

"The North Koreans, the Russians, the Cubans. All of our untouchable targets are there at the U.N. headquarters, just across the street," a former CIA official said.

CLOSE-UP

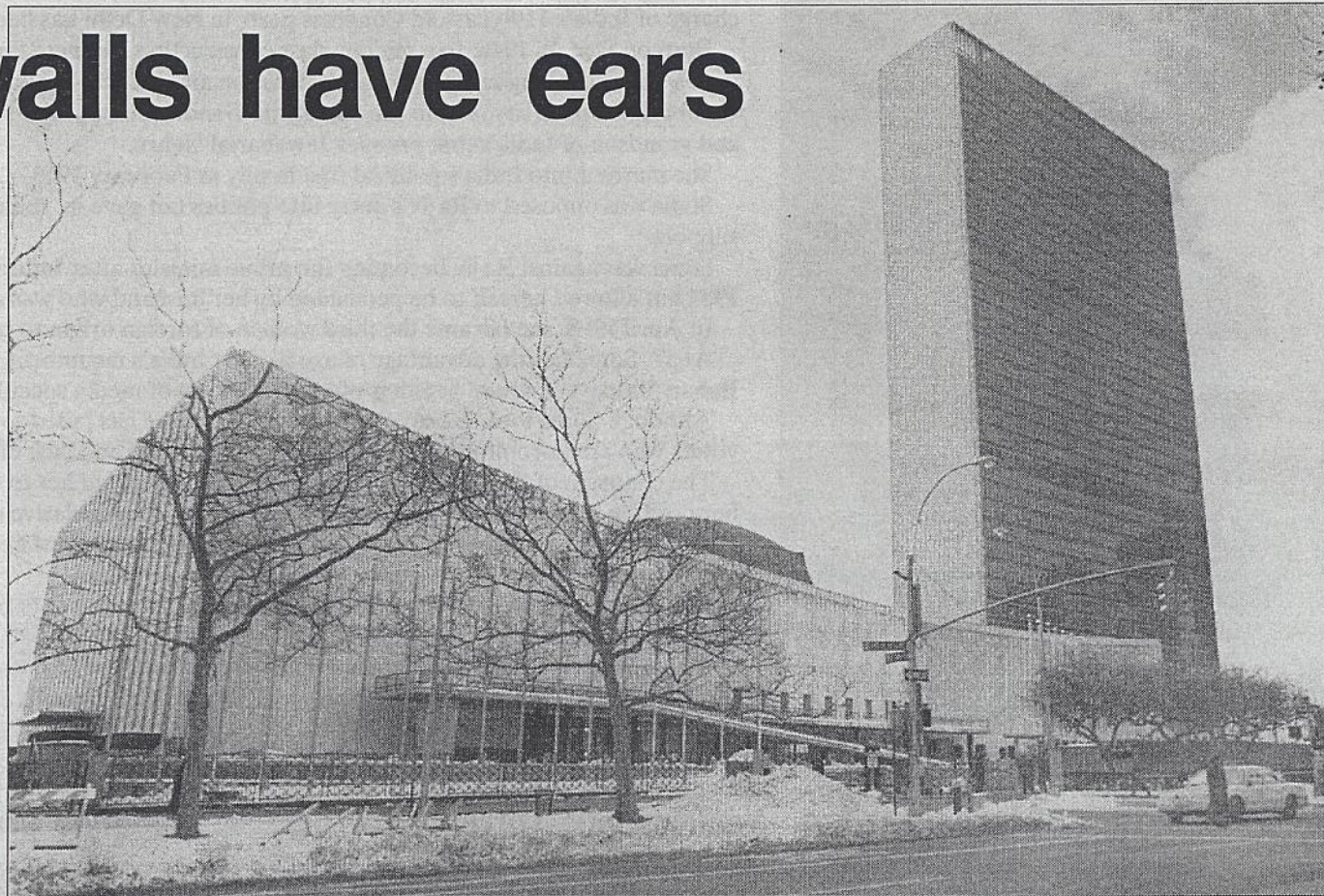
U.N. walls have ears

As Cuban Ambassador Orlando Gual remembers it, he and his staff had just had a heated discussion in their mission about health insurance plans when a sheaf of insurance ads suddenly came rolling off the fax machine. Another time, after a debate on where to lease a car, it mysteriously disgorged pages of options.

"One time, I heard someone coughing when I picked up the phone. I recommended some cough medicine, and the voice said, 'Thank you very much.' They're human," he said with a smile. "And at least they're polite."

Long before a former British Cabinet minister revealed in February that she had seen transcripts of U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan's private conversations inside the United Nations about negotiations over Iraq on the eve of war, few at U.N. headquarters assumed that their conversations were secret.

After all, the United Nations has been a beacon for spies since the day of its creation. During the 1945 San Francis-



The walls of the U.N. headquarters in New York are thinner than people think. It's not easy for world representatives to keep secrets. There, almost anything goes. AFP PHOTO

acted with muted anger. Any kind of interference in confidential diplomatic discussions was illegal, he said, and if it was occurring, Annan "would

tions at the United Nations, the former official said. Eavesdropping on the secretary-general, a particularly sensitive target because of his po-

Jeanne Kirkpatrick took the post in 1981, the former CIA official said. From then on, the operations resumed at full speed.

ly useful for most, except those for whom the information flow is one-way, such as smaller countries — and the secretary-general, who does

集々群の兩社計畝、以種玉耕籍の間窺国主邸、以蘇丹升朝レ下
 爵、以「ロエヒ工」で「ワウ」を耕籍の専主英米。さへなくのみめ
 るも亦存心小中のち、テムズなるも受爵土趾す計畝さへ如き星
 。此無咎も其土実事ハ計畝書文が讀下り立ノ顯也や AGU

Eckhard said.

and fax traffic, and sift it
intercept e-mail, telephone
traffic and New Zealand, can
States, Britain, Canada, Aus-
network run by the United
Echelon, a satellite listening
genge specialists say.

It is generally narrow, intelligent people whose experience — that does — technology is far easier — and these days using advanced and prove useful later. But a prominent position at home

United Nations, the hope was that he or she would return to East Germany while at the same time not have access to important documents. Even if someone was best for recruiting Nations was best for recruiting CIA officials said, the former intelligence, the former But even more than gathering Eckhard said.

GIS International Symposium/ Toward Democratic International Relations in the 21st Century/ November 18, 2002 1:00 to 4:00 p.m./ University Hall Auditorium, Mine Campus/ Organized by the Graduate School of International Studies Utsunomiya University/ Dr. Louis W. Goodman (International Service, American University) "Global Democracy in the 21st Century with Special Reference to Civil-Military Relations"/

Yuji Nakamura

Discussion Paper on the Presentation by Dr. Louis W. Goodman

My 3-point comment is as follows:

1. It is interesting that Costa Rica, a small nation of 3,400,000 people in Latin America has maintained unarmed neutrality since 1949 as a style of nation governance. The military was dissolved in 1948. National security rests upon 3,000 people's civilian garrison, 2,000 people's border guards garrison and 2,000 people's local garrison (the figures for 1998).

Holding military forces suggests that it is not necessarily a prerequisite for governing a country although this style of governance is the exception rather than the rule. The military is hollowed out in civil-military relations in the case of Costa Rica. Government and people in Costa Rica regard military forces as unnecessary and "civil-government relations" is primarily important.

Dr. Goodman pointed out that the role and function of armed forces have changed into "supporting police efforts in maintaining internal order, to combating environmental deterioration, to providing basic health and education services, to constructing highways and bridges" in the trend of downsizing of national armed forces worldwide. Then can we call these kinds of organizations "military forces?" Can we say that military downsizing results in no military forces in our future society and that pursuit of ideal civil-military relations bring extinctions of military forces?

2. Myanmar, a nation of 46,400,000 people in Southeast Asia has established military administration since 1988. There are 429,000 soldiers as a force, 50,000 as police semi-force and 35,000 as militiamen (the figures for 1998).

The civil-military relations in this country are subordinate-control relations, which had been shown in the treatment and house arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi. And it is prerequisite for the Myanmar military administration to restrict political democracy.

Other countries which do not fall under the category of military government and despotic state also manipulate information and use democracy system ingeniously for the purpose of acquiring support from the people to some extent. As a result, "military-industry-governmental" complex tends to be formed with a lack of understanding between government and people. It seems to accelerate forming "military-industry-governmental" complex arising from contemporary regional war such as Gulf War, Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian War, Chechen War and frequently occurring terrorism.

3. We have to pay attention to the serious matter: the strong possibility of “the attack on Iraq” by American military forces. If American forces decided to attack Iraq, the Bush administration would justify the attack as protecting democracy worldwide. The administration may also justify the attack as “lawful self-defense” because the military’s core mission is to provide for the nation’s external security. But if many soldiers and a large sum of money are needed to cover the cost of war (there is another report which amount to 250,000 soldiers and 200 billions as cost of war) and are committed to the attack of Iraq, is it backward movement of world downsizing of military forces? Does the new role of military forces vanish in the future? Does the traditional mission of military forces come back into fashion?

Now, does the American civilian control of military forces work normally? Do American people really approve of the plan to attack Iraq? Is there no room for manipulation or distortion of information about the Middle East situation? I think it is necessary for the Bush administration to explain and show evidence of whether Iraq and al-Qa’ida are allies and to explain clearly why the administration links the anti-terrorism war, the inspection of mass-destruction weapons and the overthrow of the Iraq administration. Moreover, even though the American government may succeed in reforming the Iraq structure and establishing a new pro-American government, the question remains whether “American Democracy” is forced upon other countries under the trend of globalization, or not.

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コメントのポイントは以下の3点です。

第1に、ラテンアメリカにおける人口約340万人の小国、コスタリカの国家統治スタイルは軍民関係の将来を考える上で示唆するところが大きい。この国の軍隊は1948年に新政権によって解体された。1949年には非武装中立を宣言し、3000人の市民警備隊と2000人の国境警備隊、2000人の地方警備隊のみが国の安全を担っている(1998年現在)。

このような国の存在は傍証であるにせよ、必ずしも軍隊に頼らない形での国家統治が可能であることを示している。そうだとすれば、コスタリカでは「軍民」関係における「軍」がまさに抜け落ちている(必要とされていない、いわんや国家存続のためには不必要とされている)のであり、「民-政府」関係(Civil-Government relations)が国家統治の基軸に位置している。

軍隊の規模が世界的に縮小していくなかで、従来の軍隊が、国境警備、緊急時・災害時の道路建設・食糧配布、過疎地域への医療サービスや教育サービスへの従事にその役割を転化していくということは、将来的には警備隊や災害救助隊、過疎地域支援隊といった軍隊とは呼び得ないような組織体、要するに軍隊の解体に行き着くのではないだろうか。望ましい軍民関係の行く末は軍隊の消滅にあるという認識は間違っているのであろうか。

第2に、例えば、東南アジア諸国におけるミャンマー(人口は1997年国連統計で4640万人)では、1988年に軍事政権が誕生した。兵力は42万9,000人で、さらに準軍事組織としての人民警察軍(5万人)と民兵(3万5,000人)が存在する(1997年現在)。

こうした軍事政権国家における軍民関係は、アウンサン・スーチー女史の政治活動に対する軍の反応(自宅軟禁)に如実に表れたように、民は軍に従属するものとして明確に位置づけられている。換言すればデモクラシーが大幅に制約される政治状況を国家統治の前提ないしは生命線とした上での軍民関係なのである。

そして軍事国家や独裁国家という範疇に入らない諸国家においても、多かれ少なかれ、軍が情報操作を行い、国民の支持を得るためにデモクラシーを巧みに利用し、その結果、民を置き去りにした形での「軍産官」が一体となった複合体が形成される傾向にあるのではないだろうか。湾岸戦争、ボスニア紛争、チェチェン紛争といった現代の地域戦争、さらにはテロの頻発が、こうした「軍産官」複合体の形成をより一層加速化し、結果としてデモクラシーを排除する方向に進んでいるのではないか。

第3に、アメリカ軍のイラク攻撃の可能性について触れざるを得ない。仮にアメリカがイラク攻撃に踏み切るとすれば、それはデモクラシーを「守る」あるいは「拡大する」ための戦いと位置づけられるのであろうか。その際にアメリカが投入するであろうと予想される多数の兵士と巨額な戦費(一説には動員規模25万人、24兆円に達するという報道もある)を想起すれば、軍事力の世界規模での減少傾向に逆行することとなるし、新しい軍隊の役割への期待も吹き飛んでしまうのではないか。

果たして現在のアメリカはシビリアンコントロールが正常に機能しているといえるのであろうか。本当にアメリカの国民はテロ撲滅のためにはイラク攻撃が必要だと考えているのであろうか。そこに情報操作や誤った情報にもとづいて世論が導かれているという余地はないのか。イラクとアルカイダが同盟関係にあるという根拠と、対テロ戦争、大量破壊兵器の査察、イラク政権打倒がどうつながるかについての明確な説明が今こそ必要なのではないか。また、攻撃によってイラクの体制変革を達成し、仮に親米政権が樹立されたとしても、それはグローバリゼーションのもとでの「アメリカンデモクラシー」の押し付けとなるのでは、という疑問も残る。

国際シンポジウム「21 世紀における民主的な国際関係を目指して アメリカン大学ルイス・W・グッドマン
博士を迎えて」/宇都宮大学大学院国際学研究科主催/2002 年 11 月 18 日/場所 宇都宮大学会館多目
的ホール/講演「地球民主主義の展望：軍民関係を主な視点として」についてのコメント/コメンテータ
ー 中村祐司（国際学部助教授）コメント要旨（英語）
