tony Benn

The election of President George W. Bush aroused a great deal of worldwide interest, not least because of what happened in Florida and the Supreme Court decision.

"New Labour" in Britain was severely shaken because Prime Minister Tony Blair had established close links with the Clinton-Gore administration. It had argued that they shared his belief in the mysterious ideology of the "Third Way." To see that philosophy rejected left a political vacuum they are now trying to fill by pretending that George W. Bush shares the same values.

But, looked at more deeply, the reestablishment of the Republicans in the White House, even as the Congress is finely balanced, does pose very serious threats to the peace and stability of the world.

Perhaps the first and most obvious effect has been observed with the decision to bomb Iraq, which has absolutely no legal basis in the Charter of the United Nations to which the United States is still officially committed.

In that sense, the February bombings conducted by Bush and Blair were acts of terrorism and those who died in these bombings were victims of war crimes.

Since the sanctions were imposed, costing the lives of over half a million innocent Iraqi civilians, the enormity of what has been done there stands out.

Of course, the Bush-Clinton-Bush years have a certain continuity about

Tony Benn is a British Labour Party Member of Parliament. He held several cabinet positions from 1966 to 1979. He is a socialist and advocate of "participatory democracy".

them which makes it even harder to unravel what the real policy is going to be from now on.

Bush seems to be set on a course of world domination especially by means of introducing the NMD (Nuclear Missile Defense system) or "Son of Star Wars" rearmament program, which will allow U.S. spacecraft to destroy any land installations in the world.

THREAT TO PEACE

The immediate consequence has been to alienate European allies in NATO and the Russians and the Chinese. It could trigger a new global arms race costing billions of dollars at a time when world poverty represents a far more direct threat to peace.

The President has no intention of allowing NATO or the UN to play any part in shaping his foreign and defense policies. It is not inconceivable that the United Nations, like the League of Nations before the last world war, could be effectively rendered impotent.

Bush seems to combine the isolationism that led the American Senate to reject the League of Nations after the First World War with a readiness to act unilaterally in a truly imperial style.

One of the tragedies of this, from a British point of view, is that Britain has gone along with American policy with very rare exceptions since 1945, the most noteworthy Prime Minister Harold Wilson's rejection of Lyndon Johnson's request for British military support in Vietnam.

For many people in Europe and worldwide, the subservience of London to Washington is something of a puzzle because as a member of the

UN Security Council, a significant member of the European Union and with important links with the Commonwealth, Britain would seem ideally placed to play a more independent role in world affairs.

However, the so-called special relationship which, we are told, gives us unique influence in Washington is, in fact, a complete fraud.

The plain truth is that successive British governments have boasted about our independent nuclear deterrent when, in fact, Britain is entirely dependent on the United States for access to the technology that allows Trident nuclear submarines to fly the British flag.

In reality, if any British government ever tried to fire those missiles, they could not be targeted without the global satellite navigation system, controlled from the Pentagon, being switched on to make it possible.

In return, the U.S. has many bases in Britain supervising our intelligence services and our nuclear policy.

This is why Mr. Blair had to go along with the bombings of Iraq and why, when the detailed all new Star Wars plan is published, the Prime Minister will, after the impending British election is safely over, announce his full support.

However, it would be a mistake to think that the policy of the new President will be limited to military interventions around the world whenever U.S. economic or strategic interests appear to be threatened — though that is certainly likely to happen.

Much more serious is the American domination of and support for the

World Trade Organization and the IMF, which are forcing poor countries to open their doors to multinationals and privatize their services including those in health and education.

The budgets of the public services everywhere in the world are enormous and Big Business wants to get at them to create captive markets for the services they provide in the interests of their own shareholders and at the expense of those who work in them and depend upon them.

All this may sound very pessimistic — but I still retain my optimism for the future of those who believe in democracy, political morality, internationalism and socialism.

Perhaps the most interesting example of the counter-pressures that are building up occurred at Seattle at the end of 1999 when a very wide coalition representing the trade unions, the peace movement, the churches, the environmental movement and many others decided to make a stand.

This has mobilized many millions of people who have become totally disconnected from the electoral process because they quite properly see that process has been corrupted by the virtual purchase of the democratic process by the corporations themselves.

NEW WORLD ORDER

If democracy is ever to be threatened, it will not be by revolutionary groups burning government offices and occupying the broadcasting and newspaper offices of the world.

It will come from disenchantment, cynicism and despair caused by the realization that the New World Order, proclaimed by the first President Bush after the Gulf War, means we are all to be managed and not represented.

The low turnout in elections as we saw in America and are seeing in Britain is a direct result of the growing public realization that this is the case.

Recollecting as I do that similar



BENN: Statesman • **BLAIR: United States' man** • **BUSH: Vast estates' man**
AP Photo/Alastair Grant Prime Minister's Press Office Rick Reinhard

circumstances brought Hitler to power in the 1930s, the Seattle movement will have to turn its mind to political action that makes use of the ballot box and the voting machine to secure a change at the top.

BEYOND PRESSURE

This is not in any way incompatible with direct action — but those who organize it must have a clear political objective that looks beyond pressure to the winning of power in the seats of government.

Looking back over the years since the 1917 Russian revolution, it is clear that the existence of an anti-capitalist superpower represented a very powerful pressure upon Western capitalism. This led it to accept colonial liberation to avoid what they saw as the risk of the old colonies going communist.

It is even true that the welfare state, whether it be under Roosevelt's New Deal, or Prime Minister Attlee's post-war Labour government, was tolerated by capital to prevent the spread of socialist ideas in the West.

Now that Stalin's communism is gone, we are seeing the brutal nature of capitalism exposed and this has produced the counter movements that we are now witnessing.

At present, all governments have to bend their will to the demands of the transnationals but if the popular movements become strong enough, there is no doubt that they will have to be taken into account by any poli-

tician who wants to be reelected, even in the semi-democratic societies in which we now live.

For me, one of the most powerful signs is that all these arguments are as clearly understood in the United States as they are in Europe and the rest of the world, even if at present, this represents a minority movement.

One of the greatest problems we face is that the media deliberately and systematically deny us knowledge of what is happening at this level in every country and never report the radical international conferences that have been established on this new network with their own websites and email communication systems.

It is quite clear that the internet poses a serious threat to the privileges of the rich and powerful for exactly that reason. All the emphasis on crime and drugs and pornography used to justify the suppression of the internet is really aimed at suppressing knowledge of the radical political alternatives that are now available.

Even if Washington does achieve the total military domination of space and the transnationals keep up the pressure directly and through the undemocratic institutions they control, people cannot be held down forever.

The parallel with apartheid is as good as can be found since the blacks who were disenfranchised won the day against a white elite which controlled the army, the police and the media.

They would not accept exclusion from power and neither should we. **CA**

PSYCHO POLITICS

Rep. Rob Simmons, war crimes and the suppression of dissent

By Douglas Valentine

New Republican Congressman Robert R. "Rob" Simmons vehemently denies that he committed war crimes while serving as a CIA officer in South Vietnam. He says the charges, which were leveled at him during the closing days of the election campaign, amount to "smear tactics."

"Any veteran, anybody who served his country in war, should be offended," Simmons claimed in the November 2, 2000 issue of the *New London Day*.

The next day the *Manchester Journal Inquirer* called the charge against Simmons "bogus," and noted that his Democrat opponent, 20-year Congressman and CIA and Pentagon critic Sam Gejdenson, had fired two campaign workers for "planting" the story.

The "bogus" charge against Simmons is that he routinely violated the Geneva Convention while interrogating prisoners in Vietnam. The charge stems from a profile of Simmons published by the *New London Day* in May 1994. In that profile, Simmons admitted that in order to obtain information about suspected subversives, he would often threaten to withhold medicine from injured prisoners. He would never actually make good on the threat, he added.

Simmons suggests that such coercive tactics were perfectly legitimate under the circumstances. But his se-

cret activities in South Vietnam and his actions as staff director of the Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence, combine to raise doubts about his ability to govern under a Constitution that guarantees due process to all Americans, even suspected subversives.

SIMMONS IN VIETNAM

From November 1970 until June 1972, Rob Simmons served as a CIA officer in Phu Yen Province in South Vietnam. His job involved "liaison" with



VIET CONG: A prisoner awaits interrogation, Vietnam.

South Vietnam's brutal special police, as well as mounting and conducting "paramilitary" operations.

As liaison officer and adviser to the CIA-supported special police, Simmons assisted in identifying civilian members of the Viet Cong Infrastructure (VCI), and in penetrating this underground organization with double agents.

Simmons also advised the special police officer in charge of the Phu Yen Province Interrogation Center.

During the Vietnam War there were repeated allegations that innocent people were being detained and tortured in CIA Interrogation Centers like the one in Phu Yen. Because the CIA had built these facilities and paid for their maintenance, four U.S. congresspersons traveled to Vietnam to investigate the situation. Their investigation culminated in 1971 with congressional hearings.

At the end of these hearings, U.S. Representatives Paul McCloskey (R.-Calif.), John Conyers (D.-Mich), Bella Abzug (D.-NY) and Ben Rosenthal (D.-NY) stated their belief that, "The people of these United States... have deliberately imposed upon the Vietnamese people a system of justice which admittedly denies due process of law," and that in doing so, "we appear to have violated the 1949 Geneva Convention for the protection of civilian people."

They also stated their belief that "torture is a regularly accepted part of interrogation."¹

Although the CIA acknowledged that it funded the interrogation centers, it refused to accept responsibility for the torture that occurred in those facilities."²

In an interview with author Mark Moyer, Simmons said it was justifiable to go after people "we were reasonably confident were VC."³

During an interview with this writer in September 1988, Simmons produced a report describing how the special police assassinated three VCI in November 1970. Based on information pro-

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vided by an anonymous informer, the VCI were ambushed at night while digging a spider hole outside Vinh Phu hamlet. One of those killed was Nguyen Van Toan, a Communist and chairman of the local Revolutionary Committee. Toan was 22 years old and a native of Vinh Phu hamlet.

Simmons was subsequently directed to develop the region's paramilitary capability. He created six Special Intelligence Force Units, each SIFU consisting of eight volunteer policemen. The SIFU in Tuy Hoa, the capital city of Phu Yen Province, was advised and funded by Simmons and the CIA.

Simmons provided this writer with a copy of a report dated December 1971, in which the National Police Commander in Phu Yen Province used the word "exterminate" to describe a mission in which two VCI were killed in an ambush.

Simmons also provided this writer with a copy of a January 29, 1972 letter he sent to one of his superiors. The letter was a request for awards and medals for SIFU members participating in "the recent Lien Tri operation."

The Lien Tri operation began on January 26, 1972, when an anonymous informer reported that a VC Action Team was planning to enter Lien Tri hamlet. Simmons' SIFU intercepted the team the following night: Four men, three women, and seven youths were "taken under fire" while digging a hole. Killed were Trinh Tan Luc, a Tuy Hoa Party Committee member, and Nguyen Dung of the Tuy Hoa Current Affairs Committee.

"This operation epitomizes the type operation we encourage the police to run against the VC/VCI in Phu Yen province," Simmons wrote in his report.

As a CIA officer, Rob Simmons traveled 12,000 miles to terrorize Viet-

namese men and women in their own backyards.

"I'm just a poor farm girl," Simmons said to me shrilly, mocking a woman he had in the Phu Yen Interrogation Center. He could not prove she was a VCI, so he released her "and watched her for three months, then put her name in the paper. That suppressed her. It suppressed the organization too."⁴

Rob Simmons, now a Connecticut congressman, was describing psychological warfare — the application of terror to politically subdue people.

SPOOK OR REP?

Simmons resigned from the CIA in 1977. But Simmons did not withdraw from the field. Within two years he had joined the staff of Senator John Chafee (R-R.I.) and had helped engineer passage of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which makes it a crime to name CIA officers.

Simmons in 1981, at age 38, was named as staff director of the Republican-controlled Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a position for which CIA approval is required.

At the time, the Democrats were pushing for a thorough investigation of William Casey, President Reagan's choice as Director of the CIA. Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz) hired Simmons "to button-up" the investigation of Casey. Simmons dutifully produced a report describing Casey as "not unfit" to hold the job. There was no mention of Casey's undisclosed stock holdings or unreported lawsuits. And though he knew Casey was a tax dodger, Simmons ignored this."⁵



CIA: Simmons' interrogation camp, Phu Yen Province.

Simmons' defense of the CIA went further. When Congress discovered that the CIA had illegally mined Nicaraguan ports in 1983 and 1984, he single-handedly stopped Senator Barry Goldwater from reading the facts of the matter into the *Congressional Record*.⁶

Likewise, according to author Robert Parry, Simmons protected an illegal CIA domestic political apparatus designed to intimidate journalists and politicians, and "to shape American perceptions about key Casey causes, such as the contra war in Nicaragua."⁷

And as staff director of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Simmons prevented the public disclosure of Casey's "off-the shelf" apparatus channelling \$1 million a month to the Nicaraguan contras.

Rob Simmons, a veteran covert operator who terrorized Vietnamese civilians because of their political beliefs rather than any military threat, is adroit at hiding his and the CIA's misdeeds behind a veil of secrecy.

One must question where Simmons will stand if the Bush administration, and its right-wing allies in Congress and on the Supreme Court, decide to impose extreme policies like those effected in Vietnam.

Given his record, where will Simmons stand if America enters an age of dissent? **CA**

FOOTNOTES

1. Douglas Valentine, *The Phoenix Program* (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1990), p. 382, citing U.S. Assistance Programs in Vietnam, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, July 19, 1971, p. 321.
2. William Blum, *Killing Hope* (Monroe, Me.: Common Courage Press, 1995), p. 131.

3. Mark Moyar, *Phoenix and Birds of Prey* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press 1997), p. 124.
4. "Attack Against the VCI Infrastructure", an internal CIA document dated Nov. 22, 1966, authored by Nelson Brickham, described what by 1967 would be known as the Phoenix Program. It defined the CIA's job, pursuing political rather than military targets. More: *The*

Phoenix Program, see note 1.
5. Joseph E. Persico, *Casey* (New York: Penguin, 1990), pp. 211, 276-7, 374.
6. Persico, op. cit., p. 374.
7. Robert Parry, *Trick or Treason* (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1993), pp. 269-70.

BAD BUSINESS

The Ten Worst Corporations of 2000

By Russell Mokhiber and Robert Weissman

Corporate self-regulation is all the rage in Washington, D.C. these days. But there's one problem with the self-regulation theory: it doesn't work.

Every corporation regulates itself. It chooses whether to obey the law, or not. It chooses whether to permit its employees to unionize, or to fight organizing efforts, whether to bargain fairly with unions, or to try to bust them. It chooses whether to use clean production technologies, or to pollute.

The self-regulation record is clear. Too often, corporations choose to despoil the natural environment, deny care to the sick, smash workers' unions, retaliate against whistleblowers who call attention to egregious corporate abuses, endanger consumers, and more.

Multinational Monitor publishes its annual list of the Ten Worst Corporations of the Year. Appearing on the year 2000 list:

Aventis: Human guinea pigs

The biotech company raced its genetically modified StarLink corn to market.

Not approved for human consumption, StarLink soon found its way into the food supply — through Taco Bell shells and other food items, cross-pollination with conventional corn crops, improper mixing in grain elevators or otherwise.

As pressure mounted from the public and from companies whose products had been or might be contaminated, Aventis announced that it would buy back all StarLink corn, in a program overseen by the U.S. federal government. But the company still pushed for expedited EPA approval to put StarLink in the food supply. At least 44 people have complained to the U.S. government that they became ill after eating StarLink-contaminated food.

BAT: Smuggler of death

British American Tobacco has for decades promoted and facilitated a worldwide cigarette smuggling scheme. Cigarette smuggling evades excise taxes — lowering cigarette prices and increasing smoking rates.

Among BAT's key strategies have been: Managing smuggling sales targets and planning in much the same way as legitimate distribution channels; establishing business relations with intermediaries that directly or indirectly supply smugglers, to gain share in the illegal markets; building warehouses and stationing marketing personnel close to borders with poor customs controls; and using a small legal or duty-free market to justify advertising cam-

paigns which have the real purpose of stimulating demand for cigarettes on sale in the illegal market (these are known as "umbrella operations").

BP/Amoco: Lawbreaker

The oil giant paid major fines and entered settlements in 2000 for illegal disposal of hazardous waste, alleged Clean Air Act violations, and underpaying royalties for oil produced on federal and Native American lands. BP is also lobbying to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling.

DoubleClick: Cookie crook?

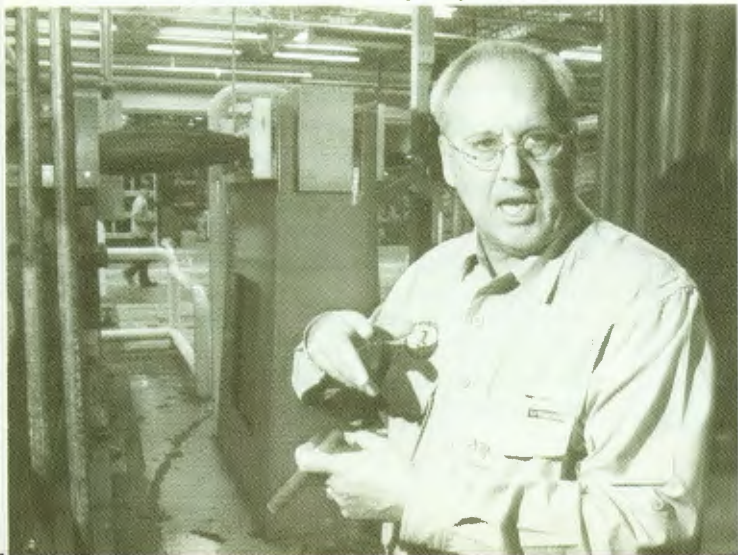
DoubleClick is rubbing up against the edge of internet privacy protections, matching consumer information from web usage and purchases — mostly gained without consumer knowledge or informed consent — with consumers' names and addresses.

Michigan Attorney General Jennifer Granholm warns: "DoubleClick's privacy policy is a moving target and consumers should be extremely cautious about relying on the company's vague promises... We can't be certain that tomorrow's policy won't allow the company to sell the information concerning your internet use to the highest bidder."

Ford/Firestone: Reckless homicide?

Ford and Firestone placed the lethal combination of Ford Explorers and Firestone tires on the road causing 174

UNION BUSTER: Morris "Morry" Taylor of Titan International.



AP Photo/Rodney White

Russell Mokhiber is editor of the Washington, D.C.-based Corporate Crime Reporter. Robert Weissman is editor of the Washington, D.C.-based Multinational Monitor.

deaths, even after they had overwhelming evidence of the consumer hazard.

Public Citizen President Joan Claybrook told the Senate Appropriations Committee: "Top company officials are kept informed about all lawsuits against the company, particularly when they accumulate concerning one problem. There is no question the companies knew they had a problem. But they kept it secret."

Glaxo Wellcome: Patently wrong

With the HIV/AIDS crisis at least as severe as the Black Death which wracked Europe in medieval times, Glaxo Wellcome and other drug manufacturers continue to block African and other poor countries from making available cheap generic versions of lifesaving AIDS drugs.

Glaxo Wellcome, now merged with SmithKline Beecham, has emerged as a particular menace among the drug industry cartel. It is a party to an industry suit seeking to stop South Africa from making generic drugs available.

In August 2000, Glaxo dispatched a threatening letter to Cipla, an Indian generic drug maker, objecting to Cipla's distribution of a small amount of Combivir — a combination of two anti-AIDS drugs for which Glaxo claims to hold patent rights — in Ghana.

In November, Cipla announced it would stop exporting Duovir to Ghana, even though it contested Glaxo's patent claims. At stake is whether Cipla will sell low-cost AIDS drugs in Ghana.

Ghana is only a sliver of Glaxo's revenue, "but where do you draw the line?" Martin Sutton, a Glaxo spokesperson, said to the *Wall Street Journal*.

Lockheed Martin: More guinea pigs

On behalf of military contractor Lockheed Martin, Loma Linda University, California, is conducting the first large-scale tests of a toxic drinking water contaminant — a rocket fuel component — on human subjects.

Of course, Lockheed Martin is involved in much more than testing pol-

lutants. Among other dubious activities, the company is the primary proponent of one of the greatest government boondoggles of all time and a genuine national security risk: Star Wars.

Phillips Petroleum: Work deaths

A massive explosion at a Phillips Petroleum plastics plant in Pasadena, Texas in March 2000 killed one person and injured 74. It was the third fatal accident at the complex in the last 11 years, including a 1989 blast that killed 23 people and an explosion in June 1999 that left two dead.

After the Occupational Safety and Health Administration proposed fining the company \$2.5 million, Jim Lefton of the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International union (PACE), applauded the action: "I wish it could have been more. Our bottom line is that we want this company to quit killing people and quit hurting people."

Smithfield Foods: Pig out

The big hog companies are wreaking havoc on the farm economy. Smithfield, which recently acquired Murphy Farms, the nation's second-largest hog producer and hog giant Carroll's Foods, sought in 2000 to buy IBP, but was thwarted by Tyson's which bought the company instead. The concentrated industry is driving down the open market price of hogs, and pushing small farmers out of business.

The big hog companies are also destroying farm country. The rapid growth of factory farms and the resulting mountains of untreated livestock manure are fouling drinking water supplies and causing a public health risk throughout the United States.

Titan International: Union buster

Approximately 1,000 United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members at two Titan facilities have struck the maker of agricultural, off-road and construction tires, wheels and assemblies since 1998.

ALWAYS COCA-CONGRESS!

Coca-Cola, the company criticized for selling un-nutritious sugary drinks to kids and for its racist employment practices, has bought its way into the Library of Congress. Russell Mokhiber and Robert Weissman challenged the move — and were barred from the Library for their pains.



On November 29, 2000, Coca-Cola made an "historic contribution" to the Library of Congress — a complete set of 20,000 television commercials pushing Coca-Cola.

James Billington, the Librarian of Congress, turned over the keys of the Main Hall to Coke, and Coke decked the place out with its logo, stitched in red beside the logo of the Library of Congress.

Gary Ruskin, of Commercial Alert, was outside protesting. "It is not the proper role of the taxpayer-financed Library of Congress to help promote junk food like Coca-Cola to a nation that is suffering skyrocketing levels of obesity," Ruskin said. He added that Billington had turned the Library "into a huckster's backdrop."

Billington introduced Doug Daft, the president of Coca-Cola. In a loud voice we asked Daft: "Why are you using a public institution to promote a junk-food product?"

The next thing we know, we are on the ground. The Library of Congress police had tackled us. We were dragged downstairs, past the ambassador from Burma, and hauled outside.

"This is a private event," a man from Coke told the police. "I'm from Coca-Cola."

The police said we were to leave the grounds. And we weren't to come back. Ever.

The viciously anti-union Titan CEO, Morry Taylor, responded to a National Labor Relations Board unfair labor practices complaint by reportedly telling the *Natchez Democrat* that "I figure in five years they'll get that to the first federal court. By that time they'll all be enjoying retirement pay." And that's about as good a refutation of the idea of self-regulation as any. **CA**

A more detailed version of this story is posted at: <http://www.essential.org/monitor/mm2000/00december/enemies.html>

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THE STATE OF U.S. JUSTICE

Clinton, the FBI and the emergence of a police state

By Leonard Peltier

From behind prison walls, the reality of American justice is clear as glass. Therefore, when former President Clinton failed to grant me clemency on January 20, 2001 it did not come as a major shock, although it was distressing nonetheless.

Clinton's handling of clemencies throughout the last month of his presidency revealed the true character of American justice, as he pardoned and commuted sentences for white collar criminals, mostly members of his elite circle, and failed to use the clemency power for what it was meant: to correct injustices and to show mercy to those who truly deserve it.

In fact, we have reason to believe that a denial of my clemency was one of the stipulations in Clinton's deal with special prosecutor Robert Ray, to avoid prosecution himself.

Sadly, most of the talk about Clinton's clemency scandal has focused little on how the clemency process should be used, and when applied correctly, how it can benefit society. As a result, future presidents will likely be more hesitant than ever to grant clemency to anyone, including those serving sentences that really should be commuted. Unfortunately, this is all part of a larger trend to lock up more people for longer periods of time, with fewer avenues for redress.

I, like many others, have been raked through a failing appellate process, parole process, and now, the clemency process. Although I am very encouraged by the growing movements working to stop the wave of mass imprisonment, I am sometimes alarmed about the lack of awareness of laws passed that have banned the rehabilitated from being released, and the innocent from receiving due process.

For example, there is case law that allows a person to remain imprisoned after a reasonable doubt has been cast on his or her guilt. I was convicted of first-degree murder, but after the main evidence used to convict me was impeached on appeal, the U.S. Prosecutor admitted, "we can't prove who shot those agents."

The court found that I may have been acquitted had the FBI not withheld evidence which cast a "strong doubt on the government's case." Despite this, a retrial was denied based on the Bagley standard — I

cannot go back to court unless even more new evidence is uncovered. The FBI has steadfastly refused to release the 6,000 documents pertaining to my case, which they withhold for reasons of national security.

Also, few are aware that the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act, which activated mandatory minimum sentencing, also set forth the total abolishment of the Parole Commission, meaning anyone convicted of a federal crime will never be eligible for parole, no matter what strides he or she makes toward rehabilitation.

This measure, however, was not to apply to the tens of thousands of prisoners who had been convicted before the act was passed. These prisoners are referred to as "old law prisoners."

Congress mandated the Parole Commission to give all old law prisoners their probative release dates before its abolishment, which was set for 1992. As the final abolishment date approached, the commission went to Congress and asked for a five-year extension because of the lack of staff and heavy case load of prisoners they needed to assign parole dates to. After the extension expired, they requested yet another one, setting the current abolishment date for next year. Yet, very few old law prisoners, like myself, have been given probative release dates as required by law.

Leonard Peltier was sentenced in 1977 to life imprisonment for murder. Evidence in the possession of the FBI clearly shows he did not commit the crime. He has served 24 years in the maximum security Leavenworth Penitentiary.



Leonard Peltier Defense Committee

PELTIER: Wrongly imprisoned for 24 years.

Furthermore, many of us are long overdue for parole and are being denied release arbitrarily so that the Parole Commission will have an excuse to stay in power. So basically, the Parole Commission is illegally applying mandatory minimum sentences to old law prisoners in violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Of course, all of these issues combined are having a devastating affect on millions of family members of the convicted. Kids are left without fathers or mothers and elders are left without their sons and daughters. Even worse, the trend is not only to lock up masses, but also to create harsh conditions inside. The gains in prison reform that the people worked so hard for are now being rapidly reversed. No longer are any courses offered in this prison, so prisoners are not able to better educate themselves. Recreational activities are few. And, our phone and visitation privileges are being gradually whittled away.

Just this week we received a memo which will restrict our phone access to 300 minutes a month, averaging about 10 minutes a day. Many family members cannot afford to travel here

for visits, and the phone is their only way of speaking with their loved ones. Additionally, the change will be devastating to political prisoners who are

The only way these trends can be reversed is through public education, outcry and organizing. Let us make it unpopular for politicians to posture

Politicians posture as "tough on crime" when in fact they are tough on justice.

able to maintain a connection with the outside world and make key defense decisions through the telephone.

Outside of the major flaws in the criminal justice system, it seems law enforcement is becoming bolder in its attempts to dictate the fate of a controversial case, instead of allowing the courts and key officials to do so.

On December 17, 2000, the FBI marched in front of the White House to stop my clemency, and they have worked with the Fraternal Order of Police, who have made shameful attempts to obstruct justice in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, to do the same to me. From behind these prison walls, it is hard to deny that we are heading quickly toward a police state.

as "tough on crime" when in fact, they are tough on justice.

I want to encourage all the good people and organizations who are working on political prisoners' cases, prison issues, and criminal justice concerns to join together to work toward ending these problems. CA

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TAKING LIBERTIES: Money, Mossad and Marc Rich

Marc Rich made billions in dodgy deals with dodgy dictatorships. In the U.S. he was a union buster and a convicted tax dodger. He was on the FBI wanted list, a fugitive with a list of serious charges against his name. But friends in high-places feathered the Clinton nest. Marc Rich was awarded clemency in one of the last acts of Clinton's presidency.

Clinton's deputy attorney general at the time of the pardon, Eric Holder, affirmed that high-level access means a lot. "I'm not naive," he said. "Connections, obviously, help."

Rich, wanted for federal crimes including wire fraud and tax evasion, fled the U.S. in 1983 for a life of luxury in Switzerland. He is a convicted criminal who has never spent a day in prison. The recent tranche of charges were not his first brush with the U.S. judiciary. In 1989, Rich entered a \$200 million guilty plea on tax evasion charges, paying some \$21 million in fines.

His considerable debt to society has been wiped clean because he has money and friends in high places.

The then Prime Minister of Israel Ehud Barak pressed Clinton for the pardon in two personal phone calls. And the head of Mossad until 1996, Shabtai Shavit, said in a letter to Clinton he had "known Mr. Rich for many years now... Mr. Rich always agreed and used his extensive network of contacts... to produce results sometimes beyond the expected."

Rich had pulled off a favors-for-freedom deal, undermining the entire notion of presidential pardons.

Rich, who holds both Israeli and Spanish citizenships, could buy the very best connections. Reputedly worth \$33 billion, he is reported to control the economies of 27 countries.

Rich, unlike other prisoners more deserving of a pardon who barely have access to either legal representation or a phone, could through Mossad, his political connections and Jack Quinn, his lawyer and Clinton's one-time counsel and friend, make his representations directly to the White House. CA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Number 50 (1994) Operation Condor; Clinton's crime bill; Liberty lobby; Monfort meatpackers; Low intensity Democracy; NRO and the intelligence budget.

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

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

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

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Number 42 (1992) Philip Agee on CIA; Peru; Fluoride; VP Bush and CIA; Nicaragua; Special operations; Drug war; CIA vs. Henry Gonzalez; Bush inaugural speech leak; Rev. Moon buys university.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Number 26 (1986) U.S. terrorism; Vernon Walters; Libya bombing; Contra agents; Israel and South Africa; Jonathan Pollard; CIA and Costa Rica; Duarte; Nicaragua; Greece; Index to Numbers 13-25.

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

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

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

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

Number 18 (1983) CIA and religion; Nicaragua "Secret" war; Miskitos; Opus Dei; Guatemala; El Salvador; Summer Inst. of Linguistics; World Medical Relief; AID; CIA and BOSS; South African torture; Vietnam; Suriname; "Free Lebanon"; Court and NSA; Spying on Canada; Heritage Foundation.

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

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

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

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

Number 12 (1981) El Salvador; Guatemala; New Right/U.S. intelligence; Senate terrorism committee; William Casey; Mozambique; Norway; mail surveillance.

Number 11 (1980) Right-wing terrorism; South Korea; KCIA; Portugal; Guyana; Caribbean; AFIO; NSA interview; CIA commemorative stamp; CIA assassinations.

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

Number 9 (1980) Technology: NSA in Norway, Glomar Explorer; Mind control; NSA; Jamaica; Hmong in Guyana; CIA South Africa forgery; CIA Canada bombing; CIA CBW research; Intelligence technology politics.

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

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

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

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

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