



# **THE TORTURERS' LOBBY**

**How Human Rights-Abusing Nations  
Are Represented in Washington**



**Pamela Brogan**

**THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY**

# **THE TORTURERS' LOBBY**

**How Human Rights-Abusing Nations  
Are Represented in Washington**

**By Pamela Brogan**

**THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY**  
1910 K Street N.W., Suite #802  
Washington D.C. 20006  
(202)223-0299

The Center for Public Integrity is an independent, nonprofit organization that examines public service and ethics-related issues. The Center's studies combine the substantive study of government with in-depth journalism. The Center is funded by foundations, corporations, labor unions, individuals, and revenue from news organizations.

This study and views expressed herein are those of the author. What is written here does not necessarily reflect the views of the individual members of the Center for Public Integrity's Board of Directors or Advisory Board.

Copyright (c) 1992 THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or used in any other form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without the written permission of the Center for Public Integrity.

ISBN 0-9629012-9-6

"The greatest evil today is indifference. To know and not to act is a way of consenting to these injustices. The planet has become a very small place. What happens in other countries affects us."

*Elie Wiesel*

*winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, 1986*

**Pamela Brogan** has been a journalist and editor for over 16 years. She is currently the national investigative correspondent for the Gannett News Service. She has specialized in investigative business and legal reporting with particular expertise about lobbying in Washington. She has also worked for McGraw-Hill and as a senior editor and columnist for *Legal Times*.

*The author gratefully acknowledges those who helped in the preparation of this study:*

**Ted Amley**, who assisted in the research, is a senior at Duke University, where he is pursuing a degree in political science and history. He has worked for Amnesty International in the United States and in London. He has also taught a course on human rights at Duke.

**Cindy Collins**, who assisted with the study, holds a master's degree in journalism from The American University and a bachelor's degree in English from the University of California at Berkeley. She writes for *The National Jurist* and Atlantic News Service.

**Margaret M. Ebrahim**, who assisted in the research, is a senior associate at the Center. She holds a master's degree in International Affairs from The American University and a bachelor's degree from Tulane University. Before moving to Washington, she was awarded a Watson Fellowship to research human rights in the Brazilian Amazon for a year.

**Janet Higbie**, who edited the study, is an editor for the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service. She has recently finished writing "Eugenia: The Caribbean's Iron Lady," a biography of Dominica Prime Minister Eugenia Charles, scheduled to be published by Macmillan-Caribbean in 1993.

**John Kruger**, who assisted in the research, is a graduate student in National Security Studies at Georgetown University. He has a degree in communications from The American University. Kruger has had internships with the Washington office of *Radio Free Europe* and the *Wall Street Journal Europe* in Brussels.

**Charles Lewis** is the founder and Executive Director of the Center for Public Integrity. For 11 years, he did investigative reporting at ABC News and CBS News, most recently as a producer for *60 Minutes*.

**Diane Renzulli** is administrative assistant at the Center. She has a degree in English from Georgetown University.

## CONTENTS

I.	Executive Summary	1
II.	Investigative Methodology	5
III.	Foreign Aid Recipients	
	A. Middle East	9
	B. Asia	25
	C. Latin America	33
	D. Africa	49
IV.	Nations Receiving Non-Traditional Aid	61
V.	Conclusions	74
VI.	Notes	76

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With the fall of communism and the end of the Cold War, nations such as Nicaragua, Angola and the Eastern European countries, once caught in the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, have begun the long hard march toward democracy. Indeed, the world celebrates this tide of democratic freedom and self-determination. Yet, oppression and human rights abuses persist around the globe.

Consider Guatemala, the homeland of this year's Nobel Peace Prize winner, **Rigoberta Menchu**, a human rights activist who fled her country in the mid 1980s. Security forces tortured and murdered most of her family for their efforts to gain respect for the rights of Guatemala's indigenous population. Menchu does not know if she will return to live in Guatemala now that she has won the Nobel. She continues to receive death threats.

In November 1989, Diana Ortiz, an American nun teaching in **Guatemala**, was **kidnapped**, taken to a secret detention center, tortured and raped. A few months later, Michael DeVine, an American who was an innkeeper in rural **Guatemala**, was abducted, tortured and executed by members of Guatemala's security forces. The human rights situation has not substantially improved in Guatemala -- last year, hundreds of political executions were reported.

Although the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala was recalled, and U.S. military aid and commercial arms sales to Guatemala were suspended in December 1990, the country was given nearly \$91 million in U.S. assistance in fiscal year 1991.

To keep those dollars flowing in, and to refurbish its dismal human rights image, Guatemala spent more than \$650,000 for Washington lobbyists and public relations experts. No one in Washington received more money from Guatemala than Patton, Boggs and Blow, the powerful **firm** that took in \$220,000 from Guatemala in 1991. One of its assignments: prepare a status report on the Michael DeVine murder.

On a different **continent**, both Kenya and Nigeria have widely criticized human rights records. Last year, Kenya received \$38 million in U.S. foreign aid, and spent over \$1.4 million on Washington lobbyists to get it. Nigeria received \$8.3 million and expended in excess of \$2.5 million. Whom did both countries call upon to do their bidding before the U.S. government? The lobbying **firm** of Black, **Manafort**, Stone and Kelly Public Affairs Co., which received \$660,000 from Kenya in 1992-1993 and \$1 million from Nigeria in 1991.

Former Reagan political operative Paul Manafort oversees foreign accounts; his partner, Charles R. **Black**, was a senior political strategist in the 1992 **Bush-Quayle** campaign. Their firm's fees to represent Nigeria, **Kenya**, the Philippines and Angola's UNITA rebel group in 1991 totaled more than \$3 million. All four receive U.S. aid and abuse human rights. A spokeswoman for Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly told the Center that the **firm** does not "attempt to explain away" concerns about human rights. Instead, she said, "we try to open a dialogue."

In **Turkey**, in July 1991, the same month President George Bush made an official visit there, the body of human rights worker Vedat Aydin was found along a road. His skull was fractured, his legs were broken,

and his body was riddled by more than a dozen bullet wounds. He had been taken from his home by several armed men who identified themselves as police officers. No one was charged with his murder.

Torture in Turkey is widespread. According to the State Department, "credible reports indicate that high-pressure cold water hoses, electric shocks, beating of the genitalia, and hanging by the arms are methods commonly employed."

Last year, Turkey received more than \$800 million in U.S. aid, and spent more than \$3.8 million on Washington lobbyists to keep that money flowing. Turkey's favorite Washington firm: Hill and Knowlton, which received \$1.2 million from November 1990 to May 1992. Frank Mankiewicz, a Vice Chairman of the firm and former aide to Robert Kennedy, has worked with others on that account. Thomas Hoog, another Hill and Knowlton Vice Chairman, advised President-elect Bill Clinton during the 1992 presidential campaign and continues to advise him informally during the transition to the White House.

Against a backdrop of budget cutbacks in domestic spending programs, U.S. taxpayers are indirectly supporting the activities of lobbyists, lawyers and public relations firms who were paid more than \$24 million in 1991-1992 to represent foreign interests that are persistent abusers of human rights. Collectively, their clients receive billions of dollars in U.S. aid and other benefits.

A year-long investigation by the Center for Public Integrity reviewed hundreds of pages of documents filed at the Justice Department by "foreign agents" - lobbyists, lawyers and public relations firms representing overseas interests.

It examined 10 major U.S. foreign aid recipients, all associated with serious human rights abuses, that pay Washington lobbyists to press Congress for increased aid. They are Turkey, Nigeria, Morocco, Kenya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Egypt, Israel, Guatemala and UNITA. All commit torture and other atrocities, according to human rights groups, the State Department or both.

Two other aid recipients with poor human rights records — Colombia and Peru — hire Washington lobbyists to boost their image or lobby on their behalf for favorable trade and commercial treatment.

Three other nations identified as abusers of human rights — China, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait — receive no U.S. aid but have close political and commercial relationships with the United States; they too pay foreign agents big fees to lobby Congress and the executive branch.

The Center's study found that the company paid the most by human rights abusers was the public relations firm Hill and Knowlton, which received more than \$14 million.

Kuwait was the biggest individual spender, doling out more than \$12.5 million in fees to lobbyists, lawyers and public relations firms.

Other firms paid more than \$1 million dollars by U.S. aid recipients identified as abusing human rights were Sawyer Miller Group; White & Case; Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly; Edward Aycoth & Co.; and International Advisers. Inc.

Many of the foreign agents representing countries showing little respect for human rights are Washington insiders who have ties to both Republicans and Democrats in Congress and the executive branch, the study found.

For example, John Raffaelli, former tax and trade counsel to Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), was hired by Turkey, which received \$804 million in foreign aid during 1991. The Turkish government has been known to torture citizens who are merely suspected of political crimes. Raffaelli's firm, McAuliffe, Kelly and Raffaelli, was paid \$200,000 by the Turkish government during 1991.

Ed Rollins, the former GOP operative briefly hired as a campaign adviser to Ross Perot, made two trips to Colombia and the Philippines and gave political advice to leaders in both countries. The State Department reported that Colombia's army and police participate in human rights abuses including massacres, kidnapping and torture; numerous human rights violations have been reported in the Philippines as well. Rollins did not register as a foreign agent, saying his trips had nothing to do with the firm's public relations accounts.

Graeme M. Bannerman, a former staff director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has represented Egypt and the Philippines. In a recent report, Middle East Watch described a pattern of torture by Egypt's security forces. During 1991 Egypt received \$2.2 billion, making it the second-largest recipient of U.S. aid after Israel.

Critics say these lobbyists are undermining a crucial U.S. policy objective -- promoting human rights abroad. U.S. taxpayers pay millions or billions of dollars in foreign aid to countries that abuse human rights and employ Washington lobbyists to keep the aid flowing.

"The system stinks," said Makau Mutua, project director of Harvard Law School's Human Rights program. "It's morally objectionable, all this influence-peddling. There's no doubt several of these countries couldn't afford these lobbyists without the help of the American taxpayers."

Mutua said one remedy might be for Congress to consider proposals to prohibit foreign-aid recipients from hiring foreign agents, or putting a cap on the amount of fees that countries can pay lobbyists.

Some congressional staffers who are lobbied by foreign agents seeking increases in federal aid for foreign governments said lobbyists subvert the appropriations process. "These lobbyists make it more difficult for legislators to link U.S. aid to human rights concerns," said one congressional aide who asked not to be identified.

But another congressional staffer disagreed. "Foreign governments need representation to play the game," said Adonis Hoffman, a former lobbyist who is staff director of the House Foreign Affairs Africa Subcommittee. "I don't think I could support an outright prohibition on anyone hiring lobbyists. It's contrary to the way Washington works."

Other critics say the White House and Congress are ignoring a provision of the Foreign Assistance Act that bars military and economic aid to countries whose government "engages in a consistent pattern

of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights," which is defined to include torture.

"No objective person could deny that torture is systematic in Turkey," said Kenneth Roth, Deputy Director of Human Rights Watch. "The blame lies at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, at the White House and Congress."

## INVESTIGATIVE METHODOLOGY

Nations were selected to be included in this study based on three criteria. The Center consulted international human rights **organizations**, the State Department, or both, to isolate nations that were flagrant human rights abusers. Secondly, we examined those nations that received large amounts of U.S. aid, special trade status, preferential treatment in conjunction with foreign military sales, or military support during the Persian Gulf War. Thirdly, the Center looked at nations that paid large sums of money for lobbyists to represent them in Washington.

For this study, the Center also reviewed hundreds of pages of foreign agent registrations filed with the Justice Department.

The detail of disclosure varied. For example, some foreign agent filings contained specific information on fees received; others merely stated that "hourly rates" were earned. Some filings provided detailed listings of officials lobbied; other forms only contained vague references to "executive branch and congressional officials" lobbied, without providing specific names. Another problem encountered during the study was that disclosures are randomly filed every six months, so in many cases it was impossible to determine how much money a foreign agent earned during a calendar year. **That's** why fees reported in this study were for 1991-1992. Also, many forms were filed later than the six-month deadline.

Foreign aid figures were obtained from the Agency for International Development Fiscal Year 1993 Summary Tables and were based on fiscal year 1991 actual obligations. This figure represents both economic and military assistance and includes such aid as Economic **Support Funds**, Peace Corps and International Military Education and **Training**, to name a few.

Information documenting human rights abuses was obtained from reports issued by the State **Department**, organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch and the media.

After compiling all this information from the Justice Department, human rights organizations, Congress and the media, the Center attempted to contact all the firms. Interviews were held with some firm members who worked for specific human rights-violating countries. Interviews were also held with individuals in the human rights community and on Capitol Hill.

The reference to the "torturers' lobby" in the title was used to describe the Washington insiders who are hired to represent governments that systematically commit torture and other human rights abuses. It should be noted that many of the lobbyists retained did not necessarily deal with human rights issues.

## THE MILLION DOLLAR CLUB

*Firms that were paid more than \$1 million in fees from individual foreign governments that commit human rights abuses and receive U.S. foreign aid.*

Foreign Agent	Country	Fees, in Millions
1. Hill and Knowlton	Republic of Indonesia	\$3.05 (11/90-5/92)
2. Hill and Knowlton	Israel	\$1.05 (1991-1992)
3. Hill and Knowlton	Republic of Turkey	\$1.1 (1991-1992)
4. Sawyer Miller Group	Colombia	\$3.1 (1991)
5. White & Case	Republic of Indonesia	\$2.8 (1991-1992)*
6. International Advisers, Inc.	Republic of Turkey	\$875,000 (1991) \$600,000 (1992)
7. Edward Aycoth & Co.	Nigeria	\$1.0 (1991)
8. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	Nigeria	\$1.0 (1991)

*\*The firm claims these are "legal fees and expenses."*

**TOP FIVE FIRMS RECEIVING THE MOST MONEY  
FROM THE TORTURERS' LOBBY, 1991-1992\***

Firm	Countries	Fees, in Millions
1. Hill and Knowlton	Kuwait, China, Turkey, Peru, Israel, Egypt, Republic of Angola, Indonesia	\$14.0
2. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Hamilton	Kuwait	\$6.1 **
3. White & Case	Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey, Morocco	\$3.4
4. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	Nigeria, Kenya UNITA***, <del>Morocco</del> <i>Philippines</i>	\$3.3
5. Sawyer Miller Group	Colombia	\$3.1

*\*Due to the Justice Department's reporting requirements, these figures might reflect a few months in 1990.*

*\*\*The firm claims these are legal fees for "non-registrable activities."*

*\*\*\*The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola is a major opposition group in Angola headed by Jonas Savimbi.*

**THE TORTURERS' LOBBY'S TOP SPENDERS, 1991-1992**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Foreign Agent Fees, in Millions</b>	<b>Foreign Aid, in Millions</b>
1. Kuwait	\$12.5	None (approx. \$7.4 billion in war costs)
2. Indonesia	\$6.8	\$98.9
3. Turkey	\$3.8	\$804
4. Colombia	\$3.2	\$93.8
5. Nigeria	\$2.6	\$8.3
6. Angola-UNITA	\$1.9	\$7.4, Angola; \$35-\$50, UNITA (covert aid)

MIDDLE EAST

## EGYPT

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$2.25 BILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$500,000**

The government of Egypt, primarily the State Security Investigation forces under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior, practices widespread torture of political prisoners and illegally detains them for long periods without filing charges. Middle East Watch concluded in a July 1992 report.<sup>1</sup>

The 200-page report, *Behind Closed Doors: Torture and Detention in Egypt*, described a pattern of torture under President Hosni Mubarak since early 1989. "The detailed testimony of torture victims persuades Middle East Watch that the methods of torture in Egypt are rigorous yet predictable, indicating that a system appears to be in place to train SSI personnel in torture techniques and that the use of torture is directed and supervised by officers in the SSI," the report said.

Methods used by the Egyptian security forces include beatings and kickings, electric shocking to the genitals and other areas and hanging victims by the wrists, according to the report.

The Egyptian government denies that torture is routinely practiced, even in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. "The Interior Minister continues to deny unequivocally that torture takes place, despite court decisions, forensic medical reports by the Ministry of Justice physicians, numerous written complaints submitted by lawyers to state prosecutors, frequent reports by the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights and Amnesty International, and abundant testimony from torture victims themselves," the report said.

In a 1992 report, the U.S. State Department concurred that torture is widespread in Egypt. "Although torture is illegal under Egyptian law, there is convincing evidence that it is practiced by police and security officers. Those guilty of torture are seldom punished."<sup>2</sup>

Middle East Watch urged the Bush administration and the European community to suspend all aid and loans to Egypt unless torture and arbitrary detention end. At the same time, the report heaped criticism on the Bush administration and the Congress for failing to address Egypt's gross human rights abuses. It noted that the Bush administration has been silent on Egypt's human rights abuses and chided the administration and the Congress for approving billions of dollars in foreign military aid and ignoring Section 502B of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. In fiscal year 1991, Egypt was allocated nearly \$2.3 billion in direct economic and military aid, second only to Israel.

### Washington Connections

The government of Egypt may not be interested in curbing its human rights abuses, but it is willing to pay big bucks to ensure that the flow of U.S. aid continues. Egypt's principal lobbyist is Graeme M.

Bannerman, president of Bannerman and Associates. Bannerman's firm was paid \$390,000 in 1991 to lobby the executive branch and Congress on "any issue affecting foreign policy" of interest to his client, including "defense, trade, foreign assistance, and international visits of government officials," according to his firm's foreign agent filing.

Bannerman was formerly staff director to Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), who was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee before the Democrats gained control of the Senate in 1986. Lugar is still a Foreign Relations Committee member. Bannerman typifies Washington's "revolving door," through which government officials leave office to represent interests they dealt with while in government— foreign countries in Bannerman's case. His firm represents the United Arab Emirates and Djibouti, and was a foreign agent for the government of the Philippines under a contract to the Sawyer Miller Group in 1991.

Bannerman's firm maintains extensive contacts in Congress and the administration on behalf of his client, Egypt, according to his foreign agent filing. From Jan. 8, 1991 through April 28, 1992, Bannerman's firm lobbied more than 200 Members of Congress, congressional staffers on Appropriations and Budget committees, and high-ranking administration officials on behalf of his client Egypt during office meetings or at breakfast, lunch or dinner at Washington restaurants.

For example, his foreign agent filing said that in April 1992, he had lunch with "C. Walgren," better known as Howard "Chip" Walgren, a legislative aide to Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). DeConcini is a member of the powerful Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which has oversight over all foreign aid money bills in the Senate. In February 1992, Bannerman had lunch and dinner with Annie Leshner, a legislative aide to Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), another member of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. In March 1992, according to his foreign agent filing, Bannerman lunched with Terry Peel at La Colline, a French restaurant on Capitol Hill. Peel is staff director of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee, which has oversight over all foreign aid bills.

Also representing the government of Egypt is the Washington law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow, which has close ties to the Democratic Party. From August through December 1991, the firm was paid more than \$60,000 in fees and expenses by the Egyptian government. According to the firm's foreign agent filing, it advised the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt on "U.S. laws and regulations affecting the foreign military sales program between the United States and Egypt and of developments in U.S. defense budgets and programs of interest to the Egyptian Ministry of Defense."

Patton, Bogg and Blow's foreign agent filings say that on behalf of Egypt, it has met with high-ranking Defense Department officials and the staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. For example, on July 29, August 22 and October 10, 1991 company representatives met with Col. John Thompson, Country Director for Egypt, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Hill and Knowlton was also paid \$60,000 by the Egyptian Tourist Authority in 1991 to perform media relations, according to its foreign agent filing.

## EGYPT

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$2.25 billion*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$500,000*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fees</b>
1. Bannerman and Associates, Inc.	Arab Republic of Egypt	\$390,000 (1991)
2. Patton, Boggs and Blow	Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt	\$60,407 (8/91-12/91)
3. Hill and Knowlton	Egyptian Tourist Authority	\$60,000 (1991)

## ISRAEL (OCCUPIED TERRITORIES)

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$3.65 BILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS DURING 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$1.6 MILLION**

Several reports issued during 1992 by Israeli and international human rights organizations alleged that the Israeli security forces in the occupied territories (the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and East Jerusalem) systematically torture and ill-treat Palestinian detainees.

The State Department concurred in its annual report on human rights that there were "credible reports of torture, abuse, and mistreatment of Palestinian detainees in prisons and detention centers."<sup>3</sup> The report cited such abuses as hooding; deprivation of food, sleep and sanitary facilities; forced standing; confinement in small spaces; slaps, blows and beatings; and threats against detainees' families.

An Israeli human rights group, B'Tselem, reported in April 1992 that torture by the Israeli security forces is so routine that "[Palestinian] detainees hardly bother to complain about these methods any more." The group estimated that at least 5,000 prisoners were tortured or otherwise mistreated in the last year.<sup>4</sup>

In a March 1992 report, Amnesty International concluded that "[i]nterrogation measures amounting to torture or ill-treatment are used systematically against Palestinian detainees in Israel."

Torture is forbidden by Israeli law, and Israeli authorities say that torture is not condoned or authorized.<sup>5</sup> But in 1987, a government commission endorsed the use of "moderate physical pressure" by Israeli security forces to secure confessions and to obtain information concerning terrorism.

According to Human Rights Watch, before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Israel was publicly criticized by the Bush administration "more often than any other country in the Middle East."<sup>6</sup> Such criticism, Human Rights Watch noted, is appropriate because Israel receives more U.S. aid than any other country in the world. In addition, President Bush has approved \$10 billion in loan guarantees to the Israelis to help resettle hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Supporters justify aid to Israel on the grounds that it is a close political ally and is of strategic importance to the United States. U.S. criticism of Israel's human rights record has been ineffective because the Bush administration publicly is unwilling to link Israel human rights abuses and its favorable trade status with the amount of aid the country receives, Human Rights Watch concluded.<sup>7</sup> "The United States has long made clear that its concern for human rights abuses committed by Israel is subservient to the goal of bringing Israel and her neighbors into a peace process," the group said.

Human Rights Watch acknowledged that the United States is not alone in its view that the cause of human rights for the Palestinians is best served by focusing on the larger goal of peace. But it said the United States "simply cannot stand silent in the face of the grievous abuses that are, unfortunately, likely to continue in the region."

## Washington Connections

The Israeli government's Ministry of Industry and Trade is paying Hill and Knowlton more than \$1 million to serve as its public relations counsel during 1991-1992. according to its foreign agent filings.

The filings said Hill and Knowlton "provided counseling regarding the development of trade and business with North America" and prepared "an economic development program focused upon attracting American business in Israel and with Israeli companies."

APCO Associates was paid \$120,000 by the Israel government to provide public relations services to the government's economic minister and to lobby Members of Congress and the executive branch.

The law firm of Arnold & Porter also was retained by the government of Israel, receiving \$65,000 to lobby Congress on loan guarantees and other matters, according to its foreign agent filing. Arnold & Porter also represented Israel in connecton with Export-Import Bank financing and provided advice on various financing vehicles, its filing said. The firm lobbied James Bond, a legislative aide to the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, 20 times in meetings or telephone conversations between June 6 and November 12, 1991. "All meetings and conversations involved technical assistance on proposed legislation," the filing said.

Ameribrom, Inc.. partially controlled and subsidized by the government of Israel, hired Arnold & Porter and Cassidy and Associates, Inc., to lobby Congress and the executive branch on legislation to suspend or reduce import duties on bromine-based chemicals. Arnold & Porter received usual hourly charges for its work. Cassidy and Associates, Inc.. received \$53,000 in fees and specified in its contract that "federally appropriated funds may not be used to pay for any services provided or expenses incurred under this contract." Also representing the government of Israel is the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. which was paid \$47,000 for legal advice on defense equipment, procurement, export, import and bilateral issues.

O'Connor & Hannan was hired by the government of Israel to lobby the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on foreign aid and cargo preference legislation. The law firm was paid more than \$24,000.

Two New York-based public relations firms were also retained by Israel to provide public relations and media counsel. The GCI Group, Inc. served as the government's public relations counsel from January to March 1992. Also providing media advice to the Israeli government's Investment Authority was The Consultancy, which was paid \$140,000 from February 1992 to December 1992.

Defense consultant Marvin Klemow was paid \$9,871 by Israel Aircraft Industries, which has ties to the Israeli government, to meet with congressional staff and executive officials on various defense programs affecting his client.

Howard Teicher, a former National Security Council staffer, was paid \$98,039 by Israel Shipyards Ltd. and \$6,187 by Soreq Nuclear Research Center in 1991. His activities included meeting with U.S. Navy and Coast Guard personnel and congressional staffers. He also promoted his clients' services to U.S.

companies. Teicher, who was involved in meetings leading to the **Iran-Contra** affair, has said that Vice President George Bush knew that arms sales to Iran were designed to free hostages being held in Lebanon, a charge Bush has denied.

### ISRAEL (OCCUPIED TERRITORIES)

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$3.6 billion*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$1.6 million*

Foreign Agent	Country	Fees
1. Hill and Knowlton	State of Israel	\$1,056,010 (fees and expenses 9/91-8/92)
2. APCO Associates/ GCI Group, Inc.	Government of Israel	\$120,000 (1/92-3/92)
3. Arnold & Porter	State of Israel	\$65,188 (8/91-10/91)
4. Arnold & Porter	Ameribrom, Inc.	hourly fee (10/91- indefinite duration)
5. Cassidy and Associates	Ameribrom, Inc.	\$53,000 (4/91-10/91)
6. Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson	Government of Israel	\$47,455 (5/91-11/91)
7. O'Connor & Hannan	Government of Israel	\$24,683 (fees and expenses 5/91-8/91)
8. Marvin Klemow	Israel Aircraft Industries	\$9,871 (6/91-11/91)
9. The Consultancy	Government of Israel	\$140,000 (2/92-12/92)
10. Howard Teicher	Israel Shipyards Limited	\$98,039 (1991)
11. Howard Teicher	Soreq Nuclear Research Group	\$6,187 (1991)

## MOROCCO

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$136.4 MILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYIST, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$1.4 MILLION**

King Hassan II of Morocco took several steps during 1991 to improve his country's human rights record. Hundreds of political prisoners were released during 1991, just months before Hassan paid a visit to President Bush.<sup>8</sup> A notorious detention center at Tazmamart, which held mostly Western Saharan guerrillas in appalling conditions, was closed. But critics contend that these improvements, while moving Morocco towards a more positive human rights picture, "did not alter the laws and institutions responsible for the systematic nature of abuses in Morocco."<sup>9</sup>

The State Department reported that during 1991, "credible reports of torture and degrading treatment persisted, but with less frequency than in previous years."<sup>10</sup> It also noted "increased press coverage both of reports of torture and abuse of authority and of investigation and corrective action in such cases."

Human Rights Watch praised the Bush administration for its role in urging Morocco to improve its human rights record. It cited the administration's frank assessment of Moroccan human rights abuses reported by the State Department in its 1990 report and testimony about those concerns before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in February 1991. Human Rights Watch also credited the administration with successfully pressuring Hassan to release 41 political prisoners during 1991, weeks before his Washington visit. During fiscal year 1991, the Bush administration's aid package for Morocco included \$43 million in military financing, \$35 million in food aid, \$23 million in development assistance and \$28 million in economic support for the government. The aid is justified by the administration to maintain good bilateral relations — Morocco was one of the first Arab states to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Morocco supports market economics and has urged the Arab world to take a moderate approach to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict.

### Washington Connections

Morocco's hired gun in Washington is Denis M. Neill, president of Neill and Co., who has represented the embassy since 1983. Neill is paid \$360,000 annually to lobby the administration and Congress on behalf of Morocco to strengthen bilateral relations and to "pursue legislation specifically designed to promote greater ties between the two nations in the areas of commerce and economic development," according to the firm's foreign agent filing.

During a six-month period ending January 2, 1991, Neill and Co. lobbied the staffs of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees in support of full funding of aid to Morocco. Likewise, the firm lobbied the Bush administration "in support of the highest possible allocation of assistance to Morocco."

According to its foreign agent filing, Neill and Co. launched a blitz on Morocco's behalf, lobbying

Reps. Doug Bereuter (R-Neb.), Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), Gus Yatron (D-Pa.) and Charles Wilson (D-Tex.). In addition, the firm lobbied 38 congressional staffers, mostly on the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees. Neill and Co. also pushed the administration for more aid to Morocco. In 1991, the firm lobbied 11 State Department officials, three Agency for International Development staffers and two Treasury Department officials.

Also hired to bolster Morocco's image was the New York public relations firm of Clark & Weinstock, Inc. The firm is being paid \$550,000 during 1992 to develop and implement communications strategies in the areas of investment, trade, environmental and cultural matters, its foreign agent filing said. White & Case, a New York-based law firm, was paid \$179,000 by the Moroccan government during 1991 for legal representation in connection with "foreign borrowings and project financings by the Republic and by state-owned entities."

## MOROCCO

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$136.4 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms. 1991-1992: in excess of \$1.4 million*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fees</b>
1. Neil] and Co.	Kingdom of Morocco	\$720,000 (1991 & 1992)
2. Clark & Weinstock, Inc.	Kingdom of Morocco	\$550,000 (1992)
3. White & Case	Kingdom of Morocco	\$179,835 (fees and expenses 4/91-7/91)

## TURKEY

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS):** \$804 MILLION

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992:** IN EXCESS OF \$3.8 MILLION

Turkey's decision to side with the United States against Iraq during the Persian Gulf War has cemented its position as a nation that will continue to be an important strategic ally to the United States. During the Cold War, Turkey served as a barrier between Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. After Israel and Egypt, Turkey is the third largest recipient of U.S. aid.

President Bush lavishly praised President Turgut Ozal during his visit to Turkey in July 1991, the first by a U.S. president in more than 30 years. At a state dinner, Bush said, "There has been no country as resolute as Turkey and no ally like President Ozal." Bush referred to Turkey as his "second home."<sup>11</sup>

The same month that Bush was regaled by Ozal, the body of Vedat Aydin, a human rights worker, was discovered along a roadside in southeastern Turkey. His skull was fractured, his legs were broken, and his body was riddled with more than a dozen bullet wounds. He had been taken from his home by several armed men who identified themselves as police officers. No one was charged with his slaying.<sup>12</sup>

In 1991, torture was routine in Turkey. In particular, the Kurdish minority, which has been waging guerilla war against the Turkish government, has been targeted by the Turkish security forces. Villagers have been detained, arrested, tortured and killed.<sup>13</sup> "Although Turkey has signed several international conventions against torture, it has not succeeded in reducing the incidence of torture of persons in police custody." concluded the State Department's 1991 report on human rights. The report added: "Knowledgeable observers contended that most persons charged with — or merely suspected of — political crimes are tortured...Credible reports indicate that high-pressure cold water hoses, electric shocks, beating of the genitalia, and hanging by the arms are methods commonly employed." A report by the European Parliament last September cited Turkey as a country with cases of "death caused by torture."

Turkey's new government, led by Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, has admitted that torture is a significant problem, but has done nothing to improve the situation. In April 1992, a report by Amnesty International titled *Turkey: Torture, Extrajudicial Executions, Disappearances*, said that "no practical or legislative steps had been taken and the already large volume of credible torture allegations had, if anything, increased." The report added: "Systematic practice of torture continues throughout Turkey."<sup>14</sup>

### U.S. Policy

Human rights groups complain that the Bush administration, which has acknowledged a pattern of torture in Turkey, has ignored laws such as section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, which prohibits military and other forms of security assistance to a country that "engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." In fiscal year 1992, the Bush administration requested

\$704 million in foreign aid to Turkey. Of that total, the administration plans to earmark \$500 million for military assistance and \$75 million for economic aid.<sup>15</sup>

### Washington Connections

Although the Bush administration has documented that the Turkish government commits flagrant human rights abuses, and U.S. law prohibits military and economic aid to such countries, the flow of aid continues. One reason is that the government of Turkey knows that public policy in Washington can be influenced with the help of the right people in the right places. The Republic of Turkey has hired an all-star team of top Republican and Democratic insiders to push its agenda in Congress and pull strings at the highest levels of the Bush administration.

Teaming up to represent the Republic of Turkey are the Washington lobbying firms of Thompson and Co., which has Republican connections, and McAuliffe, Kelly and Raffaelli, which has ties to the Democrats. The firms are being paid a joint fee of \$500,000 in 1992 to put a positive spin on Turkey's image in the United States and to lobby Members of Congress and the administration.

"As the maintenance and continued growth of understanding and cooperation between Turkey and the United States is largely dependent upon the projection of a fair and accurate image of Turkey in this country, the firms will help the embassy to ensure that Turkey presents such a correct image in the United States with her economic strides, increasing business opportunities, vast touristic resources, and dynamic modern social structure," said the 1992 contract filed by both firms with the Justice Department.

Robert Thompson, name partner of Thompson and Co., knows his way around both Congress and the Bush administration. In 1981, Thompson was executive assistant for congressional relations for then-Vice President Bush. A year later, President Ronald Reagan named him deputy director of legislative affairs. In 1983, he opened his own lobbying firm.

Thompson made headlines in 1990 when a Senate subcommittee disclosed that he lobbied on behalf of James Fail, an Arizona businessman, to arrange a controversial purchase of 15 insolvent savings and loans institutions. Fail, whose Bluebonnet Savings Bank of Dallas stands to receive billions in federal subsidies, put up only \$1,000 of his own money and \$70 million in borrowed funds. The transaction was called the "worst case" of abuse in the nationwide S&L scandal by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio).<sup>16</sup>

On behalf of his client, the Republic of Turkey, Thompson's firm has visited Members of Congress and administration officials. In March 1991, according to its foreign agent filing, Thompson's firm lobbied Sens. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), Don Nickles (R-Okla.), Christopher Bond (R-Mo.), John McCain (R-Ariz.), Robert C. Smith (R-N.H.), Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), all members of the Senate Armed Services Committee. In February 1991, the firm lobbied William Sittman, Executive Secretary of the National Security Council, and Peter Allgeier, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Europe and the Mediterranean.

John Raffaelli, partner in McAuliffe, Kelly and Raffaelli, was counsel on tax and trade matters to

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) from 1980 to 1984. **Partner Terry McAuliffe** was Finance Chairman for the 1984 presidential campaign of Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Chief Campaign Fund-raiser for former President Jimmy Carter, now an outspoken human rights advocate.

In addition, the Republic of Turkey has hired International Advisers, Inc. In 1992, the firm is being paid \$600,000 to "assist the efforts for the appropriation of U.S. military and economic assistance" to the Republic of Turkey. **Douglas Feith**, Chairman and CEO of International Advisers, Inc., is a former Reagan administration official. From 1984 to 1986 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Negotiations Policy. He was Special Counsel to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy from 1982 to 1984. From 1981 to 1982, he was a member of the National Security Council staff. **Richard Perle**, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, is also a consultant for International Advisers, Inc.

International Advisers, Inc., has heavily lobbied the House and Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittees during 1991, according to its foreign agent filing. The filing said that the firm contacted or met with 58 congressional staffers one to three times during the six-month period that ended Jan. 11, 1992. The firm said that it lobbied eight congressional staffers four to seven times and contacted four staffers "regularly." International Advisers, Inc., also had high-level access to officials in the executive branch and lobbied them on budget and appropriation matters, according to the firm's filing.

From July 11, 1991 to January 11, 1992, the firm met with or contacted 54 high-ranking administration officials including then Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger; Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Affairs Janet Mullins; U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Richard Barclay; Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs Reginald Bartholomew; Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Robert **Kimmitt**; and Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz.

The firm also said it met or had regular and frequent discussions with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Political and Military Affairs **William Rope**, and Country Director for Turkey in the Defense Department's Office of International Security Policy **Harold Rhode**.

In addition, Hill and **Knowlton** was paid more than \$1 million during 1991-1992 by the Republic of Turkey to lobby Congress and the executive branch on foreign aid and crime bills. **Frank Mankiewicz**, a Vice Chairman of the firm and former aide to Robert Kennedy, has worked with others on that account. **Thomas Hoog**, another Hill and Knowlton Vice Chairman, advised **President-elect** Bill Clinton during the 1992 presidential campaign and continues to advise him informally during the transition to the White House.

The law firm of White & Case was retained by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey to represent it in connection with "restructuring of short-term foreign indebtedness of the Republic and of commercial banks located in the Republic and certain trade and commercial matters."

Also, **Charles Pucie**, president of Capitoline International Group, Ltd., said he served as a media adviser for the Turkish Prime Minister during his visit to the United States in February 1991 but wasn't paid a fee for his services. Pucie formerly was a Vice President at Hill and Knowlton.

## TURKEY

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$804 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms. 1991-1992: in excess of \$3.8 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Hill and Knowlton	Republic of Turkey	\$1.2 million (11/90-5/92)
2. Thompson and Co./ McAuliffe, Kelly and Raffaelli	Republic of Turkey	\$500,000: joint fee (2/92-2/93)
3. Thompson and Co.	Republic of Turkey	\$400,000 (3/91-2/92)
4. McAuliffe, Kelly and Raffaelli	Republic of Turkey	\$200,000 (1991)
5. International Advisers, Inc.	Republic of Turkey	\$600,000 (1992) \$875,000 (1991)
6. Doremus & Co.	Turkish Ministry of Tourism & Information	\$37,000 (1991)
7. White & Case	Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey	\$4,550 (1991)
8. Capitoline International Group, Ltd.	Republic of Turkey	no fees

**ASIA**

## INDONESIA

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS):** \$98.9 MILLION

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYIST, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992:** IN EXCESS OF \$6.8 MILLION

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, the local independence movement in the former Portuguese colony has been crushed by the military. On Nov. 12, 1991, 100 people were killed when Indonesian security forces opened fire into a group of young people marching into a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, to protest other killings by government officials. In Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, another group seeking independence also has clashed with the military and estimates of killings on both sides from 1989 to 1991 range from 400 to more than 1,000.<sup>17</sup>

International human rights groups and the State Department have documented that Indonesian security forces in East Timor and Aceh have been responsible for numerous human rights abuses, including killings and the torture of civilians. The State Department reported, "This was especially true in Aceh, where there were numerous credible reports of systematic torture of suspected rebel sympathizers while in military or police custody."<sup>18</sup>

Although the State Department generally has not criticized the military's abuse, it made an exception in the case of the Dili killings. The State Department denounced the killings and sent three officials to investigate the matter.

Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, condemned the massacre and introduced a resolution calling for the suspension of U.S. aid to Indonesia under the International Military Education and Training program, which was \$2.1 million during 1991. The Bush administration opposed the suspension.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), Chairman of the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, warned he would cut off all military aid to Indonesia during 1992 if the government failed to conduct an investigation and punish those responsible at Dili.

President Suharto appointed a commission to investigate the incident and it concluded: "the acts of a number of armed forces members exceeded the bounds of appropriateness." Foreign aid to Indonesia continued during fiscal year 1992.

### Washington Connections

Since 1987, Hill and Knowlton has represented Indonesia's National Development Information Office and has "provided logistical assistance" in organizing "cultural, investment, and trade programs in the U.S. and assisted cabinet members attending [the] International Monetary Fund meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, and meeting of donor countries at The Hague," according to its foreign agent filing. The firm was paid about \$3 million from November 1990 to May 1992.

Also representing Indonesia is the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller, which has a \$950,000 contract to be the government's public affairs counsel in 1992. According to its foreign agent filing, it will develop a communications program to "improve understanding for Indonesia by addressing issues and taking advantage of international opportunities to communicate Indonesia's economic development record."

The law firm of White & Case was paid \$2.8 million in fees and expenses by the government of Indonesia for "seeking fair treatment for the republic under U.S. foreign assistance legislation and certain trade and commercial matters."

Powell Tate was hired as public relations counsel to advise Indonesia's Ministry of Forestry on how to deal with the U.S. Congress and the executive branch on tropical rainforest management. Both partners are former press secretaries. Jody Powell was Jimmy Carter's press secretary and Sheila Tate was press secretary to former First Lady Nancy Reagan.

## INDONESIA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$98.9 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$6.8 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fees
1. Hill and Knowlton	Republic of Indonesia National Development Information Office	\$3.05 million (11/90-5/92)
2. Burson-Marsteller	Government of Indonesia	\$950,000 (1992)
3. White & Case	Republic of Indonesia	\$2.8 million (3/91-2/92; legal fees and expenses)
4. Powell Tate	Embassy of Indonesia (Ministry of Forestry)	\$45,000 (8/91-10/91)

## PHILIPPINES

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$558.1 MILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$775,000 (DOES NOT INCLUDE BLACK, MANAFORT FEES)**

Prospects for more human rights in the Philippines may improve under Fidel Ramos, the country's newly elected president, who took office June 30, 1992. But during 1991, the government's human rights record was mixed, according to Human Rights Watch and the State Department.

Human Rights Watch reported that a 1990 law permitting warrantless arrest of suspected subversives "continued to be used to arrest suspected members of the rebel New People's Army (NPA), some of whom were held for weeks in solitary confinement and tortured."<sup>19</sup> A Philippine human rights group reported as many as 135 cases of torture committed by law enforcement agencies in 1991.<sup>20</sup> In turn, the NPA also continued to commit atrocities.

During the first nine months of 1991, the Bush administration muffled its criticism of the Aquino government's human rights record while her government weighed the fate of the U.S. military base at Subic Bay. But once the Philippine Senate voted to close the base, the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, Frank Wisner, publicly criticized the human rights record of the Aquino government, and blamed the security forces for "some of the abuses."<sup>21</sup>

### Washington Connections

During 1991, the Philippine government paid the Sawyer Miller Group over \$350,000 in fees to monitor "developments in the United States of interest to the Philippines." In turn, the Sawyer Miller Group contracted Washington lobbyist Graeme M. **Bannerman** to lobby Congress and the executive branch on defense, trade and foreign assistance issues on behalf of the Philippines. Bannerman was paid \$80,000 in fees. Bannerman was formerly staff director to Sen. Richard G. **Lugar (R-Ind.)**, who was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee before Democrats took control of the Senate in 1986. Neither contract was renewed in 1992.

According to his foreign agent filing, Bannerman lobbied more than 35 congressional aides and administration officials between April 30 and October 28 of last year on behalf of his client. Many of the meetings took place over lunch or dinner at Capitol Hill restaurants. For **example**, on May 1, 1991, Bannerman lunched at the Two Quail Restaurant with Eric Scheinkopf, a legislative aide to Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii). Inouye sits on the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, which controls the purse strings for foreign aid. Two months later, Bannerman dined with **Senate** Foreign Relations Committee staffer **Garrett Grigsby** at Cafe Berlin, an upscale German restaurant on Capitol Hill. On October 21, he lobbied Lugar's foreign policy aide, Andrew **Semmel**, over dinner at the Monocle Restaurant.

Philippine government entities also hired Washington lobbyists during 1991. Former Sen. John Melcher was paid a \$5,000 monthly fee to represent the Philippine Coconut Authority, a government group, but the contract wasn't renewed during 1992. Melcher, a Montana Democrat, is a former member of the Senate Agriculture Committee. In an interview, Melcher said he was surprised to learn that the Philippine government commits human rights abuses. "Nobody in the State Department has ever mentioned one thing to me about this," he said. "Personally, I don't believe it. Their crime rate is less than here [the United States]. Of course, I've never been with the government troops when they're rounding up the insurgents."

L.A. Motley and Co., whose president, Langhorne Motley, is the former Brazilian Ambassador, is being paid a \$15,000 monthly fee during 1992 by the Philippine Sugar Administration, according to the firm's foreign agent filing. L.A. Motley and Co. will "contact members of Congress and the executive branch as appropriate to help create [a] supportive political environment for the Philippine Sugar Administration, monitoring legislative and administrative issues in the United States of concern to the Philippine Sugar Administration."

The law firm Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon and its consulting subsidiary are being paid \$67,500 in 1991-1992 by the Philippine government to lobby Congress and the administration on U.S.-Philippine textile matters, according to its foreign agent filing. (See chapter on Peru for more on Mudge Rose.)

The Washington firm Reichler & Soble collected \$37,500 from the government-connected United Coconut Association of the Philippines to lobby Congress on its behalf.

Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly was paid more than \$1,000,000 by the League of Leaders for Philippine Development, a group of Philippine and U.S. citizens who, the firm says, want to promote an understanding of Philippine democracy. A spokesman for Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly said the group has no government links.

## PHILIPPINES

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$558.1 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms during 1991-1992: in excess of \$775,000 (does not include Black, Manafort fees)*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Sawyer Miller Group	Government of the Philippines	\$354,968 (1991)
2. Graeme M. Bannerman	Government of the Philippines (through Sawyer Miller Group)	\$80,000 (1991)
3. L.A. Motley and Co.	Philippine Sugar Regulatory Administration	\$15,000/month (1992)
4. John Melcher	Philippine Coconut Authority	\$5,000/month (1991)
5. Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon/IBERC	Government of the Philippines	\$67,500 (1991-1992)
6. Reichler & Soble	United Coconut Association of the Philippines	\$37,500 (5/91-9/91)
7. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	League of Leaders for Philippine Development*	\$1,075,000 (1991-1992)

*\*League of Leaders for Philippine Development is not a government entity. according to Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly.*

## **LATIN AMERICA**

## COLOMBIA

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$93.8 MILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$3.2 MILLION**

The sources of human rights abuses in Colombia are diverse. An estimated 3,760 Colombians died in political violence in 1991. The loss of life included combat-related deaths, murders of civilians by leftist guerrilla groups and by the army, so-called "social cleansing" killings (including drug addicts, beggars, prostitutes and the homeless), and massacres by paramilitary forces, the army and police forces. Despite efforts by some government officials to investigate and prosecute these cases, the perpetrators enjoy near-total immunity.<sup>22</sup>

One category of murders — killings attributed to the Medellin drug cartel — decreased significantly in the second half of 1991. Human rights groups attributed the decrease to the drug strategy initiated by President Cesar Gaviria. Over the objections of the Bush administration, Gaviria offered drug traffickers leniency and a promise not to extradite them to the United States in exchange for their surrender and confessions. In June 1991, major drug figure Pablo Escobar surrendered (although he later escaped and has yet to be recaptured). Gaviria's policy has contrasted sharply to his predecessor, Virgilio Barco, who, with the support of the Bush administration, launched a "war on drugs" that included routine extradition. In retaliation against Barco's policy, the cartel initiated a wave of bombings during 1989-1991 that included killings of politicians, journalists and judicial officers.

The State Department's 1991 report on human rights concluded that under the Gaviria administration, members of the army and police continue to participate in human rights abuses, including massacres, disappearances and torture. Although Gaviria has supported initiatives to improve human rights—including peace talks with guerilla groups and the approval of a new constitution that incorporates human rights protections — the record of human rights abuses by the police, army and paramilitary groups has not improved.<sup>23</sup>

Human rights workers also continue to be murdered. For example, in January 1992 a secretary for the Colombian human rights group Credhos was shot dead outside her office by armed men in civilian dress, a day after her boss, Jorge Gomez Lizarazo, a prominent Colombian human rights advocate, wrote an opinion piece published in the *New York Times* blaming the Colombian army and police for political murders.<sup>24</sup>

### U. S. Policy

The Bush administration's preoccupation with narcotics trafficking overshadows its concern for human rights violations in Colombia. Last year, the administration ignored a provision in the International Narcotics Control Act of 1990 that prohibits anti-narcotics assistance to countries whose armed forces are engaged in "a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights." Although the State Department's

1991 Human Rights Report described ongoing, serious human rights violations by Colombian security forces, the Bush administration submitted to Congress a formal determination that Colombia was meeting human rights conditions. During 1991, Colombia received \$47 million in military assistance and \$24 million in economic support funds for anti-narcotics assistance. Another \$20 million was earmarked for police aid.

### Washington Connections

Although Colombia has made no substantive headway in improving its human rights record, the government has launched a high-powered public relations campaign to improve its image with the U.S. public and lawmakers.

The Colombian government and private sector interests have hired the Sawyer Miller Group to boost their image and to be their eyes and ears in Washington. During 1991, Sawyer Miller landed a \$3.1 million dollar contract with the government and a group called "Fundación Pro-Imagen en el Exterior" to "provide advertising, strategy and message development, public relations, research, analysis, trip logistics, and other related and necessary services," according to its foreign agent filing.

Sawyer Miller has a reputation for being one of Washington's top political and media consulting firms, a spin-control factory. Sawyer Miller is headed by David Sawyer, a well-known Democratic campaign consultant. His partner is Scott Miller, who was media coordinator for Michael Dukakis' failed presidential campaign. The firm also is a registered foreign agent for the governments of the Philippines, Ecuador and Portugal.

From April 1991 through May 1992, Republican operative-turned-Ross Perot-supporter Ed Rollins was the managing partner of Sawyer Miller's Washington office. The next month, he signed on as co-chairman of Ross Perot's presidential campaign and quit Sawyer Miller. Rollins was Assistant to the President for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs under Ronald Reagan and was Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee from 1991 to 1992.

One of Perot's campaign themes was that he wanted to keep foreign influence out of politics. Perot blasted Republicans who leave government jobs to lobby on behalf of foreign governments. But it appears that Perot had foreign influence on his own campaign staff.

At Sawyer Miller, Rollins worked on the Colombian account and made a trip on behalf of his client to Colombia just months before he joined Perot's team, according to John Roberts, one of Sawyer Miller's managing partners. As managing director of the Washington office, Rollins also signed the firm's foreign agent registration filed with the Justice Department on February 12, 1992. But he never registered as a foreign agent himself.

"He [Rollins] made a trip to Colombia on that account," said Roberts, though he and other staff members later denied that Rollins made the trip. "He went there to discuss the problems presented by narco-trafficking. It was a P.R. trip."

Mary Maselli, a Sawyer Miller staff member who also works on the Colombian account, said the firm doesn't lobby on behalf of the Colombian government. "We don't lobby," she said. "We assist them in the preparation of materials that they use in lobbying efforts. We prepare speeches for their government officials. You know, like we'll help them write a letter from their ambassador to Congress. We try to help them get their message across."

Rollins, who did not return to Sawyer Miller after Perot quit the presidential race, has formed his own political and communications consulting business and is working out of an office in the Washington lobbying firm of Camp, **Barsh**, Bates and Tate. Rollins confirmed that he did make a trip to Colombia while at Sawyer Miller. But he denied it had anything to do with the firm's public relations account.

"I made one trip," he said in an interview. "I had a two-day meeting with the president of Colombia and his senior staff to discuss the second half of his political agenda, a sort of mid-term review. It had nothing to do with the P.R. account and was a favor to him."

Rollins also said that while he was at Sawyer Miller he made a trip to the Philippines and had political discussions with Ramon **Mitra**, former speaker of the Philippines House of Representatives, who launched an unsuccessful bid for the presidency.

Rollins said he didn't register as a foreign agent because he didn't work on the accounts. "I just don't want to represent foreign countries," he said.

Though Colombia's human rights situation hasn't improved, Maselli said she is very proud of her firm's efforts to turn around U.S. public opinion on that country. In an interview with the now defunct *Times of the Americas*, she said that under Virgilio **Barco**'s administration, 76 percent of the U.S. public identified Colombia with cocaine and coffee, and favored foreign aid sanctions. But because of Sawyer Miller's work, public opinion has changed, Maselli said. She described an advertising campaign depicting those who had died in Colombia fighting the drug war.

"We did a very emotional one with a funeral scene showing the thousands of people who participated in a funeral march for the assassinated attorney general and again saying these are people who are speaking out. We call it our heroes campaign. A year later, we did polling to test the effectiveness, and obviously I'm not going to say that the ads are the only things that contributed ... but what did happen is that the number completely reversed and 76 percent of the American public then made a distinction between the Colombian government and the cocaine cartels," she said.

Not surprisingly, the ad campaign did not depict the hundreds of civilian and political killings attributed to Colombian government security forces, as documented by America's Watch.

Also registered as a foreign agent for Colombia and Fondo de Promotion de **Exportaciones** de Colombia is the Washington law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and **Feld**. The firm was paid \$90,000 in fees to "provide advice regarding trade, economic and legislative matters to the foreign principal and contact appropriate officials and staff in **Congress** and the executive branch to inform them of the foreign principal's position on trade and legislative matters affecting **U.S.-Colombian** relations," according to its

foreign agent filing. From February to June 1991, firm partner Kirk O'Donnell met with 16 members of Congress and several congressional staffers and administration officials to discuss trade issues. O'Donnell, who has top Democratic credentials, knows his way around Capitol Hill. He was general counsel to former House Speaker Tip O'Neill from 1978-86. He was president of the Center for National Policy, a Democratic think tank, from 1986 to 1989.

On behalf of Colombia, O'Donnell met with Democrat Sens. Lloyd Bentsen (**Tex.**), Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.) and Rep. Sam Gibbons (**Fla.**). He also met with Republican Sen. **Arlen** Specter (Penn.).

Akin Gump has two partners who are former high-level officials in the office of the U.S. Trade Representative. They are Richard Rivers, formerly General Counsel to the Office of the Special Trade Representative in the Carter administration and Robert S. Strauss, who was also a Special Trade Representative under Carter. Strauss is also a former U.S. Ambassador to Russia. Daniel Spiegel, who is also a partner in the firm, was Special Assistant to the Secretary of State under Carter.

In addition, Colombian **textile** interests paid the law firm of Mudge Rose **Guthrie** Alexander and Ferdon \$50,000 to conduct an analysis of U.S.-Colombian textile and apparel trade. The purpose of the analysis was to "provide recommendations to the Colombian government and the textile **mill/garment** sector on the continued development of Colombia textile and apparel trade with the United States," according to the firm's foreign agent filing.

## COLOMBIA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$93.8 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$3.2 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fees
1. Sawyer Miller Group	Government of Colombia and the <b>Fundación Pro-Imagen en el Exterior</b>	\$3.1 million (1991)
2. Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon	<b>Asociación Nacional de Industrials (ANDI);</b> Colombian textile industry	\$30,750 (1/92-2/92); \$35,752 (3/91-8/91)
3. Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld	<b>Fondo de Promoción de Exportaciones de Colombia</b>	\$91,657 (12/90-6/91)

## GUATEMALA

### FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$90.9 MILLION

### ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS, 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$560,000

In March 1990, the State Department recalled the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala to protest the country's dismal human rights record. Just three months later, Michael DeVine, an American who was an innkeeper in rural Guatemala, was **abducted**, tortured and executed by members of Guatemala's military, according to the State Department.

Under pressure by the Bush administration to bring DeVine's killers to justice, then-President Vinicio Cerezo admitted that the military may have been involved. Cerezo called for a full investigation. Several army officers were **subsequently** arrested for DeVine's **murder**, but the investigation then stalled. The United States responded by suspending military aid and commercial arms sales to Guatemala in December 1990.

The following month, Jorge Serrano, who promised to show more respect for human rights, was elected president of Guatemala with 68 percent of the vote. But during his tenure, **Guatemala's** human rights record has worsened in many respects, according to domestic and international human rights groups.

Most of the country's human rights abuses have occurred in the Guatemalan highlands and have been attributed to "death squads" that have been linked to Guatemalan security forces.<sup>25</sup> For more than three decades, the military and civil police have been waging war against guerrilla insurgents in the highlands. Guerrillas too have committed human rights atrocities. Although Serrano has initiated peace talks with the guerrillas, there is little hope for a quick resolution of the conflict.

According to a State Department report, the situation has not improved under Serrano's watch. "In 1991, the military, civil patrols, and the police continued to commit a majority of the major human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, torture and disappearances of, among others, human rights activists, unionists, indigenous people and street children."<sup>26</sup>

Serrano also has backed the military in its whitewash of the DeVine investigation. In 1991, three military officers — two colonels and a captain — were questioned by a military court in connection with the DeVine case, but they were ordered free after questioning. Two days before their release, Serrano told the *New York Times* that the United States has made the DeVine case the "central point" in U.S.-Guatemalan relations and added his country was not part of a cover-up. "It hurts that they have not recognized the attitude of impartiality of my government," he said. "We have been absolutely crystal clear in the handling of this case. I have said this to President Bush himself, they have to understand there is no cover-up on our part."<sup>27</sup> But in January 1992, an appellate court ordered the **rearrest** of the captain, Hugo Contreas, while the charges against the colonels were dropped. To date, DeVine's killer has yet to be brought to justice.

## Torture

In 1991, political killings and torture by the military continued. Preliminary reports from Guatemala's human rights ombudsman, the most conservative estimate, listed 258 complaints of political killings. The Guatemalan archbishop's human rights office reported 575 political executions for the same period.<sup>28</sup> From February to June 1991, four human rights activists were murdered and a fifth disappeared. The security forces are suspected.<sup>29</sup> "Torture remains a permanent aspect of Guatemala's human rights situation," Human Rights Watch said.

Although most victims tortured by security forces in Guatemala do not live to testify about their experience, evidence that the practice is common can be deduced from the condition in which bodies are found. In 1991 a handful of individuals tortured by the police or army survived and were able to provide detailed testimony about their ill-treatment. Torture techniques include burning victims' bodies with cigarettes and severely beating them.<sup>30</sup> In a Sept. 13, 1991 editorial, the *Boston Globe* said that under Serrano, the country's human rights policies are "still-ghastly." Americas Watch and Physicians for Human Rights also sharply criticized Serrano in a 1991 report titled *Guatemala Getting Away With Murder*. The report said: "Government forces continued to commit torture, murder, and disappearances with impunity."

Serrano has taken some steps to replace abusive military personnel and prosecute others implicated in human rights violations. But the security forces are "virtually never held accountable for human rights violations," according to the State Department. The Washington Office on Latin America concluded in a June 5, 1992, memo sent to congressional aides that the results of Serrano's human rights policies have been "meager."<sup>31</sup>

Serrano has attempted to discredit his own country's human rights movement. For example, during an October 1991 visit to Washington, he said that CERJ, the Guatemalan human rights group that was investigating the murders of four of its members and the disappearance of another, was a "parallel organization" to the guerrilla movement. Human Rights Watch said that, to the best of its knowledge, the accusation was false and amounted to a "death sentence for CERJ activists."<sup>32</sup> Human Rights Watch also contended that Serrano impeded the work of the Organization for American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights by pressing for the removal of its staff attorney in Guatemala, who was investigating the 1990 death of a human rights activist in **Chunima**. Serrano denied the accusation.<sup>33</sup>

## U.S. Policy

Although the United States suspended \$2 million in military aid to Guatemala in fiscal year 1991, it spent nearly \$91 million in economic support funds, development assistance and other humanitarian aid. Military training continued at \$414,000. Human rights groups oppose economic aid to Guatemala until the security forces cease political killings and torture, and the government prosecutes those responsible. Human Rights Watch argues these payments violate a provision of the Foreign Assistance Act (Section 502B) that prohibits security assistance — defined to include economic support funds — to governments engaged in gross violations of human rights. The group says the Bush administration continues to support

the security police by providing equipment and training through a variety of special programs such as the Justice Department's International Criminal Investigations Training and Assistance Program and the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance program.<sup>34</sup>

The State Department reported that during 1991 human rights conditions in Guatemala improved from 1990.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the department's conclusion must be balanced against its own findings that the security forces continue to commit "a majority of the human rights abuses" and that "the security forces are virtually never held accountable for human rights violations." A State Department official, who asked not to be identified, said the report is not meant to be an endorsement of Serrano's human rights record. "This report only recognizes that Serrano has taken some steps [to improve human rights], but he has a way to go," he said.

There are some signs that the Bush administration may be moving to stem the flow of aid to Guatemala. The administration says it plans to cut economic assistance to Guatemala by 50 percent this year, from \$30 million in fiscal year 1991 to \$15 million in fiscal year 1992, according to preliminary estimates.<sup>36</sup>

### Washington Connections

While Serrano's government can't seem to stop the killings and torture in Guatemala, it knows how to get results in Washington by playing the lobbying game. During 1991-1992, the government assembled a powerful lobbying and public relations team to represent its interests on Capitol Hill and put a positive spin on its human rights record. While the government pleaded poverty before the U.S. Congress, it doled out more than \$560,000 to Washington lobbyists and image-makers. These Washington insiders are lobbying on the government's behalf to obtain more foreign aid and to boost the image of a country with an appalling human rights record. To help ensure victory on Capitol Hill, Guatemala's lobbying forces include Democratic and Republican insiders alike.

The Washington law firm of Patton, Boggs and Blow, with close ties to the Democrats, was paid \$220,000 by the Government of Guatemala during 1991 to represent it "on a broad range of issues involving its relationship to the United States," according to its foreign agent filing. The law firm also was hired by the government to prepare a status report on the Michael DeVine slaying.

Patton, Boggs lobbyist David Todd says the status report on DeVine "still is in progress at this point." The firm's filing showed that Todd had plentiful access to Members of Congress and their staff. For example, during the congressional budget season last year (March-May 1991), Todd met with more than 10 Members of Congress and nine congressional staffers on key human rights and appropriations committees to discuss "human rights and fiscal matters." Among those he lobbied were Democratic Reps. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), Peter H. Kostmayer (D-Pa.), Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.), Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn), Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.), Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.) and Gus Yatron (D-Pa.), all members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. On the Senate side, he lobbied Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Todd declined to comment on his lobbying activities and refused to say anything about any advice

he has offered the Guatemalan government. "The question is wholly inappropriate," he said.

One congressional staffer Todd lobbied was Richard Nuccio, a staff consultant for the Foreign Affairs Committee's Western Hemisphere Affairs panel. "I've talked to Todd several times. We largely talk about foreign aid authorization," he said. Nuccio also said Todd volunteered his services when Torricelli, chairman of the **panel**, paid a visit to Serrano in Guatemala in April 1992. "He [Todd] was helpful in arranging that visit," Nuccio said.

On the Republican front, Keith Schuette, the head of the Washington, D.C.-based **Schuette & Associates International**, also has been hired by Serrano. Schuette is being paid \$72,000 annually to lobby and to "induce officials in the United States and other countries to adopt favorable policies and attitudes toward Guatemala in the areas of trade, investment and human rights."

**Schuette's** ties to the Republican Party and Serrano are deep. Schuette founded the **National Republican Institute** for International Affairs and served as its president from 1983 to 1990. The Institute is run under the auspices of the National Endowment for **Democracy**, a nonprofit private foundation whose stated mission is to promote democracy abroad. But the **Institute**, funded by Congress, has been criticized for using taxpayers' money to fund Latin American groups with conservative political agendas. During 1989, when Schuette was president of the Institute, one project the Institute supported was the Central American Political Academy, which comprised four think tanks. In Guatemala, the Academy was represented by the Political Academy for Liberty and Justice. One of the **group's** founders was Jorge Serrano, **Guatemala's president**.<sup>37</sup> Schuette also was paid \$30,000 in 1991 to lobby on **Serrano's** behalf and represent the Guatemalan Tourist Commission.

Serrano isn't the only Guatemalan official who has hired a pricey Washington lobbyist. In March, Guatemala Supreme Court Justice Juan Jose **Rodil** hired Paul **Reichler**, a partner in the firm of **Reichler & Soble**, to lobby Congress for more training and equipment for the judiciary. Reichler said the aid is necessary to enable **Guatemala's** judiciary to better investigate crimes and human rights abuses. He is being paid \$7,000 monthly, according to his foreign agent filing.

Reichler, who once represented Nicaragua's Sandinista government, said his client wants to reform Guatemala's criminal justice system. "I know him personally, he's committed," said Reichler. "There's a lot of obstacles, but I'm convinced he will do everything to make the court system a vehicle for protecting human rights."

Reichler also lobbied on behalf of the Guatemalan government during 1989-1990, when he was a partner in the law firm of Reichler, Appelbaum & Wippman. At that time, one of **Reichler's** contacts in the Guatemalan government was General Hector Gramajo, Minister of Defense. Human rights activists have denounced Gramajo for his actions as military commander of a harsh counter insurgency campaign in the 1980s, during which widespread **torture**, murder and massacres took place. As Defense Minister, Gramajo made excuses for the army after the torture and murder of six students at the University of San Carlos, a center of political opposition activity, in 1989. Later that year he again defended the military when Diana Ortiz, a nun from the United States, said she was **kidnapped**, **raped**, beaten and burned with cigarettes by security **forces**.<sup>38</sup>

Just months later, Reichler escorted Gramajo to meetings with members of Congress and their staffs to discuss "foreign assistance legislation pending in Congress which may affect the interests of Guatemala," according to his foreign agent filings. On May 23, 1990, for example, Reichler and Gramajo met with Reps. Weiss and Robert J. Mrazek (D-N.Y.), and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn). Reichler's filing also showed that his firm was paid more than \$150,000 in fees from the Guatemalan government during 1990. Last year, after retiring as Defense Minister, Gramajo graduated from Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. A few months later, a U.S. federal court in Boston ruled against Gramajo in two lawsuits filed by the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights, alleging human rights violations from 1982 to 1990. Gramajo had not responded to the court's request for information.<sup>39</sup>

Serrano also has hired MWW/Strategic Communications, Inc., a New Jersey-based firm, as a media adviser to boost the country's image, according to its foreign agent filing.

## GUATEMALA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$90.9 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$475,000*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fee</b>
1. Patton, Boggs and Blow (David Todd)	Republic of Guatemala	\$220,000 (1991)
2. Schuette & Associates Intl. (Keith Schuette)	Guatemala Tourist Commission	\$30,000 (1991)
3. Schuette & Associates	Office of the President of Guatemala	\$6,000 monthly (1992 contract)
4. Reichler & Soble (Paul Reichler)	Supreme Court Justice of Guatemala	\$7,000/month (1992)
5. MWW Strategic Communications	President of Guatemala	\$58,670 (1991)

## PERU

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$183.16 MILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$80,000**

Peru is a country in turmoil. On April 5, President Alberto Fujimori suspended the Congress and the judiciary and placed several other political leaders, journalists and lawyers under detention. Fujimori's decision followed more than 12 years of internal conflict that has pitted the military against insurgent groups and a flourishing narcotics industry. More than 24,000 people, most of them **civilians**, have died in political violence since 1980.

The Bush administration called Fujimori's power grab a "regrettable step backwards for the cause of democracy in this hemisphere" and suspended all economic and military aid, except for humanitarian aid, on April 6.

But months before Fujimori assumed dictatorial power, human rights groups were calling for the administration to suspend aid to Peru because of its deplorable human rights record. Holly **Burkhalter**, Washington director of Human Rights Watch and Juan Mendez, executive director of Americas Watch, summed up their views in an op-ed piece for the *Los Angeles Times*.

"Most of the worst human rights abuses occur in areas where the Peruvian police and security forces are deployed to counter the drug trade. On July 9, [1991], for example, drunken members of a police unit in the Upper Huallaga Valley town of Bellavista, in the heart of the anti-narcotics campaign, shot a commercial plane out of the sky after the pilot refused to let them board and shake down the passengers for money. All 15 people aboard died in the crash: undeterred, the police scavenged through the wreckage and robbed the dead. In June [1991], police in the Lima suburb of Callao were videotaped as they abducted a medical student and two teenagers and stuffed them into the trunk of a police cruiser. Their bullet-ridden bodies turned up hours later in the city **morgue**."<sup>40</sup>

Despite these abuses and others, the Bush administration, eager to carry out its war on drugs, made a "determination" to Congress in 1991 that Peru complied with strict human rights conditions. Congress attaches this "determination" to countries receiving aid to counter narcotics traffickers. Conditions in the International Narcotics Control Act of 1990 specify that security forces must not practice torture, arbitrary detention, disappearance or other flagrant human rights abuses. The **administration's** finding outraged several Members of Congress and human rights groups because Peru had not met these conditions in 1991.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, Congress eventually approved a foreign aid budget for Peru that eliminated the **administration's** request to allocate \$10 million for the Peruvian army.

Two years after Fujimori was elected president, Peru's human rights record has not improved, according to human rights groups. In a May 1992 report, Amnesty International concluded: "A high incidence of human rights violations has continued to be reported since the government of President Alberto

Fujimori was installed in July 1990. According to the cases documented by Amnesty International, between 28 July 1990 and 30 April 1992 — the first 21 months of Fujimori's government — 392 people reported as "disappeared" remained unaccounted for after arrest and 169 were extrajudicially executed. Torture, including rape, by the military and police has continued to be reported and many prisoners were held on charges of 'terrorism' often said to be based on statements extracted under torture. Independent and official human rights defenders have suffered death threats, attacks and killings at the hands of the security forces or by so-called paramilitary groups working with their support."<sup>42</sup>

### Washington Connections

Peru's tourist office (FOPTUR) hired Hill and Knowlton to "provide public relations and counsel" for a three-month period during 1991. FOPTUR paid the firm a \$20,000 fee, according to its foreign agent filing. Though the government doesn't have a Washington lobbyist to represent its interests relating to foreign aid, two private-sector Peruvian textile trade associations with connections to the Peruvian government have hired Washington lobbyists to ensure that Peru is favorably treated under U.S. textile quotas.

Representing the textile associations during 1991-1992 is Michael Daniels, a partner in the law firm of Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon, who is also the CEO of the firm's consulting subsidiary, International Business and Economic Research Corp. (IBERC). IBERC specializes in giving advice to foreign exporters on the U.S. textile quota system.

The Peruvian textile interests are represented by IBERC's Walter C. Lenahan, the Commerce Department's former chief textile negotiator. Lenahan made headlines when he joined Mudge Rose on February 10, 1986. At the time, the law firm was representing Hong Kong's interest in sensitive textile negotiations with the United States. But only three days earlier, Lenahan had been negotiating on behalf of the United States in the same textile negotiations.

The General Accounting Office and the Justice and Commerce Departments investigated the matter, but Lenahan was not prosecuted. GAO found that Lenahan violated neither the post-employment laws nor the Foreign Agents Registration Act. But GAO concluded that Lenahan may have run afoul of federal conflict-of-interest laws. "It appears that Mr. Lenahan as a government official participated personally and substantially in particular matters which he knew would affect the financial interest of organizations with which he was negotiating for employment." GAO referred the matter to the Justice Department "for such actions as it deems appropriate," but no action was taken.<sup>43</sup>

Mudge Rose and IBERC are collecting a \$60,000 fee to advise the Comité de Fabricantes de Prendas de Vestir and the Comité Textil of the Sociedad Nacional de Industrias "concerning Peru's bilateral textile agreement with the United States," according to its foreign agent filing.

The filings also show that both Mudge Rose and IBERC "may include political activities, such as making representations to Members of Congress and to administration officials" with respect to the renegotiation of the U.S.-Peru bilateral textile agreement.

Mudge Rose's Daniels said that he is being paid by private industry and not by the Peruvian government. However, although he is being paid by Peruvian textile interests, he has regular contacts with both Peruvian and U.S. government officials. He acknowledged that he meets with the Peruvian government on textile matters. "I meet with the Peruvian government and I talk about textile issues with them, but I'm not being paid by them," he said.

When asked about the Lenahan controversy. Daniels said **Lenahan** was unfairly portrayed as a negative symbol of the revolving door. "**Wally** Lenahan was a sterling government official," he added.

**PERU**

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$183.16 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$80,000*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fees</b>
1. Hill and Knowlton	Peru Tourist Office	more than \$20,000 (7/91-9/91)
2. Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon/ IBERC	Peru Textile Trade Associations	\$60,000 (7/91-7/92)

## **AFRICA**

## ANGOLA (UNITA)

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS):** \$7.4 MILLION (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA)

**COVERT AID TO THE NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (UNITA) IN 1991:** \$35-50 MILLION, ACCORDING TO CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992:** IN EXCESS OF \$1.9 MILLION

In September 1992, the citizens of Angola went to the polls for the first election in their history to decide which of two brutal political regimes should rule their country. The choice was between the governing leftist **Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)** led by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and the opposition **National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)**, headed by Jonas Savimbi. During years of fighting, both sides have committed significant human rights abuses.

The fighting resumed November 1, when Savimbi refused to accept the results of the election, which dos Santos won by a wide margin. In the latest fighting more than 1,000 people were killed in the capital city alone, and hundreds more in the rural areas.

The election has changed little with respect to improving the country's human rights record. Both political parties have committed gross human rights violations, including the mass killings of political dissidents, according to Amnesty International. In addition, the *State Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices* concluded both parties continue to torture political opponents.<sup>44</sup>

Angola, a former Portuguese colony, has endured 31 years of civil war. When independence came in 1975, civil war intensified, and Angola became a pawn in a battle between the superpowers. The United States backed Savimbi and his anti-communist rhetoric and the former Soviet Union sided with the MPLA. The United States doesn't maintain diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola.

Savimbi has not turned out to be a democratic reformer. Instead, he is a brutal murderer who even had two of his own aides killed because he viewed them as rivals, according to two former UNITA founders.<sup>45</sup> Savimbi has denied any role in his former allies' deaths.<sup>46</sup>

Journalists, who once praised Savimbi, are now trying to set the record straight. One is Fred Bridgland, a reporter for the *Sunday Telegraph* of London who wrote about the death of one of Savimbi's aides. "The man is Pedro 'Tito' Chingunji, well-known in Washington and other Western capitals as a determined, effective advocate of the movement, which he enthusiastically portrayed to members of Congress and citizens and church groups in America as democratic insurgency...Chingunji is the best-known of scores of UNITA members killed in bloody leadership purges stretching over more than 15 years. The murders have been hidden from the West, but the truth about what well-paid publicists continue to portray as a humanitarian movement is emerging."

## Washington Connections

Hired to represent UNITA was the Washington lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly. Paul Manafort, the former Reagan political operative, oversees the firm's foreign clients and is being paid \$600,000 yearly by UNITA. Manafort's partner is Charles R. Black, another GOP operative who was a senior campaign strategist for President Bush. (For more on Black, Manafort's political ties, see the chapter on Kenya.)

According to the firm's foreign agent filing, its services to UNITA include "participation in the development and implementation of a strategy to aid in the procurement of foreign assistance, generating increased favorable coverage of UNITA and issues that relate to it within the U.S. media and to minimize and prevent any negative press to the extent possible, and advancement of the other goals of UNITA."

In pursuit of these goals, Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly met or had phone conversations with numerous congressional aides, State Department officials and National Security Council staff from January to June 1992, its foreign agent filing said. For example, Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly met last April with Jeff Millington, the U.S. Ambassador to Angola, on behalf of UNITA. That same month, the firm met with Ambassador Jeff Davidow, Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs at the State Department, and James LeDesma, another official in the African bureau. The firm also visited Gil Kapen, a legislative aide to Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), ranking minority member of the Foreign Affairs African panel. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly met several times with Richard Roth, Deputy Director of State's Southern African Affairs Office, and Calvin Humphrey, a legislative aide to the House Intelligence Committee. The firm also had two meetings and a phone conversation with Walter Kansteiner, Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council, to discuss Angolan's aid package.

Also spreading UNITA's message is the rebel group's Washington office, the Free Angola Information Service. The office spent \$439,674 from September 1991 to March 1992, according to its foreign agent filing. In October 1991, Savimbi and UNITA's chief representative to the United States, Jardo Muekalia, lobbied President Bush, Vice President Quayle, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney and then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III on continuing U.S. aid to UNITA, according to Muekalia. He also said they lobbied Bush in 1990 and met with him "several times" when he was Vice President.

According to UNITA's foreign agent filing, Muekalia and Savimbi also met in October 1991 with Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.); and Rep. Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), House minority leader. UNITA also lobbied several congressional aides and State Department officials.

Free Angola also retained Kenneth Schochet, a former counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1978-1981 to lobby Congress "and working in particular in the U.S. Senate with Senate Democratic members and staff," said Schochet's contract. Schochet was paid \$39,000 from March 1991 to February 1992 to lobby Richard McCall, a legislative aide to Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Adonis Hoffman, Staff Director of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. Schochet also lobbied Alfred Cumming, a legislative aide to Sen. Bob

Graham (D-Fla.), who sits on the Senate Banking International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee.

Another firm representing UNITA is the Washington Public Affairs Group, which was paid \$90,000 to assist the rebels in "obtaining economic and other assistance" from the United States.

From July to October 1991, the Washington Public Affairs Group telephoned Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen 12 times to discuss, among other things, the status of U.S. aid to UNITA. The group also met with several congressional aides on behalf of its client to discuss aid to UNITA.

Representing the Angolan government is Hill and Knowlton, which was paid \$727,500 from May 1991 to May 1992 to lobby Congress and the State Department on "humanitarian assistance to Angola and human rights issues." Also retained by the government of Angola to lobby Congress and the administration was the firm of Washington, Christian & Loafman, and Paulo Tuba. Paulo Tuba was paid \$31,088 during 1991 by the Angolan government. Washington, Christian didn't list its fees in its foreign agent filing.

## ANGOLA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$7.4 million (People's Republic of Angola)*

*Covert aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) during 1991: \$35-\$50 million, according to Congressional sources*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-92 (both groups): in excess of \$1.9 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	UNITA	\$600,000 (9/91-9/92)
2. Free Angola Information Service	UNITA	\$439,674 (1991-1992)
3. Washington Public Affairs Group	UNITA	\$90,000 (7/91)
4. Kenneth Barry Schochet	UNITA	\$39,000 (3/91-2/92)
5. Paulo Tuba	Angola	\$31,088 (fees and expenses 6/91-11/91)
6. Hill and Knowlton	Angola	\$727,500 (5/91-5/92)
7. Washington, Christian & Loafman	Government of Angola	not listed

## KENYA

FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$38.3 MILLION

ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$1.4 MILLION

Last year, a growing chorus of Kenyan citizens and world leaders, including the Bush administration, challenged Kenyan President Daniel Moi's longtime policy of violating the human rights of critics of the government. After ignoring calls for political reform from Kenyan citizens seeking a multiparty democracy in Kenya, Moi abruptly backed the legalization of a multiparty system. But this was only after such institutions as the World Bank agreed to suspend aid to Kenya for six months to see whether the government would undertake reforms.

Nearly a year later, Human Rights Watch reported that Kenya's "basic institutional structure of authoritarian and repressive rule remains intact."<sup>47</sup>

The State Department's Country Report on Human Rights Practices issued this year concluded that, while there were signs of improvement in late 1991, "human rights were circumscribed for most of the year, and significant restrictions remained at year's end. President Moi repeatedly asserted that Kenya was not ready for multiparty democracy, and movement towards political change was blocked in various ways."<sup>48</sup> The State Department report also concluded that "torture is proscribed under the Constitution, but there continued to be persistent credible reports of severe police brutality and abuse of prisoners in 1991."

Lawyers, politicians, journalists and clergy who publicized the Kenyan government's human rights abuses became the target of government reprisals.<sup>49</sup>

For example, four Kenyans (including a former member of parliament and a former lecturer at the University of Nairobi) who wrote an article about the Kenyan security service were convicted of sedition and sentenced to seven years in prison. The accused testified at their trial that they were subjected to torture to obtain confessions, a charge rejected by the judge. None of the defendants had ever advocated violence against the government, according to Human Rights Watch.<sup>50</sup>

During 1991, the Bush administration openly criticized the Kenyan government's corruption and human rights practices. U.S. Ambassador Smith Hempstone described a Nov. 14 arrest of Kenyan democracy leaders as "a bloody mess" and said he told President Moi that "the best thing he could do was to release these people as quickly as possible."<sup>51</sup> In March 1992, the State Department said it was "deeply concerned" about police violence against hunger strikers who were calling for the release of political prisoners. In addition, Congress, in the fiscal year 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, specified that Kenya should receive no military or economic aid unless its human rights situation improved. The Bush administration did not attempt to certify that that was the case, as it did with Turkey. (See the chapter on Turkey.)

## Washington Connections

The Kenyan government continues to come under attack in Congress and in the Bush administration for its human rights abuses. The government annually pleads poverty before the U.S. Congress and asks the U.S. taxpayer to bail out its economy with millions of dollars in foreign aid. Yet the Kenyan government has enough money to spread its cash around in Washington to hire well-connected Washington lobbyists, paying them nearly \$1.5 million dollars in fees in 1991-92 to increase the flow of U.S. aid and to blunt criticism. Hired by the Kenyan government are the Washington lobbying firm of Black, **Manafort**, Stone and Kelly; **Neill & Co.**; and Newcastle International, Ltd.

Black, Manafort is being paid \$660,000 by the Kenyan government during 1992-1993 to lobby Congress, the executive branch, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and a broad array of public-interest groups such as the Black Caucus and **Africa Watch**, according to the firm's foreign agent filing. The Kenyan government is "interested in acquiring increased aid from the U.S. government, the IMF, World Bank and other donors," the filing said. During 1990-1991, the Kenyan government also paid Black, Manafort \$750,000 to lobby Congress and the executive branch.

Black, Manafort has deep ties to both Republicans and Democrats. The firm's principals are quintessential Washington insiders whose lobbying activities are legendary.

Paul Manafort oversees the firm's foreign **clients**, who include the Nigerian government, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (**UNITA**) and the League of Leaders for Philippine Development. Manafort was personnel director for former President Ronald Reagan's transition team and political director for the 1984 Republican National Convention. Manafort made headlines at a 1989 congressional hearing at which he testified that he had engaged in "influence-peddling" when he collected a \$326,000 consulting fee for pursuing HUD contracts for clients. Local authorities called the project a waste of taxpayers **money**.<sup>52</sup>

Charles R. Black, a senior campaign strategist to President George Bush in the 1992 campaign, oversees the firm's domestic clients. Black was political director of the Reagan for President Committee and later was spokesman for the Republican National Committee.

Black is an example of a Washington lobbyist who advises the president on politics, but whose **firm** is paid to represent foreign governments that undermine stated U.S. policy objectives; in Kenya's case, its dismal human rights record. Through a spokeswoman, Black's firm acknowledged the public policy issue raised by lobbyists who accept substantial fees from countries whose governments receive millions of dollars in U.S. tax money.

"We are aware that that's an issue," said a spokeswoman for Black, Manafort who asked not to be identified. "But we're not paid out of any foreign assistance." She said that Black does not advise foreign **clients**, but does benefit from the income generated by those clients as a partner in the firm. With respect to human rights issues, she said the firm does not "attempt to explain away those concerns" to Members of Congress. "We try to open a dialogue," she said.

Other members of Black, Manafort are Peter Stone, who also worked on Reagan's presidential campaigns; Peter Kelly, a former finance chairman for the Democratic National Committee; and James Healy, formerly chief of staff to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.).

Black, Manafort said in its 1992 foreign agent filing that, on behalf of its client Kenya, it has had telephone conversations with several officials to discuss human rights in Kenya. They were Al Cyllah of Amnesty International; Alex Arriafga, majority staff director of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus; Lisa Heyes, legislative aide, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights; and Gary Fuller, a State Department Official in the Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

John Donaldson, president of Newcastle International, Ltd. and a former employee of Black, Manafort, also is lobbying on behalf of Kenya and is being paid 10 percent of the fees Black, Manafort receives from Kenya.

Neill and Co. is also lobbying the Bush administration and Congress for increased foreign aid. During 1991 the firm was paid \$380,000 to represent the government's interests. The firm will be paid \$360,000 in fees during 1992, according to its foreign agent filing. Neill and Co. also has several former top government officials on its staff. They are Leslie Janka, Assistant Secretary of Defense during the Carter administration; William Perry, Director of Latin American Affairs for the National Security Council during the Reagan years; and George Dally, previously Staff Director to Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.).

During 1991, Neill and Co. lobbied Congress and the executive branch on behalf of Kenya in support of increased foreign and military aid, the firm's filing said. For example, the firm said that from July 5, 1991 to January 5, 1991, it "contacted in person and by telephone, Members of Congress and their personal staff, the staff of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, and the staff of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committee, regularly and continuously." The officials the firm said it contacted repeatedly were Senate Appropriations Committee staffers Jim Bond and Eric Newson; House Foreign Affairs Committee staffers Mickey Harmon, Adonis Hoffman and Gil Kapen; and Tim Trenkle and Chip Walgren, legislative aides to Sens. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who sit on key subcommittees with legislative oversight over African foreign policy and appropriations.

During the same period, the firm also lobbied "at least one time but not more than three times," Sens. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.) and Reps. Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-Calif.), Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.) and Charles Wilson (D-Tex.) in support of increased aid for Kenya. Also contacted were 21 key congressional staffers who are legislative aides on the Foreign Affairs or Appropriations Committees, or who are legislative aides to members who sit on these committees. In addition, Neill and Co. had extensive contacts with the executive branch and lobbied 31 officials during the same period. Those listed as lobbied by telephone or in person included State Department officials Martin Chesky, Henry Cohen, Jane Fisher, Dwayne Gathers, Robert Houdek, Robert Lagamma, Warren Weinstein, Mary Rita Zeleke and Jon Ziolkowski. Neill and Co. also lobbied officials in the Justice, Agriculture, Treasury and Commerce Departments and the Agency for International Development, as well as Shawn Schmeallie, a White House staffer.

## KENYA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$38.8 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$1.4 million*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fees</b>
1. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	Republic of Kenya	\$660,000 (1992-1993)
2. Newcastle International, Ltd.	Republic of Kenya	10% of Black, Manafort's fees
3. Neill and Co.	Government of Kenya	\$360,000 (1992); \$380,360 (1991)

## NIGERIA

**FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991 (ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS): \$8.3 MILLION**

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: \$2.5 MILLION**

The military government of General Ibrahim Babangida continues to rely on force to stay in power. Last June, the Nigerian Bar Association called a strike to protest the government's refusal to produce in court four human rights activists and a student leader who were being held on charges of treason. Nigerian officials finally presented the activists and the student in court, but it appeared that some of the defendants had been "ill-treated in detention." according to Africa Watch.<sup>53</sup> Those arrested were: Beko Ransome-Kuti, chairman of Campaign for Democracy; lawyers Gani Fawehinmi and Femi Falana; Baba Omojola, a human rights activist; and Olusegun Mayegun, a student leader.

Africa Watch contended that the detention of these activists is but "a small part of a wider campaign of arrest and detention targeting suspected opponents" of the government. Although the Nigerian government purports to be making a transition to a civilian government by January 1993, the military is resisting. "In the process, civil and political liberties have been trampled upon, and the institutions of civil society vital to the success of any democracy have been undermined," concluded Africa Watch.<sup>54</sup>

The State Department's latest report on human rights practices said that during 1991, "human rights in Nigeria continued to be circumscribed."<sup>55</sup> While Nigerian law prohibits torture and mistreatment of prisoners, "there were numerous credible reports that police regularly beat suspects to extract criminal confessions," according to the State Department.

In addition, Vice President Quayle has raised human rights issues in private meetings with General Babangida and in a public speech in September 1991 in Abuja. The United States provided no direct military assistance to Nigeria in 1991, but did provide funding for general aid programs.

### Washington Connections

During 1991, the government of Nigeria paid retainers of \$1 million each to the lobbying firm Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly and the public relations firm Edward Aycoth & Co.

Black, Manafort was hired to, among other things, assist Nigeria in "building support for its transition program with the administration and the U.S. Congress," according to the firm's foreign agent filing. The firm also assisted the government "on various bilateral concerns with the United States." From February to May 1992, Black, Manafort lobbied several top Bush administration officials on behalf of Nigeria, the filing said. Among them were Walter Kansteiner, director of African Affairs at the National Security Council; Leon Weintraub, Nigeria desk officer at the State Department; and Tim Trenkle, legislative aide to Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.). Black, Manafort has close ties to both Republicans and Democrats. Name partner Charles R. Black was a senior political consultant on President Bush's presidential campaign. (For more about Black, Manafort's political connections, see the chapter on Kenya.)

According to the foreign agent filing of Edward Aycoth & Co., the firm provided public and government relations services and programs to promote Nigerian investment opportunities. For example, in October of 1991, the firm arranged a meeting between a delegation from the Nigerian National Law Enforcement Agency and administration and congressional aides.

In addition, the law firm of White & Case was paid \$432,557 in fees from the Republic of Nigeria during 1991 for legal representation in connection with "foreign borrowing and the rescheduling of certain foreign indebtedness of the Federal Republic of Nigeria."

The Washington law firm of Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn was paid \$75,000 by the government for legal representation involving fraud "perpetrated" upon its client. According to its foreign agent filing, the firm represented its client in federal court and had contacts with Export-Import Bank, Justice and Securities and Exchange Commission officials on establishing lines of credit at the Export-Import Bank.

In 1992, Newcastle International, Ltd., whose president, John Donaldson, was a former employee of Black, Manafort, is being paid a \$5,000 monthly fee by the Nigerian government to lobby Congress and the administration on "legislation and policies of the United States affecting bilateral relations, foreign assistance and multilateral trade and development."

## NIGERIA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1991 (actual obligations): \$8.3 million*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$2.5 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly	Federal Republic of Nigeria	\$1,000,000 (8/16/91)
2. White & Case	Federal Republic of Nigeria (Central Bank of Nigeria)	\$432,557 (5/91-2/92)
3. Edward Aycoth & Co.	Federal Republic of Nigeria	\$1,000,000 (1991)
4. Newcastle International, Ltd.	Government of Nigeria	\$5,000/month (1992)
5. Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn	Federal Republic of Nigeria	\$75,000 (1991)

**NATIONS RECEIVING NON-TRADITIONAL AID**

## CHINA

### **NO FOREIGN AID; THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS MOST-FAVORED-NATION (MFN) TRADING STATUS FOR CHINA**

### **ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$449,000**

In a September 1992 report, Asia Watch said that the Chinese government, in an on-going public relations campaign, is falsely portraying China's labor reform system "as a humane method for turning criminals into model citizens through industrial production."<sup>56</sup>

The report cited numerous accounts of pro-democracy activists imprisoned in China who said they have been beaten, shocked with electric cattle prods and forced to work 12 or more hours a day at unskilled assembly work. After a one-year investigation of China's large penal industrial complex at Lingyuan County, Asia Watch said it had "established beyond doubt that the authorities there are systematically engaged in exporting prison-made goods to many parts of the world, including the United States." U.S. law prohibits the import of products made by prison inmates.

In a May 1992 report, Asia Watch described the plight of more than 200 pro-democracy activists imprisoned in a Chinese jail system where "torture and ill-treatment are rampant."<sup>57</sup> The report documented the purge of pro-democracy activists in the aftermath of the 1989 massacre at Tiananmen Square, where Chinese troops opened fire on students and workers, killing from 300 to 1,000 people.

The State Department reported that in 1991 "China's human rights practices remained repressive, falling far short of internationally accepted norms... the use of torture and degrading treatment of persons detained and imprisoned has persisted." President Bush, in a meeting with Chinese Premier Li Peng in February 1992, reportedly told Li that "the record of the Chinese government on human rights was insufficient." But Li rebuffed him and said that China is "opposed to interference in the internal affairs of other countries, using the human rights issue as an excuse."<sup>58</sup>

In the face of mounting world criticism of its human rights record, China launched a campaign during 1991-1992 to prop up its image and counter charges that it tortures and abuses political prisoners. In August 1992, the government issued several press accounts about imprisoned Chinese pro-democracy activists. Xu Wenli, a pro-democracy activist who has been in prison for 11 years, was photographed playing badminton.<sup>59</sup>

But human rights activists said the photos released by the Chinese government were a public relations ploy. "Now we are asked to believe a new report, with photo, that Xu Wenli, another Democracy Wall [site of the first pro-reform demonstration in Beijing, 1980] activist serving a 15-year sentence for his political writing, wins badminton contests," wrote Mickey Spiegel, a research consultant for Asia Watch in a letter in the September 11, 1992 issue of the *Washington Post*. "Asia Watch has information less than one month old from sources close to Xu Wenli that he is in poor health. A persistent urinary tract infection

has gone **untreated**, his teeth are **missing**, he can barely **speak**, and he might have lymphatic tuberculosis. No edited videotape of him can possibly document these **problems**."

In another effort to appease its critics, China signed a pact with the United States on Aug. 7, 1992 that would prohibit prison labor exports to the United States, according to the State Department. It would also allow U.S. officials to inspect Chinese prison camps.

Despite the Bush administration's sharp criticism of China's human rights **record**, it supported most-favored-nation (MFN) status for China without **conditions**, such as improvements in human rights, weapons control and elimination of unfair trade practices. Tariffs on imports from a country with MFN status are set at the lowest level authorized by United States. On Sept. 28, 1992, Bush vetoed congressional legislation that would have set conditions for trade privileges for China.

In testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on July 30, 1992, Arnold Kanter, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, said the Bush administration advocated "unconditional" trade privileges for China. One reason Kanter cited was the desire to "foster normal commercial relations that expose the Chinese people to American ideas and influence." He also testified that "we [the administration] are confident that **entrepreneurship** and market-oriented reform in China will lead to meaningful and lasting change in the lives of the Chinese people."

Indeed, the People's Republic is on a capitalist path. But China's new entrepreneurial bent doesn't seem to be improving its human rights record. In August 1992, the *New York Times* reported that China's Ministry of Public Security, which runs the police forces, "operates two stores in Beijing selling ... six kinds of **electric cattle prods**. A saleswoman cheerfully demonstrated a **cattle prod**, sending sparks **flying**, but said a letter of introduction was necessary to buy **one**."<sup>60</sup>

One critic of Bush's support of unconditional trade privileges China is Richard Schifter, who was Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights until March 1992, when he joined Bill Clinton's presidential campaign as a foreign policy adviser. Schifter said that China has the worst human rights record of the 14 other countries included in this investigation.

"I support the legislation in Congress and I think we should amend the law to allow for other conditions like human rights," Schifter said. "We should also lean on our West European friends to do the same."

### **Washington Connections**

China and several of its **government-controlled** industries hired Washington lobbyists during 1991-1992 to lobby in favor of trade privileges for China and other favorable legislative treatment.

Until May 1992, Hill and Knowlton was China's public relations counsel. The firm was hired to "build public support" for China and "improve China's overall image in the United States as [a] valued trading partner with whom the Americans share many common interests." It reported receiving \$163,000 in fees from May 1991 to May 1992.

Also spreading China's message was the law firm of Miller, **Canfield, Paddock & Stone**. During 1991 the firm was retained to "counsel the Chinese government on commercial and legal issues relevant to maintaining **MFN** status to the United States." Richard Johnston, Jr., who is listed as a consulting partner to the firm, represents the embassy. Johnston was Trade Counsel to the Senate Finance Committee in 1978-1979.

The firm's foreign agent filing didn't say how much money the firm received for its services. When asked, Johnston said it was getting "hourly rates," but declined to be more specific. "Unless we have a contract, that information is confidential," Johnston said.

The law firm of Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue was also retained by China during 1991, to be paid \$67,000 in fees. Its foreign agent filing said it "contacted U.S. government officials and congressional staff to obtain information" on the status of legislation, including trade and tariff issues, family planning practices, human rights and trade and economic policies.

Other foreign agents were hired to represent China's government-controlled industries. The law firm of **Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon** was paid \$55,000 in fees and expenses during 1991-1992 to advise the China National Textile Import and Export Corporation on trade privileges. It also prepared analyses of U.S. textile imports and production and memoranda on other trade matters. (For more details on Mudge Rose, see Peru chapter.)

The Seattle law firm of **Garvey, Schubert & Barer** was paid \$149,303 for legal fees and expenses during 1991. They advised China Ocean Shipping Co., the **government's** commercial shipping entity, to represent it before federal agencies. The law firm of Graham & James was paid \$15,291 during 1991-1992 to represent China's aviation interests, Air China International Corp. and China Eastern Airlines, before the Department of Transportation, the State Department and the Federal Aviation Administration.

Although former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has never registered as a foreign agent, his consulting firms, Kissinger & Associates and its subsidiary Kent Associates, advise clients who want help or advice in dealing with China, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. Kissinger himself has close ties to China's leaders. As Secretary of State during the Nixon administration, Kissinger was credited with opening diplomatic doors to China with his "shuttle diplomacy."

In television interviews at the time of the Tiananmen Square massacre, Kissinger urged the United States to adopt a moderate policy and refrain from imposing sanctions. In a newspaper column a month later, he praised Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping for his economic reforms. "No government in the world," he wrote, "would have tolerated having the main square of its capital occupied for eight weeks."

What the public didn't know at the time was that Kissinger was on the verge of cementing a lucrative limited partnership to do business ventures with the China International Trust & Investment Corporation (**CITIC**), the merchant banking arm of the Chinese government, John Fialka of the *Wall Street Journal* reported. Because of the political unrest, the partnership — China Ventures — never got off the ground. It would have been bankrolled by U.S. investors, with Kissinger serving as chairman of the board. U.S.

business executives who had dealings with China were also to be on the board of China Ventures, Fialka reported.<sup>61</sup>

Since that time, CITIC has had no dealings with Kissinger, a spokesman told the Center's John Kruger.

Kissinger also has made several trips to China, including a visit to Beijing shortly after the bloodshed at Tiananmen Square. Upon his return, he briefed Bush on his trip over dinner at the White House. It was also reported that National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and then-Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, both former consultants for Kissinger & Associates, made a secret trip to China in July 1989. (Eagleburger has disclosed in a personal financial statement that he received more than \$900,000 in 1988 working as a consultant for Kissinger.) In September 1991, Kissinger again traveled to China and met with Chinese leaders, including Prime Minister Li Peng.

Since Kissinger left government in 1977, the Center has learned through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request that the Justice Department has asked Kissinger & Associates twice, once in 1983 and again in 1990, why the firm didn't register as a foreign agent.

William Rogers, chairman of Kissinger & Associates and a partner at Arnold & Porter, told the Center's John Kruger that the firm's activities don't require registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA). "The firm does no representative work or political activities as defined by FARA," he said. "We do not engage in propaganda or public relations activities and receive no money from any government."

Rogers was also asked whether Kissinger's trips to China are tied to his firm's business interests there. "Any contact he makes is on a personal level," Rogers said.

But one critic said that Kissinger & Associates was violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the foreign agents act. "It's outrageous that Kissinger doesn't register," said Jeffrey Trammell, vice president of Hill and Knowlton, which represented China until May 1992. "If Hill and Knowlton did what Kissinger does, like write P.R. [public relations] pieces for China, and didn't register, we'd be crucified on the front pages of every newspaper. It doesn't matter if he's not paid. That's obviously a violation of the spirit of the law."

## CHINA

*Foreign aid in F.Y. 1997: None, but the Bush administration supports most-favored-nation trading status for China*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1997-1992: in excess of \$449,000*

<b>Foreign Agent</b>	<b>Client</b>	<b>Fee</b>
1. Hill and Knowlton	Embassy of the People's Republic of China	\$163,000 (5/91-5/92)
2. Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue	Embassy of the People's Republic of China	\$67,000 (1991)
3. Miller, Canfield, Paddock & Stone	Embassy of the People's Republic of China	no fees listed (1991)
4. Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander and Ferdon	Chinatex	\$55,000 (fees and expenses, 6/91-1/92)
5. Garvey, Schubert & Barer	China Ocean Shipping	\$149,303 (fees and expenses 1991)
6. Graham & James	Air China International China Eastern Airlines	\$15,291 (9/91-3/92)

## SAUDI ARABIA

**NO DIRECT FOREIGN AID IN F.Y. 1991; HOWEVER. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES TOTALED OVER \$15 BILLION SINCE THE GULF WAR. ACCORDING TO CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES: ON SEPT. 11, 1992. BUSH ANNOUNCED ANOTHER \$9 BILLION ARMS PACKAGE TO THE SAUDIS ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992: IN EXCESS OF \$2.1 MILLION**

The war against Iraq's Saddam Hussein strengthened the ties between Saudi Arabia and the United States. Since the war, the two countries have met to discuss future stability in the Gulf region, Saudi defense plans and the Arab-Israeli peace process.<sup>62</sup> On Sept. 11, 1992, President Bush announced the sale of 72 F-15 fighter plans to Saudi Arabia. The deal immediately drew fire from the Israelis who complained that it "accelerates the arms race in the Middle East."<sup>63</sup>

Because of Saudi Arabia's strategic importance to the United States, Human Rights Watch has maintained that the Bush administration has blunted its criticism of the monarchy's lack of respect for human rights. Saudi Arabia has no written constitution and its legal system is based on Islamic religious law. Punishment for some crimes includes amputation and execution by **beheading**, firing squad or stoning. Saudi Arabia has no elected officials, and political parties are unlawful. King Fahd rules absolutely. U.S. officials rarely voice displeasure with Saudi abuses or express concern about the absence of **democracy**.<sup>64</sup> Yet the State Department reported that during 1991, "human rights continue to be subject to pervasive abuse" in Saudi Arabia.<sup>65</sup>

Human Rights Watch said "there were numerous reports in 1991 of torture in Saudi detention facilities, especially those of the secret and religious police."<sup>66</sup> Its report said that "unpunished use of torture by members of the royal family was also reported in 1991."

### Washington Connections

Members of the Saudi royal family and its business interests, such as Saudi Basic Industries, have enlisted an array of Washington lobbyists and public relations advisers to boost its image.

Public relations giant Burson-Marsteller was paid \$1.4 million by Saudi Basic Industries to handle its press relations. The Saudi National Commercial bank retained New York-based Byoir & Associates as its public relations counsel.

Lobbying on behalf of the Saudi Embassy and its royal family is Frederick Dutton, a Democratic fixture during the Kennedy administration who has been advising the Saudis for more than 15 years. Dutton's lobbying activities include responding to media questions and hosting dinners for journalists, according to his foreign agent filing. For four months' work during 1991, he was paid \$200,000 by the embassy and another \$25,000 by Saudi Basic Industries.

Also on the Saudi Embassy's public relations roster is the The Hannaford Company, which was paid

nearly \$275,000 to contact elected officials, scholars, journalists and others "interested in U.S.-Saudi relations."

The **Schmertz Co., Inc.**, also was retained by the embassy for public relations counsel.

According to its foreign agent filings, Epic Group, Inc. was hired by **Khaled bin Sultan** of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia to implement a communications strategy. The firm was to be paid on a project basis.

In addition, former White House aide Edward Rogers during 1991 was hired by Sheik **Kamal Adham**, the former chief of Saudi Intelligence Service, to provide legal advice. Rogers joined Adham's legal team three weeks after he left government. At the time, Adham was under investigation by the Justice Department for his role in helping the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (**BCCI**) acquire illegal control of First American **Bankshares**.<sup>67</sup> **Rogers**, who had a \$600,000 contract, abruptly dropped his client when questions were raised over whether he violated White House ethics laws.

## SAUDIARABIA

*No direct foreign aid in F.Y. 1991. Foreign military sales totaled more than \$15 billion since the Gulf War, according to Congressional sources. On September 11, 1992, Bush announced another \$9 billion arms package to the Saudis.*

*Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms, 1991-1992: in excess of \$2.1 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Dutton and Dutton, P.C.	Embassy of Saudi Arabia	\$200,000 (6/91-9/91)
2. Dutton and Dutton, P.C.	Saudi Basic Industries	\$25,182 (8/91)
3. The Hannaford Co.	Embassy of Saudi Arabia	\$274,975 (6/91-11/91)
4. The Schmertz Co.	Embassy of Saudi Arabia	\$30,000 (8/91-1/92)
5. Burson-Marsteller	Saudi Basic Industries	\$1.4 million (fees and expenses, 5/91-10/91)
6. Epic Group, Inc.	Khaled bin Sultan, Riyadh	project-by-project basis
7. Edward Rogers, Jr.*	Shiek Kamal Adham	\$600,000 (1991, terminated)
8. Carl Byoir & Associates	The National Commercial Bank	\$184,761 (9/91-5/92)

*\*Edward Rogers, Jr. is not included in the total estimated fees to lobbyists.*

## KUWAIT

**FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATE KUWAIT:** \$7.4 BILLION, ACCORDING TO DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ESTIMATES

**ESTIMATED FEES TO LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS IN 1991-1992:** IN EXCESS OF \$12.5 MILLION (IN ADDITION, A FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO BAHRAIN, SAM ZAKHEM, AND HIS TWO ASSOCIATES, WILLIAM R. KENNEDY JR. AND SCOTT STANLEY JR., HAVE BEEN INDICTED FOR SECRETLY TAKING \$7.7 MILLION FROM KUWAIT TO CONDUCT A PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN.)

In response to international criticism of its human rights record since the liberation of Kuwait on Feb. 26, 1991, the Kuwait government has taken steps to curb the torture and killing of non-Kuwaiti residents — mostly Palestinians, Iraqis and Bedoons (stateless Arabs) — whom the government had suspected of collaborating with the Iraqi occupiers. Despite these improvements, there are still reports of beatings of Palestinians and Iraqis.<sup>68</sup> Those who have lived in post-war Kuwait maintain that during 1992, terrorists shootings and bombings still are directed at foreigners.

The worst human rights abuses committed by the Kuwaiti government occurred in the six months after the liberation of Kuwait, according to Human Rights Watch.

"The nature of Kuwaiti abuse has changed over time," the group said in its 1992 report. "During March and April [1991], summary executions, as well as deaths in detention caused by beatings and neglect, were the most pressing problem. Scores were killed at the hands of Kuwaiti forces, according to testimony collected by Middle East Watch. Other evidence of the scope of the killings included fifty-four unidentified bodies of victims of post-liberation killings discovered in a mass grave on the outskirts of Kuwait City... Although martial law was lifted on June 26 [1991], torture continued until September, when the administration of prisons changed and prison conditions improved....From March through July [1991], there were persistent reports of rape of Asian women by Kuwaiti forces and other armed men in Kuwait."<sup>69</sup>

The State Department also reported that the Kuwaiti military and security officials tortured detainees following liberation. "Reports from released detainees indicate that methods of torture included beatings with sticks and metal rods, cigarette burns, electric shock, sexual abuse and psychological harassment," the department said.<sup>70</sup>

In September 1991, Middle East Watch issued a 63-page report documenting the human rights abuses of the Kuwait government against suspected collaborators with Iraq. Torture took place at the military prison, several police stations, the Teachers Association building, the State Security Investigative Police and private homes, the report said.<sup>71</sup> The government's use of torture to obtain confessions was systematic. Widespread reports of abuses by the press and human rights organizations moved the Kuwaiti government to halt the practice. Yet, in an interview with *the Washington Post*, Kuwait's Minister of Information Badr Jassim Yagoub said the Middle East Watch report was "exaggerated."<sup>72</sup>

Human Rights Watch chided the Bush administration for its reluctance to publicly denounce the serious

human rights abuses committed by the Kuwaiti authorities after liberation. The group noted: "The need to put an end to human rights violations committed by Iraq in Kuwait was one of the stated reasons that the U.S. administration went to war against Iraq."<sup>73</sup>

It also cited several instances in which the administration, including President Bush, sought to excuse the abuses. For example, during a July 1, 1991 press conference, Bush said he understood the rage Kuwaitis felt.

"I think we're expecting a little much if we're asking the people in Kuwait to take kindly to those that have spied on their countrymen that were left there, that had brutalized families there and things of that nature," Bush said.

Many members of Congress had a different viewpoint, however. In April 1991, 35 Members of Congress told Bush in a letter that "the U.S. has a direct role to play in ensuring that human rights abuses in Kuwait cease immediately."<sup>74</sup>

### **Washington Connections**

Hill and Knowlton found itself in the headlines in 1991 when it was disclosed that the Kuwaiti government — The Citizens for a Free Kuwait — paid the firm \$10 million to conduct a public relations campaign to convince the Congress and the public to support the Persian Gulf War. Critics contended that Hill and Knowlton told false tales about Iraqi atrocities, an allegation Hill and Knowlton has denied. The contract was terminated in 1991. Hill and Knowlton also was hired for \$74,800 by the Kuwaiti Ambassador to the United Nations, Mohammad Abulhasan, to be his public relations counsel.

It is alleged that Kuwait also retained Sam Zakhem, a former U.S. Ambassador to Bahrain, and two associates to conduct a campaign to win public support for the war. In July 1992, Zakhem, William R. Kennedy Jr. and Scott Stanley Jr. were indicted by a federal grand jury in Denver on charges of secretly taking \$7.7 million from Kuwait, and jointly diverting \$5.7 million for their own use through two "front" businesses. The indictment said the defendants violated the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) by failing to disclose their connections to Kuwait.<sup>75</sup> Zakhem, who was appointed Ambassador by former President Reagan and served until 1989, is active in the conservative wing of the Colorado Republican party.

In 1991, Kuwait also retained the law firm of deary, Gottlieb, Steen and Hamilton to provide legal representation "in meetings with the State Department regarding potential Kuwaiti claims against Iraq," according to its foreign agent filing. The firm also provided legal representation to Kuwait on commercial and other contracts, in particular for the Kuwait Emergency and Recovery Program. From February to October 1991, the firm was paid more than \$6 million for legal fees, which the firm said are in connection with "non-registrable activities" under FARA. In addition, the firm received \$17,000 in fees for "registrable" activities.

The Kuwaiti Ambassador to the United States, Saud Nasir Al-Sabah, hired John Moore, president of Oceans & International, to provide legal advice on a broad range of subjects, including human rights

and assistance to the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission. Moore was paid \$600,000 during a 10-month period in 1991-1992, according to his foreign agent filing.

Moore, who is director of the Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia Law School, was president of the United States Institute for Peace, a congressionally funded think tank whose goal is to "disseminate knowledge about the peaceful resolution of international conflict." He did not return phone calls.

Moore's filing said he met or had telephone conversations on behalf of Kuwait with several State Department officials, including Jonathan Schwartz, a State assistant legal adviser to Near East and South Asian Affairs, and Richard Schifter, former Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs who was a foreign policy adviser to Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. Moore said that "as a scholar, I have spoken, commented on, and written widely about the issues surrounding the Gulf conflict," activities he acknowledges "could benefit my foreign principal." He said he has "been particularly conscientious" in disclosing his connection to the Kuwaiti Ambassador during discussions with U.S. officials, the media and general audiences.

Also lobbying on behalf of Kuwait was Keene, Shirley & Associates, Inc., whose president, David Keene, managed the 1988 presidential primary campaign of Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.). Keene, Shirley was paid \$180,000 in 1991 to meet with Members of Congress, but not to "lobby Congress on specific legislation or policies," according to his foreign agent filing.

The law firm of King and Spalding received \$262,227 in fees during 1991 from the Kuwait Investment Authority for "general legal fees and expenses" related to real estate, investment and U.S. tax planning, its foreign agent filing said. The accounting firm of Price Waterhouse was paid \$200,000 by the Kuwait Investment Authority for tax services.

## KUWAIT

*Foreign military assistance to liberate Kuwait: \$7.4 billion, as per estimates by the Defense Dept.  
Estimated fees to lobbyists, lawyers and P.R. firms. 1991-1992: in excess of \$12.5 million*

Foreign Agent	Client	Fee
1. Hill and Knowlton	Citizens for a Free Kuwait	\$5,133,485 (11/90-5/91)
2. Hill and Knowlton	Permanent Mission of Kuwait to United Nations	\$74,800 (5/91-11/91)
3. Oceans & International	Kuwaiti Ambassador Saud Nasir Al-Sabah	\$600,000 (5/91-2/92)
4. Keene, Shirley & Associates, Inc.	Royal Embassy of Kuwait	\$180,000 (5/91-8/91)
5. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Hamilton	Government of Kuwait	\$6,106,745 (2/91-11/91) [legal fees the firm says are non-registrable activities]; \$17,017 (2/91-5/91) [registrable activities]
6. King and Spaulding	Government of Kuwait	\$262,227 (fees and expenses as of 9/30/91)
7. Price Waterhouse	Government of Kuwait	\$200,000 (5/91)

## CONCLUSIONS

On November 3, 1992, U.S. voters elected as their next president Bill Clinton, whose main campaign promise was change.

On his way to the White House, Clinton pledged his support for reforming the political process and said he was committed to lobbying and campaign finance reforms. Clinton also promised to stop the "revolving door" which allows former government officials to become hired guns -- lobbyists and foreign agents — for domestic and foreign interests.

A passage from the book Clinton co-wrote with his running mate, Al Gore. "Putting People First," reads: "I will require all my top appointees to sign a pledge that, if they work in my administration, they will refrain for **five** years after leaving office from lobbying government agencies within their responsibilities. I will require senior officials to pledge never to become registered agents on behalf of any foreign government. I will then challenge Members of Congress to do the same."

Clinton's ambitious policy agenda includes proposals to reform foreign aid.

The findings in this study put the spotlight on an area ripe for reform: the role that foreign agents play in representing foreign aid recipients that abuse human rights. The study found that more than 15 former **high-ranking** government officials -- including one former U.S. Senator, a former Ambassador and President Bush's senior campaign strategist -- are among those who are paid thousands of dollars, and even million **dollar** annual retainers, to lobby on behalf of foreign governments and their commercial or trade treatment. Many of these foreign agents have close political ties to both political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats alike.

Critics say that the current system needs to be changed for public policy reasons and to ensure public confidence in our political system. Few would argue that it makes good policy sense to allow former officials to become hired guns for foreign governments and receive exorbitant fees from their high-paying clients. Serious questions are raised **when**, as shown by this study, former officials appear to be using their political connections to exploit the appropriations process at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers.

Some former officials and other Washington "insiders" will take exception to any notion that they are "cashing in" on their government service. Yet, there remains a public perception of abuse that is fueling the public's distrust of our government. Up until now, no administration has tackled head-on the thorny policy and ethics problems raised by former government officials and other political insiders who become foreign agents.

While it is not fair to blame the President-elect for past problems, it is proper for the public to hold him to his campaign promises. Clinton, if he has the political courage to do so, can attempt to change future policy. If he **doesn't**, his administration risks following the path of previous administrations: becoming captive of Washington and beholden to monied interests.

This study also found that the government mechanism for keeping track of foreign agents and their

activities — the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA) — is broken. For more than 20 years, the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of **Congress**, has concluded in numerous reports that the act is riddled with loopholes, poorly enforced and ignored by the legal and lobbying community.

FARA will only become an effective tool for monitoring the activities of foreign agents if disclosure provisions are improved, loopholes are closed and resources are made available to enforce the law.

## NOTES

1. Middle East Watch, *Behind Closed Doors: Torture and Detention in Egypt*, July 1992, pp. 9-25.
2. State Department, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, February 1992. p. 1375.
3. Ibid, p. 1442.
4. Haberman, Clyde, "Israeli Study Finds Torture Common," *New York Times*, April 3, 1992.
5. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 1442.
6. Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 742.
7. Ibid, p. 743.
8. LaFranchi, Howard, "Morocco Spruces Up Human Rights Record," *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 26, 1991, p. 4.
9. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 797.
10. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, pp. 1510-1511.
11. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 581.
12. Ibid, p. 579.
13. Ibid, p. 575.
14. Amnesty International, *Turkey: Torture, Extrajudicial Executions, Disappearances*, May 1992, pp. 1-6.
15. Agency for International Development, *Country Allocation Report*, April 30, 1992.
16. Knight, Jerry, "D.C. Lobbyist Defends Role in S&L Scandal; Thompson Will Ignore Senate's Subpoena," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1990, p. A1.
17. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 420.
18. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 862.
19. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 442.
20. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 965.

21. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 450.
22. Americas Watch, *Political Murder and Reform in Colombia: The Violence Continues*, April 1992, p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
25. Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report 1991*. p. 101.
26. *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 613.
27. Christian, Shirley, "Guatemalans Irked by U.S. Pressure in Killing," *New York Times*, December 13, 1991, p. A11.
28. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 614.
29. Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights Watch World Report 1991*, p. 243.
30. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1992*, p. 233-235.
31. Washington Office on Latin America, *Military Prosecutions and Other Human Rights Developments in Guatemala*, June 5, 1992.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
35. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, p. 614.
36. Agency for International Development, *Country Allocation Report*, April 30, 1992.
37. Corn, David, "The Republican's N.E.D. Conduit: Foreign Aid for the Right; National Endowment for Democracy," *Nation*, December 18, 1989, p. 744.
38. Emiling, Shelley, "Guatemala's Possible Future President," *Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1992, p. A13; Americas Watch Report, *Messenger of Death*. 1990, pp. 47-52.
39. "Guatemalan Official Loses Ruling," *Washington Post*, Nov. 14, 1991, p. A36; Emiling, Shelley, "Guatemala's Possible Future President." *Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1992, p. A13.

THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

**Board of Directors**

Charles Lewis, Chairman  
Alejandro Benes, Treasurer  
Charles Piller, Secretary

**Advisory Board**

James David Barber  
Owen Bieber  
James MacGregor Burns  
Hodding Carter  
Jeff Faux  
Rev. Theodore Hesburgh  
Molly Ivins  
Kathleen Hall Jamieson  
Lane Kirkland  
Bill Kovach  
Ira Magaziner  
Gerald McEntee  
Eugene Patterson  
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.  
William Schneider