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Funding social change since 1967

RESIST

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A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority

July/August 1999

The Truth Behind US Foreign Policy

Violence for Power and Profit

HENRY ROSEMONT, JR.

When looked at only superficially, US foreign policy since the end of the Cold War has seemed directionless at best, inconsistent at the worst. Why do we celebrate the Chinese government one moment, berate it the next? Why did we intervene in Somalia, but not Rwanda? Why Panama but not Colombia, Iraq but not Iran, Kosovo but not Kurdistan? A closer examination of those policies, however, going back to the end of World War II and even before, reveals a very definite and consistent pattern, but one that is painful for American citizens to reflect upon deeply because of the brutalities committed in our names.

The US has intervened well over 100 times in the internal affairs of other nation states since 1945. The rhetoric has been that we have done so largely to preserve or restore freedom and democracy, or for purely humanitarian reasons. The reality has been that our policies have not done so, but on the contrary, have been consistently designed and implemented to further the interests of US (now largely transnational) corporations, and the elites both at home and abroad who profit from corporate depredations. These policies—often illegal, always unjust—have been enormously successful, so long as we ignore the incalculable suffering endured by tens of millions of innocent peoples the

world over as the price paid for “success.”

Results of Intervention

Lest this claim be dismissed at the outset as too strong, attempt the following: from among our 100-plus interventions, try to find one in which the great majority of the people in the affected states were not far worse off after than before the intervention. Where have freedom and democracy been strengthened rather than stifled? Where have the “humanitarian” efforts been successful?

Certainly not in those countries where we saw to the overthrow of democratically elected governments—e.g., Iran, 1953; Guatemala, 1954; Chile, 1973—and installed reactionary royalty and murderous military in their stead: the Shah, right-wing generals, and Augusto Pinochet. And surely no sane person would maintain that even in those countries whose governments we sought to replace which were not democratically elected were their peoples in any way better off for our efforts, including such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, Iraq, etc.

These examples are only among the more well-known cases of US actions contributing directly to unspeakable horrors



Burned houses like these are common in the Kosovo war zones. Photo courtesy of Amnesty International

being visited on millions of innocent people, most of them poor. However, in order to comprehend the full extent of US responsibility for human suffering through its foreign policies, it is necessary to see that intervention can take many forms.

Forms of US Intervention

For example, the US government did not directly attempt to destabilize the Indonesian government of President Sukarno in 1965 (although we did try seven years earlier). But we made it clear to General Suharto and his fellow thugs how much we appreciated their hard-line stance against the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which was legally contesting elections. And af-

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ter Suharto's thugs overthrew Sukarno themselves, the US supplied them not only with much weaponry, but also the names of suspected PKI members compiled by our intelligence sources, which insured that the bloodbath which ensued after the coup would destroy the PKI and other progressive organizations once for all. By even the most conservative estimates, Suharto's regime slaughtered more than 500,000 people (mostly ethnic Chinese).

This, too, is intervention. And we did it again in Indonesia a decade later, when we let Suharto know that we had no objection to his invading East Timor after the Portuguese withdrew from their former colony. The invasion probably couldn't have wrought the havoc it did on the Timorese people without, again, the weaponry (and training in how to use it) supplied to the Indonesian army by the US

Indonesia is by no means a solitary case

of this more covert type of intervention; we have engaged in it everywhere from Italy and Greece to Afghanistan to the Congo (opposing Lumumba) and Angola (supporting Savimbi). Covert intervention has been the norm in our dealings with Latin American countries since World War II (before then we simply invaded them when we didn't approve of their governments).

Moreover, this second type of intervention is ongoing: the Colombian government is murdering its citizens by the thousands with US support, which we also supply to the Turks in their "ethnic cleansing" campaigns against the Kurds. The effect in both cases is profound, especially the latter, in which 80% of Turkey's armaments have "Made in the USA" stamped on them. These weapons have been used to destroy more than 3,500 Kurd villages and displace at least 2.5 million people since 1991—roughly seven times the numbers estimated for Kosovo.

Direct and Indirect Killing

It is important for activists to appreciate the difference between the invasive and the covert forms of intervention. In order to aid the Kosovars being slaughtered by the murderous Serb regime, we must ourselves directly engage in slaughter. On the other hand, to aid the Kurds being massacred by the murderous Turk regime we must work to have our government stop aiding and abetting the even greater slaughter (which is very different from advocating "neo-isolationism").

A third pattern of US foreign policy which may legitimately be considered interventionist is the systematic attempt to isolate "rogue states" when other efforts are unsuccessful, inconvenient or potentially embarrassing. After more direct actions in Cuba failed to topple the Castro government (the Bay of Pigs invasion, CIA/Mafia attempts to assassinate him, etc.), the economic sanctions were strengthened and enforced with a vengeance, continuing to this day.

In Vietnam, not only did we renege on Kissinger's promise to help rebuild the

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New Fund at Resist

Resist is pleased to announce the creation of the *Leslie D'Cora Holmes Memorial Fund*. This fund, made possible by the transfer of resources from the Leslie D'Cora Holmes Foundation, will enable Resist to award grants to honor the memory and carry on the work of Leslie D'Cora Holmes.

Leslie died suddenly of a brain aneurism in July of 1996 at the age of 39. At the time of her death, Leslie had just taken a one-year leave of absence from the Harlem office of the Legal Aid Society to teach in Columbia Law School's Fair Housing Clinic. Leslie had been a central figure in the legal services community, in New York City's fair housing advocacy community, and in other areas of community activism in the City of New York.

The memorial fund has the following purpose:

The Leslie D'Cora Holmes Memorial Fund is committed to continuing the inspiring life's work and legacy of Leslie D'Cora Holmes. This fund will support activities and organizations that embody the characteristics, values, and principles that reflect the spirit-filled mission of Leslie D'Cora Holmes, including: empowerment for communities and individuals; self-determination through education and community organizing; harmonization of diverse communities of interest; actualization and recognition of individual potential; courage of conviction; and pride in culture, community and self.

Resist congratulates Leslie's family, friends and colleagues for choosing such an important way to continue the work in which she believed, and is honored to be entrusted with this fund. Resist will award grants from this fund in its regular funding cycles.



ILLEGITIMATE AUTHORITY
Funding social change since 1967

For information and grant guidelines, write to:
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country after the war, we placed enormous diplomatic and economic pressures on all countries outside the Soviet bloc not to do so either. We continue to isolate Iraq (coupled with occasional bombings of the country in the “no-fly” zones). The manifold miseries accompanying these sanctions obviously fall disproportionately on the civilian peoples in the affected countries, especially the poor, the children, the sick, and the elderly. What is humanitarian about such policies? How do they promote freedom and democracy?

Betting on the Wrong Sides

Against this indictment, apologists for the foreign policy establishment will allow that some mistakes were made, of course, but that our motives were pure. “We meant well,” they insist, “but simply supported the wrong side at times.” Such apologies appeal to us as a way to assuage our consciences, because the alternative suggests that we should feel a profound sense of shame for the atrocities committed in our name.

But it is anger and not shame that is called for. The record shows fairly clearly that we have *always* supported the “wrong side,” and worse, much evidence was available at the time of intervention to suggest support for the other side—which simultaneously shows the extent to which apologies for US foreign policies necessitated a great suppression of information, even greater distortion of the “facts,” and much outright lying to the American peoples.

For example, the liberation of the “*Pentagon Papers*” by Daniel Ellsberg created a stir largely because they showed the CIA had done its intelligence-gathering job well in Vietnam, making clear to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations that: 1) the Diem and Thieu governments, and ARVN military—which we supported to the bitter end—were hopelessly corrupt and brutal; 2) the National Liberation Front (NLF) leadership and cadres (the Viet Cong) were much less corrupt, and were indigenous South Vietnamese, not infiltrators from the North; 3) the NLF enjoyed twice the support as the ARVN (roughly 25% to 12%, with the remaining two-thirds of the people in the best tradition of ancient peasant wisdom seeing all governments simply as tax collectors; and 4) there was no evidence linking the NLF or the North to China.

If genuinely motivated by good will

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and a weak UN, the only possible check on US brutality lies with its own citizenry.

then, the US might have developed a policy of actively supporting the NLF, providing it with the food, medicines, books, walking tractors, fertilizers, building materials and much else that neither the North, nor China, nor the Soviet Union could provide, and in that way assist the NLF in promoting the economic development of South Vietnam. Instead we destroyed the NLF, making the occupation of the entire country by Northern forces a self-fulfilling prophecy. Well over two million Vietnamese (by US estimates) died in the process, along with 58,000 US troops; elements of Agent Orange and land mines continue to plague the country a quarter of a century later.

The Nicaraguan Example

There are numerous other examples of where history would read very differently today had we not supported “the wrong side”—Greece in 1947, China two years later, Cuba a decade after that, etc.—but one more recent case can stand duty for many.

During the early 1980s, Oxfam praised the Sandinista government for the support and assistance it gave the organization in its humanitarian relief efforts in Nicaragua. Amnesty International described some human rights abuses there, but noted that they were far fewer in number and ferocity than in any other Central American country at the time, save Costa Rica. And the unremitting repression of the three decades-long Somoza regime which the Sandinistas overthrew was admitted on all sides.

Yet when the issue of Nicaragua came before the US Congress, the only question for discussion was whether or not to continue supporting the Contras which had been initiated by the Reagan administration. That is to say, out of 535 members of the US Congress, not one asked: why don't we support the Sandinistas (as the Nicaraguan people did in the 1984 elections)? Instead of supporting the democratically elected government, we continued to supply the Contras covertly, pumped money into the later elections sufficient to defeat the Sandinistas, and since then have alto-

gether ignored the Nicaraguan peoples whose lives are now the most miserable in all of Central America.

These examples are not intended to suggest that the many insurgent groups the US has violently opposed since World War II were composed solely of saints; clearly they were not. Rather the examples are intended to show, first, that the preponderance of evidence available at the times of intervention suggested those insurgent groups were far more worthy of humanitarian support than their opponents (whom we did support). The examples also raise a troubling question: how much less authoritarian might these groups have subsequently been had we supported, rather than endeavored to subvert, them?

The Wages of War

This all-too-hurried sketch of US foreign policy could be elaborated at length, but should suffice to generate great suspicion about all stated reasons for US intervention abroad, past and present. However, all that has been (minimally) argued thus far is that the stated reasons are almost uniformly false; what are the real reasons for our manifold interventions?

These reasons will of course be many and varied, depending on the details of time and place, but they will share the goals of enhancing US corporate interests, or at the minimum, blocking real or imagined threats to these interests. Before turning to specific examples, it might be useful to consider the relationship between the corporations and the government for a moment.

The globalization of the world's economies is currently too often being described as eliminating nation states in favor of the untrammelled power of transnational companies, and this is highly misleading; these companies, especially the US-owned ones, would collapse in months, if not weeks, without the active support of the US government.

To be sure, the recently shelved (but not forgotten) Multilateral Agreement on

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Sanctions as a Weapon of War

US Economic Strangle on Iraq Creates Casualties

JENNIFER BING-CANAR

While protesting President Clinton's visit to Chicago in June 1999, an anti-war activist asked, "Why is it that the peace and justice movement is so divided on the Kosovo issue? Can't people understand the real rationale for US intervention?" This activist echoed the thoughts of many of us who gathered in 1991 to protest the US bombing of Iraq: why have some traditional peace and justice allies become backers of US military aggression, particularly when a negotiated option for resolving the conflict has not been seriously engaged?

The 1990-91 war against Iraq gave US Middle East activists new opportunities to

educate Americans about the Middle East. New audiences emerged eager to learn the history of colonialism in the Middle East, the importance of oil and US attempts to control the Middle East's natural resources through militarism, the cause for inequitable distribution of wealth in the Middle East, and the human rights situation for many peoples living under occupation and/or totalitarian regimes.

Pentagon and Media Power

But these opportunities, while taken advantage of by many local coalitions and solidarity groups, were overshadowed by the powerful public relations campaign waged by the US government which shaped many Americans' views of Iraq and the war. Attempting to build support for military strikes against Iraq, the Bush Administration revitalized the symbol of yellow ribbons, which had previously appeared during the Iran hostage crisis to express hopes of bringing Americans home safely.

The Pentagon's control over the media (via press pools and censored footage) helped to sanitize the war, including using language such as "smart bombs" and "collateral damage" to suggest that the war was not targeted against the civilian population of Iraq. The Bush administration even feigned interest in "human rights" for Arab peoples suffering under Saddam Hussein's rule (remember Bush waving an Amnesty International report?), despite previous US government backing of Hussein's Iraq (including the procurement and use of chemical and biological weapons) during its war with Iran.

Most importantly the US administration skillfully and repeatedly disseminated demonizing profiles of Saddam Hussein and was thus able to portray him as a modern-era Hitler, thereby justifying attacks and continuing sanctions after the 1991 air war ended. In a nation of 23 million Iraqis, only one person mattered: Saddam Hussein.

The Challenge for Activists

Tremendous challenges to doing work on Iraq remain. The first and foremost challenge, obviously, is Saddam Hussein's

record of human rights abuses and authoritarian style of leadership. US officials assign all blame for the current suffering in Iraq to him, while maintaining that unless he is removed from power, the embargo will continue. In an article published in the *International Herald Tribune* (July 13, 1998), US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright wrote, "Saddam Hussein is responsible for the suffering of his people. . . because of [the Iraqi regime's] refusal to live up to the conditions it accepted at the end of the Gulf War. . . . The fact is that Saddam, eager to keep as much money or supplies as he can grab, has deprived his people and then used their suffering as a means to increase support for lifting sanctions. It is a policy that is both cynical and cruel, and must not be allowed to succeed."

US officials claim that they have "no quarrel with the people of Iraq," merely their leader (which they often call by first name and mispronounce to sound like Sodom). Yet Iraqi civilians have felt the impact of US policy directly since 1990 through the cruel economic embargo which has limited access to food and medicine and crippled efforts to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure. Prevalent anti-Arab racist attitudes that stereotype all Arabs as violent, potential terrorists makes the work in the US to create empathy and solidarity for Iraqis all the more difficult.

The US government has stated that they would support a change in Iraqi leadership, yet did not come to the full aid of dissident Kurdish, Shi'ite, and Iraqi opposition groups when they organized uprisings soon after the 1991 bombings ended. Many analysts contend that the US government actually prefers to keep Saddam Hussein in power as the acceptable pretext for keeping sanctions on Iraq, thus controlling Iraq's economic development (including its lucrative oil market).

The second challenge is the issue regarding weapons of mass destruction. The concern by many Americans about Iraq's weapons arsenal is understandable, particularly as chemical weapons have been used in recent wars between Iraq and Iran.

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Iraq: A Profile

Location: Middle East, bordering Iran, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Persian Gulf.

Area: 437,072 sq. km

Population: 22.2 million (July 1997 est.)

Leadership: President Sadam Hussein, 1978-

Form of government: Authoritarian

National capital: Baghdad

Ethnic groups: Arab 75%-80%,

Kurdish 15%-20%, Turkoman,

Assyrian or other 5%

Religions: Muslim 95% (Shi'a 60%-65%, Sunni 32%-37%), Christian or other 3%

Languages: Arabic, Kurdish (official in Kurdish regions), Assyrian, Armenian

Major exports: Oil provided 95% foreign exchange

Major imports: 70% foodstuffs and medicines

Independence: 3 October 1932 from League of Nations mandate under British administration

National Holiday: 17 July (1968)

Anniversary of the Revolution

Currency: (1990) 1,000 Iraqi Dinars = \$3,300 U.S. dollars, (1999) 1,000 Iraqi Dinars = \$0.50

SOURCE: *One Million Postcards - A Video Companion*, American Friends Service Committee

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Often unacknowledged however, is US complicity in Iraq's procurement of these weapons, and silence during Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Kurds. The international community has called for the disarmament of Iraq via United Nations Resolution 687, but does so in the context of regional disarmament in the Middle East (a fact often overlooked by US officials who cite the need to comply with UN resolutions).

The United States continues to be the number one arms supplier to countries in the Middle East, with arm sales reaching new heights in recent years. Many activists in the US have raised the issue of the illegitimacy of the US government making demands on other nations to disarm while spending levels on the US military reach obscene levels (according to the International Action Center, the US has spent \$19 trillion on the military in the past half century).

The Weapon of Sanctions

Trying to refocus the debate on who remains the real threat to peace in the Middle East, US activists have argued that a weapon of mass destruction is in use against Iraq: sanctions. Sanctions have a deadly impact on the health of ordinary Iraqis: skyrocketing infant mortality rates, an increase in the cancer rate and levels of malnutrition resulting in illness and death for hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, the proliferation of diabetes, hypertension and other stress-related diseases, water born illnesses such as diarrhea, typhoid, cholera, and viral hepatitis are all part of the worsening health crisis in Iraq. Emphasizing the staggering statistics of Iraqi children under the age of five who have died (estimated by the UN at 250 deaths per day) has been a way to help illustrate the extent of the health catastrophe in Iraq. To put the health crisis in perspective, one Iraqi medical professional pointed out that in pre-1991 Iraq, the greatest health concern for Iraqi doctors working with children was the problem of obesity.

While UN Security Council Resolution 986 (known as "oil for food") was passed in 1996 to mitigate the worst effects of the humanitarian disaster in Iraq, widespread suffering remains, even by UN estimates. "oil for food" is not aimed at restoring Iraq's economy and infrastructure: it is a supplementary relief program which attempts to stabilize the level of malnutrition and allow



A Voices in the Wilderness delegation delivers medicine in Iraq. Photo by Kathy Bergen

a better supply of medicines into Iraq. To convince policy makers in the US and UN Security Council that the use of sanctions is a deadly weapon whose victims are often the most vulnerable in society remains a challenge. When asked in a "60 Minutes" television interview in 1996 about the 600,000 dead Iraqi children (as of 1995) that were victims of continued sanctions against Iraq, then-UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright replied that, while the cost was high, the sanctions were working and that "the price was worth it."

A third challenge to sustaining US work on Iraq is the physical and intellectual isolation of Iraq. Gaining access to accurate and current information about conditions in Iraq in the aftermath of the war and under the continuing embargo is difficult, despite the revolution of the Internet in the past eight years (Iraqis do not have Internet access). Ground-breaking reports in May and October 1991 by members of the Harvard School of Public Health and numerous delegations to Iraq organized by Voices in the Wilderness and the International Action Center established the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis. However, the sanctions have prevented free flow of goods as well as travel into and out of Iraq.

An additional challenge to working on Iraq is US media coverage of the crisis. When the US media decides to cover Iraq, it generally is to build renewed support for a US bombing campaign, not to highlight

the humanitarian crisis caused by sanctions. Few mainstream media outlets, with the notable exceptions of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Detroit Free Press* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, have run in-depth stories about the impact of sanctions or calling for the embargo to end. Despite 250 Iraqi children dying daily, most media outlets continue to claim the sanctions story "is not news."

Voices Speak Out

Despite these challenges there are opportunities for US activism on Iraq. As evidenced by the CNN-televised town hall meeting in Ohio in February 1998 where members of the audience openly challenged US officials on their Iraq policies, more Americans seem to be questioning the US administration's tactics and objectives in its war against Iraq. The resignations of UN Humanitarian Relief Coordinator Denis Halliday and UN Weapons inspector Scott Ritter in 1998 raised debates in the press about the effectiveness of the UN "oil for food" program and UNSCOM weapons inspections. Halliday spoke of the total disaster that eight years of sanctions have created and the inability of UN Res. 986 to avert this worsening scenario for Iraqi civilians, while Ritter questioned UNSCOM's ability to carry out its mission of destroying Iraq's weapons and gave credence to Iraqi claims that UNSCOM inspection teams were a cover for US intelligence gathering missions.

Additionally, several organizations have published reports and led international delegations to Iraq, increasing the number of individuals and grassroots groups engaged in anti-war activities. Voices in the Wilderness, a group organized in Chicago in 1996 with the specific aim to openly defy sanctions, in its first year alone gained significant news coverage by sending four delegations to Baghdad and delivering \$45,000 worth of medicine to hospitals and clinics in public violation of US federal law. Since then, Voices has led over 20 delegations and continued its nonviolent civil disobedience by openly breaking the UN-imposed sanctions, despite the risks to its participants of 12 years in prison and over \$1 million in US-levied fines.

Other groups have also violated the sanctions, the most prominent perhaps being the nation-wide "Sanctions Challenge" organized in May 1998 which deliv-

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ered \$5 million worth of medicines to Iraq. While Voices delegates have included Nobel laureates, religious leaders and activists from around the world, organizers still hope to include in one of their delegations representatives of US governmental bodies, citing that it is necessary for members of the US Congress to see directly for themselves the victims of US policy in Iraq.

Although few, there are allies in Congress. In 1998, US Representative John Conyers introduced a "Dear Colleague" letter, attempting to get Congressional support for the de-linking of economic and military sanctions in the hopes of gaining a broad consensus for alleviating some of the civilian suffering in Iraq. Some groups, notably the International Action Center founded by Ramsey Clark, are against efforts to "de-link" the sanctions, maintain-

ing that it confuses and dilutes the imperative to lift all sanctions. Many needed supplies are considered "dual-use" technology or items that could have potential military use (such as chlorine, pumps or various types of machinery). These items which are essential for rebuilding Iraq's civilian infrastructure could continue to be banned under a sanctions policy focussed on "military" items. A concerted effort to educate and mobilize Congress on the issue of Iraq is the focus of a new Washington, D.C.-based organization EPIC (Education for Peace in Iraq Center) founded by Gulf War veteran Erik Gustafson. Their advocacy work has included a one million signatures campaign, several nationwide lobby days, and plans for an exhibit of Iraqi art and photographs in a prominent Capitol Hill location.

In January 1999, four prominent progres-

sive intellectuals—Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, Edward Said, and Howard Zinn—offered a call to action on sanctions and the US war against the people of Iraq, inspired in part by the US military's December 1998 operation "Desert Fox." The call was to people of conscience to end their silence on "the genocide that is being perpetrated in the name of peace in the Middle East." Stating that the people in Iraq are suffering because of actions by both the Iraqi and US governments, the authors emphasize that "our moral responsibility lies here in the United States to counter the hypocrisy and inhumanity of our leaders. . . . We must therefore bring this issue, in every way we can, to national attention."

In the winter of 1999, Denis Halliday and UN/Middle East policy analyst Phyllis Bennis traveled to 21 cities across the

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Partial List of Resources for Iraq Organizing

Below is a partial list of organizations working on Iraq. Source: One Million Postcards - A Video Companion, produced by the AFSC.

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
plems@afsc.org; www.afsc.org/iraqhome.htm

American-Arab
Anti-Discrimination Committee
4201 Connecticut Avenue NW #300
Washington, DC 20008
E-mail: adc@adc.org; www.adc.org/

Education for Peace in Iraq Center (EPIC)
747 10th Street SE, Suite 2
Washington, DC 20003
E-mail: EPICenter@igc.org

Fellowship of Reconciliation
P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960
E-mail: fellowship@igc.apc.org
www.nonviolence.org/for/fellowship

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-5795
E-mail: fcnl@fcnl.org; www.fcnl.org

Global Movement to End War Against Iraq
<http://leb.net/globalmewi>

IAEA Nuclear Reports
www.iaea.or.at/worldatom/glance/legal/indexc.html

Institute for Public Accuracy
915 National Press Building
Washington, DC 20045
sam@accuracy.org; www.accuracy.org

The Institute for Policy Studies
733 15th Street NW, Suite 1020
Washington, DC 20005
ipsps@igc.org; www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org

International Action Center
39 West 14th St., #206
New York, NY 10011
iacenter@iacenter.org; www.iacenter.org

Iraq Action Coalition
<http://leb.net/IAC/>

Mennonite Central Committee
21 South 12th St., P.O. Box 500
Akron, PA 17501-0500
E-mail: mailbox@mcc.org
www.mbnet.mb.ca/mcc/index.html

Middle East Research & Information
Project (MERIP)
1500 Massachusetts Avenue #119
Washington, DC 20005
<http://www.merip.org>

National Council of Churches
457 Riverside Drive #614
New York, NY 10115
E-mail: dweaver@nccusa.org

The Nonviolence Web
<http://www.nonviolence.org>

Pax Christi, USA
532 West 8th Street
Erie, PA 16502-1343
E-mail: info@paxchristiusa.org
www.nonviolence.org/pcusa

Peace Action
1819 H Street, NW, Suite 420
Washington, DC 20006
E-mail: paecc@igc.org
www.webcom.com/peaceact/

United Nations Iraq Program and Iraq
Sanctions Committee
www.un.org/Depts/oip

UNSCOM
<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/unscom.htm#ESTABLISH>

Veterans for Peace
1819 H Street, NW, Suite 420
Washington, DC 20006
vfp@igc.org; www.nonviolence.org/vitw

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY
wrl@igc.apc.org;
www.nonviolence.org/wrl/

World Food Program
<http://www.wfp.org/>

World Health Organization
<http://www.who.int/>

US Policy Contradictory in Colombia

Military Intervention and Talk of Human Rights Clash

ALISON GIFFEN AND
CHARLIE ROBERTS

This is a critical year in Colombia and for US policy toward Colombia. The new Colombian administration of President Andrés Pastrana has engaged the largest guerrilla group in Colombia, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), in unprecedented peace talks. While preliminary peace talks have gradually proceeded between the FARC and the Colombian Government, US policy has grown increasingly contradictory, including a mix of militarization and initiatives to support peace and human rights.

US policy in Latin America has continued to grow more militaristic under the guise of the war on drugs. The drug war is taking precedence over US foreign policy objectives of peace, respect for human rights, and support for stable and democratic institutions. Colombia is the best example, in Latin America, of the discrepancy between the pursuit of these foreign policy objectives and the waging of the drug war. Although Colombia will receive \$240 million in military assistance in 1999, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has allocated only \$6 million for development assistance for the year 2000, \$5 million for alternative development, and \$1 million for human rights and justice reform.

How do we know that these contradictions in US policy are undermining peace and human rights? On March 24, Jack Leonard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Western Hemisphere, recognized in his testimony before a Senate foreign relations subcommittee that a purely military solution to the Colombian conflict is not possible; however, he emphasized that a strong military effort will be necessary to achieve peace. Ambassador Leonard also testified that certain initiatives by the Colombian government to achieve peace—such as the demilitarization of a region in southern Colombia for the purpose of holding peace talks—are undermining drug war objectives.



Cartoon by Shannon Palmer, courtesy of United for a Fair Economy

War on Drugs Thwarts Peace Efforts

This argument ignores several realities of political violence in Colombia. First of all, Pastrana is facing resistance to his conduct of the peace process from military officers. When he announced the withdrawal from the demilitarized area would be for an indefinite time, the defense minister resigned and 14 generals and colonels followed suit. Yet Pastrana refused to accept the officers' resignations, instead affixing the time period of six months to the withdrawal. In this context, Mr. Leonard's testimony to the Senate to the effect that the peace process is undermining the drug war would appear to be placing yet another obstacle in the way of the peace process.

Also, US policy attempts to reduce the problem of international drug control to eradicating various plant species and "enforcing the law" against persons involved in drug-related activities. Consequently, human beings are turned into military targets, and the issue is framed in terms of military tactics and strategy, rather than in terms of the social and human problems at the root of the expanding coca crop in southern Colombia.

Moreover, the dimensions of the humanitarian consequences of contemporary violence in Colombia are severe. More than 300,000 Colombians were forcibly displaced from their homes last year, bringing the total to 1.3 million since 1990. Political killings average 10 to 11 per day for over 10 years running, with an upward trend in recent years. Given these realities, the Clinton Administration would be well-advised to analyze the extent to which the military side of US policy is bound to make peace efforts among Colombians all the more difficult.

Even while the US pumps millions of dollars into the war on drugs, the Clinton administration has been more vociferous in its support for President Pastrana's peace initiatives, and in condemning attacks on

human rights defenders. Statements made by top State Department officials have come at critical times to free kidnapped human rights defenders and peace advocates as well as to support President Pastrana during serious political crises.

The contradictions among different parts of the Clinton Administration, and between the Administration and Congress, can be exploited by those concerned to effect a change in US policy to be more supportive of human rights and the peace process.

Violence Worsens in 1999

Since the start of the peace talks, violence has increased, as the armed actors struggle for the upper hand, straining the delicate negotiations. The various actors, including the guerrilla forces, the Colombian armed forces, and the paramilitary groups, have increasingly targeted civilians. In January, over 140 people were killed in less than two weeks by paramilitary groups, in an attempt to show political power. Moreover, violence directed at human rights defenders and persons working for peace has intensified.

The incidents of violence are so frequent as to make it very difficult to convey a sense of how bad political violence has become. Some recent events include:

- The kidnapping by paramilitary forces of four staff of the Medellín-based Instituto Popular de Capacitación on January 29.
- The January 31 assassination of two human rights workers from the Comité de Solidaridad con Presos Políticos.
- Early March: FARC guerrillas kidnapped and murdered three US citizens, indigenous rights activists Lahe'ena'e Gay,

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Ingrid Washinawatok, and Terence Freitas.

- Early April: a paramilitary group entered the neutral zone of San José de Apartadó and killed three people in each of two separate incidents, three days apart.

- In late April, a leader of the Embera-Katio indigenous community in the northern department of Córdoba was assassinated; his people have been fighting a large hydroelectric project that has already disrupted the ecology of their traditional lands.

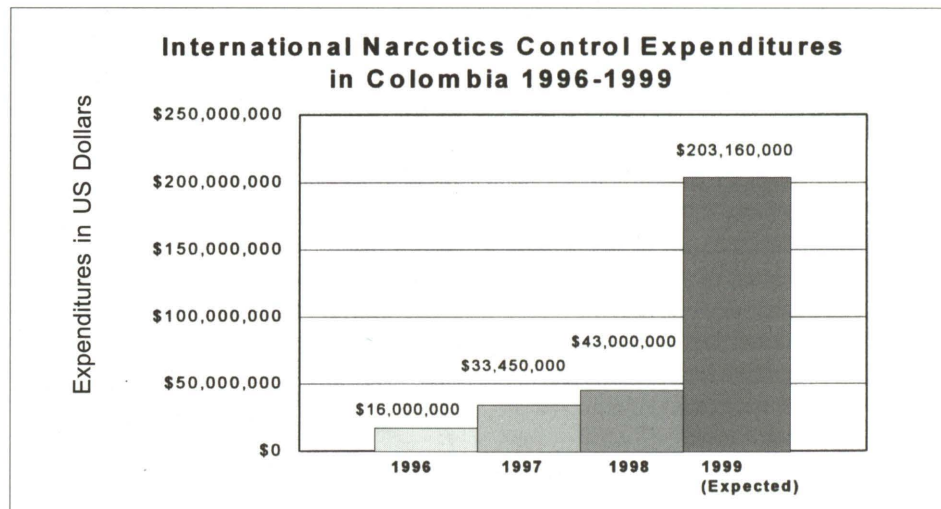
- Late May/early June: Paramilitary forces murdered dozens in an offensive in the Catatumbo region of Norte de Santander, near the border with Venezuela. 3,000 peasants fled the region to Venezuela; at least 600 were forcibly returned by Venezuelan authorities.

Paramilitary groups have caused massive forced displacement, in large measure to clear areas that certain business interests intend to exploit in major infrastructure projects such as energy, and a long-discussed "dry canal" parallel to the Panama Canal, in the Urabá region in northwestern Colombia. Threats continue to be made against human rights activists throughout Colombia; over 30 have been assassinated in the last three years. The paramilitary groups work closely with the military, as both consider the guerrillas to be their main enemy.

Guerrilla forces have stepped up kidnappings of civilians, a long-standing practice used to finance their operations. Most dramatic have been the April 12 hijacking of a domestic Avianca airlines flight to a remote jungle airfield, and the May 30 mass kidnapping of approximately 140 people from a Cali church during Sunday mass. Colombians from all walks of life have roundly condemned all actions by armed groups that make civilians victims, particularly kidnappings and killings. The latest round of violence has renewed calls for all parties to the conflict to respect international humanitarian law, which absolutely forbids any actions targeting non-combatants.

Human Peace vs. Drug War

Against this backdrop of violence—in which approximately 75% of political killings last year were attributable to paramilitary groups, 20% to the guerrillas, and 5% to official Colombian forces—US policy has purportedly sought to promote foreign policy goals of peace and democracy ac-



Funding of programs of the State's Department's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) has steadily risen in Colombia. Figures are based on the United States, Department of State, Office of Resources, Plans and Policy, *Congressional Presentation for Foreign Operations, 1998, 1999, 2000*. Expenditures do not include Pentagon spending. *Courtesy of the Latin America Working Group*

companied by greater military intervention.

On the one hand, certain policy makers in the administration and Congress have publicly supported peace initiatives. Late last year, the State Department met with FARC leaders to encourage negotiations and convey concerns, issued strong condemnations of the deteriorating human rights situation in Colombia, and urged the Colombian government to make progress on human rights. In May, during a political crisis that pitted Colombia's military against the Pastrana administration, President Clinton spoke out in continued support of Pastrana and his peace initiatives.

On June 21, 68 members of the US House of Representatives urged Pastrana to continue preliminary peace negotiations and support protection measures for human rights defenders who have come under increasing threat.

Yet, at the same time, certain policy-makers focused on the drug war, including members of Congress Sen. Dewine (R-OH), Rep. Gilman (R-NY), Rep. Burton (R-IN), and Rep. Hastert (R-IL), have pressured the Clinton administration to increase aid to the Colombian police and military. State Department anti-narcotics officials and Pentagon officials have also persistently advocated greater militarization of Colombia and the surrounding region.

As a result, last October the United States increased military assistance to Colombia in the amount of \$240 million, making Colombia the third-largest recipient of US military aid and training after Egypt and Israel.

In December, Defense Secretary Cohen announced US support for the establishment of a joint counter-narcotics battalion in the Colombian Army made up of 800 to 1,000 Colombian soldiers trained and equipped by the United States; training would be at a military intelligence base at Tres Esquinas, in Caquetá (southwest Colombia). In March 1999 Sen. Dewine introduced the Drug Free Century Act (S. 5). If this legislation passes, \$1 billion in anti-narcotics aid to the Western Hemisphere will be allocated over the next two years. This package includes further military assistance in addition to the aid already allocated to Colombia.

Activists Respond

During this uncertain time in Colombia, the United States should promote in words and deeds the only answer to Colombia's long-running internal conflict, a negotiated settlement. Moreover, it is essential that US policy demand respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.

An ever-widening coalition of policy, grassroots, religious, cultural, humanitarian, and human rights groups in Washington, DC and around the United States is working on two fronts to achieve these goals; short-term initiatives to respond to a situation exacerbated by US militarization of the conflict and long-term approaches that prepare the public and policy makers to examine and revise US policy.

In the short term, the coalition mobilizes

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existing grassroots networks and encourages policy makers to write letters and publicly denounce acts that violate international human rights and humanitarian law resulting from the internal conflict. This international public pressure, particularly from the United States, has proven successful in encouraging the release of human rights defenders and public officials who have been kidnapped, as was illustrated in the release of four human rights defenders kidnapped by paramilitary forces in January and the release of Colombian Senator Piedad Córdoba kidnapped by paramilitaries in late May.

In the long term, this diverse coalition educates US public officials on the current situation in Colombia, as well as bringing Colombian human rights defenders and peace advocates to educate press and policy makers. In order to be successful in the long run in changing US policy trends toward Colombia and elsewhere, the coalition is working to inform the general public, mobilize grassroots networks, and develop national grassroots strategies.

Alison Giffen is the Director of the US/Colombia Coordinating Office, a project of the Colombia Human Rights Committee. Charlie Roberts is co-editor of Colombia Update, the newsletter of the Colombia Human Rights Network, which received a grant from Resist in 1999. For more information, contact the US Colombia Coordinating Office, 1630 Connecticut Avenue NW #200, Washington, DC 20009; www.igc.org/colhrnet; colhrc@igc.org.

Conference on Colombia

The U.S./Colombia Coordinating Office is planning a fall conference in Washington, DC, and a national tour, "Civilians Under Fire: Building a Peace with Human Rights," that will focus on the various sectors of civilians suffering most from the conflict, including indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, church workers, human rights defenders, union members, peace advocates, and women and children.

For more information or to get involved, please contact the U.S./Colombia Coordinating Office at 202-232-8090, email agiffen@igc.org.

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Investment would weaken considerably the governments of nation-states, but only in one area: the regulation of commerce. The MAI would surely restrict the ability of governments to check capital flight, restrict currency trading, enact minimum wage and environmental protection laws, and much else that might impede the flow of profits. All of these measures are of course threats to equality, justice, and democracy, and progressives should be vigilant in looking for the return of the MAI, and struggle against it when it again rears its ugly head.

But this is the only area in which the corporations wish an emasculated government. Without a bloated military budget, not only would Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Grumman, Raytheon and Lockheed-Martin be in trouble, but the automobile companies as well, plus the oil companies, the majority of hi-tech firms, and the major suppliers of all these firms.

And the corporations need much more. Profits would be much lower if they had to build and maintain the roads, electric, water, and sewage lines to their plants, run a public transportation system for their workers (or customers), and so on, and were not consistently the recipients of tax breaks.

At the international level, US corporations need the government to ensure that target countries are "safe for investment" (no movements for freedom and democracy), that loans will be repaid, contracts kept, and international law respected (but only when it is useful to do so). It is also the task of the US government to create and maintain markets overseas for US goods, and to protect the corporations from genuine competition from abroad whenever it is feasible to do so.

Finally, the US government must remain on constant standby to rescue US corporations when their mismanagement becomes conspicuous, from consistently subsidizing agribusiness, to the Chrysler bailout, to a bill currently before the House to provide a \$1.5 billion loan guarantee to steel corporations that are not competitive with Japan or Taiwan, even though the wage differential is slight (and in the case of Japan, favors the US).

Seen in this light, it can be said that no one knows whether the "free market" could work in the US, for it has never been practiced; corporations have needed the active intervention of the government since in-

dustrialization began. Different corporations may have somewhat different interests at times, and hence vie to influence governmental policies. What remains of American manufacturing, for example, in coordination with the AFL-CIO, must press the Clinton administration for an international minimum wage law; the likes of Nike, Mattel, and Wal-Mart must press equally hard against it. But the overall point remains: all corporations want, and desperately need, massive government activity in order to secure profits.

Kosovo and Serbia

Returning now more directly to foreign policy, we may examine the most recent interventionist action of the US government, the bombing of Kosovo and Serbia. At first blush it would appear that this is a counter-example to the claims of foreign policy solely serving corporate economic interests, for Serbian and Kosovar markets are negligible; they manufacture nothing that competes well with US or European goods; no large oil reserves are there, and the strategic importance of the area seems minimal.

The historical precedents enumerated above should generate skepticism that we might have intervened for humanitarian principles, but even if they are ignored, surely the government did not act on behalf of the suffering Albanian Kosovars, for if so, at the least it would not have informed their killers in advance that we would only oppose them from a minimum altitude of 15,000 feet. Moreover, that the Kosovars would suffer much more after the bombing began was, according to military intelligence, "predictable."

And so it was. By the time the accords were signed, at least 700,000 Kosovars had died, been wounded, or displaced by the Milosevic gang of killers and NATO. The bombing itself killed at least 1,200 civilians and 5,000 Serbian soldiers. The agreements reached were worse for the Kosovars than the earlier Rambouillet Accords, and in the end, there is precious little left in Kosovo to await the return of its citizens. As one reporter on the scene noted, "Large areas of Mitrovica and Pristina, two Kosovar cities, look like a cross between Kristallnacht and the blitzkrieg. What wasn't burned and looted by Serbian soldiers and paramilitaries in those nights of fury after March 24 has been seen to by the NATO bombs."

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Aims of Kosovo Intervention

"NATO bombs" move us closer to the aims of the intervention. The first aim was to ignore the United Nations and thus diminish its power. This will cause resentment on the part of virtually all member states, and severely strain relations with Russia and China; a small price for the US to pay, however, for weakening the organization, because a strong UN would clearly place constraints on the ability of the world's sole superpower to do whatever it wished, wherever and whenever it wished to. (If we wanted a strong UN, we would

pay our back dues, increase our dues, and stop vetoing so many measures in the Security Council).

NATO, on the other hand, was an entirely different matter. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, no credible threat to the security of Western Europe or the United States remained. But ending the alliance would be disastrous for a number of reasons. First, it would in all probability result in a call to reduce significantly the US military budget, which transnational corporations can't allow to happen (see above).

Equally important, the US dominates NATO, and it is one of our major entries

into European affairs. A solid European Union might not be so compliant with US policies as the government would wish; they might even become a more independent competitive economic bloc, and worse, endorse and support genuine development in the poorer nations of the world (per capita, the citizens of the Scandinavian countries give thirty times as much in development aid as their US counterparts).

Hence NATO had to have something to do to celebrate its semi-centennial, and with much fanfare they did it in Kosovo. They certainly weren't about to do anything in Turkey, despite the parallelisms between the Kurds and the Kosovars. Turkey is itself a member of NATO, provides a splendid counterweight to an uppity Iran (and Iraq), and, again, is the recipient of great stores of US-made weaponry. Hence the propaganda ministry—a.k.a. the standard media—had to keep the plight of the Kosovars on page one for months and ignore completely what was, and is, being done to the Kurds.

In much the same way, other US interventionist actions—from the overt occupation of parts of Somalia to the more subtle support for Barak against Netanyahu in the recent Israeli elections—can be seen to be neither directionless nor inconsistent, so long as it is borne in mind that major corporations need a very strong US government abroad no less than at home which can be relied upon to serve their interests. (Despite seeming inconsistencies, even our policies toward China are not an exception to this generalization, but the analysis thereof would be a lengthy one).

Need for Hope and Action

To conclude, once media propaganda and academic apologia are set aside, the history of US foreign policy can be seen for what it is: an almost unremitting catalogue of horrors for a great many millions of the world's peoples.

But the catalogue must be read with hope, and a commitment to struggle for fundamental change, not as a counsel of despair, or to generate feelings of helplessness. Hope, because the historical record shows that despite our strong and consistent support for the Batistas, Diems, Pinochets, and Suhartos of this world, insurgent groups committed to justice arose, and successfully challenged them in several

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The True Cost of War

ABBY SCHER

When Congress decided to spend \$12 billion to pay for the bombing of Serbia, what did we get—and what didn't we get—for our tax dollars?

NATO's bombing of Serbia cost about \$7.5 billion total on top of the usual military spending of allied countries. The U.S. share of the bill for just the first 71 days of bombing is an estimated \$2 billion—and could be as high as \$2.6 billion, according to rough calculations by Steven Kosiak of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments in Washington D.C. That paid for 750 combat aircraft that flew some 21,000 missions, support aircraft, 24 Apache attack helicopters, 18 high-tech missile launchers and the 5,500 troops sent to nearby Albania.

The Army's deployment of the Apache helicopters alone cost as much as \$140 million, says Kosiak.

Navy ships launched perhaps 430 Tomahawk cruise missiles costing \$1 million each. Air Force B-52 bombers launched about 90 cruise missiles, costing \$2 million each.

Resettling 2 million refugees will cost about \$10 billion.

Reconstructing Yugoslavia, both Serbia and Kosovo, may cost \$13 billion.

Between fighting the war, reconstructing Serbia and resettling the refugees, the United States will spend some \$25 billion.

What could have been bought instead:

- \$16 billion would provide debt relief to all 41 countries eligible under the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's current guidelines.

- \$2 billion would hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class sizes across the country.

- \$8.6 billion would enroll all eligible children in Head Start, the national education program for preschoolers living in poverty—only one out of three of those eligible is now enrolled.

- The \$25 billion would pay for almost half the \$62 billion that the Republicans plan to cut from the federal budget for the year 2000—an 18% cut from 1999.

Economist Dean Baker estimates that for \$95 billion—only four times the cost of the war and its aftermath—the United States could provide all the public investment the country needs—in Head Start, mass transit, higher education, public schools, water and sewage systems, bridges, etc. Since the late 1970s, says Baker, "federal spending on public investment, measured as a share of total economic output, has fallen by more than a third, and it will fall another 35% over the next 10 years on the current spending path" devised by Congress in the 1997 balanced budget agreement.

Resources: Global Weekly Economic Monitor (Lehman Brothers, May 7, 1999); "Cost of Allied Force Air Campaign: Day 71," (Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment, June 3, 1999) csbahome.com; Robert Greenstein, "The Republican Budget Proposals," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (March 19, 1999); Dean Baker, "The Public Investment Deficit: Two Decades of Neglect Threaten 21st Century Economy," Economic Policy Institute (February 1998).

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instances. And surely similar insurgencies against US-supported authoritarian governments will rise again, because the thirst for justice and freedom is unquenchable.

It thus behooves all US citizens of good will to champion neither violent intervention in other countries nor some form of "neo-isolationism," but rather to struggle for fundamental changes in the three interventionist patterns of our foreign policy.

This struggle is necessary for two reasons. First, until change comes about the US budget will continue to be tilted heavily toward the military, rather than in support of the millions among us who do not live the American dream, but a nightmare: with fully a fifth of our children growing up in dire poverty, we do not need to spend money for cluster-bombs to rain on Kosovo, or anywhere else.

Second, the peoples of the world who currently endure the suffering caused by US foreign policies can only look to us to alleviate their misery. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and a currently weak UN, the only possible check on US brutality lies with its own citizenry. Unlike a great many others who struggle for justice and freedom, US citizens can change their government without having to put their lives at stake in an armed uprising. The odds are long, but it can be done, and much of the world must depend on us to do it.

In this spirit, it is perhaps appropriate to end by quoting from the first Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority, which went forth 32 years ago, inspiring a great many readers of this publication, as well as their parents and older friends. Active struggle for fundamental change must be undertaken until such time as "the US ceases to be a terror in the politics among nations."

Now, more than ever, is the time to Resist.

Author's note: I want to acknowledge and thank fellow Resist Board member Noam Chomsky for his many writings on this topic in general, and for his input and assistance with this article in particular, although any errors of commission or omission are mine alone. Anyone wishing documentation for any points raised in this article, or a bibliography for further reading, should write to me c/o Resist.

Henry Rosemont, Jr., is a member of Resist's Board of Directors and teaches at St. Mary's College of Maryland.

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United States to increase the understanding of the humanitarian impact of economic sanctions in Iraq. The tour, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and several other religious and disarmament groups, gained significant media coverage, reached new audiences, and mobilized both large national and small local groups in renewed efforts to work collectively against the continuing war on the people of Iraq.

While the war in the Balkans temporarily overshadowed the issue of sanctions on Iraq (and the continued US/British air strikes on Iraq) there remains great potential for nationally coordinated work on Iraq. International Days of Action are planned,

including August 6, which marks the ninth anniversary of UN Resolution 661 (and the 54th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima). Media strategies, legislative hooks for advocacy, efforts to build stronger campus actions, continued delegations to Iraq, and meetings in the US to form a strong and inclusive national network are all underway which suggests that the moment is ripe for overcoming the challenges and moving forward the essential work to end the war against the people of Iraq.

Jennifer Bing-Canar has worked on Middle East issues in the US since 1981. She directs the Middle East Program of the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago.

MULTI-YEAR GRANT

In response to input from several long term grantees, Resist implemented a multi-year, general support grant. This program eases the application process for organizations that received full funding from Resist at least twice in the past five years. These multi-year grants, designed to support stability and longer-range planning, represent only a small fraction of Resist's over-all grant-making and do not replace Resist's regular grant program. The multi-year grants provide an opportunity for Resist to extend support to those groups that have continually done exceptional organizing. The multi-year grant program, like the increased size of Resist's grants, reflects Resist's commitment to social justice and come in direct response to the needs of Resist grantees. The first multi-year grant was awarded during the June grant cycle to the Coalition for Montanans Concerned with Disabilities.

Coalition of Montanans Concerned with Disabilities

P.O. Box 5679

Missoula, MT 59806

The Coalition of Montanans Concerned with Disabilities (CMCD) became Montana's first and only disability rights organization in 1992. The CMCD, run by disabled activists, has spearheaded local campaigns for fully accessible Missoula bus routes, for close-captioned local news broadcasts in Great Falls, and for accessibility at the Bozeman airport. State-wide actions include amending Montana's Human Rights Law to make it ADA compliant, and gathering and disseminating information about political candidates' positions on disabilities. The CMCD has also initiated a drive to organize disabled groups among the Native American and seasonal migrant worker populations.

Currently, the organization is preparing for three new projects. The CMCD

plans to raise a strong consumer voice in the legislative and corporate implementation of managed care. Then the CMCD will tackle Montana's health delivery system for low-income people with mental illness by training the disabled and their families to influence the state's decision-making processes. Finally, the Coalition will offer education and information as part of a campaign to increase the number of disabled people who own homes. The homeownership project will also research and negotiate aspects of financing home purchases with various community organizations and banks.

A Multi-Year Grant, beginning with \$2,000 in 1999, will provide general support to the CMCD.

GRANTS

Resist awards grants six times a year to groups throughout the United States engaged in activism for social and economic justice. In this issue of the *Newsletter* we list a few grant recipients from our June allocation cycle. For more information, contact the groups at the addresses below.

Blue Mountain Biodiversity Project

HCR-82
Fossil, OR 97830

The Blue Mountain Biodiversity Project (BMBP) was founded in 1991 to counter the corporate and governmental response to environmental issues concerning rural eastern Oregon, where 63% of the state's forests are located. The BMBP began monitoring environmental hazards such as herbicide use and timber sales in three National Forests, one Bureau of Land Management District, and two wildlife refuges. The mismanagement of protected ecological resources and the overwhelming influence of corporations in the courts sparked the initiation the BMBP's End Corporate Dominance Alliance in Portland, Oregon. The Alliance and related End Corporate Dominance cam-

paigns provide public education, outreach, and organizing on the issue of corporate influence in such agency projects as gopher poisoning, livestock grazing, and oil and gas leasing.

A Resist grant of \$2,000 will fund speaking presentations, articles, workshops, intensive group trainings, and the 2nd Annual End Corporate Dominance conference.

Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center

P.O. Box 1156
Boulder, CO 80306

Grassroots activists protesting the manufacture of nuclear weapons formed the Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center (RMPJC) in 1983. Since then, the Center has expanded its activist work to nuclear disarmament, international fair trade, nonviolence education, and prisoner rights. Due to proliferating populations and human rights abuses in Colorado prisons, the RMPJC founded the Prisoner Rights Project in 1991. Through the triple attack of the Prison Moratorium

Campaign, the Women in Prison Campaign, and the Control Unit Campaign, the Project has formed a network of prisoners and a spectrum of progressive advocates to educate and organize about sexual abuse in prisons, inhumane solitary confinement, and the social inequities which lead to mass incarceration. Currently the Prison Moratorium Campaign is organizing a press conference, mailings, and a panel of prisoner advocates to testify to the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of a prison moratorium bill.

A \$2,000 Resist grant will fund the Prison Moratorium Campaign as it seeks to reverse prison expansion, to develop alternative sentencing programs, and to reallocate resources to address the root causes of crime.

Youth Leadership Support Network

P.O. Box 5372
Takoma Park, MD 20913

Just one year ago, six months of volunteer staff meetings began to shape into the Youth Leadership Support Network (YSLN). The YSLN seeks to heighten youth leadership through movement history education, through intercultural collaboration, and through grassroots skill training. In its first year, YSLN wrote and distributed a Grades 4-12 Educator's Guide about African-American activist and musician Paul Robeson to Washington DC teachers. The curriculum is now under consideration at various education boards outside the DC-area.

The YSLN also is in the process of building coalitions with 30 youth and community organizations. A leadership conference in October of 1999 will ally 30 young leaders, veteran organizers, and artists to analyze, strategize, and build skills for movement and leadership development.

A grant of \$2,000 will support the two and a half day Fall Young Organizers Seminar on Leadership and Coalition-Building.

Join the Resist Pledge Program

We'd like you to consider becoming a Resist Pledge.

Pledges account for over 30% of our income.

By becoming a pledge, you help guarantee Resist a fixed and dependable source of income on which we can build our grant-making program. In return, we will send you a monthly pledge letter and reminder along with your newsletter. We will keep you up-to-date on the groups we have funded and the other work being done at Resist.

So take the plunge and become a Resist Pledge! We count on you, and the groups we fund count on us.

Yes! I'll become a RESIST Pledge.

I'll send you my pledge of \$ _____ every month/two months/quarter/six months (circle one).

Enclosed is an initial pledge contribution of \$ _____.

I can't join the pledge program now, but here's a contribution of \$ _____ to support your work.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

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