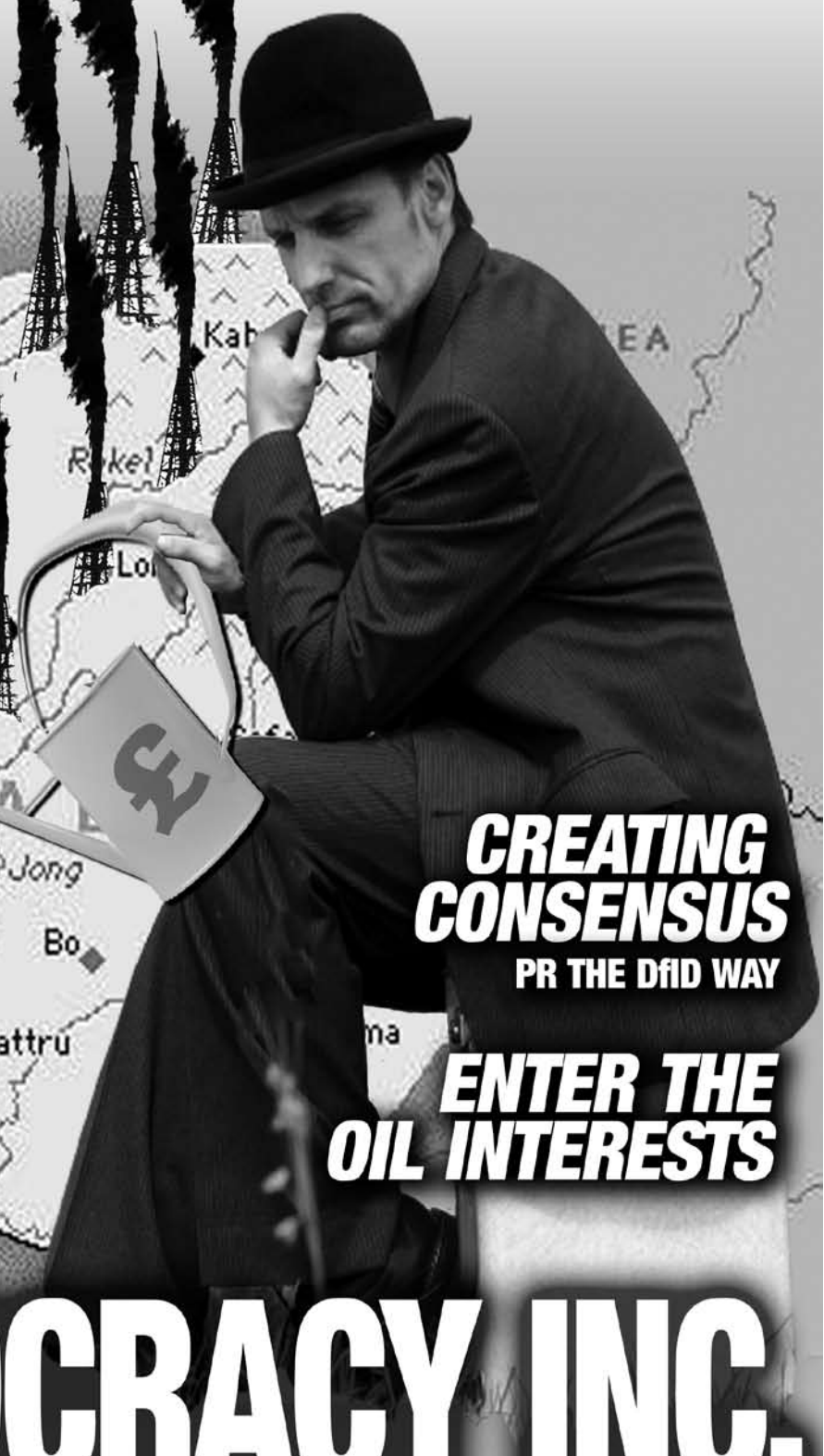


# Corporate Watch

July / August 08  
Issue 41 £1



**THE CW  
READER  
SURVEY**



**CREATING  
CONSENSUS**  
PR THE DFID WAY

**ENTER THE  
OIL INTERESTS**

# DEMOCRACY INC.

**FOCUS ON SIERRA LEONE**

# DIARY

## July

- 2 - Resistance in Oaxaca** - the struggle goes on, London. Film night by CAMA/AMZ Indymedia-Anarchist Federation; 7pm, LARC, 62 Fieldgate St, London E1
- 3 - Talk on Sequani trial, London.** Twelve peaceful protesters were arrested under new SOCPA laws; 7pm, LARC, 42 Fieldgate St, Whitechapel, E1 1ES
- 3 - Paper plane flash mob at the Department of Transport, London.** Tell Ruth Kelly to Stop Airport Expansion! 11Am, DfT, 76 Marsham St, London SW1P 4DR  
[www.stopairportexpansion.org](http://www.stopairportexpansion.org)
- 4 - Independence FROM America demonstration, near Harrogate, North Yorkshire.** Against the American base at Menwith Hill, 5-10pm; 01423 884076 or 07949897904; [percy@starbeck.eclipse.co.uk](mailto:percy@starbeck.eclipse.co.uk); [www.caab.org.uk](http://www.caab.org.uk)
- 5 - Fete Against The G8, London.** Targeting Lunar House, nerve centre of the UK Border Agency and Electric House, immigration reporting centre <http://londonfete.ucrony.net>
- 6 - Cowley Road Carnival, Oxford.** 12noon – 6pm, [www.cowleyroadcarnival.co.uk](http://www.cowleyroadcarnival.co.uk), [www.no-cctv.org.uk](http://www.no-cctv.org.uk)
- 07-July to 09-July - G8 Summit, Hokkaido, Japan.** <http://linux7.sanpal.co.jp/no-g8>
- 11-July to 13-July - Anarchist Summer Camp, nr Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, Ireland,** [anarchistsummerncamp@yahoo.com](mailto:anarchistsummerncamp@yahoo.com)
- 12 - Dancing in the No-Fly Zone with Hadani Ditmars, London.** Book event and talk, 5pm, Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd, Kings Cross, 020 7837 4473, [www.housmans.com/events](http://www.housmans.com/events)
- 12 - SHAC National Demo, Peterborough.** Stalls and vegan food in Stanley Recreation Ground, 12.30pm march around Peterborough, 3.30pm-5.30pm, protest at Huntingdon Life Sciences; 0845 458 0630; [info@shac.net](mailto:info@shac.net); [www.shac.net/National2008](http://www.shac.net/National2008)
- 14 - Noise Demo outside UK Coal, Doncaster.** Against new open-cast coal mine in Derbyshire. Meet Doncaster train station 3:30pm or outside UK Coal at 4pm; 07852 460871; [derby@earthfirst.org.uk](mailto:derby@earthfirst.org.uk); [www.leaveitintheground.org.uk](http://www.leaveitintheground.org.uk)
- 15 - Terrorist proscription, self-determination & human rights, London.** How has the 'war on terror' impacted on the right of peoples to self-determination and what are the implications for proscribed groups and solidarity movements? Room SG01, College of Law, 14 Store Street; 6.30 – 8.30pm; 020 7586 5892; [estella24@tiscali.co.uk](mailto:estella24@tiscali.co.uk); [www.campacc.org.uk](http://www.campacc.org.uk)
- 16 - Demo against E.ON greenwash, London.** 8:15am, Business Design Centre, 52 Upper St, Islington, 07961 917 535, [info@climatecamp.org.uk](mailto:info@climatecamp.org.uk), [www.greenwashguerrillas.org](http://www.greenwashguerrillas.org)
- 16 - 'The power of community: how Cuba survived Peak Oil, London.** Film screening and talk, 7pm, Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd, Kings Cross, [www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk](http://www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk)
- 19 – Bonkersfest, London.** Day festival celebrating being bonkers, 12-9pm, Camberwell Green, <http://madpride.org.uk> <http://bonkersfest.org>
- 26-July to 03-Aug - Stop Incineration Climate Camp Caravan, Brighton-Kingsnorth.** Powering across the south coast to highlight environmental issues. Planning meetings at the Cowley Club, 12 London Rd, Brighton, every Monday 3-6pm, 07722 172 393, [stopincinerationnownetwork@riseup.net](mailto:stopincinerationnownetwork@riseup.net), [www.climatecamp.org](http://www.climatecamp.org)
- 31 - Sustainable food for London.** Workshops, speeches and presentations. Booking essential. John Scurr Community Centre, East London Family Project, 10.30am – 2.30pm, 1A Bekesbourne Street, 020 7481 9004, [carofood@gmail.com](mailto:carofood@gmail.com), Network [www.wen.org.uk](http://www.wen.org.uk)

## August

- 3 - March from Rochester to Kingsnorth.** March with the Camp for Climate Action Caravan on its last day <http://www.campaigncc.org/kingsnorth.shtml>
- 04-Aug to 11-Aug - Camp For Climate Action, south of Ashford, Kent.** [www.climatecamp.org.uk](http://www.climatecamp.org.uk)
- 07-Aug to 10-Aug - Northern Green Gathering, North Yorks.** [www.nggonline.org.uk](http://www.nggonline.org.uk)
- 16 - Shut Down the BNP's 'Red White & Blue' Festival, Derbyshire** [www.antifa.org.uk](http://www.antifa.org.uk)
- 20-Aug to 27-Aug - Peoples' Global Action Gathering, Athens** [http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece\\_08](http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece_08) [www.agp.org](http://www.agp.org)
- 21-Aug to 24-Aug - 10th International Animal Rights Gathering, south of Vienna.** [www.ar2008.info](http://www.ar2008.info)
- 27-Aug to 01-Sep - Earth First! Summer Gathering, Norfolk.** [www.earthfirstgathering.org.uk](http://www.earthfirstgathering.org.uk)

# Corporate Watch

## Newsletter 41:

### July / August 2008

Corporate Watch is an independent not-for-profit group, which aims to expose how large corporations function, and the detrimental effects they have on society and the environment as an inevitable result of their current legal structure. Corporate Watch strives for a society that is ecologically sustainable, democratic, equitable and nonexploitative. Progress towards such a society may, in part, be achieved through dismantling the vast economic and political power of corporations, and developing ecologically and socially just alternatives to the present economic system. If you would like to help with research, fund-raising or distribution please contact us.

Disclaimer: The objectivity of the media is generally an illusion. Corporate Watch freely acknowledges that it comes from an anticorporate perspective. It attempts at all times to be factual, accurate, honest and truthful in its reporting. We welcome any comments or corrections.

@nti-copyright to non-profit organisations fighting corporate dominance.  
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NEW CW REPORTS  
COMING SOON...

- Public Relations
- Technofix
- Food & Agriculture

# Corporate Watch Readers' Survey

**What do you want from Corporate Watch? How would you like to see us develop? Answer some of these questions and help us to bring you the corporate research you need.**

If you are reading this on the internet, please send an email with your answers to [loukas@corporatewatch.org](mailto:loukas@corporatewatch.org), with the subject 'SURVEY'.

**a) Age:**

- 0-16  
 16-24  
 25-35  
 36-45  
 46-55  
 56-65  
 66-75  
 76-85  
 85+

**b) Region:**

- England, north  
 England, midlands  
 England, south-west  
 England, south-east  
 England, East Anglia  
 Scotland, highland  
 Scotland, lowland  
 Wales, north  
 Wales, south  
 USA  
 Other

**c) How often do you use Corporate Watch?**

- Every day  
 Every week  
 Once a month  
 A few times a year  
 Whenever I receive a newsletter (paper)  
 Whenever I receive a news update (email)

**d) When did you first use Corporate Watch?**

- 10+ years ago  
 5-9 years ago  
 1-4 years ago  
 This year

**e) What parts of Corporate Watch do you use?**

*Rate each 0-5, with 0=not at all and 5=essential*

- News section (news updates, newsletter)  
 Company profiles  
 Food and Agriculture project  
 Public Relations project  
 Corporate Structures project  
 Iraq project  
 Privatisation project  
 Corporate Technologies project

**f) Are there any other areas you would like to see Corporate Watch focus on? Please specify.**

**g) What do you use Corporate Watch for?**

*Rate each 0-5, with 0=not at all and 5=essential*

1. Researching companies for use in campaigning  
 2. Choosing what products to buy  
 3. Keeping up to date with corporate-related news  
 4. Campaign/protest news  
 5. Academic/school work  
 6. Other (please specify)

**h) Are you a subscriber/supporter (friend of CW)?**

- Yes (please answer question h)  
 No (please skip to question i)

**i) Why are you a subscriber?**

- To support Corporate Watch's work  
 To guarantee getting a paper copy of newsletter / reports  
 Other (specify)

**j) Why are you not a subscriber/supporter?**

- Too expensive  
 Subscription process too complicated  
 Other

**k) Do you read any other corporate-critical or campaigning websites/periodicals? If so, please list some or all of them here**

**l) Where did you hear about Corporate Watch?**

- Found it on a Google search  
 Recommended by friend  
 Saw details in a book/periodical  
 Saw details on a website link  
 Saw newsletter/report at an event

**m) Please rate these aspects of Corporate Watch on a scale of 0=5**

- Attractiveness of our newsletter  
 Attractiveness of our other publications  
 Attractiveness of our website  
 Ease of use of the website  
 Accuracy of our news reports  
 Accuracy of our other publications  
 Relevancy – to you – of our news  
 Relevancy – to you – of our other publications

**n) Anything else you want to say to us?**

fold here



**Corporate Watch**  
RE: Readers Survey  
16 B Cherwell Street  
Oxford, Oxfordshire  
OX4 1BG

fold here

**How to complete and mail your survey: (for internet readers, send an email to [loukasATcorporatewatch.org](mailto:loukasATcorporatewatch.org))**

1. Tear, or neatly cut this page out of your newsletter.
2. Fill out the survey, greatly helping CW.
3. Fold at the lines
4. Seal with piece of sellotape or other sticky adhesive.
5. Affix a stamp in the correct place.
6. Pop it in the post

We greatly appreciate your feedback.

# SIERRA LEONE AND THE 'HUMANITARIAN' INTERVENTION

***"Today conflicts rarely stay within national boundaries. Today a tremor in one financial market is repeated in the markets of the world. Today confidence is global; either its presence or its absence". (Tony Blair, Labour Party Conference 2001)***

**by Jessica Pasteiner**

The prospects for world peace have always been somewhat grim, but the advent of corporate globalization has provided those intent on using violence to secure their interests with an extra source of justification. Through the markets, 'their' interests become 'our' interests – a threat to the economic growth of a country thousands of miles away has suddenly become our problem (presuming, that is, that we have strategic interests there). In short, wherever a 'threat' to unbridled capitalism is perceived, taking action against it can now be justified using the rhetoric of market stability.

In a speech to his Sedgefield constituency in 2004, Blair justified the British military intervention in Sierra Leone (and the bombing of Kosovo) along the same lines: 'In an increasingly inter-dependent world, our self-interest was allied to the interests of others.' Indeed it was. What Blair failed to mention, however, was that, as in Iraq, 'our self interest' does not refer to the interests of the people of Britain. The people of Britain were never directly threatened by the conflict in Sierra Leone, just as they were never directly threatened by the situation in Iraq. What were directly threatened, however, were the interests of a handful of corporations and their allies in government, and, as in Iraq, it was to protect these interests that a military operation into Sierra Leone was launched.

## **The Background to the British Intervention**

The conflict in Sierra Leone was ostensibly a fight for control of the country's extensive mineral wealth. The 'rebel' force who invaded the country in 1991 were originally a group of well-educated university students opposing the imperial and corporate plunder of their country. Radicalised and eventually militarised by Liberia's Charles Taylor, they quickly realised that the only way to finance their operations was through control of the diamond mines. The violence which ensued disrupted mining production all across the country; much of the fighting was between the RUF and private military

companies closely linked with the foreign mining firms. The Sierra Leonean government was mostly dependent for its security on a South African mercenary outfit, Executive Outcomes, who won back mining areas from RUF control in return for mining concessions awarded to a closely linked mining company Branch Energy, (in which the government had a 30% stake).

Five years into the conflict the RUF had sustained heavy losses. Eager to get business moving again, the US and the UK swiftly started peace negotiations and exerted heavy pressure for elections, a process over which they had almost complete control. The candidate who won the election, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, a former UN diplomat, was the candidate backed by Britain and the US. Unsurprisingly, his mandate was governed by the needs of multinationals with interests and investments in Sierra Leone – in a desperately poor and unstable country, one of the first pieces of legislation he passed was the deregulation of petroleum products, which benefited rich industry but resulted in a 20% fuel price hike for the rest of the population. His control over the country was weak, however, and in May 1997 he was deposed by one of his soldiers, Major Johnny Paul Koroma, whose focus was on regaining control of the mining areas.

This move considerably upset Britain and the US, and multinationals operating in Sierra Leone. A number of mining companies, and mercenary outfits with links to mining companies, stepped up and offered to finance Kabbah's re-institution, in return for mining concessions. They included Chief Executive of American Mineral Fields (AMF) Jean-Raymond Boule, whose company had played a key role in financing the successful rebellion against Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre earlier



in 1997. AMF has a majority stake in Nord Resources, a major mining house in Sierra Leone. Among the companies offering security services to Kabbah were Defence Systems Limited and Sandline, both based in London and with strong links to the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence.

With full knowledge of the Foreign Office, in December 1997 the British High Commissioner for Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold, arranged a meeting between Kabbah and Sandline International, a mercenary company whose chairman, Tim Spicer, is a major shareholder in DiamondWorks. The plan was for Sandline to supply arms to Kabbah (despite a UN arms embargo), and to provide his brutal militia, the Kamajors, with the military equipment and personnel necessary to restore Kabbah to power. In return Spicer expected mining concessions for DiamondWorks. In the event, the dispatch of arms came to the attention of British Customs and Excise, and Sandline was investigated, causing considerable embarrassment for the Foreign Office and Robin Cook's 'Ethical Foreign Policy'. Koroma was eventually brought down in February 1998 by Nigerian troops, under the auspices of the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG, with the US and Britain operating behind the scenes, and Sandline providing invaluable personnel, logistical support and equipment. Kabbah was re-instated.

# THE CONSENSUS

*For a long time 'development' has been equated with neo-liberalism. The imposition of free-market Strategy Papers (and their predecessors, Structural Adjustment Programs) is nothing new. What is far more subtle, and far more sinister is at work: the creation of consensus. Billions of dollars have been spent; the gains for business are immense; the loss for genuine movements for social change even greater. by Jessica Paster*



In the 1920s and 30s, Antonio Gramsci, a Leninist Italian philosopher, developed an

influential theory which suggested that the capitalist state maintained control not just through violence and political and economic coercion, but also ideologically, through a ruling (hegemonic) culture in which the values of the elite became the 'common sense' values of all. This was achieved through ideological apparatuses, such as education and the media, but also through civil society – he argued that elites could allow certain demands made by civil society to be met, which did not directly challenge their economic control, thus preventing civil society from revolting.

In the West, coercion as a means of social control has become unfashionable, and increasingly Gramsci's 'consensual' mechanisms have come to dominate. PR, advertising and the corporate media have all been instrumental in helping us to associate social values with corporate values, and the establishment of 'philanthropic' foundations has ensured that those mischievous rebels amongst us are safely channelled into issues which pose no threat to the system itself.

These developments have not gone unnoticed by those defending international capital abroad. Not content with enforcing economic 'adjustment' programmes on defenceless countries, and undoubtedly becoming wary of the growing presence of China as a competitor for international markets (a country which does not, for example, mandate policy changes in return for investment), the world of 'international development' has in the past twenty years or so has seen a mushrooming of organisations dedicated to manufacturing consent for corporate capitalism abroad. Some of these groups are working through 'traditional' mechanisms, such as the media (see below), but recently a new breed of consensus creators have emerged: the Democracy Promoters.



'Democracy promotion' draws its inspiration from Gramsci's understanding of strategic elite management of civil society. Predictably, the 'democracy' they are 'promoting' has very little to do with 'traditional' understandings of democracy – it is a strand of democracy compatible with corporate capitalism, with most of the genuinely participatory aspects diluted or taken out altogether.

The aim of democracy promotion is to ensure that the loudest and most influential voices within civil society are those whose interests are aligned with, or do not directly challenge corporate capitalism. The premise is very simple – identify suitable groups and individuals in the target country and channel money to them; the wider variety of groups the better. Some groups are targeted for 'moderation,' in which progressive tendencies are diluted or co-opted when allied with, or become financially dependent on, Western backing. The result is that any groups which dissent from the corporatist view of the world become isolated, financially and physically (in terms of resources), while those groups useful to the sponsor's project develop a loud and powerful voice. This particularly sneaky tactic – when used in conjunction with diplomatic, economic and, if necessary military power - has been proven to be very effective. It was involved in the overthrow of Allende in Chile, of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, of Aristide in Haiti and the brief deposition of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and is being used as an integral part of 'development' in states all around the world.

Democracy promoters come in all shapes and guises. The godfather of democracy promotion is the National Endowment of Democracy (NED), an arm of the US State Department set up in 1985 to do openly what the C.I.A. had been doing covertly in the 60s and 70s, that is, to ensure that the 'right' people are in power and the 'right' policies are in place in strategic states. The past decade or so has seen a mushrooming of NED-inspired organisations in government foreign offices in the industrialised world, including the FCO's own Westminster Foundation for Democracy. Their birthplaces remain significant: these are not agencies for 'development' – they are part of a political foreign policy initiative.

A huge network of 'democracy' promotion 'NGOs' have sprung up as well, although the term 'NGO' is deliberately misleading, and allows them an aura of impartiality which is not justified. They are funded by governments, 'philanthropic' foundations and corporations, and work through the rubric of media, human rights, development, youth movements, women's movements and countless others. Institutions such as the Soros Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Foundation of Election Systems, Oxfam, Human Rights Watch, Freedom House, the Ford Foundation, Transparency International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Labour Organisation, Reporters Without Borders and countless others, many of which would be familiar names to you. Their directors all sit on each other's boards and committees, they all have strong links, financial and personal, to powerful political and business elites, and they all have interests in maintaining corporate capitalism. Much of the work they do is valuable, but almost all of it actively – if sometimes unconsciously - helps to sustain the free market status quo.

These groups comprise an international network, which is linked

# US CREATORS

Market reforms through various means, including the use of loans, 'aid' and Poverty Reduction seems to have been generally overlooked, however, is that alongside these measures some-ars are being spent worldwide, in the name of 'development', to ensure that as many people as the same time dissenting voices are being actively isolated. The gains to globalised capitalism iner

through its sources of funding. Eventually filtering down to small local initiatives, much of it is initially sourced from government departments, corporations and the large foundations, such as the Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, who undoubtedly see it as a long-term investment in capitalism. Needless to say, if an organisation is receiving funding which can be traced back to this network, it can safely be assumed that their activities suit the long-term needs of those seeking to preserve corporate capitalism.

For the most part this trend has gone unchallenged because of the language it uses – who is going to stand up against democracy and freedom? - and because of the fact that it supports a plethora of worthwhile causes. Yet the support of any of these groups, if engineered in the 'right' way, does not challenge the neo-liberal agenda. Indeed, many of them support it – the power and rights of the individual forms the basis of capitalism. And to a certain extent challenges can be accommodated and internalised: protests against corporate behaviour do not challenge the right of the corporation to exist; if anything they legitimise it.

bodies, running competitions in partnership with multinational corporations, and writing and providing training courses, including university degrees. Journalists are also encouraged to uncritically regurgitate press statements from official agencies, including election officials. There is usually also a strong push to depoliticise the media, a big part of which is training for journalists in 'election coverage' - journalists are encouraged to adopt a tone of disinterested objectivity when reporting elections, a strategy to weaken the chances of genuine political debate.

As many existing media outlets as possible in the target country are 'supported' by donors, through finances or equipment, which serves two main purposes. Firstly, donors have ultimate control over content, as they may withdraw their support at any time.

Secondly, it ensures that success is associated with expensive equipment – by increasing the amount of investment it takes

to compete with other media, you make running a media outlet big business, and you ensure that only a small wealthy minority can afford to enter the game, alienating the poor and their politics. This in turn creates dependency on advertising, more often than not in developing countries dominated by the development agencies themselves, as well as foreign corporations, thus permanently leaving these two groups in charge of dictating the boundaries of discourse.

## MEDIA ASSISTANCE

Working alongside democracy promotion is 'media assistance,' or 'development communications.' According to a recent USAID policy document - just about the most explicit material you're going to get on the subject - 'A global analysis of USAID media programmes indicates that independent media assistance has contributed to the achievement of many foreign policy goals. It often, though not always, produced the same results that public diplomacy sought to achieve. In many countries, support to independent media created political space that enabled the United States to pursue specific foreign policy goals, such as holding of elections... Media assistance contributed to the US foreign policy goal of promoting economic development and democracy abroad.'

As in industrialised countries, the media is being used in the developing world to promote consumer values, and, as over here, a small group of elites are controlling the process – in this case, development agencies. Their task is to forcibly create a 'commercially viable', profit-based local media, which has internalised the logic of the market and is dependent on advertising and submissive to corporate and donor demands.

The activities involved in media assistance are varied, and include writing and producing 'news' or broadcast shows, re-writing and creating media legislation, introducing fees for setting up media outlets, creating and controlling official media regulatory

***'As in industrialised countries, the media is being used in the developing world to promote consumer values, and, as over here, a small group of elites are controlling the process – in this case, development agencies'***

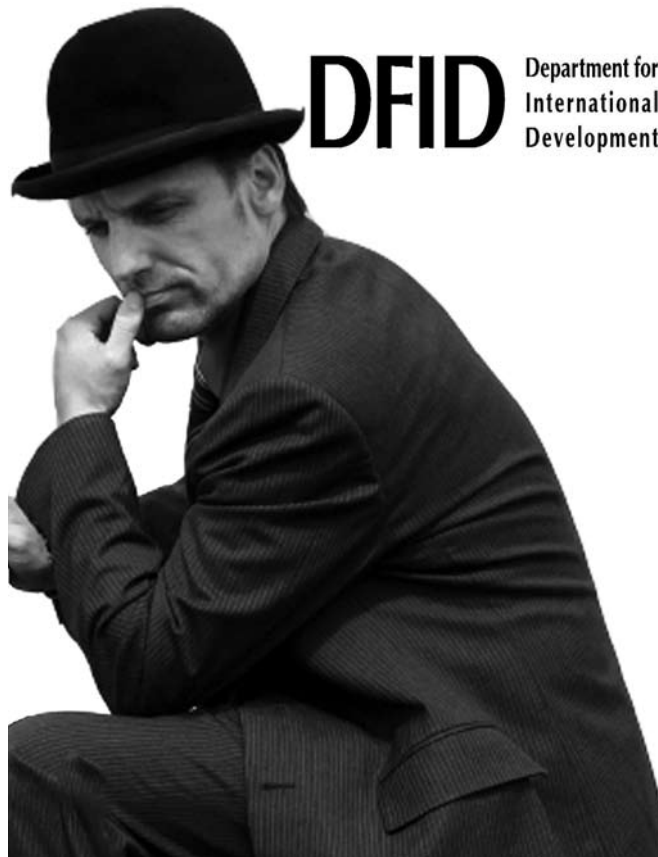
# CREATING CONSENSUS IN SIERRA LEONE - PUBLIC RELATIONS THE DFID

*By Jessica Pasteiner*

*In 2004, at the cost of £7.5 million to the British tax payer, DFID launched ENCISS – ‘Enhancing the Interaction and Interface between Civil Society and the State to Improve Poor People’s Lives’. ENCISS is essentially a PR strategy to support the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) – a bundle of corporate-friendly initiatives dreamt up by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). According to the ENCISS Project Memorandum, obtained by Corporate Watch under the Freedom of Information Act, the main objective of the programme is the ‘successful delivery of the PRS’ by ‘aiming to strategically engage with civil society in contributing to an enabling environment for social and economic development.’ This is being achieved in a number of ways.*

## Downright Deception

ENCISS is a very high profile campaign, and its designers quickly realised that its success would depend upon appearing politically neutral. Of course, as a creation of DFID, a UK government department, it is not. The strategy report warns that ‘ENCISS’s non-partisan relationship with key stakeholders involved in the decentralisation and PRSP communication and information dissemination process is crucial to achieving its purpose.’ Those involved have worked hard to ensure that ENCISS comes across as impartial – easy to do when you’re controlling the main communications process: ‘ENCISS is perceived as a non-partisan, non-political actor, an honest broker and has over its first year or so of operation built an image of credibility and integrity’, (DFID Memorandum). In essence, the success of the programme is dependent on the public believing a lie.



## Democracy Promotion

At heart, ENCISS is an exercise in democracy promotion, ‘an innovative approach to transformative change within and between civil society and the state,’ according to its strategy report. But it is not unopposed. Some civil society organisations ‘have undertaken an

unconstructive and confrontational state vis-a-vis the government of Sierra Leone’ (DFID). ENCISS is seeking to reverse that trend by creating a ‘partnership’ between civil society groups and the government, ‘ensuring that civil society capacity is not built in isolation of the State’. Notwithstanding the fact that this seeks to silence or moderate voices critical of the government, ENCISS also overlooks

how a functioning democracy requires a civil society isolated enough from the government to be able to hold it to account.

A large part of ENCISS involves selecting groups ‘whose interests and work aligns with ENCISS’s overall goal’ of pushing IMF restructuring, and supporting them. Its designers openly acknowledge that this will mean giving a stronger voice to groups that suit DFID’s needs and isolating others. A quick look at the type of organisation whose ‘interests and work’ aligns with ENCISS demonstrates the type of civil society DFID is seeking to promote:

Search for the Common Ground (SFCG)

SFCG is a US-based conflict resolution organisation. It receives funding from the Naitaional Endowment for Democracy (NED), the United States Institute for Peace and a range of foreign ministries including the UK and US, as

well as multinational corporations including Nestle, ExxonMobil and Chevron. It has powerful political connections – its board vice chairman, George Moose, was US Assistant Under-Secretary for State under Clinton and a SFCG senior advisor; Nancy Bearg was National Security Advisor to Reagan and Director of Policy Analysis at the US Department of Defense.



According to SFCG's programme overview for Sierra Leone, 'SFCG aims to build the legitimacy of government - including local - in the hearts and minds of the people, generating trust and confidence in the institutions.' ENCISS works through SFCG's Talking Drum Studios, which, among other activities, writes and produces shows championing the PRSP. Talking Drum dominates the airwaves in Sierra Leone, producing radio programmes for 18 local and international radio stations across Sierra Leone. 'A recent listener survey indicates that 89% of people listen regularly' (TDS website). Through ENCISS it also provides numerous community radio stations with equipment and training. SFCG is also chair for National Elections Watch (NEW), a coalition of civil society groups and non-governmental organizations which monitored the last local council elections.

Campaign for Good Governance (CGG) The CGG is a local NGO with strong ties to the international 'democracy promoting' community. It was set up by three influential members of Sierra Leone's ruling class, with funds from the International Crisis Group and Transparency International, two key democracy promotion organisations.

Since then it has received over \$180,000 from NED, as well as money from DFID, USAID, and World Vision and CIVICUS, two other democracy promotion organisations. CGG provide journalism training, produce weekly television and radio shows, conduct educational campaigns which include writing 'human rights handbooks for high schools'.

### CARE International

DFID has hired CARE International (UK) to implement ENCISS. Of the 12 members of CARE International UK's Board of Trustees, nine have held senior positions in major multinational corporations, and the remaining three have all worked for the British government, including a former private secretary to Margaret Thatcher. Although officially non-governmental, CARE UK receives a huge proportion of funding from government sources – DFID is their largest funder. CARE International UK's corporate partners include Starbucks, Unilver, United Business Media, BP, Morgan Brookes, Ernst and Young, Deloitte & Touche, Conoco Phillips, Johnson and Johnson, KPMG, Marks and Spencer,

Npower, Royal Bank of Scotland, Petro-Canada and PWC.

### Media Assistance

ENCISS is essentially a public relations, 'communication and information dissemination', campaign around the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. As well as dominating the airwaves through Talking Drum Studios, ENCISS has also set up resource centres – the only ones available – to manage 'community expectations and perceptions'. ENCISS also supports the Independent Media Commission, a government body that can issue or revoke media licences. The commission, originally set up by DFID, also receives funding from Celtel - a telecommunications multinational that provides a huge chunk of the mainstream media's advertising - and the Panos Institute, which itself is substantially funded by DFID, as well as having received recent grants from the Open Society Institute and the Rockefeller Foundation.

## according to the strategy report, Other ENCISS activities, include:

- interactive radio discussions in local languages;
- learning and dialogue road-shows;
- identifying and nurturing 'champions';
- documenting and publishing success stories and case studies;
- using community meetings as a platform for information dissemination and to assess perceptions and concerns – council meetings, farmers days, youth career days, etc.;
- use of mobile vans with speakers during market days and other community gatherings;
- developing a clear strategy to work with selected editors and/or journalists in the mainstream media;
- making use of local council notice boards and other notice boards at local level;
- developing a quarterly newsletter;
- repackaging PRSP goals and achievements in attractive formats: video, brochures, posters etc. to suit specific audiences;
- designing event promotional items: t-shirts, caps, pens, calendars etc.;
- and - my personal favourite - developing dialogue and music cassettes for taxis to provoke discussion, under the slogan 'Taxi Talk', 'Taxi Tunes';

This list is not exhaustive. Nor does it include the 'discussions' with targeted community leaders – youth leaders, mothers, chiefs or religious leaders.

# SIERRA LEONE, SECOND ACT: ENTER THE OIL INTERESTS

*While the minerals of Sierra Leone are the main prize, overlooked are the events which took place in the oil industry.*

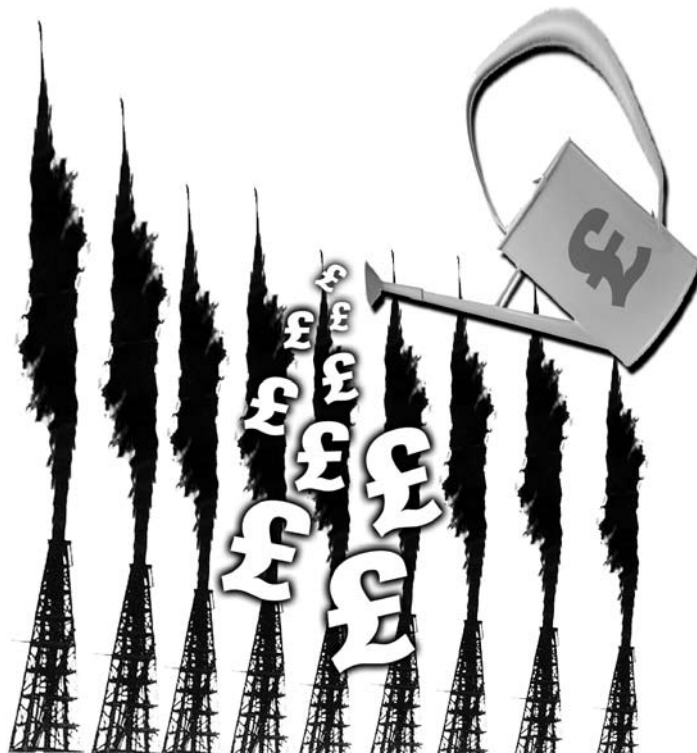
*by Jessica Pasteiner*

In 1999, the RUF invaded again, and the country was back at war. In November 2001, the Sierra Leone National Commission for Democracy and Human Rights, a government agency set up and supported by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) organised a 'National Consultative Conference on Democracy and Peace in Sierra Leone,' during which recommendations calling for early elections were supported and formalised. These 'recommendations' had come from the National Electoral Commission – an agency receiving 'technical assistance' from the UK, the US and the EU.

The conference, in effect, was political theatre, set up by Western-backed government representatives to officially and publicly endorse the decision of a Western-backed commission. Genuine discussion – ostensibly what the conference was for – was never on the table, despite calls from opposition parties to delay the elections. They argued that the war was still not over, and the political system was in chaos – they wanted time to organise themselves, in some cases to transform themselves from a guerrilla group into a legitimate political party, and demanded installation of an alternative interim government which would allow them a greater political voice in the run-up period. Neither Kabbah nor his Western friends had any intention of letting that happen.

About a year beforehand, in August 2000 – in the middle of the civil war, when surely he should have had slightly more pressing concerns, and with Britain firmly in control of his government – Kabbah handed control of Sierra Leone's oil and gas reserves to the Texas-based TGS-NOPEC Geophysical Company. According to the Memorandum of Understanding between TGS and the Ministry of Mineral Resources (MMRSL), TGS's task was 'to acquire, process, market and license the

data from the infill survey and to promote and manage the offshore Sierra Leone area,' which included marketing the entire offshore area to 'major oil companies' and assisting the ministry 'in formulating and drafting a revision of the Petroleum Laws, rules and procedures and Production



Sharing or Concession Agreements or similar standard petroleum contracts with the oil and gas exploration industry.'

In September 2001, with the war still raging, and with TGS in the legislative driving seat, the Petroleum Exploration and Protection Act was passed, paving the way for easy exploitation of reserves by foreign companies. A bidding round was announced for later that year. With the stage all set, no-one involved was willing to risk letting a new, and potentially adverse, government gain power. What's more, the oil industry would be wary of investing if there were hints of political instability, hence the organisation of the 'democracy and peace' conference two months later, which confirmed early elections. With the full backing and support of the UK and the US, and the other political parties in shambles, Kabbah seemed assured of

victory, which he accepted in May 2002. That same month saw the implementation of a new Model Petroleum Agreement/Royalty-Tax Concession Agreement, making conditions for foreign investment even more attractive. A couple of weeks after the Agreement was passed, Sierra Leone hosted two bid rounds, attended by 28 foreign oil and gas companies. According to a press release by the Texan TGS-NORPEC 'the bid round has been made possible by the Sierra Leone General Election in May, 2002 and subsequent implementation of a new Model Petroleum Agreement (Royalty-Tax Concession Agreement).' Three petroleum companies: Oronto Petroleum of Nigeria, Repsol of Spain, and 8 Investments Inc. of the United States, were awarded contracts, and drilling looks set to start in 2009.

Something which seems to confirm the importance of oil industry interests in Sierra Leone is the establishment in 2006 of an FBI office in the capital, Freetown. There are also convincing rumours of a CIA-controlled prison in the West of the country.

Ostensibly the FBI are in Sierra Leone conducting a 'counter-terrorist' initiative, although exactly what information US concerns are based on is uncertain. The office is part of the Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative, under which Washington has pretty much the whole Sahara-Sahel region under constant surveillance. However, there is increasing evidence to suggest that the alleged spread of terrorist activities across the Sahelian Sahara has been an elaborate deception on the part of US and Algerian military intelligence services in order to secure US oil interests in the region. The Cheney Report estimates that by 2015 West Africa will supply 25% of America's imported oil, and it is conceivable that these concerns are the reason for the US presence in Sierra Leone.

# GO, CORPORATE WATCH, GO!

Dear Corporate Watch

My name is Stephen Packard and I am a United States Citizen. I would first off like to praise your website; I think it is a good idea to have a non-profit organization watching major corporations. We have organizations like yours in the US but they not quite as well organized. I personally like the way you review companies independently for each other so each gets independent criticism as opposed to just the whole industry being criticized.

But I would like to make a suggestion, you seem to mark a lot of companies as bad, but are there any companies that are good? I am personally a very strong Individualist and supporter of the free market (when I mean free I mean free no corporate welfare). Because of this I think unethical businesses should be dealt with by the individual working independently of the government against the corporation. But I believe that not all big companies are inherently bad. Maybe you should put out a list of companies that are for the most part ethically sound that are OK to buy products from.

I also think a numerical rating system for corporations would be good. Like a 10 company is pure evil, a 1 is good, 5 unsure ethics. I don't know, it's just an idea. Well keep fighting the good fight.

Your Supporter,

Stephen Packard



Dear Stephen

*There are, in fact, several very good organisations in the USA similar to Corporate Watch and (at least) as well organised. CorpWatch ([www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org)) and Multinational Monitor ([www.multinationalmonitor.org](http://www.multinationalmonitor.org)) are two that come to mind. These two are now collaborating, with others, on the Crokodyl project ([www.crokodyl.org](http://www.crokodyl.org)), which assembles an easily updatable collection of corporate profiles – including several from us here at Corporate Watch. To your second point: from a consumer's point of view, groups like Ethical Consumer ([www.ethicalconsumer.org](http://www.ethicalconsumer.org)) look at products and give ratings, along the lines you suggest.*

*The main reason that groups like Corporate Watch do not recommend 'good' corporations is that our research tends to show that corporate activity will always tend towards the harmful – see the recent edition of the newsletter on what happens to food and farming companies when they grow to become corporations.*

Have a question or just something to say? Send your letter to:

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# Babylonian Times

*Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all of the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad. Jeremiah 51:7*



## LET THEM EAT CRÊPES

Rising oil prices, rising food prices. Worrying, eh? But look, if you can't afford groceries, why not just go to a restaurant and let someone else shoulder the burden? Won't that be cheaper? Oh, no, wait, my word processor's automatic 'point out the bleedin obvious' function is telling me I'm writing nonsense. A shame, then, that French President Nicholas Sarkozy doesn't have Corporate Watch's level of technological help. As France took over the EU presidency, Sarky stated that he would 'work for a Europe-wide cut in value-added tax on restaurant bills... to help consumers cope with soaring [oil] prices'. Nothing to do with propping up a lucrative section of the French economy of course, or keeping hotel and fast food chains supporting him. Many thanks to Marinus Ferreira for spotting this incident of history repeating itself as Sarkozy emulates another great French leader, Marie Antoinette. Although the chances of Sarkozy getting a glamorous film biopic with a pumping pop soundtrack are somewhat remote.

## BARCLAAAYS AHOOOOOOOY

Shiver me gilt edged stocks. Yo ho ho and a bottle of Chateau Latour! Barclays Bank be entering the salty world of shipping. Not that we here at Corporate Watch would accuse the apartheid-funding, planet-plundering Barclays of being on the same level as pirates. But the puzzle remains – why is Barclays – a specialist in creating imaginary money and other forms of voodoo - getting involved in the very down and dirty world of shipping? 'The bank, which is beefing up its commodities business in the face of booming prices, wants to hire ships on long-term charter to move oil and refined products around the globe.' (Financial Times) In this Babylonian world of ours it is possible that the spiralling prices of oil, metals and other raw materials make running shipping the only way for Barclays to safeguard its precious cargo. Many thanks to Babyhead for tipping us off about this one. Any insights into Barclays' venture into shipping, to the usual address, please.



## EU'RE DUMB AND YOU KNOW YOU ARE

'European Union energy ministers said at an informal meeting Saturday they had been labouring for 18 months under the false impression that an EU plan to fight global warming included an obligation to develop controversial biofuels.' Well. Ahum... There you go. Kind of takes the wind out of satirists' sails, really, when the leaders of the world turn out to actually be beyond parody... Maybe that's their plan? Curse their fiendish stupid-looking intelligence!

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