



Latin
American
Political
Yearbook
2002

Volume Five

Robert G. Breene, Jr.
editor



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Yearbook
2001**

Volume Four

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1

Elections and Status of Political Forces (SPF) in Latin America

It continues to appear reasonable, as in previous Yearbooks, to divide the description of Latin American (LA) elections into those taking place in Central America (CA), in the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR) Nations, in the Andean Nations and in the Caribbean Nations to include Mexico. This discussion is still appropriately preceded by a definition of the Left.

A Realistic Definition of the Political Left

In the spring of 1999 Mr. James Carville, apparently an agent of U.S. President W. J. Clinton, returned from Israel where he had engineered the defeat of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, to tell a national television audience that there were “no right-wing governments left standing.” The only rational explanation of this remark involves, primarily, defining “right-wing” as “anti-Left,” this being the essence of what is meant by the motor-automatism term. Although the “legend in his own mind,” Ernesto Guevara, really knew not what he said when declaring it difficult for a leftist to know what to do when successful, there was considerable truth there because of the nature of the Left.

In what follows the “Left” will be taken to mean the “political Left.” The lexicon which has evolved began with “Left” and “Right,” progressed through “Center” to “right center” and “left center,” the ultimate stage in this dubious progression perhaps reached with “center center.” Since there is no real definition of these terms, they can and have been used to confuse and disguise. Here only “Left” will be used, “Right” entering only briefly as a counterpoint.

In the French National Assembly, the States General of 1789, the “privileged classes,” the clergy¹ and the nobility, were seated on the right of this august body, the Right (physically) were therefore conservatives, those essentially wishing to maintain the status quo. With which 143 years may be allowed to elapse, and the Reichstag is seated in Berlin, the representatives of the National Socialist German Workers Party (the Nazi Party) seated on the right. These people certainly had no desire to maintain the status quo, but it was of quite specific benefit to the, by definition, Left Marxist-Leninists (MLs) to classify them as “rightists.” As it was so to classify the fascists² of the socialist Mussolini, whose prewar “Mussoliniani” included the famous Italian communist, Gramsci.³ Thus was perpetrated the great twentieth-century fraud which established the Nazis and Fascists on the Right, and the MLs on the Left.

But, as Harvard’s Baird Professor of History, Richard Pipes, has shown in exquisite detail,⁴ ML activities in Russia gave “rise to movements that assimilated their spirit and copied their methods to fight Communism...they do so not because they have contrary principles or aspirations but because they compete for the same constituencies...”⁵ ML, fascism, and Nazism are therefore appropriately lumped together into the Left.

The Left hence can be taken as the collectivist doctrine having little to no use for individual liberties and administered at the whim of its bureaucrats, frequently technocrats, not its citizens.

Elections and SPF in Central America

COSTA RICA

General elections were held in Costa Rica on 1 February 1998 (pp. 2ff, YRBK00⁶). As a result, the National Liberation Party (PLN-Social Democrat) president of the country, José María Figueres Olsen, was replaced by the Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC) president, Miguel Angel Rodríguez Echeverría. The PUSC emerged from the elections for the unicameral legislature with more deputies than any other party but not with a majority of legislative seats.

EL SALVADOR

SALVADORAN ELECTIONS WILL DECIDE THE COUNTRY’S FUTURE

MARIO ROSENTHAL
LANS ASSOCIATE EDITOR
SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR
(WKLY 7.9, 4 MARCH 1999)

Salvadorans may not turn out in great numbers to exercise their right to choose a successor to National Republican Alliance (ARENA) president Armando Calderón Sol on March 7, 1999. In the 1994 presidential election ARENA won 56 percent of the valid votes in the second round and the presidency, but in the 1997 election for Deputies for the National Legislature it only won 35 percent and lost 11 seats and the majority.⁷ In 1994 the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) won 26 percent of the valid votes and lost the presidency but in 1997 it won 33 percent of the valid votes and gained 6 seats in the legislature.⁸

Some observers believe that the 1997 results are an indication of the growing strength of the leftist FMLN party, but, since 334,000 fewer votes were cast in 1997 than in 1994 (1.1 million against 1.4 million), this increase in Farabundi percentage could be largely a matter of voter disappointment with ARENA. The electorate could have been punishing ARENA for what it considered a poor performance in handling the major problems of the country by staying home. It is true that Hector Silva, the FMLN candidate, became mayor of Metropolitan San Salvador as a result of the 1997 election, but, overall, his party only won 43 of 240 municipalities.

The mayoralty of San Salvador is generally considered the stepping stone to the presidency, as it was for Presidents José Napoleón Duarte and Armando Calderón Sol. However, although Silva was offered the opportunity, as the natural candidate for the FMLN, he refused to run after thinking it over. Evidently he preferred his secure sinecure. This has been taken as indicating that the most prominent member of the FMLN party had little faith in victory.

The polls, such as they are, have borne this out. As of February 20, the last day prior to the election that polls may be taken or published, they showed the FMLN lagging 19 points behind ARENA, 16 percent to 35 percent. There is, however, some doubt as to the accuracy of these polls. First of all because some persons interviewed were apparently hesitant about admitting that they would vote for the left. Further, the pollsters did not reveal where the polls were

taken, and preferences vary greatly in different parts of the country. Finally, although the falling support for ARENA, which has been mirrored by the votes it has received, may preclude any landslide victory, the votes are not expected to go to the left.

Ex President Alfredo Cristiani, ARENA party leader, favored Minister of Foreign Relations Alfredo Santamaria as the party's presidential candidate, a choice which President Calderón Sol successfully challenged by backing (some say plotting) the nomination of Francisco Flores his forty-year-old former press secretary, adviser, and Minister of the Presidency. Flores is a professional politician, whose entire career has been in government. He was a deputy in the National Legislature and resigned last year as its president to promote himself as the ARENA presidential candidate. This was later confirmed by the party. The Flores nomination revealed an internal schism within the monolithic banking-commercial ARENA leadership, however well the party has closed ranks behind Flores. Either Flores or Santamaria may represent the dissenting members of ARENA who stayed away from the polls in 1997 because they realized that carrying out reforms, reducing corruption and achieving solidity in government is in their own best interest. Or the contest between them may have merely been a power struggle between Calderón Sol and Cristiani. The choice cannot be made, however, until Flores actually occupies the presidency, as he appears likely to do.

Francisco Flores is a typical Salvadoran in appearance, dark skinned and of medium height with a broad smile. He claims to have a Master's Degree in Philosophy from World University in California and to have taken courses in sociology at Harvard. He presents himself as a "take charge" type and has been described as a follower of the Indian mystic, Sai Baba, a description which he does not deny. He is his own campaign director, controlling the spending; his advisers and chief assistants are not party members. He distances himself from the old guard to the extent that he does not allow the old guard to crowd the platform at rallies and meetings as has been traditional.

Facundo Guardado,⁹ the FMLN candidate looks exactly like what he is: a former guerrilla commander. Brown skinned, usually with the shadow of a beard, he has a round face and a flashing smile. He is forty-four years old, with little formal education, and claims to have studied to the ninth grade of primary school. The cease-fire

had barely taken effect when he began his political activity. The FMLN is not a compact organization, it is made up of six different groups that are divided into two factions, the *conservadores* and the *renovadores*. Shafik Handal, who remains a confirmed communist, heads the conservatives, or the old-line leftists. Guardado is the leader of the “reform” movement.

Guardado had to struggle fiercely to win the nomination for himself and his running mate, former guerrilla Nidia Diaz. Diaz was captured in the 1980s, imprisoned and freed with more than a hundred other prisoners in an exchange for the release of President Duarte’s daughter, whom the FMLN had kidnapped. Guardado’s platform is vague and is based on *el cambio* (the change), although it is not clear just what the change would be. His lack of administrative experience and general experience made one opponent comment that turning the government over to him would be like allowing a pilot with a Piper Cub license to fly a Boeing 747.

Trailing far behind the two front-running parties is the Democratic Convergence (CD) with a 7 percent rating. Ruben Zamora, CD candidate for the presidency, is a former priest and spokesman for the FMLN during the armed conflict. He trails far behind with a 7 percent rating. He is joined by business executive Abraham Rodríguez, one of the original founders of the PDC Christian Democrat Party (CD), but one who has been inactive in politics for many years. On the eve of elections that will either bring reforms and growth or confirm that things in El Salvador change only superficially, the country emerged from twelve years of guerrilla “warfare,” followed by four years of socialist “reforms.” The agricultural “reforms” failed, decreasing production. The economic “reforms” consisted of the nationalization of the banks that eroded liquidity while ten years of ARENA mercantilistic government focused on improving the financial macrostructure while neglecting the financial microstructure. These have left the country in a condition little short of chaos. The judicial system is a shambles with large backlogs in the courts, overcrowded jails and “reforms” in the penal code that make prosecution almost impossible. To these woes must be added the conflict between the unprofessional National Legislature and the Supreme Court .

Corruption and mismanagement bankrupted two of the largest savings and loan institutions bringing losses of millions of dollars

to investors and depositors; both white collar and street crime is rampant and being dealt with only by a new and inexperienced police force; armed assaults on banks and businesses are common and dozens of violent crimes are committed daily. The U.S. is deporting hundreds of illegals monthly, mostly criminals, while President Calderón Sol pleads with the U.S. to declare an amnesty for the approximately half million to one million illegals in the U.S. The remittances by these illegals amounts to over \$1 billion a year, enough to offset reduced Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and their return would exacerbate unemployment by something like 60 percent. Such an unemployment figure is necessarily approximate since true unemployment is covered up by basing official statistics on a work force made up of the entire population over twelve-years-old wherein anyone working one week a year is taken as employed. The government has a 25 percent negative balance of trade, a 10 percent deficit in the national budget, and long-standing social problems. Lastly, the government audit bureau has failed for three years to present reports while private auditors are under suspicion.

Nevertheless El Salvador has a good credit standing and a strong macroeconomy, loans and donations are pouring in from friendly governments, foundations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), although the National Assembly is holding up approval for political reasons. The country projects a good image because of massive investment in its infrastructure: luxurious shopping malls, modernization and construction of hotels and impressive upper class residential neighborhoods. Through it all, the Salvadorans must be given credit for consistent effort and optimism while making the best of a limited national territory, a lack of natural resources and overpopulation. In short, the citizenry deserves credit for making the best of the bad hand Destiny has dealt.

THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS OF 7 MARCH 1999 (WKLY 7.10, 11 MARCH 1999)

The Salvadoran legislative elections of 16 March 1997 for the unicameral legislature have been discussed (pp. 2ff, YRBK98). In these elections the party of President Calderón Sol, ARENA, won 28 seats, followed closely by the “ex” terrorists of the FMLN who picked up 27. These two principal parties were followed by the

National Reconciliation Party (PCN) with 11 seats, the PDC with 7, the Social Christian Renovation Party (PRSC) with 3, the CD and the Liberal Democratic Party (RLD) with 2 and the Unity Movement (MU) with 1. A PDC-PD (Democratic Party) coalition won 3. Also worthy of remarking here is the FMLN mayoral victory in the capital city of San Salvador.

In Wkly 7.9 above LANS Associate Editor Mario Rosenthal has discussed the presidential contest which took place on 7 March 1999 between the two principal candidates, those of ARENA and the FMLN. His analysis now proves to have been accurate in forecasting the fact and the margin of the ARENA victory over the FMLN. Herein further details of this contest will be discussed.

Salvadoran Political Parties

In the election of 1997 thirteen political parties fielded candidates. Results of the 7 March 1999 election will be presented here for seven parties who fielded presidential hopefuls.

ARENA

In the mid 1980s the LANS Editor conducted an in-depth interview with Alfredo Félix Cristiani in the dingy little San Salvador house which was then party headquarters. The ARENA chief, who would later move to the presidential palace, presented a sincere-sounding pro-free market, anti-left case which, it was claimed by certain party stalwarts, would give way to the blandishments of the PPs (professional politicians) and which (pp. 2ff, YRBK98) would later appear responsible for those defections which cost the party its legislative control. Rosenthal (Wkly 7.9 above) has discussed the virtual coup d'état by which Francisco Guillermo Flores Pérez (b. 1959) won the party's presidential nomination. Whether the ARENA victory in the presidential sweepstakes was partly or largely the result of Flores' success in toppling the "Old Guard" would probably be difficult to determine.

Since the bios of these candidates are usually the proud productions of the candidates themselves, it is to be presumed that Mr. Flores is most pleased with his peripatetic progress through various groves of academe. He describes "studies" at Amherst, Harvard, and Oxford, but mentions degrees only from the "World University

of California”¹⁰ (*Luego Maestría*) and an Arts Associate from the University of Hartford. Perhaps more to the point, he lists political positions which he has filled as Presidential Information Secretary, Vice Minister of the Presidency, Vice Minister of Planning and President of the Legislative Assembly.

FMLN

The FMLN ran a ticket in coalition with the Social Christian Union (USC), but the obviously important member of this coalition was the ex terrorist organization. The FMLN was put together from five ML terror groups in the Sandinista Managua of 1980 by Americas Department (AD)¹¹ chief Manuel (Redbeard) Piñiera Losado, now deceased. All five of these groups had arisen from the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCES) which, like the FMLN, has long been bossed by Shafik Handal. That there was no rationality for giving the political power to this impotent FMLN has likewise been frequently discussed in these reports (cf. pp. 146ff, YRBK97).

The FMLN-USC presidential candidate, Facundo Guardado (b. 1954) has been discussed in Wkly 7.9 to include his involvement with the Managua *buzon*.¹² He has been a deputy in the Legislative Assembly from San Vicente Department since 1994. Guardado’s vice presidential running mate was María Marta Valladares Mendoza (aka Nidia Díaz) (b. 1952), who, it may be recalled, was one of those exchanged for President Duarte’s daughter when she was kidnapped by the Farabundi terrorists.

United Central Democratic Coalition (CDU)

This is a coalition of leftist parties consisting of the CD, the PD and the Peoples Labor Party (PPL). The CD was nothing more than a front group for the FMLN terrorists, formed in the latter 1980s and largely the bailiwick of its presidential candidate in the recent elections, the “spokesman” for the Farabundis before victory was proffered them through the Chapultepec Accords. The candidate, Rubén Ignacio Zamora Rivas (b. 1942), was, with his sidekick Guillermo Ungo, considerably more than a FMLN “spokesman,” a 1988 photograph in the LANS files showing this pair at a Managua press conference with the weapons supplier, Daniel Ortega. Ungo departed this veil of tears several years ago.

Zamora's running mate was Joaquín Roberto Meza Delgado (b. 1937).

PDC

This party was founded in 1960. It would later be touted as the only salvation for El Salvador and was the vehicle for the Duarte presidency that began in 1984, his party removed from office by ARENA in 1989. Duarte has been discussed in these reports in connection with the indefensible, but existent, Esquipulas II Accords (Chap. 5, YRBK98). Of Duarte it can be said that, if he was not a leftist, he was adaptable to the "opening to the left." Since Duarte left office the PDC has fallen on hard times. The pedecistas now define themselves as "social Christians," their National Directorate now run by the "polemic"—the choice of word is that of *La Prensa Grafica*—Ronald Umaña.

The PDC presidential candidate during these elections was Rodolfo Antonio Parker Soto (b. 1957) who has spent his career in the legal profession, having worked in various courts, been legal advisor to the General Staff of the Armed Forces and various private enterprises. He is a professor of law at José Matías Delgado University. One of the vice presidential candidates was Donald Ricardo Calderón Lam, accountant and financial consultant, another Carlos Quintanilla Schmidt.

Democratic Republican League (LIDER)

Founded in 1998, this party is described as "of the right with a humanist framework." By "of the right," it might be claimed that this means free market, anti-ML, but such a conclusion may be off the mark. Nelson Salvador García Córdova (b. 1942), an attorney, was its presidential candidate, Mauricio Meyer (b. 1946), who describes himself as an advertising executive, its vice presidential candidate.

PCN

The PCN was founded in 1961, its self-description as "nationalist, democratic and humanist," for whatever this may be worth. Its presidential candidate was Rafael Hernán Contreras Rodríguez (b. 1940), an attorney, the president of the party's Executive Council

and the proprietor of the review, *Análisis*. Its vice presidential candidate was Julio Eduardo Moreno Niños who has a degree in political science and is a Public Accountant.

United Peoples New Deal (PUNTO)

The party was formed in 1995 by Francisco Ayala de Paz (b. 1942) who classified it as Social Democrat and, therefore, presumably qualified to join the IS (Socialist International). Ayala was the party's presidential candidate and describes himself as a university professor who has dedicated his professional life to the education of university youths. His running mate was the merchant, Humberto Merlos.

Election Results

Nationwide, ARENA, with 52 percent of the vote, won by almost two to one over its nearest competitor, the FMLN. For an approximate snapshot of the election returns for all seven political parties discussed above, the party by party returns for the Department of San Salvador will be given below.

ARENA: 48.68 percent; FMLN: 31.23 percent; CDU 11.64 percent; PDC: 4.51 percent; LIDER: 1.97 percent;
PCN: 1.60 percent; PUNTO: 0.36 percent

These numbers will not, of course, be precise when extrapolated to the entire country, but they do give a feeling for such a result.

GUATEMALA

GUATEMALAN ELECTIONS OF 8 NOVEMBER 1999
(WKLY 8.18, 7 NOVEMBER 1999)

Thanks largely to the Hemispheric Left (HL) and the Hemispheric Left Support (HLS), Guatemala has been, during most of the last half-century, *terra incognita* in the rest of the world. Not that various "experts" do not consider themselves familiar, they do, but that with which they are familiar generally bears little relation to reality. As has been shown in the review of the Peruvian Self-Defense Committees (CAPs) (pp. 194ff, YRBK00), those who may be expert on terrorist matters in their own countries have been deceived on the

Guatemalan realities. The facts, all but hidden under a mountain of disinformation, are the following:

Guatemala was the first Communist International (COMINTERN) conquest in Latin America. Even the fact that the COMINTERN still existed with another name (International Department¹³) after 1943 (p.84, YRBK97) generally appears to remain unknown. This was the first and, until the recent advent of Chávez in Venezuela (pp. 39ff, YRBK00), the only imposition of a ML regime by election. This was, of course, carried out by Arevalo and his successor, thanks to the murder of Arana, Arbenz (pp. 214ff, YRBK98). After Castro was safely ensconced in Cuba this pair alighted there to stoke the fires for the next ML attack on Guatemala in 1960, this to be followed by a second in 1972 (pp. 136ff, YRBK97). As with all ML operations, this sequence of events has been buried under a thick blanket of disinformation which the media gorges without hesitation.

Important to this is the continuing campaign against Efraín Ríos Montt who did *not* stage a coup in the early 1980s but, rather, accepted the chief of state position from the officers who did as LANS has verified from eye witnesses. Hanna Rosin (*New Republic* 15 April 1996) need not have been “surprised when the indigenous...(people) voted *en masse* for...” Ríos Montt. He had given them the CAPs which in 1982 broke the back of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) terrorists who had been preying on them.¹⁴ Several years later, instead of dispensing with the common criminals of the URNG, the “peace talks” began. Perhaps the most cogent answer to the intriguing “why” for this behavior was given to the LANS Editor by an old Guatemalan intel hand:

“DC,” he said, meaning Washington, DC, “wants to restructure Guatemalan institutions so there is reconciliation and sharing. The negotiations were dragged out for years to transform the terrorists into freedom fighters and statesmen. All of this of course is in line with the U.S. policy of discrediting the military throughout LA.”

The result of this policy was the Esquipulas Accords. These Accords, put together by four curious PPs (pp. 290ff, YRBK98), are almost certainly unconstitutional (pp. 268ff, YRBK98) and were created almost entirely on the basis of blatant ML disinformation (pp. 306ff, YRBK98). The result was of course an astonishing *coup* for the HL which has been blindly accepted by any number of “ex-

perts,” most of whom are probably sincere devotees of anything that is dubbed “peace.” All of which is important here because much has been made of the 7 November elections in Guatemala being the first since this “peace.”

Guatemalan Government

The Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala was promulgated by the Constituent Assembly of 1985 as amended by Legislative Accord 18-93 of 17 November 1993. An unsuccessful attempt to amend the Constitution further so as to include certain of the peculiar recommendations of the so-called “Peace Accords” has been discussed in Wkly 7.20, “Yankee Imperialism Loses One: Guatemala.”

The Executive Power in Guatemala is exercised by a president and a vice president who are elected by the nation in direct vote for a period of four years. By Art. 184 of the Constitution, if no presidential candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote there will be a run-off election between the two top contenders in no less than forty-five days and no more than sixty days after the first round of these presidential elections. The president may not be re-elected.

The Legislative Power in Guatemala is exercised by the Congress of the Republic, a unicameral legislature. It consists of deputies elected directly by the universal suffrage of the people. By Art. 157 these deputies are elected through a system of electoral districts and a national list for a period of four years with re-election permitted. By this same article each department¹⁵ of the Republic constitutes an electoral district as do the Municipality of Guatemala and the agglomeration of the remaining municipalities within the Department of Guatemala. Each electoral district will elect at least one deputy.

By Art. 227 the office of departmental governor is not elective; these are appointed by the President of the Republic, they falling into the same category as ministers of state. By Art. 228 the Departmental Council is made up of the mayors of the various municipalities in the department. By Art. 253 the municipalities of a given department are autonomous entities which elect their own authorities.

Before the elections of 7 November 1999 the 80 deputy seats in the national legislature were distributed as follows: National Advance Guard Party (PAN) 43, Guatemalan Republican Front (FRG)

21, National Alliance (AN) 9, New Guatemalan Democratic Front (FDNG) 6 and National Liberation Movement (MLN) 1. (Note that the AN consisted of the Guatemalan Christian Democrat Party [PDCG], the Democratic Socialist Party and the National Center Union [UCN].)

Political Parties

It is, of course, impractical to deal with all the political parties involved in the November elections. Therefore, only the five parties holding seats in the pre-election legislature plus the “ex” terrorist party will be specifically considered. The order of treatment will be as given in the last paragraph with additions.

PAN: The National Advance Guard Party was founded under a different name in 1986 in order to promote the Guatemala City mayoral race of Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen. It was later the Arzú vehicle for a successful presidential run. In the recent elections its presidential candidate was Oscar Berger, its vice presidential candidate Arabella Castro Quiñones.

FRG: The Guatemalan Republican Front was formed in 1989 to support the candidacy of Efraín Ríos Montt. Its presidential candidate was Alfonso Portillo, its vice presidential candidate Juan Francisco Reyes López

AD: The National Alliance Party (PAN) was replaced in the recent elections by the Democratic Alliance which was founded in 1992 by former members of the Socialist Democrat Party (PSD) and the Guatemalan Christian Democrat Party. It appears to claim fewer militants than any of the other parties. Its presidential candidate was Emilio Eva, a militant of the 13 November 1960 Movement. Since this was the date of the first Castroite invasion and a slight variation on Yon Sosa’s terrorist 13 November Revolutionary Movement (MR-13) (p.136, YRBK97), there would not appear to be any ambiguity here. The vice presidential candidate was Julio Celso de León.

FDNG: The New Guatemalan Democratic Front emerged from the Revolutionary Party in 1995 and now claims 14,384 militants. Its presidential candidate was Catalini Soberanis, a Christian Democrat. Its vice presidential candidate was Juan León Alvarado.

MLN: The National Liberation Movement was founded in 1960 and hence may claim senior status among the parties mentioned with a sizable 14,703 militants. Its presidential candidate was Carlos

Pérez, its vice presidential candidate the singer and journalist Rafael Serrano Gramajo.

To these parties holding seats is here added the party of the “ex” terrorists:

DIA-URNG: Authentic Integral Development is reminiscent of Chávez’s word-ridden Constitution in Venezuela and alleges its creation to have been in 1993. URNG is, of course, the “ex:” terrorist Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union which was put together in the Sandinist Managua of 1980 by Castro’s Americas Department head, Redbeard Piñero, although it maintains a birthdate of 1998. The presidential candidate of this coalition was Alvaro Colom, the vice presidential candidate one Vitalino Similox who claims to be a theologian, presumably a LibTheo theologian.

Presidential Election Results

The receding tide of citizen participation turned in this election and with it the fortunes of the FRG. But not enough to avoid a run-off, a state of affairs in which *La Hora* considered the run-off election to be a waste of money while *Prensa Libre* thought the PAN candidate should withdraw. The results were as follows:

FRG 43.73 percent, PAN 27.71 percent, DIA-URNG 11.26 percent, PLP (Progressive Liberating Party) 2.83 percent, Democratic Reconciling Action (ARDE) 1.90 percent, FDNG 1.18 percent, Green Organization (LOV)-Democratic Union (UD) 1.04 percent, National Center Union (UCN) 0.93 percent, MLN 0.55 percent, AD 0.20 percent, National Reconciliation Alliance (ARENA) 0.11 percent.

There will be a run-off election on 26 December 1999.

Congressional Election Results

The Supreme Election Tribunal (TSE) has not completed its work on the Congress, but there does not appear to be any question that, in the new Congress which convenes on 14 January 2000, the FRG will have the absolute majority. The following seat assignments appear solid:

FRG: 64, PAN 37, ANN 10, UD-LUV 1, PLP 1.

There remains the possibility that the Guatemalan Christian Demo-

crat Party (DCG) may pick up a seat which would go to ex-president Cerezo Arevalo.

Hanna Rosin's "old Indian chiefs" appear to have spoken again.

HONDURAS

In the general elections of 30 November 1997 (pp. 8, YRBK98) the standard bearer of the Honduran Liberal Party (PLH), Carlos Roberto Flores Facussé, won the presidency and subsequently replaced outgoing President Carlos Roberto Reina Idiáquez of the same political grouping. The PLH has maintained a working majority in the unicameral National Congress.

NICARAGUA

In the second Nicaraguan general elections since Esquipulas II allegedly transmogrified that nation into a democracy Arnaldo Alemán of Liberal Alliance (LA) won by roughly three-to-two over Daniel Ortega of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In the unicameral national legislature AL won a slender advantage over the FSLN but hardly enough to ward off the low-level chaos which Ortega and his FSLN have maintained since that time.

PANAMA

THE 2 MAY 1999 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN PANAMA (WKLY 7.18, 6 MAY 1999)

The presidency of Mr. J. E. Carter (1976-1980) is perhaps most remarkable for turning over Nicaragua to the militant MLs of the FSLN.¹⁶ But this presidency was also noteworthy for signing a treaty with the leftist dictator of Panama, Omar Torrijos, turning over the inter-ocean canal which the U.S. had built and then protected for almost eighty years. G. Russell Evans¹⁷ feels that the supporters of this giveaway, from Eisenhower through Kissinger, were motivated by an "amicability" spurred on by a series of events¹⁸ perhaps highlighted by the 1964 Flag Riots. And while amicability may well have governed U.S. behavior, such is seldom the case with the IL which had much to gain from the removal of U.S. protection from the canal. For it is assuredly true that the Panamanian Police Force—there is no army—cannot afford the same protection to the waterway.

Those who support, doubtless in the spirit of "amicability," U.S. surrender of canal sovereignty to Panama, maintain that, should any

world power seriously threaten the canal, the U.S. military would immediately arrive upon the scene to deal with this security risk. It is, of course, to be hoped that such would be the case, but, certain analogous failures by the U.S. "to arrive" in the latter half of this century may threaten this roseate view. As may the fact that the nose of the Peoples Republic of China-ChiComs (PRC) camel has entered the Panamanian tent (cf. pp. 90ff, YRBK00, "Requiem for the Panama Canal").

The transfer in the sovereignty of the Panama Canal, whether a "good thing" or a "bad thing," is to take place at the end of 1999 or thereabouts. This renders the elections which will structure the government of that small nation at the time of transfer quite important; these elections took place on 2 May 1999.

Panamanian Presidential Elections

On 11 October 1968 General Omar Torrijos overthrew the newly elected Panamanian president, Arnulfo Arias Madrid, and established his dictatorship. As the former chief of staff of the Panamanian National Guard, Colonel Amado Sanjur, described the situation to the LANS Editor:

"I watched narco-trafficking boom and communist influence increase in Panama under the new caudillo. I felt I must join the rebellion of December 1969 led by Colonels. Pinilla and Urrutia to return power to civilian hands. But we made mistakes... The mafia in uniform triumphed, and I was jailed." For a considerable time as it turned out.

In July 1981 Torrijos' aircraft hit a mountain at Cino Marta, Colesito, killing the caudillo. Omar's cousin and Noriega's chief of staff, Roberto Díaz Herrera, would later claim this to be the work of the CIA, thus probably proving nothing but his political affiliation. More likely was the claim by Omar's brother, Hugo, that it was a bomb planted in the aircraft by the Manuel Noriega who would succeed Torrijos. But whatever the reality may have been, Noriega, as chief of the Department of National Intelligence, carried out the investigation and wrote the reports: "Accident." In 1984, Noriega's puppet candidate for the Panamanian presidency was Nicolás Ardito Barletta who "won" by 1,713 votes out of 640,000 cast after a two-week "delay."

In 1989 Guillermo Endara Galimany (53) won the presidential elections, but it appears reasonable to state that his term of office

did not begin until after U.S. Operation Just Cause which was put in motion on 20 December 1989. Under the DeConein Amendment to the Carter-Torrijos Treaty, this operation was anything but the “invasion” which U.S. President Bush called it; nor was it slowed by the weaponry which Castro hurried into Panama as reported by Panamanian counterintelligence chief Major Felipe Camargo. Other than his marriage to the charming, young (twenty-three) and politically ambitious Ana Mae Díaz and his hunger strike, Endara’s administration was neither a remarkable nor a popular one, but it did end with the return of the Torrijos-Noriega party to the Presidential Palace, this time in the person of Ernesto (Toro) Pérez Balladares. Which brings up the Panamanian Constitution.¹⁹

As one knowledgeable Panamanian source told the LANS Editor, “The U.S. installed a new government which swore to respect the constitution written by Torrijos to support his dictatorship.” And walked away. That source felt that the U.S. should have overseen a constitutional convention. The 1994 Democratic Opposition Alliance (ADO) presidential candidate, Prof. Rubén Darío Carles, stated that “the Torrijos Constitution must certainly be amended.” The constitution in question was written on 11 October 1972 and amended by RA (Reform Act) 1 (5 Oct 78), RA 2 (25 Oct 78), Constitutional Act (24 Apr 83) and two Legislative Acts (1983, 1994). Title XII (National Defense and Public Security), Art. 305 states that “The Republic of Panama will have no army,” probably reflecting the machinations of the HL and that curious Costa Rican, Oscar Arias Sánchez.

During 1998 attempts were made to amend the Panamanian Constitution, Articles 136, 139 and 173 being the specific targets. Only Art.173 can be considered here as it should be since it is the article which prohibits reelection of the incumbent president. The incumbent Toro labored mightily but was unable to have this amended, this perhaps another reflection of that lack of popularity which had given him such a relatively unimpressive plurality in the 1994 elections. In that presidential contest, Pérez Balladares had polled 33.3 percent of the vote, Mireya Moscosa of the Democratic Alliance (AD) 29.1 percent, actor and salsa singer Ruben Blades of the Mother Earth Movement (MPE) 17.1 percent and Rubén Carles of Cambio 94 16.1 percent.

And on 2 May 1999 something over 10,000 ran for Panamanian office, this throng eager either to serve (1) the Republic or (2) themselves, depending on your viewpoint.

The 1999 Presidential Elections

The 1994 elections were the first since Noriega had moved from the Panamanian Presidential Palace to duress vile in southern Florida. Which was perhaps the reason that some 14 parties, alone or in coalition, participated in the presidential elections of that year. Here, only those parties in Mireya Moscosa de Gruber's AD need be remarked.

Mireya Moscosa was the widow of thrice-President Arnulfo Arias, having apparently begun her career in association with that gentleman. After Arias departed this vale of tears she married his secretary, Gruber. Her coalition in these elections consisted of the Arnulfista Party, obviously named after her dead husband, the Authentic Liberal Party (PLA) and a faction of the Panameñista Party. The Panameñistas had been dissolved under the dictatorship, resuscitated, then fragmented under President. Endara, one of the factions joining Mireya's AD.

The number of hopefuls involved in the 1998 maneuvering for the 1999 presidential elections was not as great as in 1994, but many familiar faces did appear, either running or pontificating. The Díaz Herrera, remarked above for his "the CIA done it," pontificated as vice president (VP) of the Peoples Nationalist Party (PNP). And certainly any Ulianov namesake, such as the Liberal Republican Nationalist Movement (MOLIRENA) VP, Lenín Sucre, is worthy of remark. As was the comely young president of the Papa Egoró subsidiary, *Good Seed*, Sandra Escorcía Alvarado, who attracted considerable press attention if little else.

Ms. Moscoso won the Arnulfista primaries on 29 March 1998, and, after a Pérez B. rerun had been constitutionally blocked, she and two other candidates constituted the real presidential race. In October 1998 she announced her running mates, for first VP MOLIRENA Pres. Guillermo Ford and for her second VP Dominador Bazán of National Renovation Movement (MORENA).

In April 1998 Alfredo Oranges declared himself to be "the only positive alternative (to Pérez B.) for the PRD." Not surprisingly, the fates decided otherwise; perhaps Mr. Oranges had forgotten that the son of Caudillo Torrijos, Martín Torrijos Espino (b.1963), would turn 35, the constitutionally mandated minimum age for a president, before the 1999 elections. The publicity which young Torrijos received in a lengthy three-part interview (*El País* [Madrid] Jan. 99)

appears to support the view that, save for the fame of his father, some other candidate would have carried the PRD banner in these elections.

The third candidate who should be mentioned was Licenciado Alberto Vallarino Clement, a Panamanian business man who made the news in February 1998 by accusing Arnulfista President Moscoso of “hurling threats” against members of the party who opposed her candidacy. At the time Mr. Vallarino was given credit for inducing others to enter the primary. Apparently these charges were ignored by the members, Mr. Vallarino moving from Arnulfista primary candidate to Opposition Action (AO) presidential candidate.

With 96.79 percent of the voting places counted Moscoso obtained 44.81 percent of the votes cast, Torijos 37.72 percent and Vallarino 17.45 percent.

Elections for the Panamanian Legislature

Legislative elections were held on 2 May to fill the 71 seats of the Panamanian Legislature. Art.141 of the Constitution governs this distribution of seats and the population details whereby the numbers and distribution are regulated. Here it need only be remarked that each Panamanian Province is divided into Electoral Districts (*Circuitos Electorales*), the number of legislators to be elected from each district a function of population. These districts are designated by a pair of numbers, the first number indicating the province, the second the district. For example, 3-2 indicates Colón Province (3), the district (2) including Chagres, Donoso, Portobelo and Santa Isabel.

LANS has received the following preliminary results for these elections. In 4-4 and 9-3, for example, the results are being challenged while 2-3 and 4-5, for example, are missing. As will be seen, however, these results are still valuable. The key to this presentation is as follows: Coclé: 2-1(Penonomé).2.PRD; 2-2(Antón).1.PLN...are the results for Coclé Province in the Penonomé District of which the PRD won 2 seats, in the Antón District of which the PLN won 1 seat, and so on. The results are therefore as follows:

Bocas del Toro: 1-1 (Changuinola & Bocas del Toro). 2. PRD

Coclé: 2-1(Penonomé). 2. PRD; 2-2 (Antón). 1. PLN; 2-4(Aguadulce). 1. Solidarity

Colón: 3-1(Colón). 2. PRD; 3-2 (Chagres,Donosa,Portobelo & Santa Isabel) 1. ? (party unkn.)

Chiriquí: 4-1(David). 2. PRD, 1. RC;4-2 (Barú). 1.PRD; 4-3(Bugaba). 1. PRD; 4-4 (Ngobe-buglé).

1. PRD; 4-6(Boquete,Dolega & Gualaca). 1. PRD; 4-7 (Remedios, San Félix, San Lorenzo & Tolé).

1. MOLIRENA

Darién: 5-1(Chepigana & Sambú). 1. Solidarity; 5-2 (Pinogana & Cémaco). 1. PRD

Herrera: 6-1 (Chitré). 1. Solidarity; 6-2 (Los Pozos,Parita & Pesé). 1. PDC; 6-3 (La Mina, Ocú, Santa María).1. PRD

Los Santos: 7-1(Las Tablas & Pocrí). 1. PRD; 7-3 (Macaracas, Pedasi & Tonosí).1 . PRD

Panamá: 8-1(Arraiján). 1. PA, 1, PRD; 8-2 (Capira). 1. PA; 8-3 (Chame & San Carlos). 1.PRD; 8-4 (Chepo,Chimán,Taboga & Balboa). 1. PRD; 8-5 (La Chorrera). 2. PRD; 8-6 (San Miguelito). 2. PA, 2. PRD; 8-7 (El Chorrillo,Santa Ana, San Felipe & Calidonia).1.CD, 1. PA, 2. PRD; 8-8 (Betania, PuebloNuevo, Bella Vista & Ancón). 2. PA,1. PDC, 1. PRD; 8-9 (San Francisco, Parque Lefevre, Rio Abajo & Juan Díaz).1. PA,1. PDC, 3. PRD; 8-10 (Las Cumbres, Pedregal, Tocumen, Alcaledíaz & Pacora). 3. PA,1. MOLIRENA,1.PRD

Veraguas: 9-1(Santiago).1.PDC,1. PRD; 9-2 (La Mesa, Soná).1.MOLIRENA; 9-3 (Santa Fe, Calobre, San Francisco). 1. PRD; 9-4 (Atalaya, Montijo & Río de Jesús). 1. PRD; 9-5 (Las Palmas & Cañazas). 1. PRD

Comarca (Region as opposed to Province) Kuna Yala: 10-1(Kuna Yala). 1. RC; 10-2 (Kuna Yala). 1. PRD.

The parties not previously mentioned are the Government Renewal (RC), the Democratic Change (CD), the Christian Democrat Party (PDC) and the National Liberation Party (PLN).

While it is true that only 60 of the 71 seats are accounted for here, one of these of unknown party, these results are of value in determining the approximate relative strengths of the various parties in the legislature. The PRD will apparently control that body with the 35 seats indicated here, this followed by the PA with 11, the PDC with 4, Solidarity with 3, MOLIRENA and RC with 2 each and CD and PLN with 1 each.

Panama has nine Provinces and one Region (Kuna Yala Comarca) which are divided into Electoral Districts by Art. 141 of the Constitution. A preliminary report on the composition of the unicameral legislature has been given in Wkly 7.18 above. The results which are presented here are more nearly accurate, but they may still be subject to slight correction.

The parties obtaining the two largest blocs of legislators are still the PRD of outgoing Pres. Pérez Balladares and the PA of incoming Pres. Mireya Moscosa de Gruber. The PRD now appears to have captured 33 seats, down from the 35 reported earlier, while the PA total has remained at 11.

The makeup of the 71-seat unicameral Panamanian legislature is now:

PRD, 33; PA, 11; Liberal Republican National Movement (MOLIRENA), 6; Mother Earth (Papa Egoro) Movement (MPE), 6; Solidarity Party (PS), 4; the PLA, the National Liberal Party (PLN) and Government Renewal (RC), 3 each; the Independent Democratic Union (UDI) and the Christian Democrat Party (PDC), 1 each.

The Political Situation in the MERCOSUR Nations

Although not exactly conforming to the expansion plans announced almost four years ago, the Common Market of the Southern Cone has four full members—Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay—and two associate members—Chile and Bolivia.

ARGENTINA

ARGENTINE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

(SPCL. 8.2, 8 JULY 1999)

Introduction

Buenos Aires, Argentina, was the site of the Council Meeting of the Socialist International (SI) in mid 1999. That this gaggle of Marxists and MLs flocked there for this affair because of the important Argentine elections of this year goes without saying. Because of this, and because the important Argentine PPs would demonstrate or claim their admiration for Heinrich Karl Marx's legacy, a brief mention of this SI is in order here.

The three best-known "soul brothers" of Century XX were the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazi) and the Fascisti, their internecine

wars nothing but competition “for the same constituencies” as Harvard’s Baird Professor of History, Richard Pipes, has made clear.²⁰ These soul brothers constitute that IL responsible for the debacle that was Century XX, not only in annihilation wars but also in disaster-producing economics. Since Century XX is almost concluded, it was obviously incumbent upon this IL to begin its planning for disaster repetition during the next hundred years. On 25 and 26 June 1999, therefore, it was quite logical that one branch of this IL, the IS, should meet to plan these festivities, the meeting that of the Council of the IS in Buenos Aires.

Wkly 8.2 sketches the evolution of this IS from Marx’s First International (1864) through its successor, the Second International (1896), to be shouldered aside by the (Third) Communist International (COMINTERN) in 1919 and into the allegedly more “moderate” IS. This IS is nothing more than the lineal descendant of Heinrich’s “Working Men’s Association” from which emerged that IL whose attempts to “forcibly overthrow all existing social conditions” led to the disasters of Century XX.

The roster of IS members is careful to avoid all mention of political parties having the word “communist” in their titles. Castro, for example, is carefully unmentioned as is the only political party on his tight little isle, the Cuban Communist Party (PCC). But this hardly means the absence of MLs from the PCC or elsewhere.

For example, the old-line Brazilian ML, Leonel Brizola, who had orchestrated the 1964 Naval rebellion (p.58, YRBK97), was present, but only as head of the “Democratic” Workers Party (PDT). Other notables of the same ilk included Oscar Eid, chief of Bolivian Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), who has apparently been released from duress vile (p.18, YRBK97) where he had been placed for narco-trafficking activities.

Still with the no “communist” rule in place, most of the “ex”-terrorist ML groups were present in some guise. For example, the FSLN sent a three-man delegation headed by the second-in-command and, according to LANS information, still terrorist Tomás Borge whom the AFP immortalized with a wirephoto during the council. Also present, as guests or associates, were the “ex” ML terrorists of the Salvadoran FMLN, of the URNG and of the Colombian M-19 (19th of April Movement).

Perhaps of most direct interest to the Argentinian election situation was the presence of *Frente Grande* representative and Alliance

luminary Carlos A. “Chacho” Alvarez, the vice presidential running mate of Presidential Candidate Fernando de la Rúa. During the course of the festivities the UCR asked for admission to the IS. That FREPASO and UCR, the bulwarks of the opposition should be active in the IS should hardly come as a surprise. But the press refers to the Justicialista Party (PJ) as “neoliberal,” that is, a supporter of that free market which is such anathema to the true “socialist.” And, at least through an individual who should be his spokesman, Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella, Menem appears to be clutching socialism to his bosom.

According to *La Nueva Provincia* (Bahía Blanca, 28 June 1999), Di Tella recently did a short piece for *La Nación* saying that the PJ is the group most closely affiliated with socialism of all the Argentine political parties. This curious claim might be said to obtain support from the reported fraternization of the PJ powers, Menem and Duhalde, with the European leaders of the IS who were honoring Buenos Aires with their presence. Menem began his tenure as president of Argentina with the dismantling of that fascist state which Peron had bequeathed to the nation, a removal of the dead hand of government from the economy which promised a second Latin American economic miracle (pp. 45ff, YRBK97). In other words, he began it with a free-market roar. He promises now to end it with a socialist whimper.

President Menem

On 2 July 1999 Argentine President Carlos Saul Menem celebrated his sixty-ninth birthday with the solemn promise that he was not going to make another run at the Argentine presidency in the elections of 24 October 1999. This commitment has been made and unmade by Mr. Menem before, and, in any event, such commitments by PPs are seldom of any value. In this case, however, Mr. Menem’s vow to postpone his presidential race until 2003 may be meaningful as a consequence of what continues to be the weakening of his position with the concomitant strengthening of the Alliance.

The Alliance basically consists of the Radical Civic Union (UCR) and National Solidarity Front (FREPASO). In 1995 Menem won the presidency with over 49 percent of the vote, thus improving by about 2 percent on his performance in his first presidential run in 1989. In the 1995 elections the FREPASO candidate picked up about

35 percent, the UCR candidate around 15 percent. Since that time the elections for lesser positions in Argentina have generally favored the Alliance of these two parties while Menem's position appears to have weakened. There are several, quite rational, reasons for this which seldom surface in the press.

LANS has described the leftist Perón's imposition of the "planned economy" on Argentina and the resulting destruction of that economy (pp. 45ff, YRBK97). Menem was at least initially successful in his apparently sincere attempt to remove these socialist shackles from the economy (*ibid*), an attempt which had the effect of reducing the 4,000 percent per year inflation rate of the latter 1980s to 3.9 percent in 1994. Every member of the electorate can tell the difference between these two inflation rates and the advantages which accrue to him with such dramatic reductions in it.

But at some point after such successes have been achieved (a) human nature kicks in and (b) the opportunity arises for the promotion of the same foredoomed socialist utopia which engendered economic chaos in the first place. Insofar as (a) is concerned, the attention span of many members of this electorate leaves something to be desired—what inflation? As this and other forms of nepenthe penetrate the voters, they become the prey of (b) the leftist Lorelei who are again touting those "benefits" to be obtained from that smothering government which had brought him the 4,000 percent inflation rate. In Argentina, if Menem was sincere in his alleged attempt to introduce the free market, he had selected a curious standard to bear, that of the fascisti who had imposed the anti-free market state in the first place, Perón. And in Latin America another important effort aided and abetted these sirens of the left, that of Ruz Castro's HL.

For, as LANS has frequently pointed out, by the middle 1990s, the totally discredited ML of this Cuban dictator made a quite impressive comeback from its 1991 nadir. The theme of this comeback was that of anti-neoliberalism, that same anti-free market propaganda the fallacy of which is perhaps best illustrated by Castro's own economic disaster area, Cuba.

The combination of the short memory of the electorate and the successful anti-neoliberalism of the HL derailed the "Argentine economic miracle" and Menem's chances of seeking yet another term as president in 1999. And there are other probable reasons for the

decline in Menem popularity—his indicated activities as an arms smuggler, charges of corruption and so on—but, whatever the reason for this decline, it is frequently claimed that this decline has been reflected in local and provincial elections. This claim is somewhat resistant to proof by careful and unbiased scrutiny.

It does indeed appear that President Menem has finally given up on a 1999 run for the presidency and left a baneful legacy to his PJ. But such a conclusion must be tempered with the bias which the press has developed against him and which can be assured of ferreting out any dips in this popularity. This bias evolved during his first term when he appeared to be having success in introducing the free market into Argentina. With its usual muddleheadedness and simplicity the press would describe him as a “Peronist” and a “neoliberal.” (Neo-Peronist has entered the press lexicon recently.) Perón, the fascisti, was the ultimate anti-neoliberal of his day and introduced that state-run economy which Menem acted as if he were dismantling. So of course the press bias to the left was turned on this neo-liberal-Peronist.

But Menem has not been clearly and consistently of the anti-Left—his senate-president brother’s adulation of Castro, the Argentine stamp commemorating the ML terrorist “legend in his own mind,” Guevara, etc.—and has complicated rational assessment of the situation. With all these caveats taken into account, however, it still appears that Menem has crippled his PJ. (And an Alliance president might jail him for arms smuggling when U.S. President Clinton is no longer in a position to prevent it.) Trying to draw conclusions from this year’s provincial elections may thus be counterproductive, although the communications media understandably continues the attempt. One can, however, discuss these contests in a search without conclusions, the examples here to be those in three provinces.

Río Negro, Catamarca, and Salta Provinces

Río Negro: This province is south of La Pampa Province, to the southwest of Buenos Aires and honored by the presence in Bariloche of an estate by that television magnate, Robert E. (Ted) Turner, and his anti-war activist conjugate helpmate, Jane Fonda. On 28 June 1999, *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), reported the victory of incumbent Río Negro governor and ATJE stalwart, Pablo Verani, with the sub-header

“The Battle for the Presidency: Hard-fought Election in the Province.” The article is accompanied by a photograph of De la Rúa and Alvarez, who had flown into General Roca, forty-five miles downstream from the confluence of the Neuquén and Limay Rivers to form the Negro River, to celebrate the victory. The pair appears on the platform with Verani, their arms ecstatically uplifted to heaven. In the body of the piece, an enthusiastic reporter, Ms. Mariana Garcia, tells us that

“For De la Rúa and Alvarez, with Río Negro the dream of a series of celebrations began to be completed. Verani would be added to the success which Jorge Colazo had in the first round of (the) Tierra del Fuego (elections) a week ago and which he will now try to validate in next Sunday’s balloting.”

In the second round of the Tierra del Fuego elections the PJ candidate won by 870 votes. There is, quite properly, no aphorism, “As Tierra del Fuego, so goes the country,” and this result probably means little. Indeed, since Pablo Verani won reelection as an incumbent by slightly over 3 percent, it is hardly clear that this or the PJ win in Tierra del Fuego means much as far as the upcoming presidential elections are concerned. As it is not obvious that this year’s results in Catamarca or Salta will provide tea-leaf level forecasts.

Catamarca: This province is on the Chilean border to the northwest of Buenos Aires, Salta Province to its north, La Rioja Province to its south. Gubernatorial elections were held there on 21 May 1999 which pitted the Civic and Social Front (FSC), a UCR-headed coalition, against the PJ. The FCS candidate, Oscar Castillo, won with 51.79 percent of the vote over the PJ candidate, Ramón Saadi, with 44.09 percent.

The facts about these candidates would appear to make the meaning of this victory difficult to assess, albeit, De la Rúa was soon present to celebrate and assess. In 1995 FCS gubernatorial candidate Arnoldo Castillo, the father of Oscar, defeated what can now be called the perennial candidate and then governor, Ramón Saadi. Saadi tried again in 1999 only to be defeated by the son of the man who had ousted him from the governor’s mansion in 1995.

Salta: Salta Province is north northwest of Buenos Aires, it, with that Jujuy Province it completely encompasses, forming the northernmost portion of Argentina. It borders on Chile to its west, Bolivia to its north and a small part of Paraguay to its northeast.

Before the gubernatorial elections of 9 May 1999, PJ militant Juan Carlos Romero was the incumbent and candidate. The Salta Alliance candidate was Ricardo Gómez Diez. It appears factual to say that PJ candidate Romero “easily” won reelection with 60.20 percent against his opponent’s 37.70 percent.

In the AFP dispatch describing this contest (11 May 1999) it is stated that each of these provincial elections is being taken as a “round in an arm-wrestling contest” to determine the winner in the October presidential elections.

It is true that the attempt to forecast the presidential election by reference to these local contests is being made. That the attempt has any validity is, however, not obvious on closer inspection.

THE ARGENTINE ELECTIONS OF 24 OCTOBER 1999 (WKLY 8.16, 26 OCTOBER 1999)

Four centuries have passed since Juan de Garay founded (Santa María de) Buenos Aires in 1590 (pp. 46, YRBK97) and initiated the evolution of Argentina. It would be three centuries before Siglo XX spawned its “curse, PP;”²¹ outstanding amongst whom was the leftist PP and “natural child,” Juan Domingo Perón. Perón’s collectivism was at the root of the extreme economic chaos (ibid.) which continued and worsened during the next forty years. For a fleeting moment it appeared that Carlos Saul Menem, who entered the presidential palace in 1989, might produce a second LA economic miracle,²² but this was not to be. HL boss Fidel Castro’s fraudulent war on neoliberalism was too easy to sell to the “toiling masses,” and the Argentine president was one of its victims.²³

Ex President Carlos Saul Menem is, of course, a PP. Therefore, his statement after the elections of Sunday, 24 October 1999—“If I had been the candidate we would have won easily” (*Clarín*, 26 October 1999)—may contain a kernel of truth from an experienced PP or (b) may be self-serving nonsense. The recent polls appear to support (b), but this is hardly conclusive. What is conclusive is that the Alliance candidate, Fernando de la Rúa, won the Argentine presidential election over the PJ candidate, Eduardo Duhalde, with percentages close to those by which Menem had won the office in 1989 and 1995. As will be seen, however, the PJ did sufficiently well in the remainder of the election races, some 3,000 of them, that these results perhaps speak more to the relative popularity of the two candidates than to other, more convoluted topics.

Argentine Political Divisions

For political purposes the country is divided into twenty-three provinces, the Federal Capital and the City of Buenos Aires. The reader may be oriented to their location by the rough selection of west-east tiers of provinces extending from north to south as follows.

The Province of Jujuy, although almost completely enclosed within the Province of Salta, forms the northeast border of Argentina. To the south of Jujuy a tier is formed by the Province of Salta to the west, Formosa to the east. The next tier to the south begins with the Province of Catamarca to the west, then Tucumán, then Santiago del Estero and Chaco to the east. The Province of La Rioja lies to the south of Catamarca with Córdoba to its east, then Santa Fe with Corrientes to its northeast and Entre Ríos to its southeast. The Province of Misiones extends to the northeast as an extension of Corrientes. To the west of Córdoba lies San Luis with San Juan to its northwest and Mendoza to its west and south. Mendoza then marks the western extremity of the next tier south, to its east La Pampa with Buenos Aires to its east. The Province of Buenos Aires encloses both the Federal Capital and the City of Buenos Aires on its northeast border. In the next tier to the south, Neuquén lies to the west, Río Negro to the east. South of Río Negro lies the Province of Chubut with Santa Cruz to its south, the southernmost province being that of Tierra del Fuego.

Argentine National Elections

The Argentine Constitution of 22 August 1994 decrees (Art. 44) that the Legislative Power of the nation is to be exercised by a bicameral Congress made up of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The Senate consists of three senators from each of the thirty-two provinces and the City of Buenos Aires (Art. 54), these elected by a plurality of the popular vote (Art. 54). Senators are elected for six years and are reelectable. Approximately one-third of the Senate seats are renewed each biennium (Art. 56). The Chamber of Deputies consists of representatives elected directly and by plurality in the provinces, the City of Buenos Aires and the Federal Capital (Art. 45), these territorial units considered as the electoral districts of a single State. There is one representative for each 33,000 inhabitants of a given district or

fraction thereof greater than 16,500, the Congress fixing these numbers after each census. The deputies are elected for four-year terms and are reelectable. Approximately one-half the seats in the Chamber of Deputies are renewed each biennium (Art. 50).

The Executive Power of the Nation is embodied in the "President of the Argentine Nation" (Art. 87) or in the vice president (Art. 88). The president and vice president are elected for terms of four years and may be reelected for a single additional term (Art. 90). A special 10th Amendment apparently tailored to Carlos Saul Menem decreed that the mandate of the president who assumed office on 8 July 1995 would not end until 10 December 1999. The election of the president and vice president takes place within the two months prior to the end of their terms (Art. 95). If no presidential candidate receives (1) at least 45 percent of the vote in the first round of the election (Art. 97) or (2) at least 40 percent of the vote and a 10 percent advantage over his nearest competitor (Art. 98), there is a run-off election within thirty days of the first election (Art. 95).

General

On 24 October 1999 Argentina held elections to fill some 3,000 positions, these at both the national and district (provincial, municipal) levels. However, by law, only the candidates for president and vice president were required to run for office on that date, these being the only elections held in the Provinces of Misiones, Neuquén, San Luis, La Rioja, and Tierra del Fuego, the nineteen other voting districts also electing their national deputies.

The other nineteen districts also voted for deputies to the National Congress, 116 of which were selected. The Provinces of Buenos Aires, La Pampa, Chubut, Entre Ríos, Mendoza and Jujuy selected governors or, in the case of Buenos Aires, "Chief of Government." Also elected were 63 provincial senators, 188 provincial deputies, 315 mayors and 2,350 city councilors. Many of these details will be given in these reports after they are officially released by the Argentine Ministry of the Interior in November, 1999.

The Presidential Election

In the order of their success in the Buenos Aires Province presidential race there were, for all practical purposes, four candidates in

the presidential race: (1) Fernando De la Rúa was the presidential candidate of the FREPASO-UCR Alliance, Carlos "Chacho" Alvarez his vice-presidential running mate. (2) Eduardo Alberto Duhalde was the candidate of PJ, Ramón "Palito" Ortega his running mate. (3) Domingo Felipe Cavallo was the candidate of his own Action for the Republic Party (PAR), José Armando Caro Figueroa his running mate. (4) Patricia Cecilia Walsh was the candidate of the United Left Alliance (AIU); she is mentioned here only to indicate the domination of candidates (1) through (3) in the Buenos Aires Province example race.

In Buenos Aires Province, with 98.31 percent of the results scrutinized, De la Rúa won 45.60 percent of the vote, Duhalde 42.42 percent, Cavallo 8.46 percent and Walsh 0.93 percent. Nationally, with 94.97 percent of the votes counted, De la Rúa received a winning 48.49 percent, a bitter Duhalde 37.97 percent, thus confirming the prediction of the LANS Special Correspondent in La Plata (pp. 64ff, YRBK00). Which of course meant there would be no run-off election. Cavallo received 10.19 percent of the vote which would appear to mean that his run at the presidency had something to do with the loss by a Duhalde who could be considered Menem's *de facto* successor.

De la Rúa began his political career as Minister of the Interior in 1963, first elected senator from the Federal Capital in 1973, by 1991 president of the UCR Capital City Committee. In 1996 he became Chief of Government of the autonomous City of Buenos Aires. His "premises"—"Work for all," "For years I have been working for a better Argentina," "One must care for stability...and assured a just distribution of benefits," "I know the problems of this country and I know the road out of them," etc.—are those of the PP.

Duhalde's political career began in 1971 when he was thirty. By 1989 he was vice president, a position from which he resigned in 1991, winning the governor's palace in the Province of Buenos Aires which he won again in 1995. Whether it was politic for him to blame his loss in the presidential run on Menem's "egotism" and "sick anxiety for power" (*La Nación*, 26 October 1999) perhaps remains to be seen. His PP status appears appropriately established by his "premises"—"an Agreement for Stability, Production and Labor," "Businessmen should agree not to fire anyone for a year" (*sic*), "Absolute support to all initiatives which propitiate 'Buy Argentine made,'" etc.

Cavallo began his political career in 1967 as Under Secretary for

Development and Provincial Planning, then managed various banks as a bureaucrat with a term in the National Congress to be chosen Minister of the Economy by Menem in 1991, only to be fired by him in 1996. He was elected a National Deputy for the City of Buenos Aires in 1997. Thus, the triumvirate of top contenders in this race were all out of some political position in Buenos Aires Province, a fact that doubtless was more significant than their “premises” of which only one of Cavallo’s is repeated: “My plan will permit us to increase (the GNP) 10 percent in 2000 and create 2,400,000 new jobs in the next four years.”

De la Rúa won in eighteen of the twenty-three provinces, Duhalde in six. The victor’s widest margin was in Rio Negro Province where he piled up 58.36 percent against Duhalde’s 27.19 percent. In Jujuy, on the other hand, Duhalde attained his largest victory, 60.23 percent against De la Rúa’s 37.84 percent.

Gubernatorial Races

Buenos Aires: With 98.31 percent of the voting places tabulated the PJ candidate, Carlos Ruckauf, won the gubernatorial election in this key province with 48.32 percent of the vote, trailed by the Alliance candidate, Graciela Fernández Meijide, with 41.45 percent of the vote and the Buenos Aires Unity candidate, Luis Patti, with 7.65 percent.

Mendoza: With 97.3 percent of the vote counted, the Alliance candidate, Roberto Iglesias, won with 38.2 percent of the vote, the Democratic Party (PD) candidate, Carlos Balter, trailing with 32.2 percent, the PJ candidate, Francisco García with less than 30 percent.

La Pampa: With 95.5 percent of the vote counted, the PJ candidate, incumbent Governor Rubén Marín, won over his Alliance opponent, Juan Carlos Passo, by 56.7 percent to 39.7 percent

Entre Rios: With 84.9 percent of the vote counted, the Alliance candidate, Sergio Montiel, probably won over his PJ opponent, Héctor Maya, by 49.0 percent to 47.6 percent.

Chubut: With 69.7 percent of the vote counted, the Alliance candidate, José Luis Lizurume, was probably on his way to victory with 52.7 percent over his PJ-Chubut Alliance opponent, Marcelo Guinle.

Jujuy: With 14.0 percent of the vote counted the PJ (or FREJUPO) candidate, Eduardo Fellner, had 52.0 percent, his Alliance oppo-

ment, G. Morales, 48.1 percent. These numbers, when combined with Duhalde's 60.23 percent victory in this province, indicate a Fellner win which is used below. This, of course may be incorrect.

These figures can be used with the list of incumbent governors to tally an approximate idea of relative strength of PJ and the Alliance in the provincial governments, PJ having 14 governorships, the Alliance 6. This of course does not add up to the number of provinces, largely because of such local parties as that in Corrientes (Partido Nuevo) and that in Neuquén (Partido Neuquino).

Legislative Elections

There were to have been 116 deputies elected to the national legislature, sixty-three senators and 188 deputies elected to the provincial legislatures. At the local level several hundred mayors and a few thousand town councilors were to have been elected.

As has briefly been discussed in earlier reports, the Province of Tierra del Fuego held elections on 8 August of this year, La Rioja, Misiones and San Luis on 12 September and Neuquén on 26 September. As a result of these elections the Alliance picked up 6 national deputies, PJ 5, Action for the Republic 1 and the Neuquino Party 1.

THE ARGENTINE ELECTIONS OF 24 OCTOBER 1999 (SPCL 8.16, 10 DECEMBER 1999)

The Argentine general elections of 24 October 1999 have been generally treated in Wkly 8.16 above. In these elections some 3,000 political positions, these both at the national and district (provincial, municipal) levels, were filled. By law, only the candidates for president and vice president were required to run on that date, these being the only elections held in certain provinces.

The other nineteen districts also voted for deputies to the National Congress, 116 of which were selected. Certain provinces also selected governors, and various numbers of provincial senators and deputies, mayors and city councilors were also chosen. The results in the presidential race and certain of the gubernatorial races were also given in that report.

Governors

The PJ is the party of President Carlos Menem. The Alliance is generally FREPASO plus the UCR, although one and/or the other of these parties sometimes appear independently. The Neuquén (Province) Popular Movement (MPN) is a local party while the New Party (PN) in Corrientes represents a special situation which will be treated next year. The gubernatorial election in the Federal Capital is to be held in the spring of 2000. With these qualifications the gubernatorial situation at year's end will be as follows:

Buenos Aires: Carlos Ruckauf (PJ); *Catamarca:* Oscar Castillo (UCR); *Chaco:* Angel Rozas (Alliance); *Chubut:* J. L. Lizurume (Alliance); *Córdoba:* J. M. De la Sota (PJ); *Corrientes:* P. Braillard Pocard (PN); *Entre Ríos:* Sergio Montiel (Alliance); *Formosa:* Gildo Insfrán (PJ); *Jujuy:* Eduardo Fellner (PJ); *La Pampa:* Rubén Marín (PJ); *La Rioja:* Ángel Mazza (PJ); *Mendoza:* Roberto Iglesias (Alliance); *Misiones:* Carlos Rovira (PJ); *Neuquén:* Jorge Sobisch (MPN); *Río Negro:* Pablo Verani (Alliance); *Salta:* J. C. Romero (PJ); *San Juan:* Alfredo Avelín (Alliance); *San Luis:* A. Rodríguez Saá (PJ); *Santa Cruz:* Néstor Kirchner (PJ); *Santa Fe:* Carlos Reutemann (PJ); *Santiago del Estero:* Carlos Juárez (PJ); *Tierra del Fuego:* Carlos Manfredotti (PJ); *Tucumán:* Julio Miranda (PJ).

The PJ thus has maintained an advantage in governors, it now being 14 to 6 over the Alliance.

National Legislature

In the general elections of 24 October one-half of the lower house (130 deputies) was replaced. The PJ had emerged from the 1997 elections with a slightly larger number of deputies (119) than the Alliance (106) but not with a majority. The Alliance (127) emerged from the 1999 elections only a few votes short of a majority (129) but with a larger number of deputies than PJ (101). Making up the difference between the number of deputies in the house (257) and the PJ + Alliance total in 1997 were 32 "others" from UCR, FREPASO and various provincial parties. Making up this same difference between the PJ + Alliance total in 1999 were 29 "others" from Action for the Republic (AR) and the provincial parties.

Provincial Legislatures

Space does not permit an attempt to discuss the results of the provincial legislative elections in any sort of detail. However, the way a given province voted in the national elections may indicate how it voted in the local elections. For example, if the provincial delegation to the National Legislature contained a majority of Alliance deputies, its local legislature may have consisted of an Alliance majority. With this sort of "logic" in mind, the following numbers should be useful.

The Alliance won in fifteen of the twenty-three provinces. These may be identified by removing those provinces in which other parties were victorious. PJ won in five provinces (La Pampa, La Rioja, Misiones, San Luis, and Tucumán). Local political organizations won in two provinces (Corrientes and Neuquén), and AR won in one (Tierra del Fuego).

BOLIVIA

In the elections of 1 June 1977 (pp. 17ff, YRBK98) Hugo Banzer Suarez of the National Democratic Action (ADN) obtained a plurality of 23 percent of the presidential vote, his nearest rival, Juan Carlos Duran of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), with 18 percent. The outcome of the election was decided in the Legislature. ADN won a plurality of seats in both houses of the bicameral legislature which meant that alliances, particularly with Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), were demanded. During 1999 this general situation was maintained in Bolivia.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN BOLIVIA
(SPCL 8.16, 10 DECEMBER 1999)

According to Art. 200 of the Bolivian Constitution of 1967 as amended (reformed) in 1994, a Municipal Government consists of a Mayor and a Council, both of which entities are elected for five-year terms. If no mayoral candidate wins an absolute majority, the Council selects by vote of an absolute majority of all Councilors from the two mayoral candidates who received the most votes in the popular vote.

The comely Monica Medina, formerly de Palenque and a director of Conscience of the Fatherland (CONDEPA), is a familiar example

of the council-elected mayor, Doña Monica having occupied that position in the City of La Paz, La Paz Department (pp.18ff, YRBK97). Carlos Palenque Aviles, Doña Monica's spouse, departed the nuptial bed and, somewhat later, this vale of tears, apparently for the same reason. Mayor Medina was subsequently somewhat unfortunate in her attempts to forge ahead with a new party (ibid.).

Each Municipal Council contains eleven councilors, all of whom are elected by popular vote for a five-year term. The citizens vote for a party slate of candidates and then, again according to Art.200, a "system of proportional election as determined by law" takes over in order to assign the number of council seats won by each of the contesting parties. The actual assignment of these proportional seats is ultimately the task of the National Electoral Council (CNE). The elections to be discussed here were held on 5 December 1999.

Bolivia is divided into nine departments. The following list is arranged in descending number of registered voters in the department, this number given in thousands in parenthesis following the name and rounded off to the nearest thousand. La Paz (1,121), Santa Cruz (844), Cochabamba (595), Potosi (278), Chuquisaca (220), Oruru (178), Tarija (168), Beni (147) and Pando (22).

Bolivian Political Parties

The political parties will be listed here in arbitrary order, the objective of the exercise being a ready key for their shorthand listing which will be used in the discussion below:

MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement), MNR (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement), MSN (Fearless Movement)—literally Movement Without Fear (Movimiento Sin Miedo) —, ADN (National Democratic Action), CONDEPA, the Civic Solidarity Union (UCS), the 9 April Revolutionary Movement (VR-9), the Socialist Party (PS),²⁵ New Republican Force (NFR), the Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB), the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS), the Free Bolivia Movement (MBL) and the Left Revolutionary Front (FRI).²⁶

An example of these local elections will be given with the contests which took place in the City of La Paz, La Paz Department. In doing so only the parties which obtained seats on the city council will be considered

La Paz

In the voting for mayor, the candidates stood as given below, there having initially been a question of Ms. Carrales' standing which was resolved with the elimination of CONDEPA's Jorge Dockweiler, originally with 5.6 percent. These La Paz results differ substantially from other results which have appeared. However, in their ultimate effects, they appear to be correct as should prove evident.

Candidate	Party	Vote
Juan del Granado	(MSM)	22.2 percent
Ronald MacLean	(ADN)	17.4 percent
Guido Capra	(MNR)	16.5 percent
Jorge Torres	(MIR)	16.3 percent
Cristina Corrales	(VR-9)	6.5 percent

MSM is, literally, the Movimiento Sin Miedo or Movement Without Fear, apparently a relatively new addition to the routinely extensive list of political parties. The ADN is the party of Bolivian President Hugo Banzer Suarez and its performance in the 1997 general elections has been discussed (pp. 17ff, YRBK98) as have the other parties listed save for VR-9. This party has hardly appeared prominently in recent elections, since it joined in coalition in October 1988 with MIR and the FRI to support the presidential bid of Jaime Paz Zamora the next spring.²⁷ Here, of course, it surfaced with the minimal number of councilors, one.

Although mistakes in such matters of detail are common, it now appears that the MSM won three council seats (Juan del Granado, Rafael Indaburo and Natividad Ferrufino), the ADN three (Ronald MacLean, German Velasco and Irma Castro), the MNR two (Guido Capra and Roberto Moscoso), the MIR two (Jorge Torres and Mantza Jiménez) and VR-9 one (Cristina Corrales). Which meant that del Granado had three votes of the necessary six for the mayor's position, and the horse-trading began.

It continued for about a week, and, as usual, the plums proffered and accepted must have been considerable in this battle for *burgomaestre paceño* or La Paz mayor. First to be won over were the MNR councilmen, Capra and Moscoso, and the MSM standard bearer, del Granado, had five votes. But the ADN standard bearer,

MacLean, also had five votes, the two MIR votes having joined his three ADN, the alliance between these two parties nothing new. With each of the principal contenders within one vote of the necessary majority, VR-9's Doña Cristina occupied an enviable position. When she opted for the MSM-MNR alliance, del Granada was the mayor until 2004.

It is interesting to note, as a footnote to this contest Cristina Corrales, who brought the Bolivarian Movement into coalition with VR-9 last Summer, reportedly intends to move back out of the VR-9 alliance. The Director of VR-9, Carlos Serrate, was seemingly disturbed by her support of the MSM and has been talking to the ADN leaders. All of which is probably fairly typical of the maneuvering which accompanies the established methods of obtaining municipal control.

By the latter part of election week it was clear (*La Razon* 9 December 1999) that Sunday's voting had directly resulted in the election of four mayors, René Joaquino in Potosí, Department of Potosí; Manfred Reyes Villa in Cochabamba, Department of Cochabamba; Miguel Becerra in Cobija, Department of Pando; and José Luís Paredes in El Alto.

As an example, the results in the Department of Pando—the smallest with 21,969 registered voters of whom 13,601 voted—ADN received 6,545 votes, MNR 2,583, MIR 1,907, UCS 723 and MBL 587.

By that time also several mayors had emerged from coalition agreements guaranteeing the necessary six votes in the appropriate city councils. In Santa Cruz of Santa Cruz Department a UCS-ADN agreement essentially assured the post to Percy Fernández; in Sucre, Chuquisaca Department, the “embelista” (MBL) Fidel Herrera struck an accord with MNL, ADN and his own MBL to assure himself the mayor's office; in Orura, Department of Orura, MIR, MNR and CONDEPA united to guarantee the office to Mirtha Quevedo of the MNR. At that time there were probabilities in certain of the other important cities but no sureties.

Nationwide Vote by Party

This treatment will be concluded with a tally of the vote by parties throughout the country. In this case, however, there is a caveat in that the results presented are earlier and probably not as nearly precise as those given for La Paz above.

MNR: 408,841 (20.42 percent); MIR: 319,422 (15.96 percent); ADN: 292,808 (14.63 percent); UCS: 237,101 (11.84 percent); NFR: 166,173 (8.30 percent); MSM: 116,653 (5.83 percent); MBL: 89,905 (4.47 percent); CONDEPA: 80,864 (4.04 percent); MAS: 65,426 (3.27 percent).

BRAZIL

In the Brazilian elections of 4 October 1998 some 14,415 candidates were vying for 1,627 opportunities to serve the Brazilian people or themselves, depending on your viewpoint (pp. 13ff, YRBK00). The Constitution of 1993 had been amended on 28 January 1997 to allow the then incumbent president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso of the Brazilian Social Democrat Party (PSDB), to run for a second term. This he did successfully with about 53 percent of the vote, although his party emerged from the congressional elections without a plurality in either house of the national bicameral legislature.

CHILE

CHILEAN PRIMARY ELECTION (WKLY 7.23, 10 JUNE 1999)

As has been discussed in LANS's considerations of the Chilean elections of 1997, five political parties have obtained election percentages varying between 10 percent and 30 percent since 1989. These are, first, the Christian Democrat Party (PDC) whose percentage of the vote has been the highest, this varying between 20 percent and 30 percent. The other four parties have varied between 10 percent and 20 percent, these being the Independent Democrat Union (UDI), the National Renovation (RN), the Party for Democracy (PPD) and the National Socialist Party (PS). The PS is remarkable for two reasons. First, it was the party of the "Marxist physician," Salvador Allende, who was removed from the Chilean presidency in 1973 at the request of the Congress (Chap. 2, YRBK00). The PS is also remarkable for having correctly located itself, through its name, on the far left with the Nazi (National Socialist German Workers Party) (p. 2, YRBK97 *et seq.*). Among these parties are three—PDC, PPD, PS—which were involved in the primary elections of 30 May 1999.

LANS has referred to the *Concertación* (Concertación de los Partidos por la Democracia) as the Democracy Parties Alliance (CPD), others using the weightier Alliance of Democratic Parties. The CPD evolved from the *Comando por el No* in 1988, a number of parties generally given as 16 combining to form it. Its candidates have been successful in the last two presidential elections, ex President Patricio Aylwin (1989-1993) winning the Chilean presidency under its banner in 1989. President Eduardo Frei (1993-1999) was the successful CPD standard bearer in 1993, his term opening with a February 1994 constitutional amendment which extended it to six years. Later this year then, Frei's successor must be chosen, and a CPD primary election was held on 30 May 1999 to choose the new standard bearer for the Chilean "left."

A two-man race decided emphatically. The first of the candidates was Ricardo Lagos Escobar (b. "latter 1930s"), a professional politician of the left and a lawyer who had been largely connected with the university until the advent of the Allende Government. Allende had appointed him Chilean ambassador to the Soviet Union when Allende was removed and Lagos left the country. Returning in 1978 his supporters in Socialist Youth (JS) claim him to have become the "leader of Chilean socialism." He served as minister of state in both CPD governments, that of Aylwin (Education) and that of Frei (Public Works). In this run for standard bearer of the left he was supported by the PS, the PPD, the Radical Social Democrat Party (PRSD) and the Liberal Party (PL).

His opponent in the left primary was Andrés Zaldívar Larraín (b.1936) who has been a PP since 1964. He was elected senator in 1973, 1990, and 1997, beating out Lagos in one contest for that position. He has been president of that august body since his election to that position in 1998. He was elected president of his party, the PDC, in 1976 and president of the International Christian Democrats in 1982. Zaldívar's principal support in this primary was of course that PDC which will not have a candidate in the upcoming presidential race for the first time since 1958. Which, with apparent good reason, appears to have the PDC militants in Chile and elsewhere concerned. In addition to the PDC there were a few miniscule parties—"lucky gamblers" in Venezuela—such as a "dissident group" of the PRSD, the Unitary Peoples Action Movement (MAPU), Worker-Campesino and so on, none of which apparently did him much good.

Lagos' victory was decisive, it amounting to about three to one. The actual numbers in this election, which gave employment to some 60,000 precinct workers at 16,750 voting places, was 985,505 (71.34 percent) for Lagos and 395,821 (28.66 percent) for Zaldívar. What this victory is supposed to portend is happily described by various pundits, some of whom may even be correct. One of the most important predictions, if true, is that Lagos "will have to" support President Frei who promised to bring Senator Pinochet back to Chile in his message to the nation of 21 May.

The principal opposition to the CPD in the Chilean presidential elections of 12 December 1999 will apparently be provided by what the press calls the "candidate of the right"—more appropriately, the "anti-Left" (pp. 1ff, YRBK97)—the economist Joaquín Lavín Infante (b.1953). The high point in the political career of this father of seven children assuredly occurred when he won his present job as mayor of Las Condes in October 1996 with an impressive 77.7 percent of the votes. Lavín will be the standard bearer of the UDI and, he assuredly hopes, the RN. UDI Senator Carlos Bombal Otaegui was preparing an exploratory committee for his presidential run when the "explosion" of Lavín in the municipalities convinced him of the futility of such an effort. Lavín has apparently entered into an alliance with Bombal who is now running for senator against Lavín's other opponent, Andrés Allamand, former president of the RN. Apparently this alliance has effectively eliminated the danger "from the right" as posed by Allamand in the presidential elections.

There are three other presidential candidates who may be mentioned for completeness but apparently pose no particular threat to the front runners, Lagos and Lavín. A poll of 7 May 1999 by Encuesta Geminis seems to forecast with accuracy "sufficient for government work" the relative standing of the three challengers. Chilean Communist Party (PCC) Secretary General Gladys Marín (b.1942) received 2.9 percent, Independent candidate and ex Senator Arturo Frei Bolívar 2.1 percent and Humanist Party (PH) President Tomás Hirsch G. 0.5 percent.

The "ex"-terrorist and widow, Marín, can be said to have gotten her start as an over age boss of the Chilean Communist Youth (JCC), albeit, there is little unusual in ancient members of the Communist "Youth." That this ML can be described as an "ex"-terrorist was demonstrated in the early 1980s when she figured importantly in

launching the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR). The rather haggard-looking lady has long ruled the PCC with an iron hand, probably doing about as well with it as could be expected, the left *Concertación* as enthusiastic as ever to receive the handful of votes in the bicameral legislature that she can provide.

Primary Effects

Clearly the Christian Democrats have suffered a remarkable defeat, a fact which, in addition to eliminating the party from the presidential field for the first time since the 1950s, will doubtless have additional effects on that political grouping. Whether true or false, it has been suggested that this will also have the “European effect” of replacing the Christian Democrats with the Social Democrats. The existing Social Democrat Party (PSD) is of course a member of the *Concertación*, and the idea here is not that the PDCs will simply move into the PSD. But some sort of amalgamation is expected in some quarters.

The opponents of the Chilean left take comfort from the relatively low turnout in this primary, whether justified or not. Frei Bolívar, for example, pointed out that 85 percent of the electorate had nothing to say in the election. The “ex” terrorist, Marín, stated that the Lagos victory represented a “continuity” (*continuidismo*) unable to deal with “Chilean problems.”

PARAGUAY

PARAGUAY: ONLY THE WINNER IS STILL STANDING (WKLY 7.14, 8 APRIL 1999)

At the end of March 1999 Raúl Cubas Grau, the last legally elected president of Paraguay, arrived in Camboriú, Brazil, aboard a Brazilian Air Force aircraft, he having been granted asylum there. On the night of 29-30 March Lino Oviedo, the almost-elected Paraguayan president, was granted asylum in Argentina, the former general then reportedly located at La Madrugada, Buenos Aires Province. The only one left standing in Asunción was Juan Carlos Wasmosy which apparently makes him the winner in his three-year contest with Oviedo. The Cheshire Cat is gone, but his grin still frames two interesting questions.

(1) Did Oviedo really rebel or was Wasmosy simply afraid his construction firm would lose that bridge contract?

(2) Are the bumbling fingers of New-Age Yankee Imperialism visible in this three-year shadow play? (This subject has been discussed frequently in these reports.)

One of the most interesting comments on (1) was inadvertently furnished by a bylined EFE writer in a 31 March 1999 dispatch. First, Oviedo is described as “el ex general golpista,” that is, “the ex-general who attempted a coup.” This may, of course, be true, but, again, it may be the work of Wasmosy. The writer goes on to say that Oviedo “is detained (or arrested—*detener*) in Argentina,” when, in an AFP dispatch of the same date, the fact of Oviedo’s asylum is reported. Considering the source, this could say more about the realities than was intended. As to the obvious realities in summary.

Cubas won the presidential elections of 1998 and almost immediately began acting to have his political ally, Oviedo, released from duress vile. As president he was able to effect this. But not without touching off those riots and that lawlessness which could have arisen from some sort of organization in support of Wasmosy and after Oviedo’s scalp. These increased in intensity and violence until the explosion which occurred with the murder of the Paraguayan vice president and enemy of Oviedo and Cubas, Luis María Argaña. With which Cubas resigned and fled the country.

The Coup which did (Not) Happen

LANS Associate Editor Alphonse Emanuiloff-Max discussed (pp. 24ff, YRBK98) the alleged coup carried out by Oviedo in 1996 as has the LANS correspondent in Río de la Plata (Chap.1, YRBK00). All the discussion having taken place, the most difficult point on which to arrive at an unbiased conclusion is whether or not an attempted coup actually took place as Wasmosy and his allies maintain and as Oviedo and his allies deny. Several remarks by our Río de la Plata correspondent illustrate this point. First, however, our correspondent’s statement of a year ago has proven remarkably prophetic: “General Lino Oviedo will be the third actor in a conflict which will extend its crucial effects far beyond that date.” (The other two actors were the opposing presidential candidates, Cubas and Laino.)

The correspondent calls the alleged golpe “an incident (which) occurred between General Oviedo and the constitutional president, Juan Carlos Wasmosy.” He goes on to ask, “But what really happened at that time? According to the official version, General Oviedo knew that he would be passed over and retired, and he confined himself to barracks, promoting an uprising against the country.

“...sources close to the general...recall that later Oviedo was turned over to the courts and found not guilty. ‘There was neither anyone who could show an order confining the troops to barracks nor a member of the military who could say that he had received such an order...’”

The Río de la Plata correspondent goes on to say that “The episode was confused: In his capacity as commander in chief, Oviedo had his home in a barracks so that, after his dispute with the president, he could well have retired to his residence to nurse his grievance. During the episode Wasmosy waffled on more than one occasion. When the crisis was in full bloom he offered Oviedo the job of Minister of Defense which the general accepted. A little later the president withdrew the offer...”

“*Coup d’Etat* or merely an argument? This is an aspect of the situation which is most difficult to clarify...a civil court found Oviedo innocent...he never wanted a *coup d’état* and that, to the contrary, it was Wasmosy who did come around to carrying one out because ‘the Parliament did not allow him to govern.’”

In 1997 Oviedo won the “officialist” nomination for president in a campaign which the LANS Río de la Plata correspondent describes as “with heavy and direct accusations against Wasmosy.” One of these accusations referred to the second bridge between Ciudad del Este (Paraguay) and Foz do Iguazú (Brazil), Oviedo maintaining that “Wasmosy wants to build the bridge with one of his own companies,” an accusation he repeated frequently.

Therefore, whether this was a political argument, which Wasmosy settled by accusing Oviedo of a coup, or an attempted coup is not solidly demonstrated. In any case, in December 1997, a special military tribunal had condemned the populist general to ten years in prison for insubordination, an action which removed him as the Colorado Party nominee and replaced him with Cubas who proceeded to win the 14 May 1998 election with 54 percent of the vote.

Raúl Cubas Grau was an engineer and Colorado Party stalwart who had served as Wasmosy's Minister of Planning from 1994 to 1996. He then became Finance Minister, resigning from this post when Oviedo was jailed. The vice president who accompanied him into office was Luis María Argaña, the leader of the anti-Oviedo faction in the party whose murder ended the affair.

The Outgoing President

Whether guilty or innocent of a coup attempt, Oviedo was still in duress vile on 15 August 1998, inauguration day for the new president, and, by that day, the coming firestorm was being prepared. Oviedo aside for the moment, it appears likely that the draconian measures taken by the new president to alleviate the economic chaos apparently caused by his predecessor may have been at least partly responsible for the near revolution that drove him out of office. Cubas enumerated a number of financial mistakes—or worse—which Wasmosy had made. When an account appeared in the Asunción daily, *ABC Color*, the week before inauguration day the outgoing president dismissed it as “the expression of a daily dependent on Oviedo.” But are such statements all simple political “partisanship”?

A piece distributed by our colleagues at Inter-American Economic Press Agency (AIPE) and written by the *ABC* editorial writer, Porfirio Cristaldo Ayala, would appear to be considerably more than Oviedo sycophancy. Whether one or both of the Oviedo-Wasmosy duet is “wrong,” it would certainly appear that Cristaldo Ayala paints a particularly dark picture of a not unusual LA economic debacle.

The author begins by summarizing the results of Wasmosy's five years with “[he] enlarged the state, increased the fiscal deficit, paralyzed production and left the financial system in ruins...[the result] unemployment, bank failures, explosion of complaints in health and education, increasing poverty and social resentment.” Cristaldo goes on to detail much of this—half the country's reserves lost, government payroll padding, the Gross National Product squandered on failing banks, billions in gifts to entrepreneur “friends” without minimal guarantees and so on. “The country elected him in 1993 on the basis of commitment to privatization, deregulation and state reduction. Wasmosy promised the country a program of good (Neoliberal. Ed) reforms in which he did not believe, which he did not understand and did not have the least intention of carrying out.”

There is other testimony from such as the attorney, Pedro Daniel Candia, having no connection with *ABC*. Candia, brought a charge against the outgoing president for “irregularities” in the bidding on the Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia International Highway. According to Candia, the work was “overvalued” by 147.46 percent. Which would at least be consistent with the financial muddle which the new Cubas Government would claim on taking power. And which would be a point at issue whether Oviedo existed and claimed Wasmosy economic mismanagement or not.

President Cubas Assumes Office—for a While

Cubas assumed the presidential throne promising a “war economy” to pull Paraguay out of the “poverty and misery” for which the Wasmosy Government had apparently been responsible. For example, there were at that time 180,000 public employees of which number 28,000 had been hired by Wasmosy within the previous five years. One of Cubas’ advisors told AFP (18 August 1998) that the deficit, forecast by Wasmosy at \$150 million for 1998, would be twice this much. On 17 August Cubas fired 400 government officials while Angel Campos, new Minister of Justice and Labor, suspended the \$10 million contract for a new prison which had been signed just two days before the outgoing president left office. A few such irregularities do appear to bear all the earmarks of governmental fraud.

If Oviedo had not existed, it is assured that these measures, which correspond to that bogeyman of the HL, neoliberalism, would have been used to whip up mob sentiment against him, of whatever worthy or unworthy attributes the new president was possessed. But, while the ferocious anti-Cubas sentiment may have been partly based on anti-neoliberalism, this sentiment was quickly obliterated by anti-Oviedism, a concatenation of circumstances for which Cubas must, to whatever extent, blame his heavy-handed approach.

The Firestorm

Cubas was inaugurated president on 15 August. A mere three days later (18 August) he did what most observers expected him to do: he commuted the ten-year sentence of Oviedo with Decree 117, using Article 238, Section 10 of the Paraguayan Constitution as his justification. And the firestorm did indeed break on Asunción, per-

haps most importantly at first in the Paraguayan Supreme Court (PSJ). The head of that nine-man body, Raúl Sapena Brugada, reported the unanimous decision of the court in a note to Cubas, "I carry out (my duty) in informing you that the Court has issued no report referring to the commutation of penalties imposed on the persons in question." Art. 238 allows the president to commute sentences "in conformity with the law and with the report of the CSJ." But this visibly disturbed neither Cubas nor Oviedo, and on 27 August the Superior Electoral Justice Tribunal (TSJE) President Carlos Majoli announced that all was forgiven Oviedo, he could return to his political activities. This he proceeded to do but not with the approval of the Paraguayan Legislature.

For on 22 August, the president of the Senate, Luis González Macci, and the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Walter Bower, turned over a document to CSJ Pres. Raul Sapena. This document solicited the court to annul Cubas' action as unconstitutional and an "abuse of power." At about the same time Authentic Radical Liberal Party (PLRA) deputy Oscar Denis, National Encounter Party (PEN) deputy Marcelo Duarte and dissident Colorado deputy Luis Castiglioni submitted a document to the Constitutional Affairs Commission alleging "abuse of power and malfeasance." Which may be taken as the declaration of war against Cubas by the Paraguayan Legislature.

The Supreme Court would align itself with the Legislature in December after a fall of cut and thrust between the Special Military Tribunal (SMT) and Pres. Cubas. On 1 September this SMT (or Kangaroo Court), General Pablo Idoyaga presiding, had absolved Oviedo of any blame for an attempted coup. Following the Supreme Court attempt to obtain the dossier on the case from the SMT, the testimony of Gen. Idoyaga and the 10 September refusal of Cubas to turn over the dossier, Supreme Court Pres. Sapena declared the decision of the SMT annulled. Finally, on 2 December, the court decided in favor of the Congress in the action against the decree freeing Oviedo.

The Supreme Court had aligned itself with the Legislature against Oviedo. Not surprisingly and not long after this decision, the National Republican Association, Colorados (ANR) joined this lineup with ANR President Bader Rachid Lichi's announcement of Oviedo's exclusion from the party rolls.

The subsequent behavior of Oviedo indicated a rash self-assurance which would not prove justified. "Before 31 December we are going to bury these shameless ones," Oviedo told a group of his followers referring to the justices who had voted him back to prison. The strikes, roadblocks, and riots began, the year ending with the convocation of yet another demonstration against the judges.

By March Vice President Argañas was leading the anti-Cubas campaign, striving to organize the two-thirds of the eighty-member Chamber of Deputies needed to bring President Cubas to trial before the Senate. Whether or not he would have been able to arrange this may be a moot point; his murderers arranged it for him on 23 March.

The murderers were dressed in "cammies" (camouflaged fatigues) which an AFP dispatch carefully described as "utilized habitually by the military." Since nowadays cammies are utilized by hordes of enthusiasts in no way related to the military, this statement probably means as much or as little as the "Cubas-Oviedo did it" statements of the Colorados, Galaverna, and Duarte.

But, whoever did it, amidst the chaos that followed, both houses of the Legislature probably acted as rapidly as they ever had in removing Cubas from office. By 28 March 1999 Cubas had resigned and departed for Brazil. The new Paraguayan president was the Senate president, Luis Angel González Macchi.

URUGUAY

ELECTIONS IN THE ORIENTAL REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY ON 31

OCTOBER 1999

(WKLY 8.17, 1 NOVEMBER 1999)

Clan Battle²⁸ has, as the Bard might have had Macbeth put it, strutted and fretted its inordinately long hour upon the stage already and shows no sign of desisting. Whether its contemporary scion will extend this hour well into another century will depend of course on the outcome of the upcoming run-off in the Uruguayan presidential elections.

Certain denizens of the Groves of Academe appear to associate "progressivism" with collectivism (leftism), those who do not do so acquiring a capacity for waltzing about the reality with amazing

grace. For example, the author of a mighty and useful tome on LA history remarks that “Uruguay’s social reforms [sic] have made many observers refer to her as a ‘welfare state’ or as ‘the Denmark of South America.’ The accuracy of such comparisons is dubious [sic].”²⁹ Having said as much, the same author smoothly reverses himself in the next paragraph with:

“...Uruguay nationalized its electrical output, its rail lines, buses...controls the production and distribution of gasoline and chemicals...banks...hotels...telephone...subsidizes (almost everything)...of a total labor force of (about) one million 250,000...worked for some government agency...In 1964 this swollen bureaucracy, plus a rampant inflation”—obviously arising from collectivism—“sent the national finances into a tailspin from which Uruguay has not yet (1992) recovered.” Such collectivism (leftism) is described in the same discussion as a “progressive social program” in that newspeak which characterizes that “scourge of the Twentieth Century,”²¹ the PP. And, according to Crow again, this “progressive social program” was originated by José Batlle y Ordoñez who served two terms as Uruguayan president between 1903 and 1915.

Batlle is treated in somewhat more detail by Fagg,³⁰ and was considered by Stokes in 1959³¹ as “the greatest Uruguayan political figure of the twentieth century.” Stokes, a scholarly opponent of the “welfare state,” considers this greatness to arise from Batlle’s opposition to “the threat of the strong executive to individual liberty and freedom.” The Uruguayan president did this by, in Stokes’ view, diffusing presidential power through a practical *colegiado*. This collegial executive, which Stokes traces to the draft constitution of 1812 for the United Provinces of Río Plata,³² was developed into a practical executive by Batlle from his observation of the Swiss Federal Council while on a European tour. Crow, while giving Batlle credit as “originator of...[the] progressive social program,” then smoothly switches sides again in the next sentence to discuss “Uruguay’s cumbersome nine-man council” which was abolished in favor of the executive in 1967.

However one may care to interpret this legerdemain, Batlle y Ordoñez was again a name to be dealt with in the elections of 1999. As, of course, is his opponent in the upcoming run-off election.

Government

The Oriental Republic of Uruguay classifies itself as a “republic” and has divided itself into nineteen departments: Artigas, Canelones, Cerro Largo, Colonia, Durazno, Flores, Florida, LaValleja, Maldonado, Montevideo, Paysandu, Rio Negro, Rivera, Rocha, Salto, San Jose, Soriano, Tacuarembó and Treinta y Tres. Austria-like, its capital, Montevideo, dwarfs its departments in population.

Its General Assembly is bicameral, having a thirty-seat Senate and a ninety-nine-seat Chamber of Deputies, all legislative offices having five-year terms. The executive is a president, this office having been changed by the constitutional amendment of 1996 (pp. 15ff, YRBK97) to require a run-off election if no candidate receives a majority vote.

Political Parties

Broad Front (FA): At its website (www.montevideo.com.uy/asamblea/frente.htm) the FA identifies itself using the adjectives “maxima” and “mayor,” as “the major historical structure of the left in Argentina.” This description would appear to be unassailable, and, indeed, if one of the parties of this axis is not to be found in the HL or the HLS, the error should be corrected. Still according to its own publicity, the FA was founded on 5 February 1971 and presently consists of nineteen political groupings. Before the elections under consideration here, this left group listed five of its groupings with Uruguayan Assembly representation, six without such representation. Only the five groupings now having parliamentary representation will be discussed further, although it might be remarked that the Socialist Workers Party (PST) and the Trotskyite Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) are mentioned among the latter groupings. The FA opposed the 1996 change to a run-off election for president.

Five of the political parties involved in the election received vote counts worthy of repetition here. In the order of their standing these are: (1) the Progressive Encounter (EP); (2) the Colorado Party (PC); (3) the National Party-Blanco (PN); (4) the New Space Party (PNE); and (5) the Civic Union Party (PUC).

EP

Although it would appear that officially the EP fielded the candidates, this party was generally referred to as EP/FA. Such a situation evolved from the political meeting of 20 September 1998 from which emerged the “Political Accord of the Progressive Encounter Party.” On p.2 of this accord it is stated that EP contains the following political forces: (1) The FA; (2) the Christian Democrat Party (PDC); (3) the Current 7; and (4) the Progressive Batllismo.

FA: (1) The Space 90 (E90) contains³³ the Uruguayan Socialist Party (PSU), the Peoples Current (CP) and the MS (Socialist Movement). (2) Advanced Democracy (DA) contains the Communist Party (PC) and the Left Liberation Front (FIDEL). (3) the Artigan Aspect (VA) contains the Independent Democratic Left (IDI) and Artigism and Unity (AU), the diatribe against the free market and liberalism at its website (<http://www.vertiente.org.uy>) placing it squarely in the Castroite camp. (4) The Popular and Progressive Movement (MPP) contains the now allegedly “ex”-terrorists of the National Liberation Movement (MLN)—Tupamaros—and “independents.” (5) The Open Left (IA) tells us at its website (http://mundoweb.com/alesoft/ia3040/documentos_ia/doc003.htm) that “what Artigas thought and fought for is yet to be accomplished,” this of course being some form of state socialism.

PC

The PC was founded in 1836. The seven groupings which were placed under this Colorado banner during the recent elections may perhaps be described, not as parties in a coalition *per se* but generally factions of the same party, some more obviously devoted to a particular legislative candidate. For example, Washington Abdala, a member of the Sanguinetti Current, perhaps presents a more pointed liberal message—or neo-liberal for those in the U.S.—than is currently fashionable with the PP.

In his letter, “We are Colorados and what?” (<http://lacorriente.reduruguay.com>) he makes an interesting point, “In the Uruguay of recent years, in order to be progressive one must be of the FA, in order to be an intellectual accepted at the University one must be of the left and in order to be of the people [popular] one must admit the arrival of the new Messiah in EP called Dr. Vázquez.”

After which he goes on to discuss the fear which prevents many from proclaiming themselves “conservatives” or “traditionalists.” The speech which presidential candidate Jorge Batlle y Ordoñez Ibañez³⁴ gave to the Colorado Party Convention of 4 July 1999 ([www.batlle.com/edición/index.html], then to “Discursos”) would appear to be in consonance with the sentiments of Dr. Abdala.

PN

The National Party (Blanco) was founded in 1836 and appears to be generally locatable to the left of the PC. As with the PC, however, its five (or so) groupings appear generally devoted to the eventual re-placement of Luis Alberto Lacalle Herrera in the presidential palace although perhaps with variations on this theme. One of these PN groupings is National Challenge (List 903—the people of Juan Andrés) which was formed in 1994 to support the presidential bid of Juan Andrés Rodríguez. This was followed by the foundation on 18 May 1996 of National Challenge “to renew our dear National Party.” “We believe in the functioning of a modern and humane democracy which nourishes the hope of a better present and future fuller of prosperity and justice for all Uruguayans” (www.ramirezes903.com.uy).

The National Proposal faction is a paean of praise for Wilson Ferreira Aldrenate in biographical form, various photographs of whom appear in the piece, one posed before an Amnesty International (AI) placard. LANS has dealt with AI from time to time. A third faction is referred to as Herrerism, its website (www.lacalle.org.uy) indicative of as much. What is referred to as List 71 or Nationalist Youth for Lacalle is precisely as described, the last of the factions to be remarked here being List 400 which may be described in the same way.

PNE

The New Space website (www.nuevoespasio.org.uy/) boasts a stylized red rose as its symbol with the legend, “This flower is the symbol of the thought and Social Democrat proposal. Under these banners have been constructed the most prosperous, most solidaristic, most transparent societies which humanity has known.”

This is a truly remarkable example of newspeak political hyperbole. The home of the various Social Democrat parties is, of course,

the IS (Socialist International) which was created by Heinrich Karl Marx (cf. Wkly 8.2). From Ulianov (aka Lenin) to Gorbachev, Perón and Castro these collectivist SD ideas have brought nothing but misery, some of this touched on even for Uruguay above.

PUC

The guiding light in the Civic Union Party, Gonzalo Silveira, is apparently responsible for the motto, Partido de los Comunes, Somos Gente Comos Usted, which we take to render as “Party of the Common People, We Are People Like You.” Apparently there were only enough people like him to furnish some 5,000 votes. Mr. Silveira also apparently wrote the piece which appears at (<http://members.theglobe.com/comunes/somos.htm>) and which is likewise deeply concerned with the party name. It would appear reasonable to describe this party as “leftist,” albeit it would be difficult to dismiss out of hand his remarks therein on PPs “with egotistical objectives” or that “policy is confused with corruption and demagogy.” Still and all, the most intriguing remark he makes is with reference to a book he found relating to England and Ireland in the early years of the present century. In whatever the book was he found an account of the Irish secret society, Sinn Fein, which he appears to have found admirable and comparable to his own political organization.

Uruguayan Elections

The results of the legislative elections will be reported after the presidential run-off election and when made available by the Ministry of Interior; the results given here for the Senate races should be considered preliminary, and none are given for the Chamber of Deputies

Presidential Elections

Encuentro Progresista/Frente Amplio (Tabaré Vázquez)	39 percent (556,452)
Partido Colorado (Jorge Batlle)	31.7 percent (695,926)
Partido Nacional (Luis Alberto Lacalle)	21.5 percent (472, 121)
Nuevo Espacio (Rafael Michelini)	4.4 percent (96,840)
Unión Civica (Luis Pieri)	0.2 percent (5,074)

There will be a run-off election between Vázquez and Batlle on 28 November.

Senate Elections

EP	12 seats
PC	10
PN	7
NE	1

ELECTIONS IN THE ORIENTAL REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY. II (WKLY 8.21, 2 DECEMBER 1999)

The Uruguayan elections of 28 November 1999 have been preliminarily discussed in Wkly 8.17 above as have the political parties involved in these elections. In that discussion the first round of the presidential elections were treated as were the preliminary results of the Senate elections for the national bicameral legislature. Were it not for the amendment of the Uruguayan Constitution in 1996 (pp. 15ff, YRBK97), these elections would have produced one more minority president, the leftist Tabaré Vázquez. As it was, these first general elections since 1994 produced a runoff between Vázquez and Jorge Batlle (phonetically: BAH-ché).

The Presidential Run-Off Elections

The two top presidential candidates in the first round were Vázquez with 39 percent of the vote and Batlle with 31.7 percent of the vote. They were trailed by three other candidates with 26.1 percent. (For the purist, the small remaining percent arose primarily from blank ballots.) According to the new Uruguayan Constitution then, a run-off election took place on 28 November between the two leaders. Batlle had run on the Partido Colorado ticket, Vázquez on the Encuentro Progresista/Frente Amplio ticket. A brief review would not be out of place.

EP (Progressive Encounter)/FA (Broad Front)

The XXI Congress of the IS will be discussed in chapter 8. Various of the Uruguayan left groupings appear, either directly or indi-

rectly, in the IS, although there is the usual amount of artful dodging. Of the crowd of left parties affiliated with EP/FA, only the Uruguayan Socialist Party (PSU) appears as a Full Member of the IS. But even this is not the entire story, for the PSU does not appear directly as an EP/FA member but indirectly as a member of E90 (Space 90). That the left parties are essentially all there, however, is demonstrated by the presence of the PCU, FIDEL and the now allegedly “ex”-terrorists of the MLN-P, to name only a few. The Vázquez ticket was assuredly well connected with the IL (International Left).

PC (Colorado Party)

The party of Batlle is somewhat easier to define, the party itself having been formed in 1836, its “groupings” appropriately defined as “currents” rather than parties as in EP/FA. As LANS quoted Abdala of the Sanguinetti Current as stating, “In the Uruguay of recent years, in order to be *progressive* one must be of the FA, in order to be an *intellectual* accepted at the University one must be of the left and in order to be *of the people* (popular) one must admit the arrival of the new Messiah in EP called Dr. Vázquez.” Which is perhaps as effective a way of seeking to differentiate between Batlle and Vázquez as is possible with a pair of PPs.

Uruguayan Departments

Because there may be something to be gleaned from the geographical distribution of the vote, the following rough location of the eighteen Uruguayan Departments may be helpful.

The northernmost department is Artigas Department. To the south of this department is Salto, then Paysandú, then Rio Negro, this column of four bounded on the south by the Negro River. To the east of this column is Tacuarembó, then Rivera, these two likewise bounded to their south by the Negro. Marching southward from the Negro to the west is Soriano, then Colonia, these bounded to their west by the Uruguay and La Plata Rivers and estuary. To the east of Soriano is Flores, to its south San José bounded by the Plata. To the east of this last tier and south of the Negro are, from north to south, Durazno, Florida and Canelos, the latter fronting on the Atlantic. Finally, the easternmost tier of departments begins

to the north with Cerro Largo on the Negro, Treinta y Tres to its south with three departments still farther south: La Valleja, Maldonado and Rocha.

Presidential Run-Off

Batlle won in Uruguay with 51.59 percent of the vote (1,138,067) against Vázquez's 44.07 percent (972,197). In the capital, as was to be expected, Vázquez won with 54.43 percent (522,702) against Batlle's 42.42 percent (407,396). Batlle won in the departments with varying, if more or less similar, percentages, the notable exceptions being the 1 percent difference between the two in Paysandu and 8 percent in Canelones.

Artigas: 64.15 percent to 30.33 percent; Canelones: 52.34 percent (146,770) to 43.87 percent (123,008); Cerro Largo: 60.84 percent to 32.57 percent; Colonia: 60.46 percent to 35.27 percent; Durazno: 64.63 percent to 26.97 percent; Flores: 67.75 percent to 28.29 percent; Florida: 59.40 percent to 34.40 percent; La Valleja: 69.67 percent to 25.48 percent; Maldonado: 56.75 percent to 38.59 percent; Paysandu: 47.13 percent (35,468) to 46.10 percent (34,691); Rio Negro: 59.97 percent to 35.43 percent; Rivera: 69.56 percent to 37.09 percent; Rocha: 57.02 percent to 37.09 percent; Salto: 59.41 percent to 35.80 percent; San José: 59.97 percent to 35.28 percent; Soriano: 56.13 percent to 37.98 percent; Tacuarembó: 65.18 percent to 27.71 percent and Treinta y Tres: 64.27 percent to 28.75 percent.

Senate

The upper house in the bicameral legislature contains thirty senators and the vice president, the latter one vote for the new president. The thirty senators are divided as indicated in the preliminary numbers reported in Wkly 8.17: EP 12, PC 10, PN 7 and NE 1. In more detail:

All the parties to be mentioned need not be defined here; however, a few are deserving of brief discussion. VA contains the DI and AU, the diatribe against the free market and liberalism at its website (<http://www.vertiente.org.uy>) placing it squarely in the Castroite camp. The MPP includes the "ex" terrorists of the Tupamaros (MLN-T) mentioned above. .AD contains the PCU and FIDEL.

NE is distinguished by being the only Uruguayan party mentioned as a full member of the IS at its website. With these additional definitions the detailed make-up of the Senate should be about as follows:

EP (12): PSU: 4; Uruguay Assembly: 2; VA: 2; MPP: 2; AD: 1 and Progressive Alliance: 1.

PC (10); PN (7). These two parties are expected to be in coalition in the new Senate.

NE (1).

Chamber of Deputies

Again, the PC-PN coalition is expected to exist in the lower house. This would give the president's bloc 33 PC plus 22 PN for a total of 55. The EP will have 40 divided roughly as follows.

Of the 40 EP deputies LANS has names and hence specific affiliations for only 39. However, this should be sufficient for a qualitative discussion. Of the parties under the EP umbrella, E90, which contains several socialist parties to include the PSU mentioned above, has 14 deputies. AU picked up 8 deputy seats while the MPP, which contains the MLN-T "ex"-terrorists, boasts 5 as does the Progressive Alliance. The vociferously Castroite VA obtained 3 seats. The Broad Front Union (UF) has two seats while the IS stalwart EP and the Communist Party each have 1, the PCU seat occupied by Doreen Ibarra of Montevideo.

The Andean Nations Go to the Polls

COLOMBIA

The three-phase Colombian election process in 1997-1998 consisted of (1) the departmental and municipal elections which were held on 26 October 1997; (2) the congressional elections which were held on 8 March 1998 (pp. 25ff, YRBK00); and (3) the presidential elections which were held on 31 May 1998 (pp. 31ff, YRBK00). Because none of the presidential candidates received more than 40 percent of the vote a run-off election was held on 21 June 1998 and was won by the Colombian Conservative Party (PCC) candidate, Andrés Pastrana Arango, over his Colombian Liberal Party (PLC) opponent, Horacio Serpa Uribe. The PLC more or less maintained its dominance in the bicameral national legislature.

ECUADOR

After the tumultuous removal of President Abdala Bucaram Ortiz from office in 1997 (pp. 79ff, YRBK98), a Constituent Assembly put together a new constitution (pp. 57ff, YRBK98) under which general elections were held on 31 May 1998 (pp. 35ff, YRBK00). No presidential candidate emerged from these elections with more than 40 percent of the vote whereby a run-off election was held on 12 July 1998 between Jamil Mahuad of the Peoples Party (DP) and Alvaro Naoboa of the Ecuadoran Roldosista Party (PRE). From this an ill-fated Mahuad emerged as the new president of Ecuador.

PERU

On 9 November 1995 President Alberto Kenyo Fujimori Fujimori, running under the banner of the Movement for Change 1990 (Cambio 90), decisively defeated the Union for Peru (UP) candidate and former United Nations Organization (UNO) secretary general (1982-92), Javier Pérez de Cuellar, by 64.42 percent to 21.82 percent (p.23, YRBK97). Cambio 90 also captured a majority in the unicameral legislature.

VENEZUELA

THE CASTROITE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA
(SPCL 7.2, 14 JANUARY 1999)

“Paris is well worth a mass,” said Henri le Grand, *Le Vert-Galant*, in an important observation with which every schoolboy, in a more enlightened age, was familiar. And of course it was.

Not to be outdone by some Siglo XVI French King, however great, the Siglo XX PP, Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías, felt that Caracas was likewise well worth a mass. And he arranged one.

It took place on the VI Anniversary of Chávez’s unsuccessful coup attempt (4 February 1992) and was offered “in honor of the men and women who fell battling for the dignity longed for in our country” (sic) (AFP 6 February 1998). Young Mr. Chávez and the cleric who presided must have been convinced that the Deity either has little interest in such affairs or was directing his attention elsewhere at the time. In any event, the mass and the bombastic remarks of this PP took place in Bolívar Plaza in Caracas.

In a remarkable *non sequitur* Chávez told his audience, “I am a soldier of humanity, of the people.” In reality, he appears more precisely described as a soldier of Fidel Castro, a PP who is once again demonstrating that the voters care not at all what a candidate proposes, only what he opposes. And there was apparently a good deal worthy of opposition in Venezuela. Since Chávez can be described as having been “swept into office,” it is worthwhile to ask whether there was any reason why he should have been.

A brief biography of President Chávez has been given in these reports (pp. 46ff, YRBK00). He gained fame from his attempted coup d'état. Although not generally remarked, the most interesting aspect of his coup was its target: the leftist Carlos Andrés Pérez who avoided his intended murder only by luck and a raincoat. Chávez is apparently one of Fidel's people; Pérez, the IS stalwart, has long been one of the Cuban dictator's allies. And it is always interesting to observe falling outs among these ML “soldiers of humanity.”

Chávez is fond of remarking that he is “not a communist,” the irrelevancy of which is emphasized by the collection of ML parties which made up his winning coalition in the presidential race. That he is “not a Castroite” he would probably be happy to tell whoever might ask, but such a claim appears to have been negated by his words during his 1994 pilgrimage to Cuba:

“I do not deserve this honor”—his warm reception by the dictator—“I aspire to deserve it some day ...Some day we hope to come to Cuba... extending our arms in a LA revolutionary project, imbued as we are... with [the idea of] an Hispanic American continent integrated as a single nation...” With which the “soviet-type” LA union again arises, this to be under either Castro or his successor.³³

For What Did the Candidate Stand During His Campaign?

By late summer 1998, the press (cf. AFP 11 August 1998) was reporting the coup candidate as standing for “rupture with the past and change,” the sort of meaningless platform beloved of the PP. Apparently, however, this simply indicates that the candidate is taking advantage of the electorate opposition to the party vehicles of Pérez (Democratic Action [AD]) and Caldera (COPEI³⁶), not much caring what it receives in exchange. Now if, as it would appear, Chávez is simply one more ML, it would have behooved him to leave his “message” as indeterminate as possible. As he generally did.

AFP (13 August 1998) had him advocating “a peaceful revolution within democracy” and “a structural change in the economic, political, social and ethical (framework) in an accelerated manner which has no other name than revolution.” This deliberate obfuscation was clearing up by September for those who would look.

That Chávez had surrounded himself with ML parties rendered it no surprise that his closest advisors were MLs. By that fall of 1998 the ritual ML title of “comandante” was being used in referring to the former rebel. Those of the HL, who were not already aware of his position, were by then. The comandante’s principal advisor was the eighty-one-year-old Luis Miquilena, former director of the radical wing of the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV). As one observer wrote, “no doubts remain, the comandante now has the instructions received from the CJ (commander in chief). Because Hugo Chávez was not in Havana for the fun of it” (Armando Pérez Roura, *Diario las Américas* 6 September 1998).

The Constitutional Convention Chávez was demanding for his “revolution” was a constant theme, what he apparently considers—or is instructed—will open his path toward membership in his American Soviet. The new president’s expectations from this Constitutional Convention have hardly been clearly spelled out, a few isolated example such as reducing the number of government ministries from twenty-three to ten mentioned, but the Pandora’s Box lid not yet sprung. And at about this time in the campaign a “categorical” denial of Cuban involvement in this “revolution” appeared to demonstrate just such involvement.

On 5 October 1998 the *Miami Herald* stated that “candidate Hugo Chávez, who leads the polls, has a long history of alliances with the Marxist insurgents of Venezuela and Colombia.” The article went on to say that “U.S. functionaries, who have expressed their concern about these former connections of Chávez with the leftist rebels, report that they have no evidence that supports the assertions that there are connections with Cuba and Libya.” The categorical denial from Cuba came just three days later, once again affirming that denials from that ML dictatorship are usually to be taken as confirmations.

This U.S. denial of a Chávez-Cuban connection is difficult to understand, however, since LANS obtained the video evidence of Cuban connection from its Venezuelan sources at about this time.

[Note added in proof: The AFP wirephoto taken of Muamar and Hugo on 14 October 2001 in Tripoli completes the comment on the *Herald* report.] But even more difficult to understand is the U.S.-Chávez connection through the shadowy Americas Group, a connection which could foreshadow all sorts of Clinton Government (CG) high jinks.

The Americas Group

This organization is located in Miami (2665 Bayshore Drive, FL 33133) and claims to be a “business management consultants” firm. But its chief, Howard Glicken (55), was indicted, not for aberrant consulting practices, but for “soliciting \$20,000 in illegal foreign contributions in 1993 for the Democrats” (*New York Post* [NYP] 10 July 1998). That the Americas Group boss is “close to Vice President Albert Gore” (NYP 10 July 1998) is well known. Glicken’s guilt may be inferred from his guilty plea, his sentence 500 hours community service and a fine of \$80,000 (*Tampa Tribune* 26 November 1998). What the NYP calls a “by-product of last month’s indictment of Democratic fund-raisers Howard Glicken and Maria Hsia.” Ms. Hsia [Phonetically: shaw] has been described in a U.S. Senate report as “an agent of the ... (Peoples Republic of China [ChiComs]) government.”

Glicken has been indicted, Vice President Gore apparently not as yet, this all now involved with the bizarre temple fund-raiser brainstormed by Ms. Hsia. This event took place at a Buddhist temple in 1996, bringing in an illegal \$140,000 to the (Democrat National Committee (DNC) at a time when Mr. Glicken was Vice Chairman of the DNC Finance Committee for the 1996 campaign. Further details on this admittedly illegal affair are unnecessary; these should be sufficient to establish the director’s credentials.

A consultant for the Americas Group is James Cheek, an advocate of “The ‘Opening to the Left.’” In 1980 Cheek was U.S. Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. At that time he demonstrated his belief in the “Opening to the Left” when he told a gathering in Guatemala that “What this country needs is a little moderate Marxism,” a remark for which he was immediately castigated by Cardinal Casariego. (Close Guatemalan friends of the now deceased cardinal assured the LANS Editor that Cheek’s description of this episode as “black propaganda” was nonsense.)

That to which Glicken pleaded guilty is essentially political money laundering. Therefore, this mixed bag of gringos—a convicted money launderer, an accused money launderer and an opening-to-the-left advocate—suddenly popped up in the weekly, *Primicia* (Caracas 3 November 1998), a subsidiary of the daily, *El Nacional*. According to that periodical, Chávez and his principal advisor, Miquilena, were maintaining “frequent” contacts with Glicken and Cheek. Indeed, the radical PCV chief is quoted as saying,

“...since a direct meeting with the ambassador (Cheek) there have been new contacts.” Perhaps a new “opening to the left,” where Chávez is assuredly to be found, is being sought. To this another Venezuelan presidential candidate was quoted as adding, “the view of Chávez held in the U.S. is positive ... They are the first to understand it... The Americans understand that Chávez is a democratic reality.”

Those committed to the “opening” have a dismal track record, the sort which put Castro in Cuba and Ortega in Nicaragua. Always these people claim to be “dealing with reality,” the question here coming down to: Is this another such attempt?

For What Does the President Elect Stand?

Few of those who are called “elder statesman” deserve the title, but the ninety-two-year-old Arturo Uslar Pietri, who has appeared in these reports, perhaps does. After an early January 1999 meeting with Chavez’s new ministers, Rangel and Miquilena, Uslar Pietri declared that the new president’s rush into a Constitutional Convention immediately after he takes office is unwise and unconstitutional. His position is based on the present Constitution, the last two articles of which declare that it must be reformed by amendments which must first be discussed and approved by the bicameral legislature of the country. Such a rational approach is swept away by the ML president elect, to all appearances bent on sweeping in a new constitution by mob action before there can be any rational judgment of what he is about.

In latter December 1998 Ludmila Vinogrado of *El País* (Caracas) had asked Chávez, “Is the three weeks that you have given the legislators enough for them to discuss and approve the convocation of a Constitutional Convention?” Chávez’s answer was profound in its description of the president elect:

“Clearly that is sufficient because they only have to sign the accord, and that is quick.”

Vinogrado: “If two thirds of the Congress does not achieve that accord because it is very fragmented, will you sign a presidential decree for the *chavazo*³⁷ in the style of the *fujimorazo*?” Chávez: “It will not be a *chavazo* but a *pueblazo* (people blow) because the people have voted for the Convention.”

Vinogrado: “What are the three most important aspects which you wish to change in the Constitution?” This received a long winded and meaningless, but valuable, reply:

“The fundamental [objective] is to re-found the Venezuelan nation as the V Republic. It is not [a question] of exchanging one [group of] people for another but of changing the structures, the functioning and the perverse mechanism of corruption which is now in the veins of the people. It is a question of changing the three powers of the legislative, executive and judicial and including the fourth power, the moral power (sic) through the peoples’ direct election to the jobs and their revocation.”

Only one more piece of deathless oratory can be included here.

Vinogrado: “With what motivation is your Fifth Republic Movement (MVR) enrolling people in the streets who are now known as red berets (*boinas rojas*)?”

Chávez: “There is a socio-political intention which is necessary and vital like the unification of a people, the organization of the peoples sectors, campesinos, workers, students and youths.”

There is more in what was the excellent interview by Ms. Vinogrado, but the story is here told with enough detail so that the typical formation of an ML state would appear to be developing. The ML Sandinistas had—and, in fact, very nearly still have—their divine mobs (*turbas divinas*) as Chávez is evolving his red berets. The two ministers so far appointed would seem to offer further confirmation of the Chávez intentions. It will be interesting to observe the inauguration on 2 February 1999, an event which will bring together *Comandante* Hugo Chávez and *Comandante en Jefe* Fidel Castro.

Or perhaps it will mark the initiation of that true “democracy” which any number of pollyannas appear to be anticipating.

MS. SÁEZ STEPS UP IN POLITICAL RANK
(WKLY 7.13, 1 APRIL 1999)

Irene Sáez, the still comely Miss Universe of 1981, recently completed her term of office as mayor of Chacao, Venezuela. By late September 1996, Ms. Sáez was the choice of some 40 percent of those polled as the next president of Venezuela. Doubtless some pundits have described what happened next as “peaking too early”—the presidential elections were not until December 1998—and perhaps the emptiness of the candidate field was as responsible as anything for her early lead. But this early lead began to dwindle the following year, the dwindling becoming a route in early 1998 when the leftist and self-styled “soldier of humanity,” the golpista Chávez, began his campaign. By the time of the presidential poll late last fall, Chávez was preferred by 57 percent, Ms. Sáez by 3 percent, a result which proved to be quite accurate insofar as Chávez was concerned if unfair to Ms. Sáez who placed third in the presidential sweepstakes.

Showing the true spirit of the PP—“there’s always some office for which to run”—the ex presidential candidate pricked up her ears on hearing of the demise of the governor of the State of Nueva Esparta, Rafael “Fucho” Tovar. Tovar had won the elections of 8 November 1998, but left this vale of tears before enjoying the fruits of his victory. By 19 January 1999 she was on her way to her next domain which includes Margarita Island. That this isle is an “island paradise” is asserted in various press accounts, but, more importantly, it is attested by the PPs who frolic there under the guise of various sorts of “summits” and other diplomatic affairs.

The powers that were in Nueva Esparta, in the guise of the Social Democrat AD (Democratic Action), objected but disappeared beneath the Sáez tidal wave. With 98 percent of the vote counted, the former mayor of Chacao swept into office with 70.79 percent, although there was a 61 percent no show in the 14 March 1999 election. In party-rich Venezuela some thirty-four political organizations supported Ms. Sáez, these including MVR, that of her erstwhile opponent, Chávez.

Mexico

PRI PRIMARIES ELECTIONS (WKLY 8.19, 15 NOVEMBER 1999)

With the usual cries of “Foul!” from the losers and expressions of satisfaction from the winners, the results of the first PRI primaries were announced at midnight on 7-8 November 1999. Which probably did not sit well with the shade of President Plutarco Elias Calles (pp. 97ff, YRBK98) who, on 1 September 1928, had established the PRI predecessor party in order to assure his continuing domination of the Mexican Government through puppet presidents after the single term allowed him by the Constitution had been completed. Although it was apparently felt necessary on three occasions to change the name of Calles’ party, the system worked rather well for those controlling the party for most of the remainder of Siglo XX. In spite of its being much admired by a generally leftish press as something akin to the dawn of democracy, there may be much to be said for the relatively recent “reform” which introduced primary elections into PRI.

But it was not to be said by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) terrorist, R. S. Guillen Vicente (aka Marcos, Jorge Narvaez, El Mejicano) (pp. 124ff, YRBK97; p.186, YRBK98, et seq). Hewing closely to his ML line, that worthy declared that “it is only a recourse to protect the *oligarchy*” (*La Jornada* 20 May 1999). In parroting his comments this ML did correctly predict Labastida as the winner, but such perspicuity could have been displayed by most Mexican citizens.

By that summer of 1999, with the national elections still about a year away, the National Action Party (PAN) had already chosen its presidential candidate for the 2000 elections, Vicente Fox Quesada, as had the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) with Cuauthémoc Cárdenas Solórzano. The PRI primaries were held on 7 November in order to choose candidates for the presidency and for governor of the Federal District (DF) in next year’s elections.

There were four candidate’s in the PRI presidential primaries, these immortalized in happy camaraderie in an AFP wirephoto of 30 October 1999. In the order of their finish in the primary election they were (1) Francisco Labastida Ochoa, former Minister of the Interior,

(2) Roberto Madrazo Pintado, former governor of the State of Tabasco, (3) Manuel Bartlett Diaz, former governor of the State of Puebla and (4) Humberto Roque Villanueva, former PRI secretary general.

With 99.89 percent of the 64,105 voting places tabulated, (1) Labastida had captured 272 of the 300 voting districts in dispute. He won by substantial margins over Madrazo in 28 districts and narrowly over the Tabascan in 23 states and the DF. (2) Madrazo won in 21 of the districts, these including 6 of the 12 in his native Tabasco and numbers ranging in 7 states from 23 in Veracruz to 2 in Campeche and Quintana Roo. (3) Bartlett was victorious in 5 districts of his native Puebla although Labastida beat him in 11 others. (4) Roque was victorious nowhere, perhaps attributable to the relatively small exposure of the former secretary general.

Labastida acknowledged his victory with pious statements to the effect that “the new PRI” which had just been born “is far removed from the path of Salinas.” The Salinas to whom Labastida referred is Carlos Salinas de Gortari who preceded Ernesto Zedillo in the Mexican Presidential Palace. Carlos Salinas has been accused of involvement in the murder of Luis Donaldo Colosio, although apparently not been proven guilty of it, and has been found in, for example, Cuba and Ireland since leaving office. His brother, Raúl, has been languishing in duress vile. Since Colosio has attained “martyred for democracy” status, it follows that Labastida would pledge himself to “recover the ideals of Colosio.” But perhaps the most interesting facet of the Labastida campaign was his imported advisor, James Carville.

Carville is the curious Clintonian political advisor who, on returning from Israel and his contribution to the defeat of Netanyahu, declared that “there is not a right-wing (read: anti-Left) government still standing,” truly a remarkable admission. This leftist was reported working in the Labastida campaign. That Labastida would hire him, given his reputation, is not particularly surprising. The panista, Fox, apparently has the ex-Clintonite, Morris, working for him. But the question has been raised as to what sort of “deal” has been struck between the Clinton Government and Labastida. Or whether this is just more Clintonian “Yanqui Imperialism.” There do not appear to be many observers who view the Carville-Labastida arrangement as a simple “business deal” in which Carville can pick up his \$10,000 per day.

Some Mexican citizens were also concerning themselves on 7 November 1999 with selecting the PRI candidate for governor of the DF, the position being vacated by the head of the leftist PRD, Cuauthémoc Cárdenas, in his intended run for the presidency next year. The winning PRI candidate was Jesús Silva Herzog a former Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Tourism. Silva's vote was around 60 percent while his nearest challenger, another former Secretary of the Treasury, Roberto Campa Cifrián trailed with about 37 percent. Silvestre Fernández trailed the pair with slightly over 7 percent.

MEXICAN LOCAL ELECTIONS IN BAJA CALIFORNIA SOUTH AND GUERRERO³⁸

(WKLY 7.6, 11 FEBRUARY 1999)

The United Mexican States held general elections on 21 August 1994, PRI or Tricolor candidate Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León winning the presidency with 48.77 percent of the vote and trailed by PAN candidate Diego Fernández de Cevallos with 25.94 percent, PRD candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano with 16.60 percent and Workers Party (PT) candidate Cecilia de Soto with 2.74 percent. The next general elections will be held in 2000.

Local Elections

“Local” elections will be taken as referring to the contests for state governors, state legislatures and town councilors. The governors are chosen in local elections every six years. The local legislatures are made up of deputies who are chosen by election every three years. During 1998 local elections were held in fourteen Mexican states. A listing of the fourteen states and the number of governors—one or none — deputies and town councils elected in each has been given (p.51, YRBK00).

The results are also given (pp. 51ff, YRBK00) for the States of Yucatán, Baja California, Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Chiapas, Michoacán, Puebla, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, and Tlaxcala.

The two methods of electing deputies generally have been detailed (pp. 61ff, YRBK98), these being election by plurality (MR) (*uninominal*) and election by proportional representation (RP) (*plurinominal*). In an election a given political party may only re-

ceive 60 percent of the available deputies by MR. (There is a *reductio ad absurdum* here in that all the voters could reduce the size of whatever assembly by voting for a single candidate.) If a given party receives less than 60 percent, it may receive RP seats.

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES (UMS) (WKLY 8.4, 22 JULY 1999)

Art. 43 of the *Constitution of the United Mexican States (UMS)*³⁹ lists the states in the UMS, Art. 44 delineating the Federal District (DF). By Art. 115, the “free Municipality” is the basic unit of territorial division and political and administrative organization. This same article defines the duties of and circumscriptions on the constitutional governor of the State and the numbers in, the duties of and the circumscriptions on the deputies in the state legislatures. “Local elections” consist in the popular election of governors, state legislatures and *ayuntamientos* (town councils) in the municipalities. The governors are chosen in local elections every six years, the members of the local legislatures every three years.

The DF is defined by Art. 44 et seq., these having been recently amended so that the DF governor is chosen by popular election rather than presidential appointment.

Local Elections During 1999

It is not required that the governor, local congress and municipal councils be elected on the same date. Therefore, under a given date, the following shorthand is appropriate: Baja California Sur: G, C, TC=5. This is to read: a Governor (G), a Congress (C) and 5 municipal councils (TC) were elected on the date given. Leaving out one or two letters means one or two offices were *not* chosen on the date given. With these abbreviations, the 1999 election schedule is:

- 7 February 1999. Baja California Sur: G, C, TC=5; Guerrero: G
- 21 February 1999. Hidalgo: G, C; Quintana Roo: G, C, TC=8
- 4 July 1999. Mexico: G; Nayarit: G, C, TC=20
- 26 September 1999. Coahuila: G, C, TC=38
- 3 October 1999. Guerrero: C, TC=76
- 14 November 1999. Hidalgo: TC=84

MEXICAN LOCAL ELECTIONS IN BAJA CALIFORNIA SOUTH AND
GUERRERO
(WKLY 7.6, 11 FEBRUARY 1999)

Baja California South

As the local elections of 7 February 1999 approached, the status of political forces in this peninsular Mexican state were as follows:

The incumbent governor was Guillermo Mercado Romero of PRI. There are 21 seats in the state legislature of which 15 are chosen by MR, 6 by RP.

The gubernatorial race was won by a coalition candidate, the coalition made up of the PRD and the PT, the PT appropriately having the logo of a gold star on a red field. The PRD-PT candidate, Leonel Efraín Cota Montaña, won with 86,636 votes and will exercise constitutional power until 2005. He was trailed by the PRI candidate, Antonio Benjamín Manríquez Guluarte with 57,979 votes, the PAN candidate, Carlos Humberto Rodríguez Bucheli with 9,702 votes and the Peoples Socialist Party (PPS) candidate, Ramón Antonio del Valle Geraldo, with 8.

The PRD-PT won clear control of the legislature, capturing 12 seats by MR and hence no seats by RP. PRI captured 2 seats by MR and 3 by RP for a total of 5, PAN 1 by MR and 3 by RP for a total of 4.

The municipalities of La Paz, Los Cabos and Comondú were won by the PRD-PT coalition, that of Loreto by PRI and Mulege by PAN.

Guerrero

The ML terrorists of the Peoples Revolutionary Army (EPR) have been most active in this state, the charges of "fraud" heard most frequently following the election of 7 February. The only office on which the voters decided was that of governor.

There would appear little doubt that, in spite of the hubbub, the PRI candidate, René Juárez Cisneros, will exercise the executive power until 2005. Juárez won with 423,777 votes, trailed by the PRD-PT coalition candidate, Félix Salgado Macedonio, with 406,064 and the PAN candidate, Angel Pasta Muñuzuri with 14,332.

MEXICAN LOCAL ELECTIONS IN HIDALGO AND QUINTANA ROO
(WKLY 7.11, 18 MARCH 1999)

State of Hidalgo

The Mexican State of Hidalgo is landlocked and lies immediately north of the State of Mexico which, of course, encloses the DF.

With the results from 94 percent of the voting places tabulated PRI candidate Manuel Angel Núñez Soto won the gubernatorial race with 53.54 percent of the vote (325,513 votes⁴⁰). He was trailed by PAN-PVEM (Mexican Green Ecology Party) candidate Francisco Xavier Berganza with something like 30 percent (194,915) and PRD-PT coalition candidate Miguel Angel Granados Chapa with about 15 percent (88,685). Mr. Núñez will take office on 1 April 1999 for a five-year term ending in 2005.

About half of the eligible voters participated in these elections, a number which Mr. Núñez “would have preferred (to be) 60 percent” but with which he claimed to be “pleased.” The press expressed chagrin at these “low” numbers, but they certainly compare well with the 40 percent turnout for the 1993 elections. Indeed, Mexico’s neighbors to the north would be fortunate to turn out anything like 50 percent of its eligible voters for such an off-year election.

Hidalgo boasts eighteen electoral districts whence deputies are sent to the local legislature. PRI was victorious in sixteen of these districts, PAN in two, East Pachuca and Tulancingo. When the RP seats are included the Hidalgo legislature looks as follows:

	MR	RP	TOTAL
PRI	16	2	18
PAN	2	5	7
PRD	0	4	4

Quintana Roo

While U.S. President W. J. Clinton was, according to Univision’s Jorge Ramos, busy in Mexico cleaning “the mud off his place in history,” Quintana Roo Governor Mario Villanueva was occupied

dodging narco-trafficking charges. Whether guilty or innocent, Mr. Villanueva will apparently serve out his term of office to be replaced by the victor in the recent gubernatorial elections, Joaquín Hendricks Díaz, who ran on an anti-narco-trafficking platform.

PRI gubernatorial candidate Hendricks won with 57.7 percent⁴¹ (9,218 votes) of the vote, trailed by PRD candidate Gastón Alegre López with 23.1 percent (3,794) and PAN candidate Francisco López Mena with 18.6 percent (2,970) of the vote. Well behind the field were a PT candidate trailed by a PVEM candidate. The press reported these as in the 1 percent to 3 percent range

There were deputies elected for the local legislature from fifteen voting districts. Of these PRI captured a substantial majority, eleven, the remainder won by PRD. All the victorious PRD candidates, two men and two women, were from the port districts of Cancún. In the city hall contests, PRI appears to have won all eight.

The turnout in Quintana Roo has been quoted by election authorities at 8 percent higher than the approximately 50 percent of Hidalgo. When the RP deputy seats are included the Quintana Roo legislature will appear as follows:

	MR	RP	TOTAL
PRI	11	4	15
PRD	4	3	7
PAN	0	1	1
PT	0	1	1

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN THE UMS, STATE OF MEXICO
(WKLY 8.4 22 JULY 1999)

Mexico (Edomex—Estado de México)

There are three principal parties in Mexico, the PRI, the PAN and the PRD. All three belong to the left, all three at least stating in their platforms their fealty to “government” as the solution to all the ills to which flesh the is heir.⁴² PAN, of course, has striven to project a different image, but its “platform” betrays it (pp. 100ff, YRBK98). PRD is clearly the “most leftist,” the party belonging to Hemispheric Left boss Castro’s FSP (São Paulo Forum), its leader, Cuáhtemoc Cárdenas, closely associated with the ML EZLN (Zapatista National

Liberation Army). A more complete discussion of these three parties has been given (pp. 97ff, YRBK98). A remark on the logos for the three parties may avoid confusion at some point.

The PRI logo is a circular shield in green, white and red on the basis of which the party is referred to as the “tricolor.” The PAN logo is a blue “PAN” on a circular white background bordered in blue, the reference to *blanquiazul* (blue-white). The PRD logo is a stylized black sun on a yellow background surmounting a “PRD,” the reference to Sol Azteca (Aztec Sun). In the Edomex elections the PVEM (Mexican Green Ecology Party) and the PT (Workers Party) (p.99, YRBK98) both arise as junior members of coalitions with one of the major parties.

As pointed out above, the Edomex local elections of 4 July involved only the choice of a governor. The PRI gubernatorial candidate was the fifty-five-year-old native of Atlacomulco, Arturo Montiel Rojas; the candidate of the PAN-PVEM coalition was José Luís Durán Reveles of PAN; and the PRD-PT coalition candidate was Higinio Martínez Miranda of PRD. Interestingly enough, the press accounts of these last two candidates identified them as if the coalitions with PVEM and PT did not exist, a surprisingly realistic approach.

Be all this as it may, with 93 percent of the voting places tabulated, Montiel won with 38.16 percent,⁴³ Durán trailing with 32.06 percent and trailed by Martínez with 29.78 percent. Montiel’s percentage had declined only slightly from the 40.4 percent he enjoyed with 63 percent of the voting places tabulated. (The numbers given by *Excelsior* (5 July 1999)—40 percent, 33 percent and 23 percent — do not appear notably rational.) Only 47.48 percent of the eligible voters participated in these elections.

Of the 45 Edomex municipalities the PRI candidate carried 27, the PAN candidate 12 and the PRD candidate 6.

PRD candidate Martínez closed the festivities with a call to the PAN national directorate to “act responsibly” and join a coalition with PRD for the presidential elections of 2000.

Nyarit

Tepec, the capital of the State of Nyarit, is some 450 miles (bearing 340°) north/northwest of Mexico City. As has already been indicated in the listing above, the elections of 4 July selected a gov-

error, the members of the state legislature and twenty municipal councils. In this state the PRI standard bearer ran unsuccessfully against the Alliance for Change, a coalition of three parties already encountered in Edomex—PAN, PRD and PT—and the local PRS. The standard bearer for this Alliance was a former PRI stalwart, Antonio Echevarría Domínguez, which would appear to complete the Alliance for “Change,” if in a rather interesting fashion.

Echevarría, described in the press as a “rich entrepreneur from Santiago Ixcuintla”—to the Northwest of Tepic—was declared the winner in the gubernatorial race by the Election Commission with 87.22 percent of the voting places tabulated, the ex-priista having garnered 51.60 percent of the vote to the priista Lucas Vallarta Robles’ 42.88 percent. The Alliance won control of the Congress with victories in 12 of the 18 districts, PRI victories only in 6 districts. Finally, the anti-priistas won control of what appears to be correctly dubbed the “most important cities” with their victories in Tepic, Santiago Ixcuintla, and three others.

ELECTIONS IN THE MEXICAN STATES OF COAHUILA AND
GUERRERO
(WKLY 8.14, 7 OCTOBER 1999)

The two methods of electing legislators generally have been detailed (pp. 61ff, YRBK98), these being election by plurality or relative majority (MR) and election by proportional representation (RP). In the case of Coahuila, for example, there are twenty voting districts from which twenty MR deputies are elected. The state is also divided into circumscriptions, these generally containing more than one voting district, from which the RP (*plurinominal*) deputies are chosen. In the case of RP candidates in Coahuila, for example, no party may win RP seats from a circumscription in which it wins MR seats by Art. 9 of the Coahuila Constitution.

Coahuila

The Mexican State of Coahuila is roughly 350 miles in length along its north-south axis, it bordering on Texas (U.S.) to its north, on the State of Zacatecas to its south. Its capital, Saltillo, is some 400 mi. north of the City of Mexico.

On 26 October 1999 local elections were held in the State of Coahuila for governor, deputies in the unicameral State Legislature and members of the Municipal Councils. Prior to these elections the LIV Coahuila Legislature was made up of 20 MR deputies and 9 RP deputies. Of the MR deputies 12 belonged to the PRI while 8 belonged to PAN. Of the 11 RP deputies, 4 were PRI; 2 each from the PRD, the PT and the Cardenista National Renovation Front Party (PFCRN); and 1 from PAN.

For the recent elections Coahuila Coalition 99 (CC99) was formed from virtually all of the parties fielding candidates *against* PRI, namely, PAN, PRD, PT and the PVEM. Whether cobbling up this coalition had the effect of repelling loyal members of, say, PAN is not known for certain. Nevertheless PRI swept the elections, its gubernatorial candidate, Enrique Martínez Martínez, for example, carrying a two-to-one lead with the vote count near 50 percent.

Although it was then too early for details on the local congress elections, the projections were showing that PRI would have a majority there. Finally, in the 38 municipalities of the state, PRI was retaining or taking back control of a majority of these, PRI victories in the three largest cities—Saltillo (the capital), Torreón and Montclova—perhaps worthy of note.

As is usual in such situations, PAN was crying “foul” while PRI National Director José Antonio González Fernández was claiming the victory as forecasting a broader victory in the upcoming national elections.

Guerrero

The Mexican State of Guerrero is on the Pacific to the south of the Federal District, its capital, Chilpancingo, about 140 miles south of the City of Mexico.

As was pointed out in Wkly 7.6, amidst anguished charges of “fraud,” the PRI candidate, Réne Juárez Cisneros, won by about 18,000 votes over the PRD-PT coalition candidate and by about 407,000 votes over the PAN candidate. The enthusiastic reader may proceed to (www.guerrero.gob.mx) in order to peruse Governor Juaréz’s curriculum vitae which the new magistrate hardly stood upon ceremony in hoisting.

On 5 October 1999 Guerrero held local elections to select a legislature and municipal councilors. The local legislature boasts 46

deputies, 28 of these *uninominales* (MR) from the 28 districts of the State, 18 *plurinominales* (RP). With 96 percent of the vote counted, PRI had captured 23 of the MR seats, one less than in the last legislature, PRD 5, two more than in the last legislature. PAN had won no MR seats where it had held one in the previous legislature.

There are seventy-six municipalities in Guerrero. At the same point in the vote count PRI had the advantage in sixty of these, PRD in fifteen, the seventy-sixth apparently “too close to call.” Nothing daunted, the national president of PRD, Amalia García Medina, found sufficient comfort in Torreblanca’s Acapulco mayoral victory to proclaim that:

“*No se puede tapar el sol con un dedo*” (the sun cannot be blotted out with a finger), apparently a gem of some sort of wisdom which *La Jornada El Sur* found memorable enough to reproduce.

LOCAL ELECTIONS IN THE STATE OF HIDALGO (WKLY 8.19, 15 NOVEMBER 1999)

On 14 November 1999 there were municipal elections in the Mexican State of Hidalgo, the capital of which, Pachuca, is about fifty miles northeast of Mexico City. On election day the State Electoral Institute (IEE) reported that PRI won fifty-six of the mayoral races, PAN 7, PRD 5 and the PT 2. Which meant that the results in some twenty-eight municipalities remained to be determined. The IEE also reported that PAN militants burned the municipal council building in Almoloya and beat several “people,” apparently opponents. Not to be outdone, PRD militants were burning the municipal council installation in Mextitlán. In Pachuca state police protected the Municipal Electoral Council (CEM) from both PAN and PRI militants, both of whom thought that they were winning there and, according to PRI director Marín, PRD “fired into the air in order (to encourage) the people to vote for their party.” There was no report on the success of this tactic.

Nor were PRI militants free from accusations, PRD national director Amalia García was assuring anyone who would listen that that party was buying votes in four municipalities with breakfasts and other gifts.

The results from Pachuca were supposed to have been available by 17 November, but, on that date, *El Sol de Hidalgo* was reporting the race between PRI candidate Alberto Junguitud and PAN candidate José Antonio Tellería still “too close to call.”

Notes

1. One of the most remarkable occurrences of the nineteenth century was the transformation of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church from the First to the Third Estate, a rare glimpse of true political acumen.
2. The name was taken from the Fasces, a bundle of elm or birch rods bound round an axe with a penetrating head by a red strap, the emblem of official authority (strength). They were carried on the left shoulder with the left hand of the lectors who escorted the highest Roman magistrates. They were probably of Etruscan origin.
3. Antonio Gramsci is described by Carl Boggs (*The Impasse of European Communism*, Westview Press, 1982. ISBN: 091587845) as the originator of the “gradual building toward proletarian-socialist hegemony within the political infrastructure of bourgeois society.”
4. Richard Pipes, “Communism, Fascism and National Socialism,” Chapter 5 of *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0394502426).
5. As *Jerusalem Post* editor Louis Rapaport (*Stalin's War Against the Jews: The Doctor's Plot and the Soviet Solution*, Free Press, 1990. ISBN: 0029258219) demonstrated, the MLs aped the anti-Semitism of the Nazis.
6. Here and hereafter YRBK00 should be read as *Latin American Political Yearbook*, Vol. 3 (Transaction Publishers, 2001. ISBN: 0-7658-0044-6), other sets of numbers referring to other years.
7. These elections have been summarized on pp.4 ff of *Latin American Political Yearbook* (Transaction Publishers, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-350-2), hereinafter YRBK98.
8. These results have been discussed in YRBK98.
9. Additional, generally unknown information on Guardado is given in chapter 2.
10. LANS has sought unsuccessfully for information on this alleged grove of academe. It is not listed among the standard sources on colleges and university. If it exists, it cannot therefore be described here.
11. This department of the Central Committee of Castro's Cuban Communist Party has been extensively discussed in these reports (cf. pp.146ff, YRBK97). The AD was Castro's instrument for terrorist control hemispherically.
12. These *buzones* were clandestine arsenals, some in Managua, which were stocked with those arms which the FMLN terrorists were supposed to have turned in with the Chapultepec Accords. The Managua buzón which blew up in 1993 was the property of this same Guardado. As was the case with the U.S. airmen who were murdered by Farabundi terrorists when trapped in their downed chopper, however, nothing was ever done about this.
13. Of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).
14. In demonstration of the fact that such disinformation is still widely purveyed, the Reuters writer who created the article today (8 November 1999) on the elections parroted the tired HL-created disinformation accusing Rios Montt of a “scorched earth” counterinsurgency against Indian villages. This nonsense is belied by these very Indians' support of him for having created the CAPs (Self-Defense Patrols) with which these Indians were able to protect themselves. This disinformation is being disseminated almost twenty years after Segesvary (*Guatemala: A Complex Scenario*, CSIS, Georgetown University, 1984. ISBN: 0-89206-055-7) demonstrated by on-the-ground investigation that the so-called “human rights” organizations reporting this were getting their information from the terrorists themselves. The Indians reported killed by the military were marauding terrorists killed by the CAPs of the Indian villagers. Rigoberta Menchú was recently demonstrated by Stoll (*RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ*, Westview, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3574-4) to have been

- what many of us thought all along, a thinly disguised URNG terrorist. Which, if known to the Reuters writer, hardly kept him from extensive quotation of this fraud.
15. The Guatemalan departments are located on p.317, YRBK98.
 16. Whether or not Mr. Carter knew what his government was doing probably cannot be demonstrated. However, certain key figures in his administration appear to have been aware, an example having been given in "Carter, Pezzulo and the Sandinistas. II. the Pezzullo Tapes" (pp.187ff, YRBK00).
 17. G. Russell Evans, *Death Knell of the Panama Canal?* (National Security Center, 1997. ISBN: 0-9658348-0-8).
 18. Interestingly enough, Milestone No. 4 was "the unauthorized listing in 1946 of the Canal Zone as 'occupied territory' by Alger Hiss in his United Nations Report." Since the IL is still seeking to "rehabilitate" the Kremlin agent, Hiss, it is worthwhile to remark the encyclopedic work of Allen Weinstein (*PERJURY: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, Random House, 1997. ISBN: 0-679-77338-X) who concludes what is really rather common knowledge (cf. Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, *KGB: The Inside Story*, Harper Collins, 1990. ISBN: 0-06-016605-3), he was the COMINTERN agent Hede Massing described. Hungarian Maria Schmidt is reported by Stephen Koch (*Double Lives: Spies and Writers in the Secret Soviet Wars of Ideas against the West*, Free Press, 1994. ISBN: 0-02-918730-3) as having found dossiers in the Archives of the Hungarian secret police of Hiss' accomplishments.
 19. Art.7 of the Panamanian Constitution provides an amusing comparison with the U.S. Constitution: "Spanish is the official language of the Republic."
 20. Chapter 5, "Communism, Fascism and National Socialism," of Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0-394-50242-6).
 21. Paul Johnson, *Modern Times* (HarperCollins, 1991. ISBN:0-06-433427-9).
 22. On 4 January 1995, the Argentine minister of economy, Domingo Cavallo, announced that inflation had been only 3.9 percent in 1994. By 26 July 1996 Cavallo had been ousted, according to the ex minister, as a Menem scapegoat.
 23. There are of course other factors in the demise of Menem. His curious relations with the U.S. Clinton—and perhaps Bush—Government involving arms smuggling to Croatia and Ecuador are among these. Although a comprehensive "explanation" of these machinations has been suggested to LANS, there is insufficient proof to permit its repetition. This is, of course, the most interesting of the "corruption" charges against Menem, and he, also of course, has denied knowing what was in the decrees he signed.
 25. This is believed to be correct and agrees with the solid red symbol usually appearing with it, but LANS has no proof of this.
 26. The LANS files contain no record of FRI after the Fall of 1988 when it went into coalition with the MIR in order to support the presidential bid of Jaime Paz Zamora the next Spring. It is conceivable but improbable that some different party replaced this FRI in the meantime.
 27. LANS of course wishes to thank the National Chief of VR-9, Dr. Carlos Serrate Reich, for furnishing information on his party. As required by circumstances, it will be further discussed in future, but, for now, it should be sufficient to remark its origin and enemies list. It was formed as an independent party on 23 March 1985, having been a part the MNR of Victor Paz Estensерro. The 9 April date "represents the peoples' insurgency of 9 April 1952" for which cf. pp.51ff, YRBK97. This revolution, according to Dr. Serrate, "broke the semi-feudal and colonial subsistence modes." A particular pet hate of VR-9 is the "Neo Fascist International" which

- his material peoples with “Ronald Reagan of the U.S. Republican Party, Franz Josef Strauss of the Bavarian Social Christian Party of the RFA and Fraga Iribarne of the Peoples Alliance Party of Spain, among others.”
28. Phonetically, BAH-chay. If nothing else, the Clan appears to find itself remarkably devoid of ideas as to using the internet (www.battle.com).
 29. P.838, John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (University of California Press, 1992. ISBN: 0-520-03776-6).
 30. John Edwin Fagg, *LATIN AMERICA: A General History* (Macmillan, 1963. LCC: 63-8637). One of the Fagg sections covering Uruguay is intriguingly entitled, “Since 1929: Paradise Endangered,” a sentiment on which Ludwig von Mises (*Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, Yale and Regnery, 1966. ISBN: 0-8092-9743-4) could hardly be expected to put his imprimatur.
 31. William S. Stokes, *Latin American Politics* (Crowell, 1959. LCC: 59-6444).
 32. Or, at that time, the United Provinces of South America for which cf. David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (University of California Press, 1987. ISBN: 0-520-06178-0). These would evolve into Argentina, but not, of course, including the Oriental State of Uruguay which José Gervasio Artigas would remove from these provinces at about the same time.
 33. These subdivisions of parties within parties shift, and some of the material given here may be incorrect as a consequence.
 34. The “y Ordoñez” portion of the candidate’s name appears to have been dropped, whether formally or informally. This probably reflects the dead hand of the Cowardly Lion of Lucerne, still sycophantically extended in the Halls of Versailles.
 35. The projected American Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was first mentioned by these reports on p.99, YRBK97.
 36. Independent Political Electoral Committee—Christian Socialist.
 37. The suffix “-azo” means “blow,” the Bogotazo thus being the Bogota golpe of 1948, escobazos blows with brooms, etc.
 38. In the remainder of chapter 1, Wklies 7.6, 7.11, 8.4, and 8.14 are given as appearing in more than one location. In actuality, this simply means that these reports are most appropriately divided and rearranged.
 39. Cf., Pan American Union, *Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Editorial Porrúa, Mexico DF. Decima Edición). Note, however, that Baja California Sur and Quintana Roo are no longer territories but States.
 40. The vote counts quoted were issued by the Mexican Federal Electoral Institute on 17 March 1999.
 41. These numbers differ substantially from those reported by the press with an alleged count of over 90 percent of the voting places, although the relative standings of the three gubernatorial candidates remain the same. These numbers have been computed to slide-rule accuracy by LANS using the numbers furnished by the Electoral Institute.
 42. That “scourge of Century XX” (cf. Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties*, HarperCollins, 1991. ISBN: 0-06-433427-9), the Professional Politician (PP), is almost universally committed to the fable which has man transmogrified into genius when he exchanges the trappings of the citizen for those of the bureaucrat. Such supermen are, of course, supremely qualified to deal with the woes of us the unwashed. The fact that none of them ever has been so endowed can be forgotten in the exaltation of “pressing on.”
 43. These numbers are from a simple arithmetical tabulation of the raw vote by LANS.

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Politico-Economic Backgrounds In Latin America

Argentina

WILL PRESIDENT MENEM RUN FOR A THIRD TERM?
(WKLY 7.3, 21 JANUARY 1999)

The answer is probably: If he can, but certainly not if the Alliance can prevent it. The Alliance is mainly ex President Raul Alfonsín's Radical Civic Union (UCR—Social Democrat) and Carlos "Chacho" Alvarez's National Solidarity Front (FREPASO).

On 10 July 1998 the Alliance "warned" that a second reelection of Menem would put the country "in danger" of "political violence." "To avoid chaos," these two opined, "the Constitution must be respected."

Nor were these professional politicians (PPs) from the opposing parties the only one seeking to block another run at the presidency. A fellow Justicialista Party (PJ) member, himself enthusiastic about a presidential run, Buenos Aires Province Governor Eduardo Duhalde, was also opposing Menem. Which is apparently the reason that Duhalde did not attend the PJ Congress held on 17 July 1998. A number of PJ members were reported as joining the Buenos Aires governor in staying away. In what then had the appearance of a prearranged performance, the Congress supported Menem's run for reelection. And then on 21 July Menem claimed to be bowing out of any further presidential attempts.

With various references to the dictum he attributed to Juan Perón—"first the country, then the movement and finally the men"—and other platitudes, he made the following statement:

“This president will inevitably leave power on 10 December 1999 and aspire to place the presidential sash on another Peronist president who will continue the revolution which we are initiating.”

But the allegedly outgoing president is maintaining the presidency of his party. Opposition members, within and without the PJ, PPs being what they are, have since claimed that Menem will use his party post as a springboard for another run. In an interesting contretemps, the president claimed to waive all immunity after withdrawal, this having to do with the arms contraband. What this portends is not obvious.

Brazil

CARDOSO BETWEEN TWO FIRES: HIS PLANO REAL AND AGREF
(WKLY 8.7, 19 AUGUST 1999)

LANS CORRESPONDENT
BRASILIA, BRAZIL

[Editor's Introduction: Junketing through Brazil last year, Senator Joseph I. Liebermann (D, CT) stated (10 November 1998) that the Brazilian economy as represented by the Plano Real was on the “road to recovery.” Reality would of course demonstrate this statement to be without merit. The description of the Plano Real, which has been given in these reports (pp.59ff, *Latin American Political Yearbook 1997*, Transaction, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-386-3, hereinafter YRBK98) will be synopsisized. This economic plan was allegedly conceived by Fernando Henrique Cardoso¹ during his term as Minister of Finance (April 1993 to April 1994) to President Itamar Franco, Cardoso elected to succeed Franco on 3 October 1994. The first phase of this plan was straightforward, consisting of spending cuts and tax increases aimed at eliminating a \$22 billion deficit. The second and third phases were “smoke-and-mirrors” performances aimed at subliminally convincing Brazilians that the 40 percent per month inflation rate had been erased. This was effected by the creation of the “unit of real value” (URV) on 1 March 1994 as a consolidation of three inflation indices.² The intention was the elimination of the indexing of prices to prior inflation by the choice of the URV—later Real—as the unit of currency to replace the Cruzeiro. If, say, bread inflates by 10 percent in a month and makes up 10

percent of the “basket” of goods in the inflation index, the Real only inflates by $(10 \text{ percent})(10 \text{ percent}) = 1 \text{ percent}$. After the Brazilian populace had been conditioned from 1 March to 1 July to a more or less non-inflationary URV, this became the non-inflationary currency unit. As several economists told the LANS Editor at the time, the plan was “built on sand” unless routine economic measures were taken—balanced budgets, privatization, reduction of government waste in health and retirement benefits (windfalls), etc. One of Cardoso’s “two fires” arises from the fruits of his Plano Real, the other from Agrarian Reform (AgRef) which has been appropriately defined (pp.106ff, YRBK97) as that “low-intensity warfare” carried out in Brazil by the Sem Terra (Landless Peasant) Movement (MST). As will be seen in what follows, Cardoso occupies a seriously compromised position with respect to MST low-intensity warfare against the nation of which he is supposed to be president.]

The once successful Real Plan, which halted hyperinflation and succeeded in reactivating the Brazilian economy, finds itself today seriously questioned. In January of this year the difficulties which had arisen began to present almost insurmountable obstacles to the functioning of an economy which was obliged to introduce a floating exchange rate.

The Result: in seven months the Real was devalued by more than 40 percent. But there is more, for Brazil entered a deep recession which the increase in interest rates helped to accelerate. Today there are many analysts who maintain that January’s devaluation will have a sequel.

The Real Plan recipe, applied in 1994 by then Secretary of the Treasury and today President of the Republic Fernando Henrique Cardoso, has collapsed, and the indicators are causing serious concern about a new descent into hyperinflation. To these woes must first be added the rapidity of the decline in that public respect which Cardoso brought to the presidency in 1994 and which reelected him in 1998. In addition to this, there are the difficulties which account for a seriously unbalanced budget, grave social tensions and the embarrassment of a state bureaucracy which could find little to envy in the Eastern Europe of days gone by. In all these situations a problem is being treated which has no easy solutions; it is, however, tailor made to enter the Brazilian reality. The probabilities for the nation to emerge from the crisis are slight and this is making the inefficiency of the Cardoso leadership notorious.

Subjected to strong social tensions, the president is hostage to the MST. The MST is a sort of rural guerrilla organization which, in the last ten years, has dedicated itself to occupying farms and ranches, under the banner of an agrarian reform which the same government is encouraging but which is not defined.³

And the repercussions from the crisis are not only being felt in Brazil but are penetrating a majority of South American countries. These nations watch with concern as the value of the money of that country diminishes in tandem with the possibility of exporting to that market. This panorama is today of particular concern in two neighboring countries—Argentina and Uruguay—which are obliged to face electoral processes in the month of October. In the Argentinian case a victory for the Alliance appears certain. The Alliance is of Social Democrat orientation although integrated by various political currents including radical leftists and confessed Marxists.

Something appears to have been happening in Uruguay, small in its economy and geographic dimensions, but of enormous strategic importance. Here, the socialism of the FA (Broad Front) is gaining ground by making promises to confront the crisis which began with the loss of almost half of this nation's exports that, before the beginning of the year, went to Brazil.

The Hour of Decision

It is difficult, but not impossible, to separate this panorama of social and economic shortages which exists in Brazil today from the contradiction which this same President Cardoso personifies. Under the protection of the crisis, he maintained his high poll numbers until he won his second presidential race in October 1998. Today these high numbers have evaporated completely. It is clear that Cardoso is not the man to confront a situation as difficult as the one which exists in Brazil and on the continent. On the one hand, he shows himself ineffective in finding a solution to the economic problem; on the other, he is not succeeding in concretizing his announcements of a tax, administrative or social security reform.

In that plan is included an agrarian reform—going so far as the creation of a ministry with that sole objective—which has yet accomplished nothing save to unleash a grave social convulsion. His announcements of sharing unproductive land has proven a far cry from quenching the passions of the MST activists who have contin-

ued occupying rural establishments. Now over sixty years of age, Cardoso has spent most of his career in public life, a career which is full of contradictions. A “committed” sociologist in the 1960s, he was a strong critic of the government of his country. After the military government was installed in Brazil (1964, cf. pp. 57ff, YRBK97), he emigrated to Chile where he established himself as an academic and co-authored, with Enzo Faletto, among other writings,¹ *Alternatives to Capitalist Domination in Latin America*. Returning to Brazil, he played a decisive role as senator in the creation of the 1988 Constitution, especially insofar as it related to the enlargement of governmental social assistance. This is the same social assistance that today he is trying to reduce because of the impossibility of financing it. The subject provides a useful introduction to the Cardoso Contradictions.

Cardoso Contradictions

First Contradiction: As president and faced with the impossibility of dealing with the budget without a social security reform in order to lower costs, he modified the minimum ages for retirement.

Second Contradiction: He put one Reinhold Stephan, a forty-eight-year-old retiree, at the head of the Ministry of Social Security.

Third Contradiction: With Minister Stephan still in the government, he called those individuals who are today retired in Brazil and under fifty years of age “vagabonds.” This generalization, without taking special situations into account—sickness, injuries—contributed to further erosion of his popularity.

Nevertheless, the stability of his government appears to be more assured than ever by his skill in games of political intrigue. His skilful use of the “divide and conquer” maxim has permitted him to ride out the crises, sharing smiles but no solutions with the right and the left.

Among his closest collaborators he has been characterized as vain, a description that came to his ears from his own people. Far from denying it, Cardoso conceded that it is certain, although “scarcely in the intellectual plane.” Those who heard him say these words remembered that, when he was a senator, he underwent cosmetic surgery to remove the wrinkles from under his eyes. More recently, those are coming forward who have heard him compare himself to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. “He brought the United States out of

the depression,⁴ and I did the same thing with Brazil," he reasoned at the time when the Plano Real was producing results.

Tax Reform

One of the keys for rendering the Brazilian economy dynamic appears to be the tax reform which the government spokesmen are announcing. The initiative nevertheless is perceived by the Brazilians as a new tax increase and nothing more. Even so, in this case the business sectors are the ones showing themselves most positive in supporting the government. The entrepreneurs are obsessed with lowering the burden of the tributary system through the impact of the deficit, the disastrous current account situation and the difficulties—each time greater—of entering the international markets.

What does not appear clear is how such questions are to be resolved when the salary of a Brazilian worker is demonstrably low by international standards: the average wage in industry is some U.S. \$400 monthly while the contributions of the State to social welfare are minimal.

In the present scheme of things Cardoso appears as an enthusiast of direct foreign investment, an observation which appears to have been illustrated recently with his appearance at the inauguration of a Honda automobile factory. This factory represented an investment of U.S.\$100 million in the Northeast. On this occasion the euphoria of the Brazilian chief executive did not appear in consonance with his socialist ideals: none of the 330 employees of the new plant is unionized. In fact, one of the principal arguments considered by the Japanese investors in deciding on the installation of the factory was its considerable physical separation from San Pablo. For it is in San Pablo that the metallurgical union holds sway, the union which brings fame to Lula Da Silva, the perennial candidate for President of the Republic.

Playing with Fire

All these contradictions, socialist rhetoric and lack of capacity to resolve the truly important problems becomes especially dangerous when the Cardoso policy with regard to the MST must be evaluated. These radical leftists, with discourses appropriate to the 1960s, exhibit an explicit aggressiveness which is conjured up during repeated

occupations of farms and ranches. Their interlocutor is Minister of AgRef Raúl Jungmann. Jungmann emerged from the Communist Party and, until a short time ago, cultivated a “revolutionary look.” The minister speaks with the directors of the MST and the moderates, but does not question their claims. “We cannot separate the fight against poverty from democracy,” he says.

The MST directorate considers that it has an ex progressive in front—a characterization which classifies him as “the worst conservator”—and continues demanding summary proceedings for the expropriation of lands. The objective continues being “revolutionary;” therefore, there is more interest in despoiling the farms and ranches than in assuring the conditions for a viable economic exploitation. From day to day the “agrarian reform” of Cardoso is translated into 100,000 families squatting on rural establishments, but in only a miniscule number of cases have these been transformed into authentic farms or ranches.

Paradoxically, the only positive changes wrought by the AgRef radicals have taken place in those locations which have been of interest to private enterprises and which have been the object of historic rejection by the revolutionaries. Such is the case with Coca Cola which recently entered into an agreement with sugar cane producers located in the neighborhood of Manaus. Similar situations have involved other firms. If the campesinos or the directors of MST are those who have benefited from the profits, it has not been admitted.

The MST directors arrogantly maintain that the plans of the government are insufficient—it is planned to appropriate 4.2 million hectares (19.7 million acres) —, and clamor for a more energetic approach by the government. If their demands are not met, they openly threaten the increase in their policy of invasions, arms in hand, of the establishments. In this contest, the battle is clearly being lost by the Rural Democratic Union (UDR) the organization made up of the landowners. To their costs of production, these UDR members must add that of installing radio-communications equipment and opening landing strips, as well as acquiring armament and security personnel for the defense of their lands.

Some farms and ranches have been invaded as many as fifteen times, and only the assembly of the proprietors in the UDR permits the attenuation of the effects of abuses which each time are made with more efficacious “know how.” Armed bands enter the farms

and ranches while some groups are installed on the highways and immediately mobilize a rearguard of women and hungry children whom they maintain famished in order to continue other occupations. The MST members characterize the UDR response as “aggressions” while asserting that they constitute a peaceful movement, although—examples are more than abundant—they maintain that “for each action there will be a reaction.”

Cardoso, meanwhile, continues looking in the mirror in order to control the wrinkles round his eyes.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

Cuba

FORTY YEARS OF CASTRO’S ML TYRANNY (WKLY 7.4, 28 JANUARY 1999)

“Well, I am a dictatorship, but not a tyrant.” Fidel Ruz Castro told Ramiro Valdez. “I am a dictatorship like in the Roman times, but if I have to use—and I haven’t killed anyone (sic) yet but when I do so I’ll kill 40,000 at one time, and I’ll put the people on the libel role and I’ll fix this all at one time.” Testimony of Ricardo Lorié y Valls (*Communist Threat to the U.S. Through the Caribbean*, Hearings, SISS, 1965. Part 14. Y4.J89/2:C73/27/pt.14. Hereinafter Threat 14.)

Some two years later (2 December 1961), this still young, embittered sociopath publicly declared, “I am a Marxist-Leninist [ML] and have been all my life.” As will be synopsized below, LANS has confirmed (pp.84ff, YRBK97) that this was known from the decade of the 1940s. The LANS Editor is not alone in remembering some of the information on this ML when he was still a bandit with a handful of followers in the Sierra Maestre and when such “political scientists” as Errol Flynn donned “cammies” (camouflage fatigues) to loll around the bandit camp posing for eager press photographers.⁵ But the cry arose then and now (forty years later) that “Castro is not a communist.” The reader may conjure up whatever he finds comforting to explain this smokescreen, but U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Robert Hill summarized the facts long ago with:

“Study of adequate intel information on Castro would have prevented the mistaken policy of sympathy for him before he took over Cuba. His communist affiliations were well known to our [U.S.] Embassy in Mexico, when he was a refugee in that country in 1955.

They were fully reported to Washington, yet we went ahead 3 and 4 years later and kidded ourselves that Castro was not a communist...in end result, it may be plainly stated that we put Castro in power" (Threat 12).

Nor does Ambassador Spruille Braden (Threat 5), probably better acquainted in Cuba than Hill, disagree. Braden aptly described the literary activity of the leftist editorial writer for the *New York Times* (NYT), Herbert Lionel Matthews (b. 1900),⁶ as "the Robin Hooding of Castro." U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Earl E. T. Smith describes the Matthews contribution quite succinctly with

"Three front-page articles in the NYT in early 1957 written by ... Matthews, served to inflate Castro to world stature and world recognition. Until that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the Oriente Mountains of Cuba, with a handful of followers who had terrorized the campesinos ... throughout the countryside."⁷

This Robin-Hooding was cleverly done by Matthews, using the defensive weapons furnished by the parlor left as "McCarthyism"⁸ to ward off any rational judgments of his hero, Fidel. For example, said Matthews, "It is not easy to be a dissenter in the U.S. in a highly emotional period like the present when McCarthyism has been re-born with its special emphasis on Cuba" (Herbert Lionel Matthews, *The Cuban Story*, George Braziller, 1961. LCC: 61017381). Paul Bethel⁹ discusses this technique and its effectiveness in scattering all save the most courageous among the anti-HL. The ploy has undergone modification since but still remains effective.

And so the ML Castro was not an ML, and Batista was isolated as Somoza would be in Nicaragua 20 years later. The result was, or should have been, easy to forecast. Batista may not have been the most intelligent of Cubans, but he could read the writing on the wall, and he fled to Spain. Castro and his terrorists occupied the power vacuum that resulted, the group with the weapons assured of such a "victory."

"A day late" the Eisenhower Government (EG) realized its error and set out to rectify it with the Bay of Pigs Operation. But a change of administrations, from a Republican to a Democrat, intervened. The report of the Inspector General (IG) on this operation has been reviewed (pp. 227ff, YRBK00). The unsuccessful operation was carried out under the Kennedy Government (KG) with disastrous results, and the IG's report was written under this government. The

cry went up that the operation was doomed to failure from the first, hence, the EG's fault, the unfortunate changes made by the KG having nothing to do with it. And everyone walked away and waited for the next Castro-induced "crisis" which was not long in coming.

"I am a ML and have been all my life"

Because the Cuban tyrant's life as an ML has been reviewed on pp.84ff (YRBK97), only a brief sketch need be repeated here. LANS has divided Castro's "career" into four phases before his departure on his *Granma* adventure in 1956: (1) recruitment as a Kremlin agent, (2) service in the Caribbean Legion, (3) participation in the Bogotazo and (4) activities prior to *Granma* sailing.

(1) Recruitment by the Kremlin

The renowned Cuban journalist, Salvador Diaz Verson, has furnished information on Castro's early ML career in various forms—as have any number of other Cubans—but only his testimony before the U.S. Congress (Threat 7) need be noted here. In 1943 Gumer W. Bashirov, who had devoted himself during the Spanish Civil War to Kremlin recruiting, recruited young Fidel (b.1926). Until the "Legend in His Own Mind," Ernesto Guevara raided the offices at No.558 G Street, Vedado, the 268-page file on Castro's work for the Soviets was kept there as A943. These records, *inter alia*, contained photos of Castro and his comrades visiting Bashirov for their monthly spy stipends. To this may be added the testimony of his brother-in-law, Rafael Lincoln Diaz Balart (Threat 7) and that of the Cuban General Directorate of Intel (DGI) officer (Juan Vivés (pseud.), *Los Amos de Cuba*, Emecé Editores, 1982. LCC: 84673054) who added the information on Soviet spymaster Grobart recruiting him into (Agencia) Caribe.

(2) Castro in the Caribbean Legion (CL)

As time ran out for the Soviets in Spain (9 March 1939) a meeting was held in Madrid from which two organizations emerged,¹⁰ the National Committee of the Peoples Front (CNFP) and Emigration Service for Spanish Republicans (*sic*) (SERE), the Spanish Republican Aid Junta (JARE) following in July. The "refugees" shipped out of Spain by these organizations would agitate the hemisphere for many years. Among the many "accomplishments" of these MLs was the creation of the Army of Liberation of the Caribbean, renamed the CL by Jerry Hannifin of *Time* in 1948. The CL was trained by Spanish "Republicans" at Cayo Confites off Cuba and bankrolled

by the “Frederick Vanderbilt Field of the Caribbean,” José Manuel Alemán, from his Cuban Ministry of Education. Among the trainees on Cayo Confites was Fidel Castro.

(3)

The Bogotazo began with the assassination of Jorge Eleicer Gaitán at 1305, 9 April 1948. The terrorist operation was described by Inter-American Workers Confederation (IAWC) President Bernardo Ibañez with “the crime and provocation (were) peculiar to the Russians.” This is discussed in some detail on pp.109ff, YRBK97. The bloody coup attempt was discussed in most detail by the Colombian national security chief, Alberto Niño H. (*Antecedentes y Secretos de 9 de abril*, Librería Siglo XX, 1949. LCC: 50039271). From the inception of its planning, Castro was involved in this Kremlin operation. It will be considered sufficient to include the following statement by the future tyrant as heard by U.S. Ambassadors Pawley and Donnelly in Bogotá during the coup attempt:

“This is Fidel Castro from Cuba. This is a communist revolution. The president has been killed, all of the military establishment are now in our hands. The Navy has capitulate to us, and the revolution has been a success” (Threat 10). (The statement is of course nonsense.)

Even Gaitán’s daughter, for so many years seduced by Castro, recently admitted the Cuban terrorist’s involvement.

(4)

Ambassador Hill has remarked above on Castro’s activities prior to *Granma* sailing, these being largely in Mexico save for the murderous fiasco which was his “attack” on the Moncada Barracks (26 July 1953) whence the name of his “movement.” After Batista foolishly “amnestied” him in May 1955, Castro again slipped out of Cuba for his terrorist training under another Spanish Civil War ML, Alberto Bayo, in Quintana Roo, Mexico. Among the other terrorists there with him was “Legend” Guevara. Returning to Mexico City, Fidel and Raul found “the weapons and the ship with which he was to undertake his bold adventure” waiting. He proceeded to Cuba and his Robin Hooding.

Forty Years of Castroite Terror

In January 1999 Castro’s ML tyranny completed forty years of uninterrupted rule. An AFP wirephoto of 3 January 1999 showed

two Nobel Laureates in literature, grinning hugely and clasping hands in upraised salute to the 40th Anniversary of Castro's dictatorship. Their names are hardly important, although one of them, Gabriel García Márquez, is continuously feted in his peripatetic meanderings round Latin America; he carried a candle during the banquet given in Mexico for U.S. President Clinton (pp.129ff, YRBK98). The other laureate, José Saramago, had confirmed to the press on 9 December 1998 in Portugal that, yes, there were tortures by the police in Cuba, and, yes, there is only one political party there. But not to worry.

And the pair clasped and smiled on the balcony where Fidel was telling the assembled throng of the inevitable fall of capitalism, García and Saramago doubtless thinking what inspiring prose they can now write to commemorate this historic occasion.

And it is an historic occasion for there has been no tyranny in the hemisphere which can compare in length or viciousness to that of Fidel Ruz Castro. The litany of misery which the dictator has piled on the Cuban people could be written down. The hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, men, women and children, who have peopled Castros prisons and concentration camps. The dead for "political reasons" 54,000, of these, 12,486 shot—if indeed, the numbers are no larger—with no one knows how many more having suffered and died from the ML dictator's destruction of perhaps the finest economy in the hemisphere. Those trying to escape this ML paradise by makeshift boats are said to have numbered 52,000 of whom only 17,000 have arrived alive.

But no matter, these doubtless outstanding humanitarian scribblers can clasp and grin and perhaps compose the next stirring bit of prose honoring the dictator.

Castro's Hemispheric Activities

It has not simply been the people of Cuba for whom Castro has made life difficult and, frequently, impossible. As head of hemispheric ML terrorism he has supported, coordinated and supplied a hemisphere full of ML terrorists who have done the same thing in virtually every country in the region. One of his most obvious exercises in this international banditry was his command of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) terrorists who came to power in Nicaragua after he melded their warring factions into one in the Havana of 1979. The following year his terror export chief, Redbeard

Piñera of the Americas Department of his Central Committee (CC), glued together the ML terrorists in five Salvadoran groups into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the ML terrorists in four Guatemalan terror groups into the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG).

Nor did such activity begin or end with these activities, the various ML terror groups of Colombia and, later, the entire Hi Andes area, having been put together in the Havana of the mid 1980s (pp.161, YRBK97). A new coalition of HL groups emerged from a 1989 meeting of the Cuban dictator with the Brazilian leftist, Lula da Silva (pp.97ff, YRBK97). This coalition is the São Paulo Forum (FSP), includes ML terrorist and “ex” terrorist groups and is avowedly dedicated to the creation of “supra-national countries” in LA as a “sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union” in the region. Castro’s charnel house can thus be expanded from a single island to an entire hemisphere.

But, fully as interesting as Castro’s terrorist activities are his narco-terrorist activities.

The Hemispheric Drug Lord

The Cuban dictator’s leadership position in hemispheric narco-trafficking has been quite recently reviewed (pp.212ff, YRBK00). This began with Khrushchev’s recruiting of Castro into narco-trafficking (Brian Crozier, *L’Express* 26 Dec 86), the highest-ranking Iron Curtain defector, Czech Gen. Jan Sejna, informing the same author (*London Sunday Times* 28 Jan 90) of other Czech-Cuban narco-trafficking arrangements under the tutelage of the same Khrushchev. This narco-trafficking terrorist is the same dictator whom the King of Spain is about to honor with a visit, an action which led José Rivero to return his Order of Isabella the Catholic.

Quite recently Castro accused two Spaniards, José Royo and José Anastasio Herrera, of using their enterprise as a façade for narco-trafficking. With what appears to be reasonable logic the Spaniards are claiming this to be a Castro ploy in order “to clean the international image of Cuba” (EFE 10 January 1999). Judging by the drug lord’s record the Spaniards are probably right.

Only the surface of Castro’s record during his forty years of Cuban dictatorship has been scratched here. Even so, it should be

enough to induce serious scrutiny of the joy in the “Nobel Laureates” faces.

THE CUBA LOBBY, THEN AND NOW. I

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(SPCL 7.3, 10 FEBRUARY 1999)

[Editor’s Introduction: Irving Louis Horowitz is University Professor and Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University. He is the author of *The Conscience of Worms and the Cowardice of Lions: Cuban Politics and Culture in an American Context*; editor of *Cuban Communism*, now in its ninth edition, and has been a contributor on Latin American Affairs for more than forty years. This paper was given as a statement to the Congressional Staff Seminar on policy on Cuba, Washington, DC, 6 April 1998, and appeared in *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Volume 42, Number 4, Fall 1998. LANS expresses deep appreciation to Doctor Alan Luxenberg, Vice President, Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI), for permission to reproduce this timely article.]

One of the great myths about Fidel Castro’s nearly forty-year reign in Cuba is that U.S. opposition to his rule has been undivided, implacable and inflexible. This myth is wrong on several counts. First, those who oppose Castro’s rule—whether they are part of the Cuban-American community or the wider society—are as divided as any other single ethnic group in the United States on any other issue. Second, mass support for the regime of the Cuban dictator has been either absent or ineffectual. In contrast, one would have to say that the Cuba Lobby is alive and well. It is as single-minded in its limited aims as the opponents have been divided in their more ambitious concerns. What restrains the Cuba Lobby, or at least limits its effectiveness, is that the vast majority of ordinary Cuban-Americans, citizens clustered in such strategic voting blocs as South Florida and North New Jersey, remain essentially opposed to extending ties to Castro. On the other side, elites supporting Castro are clearly well positioned and well funded. They emphasize select policies rather than mass politics.

The Structure of the New Cuba Lobby

The four component parts of the Cuba Lobby as it now is constituted can be discerned in (1) intellectual-academic circles, (2) business-commercial circles, (3) policy-oriented think tanks and (4) foundation and grant-making agencies. The extent of their interlocking characteristics is hard to determine, but one can assume from the cast of characters involved that there are at least informal connections. This is not to say that they are necessarily conspiratorial or negative, but simply to reflect a presumption that birds of a feather do indeed flock together. But each of the four wings has different strategic objectives. Their common link is denunciation of the U.S. embargo of Castro's Cuba, and they often overlap regarding to whom they appeal for fiscal support.

The intellectual/academic wing is represented by five groups (which often do work together): the Science and Human Rights Program of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the American Association of University Professors; the American Association for World Health; the American Physical Society; and the ever-militant Committee of Concerned Scientists. They have as specific agenda items changing U.S. travel policy toward Cuba (and as a bow toward evenhandedness, Cuban travel policy toward the United State); expanding academic and scientific exchanges between the two nations; treating the right to travel as a human rights issue, with specific emphasis on restrictions on U.S. and Cuban scientists; and expanding contacts for further scientific and academic collaboration. On a wider front, these organizations emphasize the impact of the embargo on health and nutrition in Cuba.

The overriding problem in this academic agenda is precisely its apparent evenhandedness inasmuch as it implies that Castro's dictatorship is somehow a moral equivalent of American democracy. This academic agenda equates the character of university life in a repressive regime with that of university life in the most freewheeling of academic environments. In 1978, academic sectors of the Cuba Lobby were content to establish some top-level exchanges of personnel between places like the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Havana. In 1998, nearly forty years after the establishment of the regime, the Lobby is far more global in its outreach. The absence of historic memory about the Castro regime makes it appear that there is a *prima facie* need for cooperation between schol-

ars and scientists in the two nations. There is the further presumption that academic individuals speak with equal weight for themselves, and implicitly, not for their governments. The academic agenda is set in such broad terms that only the most “illiberal” scientists and academics could possibly object. This wing of the Cuba Lobby is prepared to examine everything save the nature of the system of governance in Cuba.¹¹

A second group, comprised of a variety of business interest lobbies, seeks to expand trade and aid to Cuba—especially the former, in areas ranging from livestock manufacturing to tools for improving transportation and communications. By self-definition, organizations like the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council are “the first and only organization within the United States to have established relationships and received the written support and cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce and the Republic of Cuba.”¹² Not only do these wired trade associations emphasize the benefits of expanded trade to the fiscal bottom line of American corporations, they also show how such trade can materially aid key congressional districts and business organizations. Major umbrella organizations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, have become increasingly convinced by such blandishments. Specific target groups, such as Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba, and Alamar Associates, provide consulting services to American companies interested in doing business in Cuba. The same approach is characteristic of the American Business Council on Cuba, USA Engage, which is openly dedicated to moving the foreign policy toward lifting the embargo.

On overview, it is apparent that the strategic approach of the business wing of the Cuba Lobby, now as in 1978, is hardheaded. It is clearly prepared to ignore the Cuban dictatorship and insists that it is high time to get on with the business of doing business with Cuba. Analogies are frequently drawn with the ability of the United States to conduct normal trade relations with the former Soviet Union, and more emphatically, present-day China. Indeed, several organizations point out that although China had roughly one hundred times the population of Cuba, it can boast just a bit more than twice the anticipated impact on American business. The Cuban regime has welcomed business initiatives, although it has been circumspect with

regard to what changes it is prepared to make to accommodate foreign investors on everything from labor practices to ownership structure.

The frequency of comparisons of China and Cuba requires further examination. Aside from the fact that Cuba has rejected a Chinese model built on expanded consumer orientation in product lines and private firms in areas ranging from housing to computers, there is Cuba's dismal economic performance during Castro's four decades of rule. In a recent report estimating the cost of communism in Cuba, Peter Brimelow and Edwin Rubenstien assume "that Cuba's current per capita output should be about the same proportion of Florida's output as it was in 1959. This gives us a current figure of \$4,169, more than three times higher than Cuba's actual output of \$1,300...Even troubled Mexico's per capita GDP has closed with that of the United States quite considerably over the last four decades—from less than an eighth in 1959 to about a third recently. Still, our modest estimate suggests that the shortfall in Cuban GDP as a result of Castro was a hefty \$31.5 billion in 1995. In the language of takeover artists, Cuba is an under-performing asset."¹³ This is a rather quaint way of referring to a socialist economy which its prime leaders extol as being uniquely predicated on the moral superiority of the vanguard ideology.¹⁴

Thirdly, the political wing of the Cuba Lobby is amorphous, ranging from the anti-Castro Cuban Committee for Democracy, which bills itself as "the voice of reason in the Cuban-American community" and urges lifting the embargo and opening a dialogue in hopes of promoting gradual change in the regime. While this wing has few illusions about the economic worth of Castro's Cuba, it shares with the Cuban leader the apologia that the situation would improve in the absence of the embargo. This is the essential line taken by *Cambio Cubano*, a moderate group of decent people aiming for a direct appeal to the exile community of Cubans in the United States. Other elements in the political support groups are indeed just that, support groups for the Castro regime. The most long-standing and active is perhaps the Center for Cuban Studies, and with a milder rhetorical posture, the Center for International Policy, which boasts the support of former ambassadors and officials of the United States with a long continuing interest in Cuba. Quite a few elements of this wing have Cuba as a critical agenda item but not as an exclusive

concern. Such groups as the Council of Hemispheric Affairs, the Cuba Program of the Georgetown University Caribbean Project, the General Services Foundation, and the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization all promote peace through reconciliation. Their basic pitch is humanitarian.

The anomaly within the political wing of the Lobby is a certain confusion as to whether the end of the embargo is a goal unto itself or the first stage in the revision of American foreign policy to include a strong socialist and social justice component. Indeed, some political groupings are clearly more concerned with changing the direction of American foreign policy in general than with any specific interest in the Cuban condition. This wing offers a spacious umbrella beneath which everyone from anti-Castroists to advocates of the regime congregate. Clearly, for some groups lifting the embargo is the first and necessary condition for the democratization of the island, while for others the same action by the United States would serve as an endorsement of the Castro regime itself. The political wing also brings into contact secular and sectarian organizations, often working at cross-purposes, or at least in uncertain alliance. Thus one can find both the ruggedly individualistic and conservative Cato Foundation and the just as rugged social mission-oriented World Council of Churches arguing the absurdity of the embargo, albeit they have nothing else in common. As a result of the intransigence of the Castro regime, direct political lobbying had probably been the best-funded but least effective cluster within the Cuba Lobby.¹⁵

The fourth wing of the Cuba Lobby consists of foundations dedicated to activist agendas of one sort or another. This is the most amorphous portion of the Lobby. Grant-giving agencies that have supplied considerable funds to the analysis of Cuba range from the highly pro-Castro and partisan Arca Foundation (which, over a three-year period, from January 1994 to December 1996, awarded close to \$2,000,000 for these purposes), to the Ford Foundation (which during the same period awarded \$1,779,000 in matters related to Cuba, but without a specific focus or agenda, other than expanding contacts and understanding). The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, which for the years 1993 through 1995 also donated a total of \$2,483,687 to Cuba-related issues, and a variety of smaller foundations, including the aforementioned General Ser-

vices Foundation, fall into the category of those urging a new situation and relationship between the two countries, but which are indefinite on what would be expected from the "other side."

The actual research results of foundation efforts remain to be determined. Programs with the ever-popular theme of environmental protection provide a bridge between scientists and social scientists in Cuba and the United States. But the suspicion, hardly warranted, that such funding is less oriented to research than to results can hardly be disabused, at least unless and until solid research results begin to emerge. Foundations often serve U.S. interests in environments that are complex and in which it is difficult for the government itself to take a stand. But they also legitimate policies that may work at cross-purposes with the government as such. For now, these foundations are so remote from the ordinary experiences and activities of Cuban-Americans as to be less effective than the other wings, whose mission is clearer. Charges of elitism have always haunted foundations in every area, and never more so than in their efforts to change policies concerning Cuba.¹⁶

The number and variety of organizations involved in influencing the federal government to lift the embargo is truly impressive—far exceeding in scope that of the Cuba Lobby of twenty years ago. But they often included overlapping personnel. And despite a big push to broaden its appeal, the lobby still has minimal Cuban-American participation. Ultimately, the problem for the melange of organizations that comprise the Cuba Lobby is the Havana regime itself: Castro is an intransigent leader earnestly convinced of the superiority of communism over capitalism, of Latinos over *Yanquis*, and, not incidentally, of Cuba over the United States in moral and cultural terms. His convictions translated into policy in Cuba, make the goals of the Cuba Lobby (fundamentally to reconfigure U.S. policies) at least as difficult as they were twenty years ago. In addition, there is the disquieting fact that a dictator in power for forty years is not necessarily a kinder or gentler species of ruler.

One can expect the Cuba Lobby to continue to focus on short-term goals—especially lifting the embargo—while assiduously avoiding analysis of the regime's performance in economic and political sectors, or for that matter, areas of medicine and education. At the empirical level the consensus that Castro's communism is an unmitigated disaster remains uncontested. This is the elemental

fact around which the Cuba Lobby in its soft or hard versions cannot do an end run or find a palatable solution. It is silence on the issue of dictatorship, of totalitarianism at work, that leads one to expect little in the way of change—either in the United States insistence on bilateral initiatives or in the actual structure and functioning of Castro's Communist stranglehold on his own people. The appeal to human rights by the Cuba Lobby is especially bizarre, coming as it does from a variety of business people who could scarcely worry less about niceties, and from political pilgrims for whom human rights abuses are minor compared to the glorious cause of world revolution.

Foundation support for the Cuba Lobby raises larger issues. The unmitigated sense of partisanship is evident in the funding of agencies with a history of anti-American bias of one sort or another. With respect to Cuba, such agencies are dedicated to a simple goal: the removal of the embargo. Castro's problems are simply blamed on the actions of the United States, and political pilgrimages are offered to politicians, professors, clergymen, and businessmen—any group whose presence in Cuba might be translated into public pressure to change the course of foreign policy. Foundation grants range from direct to active challenges to U.S. restrictions on sales to Cuba, to those supporting publications and position papers that argue the case for lifting the embargo and establishing direct relationships between American and Cuban elites, to creating special advantages for Castro in his dealings with the United States.

There is a wonderful Orwellian dimension to much of this effort. For example, the Center for Public Integrity in Washington has given private money "to prepare a report of how private money is spent to influence U.S. policy toward Cuba." Indeed, were such a report to be undertaken in a serious way, researchers awarded money would need to turn a sharp searchlight on themselves. But this is extremely unlikely. The Cuba Lobby has learned a great deal since 1978. It has learned how to manipulate every lever of power, every sector of influence, to promote its ends. It has learned to be wary of dealing with Cuban life as such. Only the solidly entrenched mass opinion of the exile communities, who know that Castro is a tyrant and has transformed Cuba into a prison house, restrains their impact.

THE CUBA LOBBY, THEN AND NOW. II

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(SPCL 7.4, 11 FEBRUARY 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: Irving Louis Horowitz is University Professor and Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University, a distinguished student of Cuban affairs for many years whose career has been somewhat more extensively discussed in Spcl 7.3 above which contains the first part of this important discussion.]

The Cuba Lobby: 1978-1998

The overriding characteristics of the Cuba Lobby in 1998, in contrast to 1978, is disregard for the internal character of the Castro regime.¹⁷ Most wings of the Lobby pay little attention to the nature of the dictatorship, the widespread abuses of civil liberties, the operational norms of the Communist Party which insist upon discipline and solidarity, or the harassment and, when required, imprisonment of dissidents. In short, all reasons to struggle against the dictatorship are ignored. What the new Lobby emphasizes instead is the need for consistency in American foreign policy as a goal in itself.

This is the context for the repeated comparisons made between China and Cuba. How can it be, chants the Cuba Lobby in tireless unison, that the Communist regime of China is treated radically differently than the Communist regime of Cuba? Indeed, the recent U.S. decision not to support the annual United Nations condemnation of human rights abuses in China is cited as evidence that policy toward Cuba is biased and hypocritical. The size of the Cuban opposition to Castro in Florida or the relative feebleness of Fidel's regime is contrasted with China's vast economic and military might. Instead of arguing the necessity for stronger sanctions with respect to China, the Cuba Lobby now simply argues that U.S. policy toward Cuba should be as lenient as its stance toward China.

The new Cuba Lobby contains many of the same players as it did two decades ago, but its position draws increased power from changes on the world scene. These included the collapse of the Soviet Union and East European Communism and the corresponding

view that Cuba is no longer a military danger to the United States; the sense of need to create a consistent foreign policy that treats China, Cuba, and Vietnam, for instance, in identical or similar fashion; Cuba's inability to act as an aggressive power overseas, as it did in the 1970s; the sense that a new turn in U.S. policy will create a corresponding set of initiatives by the Cuban regime; and, finally, the fact that the embargo's greater ineffectiveness hinders and hurts ordinary Cubans while leaving the Party elite unscathed. These six elements accurately summarize the new Cuba Lobby position.

A fascinating characteristic of the Cuba Lobby is its fusion of old and new organizational formations. For example, the key personnel of Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba, which favors the thirty-six-year-old economic embargo, are linked in turn with the Washington-based Center for International Policy. A key figure in Americans for Humanitarian Trade is retired General John J. Sheehan, former NATO supreme allied commander, who recently returned to Cuba aboard a Cubana Airlines charter flight. After saying that he was once assigned to the naval base at Guantanamo Bay, he remarked: "...now I am on this side of the fence" [meaning Fidel's side]. The general's delegation included Claiborne Pell, foreign chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Kurt Schmoke, the mayor of Baltimore.¹⁸ Thus does the Cuba Lobby make up for its lack of popular support with the visibility of its elite figures. Despite some softening and disaffection in the ranks of the political opposition to the Castro regime, the Cuba Lobby remains essentially estranged from a mass base. That is a problem that a few segments of the Lobby are starting to address, especially those groups closest to the Cuban American community as such.

President Clinton's proposed modifications of the embargo include direct wire transfer of funds from the United States to Cuba (in limited amounts), unrestricted flights to Cuba by humanitarian groups, and fewer restrictions on shipments of medicines and foodstuffs. These initiatives have certainly intensified focus on the issue of American policy to Cuba as a whole. However, Clinton himself has cautioned against viewing these limited unilateral initiatives as anything more than a response to human rights concerns expressed by Pope John Paul II on his January 1998 visit to Cuba. Undoubtedly, U.S. policymakers along with the pope imagine that softening the embargo will bring about a corresponding shift in Castro's poli-

cies toward the United States. However, no groundbreaking changes seem to have taken place to date. Indeed, Cuba has insisted that it would treat the visit of the pope as an encapsulated event, and not one that requires any alteration in Communist Party tactics or goals.

Not all the opposition voiced to the long-standing embargo against Cuba, or to more recent legislation extending trade and aid restrictions, is a consequence of the Cuba Lobby's efforts. For example, both Mark Falcoff and James K. Glassman of the American Enterprise Institute and, earlier, William Ratliff of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, Roger Fontaine of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Jorge I. Domínguez, coordinator of the Inter-American Dialog Task Force, have all shifted ground.¹⁹ They now urge modification rather than lifting the embargo.²⁰ These courageous policy and academic personnel are scarcely agents or agencies of the hard left, nor can the authenticity of their manifold concerns be lightly dismissed. Their arguments are based on a variety of grounds: the assertion that trade is a human rights issue, and that the embargo hurts the wrong people; that lifting the embargo is a mechanism to force change by denying Castro a scapegoat for the disastrous economic performance of Communist Party rule; and that some consistency must be restored in American foreign policy with respect to unfriendly nations. And, of course, those who take the papal visit to Cuba as a policy shift, such as Richard John Neuhaus, the conservative director of the Institute on Religion and Public Life, now hesitantly "believe a convincing case can be made that the embargo should be lifted."²¹

An equally strong case can be made, however, that there is no compelling reason to undertake a general reconsideration of the embargo at this time. Unilateral initiatives with respect to Castro can just as easily be viewed by the Cuban people as a demonstration of American lack of concern or resolve as they might result in changing attitudes toward a more positive outlook on American society generally. Embargoes are essentially political or, if you will, symbolic. They rarely result in the sort of economic crises that can bring a regime to its knees—certainly not in a world all too ready to take up the slack if the United State proves reticent to trade with its foes.²²

Events have a way of forcing departures from long established norms. That holds for Castro's Cuba as well as Clinton's United

States. The death of Jorge Mas Canosa has fueled widespread efforts to change attitudes within the Cuban community of Miami. Imagine what changes might be inspired by the death or simple incapacitation of Fidel Castro in Havana. This is not said to urge others to accelerate the biological process by military or covert means. It is a reminder that one needs to distinguish among tactics, policies, and principles. The Cuba Lobby as presently constituted conflates these three items. Better yet, its "principles" seem to be little more than the customary denunciation of American aggression in Latin America, a position far better suited for the first rather than the second half of the twentieth century.

To be sure, the Cuba Lobby of twenty years ago and that of today are quite different in their appraisals. Twenty years ago it was still (barely) possible to defend the Castro revolution as a beachhead in this hemisphere for a broadly defined, socialist-styled revolution. The dismal performance of Castro in the economic and human rights realms has taken that approach off the policy table. The increasingly prominent economic wing of the Cuba Lobby simply seeks their share of the small Cuban pie and could hardly care less for the evolution of socialism on the island.²³ This difference between the older militant lobbyists and the newer pragmatic lobbyists make for an uneasy and unstable coalition. Perhaps the best argument that can be mustered for an end to the embargo is that it might conceivably knock the props out from under this condition of angry, marginalized policymakers and business people in search of the next dollar. Whether the removal of such a lobby is worth the price of a change in American policy toward Cuba remains questionable. Indeed it is even a dubious premise that the end of the embargo would slow down, much less close down, the Cuba Lobby. Anti-Americanism has a way of finding new objects of animus, as does the search for profits, without regard to larger policy considerations.

Whatever the cogitations and agitations in the U.S. political and business circles about the embargo, the fact remains that the course of the Cuban revolution is little dependent on either the embargo or its removal. The intrinsic mechanisms of the regime are playing out to a disastrous conclusion. As this author has said on several occasions, biology trumps sociology. We can well expect large scale changes in Cuba in the near future, not because of discourse on embargoes or presumptions about lobbies, but simply because

Castro's biological clock is ticking. Not even claims for the immortality of the regime or the system can be transferred to immortality of the person or the leader. "God does not play dice with the world. The Lord God is subtle, but malicious he is not," Einstein is reputed to have told his biographer. But this observation apparently does not include the games that political individuals play, which are the haven of malicious gamblers. Cuba is hardly exempt from providential constraints or human foibles.

In October 1997 this author observed that the policy of the Clinton administration toward Cuba was one of the few examples of a statement of principles that could claim to be acted out in policies:

Being centrist is not the same as being neutral, and being inconsistent is not the same as being wrong. It is my considered judgment that American foreign policy toward Cuba during the Clinton administration, while hardly the model of clarity either advocates or detractors would wish, nonetheless is a serviceable approach. It distinguishes claims of the Cuban people from posturing by its present rulers. It also remains open to serious overtures by the Castro regime to face "the three frees" (free elections, free trade and free parties) with an openness that the situation demands. The issues confronting United States-Cuban relations are rooted in the stuff of national currency: legitimacy. That is what nations bestow on each other. That is what the United States is not prepared to traffic in as long as the Castro regime maintains its stubborn animosity to "the three frees."²⁴

Now this too threatens to become, in the words of diplomacy, a position waffled. It joins a growing list of confused orientations from the Clinton administration—ranging from manifest support for African dictatorships in the name of dubious democratic claims, to the maintenance of a nearly permanent basis of American troops in Bosnia in the forlorn hope that such a military presence will somehow magically dissolve one thousand years of animus. Cuba has once again become a place in which U.S. initiatives for an opening are met by a combination of derision and condescension. The new U.S. initiatives have received the following response from Roberto Robaina, Cuba's foreign minister: "This is a cosmetic operation that does not go to the heart of the problem.... The White House continues blindly in its attempts to impose on Cuba changes which Cubans alone should decide."²⁵ This is hardly a generous reply to unilateral initiatives by the U.S. government to modify the embargo. There is a clear dichotomy between the way American lobbyists see the impact of the embargo, or its removal, and how Castro views the same phenomenon. What for the Cuba Lobby is the central thrust

of its operations—repeal of the embargo—remains a rather modest item on Fidel's agenda except when it is trotted out as the culprit whenever harvest shortfalls occur.

The short-term consequences of this policy shift have been to roil the Cuban-American community into a protracted debate on the lifting of sanctions and to break the spirit of an exiled people in its ongoing efforts to overthrow a tyrant. This is not to say that the Cuban overseas communities have acted with uniform wisdom. Indeed, they can be faulted for a wide variety of mistakes ranging from adolescent conspiracy theories to abortive raids on Cuba that were both provocative and doomed to failure. But a sense of common purpose—the restoration of democracy—was never debated. Now, at the moment of Castro's imminent demise, desperation and the sense of political malaise, when the Cuban economy is wrecked to the point of no return without systematic reform, at *this* moment a small corps of disenchanted elitists attempts to bully the United States into adopting a unilateral mode of action. Moreover, it carries with it scarcely any possibilities of corresponding weakening of the bonds on the Cuban people by their communist handlers.²⁶

In the manner of a Greek tragedy, U.S. policy probably had to come to this point of decision. It is neither a pleasant nor an easy moment. Friends are pitted against friends—never a pleasant condition in politics or in private lives. One can hope that such differences can be repaired, and indeed, that they do not lead to yet more serious ruptures among the legions of honest people struggling against the Castro tyranny. But neither the *Realpolitik* of advanced policy making nor the theology of partisan purpose can erase the fact that in its magnanimous gesture toward the Cuban dictator the Clinton administration performed a dubious service toward the Cuban people.

A final, too easily forgotten, point is this. Whether the embargo is sustained, modified, or repealed, or even whether its advocates or critics turn out to be correct in assessing the rewards or damages flowing from the various congressional and presidential initiatives, the primary source of the impoverishment of the Cuban people is the communist system of government. In the name of establishing a Robespierre-like Reign of Virtue, Castro has taken the crown jewel of the Caribbean and turned it into a prison. If the embargo were removed tomorrow that ineluctable fact of an entrenched totalitar-

ian regime would still be in force. Each corporation, each politician, each intellectual, and each citizen must continue to determine whether or not to succor that tyranny. The struggle against the last hemispheric bastion of totalitarianism will hardly dissolve as a result of changes in American policy and strategy. On that ultimate issue one can have little doubt that the American people stand in solidarity with the Cuban people. Any action or policy that would extend this nearly forty-year-old absolute dictatorship must be viewed for what it is: a collapse of political confidence and a failure of moral nerve.

Ecuador

PARADISE LOST

JULIEN VALVOIS

QUITO, ECUADOR

(WKLY 7.12, 25 MARCH 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: The small, and potentially idyllic, South American nation of Ecuador offers a LA microcosm which can be quite useful to any consideration of the region. During the last few years the old leftist, Carlos Andrés Pérez (CAP), was removed from the Venezuelan presidency for embezzlement on a grand scale. To CAP's south, President Bush's "Indiana Jones" Collor de Mello was removed from the Brazilian presidency for embezzlements dwarfing those of CAP. Not to be outdone, Ecuador removed its president, Abdala Bucaram, for embezzlement and behavior verging on the demented (pp.79ff, YRBK98). Bucaram is gone, but it would not appear that what the LANS correspondent in Quito, Julien Valvois, calls his "Gang of 40,000 Thieves" (p.46, YRBK00) has been eliminated. Instead, an economic chaos, mirrored in Brazil, Venezuela and other LA nations, has recently erupted, a chaos which Bucaram, the "Arab War Lord," may have exacerbated, but for which he cannot be held entirely to blame. The problem is general. The "solutions," which are not solutions at all, are apparently not providing lasting economic stability elsewhere in LA and show little likelihood of providing them here. More interestingly, the principal cause is that anti-neoliberalism, or anti-free market, advocated by the HL boss, Fidel Castro, that anti-neoliberalism which is touted as

the “solution” to the economic problem while, in reality, it is the source.]

Nestled between Colombia and Peru lies a potential wonderland that has been transformed into an economic Chamber of Horrors by inept and unscrupulous politicians aided and abetted by a placid and uninformed public. This magic land is Ecuador which could be rendered enchanting by nature’s endowments: Majestic Andean mountains, beautiful beaches, excellent farm land with multiple harvestings, ample forests, petroleum, gold and other minerals, a fishing industry with large exports, numerous flower plantations, and a friendly and generally tranquil people.

What then has changed Ecuador into a bankrupt country, with an economy crippled by ever-increasing government taxes and controls, week-long strikes, a gasoline shortage amidst petroleum plenty, a lack of investment and general discontent? Why, in short, has the economic life of the country been reduced to “No hay plata” (There’s no money)? To understand the economic condition of a country, the stability of its currency must first be understood.

For many years, the Ecuadoran Sucre was one of the soundest currencies in LA, its exchange rate about 25 Sucres to the dollar U.S. Now the exchange rate is 10,000 to the dollar. This has effectively destroyed the economy and the hopes of most Ecuadorans. And then there is corruption.

Corruption has been part of a way of life since the Spaniards. Stealing from the government is not considered theft, since the economically illiterate believe that wealth can be created simply by printing fiat bills. Such was the former sort of corruption which was at least on a small scale. The giant step toward economic ruin was taken when oil was discovered in the eastern jungle area some thirty years ago.

The ensuing economic disaster was not the fault of petroleum, which should have been a bonanza. The disaster was the fault of the Ecuadoran Government. After Texaco had spent vast amounts of money developing the oil in the then almost inaccessible jungle, General Rodriguez Lara, the military dictator of the moment, forced Texaco to sell 50 percent to the Ecuadoran Government.

There is an elemental economic rule for those wishing to live in peace and prosperity. It is simply not a function of government ever to participate in business. If a private citizen does not run a business

well, it will fail. If a government runs a business incompetently—with feather bedding, large scale theft and losses, bad service, etc.—it will not close, it will simply charge the productive private sector more in taxes to eliminate its deficit. A business requires a private owner with a personal interest and the ambition to promote and improve it. Little imagination is required to realize the negative effects of being forced to take the government as a partner. Unfortunately, Texaco apparently did not realize this when a firm stand by that company might well have stayed the rapacious government.

What should have been done with the money from oil? The question may be answered with an analogy to a poor family which inherits unexpected wealth. Part of the bequest should have been used to pay any existing debts, some invested for the future, and the rest used for the normal expenses of running the family. In this case of course the unit is the government, and application of this bonanza to such expenses could reduce taxes and allow economic development.

Instead, the government began spending the oil money faster than it came in, accompanying this with continual trips to Washington, D.C. and other sources of large loans for Ecuador. Most people here were applauding rather than realizing that the future of the country was in effect being mortgaged.

Now, of course this loan money and these petroleum revenues did not go to the private sector; it was used to immensely increase the size and budget of the government, to establish and nourish private Swiss bank accounts, and so on, all of this with ever increasing numbers of ministries and government bureaus brimming with the political favorites of the moment. Every time the price of oil dropped a profligacy bill came due, a bill which had to be picked up by the private sector, or with another loan from the so called U.S. Aid Agencies. Every such new borrowing added to the growing loan. And such loans are never really repaid. If some token payment is made, it is done with another loan from the U.S. under whatever pretext.

The only way to improve the standard of living in any country is to increase the capital invested per capita in the production of goods and services by the private sector. The ever-increasing tax load, always accompanied by more government controls and restrictions, serves only to slow down any economic progress in the country. As

government increased to monstrous size, so also did corruption. Whatever money came in was not enough for the greedy monster so taxes and controls were continually increased. Still not enough to satiate, fiat money was printed and introduced into the economy, this devaluing the money previously in circulation. Regrettably, there are few who understand that devaluation is the most cruel hidden tax.

Recent Events

For many years the situation has worsened, with no chance for the individual to improve his lot or save due to the devaluation and the continually increasing taxes and controls. Savings are essential for the economic progress of any country, and savings are very limited - first one must eat. The problems have been building up and recently exploded in a series of national strikes, drastic price raises by the government's monopolies of electricity, water, gasoline, cooking gas, and phone service. Property taxes are increased every year, those on a vehicle growing regardless of its age. And some new tax burden or control is imposed almost daily.

Former Presidential Candidate, Jaime Nebot, from Guayaquil, put through a measure that, as first presented, did not sound bad. The income tax was to be replaced with a 1 percent tax on all checks. But, acting as government generally do, this was soon extended to include deposits and withdrawals from one's own checking and savings accounts, transfers from one account to another, sending or receiving money from out of the country, money deposited with private investment companies and any capital in circulation. In short, this new tax was levied on just about every financial move which could be made. It should be noted that this is 1 percent of the value of the CAPITAL, not of earnings.

Now it has just been announced that the 1 percent tax will continue, BUT the income tax payment has been reinstated, and a myriad of other new taxes, even a tax on the use of beaches and docking facilities, have been established. The middle class is being eliminated, and the poverty of the lower class is a constant threat accompanied by ever increasing crime.

President Jamil Mahuad's popularity has plummeted, and he and his gang of socialist advisors are proving to be astonishing inept and hopelessly confused. Whatever common sense Mahuad may

have had vanished with a short course at that elite statist enclave, Harvard, and with various government bureaus in Washington. Mahuad's only economic experience prior to being elected Mayor of Quito was as Director of the Jacque LeCroiz High School in San Rafael, thirty minutes from Quito. This school was on the verge of collapse due to bad management and had to be saved by the intervention of the parents of the students. As Mayor of Quito, he promoted the installation of a disastrous trolley on the Avenida 10 de Agosto. His cooperation in this effort is rumored to have been generously rewarded by the Spanish company. The traditionally important Avenida 10 de Agosto, is a link of the Panamerican Highway. Many small businesses on it were ruined, because parking was prohibited to leave space for the trolley; buses had to be rerouted all over the city, creating many new traffic problems; and vehicle circulation in the old city is severely limited. Trolley service itself is deteriorating since maintenance is in the hands of the inept city government.

A Week of Transport Strike

President Mahuad dictated a series of socialistic economic measures that can only be described as a Plan for Economic Disaster. The price of gasoline, which is a government monopoly, was raised 300 percent, resulting in a nationwide transport strike that paralyzed the already crippled economy for a week. (The week before there was a strike by the teachers who had not been paid since October.) The government lowered the gasoline price to a 50 percent price rise in response to pressure from the drivers, but this was still a fierce blow to a nation already overtaxed and over controlled, which prompted the rises in the prices of everything.

Criminal Assault

In an unprecedented assault against private citizens, Mahuad announced that all the Savings Accounts in the country were frozen for *one year*, as were 50 percent of the Checking Accounts.²⁷ He did not limit himself to banking accounts, but included money with private Investment Companies. Many people were caught by surprise at the attack, and did not even have spare cash on hand to buy groceries. What are the chances of getting back the money after a year? What value will it have? Who will ever invest in this country again?

A number of banks here have failed due to bad investments or outright swindles. Under Sixto Duran's regime, the government with the now Minister of Finances, statist-oriented Ana Lucia Armijos, funneled in over \$500,000,000 of taxpayers money to bolster up the private Banco Continental. The Previsora Bank and others also received large handouts. Such ill-advised procedures were an invitation to other banks to misappropriate funds. The failure of one of the largest, el Banco del Progreso, shook even the government's fiat money resources, and provoked the attack against private accounts. The freezing of funds was not just limited to the failing banks, but extended to *all* banks, for both sucre and dollar accounts.

Today the government announced that people with frozen Savings Accounts in sucres (nothing for dollar accounts) can stand in line next week to get back the equivalent of \$500 from the closed Banco de Progreso. Will anyone ever again have confidence in the finance system here? Many in Ecuador are desperate with no funds for their personal and business operations. The funds from other, supposedly sound, banks all remain frozen.

Primero el Volcán y Ahora Fabián
(First the Volcano and Now Fabian)

Some months ago, and in order to distract the people's attention from its unpopular measures, the government of Mahuad cynically spread scare rumors about a possible volcanic eruption. Needless to say, such rumors resulted in the cancellation of trips by many tourists and other visitors to Ecuador. Now a similar attention-distracting maneuver is apparently in progress, this allegedly having the objective of forcing the cooperation of ex-President Fabian Alarcón's Alfarist Radical Front (FRA). Alarcón was placed under «preventive» arrest, which made no sense at all since he was living quietly on his property fifteen minutes from Quito, and ex-presidents are legally forbidden to leave the country for one year. He has been in a small room in a grimy little jail for over two weeks during which no official charges have been brought. So much for *Habeas Corpus*. It is difficult to imagine what the police can do to an ordinary citizen if this can be done to an ex-president.

Now former minister of government, Cesar Verduga, has been picked up in Mexico. He supposedly escaped with a large quantity of government funds. But his extradition to Ecuador is unlikely since

the Extradition Treaty is only for criminals that have been tried and convicted, and he escaped before any trial. It is understood that he was actually working for the Mexican Government and registered at the Ecuadoran Embassy, so the government must surely have always known where he was. Some are classifying this action as another distraction.

NEW ECUADORAN PRESIDENT MAHUAD APPEARS TO BE IN TROUBLE
(WKLY 7.13, 1 APRIL 1999)

José Ignacio Rasco (*Diario las Américas* 1 August 1998) sent Jamil Mahuad into the Ecuadoran presidential chair with a raft of encomiums. Mahuad was a “young dynamic personality who has demonstrated his talent and political astuteness.” Rasco, who knew and dealt with him in the Christian Democrat Organization of America (ODCA), claimed him to belong “to a new LA generation nurtured in Christian humanism,” which is in the eye of the beholder, “which can fill the vacuum left behind by utopian Marxism and savage neoliberalism (*salvaje neoliberalismo*) which is arising...in our America.” This bizarre statement was clearly meant to launch Mahuad on a triumphant presidential journey which would set all Ecuadorans cheering. Less than a year later he is in what appears to be considerable difficulty. This should hardly come as a surprise if he is indeed striving to leave behind “utopian Marxism” (government control of production and distribution) and “savage neoliberalism” (free market control of production and distribution), a term coined by Castro and his HL. The confusion is generated by the PPs who avidly seek the “loans” from the various international agencies while half-heartedly abiding by what few requirements accompany them for the creation of sound, market-based economies. At present it appears that, with the potential abortion of the Argentine “economic miracle,” the only LA “economic miracle” remains that of President Pinochet in Chile under the guidance of those “Chicago Boys” whom the PPs so love to hate.

Marxism versus Capitalism

Marxism is *a priori* government control of the means of production and distribution and has an immense appeal for most PPs. Such control maximizes the ability of these “twentieth century scourges” to maintain their political power—or “help the people,” if you wish—

until the day of financial reckoning arrives at which point it has so far been possible for them to obtain funding “abroad.” They are free to employ all the rhetoric of Castro’s HL which is so effective—do you want to lose your job to privatization?—against “savage capitalism” (the free market) while demanding ever greater flows of funds from “abroad.” At which point Castro’s campaign for abrogation of foreign debt acquires fresh converts who seek fresh “loans” as their birthright with arguments used in the past by the present Brazilian chief executive.

The U.S. Government took over the nation’s railroads during World War I, and, with that monumental inefficiency which typifies government activity, damaged them so badly that they have really not recovered in three-quarters of a century. Juan Domingo Perón, the admirer of the leftist Mussolini’s “Corporate State,” took over Argentine railroads in the 1940s, and, by 1955, an Argentine commission concluded that the state-owned railroads were “virtually inoperable.” Those other socialist (anti-neoliberal) measures, which Stokes describes with “no LA country ever had such an extensively planned economy as Argentina from 1943 to 1955”²⁸ (the Perón era), led to the economic disaster which has been described in these reports (pp.47ff, YRBK97). The ultimate anti-neoliberal economic debacle has of course been generated by the ML dictator of Cuba, although, as has been shown in these reports, he has cleverly appealed to the PPs to support his opposition to “savage capitalism” in a campaign which may well abort that LA economic recovery which appeared possible a few years ago

And now Rasco’s “dynamic new” man, Mahuad, is in trouble. This is the Christian humanist who was to have filled the “vacuum” left by “savage neoliberalism,” that neoliberalism which, having never existed, would have been hard pressed to leave a vacuum. If the Ecuadoran president’s thinking is as foggy as that of his fellow Christian Democrat and friend, it is difficult to imagine him failing to come a cropper in his present position. And, of course, the HL cheering section is leading the anti-neoliberal battle with strikes, Molotov cocktails and other democratic means.

Although certain PPs seek to maintain that the reasons for the national financial debacles today are different from those of yesterday, such is not the case. The “inflation” of the currency is, of course, the symptom of the economic malaise which, felt by the PPs’ con-

stituents first, is generally the first concern.²⁹ If any PP is honest with himself he knows precisely how and why that “quantity of money” has been increased: It is increased to pay for his vote buying schemes. While most appear to agree that “government” has a protective function to provide, only the leftist believes that such industries as petroleum, steel, railroads and so on either can or should be run by the state, rather than the free market. When they are state operated the result is glaring inefficiency and gross featherbedding. Instead of an industry which pays taxes to that government which prints the money, there is an enterprise which the government must heavily subsidize. Which in turn leads to those government deficits which impel inflation. But Mexico will not privatize Pemex, and Venezuela³⁰ has no intention of privatizing its petroleum

Instead, in Venezuela, LANS has watched and reported on the foredoomed attempts to “fix” that nation’s socialized petroleum industry, not by privatizing and rendering it efficient, but by raising the price of this government product. The former course must amount to “savage capitalism,” for Mr. Mahuad appears to be following the same course. This of course amounts to the worst of both worlds, the featherbedded, inefficient industry simply sells its product for more.

Or, as the LANS correspondent in Quito reported, the recent gasoline and cooking gas shortages in Ecuador were apparently caused by the government simply shutting down these operations. The reason appears to be that, government inefficiency being what it is, maintenance was so far behind that serious and actually explosive dangers existed. And so it was shut down. And our correspondent continues,

“This maintenance-induced problem arose after everything had recently been shut down for a week—with great loss to the dying economy—due to a strike by the taxi drivers and chauffeurs to protest the tripling of gasoline prices. The Mahuad Government retreated and changed the gasoline-price increase to about 50 percent.”

Ecuadoran Economy

The Soviet agricultural disasters were routinely blamed by the Workers Paradise on “the weather.” The ML Cuba of Ruz Castro took a leaf from this book and blames its Marxist-induced crop fail-

ures on the weather. It is true that El Niño did move through the area and cause damage about a year ago. Whether it actually induced the \$250 million in agricultural losses reported by Ecuadoran Agriculture Minister Alfredo Saltas is probably a good question. At the same time the government was claiming the fall in oil price from \$16 to \$12 per barrel as another reason for its projected budget deficit, El Niño being rung in here also but without clarification. The point of course is the same: Such Marxist economies strive continuously for “reasons” for the economic malaise which is endemic with them.

At about the same time that the Alarcón Government was excusing itself from responsibility for the economic problems, Workers Unitary Front (FUT) President Wilson Becerra was declaring war. He demanded that the timid moves toward economic stability be abolished, these including increases in the price of (government) gasoline and the reduction of state subsidies on domestic gas. Later that spring a “devaluation” of 7.5 percent was apparently meant to deal with a 35 (or so) inflation rate during 1997 and much the same forecast for 1998. By July it was being reported that the nation required \$2.5 billion for its (socialized) energy sector (petroleum and electric power). The 7.5 percent of March of course being insufficient, another 15 percent took place in September.

At about which time Becerra’s “traitorous and corrupt” Alarcón was out of the presidential palace and Rasco’s brave new man was in, greeted by what AFP (17 September 1998) called “the worst crisis in 30 years.” Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) funds flowed in but hardly “solved” the problem, and Mahuad imposed a one-percent tax on capital movement as December began. December ended with “experts urging” the government to begin “partial privatization” of the state enterprises. Nor had Becerra’s FUT been quiescent during the fall, a general strike and an Indian uprising leading to a fiesta of bombs in Guayaquil and four dead in Quito with fifty detained, all in “protest” against Mahuad’s “economic measures.”

The new year started off no more auspiciously than the old one had ended. A report of January claimed a 25 percent increase in unemployment in 1998 over 1997 and further devaluation. With the beginning of March 1999, Ecuadoran Electrification Institute (INECEL) workers seized the Paute Hydroelectric plant, the nation’s

largest, in protest of its allegedly planned privatization. About this time it was reported that the currency had been devalued 63 percent in three weeks. Labor having been heard from, management in the guise of Chambers of Commerce Federation (FCC) Pres. Joaquín Cevallos and medium industry President Joayce de Ginatta added their remarks to the din. Both these spokesmen appeared to feel that Mahuad had lost the confidence of everyone, de Ginatta colorfully insisting that “we must be a lion and not a rat” in reorganizing the country.

If it had not already appeared in FUT, the fine Italian hand of Fidel Castro seemed to appear with the Patriotic Front, a typical leftist alleged collection of “unions, peoples organizations and political parties” which surfaced during the second week in March. Its spokesman, Fernando Villavicencio announced that Mahuad had “declared war on the people” and “demands his immediate removal from the presidency and the convocation of a government of national coordination.”

And the burning tires and clenched fists appeared in the streets. As our Quito correspondent informed us, it would appear that Pres. Mahuad backed down.

El Salvador

DOWN WITH THE SALVADORAN CONSTITUTION

MARIO ROSENTHAL

LANS ASSOCIATE EDITOR

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR

(WKLY 8.22, 9 DECEMBER 1999)

[LANS Associate Editor Mario Rosenthal has been an on-the-spot observer of the ML terrorist in El Salvador since the 1930s. His coverage of what would be the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) long predates that 1980 meeting in Sandinista Managua when Castro’s Americas Department (AD) boss, Redbeard Piñero, put together that terrorist organization from five groups all of which had emerged, directly or indirectly, from the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCES) (pp.146ff, YRBK97). Indeed, during the media-event “offensive” of 1989 Rosenthal reported in the *El Salvador News Gazette* the Cuban terrorist boss who was asking for

directions to the Colonia Escalón for his “Salvadorans.” The stop-sign mentality³¹—or worse—prevailed, and the Farabundi terrorists were given sanctuaries by the U.S.—or UN, if you will—under threat of aid cut-off to the Salvadoran Armed Forces (FAES) if such were not “respected.” A piece by the LANS Editor ended at that time with perhaps his most demonstrably correct assertion, “The people of this country (U.S.) just don’t know what...is going on in Central America.”³² Nor did they find out. Instead, as was demonstrated by documents taken from a Farabundi cadaver (YRBK97, *ibid*), the “peace” which the Salvadorans were forced to conclude with the terrorists was in reality a FMLN victory, the celebration of which is recorded at the LANS website and which neither their “military” nor political impotence would ever have obtained for them. What the LANS Associate Editor has to say in this article amounts to a description of the probable final phase in that “Victory Through Peace” which was the Chapultepec Accords.³³ And which may well predict the final phase of the Esquipulas Accords in Guatemala and whatever emerges from the curious “Pastrana Peace Process” in Colombia.]

The FMLN plans to establish a new Constitution of the Republic in the next Legislative Assembly where it hopes to win an absolute majority as a result of the elections of March 2000 with the support of the votes from some minority parties with whom, we are certain, it has agreed upon or will agree upon the division of the booty. Having absolute majority control of the Assembly, the Farabundis will have the political reins of the country in their hands and there will be no obstacle in the way of their transforming the Salvadoran market-economy structure into a system resembling that of the Soviet Union before perestroika and implosion. They are thinking in terms of the socialized systems of some Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Norway which have the highest per capita incomes in the world and in which the state distributes the national income, subsidizing all the non productive people by means of the highest taxes on the incomes of the productive. These are systems which cannot function in a country poor in natural and industrial resources and with meager per capital income like that of El Salvador.

After the failure of the treacherous “final offensive” of 1989 during the time in which their representatives were dialoging with the Salvadoran Government in San José, Costa Rica, in order to arrive

at a negotiated peace, the FMLN renounced the conquest of power through force of arms and announced that it would conquer by means of politics. The FMLN began the political battle even before its members had concluded the demobilization and the disarmament demanded by the peace treaty; its troops, which should have been concentrated under the vigilance of the United Nations forces, were campaigning openly.

Why bring to our attention these things which are ancient history and which should be forgotten for civic harmony? There was an Amnesty, a Truth Commission and, supposedly, there has been compliance with all the conditions of the Chapultepec Treaty! Now we have a democratic environment and the central government, all the municipalities and the Legislative Assembly have been freely elected! Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the policy, as declared by the FMLN at the conclusion of the armed conflict is the extension of the guerrilla war in another form, and it is undeniable that its goal continues to be power. Some of the protagonists have been changed; some have been set aside and others elevated to posts of importance. But the objective of imposing a new political and economic model is the same one which they were pursuing with arms through Morazán and Chalatenango Departments, the Hondurans tolerating their encampments and bases for training, rest and recuperation in Colomoncagua and Mesa Grande, the alleged “refugee camps” at some few paces from the Salvadoran frontier “protected” by the United Nations.^{3,4}

There is nothing reprehensible in the peaceful battle for political power, it is an integral part of the modern democratic system. The maliciousness is in the use to which that power is put once it has been achieved. There are many instances in which parties, which have been freely and democratically elected, and their militants have transformed themselves into dictatorships which trample on the state of law. The FMLN has announced a legislative platform which clearly establishes its intention of doing just this by disrupting the political, economic and social system in which we live. The platform even proposes to disregard the Constitution...The strikes of the Salvadoran Social Security Institute (ISSS) and of the employees of the Ministries of Education and of Justice are examples of the imbalance and disruption which is resulting from the rebellion against the fundamental law of the national life. The alternative to the state

of law is anarchy, and the curious aspect of this is that it can be reached by democratic means as is happening in El Salvador. The danger is the institutionalization of anarchy which is precisely what will happen if the FMLN succeeds in imposing its platform and radically changing the Constitution.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

THE REAL FACUNDO GUARDADA
(WKLY 7.9, 4 MARCH 1999)

At 0200 on 23 May 1993 an explosion rocked barrio Santa Rosa in Managua. As the *La Prensa* (Managua) editor told the LANS editor shortly afterwards, the magnitude of the blast could be judged by the fine but heavy dusting of skin fragments that covered the scene. A *buzon* (clandestine arsenal) under a machine shop had blown up. The LANS editor had been investigating these *buzones* for several years, finding that the arms imported by the Farabundi terrorists through Nicaragua had been stored in such Managua *buzones* since November 1991, the month before the Chapultepec Accords allegedly brought "peace" to El Salvador.

In an interview on 14 July 1993 Salvadoran Vice Minister of Interior R. Valdevieso told the LANS editor of the tremendous arsenal which he found in what was left of the Managua *buzon* when he was officially sent there as an investigator. Among the array of weaponry were 19 Surface to Air Missiles (SAMs). As Valdevieso told the LANS editor, "We found a tremendous array of photographs of Latin American entrepreneurs with intelligence data in extensively detailed files on the people photographed. There were more than 300 passports from 21 different countries."

As Interpol would state later, the explosion had uncovered a huge kidnapping-for-ransom ring which included at least the terrorists from the Basque Patria Libre y Libertad (ETA), the Chilean Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) and, of greatest interest here, the Salvadoran Peoples Liberation Forces (FPL). It should be kept in mind that all this occurred *after* the Chapultepec Accords had been signed and "peace" allegedly brought to these Farabundi terrorists. They had, incidentally, assured all and sundry that they had turned in all their weaponry.³⁵

In answer to the LANS editor's question as to whether the FMLN, parent organization of the FPL, was itself involved in the Managua

buzon, Valdevieso replied, "This would be an assumption. All we can say is that the owner of the weaponry was Facundo Guardado. Guardado is one of the leaders of the FPL. You can draw your own conclusions."

Much of the remainder of the interview had to do with the responsibility of Handal and the "moderate," Villalobos, in the affair. Valdevieso could hardly rule them out, but he claimed to have no solid information ruling them in. Guardado was a different story: this presidential candidate was a principal part of the totally illegal operation.

Mexico

THE SALINAS DE GORTARI CLAN (WKLY 7.21, 27 MAY 1999)

The Salinas Clan is an interesting one, and, it now appears safe to say, a very wealthy one. The mover-and-shaker in this curious grouping is Raúl Salinas de Gortari. His younger brother, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, was, before the events of 1994-5, the best known of the clan, he having been president of Mexico (1988-1994). There are other brothers who will not be encountered here. Two wives will enter the account, Raúl's conjugal helpmate, Paulina Castañón de Salinas, and Carlos' consort, Ana Paulina

Gerard de Salinas (vice Cecilia Occelli)

That Ernesto Zedillo de Ponce de León followed Salinas into the presidential palace was effectively arranged by the murder of the original Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) candidate for Mexican president, Luis Donaldo Colosio Murrieta. This took place at a Colosio campaign stop in Tijuana on 23 March 1994 at a few minutes after 1700 local time. There was considerable learned disputation as to just how many minutes. Mario Abruto Martínez was picked up immediately after he allegedly fired a .38 calibre weapon into Colosio's right temple, an account which would undergo all sorts of revisions while Abruto languished in duress vile.

But there was apparently a second shot from a weapon of different calibre which was discovered in the Colosio abdomen. A second suspect, Othón Cortés Vázquez, was picked up about a year later as the co-conspirator responsible for this. Cortés was elimi-

nated from the affair as innocent by Judge Jorge Pardo Rebolledo in August 1996 (EFE 9 August 1996). The “mysteries,” real or contrived, surrounding the affair burgeoned, and the press had a predictable field day.

To add to these festivities the secretary general of PRI, José Francisco Ruiz Massieu, was murdered in Mexico City on 28 September 1994. Ruiz was a brother-in-law of Raul Salinas, who, ere long, was awaiting trial for involvement in the murder. By the following year a Mexican Senatorial Committee, which had been investigating these murders, and at least two of its members commented on the situation.

Said the committee chairman, PRI Senator Angel Sergio Guerrero Mier, “the Colosio murder had no motive other than his elimination from the presidential race.” PRI Senator Guillermo Río Ortégón, another committee member, was somewhat more specific with “everything points to him (President Salinas) as the principal suspect for intellectual author.” Senator Río’s statement does not appear to have been proven. However, the declaration would not seem to have been belied by Salinas’ arrival in New York with his family on 15 March 1995 to reside for a “long time” in the Boston area. Certainly the claim which emerged from the committee that the murders were involved with an internal PRI struggle appears to have gained considerable credence.

The Unfinished Odyssey of Carlos Salinas

There have been various claims of Aburto’s innocence as prime shooter in the Colosio murder. But, perhaps even more importantly, the opinion has been widespread that the Salinas brothers, Raúl and/or Carlos, were involved as intellectual authors of the crime. Whether right or wrong, these opinions would still tend to indicate that Raúl was the guiding spirit in the affair.

The accusations against Carlos Salinas have been joined by various others since 1995, none of which have been used against the ex president in a judicial proceeding because he has been “on the run.” In mid April 1995 *El Financiero* published a document from one of the accused in the Ruiz M. killing which declared, *inter alia*, that the Salinas de Gortari family “decided in March 1993 to liquidate José Francisco Ruiz Massieu.”

Whether or not this document is factual, it is a simple matter of record that Carlos’ brother, Raúl, was jailed on 28 February 1995.

All of which apparently convinced Carlos that the “view halloo” would soon sound for him—as it would—and he first arrived in the New York area of the U.S. with his family on 15 March 1995, stating that he was going to reside in the Boston, Massachusetts (U.S.), area for a “long time.” That this was a “cover story” appeared likely and was demonstrated later in the year. Nevertheless, he was reportedly in the Dow Jones Building in New York in the late fall of 1996, slipping away from the mob of reporters there to interview him.

As the year of his flight drew to a close, AFP (26 November 1995) reported his location a “true mystery,” he having recently been described as residing in Coconut Key, Cuba, under another name and in the company of a “very pretty, blonde woman.” A report by FAX to AFP (28 November 1995), allegedly from Carlos, intriguingly demanded “severe punishment” for Raúl if guilty and declared the innocence of the sender. Here AFP declared his “location unknown.” By early December, however, he was reported as taking refuge in Castro’s Havana, and by January 1996 he was simply reported as “presently living” in Pinar del Río, Cuba (EFE 9 January 1996), a fact denied by the Cuban dictator. Which brings up Ana Paula.

In order not to keep any of the salacious details under wraps, it probably should be mentioned that he was in the process of divorcing Cecilia Ocelli and making an honest woman of Ana Paula Gerard who had already had a son by him. Ms. Gerard had been “technical secretary of the economic cabinet” during his presidency. More interesting, however, is the probable reason for Cuban dictator Castro’s protection and denial. Perhaps this is explained by the report of José Reveles which appeared in *El Financiero* in December 1995.

Reveles reported that Carlos had brought “most important investors and bankers” to Castro, George Soros, for example, who “also would be in charge of handling the capital of wealthy Mexicans.” Data from U.S. sources had suggested that “important capital from the Salinas family would be invested in Cuba where the ex president ordered the construction of a mansion.” And the ML dictator’s pocket book is the proven route to his “heart.” (It is remarkable how often one encounters the proofs of the dictum of Ulianov (aka Lenin)—“the capitalists will sell us the rope”—and examples of ML cupidity.)

Alfonso Durazo was the private secretary of the murdered Colosio. In March 1996, he declared to the weekly, *Proceso*, that Carlos Salinas had made a pact with his successor, President Ernesto Zedillo, not to appear before the Mexican judiciary on the Colosio slaying. Whether or not this is precise, it would not appear to be belied by events, before or after as, for example, Carlos' depositions.

On 27 January 1996 the ex president was deposed for 16 hours in the Mexican Embassy in Dublin, Ireland, on the J. F. Ruiz Massieu killing (EFE 30 January 1997). It is necessary to specify the given names of Ruiz M. because José's brother was also in flight from Mexican authorities. This, however, was the second such deposition, the first having taken place in Dublin on 27 November 1996. Whoever penned the EFE piece wrote that Carlos "presently resides in Dublin," an inference which may have been true for a short period of time, but "presently commutes to Dublin from Cuba" would probably have been more precise.

In September 1997 Mexican authorities sent a message to Carlos to come to the embassy in Dublin for further deposition on the Ruiz M. case, allegedly unaware that this "legal residence," however grand, was nothing more than a *pied à terre*. Carlos was in Cuba. It would be almost two years later that "the press" fixed his residence in "Dublin or Havana" (AFP 17 April 1999), in the same dispatch it being alleged that Carlos intends to visit his jailed brother Raúl.

The probabilities appear to be against this visit. In February 1999 Castro's foreign relations minister assured the world that the former Mexican president has sanctuary there:

"If Carlos Salinas travels to Cuba," that worthy said, "or is to be found absent from national territory the Cuban authorities will offer no information on the subject." This was emphasized by repetition in slightly different terms.

The Crimes of the Clan

On the fifth anniversary of the Colosio murder, the Mexican senatorial committee investigating the case maintained that the federal justice system had been trying to close the case without investigating ex President Carlos Salinas. Colosio associate and PRI Senator Amador Rodríguez demanded a special prosecutor "to investigate the alleged responsibility of ex Pres. Salinas" (AFP 25 March 1999). Meanwhile, Enrique Krauze, "historian and writer," was claiming

(23 March 1999) that Colosio was “a victim of a conspiracy” of Carlos Salinas. The ex president was attempting to do as President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1929) had done, continue his power through puppet presidents after his presidency ended (p.97, YRBK98). Krauze maintains that Colosio learned of the plot, presumably leading to his elimination. Whether true or false, the allegation appears to fit the facts as they are known.

The man that fired the fatal head-shot against Colosio is, according to witnesses and by his own confession, Mario Aburto Martínez, although even this has been challenged. Aburto is serving a 45-year sentence for the murder, but it is generally believed that this maquiladora was nothing more than a hired gun. There is a body of opinion claiming Carlos the “intellectual author” of the crime, but he is unavailable. On the other hand, Raúl Salinas has been jailed since 28 February 1994, his subsequent trial keeping him there to serve a fifty-year sentence as “intellectual author” of the J. F. Ruiz M. murder.

Raúl and Carlos could have been motivated by the PRI power theory already mentioned. Such a theory would gain further support as details emerged on the immense sums of money the two brothers accumulated from influence peddling and narco-trafficking. Facts and allegations began piling up on this quite impressive accumulation of wealth in Mexican and foreign bank accounts after the elder brother was jailed and investigation of the pair had begun.

A few examples of this immense wealth in accounts, as well as dollars, might be led off with the Attorney General’s action for “illicit enrichment” against Raúl who was alleged to have \$24m (million) in Mexican bank accounts under false names (EFE 20 March 1996). Not long after this the *Wall Street Journal* (7 June 1996) reported his connection with a Swiss account of \$240m, this having been ferreted out by U.S. and Swiss investigators. At about the same time the French Government was interrogating Carlos’ brother over an account which it had just discovered in Paris.

By the spring of 1998, Raúl, still in jail, was facing charges of “illicit enrichment”—in this case, money laundering—and falsification of documents for the deposit of \$130m in 24 foreign and 12 Mexican banks. According to Mexican law, the defendant can ask after one year that the case be closed and sentence be imposed. Raúl so asked, and the judge threw out the case. Whether any eye-

brows were raised over this is not recorded. In the meantime, the alleged connection of the Salinas brothers with narco-trafficking was getting considerable coverage. As with the grinding details of the Salinas' money transactions in general, this is best summarized.

Guillermo Pallomari was the accountant for the Cali (cocaine) Cartel. In 1995 he turned himself in to U.S. authorities and was interrogated by Swiss Attorney General Carla del Ponte. Ms. del Ponte was investigating the source of the \$120m which had been found in Raúl's Swiss accounts, an investigation worthy of reproduction did space allow. According to *El Universal* (June 1998), Pallomari testified that the Cali Cartel bribed various Mexican officials, among them Pres. Carlos Salinas, with \$80m between 1990 and 1992. The bribes for Carlos were funneled through Raúl. The purpose of the bribes was to guarantee protection for Amado Carillo Fuentes' Ciudad Juarez Cartel.

Luz Estela Salazar, the wife of Alejandro "El Brujo," is languishing in a U.S. prison; El Brujo was boss of the Medellín Cartel. She confirmed the contribution by the Medellín Cartel of \$200,000 to Carlos Salinas' 1987 presidential campaign (*El Universal* 31 August 1998). Raúl—variously known as "Junior" and "Bloodsucker" (*Chupasangre*)—asked narco boss Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha for \$300,000 for each shipment he protected. He got \$200,000. According to Salazar the murdered Ruiz M., then governor of Guerrero State, also participated in the drug protection. Raúl's "protection" broke down in November 1989, and El Brujo began shipping through Guatemala.

All that behind them, Carlos Salinas and his new spouse are luxuriating in the delights of Castro's tight little isle and supervising the construction of their mansion. Will anything as fascinating—and sordid—emerge from the soon-to-be-concluded reign of Zedillo Ponce de León?

THE (ALLEGED) NARCO-TRAFFICKING GOVERNOR OF QUINTANA ROO (WKLY 8.4, 22 JULY 1999)

On 21 February 1999, Joaquín Hendricks Díaz³⁶ won the gubernatorial elections in the Mexican State of Quintana Roo (Wkly 7.11, chapter 1 above). On 5 April 1999, Governor-elect Hendricks was supposed to have received the trappings of his new office in an inaugural ceremony involving outgoing Governor Mario Villanueva

Madrid. Hendricks received the trappings, but Mr. Villanueva was remarkable by his absence from the festivities, he being on the run from narco-trafficking charges. His guilt or innocence is for the courts to decide, but the case has its points of interest and touches upon an important narco-trafficking figure who has been previously encountered in these reports.

In “The Salinas de Gortari Clan” (Wkly 7.21 above) LANS has discussed the accusations against former Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari whose behavior has assuredly been peculiar if he is the innocent he claims to be. Carlos’ brother, Raúl, on the other hand, is assuredly not innocent as attested by his sojourn in duress vile and his fifty-year sentence—recently reduced—as “intellectual author” of the J. F. Ruiz M. murder. Substantial additional information on Raúl’s involvement in immense influence peddling, narco-trafficking and related criminal activities has been touched upon in the LANS report. Details on Raúl’s misdeeds need hardly be repeated here, but he deserves mention as a key figure in the allegations against Villanueva.

By early April 1999 the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic (PGR), the National Security and Information Center (CISEN) and the National Defense Secretariat (SEDENA) had all been busy investigating Villanueva whom they had not been able to bring forward for interrogation because of his gubernatorial immunity. Perhaps the most important information produced by these agencies was the 4000-sheet dossier on Villanueva which had been compiled by CISEN.

The account of his alleged criminal activities begins in 1990 when his contact was first established with the Juárez Cocaine Cartel. At that time Villanueva assumed the municipal presidency in Cancun. The following year, 1991, he resigned from that job in order to run as a successful PRI candidate for the Senate of the Republic. Two years later this burgeoning politician left this job for a successful run in the Quintana Roo gubernatorial contest, beginning his term of office as governor on 5 April 1993. If the allegations are to be believed, he made lucrative use of the position.

The CISEN dossier appears to present extensive evidence supporting the charges of narco-trafficking, money laundering and involvement with a number of cartel capos against Villanueva. The accused claims that he is being framed. He began voicing this de-

fense in March 1999 to over 100 people, described as “friends and associates,” whom he had invited to his El Mostrenco (Oaf) Ranch for his birthday celebration.

“I am not going to await the Fifth of April,” declared Villanueva. (He did not; he disappeared on 27 March.) “I am not going to be the sacrificial lamb for the decomposition of the political system...I am going to talk!” (He apparently talked once to the Special Anti-Drug Prosecutor for 15 hours. This he did on 27 March, then promptly disappeared.)

According to the then governor, his persecution started with a meeting he had with President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León at the Los Pinos Presidential Palace whereat he claims to have presented a plan for the rescue of PRI. According to Villanueva, the rescue included such solutions as “opening up the party,” “democratizing the designation of its direction” and other projects which “discommoded” the party hierarchy. The result was supposedly a plot to frame the innocent governor. Or so his story goes.

If the attempted prosecution of Villanueva is indeed a contrived persecution, it is a remarkably elaborate one, it being early reported that almost thirty witnesses had attested to his involvement in a broad range of precisely the sort of activity in which Raúl Salinas was involved. Indeed, the former president’s brother, Raúl, is apparently the one largely responsible for Villanueva’s migration from a municipal council to the Senate of the Republic.

The case being prosecuted by the Mexican Government certainly appears to be a more convincing one than Villanueva’s defense. The former governor appears to be of the same opinion, for he has not been seen in Mexico since 27 March, and the PGR had, by latter June, declared him a fugitive from justice.

Enter the Cartels

The CISEN report states that Villanueva had his first contact with the Juárez Cocaine Cartel in 1990 when he was mayor (municipal president) of Cancun. The mayor knew the boss of the Juárez Cartel, Amado Carillo (aka The Lord of the Skies) and his lieutenant and successor, Ramón Alcides Magaña (aka El Metro) through his confidant, Oscar Benjamin García Dávila. The Carillo contact had been preceded by one with the boss of the Sinaloa Cartel, Ismael Zambala (aka El Mayo). These two should suffice as examples, but

certainly Villanueva's most important contact, Raúl Salinas de Gortari (aka Junior, aka Bloodsucker), should be mentioned.

It was of course of interest to this prince of influence peddlers to have a useful and well-financed tool in the Quintana Roo governor's mansion. Villanueva's relationship with Raúl led to his gubernatorial candidacy and all the benefits he derived therefrom. In the discussion of the Salinas clan (Wkly 7.21 above) LANS has covered, in what soon becomes boring detail, the immense worldwide laundering activities of Raúl. Here it is sufficient to remark that the PGR is investigating Villanueva's bank accounts in the U.S., in Switzerland and in the "fiscal paradises" (*paraísos fiscales*) of Nassau and the Cayman Islands.

But the physical evidence of these ill gotten gains are worthy of brief remark, such based on what Mexican authorities have learned of the numerous properties "obtained in an inexplicable way." Villanueva's El Mostrenco Ranch and San Judas Tadeo Hacienda are considered the grandest and most costly in the region. His residences in the Woods of Las Lomas and the Chimalistac Barrio to the south of Mexico City are reportedly impressive domiciles. To which a ranch in Belize is to be added. His commercial properties include a co-ownership of the Panamanian Empresa Agrícola Ganadera and two periodicals which need not be mentioned. His association with Raúl in a "commercial center" located on Avenue José López Portillo can be used to complete this abbreviated listing.

But perhaps all will come to naught. After all, the fifty-year sentence of Raúl Salinas has been substantially reduced. The charges against Raúl's brother, ex-President Carlos Salinas, may have evaporated after his extensive flitting about Europe and the Caribbean and building a home on Cuba (Wkly 7.21 above). So perhaps a prolonged "disappearance" by Mario Villanueva Madrid will reduce retribution against him to that nothing undergone by Venezuela's Pérez and Brazil's Collor de Mello (cf. YRBK97).

Panama

THE INAUGURATION SPEECH OF PANAMANIAN PRESIDENT
 MOSCOSO IGNORES HUTCHISON
 WHAMPOA AND FARC
 (WKLY 8.14, 7 OCTOBER 1999)

Mireya Moscoso de Gruber, Viuda de Arias, is the widow of thrice-president Arnulfo Arias. She won the Panamanian presidency in the general elections of 2 May 1999 (Chapter 1, this volume). She was inaugurated to that office on 1 September, then proceeded to the tomb of her first husband with the presidential sash since, according to her spokesman, Carlos Arosemena, “she feels the triumph is that of Arnulfo Arias” (AFP 1 September 1999). Which is probably true if in a somewhat less romantic context.

In her acceptance speech, President Moscoso declared that she had received from her predecessor, Ernesto Pérez Balladares,³⁷ “a country in chaos.” She went on to describe this chaos as to be found in “national education wracked by trying to impose imported models, lacking practical sense and without the necessary preparation and consultation with teacher unions, parents and educators”³⁸ (AFP 3 September 1999). The new chief magistrate then further described the chaos in a speech which was highly approved by the Castroite president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez. Chávez was to be found smiling avuncularly at Doña Mireya and nestled up to the Prince of the Asturias who was also present at the festivities. Had Señora de Gruber perhaps been more forthcoming on the equally important matters of (a) the Panama Canal and Hutchison Wampoa and (b) the possible involvement of the Panamanian National Guard with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), Mr. Chávez’s avuncularity would probably have disappeared.

Hutchison Whampoa

In “Requiem for the Panama Canal” (pp. 131ff, YRBK00) the Hutchison Whampoa (HW) relationship with the ChiComs and its dominant position with respect to the Panama Canal have been discussed. As our colleague, Ariel Remos (*Diario las América* 26 August 1999), has recently pointed out, the letter from U.S. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott to Defense Secretary Cohen on the matter would appear to indicate that the potential danger here may be percolating into the consciousness of various of those who should be concerned.

In a recent Heritage Foundation Executive Memorandum, Dr. John J. Tierney confirms that HW is “closely linked to Beijing and its Peoples Liberation Army (ELP).” There appears to exist ample proof that the ELP effectively controls the key ports and their environs on

the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the Canal for twenty-five years. This becomes even more interesting and provocative when coupled with the increasing ChiCom military presence on USSR/CIS Base Cuba (Chapter 7, this volume). The answer from those Candidean “best-of-all-possible” worlders, who continue to advocate turning over the Panama Canal at the end of this year, appears to be based on the notion that “the U.S. would never allow the ChiComs to do such a thing.” There are strategic, tactical and political considerations which would appear to belie this assumption, but it does appear to be a fact that Political Correctness (PC) prohibits any realistic discussion.

Assuredly, President Moscosa was not going to bring up any such outrageous ideas at her inaugural speech. Nor was she about to bring up:

The Panamanian Guard and FARC

Carlos Castaño³⁹ is the chief of the United Colombian Self Defense Forces (AUC) (pp.369ff, YRBK00). In mid September 1999 he wrote an extensive letter to the “high commissioner for peace,” Victor G. Ricardo, the only topic therein of interest here being the relationship he alleged between the Panamanian National Guard and the FARC terrorists.

“We have incontrovertible proof of the arms and drug trafficking activities in that zone.” Here he is referring to the Panama-Colombia border region. “In the same way we know the locations where the Colombian guerrillas are taking refuge under the protection of the National Guard.”

Elsewhere in his communication Castaño declared “some members of the National Guard of Panama” to be a military objective. As is all too frequently the case, the press headlined this inaccurately as “Castaño Declares War on the National Guard of Panama” (*El Tiempo* 13 September 1999).

The chief of Panamanian police, Carlos Bares, of course denied that any units “guarding the frontiers”⁴⁰ would ever collaborate with the FARC terrorists or be involved in arms traffic. If such were demonstrably the case, why would Mr. Bares announce, in the same breath, that he would not discard the idea of an official investigation? In the same vein, the new president high-tailed it to Darien Province, visiting the police posts and promising more equipment and increased forces for the region.

There are Colombian terrorists in the Panamanian border provinces, and as these reports have pointed out, arms have reached their brethren in Colombia from Panamanian terrorist groups (cf. Spcl 8.11, chapter 5 below). These may of course have partly moved from Panama to Colombia by sea. But, to some extent at least, Castaño's communication should come as no surprise. It is appropriate here in illustrating another topic of considerable consequence to the region which did not surface in the new president's inaugural address.

Venezuela

CARLOS ANDRÉS PÉREZ MAKES AN HONEST WOMAN OF CECILIA (WKLY 7.13, 1 APRIL 1999)

Young (b.1922) Carlos Andrés Pérez is living proof that crime does indeed pay, at times quite handsomely. It will be recalled (pp.74ff, YRBK97) that he was removed from the Venezuelan presidency in 1993 for graft on a grand scale. Somewhat later it was reported that authorities had discovered foreign bank accounts with slightly under \$10 million. At that time his *amante*, Cecilia Matos, was residing in New York with their two children, apparently watching over certain of their accounts. As was here reported (p.61, YRBK98), a few months in house arrest, and this master criminal was back on the streets, his "debt to society" having apparently been paid in full:

In the elections of 1998, he ran for the senate as a candidate of the Apertura Party which he had formed in 1997. And won, he now representing Tachira State as a senator. Now this 77-year-old has married Cecilia Matos and can look forward to wedded bliss for whatever time his life expectancy may now be.

THE VENEZUELAN CONSTITUTION OF PRESIDENT CHÁVEZ. I. (SPCL 8.8, 26 AUGUST 1999)

[Note: The four articles on the Venezuelan Constitution which follow were written in the late summer of 1999 and hence are based on a form of this document which was different from the final form of the so-called Bolivarian Constitution. The differences, however, are largely in boilerplate matters of detail. The handiwork of the Maoist president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez Frías is now avail-

able, for example at (www.georgetown.edu/pdba/Constitution/Venezuela/ven1999.html). The following analysis re remained reasonably accurate, however, as the Constitution was divided into 9 Titles, each divided into Chapters, the whole now neatly divided into 350 Articles. The 9 Titles are now I {Fundamental Principles, Arts. 1—9}, II [Geographic Space and Political Divisions, Arts. 10—18], III [Duties, Human Rights and Guarantees, Arts. 19—135], IV [Public Power, Arts. 136—185], V [Organization of National Public Power, Arts. 186—298], VI [Socio-Economic System, Arts. 299—321], VII [Security of the Nation, Arts. 322—332], VIII [Protection of the Constitution, Arts. 333—339], IX [Constitutional Reform, Arts. 340—350]. Since the intrusive scope of this Constitution remains essentially unchanged, the 1999 discussion generally maintains its value.]

On 3 August 1999 Venezuelan President Chávez's National Constituent Assembly (CAN)—or Constitutional Convention—officially opened. Because 123 of the 131 delegates were affiliated with the golpista's Polo Patriótico Party the CAN could equally well be called a party congress. To this captive audience the Venezuelan president presented what was euphemistically called a “proposal” for a new constitution.

Constitutional Boilerplate

The copy of this Constitución Bolivariana—hereinafter Const99—in the LANS files runs to slightly over 60 [now 95] pages, this of course dependent on various printing choices. The number of pages, however, is routinely proportional to the intrusiveness of government into the existences of “private” citizens and hence worthy of mention.

It is divided into two very unequal volumes, the second amounting to only 10 pages of the total. It consists of 10 “Titles,” all save two of which are divided into “Chapters,” these in turn divided into “Articles” which are not yet numbered. In more rational environments it would probably be reasonable to suppose that these Articles will eventually be numbered in sequence but such might be a dangerous assumption here.

Title I represents itself as dealing with “The Nation, the Republic and the State,” Title II with “Human Rights and Civic Duties,” these two Titles discussed in this Spcl 8.8. Title III, “The Federation, Na-

tional Powers and Powers of the States” and Title IV, “Shared and Leading Democracy,” are discussed in Wkly 8.9 below. Title V, “The Socio-Economic System” the first four Chapters of Title VI, “The National Public Power,” these concluding with Chapter IV, “The Judicial Power,” are discussed in Wkly 8.10. The last two Chapters of Title VI, these ending with Chapter VI, “The Electoral Power,” are discussed in Spcl 8.9 below. Also discussed in Spcl 8.9 are Title VII, “The System of Security and National Police,” Title VIII, “International Relations,” Title IX, “Systems of Protection of the Constitution” and Title X, “Constitutional Reform, Constitutional Assembly and Constituent Assembly.”

Title I

The Nation, The Republic and The State

[In Constitution 1961 (hereinafter Const61) Title I straightforwardly covered “The Republic, Its Territory and Political Divisions,” these including the States and the Municipalities; it consisted of 32 Articles. In Const99 27 Articles of mystical Chavezian obfuscation add a “Nation” and a “State” and move the general notions to the left of the Social Democrat Const61.]

Chapter I has four Articles defining “the Nation,” a human conglomerate...possessing common glories in the past...and sharing a common plan of development toward the future.” Perhaps the third Article is most interesting: “All the members of the Nation are ethically obligated to practice solidarity as the rule of life, contributing toward the construction...” “On these essential...elements of the Nation the Republic and the Venezuelan State are constituted.”

Chapter II begins with “Venezuela is declared the Bolivarian Republic (BR)...” with various politically correct nouns and phrases running the gamut from “free and independent” to a “coexistence with the international community.” Amusingly, the ninth Article establishes Castilian as the official language of the Republic as opposed to the anti-English Hispanic lobby in the U.S. The twelfth Article reflects the HL desire for “political, economic and social unity in LA and the Caribbean” as discussed in Wkly 8.9 immediately below.

Chapter III contains ten articles allegedly defining “the State.” The first Article is worth repetition in its entirety: “The Venezuelan State assumes as its ultimate objective the achievement of justice and the obtaining of the highest possible level of well being and

social happiness.” The Venezuelan State will “pursue happiness” for its citizens rather than allowing them to pursue it for themselves. The third Article maintains that state control over its subsoil—petroleum, minerals, etc.—which has empowered previous governments to create much of the economic chaos that has prevailed there and contributed immensely to the corruption.

In the second Article the BR describes its “national territory” as that which it possessed (claimed?) in 1810 “with the modifications resulting from the treaties celebrated validly by the Republic.” The fourth Article appears to be at cross purposes with this, it stating that “the BR of Venezuela considers null the Treaties, arbitrated Judgments, Pacts or Concessions which can fail to recognize, infringe on or diminish its sovereignty and territorial integrity.” If these two Articles appear mutually contradictory, the press coverage of the fourth Article exacerbates this. EFE (11 August 1999), for example, carried a story quoting the fourth Article and reporting that it was causing concern inside and outside the country. The piece was largely concerned with what this would do to the treaties affecting boundaries with, *inter alia*, Guayana (1899, 1996), Colombia (1891, 1941) and Brazil (1859), but it apparently did not specifically mention the second Article.

Chapter IV contains three articles allegedly referring to the “politico-administrative organization” of the Republic, these related but hardly corresponding to Title I (Const61). The Chavezians give the impression that they are changing names—like primitive man, in order to gain power over the object—for the sake of changing names. The States and the Municipalities have weathered the storm, but the Federal District (61) has become the Capital District (99), the Federal Territories (61) the Federal Regions (99), the Federal Dependencies escaping change. It is probably significant that, where Const61 dealt with Municipalities, Const99 selects (second Article) “Municipalities *and* Parishes” as repositories of local “autonomy.” In the third Article these are described as “essential entities of local power and *leading* (*protagónica*) democracy. The phrase “leading democracy” or “central democracy” is a favorite of the golpista’s adherents.

Title II

The Nationals and The Non Nationals

[In Const61, Title II is concerned with “Nationality” (Arts. 35-42) and Title III with “Duties, Rights and Guarantees” (Arts. 43-

116). In Const99, Title II is allegedly concerned with “Human Rights and Citizens’ Duties” and contains seven Chapters. Article numbers are not given, but a LANS count yields 153 which should be approximately correct.]

Chapter I (General Provisions) contains three PC Articles, the first “the political order of the BR is based on the search for social peace within the most absolute respect for human dignity, the inherent rights of the person and the free development of the personality as the basic motives”—“pretexts” is also a translation of *presupuestos*—“of the State of justice as an effective method of advancing solidarity.”

Chapter II (Nationals and Foreigners) contains twelve Articles relating to nationals and non-nationals. Double nationality is apparently allowed by the fourth Article.

Chapter III (Civil Rights) contains forty-seven Articles, the first of which states that “Everyone has the right to free development of his personality without more limitations than those which derive from the rights of others and the *public and social order*.” (Emphasis added) The second Article outlaws *ex post facto* laws as Const61 had done in Art. 44. Among these forty-seven Articles are most of the guarantees which those who profess belief in democracy—however this may be defined—feel to be essential. The fourteenth Article in Chapter II “guarantees” that no one may be detained save by the decision of a judge. But then so had Art.127 of the Great Soviet Constitution of 1936.⁴¹

On 1 June 1936 Iosif Dzugashvili (aka Stalin), “the genius of the new world, the wisest man of his epoch” (*Pravda* 8 February 1935), “submitted” a draft of the new Soviet Constitution to a plenum of the Central Committee (CC), Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The plenum dutifully approved it and convoked the Eighth Extraordinary All-Union Congress which dutifully ratified it. As the preeminent Soviet expert, Leonard Schapiro, points out, “those reared in the communist system are seldom skilled in constitutional analysis, and there is no doubt that the mere fact that the new constitution with its paper guarantees was imminent raised the hopes of many that the era of lawlessness was at an end.”⁴² Which of course it was not. A new purge had already begun the previous January. In inspecting the “paper guarantees” of the Soviet Constitution, Art. 125 “guaranteeing” freedom of speech, assembly and so on is worthy of remark. For Const99 “guarantees” the same right through the thirty-sixth (LANS count) Article of Chapter III.

This Article states that “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression...the exercise of this right cannot be subject to censorship.” But the thirty-sixth Article modifies this with allowance of censorship “1. To assure respect for the right or reputation of the rest or 2. Protection of national security, public order, public security or public morality (ethics).” The similarities between the constitution of the Venezuelan *golpista* and the “genius of the new world” need be carried no further.

Chapter V (“Economic Rights”) contains eight articles which embody the essentials of corruption and collectivization,⁴³ the source of LA economic woes and the basis for the campaign of the HL which only exacerbates them. In the first Article the stage is set with “The economic regime of the Republic will be based on the principles of social justice which assures a dignified and profitable existence (sic) for the community.” (Vide USSR, Cuba et al.) The second Article prohibits monopolies save by the state, the third lays the groundwork for further collectivization with “The State will protect private initiative [sic] without prejudicing its authority to dictate methods of planning, streamlining and promoting and regulating the circulation, distribution and consumption of the wealth to the end of impelling the economic development of the country.” The tenth Article describing these “Economic Rights” deals with the “Property Right” as its predecessors had dealt with other “rights.” Once again, “The law can subordinate such use and enjoyment (of one’s possessions)” to the “social interest.”

Chapter VI (“Social and Cultural Rights”) contains sixty Articles (LANS count) which subject every facet of human existence to State control, “guaranteeing” goals impossible of attainment in most of the categories covered. The “right” to health care, which has had such a baneful effect on health care wherever introduced (Vide Britain et al.) is covered in seven Articles, the “right” to education in four. Incidentally, the twenty-seventh Article (Communications and Education Media) should be fascinating to those dwelling in the real world: “The media of social communication, as much public as private, understood to be servants of the community, will contribute through their programming to the formation of citizens capable of creating a society in which the values of democracy, human rights and social justice prevail.”

Through the remainder of these sixty Articles the listing of “rights” drags on through rights to work, rights to “social loans,” rights to

“sufficient salary,” rights to unionization, rights to “accessible, universal, comprehensive, equitable and fraternal social security,” the right to “adequate, secure, comfortable and hygienic housing” to two “rights” which bear the marxist label. These last are “the right to land” and the “elimination of the latifundio.” These “rights” are in essence the abolition of the property right⁴⁴ and the surrender to what are nothing more than terrorist operations. And these two articles provide for the implementation of this AgRef.

Chapter VII (“Citizens’ Duties”) contains eighteen Articles outlining a rather full set of “citizen duties.” That the Venezuelans “have the duty and honor of defending the country” (Art.2), of feeding their children (Art.5) of caring for their ancient parents (Art.6) and various other familial obligations may indeed be part of the general morality, but only in an all-powerful State of the sort emerging here is it necessary to set this forth in the constitution. The spirit of this Chapter, in consonance with the spirit of its predecessors, is emphasized in the first Article which is nothing more than a paraphrase of Measure 8 in Heinrich Karl Marx’s *Manifesto*:

“8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially of agriculture.”⁴⁵

The first Article of Chapter VII states, inter alia, “In addition to the obligations consecrated in this Constitution and the Laws for the citizens with relation to education...the individual will be obligated..., by virtue of social and humanitarian solidarity, to the provision of the services which are incumbent upon him according to his capacity.” As Heinrich Karl Marx also put it, “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need,” a resounding failure wherever essayed

THE VENEZUELAN CONSTITUTION OF PRESIDENT CHÁVEZ. II. (WKLY 8.9, 2 SEPTEMBER 1999)

On 3 August 1999 Venezuelan President Chávez’s National Constituent Assembly (CAN)—or Constitutional Convention—officially opened. Because 123 of the 131 delegates were affiliated with the gopista’s Polo Patriótico Party the CAN could equally well be called a party congress. To this captive audience the Venezuelan president presented what was euphemistically called a “proposal” for a new constitution.

Constitutional Boilerplate

The copy of this Constitución Bolivariana (CB)—hereinafter Const99—in the LANS files runs to slightly over sixty [now ninety-five] pages, this of course dependent on various printing choices. The number of pages, however, is routinely proportional to the intrusiveness of government into the existence of “private” citizens and hence worthy of mention.

Const99 is divided into two very unequal volumes, the second amounting to only ten pages of the total. It consists of ten “Titles,” each of which is divided into “Chapters,” these in turn divided into “Articles” which are not yet numbered.

In Spcl 8.8 above the alleged subject matter in each Title as given by the authors is listed. In that report the first two Titles have been treated in what should be sufficient detail for understanding. This treatment is continued with:

Title III

Of the Federation, National Powers and Powers of the State

[Title 3 is made up of nine Chapters, titles below, and fifty-three Articles (LANS count).]

Chapter I (“Fundamental Dispositions”) contains two Articles, the first stating that “Venezuela is a Federal State which is governed by the principles of integration, coordination, concurrence, solidarity and subsidiarity.”⁴⁶ The second Article states, “Decentralization is a national political strategy which has as [its] fundamental objectives the deepening of democracy, bringing Power to the people [sic and creating the best conditions for the exercise of protagónica⁴⁷ democracy, and the achievement of the objectives of the State Equally,⁴⁸ should obtain the efficient and efficacious assistance of the committed states.”

Chapter II (“The Jurisdictions [*Competencias*] of the National Power”). The first Article states, “The jurisdiction [*competencia*] of the National Power are: 1. The determination of macroeconomic, financial, administrative and fiscal policies; political policies; properties; management and administration of the hydrocarbons, mines and (mineral, etc.) deposits; planning and coordination of the all-embracing (*integral*)⁴⁹ Social Security System; national political policy in matters of education, health, sanitation, environment, hous-

ing and alimentary security; execution of public works of national interest; conservation and promotion of agricultural, cattle, fish and timber production; national security and defense; organization of the National Armed Forces; international political policy; naturalization, admission and expulsion of foreigners; identification services; organization of national police bodies; carrying out census and national statistics; national routes of communication, mail and telecommunications; organization of justice and the Attorney General; maritime, aerial and surface transport of national character. 2. To propitiate the development of citizen participation in the economic processes, stimulating all forms of the social economy, particularly the cooperatives, the savings accounts, benefit societies, communal service enterprises and other associative forms. At the same time, to impel the participation of the workers and communities in the management of the public and private institutions..." In the last paragraph authorization is given to produce legislation "regulating these guarantees, rights and constitutional duties."

Constitutions are only worth the paper on which they are printed when the politicians abide by them, certainly not when someone like the incumbent golpista rides roughshod over them as he has done with Const61. Nevertheless, since Hugo Chávez won the Venezuelan presidency on a platform that promised a new constitution in order to cure the economic ills of his country, it is worthwhile to ask how Const99 differs from Const61.

Under Title IV ("The Public Power") of Const61, Chapters I and II deal with the same matters as Title III, Chapter II above. In fine, most of the powers assigned to the central government have simply been copied from Const61 into Const99, e.g., "foreigners"; "customs"; socialization of minerals; National Armed Forces; census and statistics; "conservation and stimulation" of agriculture, livestock, etc. What the Chavezians have done is add a mystical picture of a planned (socialist) economy which is meant to appeal to the *sans culottes*. As a method of winning an election such a mystically endowed constitution was clearly effective when combined with an attack on the Democratic Action (AD) socialists and the Christian Socialists (COPEI) which in tandem had submerged the Venezuelan economy in what Chelminski called "socialist prehistory" (pp.76ff, YRBK97).

Chapter III ("The Powers of the States"). Much the same comparisons can be made between the provisions of the two constitu-

tions with respect to the powers of the states as were made with respect to the national powers. The States organize their “Municipalities and other local entities” under Const61 (Chapter III, Art.17.2) as they organize “their Municipalities and the rest of their local entities” under Const99 (Chapter III, first Article, Par.2). In the second Article “*Integral Social Security*” makes an appearance which it did not make with respect to the States in Const61 as do a number of other amenities aimed at transforming each State into a latter-day Garden of Eden and more or less corresponding to those enumerated in the first Article of Chapter II, Const99. The fourth and last Article concludes with a typically Pollyanna proviso that the States “promote and facilitate the creation and development of forms and community organization structures, open and flexible, which originate in our cultural identity...”

Chapter IV (“Organization of the Public State Power”). The first through seventh Articles relate to the chief executive of the State. The first Article provides for a state governor. The second Article reduces the minimum gubernatorial age from the thirty years of Const61 to twenty-one years, a change on the virtues of which the reader may wish to ruminate. The third Article establishes a run-off election in the event no candidate attains an absolute majority, a four-year term of office and a single re-election.⁵⁰ The fifth Article provides that the governor will preside over the State Councils of Planning and Coordination of Public Policies. The eighth through eleventh Articles deal with the State Legislative Council, apparently a change of name from the Legislative Assemblies of Const61. The Chavezians, apparently sensitive to the demands of their “youth” wing, demonstrated considerable concern with minimum ages for election, allowing state legislators to run for office when 18. The remainder of the Articles in Chapter IV relate to other elective offices such as that of the Comptroller, the State Defender of Human Rights, the attorneys of the Attorney General and so on.

Chapter V (“Municipal Competence”). The first Article deals with the general subject matter, Par.2 being a typical Const99 statement: “To promote citizen participation for the formulation of programs, plans and local projects, in the execution of works and services as well as in the phases of control evaluation of same.” *Integral Social Security* raises its head again in Par.7 of this Article while the second Article “will establish concurrent competencies of the Municipi-

pality with the national power and with the state power in accord with the geographical, political, economic and social diversity..." The fourth Article introduces the "parish" with: "In each parish will be conformed a parochial committee by popular election...which will have" and there follows a list of eight ambitious categories which may be typified by "Par. e. To promote citizen participation with communal scope toward the end of stimulating joint responsibility, cooperation and neighborly solidarity in the services of alimentary supply, education, health and environmental sanitation, social assistance for a better coexistence of the community."

Chapter VI ("Municipal Organization"). The Municipalities are described in Chapter IV, Art.25 of Const61 as "the primary and autonomous political unit within the national organization." Characteristically, the Chavezians define the same entity in the first Article as "...founded in geographic, political, economic and social diversity. The Law will have to establish categories of Municipalities according to their population, fiscal resources, economic importance and geographic situation and report distinct regimes for their..." Mayors (alcaldes) are authorized (second Article) as Municipal executives, these to be over twenty-one and elected for a four-year term (third Article) which may be repeated once (fourth Article). The eighth Article establishes the Municipal Council as the Municipal Legislative Power in which eighteen-year-olds may seek a four-year term. In the remainder of the sixteen Articles the office of Municipal Comptroller and the Local Council of Public Planning are established.

Chapter VII ("Capital District"). In the first Article the Capital District is created as the "territorial political administrative unit of the city of Caracas" by adding four Municipalities from the State of Miranda to the Municipality now corresponding to the "present Federal District." The Miranda municipalities will have mayors (*alcalde*), the *primus inter pares* (chief mayor) being the Grand Mayor (*alcalde mayor*) governing Caracas.

Chapter VIII ("Federal Council of Government). In the first Article the Federal Council of Government is assigned the task of "planning, coordination and organization of actions and policies for development of the process of decentralization and transfer of competencies from the National Power to the states and municipalities." There will be another *primus inter pares* here, the first Minister pre-

siding over this Council made up of the other ministers, the governors and “representatives of civil society.” The third Articles brings in the mayors when “matters of Municipal competency are treated.” The Council will have a Secretariat made up of the first Minister—here “Primer” is capitalized so the intention of the Prime Minister designation appears indicated—two minister and three governors. In the fifth Article a list of 11 euphemistic “functions” of the Council is given, the list concluded with a statement of the president’s right to veto whatever that august body might do.

Chapter IX (“Administrative Regions”). The first of the two Articles here will be quoted to demonstrate the Chavezian commitment to intrusiveness and obfuscation. “With the objective of promoting the economic and homogeneous social development in this geo-economic and social complex, two or more states will be able to constitute administrative regions with autonomous juridical legal capacity and its own patrimony” (...*regiones administrativas, con personería jurídica, autónoma y patrimonio propio*).

Title IV

Democracy Shared and Leading (*Democracia Participativa y Protagónica*)

Chapter I (“Fundamental Dispositions”). The first Article states that the RB of Venezuela is democratic because its very existence is rooted in the active participation of the people in the formation and execution of the public decisions, said participation being the necessary medium to achieve the prominence which guarantees completion of individual and collective development.” The second Article states that “the protagonist exercise of democracy is constituted in concrete ethical expression of the peoples participation and it is the obligation of the State to facilitate by all means...the generation of the most favorable conditions for its constant practice...” Perhaps the third Article is most worthy of repetition as the most nearly complete expression of the planned intrusiveness into the citizens’ lives.

“*Shared and leading (participativa and protagónica) democracy covers the nationwide political, social and economic aspects of the daily existence of the human being.*”

Chapter II (“Referendum”). As discussed in the six Articles of this Chapter, “matters of special national transcendence” can be submitted to a referendum on the initiative of the President of the Republic in the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly or no

less than 5 percent of the registered voters. If the measure does not win the Yes-No count, it may not be submitted again for two years.

Chapter III (“Revocation of the Mandate”). The first Article states that “All the national, regional, state and local positions and magistracies impose on the elected functionary the completion of the duties and obligations attached to them (the positions) as well as the program which (the candidate) presented on registering as a candidate.” The second Article provides for a recall election on completion of one-half the office holder’s term if 10 percent call for it. The office holder not only must fulfill the “duties of this office,” he must likewise fulfill his “campaign promises.” Those recalled may run again after two years according to the third Article.

Chapter IV (“Political Parties”). The first Article expresses admiration for this “manifestation of the peoples’ will” so long as these entities abide by Const99, not Const61. The third Article requires the parties “to assure the active and *protagónica* participation of its members...” The fourth Article prohibits the “public financing of electoral campaign operations” of the parties. The fifth Article states that the parties have the right to use the social communications media “in the terms established by law.”

THE VENEZUELAN CONSTITUTION OF PRESIDENT CHÁVEZ. III (WKLY 8.10, 9 SEPTEMBER 1999)

On 3 August 1999 Venezuelan President Chávez’s CAN—or Constitutional Convention—officially opened. Because 123 of the 131 delegates were affiliated with the golpista’s Polo Patriótico Party the CAN could equally well be called a party congress. To this captive audience the Venezuelan president presented what was euphemistically called a “proposal” for a new constitution.

Constitutional Boilerplate

Const99 is divided into two very unequal volumes, the second amounting to only 10 pages of the total. It consists of 10 “Titles.” All save two Titles are divided into “Chapters,” these in turn divided into “Articles” which are not yet numbered.

In Spcl 8.8 above the alleged subject matter in each Title as given by the authors is listed. In that report the first two Titles have been discussed, in Wkly 8.10 the next two. The treatment is continued with Title V:

Title V
Of the Socio-Economic System

[This Title is not divided into Chapters as are those preceding and following it. It consists of thirty Articles (LANS count).]

The first Article (LANS numbering) states that "The economic system installed in Venezuela will always be at the service of the social system and its basic elements will be constituted as a function of the resources and the potentialities of the Nation."

The meaningless second Article is worthy of full quotation in its attempt to define the recently-introduced "middle road" between the free market and state socialism: "The Venezuelan economic system rejects dogmatic extremisms [sic] and its self-managed [*autogestionario*] development is located at an [the?] equilibrium point between the State and the market [sic], between the public and the private [sic], between the national and the international." The last leg of this triad is apparently meant as an "intellectual" assessment of globalism."

The third Article essentially states that the "socio-economic regime" of the RB (Bolivarian Republic) "has as its object *integral* human development defined as the process of elevating the level of life of the nation" which will bring all things to all men. It will "embrace all the manifestations of human life from its physical environment to its economic, political and cultural spheres."

The fourth Article has "the State in close coordination with the private sector" promoting "development and diversification," while the fifth Article touts the "socio-economic regime" thus introduced, but never really encouraging "autonomy" and promoting all those creations of the environmental wing of the International Left (IL). The sixth Article assures that there "cannot be awarded to enterprises, foreigners or foreign regimes more benefits than those available to the (Venezuelan) nationals." The seventh Article voids "any clauses, conditions or limits on the sovereign legal authority of the Republic," a point of considerable import to any baksheesh members of the Venezuelan government may wish to collect. The eighth Article deals with the contracts in which the Republic is to be involved, the door left open for potentially interesting maneuver.

The ninth Article has the State establishing “the regulations in the public interest in social benefit, the enjoyment of the natural resources susceptible of approval with the object of caring for their conservation and achieving an equitable distribution of public riches” and so on. By the tenth Article the citizen is allowed to engage in profitable activity with the limitation imposed by “the laws for reasons of security, health and other [matters] of social interest.” The eleventh Article “guarantees” the property right so long as it in no way interferes with anything the “State” has in mind, a position which is essentially repeated with relation to “private initiative” in the twelfth Article. By the fourteenth Article the RB is required to continue “subsoil” socialization—petroleum, minerals, etc. This is reinforced by the fifteenth Article on “liquid hydrocarbons.” To these subsoil collectivization’s the sixteenth Article adds that of the various waters. The nineteenth Article protects the “integrity of the ethnic Indian lands.”

The twentieth Article has the State promoting “the conditions for *integral* rural development...to generate employment and guarantee an adequate level of campesino well being...” This Article also is an important basis for government meddling in agriculture and forestry production “and the optimal use of land” with the attendant government involvement. Finally, this Article closes with “the public interest...prohibits the Latifundio⁵¹ as being contrary to the national interest.” As has been pointed out before, the “Latifundio” is a straw-man set up by the Left as a justification for that “low-intensity warfare” against agriculture known as AgRef (198ff, YRBK98).

In the twenty-first Article the Central Bank is established as a “State entity” which will “defend the purchasing power of the national money and foreign exchange” (sic). The next three Articles are caveats and arrangements for this government-controlled economy.

The twenty-sixth Article is interesting as providing the constitutional authority for what the members of Castro’s HL have in mind, that is, “a soviet-type union” of LA states. This Article states that “the Republic will favor LA and Caribbean economic integration,” concluding with the advocacy of “sustainable human development.”

The twenty-seventh Article appears to be one more paraphrase of the Marxian “From each according to his ability...” Specifically, it states that “The Tax System will obtain the just distribution of the

public charges (taxes) according to the economic capacity of the taxpayer..." A bit more boilerplate on taxes, and the occupant of this Marxist Garden of Eden is reassured in the thirtieth Article that "Everyone is obliged to contribute toward the payment of public charges."

Title VI

The National Public Power

[This Title contains 110 Articles (LANS count).]

Chapter I (Fundamental Principles). "The National Public Power exists as an instrument to achieve the ultimate objective of the State defined by justice, well being and social felicity." The second Article states that "The National Public Power is constituted from the Legislative, Executive, Judicial, Moral and Electoral Powers. The organs and powers of the State have their own and separate functions but collaborate harmonically for the execution of the State objectives." The third Article declares all "usurped authority" non-existent. The next four Articles oppose the exercise of "Public Power" to the advantage of those exercising them or of others as illegal, the eighth Article maintains subordination of these powers to the Law and the Constitution.

Chapter II (National Legislative Power). The first Article establishes the "National Assembly," this made up of two Houses, the Federal Senate and the House of Deputies. The second Article establishes the Federal Senate as made up of two senators elected from each State and ten senators elected by "National Circumscription" (at large). The third Article eliminates Senators-for-life (*Vitalicio*, specifically ex-presidents) and "Additional Senators." The fourth Article provides for the election of two substitutes with each senator. The fifth Article requires senatorial candidates to be Venezuelan by birth and of over thirty years of age and lists certain disqualifications. The sixth Article lists seventeen prerogative powers of the Senate. Various of these relate to foreign affairs, these duties ranging from treaties to the authorization of Permanent Diplomatic Missions. Others of these relate to impeachment or trial thereof of the president, governors, officials such as the magistrates of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice (TSJ) and so on. The senators "will hold office four years in the exercise of their functions" according to the seventh Article and "will give public and periodic accounts of their mandates" according to the eighth.

A list of three functions is given for the House of Deputies in the ninth Article, the first to present impeachment accusations to the Senate, the second to initiate the budget and the third whatever else appears in the Constitution and laws.

In Chapter II, the tenth and eleventh Articles set forth restrictions imposed on members of both houses of Congress, the first forbidding retirement and limiting re-election to three terms. The eleventh Article lists four forbidden areas—be proprietor of a concern with government contracts, etc.—and confers immunity on Senators and Deputies “in the exercise of the parliamentary function.” The twelfth through the twenty-ninth Articles are concerned with the process for creating legislation. Variations from familiar parliamentary procedure are few, an interesting example of these appearing in the fifteenth Article (Initiative of Laws). The Article lists five ways of introducing a law, the first three—House or Senate committees, National Executive, no less than three senators or deputies—being familiar. The fourth method is by the TSJ, the fifth by no less than 20,000 voters. By the twenty-first Article the text of the laws must follow the formula, “The National Assembly of the BR of Venezuela. Decree.” What amounts to presidential veto, with two-thirds necessary for override, is discussed in the twenty-third Article.

The Twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth Articles establish a Delegate Committee to function during the recess of the National Assembly. This Committee is made up of the President, the Vice President and an unspecified number of National Assembly members. The twenty-ninth Article establishes eight powers of this Committee: 2. Carry out investigations; 3. Designate special committees; 4. Convoke extraordinary sessions of the National Assembly; 5. Authorize emergency executive action; 6. Authorize executive decree of budget additions and other actions.

Chapter III (Title VI)

The National Executive Power

The first Article establishes the Executive Power as exercised by “the President, the first Vice President (VP), the VPs, the Ministers, the Council of State and other functionaries as determined by the Constitution and Laws.” The second Article establishes the President as “leader of the Nation”; the third Article establishes him as Chief of State and Government, maximum administrative authority and “leader of the National Armed Forces (FAN) with rank of Com-

mander in Chief.” The fourth Article requires that the President be over thirty years of age and Venezuelan by birth. Since Chávez had been pardoned for his golpista activities, the criminal caveats of this Article would not apply to him. The sixth Article provides for the six-year term the new president had demanded and allows his re-election. It also provides for a run-off election if no candidate receives an absolute majority. The sixth through ninth Articles are routine and refer to such matters as taking possession, leaving the country, prosecution only through impeachment and so on.

The tenth Article sets forth a list of twenty-three presidential duties, all more or less routine. The first nine relate to appointing and removing various officials and commanding the FAN. No. 11 allows him to call special sessions of Congress, No. 16 to decree additional credits to the budget while No.21 requires an annual message to the Congress.

The twelfth through fourteenth Articles deal with the First VP who is appointed by the President, who will act for the President in his temporary or permanent absence. By the fifteenth Article the President may appoint as many VPs “as affairs of public interest may require without assigning them specific offices.” Their duties will be “as assigned to them by Law.” The sixteenth through twentieth Articles refer to the Ministers “who are the direct and auxiliary instruments and assemble to constitute the Council of Ministers.” By the seventeenth Article “the President can appoint Territorial Ministers...to facilitate the economic and social development of one or various States.” A Minister must be over thirty years of age.

The twenty-first through the twenty-sixth Articles define the office and duties of the Attorney’s General’s Office of the Republic, the last Article named requiring the Attorney General to assist at the meetings of the Council of Ministers. The twenty-seventh Article defines the Council of State as the highest consultative organ of the Government and the National Public Administration. By the twenty-seventh Article it is presided over by the VP and has five members appointed, one by the President, one by the National Assembly, one by the TSJ and one, a governor selected by the governors of the States. The Council of Defense and Security is defined by the thirty-first Article and is the President’s consulting organ on matters relating to defense. It includes the VP, the presidents of the Senate and

the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministers of Defense, Foreign Relations and Planning.

Chapter IV (Title VI)

The Judicial Power

According to the thirty-second Article the “Judicial Power is exercised by the TSJ and by the rest of the tribunals which establish the Law, by responsible, impartial, independent and non-removable Magistrates and Judges.” In the thirty-fourth Article a Justice of the Peace is established for interpersonal conflicts. The Council of the Magistracy is treated in the thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and fortieth Articles, it being “in charge of the selection and procedures for naming judges” by the thirty-eighth Article and made up of members selected, one by TSJ, one by the President, one by the National Assembly, one by the College of Attorneys and one by the Rectors of the National Universities by the thirty-ninth Article. Its watchdog position is described in the fortieth Article. By the forty-first Article the TSJ is the governing body for the Judiciary; by the forty-third the Federal Constitutional Hall, made up of five “Magistrates expert in Public Law,” oversees the “constitutionality of state acts and controversies among the Republic, the States and the Municipalities.”

THE VENEZUELAN CONSTITUTION OF PRESIDENT CHÁVEZ. IV (SPCL 8.9, 12 SEPTEMBER 1999)

On 3 August 1999 Venezuelan President Chávez’s CAN—or Constitutional Convention—officially opened. Because 123 of the 131 delegates were affiliated with the golpista’s Polo Patriótica Party the CAN could equally well be called a party congress. To this captive audience the Venezuelan president presented what was euphemistically called a “proposal” for a new constitution.

Constitutional Boilerplate

Const99 is divided into two very unequal volumes, the second amounting to only 10 pages of the total. It consists of 10 “Titles.” All save two Titles are divided into “Chapters,” these in turn divided into “Articles” which are not yet numbered. In Spcl 8.8 above Titles I and II are discussed, in Wkly 8.9 above Titles III and IV and in Wkly 8.10 above Titles V and VI. The remaining Titles are discussed below.

Montesquieu⁵² divided government into three branches, to which the Chavezians refer as “powers,” the Legislative, the Executive

and the Judicial. These have been discussed in Wkly 8.10 under Chapter II, Chapter III and Chapter IV, respectively, of Title VI. In what appears to be a game of “one upmanship,” Chávez has divided what can be described as “his” government into five branches or “powers” by adding the “Moral Power” (Chapter V below) and the “Electoral Power” (Chapter VI below).

Chapter V

(Of the Moral Power [Branch] of the Republic)

Chapter V contains twenty-three Articles (LANS count). The first one of these defines the Moral Power of the Republic (MPR) as having as its “objective the prevention and sanction of those acts considered as attempts against public ethics and administrative morality.” The second Article declares that “Those powers are imprescriptable⁵³ (from the MP) which are carried out against the natural resources (patrimony) the MPR being competent to initiate and follow up before the juridical organs.” The third Article states that “the MPR will also have as objective the shaping (*formación*) of the citizens in the exercise of the (their) civic virtues, the promotion of citizen education (in what?), the development of solidarity and the exercise of liberty and democracy.

The fourth Article, titled “The Integration of the PDR,” states that “the PDR will be made up of the Comptroller General of the Republic (CGR), the Attorney General of the Republic (FGR) and the Defender of the People (DP).” By the fifth Article the DP “must fulfill the conditions honorably,” the sixth Article speaking of the reports which must apparently be written honorably, the seventh Article insisting that the “Public Powers” hasten to support the DP in all this honorable behavior. The FGR will keep a vigil (*velar*) over the exact observance of the Constitution and the laws by the eighth Article while the ninth Article insists on his meeting with the Magistrates and being elected by the National Assembly. The tenth Article enumerates six duties of the FGR, these beginning with “keeping a vigil over constitutional rights” and concluding with an admonition to do “that which the laws attribute to him.” The eleventh and twelfth Articles admonish government authorities to support him and he to write a report.

The thirteenth through eighteenth Articles lay out the duties of the CGR, the first of these directing him to exercise “control, vigilance and supervision over the incomes, expenses and national

welfare...” The remainder of these six Articles enlarge on these themes, concluding with his duty to submit a report to the National Assembly. The “Republican Moral Council” (CMR), by the nineteenth Article, is made up of the magistrates from the organizations which form them. The twenty-third Article requires the CMR to promote all variety of politically correct activity to include “orienting the citizens to the knowledge and study of this Constitution, to love of country...to respect for human rights.”

Chapter VI

(The Electoral Power)

There are eight Articles in this last Chapter of Title VI, the first setting forth the functions of this “fifth branch” of government as “organizing, directing and watching over the acts relative to elections to the offices of popular representation...” The second Article states that “all citizens have the right and the obligation to provide their services in the electoral functions assigned to them.” The third Article “guarantees the principle of personalization of the suffrage” while the fourth Article requires that national elections be held separately from state and municipal elections.

With this, attention is shifted to the TSE, the last three Articles in Chapter VI devoted to this body. The sixth Article states that “the Electoral Power will be presided over by the TSE, the maximum electoral authority” against the decisions of which nothing will prevail. The seventh Article will consist of thirteen Magistrates, three elected by the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, two by the President, two by the National Assembly, two by the National Council and “the remainder by the CMR” (sic, apparently four). The terms of office of these Magistrates is four years, repeatable once. The eighth and last Article in Chapter VI lists eight powers, the first “to preside over the Electoral Power,” the second “to convoke popular elections,” the sixth “to declare elections null or partially so” and concluding with “whatever else is attributed to it by law.”

Title VII

(The System of Security and National Police)

Chapter I (General Dispositions) contains six Articles (LANS Count). The first Article states that “The Security and Defense of the Nation is the transcendental function of the State and all the Venezuelan people will participate in it.” The second Article assigns responsibility for National Defense to the President who, by the third

Article, is the maximum authority in matters of National Defense. By the fourth Article the National Armed Forces (FAN) must protect the sovereignty of the Nation, assure territorial integrity and *actively participate in national development*. The fifth Article requires the State to maintain the armed forces at the highest level, the sixth Article restricts possession or import of “arms of war” to the Armed Forces.

Chapter II (Principles of Security and Defense) contains five Articles, the first establishing the importance of security and defense, the second stating that these cover economic, social and cultural themes, the third maintaining that Security and Defense “constitute the support for propelling the *integral* development of the Nation. The fourth emphasizes the importance of the frontiers to “*integral* development,” the fifth maintains minimum secrecy.

Chapter III (The National Armed Forces) also contains five Articles, the first of these establishing the Army, the Navy, (Military) Aviation and the Guard as the service branches, these also functioning in an *integral* manner. According to the second Article, Army, Navy and Aviation are to assure national defense while the Guard assists in this and will conduct activities of Police Administration and Penal Investigation as required by law. The third Article allows for Armed Force members to vote but not participate in party activities. The fourth Article makes promotion in the military the “exclusive” province of the president and the military service. (Nota bene: *In Const61 promotions to flag rank had to have congressional approval.*) The fifth Article provides for an organic law.

Chapter IV (Other organs of the Public Force). By the first Article, the “National Executive will organize...a body of national police...to maintain order,” etc. According to the second Article, a regional unit of National Police will function in each State. The third Article authorizes the creation of “a body of Municipal police” in the Municipalities.

Chapter V (The National Armed Forces and the Civil Society). The first Article reads: “All Venezuelans have the duty of defending the country and are obliged to take up arms when public necessity demands in order to guarantee sovereignty, national independence and democratic institutions.” The second Article reads: “The National Armed Forces will cooperate with the civil society in the social, economic, scientific and technical development of the country, exercising functions and activities connected to the *integral* development of the Nation.”

Title VIII

(International Relations)

[This Title contains nine Articles (LANS Count) with no Chapter Divisions]

The first Article defines the foreign relations of the Republic as tailored to State objectives as a function of the exercise of sovereignty and the specific interest of the Venezuelan people. The second Article lists the foundation of these foreign relations on the principles of equality, territorial integrity, independence, international cooperation, free determination of peoples, peaceful settlement of controversies, the principles proclaimed in the UN Charter and treaties of which Venezuela is a part. The third Article states that “Venezuela is promoting political, economic and social integration of LA and the Caribbean through all possible mechanisms...” One mechanism would surely be the “sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in LA” as was specifically enunciated at the IV São Paulo Forum (FSP) in Havana in 1993 (cf. pp.98ff, YRBK97). This Article also mentions doing this by “Treaties and *Anfictionías*” as would be anticipated, the arcane *anfictionías* (confederations of ancient Greek states) in keeping with the Chavezian desire for obscurity and the unsuccessful attempts at a Bolivarán Anfictionic Federation in the 1820s.

The fourth Article establishes treaties as the “law of the land.” The fifth Article pertains to ratification of treaties, these to be approved by the National Assembly and ratified by the President. If the treaty refers to national defense, sovereignty or territorial integrity it must be approved by referendum. The sixth Article provides for ratification before approval under urgent circumstances. The seventh Article promotes “internationalization” of ecological, economic and social relations which is probably related to the third Article. By the eighth Article the Republic supports the democratic order as unique and *irrenunciable* (cannot be waived) “and favors peaceable extension to all the peoples of the planet.” The last and ninth Article maintains the principle of non-intervention and respect for the self determination of peoples.

Title IX

(Systems of Protection of the Constitution)

Chapter I (Fundamental Principles) is the only Chapter in this Title, but it is labeled and contains ten Articles. The first Article bases the methods for protection on “the principles of necessity, tempo-

rality and proportionality” (sic). By the second Article the President may “suspend Constitutional guarantees” in the case of war, geological shock and emergency. By the third Article he must give the reasons for suspension and the areas where suspended. The fourth Article must submit the decree to the National Assembly within ten days, the fifth Article requiring that the suspension does not interrupt the functioning of the Public Power. By the sixth Article the President may simultaneously decree two or more states of exception, and by the eighth Article he will decree when the suspension is over.

Title X

(Constitutional Reform, Constitutional Assembly and Constituent Assembly)

Chapter I (Constitutional Reform) contains four Articles, the first giving the object of such reform—“partial revision of this Constitution”—the second the initiative for it—both houses of the National Assembly, the President or 5 percent of the electorate—the third requiring two-thirds of the National Assembly for approval and the fourth requiring a referendum.

Chapter II (Constitutional Assembly) contains five Articles, the first stating the object of such a Convention, this being that of “dictating” (sic) a new Constitution, the second the initiative for it which is that of the second Article of Chapter I above. The last three Articles call an Assembly (third) to which are elected delegates as stipulated in the referendum (fourth) and which will submit the resulting Constitution to a referendum within thirty days (fifth).

Chapter III (Constituent Assembly). The Chávezian Constituent Assembly had problems in removing the members of the Legislative and Judicial Branches who had been selected under Const61 since there were no provisions for such actions in the older document. Not that this concerned the Chavezians, but it accounts for the fact that Chapter III of this Title has one more Article than Chapter II. Practically speaking, both Chapters replaced an “old” Constitution with a “new” one, but the Constituent Assembly is given the power, by the first Article in Chapter III, “not only to approve a new Constitution, but also to establish freely its order of relations with the Constituted Powers.”

Notes

1. Fernando Henrique Cardoso (b. 18 June 1931) is a leftist sociologist whose early activities may be characterized by the association he founded for the study of Marxism. His prolific writings harshly criticized capitalism. Cardoso was the father of what Mexican economist Luís Pazos calls the “much discredited theory of dependency” (cf. F. H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, UCLA Press, 1978). This theory blames Latin American poverty on “exploitation” by the industrialized nations—Editor.
2. These were the indexes compiled by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) and the Economic Research Foundation of São Paulo (FIPE), for more discussion of which cf. YRBK97—Editor.
3. The Marxist-Leninist nature of MST is well illustrated by one of its leading lights, José Rainha Junior (cf. pp. 108ff, YRBK 97). The MST position of leadership in the “low-intensity war” being conducted by the Hemispheric Left (HL) is illustrated by the literary efforts of João Pedro Stedile (pp. 198ff, YRBK98)—Editor.
4. That “Roosevelt brought the U.S. out of the Great Depression” is one of those myths beloved by the Left. Instead, of course, the National Recovery Act, the Wagner Act and the abandonment of the gold standard, inter alia, were only three among those New Deal measures which, to a large extent through driving out capital, drove the U.S. into a deeper depression—1937 down dip—and prevented what would have been recovery until the U.S. entered World War II. Cf. also Alan Greenspan, “Stock Prices and Capital Evaluation” (Paper delivered before a joint session of the American Statistical Association and the American Finance Association, 27 December 1959)—Editor.
5. Flynn, after an early demise, was accused of having been a Nazi. Whether true or false, such a comradely association between MLs and Nazis is certainly appropriate for these kindred leftists.
6. A brief bio of Matthews, the admirer of the International Brigades of Dzugashvili (aka Stalin) in Spain, is given on p. 192 of YRBK97 (*Latin American Political Yearbook 1997*, Transaction Publishers, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-350-2).
7. Earl E. T. Smith, *THE FOURTH FLOOR: An Account of the Castro Communist Revolution* (Random House, 1962. LCC: 63-8331). Smith was U.S. ambassador to Cuba from 1957 to 1959, to be replaced after Castro takeover by the curious Philip Wilson Bonsal.
8. Few save W. F. Buckley, Jr. and L. Brent Bozell (*McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and Its Meaning*, Regnery, 1954. LCC: 54-6342) appear to have had the intestinal fortitude to essay a rational discussion of the topic.
9. Paul Bethel (*The Losers: The Definitive Report, by an Eyewitness, of the Communist Conquest of Cuba and the Soviet Penetration in Latin America*, Arlington, 1969. ISBN: 87000-053-5) was Press Attache in the U.S. Embassy at Havana during the Castro takeover.
10. Salvador de Madariaga, *SPAIN: A Modern History*. Praeger, 1958. LCC: 58-9695.
11. The intellectual/academic wing of the Cuba Lobby is orchestrated by the Science and Human Rights Program of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Its newsletters and promotional literature speak of being “in collaboration with the American Association of University Professors; the American Association for World Health; the American Physical Society; and the Committee of Concerned Scientists.” This is a formidable array of organizations and individuals by any quantitative or qualitative standard. It needs to be noted that such activist commit-

ments are usually grounded in the decisions of key staff members and do not always represent the will of the membership.

12. John S. Kalevich, statements to CBS, July 18, 1995, and to CNN, Feb. 25, 1996, from Cuba: Cuba Trade and Economic Committee, Inc., New York, NY, 1998.
13. Peter Brimelow and Edwin S. Rubinstein, "The Cost of Castro," *Forbes*, Mar. 23, 1998, p.80.
14. The business-commercial wing of the Cuba Lobby includes the National Association of Manufacturers, United States Association for International Business and Trade, United States Chamber of Commerce, United States-Cuba Foundation, United States-Cuba Trade and Economic Council, and USA Engage. These tend to cluster in the New York and Washington areas. They draw representation from a variety of major corporations, ranging from Caterpillar to Archer Daniels Midland, that is firms manufacturing or distributing the sort of equipment and providing the kind of services that could be utilized in Cuba.
15. The political and policy wing of the Cuba Lobby is largely centered in Washington and includes the Center for International Policy, Council of Hemispheric Affairs, Cuban American Committee Research and Education Fund, Cuban Committee for Democracy, Global Exchange, Human Rights Watch, Institute for Policy Studies, and the Inter-American Dialogue. Many of these types of organizations are staffed by former members of the Senate and House of Representatives, including former aides and staff members. Cambio Cubano is noteworthy for being one of the very few organizations with former leading Cubans in leadership roles.
16. Perhaps the most surprising is the degree of involvement in Cuban affairs by grant-making and foundation agencies. Alamar Associates provides not only funding but consulting to a variety of firms; the Arca Foundation, as its name implies, has indeed been a treasure chest of support for Cuban causes; the Ford Foundation, once known as a conservative bastion, has been active in opposition to the embargo; another old line agency, the General Services Foundation, has been equally active in grants for Cuban causes; and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, in keeping with its general ideological proclivities, is also a major supporter for a rapprochement in American-Cuban relations.
17. Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Cuba Lobby: Supplying Rope to a Mortgaged Revolution," *Washington Review of Strategic and International Studies*, July 1978, pp. 58-71.
18. Pascal Fletcher, "Policy Makers Greet Allies from U.S.," *Financial Times* (London), Mar. 17, 1998.
19. Mark Falcoff, "Is It Time to Rethink the Cuban Embargo?" *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, Mar. 1998, p.4; James K. Glassman, "No Sanctions, No Castro," *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*, Mar. 1988, p.2; William Ratliff and Roger W. Fontaine, "Liberate Cuba, Liberate Us, Lift the Embargo, Now," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1994, sec. A, p. 23; Jorge I Domínguez and Sally Cole, "Cuba and the United States: Recommendations for Building a Framework for Cooperation on Environmental Matters," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Sally Cole, eds., *The Environment in US-Cuban Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialog, Jan. 1997, pp. 1-12).
20. Stephen Erlanger, "U.S. to Ease Curbs on Relief to Cuba and Money to Kin," *New York Times*, Mar. 20, 1998, p.4.
21. Richard John Neuhaus, "The Cuban Revolutions," *First Things*, May 1998, p.28.
22. Irving Louis Horowitz, "Three Points of Light: U.S. Policy Responses to Cuba," in Frank Calzon, ed., *Cuba 1997: The Year in Review* (Washington, DC: Center for a Free Cuba, 1998), pp. 13-16; and the opinions expressed by the author at the United Nations Association conference in Miami in October 1997.

23. This shift is even the case for earlier supporters such as Wayne S. Smith, "Wanted: A Logical Cuba Policy," *International Policy Report* (Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, Feb. 1998); and even more, his earlier comment on "The U.S.-Cuba Imbroglia: Anatomy of a Crisis," *International Policy Report* (Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, May 1996).
24. Irving Louis Horowitz, "Three Points of Light: U.S. Policy Responses to Cuba," in Frank Calzon, ed., *Cuba 1997: The Year in Review* (Washington, DC: Center for a Free Cuba, 1998), pp. 13-16.
25. Pascal Fletcher, "Low-Key Cuba Welcome for Relaxed U.S. Embargo," *Financial Times* (London), Mar. 23, 1998.
26. Jaime Suchlicki, "The U.S. Embargo of Cuba: Important Consideration," Document Series 3 [mimeographed] (Washington, DC: *Cuban Studies Association Document Series*, Mar. 1998).
27. This is a repetition of Collor de Mello's raid on Brazil's bank accounts (pp.58ff, YRBK97) which *Business Weeks's* Prof. P. C. Roberts accurately described as a "one-way ticket to Disasterville."—Editor.
28. William S. Stokes, *Latin American Politics* (Crowell, 1959. LCC: 59-6444).
29. As Ludwig von Mises (pp.219ff, *The Theory of Money and Credit*, Yale, 1953. LCC: 52-12074) points out, "inflationism," not "inflation," is the term that should be used. "Inflationism is that monetary policy that seeks to increase the quantity of money." See also Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics* (Contemporary, 1966. ISBN: 0-8092-9743-4).
30. The price-raising game played by the Caldera Government of Venezuela with its petroleum industry has been discussed in "Will Venezuela Emerge from 'Socialist Prehistory'?" (pp.76ff, YRBK97).
31. This phrase refers to that scourge of Century XX, the Professional Politician (PP). In a local election he "promises," if elected, to erect a Stop sign at the corner of X St. and First Ave. He is elected and erects, then seeks re-election on the basis of this promise kept. Other promises, such as "Peace in El Salvador," the PP claims to have kept if something called "Peace" can be obtained even by surrender.
32. *Soldier of Fortune*, p.40, September 1987.
33. *ACUERDOS DE CHAPULTEPEC*, Secretaria Nacional de Comunicaciones, San Salvador, 1992. The fraudulence of these "Accords" was demonstrated by FMLN terrorist boss Shafik Handal's visit to Hemispheric Left (HL) headquarters in Cuba immediately after their signing. Inter alia, Handal told Castro's house organ, *Granma*, that he considered the "peace accords as a political victory for the guerrilla."
34. The farcical nature of the peace process as supervised by the UN Organization in El Salvador (UNOSAL) was revealed to the LANS Editor during his interview with the UNOSAL Public Relation Officer (PRO), whose name need not be mentioned, at about the time the "Accords" were being signed. Said the PRO, "...we can do nothing but accept in good faith the reports that we receive from the FMLN..." (cf. pp.326ff< YRBK98) As we spoke the terrorist "reports" were being given the lie. Such was UN "supervision."
35. In a later interview that summer with the official in charge of the UN "Peace Keeping" force in San Salvador the LANS editor was assured that the only, repeat, only proof he had of weapons turn in by the Farabundis was their own statements to that effect.
36. Hendriks, as PRI president in Quintana Roo, had been forced to flee the State in August 1985 because of "serious differences" with Villanueva over the management of the party
37. The LANS Editor was told by one of the premier politicos in Panama that this

- “Balladares” was the name of his paternal grandmother, not his mother. In any event, Pérez, was of the party of Torrijos who overthrew Arias to seize the presidency. Since Torrijos was a leftist, hardly an anti-leftist, politician such peccadilloes apparently did not lower him in the eyes of ex-president James E. Carter whose legacy is of course the Carter-Torrijos Treaty turning over the Panama Canal. Torrijos terminated his presidency by running into a mountain, either through the machinations of his successor, Noriega, or otherwise. Ex-president George Bush removed Noriega to a Florida jail, leaving Panamanian matters so that the Torrijos-Noriega party could, in the person of Pérez, win the presidency.
38. The irate Doña Mireya also inveighed against the alleged scoundrels of the Pérez Government (PG) who “severely increased rates,” brought on “senseless public indebtedness...shameless corruption”; she delivered a litany of economic malfeasance. Now whether or not her castigations of the PG are precise or otherwise, her fascinating choice of the leftist economist, Juan Jované, as head of Social Security (AFP 2 October 1999) is difficult to adjust to her rhetoric. For Jované is known as the economic advisor to the Marxist-Leninist (ML) boss of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, who destroyed the Nicaraguan economy to an extent only surpassed by Ortega’s mentor, Fidel Castro, in Cuba.
 39. For a very brief discussion of Castaño, see n.75, pp.390ff, YRBK00.
 40. It is an open secret that this “frontier” has been sieve-like for years, something that the ill-fated “Multilateral Anti-Drug Center” (pp.125ff, YRBK00) was allegedly to have done something about.
 41. For this constitution, see pp.313ff, Merle Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled* (Harvard University Press, 1961. LCC: 53-6029) and also pp.405ff, Schapiro, Note 42 below.
 42. P. 407, Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Vintage Books, 1964. ISBN: 0394707451).
 43. “We take from the rich and give to the poor,” said Pierrot to Pierrette. “What poor,” asked Pierrette. “Us poor,” replied Pierrot.
 44. The low intensity warfare which is the HLAgrRef (Agrarian Reform) campaign has been discussed in these reports. For example, the commitment of Castro’s hemispheric network of left organizations to AgRef and its implementation by such as the ML Landless Peasant Movement (MST) in Brazil have been discussed (pp.106ff, YRBK97). This campaign is ripe for further treatment. As various reports have demonstrated, the falsity of the claims used in breaking up the “large estates”—in practice, many of minimal farm size—and the failure of the “starving peasants,” some of whom are city recruits, to produce viable agricultural properties dooms this marxist agriculture to a failure that its perpetrators themselves realize is inevitable.
 45. This appears on p.55, *Karl Marx: The Communist Manifesto* (Regnery, 1954. Intro by Stefan T. Possony. LCC: 54-8138).
 46. This appears to be intended to replace Art.2 of Const61, “The Republic of Venezuela is a federal state within the terms affirmed by this Constitution,” and Art.3, “The government of the Republic of Venezuela is...democratic, representative, responsible and alternating.”
 47. This is a favorite adjective among the leftists who created this curious constitution, a word which appears to be important to their lexicon and hence their intentions. According to *The Oxford Spanish Dictionary*, the word may be rendered in English as either “leading” or “central.” It may not be an Angels-on-Pinheads exercise to pay attention to it.
 48. *Igualmente* is capitalized as is *Estado*.
 49. The word used, *integral*, is another “buzz-word” for these leftists and will hereinafter therefore be left in its Spanish form.

50. It is interesting that Chávez desired and obtained a constitution which would allow his re-election. It appears “to go without saying” that he must have felt it politic to open up the lesser political offices in the land to the same “opportunities.”
51. In both English and Spanish “Latifundio” is described as a “large estate.” That these “large estates” are almost never the luxurious properties thus pictured and frequently little more than subsistence farms has been demonstrated from on-the-spot investigations in El Salvador by Dr. Susan L. M. Huck, (“Theft of a Nation by Land Reform: El Salvador,” *American Opinion*, June 1982) and in Brazil by the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property in a report by Paulo Enrique Chaves and Nelson Ramos Barretto, *Reforma Agrária semeia assentamentos Assentados colhem* (São Paulo, 1996).
52. Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755) is, of course, the author of *L’Esprit des lois: ou du rapport que les lois doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement...* (Edouard Laboulaye, Paris, 1875-9. 7 vols.). Cf. David Wallace Carrithers, Editor, *The Spirit of the Law* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1977).
53. That is to say, their prosecution “cannot be taken away from the Moral Power.”

3

United States Diplomacy in Latin America

Although many of the anti-U.S. fulminations emanating from Latin America (LA) can be justly attributed to the Hemispheric Left (HL), there are occasions when U.S. behavior appears to have conjured up such reactions even from would-be friends. This behavior can, of course, be described, but its motivation must remain to some degree speculative. Certainly a pattern of Clintonian “Yanqui Imperialism” appears to have emerged, although, as can be seen from these reports, this was not entirely new with Mr. Clinton’s Administration. Interwoven with this imperialist behavior is the use of foreign affairs to divert the U.S. citizenry from the hi-jinks of Mr. Clinton and certain of his fundraisers. That there have been hi-jinks—to whatever extent—appears to have been demonstrated by his impeachment by the U.S. House of Representatives, albeit, the U.S. Senate did not remove him from office for the offense.

The objective of the increased level of Yanqui Imperialism must also remain to some degree speculative, but surely some portion of the objective is the replacement of “all,” repeat, “all” “Right Wing” (read: anti-Left) governments as the curious James Carville states in the first report of this chapter. Carville can probably claim that he was not working for Mr. Clinton when he “removed” Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, but the reader must judge for himself. As he must judge whether Stephanopolous was working for him when he put Clinton’s “friend,” the socialist Blair, into the British Government as Prime Minister.

The only LA head of state currently effective against the Marxist Leninist (ML) terrorist is Peruvian President Fujimori, and he has been the object of U.S. Government attacks for several years. One of these centers around Fujimori’s refusal to release the terrorist, Berenson, who happens to be a U.S. citizen. Indeed, Fujimori ap-

pears to have paid very little attention to any U.S. attempts to tell him how he should run his sovereign nation (pp.117ff, YRBK98). In some quarters this has been taken as linking the Clintonian award of “Extra NATO Ally Status” (*sic*)—perhaps a “democratic” Order of the Garter—to Argentine Pres. Menem. The theory is that this is a reward for the Menem Government having smuggled weaponry to Fujimori’s enemies in Ecuador at the time of the Peru-Ecuador border skirmish and also to Yugoslavia at about the time of the U.S. adventures in Bosnia and Kosovo. Of course, this too is speculative since Menem continues to claim that he had no idea that the executive orders he signed resulted in such shipments, albeit, he was signing them for at least half a decade.

Having presented the details of these curious machinations, this chapter is concluded with an example of independence from Yanqui Imperialism displayed by the sovereign nation of Guatemala in refusing to have the heavily flawed, biased in favor of the “ex” ML terrorists and probably unconstitutional Esquipulas II Accords forced to them by the U.S.

Clintonian Foreign Policy?

CARVILLE: NO “RIGHT-WING” GOVERNMENTS LEFT STANDING
(WKLY 8.1, 1 JULY 1999)

Soon after the recent Israeli elections the bizarre leftist and political advisor to U.S. President W. J. Clinton, James Carville, returned from that beleaguered country to tell a national television audience that there were no “right-wing” governments left standing. What young Mr. Carville meant was that there are no “anti-ML” governments standing. In this he is very nearly, but not entirely, correct and to this he had quite recently contributed his own efforts toward the removal of the anti-ML Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. As his Clintonian crony, George Stephanopoulos, had contributed to the success of the International Socialist (SI), Anthony Blair, in Great Britain.

Certainly the Left has done very well in LA as has been demonstrated in these reports. In Central America (CA) the probably unconstitutional Esquipulas Accords are bringing a chaos which the Oscar Ariases of the world apparently did not anticipate, the situation in Managua such that the “ex” terrorist Bayardo Arce may be

justified in promising a new piñata with his projected success in 2002. The triumphs of the hemispheric drug kingpin and HL boss, Fidel Ruz Castro, continue to pile up like Pelion on Ossa in a record of success which is mysteriously hidden from human ken, perhaps to shield them from any anti-MLs who might have survived the “victory over international communism.” In the last year alone a government has come to power in Colombia which was endorsed during its election by the ML terrorist criminals of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC). And in Venezuela a Castroite ML has been ushered into the presidential palace in what promises to be a repeat of Cuba 1959.

But Mr. Carville’s political opponents may take some slight comfort from the fact that his statement is more of that hyperbole so beloved of the Professional Politician (PP), for there are a bare handful of exceptions to the Carville claim in LA. Most notable amongst these is Peruvian President Alberto Kenyo Fujimori Fujimori, certainly the most effective, if not the only effective, anti-ML leader in the hemisphere. If this has not been made clear by LANS’ coverage of his activities during the decade of the 1990s, it can be verified by the extent and vigor of the Disinformation Operation (DO) against him. If there are any surviving anti-MLs, they can take some solace from two recent occurrences: (1) Fujimori is leading, if only by a few percentage points, in the presidential preference polls for 2000 (AFP 24 June 1999). (2) About 60 percent of the Peruvians recently approved his rejection of the decision by the Inter-American “Human Rights” (HR) Court (CIDH) that he “must” take terrorist trials out of military hands and return them to those civilian judges who, during the reign of Marxist President Garcia, were terrorized out of any decisions against ML terrorists.

It can assuredly be asserted that Mr. Fujimori is a still standing anti-ML, Mr. Carville’s “right winger.” But, apparently feeling threatened by the existence of such a government, the Yanqui Imperialism (YI) of the Clinton Government (CG) has been embarrassingly obvious in Peru, largely through the efforts of the U.S. Ambassador Dennis Jett (cf. pp.117ff, YRBK98 *et seq*), although Mr. Clinton himself has apparently attempted to enter the fray personally. It has been suggested that the U.S. president’s “award” of so-called “Great Extra-NATO Ally” status, whatever this may be, to Argentine President Menem was a payoff for that Argentine’s efforts against the Peruvian president.

It will be recalled that the Menem Government was caught by the Peruvians supplying arms to Ecuador during the Peru-Ecuador border skirmish. Menem is of course denying any knowledge of this smuggling. He and his cabinet officers just sign decrees authorizing such shipments; they can hardly be expected to know what they contain. As the investigation begun in 1996 ground tortuously onward it was discovered that this same government had been shipping arms—not simply side arms but cannon, etc.—to Croatia since 1991. Because it would have been virtually impossible for any intelligence agency between Nome and Tierra del Fuego—or between Austria-Hungary and Greece—to avoid stumbling over this weaponry, it must at least be assumed that the CG was aware of it. But it is a fair assumption that the CG was quite well aware of it.

As indicated, for example, in the Croatian News Agency (HINA 28 March 1995) interview of UN Representative to Yugoslavia Michaels Williams, the Croatia adventure has hardly been a success. Declared Williams, “The UN Protection Force was successful *in part* in implementing its mandate in Croatia...,” which is as close to admission of failure as a PP is ever likely to come. And which probably explains the continuing efforts by the CG and Argentina to smuggle arms to Croatia. Several observers have reached the logical conclusion that this smuggling operation was expanded to include Ecuador, as it was, when it appeared possible to embarrass, or worse, the Fujimori Government. But this anti-ML remains standing, and it may be expected that a cloud of political advisors will hasten to Peru next year to “assist” President Fujimori’s electoral opponents. The point man for YI in Peru, Dennis Jett, has quite recently begun agitating (AFP 27 June 1999) for “international observers” to descend on Peru for the elections of next year. Since the machinations of Mr. Jett have become clear to most Peruvians, this generally frustrated point man can probably anticipate little success.

As with such bombast generally, Carville’s boast may not be precise, but the recent “Summit of Río de Janeiro” attested to the fact that the leaders of the European Community (UE) and the LA-Caribbean region can boast very few anti-MLs among them. As will be seen, the number of LA states represented at the Summit can hardly be accounted for by the Grupo de Río, as has been done in certain news sources, but that grouping is of sufficient importance to deserve a brief review.

The U.S. and Peru

AN INTRIGUING CONCATENATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES

(WKLY 8.21, 2 DECEMBER 1999)

Circumstance A. As reported in Spcl 7.2 (Chapter 6), Howard Glicken is chief of The Americas Group, allegedly a “business management consultants” firm, apparently chiefly involved with collection of campaign funds. Glicken, who is “close to Al Gore” (*New York Post* 10 July 1998) was sentenced to 500 hours community service and a fine of \$80,000 (*Tampa Tribune* 26 November 1998) in what the *Post* called “a by-product of last month’s indictment of Democratic fund-raisers Howard Glicken and Maria Hsia.” Ms. Hsia has been described in a U.S. Senate report as “an agent of the...(Peoples Republic of China) government.”

A mixed bag of gringos from the Americas Group to include James Cheek, who has been encountered advocating “a little moderate Marxism” for Guatemala in 1980, surfaced in the weekly, *Primacia* (Caracas 3 November 1998) which maintained that Chávez and his principal advisor, Miquilena, were maintaining “frequent” contacts with Glicken and Cheek.

Circumstance B. As was reported in Wkly 8.1 above, soon after the Israeli elections the leftist and political advisor to U.S. President W. J. Clinton, James Carville, returned from that beleaguered country to tell the U.S. that there were no “right-wing” governments left standing. Mr. Carville meant, of course, that there were no anti-ML governments left standing.

THE BERENSON CASE: A COPYBOOK SAMPLE OF A DO AND “YANQUI IMPERIALISM”

(WKLY 8.8, 19 AUGUST 1999)

It is occasionally worthwhile to repeat the caveat first expressed in these reports several years ago. Press use of terms such as “left,” “right,” “center” and their combinations serve no purposes save those of abbreviation and obfuscation, a fact which is perhaps most cogently illustrated by calling the Nazis “rightists” and the MLs “leftists.” As Harvard’s Baird Professor of History Pipes has demonstrated in exquisite detail,¹ ML-Nazi opposition has always been a mere turf battle for the same constituency. Both groupings are of the Left,

the assignment of the Nazi to the “right” a simple but effective attempt by their fellow Leftists, the MLs, to benefit by obfuscation. It is appropriate to enter a discussion of the Berenson Case through the words of that abrasive leftist and CG servitor, James Carville.

On returning from his successful attempt to unseat the Anti-Left Israeli head of state, Benjamin Netanyahu,² Mr. Carville told a national television audience that there was not a “right-wing” government left standing. This curious propagandist of course meant “Anti-Left,” not “right-wing,” but his well-indoctrinated audience got the message he was seeking to convey. And, in spite of his habitual hyperbole, he was almost correct.

In Venezuela President Chávez, the golpista, appears to be constructing an authoritarian Left state while in neighboring Colombia, where President Pastrana was actually endorsed by the ML terrorist boss Marín, the “peace process” continues in surrender. In Brazil President Cardoso proceeds in what can be called support of the MLs of the Landless Peasant Movement (MST)³ while in neighboring Argentina, the dubiously “Anti-Left” Menem⁴ appears likely to be replaced by a more Left Alliance. Without carrying this enumeration further, it appears reasonable to state that Carville is close to correct. But his glib claim of “success”—he apparently so considers the defeat of all Anti-Left heads of state—stumbles badly over the continuing existence of the hemisphere’s most effective Anti-ML head of state, Peruvian President Fujimori.

President Alberto Kenyo Fujimori Fujimori

That “flattery’s the food of fools” (Swift, *Cadenus [Decanus] and Vanessa*, ~1720) and PPs goes without saying, but its “sincerest form,” imitation, can be particularly informative. And the desire of the Colombian Government to imitate the successes of the Fujimori Government against ML terrorism and narco-trafficking is glaringly apparent in the “more than 300 colonels and generals of the Colombian Armed Forces (FAC) and police who have received instruction in counter-terrorism (subversion) from the experts of the Peruvian Army” (*La República* 24 Aug 99). The curious Pastrana Government of Colombia is hardly going to announce its admiration for the Fujimori Government, but it could not have done so more emphatically than it did by *allowing* 300 officers to visit Peru for such instruction.

Political opponents of Fujimori, such as the expatriate leftist writer, Vargas Llosa, have fulminated against the Peruvian president since whenever their political defeat at his hands occurred. Most particularly have they fulminated against the Peruvian's *autogolpe*. It should be repeated therefore that the autogolpe of 1992 by the Peruvian president was necessary to any rational attempt at dealing with the Sendero and Tupa terrorists—common criminals, hardly “guerrillas”—and was approved in a poll of 11 April 1992 by 91 percent of Peruvians, in an *El Expreso* poll by 82 percent. The affair has been discussed in some detail (pp.170ff, YRBK97). This discussion need hardly be repeated save to point out again that the most important poll was taken in the election of 9 April 1995 when the Peruvian was returned to the presidency with 64.27 percent of the vote after he had turned the country back to the electorate.

He ordered the chaos bequeathed to him by Alan Garcia, the avowed Marxist president and college roommate of terrorist boss Polay Campos. This Fujimori did by breaking the back of both the Sendero Luminoso (SL) and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). He captured the boss of the latter, Victor Polay Campos, in June of 1992,⁵ the boss of the former, Abimael Guzman—who would surrender from his cell a year later—in September 1992.

The last hurrah of Peruvian terrorism was the Tupa seizure of the Japanese Embassy in Lima in latter 1996 (cf. pp.177, YRBK97; pp.229ff, YRBK98). Fujimori's handling of this was indeed masterful, the siege ending with a gaggle of dead terrorists who had murdered none of the hostages as they originally threatened to do.

The Only HL Weapon: The DO

The MLs of the IL have taken over three Latin American nations since World War II, Guatemala (1951: pp.135ff, YRBK97; pp.215ff, YRBK98), Cuba (1958) and Nicaragua (1979). The first was taken over by election, the last two by Disinformation Operations (DOs). In neither Cuba nor Nicaragua did these MLs succeed through “force of arms,” Batista never making the attempt to deal with the bearded terrorist, Somoza precluded from any real attempt to do so by what amounted to a U.S. embargo. The DO which was the “Robin Hooding” of Castro by Matthews and which formed the basis for Castro victory has been discussed (p.192, YRBK97 *et seq*; Wkly 7.6, YRBK99) as has the Sandinista victory (pp.277ff, YRBK00). All of

which would lead one to suppose that, given President Fujimori's success against these ML terrorists, the DO mounted against him would be remarkable in its scope. And it assuredly has been.

Two facets of a continuing DO against the Fujimori Government were initiated in the spring of 1997 (pp.118ff, YRBK98). The first of these had to do with one Bernard Ivcher, originally an Israeli citizen who, the Peruvian Government maintains, did not renounce his Israeli citizenship before becoming a naturalized Peruvian. As explained to LANS by Peruvian officials, a foreigner may own any property in Peru save radio and/or television broadcasting stations. Therefore, if Ivcher had not legitimately received Peruvian citizenship through renunciation of his Israeli citizenship, he could not legally be a majority stockholder in Channel 2 as he apparently was. LANS has gathered most of the evidence on the Ivcher Case which will be dealt with during the coming year. It has been amusing that Mr. Ivcher seemingly prefers to attack the Fujimori Government from Miami and New York rather than dealing with it in the Peruvian courts as LANS has been informed he could be doing. There has been a great deal of questionable HR propaganda disseminated in support of Ivcher, this of the sort so often promoted by the HL.

The other of the two charges against the FG disseminated that year accused Fujimori of not being a Peruvian citizen as a consequence of birth date and hence not eligible to be president. This propaganda appears to have been finally interred by the Jochamowitz book⁶ which discusses the mistakes by the lady reporter who appeared to be primarily responsible for the charge. The Ivcher-Japanese charges are examples of the easily identifiable portions of the DO campaign against Fujimori. The more general campaign includes a broad spectrum of attacks on his government, to all appearances largely the work of the US CG.

Dennis Jett has been the U.S. ambassador to Peru for several years, his activities in Lima having frequently appeared more appropriate to the behavior of a colonial governor than an ambassador. Perhaps the high point of this bureaucrat's attempted interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Peru occurred in 1997. As a consequence of the "ambassador's" impertinence, Peruvian Foreign Minister Francisco Tudela summoned Jett to his office to inform him officially of Peru's rejection of his criticism on the Peruvian budget (pp.117ff,

YRBK98). What appears to be a part of other CG intrusions into Peruvian affairs includes the curious award given to Argentine President Menem following Argentine arms smuggling to Ecuador during the Peru-Ecuador border skirmish. Among the most interesting, however, have been the continuing attempts by the U.S. to obtain the release of the terrorist:

Lorene Helene Berenson

A situation remarkably similar to the Berenson Caper occurred in El Salvador during the 1980s. In this case, another U.S. citizen, Jennifer Jean Casolo, was demonstrated to be working for the ML terrorist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Acting on information received from captured Farabundi terrorists, on 26 November 1989 the Salvadoran National Police served a search warrant on Casolo in her rented house at 230 Barcelona Sur in the Colonia Miralvalle in San Salvador. The house had a patio enclosed by a high wall and was accessible only from inside the building. Digging up this patio “garden” the police found, *inter alia*, 103 mortar rounds, 213 blocks of TNT, 405 detonators, 150 feet of fuse and 21,495 rounds of ammunition for Soviet-made rifles. She was convicted and jailed for terrorist activity but quickly released when a well-known U.S. senator threatened to cut off all U.S. aid to El Salvador. This miscarriage of justice occurred under the Bush administration of the U.S. As will be seen the CG has made every effort to achieve a similar miscarriage of justice, but it has neither the leverage to use on Peru nor is it dealing with a head of state who will bow before Washington’s demands.

Lorene Helene Berenson is a U.S. citizen—as was Casolo—the daughter of Mark Berenson of Baruch University, City College of New York. She is an ML terrorist, a fact which may be verified by her own statements. This snarling, defiant radical (cf. wirephoto, AFP 10 January 1996) “proclaimed” her membership in the MRTA but stated, irrelevantly, that “it is not a terrorist group but a revolutionary movement.” Even the U.S. State Department, hardly a beacon light in the war against ML terrorism, identified the MRTA as a “Foreign terrorist organization” in an October 1997 statement by its secretary. That such is indeed the case has been frequently reported here (pp.162ff, YRBK97, et seq.), and the JEO (pp.229ff, YRBK98) is a copybook example of a terrorist operation, albeit, Berenson

was unable to contribute to this having already been imprisoned for her earlier terrorist activity.

In December 1995 the Peruvian National Anti-Terrorist Directorate (DINCOTE), which had been created three years before (p.171, YRBK97), was able to break up a MRTA effort to take the Peruvian National Legislature hostage. This was of course a copy-cat crime based on the Nicaraguan activities of the ultimate double agent, Edén Pastora, some twenty years earlier. In breaking up this terrorist kidnapping operation before it began, DINCOTE captured three foreign national, Nancy Gilvonio Conde (Bolivia),⁷ Pacifico Castrejon Santamaria (Panama) and Lorene Helene Berenson (U.S.). That Berenson was an important cog in this machine came out at her trial. DINCOTE nullified the planned kidnap operation by capturing the MRTA “military command” which was to have led it.

In doing so, the intelligence organization discovered a safe house with weapons, ammunition and maps of the Congress building. Reminiscent of 1989 San Salvador, the individual who had created the maps, Berenson, was also in the safe house—and captured. As was Gilvonio. That Berenson was an active member of the Congress plot was demonstrated by the fact that she had gained access to the Congress building using a fake reporter ID in order to gather the information for her maps. The fact that Berenson is in fact an ML terrorist is therefore amply substantiated. All the more reason for the HL, with assistance from those such as assisted Casolo, to agitate for her release. As the U.S. Government began to do, whether innocently or otherwise, almost immediately.

Berenson the “Political Prisoner”

One of the truly nonsensical non-sequiturs maintained by the HL terrorists when captured is that they are “political prisoners.” It matters not whether the crime for which they were jailed is murder, narco-trafficking, kidnapping or any other, they and their supporters claim them to be “political prisoners.” The claim has predictably been made for Berenson as the interested reader may verify from her website whereat certain leftists—e.g., Noam Chomsky (*The Culture of Terrorism*, South End Press, 1988. ISBN: 0-89608-334-0)—Clintonites and/or members of the Hemispheric Left Support (HLS)—Amb. Dennis Jett, Mr. Bill Richardson, Mr. James E. Carter, etc.—parade their naiveté or worse in defense of Ms. Berenson.

Finally, as LANS was told by a member of the U.S. Congress, Congresswoman Maxine Waters offered an amendment to H.R. 2415, State Department fiscal year 2000 authorization bill. The amendment called for the release of Berenson. On 21 July 1999 the amendment failed by a vote of 189-234.

The CG has been strong in its support of this terrorist, demanding her release with arguments which are irrelevant and/or fabricated and which betray their “Yanqui Imperialism” which has been discussed in these reports (cf. chapter 3, YRBK98). But on this occasion Fujimori has shown himself more sapient than his Salvadoran counterparts in avoiding those U.S. Greeks-bearing-gifts leading to such as (a) U.S. sanctuary for Salvadoran terrorists⁸ and (b) Casolo’s release. But it has been necessary for him to keep his guard up in his dealings with the U.S. during the Berenson DO, space here allowing presentation of only two examples.

After months of U.S. verbal assault on Peru on behalf of the U.S. terrorist, the Peruvian president told a CNBC Television interviewer (EFE 24 May 1996) that Berenson would *not* be a topic of discussion during his upcoming meeting with President Clinton.

“I believe,” said Fujimori, “that terrorism cannot be treated as if it were a business deal. Terrorism is very dangerous...we must be very careful because terrorism is an international network.” [Note: Whether Fujimori’s opponents succeed in stuffing him down a hole or not, these words of the “ex” Peruvian president have since become particularly prophetic, cf. Roland Jacquard, *AU NOM D’OUSSAMA BEN LADEN: Dossier secret sur le terroriste le plus recherché du monde* (Jean Picollec, 2001. ISBN: 2-86477 183-7).]

Fujimori appears to be the only hemispheric head of state who either realizes this or has the courage of his convictions sufficient to state it. He was not going to sell Berenson to the U.S. But he did offer to ship her to a U.S. prison. This she adamantly refused to accept (EFE 8 September 1996), apparently feeling that the HLS was going to “save” her with their continuing DO efforts on her behalf. As an obviously unrepentant militant of MRTA terrorism, she has also refused a final option.

An Ad Hoc Commission has been set up by the Peruvian Congress to review cases in which there is evidence that there has been an unjust accusation. During the last two years this Commission has secured the release of about 500 prisoners. Neither Berenson, nor

anyone associated with her, has yet seen fit to submit the case for review. The reader is doubtless quite capable of deducing the reason for this.

THE U.S. IN KOSOVO AND ARGENTINA IN CROATIA
(Wkly 7.16, 23 APRIL 1999)

Kosovo

A thinly disguised U.S. politico-“military”⁹ operation in Yugoslavia of ill-defined objective has occupied the attention of much of the world, not the least of which is LA. It appears to be established that U.S. President Clinton, apparently enthusiastically supported by such as the SI British prime minister, Anthony C. L. Blair, is the driving force behind this curious effort. LANS will make no attempt to discuss the operation itself. Instead, the excellent discussions by Dr. Michael Radu, a senior fellow at the Philadelphia-based Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI) are highly recommended.

Several cogent articles have been written by Dr. Radu as e-notes which may be obtained from fpri@aol.com. Among these are “Who Wants a Greater Albania,” 10 July 1998; “Dangerous Incoherence in Kosovo,” 21 October 1998; and “Don’t Arm the KLA,” 6 April 1999. Other articles on this subject are to be distributed.

The relevant point to be discussed here is the conjunction of the CA award of “Great Extra NATO Ally” status to Argentina and the transmogrification of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

NATO was *not* established fifty years ago to maintain “order” and “democracy”—whatever this may be—in the nations of Europe. NATO *was* established to defend the non-ML nations of Europe against the militantly expansionist objectives of the so-called Warsaw Pact, a thinly disguised front for the USSR. However, the public relations (PR) propagandists of today are quite capable of making any desired silk purse out of almost any sow’s ear. In this case NATO has been so transmogrified¹⁰ into an alliance for policing the internal affairs of any nation small enough to be policed. The PR campaign by the CA appears to have convinced much, if not most, of LA that NATO (read: U.S.) is not violating the sovereignty of whatever European nation it can describe as non-“democratic.”

It will be recalled that Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) was constructed in an effort to safeguard the allegedly non-ML nations of that region from analogous behavior by, largely, the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). If the present proves to be prologue, the U.S., in the name of SEATO, should be justified in violating the sovereignty of, say, Thailand—the PRC is too large—if some sort of Angels on Pinheads (AOP)¹¹ case can be made against some Thai faction by some future U.S. president.

Argentina

U.S. President Clinton's "campaign diplomacy" in Argentina has been described (pp.142ff, YRBK98). It was at about this time that the U.S. president publicized the fact he was designating Argentina a "Great Extra NATO Ally." When asked just what a "Great Extra NATO Ally" might happen to be, the occupant of the Washington Presidential Palace replied that the support by President Menem of the "missions" in Cyprus, Bosnia, and Haiti was "one of the reasons" for the projected award, a routinely obscure Clintonism. The Argentine press release on the Menem-Clinton "summit" was no more informative if somewhat more detailed:

The White House has notified the U. S. Congress of its intention to designate Argentina a Great Extra NATO Ally, which reflects the foresight and trustworthiness of Argentina and the level of friendship and cooperation between both countries.

The LANS Editor has checked with certain sources within the U.S. Congress and was told that they were unaware of any such action on the part of Mr. Clinton; indeed, these sources had never heard of the "Great Extra NATO Ally" designation. This is being checked further for confirmation, but it would appear safe to suggest that the CA is keeping this "award" and the reasons for its bestowal out of the news.

There are, of course, two reasons for any such machinations: First, the award-bestowing nation is either rewarding the award-receiving nation for (a) past services and/or (b) assuring itself of future services. The bizarre Yugoslavian behavior of the CA is perhaps involved. The most obvious tangible—as opposed to the "Great Extra"—reward which Mr. Menem may be seeking may have to do with his strenuous search for another term in the Argentine Presidential Palace.

President Menem Wants Another Term

Carlos Saul Menem was elected president of the Argentine Republic in 1989, re-elected in 1995 following a political pact with Argentine ex-President Raul Alfonsín (1983-1989). The LANS correspondent in La Plata reported in mid July 1998 that

Like (Juan Domingo) Perón (pp. 46ff, YRBK97), Menem displays a “genetic” attachment to the presidential throne. In that sense the latter has revealed himself as an authentic successor to the general, and the search for justification of a third term...His term of office has been plagued by...connections with sectors of frankly mafiosa activities and other episodes...what appeared a remote possibility a few months ago is today a concrete fact: The president has set in motion all the elements at his command in order to maintain himself in his job.

There was more, but our correspondent’s report at this writing appears to have been remarkably prophetic in spite of Menem’s radical changes of course since last summer. Only a bare outline of these claimed reversals need be given here.

Bearing the same date (23 July 1998) as the report quoted above, an AFP dispatch reported Menem’s withdrawal from the presidential race. An AFP wirephoto accompanied the account in which the Argentine president, wearing a cherubic smile, was shown saluting “his supporters and friends in the presidential residence after announcing at a press conference that he was renouncing his campaign for reelection in 1999 and that he will work in order that another peronist wins the presidency.” With which this account can proceed to January 1999.

That month Mr. Menem paid a two-day visit to the U.S. at which he appeared to be offering international support to a Mr. Clinton who had been impeached and was on trial before the U.S. Senate. Whatever his motivation may have been, the Argentine president was supportive of the U.S. chief executive. While Mr. Clinton would probably not have been removed from the Presidential Palace if Mr. Menem had not come to his support, the latter’s effort certainly did no harm. It has been speculated that this support was in repayment of Clinton’s “award” and whatever more tangible benefits Mr. Menem may have received. Certainly the Argentine president was prominently displayed in Washington, a situation of which he took advantage in order to promise that he would “continue with his reforms” (EFE 14 January 1999) and seek election in 2003 (AFP 14 January 1999), certainly not in 1999. Whether the 300 U.S. Cham-

ber of Commerce members, to whom these remarks were directed, accepted them as factual is apparently not recorded. Three months later they were demonstrated as questionable.

On 23 April 1999 electoral Judge María Sabrini de Cubría issued an order which was reported by *La Nueva Provincia* (24 April 1999) as stopping Menem from assuming the leadership of the PJ until the end of 2002. The order was in response to a petition by fellow PJ militant, Buenos Aires Governor Eduardo Duhalde, who also wants to run for Argentine president. However, apparently because the Argentine Supreme Court had heard Duhalde's petition but rendered no decision on it, the Menem forces felt themselves able to give the PJ reins to the incumbent president.

Duhalde apparently feels this re-assumption of PJ command a harbinger of another Menem run for the presidency, a not unreasonable supposition. Although the matter may not be ultimately settled, a "conciliatory" Menem met with certain of his "supporters and friends" at the Parque Norte party congress, claiming to be assuming PJ leadership in order "to raise the flag of unity, consolidation and solidarity." The flag-raising is claimed by his political opponents to signal his presidential run on 24 October 1999.

Clandestine Argentine Munitions Supply

The Ecuador-Peru border skirmish of January 1995 (pp.66ff, YRBL97) opened a Pandora's Box of Argentine munitions smuggling which has not yet been completely investigated and in which President Menem may prove to be wittingly involved. Various details have been provided in Chapter 2 of YRBK00 (Wkly 6.12, Wkly 6.13).

On 24 January 1995 Argentine Pres. Menem, his Minister of Defense (Oscar Camelión), his Minister of Economy (Domingo Cavallo) and his Foreign Minister (Guido Di Tella) signed Decree 103/95 which authorized the shipment of arms to Venezuela. As Peruvian intelligence discovered, however, these arms did not go to Venezuela, they went to Ecuador. Not surprisingly, the decree signers all loudly proclaimed their innocence, apparently claiming never to know the reality of any such documents that they may have signed. Argentinian Justice began, very slowly, to function in March 1996, and, just as slowly, related information about such operations began to emerge.

It was discovered that, in 1991, two decrees were signed, 1697/91 on 27 August 1991 and 2283/91 on 31 October 1991, these for the shipment of munitions to Panama. Panama has only a police force, and yet Argentina was allegedly shipping that nation weaponry such as 105mm howitzers. What was happening was that such materiel was being shipped to Croatia. Information trickled out which indicated that such shipments to Croatia continued between 1991 and 1995, the Ecuador fiasco and the resulting investigation having apparently put an end to this trade. There is a great deal of room for speculation here, and it is of course possible, if difficult to believe, that Menem and his entourage were busily signing decrees during this entire period with no idea of their meaning.

Peruvian intel did pick up on analogous shipments to Ecuador, and, however far U.S. intel may have sunk, it is difficult to believe that some officer did not stumble over something in the Balkans during this five-year period. In particular, when the CA developed its interest in that region, it can hardly have missed this much of an operation. The probabilities are that every such agency from the GRU to the Mossad was quite well aware of what was going on.

In mid April 1999 Buenos Aires Federal Judge Jorge Urso, who has spent these several years on this case, requested the withdrawal of Chancellor Di Tella's immunity so that he may be investigated for these illegal arms shipments. A week or so later a request from the Defense Commission of the Chamber of Deputies struck a bit closer to the presidential throne.

Radical Civic Union (UCR) Deputy Juan Manuel Casella requested Rio Cuarto Federal Judge Luis Martínez that he supply available information on the alleged connection between the explosion at the Rio Tercero armaments factory and the illegal sales of arms to Ecuador and Croatia. Deputy Casella said he was convinced of a "strong political responsibility which involves the president of the Republic and the four ministers who signed the decree."

The Clinton Administration has shown a curious interest in Yugoslavia—Bosnia, Kosovo, etc.—for several years. Indeed, Mr. Clinton or, more probably one of his "advisors," selected a secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, who was born in the region (Czechoslovakia), possibly the source of this enthusiasm for U.S. imperialist interference there. Whatever the facts may be, this is apparently the link

leading to the “Great Extra” status for a Menem regime with its “mafiosa” connections to include munitions smuggling. The U.S. Congress appears to have no interest in opening this Pandora’s Box.

CONTRABAND ARMS TO BOSNIA, CROATIA AND ECUADOR
(WKLY 7.3, 21 JANUARY 1999)

The contraband shipment of Argentine arms to Ecuador came to light during the Peru-Ecuador border dispute of 1995 (pp.66ff, YRBK97), although the Bosnian-Croatian ramifications did not really come to general attention until two years later (Wkly 6.12). As the LANS MERCOSUR correspondent put it, “Argentine President Carlos Menem was far from imagining that Decree 102,^{1,2} would bring so many complications to his government and would leave behind so much of a vast net of triangulation in the arms traffic to Ecuador and Croatia.” Reminiscent of certain statements by the present occupant of the Presidential Palace in Washington, Mr. Menem “knows nothing about” the decrees he signed, a position which appears to have also been taken by various other signers, Defense Minister Oscar Camilión, Finance Minister Domingo Cavallo and Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella. However difficult such an assertion may be to accept, the situation appears to explain, at least in part, the curiously close relationship between Messers. Carlos S. Menem and William J. Clinton as will be further discussed.

Whether or not the mills of Argentine justice “grind exceeding fine” remains to be seen. But that they “grind exceeding slow” appears to have been demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt. Almost four years after Argentine Federal Judge Jorge Urso began his investigations of this smuggling affair our MERCOSUR correspondent was able to say only that the commander in chief of the Argentine Army, Martín Balza, might be on the list of those to be prosecuted, Camilión was undergoing trial as was the manager of Military Manufacturing, Luis Sarlengo.

Sarlengo is a personal friend of Mr. Menem, recruited especially from his native La Rioja Province in order to take charge of industrial complex armament. And yet Mr. Menem “knew nothing about it,” until quite recently classifying the charges as a “clumsy and absurd lie, ill intentioned journalistic information.”

Summary of the Operation

The arms-smuggling operation is an interesting one, replete with the dummy corporations common to such which materialize and evaporate for purchase and sale, transportation, and so on. Of course, all this carefully constructed superstructure has a tendency to unravel when interested investigators seriously pursue the matter. U.S. intel was quite cognizant of what was going on, apparently from its inception. More on this later.

In the LANS reports which have been remarked above, the details have generally been laid out and hardly need be repeated here. These details include the corporations involved in the Ecuador portion of the operation, the U.S. freight "airline," the specifics of the shipment and so on. As will be seen below, clandestine arms shipments out of Argentina hardly started in 1991, but those of interest here apparently did. In 1991 two decrees¹³ were executed for the sale of Argentine arms to the Panamanian police, arms destined for Croatia. Decree 1697/91 was signed on 27 August 1991, Decree 2283/91 on 31 October 1991. The Croatian operation would have continuity during the next four years under various ministers. During the 1991-1995 period Luis Sarlenga was the Fabricaciones Militar (FM) administrator. As the period began Lt. Col. Diego Palleros (Ret.), now a fugitive from justice in South Africa,¹⁴ was the proprietor of the intermediary enterprise, Debrol S.A.; he will be encountered below.

There were apparently seven maritime shipments of arms to include artillery to Croatia, but this may not be the extent of it, a 28 August 1998 raid by Judge Urso on the Directorate of Army Arsenals in the Buenos Aires District of Palermo uncovering evidence that six 155mm howitzers had apparently evaporated, this being an interesting phenomenon in the case of an 8000kg howitzer.

As this four-year period drew to a close Ecuador suddenly appeared, prepared to pay top dollar for munitions, the "Argentine solution" having been proposed by Jean Lasnaud, head of the intermediary enterprise, Hayton-Caribbean. Decree 103/95 was signed on 30 January 1995 by Menem et al., and negotiations for the arms supply began six days later. To quote again from our MERCOSUR correspondent, "At that time Buenos Aires had assumed the role of mediator in the conflict which Ecuador was carrying on with Peru for the El Condor Range" op. 103H, YRBK00.

Insofar as the arms-to-Croatia operation is concerned, the Buenos Aires government involved itself in this way in the Balkan conflict at a time when the embargo decreed by the UN was in force, Argentina was a member of the Security Council and had sent about 1,000 troops as part of the “peace-keeping” operation. Which leads to the curious Menem-Clinton relationship.

Menem and Clinton, Just Good Friends?

It can be stated with certainty that U.S. intel was aware of Argentine arms shipments, a fact which would mean that President W. J. Clinton would also be aware.

The grand tour of South America by Mr. Clinton’s behemothian aerial cavalcade has been treated (chapter 3, YRBK98). First touching down in Caracas, Venezuela, the U.S. president was greeted by a neatly arranged row of nine girls from Rita’s Model Agency and other important government officials. The cavalcade spent slightly more time in Brazil than in Venezuela, then moved to Argentina for its longest stay. At the Ezeiza Airport in Buenos Aires, President Menem greeted President Clinton with, “Bill, I am very happy that you are here. We are going to get along very well, and I am sure that all the beauties of Argentina are going to please you.”

The Menem-Clinton friendship feast was apparently not interrupted by “the campaign diplomacy” which the the *New York Times* (Spanish) stated Mr. Clinton would perform in South America and which indeed he did perform. The Malvinas question was mentioned—Clinton: “Blair is my friend, you are my friend”—in campaign style, but perhaps the most interesting event was Mr. Clinton’s bestowal of “Extra-NATO Ally” status on Mr. Menem’s Argentina. In answer to the question as to why he did so, he answered:

“When I think of Argentine military in whatever part of the world, I see them as people who go there to keep the peace.” He went on to say that the support of President Menem’s government of the mission to Cyprus, Bosnia, and Haiti was “one of the reasons” why he is trying to award the ally status.

But Mr. Menem not only had 1,000 troops in the former Yugoslavia; his government had been furnishing artillery and other military equipment to the Bosnians and Croats, the “good guys” in the conflict with the Serbs. The mutual admiration society which was being created between the two presidents would pay off as handsomely as it could in January 1999.

In a much-publicized gala the Argentine president arrived in Washington to be wined and dined by the freshly impeached U.S. president, Mr. Menem telling the waiting press, from behind his boiled shirt, that Clinton's "leadership is necessary for the U.S. and for the world." The inference apparently is that surely the U.S. Senate would not remove from office an impeached president that the world needed. There was of course more, but it was in this spirit and timely indeed from Mr. Clinton's point of view.

LTC Diego Palleros

Meanwhile, one of the key figures in the smuggling operation, LTC Palleros (Ret.), is having his difficulties in the South African courts and may well be winging his way back to Argentina in latter January 1999. His extradition had been solicited by Argentina, but it was denied after a fine of U.S.\$500,000 was paid. This proved to be only as temporary reprieve for the retired Palleros.

This "fundamental link" in the arms traffic headed two phantom enterprises in Uruguay, Debrol S.A. and Hayton Caribbean, and was the intermediary between FM and Ecuador. As has been discussed in (pp. 103ff, YRBK00), he was interrogated by the Uruguayan Court in April 1995, the presiding officer Criminal Judge Rubén Eguiluz. The bank account secrecy had been lifted from Palleros enterprises a few days before. When Eguiluz was prepared to inquire into this subject, Palleros alleged exhaustion. The judge acceded to his request for a one-day suspension, and the retired officer fled the country, next surfacing in South Africa.

As a result of a request by the Argentine courts that Palleros be detained, Interpol picked him up in South Africa in July 1998, and he has been imprisoned there since that time. Last August, a South African court rejected the Argentine request for extradition, and he was released only to be picked up again by Interpol when he was arrested for using a fraudulent Panamanian passport in attempting to travel to Singapore. This is the same passport which he used in obtaining South African citizenship. On 27 January 1999 the retired officer will again appear before a South African court which will decide if the passport is indeed fraudulent.

If it proves to be, the Ministry of the Interior will deport him to Argentina "immediately." Which might pose one more problem for the Argentine president.

"Everybody Does It!"

Carlos Corach is Argentine Minister of the Interior. On 8 December 1998, this minister-supporter of President Menem took up the cudgels with an argument which is much the same as that used by some of the U.S. president's supporters during the impeachment process, "Everybody does it." Clearly, Mr. Corach was trying the argument out for the same reasons impelling the similar argument in the U.S., in the vernacular, "everybody does it so its all right."

According to Mr. Corach he was going to file documents with Argentine justice showing that Raúl Alfonsín, Argentine president from 1983 to 1989, sold arms in a "habitual" manner through intermediaries. "It is not certain that there was any particular complaint but it"—Corach's documents—"is especially the analysis of the decrees signed about the sale of arms in the period of Doctor Alfonsín's government, which are numerous."

Corach further explained that "the sales were not government to government but through intermediaries ... arms were sold to Iran, numerous arms, when that country was in conflict with Irak" (*El Observador* 9 December 1998). This was apparently during the time that the U.S. was selling arms to Iraq and before either Menem or Clinton came to power.

Will President Menem Run for a Third Term?

The answer is probably: If he can, but certainly not if the Alliance can prevent it. The Alliance is mainly ex President Raul Alfonsín's Radical Civic Union (UCR—Social Democrat) and Carlos "Chacho" Alvarez's National Solidarity Front (FREPASO).

On 10 July 1998 the Alliance "warned" that a second reelection of Menem would put the country "in danger" of "political violence." "To avoid chaos," these two opined, "the Constitution must be respected."

Nor were these PPs from the opposing parties the only one seeking to block another run at the presidency. A fellow Justicialista Party (PJ) member, himself enthusiastic about a presidential run, Buenos Aires Province Governor Eduardo Duhalde, was also opposing Menem. Which is apparently the reason that Duhalde did not attend the PJ Congress held on 17 July 1998. A number of PJ members were reported as joining the Buenos Aires governor in

staying away. In what then had the appearance of a prearranged performance, the Congress supported Menem's run for reelection. And then on 21 July Menem claimed to be bowing out of any further presidential attempts.

With various references to the dictum he attributed to Juan Perón—"first the country, then the movement and finally the men"—and other platitudes, he made the following statement:

"This president will inevitably leave power on 10 December 1999 and aspire to place the presidential sash on another Peronist president who will continue the revolution which we are initiating."

But the allegedly outgoing president is maintaining the presidency of his party. Opposition members, within and without the PJ, PPs being what they are, have since claimed that Menem will use his party post as a springboard for another run. In an interesting contretemps, the president claimed to waive all immunity after withdrawal, this having to do with the arms contraband. What this portends is not obvious.

The U.S. in Guatemala and Colombia

YANKEE IMPERIALISM LOSES ONE: GUATEMALA (WKLY 7.20, 20 MAY 1999)

On 18 May 1999 U.S. State Department spokesman James Foley announced "Washington's disappointment" with the results of the 16 May 1999 plebiscite on "changes" in the Guatemalan Constitution. His remarks included "It is important to conclude the process of peace" and "Nothing is more important for the development of Guatemala's future than to conclude the peace process." These statements were typical of the disinformation which Mr. Foley, wittingly or unwittingly, projected in his remarks. Guatemalan Congress President Leonel López Radas exemplified Guatemalan reaction when he qualified Foley's statements as "a clear interference in the internal affairs of the Guatemalans." Examples of this YI (Yanqui Imperialist) interference in the internal affairs of various allegedly sovereign LA nations have been discussed in these reports, but this is interesting in following immediately on the heels of such YI meddling in European and Near Eastern affairs.

Although outside the bailiwick of LANS, this Clintonian projection of power¹⁵ into Europe and the Near East is not entirely irrel-

evant to LANS concerns as has been demonstrated by the U.S. award of “Great Extra NATO Ally” (*sic*) status to Argentina, apparently for that nation’s smuggling of arms to Bosnia and Croatia. As part of this projection Mr. Clinton sent—or “allowed to go”—Stephanopolous to the United Kingdom to assist the SI militant, Blair, in becoming prime minister. In the recent Israeli election, Mr. Clinton sent—or “allowed to go”—the frenetic James Carville to Israel to assist in the removal of the anti-ML, Netanyahu.

In these various foreign campaigns the Clinton administration has been successful in supporting leftist candidates and policies, a record which makes it even more interesting to see a loss in Guatemala. It can, unfortunately, be confidently predicted that the drumbeat of disinformation, both in the U.S. and in Guatemala, will henceforth increase and continue to be witlessly reproduced by the press.

LANS has published what is probably the only detailed and coherent account of the so-called “Guatemalan peace process” which has resulted in the award of totally unmerited power to the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) terrorists of Castro’s HL. Although motivation is frequently difficult to determine, information gathered on the ground in Guatemala by the LANS Editor appears to present a rational and internally consistent account of U.S. motivation. As was the case during the Wieland presentation of Cuba to the ML terrorist, Castro, (chapter 4 below), not all the players know what they are about, such of course irrelevant to the realities.

Motivation for Promotion of URNG Terrorists

There was no question in any Guatemalan mind as to who was pushing negotiations with the pitifully small collection of ML terrorists who could still be found. It was “DC” a U.S. intel source told the LANS Editor.¹⁶ “The buzz words now are ‘reconciliation’ and ‘sharing of power.’ They want to restructure the Guatemalan institutions so there is this reconciliation and sharing.”

As with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) terrorists in El Salvador (pp.146ff, YRBK97), had the U.S. not hamstrung the Guatemalan military, the URNG¹⁷ terrorists could have been ultimately dispensed with. Indeed, President Ríos Montt effectively did just this when he formed the Self Defense Patrols (CAPs) in the early 1980s. Instead, however, this ML terrorist band was kept together for years while the “peace talks” were dragged out. Why?

“The negotiations were dragged on for five years,” the Editor was told, “to transform the terrorists into freedom fighters and statesmen. All of this of course in line with the U.S. policy of discrediting the military throughout LA.”

Since there have been few defectors among the U.S. leftists who have promulgated this policy and no investigation by the apparently uninterested U.S. Congress, this testimony is probably as close to the source as can be obtained. But the account is internally consistent and in agreement with the fact that each of these U.S.-sponsored peace treaties has amounted to simple empowerment of the criminal terrorists of the HL.

This empowerment was laid out in *Los Acuerdos de Paz*, a 195-page document which appeared in 1997 as a publication of the Presidency of the Republic of Guatemala and bore the logos of the European Economic Community (CEE), National Fund for Peace (FONOPAZ) and Presidential Commission Coordinating the Executive Policy on Human Rights (COPREDEH). LANS has carefully and minutely studied this document, abstracted it (pp.295-306, YRBK98) and analyzed it (306-317, YRBK98).

First and foremost, these accords are based on falsehoods as to what has happened in Guatemala since 1945. These deliberately-generated falsehoods are part of that vast Disinformation Operation (DO) which brought Castro to power in Cuba and fueled the advances of ML terrorism in LA since 1954. Anatoliy Golitsyn¹⁸ has long maintained that western intel never really understood ML strategic disinformation. While LANS can hardly testify to the accuracy of this statement, it can attest that western intel has never behaved as if it did.

The “Peace Accords” as Disinformation

Conjure up a “peace conference” during a war between two sovereign nations—as opposed to one sovereign nation and a group of common criminals. Then suppose further that one of the nations allowed, with no objections and no contributions, the other to write a history of the conflict and the changes which were to take place between the nations as a result of the projected “peace treaty.” This is precisely what the Government of Guatemala (GG), under the prodding of the U.S., its Group of Friends of the Peace Process (GF)¹⁹ and various “human rights” organizations, has done. The motiva-

tion here may be inferred, certainly the terrorist-to-statesman transmogrification is a part of it, but the change is always to the Left, never toward free men and free markets.

Here three DOs will be summarized: (1) Created Historical Fantasy; (2) Fables of the Indians; and (3) The Casualty DO.

1. Created Historical Fantasy

The first line of Accord XII claims “three decades of armed confrontation in Guatemala,” a nonsensical distortion attempting to add continuity and substance to the impotent URNG terrorists. The facts are, first, that what little ML terrorism was still occurring in Guatemala began when a small Cuban-trained band marched over the border from Mexico in 1972 (pp.307ff, YRBK98). Further, this was a terrorist operation, first to last, which preyed upon Guatemalan civilians, hardly an “armed confrontation” with the Guatemalan military.

Finally, the attempt was made to resuscitate the brutal ML regime of Jacobo Arbenz (pp.219ff, YRBK98). Since few of us are left who remember this and the press appears willing to write down and reproduce almost anything, this disinformation has had easy sailing.

2. Fables of the Indians

What these fraudulent accords seek to establish as the Indigeneous Peoples (IP) may be identified from Accord V as “the Maya people, the Garifuna people and the Xinca people.” The “Mayas” are apparently introduced because “everybody has heard” of them and can to some extent relate. On them and other alleged IP the LANS Editor inquired in Guatemala. One particularly well and extensively informed source was the Indian political leader, Raúl Recancoj Coyoy. (The Editor obtained permission to quote Mr. Recancoj.)

“Mayas!” Mr. Recancoj told LANS, “There aren’t any Mayas!”²⁰

“I am Quiche,” Mr. Recancoj went on, “when I need a language to communicate, I use Spanish. And although there are many dialects, Maya is not one of them. There are Mam people from San Marcos, Cachiqvel people from Totonicopan, Quiche people from Quetzaltenango, Chuj people from Huehuetenango, Tzutuhil people from Solola...” The list, for which Mr. Recancoj needed no notes, went on but need not be repeated.

“None of these people are interested in these accords,” which, as a political leader in the area, he is in a position to know. “These people think these accords are a fraud. People that work have suffered losses in their work, in their incomes. They have had to change jobs, to go back to where they came from looking for work. Crime has increased. The people have been terrorized...”

“We who live and work in Guatemala, for us this whole thing is being handled by a small group. It is important that the people in the U.S. know that very few of the people, the Indian people, want any part of these peace accords.”

In answer to a LANS question about Indian involvement, Mr. Recancoj warmed to his subject with, “What has happened is that the U.S. agitators are calling on the Indians to ‘rise up.’ They are financing different groups in ‘Maya studies,’ but there are no Mayas. Money that comes into the country as ‘aid’ for various charitable projects is used for the URNG cause.”

Various sources have told LANS that the number of Indians claimed by the URNG has been wildly exaggerated. Even were the 30,000 Indians claim true, and it is wide of the mark, this would amount to only some four-tenths of one percent of the Indian population. The claim is made by the URNG, the question arising as to why. The answer is money.

“The URNG is recruiting people to turn themselves in as terrorists under the peace accords,” Mr. Recancoj explained. “In Huitan and Cabrican they are offering 6000 quetzales to every young man who turns himself in to UN Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA). They even tried to recruit me!” he added with some asperity.

So much for the bizarre schemes in the accords for schools in the Maya tongue, studies in Maya “science” and whatnot, schemes which the Indians themselves dealt with in their rejection of the Constitutional Amendments of 16 May.

3. The Casualty DO

This can be no more than mentioned in passing. Deaths running as high as 200,000 have long been claimed by those essentially pushing the terrorists’ untenable position in the so-called Peace Process. For years LANS has heard from the more responsible Guatemalans who have lived through the entire terrorist misfortune that

there is simply no logic to these obviously inflated numbers. LANS has produced (pp.312ff, YRBK98) a careful analysis which included the original source of these numbers, a report carried by the *New York Times* in 1982 which supposedly reported on the formation of the URNG terrorist group, albeit, it did not report where (Sandinista Managua), when (November 1980) or by whom (Castro's Piñera) the group was formed. In short, this highly inflated figure came from the terrorists themselves and was simply written down by the *Times* reporter.

Such are only a few highlights of the disinformation fraud which was the reality of the so-called "Guatemalan Peace Accords." Of course the accords continued, and the so-called "Historical Clarification Commission" emerging therefrom produced, a great deal of disinformation such as has been reported in Chapter 5, YRBK97 and YRBK98 and subsequent. The ambulatory DO, Rigoberta Menchú, has recently been shown (Spcl 7.1, Chap. 4 below), through the careful work of David Stoll (*Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, Westview, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3574-4), to be precisely what she has seemed to be for many years: the willing creature of the HL. There is, however, space here only to remark that, were the Guatemalan Constitution changed to "conclude" what Mr. Foley calls the "peace process," that constitution would create a Marxist state.

Marxist Blueprint for Guatemala

On the day the plebiscite turned down proposed changes in the Guatemalan Constitution the frenetic Mr. Carville appeared on U.S. television, stating in effect that he and his cronies have eliminated every "right-wing" government extant. He meant, of course, every anti-ML government, but rational ratiocination does not fit this curious individual's objectives and would probably be incomprehensible to him in any event.

Those who signed the so-called "peace accords" supposedly committed themselves to socialist utopian measures regulating every facet of Guatemalan life, however impossible, from increasing the Gross Domestic Product (PIB) "by no less than 6 percent annually" to increasing "the literacy rate to 70 percent by 2000" (p.301, YRBK98). Most such commitments need not and, according to the LANS copy of the plebiscite, have not been reproduced in the document which was defeated.

Space here allows only the reproduction of the “reforms” proposed for a constitutional article, this taken directly from the disinformation in the accords. Article 143 read and still reads:

“Article 143: The official language of Guatemala is Spanish. The vernacular languages form part of the cultural patrimony of the Nation.”

The defeated form of the article was:

“Article 143: Languages. The official languages of the State are: Spanish for all the national territory and the indigenous languages which the law establishes, fixing its area of applications in accord with technical, linguistic and territorial criteria. The state recognizes, respects and promotes the following languages: Achi Akateko, Awakateko, Chalchiteco, Ch’orti’, Chuj, Itza’, Ixil, Popti’, Q’anjob’al, Q’eqchi’, Sakapulteko, Sipakapense, Tektiteko, Tz’utuhil, Uspanteko, Garífuna and Xinka.”

“There are THREE living Xincas in the country, a mother, a father and their grown daughter ... the daughter does not know Xinca” (p.300, YRBK98).

Art. 66 would have been changed from “The state recognizes, respects and promotes the forms of life, customs...” etc. of people of Mayan *descent* to “The state recognizes, respects and protects the right to identity of the Maya, Garífuna and Xinca peoples...”

WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES DOING IN COLOMBIA?

(SPCL 8.13, 30 OCTOBER 1999)

The U.S. has begun to offer “aid” to Colombia with strings attached which demonstrate that either (1) Washington has not the vaguest idea of the situation in that country—which hardly seems likely—or (2) it has some devious plot in mind whereby its real intentions are cloaked by some obviously impossible but avowed intention. Since, whatever the “real intentions” may be, an attempted enunciation of them now would be speculative, only the “avowed intentions” can be treated. Although this has been well done by the LANS correspondent in Bogotá, a certain amount of preliminary discussion is required. Such a discussion should probably begin with the “avowed intention” of the U.S.

The avowed intention of the U.S. is, first, to furnish military supplies and equipment to the Colombian Armed Forces (FAC) so that the FAC can combat narco-trafficking but not, repeat, not the ML

terrorists of Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) and/or the National Liberation Army (ELN). The avowed intention of the U.S. is, second, to support the so-called Pastrana Peace Process (PPP). Since there is simply no way presently to fight narco-trafficking without fighting the common criminals of FARC and the ELN—on which more below—this is not an “intention,” it is an oxymoron. But it is apparently an oxymoron which the man in the street, in the brothel or in the church is supposed to take seriously. As to the PPP, the pledge of what appears to be unconditional support precludes any evaluation of the projected value or track record of the present “peace” negotiations.

Fighting the Cartels and Not the Terrorists

As Crozier (*Sunday Times* 28 January 1990) has revealed from his extensive discussion with the ranking Soviet Bloc defector, Czech General Jan Sejna (pp.212ff, YRBK00), Soviet dictator Khrushchev established the drug trade as a weapon through the use of Czech and Cuban intel personnel, at the Tri Continental Conference (TCC) (pp.95ff, YRBK97) and earlier. The blubbery Nikita did an excellent job of it, and, for reasons which every man may deduce for himself, both the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assured that Sejna published nothing about this.²¹

Certain U.S. propagandists for the left have the poor campesinos growing the coca leaves while the evil Cartel lords process the raw material into cocaine. It has been a good many years since this scenario had any relation to reality. Joint Task Force South was created in 1998 with headquarters in Trés Esquinas, not for the purpose of fighting drug “Cartels”—although some of them have doubtless felt the effects—but of fighting the narco-terrorists, principally of FARC. The LANS Editor visited the organization in southeast Colombia not long after its establishment, certain details of narco-terrorist activities subsequently appearing in these reports (pp.184ff, YRBK00). There is a vast amount of material now available demonstrating that it would be impossible to separate the ML terrorist narcotics production from such production by any other criminal group. And, finally, the hemispheric drug lord is still Fidel Castro (pp.212ff, YRBK00), the billionaire most of whose wealth has come from narco-trafficking profits, whether from Cartel bosses or ML terrorists.

U.S. Support for the PPP

Andrés Pastrana has pursued his “Peace Process” since before he was inaugurated president of Colombia. He has acceded to every demand of the terrorists with no *quid pro quos*, not even a requirement that they slow their murders, kidnapping, and narco-trafficking. The immense expanse of Colombian territory, which he meekly ceded to them “temporarily,” by now appears to amount to a permanent surrender. All of this has been discussed *in extenso* in these reports (cf. 189ff, below) and need hardly be repeated here. But to pledge continuing support to a process which may only promise ultimate victory for the ML terrorists is a commitment which leads one to wonder what the motivation may be.

Of course, it is true that the so-called Chapultepec Accords which the U.S. forced on El Salvador, did essentially the same thing (cf. pp.146ff, YRBK97). But, most importantly, it did this by clever use of the “strings” which were attached to the “aid” which the U.S. was furnishing, strings which provided “sanctuary” to the terrorists of the FMLN in “refugee” villages and *bolsones teritoriales* (border pockets). To suggest that this is what the U.S. has in mind in Colombia is speculative, but the attempt appears to be underway to transform, as in Guatemala, these terrorists into “statesmen and freedom fighters.”

Vietnam

The Vietnam unpleasantness hardly offers an analogy to anti-terrorist operations in the Western Hemisphere such as the bombastic “Legend in His Own Mind,” Ernesto Guevara, threatened nor as the International Left (IL), to include its U.S. branches, threatens now. However, it does offer a potential analogy in the matter of “strings” attached to U.S. “help.” One curious U.S. president began “helping” the South Vietnamese, turning military matters over to muddled civilian planning which brought on a two-front war as the Editor’s old friend, Colonel Jacksel M. Broughton, has so aptly described.²²

Even so, in spite of the obstacles, the U.S. military dealt with this faction of the IL as Lt. Gen. Philip B. Davidson²³ precisely describes. To paraphrase Davidson, the U.S. “won every battle in Vietnam, but lost the war” because the U.S. had no grand strategy.²⁴

But the U.S. had absolute string-control of South Vietnam and its non-ML government. So it made a “peace” with the MLs of North Vietnam—who will of course sign anything—which the latter shattered as described in microcosm by, say, Miller.²⁵ And to which the U.S. replied with flight, this in spite of commitments made to the South Vietnamese by a series of curious U.S. chiefs of state from Kennedy to Nixon. Of these commitments by Nixon and Ford, Nguyen Tien Hung has provided interesting records.²⁶ In the following article Doctor Posada provides further information on such commitments.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. TOWARD THE COLOMBIAN CONFLICT²⁷

MIGUEL POSADA

CENTRO DE ANÁLISIS SOCIOPOLÍTICOS

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

(WKLY 8.13 [PART], 30 SEPTEMBER 1999, p. 124)

For years the policy of the U.S. toward Colombia and the rest of the Andean nations has been almost exclusively dominated by the matter of drugs, and its support has been directed against the traditional narcotics cartels. Nevertheless, from the 1980s the Colombian Marxist guerrilla has been involved in narco-trafficking, today dominating all the relations with illicit cultivations and a good part of the production of narcotics. For the moment, it does not dominate commercialization abroad for which reason it is deduced that the guerrilla does not have the character of a Cartel. On this basis the North American left and isolationist factions have succeeded in preventing U.S. support being utilized against the guerrillas.

With this objective an effective campaign of defamation has been mounted against the Colombian Armed Forces which alleges a “dark history” in the matter of Human Rights. The campaign is founded on false accusations.²⁸ A comparative analysis demonstrates that the behavior of the Colombian Army in matters of Human Rights and Humanitarian International Law is one of the best in the world.

But the reality of Marxist guerrilla participation in narco-trafficking cannot be eternally denied. Enrichment by the drug trade has given it a military power which threatens to penetrate our frontiers. This has generated a new perception of the problem in a U.S. which

has begun to support Colombia with transportation and intelligence staffs. This is a matter of simple justice inasmuch as the financing of the subversion is being fed with drug money principally provided by the U.S.

The national and international left, which sympathizes with the subversion, is making every political effort in order that this support to the Military Forces not be furnished and in order to maintain the Peace Process with the FARC. During the earlier failed peace processes the guerrilla obtained advantages which, once brought into the negotiations, remain in place as will surely happen again.

Toward this end are employed all manner of tactics. For example, the ex guerilla and Nobel Peace Laureate, Rigoberta Menchú,²⁹ and the Spanish judge famous for his attack on Pinochet, Baltasar Garzón, added themselves to the campaign by the Marxist left. The famous North American ambassador who so favored the subversion in El Salvador, Robert White,³⁰ also recently wrote a deceitful article. But there is little chance that such efforts will succeed. Now there is no doubt that the U.S. will increase its support.

It is not advisable, nevertheless, that Colombia become dependent on that support. Although it is not a question of any gift but, rather, recognition of the fact that the guerrilla is being financed with dollars from North American addicts, such support never comes without strings attached and the certain injection of the U.S. in our internal affairs.

Colombia should maintain that level of preparedness such that, if they suspend aid to us, we can continue the battle alone. This has many practical implications. For example, we should not have the U.S. as the only provider of war materiel, whether it be a question of helicopters, technical intelligence equipment or whatever other equipment. In other confrontations, such dependency generated bitter results. Suffice it to remember Vietnam, where support to the government of the South, in spare parts and munitions, was refused at a critical moment. The army had achieved a significant triumph in 1974 against North Vietnam, but, while the latter was promptly re-equipped by the Soviet Union, North American support to the army of the South did not arrive. In this Senator Edward Kennedy had great responsibility.

On our continent, the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala were pressured by the U.S. to sign peace agreements favor-

able to the subversion when they were on the verge of a conclusive victory over these guerrillas.

Welcome the North American support, which is arriving at a propitious time, but this support should not be accepted at the cost of impositions in the handling of our Military Forces nor can it substitute for the efforts of the Colombians themselves.

[This article was originally distributed to Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S. and Latin America]

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

A Peripatetic U.S. President

U.S. PRESIDENT CLINTON IN MEXICO (WKLY 7.7, 18 FEBRUARY 1999)

Four billion dollars is an “Open Sesame” almost anywhere. The four billion Export Import Bank dollars which U.S. President William J. Clinton carried to Merida, Mexican State of Yucatán, on Valentine’s Day assured that Mr. Clinton’s Mexican “friends” would be delighted to see him again after what was almost a two-year absence. Mr. Clinton’s last trip to Mexico has been discussed in some detail in *Wkly 3.18* (chapter 3, YRBK98), the trip having been delayed for a month by an injury the U.S. chief executive suffered, allegedly on Greg Norman’s staircase at two in the morning. Some felt Mr. Clinton’s trip was highlighted by his comments to Pres. Zedillo on the statue of Earth Goddess Coatlicue—“It’s great. How old is it?”³¹—others more impressed by his remarks before the scale model of the Great Temple—“...this [temple] complex could only have been conceived by a people with a history and destiny.”³² And now he was back, the “reasons” being given by the press generally relating to narco-trafficking, illegal immigration into the U.S. and “environmental” matters. These will be touched upon below. Whether these were indeed the purpose of the trip appears to have been the subject of considerable speculation.

The Clinton trip, coming as it did so hard on the heels of his acquittal by the U.S. Senate following his impeachment by the U.S. Congress, was, according to some observers, largely a public relations operation. It was assuredly conducted as one on “Air Force One” wherein an AFP photographer captured the moment when Mr.

Clinton was offering a huge heart—it was Valentine’s Day—filled with chocolates to the accompanying press corps. Whether snapped by the same photographer or not, an AFP photo in Merida featured a Mrs. Clinton affectionately embracing a Mexican child who had just presented her with a bouquet, a joyous Mr. Clinton clapping in the background. This was of course during the ruffles, flourishes, and Yucatán songs and dances which were duly performed. The question which remains unanswered is the one common to such junketings: Since the clerks had already written the “nine agreements” which were to be signed the next day, was this trip of any substantive value?

The U.S. Delegation Arrives in Mexico

With no attempt to arrange the personnel by rank and with apologies to anyone omitted, the Clinton retinue consisted of the U.S. president, Mrs. Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater, Energy Secretary William Richardson, Anti-Drug “Czar” Barry McCaffrey and National Security Advisor Samuel Berger. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright arrived about the same time but from France, not Washington, where she had been involved in the mysterious Kosovo “negotiations.”

This travelling cavalcade also included twenty-four U.S. legislators, two U.S. senators who had just voted for Clinton’s expulsion from the presidency and twenty-two U.S. congressmen. LANS has no statistics on the impeachment vote by these congressmen.

Jovial Jeffrey Davidow (55) is the round-faced and generally smiling former Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere affairs who was appointed U.S. ambassador to Mexico after the U.S. Senate’s refusal to appoint certain curious Clinton candidates to that post. Mr. Davidow’s joviality suffered a serious setback in Uruguay during an interview with a *SUCESOS* reporter which has been described in chapter 6, YRBK98. This had to do with the unsuccessful U.S. attempt to enforce its priority for the embryonic Clinton administration free-trade plan, Free Trade Organization of LA (ALCA), over that of the established Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR) plan. Apparently no reporters asked difficult questions during this Clinton trip, and Mr. Davidow’s joviality held up. He formed an adjunct to the Mexican welcoming committee, and he was clearly prepared for what has become the Clinton Arrival

Routine. Air Force One routinely arrives later than scheduled, to be greeted by bustling hordes of U.S. security personnel. After the welcoming committee has had a chance to stand on the red carpet for anything up to a half hour, the aircraft door is finally opened, and the U.S. president makes his apparently dramatic descent, on this occasion with no limp from Norman's staircase.

With Mr. Davidow on this occasion were Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, Señora Nilda Patricia de Zedillo, and various others, either in this immediate welcoming group or nearby. Perhaps most importantly these others included the lady, Foreign Relations Secretary Rosario Green Macías, Government Secretary Francisco Labastida Ochoa, Mexican Attorney General Jorge Madrázó and Communications Secretary Carlos Ruíz Sacristan.

Mr. Labastida had recently visited Washington, DC, conferring particularly with Reno and McCaffrey. He reported that, as a consequence, there will be "lines of communication and joint preparation of programs" established. "We must unite our efforts because narco-trafficking affects both our nations, our peoples and our governments. It is a common enemy which we have had for decades and against which we must be effective in order better to protect our peoples," Labastida said.

The Welcome

On vacating the red carpet Clinton invited Zedillo to ride with him in his limousine, but, for "security reasons," he was refused. They proceeded to the Palacio de Gobierno. There Mrs. Clinton was reported as being "surprised" by the "history" purportedly portrayed by the mural, "Tormento a Canek," of Fernando Castro Paheco (*Color and Imagery in Yucatan*). According to the story, even referred to as a "legend" in the *Excelsior* article (15 February 1999), Jacinto Canek was "skinned alive" for leading an uprising although his lips remained sealed during the process. Canek is mentioned in "The Fifth Letter" of Hernán Cortés to the King of Spain (cf. *Hernán Cortes: Letters from Mexico*, Yale University Press, 1986. Translated by Anthony Pagden. ISBN: 0-300-03799-6). Canek was the lord of Tayça who, reputedly, hastened to propose to Cortés that he burn his own idols and telling him "that he also wished to be Your Majesty's subject and vassal." Whether he later kicked over the traces and was skinned or whether this was the vapoing of someone such

as the “protector of the Indians,” Bartolomé de las Casas, may be an open question.

Mrs. Clinton’s “surprise” was followed by an inconclusive, if general, discussion of her possible candidacy for U.S. senator from New York next year. Something like an hour later the party moved to the Palacio Cantón where it was entertained at a private dinner hosted by the Mexican president.

Pres. Zedillo was accompanied by his cabinet. Mexican legislators from all political parties had been invited to attend, it being recalled that there are three major political parties, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the National Action Party (PAN) and the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). Of these three major parties only the PAN legislators refused to attend. It may be recalled that this political party (chapter 2, YRBK98) came into existence as a reaction to the leftist Cárdenas Government, was essentially a Catholic organization and probably the most free-market oriented of the three major parties. As indicated by the projected “alliance” with the leftist PRD, however, this description is now subject to dispute. Nevertheless, a number of free marketeers remain in PAN, a fact which is probably relevant to the refusal to break bread, but anything more specific than this is a speculation best left to the reader.

During the course of his remarks that evening, Mr. Clinton, the family man, remarked (wistfully?) on the visit which he and Mrs. Clinton made to nearby Acapulco during their honeymoon of twenty-four years ago.

The Agenda

The agenda for the bilateral Merida Summit can be divided into three general categories: (1) narco-trafficking; (2) Mexican illegal immigration across the U.S. border; and (3) environmental matters. The two presidents were to “assist” at the signing of “nine instruments” relating to these subjects in the Peón Contreras Theater on Wednesday, 16 February 1999. It would appear that the instruments were constructed as desired by Mexico, although any U.S. disagreement was only inferable from the fact that certain matters had arisen.

1. Narco-Trafficking

Beginning well before the Summit, the Mexican Government and the Mexican Congress made it quite clear that they wanted no part

of the “certification” of Mexico’s anti-narcotics programs by the U.S. Government and U.S. Congress. The objection appeared to be, or at least was expressed as, an understandable resentment by the Mexicans of this unilateral gringo action. More specifically, the Mexican Government appears to have maintained the position that this certification was contrary to international law and the 1988 Vienna Convention on Illegal Traffic in Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

During the Clinton visit the matter only arose specifically when the press asked one of the junketing U.S. congressmen if there were the 218 votes needed to “de-certify” Mexico. (The gentleman claimed not to be able to answer.) In all probability, matters will resolve themselves as follows: When the smoke clears, Mexico will, almost *sub rosa*, be certified, the wishes of all parties non-controversially fulfilled. This will probably take place whether or not the governor of the neighboring State of Quintana Roo, Mario Villanueva, is proven guilty or innocent of the narco-trafficking charges against him.

Through it all, certification was discussed only among the congressmen. A PRD stalwart, Jorge Calderón, summed up the session with, “It was a dialog among the deaf. They spoke of *certification* and we of the Mexican opposition to that unilateral process.” But since Mr. Clinton is not going to put away the U.S. government’s checkbook, matters will probably proceed as indicated.

Both sides essentially decided that narco-trafficking was a scourge on the body politic, and they were going “to win this battle...” etc. Not surprisingly, President Zedillo declared, ringingly, that “Our battle must have equal firmness and consistency in opposing the production, transport and consumption of drugs.” Since no one apparently expected him to emerge in support of the drug cartels, this caused no surprises.

2. *Illegal Immigrants to the U.S.*

In the Plaza de la Constitución 360 crosses have been erected to commemorate those Mexicans allegedly dead as a result of their attempts illegally to cross the U.S. border out of Mexico. The immediate culprit in what is being touted as a violation of the “Human Rights” (HR) of these illegals was being identified as President Clinton who “put underway operation Guardian ...in October 1994” (*La Jornada*, 16 February, 1999).

Various Non-Governmental Organizations (ONGs) added to the hubbub, among which were the Permanent Seminar for Chicano and Frontier Studies (SPECF), the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of HR (CMDPDH) and others. The propaganda drum, answered in kind by Mexican officialdom, is beaten loudly and continuously on this theme, but no solution is ever really suggested. It is of course inferable that what is desired by the agitators is for the U.S. simply to open its borders. That this is the desire of the Mexican Government is a logical outgrowth of the following.

Such an elimination of U.S. borders would probably have little practical effect were it not for the plethora of "welfare" programs with which U.S. government at all levels is surfeited. From the point of view of the Mexican government, so the opinion goes, open borders would shift the burden of "welfare" for Mexican recipients directly to the U.S., there no longer being any meaningful residence requirement for the "economically deprived" to begin feeding at the U.S. welfare trough.

3. Environmental Affairs

In a shift led by the "ex" Soviet dictator, Mikhail Gorbachev, the new home of the International Left has migrated to world environmentalism. The choice is a wise one as anyone who has carefully perused "environmentalist" plans can attest: These provide a blueprint for what amounts to an International Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (IUSSR) which, incidentally, will assuredly vie with the apparently defunct USSR for "most polluted" state status. And, because of the power latent in these programs for the PP, these goals are uniformly popular. Skipping the something or other about tuberculosis, there were two principal "environmental" subjects under discussion, the first, Mexican forest fires, the second, dolphins.

The dolphin program, albeit, demonstrative of how far the PP will go, will be passed over here in embarrassed silence save to remark that the "Convention for the Protection of Dolphins" was ratified.

In his Comunicado No. 1342, Presidencia de la República, President Zedillo gives the following statistics for the destruction of forested areas in Mexico, although the amounts destroyed by fires per se are not specified:

In less than 50 years we have lost almost a third of our forests and jungles said Pres. Zedillo reporting that the causes have been various and urged stopping their extinction... the Chief Executive emphasized the importance of the National Program for Protection Against Fires which is in full swing during the present year; it comprehends the prevention, detection and combat of these. A large budget has been established for this since it has enormous importance.

The U.S. will also make a contribution to said anti-fire program.

MR. CLINTON GOES TO CENTRAL AMERICA
(WKLY 7.10, 11 MARCH 1999)

To paraphrase a line from *My Fair Lady*, "The Central Americans don't care why a U.S. president treks about their area so long as he has an easily opened U.S. Government (GOUS) checkbook." On this occasion Mr. Clinton did not have the checkbook, the U.S. Congress having suggested that the nearly \$1 billion be linked to domestic spending cuts which the U.S. president claimed to be (politically) unacceptable. The Presidential Palace occupant, rather like Ecuadoran President Bucaram, would have apparently "withdrawn" the funds from such as the ailing U.S. Social Security system in the solvency of which he claims such intense interest. But, as Univision journalist Jorge Ramos suggested to *La Prensa Grafica* (San Salvador), perhaps the real reason for Mr. Clinton's latest international junket was not his concern with the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch.

"The principal concern of Pres. Clinton," said Mr. Ramos, "is how to clean the mud off his place in history." In connection with this de-mudding, he mentioned only the now world-famous Monica Lewinsky.

But *l'affaire Lewinsky* only scratches the surface of the U.S. chief executive's muddied image and this only in the sex department. Here a chorus line of similar accounts have surfaced in recent years, to be topped off by the apparently credible rape charge from Jane Doe No. 5 (Brodderick). And certain Clintonian hi-jinks in the campaign-finance area have led to reported compromise of the security which should have protected U.S. nuclear-missile technology. In this area what could be a particularly mud-producing investigation is apparently getting underway. To top off this rising pyramid of woes, all is apparently not well with the "first couple."

"I don't want to be in the same room with him, let alone the same bed," a Fox News report (*New York Post* 11 March 1999) quoted Mrs. Clinton as saying. Since it would be difficult to arrange sepa-

rate rooms for the “first couple” without considerable furor, the first lady is apparently boycotting his Central America trip. Not so, said Mrs. Clinton’s spokeswoman, she simply had a recurrence of that “back injury” which had been blamed for the blowup of the Utah skiing trip not long ago. (Independent observers could remark no back problems.) Whatever the explanation, Mrs. Clinton did not accompany her conjugal helpmate to Central America, leaving more mud for removal from the “legacy.”

Nothing daunted, on 8 March Mr. Clinton boarded his aerial cavalcade for Central America, arriving first in Nicaragua, then moving on the next day to El Salvador. In San Salvador the always enormous security precautions—road closings, etc.—so familiar to his travels caused “traffic chaos for hours” (*Diario de Hoy* San Salvador 10 March 1999). He moved on to Honduras, arriving in Guatemala for the Antigua Summit on 11 March, another of those affairs pre-scripted by the ministry clerks. Mr. Clinton blamed the U.S. Congress for not giving him the money, albeit, blaming the same villainous body also for refusing him permission to leave the illegal immigrants in the U.S. so that they might continue shipping money back to Central America.

He had tried to do this, he told his audience, but the Congress would not allow him to do so. Perhaps most importantly, Mr. Clinton was lined up and waving for the “historic photo” closing the summit. The happy heads of state appearing with upraised arms from left to right were Said Mussas, Prime Minister of Belice; the presidents of Honduras, Carlos Flores; of Costa Rica, Miguel Rodríguez; of the U.S., William J. Clinton; of Guatemala, Alvaro Arzú; of Nicaragua, Arnoldo Alemán; of El Salvador, Armando Calderón; and of the Dominican Republic, Leonel Fernández.

Notes

1. Richard Pipes, “Communism, Fascism and National Socialism,” chapter 5 of *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0-394-50242-6).
2. Mr. Carville’s political colleague, George Stephanopoulos, allegedly accomplished much the same thing in Britain having been “loaned” to the international socialist, Anthony Blair, to run his successful campaign for prime minister.
3. For recent treatment, cf. Wkly 8.7 while for earlier treatment, cf. pp.198ff, YRBK98. There has been no reason to change the original LANS assessment of this grouping as carrying out “a series of actions which constitute ‘low-intensity warfare’” (pp.106ff, YRBK97).

4. The issuance by his government of a postage stamp commemorating the ML terrorist, Ernesto Guevara, and the support by his brother and Senate president of the Hemispheric Left (HL) boss, Fidel Castro, renders Carlos Menem's "position" dubious at best.
5. Polay had "escaped" from a Garcia prison about the time Fujimori was inaugurated.
6. Luis Jochamowitz, *Ciudadano Fujimori: La construcción de un político* (PEISA, Lima, 1993. OCLC: 30346370). The book by Rei Kimura (*The President Who Dared to Dream: President Fujimori of Peru*, Eyelevel Books, 1998. ISBN: 1-902528-06-9), which gives the details on Fujimori's birth, will be reviewed during the coming year.
7. Gilvonio was the wife of the boss of the JEO, Cerpa, who would not survive the operation.
8. The US, using its "gifts" as a quid pro quo, forced the Cristiani Government to furnish sanctuary to the FMLN terrorists in "*bolsones territoriales*" left over from the Soccer War and "*refugee*" villages (pp.146ff, YRBK97, et seq.).
9. According to all the reports received by LANS this operation has been planned by a U.S. National Security Council none of whose members have had any experience with military affairs. According to other reports, which must of course remain speculative, the motivation for the entire operation may be political.
10. It is a basic premise of that "scourge of the Twentieth Century" (cf. Paul Johnson, *Modern Times*, HarperCollins, 1991; ISBN: 0-06-433427-9), the Professional Politician, that no bureaucracy is ever to be abolished, these providing repositories for that spoils system so important to him. In the case of NATO, therefore, when its mission allegedly evaporated with the supposed end of the Cold War, there was never a question of abolishing the organization.
11. It is, of course, grossly unfair to the Scholastics and typical of certain contemporary "philosophers" to suppose that this summarizes their philosophy. Nevertheless, it remains a useful example of rationalization *ad extremitas*.
12. Argentine arms were shipped to Ecuador under Decree 103/95 during February 1995.
13. It was reported in the fall of 1998 (cf. *La Nation* 16 September 1998) that there were three decrees, but LANS has not acquired the third, and it apparently does not affect the situation.
14. In Wkly 6.12 it was incorrectly stated that he was in Singapore, a move he tried unsuccessfully to make.
15. Although well known to those of you who have read these reports, the difference between this raw projection of power and that previously encountered in the opposition to the COMINTERN, or, later, the International Department of the CC, CPSU, can be succinctly stated: The principal enemy of the COMINTERN, now of Castro's HL, was the US and hence said opposition was the simple defense against foreign enemies. Although poorly executed, the attempt against the ML Sandinistas in Nicaragua was justified by such considerations, these terrorists having willingly provided a Soviet base in Central America.
16. On one occasion, U.S. State Secretary Madeleine Albright arrived in Guatemala behaving as if bent on verifying this "DC" support. She choppered from the Guatemala City airport to a meeting with the terrorist chiefs before so much as a greeting to the feckless members of the Guatemalan government.
17. For those who do not recall, both the Guatemalan URNG and the Salvadoran FMLN were formed in the Sandinista Managua of 1980 by Castro's hemispheric terror chief, Redbeard Piñera, boss of the Americas Department, CC, Cuban CP.

18. Cf. Anatoliy Golitsyn, *The Perestroika Deception: The World's Slide Toward the Second October Revolution* (Harle, 1995. ISBN: 1-899798-00-5).
19. Of which one member, Norway, cradles its U.S.-furnished slush fund (p.310, YRBK98).
20. Sylvanus Griswold Morley (*The Ancient Maya*, Stanford, 1947. ISBN: B0000D05VE4T and later editions) agrees.
21. Joseph D. Douglass, Jr. (*Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America*, Clarion House, 1990. ISBN: 0-9626646-0-X), the de-briefer of Sejna, has produced extensive documentation of the ML terrorist involvement in narco-trafficking in this work which was recently republished by Edward Harle (ISBN: 1-899798-04-8).
22. Jack Broughton, *Going Downtown: The War Against Hanoi and Washington*, Orion, 1988. ISBN: 0517567385.
23. Lt. Gen. Philip B. Davidson, USA (Ret.), *Vietnam at War: The History: 1946-1975*, Presidio, 1988. ISBN: 0891413065.
24. Davidson actually says "because they (the Communists) had a superior grand strategy." That the US had *no* grand strategy can certainly be argued.
25. John Grider Miller, *The Bridge at Dong Ha*, Naval Institute, 1989. 0870210203.
26. Nguyen Tien Hung and Jerrold L. Schecter, (*The Palace File*, Harper & Row, 1986. ISBN: 0-06-015640-6). Nguyen was Special Assistant to President Nguyen Van Thieu and was in Washington on a mission at the time of the treaty-shattering North Vietnamese attack and the fall of Saigon.
27. LANS expresses deep appreciation to Inter-American Economic Press Editor Carlos Ball for permission to reproduce this translation.
28. This has been almost continuously discussed in these reports.—Editor.
29. Menchú, long the servant of the HL, has been frequently discussed in these reports (cf. Spcl 7.1, chap. 5 below).
30. White, an envoy to El Salvador appointed by President. James E. Carter, was of that U.S. Embassy in San Salvador which intel sources told the LANS Editor was the source for much of the nonsense about "death squads." What White "is" may not be precisely known, but his connections with leftist groups have been discussed *in extenso* (cf. J. Michael Waller, *The Third Current of Revolution: Inside the 'North American Front' of El Salvador's Guerrilla War*, University Press of America, 1991. ISBN: 0-8191-8231-1).
31. This is the statue of the beheaded Coatlicue (She of the Serpent Skirt) in which a pair of snakes represents the blood gushing from her severed neck.
32. The Temple of Huizilopochtli and Tlaloc in Tenochtitlan is described by Michael D. Cole (*Mexico*, Thames and Hudson, 1982. LCC: 83-72968) with "its twin stairways reddened with the blood of sacrificed victims...A gruesome reminder of the purpose of the never-ending "Flowery War" was the tzompantli, or skull rack, on which were skewered for public exhibition tens of thousands of human heads."

4

The Hemispheric Left (HL) and HL Support (HLS)

Introduction

Over the years the Soviet-ChiCom “split” has been assumed to be real by the Politically Correct (PC) wing of political thought, the opposing PIC wing being rather effectively drowned out by the PC international Communications media. In the beginning of this decade this PC Candidean “best of all possible worlds” was further improved upon by the alleged “implosion” of the Soviet Union which overnight transmogrified the bloodthirsty Marxist Leninists (MLs) of the USSR into Free Enterprise Democrats (FEDs). It is, of course beyond the scope of this text for LANS to take a position on such issues, and, indeed, it is not necessary for it to do so *if*:

The factual accounts of events in Latin America (LA) are accurately reported. In chapter 7 of this volume the various facets of the threat which Castroite Cuba poses to the U.S.—and inferentially to the Western Hemisphere—are recounted. The evidence would appear to indicate that, without the support which Cuban dictator Castro receives from the USSR/CIS and the Peoples Republic of China-ChiComs (PRC), this threat would have long since evaporated. Such is the reality whether or not the USSR/CIS “imploded” into a gaggle of FEDs siphoning off remarkable quantities of U.S. dollars, whether or not the ChicComs magically evolved into “most favored” trading partners.

As LANS has described it in earlier issues of this yearbook, the Hemispheric Left (HL) is a loose association of amorphous and militant ML left organizations. That lineal descendant of Heinrich Karl Marx’s First International, the Socialist International (IS) dis-

cussed in chapter 8, may be taken as an example of the former. The HL chief is Fidel Ruz Castro, his hemispheric organization made up of ML terrorist and “ex”-terrorist groups, of left political parties ranging from the Mexican Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to the Brazilian Workers Party (PT) of Luiz Ignacio “Lula” da Silva. Castro’s principal umbrella organization for his HL is the São Paulo Forum (FSP) which has been described in considerable detail on pp.97ff of *Latin American Political Yearbook 1997* (Transaction Publishers, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-350-2), hereinafter YRBK97, and subsequent. The FSP was put together by Lula and Fidel in the Havana of 1989. As 1999 drew to its close this HL was doing very well indeed.

The Hemispheric Left Support (HLS) is made up of those allegedly “non-political” individuals who/which (a) furnish moral and material support to the HL, (b) fabricate disinformation or exaggerate accounts of “human rights” (HR) violations by LA governments, their police and their armies.

One of the reasons for this phoenix-like behavior of Ruz Castro and his HL has been his clever adoption of an anti-neoliberal, i.e., anti free market, agenda as his solution to the economic woes of the hemisphere. That this ML architect of the Cuban economic disaster can lecture the world on “what should be done” economically is bizarre but only to be expected when he has no opposition in the international arena. Indeed, certain bizarre declarations such as that of the curious James Carville (chapter 3 above) of the Clinton Government (CG) may indicate something beyond “no opposition.” But Castro has adopted the anti-neoliberal line to his Marxism—privatization will cost you your job—while being careful to avoid any mention of the origin of LA’s economic woes.

The background of Castro, the consummate Professional Politician (PP) when faced with no opposition, has been described (pp.84, YRBK97 et seq.) and need hardly be repeated here. Suffice it to say that his 1961 declaration that he had been “a ML all my life” is one of the few accurate statements which he has ever made. Castro has nurtured his deep hatred for the U.S. which is assuredly relevant to the Cuban threat to the U.S. (chapter 7 below). That he has no intention of forsaking or softening his ML dictatorship while resident in this vale of tears, as certain of those outside his island appear to believe he may do, is almost continually demonstrated in the press.

Nor has he any intention of relaxing the attempts of his FSP devoted to the creation of “supra national countries” in LA as a “sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in LA” (pp.97ff, YRBK97 et seq.).

Therefore, much of the Castro story has been told in previous volumes and need hardly be repeated here. Even so, section 1 is devoted to this hemispheric drug lord using new reports on him which appeared during the last year of the last century.

In section 2 Castro’s principal instrument for conquest, the FSP is discussed following which section 3 covers the nation by nation accounts of the progress of both the HL and the HLS and their allies throughout the region are recounted. Because of the volume of material on HL matters in Colombia and Venezuela, however, treatments of these topics in these nations have been dealt with in chapters 5 and 6, respectively. Finally, section 4 of this chapter summarizes the HL as the century ended.

1. Hemispheric Drug Lord Fidel Ruz Castro

THE HEMISPHERIC LEFT ON THE MARCH (SPCL 7.5, 15 FEBRUARY 1999)

Not long ago a prominent South American newspaper “reported” the fact that the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) terrorist, “Marcos,” was actually named Guillen. Three years ago LANS reported that this “red-diaper” baby was Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente and provided considerable detail on his career as a ML terrorist before he emerged as EZLN boss (cf. pp.124ff, YRBK97). This anecdote is important only in emphasizing that most of the hemispheric press either knows next to nothing of the ML realities or professes to know nothing of them. Which is particularly important to the HL: most of the victories it achieves are obtained through disinformation operations (DOs) which, for success, demand that gullibility which is the outgrowth of such real or feigned ignorance by the press.

The Cold War is Over

In about 1991 that lifelong Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) hack, Boris Yeltsin, suddenly saw the light, like St. Paul on the road to Damascus, and was transmogrified into a FED. The so-called “Cold War” was over, and everybody was happy, those who

had never believed there was such a thing because vindicated, those who had fought against the MLs because they had “won.” It is beyond the scope of LANS to suggest that this is *Through the Looking Glass*, although various individuals,¹ whose opinion should be of some value, have maintained as much. Further, there is a great deal of filthy lucre to be picked up in the USSR/CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), much of which had its origin in the U.S. And, most importantly, it is PC to maintain the position of FED governance.

LANS need hardly enter into any discussion of this Soviet transmogrification. As background to this study of the Western Hemisphere it is sufficient to trace the outlines of today’s world. Even were the Pollyanna FED outcome of the USSR “implosion” precisely correct, the International Left (IL) may have started with the Soviets, but it hardly ended with them. The notion that all the other Marxist and ML nations suddenly adopted FED beliefs does not appear to correspond with recent history. The ChiComs, however allegedly market-driven, is assuredly not eschewing ML. Nor are Vietnam, and North Korea. Which is realistic behavior since, from Ulianov (aka Lenin) to Ruz Castro, ML has been a device for assuring power and its perquisites to the bosses, and these PPs have no intention of giving up that power. Nor do the bosses of various “rogue” nations — Iran, Iraq, and that Libya whose dictator financed the last presidential campaign of another ML, Daniel Ortega—have any such intentions. Finally, the announcement last year of an “alliance between the USSR/CIS and the PRC” was generally ignored, this alliance represented as only a “trading partnership.” But the HL can hardly be so cavalierly dismissed.

The Hemispheric Left

The boss of the HL is a Fidel Castro whose lifetime as a ML has been discussed in these reports (cf. pp.84ff, YRBK97). This forty-year dictator has his headquarters on that Pearl of the Antilles, Cuba, which houses the hemispheric USSR/CIS strategic base (cf. pp.93ff, YRBK97). Here, for example, at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars a year, the Russians maintain the largest electronic espionage base outside the “ex” Soviet Union. Intriguingly, in early 1995 U.S. Under Secretary of State Watson defended before Congress the “right” of the Russians to operate it. And by U.S.-Russian treaty (28 September 1995) these FEDs are free to bring in whatever mis-

siles they wish, among other things. The effect this Russian base has on hemispheric affairs is difficult to judge in its entirety; nevertheless, it has apparently strengthened Castro's position as boss of that HL which has waxed so healthy since the creation of its latest administrative framework in 1989, the FSP.

The FSP was created by Castro and the Brazilian leftist, Luís Ignacio (Lula) da Silva, in Havana (*Granma* 12 January 1989), its goal enunciated at its Fourth Encounter as the creation of a "sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in Latin America." The first five of these encounters are described in these reports (pp.97ff, YRBK97). The Sixth and subsequent Encounters are discussed by LANS Associate Editor Graça Wagner (pp.168ff, YRBK98) who points out that at the Fifth FSP "it was decided...that Chiapas (as personified by the EZLN) would become the model for the new stage of Latin American battles." This new stage, "negotiation to victory," had already become routine with the Chapultepec Accords in El Salvador (cf. pp.146ff, YRBK97). And, finally, the EZLN was assigned the responsibility for the anti-neoliberal campaign while the Brazilian Landless Peasant Movement (MST) was given the lead in Agrarian Reform (AgRef). But the successes enjoyed by the HL have all owed much to the successes of the HLS.

The Hemispheric Left Support (HLS)

The HL has enjoyed two complete victories, these being the capture of Cuba (1959) and the capture of Nicaragua (1979). In both of these cases well-developed DOs isolated the nations in question, and their rulers fled. Former Ambassador to Cuba Earl E. T. Smith has most succinctly described (cf. pp.192ff, YRBK97) the Cuba operation as the "Robin Hooding" of the "bandit" Castro by the *New York Times* editorialist, Herbert Lionel Matthews. Following this, the isolation of Batista's government by the Eisenhower Administration resulted in the flight of the Cuban caudillo, just as the isolation of Somoza's government by the Carter administration led to the flight of the Nicaraguan caudillo. Although there were some hi-jinks within both the Eisenhower² and Carter administrations (cf. pp.277ff, YRBK00) the motives of the two U.S. presidents could have been of the best.³

Other, but not total, victories have been provided by remarkably similar DOs. This report will discuss those DOs presently underway

in the hemisphere. Violent MLs such as Ruz Castro did not come down with this morning's dew; they were produced by that violent International Left which is readily traceable to the *Weltoktober* (World Revolution) organization created by the Russian terrorist, Ulianov (aka Lenin). For, whatever the Soviet reality may now be, it was from Ulianov's creation, as carried on by Dzugashvili (aka Stalin), that today's terrorists like Castro, Ortega, and Tirofijo emerged.

In 1939 the disintegrating Kremlin command in Spain formed Emigration Service for Spanish Republicans (SERE) and Spanish Republican Aid Junta (JARE) for the specific purpose of shipping its loyal MLs to, *inter alia*, LA where they formed the nucleus for ML terrorism for many years. (Castro was trained for terrorism in Quintana Roo by one of them, Alberto Bayo.) Analogously, those Kremlin organizations from which the HL would evolve molded those MLs who are, even today, carrying out the terrorist operations in the hemisphere.

Yes, Soñia, there was a COMINTERN

In 1919 Ulianov (aka Lenin) formed the Communist International (COMINTERN) which would direct *Weltoktober* operations for 24 years until Dzugashvili (aka Stalin), in a 1943 public-relations DO, "abolished" it. In actuality, of course, he merely moved its headquarters from Gorky St. into the Central Committee (CC), CPSU, and changed its name to the International Department (ID).⁴ Here it will be sufficient to HL genealogy to shift primary responsibility for Western Hemisphere *Weltoktober* to the Supreme Junta for the Liberation of Latin America (JSLA) in 1947. As Czech Gen. Jan Sejna told LANS, the JSLA was run by the Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM) out of Prague after that time and until it was moved to the huge Soviet Embassy in Mexico in the early 1950s.

But, basically, the JSLA, before and after its move to Havana with Castro remained an ID (read COMINTERN) organization to which was added Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) following the Tri-Continental Conference (TCC) of 1966 (cf. pp.95ff, YRBK97). For what were partly bureaucratic reasons—never eliminate an agency—there subsequently grew up around OLAS that Americas Department (AD) of Castro's CC which was in charge of *Weltoktober* operations in the hemisphere. Headed by Manuel

(Redbeard) Piñiera Losado, the AD had a banner year in 1980 when, in Sandinista Managua, it melded ML terrorist groups in El Salvador into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and those in Guatemala into the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG).

Then in 1989 the Castro-Lula axis put together the FSP, and it is interesting, albeit, the connection is not proven, that the AD subsequently fell on bad times, its boss perhaps on his sword.⁵ For the following year the AD lost its department status in the CC, to be buried in another department. And ten years later Piñiera died in an “auto accident.” Probably still functioning in some capacity, the AD has assuredly been supplanted by that FSP which has evolved from these eighty years of what amounts to COMINTERN activity.

Western Hemisphere *Weltoktober* Operations *Guatemala*

Post-World War II *Weltoktober* operations in the hemisphere may be taken as beginning with the Arevalo and Arbenz regimes in Guatemala. An immense amount of blatant disinformation about these regimes and their elimination has been generated by the HL and the HLS and largely accepted by the ladies and gentlemen of the Fourth Estate. Here we summarize these DOs with:

By the time Arevalo (president 15 March 1945) turned over the reins to Arbenz in 1951, the nationalist revolution had been submerged in a rising tide of Communism....Whereas Arevalo had flirted with the Communists, Arbenz became one with them.⁶

LANS has divided HL operations after the ejection of Arbenz into four phases, thus providing a rational method of understanding what has been a little understood portion of terrorist history: (1) The First Interregnum, 1954-1960; (2) Castroite Terrorism, Phase I, 1960-1970; (3) The Second Interregnum, 1970-1972; (4) Castroite Terrorism, Phase 2, 1972-1996.

Colombia

The Bogotazo was a Kremlin operation (pp.109ff, YRBK97).⁷ It led to *La Violencia*, but this was not the simple-minded extrapolation of the long Colombian Conservative-Liberal contest which has gained such widespread acceptance. The Kremlin, never guilty of anything, entered into the Cons-Lib DO with gusto, to be joined by

certain political figures eager to blame their political opponents for *La Violencia*.

The Liberation Theology (LibTheo) cleric, Ernesto Cardenal, described this religious aberration with “In order to be a good Christian it is primarily necessary to be a Marxist-Leninist” (pp.193ff, YRBK97). In Colombia such clergymen were important to the organization and manning of various terror groups, the National Liberation Army (ELN) dubbed the “clerics’ terror group” from the number of such men-of-the-cloth manning its weapons. The substantial clerical numbers in such groups is partly attributable to the LibTheo clerics’ activities in the so-called HR Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which abound in that nation.

Argentina and Brazil

Juan Domingo Perón, the admirer of Mussolini’s Corporate State, died in July 1974. At that time his extant wife and vice president was María Estela Martínez Cartas (Isabel), a former exotic dancer at the Happy Land Club in Panama. And so she succeeded him in the presidency. And proved herself completely helpless before the chaos into which the 17th of October Guerrilla Detachment (Monteneros) ML terrorists—and others—had plunged the nation. The Argentine military acted, but not in order to form “military governments which repressed and assassinated people” (p.149, YRBK98), as U.S. President W. J. Clinton told a group of Argentine reporters. The Argentine military acted to save their homeland from joining Castro’s “re-edition of a soviet-type union,” thus gaining the undying hatred of the HL and its determination to cripple the military and render it helpless in the face of such future attempts.

As did the Brazilian army chief, Castello Branco whose rescue of that nation from the “fondest hope of the Kremlin,” Jango Goulart, has been described (pp.57ff, YRBK97). The similar cases which occurred in Chile and Bolivia and the DOs accompanying them will also be reviewed. It is worth repeating: The only obstacle to ML victory in any Latin American nation has been the military in that nation.

DO Objectives

The objective of every DO, which has been launched by the HL and the HLS in LA, has been ML victory in one or more nations. In

order to achieve this victory it is necessary for these forces of the left to undermine any support for the armed forces and for those anti-ML civilians in that nation. An important contemporary target is Peruvian President Fujimori because of his immensely successful anti-ML terrorist program. Because the natives of a given nation are more or less familiar with the behavior of these terrorists, the DOs developed are aimed largely at North Americans and Europeans. These DOs have been immensely successful, the gringos, in the U.S. and Europe, readily allowing themselves to be taken in by the most nonsensical fabrications.

THE CUBA DISINFORMATION OPERATION
(SPCL 7.6, 15 MARCH 1999)

As has been reported here in some detail (pp.103ff, YRBK97 et seq.), Castro did not seize power in Cuba with his “26th of July Movement.” He was lionized in a DO which (a) transmogrified him from a bandit to a Robin Hood, then (b) isolated and drove out Batista by rendering him defenseless. This Robin Hooding phase of the DO has been further explored in Lynch’s *Decision for Disaster*⁸ which will be reviewed in chapter 7. This former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer sums up part (b) of this DO with:

“Rubottom and Wieland, impatient with Castro’s lack of success, decided that if he could not generate enough support inside Cuba to overthrow Batista, they would simply force the dictator out. And they did” (p.5, *Decision*).

Which, although an accurate account of this immensely important operation, is hardly detailed enough to provide the acceptance it deserves. Space does not allow a treatment of Rubottom, who was not as important to the operation (b) as was Wieland. Lynch does not mention another important operation (b) contributor, Bonsal, who will be mentioned below.

That Bonsal and Wieland delivered Cuba to the COMINTERN in the guise of the lifelong ML Castro (pp.85ff, YRBK97 et seq.) is demonstrable, albeit, that they did so wittingly is not, a fact of no real importance since neither stood trial for his activities.

William Arthur Wieland

When Wieland (b.1907, NYC) was four his father died, his mother later marrying a Venezuelan named Manuel Rafael Montenegro,

young Wieland being raised in the Montenegro family. In 1925 he again joined the family in Havana for nine to eleven months, subsequently back in the U.S. between 1926 and 1928. He then moved to Havana, remaining there between 1928 and 1932.⁹

Someone of considerable influence was able to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the U.S. State Department to force that organization to “investigate” Wieland after the Cuba debacle. The chief investigator proved to be that *rara avis*, an honest man, Otto F. Otepka, whose attempts at straightforward investigation cost him his job.¹⁰ Senator James Eastland (D, MI) described the investigation as a “whitewash,” the judgment of an expert witness. Otepka testified to the SSIS that his investigation was initiated “based on a specific allegation made to the Department of State by a responsible individual that he had information that Mr. Wieland was a Communist who had been known at the time by the name of Guillermo Montenegro or Arturo Montenegro—.” As the reader is aware, Guillermo is the Spanish version of William, Arturo that of Arthur. Therefore, that Wieland finally came round to admitting this is of no particular consequence.

Wieland’s testimony consisted of a long string of “I don’t recall,” changes from one sworn statement in one committee appearance to its modification in the next and bizarre statements which may be illustrated with the following exchange between Committee Counsel Sourwine and Wieland.

S. “Do you or did you know Aureliano Sanchez-Aranga?”

W. “Yes, sir, I met him—I had lunch with him once when he came to Washington.”

S. “..Mr. Sanchez-Arango at one time in the early 1930s was in jail with a man named Montenegro. This was not you, was it?”

W. “Not to my knowledge.”

(The listener is apparently expected to believe that a man, who has allegedly never been in jail, does not know whether or not he was in jail with somebody named Sanchez-Arango in the 1930s. If a platoon of witnesses subsequently testified that he was in jail with that individual, however, there would be no perjury.)

The Bureau for the Repression of Communist Activity (BRAC) was put together in the Havana of the early 1950s at the behest of the CIA.¹¹ In a 1980s interview with the man who put BRAC to-

gether the LANS Editor obtained first-hand testimony on what de Toledano¹² calls “the brilliant and attractive young men who clustered about Sumner Welles,” Assistant Secretary of State until his 30 September 1943 resignation. One of these was the Soviet agent, Laurence Duggan, chief of the Division of American Republics from 1935 until his 1944 resignation. The Hungarian Secret Police archives are reported as revealing him a wetwork victim in 1948.¹³ Another was Wieland.

That Duggan was a “favorite” of Welles has been attested, for example, by Ambassador Spruille Braden (Threat 5).¹⁴ The SSIS heard testimony indicating that Wieland attained “fair-haired boy” (FHB) status with Welles when the latter was ambassador to Cuba, remaining FHB in Havana when the latter returned to Washington, DC. Welles probably helped Wieland into the State Department in 1941. From beginning to end, the latter denied this, but his story changed so frequently that it could have meant almost anything.

On his first appearance before the Subcommittee Wieland testified that he had been at one or two dinners at which Welles was present and had interviewed him once or twice. By the time Sen. Dodd tried to get his conformation of this statement, his story changed to “from time to time in his office...[perhaps] a couple of times a week.” Dodd continued to press him, and the story changed to admission that “There was no secret, no, sir; that is quite true...” that he “knew him very well.” He later admitted that “I was often at the Embassy, yes, sir...,” but “I don’t recall visiting his home in Cuba...I may have...” The evidence indicated that those who testified to his FHB status have the more convincing story.

This probable FHB emerged from a murky Cuban background wherein there were allegations of his being a ML and involved with various ML organizations. For example, Mario Garcia apparently testified that he was a fellow member of ABC, a Cuban revolutionary organization. He denied that he was Welles’ liaison with ABC leader Martínez Saenz. However, he went on to admit his contacts with that individual, although only as a “journalist”—another murky association—covering the ABC. At which point, it should be remarked that Otto Otepka, the State investigator, testified that he thought Wieland lied in his testimony before the Subcommittee.

Mr. Otepka’s testimony was so circumscribed by a State, which refused to provide much of the documentation the senate group

required, that it contributed little to the investigation. But the investigator did testify with regard to a telling point in the mechanics of the investigation:

In such an investigation a raw file is first constructed, this containing verbatim testimony, affidavits, reports by investigators, and so on. The raw file is then worked over in order to produce a summary containing the substantive information developed by the investigation. The Wieland summary was the longest—844 pages—encountered by Otepka in his long investigative career, only one other investigation, that of John Stewart Service in the 1945 *Amerasia* case,¹⁵ approaching it with 800 pages. The grand jury refused to indict Service because the important evidence against him had been obtained by wiretap.

Wieland's State career began in June 1941 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. When he entered State his superior in the department was the COMINTERN agent Duggan. (Wieland: "Yes, indeed. I met Mr. Duggan several times, I guess.") He was in Bogotá during the 1948 Bogotazo although he testified that he did not know Ruz Castro's part in it for which cf. pp.109ff, YRBK97. It is difficult to believe that, as Third Secretary and Vice Consul there, he did not know. The dry bones of his career are of no interest here before he became Director of the Office of Caribbean-Mexican Affairs on 7 September 1958. This Welles protege was in the perfect position to preside over the delivery of Cuba to the COMINTERN. Among those who credit him with the lion's share of blame for this delivery are various U.S. ambassadors.

In this operation Wieland did, or was alleged to have done, the following: (1) Cut off the shipment of arms to the Batista Government of Cuba at the same time (2) blocking efforts to replace Batista with someone other than Castro. (3) Promote Castro among U.S. personnel. (4) Conceal the COMINTERN connections of Castro and his 26th of July Movement.

Ambassador William D. Pawley had lived and worked in LA almost since the turn of the century; while he was Ambassador to Brazil (1946-8) he encountered Wieland there and was unfavorably impressed with that individual's behavior and viewpoints. Other U.S. ambassadors—U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Arthur Gardner (1953-7), Gardner's successor, Earl E. T. Smith (1957-1959), etc.—were among those testifying as did Pawley about Wieland so that Pawley may here speak for all.

Pawley (Threat 10): "...A decision was made, and a very unwise one, and announced to the world, that we, the U.S. Government, would supply no further arms to Batista's government nor would we supply them to Castro.

Now one is a revolutionary, known to be a Communist, and to put them both in the same notice that we will not supply to a recognized government that is working with us in every possible way, nor will we supply them to the revolutionary, when he knew—and I think that the policy came out of Bill Wieland's office, approved by the Assistant Secretary and later reached the approval of higher officials—but that policy statement condemned the Batista government to defeat, because the entire hemisphere and the world, but more important, the Cuban Army, and the Cuban people, knew that Batista was finished in the eyes of the American Government...

This arms cut-off action was, of course, the heart of the Batista removal operation. About six weeks before Castro occupied the power vacuum thus created, Pawley told Wieland in "a meeting with several people" that if he permitted Castro to come to power he was going to have more trouble than he had seen in his life. The ambassador meant of course the U.S., and this was precisely prophetic.

As elsewhere, Wieland waffled in his testimony on the arms cut-off: "But I don't recall that the suspension initiated or the decision originated in my Office; no, sir."

Nevertheless, such appears to have been the case. Insofar as (2), replacement of Batista with someone other than Castro, is concerned Rubottom prevented this with his refusal to allow Pawley to say more than "I will try to persuade the U.S. Government to approve" instead of "If you do this it will have the approval of the American Government." Pawley had five Batista haters from whom to choose the replacement, but, understandably enough, the Cuban caudillo could hardly agree to Pawley's almost meaningless proposal.

Wieland's immediate superior was Roy R. Rubottom, Jr. over whom Ambassador Smith testified Wieland had "strong influence." Senator Dodd asked Ambassador Smith the cogent question (Threat 9), "When you [as ambassador] say the State Department, to be more exact, who?" Smith: "Well, an ambassador receives his orders by cable and it is signed always by the Secretary of State. Whoever writes those cables I couldn't answer..." Senator Eastland: "Your judgment is it was the Latin American desk, Mr. Rubottom, wasn't it?" Which could be translated into the ministry clerk, Wieland, and the evidence points to this having been the case.

Apparently none the worse for wear, Guillermo Arturo Wieland scurried for Bremen. The trouble which followed was not to be his but that of the U.S.

Philip Wilson Bonsal

Bonsal (b. 23 May 1903, NYC) entered State in 1935. He was assistant to the COMINTERN agent Duggan from 1940 to 1944, staunchly supporting his chief in opposing Ambassador Braden's defense of U.S. property rights in Cuba.¹⁶ He became important to this discussion twenty-five years later when, on the resignation of Smith as U.S. ambassador to Cuba,¹⁷ he became the U.S. ambassador there. Until his recall in 1960 his position can accurately be described as "defender of Castro," his efforts in support of the Cuban dictator such as to elicit the following sworn statement from U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Robert C. Hill (Threat 12):

"As a result he (Bonsal) must bear the responsibility as the chief architect of the Cuban disaster."

To this testimonial U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica Whiting Willauer adds the Castroite eulogy Bonsal gave to him (Threat 13). Everything would, according to the former Duggan assistant, work out satisfactorily if he were left to deal with Castro "in his own way." Bonsal's contributions, witting or unwitting, to Castro's construction of a Communist state are best described by his press attaché, Bethel:¹⁸

Ambassador Bonsal did not take a firm position in promoting U.S. interest because he was in basic disagreement with those interests. Bonsal was close to Castro's economic planners—for example, the President of the National Bank, the Minister of the Treasury—and indeed endorsed their policies... More important, he did so because he agreed with them ... that American interests, both political and economic, were largely responsible for what he believed to be the stifling of something which he called "the rising sense of Cuban nationalism."

There are additional details on Bonsal's contribution—his December 1959 trip to DC to prevent a U.S.-Cuba rupture—but they are just "more of the same."

2. The HL: Umbrella Organizations and Activities

THE FORO SÃO PAULO, THE MST AND THE IMPACT ON THE
CONTINENT OF THE NEW SITUATION IN VENEZUELA. I

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SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

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[In addition to providing background on LANS Associate Editor Graça Wagner, his preliminary remarks in this Weekly Report are valuable as the account of an eyewitness of events in Brazil during the critical part of that nation's history since World War II (WWII).]

Introduction

There are certain introductory remarks necessary to an explanation of why a Brazilian attorney, not presently engaged in any political activity, is dedicating himself to investigations which have produced a portrait of the FSP, the coordinating entity of the HL left since 1990. From that same evidence emerged the operational pact of the FSP with the Inter-American Dialog (DI), an entity originating, in turn, from an analysis by the U.S. Department of State (NSS-M200) of the risks to American national security of the immigration, especially of LAs, which this document takes as the principal strategic concern. The document was prepared in 1974 when Henry Kissinger was Secretary of State. Even today, it is the basis of State Department policy put into practice through the NGO DI. For this NGO diverse Social Democrat LAs have been selected, LAs who are agnostics because the strategic objective of the DI was and is the financing, through various NGOs, of an aggressive program of birth control to include legislation in all LA countries sufficiently permissive as regards abortion. Such legislation was certain to have opposition from the Church which was therefore considered an adverse force.

Fortuitously, during this writer's visit to a client in Miami in 1994 he learned of the meeting between Fidel Castro and Luís Ignacio (Lula) da Silva during the previous week in July 1994. The meeting was in Havana where a political pact was consummated, Lula considered at that time the all but elected president of Brazil. This information led the author to concern himself with unearthing more details, supposing that these could be found in Cuba's internal journal, *Granma*,¹⁹ which misses no opportunity of giving the Cuban people the idea of Fidel's international leadership. He gained access

to the archives of this journal in the North South School of the University of Miami and encountered news on the IV Encounter of the FSP in which 112 pact members participated. After this, he extended his investigations back to 1990 when the FSP, at the request of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC), was founded in the City of São Paulo, at the convocation of Lula and with the presence of forty-eight entities, among which were some Marxist guerrillas.

The author was born in Santos, Brazil, in 1930, thus confronted at eight years old with the onset of WWII. Of a German family, he was naturally suspect by a part of the Brazilians, a reality which encouraged his deep interest in all parts of the world involved in that conflict. His father, a Lutheran, had been converted to Catholicism and had placed his children in the secondary school of the Irmãos Sisters where he received that basic religious training which would strongly influence his life. His father worked in a firm of German origin which was shut down, forcing him to leave São Paulo. Having no resources with which to raise a family, he visited when he could, the children spending most of their time with their mother who was a professor. This experience instilled in the children a deep interest and understanding, allowing them to identify, from the beginnings of the war, the evils inherent in Nazism and communism as a concrete denial of Christianity. The author lived every episode of the war intensely, developing a strategically oriented mentality capable of identifying how the organisms succeeded in their objectives.

The Post-War Clash in the Field of Ideas

After the war it was clear that the great battle for those who embraced Christianity would be with the Marxist concepts epitomized by the institutionalized communism of the USSR, the countries it dominated in Eastern Europe and its extensions in the CP elsewhere. This Marxism, as Marx wished, denied the very idea of God. With the democratization of Brazil, after the fall of the New State of Getúlio Vargas,²⁰ the communist candidates won two-thirds of the Municipal Council seats in the author's city where they dominated certain of the trade unions and the student organizations. With a thirteen-year-old friend, he then being fifteen, he put together a ticket to dispute the elections in the Santos Student Center with the communists. With the support of the Catholic students, the ticket won the

elections. Thereafter he organized slates of candidates in the State and National Student Unions which routed the Communist Youth and its allies.

Convinced of the absence of opposition to the militant communists, he entered the National Democratic Union (UDN), which assembled the most important of those responsible for the overthrow of the New State, founding the student wing of the party in his city. He became Secretary General of the party in the State of São Paulo, was a member of the National Council and a national director.

Cuban Activity in Brazil Before 1964

The author considered himself obligated to participate in the efforts to prevent João (Jango) Goulart, spiritual heir of the dictator Getúlio Vargas who assumed the presidency after the resignation of Jânio Quadros, from the *coup d'état* which was planned with the CP and with the regime installed by Fidel Castro in Cuba. Jango's primary objective was to prevent the election of Carlos Lacerda, the principal Brazilian democratic leader, and, in addition, to implement Castro's vision of the incorporation of Brazil and, later, LA, on the side of the USSR and Cuba in the Cold War. Success in this effort could have totally changed the strategic world situation, leading to U.S. isolation, affecting China's position in Asia, leaving Africa without stability and Europe partially controlled by the Soviet Union. Brazil in this socialist scheme would pave the way for an opportunist action by the USSR in a Europe now rendered fragile by the powerful CPs in France and Italy and a divided Germany. Isolated as it would have been, the U.S. would not have had the maneuver room necessary to avoid the use of nuclear weapons if LA had passed to USSR control.

The Overthrow of Jango Goulart and the Armed Battle

From before the Cuban Revolution, while Castro was still in Mexico, as described by the Argentine journalist, Luís Mir,²¹ Fidel considered the participation of Brazil indispensable to his revolutionary project against the Giant of the North, a project which he considered predestined by history. He had attempted an alliance with Jânio Quadros, elected Brazilian president in 1960, who had decorated Che Guevara as part of the resignation coup d'état which failed. Carlos Marighela was one of the principal leaders of the CP

in the Constituent Assembly of 1946 and in the National Congress before 1964. Once the Jangoist coup d'état,²² on which Castro had embarked, had also failed, he tried to promote, through Marighella, the armed battle in Brazil. This resulted in the hardening of the government by presidents of military background but with the existing institutions. The author, still engaged in party activity and in spite of his approval of the Castelo Branco Government, disagreed with the closing down of the parties and their substitution by two entities representative of Brazilian society. He was of the opinion that, between 1945 and 1965, the existing parties had created effective representation of all sectors of the country. The risk now was that of fragmentation within the new parties, the true leadership replaced by the opportunists and the mere politicians without a strategic vision of the reconstruction of the country.

Affiliated with the old parties and, practicing law, the author began devoting himself to analysis of the juridical and economic affairs of the time as a way of fulfilling his duties as a citizen. In doing this, he began, independently and in conjunction with other authors, writing for journals, reviews and books; participating in radio and television programs; and appearing in conferences of various organizations, civil and military.

The Defeat of the Armed Battle and the New Political Regime

Before the election of the first civilian regime in 1984 and through the Congress from the latter 1970s, it became apparent even to Fidel that the armed battle in Brazil had no future. One of the reasons was historical: The Armed Forces had always exercised a moderating influence and, thus, the vigorous militarism in other countries of the continent was not in evidence. At the same time, as much the military officials present throughout the national territory as the great majority of the Catholic clergy, also throughout the nation with an anti-violence doctrine, had their social origin in the middle class. This was, in practice, the great restraining influence on the important societal sectors, in the state bureaucracy and in the private sector, which were not accustomed to conflict, to class warfare and the persecution of minorities such that, up to that time, all the "isms" had had little appeal in the national culture. The preaching of divisionism had been something that only recently had gained major expression through what can be designated as "televized cul-

ture.” Televised cultural may be considered as substituting in the formation of scruples with the consequent inversion of values. Such is largely due to the abandonment of the duties such scruples impose on the citizens of the country, through the Catholic colleges and through politicizing of the religious organisms, of entities representing the professional sectors including those of a liberal nature. All of these groups assume almost political positions without consulting their own membership. In the 1960s and 1970s, nevertheless, a sufficient number adept at armed revolution could not be mobilized with any hope of success.

The New Strategy of the Fidelista Left After Abandoning the Armed Battle

There had arisen, meanwhile, in the so-called ABC industrial region, a union movement of metallurgical workers under the leadership of Lula da Silva who refused to deviate from partisan political activity. He was encouraged to do just the opposite by the lay brother, Friar Beto, who lived with Lula for a while. From all this resulted the foundation of the PT in which Fernando Henrique Cardoso was prepared to participate as was the present governor of São Paulo, Mário Covas. Covas, however, opted to found the Brazilian Social Democrat Party (PSDB) with Cardoso in spite of the latter being, at that time, Marxist and atheist as Covas was not. The Castroite movement in Brazil was split with armed activity separated from political activity in order to try to win power through the electoral route, more propitious at that time. In truth, Fidel, in the course of that period of history in Brazil, impelled dual coup d'état attempts, those of Quadros and Goulart, promoted the armed battle and, afterwards, in a phase of his operations not yet ended, promoted the formation of the PT which assumed the coordination of the HL actions through the FSP. The weakness of the political, entrepreneurial, religious and social leadership in the new political regime and in the present Cardoso Government has been to the advantage of the PT. The leadership is weak and ill prepared for the new phase. Such is the case even in its ignorance of the strategies of entities such as the FSP and the DI, besides the ONGs which operate vigorously in LA, determining property sharing incidents and the decisions in practically all the areas of activity. The politicians in general imagine themselves with freedom of maneuver in a situation to which events have

not linked them and which do not follow, to a large extent, plans envisaged by specific strategies.

[Translated from the Portuguese by the LANS Editor]

THE FORO SÃO PAULO, THE MST AND THE IMPACT ON THE CONTINENT OF THE NEW SITUATION IN VENEZUELA. II

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(SPCL 8.19, 16 DECEMBER 1999)

[The first article in Dr. Graça Wagner's series appears immediately above and discusses largely the post-World War II (WWII) background against which the HL of Drug Lord Ruz Castro evolved. The final step in this evolution can be taken as the tacit admission, even by Castro, that the armed battle had no future in Brazil. From this realization, under the tutelage of Frei Betto and the leadership of Lula da Silva, emerged the PT which would be the opening wedge of the newly crafted HL important to which are the FSP, the DI and the MST—Editor.]

The Revolutionary Mission of the MST as an Alternative to PT Electoral Failure

The MST,^{2,3} an earlier discussion of which was presented to the panel of the Advanced School of War by the author of the present analysis has been, from its initiation, a political movement of revolutionary character. It is linked to Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) and the Mexican EZLN but with actions adapted to the Brazilian reality and which are spreading throughout the country. In the past the MST has maintained close political relations (pp.198ff, YRBK98) with the most radical left groups, including channels of communications through important MST auxiliaries to include the economic. The failure of the Brazilian authorities to identify and deal with this MST reality has been a result of inhibitions shared by the national Cardoso Government and various state governments against any actions which might be labeled "rightist" or "politically incorrect."

The MST is an Integral Part of the PT

Whatever analysis one wishes to make of the present activities of the MST in Brazil, these activities cannot be disconnected from the strategy of the FSP formulated at its creation. FSP creation occurred at a Havana meeting in January 1989 between the Brazilian PT²⁴ and the PCC with the presence of Fidel Castro, Lula da Silva and, notably, Frei Betto. The latter is not a cleric but a Dominican lay brother. Among others present was José Genoina, considered of the moderate left. The moderation of certain PT sectors is, as a rule, merely tactical since, at the moment of the revolution which they all ardently desire, the general rule will be radicalism, regardless of the wishes of some. The PT in Brazil, on assuming power through elections, will be as “democratic” as Venezuela’s Colonel Chávez has demonstrated himself to be. Democracy is not just elections but the permanent presence of all sectors of society without the crushing of any of them, thus assuring political and social pluralism which can only be assured by juridical security buttressed by an independent judiciary.

The Omens for the HL in the Soviet Crisis and the Necessity of a Continental Scheme

In 1989 it could have been predicted that the HL would be entering a new phase by what was foreseen as a lack of major support by the USSR for the LA left. This new phase was to be of electoral character. Castro, still with his dreams of leading LA against the Giant of the North, perceived the exhaustion of the Soviet system. With this in mind and adopting Frei Betto’s plan as laid out in his *Paradise Lost*,²⁵ he proposed that, should Lula da Silva be defeated in his Brazilian presidential bid, it would be necessary to form a new entity coordinating the hemispheric organizations of the left. This new entity would make up for the lack of a government, such as that of Brazil or some other country of equal strategic value, which could support the left links in the entire continent.

The Formation of the FSP Through Convocation of the Brazilian PT

With the election of Fernando Collor de Mello in Brazil (pp.11, 58ff, YRBK97) the foundation of this entity became imperative to the strategy of a LA socialist revolution as envisioned by Castro. This new entity was to substitute, in this crisis for European social-

ism to include that on this continent, a Union of LA Socialist Republics (ULASR).²⁶ In July 1990, as president of the PT, Lula da Silva convoked a founding meeting in São Paulo of what would be the FSP. This meeting was attended by forty-eight organizations of the left such as those of FARC and other such. After the groundwork had been done by Frei Betto, the delegation visited Cardinal Arns of São Paulo who, earlier, had sent a letter of praise and solidarity to Fidel Castro, a letter reproduced in Betto's book.

The IV Encounter of the FSP in 1993. Strategic Priorities

The second half of 1993 and 1994 were of fundamental importance for the new entity because elections were to be held in fourteen countries of the continent, those in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela of particular importance. There were basically three priorities for the FSP: (1) the election of Lula da Silva as Brazilian president; (2) the battle against neoliberalism; and (3) the unrestricted solidarity of all FSP members and their governments with Cuba. Priority (2) included the preaching of socialism which was to be initially restricted to Cuba. As part of this same priority the expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was to be combated as part of the preparation for the eventual collective renunciation of the external debt of the continental countries.

The FSP-DI Pact and Maintenance of FSP Strategic Objectives

The DI was founded in 1982 with certain high-ranking Americans as its founders amongst whom was the present president of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Among its LA founders were, in general, social democrats and agnostics selected as having viewpoints compatible with the strategic objectives described in their essential aspects in the document signed in 1974 by then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In 1993 in Princeton, with the coordination of then Brazilian Senator F. H. Cardoso who arrived with a retinue including five FSP presidential candidates, a pact was consummated between the FSP and the DI.²⁷ Lula da Silva and certain of his associates were present at the Dialog at Cardoso's invitation, these appearing on the margins of the agenda. This was in accordance with an earlier agreement between the two which resulted from the latter's 1994 support of Lula for president. The pact between the two entities envisioned, among other things, an accord to

discontinue guerrilla activities with the substitution for these by political parties to which would be assured the possession and maintenance of political power with their electoral victories. The pact also envisioned the eventual repudiation of the foreign debt. This was to take place after successful electoral efforts by FSP members, the efforts involving pledges of mutual economic support and allegedly more rational negotiations on this repudiation.

Also included in this FSP-DI agreement and of major interest to the DI was the agreed legalization of abortion, of sterilization and of legal unions between homosexuals in all LA countries. In this way, migratory pressure was to be eliminated, in practice, by eliminating the influence of the Catholic Church on a continent considered strategic for the Vatican. In order to do this, ideas which do not bring into play concepts of the family as fundamental to the equilibrium of human society and which had been successfully resisted in the UN, would be used for such elimination.

Forces Adverse to the Objectives of the FSI-DI Pact

The analysis of those creating the Pact identified forces adverse toward their objectives more or less with a roll call of the Latin elites, responsible through the concentration of revenues and hence indirectly through poverty. The two supports for such adverse forces throughout the 500 years of civilization below the Rio Grande were taken as the Catholic Church and the Armed Forces of those countries. Both of these forces did not present themselves as monolithic but were, nonetheless, adverse. By their very nature, such was considered demonstrated by their history and their hierarchical character. In order to attain the strategic objectives of the Princeton Pact—relief of migratory pressures—these forces had to be systematically weakened. Such was to be effected by, on the one hand, modernistic philosophies contrary to the Christian faith and, on the other, by setting the Armed Forces to bizarre and inappropriate tasks. The former is illustrated by the preaching of individualized mysticism without the necessity of the Church, the latter by aberrations such as using the Armed Forces for combating narco-trafficking and participating in the “forces of peace.” These latter are being carried out where there is no hope of success as is occurring in various nations, amongst which were those in Panama and Haiti. The Haiti example was carried out after UN intervention in Haiti in order to re-estab-

lish in power the ex-Father Aristide of the radical left who had been removed by the Armed Forces.

The Appropriateness of the Pact Participants

The separation between the objectives of the two entities was, and is, enormous, even with relation to the agreed points. The DI had to attract the left, after having been orphaned, in order to count on instruments for accomplishing its principal objective: stopping uncontrolled emigration as a consequence of guerrillas, repressive regimes and the chaotic poverty of the Latin nations below the Rio Grande. This was principally to be stopped through legalization of abortion, sterilization, homosexual union and, at the same time, through expansion of NAFTA and a globalization of markets taken, then, as capable of reducing poverty. For the FSP the appropriateness was assured during that phase in which it became difficult to maintain the armed battle during the Soviet breakdown when the emphasis had to be switched to eventual conquest via the electoral route. Attaining power by whatever means presented themselves in countries which could support the continental revolution, power to reassume the original program of the new guerrillas and the collective renunciation of the foreign debt of those countries where power was attainable through the FSP.

The Performance of the Pact, Later the Princeton Accord, Entities

In Brazil the entities, as much of the FSP as of the DI, continued their Princeton performance insofar as their principal objectives, especially with regard to birth-control matters, were concerned, these emphasizing legalized abortion. The PT, principal founder of the FSP, had as its mayoral candidate in São Paulo, Marta Suplicy, who, in the second round, gave decisive support to Governor Covas. Covas, an ally of the president of the Republic, is a tenacious defender of legalized abortion and homosexual union as constituted by an atypical "family" unit.

In like manner, the president, the principal LA politician selected to be one of the founders of DI, and PT leader da Silva, the principal continental articulator of the FSP, continue their efforts to weaken the Armed Forces. These efforts include all the methods of demoralization, implemented through the mass communications media and

based on past events, in doing so silencing anything relating to the terrorist acts of the armed left as “justifiable actions.”²⁸

The same sort of program is being carried out against the Catholic Church in an indirect way. Frei Betto is today the principal spokesman of LibTheo. It is through him that the FSP plays a decisive, if low-key, role in the effort against the Church, an effort highlighted by its influence in the election of the sitting president of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops. This president has acted, with greater or lesser conscientiousness, as coadjutant of the FSP, more so with this member of the pact than with the DI with its anti-Christian and anti-Catholic strategy. There is not lacking a certain measure of ingenuity in the location within a political and party framework, like movements called “popular,” of the pastors of Churches. These pastors, because strangers to the mission of the Church, are prone to manipulation through social sentiments whether these have legitimate objectives or otherwise. Throughout Brazil, however, there is still a great mass movement of Catholics resuming the Catholic tradition, this hailed as charismatic, through music and happiness, without discarding the liturgy. It is not demonstrable that the tendency to politicize and render partisan the Catholic Church in favor of the radical left, the home of the MST, has a long history. On 2 November, in the unique Mass of Plenary Indulgence authorized by the Pope, 600,000 of the faithful assembled with absolute order and respect for the liturgy.

[Translated from the Portuguese by the LANS Editor]

THE FORO SÃO PAULO, THE MST AND THE IMPACT ON THE
CONTINENT OF THE NEW SITUATION IN VENEZUELA. III

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Performance of President Cardoso, Principal Figure of the DI in LA, and da Silva, Principal Figure of the FSP

In early 1994 Cardoso was Brazilian Finance Minister in the cabinet of Pres. Itamar Franco, preparing his economic plan for the coun-

try (*Plano Real*). His staff included his political friends from the period of his self-imposed exile as a professor at Princeton University with Jorge Castañeda, a Mexican of both the DI and the FSP. Cardoso then admitted abandoning his support for Lula's presidential bid in order to launch his own candidacy on the waters of his *Plano Real*. His plans were definitized in March 1994 when Antônio Carlos Magalhães guaranteed him the support of the Liberal Front Party (PFL).

In spite of this, and of the actions of FSP organizations strongly opposed to Cardoso, both the FSP and the DI continued acting within the framework agreed upon at Princeton while disputing with each other the power within the country. The interests of the FSP included some way of assuring the maintenance of the Fidel Castro regime over and above that of those members of the LA elites which were the Forum's integrants. These interests included a temporary split with the DI, the inclusion of abortion and the weakening of the Armed Forces.

FSP Encounters After that of Havana in 1993

The 1995 Encounter of the FSP was held in Uruguay and included 112 entities of the HL. The results of the actions, programmed at the 1993 Encounter in Havana, were there evaluated. The objective of undermining the expansion of NAFTA was advanced by the Chiapas uprising in January 1994, that of solidarity with Cuba by a series of accords concluded under the most varied pretexts. These included the 1993 purchase, through Brazil, of \$300 million in medicines and the dispatch of ground-to-air missiles to the government of Angola, reported through *O Globo* and the *Estado de São Paulo* at a time appropriate to the Continental Conference of Solidarity with Cuba in the Havana of February 1994.

This conference was attended by 1,200 delegates from organizations all over the continent, the Brazilian delegation led by Senator Amir Lando who had directed the congressional committee which spearheaded the impeachment of Pres. Fernando Collor de Mello.²⁹ But the election of a Forum member as president during that year was not accomplished.

In this Uruguay meeting the EZLN, then unofficially part of the FSP, was officially received. Another decision made during this encounter was the assignment of the MST³⁰ as the spearhead for the

implantation of socialism in LA, the other FSP organizations obliged to furnish the MST with logistical support. This FSP encounter included 150 groups, these including ML guerrillas. Today the MST has similar entities engaged in training in various LA countries.

The meeting in El Salvador in 1996 appears to be worthy of remark only in that it took place simultaneously with the Cuban shoot-down of two unarmed aircraft over international waters (pp.93ff, YRBK97). In 1997 the encounter took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil, this assembly reaffirming the 1995 decisions taken in Uruguay.³¹

The Performance of the MST

Unlike FSP activities in Mexico or Colombia, the MST, with an eye to specific Brazilian circumstances, uses tactics of avoiding armed confrontation. The strategy is that of demoralizing the authorities by bringing the action to the confrontational limit, then withdrawing at the last moment, frustrating the authorities which act only slowly because of the placement of children in the MST ranks involved in the invasion of lands, buildings, banks, etc. When the authorities act, the MST withdraws the families from the invaded land, camping them nearby. When the judicial order expires, they invade the same lands again, committing acts of destruction of all sorts, killing cattle, sacking trucks, etc.

This strategy was discussed at the Superior War College by the author in a debate with a PT senator, now vice governor of the State of Rio, who was unable to deny any of these matters and even claimed to know nothing about the FSP. In general, the federal and state governments accede to the demands for supplies by the invaders. The MST has no juridical personality and hence no responsibility for the acts which it promotes.

The FSP and Its Behavior in the Present LA Panorama

For the Forum 1999 and 2000 are of great strategic value to its objective of promoting socialist revolution on the continent. This is hardly surprising in view of the situation in a Europe boasting a socialist and social democrat presence with a foggy notion of a "third road," and an Italian chief of state belonging to the old Communist Party which opted for a new name with no change in its Marxist credentials. An ideologically disoriented Europe is preoccupied with presenting itself to the world as "politically correct" and, for this

reason, is talking to LA out of both sides of its mouth, thinking that it is going to stop the radicalism, and, committing the same grievous error as did Chamberlain with Hitler. But, in Europe, there is also the fear that LA is gaining stature, attaining a level of affluence for which Europe is not prepared. There are thus, at the moment, a series of factors which locate LA and, especially, Brazil, within the strategic global game in such a way as to favor the FSP and the DI.

Venezuela and its Role in Forum Strategy for the Socialist Revolution

Almost no one knows that “Comandante” Chávez is the military coordinator of the FSP, designated for that office several years ago after his visit to Fidel Castro. Now he travels various countries of the continent, in contact with the military. Satiating his lust for power, in addition to his ideological convictions, the extended hand of Fidel Castro was an opportune solution. In his recent visit to Brazil, this now Venezuelan president asked for a federation of continental countries, that is to say, that which, in the Havana of 1993 was presented as the new Utopia of the ULASR. On the other hand, FARC is of the Forum. The president of Colombia is not. It is easy to conclude, from Chávez’s actions with relation to Colombia and his contact with FARC, the default of the Colombian Government. It is in the interest of Chávez that FARC assume power in Colombia. The subsequent targets will be Ecuador and Panama.

A Change Relating to the Situation in Northern South America

Before the election of Chávez, FARC acted more or less in isolation, financed by its narco-trafficking activities.³² The traffic itself favored the attainment of the strategic objective which Marxist utopian thinking has never ceased to pursue, the destruction of the stronghold of capitalism. If such destruction is impossible to obtain through drug-financed force of arms, it is not impossible to attain through the destruction of its youth through drugs or through an attack from within. Now FARC counts on a privileged territory, such as is Venezuela, improving on this through its use of the territory of Panama and its Canal. Everything indicates a continuation of the partnership with narco-trafficking, but now with the support of Venezuela and with the power which emerges from Venezuela Petroleum. The FSP, through FARC, now no longer depends in this area exclusively on the narco-traffickers, even though these comprise a

part of the global strategy. But the political aspect of the situation takes precedence over narco-trafficking as the determining factor in the common process. It can be predicted that FARC will try to adapt the traffic to the objectives of the revolutionary political activity on the continent and not simply to the economic gains of the traffickers. The politicization of the traffic is demonstrably a strategic arm for carrying out the utopian advance to world power.

The New Situation in Brazil and the MST

The Brazilian Amazon is the natural route from Colombia for the distribution of drugs and the movement of arms. The maintenance of Amazonia as a mere environmental reserve will create a paradise for those who are using the region toward the ends of the new situation which is developing in the north of the continent. It is straightforward to conclude that Amazonia offers immense strategic interest for the foreseeable union between Colombia and Venezuela as soon as FARC assumes power in the former country. Within the logic of the process and the fundamental interests of the FSP, there is no possibility that FARC will accede to peace. But it will utilize the peace negotiations to obtain tactical advantages and facilitate its taking power in Colombia.

The Politicization of Crime in Brazil

For some time now, with the formation of an informal entity known as "Red Command," which practically controls the funds and even the Casas dedicated to juvenile law-breakers, common crime has acquired a "politicized" nature. This began with the study of the tactics and objectives described in manuals on the Vietnam War. It is therefore becoming more difficult to provide security against common crime in the cities. Such security has become a part of the armed battle with the terrorists who have specific objectives and no territorial limitation on their efforts. The politicization of crime has evolved to the point where crime is being considered ideologically by adepts of "political correctness" as the consequence of social injustice. From here it is a short step to crime as the province of "human rights movements," those NGOs which, both through ignorance and design, have been of immense value to the HL as the HLS. This is an area of terrorist operations which cannot be dealt with as straightforwardly as the more familiar ones.

The Action of the MST Without Legal Limits

One year ago, in the Northeast of the country, a wave of truck sackings occurred, after the customary invasions of lands and before the invasions of public properties with the concomitant threatening concentrations in front of Judicial Courts. One of the MST leaders, Gilmar Moura, declared that the movement would transform Brazil into a greater Colombia. Leaving aside the bravado, this demonstrates that the MST makes up a political movement similar to FARC, the EZLN and Chávez's Bolivarian Movement. To such an extent is this true that it is straightforward to consider that the MST throughout Brazil is potentially an arm of FARC.

Nor is it irrelevant to such a consideration that FARC has an unofficial ambassador to the Brazilian Congress occupying the Hall of the HR Commission which is presided over by a PT deputy, also a militant of the FSP. There was intense effort to render official this representation before a meeting which was to have been held in December 1999 on Brazilian territory with the participation of FARC, the EZLN, a large number of NGOs and certain government organs. Judicial decisions continue to support the MST, always with the Chamberlainesque notion of "pacification." This support provides basic services and resources to the MST schools where pure Marxism and class hatred are taught. The chief leader of the MST, João Pedro Stedile, makes no attempt to disguise this fact in his book on AgRef, *A Questão Agrária no Brasil* (see also J. P. Stedile, coordenador; Jacob Gorender et al., *A Questão agrária hoje*, Editora da Universidade [Fed. Univ. do Rio Grande do Sul] 1994. LCC: 94834156).

The Lack of Federal and State Government Authority in Brazil Faced with Crime and the MST

There was a collapse of government and judicial authority as a result of the politicization and socialization of common crime and organized crime, especially in the State of São Paulo, and the inability to enforce the law with regard to the MST. This configures the situation described by Roger Mucchielli's *A Subversão* and A. J. Paula Couto's *O Desafio da Subversão*. In these works the authors demonstrated that the revolutionaries act decisively after having demoralized the authorities, a state of affairs which gives the FSP

and its political arm, the PT, a real advantage whether in the electoral or revolutionary domain.

The FSP in the Rest of the LA Nations

In Uruguay the Broad Front (FA), one of the pillars of the FSP, won the first round of the elections but lost the second. In Argentina the Forum candidate won the vice presidential race. Although not a radical politician, he does have agreements with the FSP. In Chile the Forum candidate is involved in the upcoming run-off, the situation not yet defined.

The MST is now initiating invasions of land in Paraguay. In the countries of Central America, the old guerrilla organizations could retake power with the probable support of Venezuela. [Or perhaps even without such support as LANS Associate Editor Rosenthal recently pointed out from El Salvador.—Editor.] In the probable case of FARC assuming power in Colombia, support could be from Cuba for Venezuela. All of which appears to provide the reason for Castro's recommendation, in the Havana of 1993, to soft-peddle the preaching of socialism in order to concentrate on the battle against neo-liberalism. For, when this falls, socialism, to include the global socialism of LA, is inevitable.

Conclusion

The forces adverse to the FSP and the DI consist of the middle classes: liberal professionals, entrepreneurs, executives, professors, clerics and others capable of making decisions, the Catholic Church in spite of LibTheo and the Armed Forces. These forces historically have little interest in intervening in the political order. Although less likely for the DI than the FSP, it is almost certain that the socialist revolution will be assisted in Venezuela by the army under the command of a colonel with an irregular army highly trained in guerrilla tactics. And in Venezuela the Catholic Church is being rudely and systematically attacked through the populist, Chávez, in apparent contradiction of the desire of Frei Betto to manipulate the infrastructure of the Catholic Church on the continent to promote the socialist revolution.

In recent public debate it is asserted that Chávez has financing in his campaign through Iraq and Libya. It should be added that, with

the conquest of Venezuela, the FSP will not have as a major concern the manipulation of the Church, a territorial base having been acquired, a base possibly to be increased by Colombia in order that its continental plans, no longer concerned with the residuals of LibTheo and Papal influence, can return to its values and doctrine. From now on the Church will consist of, as was the case in Poland, a factor more adverse to the DI than to the FSP.

[Translated from the Portuguese by the LANS Editor]

3. Nation by Nation Account of HL and HLS Activities

Because of the scope of HL terrorist operations in Colombia and Venezuela, such operations are treated in separate chapters, Colombia in chapter 5 and Venezuela in chapter 6. HL operations in Brazil, which have been discussed in Wkly 8.23, Spcl 8.19 and Spcl 8.20 above, are of sufficient importance to the hemisphere as a whole to warrant their treatment under hemispheric umbrella organizations as has been done. From this point, a few HL terrorist operations will be treated country by country, these including what amount to HLS DOs in Bolivia and Chile.

Bolivia

BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT BÄNZER IN MEXICO (WKLY 7.2, 14 JANUARY 1999)

The public memory is severely strained to recall what happened in some landlocked, remote South American country one year ago to say nothing of what might have happened there thirty years ago. And so the press, young members of which have the same memory problem, can be fed all sorts of fabricated HL propaganda with a reasonable certainty that they will simply write it down and publish it no matter how contrived it may be. As has been shown in these reports, the principal instrument of HL victory has been the DO wherein fabricated atrocity tales have been fed to such media personalities by the HL and, in particular, the HLS. These range from the hoary "babies-and-bayonets" nonsense to various attacks on the CIA such as the Contra Drug and Harbury DOs (cf. chapter 4, YRBK 97 and later reports).

The CIA and other generally anti-ML intel services are prime targets for this propaganda as are the LA non-ML military establishments. This “transmission-belt” phenomenon has been overworked by the HL during 1998 in the continuing attempt to permanently cripple the military and with good reason. The military service of Chile was all that prevented Allende from completing his transformation of that nation into another Cuba or Sandinist Nicaragua; it was to that military that the Chilean Congress turned to prevent this (pp. 150ff, YRBK00). Jango Goulart was unable to transform Brazil into the same sort of tyranny or Torres to do the same thing in Bolivia. In order that such ML takeovers—and they remain on the agenda (pp. 57ff, YRBK97)—may never again suffer such derailment, the campaign against the LA military remains Priority 1 with the HL and the HLS.

Lázaro and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

Bolivian President Hugo Bánzer Suárez visited Mexico at the invitation of Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, the meetings between the two chiefs of state described in Communiqué No. 1217 of the Mexican Presidency (11 December 1998). Bolivia and Mexico were described as being the hinge (*bisagra*) between MERCOSUR and the Andean Community.³³ The two presidents principally expressed their interest in promoting “real, strong and lasting LA integration.” The president of the Federal District (DF) of Mexico had something else in mind.

On 10 December 1998 HL militant and DF President Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas announced that he would not give the keys to the city to, or even meet with, Bolivian President Hugo Bánzer Suárez when the latter arrived in Mexico. The direct result of his campaign was prominently displayed in *La Jornada* (Mexico 11 Dec 98) in an article having the headline, “The Águila Azteca³⁴ to the ex dictator Bánzer” and accompanied by a cartoon representing President Bánzer as a guerrilla. Within that article the hypothetical question was asked, “Who is Hugo Bánzer?” The reply was right out of the HL handbook for anyone successfully opposing ML takeover of their country.

“The now General and Bolivian President Hugo Bánzer arrived in power in 1971 through a military coup d’état which overturned the popular³⁵ government of General Juan José Torres ... later mur-

dering in Argentina the ruler thus overturned. Bánzer persecuted, tortured, overthrew, jailed and had killed hundreds of opponents and many foreigners..." And so on, typical ML propaganda by some supporter of the HL such as Cuauhtémoc and dutifully written down by these journalists. The Bánzer story deserves repeating here, but the Cárdenas story deserves precedence. A remarkably sycophantic account of Cuauhtémoc and his father, Lázaro Cárdenas del Río occupies several pages in the *Encyclopedia of World Biography* (Gale Research, 1998. ISBN: 0-7876-221-4), and a brief quotation from this is sufficient to describe the father.

The account describes Lázaro as "the beloved reformist president," a statement which is very much a question of viewpoint. He was assuredly beloved by the IL, but hardly the darling of those interested in free men and free markets. He attained this status "Rising to the presidency the same year that Cuauhtémoc was born [1934], ...[he] expropriated the railroads, nationalized the petroleum industry ... and impelled land reform [AgRef]." Certain historians say that he found the labor movement in disarray. This he corrected by sponsoring the Marxist, Vicente Lombardo Toledano and his Mexican Workers Confederation (CTM). After the Second War, he would gain additional fame by sponsorship of an immense ML gathering in Mexico.

"Known as one of Mexico's greatest reformers [sic], Lázaro Cárdenas' political zeal lived on in his son," the *Encyclopedia* article goes on to say. It then traces young Cuauhtémoc's life as a PP rising through the ranks of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of his father, his perhaps most noteworthy position before 1997 being that of Governor of the State of Michoacán.³⁶ In an unsuccessful run for the presidency in 1994 Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas had a Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), which would remain his bailiwick, coalesce around him. The PRD is described in the same article as an "amalgamation of communists, socialists, and ex Priistas." This would be the vehicle for his successful 1997 run for president of the DF (Federal District).

Cárdenas is most specifically located in Castro's ML by his militancy in the core organization of that hemispheric grouping the FSP. In fact, Cárdenas was the hero of the VII FSP in Brazil (Chapter 4, YRBK98), his *Veja* photo at the gathering with Brazilian leftist Lula da Silva, worth a thousand words. To which need only be added that Cuauhtémoc has made no bones of his "arrangement" with the EZLN terrorists. As to his intended victim.

Hugo Bánzer Suárez

On 7 October 1970, General Juan José Torres González seized the government of Bolivia. The *New York Times* (23 August 1971), hardly a hotbed of anti-ML sentiment, described this government as “left-wing” and “hostile to the U.S. and (one which) has opened Bolivia to strong Soviet influence.” At the time of the Torres coup d’état, Colonel Bánzer was director of the Military College, a post which he had held since the death of President Barrientos (1969) for whom he had been Minister of Education.

In January 1971 Bánzer was removed from his post at the Military College and exiled to Argentina for “conspiring” against the Torres government. In the ensuing months the colonel was in and out of the country until picked up (19 August 1971) shortly before the overthrow of the president. He was to have been deported in a group of sixty to Allende’s Chile where he would have gotten short shrift indeed. The revolt against the Torres government began with the Santa Cruz garrison, undoubtedly triggered by the arrest of Bánzer by the secret police. The revolt was joined by the Cochabamba and Orura garrisons, and Torres was finished. That “Bánzer seized power,” as with the similar HL distortion that “Rios Montt seized Power” in Guatemala, is false. The Bolivian Army seized power and offered it to the popular head of the Military College, Hugo Bánzer Suárez. *NYT* (2 September 1971) commented editorially that “his triumph indicates that the U.S. still has friends in LA and that all changes there need not be toward the Left.”

But the most cogent comment was offered in a dispatch on Cuban radio (24 August) which described Castroite Cuba’s offer of “firm and decided moral and material support” to Torres’ “Bolivian revolutionaries” in their “liberation struggles” against the new Bolivian government.

A relevant point is the broad support the Bánzer government received, even from the formerly hard Left National Revolutionary Movement (MNR)—for which cf. YRBK97—which had lost its most radical leaders such as Juan Lechín to the farther left. Bolivia benefited from the Bánzer government while the HL activated its propaganda mills for an attack which echoes down the years and into the recent issue of *La Jornada*.

THE TRANSMOGRIFICATION OF TANIA LA GUERRILLA
(WKLY 7.2, 14 JANUARY 1999)

Salvador Diaz Verson (*One Man, One Battle*, World Wide, 1980. LCC: 80-51317) found that the “Legend in His Own Mind,” Ernesto Guevara, “...kept endless diaries,” some of which he had the opportunity of examining. What he found in them was not the revolutionary paragon of Guevara’s self-conceived Legend but an “insecure personality who fretted constantly about allergies, asthma, unpopularity, lack of real courage.” Even so, “the jackal” was useful in those early days of 1959 to the Cuban dictator in having his firing squads happy to deal with any who showed promise of interfering with Castro’s New Order. As a symbol for the fire-breathing ML youth—or perhaps other “insecure personalities”—the dead Guevara has probably been more useful than the live one to a Castro blessed by the Legend’s early demise in Bolivia.

In an interesting twist, however, the mortal remains of a German woman sent to spy on the Legend have been brought back to Cuba to rest beside him in his latter-day version of Lenin’s Tomb (AFP 31 December 1998).

On pp. 103ff of YRBK97 Guevara’s attempt to “create a Vietnam in South America,” a highly unlikely eventuality from its inception, has been treated. With a handful of Cuban terrorists, Regis Debray and the young German KGB agent, Haydee Tamara Bunke Bider (aka Tania la Guerrilla), the Legend slipped into Bolivia and began wandering round the mountains, waiting for the Bolivians to “flock to his colors.” Of course nobody flocked, and, when the Bolivian military had dispensed with other affairs which were occupying them at the moment, they dispensed with Guevara.

The details of this having been given, there is only one loose end to deal with here. The most interesting personality in the Legend’s tiny band of terrorists was Ms. Bunke Bider. Since her remains are apparently destined to reside with those of Guevara, the inference is that she was somehow a follower of this insecure hero.

But Ms. Bunke was a KGB agent who had been sent to keep an eye on young Mr. Guevara in his peripatetic wanderings about the mountains. On turning twenty-one years old the young lady had been recruited by East German State Security, then co-opted by the KGB to keep an eye on the Legend during his Bolivian adventure.

The Soviet intel agency apparently trusted the Argentine terrorist no more than did the non-flocking Bolivians.

Chile

THE PINOCHET SAGA

JAMES R. WHELAN

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, LANS

SALTILLO, MEXICO

(SPCL 8.21, 26 DECEMBER 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: James R. Whelan has had a distinguished career in journalism which began with his work for UPI (1952-1968), first in several domestic bureaus, later as a foreign correspondent, country, then division manager in LA (1958-1968), returning to report on the region from Washington in 1970 and 1971. Among numerous awards, he received the Overseas Press Club of America's Citation of Excellence in 1971 for the best article on LA, any medium. The author of six books on LA, his *Out of the Ashes: Life, Death and Transfiguration of Democracy in Chile, 1833-1988* (Regnery, 1988. ISBN: 0-89526-553-2) is the definitive work on that subject in English. *El Mercurio* (Santiago) aptly described this as "without question the most complete history of our country published in this century, with the sole exception of the works of Francisco Encina and Gonzalo Vial Correo." His academic efforts include Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, Adjunct Professor at the University of Maryland, a lifetime appointment as Associate Professor Finis Terrae University, Santiago, and Visiting Professor at the Institute of Political Science, University of Chile, 1993-1995. He was Managing Editor of the *Miami News* (1972-1974), Vice President and Editor of the *Sacramento Union* (1980-1982) and Founding Editor, Publisher, and Chief Executive Officer of the *Washington Times* (1982-1984), inter alia. He is a regular contributor to *El Mercurio* and *La Segunda* (Santiago) and a frequent contributor to scores of other newspapers and magazines around the world.]

The kindest thing that can be said about the prosecution of former Chilean President Augusto Pinochet Ugarte in London is that it ought better be termed persecution—and quite fraudulent, at that.

The man who initiated that persecution is a forty-four-year-old Spanish prosecutor-judge named Baltasar Garzón del Real, who left a seminary in his native Andalusia just before he was to be ordained a priest, becoming a lawyer instead.

The first thing to know about Judge Garzón is that he is a lifelong leftist, a former Socialist Party deputy who would later win fame because of his flamboyant, headline-hunting style. To his admirers, he is the «super-Judge,» the fearless nemesis of drug lords, tax evaders and, top government officials involved with the government's Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups (ALG). That secret organization was formed in the Eighties to combat Spain's deadliest terrorist organization, the Basque separatist Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA). Garzón charged the ALG with responsibility for the deaths of at least 27 ETA activists.

«Wherever there is a *cause célèbre*, he is always there,» commented Miguel Angel Bastenier, deputy editor of the leftist Madrid newspaper, *El País*. «He loves to be in the limelight. But that doesn't mean he is not a solid professional.»

His numerous critics see him differently. As London's *Daily Telegraph* reported, «his sloppy work in preparing cases for prosecution is also blamed for allowing several ETA members and Spain's biggest drug baron off the hook.» Spanish constitutional lawyer Jorge Trias Sagnierle—former advisor to the Spanish Justice Ministry—is blunter, saying Garzón is not «a star,» but «a meteor.» Trias refers to Garzón's «stupidity and deceitfulness,» adding: «He is a completely slipshod judge who knows nothing of trial law.» (Trias also has harsh words for Pinochet).

Chile's former foreign minister, José Miguel Insulza—himself a Socialist—accused Garzón of «exhibitionism,» engaged in «a series of maneuvers to fit the facts and fit the dates to his theories.»

Spain's Attorney General, who fought hard to the very end to muzzle Garzón on the grounds that Spain lacked jurisdiction, says Garzón ignored rules requiring him to consult with his office before issuing his arrest warrant. (To be sure, the original arrest warrant against Pinochet was so badly drawn that Britain's Crown Prosecution Service had to send it back to Garzón with instructions on how to do it right).

When, at one point, Garzón gave Pinochet twenty days to appear in his court or forfeit the right to defend himself, Pinochet's Spanish

lawyer called the order «wacko,» pointing out that Pinochet was under house arrest in Britain, unable even to attend Mass, on the strength of an arrest order issued by—Garzón!

Garzón is not the only careless accuser in this case. The world's press, among countless fopperies, repeatedly referred to Garzón's «two-year-old investigation» of Pinochet. That is simply not true.

Garzón, beginning on June 28, 1996, had been investigating human rights abuses committed in Argentina during that country's 1976-1983 «dirty war» against leftist subversion. The trigger for that investigation came from an Argentine lawyer named Carlos Slepoy, who had gone into exile after twice being arrested for his ties to subversive organizations, and by a leftwing prosecutor named Carlos Strassera. They, in turn, were backed by Spain's Communist Party and a host of other leftist organizations. Garzón's only involvement with Chile surfaced much later, when he learned about a secret pact called «Operation Condor,» organized by Chile's secret service and involving security agencies in Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay—all under leftist attack at the time, much of it sponsored and supported at international levels.

A few months after Garzón got started, two other Spanish lawyers—also with abundant leftist support—persuaded another judge, Manuel García Castellón, to launch a parallel investigation into human rights abuses during the military government of Pinochet in Chile (1973-1990). One of those lawyers was Joan Garcés, a former Communist who—somehow—managed to insinuate himself into the inner circle of Salvador Allende, the ML President Pinochet deposed. Though only in his late twenties at the time (1973), Garcés was with Allende deep into the night as rumors of revolution began to multiply, then the next day at the Palace where Allende led quixotic resistance to the uprising, finally blowing his brains out with an AK-47 given to him by Fidel Castro.

Francisco Franco was then in power in Spain, and as a consideration to good ties with Spain, Garcés was among Spaniards quickly released. He later wrote a book called *Chile: The Political Road Toward Socialism*,³⁷ in which he argued for the abolition of democracy once a socialist government reached power. In the totalitarian state he advocated, he envisioned «the necessity of a popular army capable of defeating a professional army...the prohibition of all domestic opposition and the strict control of all types of communication...»

Garcés would later become the key advisor to Garzón, and, indeed, it was learned that Britain's Crown Prosecution Service had also sought his advice in building their case against Pinochet.

During the two years of the two investigations, Garzón collected the headlines. But he splattered also against the firm insistence of the Argentine government that he would neither be allowed to investigate anything in their country, nor would they breach their amnesty decree closing the books on the «dirty war.»

So, too, did Chile refuse to allow García Castellón to send investigators to that country, or subpoena witnesses or records—on the grounds that they were a democratic country capable of managing their own judicial affairs, and to allow foreigners in would be to connive in violating their own sovereignty.

But, unlike Garzón, García Castellón sought evidence, not headlines. In March of 1998, he closed his investigation, turning his sixty-volume file (most of it cribbed from Chilean sources) over to the full criminal wing of the Audience for a final decision. In declining to issue an arrest warrant, he said, «I know it would be a spectacular thing to do, but I'm not like that. I have to have very solid evidence, and I just don't have it.»

Significantly, even leftist lawyer Slepoy questioned the credibility of the one bone Garzón by then believed he had in his teeth: That Operation Condor was Pinochet's doing. «To issue an arrest order,» he said, «Pinochet would have to be implicated in Plan Condor, and he is not. What there is against him so far,» he said, «is the testimony of the president of the Chilean Communist Party, Gladys Marín...»

None of this would deter Garzón. Tipped that Pinochet had arrived in London on September 22, 1998—on his sixth visit to Britain in recent years—Garzón swung quickly into action, taking over the moribund case from García Castellón.

Ten days after his arrival in London, Pinochet's chronic back problems became severe. He entered the London Clinic on October 7, and was operated on the next day.

In Britain, Garzón found a willing «accomplice:» British Home Secretary Jack Straw, also a lifelong leftist (who, in his student activist days, visited Chile and later joined in street demonstrations against Pinochet). His department quickly approved the arrest order, served on the eighty-two-year-old Pinochet at midnight, Octo-

ber 16, as he lay sleeping and drugged in the hospital. The operation was carried out in Gestapo style: Fifty policemen surrounded the hospital while three armed detectives made their way to the eighth floor room to place him under arrest.

Chile fought tooth-and-nail against what it regards as a clear invasion of its sovereignty, and the severe damage done to the healing process underway in the country since Pinochet voluntarily handed over power to an elected, civilian government in March 1990. At the United Nations in September 1999, the new Chilean foreign minister, Juan Gabriel Valdés, said Garzón sought to set himself up as «an international vigilante.» He added that it was even more «loathsome» that this attack should come from a country which, itself, lived under forty years of (the Franco) dictatorship — and yet had never brought anyone to trial for human rights abuses committed then.

Garzón refused to relent, even as no fewer than fifty-nine criminal charges were filed against Pinochet in Chile itself — almost all of them by communists, and, in many cases, by outright terrorists. He refused to relent even after Jack Straw, reacting to the unanimous finding of a medical panel he appointed, announced in January of 2000 that he was «inclined» to release Pinochet on the humanitarian grounds that the eighty-four-year-old man simply was unfit to stand trial. Garzón continued to spout and fume, but the Spanish Foreign Office stood firm that they would not again intervene since the case had now reached a political level (up to Straw, in other words). It was then that Belgium — almost inexplicably — took up the cudgels, joined by Amnesty International and other leftist-tilting human rights organizations, and to a less energetic degree, by France and Switzerland.

Straw's decision to appoint his own panel of doctors came only after the well-documented deterioration, beginning in mid-1999, in Pinochet's health, which different teams of doctors had insisted put him at imminent risk of death. None of that, however, deterred Garzón. Nor has the reality that, even if somehow shanghaied off to Spain to face trial, Pinochet could never be sentenced to jail, anyway, since Spanish law does not permit the jailing of elderly persons. (Interestingly, in all of Chile, there is not a single eighty-plus prisoner in jail.) It also bears noting that, despite the charges, Pinochet has never been convicted of any crime of any kind, and even the

British Law Lords raised questions about the solidity of the evidence against him.

Garzón, meanwhile, continued to behave as Garzón. Visiting strife-torn Colombia in September 1999, he raised the hackles of the government there by telling the Colombians they should not use the military in their war on drugs. The Spanish General Council of the Judiciary reprimanded him for a trip with «political overtones,» and the leading Madrid newspaper, *ABC*, criticized his «political activism and desire for notoriety.»

The law correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* of London, called this case, some months ago, «one of the greatest legal pantomimes since Dickens lampooned the system in *Bleak House*.» For «pantomimes,» I would substitute the phrase used by former President George Bush: his «travesty of justice.»

[Mr. Whalen has adapted this article from articles which he published in *The Houston Chronicle* and *The Miami Herald* in October 1999.]

Guatemala

For many years Rigoberta Menchú, the Nobel “Peace” Prize Laureate, has clearly been an important voice of the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union) terrorists; she has been decorated by HL boss Castro for “services rendered;” she has had two brothers in the URNG. She has been widely rumored to have been a terrorist herself, the LANS Editor having been shown a photo of what appears to be this heroine of the Left garbed and armed as such. In short this darling of the press appeared to need only careful scrutiny to be classified as a terrorist. This scrutiny was recently provided by Dr. David Stoll.

MORE ON THE NOBEL LAUREATE RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ (SPCL 7.1, 7 JANUARY 1999)

Regis Debray is the “sociologist” and militant of the IL who, after gaining fame by his subservient treatment of Castro, allegedly “broke” with the Cuban dictator although remaining a show-pieced treasure of the HL. His performance of what amounted to terrorist duties for the “legend in his own mind,” Ernesto Guevara, during his performance in Bolivia has been discussed (pp.104ff, YRBK97).

Not surprisingly, the wife of this leftist, Elizabeth Burgos, wrote (ghosted) an adulatory autobiography of the Guatemalan leftist, Rigoberta Menchú. That this was one more jewel of disinformation has recently been revealed (*Diario las Américas* 17 December 1998) and is assuredly worthy of brief review, given the importance sought for Ms. Menchú in the so-called Pastrana Peace Process. A bit of background on Rigoberta the Nobel Laureate is appropriate first, however.

The inside of the cover of Burgos' book, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia* (Seix Barral, 1992. ISBN: 84-322-4688-3), is graced with a photograph of Elizabeth and Rigoberta allegedly taken in 1982 during the production of the book. The date is conveniently important. Two years before the URNG had been put together in Sandinista Managua by Castro's Americas Department chief, Manuel Piñiera Losado.

That two of Rigoberta's brothers were in this ML terrorist group is a matter of fact. That Rigoberta was actually a gun-toting member of this terrorist groups was claimed to the LANS Editor in Guatemala when a photograph was shown to him of a young woman, considerably less plump than the Rigoberta of today, but alleged to be her, complete with terrorist garb and terrorist companions. The resemblance was striking. But whether or not this girl, who would become a Nobel Laureate largely through her promotion by the International Left, was a shooting member of this terror group, she has assuredly long been the spokesman for the URNG. And she has just as assuredly been an important member of Castro's HL

This fact has perhaps most clearly been demonstrated in a wirephoto in the LANS files of a few years ago. Ms. Menchú is rather short and stout. In the photograph she is standing in front of the Cuban dictator, simpering up at him as he bestows the Order of Ana Betancourt on her. These MLs do not simply pass out these Orders for lack of something else with which to occupy themselves; there is always a specific purpose. Nicaragua's ML boss, Ortega, awarded the Order of Sandino to the Libyan dictator, Mu'ammarr Qaddafi, because the latter had financed his election campaign. Castro awarded the decoration to Rigoberta because of her service to his HL. It had clearly been useful to him to have a Nobel Laureate in his stable. Which makes the reality of the book which contributed so heavily to her reception of this honor even more interesting.

In writing his book on Ms. Menchú and her book, Dr. David Stoll (*Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalana*, Westview Press, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3574-4) interviewed a broad spectrum of relatives and acquaintances of the woman who has successfully portrayed herself as the ultimate indigenous victim of all the evils against which Castro's HL allegedly battles. Under Stoll's carefully searching microscope, with which he scanned the recollections of a host of witnesses, her account disintegrates into the self-serving fantasy which all but the most innocent have intuitively realized it must be. It cannot all be repeated here, but a few incidents will serve.

According to Rigoberta's self portrayal, her father, Vicente Menchú Pérez, his wife Juana Tum Cotoja and their nine children, of whom Rigoberta was the sixth, were devoted Christians forced by poverty, Indian blood and the lack of education to suffer constant misery and exploitation. Finally, the family became involved in a leftist campesino movement, only to be cruelly murdered or pushed into exile by Guatemalan security forces. The unifying thread of her story is the alleged twenty-two-year battle of her father, Vicente Menchú, to obtain title to the land he worked, being continuously threatened by rich—and, of course, evil—ranchers with bureaucrats and gunmen.

Not so, his neighbors and his family declared to Stoll. The battle was with his wife's uncle, Antonio Tum Castro, and the latter's children. As Rigoberta's half-sister, Rosa Menchú Calám (fifty-eight), told Stoll, "The Tum were our enemies." And Uspantán Mayor Efraín Galindo testifies to his attempts to negotiate a peace in the multi-year dispute but to no avail.

Another example of Rigoberta's typical ML deceit is the "tragic" deaths of her brothers and sisters who declare the tale to be nonsense. Menchú maintains that in 1967 she watched her youngest brother, Nicolás, die of malnutrition while her family was working for slave wages on a coffee plantation in southern Guatemala.

Not so, says Nicolás, alive and well at forty-nine and the manager of a well-maintained finca. Nor can any of the neighbors or Nicolás himself recall her typical ML horror story which has her brother Patrocinio, a URNG terrorist, lined up with other terrorists, doused with gasoline and set alight. He can, however, recall his brother having been found in a terrorist uniform with a bullet hole

in him, apparently the result of a confrontation with the military from which he emerged second best.

Stoll does a great deal more debunking of what is one more DO account, fabricated for the same reason the “babies and bayonets” story (p.127, YRBK97) was fabricated, but it need hardly be recounted. The important point here of course is that this “Nobel Laureate” stands exposed as one more ML fraud who will “deliberate” at the Pastrana “peace process.”

(As a final footnote to the Menchú story it may be remarked that last spring she was reported as fearing that she would be the “next victim” (AFP 7 May 1998) of the Guatemalan Army which was busy slaughtering MLs such as herself. Needless to say, she has survived unscathed until this writing.)

Peru

FUJIMORI’S ANTI-TERRORIST PROGRAM REMAINS THE ONLY REALISTIC ONE (WKLY 7.6, 11 FEBRUARY 1999)

It is unfortunately necessary to repeat the realities relating to Castro’s HL and to the ML terrorists who make up an important portion of it: (1) These MLs are terrorists not “guerrillas.” (2) Their “peace” negotiations are predicated on the Ulianov (aka Lenin) Doctrine that “negotiation” is the road to victory. (3) The most successful, if not the only successful, anti-terrorist program in the hemisphere has been that of Peruvian President Alberto Kenyo Fujimori Fujimori.

1. The MLs of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) and the Colombian National Liberation Army (ELN), for example, can only be described as “terrorists.” Three years ago LANS detailed their enormous income (pp.163ff, YRBK97) from criminal activities such as kidnapping, various kinds of extortion (cattle, gold, etc.) and various kinds of narco-trafficking. Since grand larceny is such a routinely used criminal activity, it cannot be detailed in the same way. Their “methods” are based on murder, their bosses well known for the rape and statutory rape which they practice. Their destruction of property and resources include deliberate “pollution” to an extent unseen anywhere else, pollution which has destroyed water supplies, agricultural land and related property and caused

inestimable suffering among the people. The litany of this criminal destruction alone becomes a Stalinesque “statistic”; for example, the ELN terrorists destroyed the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline last June (EFE 16 June 1998) inundating the countryside with another 200,000 barrels of petroleum, this being the sixtieth such terrorist attempt during the year proceeding that date. In short and in sum, these MLs are terrorists.

2. That their “peace” negotiations are aimed at a victory which their military and political impotence would never have achieved for them has been discussed in the case of El Salvador (pp.146ff, YRBK97) and for the Guatemala case generally in YRBK98. The bizarre “Pastrana Peace Process” has been discussed quite recently (chapter 5 below).

3. President Fujimori inherited a nation in terrorist chaos after taking over from the avowed Marxist, Alan Garcia, whose college roommate had been none other than the ML terrorist boss of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), Polay Campos. It took the new president almost two years to establish his government. He was subsequently able to break the back of the MRTA and Sendero Luminoso terrorist movements (YRBK97). He then dealt with what was the last gasp of this terrorism, the Japanese Embassy Operation (YRBK98), in spite of the anguished howls for “negotiation” from the HL, the HLS, the naïve and the political opposition. His method was straightforward and based on the fact that these terrorists are common criminals who should be eliminated without negotiation. To this point he has been able to maintain his position against the continuing—and frequently vicious—attacks both at home and abroad.

Fujimori Maintains that Colombian Terrorists in Peruvian Territory are Still Terrorists

During the first week of February 1999 President Fujimori appeared at the Inter American Defense College at Ft. McNair (*La República* [Lima] 9 February 1999).³⁸ In the course of his remarks he pointed out that FARC and ELN terrorists had been making incursions into the Peruvian border villages since 1993³⁹ and have caused casualties among military and police personnel. He then made the obvious statement that these Colombian terrorists “constitute a regional security problem.”

Colombian President Pastrana apparently took umbrage at certain of Fujimori’s remarks in which the latter had reiterated the dic-

tum to the effect that one cannot “negotiate with terrorists.” Pastrana appears to have been validating the truth of this assertion since the summer of 1998 when he began his “Peace Process” as has been discussed in various of these reports (see also chapter 5 below). In spite of his protestations, Pastrana apparently felt that he must evince a certain interest in border security although he appears to have shown little interest in security anywhere else in Colombia. By 9 October (EFE 10 October 1999) Colombian Foreign Minister Guillermo Fernández de Soto was publicly discussing his government’s “intention” of seeking institutional mechanisms of cooperation” in order “to guarantee” the security of the zone. Fernández joined this curious statement to a repetition of his “concern” with Fujimori’s remarks.

The Peruvian president will presumably take all this as of no more value than it deserves; he has announced that he will assign troops to the 1,626 km. Colombia-Peru border in order “to combat, neutralize and capture” the Colombian terrorists. The EFE wires service dispatch used the term “militarize” the border, a rather obvious bow to the HLS.

As Peruvian Congress President Ricardo Marcenaro pointed out, Fujimori’s decision to reinforce the border was made “to prevent the terrorists of that country being able to enter Peruvian territory and reinitiate a process which no Peruvian wants to live through again.”

At press time EFE (11 February 1999) reported that 600 Peruvian troops had been mobilized on the Colombian border, these troops from two battalions of the V Military Region with headquarters in Iquitos. Iquitos is on the Amazonas in Loreto Department about 100 miles south of the border.

FUJIMORI TURNS DOWN A U.S. ANTI-NARCO-TRAFFICKING BASE IN HIS COUNTRY

(WKLY 7.6, 11 FEBRUARY 1999)

The unsuccessful attempts by the U.S. to maintain a Multilateral Anti-Drug Center in Panama after the canal is handed over to that nation have been discussed (pp. 125ff, YRBK00). Presumably the U.S. is now seeking some other nation in which to locate such a center, although it has not been demonstrated that this is the sole reason for the U.S. attempts to establish one in Peru. For example,

U.S. Ambassador Dennis Jett attempted to instruct the Peruvian Government how it was to write its annual budget (pp. 117ff, YRBK98), curious behavior for one sovereign nation's relations with another sovereign nation.

It is also to be presumed that the Peruvians recall the behavior of the U.S. toward the Government of El Salvador (GOES). The "assistance" which the U.S. furnished GOES in opposing the ML terrorists there put the U.S. in a position whence it could and did dictate the details of how El Salvador would deal with its terrorists. The inviolable sanctuaries for the terrorists which the U.S. proceeded to guarantee rendered it impossible for the Salvadorans to deal with their terrorists, the Chapultepec Accords resulting in a Farabundi victory⁴⁰ being the end product of U.S. "assistance." Clearly President Fujimori has no intention of letting the Giant of the North get its foot in the Peruvian door.

President Fujimori repeated to the press (EFE 31 January 1999) that his country acted as a sovereign nation in its battle against narco-trafficking as it has been doing quite successfully. He indicated that during the last year the country had reduced coca leaf cultivation by 26 percent.

4. The HL at Century's End

THE HEMISPHERIC LEFT AT YEAR'S END, 1999 (WKLY 8.24, 23 DECEMBER 1999)

In general, the HL appears to have had another good year, albeit, its few failures are worthy of remark in passing and perhaps indicative of the level of self-serving hyperbole at which the curious unofficial U.S. ambassador, James Carville, indulges himself.⁴¹ One of the most important among HL failures is the political resurgence of perhaps the only effective anti-ML chief of state in the hemisphere, President Alberto Fujimori.⁴² Another failure is the apparent failure of the U.S.—and whatever "allies" it has in such ventures—to impose the probably unconstitutional Esquipulas Accords on Guatemala (Wkly 7.20, Chapter 3 above). The last failure to be mentioned here is, as yet, only potential in that the HL may have lost the presidential run-off election in Chile. The triumphs of the HL during 1999 are, on the other hand, many, most of which—in Colombia, in Venezuela and elsewhere—have generally been dis-

cussed in these reports. The purpose of this report is to touch upon a few of those with which the year was concluded.

Russian-Cuban Military Relations

It is PC to maintain that the Soviet tyranny has transmogrified itself into a FED. This near miraculous conversion is believed to have taken place under the guidance of a lifelong CPSU⁴³ political hack who is alleged to have undergone a miraculous makeover, rather like that of Paul on the road to Damascus. Although it is apparently PIC to discuss them, there are at least four scenarios which have been advanced to “explain” the events in the USSR/CIS since 1991:⁴⁴

1. The FED transmogrification.

2. The Committee for State Security (KGB) weathered the “unpleasantness” of 1991 with an even firmer grip as absolute master of the USSR/CIS.⁴⁵ The cover story in circulation on the new master of the USSR/CIS, Vladimir Putin, in no ways belies this Scenario. Immediately upon receiving his law degree in 1975, he went to work for the KGB in which elite position he hacked diligently, doing something or other, until he opportunely “retired” therefrom in 1990 to begin a “political career.” This “career” was predictably spectacular, he rising to “Kremlin property manager” by 1996, deputy director of Yeltsin’s administration by 1997 and director of the Federal Security Service (FSB), “successor” to the KGB, peopled of course by the same friendly folk whom he had allegedly left in 1990. In August 1999 he became “acting” prime minister of the USSR/CIS, president in December.

3. Any transmogrification that took place was restricted to a change of clothes for the “criminal mafia” running the USSR/CIS according to Lev Timofeyev,⁴⁶ there being agreement by Stanislav Lunev⁴⁷ who, as a lifelong Military Intelligence (GRU) officer, maintains that the GRU, not the KGB, controls the mafias.⁴⁸

4. That the transmogrification was a carefully-planned DO is the view held by Anatoliy Golitsyn,⁴⁸ a KGB defector.

LANS has maintained from the beginning that it is “beyond the scope” of its efforts to argue for or against any of these scenarios

The Peoples Republic of China (ChiComs) is run by militant MLs, and the USSR/CIS appears to be largely run by such or allegedly by “ex” such. Both of these “nations” are of growing importance to

LA and would be whether their masters were MLs or representatives of some other leftist militancy such as Nazism, fascism, or the hybrid “isms” of Libya, Iraq, and Iran. Under these conditions it is curious that the U.S. has not shown the least concern, indeed, it has defended⁴⁹ the establishment of a USSR/CIS base in Cuba, a base which has recently been upgraded with ChiCom support (chapter 7 below). The expansion and upgrade continued in December 1999.

Granma is, of course, the mouthpiece of Castro’s Central Committee, PCC, the publication named after the ship which brought the future ML dictator and his terrorist followers to Cuba in the 1950s. In its 15 December 1999 issue, *Granma* reported on the visit to Cuba of a Russian delegation headed by Colonel General Valentin V. Karabelnikov. According to the article, a meeting took place between Karabelnikov’s delegation and the Cuban Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), doubtless a meeting blessed with the presence of FAR boss Raúl Castro. The meeting took place in “the cordial and friendly climate which characterizes the relations between the two countries.” The reader is assured that the encounter “contributed to the strengthening of the collaboration between the armed forces of the two nations.”

With respect to the bizarre “war on drugs” in which the U.S. professes such an interest, it seems worthy of recall that (1) the hemispheric drug lord is still Castro (pp.212ff, YRBK00) whom (2) Soviet dictator Khrushchev had introduced to narco-trafficking in the early 1960s.

Requiem for the Panama Canal

“It [the Canal Treaty] guarantees that within a decade, a communist regime, which hates democracy and sees the U.S. as its principal enemy, will control the little country of Panama,” said U.S. Congressman Dana Rohrbacher (EFE 14 December 1999).

Mr. Rohrbacher was speaking of the ChiComs. While any such prediction is to some extent dependent on the whims of fate, this statement would probably be almost precise with the addition of the phrase, “if the ChiComs wish to assume such control.” The so-called Carter-Torrijos Treaty, which was apparently unconstitutional both in the U.S. and Panama, has been discussed (pp.277ff, YRBK00). There would not appear to be any doubt that the ChiCom Front, Panama Ports Co., S.A., controls four of this defenseless little nation’s

ports, enough to close down or control canal operation if desired. The inference by treaty promoters is that the U.S. would step in with sufficient military force to wrest control from the ChiComs should they make any such attempt. There are a number of arguments against this view, these beginning with U.S. behavior when North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam in open violation of such a treaty and continuing through recent U.S. behavior with regard to ChiCom espionage and saber rattling.

“We are going to demonstrate to the world that we can administer the canal as well as the U.S.,” said Panamanian President Mireya Moscosa (EFE 14 December 1999).

In this same report LANS has discussed the U.S. Corps of Engineers “1996 Operations and Maintenance Study” which appears to give the lie to Doña Mireya’s statement before the fact.

U.S. President W. J. Clinton, as always, has had a great deal to say, an early portion of his statement a comparison which the reader should feel free to evaluate: “...the Canal, in its time a symbol of U.S. power and prestige, now symbolizes the unity and common objectives of the democratic nations of the Americas...”(*sic*) (EFE 15 December 1999).

Mr. Clinton also declared “...our commitment is to the security of the Canal...” (EFE 15 December 1999), although Mr. Rohrbacher does not appear to take this seriously.

Perhaps the most cogent comment on Canal giveaway⁵⁰ was, however, provided by actions, not words. Or perhaps by non-actions or absences. Because the final phase of the operation was carried out *without* the presence of U.S. President Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, indeed, without the presence of any important U.S. Government official. The U.S. president responsible for the treaty, the curious James E. Carter (1976-1980), was the leader of the delegation when the “symbolic” declaration was signed. This declaration turned the Canal over to defenseless Panama at 12:00 local time on 31 December 1999. Also present were the King of Spain—providing grist for speculation both amusing and otherwise—and various LA heads of state.

Garzón Gets a Prize

Baltasar Garzón is the leftist Spanish judge who carried the water for the IL in the prosecution of Senator Augusto Pinochet Ugarte for

having prevented the communization of Chile. Pinochet, at the request of the Chilean Congress (chapter 3, YRBK00), had thrown the ML president out of office before he could bring that country into the Soviet fold. Through a series of devious maneuvers which have been described (YRBK00, YRBK01) and in which the IL, particularly in Britain, cooperated, he has had this octogenarian under arrest for over a year. The propaganda for the IL has been immense, certainly enough to merit a “prize” for Baltazar. And he received one.

Garzón received the “Ernest Hemingway International Prize” because he achieved the detention of Pinochet 14 months ago.” (AFP 16 December 1999). The prize was, according to the account, awarded “for the first time” by the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents (ACPE) on the seventy-fifth anniversary of its foundation. If there are any seekers after truth remaining upright, they might find a perusal of Hemingway’s tergiversations in Civil War Spain of interest and appropriate to this award.

The ACPE is reported to have “over 100 members” in forty-three countries, the credentials of many of whom might also prove to be of considerable interest. Whoever wrote the AFP dispatch (Madrid, 16 December 1999) would probably provide a good starting point.

Notes

1. Rather than a free enterprise democracy various authors have reported a somewhat less desirable reality, their titles encapsulating their observations: Lev Timofeyev (*Russia’s Secret Rulers: How the Government and Criminal Mafia Exercise Their Powers*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1992, ISBN: 0-394-58639-5) and Yevgenia Albats (*The State Within a State: The KGB and Its Hold on Russia—Past, Present and Future*, Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1994, ISBN: 0-374-18104-7) laying it out rather obviously while Stanislev Lunev (*Through the Eyes of the Enemy: Russia’s Highest Ranking Military Defector Reveals Why Russia is More Dangerous than Ever*, Regnery, 1998, ISBN: 0-89526-390-4) substitutes the GRU (military intel) for the KGB. Anatoliy Golitsyn (*The Perestroika Deception: The World’s Slide towards the “Second October Revolution.”* Harle, 1995, ISBN: 1-899798-00-5) and *The Soviet Analyst* more specifically claim the entire “democratization” procedure a DO.
2. “Patterns of Comintern Victory. I. Cuba,” R. G. Breene, Jr., *El Diablo Cojuelo*, 1986-1988.
3. President Eisenhower attempted to retrieve the situation with the Bay of Pigs Operation, but a change of administration assured the failure of this effort (pp. 227ff, YRBK00, “The Inspector General’s Report on the Bay of Pigs.”)
4. See the great, and unfortunately deceased, Sovietologist, Leonard Schapiro (“The International Department of the CPSU: Key to Soviet Policy,” *International Journal*, winter, 1976-1977).

5. Lawrence Duggan was one of the highest-ranking U.S. State Department recruits by the COMINTERN who fatally exited a high window after FBI questioning (cf. p.254, YRBK98). The Hungarian Secret Police files claim said exit as a successful piece of their wet work. Could Redbeard's "auto accident" be (another) successful piece of DGI wet work?
6. Daniel James, *Red Design for the Americas: Guatemala Prelude* (John Day, 1954. LCC: 54012439).
7. The leftists in the U.S. Congress were finally able to dissolve the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security which had provided invaluable information on HL operations, among these the Bogatazo. Few trouble to search these files for themselves, preferring the "easy way" of taking the International Left's claim that they are of no substantive value.
8. Grayston L. Lynch. *Decision for Disaster: Betrayal at the Bay of Pigs* (Brassey's. 2998. ISBN: 1-57488-148-5).
9. The William Wieland case was investigated by the SSIS (Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security) in 1962, the relevant documents *State Department Security. The Office of Security*, Parts 1-3. 1962 (Y4.J89/2:St21/8/parts 1-3). Hereinafter State 1, etc.
10. That Otepka was fired in what was apparently a "coverup" is indicated by (1) the refusal of State to furnish documents requested by the Committee; (2) the elimination of Otepka's job as Deputy Director of Security (State 2); (3) the restrictions on Otepka's testimony, and (4) the assignment of Wieland to a consulate in Bremen, Ulan Bator apparently not then accessible.
11. This was one more source from which all those gringos, who "didn't know" Castro was a ML, could have obtained information.
12. P.141n, Ralph de Toledano, *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats* (Regnery, 1967. LCC: 66-25070).
13. The COMINTERN (or International Department) felt he was close to cracking under FBI questioning, 16 stories clearly enough to remove the danger. Cf. pp. 315 and 389n.5 of Stephen Koch (*Double Lives*, Free Press, 1994. ISBN: 0-02-918730-3).
14. By Threat 5 is meant *Communist Threat to the U.S. Through the Caribbean*, Part 5, SSIS, 1960 (Y4.J89/2:C73/27/pt.5).
15. The *Amerasia* Case had to do with the loss of China to the COMINTERN and is hardly vital to the Wieland Case. Cf. pp.278ff, Anthony Kubek (*How the Far East Was Lost*, Regnery, 1963. LCC: 63-12892).
16. P.1394, *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*. SSIS. Part 19, 1954 (Y4.J89/2:Su1/12/pt.19).
17. P.204, Earl E. T. Smith, *The Fourth Floor: An Account of the Castro Communist Revolution* (Random House, 1962. LCC: 63-8331).
18. P.127, Paul D. Bethel (*The Losers: The Definitive Account...of the Communist Conquest of Cuba...*, Arlington, 1969. LCC: 69-16944).
19. *Granma*, the name of the ship which originally brought Castro's handful of terrorists to Cuban shores, is now the official journal of the Central Committee (CC), Cuban Communist Party (PCC).
20. For encyclopedic coverage of the *Estado Novo* and Vargas' career until its abrupt end by suicide, see John W. F. Dulles, *Carlos Lacerda, Brazilian Crusader* (Vol.I, 1914-1960, University of Texas Press, 1966, ISBN: 0-2-71125-5; II, 1960-1977, *ibid.*, 1996, ISBN: 0-292-71581-1).
21. Luís Mir, *A Revolução Impossível: A esquerda e a Luta Armada no Brasil* (The Impossible Revolution: The Left and the Armed Battle in Brazil, Editora Best Seller, São Paulo, 1994).

22. Goulart was described by the former COMINTERN agent, Eudocio Ravines, in 1955 as “the fondest hope of the Kremlin.” Nine years later Jango justified this description with an attempted *coup* which has been described on pp.87ff of YRBK97.
23. The MST has been discussed in detail (pp.106ff, YRBK97; pp.198ff, YRBK98; et seq.).
24. In his introduction to the book by Pierre Broué (*Quand le Peuple Révoque le Président: le Brésil de l'affaire Collor*, L'Harmattan, 1993. LCC: 93193369), da Silva describes his own PT by classifying its militants as “Trotskyites, Castroites, activists of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB)...liberation theologians...” and identifying it with his “Nicaraguan Sandinista (FSLN) comrades, the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)...the Colombian 19th of April Movement (M-19)...” Editor
25. Frei Betto, *O paraíso perdido: nos bastidores do socialismo* (Geração Editorial, São Paulo, 1993. LCC: 94-831959). For more on this prolific Marxist’s scribbblings, cf. Frei Betto, *Nicarágua livre: o primeiro passo* (Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1980. LCC: 81-187454). Editor.
26. The notion of a ULASR was specifically enunciated at the IV FSP Encounter with the call for “supra national countries” in LA as a “sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in LA” (p.99, YRBK97).
27. The LANS Editor’s attempt to obtain a transcript or any other sort of record of this meeting from the Princeton authorities was singularly unsuccessful. Whether true or false, he was told that no records of any kind were kept.
28. Hemisphere wide and internationally, this is part of the retaliation by the International Left (IL) against any forces which prevented Marxist Leninist (ML) takeover by force of arms. The charade played out by the leftist Spaniard, Baltazar Garzón, against Augusto Pinochet and the Argentine generals is an example of this.
29. For which see (p.11, pp.58ff, YRBK97).
30. The MST has been considered on several occasions in these reports, the first of which appeared three years ago (pp.106ff, YRBK97). That this is anything but a “Landless” (*sem terra*) peasant movement was demonstrated at the same time by the Workers Central (CUT) decision to “recruit” 100,000 unemployed from the cities to join the MST in invading the farms (p.108, YRBK97).
31. Although the press generally fails to provide meaningful descriptions of FSP activities, *Veja* (Brazil) did accurately describe the makeup of the 1997 encounter with “*O 7º Foro de São Paulo, conclave de partidops comunistas, ex-comunistas e simpatizantes...*” (The 7th FSP, conclave of communist parties, ex-communists and sympathizers) (p.183, YRBK98).
32. Such a description is generally true in the sense that it was not receiving the financial support which it had once received from the hemispheric drug lord, Fidel Castro (pp. 212ff, YRBK00). But that the Cuban dictator was still cooperating with FARC in the drug trade and in terrorist operations is also true. Editor
33. Cf. chap. 6, YRBK98. The Andean Community has been assigned various acronyms.
34. This is the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle (Aguila Azteca) which is awarded to foreigners in seven degrees, the first The Collar to Chiefs of State, the second, The Cross to chiefs of government or prime ministers, and so on.
35. The Spanish word, *popular*, can mean either “peoples” or “popular.” Torres was assuredly seeking to install a “peoples” government in the ML sense.
36. A typical PP biography appears at the DF website (www.ddf.gob.mx), his Michoacán governorship 1980-1986. The curious book by Terry Reed (*COMPROMISED: Clinton, Bush and the CIA*, Clandestine, 1995. ISBN: 1-883955-02-5) (cf.pp.209ff, YRBK97) contains various references to Cárdenas of indeterminate value.

37. Joan E. Garcés, *Chile: El camino político hacia el socialismo* (Esplugues de Llobregat, 1972. LCC: 72342924).
38. These remarks were either first made or also made at the U.S. Peace Institute (AFP 7 Feb 99).
39. The Peruvian president has apparently been awaiting the conclusion of the Peru-Ecuador peace process in order to announce his intentions of dealing with Colombian terrorist incursions. These were more or less ceremonially concluded in Washington, DC.
40. A photograph of the Farabundi victory celebration appears at the LANS website.
41. On returning from Israel where he had engineered the defeat of the anti-Left prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, Mr. Carville declared that there were “no right-wing (read: anti-Left) governments left standing” (Wkly 8.1, chap. 3 above).
42. The drumbeat of disinformation generated by the HL and the HLS against Fujimori and his effective security advisor, Torres Montesinos, is probably the best testimony to this. Certain facets of this DO approach the childish, an example being the attempt to show Mr. Fujimori a Japanese and not a Peruvian and hence not president. This has of course been dealt with in these reports.
43. Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
44. All of these, of course, include the notion that motivation for the acceptance of the FED hypothesis is wishfully or practically based on investment opportunities provided by U.S. largesse
45. This scenario has perhaps been most cogently presented by the Russian journalist, Yevgeny Albats (*The State Within a State: The KGB and Its Hold on Russia—Past, Present and Future*, Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1994. ISBN: 0-374-18104-7).
46. Lev Timofeyev, *Russia's Secret Rulers: How the Government and Criminal Mafia Exercise Their Power*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1992. ISBN: 0-394-58639-5.
47. Stanislav Lunev, *Through the Eyes of the Enemy: Russia's Highest Ranking Defector Reveals Why Russia Is More Dangerous Than Ever* (with Ira Winkler) (Regnery, 1998. ISBN: 0-89526-390-4).
48. Anatoliy Golitsyn, *The Perestroika Deception*, Harle, 1995. ISBN: 1-899798-00-5. This is also the view of the German legislator, Graf von Huyn (private communication).
49. The Lourdes Electronic Espionage Base on Cuba, which the USSR/CIS built and maintains and which the ChiComs have recently upgraded, was defended as the “right” of Russia to operate in 1995 by U.S. Under Secretary of State Watson before the U.S. Congress.
50. The Canal Zone was created and protected by the U.S. for almost a century. That this was U.S. territory was held by the courts in positions only swayed by later Century XX PC. The rhetoric of the left has this a “theft” in a maneuver which has finally reaped immense dividends for the HL and the International Left (IL).

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The Hemispheric Left (HL) in Colombia

In *Latin American Political Yearbook 2000* (Transaction Publishers, ISBN: 0-7658-0044-6), hereinafter YRBK00, the amount of material on Hemispheric Left (HL) activities in Colombia demanded that it be placed in a separate chapter. This year the same situation, if somewhat more pronounced, has been encountered, and once again terrorists activities in all their ramifications are the most remarkable in Colombia.

Once again, the Marxist Leninist (ML), Disinformation Operations (DOs), in the absence of any real military ability by the terrorists of Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), are the only real weapon they possess and hence deserve first treatment in Section A, "The Diplomacy of the Subversion." This notation was developed by Doctor Miguel Posada, LANS correspondent in Bogotá, Colombia, and president of the Sociopolitical Analysis Center (CAS) there. The term means both (1) those DOs by means of which the HL wins all its victories and (2) that "diplomatic corps" of HR Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and those HL or HLS (HL Support) activists who act as "diplomats" in spreading this disinformation. Particularly noteworthy here remains the Great Gringo Disinformation Operation (GDO).

Section B, "Terrorist Actions Used in Subversive Diplomacy," is a discussion of those basically trifling engagements, which the Subversion has used in fabricating such elaborate DOs abroad. What was to have been a "great terrorist offensive" —and proved to be FARC's "greatest and most demented" action—appropriately leads off this section.

The next section, Section C, deals with the Pastrana Peace Process (PPP), that bizarre and assuredly inscrutable process which appears to have no rational relationship to "peace" unless it is the peace of surrender to the ML terrorists.

A. The Diplomacy of the Subversion

COLOMBIA

(SPCL 7.7, 14 APRIL 1999)

Anatoliy Golitsyn¹ maintains that the West and its intelligence services have never understood strategic disinformation. This is clearly fact to whatever degree although the extent to which the PPs, always terrified by the HR campaigns of the International Left (IL), muddy these waters is seldom clear. But the press has assuredly never evinced any understanding of disinformation, whether from terror, partisanship or simple ignorance. And this press is consequently prone to parrot the DOs spread, in this hemisphere, by the HL and the HLS. In Spcl 7.6, various additional facts on the original hemispheric DO, that which enabled the lifelong ML, Castro, to become Cuban dictator and HL boss, has arisen again. In this operation and all subsequent, of which El Salvador is a prime example (pp. 146ff, YRBK97), the lifeblood of ML victory has been these DOs, largely promulgated by so-called HR organizations, many or most of which are heavily infiltrated by MLs, the remainder of these “activists” being those *idiotas utiles* (useful idiots) beloved of Ulianov (aka Lenin).

The deliberate proliferation of these HR groups is obvious to even the most cursory survey, the UN’s CDH (HR Commission) having some thirty such groups “certified” to appear before it. And they are “above the law,” any attempts to shed light on these NGOs striking terror into the hearts of the PPs and the press (Wkly 6.3). Even in Colombia this network of NGOs is so vast that this forum can only provide the opportunity for an example. In this treatment the example there are two DO targets, effective military commanders and the Self Defense Patrols (PACs) or the Rural Security and Vigilance Cooperatives (CONVIVIR).

Effective military commanders are an obvious target for the ML terrorists’ DOs. The military in the various LA nations are capable of dealing with these terrorists: In El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) could have been dealt with by the Salvadoran Armed Forces (FAES) had not the U.S. provided them sanctuaries—“refugee” villages and *bolsones territoriales* (border pockets)—from which to operate. In Peru Sendero and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) have been dealt with by

a determined Fujimori as the Colombian terrorists could be dealt with by a determined Colombian government. But in the faint-hearted Colombian efforts, the PACs, such as CONVIVIR, have been vital to the mere protection of civilian property and life in the path of the terrorists and hence have been honored by being made prime targets of these DOs.

To these two targets has been added a third, complementary target in the Colombian case, the U.S. In this case the objective has been to add the gringo to the allies of the ML terrorists, a campaign which has proven to be quite successful. In Wkly 5.18 (pp. 409ff, YRBK00) the GDO has been discussed, this using an article which appeared in the *Washington Post* and contained three pieces of disinformation : (1) “the Colombian military’s abysmal HR record,” and (2) the Colombian Armed Forces “could be defeated within five years” by the terrorists who (3) number 20,000. (The most blatantly nonsensical part of the article was its claim to be based on a non-existent Defense Intel Agency [DIA] report.) However nonsensical, one of the results was the U.S. offer of military “assistance” to Colombia with the attached strings permitting the gringo to use this “assistance” as bait in telling Colombia what to do in its media-event “resistance” to the terrorist. In these reports certain of the DOs which were used by the U.S. have been discussed. The examples to be discussed were of course a part of this campaign.

The GDO is clearly an important facet of the New-Age Yanqui Imperialism which the Clinton Administration appears to be practicing in LA. This should be reviewed, but here suffice it to recall the interference in the internal affairs of Peru, attempts to do so in Colombia and the award of “Extra NATO Ally” status to Argentine Pres. Menem, apparently for his clandestine shipment of arms to Bosnia—the manifest said “Panama”—which began in 1991. But what could be the objective of such Yanqui Imperialism?

In some quarters there is no doubt as to the objective. The LANS Editor asked a particularly experienced and knowledgeable intel source in Guatemala who or what government was pushing “peace” negotiations with the impotent Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) terrorists. The source answered “DC,” meaning Washington. He went on to say that “The buzz words now are ‘reconciliation’ and the ‘sharing of power.’ They want to restructure the Guatemalan institutions so that there is this reconciliation and shar-

ing.” Blaming this on “brand new Ph.D.s” who knew not what they did, he made another point which is surprisingly cogent to the Colombian situation.

“The negotiations were dragged out for five years to transform the terrorists into freedom fighters and statesmen. All of this of course is in line with the U.S. policy of discrediting the military throughout LA” (pp. 179ff, YRBK98).

Whether the practitioners of this Yanqui Imperialism realize it or not, if the past is indeed prologue, this could well lead to one more terrorist “Victory Through Peace” in LA. In the case to be treated in this report the victor will be the National Liberation Army (ELN).

The ELN

This clerics’ terror group, so-called because of the number of “men of the cloth” who have manned its guns, is nothing more than a gaggle of common criminals who practice every sin to which the flesh is heir: murder, theft, extortion, narco-trafficking, kidnapping, rape, etc. For the modern hybrid, this litany of sins could certainly be augmented with its continued and deliberate spreading of millions of barrels of crude over the Colombian countryside and into the Colombian rivers and rendering concern over “oil spillages” elsewhere in the world little more than jests. These “freedom fighters” murdered upwards of seventy people by fire in Machuca (Antioquia) on 7 August 1998 with one of their pipeline-busting efforts (pp. 372ff, YRBK00). They finally admitted guilt, but claimed it to be an “accident,” a flimsy claim at best from terrorists with as much experience in such affairs as is theirs.

On 12 April 1999 the ELN terrorists diverted Avianca Flight 9463, a Fokker 50, to the Los Sábalo strip, Simití Municipality in an operation which will be described in Wkly 7.15 below. It was one more terrorist kidnapping, it differing from most only in the number of victims, originally forty-two, a number reduced by nine in two days. The terrorist boss “warned” the Pastrana Government against trying to rescue the victims, reminding us of a similar warning which Fujimori received and ignored from the MRTA terrorists in the Japanese Embassy Operation (JEO). In the Fujimori case, however, the terrorists knew better than to execute any of their victims. It seems likely that Pastrana will not show the same fortitude. The terrorist bosses involved in the criminality made various boastful statements

about their reasons, but the attempt to make an impression – show their importance—to the international community is certainly one of them.

Certain U.S. congressmen reacted appropriately. Foreign Relations Chairman Benjamin Gilman asked President Pastrana to terminate “peace” negotiations with the terrorists while Appropriations Committee Chairman Dan Burton urged the U.S. Government to furnish the necessary equipment to Colombia so that it can dispense with the terrorists once and for all. But the Clinton Government (CG), some feel, may be striving to have the entire affair ignored.

The former and un-regretted U.S. ambassador to Colombia, Myles Frechette, made the strange statement that “There is no one in the Congress who is saying that they stop the (“peace”) process.” Various others who may be considered representatives of the CG, have made public statements indicating the same desire to carry on the “peace process” and make “freedom fighters out of these terrorists.”

These are those Colombian terrorists for whom and by whom the DOs to be discussed as examples here were created, spread and supported—whether wittingly or unwittingly—by the U.S. government.

The Destruction of Generals del Río and Millán

The LANS Editor was fortunate to spend many hours with General Rito Alejo del Río and General Fernando Millán, the objective of these in-depth interviews being the acquisition of detailed understanding and documentation of the DOs which had been fabricated against them. As the ELN was preparing for its Avianca kidnap operation, Colombian Pres. Pastrana was ordering (9 April 1999) the retirement of Generals del Río and Millán. Pastrana gave no reason for the order and denied that it was in response to a demand from the guerrilla or the U.S. Department of State. The LANS correspondent in Bogotá, Dr. Miguel Posada, has cogently reported what happened next in *El Siglo* (17 April 1999).

THE RETIREMENT OF THE GENERALS

MIGUEL POSADA S.

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BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

Last Friday President Pastrana ordered the retirement of Generals Rito Alejo del Río and Fernando Millán. He gave no explanation of his reasons and denied that it was in response to a demand from the guerrilla or the U.S. Department of State, although on announcing this, his pleasure at having his hand in the affair was obvious. What we have in all this is a typical case of Political War against the Army, the only real obstacle to the subversion's taking power. It is quite clear that the Department of State has no way of knowing through its own investigations what is happening in the Colombian conflict. This has made it easy to manipulate the information which it receives. State, as an obvious result of reading its report, is not concerned with verifying the truth of the information, especially if it corresponds to its own bias.

Various NGOs are occupied with the task of creating the slander. These, far from being independent, are tightly connected. Principal among such organizations are the Peoples Education and Investigation Center (CINEP) and the (Inter-Congregational Peace and Justice Commission (Justicia y Paz),² both run by Jesuits, and the Colombian Commission of Jurists. These are the "trustworthy" sources which State cites in order to question Colombian officers about alleged connection with paramilitary groups. In the U.S. pressure is applied to State by Human Rights Watch, the Washington Office on LA (WOLA)³ and Amnesty International, among others.

The procedure which is followed is simple. Accusations are made using false testimony, often purchased. Although the officer in question subsequently demonstrates his innocence, these accusations remain on the record and are enough to be reported in the State annual report.

The guerrilla thus destroyed the two best generals in the Army. In vain was General del Río given the title of Pacifier of Urabá. The general achieved an understanding among the banana Labor Unions, the Hope, Peace and Liberty Party⁴ and the entrepreneurs. To this he devoted himself in spite of the efforts of Mayor Gloria Cuartas⁵ to maintain the operations of the Unión Patriótica (UP) and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), the guerrilla organization which developed this party. The response was that national and foreign NGOs busied themselves slandering the general.

Millán was the scourge of the ELN in Santander Department. During his command of V Brigade the connection between five ONGs

and the ELN was revealed. This then resulted in the indictment⁶ of their directors. His brigade command also resulted in the fall of various important terrorist chiefs and the protection of Ecopetrol, the Colombian Government petroleum trust, against the paralysis decreed by the Oil Workers Union (USO) in the last national strike of state employees.

Few remember that there is a militant left in the U.S., a left which is very strongly sympathetic to the Marxist movements. Those functionaries who fear the U.S. in Third World conflicts represent another dangerous trend. These latter play a role such that, if the Colombian Army is accused of violations of Human Rights or is connected with the evil, so-called "Paramilitaries," they can avoid any agreements by their country relating to the battle against subversion.

These two currents of thought are represented in the State Department and especially in the Human Rights section directed by Mr. Harold Koh, who visited and insulted us last week. These people would not dare to make unfounded accusations like these against their own citizens, but they are well aware that it is almost impossible for a Colombian officer to take them to court. Thus the terrorists feel quite safe in slandering those officers whom they wish to destroy. The State Department does the rest.

But the worst part of the situation is that the Colombian president yields to these pressures and causes damage to the Army and its good reputation which is not easily corrected. A communiqué after the fact does little good against the infamous slanders of Mr. Koh. The gringo came, covered our home with mud and went home laughing. Would to God he does not return by invitation. Visitors like that we don't need.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

COLOMBIAN JUDICIAL WAR
SOCIOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS CENTER
BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA
(SPCL 7.9, 3 JUNE 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: The Sociopolitical Analysis Center has created an excellent and informative review of the most important, if

not the only remaining ML terrorist activity in the Western Hemisphere. It is reprinted here with the permission of the Center. For practical reasons of production and distribution it has been divided by LANS into three parts. In the first part, "Colombian Armed Conflict" (Wkly 7.22, Section B below), the Center provides a comprehensive discussion of the terrorist operation itself and the Colombian Government's reaction to it. In this, the second part, "Colombian Judicial War," the DOs are discussed with specific examples. In the third part, "Colombian Peace Process" (Spcl 7.10, Section C below), the Center offers a comprehensive account of this bizarre and generally misunderstood process.]

The Colombian Armed Conflict has endured for more than forty years. The contenders have been the Democratic State, represented by ten administrations belonging to both the Liberal and Conservative parties, and a Marxist subversion, represented by a varying number of guerrilla organizations backed by a large number of legal front organizations. As in most conflicts, the subversion has carried on a well-orchestrated propaganda and disinformation campaign, both at home and abroad, in support of its goals.

Both the government and society at large have failed to realize that the response to the subversion cannot be limited to the use of military force. The political aspect of the conflict, in fact the very key to its nature, has not been addressed. The subversion is an expert in political and judicial warfare. Its propaganda campaign has been masterful and has managed to impress upon the public, both at home and abroad, the following fallacies:

1. The guerrillas cannot be defeated.⁷ Thus the only solution is a negotiation with very generous terms in which power is shared and the country's political and economic systems are modified accordingly. Along with this idea, the Marxist nature of the subversion and its expressed goal of achieving supreme and absolute power are downplayed.
2. The Army has a "dismal" HR record and deserves no support. In fact, the record of the Colombian Army in relation to human rights, although not unblemished, can be favorably compared to that of any other army in a counterinsurgency war. Great efforts are made to generate awareness of human rights in officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers.
3. Those that are critical of the current peace initiative, are "enemies of peace" and support war as a goal in itself.
4. If enough incidents of violations of HR by the Army cannot be reported, the military is in any case presented as "guilty by association," because of its alleged support of the so-called paramilitaries, the illegal self defense groups.

5. Any effort at self-defense in the countryside is a threat to achieving peace with the guerrillas and must be outlawed. Law-abiding civilians cannot be allowed the use of weapons that may significantly threaten the guerrillas, as this will intensify the conflict.⁸

Although successive administrations have defended the civilians in power against allegations of HR abuses, they have made no effort to defend the armed forces against such allegations. At the same time, each administration has tried to appease the extreme left by ceding control of certain key government positions that have proven useful to their propaganda effort.

The objectives that the subversion seeks to obtain through these misconceptions will be detailed later. First, it is important to address the subjects of the “paramilitaries,” as has been done in Wkly 7.22 (Section B below), and the “Judicial War,” both of which are central to the disinformation campaign, in order to clarify misconceptions.

Judicial Warfare

As stated above, the subversion has patiently infiltrated the judiciary branch of government and, through a long series of concessions, has obtained a legal framework that both facilitates the indictment of military personnel and makes the prosecution and trial of guerrillas and their supporters difficult. The subversion has become quite adept at what has been termed defensive and offensive judicial warfare.

Because of the legal framework now in place as a result of the 1991 Constitution and other laws, only 10 percent of captured guerrillas are prosecuted and condemned, and members of the guerrillas’ political and logistical networks, the other participants in the subversion, are never prosecuted. As an example, captured guerrillas have to be turned over to the Prosecutor’s Office (the Fiscalía) within thirty-six hours of their capture. There is, therefore, little opportunity to gain intelligence by interrogation. In addition, the guerrillas have set in place several NGOs, such as the José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers Collective and the Committee of Solidarity with Political Prisoners (CSPP), to provide free defense services for captured guerrillas. In many cases, these guerrillas are simply released by the Prosecutor’s Office with no explanation.⁹

But worse than this defensive judicial warfare is the offensive war carried out against the Colombian Armed Forces. False wit-

nesses are used to accuse officers and non-commissioned officers of human rights violations. Though in most cases the accused are eventually acquitted, their careers are ruined and their personal finances gutted by the half-pay they receive during the investigation and by lawyers' fees. In addition, false witnesses are seldom if ever prosecuted when the charges are found to be false. This campaign has several objectives:

- The officer or NCO cannot perform his duties well and is effectively out of action.
- Fellow officers are demoralized.
- The Armed Forces are shown as persistent and frequent violators of HR.

The judicial war is the basis for the Disinformation Campaign against the Colombian State and Armed Forces. In a recent case, Army Brigadier Generals Fernando Millán and Rito Alejo del Rio, two officers that had enjoyed outstanding success against the FARC and ELN guerillas, were dismissed from the Army by President Pastrana. Pastrana (Spcl 7.7 above), denials notwithstanding, bowed to pressure from the FARC and the U.S. State Department. The Democracy, Human Rights and Labor section of the State Department routinely picks up the allegations of Human Rights NGOs that favor the subversion. Then, in effect, it condemns Colombian soldiers, without even a hearing, by reporting the allegations in the yearly *Human Rights Report*. In the Millán and Del Rio case, the Colombian Army was deprived of the services of its two most outstanding brigade-level officers. There are documents that show that several NGOs, including the Center for Popular Research and Education (CINEP) and the Peace Initiatives Network (REDEPAZ), supposedly dedicated to Peace, were involved in attempts to bribe witnesses to provide false testimony against the Generals.¹⁰

Thus the Judicial War is fundamental to the War of Disinformation, and in many cases is carried out by the same organizations.

The Disinformation Campaign

The disinformation campaign is directed at target audiences in Colombia and abroad. It has several objectives, including the following:

- To distract attention from the guerrillas' crimes against the armed forces, civilians and the environment. The guerrillas are presented as "freedom fighters" facing a brutal and repressive regime. This attracts attention to their cause and they obtain funds abroad, especially in Europe.
- To prevent foreign governments from helping the Colombian democratic state and block the sale of weapons to the Armed Forces.
- To discredit the Military Court System, applying pressure towards the reduction of its applicability. Thus, the Ordinary Courts, heavily infiltrated by the subversion, would try more military personnel.
- To discredit any kind of Legal Self-Defense organizations, forcing the Government to ban them.
- To force the U.S. to sever relations between the U.S. Military and the Colombian Armed Forces, as the U.S. military tends to have an objective view of the behavior of their Colombian colleagues.
- To weaken Colombian Military Intelligence (MI). MI has been a special target due to its success in the capture of high-level guerrilla leaders (i.e., Galan, Arteta, and Torres) and the unmasking of the links between several NGOs and the guerrilla organizations.
- To create an "equality of guilt" scenario as a basis for peace negotiations, when and if they find such negotiations convenient.
- To gain support for the concept of "civilian neutrality" and "neutral communities". The first objective would deny intelligence from the military and reduce support for the defense budget. Neutrality is absurd when the purpose of the guerrillas is to control the civilian population. The "neutral communities" from which both the guerrillas and the military are supposedly excluded are really safe havens and rest areas for the guerrillas.

The organizations involved in the disinformation campaign are many and varied. The guerrillas themselves produce reports and keep web pages. But the main effort is made by an intricate web of NGOs supposedly dedicated to the cause of HR. Some work at the local level and others at the national level. The latter in turn interact with HR organizations in the U.S. and Europe. All of these exert considerable influence on multilateral organizations and foreign governmental entities.

The key Colombian HR NGOs are the CINEP, the Justice and Peace (JP) and the Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ). These present themselves as independent of each other but are in fact closely linked. As far back as 1988, Gustavo Gallón, then head of the NGO Andean Commission of Jurists (which would later become the CCJ), was part of the editorial team of the main CINEP publication, as was

Javier Giraldo of JP. Thus the NGOs that are presented as independent sources by reports such as that of the UN Bureau for Human Rights and the U.S. State Department are closely associated. The first two organizations are run by Jesuit priests of the Liberation Theology (LibTheo) line (pp. 191ff, YRBK97). In a presentation brochure the CINEP states: "The CINEP does not want violence... but the fact that popular organizations are under assault by organizations and certain people or groups within society, allows that without some degree of popular organized force, the change in social structures would be impossible."¹¹

This is the typical language of LibTheo's advocacy of armed insurrection.

The CINEP and JP jointly run a Data Bank of HR violations.¹² They determine who is to blame for violent deaths and other crimes in Colombia. These statistics are assumed to be true by the UN, the OAS Commission and the U.S. State Department.

The fact is that reliable statistics are hard to come by in Colombia. The most serious research on this problem is contained in the book, *Crimen e Impunidad*, by Mauricio Rubio (1999. ISBN: 958-601-828-8), a highly respected, Harvard-educated scholar and member of the Universidad de los Andes CEDE Research Center. Rubio concludes that crimes committed in areas dominated by the guerrillas are underreported and not attributed to them out of fear.

As for individual cases of alleged HR violations by the military, no rectification is made if the accused are found to be innocent. There are many examples of this. A case that has run the full cycle is the Yanine case. General Farouk Yanine was accused by the infamous Fiscalía Regional de Cucuta of ordering the murder by the ISDG of 19 merchants in the Middle Magdalena Valley in October 1987. The prime "witness" was the direct perpetrator of the massacre, a former guerrilla, and then paramilitary, Alonso de Jesus Baquero. He and another "witness" of similar background, accused Yanine and placed him on the scene as the commander of the 14th Brigade. The fact is that in 1987, Yanine was the Director of the Military Academy. Despite the obvious falsehood of the testimony, no charges of perjury were brought against the false witnesses by the Fiscalía.

The U.S. State Department's *Report on Human Rights for 1996* reported the accusations against Yanine as a proven truth. Later re-

ports have not rectified the accusation, but instead cite Yanine's acquittal as proof that the Military Courts are lenient.¹³ This case shows a common characteristic of this type of judicial warfare attack. The charges are made several years after the events take place. The accused officer then has little chance to find testimony or records favorable to his defense. In the Yanine case the blatant errors of the witnesses' testimony made the defense rather simple. Other officers are not so fortunate. General Yanine, however, was detained for a year while the Prosecutor's Office "investigated."

Cases such as this form the backbone of the disinformation campaign against the Colombian Army. Another facet of the campaign is the repetition of phrases such as the "dismal record on human rights of the Army." These find their way into almost every report by such NGOs as the Human Rights Watch (HRW), the WOLA,¹⁴ Amnesty International and into articles by journalists like Douglas Farah of the *Washington Post*. By repetition, the allegation becomes a common belief. Careful investigation would show that this blanket charge is far from true. As many surveys show, the rural population in Colombia has a very different view of the Army. Their complaint is that the Army does not have enough bases or manpower.

Complementing the work of hundreds of Colombian NGOs and their partners in the U.S. and Europe, there is an active subversive diplomacy. There are dozens of guerrillas on combat leave and members of the unarmed support networks working in Europe, often classified as "refugees." Geneva is a primary center for these activities. It is important to remember that the Colombian subversion is the richest in the world.

Last, but not least, the Colombian Government, in its appeasement posture, has filled positions in its own diplomatic structure with members of the unarmed branch of the subversion. As an example, until October 1997 the Colombian Embassy in Geneva had as one of its officers Carlos Roberto Saenz, brother of Guillermo León Saenz (aka Alfonso Cano), a member of the FARC's central command.

The disinformation campaign has been quite successful, so much so that even some members of the U.S. Congress participate in the campaign.

THE CONTINUING TERRORIST ATTACK ON COLOMBIA. I.
(WKLY 8.13, 30 SEPTEMBER 1999)

In this Wkly 8.13 the two-pronged DO mounted by the HL and HLS against the Colombian Armed Forces is first discussed, this followed by an example of the HR Violation prong, the Uscátegui case wherein Yanqui Imperialism again raises its ugly head. In Spcl 8.10 the other prong is first discussed, this DO based on a series of trivial “victories” by the terrorists and totally belied by the string of defeats which they have subsequently suffered. Following this discussion is an outline of the Pastrana Peace Process which would appear to have played into terrorist hands as have its more rational predecessors. Finally, in Spcl 8.11 a new variety of HRV DO, together with the curious Panamanian and Venezuelan aspects of Colombian terrorism, are touched upon.

The HL Modus Operandi for Terrorist War

Since its creation by the patron saint of the ML drive for power, Ulianov (aka Lenin), his has been a consortium of common criminals, many of whom have been hallowed by political success. But, however eager to use any methods for success, these MLs have never really amounted to much militarily, although they have been able to paint a quite different picture of themselves using a well-honed ability to fabricate disinformation. This tactic, dependent on success at recruiting armies of the faithful, legions of the mercenary and “useful idiots” (Ulianov), can readily be assessed by anyone familiar with the press during the last sixty years.¹⁵

Unfortunately, there are few such around anymore, particularly in the so-called “working” press. The result has been a steady deterioration in “news” to the point where anything which happened more than a day or so ago has all but disappeared into the mists of pre history. Before the abject defeat of FARC in July (Wkly 8.3), the “cammie”-clad fraud, Jorge Briceño (aka Mono Jojoy), told *Clarín* (Buenos Aires) that “Colombia could be another Vietnam”¹⁶ for the U.S. This silly claim had been made for Bolivia twenty-two years before when the “Legend in His Own Mind,” Ernesto Guevara, “invaded” Bolivia with a handful of Cubans and Tania the (KGB) Terrorist (pp. 192ff, YRBK98), now entombed in the Mecca of the HL, Havana.

The Colombian ML terrorist operation has been generally misrepresented/misunderstood in the press since it began with the Bogotazo (1948) introduced by the murder of Gaitan in “a crime and provocation (which were) peculiar to the Russians”¹⁷ and which have been discussed in these reports (cf. pp. 109ff, YRBK97 et seq.). Six years after the Colombian operation began, the ML Guatemalan Government of Jacobo Arbenz was ousted, and the DO which led to the HL victory that was Esquipulas, later relying heavily on grossly exaggerated casualty figures,¹⁸ led to the apparently unconstitutional Guatemalan “Peace Accords” (pp. 295ff, YRBK98). The only complete victories, that in 1959 Cuba (p. 251, YRBK98 and Spcl 7.6) and that in 1979 Nicaragua (pp. 218ff, YRBK00), were the direct result of other DOs.

In Colombia these DOs, fabricated by the HL and the HLS, have largely revolved around charges of HRV against the Colombian Armed Forces (FAC). As with the preponderant majority of such “charges,” those which LANS has investigated have proven to be usually poor fabrications by suborned “witnesses.” These DOs have all been subsumed, with those of another stripe, within the great Gringo Disinformation Operation (GDO), which is, as were the U.S.-provided asylums for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) terrorists in El Salvador, aimed at bringing victory to the Colombian terrorists.¹⁹ The GDO could be the instrument of FAC defeat at the hands of FARC, as the Salvadoran Armed Forces (FAES) were defeated by the FMLN by U.S. purse-string pressure to “negotiate,” the terrorists safely ensconced by U.S. demand in sanctuaries (cf. pp. 147ff, YRBK97). However “well meaning” various U.S. officials may be, it is well within the realm of possibility that U.S. attempts “to help” Colombia may result in another surrender to the HL. Would this not, after all, be in keeping with the curious James Carville’s triumphant—if hyperbolized—declaration that there were “no right-wing (read anti-Left) governments left standing”? (Wkly 8.1)

The Great Gringo Disinformation Operation (GDO)

Last year Oscar Arias Sanchez, who received a Nobel “peace” prize for the Esquipulas Accords, began injecting himself into matters Colombian, a baneful omen, to be accompanied by rumors of “U.S. help” for the Colombians. More or less contemporary with

these developments was the emergence of the GDO, the ingredients of which were not really original with this operation, but which would find support in unexpected quarters.

The GDO may be taken as introduced on 10 April 1998 in a column by Douglas Farah²⁰ in the *Washington Post*, the headline “Colombian Rebels Seen Winning the War.” His article then proceeded to quote from what it claimed to be a Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) report which was said to have concluded that the FAC “could be defeated within five years.” Anyone who has any familiarity with the Colombian terrorist situation on the ground knew this to be nonsense. In fact, if the spokesman for the DIA and its commanding general are to be believed, there was no such DIA report. The spokesman told the LANS Editor as much and the DIA commander told the FAC commander, General Bonett, the same thing, the latter repeating this to the LANS Editor in Bogotá (pp. 307ff, YRBK00 et seq.). Nonsensical as this claim is, it is worthwhile to furnish chapter and verse on this attempt to equate the abilities of this terrorist group with those of FAC as will be done in Spcl 8.10 below.

The GDO was reminiscent of the 1980s attacks on the FAES—which succeeded. The FAES, these DOs claimed, could not defeat the FMLN. Of course it could not, but only because it was never allowed to try. The benevolent gringo fed money to the FAES at the same time providing the FMLN sanctuaries in the *bolsones territoriales* along the Honduran border, these left over from the Soccer War, from which to operate as well as a string of “refugee villages” in an arc across the northern part of the country.²¹ Press coverage generally does little if anything, however, to refute this. The other half of the GDO is provided by the continuously fabricated HRV charges, the pair of charges wedded to “demonstrate” that the FAC is losing this non-war as it should since it has such a “dismal HR record.”

It would be taken for granted that, say, U.S. Communist Party (CPUSA) boss Gus Hall (Hallberg) would emote in favor of the GDO. But that men like U.S. Congressmen Dan Burton (R, IN) and Benjamin A. Gilman (R, NY) have been taken in by the GDO, as LANS has been informed by its Medellín Correspondent, bodes ill for Colombia and well for the HL.

LANS has gathered considerable material on the DOs which the HL continuously fabricates against military commanders of consequence. Unfortunately, only a small portion of this material can be

disseminated (cf. Spcl 7.9 above), hardly an antidote for the continuous flood of malicious nonsense spewed forth by the HL and HLS. Nevertheless, an occasional sample case should be treated as our Florencia Correspondent has done in what follows. Many of the officers who have been slandered are well known to the LANS Editor. One of these, General Uscátegui appears in the picture on the Editor's page at our website.

THE JURIDICAL WAR AND GENERAL USCÁTEGUI

LANS CORRESPONDENT
FLORENCIA, COLOMBIA

An avalanche of accusations against the Generals of the Republic have recently become familiar, among those so accused being generals Uscátegui, Ardila, Padilla, and Cortés. We are facing a new attack in the so-called "Judicial War." The subversion, manipulating the laws of the State of Law, which it disparages and battles, uses the same juridical and disciplinary authorities in order to destroy the high command of the Military Forces, the only obstacle on its road to power. But, in the process against General Jaime Humberto Uscátegui there are, in particular, other contributing circumstances. As in the cases of Generals Millán and del Río (Spcl 7.9), there is present an improper interference by certain functionaries of the U.S. Embassy in the internal affairs of our country. [Such "Yanqui Imperialism" has frequently been discussed here—Editor.]

In the Uscátegui case, the Prosecutor first resorts to false testimony. The false witness testified to being present at certain acts. Had these alleged acts occurred on the date given, it would have been impossible for the witness to have observed them since, at that time, he was confined to the Villavicencio Prison accused of a crime. Apparently, the Prosecutor was not informed that his "witness" was imprisoned in the Serviez Battalion for the crime of desertion at the time he was claiming to have been present at meetings of "Paramilitary" Groups with Uscátegui. This incontrovertible fact destroyed the first attack against Uscátegui.

The conspirators then played another card. A functionary of the U.S. Embassy traveled to Tunja, the capital of Boyacá Department, under the pretext that later he was going to assist at a meeting which would take place in Villa de Leiva, twenty km west of Tunja.²² Be-

tween 22 and 23 March of the present year, he met with the brigade commander as well as with Lieutenant Colonel Orozco, commander of the Bolívar Battalion, cantoned in the Boyacan capital. The latter, then with the rank of major, was commander of the París Battalion when the massacre occurred at Mapiripán²³ which was in the jurisdiction of this latter military unit. The U.S. diplomat took advantage of various opportunities to confer alone with Orozco in Tunja, later meeting with him and other embassy personnel in Bogotá. After the Tunja meetings, Orozco decided to retract his testimony in order to support the accusation against General Uscátegui as being responsible for carelessness in the Mapiripán case.²⁴ The outcome could not be predicted. First, Orozco was intimidated, then offered an out if he declared against Uscátegui. The character weakness of a subordinate was used against his superior.

It is worthwhile to treat the facts related to the famous massacre precisely.

- On the date of the massacre, 19 July 1997, the París Battalion, a unit of VII Brigade with its command post at San José del Guaviare, was under the operational command of Mobile Brigade #2, whose command post shared the installations of the battalion.
- Every day the military units received reports of the planned taking of towns by the terrorists. The terrorists themselves were producing and distributing mountains of such reports in order to bury the factual information in a mass of contrived reports. On the date of the massacre, VII Brigade, always low in men and materiel, had moved available troops so as to block an attempt on Puerto Gaitán.
- On receiving no reply to a request for information made to Orozco about the situation in Mapiripán, Uscátegui demanded it again in Official Communication #4222, dated 14 July. In the same communication he further ordered the major to coordinate as necessary with the local authorities (meaning Mobile Brigade #2 and the Police) for the “protection and security of the population of said municipality.”
- Major Orozco replied with a report, badly written, confused and almost contradictory, that he repeated later, using the same report number, but modified in its phrasing. This would subsequently be the basis for the accusation that General Uscátegui had pressured the change, apparently in order to hide something. Nevertheless, the brigade archive contains both of these letters from which it can be seen that there was no intention on the part of Uscátegui of hiding the first communication. The reality is that both communications contain the same fundamental information on the presence of self-defense groups in the neighborhood of Mapiripán

As a result of all this various questions arise:

—For what sort of justice can General Uscategui hope from a Prosecutor who now gives such clear demonstrations of his bias? The Attorney General should investigate his own subordinates.

—With what interests are certain functionaries of the U.S. Embassy, “Mauss” North Americans, in this affair? ²⁵

(Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor)

THE CONTINUING TERRORIST ATTACK ON COLOMBIA. II.

(SPCL 8.10, 30 SEPTEMBER 1999)

Introduction

In Wkly 8.13 above, “The Continuing Terrorist Attack on Colombia. I,” the HL modus operandi for terrorist war has been discussed, this now focused in Colombia on the GDO. This is aimed at convincing policy makers that the FAC, which are characterized as having a “dismal HR record,” are losing the non-war with the ML terrorists. It is appropriate to demonstrate the falsity of this assertion.

The Great Gringo Disinformation Operation (GDO)

The Farah *Washington Post* article encapsulates the thrust of this DO in its headline, “Colombian Rebels (*sic*) Seen Winning the War.” As documented again in Wkly 8.13 above, this whole treatment was based on what the DIA spokesman and commander attested to be a non-existent “report.” As is routine with these fraudulent, if ridiculously successful, propaganda efforts, we know *what* inspired the “Rebels (*sic*) Winning” but not specifically *who*. The *what* was a series of trivial victories over platoon- or company-strength FAC or Police units.

Terrorist “Victories”

Beginning in August 1996 there were a series of three attacks on small isolated military units by overwhelming numbers of FARC terrorists. Because reinforcements could not be moved to these posts in time to prevent it, they were overwhelmed. Clearly, there was military over-extension and poor intelligence involved in these disasters, but there was demonstration of no military acumen by the terrorists which would not have occurred to the average schoolboy.

While they do not provide an “excuse” for the loss of these posts, there are two contributory “reasons” for it.

The FAC had an ill-defined, twofold “mission.” It was supposed to “protect” the citizens against terrorist depredations but was not allowed the general task of destroying the terrorists. At the same time it was to carry out a campaign against narco-trafficking throughout a nation boasting particularly difficult terrain. Not only is the country chopped up by three immense ranges of the Andes in what can, somewhat inaccurately, be called its Pacific watershed, it suffers badly from lack of communications in the vast, less mountainous terrain which is its Atlantic watershed. It was in the latter area that demands on FAC were increased substantially by its narco-trafficking mission and rendered extremely difficult by communications problems. With a finite military force, such terrain renders intelligence more crucial than ever, but a “peace-seeking” government had outlawed—whether straightforwardly or otherwise—those civilian self-defense patrols which are so valuable to such efforts elsewhere.

The FARC propaganda coup provided by these overruns was strongly aided by the surrender of then President Ernesto Samper to terrorist demands. This Samper surrender harks back to 1982 and President Betancur’s “white flag” of truce (pp. 117ff, YRBK97). It would become an article of faith with Samper, to degenerate into what has been called a “Three-Ring Circus” (pp. 367ff, YRBK00) under President Andrés Pastrana.²⁶

Las Delicias–Patascoy – El Billar — Miraflores

On 30 August 1996 some 400 FARC terrorists overran a small military camp at Las Delicias (pp. 210ff, YRBK98²⁷). Las Delicias is on the right bank of the Caquetá River in Putumayo Department. The hostages taken by the terrorists were kept by them in a propaganda coup which the Samper government allowed to play out for almost a year. An account of this coup is important, but it has been described in sufficient detail (pp. 211ff, YRBK98).

Early on 21 December 1996 400 FARC terrorists opened their “attack” (grenades and fire from M-70s²⁸) on the platoon-strength outpost manning the Mount Patascoy communications center on the Nariño-Caquetá departmental border (pp. 306ff, YRBK00). They overran it of course, the only redeeming feature of the affair the

comment of Sra. de Cansimansi, campesino mother of one of the dead. "I am mourning, and I am going to command my three other sons to give military service because the guerrilla is not going to conquer us, he is not going to intimidate us."

During the week of 8 March 1998 a company-strength outpost at El Billar was overrun by "400 to 500" terrorists in the worst blow suffered by FAC to date. El Billar is located on the right bank of the Caguán River in Caquetá Department. FAC second-in-command General Fernando Tapias reported shortly afterwards that the Army had lost sixty-two dead, forty-three hostages and had rescued forty-seven. The military units sent into the region had located three, typically clandestine, terrorist graves with thirty-five cadavers in each, a routine ML attempt to cover their own casualties.

LANS obtained a copy of the report on the Miraflores overrun by the FAC Inspector General (IG), Brigadier General Euclides Sánchez Vargas (pp. 342ff, YRBK00), which describes the affair in detail. Again an isolated post was attacked by terrorists in overwhelming numbers, this one on the Vaupés River in Guaviare Department some twenty-five km upstream from the Vaupés border. The troops maintained there were 1,000 of these "bandits," LANS sources in Colombia maintaining it to be closer to 800. The effective strength of the infantry unit there was two officers, ten non-coms and ninety-eight privates. The terrorists began bombarding the post at 1930 on 3 August 1998. Two platoons were on patrol at this time, these encountering overwhelming numbers of the enemy and never returning. Weather generally prohibited any air support and, at 1730 on 4 August, the captain commanding reported that the handful remaining had been overrun. With this action FARC "victories" ceased.

Terrorist Defeats

La Uribe is in Meta Department some 200 km west northwest of San José de Guaviare. There was a detachment of sixty military and six police stationed there at 0530 on 4 August 1998 when the post came under fire from "several hundred" terrorists. The unsuccessful attack was abandoned by the terrorists at 1930 that evening.

At this point it is well to recall that the bizarre Pastrana "Peace" Process is well underway. From the time it began, the FARC and ELN terrorists showed their contempt for it at every opportunity. Their next opportunity would be at Mitú.

Mitú is the capital of Vaupés, the easternmost department. This town was host to departmental police headquarters, there being 120 police assigned there: five officers, two non-coms, seventy-seven patrolmen, six agents and thirty auxiliaries. About 1,000 terrorists arrived at Mitú by the Vaupés River route on Halloween 1998 and occupied the town. These “bandits” had stated publicly that they were making the attack in order to obtain more hostages for “exchange,” although this was mere propaganda. What they obtained was described by a Colombian soldier after the terrorists were driven out: “There were guerrillas everywhere. They came out of the underbrush, fired and hid like rats.” By 3 November the military had been able to assemble 400 effectives of Anti Terrorist Mobile Battalion III at twenty km from Mitú. When the order was given to advance the terrorists behaved routinely, they melted away; by 0100 on 4 November Mitú was cleared.

Would this latest blood letting by these ML terrorists be rewarded by even more advantageous “peace” terms? The answer would be “of course.”

The FARC and ELN terrorists have, of course, continued their activities after their drubbing at Mitú and in contradiction of any alleged desire for peace. But the minor overruns at Las Delicias, Patascoy and El Billar, inflated out of all relation to reality by the DOs, are the bases of the “terrorist winning” claims of the GDO

FARC's “Greatest, Most Demented” and Most Disastrous Operation

As Mitú and its successor operations have demonstrated, if any such should have been needed, the FAC is quite capable of dealing with these “cammie”-clad terrorists. In particular, the much touted and much misrepresented “great offensive,” which FARC tried to launch in July 1999 proved this beyond a shadow of a doubt. Since LANS has covered “FARC's ‘Greatest, Most Demented’ and Most Disastrous Operation” in two recent reports (Wkly 8.3 and Splc 8.3 below), nothing more need be said here.

Army Operations Report

LANS has obtained a copy of the Operation Report for the period 1 January 1999 to 29 September 1999 which was compiled by the Army Operation Directorate; it serves as an appropriate vehicle for concluding this discussion of recent terrorist defeats. Because ter-

rorist casualties are limited to the number of cadavers picked up by civil authorities – the civilian body count – these numbers are routinely low. One reason for this is the terrorist practice of burying their dead in clandestine mass graves as has been encountered in these reports. In any event, sources close to the subject tell LANS that real terrorist casualties are some 1.5 to 2.0 times as high as given in reports such as the one under discussion here. There are no figures available for terrorists killed by the police.

From the report 573 terrorists were killed during the January to October period and 527 captured while thirty-two deserted. Therefore the dead terrorist count as a result of Army action is about 1,100 to which an estimated 100 should probably be added for police action. On the other hand, the Army dead are more accurately known as ten officers, thirty-five non-commissioned officers and 215 soldiers for a total of 260.

The 573 figure breaks down into 345 FARC, 212 ELN, and sixteen from the “active” groups associated with the allegedly “peaceful” Peoples Liberation Army (EPL) and the 19th of April Movement (M-19). The military and police casualties were of course related to all four terrorist groups. However the casualty figures are manipulated, they assuredly offer nothing to support the “cannot win” DO. The figures merely provide further demonstration of the terrorists inability to accomplish anything when faced with military units anywhere near their size.

The Pastrana Peace Process (PPP)

On 21 June 1999 the Conservative Party (PCC) candidate Andrés Pastrana Arango won the presidential run-off election with 50.4 percent of the vote. In considering the PPP it is well to remember that Pastrana won this election with the *endorsement* of FARC terrorist boss Marín (aka Tirofijo). Before he assumed office at his inauguration (7 August 1998) he began what he would call “negotiations” with this terrorist, the cover of the Bogotá weekly, *Semana*, for 13 July portraying a smiling president-elect in the bush with a scowling Marín. The picture was prophetic. This bandit would take advantage of every opportunity to show his contempt for Pastrana and his government. (When all the facets of this bizarre performance, to include “Yanqui Imperialism,” are taken into account, the reader should be able to construct all sorts of “conspiracy theories.”²⁶ This

he should feel free to do, perhaps even hitting upon the real one.) The so-called “negotiations” have consisted of generally non-negotiable demands by the terrorists which have been met by the Pastrana Government (PG) with nothing conceded, no *quid pro quos*, in return. Among the first of these was the surrender of 43,000 km² of territory in south eastern Colombia to these outlaws, this also effected in early July 1998 *before* Pastrana’s inauguration. In early September 1998 Pastrana’s then Minister of Defense, Rodrigo Lloreda, stated that he had not “promised” before assuming office to denude the five municipalities of troops and police. On 15 October he announced that this was precisely what was being done.

From the beginning of the PPP it has been apparent that “peace” is not what is desired. It can be concluded that the FARC terrorists have no intention of laying down their arms as attested to by their continuing attempts—blocked by the military—to escalate this “non-war” with more murders, more kidnappings, more extortions. In what was probably illegal behavior, the PG cooperated fully in this and the other facets of the campaign of continuing contempt for itself.

The fall of 1998 was replete with FARC’s transparently fraudulent delays in the beginning of “negotiations.” Then on 7 January 1999 “peace talks” were to begin at San Vicente del Caguan in the territory surrendered to FARC, one more opportunity for the terrorists to present a propaganda performance. This they did, touting their non-existent “military might” by parading something like 1,000 cammie-clad terrorists as a preliminary to the main event. On a dais in the plaza two chairs faced each other across its only table, one for Pres. Pastrana, the other for terror boss Marín. Pastrana showed up but only to sit in solitary splendor facing Marín’s empty chair.

In Wkly 7.5 et seq. (Section C below) the continuation of this farce has been discussed, a farce in which “negotiations” were unilaterally terminated by the terrorists on 25 January 1999, allegedly to give “time to the president (Pastrana) to show concrete results to the eyes of the country and the world of the frontal war against paramilitarism” (AFP 26 January 1999). That these “negotiations” have yet to begin again is hardly surprising since their hiatus in no way interferes with FARC’s continuing terrorist campaign against the people of Colombia nor the PG’s willingness to continue its campaign of concessions. If the past is here prologue, the motivation

could be that which was to be found in El Salvador and Guatemala, a notion which is bolstered by the publicity presently being given to U.S. "assistance" in achieving "peace."

As has frequently been pointed out in these reports, U.S. assistance in Central America, however well intentioned, primarily made the world safe for the now allegedly "ex" terrorists, but still HL members, in the countries involved. The "ex" terrorists, but still MLs, of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) may yet take over Nicaragua "democratically" in the new century. This may be defined as "peace" and used as a justification. And the revelations made by the LANS correspondent in Florencia of U.S. embassy officials' involvement in promoting fraudulent charges against the Colombian military should also be taken into account by anyone seeking to "explain" what is happening with the PPP. Or has the curious Mr. Carvill already done this?

THE CONTINUING TERRORIST ATTACK ON COLOMBIA. III. (SPCL 8.11, 30 SEPTEMBER 1999)

Introduction

In Wkly 8.13, "The Continuing Terrorist Attack on Colombia. I," the GDO has been reviewed, this the two-pronged attack on FAC. The first prong of this DO consists of the HRV (HR Violation) DOs which have been mounted against effective FAC commanders. The fraudulent HRV attack against General Uscátegui, whose photograph appears on the Editor's Page of the LANS website, is subsequently discussed in this article. In Spcl 8.10 above, the second prong, the DO which claims the FAC to be losing this "non-war," is treated, the origin of this nonsensical charge and its clear refutation through recent FAC victories being shown. Finally, in this Spcl 8.11, the "Three Ring Circus" which is the PPP is discussed in sufficient detail to demonstrate its fatuousness. As is a drug cartel DO.

The PPP

But still this so-called "peace process" blunders on, a process which had President Pastrana seeking the support of the ML boss of the HL (pp. 97ff, YRBK97 et seq.) and still hemispheric drug lord (pp. 212ff, YRBK00), Fidel Castro. The Colombian president was so favorably impressed by the Cuban dictator's "advice" that he

commented favorably on it when in Venezuela (AFP 4 November 1998), a close ally of the HL. Inanities were piled one on another during the Summer of 1999 as Pelion was piled on Ossa, albeit, the Titan attempt to reach Olympus had more potential than does Pastrana's attempt to attain "peace." And the U.S. State Department, the peculiar involvement of certain members of which has just been described in Wkly 8.13 above, thrust itself forward as cheerleader for the PPP. Thomas Pickering, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, led the cheering section in Bogotá in "support of the peace process of President Pastrana which is very important for the future of this country" (AFP 13 August 1999).

Indeed, the PPP would appear to be so much in favor at State that Mr. Pastrana felt it appropriate to leave a month later for Washington, DC, where he hoped to obtain \$3.5 billion for his "process." All this was underway in an atmosphere heavy with reports of a Castro-Chávez-FARC axis. Given the relations which have existed between the Venezuelan president and the Cuban HL boss (pp. 69ff, YRBK00), such a report would seem to be almost routine. That this terrorist trio is seeking a terrorist "axis" (*eje*) almost goes without saying, *El Espectador* (Bogotá) saying it in late Summer. But that the *eje* is, although against the U.S., not against U.S. President Clinton, a thought advanced by Conte Agüero (DLA [*Diario las Américas*]), would appear to be based largely on the U.S. president's apparent intention of recognizing the Cuban dictator (chapter 3, YRBK98). It is an interesting suggestion, worthy of mulling over in conjunction with other curious behavior such as Carville's remark on "right-wing" governments.

Whether or not the Cuba-Venezuela-FARC axis poses a threat to "hemispheric stability," it appears likely that the PPP poses a threat to northern South America, at least in its present thrust. This sketchy treatment of it may be concluded with two recent testimonials to such a claim.

The first and most important of these is the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) weaponry²⁹ recently entering the "demilitarized"—except by FARC—zone of Colombia (*SEMANA* 6 September 1999). The National Association of ex FMLN Combatants (NAEC), numbering about 600, sent a "Top Secret" document to State on this traffic. Raul Elias Morales,³⁰ national coordinator of NAEC, passed the information to *SEMANA*, a wise move if he wished

distribution. If there is sufficient interest in route detail, LANS will go into this question further. In broad brush, however, these munitions appear to have proceeded either by the Patuca River in northeast Honduras to Point Patuca on the Atlantic or by “river routes” in Nicaragua to Pearls Point, a mangrove swamp on the Atlantic. From these promontories to San Andres Island, 125 miles east of Pearls, then to Panama and the Machos del Monte terrorist group, whence to FARC. That these shipments came though Venezuela is not mentioned but at least partially inferable from rifles which LANS understand have been shipped this way.³¹

The second testimonial is provided by the visit to Colombia of Rigoberta Menchú, the Castroite stalwart whose services won her the Order of Ana Betancourt from the tyrant himself (cf. p.106, YRBK97³²). That Menchú’s entire life—and Nobel “Peace” Prize—has been a tissue of lies has been demonstrated in exquisite detail by Stoll³³ (Spcl 7.1).

Ms. Menchú came to Colombia for the “National Week for Colombian Peace” in honor of which she was to plant “a gigantic white flag” on Monserrate, this prominence only a few miles north of the enormous garbage dump which spewed its distasteful fruits over mountains and into rivers two years ago (pp. 365ff, YRBK98). More important than this symbolism, however, is the report from one of LANS’s correspondents in Colombia who had an interview at the same time with a longtime intimate acquaintance of the rotund Guatemalan. The correspondent was told that Ms. Menchú and her father had both been of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) terrorists.

THE JUDICIAL WAR—THE QUIÑONES CASE

LANS CORRESPONDENT

MEDELLÍN, COLOMBIA

[Editor’s Introduction: There is a certain amount of understandable confusion over the terms *Fiscalía* and *Procuraduría*. Indeed, the same U.S. State Department, which was using the Quiñones DO to attack the Colombians, was incorrectly translating *Fiscalía* as Attorney General and *Procuraduría* as Prosecutor. In a separate note the LANS Medellín Correspondent defined these two terms as: “*Fiscalía* is the equivalent of an Attorney General’s Office that prosecutes criminal

cases while the *Procuraduría* is the office which has disciplinary powers over all public servants. An official of the *Procuraduría* is also present in all criminal investigations and trials. He is there to see that due process is followed and gives an opinion on the *Fiscalía*'s decisions as to whether the accused should be indicted.”]

In the Judicial War against the Military Forces, the Army is not the only target nor is the Marxist subversion the exclusive executor. The traditional narco-traffickers also participate in the manipulation of the judicial and disciplinary organs of the State, and the Navy has also been set up as a target. The best example of this is Marine Colonel Rodrigo Quiñones and other members of the Navy who, with him, have been victims of the Judicial War.

The story begins with the Gaviria Government. As a part of its strategy to combat subversion and narco-trafficking the government ordered that the Navy as well as the Air Force intensify their intelligence activities. The Navy was ordered to organize an Intelligence Directorate and to establish seven networks which concern themselves with ports, rivers, and those coastal zones which constitute the land jurisdiction of the Fleet. In mid 1991 the Naval Intelligence Directorate (DIA) was created and members of this force were sent to receive training at the Army Intelligence School (EIE). At the end of 1991 the students finished their training and began the formation of the networks. Each one of these was under the operational command of the appropriate Fleet unit and not, as was later asserted, of the DIA. The DIA had other functions, such as establishing general policies and compiling information in order to prepare estimates of the situation for the higher command and, no less important, to channel pertinent information to the judicial authorities. The river network, whose command was located at Barrancabermeja, had as its mission gathering intelligence on the attacks of the subversion against river traffic on the Magdalena River. Its interest was not in the area bordering the port since this is not the jurisdiction of the Navy.

The network concerned with the Port of Buenaventura, on the Pacific, soon began to obtain valuable information on the Norte del Valle Cartel which utilizes this port for drug traffic abroad. Nevertheless, the set up which this Cartel had plotted against Naval Intelligence was not centered on Buenaventura but, skillfully, was developed with regard to alleged crimes committed in Barrancabermeja.

At the end of 1993 two members of the river network reported that a non commissioned officer, a member of the same network, had made them an offer to work for the Norte del Valle Cartel and invited them to testify against Lt. Col. Quiñones, Director of Naval Intelligence. Hernán Velez, connected to the Medellín Cartel, also approached Naval Intelligence and said that important members of the Norte del Valle Cartel had invited him to testify against the colonel which he refused to do. Lt. Col. Quiñones reported these facts to the Attorney General.

As expected, at the beginning of 1994, Lopez Maquilón and Saulo Segura Palacios, an informant for the network, spoke to the press and presented accusations before the Attorney's Office and the Disciplinary Authority against the Director and other officers. According to the declarations, the river network, by order of Colonel Quiñones murdered a number of people between January and June 1992.

Colonel Quiñones asked Military Criminal Justice (JPM) and the Armed Forces Inspector's Office to investigate the accusations. Some months later the Attorney's Office asked that the case be turned over to him, but the Superior Council of the Magistracy decided that the jurisdiction remain with the JPM. In spite of the fact that the JPM proceedings are monitored by the Disciplinary Authority (PGN), this organization also opened an independent disciplinary process.

The witnesses brought a recording of conversations among the Buenaventura Network (RB) members as "proof." The analysis of this cassette by the Judicial Technical Police (PTJ) revealed that it had been edited and manipulated. Moreover, the recording demonstrated nothing with regard to the accusations. The Attorney General's Office nevertheless allowed the accusers to leave the country.

But the fabrication, little by little, was uncovered. Other witnesses declared that Lopez Maquilón offered them money to accuse the colonel. In addition, Capt. Alvarez, who was chief of the Buenaventura (Pacific) Network, was murdered in Cartagena. Soon the press revealed the plot.

Before the failure of this plot, a lawyer who said he was the envoy of Victor Patiño Fomeque, one of the heads of the Cartel involved, tacitly recognized that a plot existed but asserted that this personage was not connected with him. The prime witnesses, who had fled to Costa Rica offered to turn themselves in and declared

that they were paid by one “*gordo*” (fatso). A third witness, who had corroborated the first accusations, Carlos Alberto Vergara Amaya, then a prisoner, declared that a functionary of the Disciplinary Authority offered him money in addition to his freedom if he testified against the colonel. He added that the promises were not kept. An indicator that corroborated this assertion is that, in his first declaration, he used correct and legal language while in his retraction, in his own handwriting, he demonstrated a vocabulary appropriate to his cultural level (seventh grade). To all this, were to be added multiple inconsistencies in the accusatory allegations.

Thus, the accused were declared innocent in two processes of the JPM, a decision with which the Disciplinary Officials monitoring the case expressed their accord. However, in the disciplinary process which the Disciplinary Authority developed, there occurred something very strange. In spite of the fact that the delegates from his office who monitored the penal process were in accord with the absolving decision, in the disciplinary investigation the Disciplinary Authority recommended a severe reprimand against the accused officers because it considered that they were guilty of alleged crimes committed between 1990 and 1994. To begin with, the Naval Intelligence Networks did not begin to operate until mid 1992, and, in the second place, Col. Quiñones only occupied the position of Director until the end of 1993. Finally, he had never had the duty of directing the Barrancabermeja Network. It is further inconsistent that the Disciplinary Authority official, if he really believed in the guilt of accused, should recommend a severe reprimand, instead of the maximum disciplinary penalty: dismissal. How can one have the contradiction within the same Disciplinary Office between the two functionaries who know the penal processes and the official who initiated the disciplinary process? This is only explicable if the latter has no interest in the truth. He is an actor playing a part in the Judicial War.

The Quiñones case contains all the ingredients necessary to the Judicial War against the Military Forces: witnesses paid to give false testimony, “evidence” inconsistent in matters of time and place and a clear bias of some functionary, in this case the Disciplinary Authority.

But there is one element which is different than in other cases: the origin of the frame-up is in narco-trafficking. It is thus very

curious that the frame-up has an echo in the U.S. State Department.³⁴ State's 1998 HR report mentions the case, observing the fact that Colonel Quiñones and the other Navy personnel involved were declared innocent is a demonstration of impunity. The report states that the murders occurred between 1993 and 1994 when Quiñones, as has been seen, was not the Director of Intelligence. It also states that everyone, including Lopez Maquilón, continued on active duty which is false.

Is it not frivolous, without even superficial proof, to accept the information brought by certain Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) bent on destroying the Military Forces? Whatever it was, State has put its prestige and influence behind a frame-up against the Colombian Navy by a drug cartel.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

B. Terrorist Actions Used in Subversive Diplomacy

THE COLOMBIAN ARMED CONFLICT
SOCIOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS CENTER
BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA
(Wkly 7.22, 3 JUNE 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: The Sociopolitical Analysis Center has created an excellent and informative review of the most important, if not the only, remaining ML terrorist activity in the Western Hemisphere. It is reprinted here with the permission of the Center. For practical reasons of production and distribution it has been divided by LANS into three parts. In this first part, the Center provides a comprehensive discussion of the terrorist operation itself and the Colombian Government's reaction to it. The second part, "Colombian Judicial War," appears in Section A above. The third part, "Colombian Peace Process," appears in Section C below.]

The Colombian Armed Conflict has endured for more than forty years. The contenders have been the Democratic State, represented by ten administrations belonging to both the Liberal and Conservative parties, and a Marxist subversion, represented by a varying number of illegal guerrilla organizations backed by a large number of legal front organizations. As in most such conflicts, the subversion has carried on a well-orchestrated propaganda and disinformation campaign, both at home and abroad, in support of its goals.

This campaign has several objectives. Its success is, to a large extent, the result of the reluctance of Colombian society and successive administrations to accept the fact that victory over the subversion—or at least a negotiated peace that doesn't amount to a surrender of the state—will not be attained without resolve, sacrifice, leadership and great effort. Successive administrations have entered into poorly structured peace initiatives. They have all failed except when specific guerrilla movements have been in the last throws of military defeat and imminent annihilation. Such was the case with the 19th of April Movement (M-19) (cf. pp. 114ff, YRBK97) and the Peoples Liberation Army (EPL) (pp. 113ff, YRBK97). In dealing with the guerrillas, the various national administrations have adopted methods ranging from peace overtures and appeasement to the strengthening of the military.

The subversion, on the other hand, has periodically agreed to peace talks and has taken advantage of every concession that has been offered as a peace token without any reciprocal reaction. The subversion has infiltrated the administration and the judiciary, while continuing to strengthen its guerrilla armies, creating ever more havoc and using increasingly brutal terrorist methods. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the guerrillas began to supplement their income, which until then had come mainly from extortion, kidnapping and bank holdups, with money from the drug trade. Initially the subversion was content with “taxing” the narco-traffickers, but it has since become increasingly involved in the production process itself.

The successive peace initiatives have included concessions to the subversion. Once made, these concessions stay in place, weakening the state's capacity to deal with the insurgency. The judicial process offers a good example of this. In the 1970s, captured guerrillas or proven supporters were tried in military courts. Today, it is more often military officers that are being investigated by civilian prosecutors, many of whom are guerrilla sympathizers, and tried in civilian courts by judges that are often ideologically identified with the subversion. The military does not even have powers to conduct preliminary investigations of guerrilla crimes. Since the military is often the only authority close to the scenes of such crimes, these acts frequently go unpunished. At the same time, the subversion and its supporters orchestrate national and international campaigns to weaken further the Military Judicial System, falsely claiming that

Colombia is the only country where members of the military are sometimes tried in military courts.

The increases in guerrilla numbers and in subversive activity have been countered ineffectively. Although there have been increases in the size of the Army and the Police, they have not been accompanied by improvements in the investigative capabilities of the country's legal system. There are also serious flaws in the prison system. Thus, many guerrillas are captured at great expense and effort, only to gain their freedom easily through an infiltrated, ineffective or intimidated judiciary, or through prison breakouts.³⁵

Both the government and society at large have failed to realize that the response to the subversion cannot be limited to the use of military force. The political aspect of the conflict, in fact the very key to its nature, has not been addressed. The subversion is expert in political and judicial warfare. Its propaganda campaigns have been masterful and have managed to impress upon the public, both at home and abroad, an array of fallacies directed against the military and the self-defense forces. These fallacies are discussed in detail in Spcl 7.9 above.

The "Paramilitaries"

Guerrilla violence in the Colombian rural areas naturally produces a reaction in the form of Self-Defense Groups. These have been of different composition and nature, according to the social context of the region involved, and were initially supervised by the Army, under standing legal provisions. Some groups, however, specific examples occurring in the Middle Magdalena Valley, soon struck alliances with the Drug Lords of the Medellín Cartel that had invested heavily in ranchland in that region. This alliance led the government of President Virgilio Barco (1986-1990), in an ill-advised reaction, to ban all self-defense forces. The alliance between the Drug Lords and the now illegal Self-Defense Groups (ISDG) in the Middle Magdalena Valley was broken shortly afterwards, when Drug Lord Pablo Escobar tried to involve them in his fight against the government.

At about that time, a stronger group emerged in the cattle-growing northern Department of Córdoba. It was led by the Castaño brothers, whose father had been kidnapped and killed by the FARC, even though ransom had been paid. Fidel Castaño and his successor, Carlos Castaño, would eventually forge a loose confederation of

illegal self-defense groups known as the Colombian Self-Defense Units (AUC). These groups have targeted the guerrillas' political and logistical networks, using many of the guerrillas' terrorist methods in doing so. Among their ranks are many guerrilla deserters that have an intimate knowledge of the guerrillas' support organizations. The ISDG groups avoid direct combat with the guerrillas, and, even more so, with the Army. Their most frequently used tactic is the patient identification of the guerrilla support network in a given area followed by a quick raid to pick up the network members and kill them. According to reliable sources, including intercepted guerrilla communications, the selection of targets has been extremely accurate.

The guerrillas and their political supporters persistently accuse the Army of covertly supporting the ISDG. In a few cases the Army has dismissed and prosecuted officers for this, but most of the allegations have proved groundless. Unfounded or not, the mere allegations against the military officers are a useful propaganda tool³⁶ for the subversion, both within the country and abroad. By thus discrediting the Army and making it appear guilty of the crimes of the ISDG, the guerrillas manage to create international pressure on the government thus diverting the Army's search and destroy operations to target the "paramilitaries," which are not a threat to the state, but rather to the guerrillas. Divested of its judicial powers, the Army can no more arrest suspected members of the ISDG than it can members of the guerrillas' logistical and political support organizations. If the provisions of the 1991 Constitution were observed, the Army would not be obliged to target the ISDG at all, as this task is clearly the responsibility of the National Police (Art. 217 and Art. 218). But the National Police is not targeted by the subversion's propaganda or disinformation campaign as it is not considered a real obstacle to their plans.

In 1994, the Samper Administration established the legal framework for the operation, under Army control, of the CONVIVIR.³⁷ These were to be defensive in nature, lightly armed, and their main role would be that of gathering intelligence for the Army and Police. A desperate rural population promptly created many of these units. The CONVIVIR proved to be a problem for the guerrillas. No longer could they send out two- or three-man teams to collect extortion money. They would have to move in larger units, and therefore

be more easily detected. But the CONVIVIR immediately became a target for the subversion's political front, which soon enlisted the support of important organizations such as the United Nations Bureau for Human Rights. Allegations of misdeeds by the CONVIVIR were fabricated to bolster the arguments against them. The right of the rural population to organize for self-defense would be denied again.

In the current peace initiative by the Pastrana Government, the FARC demanded that the CONVIVIR be banned. Unfortunately, in a desperate move to progress in the peace process, President Pastrana agreed to the dismantling of these self-defense organizations. The reaction of the rural population living under the threat of the guerrillas was predictable. While some of the CONVIVIR obeyed the order to demobilize, many have stated that the right to self-defense is a natural right that cannot be infringed upon, and that they will continue to operate in defiance of the law. It is reasonable to predict that many of these organizations, barred from any contact with the Army, will look to the ISDG for weapons and support.

Aware of the fact that self-defense organizations were instrumental in the defeat of subversive movements around the world, the subversion has been successful in not allowing the creation of such groups. It is hard to explain, however, how the UN or the U.S. State Department can rationally defend a position that denies the natural right of self defense, given the record of kidnapping, extortion and murder of the guerrilla groups and the inability of the Police and the Army to cover a country as large as Colombia with terrain as difficult as this nation possesses. In Bogotá, the U.S. Embassy and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights both use private security to complement their own, but Colombia's rural population is denied the right to the same protection.

The Pastrana Peace Process

It is worthwhile to recall the all too frequently forgotten background of the present peace process. About a year before the last presidential election (cf. chapter 1, YRBK00), an innocent sounding campaign, directed towards the inclusion of a "peace ballot" in the elections for local officials, was quietly started. Who doesn't want peace? Ten million citizens voted for peace. What the proposition didn't say was how peace was to be obtained and at what price.

The initiative had the effect of making "Peace" the main issue in the upcoming campaign which, in turn, had the effect of engendering an unusual "peace process," the specifics of which have largely escaped the attention of those who should be most concerned, both inside and outside Colombia. The details of this process are discussed in more detail in Spcl 7.10 below.

The U.S. Position in Relation to the Colombian Conflict

The United States definitely has an interest in an adequate resolution of the Colombian conflict. Although concerns have centered around the production of illicit drugs, U.S. interests go far beyond that. Colombia is a good customer for U.S. goods and there is a fair amount of American investment in Colombia. There is also a crucial U.S. national security interest in Colombia. The guerrillas that are fighting the legitimate Colombian state are terrorists and terrorists do not respect borders. Colombia has borders with five countries in South and Central America and coasts on both the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean. The same strategic position that made it an ideal base for the Drug Cartels, makes it ideal for exporting Marxism mixed with organized crime.³⁸ Kidnapping by Colombian guerrillas has already spread to Venezuela and Ecuador, and the techniques of that "industry" have been copied throughout Latin America.

There are many in the United States, and still more in Europe, that would welcome a Marxist regime in Colombia. It is hard to believe how much support the Colombian guerrillas, the worst criminals in the Hemisphere's history, receive from the United States. There are many others who are still haunted by the ghosts of Vietnam, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. They often support the pro-Marxists in the belief that this will avoid U.S. involvement in Colombia. But the U.S. can help sustain Colombia's democracy without committing American ground troops, as the isolationists fear. The Colombian Army has fought the war for forty years without much help. Military aid, of course, would be of great value. But more than that, the Colombian Armed Forces need help in facing the Political War being waged against them.

FARC'S "GREATEST, MOST DEMENTED" AND MOST DISASTROUS
OPERATION. I

(WKLY 8.3, 15 JULY 1999)

“At the end of the attacks the FARC thought it would not only leave a dismembered country firmly convinced that the guerrilla could take any towns it wished with impunity, with the capacity to defeat the Army in its own garrisons, but also be positioned to have all its demands accepted at the negotiation table. But, as Minister of Defense Luis Fernando Ramírez said, “the shot backfired,” and all they accomplished was to bring death to more than 289 of their men and sow terror and confusion among defenseless campesino families.”

—Army News Agency (Bogota, 14 July 1999)

The recent catastrophic defeat the FARC Terrorists suffered at the hands of the FAC should be sufficient to lay to rest the GDO (chapter 5, YRBK00) wherein certain portions of the U.S. press have attempted to sell the public the idea that these terrorists were winning the “war” in Colombia. It shows once again that these terrorist operations are not a “war” but simple depredations by common and habitual criminals who attempt to justify their behavior with ML mumbo jumbo. But, as the reader has doubtless experienced, there are a number of individuals in the press who never met an ML—or someone claiming to be an ML—whom they did not like.

With what appears to be complete justification, FAC considers the much ballyhooed terrorist operation in Colombia, which began on 8 July 1999, the “greatest and most demented operation of the last 40 years.” In this Wkly 8.3 and its accompanying Spcl 8.3 this operation, roundly defeated by FAC “Operation Independence,” is discussed. In order to put this discussion in perspective, the so-called “Pastrana Peace Process,” in which are to be found the roots of the terrorist action, demands preliminary discussion.

About one year ago Andrés Pastrana Arango, with the endorsement of the FARC terrorists, won the run-off election for Colombian president. Even before assuming the presidency Mr. Pastrana began what he calls his “peace process” but which an ever greater number of observers, both within and without Colombia, are calling his “surrender process.” LANS has treated this bizarre process extensively during 1998 (chapter 5, YRBK00) and 1999 (Wkly 7.4, Spcl 7.20, chapter 3 above).

In any treatment of matters relating to these Colombian ML terrorists it is first essential to emphasize that these people are common, habitual criminals. For many years they have routinely engaged in murder, kidnapping, extortion, narco-trafficking, rape, and related crimes. The weakness which Mr. Pastrana has evidenced, for whatever reason, simply encourages them in those depredations

endemic to them. That such behavior is endemic to them has again been an observable fact during the year of "negotiations." That such government weakness has been counter-productive for many years has been demonstrated in these reports. It is worth remarking this now because of the increased level of terrorist activity which began toward the end of the week of 4 July 1999.

In this treatment a report is first reproduced from the LANS correspondent in Bogotá. This was written in latter June 1999, a fact of some importance here since it provides a basis for the reader to decide whether or not the terrorist depredations which began during the week of 4 July should have come as any sort of surprise.

COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT PASTRANA'S TROUBLES

MIGUEL POSADA S.

CENTRO DE ANÁLISIS SOCIOPOLÍTICOS

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

Less than a year into his term of office, Colombian President Andrés Pastrana is beset by problems on all fronts: the economy is in recession; he has lost his highly respected Secretary of Defense, Rodrigo Lloreda; and he has barely managed to prevent the resignation of most of the top army brass. As a result of all this, his popularity and, consequently, the support for his policies is fading. On the international front Pastrana can still count on the support of the U.S. Clinton Administration for his "peace process" with FARC, the country's oldest and largest Marxist guerrilla group. However, there is growing opposition in the U.S. Congress to the maintenance of the demilitarized zone demanded by FARC as a pre-condition to the peace talks.

The area of the demilitarized zone is nearly 16,000 square miles and roughly the size of Switzerland. It is being used by the guerrillas, disclaimers notwithstanding, as a rest and training center, as a safe haven in which to keep kidnap victims and as the site of cocaine-producing facilities.

Pastrana is not entirely to blame for all these troubles. The previous administration of President Ernesto Samper bequeathed Pastrana a high budget deficit which forced interest rates to rise to a level that has suffocated the private sector. Consequently, the economy is now suffering under the only recorded recession since 1929. In addition

to the recession and adding to the difficulty in dealing with it, public confidence in Pastrana's peace initiative is foundering. Much of the blame for this, however, must be borne by Pastrana's Peace Commissioner, Mr. Victor G. Ricardo.

Mr. Ricardo has made a series of mistakes and has failed to articulate a clear stance. When the government established the demilitarized zone, the defense secretary and the FAC were led to believe that the government would keep control of the Cazadores Battalion headquarters within the zone. Although this base is in San Vicente, within the demilitarized zone, it was to have remained in the care of a few unarmed administrative troops. But this was not to be.

Under guerrilla pressure, Mr. Ricardo later relented, and these caretaker troops were ordered to leave. Mr. Ricardo then assured FAC that the guerrillas would not enter the base, only to let them do so without protest. He also stated that the Army withdrawal was to last only ninety days and that civilian local administration would operate as usual. Again, this was not to be. At the behest of Mr. Ricardo the period of withdrawal has since been extended twice and the guerrillas are, in effect, the only authority within the zone. Nor would this end the matter.

Recently the Army claimed that Mr. Ricardo had given the guerrillas lists of military officers accused of collaborating with the illegal self-defense forces. His disclaimer was officially accepted but hardly credited. Most recently, Mr. Ricardo again wavered from his original stance and stated that the clearing of the demilitarized zone would be for an indefinite period of time. He did this without consulting either the Army or Defense Secretary Rodrigo Lloreda.

Mr. Lloreda is a journalist and a former presidential candidate; he has served as Secretary of Education and Secretary of Foreign Relations. Mr. Ricardo's authorization for FARC's indefinite occupation of the demilitarized zone led to a confrontation between the two men. When President Pastrana failed to back Mr. Lloreda, the latter resigned. Sharing Mr. Lloreda's disgust, most general officers and colonels and many officers of other rank submitted their resignations. Mr. Pastrana met with the generals, and, after he promised some changes, the generals withdrew their resignations. The respite, however, may not be long-lasting if Mr. Ricardo continues to submit to every demand the FARC leaders make.

Meanwhile, the guerrillas have not only continued their attacks on civilians, they have increased them. The FARC has continued to attack small towns and is kidnapping more people than ever. The ELN, the second-largest guerrilla group, feeling left out of the peace initiative, has hijacked an airliner and kidnapped an entire congregation of churchgoers in Cali.

Guerrilla violence and Mr. Ricardo's continual inconsistencies and backtracking have had a negative impact on the investment climate. To aggravate this situation, the government has agreed to an extensive agenda for discussion with the guerrillas that includes key elements of economic policy. If the Pastrana Government pays any attention to the sort of "economic demands" which can be expected from this Marxist group, this will render any necessary recession remedies even more difficult to introduce.

The public mood, initially one of enthusiasm over the prospect of peace, is now changing to one of disillusionment. The public has little trust in Mr. Ricardo's ability or resolve in the face of the guerrillas' increasing demands, ever more violent activities or obvious delaying tactics. Recent opinion polls have shown that, in the confrontation with Mr. Ricardo, the public backed Mr. Lloreda and the generals.

Mr. Pastrana's peace initiative was seriously flawed from its inception and his position is quickly becoming untenable. The guerrillas' actions have not shown that they have much interest in peace, but rather that they are willing to hold peace talks for as long as they continue to obtain concessions. Mr. Pastrana would be well advised to change his course, even at the risk of interrupting those "peace negotiations" he is so fervently committed to continuing. As a good start, he should dismiss the bungling Mr. Ricardo. Any resolution of the armed conflict in Colombia is impossible without the backing of a strong army and the support of the public.

The Terrorist Republic of Ariari

The Marxist-Leninist terrorists of the Western Hemisphere would never have obtained any power, either in Cuba, Nicaragua or elsewhere, were it not for their moles and *idiotas utiles* (useful idiots)—frequently difficult to differentiate—within civilized society and especially in the communications media. But, as a consequence of such, these criminals have been encouraged and aided in preposter-

ous pretensions such as the “Republic of Ariari.” The intelligence branch of FAC deserves particular credit for the details which have collected about this pretension. [Note: Because geographical detail plays a key role in much of what follows, the various towns-municipalities, departments and rivers encountered will be detailed in Spcl 8.3 below. In this Wkly 8.3 only the most meager geographical detail can be furnished.]

There was a pompous, two-part plan which the FARC terrorists put together and which had an “objective.” This “objective” was the establishment of the “Republic of Ariari” when this criminal group obtained “belligerency status.” The territory of this Land of Oz was essentially to include the vast area to the east of the East Range of the Andes, in essence, the Colombian watershed of the Orinoco River in the north and the Amazon River in the south. This fantasyland would extend from Arauca Department in northeast Colombia to Caquetá Department in the south. Its name was to be taken from the Ariari River which flows roughly south through Meta Department to empty into the Guaviare River not far from San José del Guaviare. San José was the site of earlier FARC terrorist deprecations with which FAC dealt easily when allowed to do so (Spcl 6.1, chapter 5, YRBK00).

The Demilitarized Zone (DZ) or Sanctuary

For reasons best known to itself the Pastrana Government of Colombia established a DZ of some 45,000 km² in southeastern Colombia. This DZ was demilitarized only insofar as anti-terrorist military forces are concerned. It has been continuously in use since established as a re-supply center, a terrorist training area and a jump-off zone for terrorist deprecations. Indeed, it has been reminiscent, if on a grander scale, of those “refugee villages” from which the ML terrorists of the Salvadoran FMLN would launch their deprecations, then scurry back to the U.S.-provided sanctuary of the village.

Phase One

Jorge Briceño Suárez (aka Mono Jojoy) is in charge of FARC terrorist operations and is given credit for the “plan” that failed so utterly in early July 1999. Seventeen trained, rested and re-supplied fronts were to be found in the DZ. The operation began with an attack in the Gutierrez area. This will be discussed in more detail in

Splc 8.3 below, but there is a detail of some importance which deserves a mention it has not received.

Even the Military Intelligence report describes this only with “emerged from the DZ and attacked the municipalities of Gutiérrez, Fosca, Une and Chipaque, sixty km from Bogotá.” There is an important modification of this that would, of course, be familiar to the native of the capital city. Depending on the point within Bogotá from which one measures, Gutiérrez is about sixty km from the capital. In order of proximity to Bogotá, Fosca is next, then Une and, finally, Chipaque. Gutiérrez is about thirty km. west of Rte. 40 on a secondary road which branches off that Bogotá-Villavicencio road at Chipaque. The important point here is that, as will be further discussed in Splc 8.3, the terrorists suffered their complete defeat in this “first stage” of the operation before getting anywhere near Fosca, Une, and Chipaque.

The terrorists involved in the Gutiérrez fiasco were commanded by Henry Castellanos Garzón (aka Romaña). Had his abject, if hardly surprising, failure been a success, it would have paved the way for the second part of the “plan” as it was supposed to do. But Briceño decided to proceed with the operation as if Castellanos had triumphed, a decision based on three factors:

1. The communications media³⁹ was playing on the public fears and creating a fine brouhaha.
2. The thirty-six soldiers murdered by the terrorists were being orchestrated into a military catastrophe.
3. No terrorist cadavers had yet appeared.⁴⁰

Terrorist Phase Two

Fronts 26, 27, 40, 43, 1, 7, 44, 14, 15, 3, 13, 2, 48, 72 and Teófilo Forero were to be found in the DZ, trained, re-supplied and well rested there. At Briceño’s direction they debouched the zone with the intention of attacking the Granada Military Base, the towns of Puerto Lleras and Puerto Rico in Meta Department. Also to have been attacked were San José de Guaviare in Guaviare Department; Tibacuy in Cundinamarca Department; Algeciras in Huila Department; Puerto Asis and Santana in Putumayo Department; and Puerto Rico, Doncello, Florencia and Vistahermosa in Caquetá Department.

All of these population centers were located on the periphery of the DZ, their “conquest” supposedly leading to the acquisition of another 40,000 km² for the “Republic of Ariari.”

The first objectives were to have been Puerto Lleras and Puerto Rica (Meta), thus luring the Batallón Pantano de Vargas Battalion from its base at Granada which would then be attacked and taken. Since something more than a Disinformation Operation was requisite to success, Phase Two proved a bigger fiasco than had Phase One. When the terrorist attack was launched the Army and the Air Force successfully positioned troops so as to close the route back to the DZ, cutting off more than a thousand terrorists who fled with heavy casualties. The survivors fled, leaving their launches, so important to transport in this area, to the inhabitants of the region.

The fiasco was over. The terrorists had left some 300 of their dead, an indeterminate number of wounded and at least thirteen vehicles. As the Military Intelligence report stated with irrefutable accuracy, the terrorists demonstrated “on the field of battle why the guerrilla attacks the civilian population and does not confront the Military Forces.” A subject on which the report could not of course comment was the relation between almost twenty years of appeasement of these terrorists and this most recent outrage.

FARC’S “GREATEST, MOST DEMENTED” AND MOST DISASTROUS OPERATION. II (SPCL 8.3, 15 JULY 1999)

“At the end of the attacks FARC thought it would not only leave a dismembered country firmly convinced that the guerrilla could take any towns it wished with impunity, with the capacity to defeat the Army in its own garrisons, but also be positioned to have all its demands accepted at the negotiation table. But, as Minister of Defense Luis Fernando Ramírez said, ‘the shot backfired,’ and all they accomplished was to bring death to more than 289 of their men and confusion among the defenseless campesino families.”

—Army News Agency (Bogotá, 14 July 1999)

About one year ago Andrés Pastrana Arango, with the endorsement of the FARC terrorists, won the run-off election for Colombian president. Even before assuming the presidency Mr. Pastrana began what he calls his “peace process” but which an ever greater number of observers, both within and without Colombia, are calling his “surrender process.” LANS has treated this bizarre process extensively during 1998 (chapter 5, YRBK00) and 1999 (Wkly 7.4,

Spcl 7.20, etc.). Part I of this two-part series appeared as Wkly 8.3 above. It includes an in-depth review of the Peace Process by the LANS correspondent in Bogotá, Dr. Miguel Posada. It also discusses the terrorist “Republic of Ariari,” a conceit which was to have emerged from the “Demented” FARC operation. This operation was to have been carried out in two phases, Phase I that part of the operation involving the much-ballyhooed FARC advance to Gutiérrez. Phase II was that series of projected operations which were attempted around the perimeter of the “DZ,” which were to have added 40,000 km.² to that DZ and which were totally defeated by the FAC. In this Spcl 8.3 Phase I will be discussed in somewhat more detail while enough additional geographic data will be given to render the earlier discussion of Phase II more nearly intelligible. Finally, casualty detail will be provided.

FARC Preparation and Initiation of Operations

The 16,000 square mile DZ has been demilitarized only insofar as anti-terrorist military forces are concerned. It has been continuously in use since its establishment as a re-supply center, a terrorist training area and a jump-off zone for terrorist depredations. Indeed, it has been reminiscent, if on a grander scale, of those “refugee villages” from which the ML terrorists of the Salvadoran FMLN would launch their depredations, then scurry back to the U.S.-provided sanctuary of the village.

A benevolent Pastrana Government gave Jorge Briceño Suárez (aka Mono Jojoy) almost a year free from all interference to rest, train and re-supply⁴¹ the 3,000 FARC terrorists under his command for “Operation Ariari,” referred to by the terrorists as “Operation Plains.” Phase I, the advance on Bogotá, was under the command of Henry Castellanos Garzón (aka Romaña) who is best known for being in command at the disaster for the terrorists which was Mitú (cf. Spcl 6.12, chapter 5, YRBK00); here he was to command at another disaster. Military Intelligence has identified the units under Castellanos’ command as Fronts 51, 53 and Joaquín Ballen,⁴² these totaling 500 men, more likely, 500 men, women and children. There was a certain amount of what appears largely press fantasy⁴³ regarding the terrorist route from the DZ to Gutiérrez. The probably more reliable information from LANS’ Medellín correspondent on the terrorist route to the battlefield is used here.

The Gutierrez Operation Route

Taking the western branch of the Duda River as the right branch, this right branch has its source at about the 10,000-foot level in the Eastern Range of the Andes according to Operational Navigational Chart L-26, a secondary road nearby leading over the ridge at about 13,000 feet. From its source this right branch flows about due south through the Duda Canyon to the flats where, at Uribe (about 2,500 feet), it flows east, then southeast to its confluence with the left branch, the Duda eventually emptying into the Guayabera which, farther downstream, defines the boundary between Meta and Guaviare Departments. The Duda branches have been followed here in Meta Department which, not far north of this Duda source abuts on the southern extension of the Capital District.

The operation began in Meta with an embarkation on the Rio Duda, the confluence of which with the Guaviare is about sixty km. North Northeast of El Refugio. Some twenty-five km. farther upstream the Duda branches, Castellanos' terrorists proceeding up the Duda Canyon over the ridge and through the high Sumupaz Region to Gutiérrez.⁴⁴ Gutiérrez is the southernmost of the four towns (municipality seats), which were the targets of this Phase I, the four hamlets being, from south to north, Gutiérrez, Fosco, Une, and Chipaque. Depending on the point within Bogotá from which one measures, Gutiérrez is about sixty km. from the capital which is as close as this Phase I "offensive" progressed toward the capital before being routed. This hamlet is about thirty km. west of Rte.40 on a secondary road which branches off that Bogotá-Villavicencio road at Chipaque and is as close to the capital as the terrorists got before being chased off.

THE ARMY'S VICTORY

LANS CORRESPONDENT

MEDELLÍN, COLOMBIA

A few days before the Gutiérrez operation Army Intelligence reported a large number of FARC terrorists moving from the DZ toward the general area of Bogotá. Intelligence also learned that the FARC planned to cut the roads to the city and occupy some small towns close to the capital. The FARC "urban militias" were to carry

out terrorist activities against the civilian population and try to assault the Picota Prison and liberate some 200 guerrillas.

Since the exact direction of the guerrilla's approach was not known, six platoons from the Fernando Landazabal Reyes Artillery Battalion No.13 were deployed across the most probable line of approach. These were spaced about one kilometer apart which was probably too great an interval in the dense fog which developed but which still only amounted to a five- to six-kilometer front. There was a reserve available in the unlikely event the terrorists demonstrated newly-found soldierly abilities in their "attack." It was not deployed because of the fog which hampered operations, but it was hardly needed.

The dense fog not only aided the terrorists by seriously restricting visibility by the military and contributing to surprise, it also eliminated the possibility of that air support which would destroy so many terrorists in turkey shoots in other parts of the country. Action was initiated at 0400 on 8 July 1999 when sixty-six men of the battalion made contact—more probably, were blundered into—by 500 of Castellanos' terrorists. In the engagement which followed thirty-six men of the Lazabal Reyes Battalion died in putting the 500 terrorists to flight. Of these FARC personnel, forty-five were killed, their dismembered cadavers later found in common graves. Which was as far as the engagement went; FARC broke off action and commandeered whatever vehicles were available to flee.

It can certainly be said that the press got there too quickly. It would not be surprising to learn that they had an advance invitation from FARC. FARC personnel used Four-Wheel-Drive vehicles belonging to the press to flee.

The "Peace Talks" were supposed to have started on 7 July. Instead, the FARC postponed the initiation of these talks until 20 July. This postponement, quickly agreed to by Peace Commissioner Ricardo, was arranged so that these terrorists could carry out their planned "offensive," having set the stage with their "show of force." The date, 20 July, is Colombian Independence Day. It is difficult to believe that this date was not chosen by the FARC as one more sign of ML terrorist contempt for the Colombian Government, the Colombian people and their national heritage.

Geographical Detail Requisite to the Terrorist Operation

As has been pointed out in Wkly 8.3, Briceño decided, in spite of the abject failure of Phase I, to proceed with Phase II around the DZ perimeter. This decision was based on the distorted favorable publicity he was receiving from the press and on Castellanos' concealment of (at least) forty-five terrorists dead. This concealment was effected by dismembering his terrorist cadavers and burying them in common graves. The abject failure of Phase II has been described in Wkly 8.3 above wherein space prevented a needed orientation with relation to the geographical detail. This omission is corrected here.

The territory, which was to comprise that Land of Oz (Ariari Republic) dreamed up by the FARC terrorists, has been described as the vast watershed (Orinoco and Amazon) plains to the east of the East Range of the Andes. The municipalities which were to have come under attack do not all fit within such limits, albeit, most of them do. Antioquia Department (capital Medellín), for example, would be well east of such a territory, the "attack" there one more terrorist depredation. In any event, those departments which fit such a fantasyland are, from northeast to southwest along the range:

Arauca lies in northeast Colombia bordering on Venezuela. To the southwest (SW) of Arauca lies Casanare; to the SW of Casanare lies Meta; to the SW of Meta lies Caquetá; to the SW of Caquetá lies Putumayo. Roughly to the east of this line of departments lies the vast area encompassed by the largely unoccupied departments of Vichada, Guainia, Guaviare, Vaupes and Amazonas. So much would straightforwardly be associated with Oz.

But there are other departments having eastern portions in the plains, these from northeast to southwest being Boyaca (west of Arauca and Casanare), Cundinamarca (west of Casanare and NW of Meta) and Huila (west of Meta and Caqueta).

Having thus given rough indications of the locations of the departments to be mentioned in the casualty reports, the casualty reports provided by Army Intelligence are given alphabetically by department in what follows. [Legend: Muni = Municipality, 1 truck = 1 truck destroyed; same for jeep, etc., terr = terrorist, apc = armored personnel carrier.] The department is given in parentheses.

FARC Terrorist Casualties (known)

Location	Terr Unit	Results
Angostura Muni Camp (Antioquia)	Front 36	3 dead terrorists
Puerto Dondon (Arauca)	Front 10	1 Jeep, 5 dead terrorists
Doncello (Caquetá)	Front 15	1 truck, 35 dead terrorists
Valparaiso (Caquetá)	Southern Bloc	1 truck, 24 dead terrorists
Puerto Rico (Caquetá)	Front 43	40 dead terrorists
Hato Corozal (Casanare)	Fronts 28 & 56	7 trucks, 38 dead terrorists
Gutiérrez Muni (Cundinamarca)	Front 51	45 dead terrorists
San José del Guaviare (Guaviare)	Fronts 1 – 7	6 dead terrorists
Suaza (Huila)	Front 61	2 dead terrorists
Puerto Rico (Meta)	Front 43	1 truck, 2 apc, 40 dead terrorists
Aguas Negras River Sector (Putumayo)	Front 48	1 launch, 6 dead terrorists

The casualty figures nationally were as follows:

Public Forces: 41 military dead (includes those murdered at Gutierrez), 30 police dead; 35 military wounded, 34 police wounded.

FARC: 289 dead terrorists (known), 5 terrorists captured, 1 launch destroyed, 13 trucks destroyed.

Towns (Municipalities)

(Angostura Muni Camp (Antioquia) is omitted; Gutiérrez has been given.)

Puerto Rondon (Arauca): This town is on the Casanare River which forms the Arauca-Casanare border. It is about half way across the department and boasts a 3,800-foot airstrip.

El Doncello (Caquetá): This hamlet is on Rte. 65, 43 km NNE of La Montañita, an earlier target.

Valparaiso (Caquetá): This poblacion is about 50 km south of Florencia (Department capital) on the Pescado River.

Puerto Rico (Caquetá): This hamlet is 33 km on up Rte. 65 from El Docello, it also boasting a landing strip.

Hato Corozal (Casanare): Its location is upstream from Puerto Rondon a few km inland from the right bank of the Casanare River. It is about 45 km as the crow flies from Puerto Rico.

San José de Guaviare (Guaviare): This is the departmental capital on the Guaviare River, which defines the Meta-Guaviare border, a few km downstream from the Ariari River intersection. It has an airstrip.

Suaza (Huila): Suaza is 10 km inside Huila from its border with Caquetá, to the NW of Florencia, the Caquetá capital.

Puerto Rico (Meta): This town is on the Guejar River, about 75 km as the crow flies NW of San José de Guaviari.

Aguas Negras (Putumayo): It is on the Putumayo River which defines Colombia's border to the west with Ecuador and to the east with Peru. The hamlet is close to the Ecuador-Peru border but immediately north of Peru.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

C. The Inscrutable Pastrana "Peace" Process

REFLECTIONS ON THE COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESS WITH FARC. I

LANS CORRESPONDENT

MEDELLÍN, COLOMBIA

(WKLY 7.1, 7 JANUARY 1999)

[Editor's Introduction. There is probably no more important process underway in Latin America than the so-called "peace process" of Colombian President Andrés Pastrana. Mr. Pastrana initiated this process after his election in 1998 but before his inauguration. The

LANS correspondent in Medellín has been intimately connected with this affair, and his account needs no embellishment by us. It is a particularly important treatment, however, and deserves publication *in toto*. In order to publish it within our format it was necessary to do so in two parts. The second part appears in Spcl 7.1 below.]

Anyone who attempts to face the realities of the Pastrana “peace process” with the guerrilla is himself immediately attacked with all sorts of charges: He is a masked enemy of peace; he is a warmonger; he is a paramilitary, and so on. The “High Commissioner for Peace,” Dr. Victor G. Ricardo, has sought total and absolute support for the process. When the political structure and the liberty of the country are at stake, I find myself unprepared to give such support to a process which has so far been structured as has this one.

Up to this point, the “process” has consisted of agreeing to any demand that FARC has made. On the other hand, the guerrilla organization, in exchange for so much generosity, has neither turned over, nor agreed to, anything. Nor has it liberated a single kidnap victim or stopped its attack on any unprotected village. It continues to lie about its activities and those of the Public Forces while its well-camouflaged friends have continued their DOs on the national and international scene.

When we study the peace process with FARC we are struck with various troubling situations relating to it.

1. From the first the government has said that the process should be surrounded by a discretion which has been remarkable by its absence. The installation of the “work table” was converted into a spectacle on an international scale. The Casaverde “show” during the naïve attempt of Pres. Belisario Betancur⁴⁵ to achieve peace is being surpassed. By the invitation of FARC leaders, there were present individuals such as the FSLN leaders, among these the Sandinista chief, Daniel Ortega,⁴⁶ the spokesperson for the URNG, Rigoberta Menchú,⁴⁷ and so on. The FARC chiefs are well aware that these “shows” bring them international recognition and serve to disguise their criminal and terrorist character. Why do they need the recognition of belligerency, so controversial, if they now have their own territory? More than 600 journalists and diplomats from many nations were present at this performance, among these U.S. Ambassador Curtis Kamman.⁴⁸ Obviously, the cream of society and political affairs were there, among them ex President Belisario Betancur, ex-presidential candidates Horacio Serpa and Noemi Sanín, and the Nobel Laureate and intimate friend of Fidel Castro, Gabriel García Marquez. Various ministers and the chief of the National Planning Department had already visited the FARC chiefs in order to explain the government’s plans to the FARC. (We do not know if the Minister of the Treasury asked Tirofijo for help in balancing the budget.) For the occasion orchestras traveled to the little village of San Vicente (cf. Spcl 6.15) and there was a great slaughter of

pigs to feed well so distinguished a gathering. Pedro Antonio Marín (aka Manuel Marulanda, aka Tirofijo) was to occupy the position of alternate “chief of state.” All this is disgraceful! But, alas, the star of the show, Marín, did not show up. He sent a written speech, recounting the errors and aggressions of Colombia’s last twelve presidents and of U.S. imperialism against the “people” and the FARC. A third-rate guerilla leader with a serious speech impediment read the speech. Pastrana, alone at the main table, could not hide his discomfiture. He answered with his own prepared speech and left the scene before the FARC hymn was sung. Other speeches followed, and the party, dampened a little, went on. Advised by Ortega and others that Marín’s absence, a snub not only against the President, but against the foreign guests as well, was a mistake, the FARC leader made up an improbable story about a plot to assassinate him at the ceremony.

After this lavish installation, there will remain there, in order to establish the Agenda for negotiation, the delegates of the president: An impresario, Nicaranor Restrepo, ex Liberal Party vice presidential candidate, Maria Emma Mejía, Atlántico Department Governor Rodolfo Espinosa and Congress President Fabio Valencia. Their interlocutors will be three guerrillas of the third rank, all recognized kidnappers and murderers of civilians.

2. Before all this took place, the start of these conversations was put off for more than a month because the FARC demanded that 130 soldiers left behind to care for the barracks of the Cazadores Batallion also be withdrawn. These barracks were the only remaining presence of the official Colombian government in the evacuated area (over 42.000 km²) and were to be the base for Pastrana and his entourage. After some argument the government agreed that even these unarmed soldiers, who did not represent any threat to the FARC, be withdrawn. This was a blow to the pride of the Colombian Army. The arrogant FARC members will patrol their barracks after the withdrawal of the soldiers. But the incident served FARC in order to delay the initiation of the conversations for more than a month. Afterwards he will say, and it will assuredly be accepted, that the withdrawal should be postponed another ninety days or for an indefinite time. How much soldiers’ blood will it cost to recover this territory? By then all the population which is not attached to FARC will have been obliged to flee and FARC will have had the opportunity of training and arming a regular army. But the responsibility for those deaths, which have to come, will be assumed by nobody. To no one will the dead soldiers belong. With the withdrawal, FARC will obtain the dream of every guerilla movement in the world: a base secure and forbidden to the enemy. There they will be able to train their men, keep their kidnap victims, cultivate leaves and process them into cocaine. To this haven they will be able to withdraw those of their gangs which are accosted by the National Army.
3. Under the auspices of this same government, FARC now converses on equal terms with the Government of the U.S. These conditions amount to the admission that FARC is no longer a terrorist and proscribed criminal movement but an alternative government of Colombia. What happened to the U.S. policy of not dealing with terrorists? And why does the Department of State, or the NGOs which demand punishment for crimes of *lèse humanité* and which are so preoc-

cupied with HR, not ask for the extradition of Raúl Reyes (alias), the kidnapper? The meeting in Costa Rica was coordinated by the fugitive from justice, Alvaro Leyva Duran.⁴⁹ This meeting included “Reyes” as FARC representative, Juan Hernández, Secretary of the Presidency, and the U.S. functionary, Philip Chicola. Chicola is the director of the Office of Andean Affairs and the delegate of Peter Romero, Under Secretary of State for Latin America. The entire proceeding is clearly contrary to the U.S. policy of not treating with terrorists.

4. All this activity and spectacle is to be contrasted with the more than 300 militia members from Medellín who are grumbling that no one is attending to their demobilization.⁵⁰ What is of interest, it would appear, is not their returning to legality, a real step towards peace, but the circus of San Vicente.
5. In the midst of all this, the government passes over the episode of perfidy and disinformation which occurred in the Municipality of Tame. It allows the massacres of Cordoba (the Diamond)⁵¹ with all its reflections of cruelty and brutality to take place without major protest. All these things are passed over in order not to disturb the circus in the Caguán.
6. One of the demands of FARC is the exchange of criminal prisoners for soldiers and police. If the government accepts this, and it appears that it will do so, a mortal blow will have been delivered to justice and to the Military Forces. The capture of these guerrillas were in large part the result of combats costing many lives. They will be freed to continue killing. Many are kidnappers, including kidnappers of foreign nationals, Spaniards among them, but there has been no substantial opposition from those who agitate for punishment of crimes against International Human Rights. It is not probable that Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón is initiating any case against these guerrillas or against those who liberate them.

Some, if not all, of this could be justified if it leads to peace without the sacrifice of the essentials of the democratic system and of an economic model which permits the development of Colombia. But FARC continues faithful to ML, to its moral underpinning, or—better said—to its lack of it, to its methods and to its goals. Strengthened by the process, what will have been achieved will be the intensification and prolongation of the conflict. But the guilt for all this will be blamed, not on the alleged apostles of peace, but on those who dare to doubt the process.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

REFLECTIONS ON THE COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESS WITH FARC. II

LANS CORRESPONDENT
 MEDELLÍN, COLOMBIA
 (SPCL 7.1, 7 JANUARY 1999)

In other surprising news, it is being announced that all the investigative capability of the state will be directed against the illegal self defense forces, this to include the tracing of their sources of finance through the banking sector. That is the duty of the state. But there is a question: Why has this action never been taken against the conspiracy? Could it be that there is fear as to what might be revealed? Never in forty years has a peso been confiscated from the subversion as a result of a judicial investigation.

Why has this sad state of affairs eventuated? There are many reasons, which are worth the effort of summarily reporting:

1. The Colombian political class has been dedicated for years to ignoring the needs of the people and perpetuating itself, greatly enriching many of its members in the process. With all this were squandered the resources which should have been invested in economic development or the financing of the war. The peace process has also been used politically. It is an opportunity for many politicians' personal "image building". As a contrast, the rehabilitation of some militia in Medellín, the most recent example of a possible real achievement, does not contribute to any politician's image.
2. Too much of the Colombian ruling class, which includes not only the political class but also the barons of the entrepreneurial sector, is so accustomed to everybody having his price that it still believes it cheaper to bribe the subversion than to fund the Military Forces and invest in distant regions. Having urban interest, they have long seen the subversion as a problem exclusively for the rural population. So long as the problem has not arrived in the cities, they are not disposed to make any sacrifices. Within the methodology of bribery, placation, etc., they have given a series of privileges to the subversion which renders it difficult to confront. Such was, for example, the case with the Constitution of 1991. They also give them diplomatic posts which the subversion uses expertly. In order to demonstrate impartiality and "to open areas," they have turned over organisms of control, a good part of the judicial power and those offices which are concerned with the subject of "Human Rights." Moreover, legitimate agencies of defense have been restricted or limited until almost impotent. Such was the case with the self-defense forces and the CONVIVIR.
3. The international subversion, having lost the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and without much in the way of possibilities in the remainder of LA, has been concentrating on Colombia, its last hope. The perception which exists in the world, in great part favorable to the subversion, is no accident. It is the fruit of a patient propaganda effort by the Colombian subversion with the support of international Marxism. The state has shown little awareness of this campaign and has totally neglected any countermeasures against it. Colombia is wrong if it believes in the impartiality of certain personages and certain governments.
4. The Military Forces have not always been conscious of the political face of the conflict. They have been weak, and they have lacked internal solidarity, in the first place, in order to demand of the state the respect for their jurisdiction and

defense of their calumniated members. Nor have they demanded that the state make its presence known in the combat zones. They have assumed by themselves a job that should have been shared.

5. There exists no consciousness of the nature of the adversary, of his tenacity and objectives. Sun Tzu established, two hundred years before our era, that in order to be successful in war, it is necessary to know the terrain, the enemy and yourself. In our case, the terrain is the heart and mind of the people given the political and ideological nature of the conflict. Successive governments have been ignorant of the three subjects. There is no consciousness, for example, of the fact that the ambiance of the conflict is worldwide, such having apparently ended with the Cold War (China, Libya, Cuba, etc.?). While the subversion is an international organization, here we believe that we are only facing some campesinos in distant municipalities. Father Javier Giraldo,⁵² Sr. José Miguel Vivanco⁵³, and Sra Danielle Mitterand (cf. p.95, YRBK97) is each more important than a guerrilla front commander. But there is no action, obviously in this case sociological and political action, against those three persons whom we have chosen as a simple example.

The country then has not faced the challenge. This same subversion is selling the idea that the solution is the dialog-spectacle. And the subversion has been successful, not once but several times.

They are selling us the idea that we must choose between a war that cannot be won and the dialog-spectacle which we are witnessing and which will end with democracy. But the truth is that, in the main, conflicts of this type have resulted in a process of gradual reduction and with the reinsertion into society of individuals or small groups. Such is the case with the conflict in Oman, in Malaysia, in Venezuela, in Peru and many other locations. This does not mean that, if a movement in its entirety asks peace, a reinsertion with certain advantages such as amnesties and indulgences cannot be compacted. No final dramatic spectacle is necessary to this. But clearly, without the dramatics, those responsible for the solution receive no Nobel Peace Prizes. Will it be that, for a vain and attention-seeking politician, this then has no attraction? In the majority of the conflicts mentioned there was an effective participation by the self-defense organizations, these legal and coordinated by the Military Forces. Moreover, deserters from the subversion were integrated into them.

In our case the state, as a result of petition by the friends of the subversion, does not admit the legitimacy of the self-defense forces nor utilize deserters. It is not surprising then that they demonize the so-called paramilitary with considerable success. These illegal self-defense forces have recognized that the weak side of the subver-

sion are the unarmed logistical, economic and intel structures and it is against these that they focus their attacks. Against these structures the state has refused to fight. Another of the characteristics of such conflicts that have been successfully resolved, has been the active and important role of Justice. Here, the Attorney General has done nothing outside the urban perimeters, and the infiltration of the judicial power has converted it into an accomplice in many of the subversive strategies. No serious effort has been made to prosecute the urban networks of the guerrillas in order to locate their front enterprises and confiscate their funds, to connect their political and logistical support structures to the crimes of the armed groups. Doing this would hardly be strange, much less violate any law or right. All these things are done in the case of narco-trafficking.

Colombia then is passing through, because of the ingenuity of some and the perversity of others, the worst moment in its recent history. The management of the armed conflict could not be worse. So much blood has been shed and so much shed unnecessarily by the irresponsibility of the ruling class and by the cowardice of so many who do not understand that liberty cannot be bought and that its maintenance demands valor and sacrifice.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

THE INSCRUTABLE PASTRANA PEACE PROCESS (WKLY 7.5, 4 FEBRUARY 1999)

Since none of the Colombian presidential candidates received more than 40 percent of the vote in the elections of 31 May 1998, a runoff election was held on 21 June. It was won by the Colombian Conservative Party (PCC) candidate, Andrés Pastrana Arango, with about 50.4 percent of the vote over the Colombian Liberal Party (PLC) candidate, Horacio Serpa, with about 46.5 percent of the vote.

On 11 November 1997 one of the early favorites among the presidential candidates, Alfonso Valdivieso Sarmiento, made a prophetic comment at a Bogotá press conference. He accused then Pres. Samper of “bartering the country and converting peace into a piñata of offerings” to the terrorist which seeks only to give viability to the Samper proposals (chapter 1, YRBK98). This was a justified remark when applied to Pres. Samper; it was astonishingly prophetic when applied to Samper’s successor, Pres. Pastrana.

Before beginning a review of the Pastrana “Peace Process” (PPP) it is important to recall two important facets of this process.

Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) Terrorists

With an implied romanticism reminiscent of a Romberg operetta the press routinely refers to the FARC members as “guerrillas,” to the organization as a “guerrilla” organization. Such language may be PC, but it is bizarre when applied to the common criminals who make up FARC. These terrorists perpetrate all variety of crimes against the people of Colombia: narco-trafficking, kidnapping, murder, extortion among the list of those criminal activities which have characterized them for years.

The criminality of this terrorist group has been discussed in various of these reports (pp. 163ff, YRBK97 et seq.). It should however be raised again here in order to emphasize the sort of people to whom the PPP is conceding a remarkable array of requests.

Fidel Ruz Castro

The evidence that Castro has been the hemispheric drug lord since the early 1960s has long been available (cf., pp. 165ff, YRBK97). The protection of this ML tyrant by the U.S. in this activity has been attested by the highest-ranking defector from behind the Iron Curtain, Czech Gen. Sejna (Wkly 6.17, YRBK00). Not only is Castro the hemispheric drug lord, he is also the chief terrorist in the HL, that umbrella organization under which exists this very FARC. These two Castroite characteristics take on a particular interest in any consideration of the PPP.

The PPP

Almost immediately after his election and before his inauguration (7 August 1998) the Colombian president elect, Pastrana, was devoting himself to his “peace process,” hieing himself off to the mountains to pose smilingly with the world’s oldest terrorist, FARC boss Pedro Antonio Marín (aka Manuel Marulanda Velez, aka Tirofijo)⁵⁴ (*Semana*, 13-20 July 1998). The photograph on the newsmagazine cover was prophetic:

A smiling, eager-to-please Pastrana stood next the scowling disdainful terrorist, the latter clearly expressing his contempt for this

new president on whom he would shower his disdain throughout the fall and early winter.

Background to the PPP

Investigations on the ground by the LANS Editor have confirmed the spectrum of DOs which have long been vigorously pursued by the HL and HLS against the Colombian forces of law and order. Similar operations resulted in complete ML victory through surrender in Cuba (1959) and Nicaragua (1979) and partial victories in Central America (YRBK98).

In the spring of 1998 this campaign was supplemented by another, the latter aimed at convincing a gullible press that the FAC could not win against the FARC terrorists (Wkly 6.3). This is nonsense and has been repeatedly demonstrated as such in these reports, the reality being that these MLs “hid like rats” (pp. 375ff, YRBK00) when the FAC was allowed to go after them. But the FAC has seldom been allowed to deal with these terrorists during the last 17 years (cf., pp. 117ff, YRBK97 and later reports) so that this “can’t win” DO has gained momentum and is apparently in part responsible for the surrender which is the PPP.

Summary of the PPP to Date

From the first meeting of the president elect to the recent unilateral postponement of further “negotiations” by the terrorists, the PG has behaved as if it had just lost a legitimate war, albeit, few governments in history have so abjectly begged their “enemies” for mercy. On the other hand, FARC terrorists have consistently treated the PG as if it were beneath contempt. Since the every wish of these terrorists has subsequently been granted, perhaps this is the ideal modus operandi for them.

It is logical to suppose, indeed, it is written into various constitutions, that a criminal conspiracy such as FARC should lay down its arms before it begins “negotiating” for peace. This was suggested by the PG only to be scornfully rejected, the rejection meekly accepted. But, if there were any interest in “peace,” would it not be logical for the terrorists to suspend their murders, their kidnapping, their extortion, their narco-trafficking during the process? This was timidly suggested, sneeringly rejected, and the rejection was ac-

cepted. LANS has discussed certain of the terrorist operations which occurred last fall during the PPP, Mitú worthy of repetition here.

One thousand of the allegedly “war-winning” terrorists of FARC overran the small police post at Mitú in early November 1998 *because they felt the FAC would not be able to arrive there before their escape*. The FAC did arrive, however, and easily dispensed with them (pp. 375ff, YRBK00). This terrorist operation, in the midst of the PPP, affected Mr. Pastrana’s “search for peace” not at all. Nor did other and similar operations.

Doubtless extensively influenced by DOs, the press has frequently given the FARC terrorists credit for controlling as much as “half” of Colombian territory. Thanks to the PPP the territory assuredly controlled now by these terrorists amounts to 42,139 km² in southeastern Colombia, 3.7 percent of the nation to slide-rule accuracy, since there are 1,138,914 km² of surface area in that nation. This territorial surrender without quid pro quo by the PG to FARC has been discussed; it was granted early in these negotiations after what was little more than a token murmur of dissent.

During the fall of 1998 the PG begged abjectly or “negotiated strongly” for face-to-face “peace talks” to begin, agreeing early to the terrorist demand that these be held in this surrendered territory. During that stage of the discussions the terrorists repeatedly put off the time when they would deign to begin such talks with the PG. Although speculative, it would appear that these delays were finally ended when it became apparent that they had served their purpose, that of showing FARC control of the farcical performance. The next step was clearly an important one.

The talks were to begin on 7 January 1999 in San Vicente del Caguan, which is in Caquetá Department, a few kilometers west of the Meta Department border. It was seriously reported (EFE 7 January 1999) that the “chiefs of security” of Pastrana and terrorist boss Tirofijo were “synchronizing security” in the area. The terrorists, always eager to play soldier, were preparing a reported 1,000 to parade on the big day and readying a central dais in the plaza with two chairs facing its only table, one for President Pastrana, one for terrorist boss Márin.

What happened then was predictable. The terrorist boss did not appear, showing his contempt for the proceedings with his empty chair, the president of the nation alone in solitary splendor on the

dais. Nor did the world's oldest terrorist appear at any of the future, still fruitless, encounters; all this was clearly beneath him.

Nothing daunted, the PPP ground meaninglessly on until 19 January 1999 when the terrorists simply cut off the proceedings. The next day the PG implored them to reconsider (EFE 22 January 1999), but of course to no avail. Finally, on 25 January 1999 the terrorists suspended all talks until 20 April 1999, although they will apparently maintain their control of the Caguan. The reason given by them for their action is of immense importance:

FARC maintained that they seek to give "time to the president (Pastrana) to show concrete results to the eyes of the country and the world of the frontal war against paramilitarism" (AFP 26 January 1999).⁵⁵ Which illustrates another probable reason for the farce which has here been observed. But it also brings in the HL terrorist commander-in- chief, Castro, and the incredible role into which he has been enlisted by Pastrana.

What is the Objective of the PPP?

Pastrana's objective appears to be straightforward enough. He apparently feels that any sort of token "peace" with Colombia's ML terrorists would be greatly to his political advantage. His descent in the polls since his inauguration is the only obvious weathervane, and it would probably be risky to put much credence in this. Whether or not this president can figuratively "shoot himself in the foot" with his continuing surrender to terrorist demands, however far fetched, apparently remains to be seen. Insofar as Colombia is concerned, however, it is a truism that Pastrana must serve his single presidential term and, effectively, depart the national political scene. Does he have ideas of an important position at the international level? His predecessor, Gaviria, moved from the presidential palace to the principal position in the Organization of American States (OAS), for example. Could this be the reason for his wooing, against all rationality, of HL boss Castro? At least a part of the motivation of the FARC terrorists for their part in the PPP are more obvious.

The FARC terrorists have performed on the world stage, clearly intending to demonstrate their power over the Colombian government if only by brazenly displaying their contempt for it. This plays well in Havana and with members of the International Left wherever they may be. When there is no more difficulty in the game than

there has been here, this would be appealing and useful to these terrorists. But another motivation has entered, this having to do with the elimination of an important foe.

For whatever reason, the press has clasped to its bosom all the Disinformation spread by the HL and HLS on the Self Defense Patrols (CAPs). The CAPs have made considerable contribution to the successful actions against the ML terrorists in Guatemala and Peru, and have likewise topped the "enemies lists" of the HL. This is likewise true in Colombia, although there have been times when the property protection they afforded was provided to non-terrorist narco-traffickers (pp. 356ff, YRBK00). Their involvement with narco-trafficking has, however, never reached the level of that of the ML terrorists. Perhaps even more important than this alleged narco involvement is the continuing DO against them by the HL and HLS, this based on the nomenclature, "paramilitary."

"Paramilitary" is a term created in order to link the CAPs with the regular military, using the link as a two-edged sword to be used against both the CAPs and the military. Certain of these DOs have been discussed. Which is important background to another surrender by the PPP to FARC. Pastrana agreed to turn over any information on charges against military personnel alleged to have cooperated with the CAPs.

In latter January 1999 Colombian Attorney General Jaime Bernal was reported as turning over a list of members of the public forces (police and military) "investigated for alleged connections" with CAP groups. "The attorney general has sent a report (to the terrorists) with the names which does not mean that they have been convicted or that they have been sanctioned."

As the LANS Editor learned from discussions with various of such "accused," what it usually does mean is that the officer in question has been falsely accused by some HL or HLS member. And the PG has now all but given a license to murder these men to the terrorists of FARC.

Ruz Castro

Finally, Colombian President Pastrana has chosen, or claims to have chosen, to put his faith in the hemispheric drug lord (pp. 212ff, YRBK00) and HL chief (chapter 3, YRBK97), Fidel Ruz Castro, looking to him for the elimination of narco-trafficking and the

achievement of “peace” with the terrorists (EFE 8 January 1999). On this remarkable statement our colleague, Dr. Ariel Remos (*Diario las Américas* 24 January 1999), will have the last word.

“What emerges from the censer of the Colombian president increases the humiliation of Colombia when he calls the Cuban absolute dictator of forty years ‘a great ally,’ ‘an indispensable friend,’ and says that ‘for many years he has kept his faith in social justice’ ... One must not forget that those guerrillas and narco-guerrillas who are, in short, going to prevail in Colombia are Marxists and seek to put themselves in power in any way. And that he who is going to serve as mediator is a Marxist tyrant who has been in power for forty years without consulting the peoples’ will...”⁵⁶

COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESS

SOCIOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS CENTER

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

(SPCL 7.10, 4 JUN 99)

[Editor’s Introduction: The Sociopolitical Analysis Center has created an excellent and informative review of the most important, if not the only remaining ML terrorist activity in the Western Hemisphere. It is reprinted here with the permission of the Center. For practical reasons of production and distribution it has been divided by LANS into three parts. In the first part, “Colombian Armed Conflict” (Wkly 7.22), the Center provides a comprehensive discussion of the terrorist operation itself and the Colombian Government’s reaction to it. In the second part, “Colombian Judicial War” (Spcl 7.9), the Disinformation Operations (DOs) are discussed with specific examples. In this third part, “Colombian Peace Process,” the Center offers a comprehensive account of this bizarre and generally misunderstood process.]

The Colombian Armed Conflict has endured for more than forty years. The contenders have been the Democratic State, represented by ten administrations belonging to both the Liberal and Conservative parties, and a Marxist subversion, represented by a varying number of guerrilla organizations backed by a large number of legal front organizations. As in most conflicts, the subversion has carried on a well-orchestrated propaganda and disinformation campaign, both at home and abroad, in support of its goals.

The Peace Process

The background for the present peace initiative is often forgotten. About a year before the last presidential election, an innocent sounding campaign, directed towards the inclusion of a “peace ballot” in the elections for local officials, was quietly started. Who doesn’t want peace? Ten million citizens voted for peace. What the proposition didn’t say was how peace was to be obtained and at what price.

The initiative was led by the obscure head of a new NGO, the Network of Initiatives for Peace (REDIGAP). This leader, Ana Teresa Bernal, received the support of Francisco Santos, the naïve scion of a family of journalists who own *El Tiempo*, the country’s largest newspaper.⁵⁷ The initiative had the effect of making “Peace” the main issue in the upcoming campaign for the Presidency. This would force all presidential candidates to promise “peace,” and would force the winner to go to absurd extremes to start peace talks with the guerrillas. The guerrillas, on the other hand, would have no commitments.

The presidential elections in Colombia include a run-off election if no candidate obtains a majority in the first round (cf. chapter 1, YRBK00). In 1998 the runoff election was between Horacio Serpa, the candidate of the Liberal Party, closely associated with then President Ernesto Samper (1994-1998), and Andrés Pastrana, a Conservative who received support from Liberal and independent factions. Serpa is a controversial politician. He was the political manager of the tainted Samper presidential campaign that received Drug Cartel funds, and was Minister of the Interior of the Samper Administration. Considered by many to be close to the ELN guerrillas, he presented himself as a “peace” candidate. Towards the end of the Samper Government, and with the auspices of the German Government [For German involvement with the ELN, cf. the Schoene Case (pp. 122ff, YRBK97)], there had been meetings of the leadership of the ELN guerrillas with an assortment of prominent individuals, presented as representatives of “Civil Society”.

Pastrana’s response to the Peace issue was to promise that he would negotiate with the guerrillas in person. There were contacts between the Pastrana campaign and the FARC that led to a FARC pronouncement endorsing Pastrana over Serpa. Shortly after his elec-

tion, before his inauguration and in keeping with this promise, Pastrana met with the FARC leaders. In these initial contacts Mr. Pastrana agreed to FARC demands to clear, within ninety days of the start of his government, a large area in Southeastern Colombia of all military and police presence. In order to start the so-called Peace Process this “clearing” would be in effect for a period of ninety days. Pastrana then designated Mr. Victor G. Ricardo as “Peace Commissioner.”

The demilitarized area includes four sparsely populated counties or municipalities in Meta Department and one in Caquetá Department, these comprising an area of more than 42,000 square kilometers, or roughly the size of Switzerland. The demilitarized zone is a coca- production area that includes several rivers, or “highways of the jungle,” which serve to transport the chemicals needed for the processing of cocaine.

Talks did not begin as soon as the area was cleared of combat troops and police, however. A month of bitter argument followed the “clearing” because 130 unarmed soldiers were left behind to care for the barracks of the Cazadores Battalion in San Vicente del Caguan, which were to serve as the government’s headquarters. Though it is still unclear whether this was done with the agreement of the FARC’s spokesperson, the FARC demanded and finally obtained the withdrawal of the soldiers.

With half the period of the “clearing” expired, the formal installation of the negotiating table was to take place on 7 January 1999. The government had insisted that the peace process had to be low-key and discreet. But there was nothing discreet about the initial ceremony. More than 600 people were invited to the small village of San Vicente. Among these were the diplomatic corps, including U.S. Ambassador Curtis Kamman, representatives of the Catholic Church, NGOs, and Marxists, such as former Nicaragua President Daniel Ortega and Rigoberta Menchú.⁵⁸ Also present were former Colombian President Belisario Betancur and presidential candidates Serpa and Sanín. Members of the national and international press were also present.

While there were at least 1,000 FARC guerrillas in the town and its outskirts, Pastrana would be arriving with a sixty-man police escort. After the speeches there was to be a luncheon, with a popular band and other performers flown in for entertainment. The FARC’s

maximum leader, Pedro Antonio Marín (aka Manuel Marulanda, aka Tirofijo), was to share the main table with Pastrana, and, after the National Anthem was played, would be the first speaker. Pastrana would speak next, and, after the FARC hymn was sung, other speakers would follow. Marulanda, however, did not show up. It was a deliberate snub of the president and all the guests.

The next day, convinced by Daniel Ortega and others that this had been a mistake, the FARC argued, not too convincingly, that minutes before the ceremony they had uncovered a plot to murder Marulanda and the President. Instead of the guerrilla leader's speech, a FARC spokesman read a letter from him with the usual complaints and lies against Colombia's presidents, past and present, and the U.S. As an example of these preposterous lies, he stated that, in the 1964 occupation of the Marquetalia guerrilla stronghold, the U.S. supplied biological weapons that had been used against the FARC.

Pastrana then gave his conciliatory speech and left. The negotiating table was nonetheless installed. The government named four spokespersons: Maria Emma Mejía, former Liberal party vice-presidential candidate, Fabio Valencia, president of Congress, Nicanor Restrepo, an important leader of industry, and Rodolfo Espinosa, governor of Atlantico Department. The spokesmen for the FARC were three third-level guerrilla leaders. This was the inauspicious beginning of the peace process.

Other Aspects of the "Peace Process"

There are other disturbing aspects of the "peace initiative." Among these, five which merit comment are:

1. FARC maintenance of control of the "demilitarized zone."
2. FARC's continuing intention of seizing the Colombian Government by force of arms.
3. International recognition of FARC.
4. Exchange of FARC terrorists for government personnel.
5. FARC demands against the so-called "paramilitary."

1. *“Demilitarized Zone”*

First, FARC demanded and obtained two consecutive extensions of the period of “clearing” of the five counties. They have effectively obtained a secure base and sanctuary, barred to the Armed Forces, in which to develop their drug business, hold kidnap victims and train and rest their forces. Indeed, it has been revealed that more than ten kidnap victims have been held in the area. Some have been released after paying ransom and two have been killed. Children are being indoctrinated and recruited into the guerrilla forces. Judicial authorities have been banished from the area, as has a priest who dared to denounce guerrilla abuses. If and when the Colombian government decides to re-occupy this territory it will be at the cost of many lives.

2. *FARC’s Continuing Intentions*

Equally disturbing, there is no indication that the FARC has abandoned its ultimate goal of taking over the government of Colombia and installing a Marxist regime. In terms of military strength, the guerrillas often successfully attack remote villages, defended by twenty to thirty policemen. They still can’t hold a position against the Colombian Army for more than a few hours, or at best, a couple of days. But lately, they have won a few battles against company-sized units, retreating on the arrival of reinforcements. While recent cases of successful peace negotiations, such as the case of the 19th of April Movement (M-19) and the Peoples Liberation Army (EPL) guerrillas in Colombia and subversive groups in other Latin American countries, have followed a downward slide in the fortunes of the subversion, such is not the case with the FARC.

3. *FARC’s International Recognition*

With the approval of the Colombian government and the presence of one of its representatives, FARC leader Raul Reyes recently met with State Department official Philip Chicola in San José, Costa Rica. This is contrary to the standing U.S. policy of not dealing with terrorist organizations, and gives the FARC unwarranted international recognition.

4. *Exchange of FARC Terrorists for Government Personnel*

It seems likely that the Colombian government will agree to an “exchange of prisoners of war,” in effect, the exchange of military and police personnel held hostage by the FARC for criminals accused or convicted of serious crimes like kidnapping, murder and extortion. In most cases the police and soldiers, when released, will have served their term of military service. The guerrillas, many captured in battles that cost many lives, will return to fight again.

5. *FARC Demands Against “Paramilitary”*

One of the conditions the FARC has set for the process to continue is that the government disband the “Paramilitary” groups. This is a practically unattainable condition. It is unlikely that the Illegal Self-Defense Groups (ISDG) can be successfully reduced as long as the guerrillas remain in arms. In response to this demand, however, the government recently stated that it would attack the ISDG in every possible way, including the tracing of their financial transactions through the banking system. If the government has been unable to trace and attack the FARC’s logistics and finances, how can it expect to do so in the case of the ISDG?

No Quid Pro Quo

So far the FARC has demanded concessions and the government has acceded to them. The subversive groups, however, have offered nothing in return besides agreeing to sit at the negotiating table. They have stated that they will continue all their activities, including attacks on towns, kidnapping, etc. Such an unbalanced negotiation does not seem to be a good start. In past failed negotiations, following this same tactic, the FARC essentially kept most of its gains and gave up nothing in return. On this occasion, there is not much more the government can give up, without jeopardizing the very essence of democracy and freedom.

Most Serious Flaw in the “Peace Process”: No Plan

The most serious flaw in the whole design of the government’s initiative is that there is no plan. The government and the Colombian people it represents have much to lose with the FARC’s delays.

It took almost six months just to come up with an agenda. This agenda includes just about all the topics which can be conjectured, and, if each is discussed in any detail, it will take years to go through it.

Topics such as foreign relations, international treaties, the reform of political parties, reform of the Armed Forces and the reform of the state in general. In short, it includes everything but disarming of the guerrillas. The delay will bring an endless period of uncertainty to the Colombian economy but costs the FARC nothing. This fundamental imbalance is the seed of disaster.

Failure in this latest of many peace initiatives will, like previous failures, have the effect of strengthening the conspiracy and prolonging the conflict. Obediently, the Colombian Army has not interfered with the process, accepting what it knows to be serious risks. But its morale has undoubtedly been hurt. Although many are skeptical of the outcome of this process, most politicians and journalists do not dare express their misgivings. Whoever dares to do so is immediately labeled a warmonger, an enemy of peace, or a "paramilitary." The lack of discretion and caution shown by the Pastrana government in the search for peace may well turn to deep and widespread disappointment and lead to more suffering for the Colombian people.

THE PROCESS OF PEACE OR THE POLITICS OF PACIFICATION. I

MIGUEL POSADA S.

CENTRO DE ANÁLISIS SOCIOPOLÍTICOS

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

(SPCL 8.14, 5 NOVEMBER 1999)

The peace process has encountered one obstacle after another for more than a year, and it is still far from any result which succeeds in silencing the rifles. Many doubt that the conditions exist for the achievement of peace through negotiations which do not sacrifice either democracy or the essence of the free-enterprise economic model. This does not mean that the desired peace cannot be ultimately achieved but, rather, that the road for achieving it is other than that being traveled. If the experience of other countries is studied, we see that peace has been achieved in the majority of cases by winning the war. But winning the war is a purely military affair. The

countries which have faced and routed Marxist subversive movements have applied various methods, the most effective having been a policy of pacification which unifies the will of the State and of the majority of the population in the objective of surpassing and countering the goal of the subversion. The basic condition for achieving this unity of objectives is that the subversion not have substantial political support, a condition which exists in Colombia. Matters thus arranged, it remains only to accept the fact that the subversion has no desire for peace and to make the political decision to formulate and apply a pacification policy in order to confront the problem.

The Peace Process

Public opinion is disenchanted by the attitude of the FARC and, in spite of the skilful pacifist campaign which it is conducting, each time the matter arises, a greater number of people view the results of the process pessimistically. The government must confront, not only the loss of confidence in its peace policy, but continually increasing pressure from the U.S. against drug trafficking. This subject is inseparable from that of peace with the guerrilla who, say what one will, is deeply involved in narco-trafficking. In order to counteract the increasing discontent, national and international, with the Peace Process, some alleged experts present an apocalyptic scenario which is supposed to be conjured up if the process is interrupted. It is curious that the stridency of the calls to maintain the process at whatever cost increases exactly when the subversion takes an intransigent position at the table. These same experts have also been occupied with predicting other terrible consequences resulting from the U.S. support to the military forces. Doubtless, if negotiations were broken off, FARC would loose a wave of terrorism for a brief period of time and probably would try to mobilize campesinos to protest activity in eradication of coca-leaf cultivation. But it is certain that the guerrilla is operating now at full capacity and campesino marches will hardly be a novelty either. Moreover, in what is described as the battle against illegal cultivation, it is not feasible for Colombia unilaterally to concede license to the subversion to cultivate coca and poppies or to entrust to that same FARC, in exchange for money, their eradication. The consequences of doing so would be more concrete than those with which the subversion threatens us: Colombia would be converted into a pariah coun-

try, isolated from the world. What then could be the terrible result of breaking off negotiations? In spite of the warnings of these same commentators, it would be nothing very different, in the day-to-day life of the citizens, than what is happening now as they live through these negotiations “in the midst of war.”

An eternal negotiation, developed “in the midst of war,” restricts the freedom of action of the State and not of the subversion. Little by little, it is going to become clear to the country that the negotiations for the guerrilla are a war tactic and that the subversion has no interest in peace, at least in the short or medium term. But the “experts” tell us that a negotiation like the one in progress is the only solution to the Colombian internal conflict. They cite the cases of El Salvador and Guatemala in order to support their thesis. Nevertheless, they offer no solution other than granting anything that the guerrilla demands.

National and International Experience

It is worthwhile to analyze carefully the examples which these experts have provided, those of El Salvador and Guatemala, in order to learn if they are as clear and explicable as they tell us. Also, one must look at other examples, and there are many, because the subversive Marxist wars have been many. The Marxist guerrillas only achieved success in a few cases. The majority of such attempts failed. It is worthwhile to analyze the factors which influenced events in those cases where the subversion was successful and to investigate how the conflicts ended where the subversion was routed. We see that the cases of subversive success which are cited in order to maintain that the guerrilla cannot be routed are those of Vietnam, Cuba, and Nicaragua. The Government of South Vietnam was confronted by a guerrilla supported from neighboring North Vietnam, an impenetrable sanctuary, at least for ground operations. In the context of the Cold War it was not feasible to invade North Vietnam. Moreover, the autochthonous guerrilla of the South did not win the war, it was won by the regular army of North Vietnam, well supplied by the Soviet Union. This happened when the U.S., hurrying out of the war, took away logistical support to the army of the South at a critical moment. Senator Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy was a key element in denying this indispensable aid.

On our continent the two unique examples of success by the armed Marxist subversion are those of Cuba and Nicaragua. In Cuba a weak guerrilla, deified by the press of the U.S., triumphed over a corrupt dictatorship after the Government of the U.S. had withdrawn support to the dictator Batista. The guerrilla had been careful to hide his Marxist character and enjoyed ample support from the democratic sectors. Something similar happened in Nicaragua. In both cases the regimes overthrown were old-line, corrupt dictatorships and they depended excessively on U.S. support. Until that time, in the context of the Cold War, that country supported whatever regime vigorously opposed Marxist efforts to penetrate the hemisphere. The subversion, nevertheless, has been defeated on our continent in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. On other continents it has been defeated in Greece, Malaysia and Oman, to mention some cases. But it is also worthwhile to analyze why a negotiated "success" was achieved in El Salvador and Guatemala.

In both cases, the guerrilla had advanced to a certain point only, thereafter, to begin losing his ascendancy. He was, for all practical purposes, defeated. To have persisted in the armed battle would have brought the insurgent organizations to extinction. In the case of Guatemala its popular support was eroding, and the legally established rural defense forces were very effective in controlling its operations. In both cases the subversion achieved through negotiation a political position disproportionate to the diminished military power which remained to it. Something not very different happened with the Colombian M-19 and EPL. Facing extinction, they succeeded in negotiating favorable terms. As can be seen, none of these cases, nor the national experience with respect to M-19 or EPL, indicates that peace could be achieved in a process such as is going forward with FARC in Colombia. The Central American examples, as presented to us, are fallacious. These experiences, when well analyzed, demonstrate that, for a negotiation to be successful, it is necessary for time to become the enemy of the subversive cause. That is, that the fortunes of the subversion in the armed confrontation decline with time.

The government should formulate an alternate strategy, call it Plan B or whatever appears appropriate, in case the present negotiation fails. What should be structured is a pacification plan. This will not be easy. The tendency to resolve the problem with appeasement

and concessions has a long history. Previously made concessions, including certain constitutional provisions and legal norms would have to be reversed. The structure of the State, the legal framework constructed by the Constitution of 1991 and established and entrenched political interests will be a prime obstacle to be overcome.

The same problem confronted President Fujimori of Peru, and he avoided it from outside the Constitution in force in that country. In Colombia, we cannot throw up our hands before this approach, because our Constitution of 1886 was violated and the Congress legally elected was disbanded, in order to draw up the Constitution of 1991. Here leadership and will would be necessary. In any event, it is doubtful that a confrontation of powers could be avoided, given the level of subversive infiltration which now exists at all levels of the state apparatus. Fujimori, with the backing of the Military Forces and public opinion, confronted the situation in his country. Peru was not destroyed in the process but, on the contrary, he not only routed the subversion but he was able to effect a fundamental modernization. Some democratic institutions were temporarily sacrificed, certainly, but peace was achieved. Obviously, it is preferable to achieve the same result without setting aside important elements of democracy. But it will be necessary here, and this awakens all sorts of protests and manifestations for a sacrosanct legality, to modify the Constitution and the present legal framework. This, nevertheless, one must confront with that which we are told will be required if we continue by the presently planned course of negotiation.

Citizen guarantees have already been sacrificed, as is the case in the evacuated zone, on the altars of a peace which has not been achieved. Also, as with the "peace process in the midst of war," it is predictable that the subversion will demand and receive concessions, changes in the Constitution. Moreover, it is announced to us that many more sacrifices will have to be made. What and at what cost? Within the proposed negotiation agenda the entire economic model is in play. Such a dramatic change in the juridical framework was not dreamed of when the present course of negotiation was announced. All those who propose to arrive at peace through the present peace process warn that one will have to make a new round of concessions in order to design, to use the most frequent catch phrase, "a country that we can all live in."

The Peace Process, nevertheless, continues to be presented as if it were the unique possibility. The alternatives, all apocalyptic as they are presented to us, are the dismemberment of the country, a "paramilitary" dictatorship or eternal war. No one chooses to speak of or to formulate a well-structured policy of pacification which is the real and perhaps unique alternative in order to achieve the desired blessing of peace.

The question persists: Why has Colombia not had a pacification policy or, if it has had one, why has it not functioned? In the first place, it is necessary to remember that our country has had pacification policies. They have had only limited success because they have addressed the problem of the moment, applied for a brief time and then abandoned. It is enough to remember the policy of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (president 1953-1957) to demobilize the liberal guerrillas, principally those of the eastern plains. This policy functioned well enough, and, for decades, the eastern region enjoyed an enviable calm. The policy was designed to demobilize the strongest guerrillas of the moment, the liberals called "cleans" or non-communist, and in that he was successful. His policy did not deal with the guerrillas called "dirties," those converted to Marxism, these having objectives very different from the liberal groups.

There was a second pacification policy which was applied by the National Front. This policy also worked well with many guerrillas save with those who had adopted the Marxist creed or with those who had been converted into bands of criminals without any political creed. The latter were reduced by force. The policy failed, nevertheless, with regard to the communist self-defense forces because, while the military phase of it succeeded well, the national policy failed to deal with the non-military aspects of it. The threat was believed to have been definitively controlled, and the efforts needed to bring an effective and beneficial presence of the State to the affected areas were not made.

This subject has been clearly and brilliantly treated by General Alvaro Valencia Tovar (*Inseguridad y Violencia en Colombia*, Universidad Sergio Arboleda, 1997. ISBN: 958-9442-27-7). One of the first integral treatments of the phenomenon of political violence of Marxist character was the famous Lazo Plan so satanized by the extreme national and international left. The plan contemplated accompanying military operations with social action and lo-

cal development initiatives. It has been satanized precisely because the subversion is aware that this type of integral action most negatively affects its interests. Later, the efforts to confront the conflict in integral terms have been sporadic. Civic-Military Action Day campaigns are carried out without continuity, without adequate planning and the actions of the Military Forces are not complemented with activity by the rest of the state.

On the other hand, the Peace Processes have consisted of making concessions and awarding posts and privileges in exchange for which the guerrilla groups agree to participate in conversations which arrive at nothing. The concessions have weakened the state and have turned its policy incoherent in facing the conflict.

There are certain critical aspects of any Pacification Plan:

1. There must be sufficient resources available.
2. The Plan cannot be subject to partisan political pressure.
3. The Plan must have continuity in time.

Because of failure to fulfill these three conditions, many regions of the country, after some months or years of pacification, have again fallen victim to violence.

Definition of a Pacification Policy

A policy of Pacification may be defined as follows:

A Pacification Policy is a State policy to commit and direct the efforts of the entire Nation, that is to say, the State itself represented by all the branches of power and all the population, to confront an enemy who is attacking the entire society.

A Pacification Policy cannot be limited to the military aspect, and there is no room in such a policy for the concept of neutrality or impartiality toward the subversion by some of the branches of government, nor by the civilian population. If the subversion fears anything, it is that this concept might be developed in this country. Therefore, we find the subversion and its international allies behind the diffusion of concepts like "impartiality in confronting the conflict," the "zones or communities of peace," the neutral civilian population," etc. All these fallacies seek to prevent unity between the

State, including the Military Forces and Police, and the population, in confronting the subversion.

Of great importance also is the promotion of the concept, by the subversion with the support of no few useful idiots, that it is somehow illegitimate for the rural population to defend itself against subversive aggression. Neither the State nor multilateral organisms, all of which enjoy private security protection in the urban centers, see the contradiction in their receiving such protection while the rural population is denied any possibility of defense different than that which the State is capable of giving and which is routinely insufficient. It is astonishing to see the success achieved in gaining the acceptance of these fallacious concepts even by sectors having nothing in common with the subversion.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

THE PROCESS OF PEACE OR THE POLITICS OF PACIFICATION. II

MIGUEL POSADA S.

CENTRO DE ANÁLISIS SOCIOPOLÍTICOS

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

(SPCL 8.15, 6 NOVEMBER 1999)

[In Part I of this article Dr. Posada has described the Peace Process which has been underway between FARC and the Pastrana Government for well over a year. He carefully reviewed the results of earlier peace processes with Marxist guerrillas, finding them to have been generally quite different than “experts” now describe them. Finally, he succinctly stated what is necessary to any real pacification policy. In this second part he details the elements which such a process clearly demands for success.]

Almost all the essential components of a pacification policy require legislative changes, given the concessions which have been made to this time favoring the interests of the subversion. The principal elements of these we can enunciate as follows.

1. Mechanisms to reate unity of action among all authorities at all levels.

In our country the possibility of this unity has become more difficult to attain with each peace process. The Constitution of 1991, under the pretext of making democracy more profound and achiev-

ing peace, made the State an archipelago of independent islands. It was no longer assured that the State was composed of three independent powers. Today there are many more. Not only are the national government and the congress independent and autonomous, so also are members or chiefs of various government entities: the Fiscalía, the Procuradería,⁵⁹ the Public Defender, the four Courts (Constitutional, Supreme, Council of State and Supreme Council of the Superior Council of the Magistracy), in addition to the state and mayoral governments. Under these conditions it is difficult to achieve unity of action. The Constitution establishes institutional anarchy. This deserves a more ample treatment which exceeds the possibilities of this brief discussion. But, if this situation is not overcome, the weakness of the State will impede confronting many problems, among others, the subversive challenge.

In the conflict zones it is indispensable that the military and police commanders be able to verify that the local authorities are not diverting resources to, or complying with the orders or plans of, the subversion. This point, as the English author, Sir Robert Thompson,⁶⁰ emphasizes, is critical for the success of the pacification process. The implementation of the popular election of mayors has given the guerrilla the opportunity of influencing elections by terrorizing potential candidates or the electorate itself. It would be necessary to establish that, in certain municipalities, where the terror cannot be counteracted, the mayors again be appointed by higher authority. This unity of action would permit planning and execution of State consolidation policies in the vulnerable zones.

2. Re-establishment of self-defense mechanisms for the rural population

Naturally, this cannot be a self-defense without control. It should be controlled by the National Police or the Army. The subversion is greatly afraid of citizen defense, and will undoubtedly do all in its power to influence the inter-governmental and non-governmental organisms to oppose it, whatever form it takes. The country has not understood the importance of self-defense forces. Their principal ability is that they take away from the guerrilla the security to move his "finance commissions" and "intelligence commissions," small groups of guerrillas which collect protection money and information from the nets of informants. Also, the logistics of the guerrilla

are complicated because a self-defense unit, though it be weak, is capable of confronting the small units which are concerned with supply. The self-defense units also have a high value in the intelligence field.

The self-defense organizations have played a fundamental role in the conflicts which have been successfully resolved. The existence of these groups, properly controlled, assures that the population does not have to turn to illegal organizations. These latter, without any control by authority, become a scourge as serious as the guerrillas themselves. This is what has happened in Colombia.

3. Policy of agrarian development.

The guerrilla operates principally in the rural areas. There he carries out recruiting, obtains a good part of his resources and carries out the major portion of his activities. The subversive problem is inseparable from the agrarian problem in Colombia.

One of the factors, which facilitates the recruiting of combatants by the guerrilla and which attracts workers to the marginal zones where coca and poppies are cultivated, is the low or zero profitability of legal crops. To this many factors contribute. Some are of a technical character, such as the minimal availability of improved seed caused by the difficulty of producing it for the great variety of climatologic conditions in the country and the reduced purchasing power of the potential customers for this seed. Others have to do with the economic model. The elimination of trade barriers left the Colombian producer undefended against foreign competition, where the prices are affected by agricultural subsidies, especially in the developed countries. It is necessary to attract the campesinos back to the traditional agriculture regions, recovering employment and improving their quality of life. It is necessary to achieve a migration in a sense contrary to that which has occurred within these same rural areas, that is to say, from the marginal zones to the traditional zones.

In order to achieve agricultural recovery in the traditional zones, it is necessary to give the agricultural sector tariff protection. The objection to this is that any subsidy will necessarily be paid by the urban population. Nevertheless, in the short term, the reduction of violence will be a benefit for all. Moreover, one subsidy among so many should not frighten us. Today, in the urban sector, we have

subsidies of all types: in the public services, in the system of Family Compensation Entities,⁶¹ in the pension system, in the financing of homes, to mention only a few examples. The only ones who do not have some sort of subsidy today are the campesinos.

In the marginal zones where coca is cultivated, traditional cultivations, such as corn, rice or the so-called *pan coger*,⁶² are not competitive. There crop substitution programs should be focused toward activities the product of which has a high price/volume or price/weight ratio because of the transportation costs associated with the remoteness of these zones. Unfortunately, the viable alternatives are not labor intensive and some cultivations require considerable time in order to be productive. Such is the case with African palm oil, cacao (cocoa) or rubber. But only these crops and cattle ranching are viable in the remote zones.

We must also abandon the idea that today an agrarian reform of traditional type is practical. Worldwide the agricultural sector is passing through a process of consolidation, that is to say, it is moving toward corporate agriculture. It is one thing to propose, as we are doing, the protection of the agricultural sector as a temporary expedient, and quite another to create an unsustainable agrarian structure. The reality is that the country should be prepared for the continuation of migration toward the cities. Violence gave this phenomenon an explosive and disordered form, but the economic realities would have produced a migration to the cities anyway.

Any agrarian reform should be focused on putting productive land into the hands of people capable of managing modern agricultural technology, and not into the hands of illiterate campesinos who would be condemned to failure and poverty. This means that a great educational effort will be necessary for the agricultural sector as will credit systems which permit agricultural development while the new entrepreneurs accumulate the capital necessary to develop the agricultural business.

4. Attack the finances of the subversion

It is obvious that a great deal of money from kidnapping, extortion and narco-trafficking by the guerrilla is moved through the national and international financial system and that the subversion has enterprises and investments of all kinds. On this subject there have been occasional instructions from the national government,

but nothing effective has been done in order to counteract this activity. It is indispensable that the Banking Sector and the Fiscalía do their duty. Again, it is a problem of will, as much within as outside the country. The world has never seen terrorist groups as rich as the Colombian guerrilla. This wealth permits them to buy not only arms but political support within the country and abroad.

5. *Juridical war*

The judiciary should be, of course, independent of the executive and the legislative powers, but it should be just as committed to safeguarding democratic institutions. The reality is that the judicial apparatus is infiltrated by the subversion, it is inefficient against it, and instead has been converted into an instrument of the same subversion in order to bring to trial, with false testimony, members of the Military Forces. It tries to harass or bring down officers and non-commissioned officers, feeding the campaign of disinformation and creating a false and negative image of the Armed Forces.

With the support of the eternal policy of concessions and appeasement, the subversion has achieved a juridical framework which favors it. Looking back a few decades, while in 1980 the military judged the terrorists, today the terrorists judge the military. Military Jurisdiction has been eroded to such an extreme that the members of the Military Forces are exposed to all manner of biased processes.

It is indispensable to restore the Military Jurisdiction and recover the Police functions of the Military Forces in order to avoid impunity in the most out of the way regions of the country. This requires a training of the commanders in the acquisition of evidence and testimonies.

6. *Disinformation campaign*

In the past the various administrations have dedicated the diplomatic apparatus to defending the image of the government in power. Moreover, as part of the strategy of appeasement which has been followed with regard to the subversion and its political component, key posts at the national level and abroad have been turned over to it. Grave damage has been done by these officials to the image of the Military Forces. The disinformation campaign enjoys the results of the Juridical War. All this gives political stature to the subversion

within Colombia and abroad. The Chancellery should work together with the Ministry of Defense in countering the false accusations which are made before multilateral organizations, foreign governments and news media.

7. Strengthening the military forces and the national police

Strengthening the Military and the Police is an obvious necessity, but should not be limited to armament, communications, mobility and manpower. Both the police and the Army need the means and the resources to achieve a better relationship with the civilian population. The people must be convinced that their Military Forces and Police are their allies in local and regional development and in all the aspects of a healthy life. The institutions need to be equipped to reach the heart of the citizens.

It is also necessary to attract the best men to the Military Forces and strengthen the education and training of the members of the armed institutions. War is won with human ability.

8. Recovery of confidence in the institutions

The national unity necessary to confront the subversive challenge requires the recovery of confidence in the institutions of the State.⁶³ The principal problem which today affects this confidence is corruption. The battle against this scourge then must continue and be increased. Moreover, the fiscal effort is facilitated if the contributors believe that the resources of the State are well managed.

Summary and Conclusion

It appears difficult to develop a pacification policy in the legal framework which presently reigns in Colombia. Changes of all sorts will be necessary, including those at the constitutional level. But we should not forget that it was precisely with the hope of achieving peace that the reform of the Constitution of 1886 was made, violating it in the process, with the blessings of the Supreme Court. And it is also a fact that the Constitution of 1991 is being violated in the present Peace Process, leaving the population of the evacuated zone without the protection of the state. On the other hand, we have been told that, in order to achieve peace with the subversion, new reforms of the Constitution will be necessary. The Constitution has

then ceased to be the supreme and permanent law, to become a document which is taken apart and put back together according to the anguish of the moment. Nothing then prevents, if the political will exists, making the changes in the legal framework which will allow the application of a pacification policy.

That which the experiences of other countries teach us is that subversive movements can be defeated, but that this is only possible if there is a national commitment to confront the subversive challenge. The national commitment requires leadership on the part of the executive and the recovery of confidence in the institutions on the part of the population. These should be seen as honest and effective.

It is not true that, if the present process fails, we will be condemned to an eternal war. What is certain is that we must assume the challenge which the subversion presents with decision and will.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

D. The Clerics' Terror Group Carries On

ELN TERRORISTS AND AVIANCA FLIGHT 9463

(W_{KLY} 7.15, 16 APRIL 1099)

Out of the mists of long ago and through the headset in the old helmet, this old, once bold, fighter pilot clearly hears the Tower: "Red Neck Two, maintain your course of one-six-zero. You are approaching the glide path. Begin your descent at 500 feet per minute..." And it would have made no difference what voice it was or even if it was a series of voices. If such were coherent. Which is, of course, why it was so simple for the ML terrorists of the ELN to lure the Fokker 50 which was Avianca 9463 to a landing on that strip—listed in the aeronautical chart as "closed"—at Simití Municipality. Certain of the public prints, always ready to give full credit to the ML terrorists, have made much of the operation. But this is perhaps unjustified. The criminal activities of the ELN are lucrative enough to pay any number of experienced radio operators or perhaps they could borrow a few from Fidel Ruz Castro, the boss of that HL to which these terrorist groups belong.

Barrancabermeja is on the right bank of the Magdalena River in about mid Santander Department. If one flies north along this river—see the Operational Navigational Chart (ONC) L26—some 62 sm

(statute miles) north of Barrancabermejo and slightly inland from the left bank of the meandering Magdalena, there lies the Simití Municipality. The aeronautical chart tells us that the strip there is closed as it was reported to have been on 12 April 1999. The strip nestles near the lakes and ponds that mark the river in this region, almost at sea level. To its west the San Lucas Range shelters it from prying eyes, human and electronic. To its east the El Espartillo Ridge and the Cinero Plateau, in Santander and Cesar Departments, do much the same thing.

The local geography may be completed with one observation. LANS' aeronautical charts show no roads in Bolivar Department. The political maps show a single one, this being an "other." In other words there are almost no communications facilities in the department. Against this background, the question is bound to be asked: Could this crime have been prevented?

The answer is a resounding "Yes."

Self-Defense Patrols

Solving a problem should begin with the identification of the manifestations of the problem. Here the manifestations are the unbridled criminal activities of the ELN terrorists. Did these terrorists not claim an "ideology"—Marxism-Leninism—and were their numbers in the handful rather than the thousands, they would be dealt with by prisons. But with the twisted logic of the PP it is supposed that a second way for dealing with these terrorists exists, a reintegration of them into Colombian society. By this time the irrationality of this approach should have been demonstrated.

For about twenty years, perhaps beginning with Pres. Betancur's "white flag of peace" (pp. 49ff, YRBK98), a series of Colombian presidents from both major political parties have striven to "make peace" with these terrorists while preventing the Colombian military from engaging in any effective action against them. Under these conditions, the government position deteriorated steadily as the terrorist position strengthened. The low point looked as if it had been reached under the Samper Government with the FARC hostage campaign (pp. 209ff, YRBK98). Such was not the case. The situation was to deteriorate further under the Pastrana Government. This government may well be influenced by the New-Age Yanqui Imperialism; its president, incredibly, has admitted to being under the influ-

ence of the boss of that very HL which is the enemy of Colombia, Fidel Castro.

Fidel Ruz Castro

In mid-January, 1999 Colombian President Andrés Pastrana left for the Havana headquarters of the HL terrorist boss, Fidel Castro, trailing a bizarre collection of public pronouncements in his wake. He claimed to be “convinced” that the Cuban dictator, to whose island headquarters ELN boss Pérez went to die in 1998, was “a great ally” in the “search for peaceful coexistence among Colombians.” As if to emphasize the world of fantasy which he was creating with his words, Pastrana spoke of his “certainty that, for many years, he (Castro) has kept himself faithful to the precepts of social justice.” He called the Cuban dictator an “indispensable friend” (EFE 15 January 1999) of peace in Colombia.

Of course, the Colombian president likewise asserted that he was convinced that the “peace” talks with FARC, which were allegedly going to begin momentarily, would soon bring “peace.” Pastrana’s peace process has been a travesty since it began. The process has provided nothing but the opportunity for FARC boss Tirofijo and his terrorists to demonstrate their contempt for the Colombian Government and its leaders and to obtain their own objectives without themselves even entering into an agreement. But the discussion here has to do with the ELN, the terrorists from which would not have been able to carry out their Avianca hijacking had not their propaganda and disinformation effectively eliminated the CAPs, in Colombia, the CONVIVIR (section C above).

The CAPs

Pres. Rios Montt broke the back of the URNG in the Guatemala of the early 1980s when he formed the CAPs there by providing rudimentary arms to the, mostly, Indians who were being preyed upon by those terrorists who have since been turned into “statesmen and freedom fighters” by the U.S. A lady author was recently confused, as LANS has reported, by the fact that the Indians of Guatemala so strongly support Rios Montt. Of course they do, their memories not being so short that they have forgotten who was responsible for giving them a way to defend themselves against these ML terrorists. The LANS Editor’s investigations of them have been

sufficient to reveal a quite different picture from that painted by the HL and the HLS and blindly reported by so many news services.

The DO against the Guatemalan CAPs has been fully as violent and vicious as that against those of Colombia and has been touched upon here (pp. 217ff, YRBK97). As well it might be, for these self-defense forces could have prevented the overruns of small detachments at Las Felicias (pp. 209ff, YRBK98) and other Colombian locations; they are the single most important adjunct to the military. The Colombian military, as with the military in other LA nations, has no real difficulty with Castro's ML terrorists. When the press talks of a "battle," what they mean is another ambush of the military by the terrorists. As was described with regard to Mitú (Wkly 6.18), these terrorists "run like rats" when the military catches up with them—if the military is allowed to do so. But, in a nation with terrain as difficult as is that of Colombia, the military clearly cannot be "everywhere" at once. In Guatemala, the PACs have informed the LANS Editor in detail of the modus operandi of these terrorists which is precisely what one would expect. The terrorists make a nuisance of themselves somewhere or other—murdering a "hated landlord" and his bodyguards or some such. So a military unit moves in, and they scamper. The unit soon has another mission, and, when it moves out, the terrorists return.

Which is where the PACs can be so useful. They live somewhere in the neighborhood, and, whether they engage any terrorists or not, they are continuously aware of what is going on there. Just as the activity around Las Felicias would have been noticed and reported by a PAC so the activity which must have taken place around the Simití Municipality would have been so noted, and it is entirely probable that an army unit could have taken care of it in the embryo stage.

As was the case in Guatemala, the uproar for the elimination of the PACs demonstrated the value of these organizations in opposing the ML terrorists, and they were disbanded long before the "peace" process there was completed. With adverse effects on which LANS has reported. What is happening in Colombia is even more bizarre than this.

FARC has been showing its contempt for the Colombian government with what amounts to the Khrushchev taunt, "You spit in their face, and they call it dew," for the better part of a year if not twenty

years. There is clearly no reason for these terrorists to make any concessions if they can obtain whatever they desire without them, and they have not. As with the ML terrorists in Guatemala, so the first demand of the Colombian terrorists is the elimination of the PACs. To this demand the Pastrana government appears to have surrendered, albeit, in doing so it is proclaiming that the FARC demand had nothing to do with its action.⁶⁴

Avant Garde YI (Yanqui Imperialism)

The Clinton administration of the U.S. has embarked on a policy of YI. The principal instrument of this policy is, of course, a flourished Government of the U.S. (GOUS) checkbook. Although there have been minor rebellions by the LA nations⁶⁵—Cardoso refused to use the Brazilian military in the “drug war,” MERCOSUR refused to allow then Asst. Secy. of State for LA Affairs Jeffrey Davidoff to replace its trading agreement with the CG-created ALCA (LA Free Trade Organization), etc. Only Fujimori has flatly refused to surrender Peruvian sovereignty. Which is really rather remarkable, if of no particular significance, because the “roots” of the apparent CEO (Chief Executive Officer) for YI are to be found just across the Sea of Japan from the ancestral home of President Fujimori Fujimori. The apparent CEO is Harold Hongju Koh who was named Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, HR and Labor by the CG on 16 September 1998.

In the PC vernacular of today, Hognju is a “Korean-American” whose parents were natives of that peninsula which, for more than half a century, has been split between a ML tyranny to the north and a democracy to the south wracked by “HR” lawlessness sponsored or incited by the north. Mr. Koh is a stalwart of the HR Establishment as the most cursory perusal of his record demonstrates. As is the case with many such, he accepts and acts on various of the HL and HLS DOs. Whether this is done wittingly or unwittingly is something that goes to his motivation—possibly self delusional—and not to be judged too rapidly. But it is a simple fact that he is a member of an establishment, parts of which are precisely aware of what it is doing.

Young (mid-forties) Hungju was born after 1952, attended the “best” institutions of higher learning, obtaining a B.A. from Harvard (1975), an Honours B.A. from Oxford (1977) and a J.D. from Harvard

Law (1977).⁶⁶ He clerked for U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun⁶⁷ and then apparently went to work for the Justice Department. In 1985 he began a professorship at Yale where he later became the G. C. and B. L. Smith Professor of International Law and Director of the O. H. Schell, Jr. Center for International HR. If the maturing elephant maintains a firm grip on the tail of the elephant in front he will receive “numerous honors for his HR work” —or whatever other work on which he may be engaged. He has.

Hongju on and in Colombia

On 26 February 1999 Mr. Koh held a press conference on the “1999 HR Report.” In answer to an off-mike question he made four points. The third was “strengthening the rule of law.” This is a remarkably impertinent statement and demonstrates (1) an astonishing conceit and (2) a clear intention of violating Colombian national sovereignty. The reader may enumerate all the cogent comments.

The other three points are all drawn from obviously successful DOs which have been discussed in previous reports: First, he demands “greater respect and protection for HR defenders.” These “HR defenders” are those MLs who have infiltrated or created those NGOs, a few of which have recently been discussed in Spcl 7.7 above, a number of which have been and will be discussed in these reports.

His third point was “elimination of impunity for government officials who have participated in HR violations.” When Koh was in Colombia a few weeks later (AFP 13 April 1999) he “celebrated” the retirement of Generals del Rio and Millán but warned that “more still needs to be done.” What he was celebrating (Spcl 7.7) was the success of the HL DO which created a fantasy case against these officers. When the LANS correspondent in Bogotá stated that Koh “visited and insulted” the Colombians, he was stating nothing more than the simple truth. To this the LANS Editor can attest based on his day-long interviews with each of these generals.

As important as Hungju’s third point is his fourth, “issues that arise out of the relationship between the military and the paramilitary units.” This DO is not even worthy of further discussion here. Suffice it to say, that, once again, the U.S. Government appears to be “carrying water” for the Colombian ML terrorists, whose princi-

pal short-term objective is elimination of the PACs, a real source of danger to them. LANS has no U.S. intel source in Colombia from which U.S. intentions there can be determined with reasonable certainty. In Guatemala our sources have provided the reasons for such aberrant behavior: “power sharing” with the ML terrorists who are first transmogrified from terrorists to “freedom fighters,” all with the long-term objective of destruction of the LA armed forces. It is logical to suggest that the same objective is being pursued here.

President Pastrana appears to have fallen in with the PAC-elimination project, and, indeed, a good deal of such elimination has already taken place. It was a consequence of precisely such elimination that Flight 9463 was hijacked with results which were not final at press time.

Notes

1. Anatoliy Golitsyn, *The Perestroika Deception: The World's Slide towards the 'Second October Revolution'* (Harle, London, 1995. ISBN: 1-899798-00-5).
2. The LibTheo Jesuit Javier Jiraldo is boss of this “HR” group.
3. This leftist lobby has been discussed by J. Michael Waller (*The Third Current of Revolution: Inside the 'North American Front' of El Salvador's Guerrilla War*, University Press of America, 1991. ISBN: 0-8191-8231-1), cf. p.26. One of WOLA's most famous associates was Farid Handal, brother of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front terrorist boss, Shafik Handal.
4. Hope, Peace and Liberty (Esperanza, Paz y Libertad) is the political arm of the former EPL (Peoples Liberation Army), a Peking-oriented guerrilla group that laid down its weapons.
5. Ms. Cuartas ceased being mayor on 1 Jan 98. The dossier which LANS has compiled on this individual is worthy of publication at some point.
6. These ONGs received funds from the European Union and Amnesty International and passed them on to the ELN. Gloria Cuartas was made a star by the International Left for her “peace efforts.” Actually, she tried by means fair and foul to support FARC. Several of her activists were indicted for the murder of Esperanza activists.
7. A cogent example of this is given by the great Gringo Disinformation Operation (chap.5, YRBK00). This appears to have originated in the *Washington Post* (10 Apr 98) to be extrapolated in the *New York Times* (1 Jun 98). The entire DO was based on a non-existent Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) report as the LANS Editor learned from the DIA spokesman and, indirectly, from the DIA commander through Gen. Bonnett in an interview.
8. This has been discussed further in Wkly 7.22.
9. On 25 January 1998 a guerrilla named Brayan Estiven Rivera Mendoza was wounded and captured by troops of the Maza Cavalry Group in Cucuta. He confessed to the murder of Senator Jorge Cristo in the presence of Lt. Col. Matamoros, commander of the Cavalry Group, and Prosecutor Pinto of the Regional Prosecutor's Office which is headed by Mr. Rameses Libardo Pinilla. Within hours and with no explanation, the confessed killer was released. Although this was brought to the attention of National Prosecutor Gomez Mendez, no action was taken.

10. Generals del Río and Millán, officers with superior records in dealing with the ML terrorists, were extensively interviewed by the LANS Editor. In these interviews he gathered details of the fabricated charges which, distributed through “HR” front groups, led to the removal of these officers. Space allows only the example of Jahel Quiroga who bills herself as a defender of HR” and cofounder of the Regional HR Commission (CREDHOS). In reality she is a power in the Marxist Leninist Patriotic Union (UP) party. An impressive amount of material has been compiled on Ms. Quiroga’s activities in support of the terrorist groups. The LANS files contain, for example, copies of affidavits from Angela Patricia Contreras G. and Maria Ildaris Rendon T. attesting to Quiroga’s attempts to bribe them to lie about Gen. Millán.
11. P.65, Fernando Vargas, *Esta Iglesia No Es La Mia* (Litoartes, n.d.).
12. The LANS files contain one of these propaganda efforts frequently accepted by the U.S. State Department.
13. The award-winning journalist, Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza, treats this case in “Otro Mas” (*SEMANA*, 10 Mar 97).
14. These “HR” organizations have frequently been encountered in these reports, in particular, WOLA and the Farabundi terrorists for which cf. Spcl 7.7. Ed.
15. In its 27 April 1931 issue *TIME* magazine factually reported the raid on Wawa Junction by the murderous bandit, Augusto Calderón Sandino, the “natural child” of his father and the maid and titular deity of his terrorist offspring, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (cf. pp.155ff, *Latin American Political Yearbook 1997*, Transaction Publishers, Rutgers Univ, 1998. ISBN:1-56000-064-3; hereinafter YRBK97). With the DO which drove the hapless Somoza Debayle out of Nicaragua (cf.pp.187ff, YRBK99-00, in press), Sandino took on a fabricated sanctity generally respected by the press.
16. Lunev tells us what we practically knew all along, “The GRU and the KGB helped to fund just about every antiwar movement and organization in America and abroad,” with a few more details (p.78, Stanislaw Lunev [with Ira Winkler], *Through the Eyes of the Enemy: Russia’s Highest Ranking Military Defector Reveals Why Russia is More Dangerous than Ever*, Regnery, 1998).
17. Inter-American Workers Confederation President Bernardo Ibañez (*Inter-American Labor News*, May 1948)
18. LANS has traced the origin of these figures to a story which originated with the ML terrorists of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) in 1982 (pp.311ff, YRBK98).
19. Whether those who used the effects of these DOs to bring victory to Castro in Cuba and Ortega et al. in Nicaragua, or are using the GDO to a similar end, *know* what they are doing is irrelevant to the result.
20. Farah may be a scoundrel or an altar boy — if LibTheo has left any of the latter—but this goes to motivation which (a) is generally indeterminable and (b) does not really matter since the actions, not the intentions, produce the result. Farah was probably set up by the HL or HLS as the *New York Times’* LeMoyne, who contributed so much through the Kennedy website to the destruction of the School of the Americas, could have been (pp.255ff, YRBK98).
21. These “refugee villages” were routinely empty of able-bodied men (women)—and near men—when a terrorist raid was in progress nearby. It would not, of course, have been PC to write about such matters in the press, the members of which were busy with other, more important assignments. Squatting behind a string rations bag on the strip at III Brigade Hq. in San Miguel while waiting a Huey ride north, the LANS Editor once watched a Huey from the capital, chocked full of “working press” and with M-60s removed, alight. Having spent a happy ten minutes trying

out the pilot seat, the journalists headed back to the Camino Real Hotel to “report” on the non-war.

22. Villa de Livia is a small town rich in its colonial heritage and architecture.
23. Mapiripán is on the Guaviare River seventy km east of San José de Guaviare and 250 km southeast of Villavicencio.
24. In the Mapiripán Massacre Castaño’s Self-Defense Forces (AUC) took the small town of Mapiripán which lies deep in a coca-growing area under FARC influence. His unit allegedly flew in from Urabá. They murdered seven people whose bodies were found, unconfirmed reports counting another twenty allegedly thrown into the Guaviare River.
25. Werner Mauss is the German who acted as the ELN intermediary in the Schoene kidnapping (pp.122ff, YRBK97), several other examples of his extensive linkage to the terrorists in the LANS files, perhaps most notably his arrangement of the payment of an amount, estimated at U.S.\$50 million, by the Mannesmann Co. to the terrorists when it built the Caño-Limón oil pipeline in the 1980s.
26. The term, “Conspiracy theories,” like “McCarthyism,” is generally used as a pejorative with little serious attention to the subject matter involved. Therefore, it can seldom be subjected to serious analysis. Nevertheless, such an attempt must surely accuse the prime movers in these “conspiracies” of complex motivations which are not specifically provable. If such an analysis is meaningful, the “conspiracy theorists” should indeed have a field day with the Pastrana Government of Colombia. (The word “McCarthyism” was apparently coined by Owen Lattimore the day before his appearance at the McCarran Committee. For the interesting Owen Lattimore, cf. Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East was Lost: American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949* (Regnery, 1963, LCC: 62-12892).)
27. On p.210, YRBK98, “Las Felicias” incorrectly appears twice, “Las Delicias” once.
28. This was reported in the press as “M-60 rifles.” Since there would not, presuming these not to be the familiar M-60 machine gun, appear to be any such rifle, LANS has taken this to mean M-60 “rifle grenades.” These are fired from the Serbian 7.62mm M70B1, based on the AK-47. Hence the presumption “M-70 rifles.”
29. The surface-to-air missiles (SAM) are given as SAM7, 14 and 16. RPG7 portable rocket launchers, 81mm mortars and (apparently) 60mm mortars were also shipped. (N.B.: The 60mm mortar is quite common, but *SEMANA* lists a 61mm mortar which is probably a misprint.) “Last generation” U.S. 40mm multiple grenade launchers. 4000 to 6000 AKM rifles. If the (7.62mm) AKM designation is correct, this is a USSR/CIS rifle, not the Korean version of the AK-47. The Korean 7.62mm Type 68 rifle is based on the AKM.
30. Morales appears to exaggerate somewhat when he says that in the FMLN “offensive” of 1989, his unit “held OAS Secretary General Baena Soares hostage for three days in the Hotel San Salvador.” The LANS Editor was there about that time and recalls Baena well protected by the Salvadoran Armed Forces (FAES)
31. Prof. R. Zelaya Blanco is expert on Nica terrorists. He has recently (DLA 21 September 1999) provided valuable information which supplements the *SEMANA* report on the cooperation in FMLN arms shipments by the Nica terrorists of the United Andres Castro Front (FUAC) and the Ramon Raudales Northern Front (FNR). FUAC and FNR operate in the Atlantic region of Nicaragua and maintain intel contacts with the high command of the Nica Army, until recently the Sandinista Peoples Army (EPS). LANS has long discussed the secret arms caches (*buzones*) which were scattered around Nicaragua (cf. pp.325ff, YRBK98) and from which certain of these arms are now being sent. These coordinated shipments to FARC are perhaps most important as demonstrating the continuing existence of Castro’s HL,

terrorists from three Central American and one South American nations closely cooperating.

32. In YRBK97 the Order was incorrectly given as that of Ana Guadeloupe.
33. David Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Westview Press, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3574-4).
34. It may not be as mysterious as it first appears. Several years ago the LANS Editor learned from agents within the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) that specific projected “drug busts” had been betrayed from within the U.S. Embassy in the country involved. This was *not* in Colombia and certain of these had specific political overtones. Further discussion would tend to locate the scene, and this would simply be irrelevant to the present Colombian situation. Furthermore, LANS never determined beyond a reasonable doubt how high up in State this behavior went—Editor.
35. The baneful comparison with Salvadoran terrorist operations becomes apparent here. As was learned from operations with the Salvadoran Armed Forces, the courts were frequently swinging doors for these Marxist Leninists. A terrorist captured by the military trying to murder security personnel and turned over to the courts would soon be captured again attempting the same crimes. A young company commander comes to mind who had captured a Farabundi terrorist who had just murdered one of his men only to catch the same man trying the same thing after a quick trip through the swinging-door courts.—Editor
36. The key word here is, of course, “tool.” For the MLs the “lie” is a venerated tool, introduced and vouched for by the patron saint, Ulianov (aka Lenin), of their conspiracy. Which, of course, places the anti-Left at considerable disadvantage, their tool being truth. —Editor
37. These were established by Law 62 (1993), Decree 356 (1994) and Resolution 368 (1995).
38. Edward Harle has recently published an updated version of Douglas’ classic account of the use by the International Left of drugs as a weapon in its offensive against the West. Douglas’ earlier version of his book (Clarion, 1990) was effectively sabotaged by the destruction of its distribution networks. Dr. Joseph D. Douglas’s book, *Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America and the West* (Harle, London, 1999. ISBN: 1-899798-04-8), is available from Edward Harle, Suite 1209, 280 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016-0802, tel: 212/447-5111.
39. Castellanos’ terrorists would commandeer the conveniently located vehicles of the media in fleeing the scene. It appears probable that the terrorists invited the media to their performance, but the LANS correspondents in Colombia have no proof of this.
40. This had been carefully arranged, and forty-five dismembered terrorist cadavers were later found in common graves.
41. In the Puerto Rico (Meta Department) operation (cf. Wkly 8.3) the military recovered twenty-eight of the 4,000 AK-47s supplied to the FARC terrorists through Venezuela. The LANS Medellín correspondent has reported that there is no evidence directly involving Castroite Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez with this ordnance.
42. Communications media sources have given these as, in one instance, Fronts 51, 53 and 54 and Company Abelardo Romero, and, in another, as Fronts 51, 42 and 53. Since Military Intelligence is routinely more nearly correct than the media, the former’s figures will be used here.
43. In one case, two “streams” were given, if not in enough detail to indicate understanding, as part of the route north. The launches which the terrorists use would require a rather healthy “stream,” and since they appear on none of our maps in any

event, these “details” are not included. Could the terrorists have been “having fun” with the “reporters”?

44. If the press account of this trek were to be believed, however, the terrorists left the Duda well below Uribe at some unspecified location, continuing north on the Chuscates and La Hermosara Streams to the “Granada” sector. This is on the eastern slope of this range at which point the account transports the columns to Gutierrez and other municipalities south of Bogotá. The hamlet of Granada is roughly due south of Villavicencio on the eastern slope of the Eastern Range, a road running north through the latter town and through a pass in the Range leading to Gutierrez and other of the terrorist target areas. This road route might be relevant as is indicated by the terrorist flight from the Army by road in various vehicles commandeered from the communications media.
45. Colombian Pres. Belisario Betencur Cuartas came to power in 1982, offering the “white flag” of truce to the terrorist (pp161ff, YRBK97 and later reports). Belisario’s “peace” efforts were described by Zalamea in 1985 as converting the nation “into an urban and rural armed camp.”
46. The alleged child molester, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, is a member in good standing of Castro’s HL and had his recent presidential campaign financed by Mu’ammar Qaddafi p.150 YRBK97). Hemispheric terrorist chief Castro, who “supports the peace process” according to Pastrana (EFE 18 Dec 98), is sending a “personal representative” to the “dialog table” (EFE 29 Dec 98).
47. Ms. Menchú, long the spokesman for the URNG, was probably (p.106 YRBK97) a terrorist herself in the 1980s. She received the Order of Ana Guadeloupe from Castro. A recent investigation of the disinformation in her famous book, written by Burgos, will be touched upon in Spcl 7.1.
48. Kamann has made certain meaningless statements (cf. EFE 20 Nov 98) with regard to the evacuated zone which would simply be bizarre were it not for U.S. intervention in the process (cf. Wkly 6.3).
49. Alvaro Leyva is a politician belonging to the Conservative Party. He was Minister of Mining for the Misael Pastrana Government (1970-1974). Leyva has strong links to the FARC and arranged the meeting of the presidential candidate, Andrés Pastrana, son of Misael Pastrana, with the FARC leaders a few weeks before the 1998 elections. A short time later, and to the new government’s annoyance, the Attorney General’s office issued an arrest warrant against Leyva for allegedly receiving funds from the Cali Drug Cartel. Leyva fled to Costa Rica and received, with the Colombian administration’s compliance, political asylum. From San Jose, he was instrumental in arranging a meeting between “Raul Reyes” and a State Department Official.
50. The FARC and ELN guerrillas have organized lightly armed urban units that engage in sabotage and kidnapping. A group of these, numbering around 300, is trying to demobilize, but they have complained that nobody at the High Commissioner for Peace’s Office has time to deal with the matter.
51. In December 1998 the FARC attacked a stronghold of the self-defense forces led by Carlos Castaño deep in the mountains of Cordoba Department. They also assassinated nineteen civilians in nearby villages, accused of being “paramilitary” supporters. The victims included women and children (including a twenty-two-month-old baby and a five-year-old girl). The villages, El Diamante and El Venado, were burned, and some of the victims’ bodies were mutilated. There was no protest from Colombian Human Rights NGOs such as CINEP, Comision Colombiana de Juristas and Justicia y Paz, or their international correspondents, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc. The Colombian government was also strangely quiet.

52. Giraldo, Javier. This LibTheo Jesuit priest is the head Justicia y Paz, an NGO dedicated to the denunciation of alleged and most often fabricated cases of Human Rights violations by the Colombian Military.
53. Jose Miguel Vivanco is the Chilean born head of the NGO, Human Rights Watch-Americas. Vivanco has good contacts within the State Department and is an important player in the ML Disinformation Campaign against the Colombian Government and Military.
54. The lifelong ML terrorist, Pedro Antonio Marín, adopted his first alias, Manuel Marulanda Velez, in 1953 at the suggestion of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) directors, Martín Camargo and Pedro Vázquez, in memory of another ML who had died in 1950. Cf., Luis Alberto Villamarín Pulido (*El cartel de las farc*, El Faraón, 1996. ISBN: 958-33-0380-1).
55. The AFP dispatch shows the PC of the press. The “paramilitaries” have been extensively discussed in these reports, the terminology being a HL creation to link them to the regular military. In actuality, most of them have been Self Defense Patrols (CAPs) made up of campesinos bent on protecting their families and their property from the ML terrorists. Here AFP adds a dollop of additional PC, following “paramilitary” with “(extreme right).” That these camps are all “extreme right” —whatever this may be—is simply nonsense.
56. The Castro gambit could be the work of the U.S. which may have returned to this technique of “Opening to the Left” (Spcl 6.14) and which has been meeting with the Colombian terrorists (EFE 5 Jan 99).
57. Ana Teresa Bernal, with Oil Workers Union (USO) Pres. Hernando Hernandez, stands accused by three citizens of attempting to bribe them to give false testimony against Generals Millán, del Río and others. (For more on this, cf. Spcl 7.9.)
58. That Menchú has long been a spokesman for, and supporter of, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) terrorists has been obvious to anyone aware of the terrorist situation in Guatemala. But only relatively recently (Spcl 7.1) have the details of her militant Marxism Leninism (ML) been available from the work of David Stoll (*Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, Westview, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3574-4).
59. As has been remarked in Spcl 8.11 by the LANS Medellín correspondent, there has been confusion in various quarters to include the U.S. State Department as to the translation of *Fiscalía* and *Procuradería*. We therefore repeat the Medellín correspondent’s definition: “*Fiscalía* is the equivalent of an Attorney General’s Office that prosecutes criminal cases while the *Procuradería* is the office which has disciplinary powers over all public servants.”
60. Sir Robert (Grainger Ker) Thompson, consultant editor, *War in Peace: An Analysis of Warfare from 1945 to the Present Day* (Orbis, 1985. ISBN: 085613841X).
61. The *cajas de compensación familiar* provide various advantages to their members to include schools, stores and so on. They are financed with a payroll tax, and managed by the affiliated employers.
62. *Pan coger* is essentially a phrase meaning “subsistence crops” and indicating unsuitability for trade as the author indicates.
63. The only state institution with a highly favorable image is the Army, but this is hardly sufficient.
64. With *les moeurs de notre siècle* such a proclamation frequently means just the opposite of what is being proclaimed.
65. An interesting case of what appears to be the opposite situation has been provided by Argentine President Menem. His government has been shipping arms to Bosnia, manifested for “Panama,” since 1991. U.S. involvement in this has been con-

tured, Clinton's award of "extra NATO Ally" status to Menem's country some sort of reward for such activity.

66. One must presume that the burgeoning young lawyer hewed to the "elephant-walk school" of education in doing so. In this modus operandi the undergraduate student seizes the tail of the elephant ahead and holds it firmly, eyes and mind fixed straight ahead as he proceeds through undergraduate and graduate indoctrination in PC. It is an unusual end product indeed who has not been imbued with all the frivolities of whatever is PC at the moment by the conclusion of his education.
67. Save for his notoriety for having written the Roe vs Wade decision, this Nixon appointee does not appear to be of the left, the stinging attack against him by the leftist Colorado Judicial Review Project attesting to this.

6

The Hemispheric Left (HL) in Venezuela

While Venezuela cannot claim the coverage that Colombia has received in matters relating basically to the Hemispheric Left (HL), it presently appears to possess the potential for an importance matching that of its western neighbor. Therefore, LANS feels that the HL in Venezuela is indeed personified by a Hugo Chávez Frías who personifies not only the Left but assuredly the HL as embodied in the man he so admires, Fidel Ruz Castro. This abbreviated treatment will begin by borrowing from *Latin American Political Yearbook 2000* (Transaction Publishers, 2002. ISBN: 0-7658-0044-6), herein-after YRBK00.

THE VENEZUELAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

(IN PART)

(WKLY 6.22, 3 DECEMBER 1998)

Whether or not Nostradamus could and/or did accurately forecast “the future” appears to be a subject for debate, learned or otherwise. Whether any of the substantial number of contemporary tea leaf readers can forecast the future of the HL terrorist boss, Fidel Ruz Castro, remains an interesting speculation. It can be said, however, that those prognosticators who have confidently predicted, during the last decade and more, the political demise of Castro have so far been belied by events. It can also be said, if seldom admitted, that, quite to the contrary, Castro’s political position has substantially improved.

Such improvement should be brought home to the most casual observer of the political scene if Comandante Chávez wins the Venezuelan presidential elections of 6 December 1998. The polling data indicates that he will do just this.

Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías

LANS will assuredly not predict the winner of the 6 December 1998 presidential election in Venezuela. However, various rather astute political figures in that nation have made such a prediction or have indicated their belief in such an outcome with their bustling activities in support of Chávez-blocking coalitions. Among the former is Carlos Andrés Pérez.

Septuagenarian ex-President Pérez may be criticized for various of his activities during a long life, but it can hardly be denied that he has vast experience as a practical politician. Which renders his remarks of latter November 1998 worthy of remark. He told EFE that “Chávez ...will be the winner” of the 6 December elections, that “The Venezuelan people expressed an unequivocal will [for this] ...in the parliamentary ...elections of 8 November ...” and, finally, that the efforts to form a front to oppose his election will fail. Whether Pérez proves right or wrong, the bases of his remarks appear sound.

Hugo Chávez (b. 1955) is a Marxist, proof of this surfacing virtually with his every appearance and utterance. But he is also a military man, and LANS sources in Venezuela have compared the government which he can be expected to form with that of another military Marxist, Peru’s General Velasco Alvarado.¹

He graduated from the Venezuelan Military Academy (VMA) in 1976. By 1987 he was an instructor at the VMA, an ideal position for his subversive propensities to surface. As they apparently did, for at that time he had formed a clandestine officers group, Colonels, Majors, Captains and Lieutenants (CoMaCaTe) which was suspected of circulating subversive pamphlets. But nothing came of it, and his career continued. By 4 February 1992, Chávez had advanced in rank to lieutenant colonel (LTC) and formed a new subversive organization, Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement (MBR). Choosing 4 February for his attempted *golpe* (coup d’état), allegedly because it is General Sucre’s birthday, MBR personnel amounting to about a battalion—about 133 officers and 925 enlisted men were later captured—under Chávez set out to take over the government.

The plotters failed to murder President Pérez as they had planned, he escaping through a tunnel under a raincoat, a reality which some feel saved the day for the Venezuelan Government. Such is of course to some extent conjectural. In any event, Chávez was jailed, and the

New York Times (NYT) was able to locate any number of people who greatly admired the golpista boss, among them the man who would be President Caldera's "economic expert," Teodoro Petkoff, the Marxist founder of the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS).

"The Venezuelan people applaud the putschists [golpistas]," Petkoff told Brooke (NYT, 9 February 1992) who would claim there to have been "silent cheers from a large part of the population." Through it all the golpistas and their promoters in the press parroted the HL line of Fidel Castro against "neoliberalism," as if this gaggle of Marxist Leninists (ML) would take any position other than this anti-free market one. But perhaps most interesting in this situation was the continuing pro-Chávez position which the president-to-be, Rafael Caldera, would assume.

Chávez was jailed for his rebellion but not for long. Rafael Caldera replaced the ousted Pérez as president in December of 1993 and subsequently pardoned the golpista and returned his military rank with which Chávez retired. Venezuelan sources have told LANS that Caldera did this because he supported the Chávez efforts to overthrow Pérez. Which is in keeping with the facts and with the views of Caldera's cohorts such as Petkoff.

"I am not a communist," Chávez recently told *El Universal* (24 November 1998) in repetition of a favorite theme. In the sense that his name is not on the roll of a communist party—such as those which are in his coalition—this is probably true. But that he appears to be a ML and dutiful member of Castro's HL the evidence all seems to indicate as does the makeup of the coalition² which he brought with him to the presidential ballot. First the question of the parties in his coalition.

The Chávez alliance of course includes the candidate's own Fifth Republic Movement (MVR) which is essentially an outgrowth of his Bolívar Revolutionary Movement (MBR200) based on the 200 members of a military lodge with which his coup of 1992 was attempted. Some of the other groups in his coalition are: MAS was founded by Petkoff and certain of his Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV) associates. PCV is also in the coalition. The Country for Everyone (PPT) is an offshoot of Radical Cause (CausaR) which in turn arose out of certain ML terrorist groups and "dissidents" from PCV and MAS. The three remaining are the Independents for the Community (IPC), the Independent Solidarity Movement (MSI) and the Agricultural Action (AA).

That Chávez is leading what is effectively a ML coalition into the elections would seem to be undeniable. That he is leading it under the banner of Ruz Castro's HL may be inferred from various statements by the candidate, but he perhaps made his most convincing statement during the love feast between the candidate and the caudillo when the latter welcomed the former in the *Aula Magna* (Great Lecture Room) of the University of Havana on Chávez's arrival there in December 1994. The LANS files contain the video of the Venezuelan's talk and the Cuban dictator's reply. The performance can best be described as classic and endless ML rhetoric. Our colleague, Ariel Remos, has aptly distilled it with the Chavez remarks (*Diario las Américas*, 24 September 1998),

"I do not deserve this honor, I aspire to deserve it some day... Some day we hope to come to Cuba ... extending our arms in a Latin American (LA) revolutionary project, imbued as we are... with (the idea of) an Hispanic American continent integrated as a single nation ..." And the "soviet-type" LA union again arises, this to be either under Castro or his successor.³

This account will be completed with what appears to be the latest poll rating the presidential hopefuls. The poll was taken by the polling firm, Consultores 21 on Friday, 27 November 1998 and published in *El Nacional* (Caracas) on 29 November 1998. The results are:

Chávez	57 percent
Salas	26 percent
Alfaro	6 percent
Sáez	3 percent

THE NEW VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT
(WKLY 7.8, 25 FEBRUARY 1999)

Prior to the Venezuelan elections of 6 December 1998 Hugo Chávez Frías was best known for the military revolt which he led and which was quickly put down. Then Pres. Carlos Andrés Pérez escaped the "execution" which had been planned for him and survived to be legally removed from office not long after for vast embezzlements of government funds. Apparently because Pérez's elected successor, Rafael Caldera, was also Pérez's enemy, Chávez

soon emerged from duress vile to receive a pardon, the return of his military rank and the presidency of the republic. In Spcl 7.2 (chapter 1 above), a sketch of Chávez's background has been laid out. That he has been, and appears to remain a Castroite, was discussed as were his apparently continuing contacts with an interesting former US State Department official, James Cheek. Cheek is particularly important to this case because of his longtime advocacy of U.S. support for that "opening to the left" which may describe Mr. Chávez.

The available evidence would appear to support the thesis that Venezuela's new president is a part of Castro's HL and would be delighted to add a ML Venezuela to the Cuban caudillo's projected "re-edition of a soviet-type union in LA" (pp. 99ff, YRBK97 et seq.). But there are some astute observers who dismiss this conclusion out of hand, apparently convinced that his accession to the presidency will have the beneficial effect of eliminating the corrupt "dinosaurs" of the Democratic Action (AD) and the Independent Political Electoral Committee—Christian Socialist (COPEI). That these parties have traded power back and forth since the ejection of Caudillo Pérez Jiménez – whom Chávez has recently invited to return to Venezuela (cf. EFE 10 January 1999)—is undeniable as is the fact of their destruction of the Venezuelan economy. But while the past is only prologue and hardly guarantees the future, it has so far been the most reliable guide to what *may* happen in that future.

Since the Second War, a careful observer has had the opportunity of watching (1) the replacement of Guatemalan Caudillo Jorge Ubico in 1945 by the ML Axis of Arevalo and Arbenz (pp.214ff, YRBK98); (2) the replacement of Cuban pussycat Fulgencio Batista by the ML Ruz Castro in 1959; and (3) the replacement of Tacho Somoza by the Sandinista gang of MLs in 1979. In each of these cases, history has repeated itself if one, say, takes Mao Tse-tung's "agrarian reformers" or the "liberators" of Ulianov (aka Lenin) as "history." The old regime is assuredly wiped out, but, in every case, that which the MLs substituted for it is incomparably worse, whatever yardstick—economic, democratic, etc. —is used for the comparison.

But, the argument goes, Chávez will assuredly not hitch his wagon to the falling star of Castro, whether he told the Cubans as much in the Havana of 1994 or not. Castro's star has, according to any number of "experts," been about to wink out since at least as long ago as the 1980s. It may of course wink out at any time, but serious mis-

takes have been frequently made during the last decade and a half by relying on this assumption. Meanwhile the Cuban dictator has garnered considerable support from other LA nations, as these reports have shown, while actually tightening the screws of his yoke on the Cuban people and while, incidentally, continuing his demonstration of the economic disaster which the HL guarantees to evoke. In short, Chávez may be the blessing for Venezuela which some appear to be predicting, but it would be folly to be unaware of the man and the methods which are creating this blessing.

Chávez the Revolutionary

On 5 April 1992 Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori effectively carried out a “revolution” approved by over 90 percent of the Peruvians, a revolution without which it is unlikely that the ML terrorists there could have been brought under control (pp.169ff, YRBK97). But Chávez’s armed revolution of 1992 was just the opposite, a leftist revolution (AFP 7 February 1992). As has been pointed out (Spcl 7.2), Chávez, in a meaningless non sequitur, frequently insists that he is not a “communist.” In the sense that this means he is not on the rolls of any communist party, this is probably true. But his support is largely from an array of ML parties; he has been a Castroite and assuredly devotes no effort to criticizing the Cuban dictator, instead adopting Castro’s anti neoliberal (free market) line.

Mr. Chávez’s appointment of leftists to his important cabinet posts include that of Luis Miquilena as Minister of the Interior, a post which includes the police power. The appointment conjures up visions of Tomás Borge as Nicaraguan Interior Minister. Miquilena is the former director of the “radical wing” of the PCV, but, since he was the new president’s “principle advisor” during his campaign, the appointment should come as no surprise. Another cabinet post worthy of mention is that of MAS Secretary General Leopoldo Puchi to be Minister of Labor. It will be recalled (Wkly 6.22 above) that MAS was formed by the ML, Teodoro Petkoff, and certain of his PCV associates. The last such appointment to be mentioned here is that of José Vicente Rangel as Minister of Foreign Relations. Even EFE (3 January 1999) describes Rangel as a “leftist” and “the presidential candidate of leftist parties.”

Interestingly enough, the Venezuelan economy being the shambles that it is which the new president is going to “fix,” Chávez has kept

Caldera's Minister of the Treasury, Maritza Izaguirre. The Caldera minister routinely agreed to add herself to a "revolutionary government," not surprising for a bureaucrat like this one. She has been in the "public sector" since 1963, in charge of various departments in the Ministry of Planning (CORDIPLAN) and then executive director for Panama and Venezuela in the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) whence Caldera took her for Treasury in July 1998. It appears accurate to observe that no remarkable changes have occurred in the Venezuelan economy since her accession.

These are some of the MLs with which Chávez is going to "make the revolution," whether of the same or different variety than the revolution he attempted to make in 1992. Although it is not obvious of what the "revolution" will consist, it is clear how its propagator will (begin to) make it:

"The Constitutional Convention [CC] is the way to make the revolution in Venezuela" (AFP 6 January 1999), Chávez has declared on any number of occasions, this statement complementary to his insistence that only a "revolution" will save Venezuela. It appears that the retired LTC is going to destroy the old constitution and whatever government structure there is in Venezuela, but the revolutionary has been careful not to specify with what he intends to replace it. There have been declarations, however, that it will extend and strengthen his personal powers—"I am going to govern the country for at least ten years" (AFP 26 January 1999)⁴—and abolish the existing national legislature and court system.

In the face of this observers may, as yet, take whatever roseate positions they wish with respect to the objectives of Chávez's revolution. But that he is going to attain these objectives by replacing the existent constitution with an as yet undefined constitution appears to be generally agreed.

The Road to the Revolution

The official text of the Constitution of the Republic of Venezuela was published in the *Gazeta Oficial de la República de Venezuela* on 23 January 1961. Articles 245 through 249 make up TITLE X: AMENDMENTS AND REFORM OF THE CONSTITUTION. Skipping Art. 245 on amendments, the applicable portion to such a CC may be abstracted as follows:

“Art.246. This Constitution may also be subject to a general reform, in accordance with the following procedure: (1) The initiative must come from one-third of the members of Congress, or from an absolute majority of the Legislative Assemblies by resolutions adopted in at least two discussions by an absolute majority of the members of each Assembly; (2) The initiative...shall convoke the Chambers in joint session by at least three days’ advance notice ...The initiative will be admitted by a two-thirds vote...; (3) (if approved the initiative shall follow the procedure established in this Constitution for the enactment of laws); (4) The approved bill shall be submitted to referendum ...which will declare the new Constitution as sanctioned if it was approved by a majority of the voters of the entire Republic. ...

“Art. 249. The provisions relating to cases of urgency in the procedure for the enactment of laws shall not be applicable to amendments and reforms of the Constitution.”

Chávez proposed what therefore appears to be an unconstitutional and hence illegal procedure for convoking a constitutional convention in order to write a “new” constitution: He will have a referendum on the convocation of the convention. The Venezuelan Supreme Court (CSJ), perhaps seeing the revolutionary handwriting on the wall, then declared that “it is legal and possible (*sic*) within the Venezuelan judicial framework to convoke a referendum in order to install a CC” (EFE 21 January 1999). This appears to have been only Round 1 insofar as the CSJ is concerned, however.

Rather early in this affair the U.S. declared that it would support Chávez “while he acts within the constitutional parameters in order to reform the state” (EFE 1 January 1999). Perhaps buoyed up by the CSJ decision mentioned above, perhaps seeking an “opening to the left,” the US later declared its desire to establish an alliance with the Chávez Government and open the BID checkbook to him (AFP 27 January 1999). The BID and the International Monetary Fund (FMI) (DLA⁵ 29 January 1999) checkbooks were both proffered during his trek to Washington.

Let the Revolution Begin

On 2 February 1999 Hugo Chávez Frías was sworn in as president of the Republic under the Constitution of 1961: “I swear,” he said, “in front of my people that, on this dying Constitution, I will

propel the democratic transformations necessary in order that the new Republic will have a Magna Carta adequate to the new times. I swear it.”

This remarkable performance, whether the idea of this PP or that of his advisors, is clearly astute. The people are surfeited with the ineptitude of the leftist notions and PPs who have impoverished them; only a miniscule portion of the 57 percent who voted for him have the vaguest idea of the 252 articles which make up the constitution. Therefore, a specter can be created, a constitution symbolic of all the woes the people have suffered. This the new president will “fix.” He will be happy to “fix” all those AD and COPEI PPs at the same time. But the salvation he promises is incarnated by his “new” constitution, whatever it may be, and he set out immediately to keep this campaign promise.

Mr. Chávez’s inauguration address can certainly be described as “revolutionary” and salted with much of the meaningless verbiage dear to the HL:

“May God forgive me, but, as I have repeated many times, I prefer death before treason.” This could assuredly parse almost any way at all.

“We must give a track to a movement which runs throughout Venezuela ...we must give a track to that necessary revolution ...we cannot vacillate, it would be lost to us... (more of the same) ...There is no marching to the rear in the political revolution that we must impel and for which the streets of Bolívar and the people of Venezuela protest.”

President Chávez returned from his investiture and issued a presidential decree calling a CC. At some point in the proceedings the new president expressed his intention of using the Venezuelan military to “help” in the referendum for the CC, an idea which might give someone pause for thought.

But in the meanwhile the National Electoral Council (CNE), which would have to attend to the details of such a referendum has effectively indicated that it would be slow in implementing this unilateral action by the new chief executive (EFE 10 February 1999). And the CSJ, particularly in the person of its president, Cecilia Sosa, has dug in its heels, it now appearing that it would consider certain petitions before it alleging Chávez’s decree “illegal and unconstitutional” (EFE 13 February 1999). To this challenge Chávez replied with a threat

reminiscent of Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega: he will take to the streets, "Then we will speak from all the streets of Venezuela and I will take to the streets with you."

"Now Venezuela has a king," Pérez-Roura writes (DLA 7 February 1999), "who will govern without reference to the democratic institutions which correspond to what is known as democracy."

Is this judgment of the revolutionary new president too harsh? It may be too early to tell for certain, but, should the proofs ever convince everybody, it will doubtless be too late to matter.

THE CHÁVEZ PHENOMENON. I
(WKLY 8.5, 29 JULY 1999)

"At the head of the country there is a Trinity: God, Bolívar and I."
—Hugo Chávez Frías

What God and Bolívar think of all this has apparently not been revealed, but the similarity of sentiments in this expression of Chávez and that of Nicaraguan ML Daniel Ortega—*Después Dios, Daniel Ortega* (After God, Daniel Ortega)—says a great deal about Venezuela's new absolute ruler. This is not to suggest that he aspires to be one more ML dictator, but that he aspires to be one more HL dictator, perhaps the hemispheric Supremo and Ruz Castro replacement. Although frequently emphasized in these reports, a discussion of Venezuelan President Chávez demands a repetition of a seemingly little known fact of twentieth-century existence.

The Left

Richard Pipes, Harvard's Baird Professor of History, has shown in exquisite detail⁶ that ML activities in Russia gave "rise to movements that assimilated their spirit and copied their methods to fight Communism...they do so not because they have contrary principles or aspirations but because they compete for the same constituencies..." As of course was originally demonstrated by the swarms of MLs who entered the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazi) as soon as Hitler got it well underway. Basically, of course, a Perón—Chavón in contemporary Venezuela—an Ortega or a Castro is seeking power and its perquisites, not the delights of Dialectical Materialism or the Corporate State, albeit, they are all classified as "of the Left," whatever brand of mumbo jumbo they preach.

A brief sketch of Chavez's background has been given in Wkly 6.22 (chapter 1, YRBK00). The new Venezuelan president came to general attention as did his fellow leftist, Adolf Hitler, with an armed uprising. In the Beer Hall Putsch, with 3,000 ill-trained men under General Erich Ludendorff—the brains of von Hindenburg's World War I successes—Hitler was competing with the MLs who had just started an uprising in Saxony. The beer hall and local government were “taken.” In the subsequent march the police fired a few rounds, and everyone scampered save Ludendorff. Hitler ended in prison and composed *Mein Kampf*, Chávez emulating him seventy years later. Both these PPs emerged from prison to benefit enormously from economic disasters in their respective countries. But what is Chávez-Chavón?

The point of these remarks has been an emphasis of the reality that, whatever labels the leftists wish to attach to themselves, their ultimate objective is absolute power. Therefore, whether one calls someone like Chávez a fascist or a Marxist or some other designation from the left—a Maoist, a Castroite, a Guevarist, etc.—the governments they create are typified by that absolutism which Castro is presently personifying. But, for all practical purposes, the Chávez government promises to be:

Another HL Government

It must be emphasized that whatever a PP says he believes or intends generally has little to do with either his beliefs or his intentions. Chávez's statements of belief, however, are, if nothing else, amusing enough to warrant repetition. In his book of interviews, the unintentionally light hearted tome *Habla el Comandante* (The Comandante Speaks), the new president says, with regard to ML, “I, Hugo Chávez, am not a Marxist, but I am not anti-Marxist. And when I said that the solution does not lie in Marxism, I am not excluding Marxism.”

While Chávez may not thus be described as a “professed ML,” he has certainly surrounded himself with those that can be so described. Several of these have already been given (Wkly 7.8 above) of whom only Luis Miquilena, Interior Minister and “Political Father” (AFP 16 June 1999) of Chávez will be mentioned. Miquilena is the former director of the “radical wing” of the PCV, a personality who conjures up visions of former Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge.

The Venezuelan journalist Manuel Caballero, whose leftwing credentials are impeccable, has described the regime which Chávez is creating as “authoritarian and populist, very much like those of Perón and Mussolini.”

Juan Perón, the admirer of Mussolini, established the most leftist regime to have been seen in LA to that time (pp.46ff, YRBK97). Caballero illustrates the validity of his assertion with: “Now he (Chávez) has even opened the balcony of the Miraflores Palace in order to speak to the people as Perón did in order to avenge his ‘descamisados’ (Perón supporters⁷) or as Mussolini to speak to his *scuadrissimi*.”⁸

To such self-promotional balcony appearances Chavón has added various additional extravaganzas, one example of which was his recent (29 July 1999) birthday celebration. As the Bogotá Weekly, *SEMANA* (2 August 1999) describes it, “The spectacle is impressive. At the end of the Caracas Plaza framed by the Símon Bolívar Towers and with a bust of the Liberator guarding his back, President Hugo Chávez addresses the multitude from an illuminated dais.”

Thirty- or forty-thousand people “spontaneously” assembled, but the staging contradicts the official claim of spontaneity. These thousands of “humble people” did not erect the immense placards with “*Feliz cumpleaños, presidente. Tu pueblo*” (Happy Birthday, President. Your People). Nor did the humble arrange the television in every corner of Venezuela or indeed carry out any of the myriads of other tasks involved in this immense production. For the Europe of the 1930s is marching into Caracas, whether from Red Square or the Brandenburg Gate.

The Chávez—Castro—Marulanda⁹ Axis

The phrase is that of the political scientist, Carlos Raúl Hernández, although the notion behind the phrase is familiar enough so that it could have been lifted, for example, from the Chávez proposal at the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) Summit of a meeting between the three to seek “peace” in Colombia (AFP 29 May 1999). It implies an important relationship among the new Venezuelan monarch, the representative of the HL and narco-trafficking (Castro) and the boss of the principal ML narco-terrorist operation in the hemisphere (Tirofijo). Because this Axis is so important to what can be expected in Venezuela, a sampling of specific available information

is demanded. If Caballero's description of Chavón as the "Idi Amin of America" proves accurate, this will be little more than icing on this comfit.

Ruz Castro

The Cuban dictator wished the newly elected Venezuelan president

success in the difficult and immense task which you have before you...the Cubans have followed closely and in silence your epic campaign, share with the Venezuelans your noble and encouraging jubilation...although they hounded you incessantly and calumniated you for the valiant fact of your visit to Cuba...your overwhelming victory demonstrates that the people have understood much... (Fidel Castro [EFE 8 December 1998])

The professed "leftist" journalist, Caballero, compares Chávez with the rulers of the rogue nations of Cuba, China, Iran, and Libya.¹⁰ Although only the first of these is of immediate interest here, Venezuela's recent vote in favor of Cuba and China before the UN Human Rights Commission (AFP 22 April 1999) is worthy of remark in support of the general statement. Of direct concern are Cuba and Castro. That Chávez's admiration for the Cuban dictator is based on the latter's having been able to maintain himself in power for forty years, as Caballero claims, appears reasonable and is valuable in any analysis of the Venezuelan. Chavez's own public statements on his anticipated longevity as Venezuelan Supremo tend toward validation of such an accusation.

He was elected under the 1961 Constitution for a five-year, non-repeatable term. He has used the demagogic approach to place blame on this constitution¹¹ for the economic chaos in his country. He appears well on the way to eliminating the constitution and replacing it with whatever he wishes, his principal desire apparently being unhindered access to re-election for as long as he chooses.

On 9 April 1999 LTC Chávez told an assembly in the Military Academy, "In the year 2009, God willing, if the people wish it so, I will turn over the government..." (AFP 11 April 1999).

He went on in this vein with mention of aspirations to govern for "10 years." Alberto Miguez (*Diario las Américas*, 28 April 1999), for example, appears to be correct in reporting that there is widespread belief in Venezuela that the real reason for the Constituent Assembly is to add a seven-year presidential term to the five-year one on which he is already embarked. Caballero reported that he

has modified this to fourteen years—two seven-year terms—and there are those now proposing twenty years. Already then approaching half of the time in office of his “role model,” Castro, a “president-for-life” term looms just over this forty-four-year-old’s horizon. But there are other reasons for the appearance of Castro and his satrapy in Chávez’s Axis.

In addition to admiring Castro’s longevity, Chávez indicates perhaps even more admiration for the Cuban tyrant’s “methods.” Such admiration was perhaps best expressed by the now Venezuelan president during his 1994 pilgrimage to Cuba with: “I do not deserve this honor” —his warm reception by the dictator— “I aspire to deserve it some day...Some day we hope to come to Cuba...extending our arms in a LA revolutionary project, imbued as we are...with (the idea of) an Hispanic American continent integrated as a single nation...”

Here the “single-nation” hemisphere consisting of a “soviet-type” LA union arises, the facts of this nightmare having first been given by LANS a few years ago (p.99, YRBK97). In Spcl 7.2 (chapter 1 above) it was stated that this union would be “under either Castro or his successor.” It is beginning to appear that Chávez-Chavón intends to be that “successor.”

Cuban dictator Ruz Castro has been immensely successful in his anti-neoliberal campaign, a favorite and meaningless catch phrase from this being “savage capitalism” (*capitalismo salvaje*). Pope John Paul II has been reported as using the same phrase in his attempts to find that illusive “Third Road,” an unfortunately meaningless non sequitur with which the international socialist, Anthony Blair, has attempted to gain support. (There is never any von Mises variety, detailed analysis of the phrase, just hand waving.) Although Chávez attributed the phrase to the Pope, his assertion that capitalism is “an international system of murdering people” betrays his true source.

Finally, insofar as the Castro vertex of the Axis is concerned, the MLs with whom Chávez has constructed his government, should prove excellent material for the construction of the “soviet-type” union “Castro or his successor” will be seeking.

Tirofijo

The bizarre Pastrana “Peace Process” has been discussed in various of these reports, the most recent, the two on “FARC’s Greatest,

Most Demented and Most Disastrous Operation” (Wkly 8.3 and Spcl 8.3, chapter 5 above). That Chávez has been seeking to be a part of this “Process” from the beginning can safely be classified as “common knowledge.” As has been pointed out in Wkly 8.3, the LANS correspondents to publication have no proof that the arms supply of the FARC terrorists through Venezuela has been aided and abetted by the Chávez government.

The so-called “demilitarized zone” (DZ) that has been provided to the FARC terrorists has been discussed, *inter alia*, in Wkly 8.3. In early March *El Nacional* (Caracas 3 March 1999) reported that the Colombian terrorist boss, Tirofijo, had invited Chávez to meet with him in San Vicente de Caguan in the DZ. This invitation, a terrorist spokesman (aka Ariel) told the Caracas newspaper, was in reply to the Venezuelan president’s offer to meet with Tirofijo in order to “contribute” to the peace process. In mid May, Chavez’s leftist foreign minister, José Vicente Rangel, confirmed that Venezuela “accepts” the role of “facilitator” of the “Peace Process” for the Group of Friends of Colombia (GAC) (AFP 15 May 1999). Finally, the last scene in this farce was played out toward the end of May, *Cambio de Bogotá* (23 May 1999) reporting that, at the CAN Cartagena Summit, Pastrana and Chávez had decided to postpone a “secret” meeting with the FARC terrorist boss “in favor of the peace process.” Apparently the “Demented FARC Disaster” of early July put these Chavón efforts on “hold.”

Carlos The Jackal: International Left Solidarity

The East German (DDR) Ministry for State Security (STASI) boss General Erich Mielke, urged on by his “friends,” the Soviets, was active in strengthening relations with Middle Eastern terrorists such as those of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—and the Venezuelan born Illich Ramírez Sánchez, Carlos the Jackal (*El Chacal*).¹² Carlos was given safe haven in the DDR and other Warsaw Pact countries during his murderous career. He was finally picked up in France in 1997 and given life imprisonment for the murder of two unarmed French intelligence agents in the 1970s.

Earlier this year Chávez wrote a remarkable letter to the Jackal in his French prison (*Le Figaro*, 16 April 1999). It contained various literary allusions which *Figaro* considered “surrealist,” “disconcerting,” and “enigmatic”; in other words he was operating in his pseudo

mystical mode— “we are moving toward the fifth hell” —with which he appeared to have been attempting to impress Yana Marull (“Hugo Chávez has his eye on Miraflores again,” *VenEconomy Monthly*, March 1998) and any number of others.

“Bathing in the depths of solidarity,” said Chávez to Chacal, “it is possible to study thoughts and sentiments. Each thing to its time: to amass stones or to throw them...to launch a revolution or to ignore it. There is a time to battle for ideals and another to arrive at the propitious psychological moment at which Ariadne spins the thread which will permit you to leave the labyrinth...”

Once again (Marull, *ibid.*) Bolívar, Dumas – he says not whether *père* or *fils* – and the rest of his ready-reference pantheon is trotted out, this time for El Chacal. He ends this meant-to-impress communication “With my profound faith in the cause and the mission,” apparently the Cause and the Mission shared by Chávez and Chacal.

The Chávez-Chacal relationship hardly ended here – letters both ways, a Chacal column in a Venezuelan periodical, and so on – but this should be enough to indicate this interesting “solidarity.”

THE CHÁVEZ PHENOMENON. II (SPCL 8.5, 30 JULY 1999)

In 1992 Hugo Chávez Frías led about a battalion of military conspirators in an armed uprising which, although slaughtering a number of people, was unable either to murder then President Carlos Andrés Pérez or to take over the Venezuelan Government (Wkly 6.22, chapter 1, YRBK00). Chávez was subsequently “pardoned” by President Caldera, reputedly but apparently not demonstrably, because of the Pérez-Caldera relationship. Emerging from jail, Chávez found a political climate ideally suited to his “revolution,” a climate created by that economic disaster which a long series of collectivist governments had rendered endemic. In a July 1996 article Caracas Chamber of Commerce director Vladimir Chelminski asked, “Will Venezuela Emerge From ‘Socialist Prehistory’?” (pp. 76ff, YRBK97). Under collectivist President Rafael Caldera, the answer was to be “No,” it would only sink deeper and prepare the ground for another, more revolutionary, collectivist, Chávez.

The climate clearly was ideal for a demagogue which Webster’s Third defines as “a political leader who seeks to gain personal or partisan advantage by specious or extravagant claims, promises or

charges.” The applicability of the definition has continuously become more apparent since President Chávez has assumed his office, but there is more. A demagogue is further defined as “leader of the popular or plebeian party or faction in the state.” So Mr. Webster has not only told us what Mr. Chávez is, he has told Mr. Chávez what to do to reach his goal: untrammelled power. Chávez continually informs all and sundry that this is his goal, but, as with Messers. Dzugashvili (aka Stalin), Hitler et al., this goal is sought for “the good of all.” In reaching this goal he has taken Mr. Webster’s advice and recruited the plebeians, here, Perón’s *descamisados* (shirtless ones). The fact that Mr. Chávez’s solution to the economic disaster engendered by the collectivism which preceded him is more collectivism— “We are not going to privatize the petroleum industry (PDVSA)” (EFE 1 May 1999)—will hardly be realized by the descams if there are enough public spectacles (Wkly 8.5 above) and martial music. And, of course, a military force on which the new Supremo can depend.

The Venezuelan Military

The bizarre mental processes of these collectivist demagogues was well illustrated by the Cuban tyrant for whom Chávez expresses such admiration, Fidel Ruz Castro. Not long after coming to power in Cuba, Castro appointed the economic illiterate, Ernesto Guevara, president of the National Bank, reason enough for the depositors to begin withdrawing their money. Castro claimed to be “astonished” at these withdrawals, but, claimed the Cuban dictator, it did not really matter. In a lesson in revolutionary economics, Fidel commented: “Those who take money out of the bank...overlook the fact that it is just paper, and we can make new paper money.”¹³ In keeping with such economic theory are the Chávez activities in the economic domain.

Chavez’s Minister of Labor was, until ordered to the Constituent Assembly, MAS Secretary General Leopoldo Puchi. MAS originally emerged from the PCV. On 30 March 1999, with textbook Marxist logic,¹⁴ Puchi agitated for a raise of 20 percent in “Venezuelan private sector” salaries. This demagogic appeal was promulgated by Chávez, but there was to be more, this having to do with the military, all important to a regime such as this one.

The Caracas evening newspaper, *El Mundo*, reported in early May (EFE 2 May 1999) that the Chávez Government (CG) intended to

raise military salaries by three times as much as civilian, namely, by 60 percent. This was denied by the CG, whatever this denial may be worth. If this was a trial balloon, it probably accomplished its purpose of wooing the military and can be expected to surface again. But one more example of such preferential treatment for the military is worthy of mention here.

Unconstitutional Promotion of Armed Forces (FA) Officers

The Venezuelan president announced the promotion of 267 officers of the FA of whom thirty-four had been in some way involved in the armed rebellion of 1992. On 1 July 1999 the Venezuelan Senate refused to promote the thirty-four arguing that thereby they had not conformed with the existing Organic Law of the FA, a position which appears to be unassailable. The applicable portions of the Venezuelan Constitution of 1961, which is the law of the land until Mr. Chavez's Constituent Assembly writes a new one,¹⁵ are as follows:

By Art. 190(3) the president is Commander in Chief of the National FA, and all things being equal and legal, he requires, by Art. 150(3), the approval of the Senate in order to promote to flag rank from colonel or naval captain. Therefore, if any of these thirty-four were promoted to flag rank, the Senate could block the promotion for any cause whatever. More important to the present case, however, is the basis on which the Senate refused these promotions, the Organic Law of the FA. By Art. 163, "organic laws are those that are so designated by this Constitution and invested with this character by an absolute majority of each Chamber..."

But the Venezuelan president simply overrode the Congress with that fiery rhetoric which appears to be characteristic of him. "I am at war against you," he told the Congress. "You or us, there is not room in this world for both...try me, threaten me, reprimand me, do what you want, but I am going forward" (EFE 3 Jul 1999).

Apparently he feels that the Venezuelan FA will stand behind him in opposition to the other branches of government, these supported by his *descamisados* who appear to be little more than the *turbas divinas* (divine street mobs) of Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega. He appears to be able to flout whatever law there is to flout as he has done with the creation of his Constituent Assembly for which he has already declared his intentions.

Chavez's Constituent Assembly Referendum

This section must begin with an aside on the 1961 Constitution. Chapter V (Economic Rights), Arts. 95 et seq., of this constitution establishes the bases for a collectivist state. In the Venezuelan case, of course, the control over mineral rights has been perhaps most important, but, in Art. 95 itself, for example, collectivism is promoted with such as “The State shall promote economic development and the diversification of production...” The blueprint for collectivization with its attendant economic disasters is therefore, indeed there. However, Chávez has demonstrated his intention, not of eliminating, but of strengthening collectivization with his declaration (EFE 1 May 1999) that petroleum will *not* be privatized, with his “state financial system,” and so on. With this caveat, the 1961 Constitution assuredly becomes his straw man.

Before the advent of Hugo Chávez upon the political scene there had been two principal Venezuelan political parties. These were the COPEI of the president whom Chávez would replace, Caldera, and the AD party of Caldera's elected predecessor, Carlos Andrés Pérez. The collectivism which these parties personified—Chelminski's “socialist pre-history”—had all but destroyed the Venezuelan economy. Although the humblest descamisado may not have realized *why* the economy was in such bad shape (ignorance), it had been borne in upon him that it *was* (realization).¹⁶ As is the way of the PP, Chávez used this ignorance-realization to construct a guilty straw man—the 1961 Constitution—which could be blamed for the chaos, a constitution, the simple, but carefully unspecified replacement of which would lead to the earthly bliss the collectivist always promises to the *sans culotte*.

On 2 February 1999 Hugo Chávez was sworn in as president of the Republic under the Constitution of 1961: “I swear,” he said in a travesty of whatever oath of office there might have been, “in front of my people that, on this dying Constitution, I will propel the democratic transformations necessary in order that the new Republic will have a Magna Carta adequate to the new times. I swear it.”

The day of his inauguration the new president issued a decree. The decree called for a referendum on two questions which may be paraphrased as follows:

1. Do the people wish for a Constituent Assembly (AC) for the transformation of Venezuela into a new republic.
2. Do the people award to President Chávez the power to dictate the bases for the convocation and its candidates.

On 18 March 1999 the CSJ declared, in reply to the brief submitted by the constitutional scholar, Gerardo Blyde, the decree unconstitutional and illegal (*El Observador* [Caracas] 18 March 1999). There was also a brief submitted by Allan Brewer Carías, the ex president of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences who would be one of the few victorious delegates not associated with Chávez's Patriotic Pole (PPo) party. The court ordered the National Electoral Council (CNE) to rewrite the second question for the referendum.

Not long after this Supreme Court decision was handed down, Chávez appeared to be accepting it (AFP 21 March 1999), only to return to the attack within a month. On 10 April (EFE 14 April 1999) he declared that the Congress and the Court had neither legitimacy nor moral right in hindering his constitutional project. In a plenary session two days later the court demanded that the president "cease his irresponsible and hostile attitude" toward it and asked "moderation" in referring to other state institutions. Which appeared to infuriate the easily angered chief executive who, sounding like Ulianov (aka Lenin), called the principal opposition party, the AD, a "nest of dying vipers" (*nido de víboras moribundas*).

Apparently not relishing the "viper" epithet, Congress President Carlos Canache declared that the country was on the eve of a coup d'état and called for the Organization of American States (OAS). What happened next can only be conjectured. It was reported that Chavez's secretary of state, Rangel, talked to OAS Secretary General Gárriga who was unconcerned with Chávez's behavior and saw no reason to give it any attention. What probably happened may have been more complex than this when it is recalled that (1) Gárriga has been the candidate of the US Clinton Government and (2) Gárriga is a self-avowed friend of Cuban dictator and Chávez supporter, Castro (p.120, YRBK98).

The Chávez Campaign to Weigh the Assembly

On 27 April 1999, 39.1 percent of the 11 million eligible Venezuelan voters trekked to the polls, 80 percent of these (31.3 percent of

those eligible) voted for Question 2. Both sides thus could *claim* victory, although Chávez was of course the winner.

In the coming delegate election then, a Constituent Assembly (AC) containing 131 members was to be selected. Of these 131, 24 were to be elected from the nation at large, 104 from the 24 regions (states and territories)¹⁷ of the country, and 3 were to be selected by the Indians.

On 17 May 1999 the CNE remarked on the limitations which the law imposed on President Chávez's participation in the election of these delegates. Said the CNE: "President Chávez has...as principal figure on the national scene, every right to promote the elections to the national AC, every right to explain to the country what the Assembly should do...including the duty of calling on the citizenry to participate...nevertheless, the national government, regional or municipality will not be able to campaign in favor of or against any individual" (AFP 19 May 1999).

There was more, but it was all a warning to Chávez against campaigning for his candidates. Mr. Chávez rode roughshod over the warning as he has done with every question of existing law. The next day he announced the departure of his Minister of the Presidency, Alfredo Peña, to run for the AC.

"...he will fight without rest," said Chávez, "he will be a fundamental factor in the great offensive that is proceeding in Venezuela..." (EFE 20 May 1999).

In this same rhetorical vein he prophesied further of his intimates—his wife and Miquilena became candidates with fanfare the next month (EFE 16 June 1999) – as they did. In general, he carried on a campaign in defiance of the CNE which expressed "discomfort and concern" at Chávez's promotional activities (EFE 27 June 1999). Before illustrating the overwhelming success of the Venezuelan president's campaigning, it is worthwhile to remark a "confidence game" which was in progress and which may have been germane to his success.

Enrique Ochoa Antich, described as a "leftist leader" (EFE 6 May 1999), described a fraudulent scheme wherein potential assembly candidates could simply buy their way into the election. If an individual wishes to be on the voting list for a national seat, he needs 20,000 signatures; he may obtain them for 7 million bolívares (B) (\$11,755). Should one wish to run in a regional race, between 571

and 12,666 signatures are required, these obtainable for 250,000 B (\$6,734). The CNE confessed that there was no way they could check the signatures for authenticity, there being 480,000 such in the national election alone.

The Delegates

However the delegates were obtained, when the dust of election day, 25 July 1999, had settled, Chávez had 119 of the 128 delegates selected—the three Indian delegates not yet elected—or 92.3 percent to slide-rule accuracy. Of the national delegates the president had won 21 of the 24 (87.6 percent).

Chávez's cabinet member, Alfredo Peña, came in first nationally with 2,593,474, his wife Marisabel de Chávez, second with 2,223,068, his "political father," Luis Miquilena, fifth. Only four "Independents" obtained one of the 24 seats, these being Claudio Fermin (10), Allan Brewer Carías (16), Alberto Francheschi (18) and Jorge Olavarría (23).

In bannering the front-page article on the election "All Power to Chávez," *Diario las Américas* would appear to be telling the simple truth.

THE "MAOIST" PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA VISITS HEMISPHERIC HQ (WKLY 8.21, 2 DECEMBER 1999)

Hugo Chávez Frías originally gained fame as a military putschist against Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez. Released and pardoned by Pérez's successor, Rafael Caldera, Chávez won the Venezuelan presidential elections in 1998, claiming all the while that he was "not a communist." Were it necessary to give credence to the statements of PPs, one would have to resort to the plea that this Marxist has simply never formally been affiliated with a Communist Party. Such a plea would of course have been strained by his worshipful 1994 visit to Castro's communist isle.¹⁸ And recently the Venezuelan president has all but repeated such sentiments in one more of his visits to Cuba. But not, of course, before his recent trip to the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). First, however, a word on the allegedly different "categories" of ML.

It has been common practice for students of ML to assign the practitioners of this pseudo religion to various subdivisions such as

“Moscow line,” “Maoist,” “Guevarist,” “Castroite” and whatever other extravagance they feel renders their study more convincing. We need hardly here go into the vernacular of these studies—this usually the production of one of these terrorists seeking to broaden his reputation—but instead suggest that such studies most closely resemble certain philosophical calculations carried out in the Middle Ages in order to determine how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. These categories soon dissolve with the investigation of the ML terrorists who have blithely transferred their undying allegiance from one such terror group to another when the opportunity for advancement arose.¹⁹ Which of course does not have any effect on the magic these terrorists feel they produce in identifying themselves with one cult of this religion or some other.

On 12 October 1999 Venezuelan President Chávez, having begun his visit to the PRC two days before, told the press before his tête-à-tête with Jiang Zemin, the terrorist ChiCom boss, “I have been very Maoist all my life” (EFE 13 October 1999). Chávez then told the press of his admiration for the “Great Helmsman” in his direction of the country and his command of the Peoples Liberation Army (EPL). After attacks on *capitalismo salvaje* (savage capitalism),²⁰ which at least demonstrated his devotion to Castro, he went on to eulogize a Mao whose principal claim to fame is that of author of history’s greatest slaughter of *homo sapiens*.

Said the “Maoist-Castroite” ML, “China, since its foundation fifty years ago by Mao Zedong, has been rising up. During that time Venezuela has been falling toward destruction.” A litany of Venezuelan woes then followed, this capped with the Maoist-Castroite’s assurance that: “China has given an example to the world, to countries like ours, that we are emerging from an era failed in politics and economics. We are with China in what must be done to defend the sovereignty of peoples...” Whether this means that Venezuela is to send its red berets to assist in the promised assault on the Republic of China (Taiwan) of course remains to be seen. After pledging his fealty to the ChiComs Chávez was not long in renewing his pledges to the ML dictator of Cuba. But this apparently called for another personal visit.

On 18 November 1999 Chávez made common cause with his “dear brother,” Fidel Castro, who was confronting questioning about the democracy existing under his anything but benevolent dictator-

ship. Returning to the Great Hall of the University of Havana, which had been the scene of the 1994 Castro-Chávez camaraderie, the Venezuelan pledged his troth to the doddering, if grinning, hemispheric drug lord with a toast which was immortalized in a wirephoto (AFP 20 November 1999).

Said Chávez, “Venezuela is going in the same direction, toward the same sea toward which the Cuban people are bound, the sea of happiness (*mar de felicidad*), of true social justice, of peace.”

Notes

1. Simon Strong (*Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru*, Times, 1992. ISBN: 0-8129-2180-1) has rather aptly described this left caudillo as having “swung the country’s political axis toward Moscow.”
2. EFE reported (22 Nov 98) that Chávez’s coalition included 13 parties. Only the seven which appeared on the ballot will be mentioned here, the other “lucky gambler” parties not worth the space.
3. The projected American Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was first mention by these reports on p.99 of *Latin American Political Yearbook 1997* (Transaction Publishers, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-350-2), hereinafter YRBK 97.
4. This statement included the phrase “if God and the people want it,” but this is a routine palliative for the PP. All PPs, to include Fidel Ruz Castro, are but following the wishes of the “people.”
5. DLA the abbreviation for *Diario las Américas*, the author Henry Raymont.
6. Richard Pipes, “Communism, Fascism and National Socialism,” chapter 5, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0-394-50242-6). Professor Pipes uses a frontispiece quote from Mark Twain which is applicable to Chávez, “Truth is stranger than Fiction, but it is because Fiction is obliged to stick to possibilities; Truth is not.”
7. In the French Revolution there were the “sans culottes,” or “shoeless ones” who were malleable tools for the revolutionaries. “Descamisados” is basically “shirtless ones,” an analogy to the sans culottes and meaning either “poor wretch” or “Perón supporter.” For more on these descamisados, cf. the Perón supporter, David Rock, *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (University of California Press, 1987. ISBN: 0-520-06178-0).
8. This was of course Il Duce’s armed “fighting force” in the early 1920s for which cf. Philip Cannistraro, *Historic Dictionary of Fascist Italy* (Greenwood Press, 1982. ISBN: 0-313-21317-8). Vis-à-vis Mussolini’s “fighting forces,” it may be recalled that, after war had been declared between U.K.-France and Germany and before the Italian cat had jumped, the French were planning on sending twice as many divisions to defend Italy from the Germans if they declared for U.K.-France than to defend against Italy if they declared for Germany.
9. Manuel Marulanda Vélez is one of the aliases of Pedro Antonio Marín, the not yet 70-year-old founder and boss of the narco-terrorist FARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces). Perhaps his most familiar alias is Tirofijo (Deadeye) which will be used here.
10. The contribution of Moamar el Khadafy to the election campaign of the Nicaraguan ML, Daniel Ortega (p.70, YRBK98), may be recalled.

11. As will be discussed in somewhat greater detail in Spcl 8.5, the 1961 Constitution can, *but need not*, be used to establish a collectivist government.
12. Pp.368ff, John O. Koehler, *Stasi: The Untold Story of the East German Secret Police* (Westview, 1999. ISBN: 0-8133-3409-8).
13. P.204, Paul D. Bethel, *The Losers: The Definitive Report, by an Eyewitness, of the Communist Conquest of Cuba and the Soviet Penetration in Latin America* (Arlington, 1969. ISBN: 87000-053-5).
14. On 20 June 1999 the Venezuelan president announced that his government would create a state financial system destined to control and centralize the public credit. If there remains anything identifiable as a Venezuelan economy, this should dispense with it.
15. There may be some viable constitutional reason for the illegality of the Assembly itself and hence its legality in writing a constitution, but this appears to have been obscured by the hullabaloo.
16. This should not be taken as an attack on the *sans culottes*, per se, whose economic education may not be extensive. The Groves of Academe, peopled by individuals overloaded with degrees, however, rallied "several hundred" (EFE 16 April 1999) in front of court and congress for "all power to the president" demonstrations.
17. For relevant geographical detail, see p.43, YRBK99.
18. "I do not deserve this honor," said Chávez referring to his warm reception by the Cuban dictator, "(but) I aspire to deserve it some day...we hope to come to Cuba...extending our arms in a Latin American revolutionary project, imbued as we are...with (the idea of) an Hispanic American continent integrated as a single nation..."
19. Mao owes whatever reputation he has as a strategist, not to arcane strategic concepts of his own creation, but to Owen Lattimore, John Stewart Service, John Carter Vincent, and any number of other such worthies. (Cf. Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East Was Lost: American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949*, Regnery, 1963).
20. Here Chavez used the somewhat different catchphrase, "savage liberalism," but hardly seemed to disguise the compliment.

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The Cuban Threat to the United States

There are certain theoretical physics considerations of which the non-physicist should be aware in approaching the question of bio-chemical warfare. Among the threats Cuba—backed by the USSR/CIS and ChiComs—poses to the U.S. is the bio-chemical one. To the consideration of matters relating to such threats, certain questions of molecular structure are crucial. These are considered briefly in the first section of this chapter. Having done as much, this would appear an appropriate point to continue in this vein with certain relevant remarks on the Disinformation Operation (DO) relating to ozone-layer depletion. This DO forms a portion of the general environmental DO in which Cuba of course joins the International Left (IL). Another introductory topic in appropriately introduced at this point, the isolation and ejection of Batista which offered the life-long Marxist-Leninist (ML) Ruz Castro the power vacuum which he occupied, this followed a mere two years later by the apparently inexcusable disaster at the Bay of Pigs.

The isolation and ejection of Anastasio Somoza Debayle from Nicaragua would be a later replay of Batista and Pigs. The part played by the Pezzullo tapes in the ejection of the caudillo from Nicaragua has been discussed (pp.277ff, YRBK00). The half-hearted attempt by the U.S. to redeem its failure with Somoza using the Nicaraguan Anti-Communist Resistance was mirrored in the disaster which was the Bay of Pigs. This latter disaster was allegedly investigated in a U.S. Kennedy Administration internal report which concluded, in essence, that the effort would have failed whatever was done. And this “conclusion” has long remained the PC (politically correct) conventional wisdom. Which is reminiscent of the PC “wisdom” that has held sway for fifty-nine years on that “Day of Infamy,” Pearl Harbor, until the monumental and monumentally important work of

Robert B. Stinnett (*Day of Deceit: The Truth About FDR and Pearl Harbor*, Free Press, 2000. ISBN: 0-684-85339-6), produced, as Gore Vidal pointed out, “most of the smoking guns.” What might be termed a Day of Deceit in microcosm has been produced by Grayston L. Lynch (*Decision for Disaster: Betrayal at the Bay of Pigs*, Brassey’s, 1998. ISBN: 1-57488-148-5) and is discussed in the second section of this chapter.

Finally, the ChiCom ML empire is quite openly expressing its hostile intentions to a bemused and bedizened U.S. (Edward Timperlake and William C. Triplett, *Red Dragon Rising: Communist China’s Military Threat to America*, 1999. ISBN: 0-89526-258-4) while entering into what has the appearance of a military alliance with the “ex” USSR, now the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). At the same time, evidence exists which appears to indicate that such an alliance already exists in support of Castroite Cuba. This evidence is discussed in the third section of this chapter wherein the details of this Cuban threat are laid out.

Certain Physical Considerations Relating to Relevant ML Operations

MOLECULAR STRUCTURE, LONG-CHAIN MOLECULES, DNA AND VIRUSES (SPCL 8.4, 20 JULY 1999)

The man/woman, who desires an idea as to what his/her enemies—yes, José/Josefina, you do have enemies—have in mind for him/her in the biological warfare domain, should possess at least a qualitative notion of the entities in the title of this report. And the average fifth grader should be quite capable of understanding such a qualitative presentation of molecular structure, long-chain molecules, DNA (or RNA) and viruses. Therefore, since a careful survey of LANS readers has demonstrated that all of them have completed at least half of the sixth grade, such a presentation may be given without trepidation.

Molecular Structure

The number of protons (positively charged elementary particles) in the nucleus of an atom determines what the atom is, i.e., 8 protons means an atom of oxygen (O). The number of neutrons (neutrally charged particles) in the nucleus determines the weight (iso-

tope) of the atom, the most common O isotope having 8 neutrons, its weight $8+8=16$ (O^{16}). For un-ionized O, there are 8 electrons (negatively charged particles) in the charge cloud about the nucleus, these $\sim 1/2000$ the mass of a neutron or proton. The oxygen molecule consists of two O atoms bound together into O_2 . In O_2 or any other molecule of whatever complexity there will be “electric dipole moments”¹ which are crucial to the treatment of electromagnetic (light) emission or absorption by the molecule. These in turn are affected by the frequency of the vibrational motion, symmetric in the O_2 case.² Considering only the charges carried by the two nuclei, the center of charge will be half way between the two as will the center of mass.

Hence, there will be no changes in this dipole moment with the symmetric, dumbbell vibration of this molecule and hence—or almost hence—there will be no emission or absorption of radiation. But if the switch is made to, say, the carbon monoxide molecule ($C^{12} O^{16}$), both the center of mass and the center of charge will be closer to the O atom, and the two will not coincide as in O_2 . Hence, there will be an oscillation of the center-of-charge as a result of vibration with the attendant emission and absorption of radiation. Which is an important tool for the determination of various molecular features —binding energy of the molecule, frequencies of vibration, separation of the nuclei—in short, the molecular structure.

Such diatomic molecules have but a single mode (stretching) of vibration. As one moves to the still rather simple ammonia molecule (NH_3), for example, one encounters a nitrogen atom at the apex of a pyramid, the equilateral triangle base of which has hydrogen atoms at the three corners. The spectrum from which the molecule can be studied is more complex, but it can and has been treated³ to obtain a more complex understanding of the molecular structure.⁴ At about this point in the progression, it becomes the better part of valor to make the transition to:

Long-Chain Molecules

A “long-chain” molecule can be defined here as a molecule in which one or more groups of atoms occur two or more times. A simple example of such a long chain is provided by N-Dimethylaminodiborane $[(CH_3)_2(BH_2)_2NH]$.⁵ Here the binding within the CH_3 groups, for example, means that this group will vibrate in

the same ways (modes) within the larger molecule as it would in isolation. The frequencies will be somewhat displaced (perturbed) from their isolation locations by their presence in the larger molecule of course. And the physicist, from his experience with, say, ammonia (NH_3), knows the nature of these vibrations, as modified in frequency but not mode of vibration by the replacement of N by C.

There will then appear in the spectrum of N-Dimethylaminodiborane the (perturbed) radiation corresponding to the (6) vibrational modes of free CH_3 and the (3) modes—roughly as in water (H_2O)—of free BH_2 . (In reality, of course, the CH_3 vibrations appear in combinations yielding 12 modes, the BH_2 in combinations yielding 6 modes. This is remarked here only for completeness and has no effect on the qualitative principles involved.) These four molecular sub groups are then concentrated at their centers-of-mass to form an NX_2 ($\text{X}=\text{CH}_3$) molecule and an HZ_2 ($\text{Z}=\text{BH}_2$) molecule, the procedure then repeated to find vibrational modes corresponding to these pseudo molecules. At which point it is to be hoped that the qualitative notions have been grasped and it is to be admitted that certain subtleties now enter which will here be considered as “beyond the scope of this text.”

All of which constitutes the basis for the long-chain molecule treatments which can be used to arrive at an understanding of the structure of such huge molecules, given a knowledge of the atom groups of which they are constructed. And the spectrum of the large molecule reveals, with some perturbations, the atomic groups which it contains.

Amino acid: If to a carbon atom is attached (bonded) a carboxyl group (OCOH), a basic amino group (NH_2), a hydrogen atom (H) and a chain (R), the constituents of which can be various, an amino acid is produced.⁶ Amino acids are joined with a particular bond using a so-called “peptide linkage,”⁷ in order to form *proteins*. All of these processes, of course, can create extensive bookkeeping problems since most of the common proteins contain more than 100 amino acids. For purposes of considerations here, it is unimportant to go further into proteins in general save for:

*Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA)*⁸

A helix may be pictured as a cylindrical coil spring, right-handed if, when ascending the spring, motion is counter clockwise about the axis of the spring when viewed from above, left-handed if the

reverse. DNA is apparently now conceived as two such interwoven long-chain molecules. The term “double-helix polymer”⁹ is descriptive of this DNA but necessary largely as a convenient shorthand description.

The replicating characteristic of DNA is worthy of remark. This occurs when the two helical strands separate at the “end” of the molecule, each serving to produce a mirror image of itself and a new DNA molecule when separation occurs. Or so the theory goes.¹⁰

The other nucleic acid which should be mentioned here is ribonucleic acid (RNA). Apparently unlike DNA, the structure of RNA can allegedly vary from long chain molecules in configurations ranging from helical, as with DNA, to uncoiled strands. The model which now exists comprehends three “main” types of RNA. These are involved largely in the theory of creation of related off-springs carrying various characteristics of the parent molecule. Something allows this reproduction, and existent theory has postulated that messenger RNA (mRNA) carries the genetic codes which yield this approximate replication.

Viruses

Bacterium: Any member of a group of one-celled microscopic organisms (plants) having spherical, rod-like or curved bodies. They display exceedingly diverse metabolic¹¹ capabilities and use almost any organic compound as a food source. They lack organelles, those entities which, in other life forms, can be considered the locus of metabolic activity.

Viruses: These are not considered to be organisms because they are not free living, that is to say, they cannot reproduce and carry on those metabolic processes by which energy is provided without a host cell. All true viruses are believed to contain either DNA or RNA as nucleic acid and protein.

The viruses were discovered in the latter part of Century XIX when certain disease-carrying agents were found to be transmitted through filters then believed to block the passage of all bacteria. One of the early viruses to be studied was the Tobacco Mosaic Virus (TMV) for which cf. C. A. Knight, *Chemistry of Viruses* (Springer Verlag, 1975. ISBN: 0387067728). The structure of TMV had been, apparently successfully, postulated by Crick and Watson¹² as being helical, the DNA double helix in a “hollow” center of the cylindrical

cal structure with the protein molecules arranged up the enclosing “spring” of the helix in such a way that there was always room to bind one more.

Interferon

Interferons were discovered by Alick Isaacs and Jean Lindenmann (“Virus Interference. I. The Interferon,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society 147B*, 258(1957)).¹³ Interferons are any of various proteins that are produced by the body’s cells as defense against viruses. This compound is the body’s most important and rapidly produced defense against viruses, it responsible for the fact that most viral infections are not life threatening. There are several forms of interferon, these all classified to this time as Type I and Type II. Type I comprehends that form which may be produced by any cell and which has the primary function of inducing viral resistance in cells. The function of Type II is to signal the immune system to respond to infectious agents or cancerous growth.

THE THEORETICAL TREATMENT OF THE O_3 — Cl_3F INTERACTION (SPCL 8.18, 3 DECEMBER 1999)

A Venture into Modern Triviality

In three articles Frank J. Tipler¹⁴ made an excellent case for the non-existence of extraterrestrial beings using the VNM (von Neumann Machine).¹⁵ In this application the VNM would be a self-reproducing space vehicle. If one of these were dispatched to, say, Sirius some 8 light years¹⁶ distant, and it found an associated planetary system, its sensors could find the planet with the requisite raw materials, and its working devices would use these to fabricate new vehicles. All of these new VNMs would be dispatched to other stars. What is necessary to a VNM is a substantial computer, in theory quite possible of attainment. For this discussion the existence of “natural beings” may be limited to our Galactic Nebula, a disk-like star agglomeration containing the “naked eye” stars and the Milky Way, the latter some 80,000 light years in diameter. If you earthlings can conceive a VNM, so can a dweller on any other planetary system in the Galaxy. Now whatever “evolutionary” theory you favor, if you begin with a Nebular Hypothesis, the dweller will have

had many billion years to “evolve” to your level and build his own VNM. Since there are many practical objections to time dilation¹⁷ as a “solution,” they would find themselves dispatching multiplying automata of this kind for exploration.

Tipler’s point may be boiled down to: If there were anyone “out there,” we would not be concerning ourselves with phantom “UFOs,” we would be hip-deep in VNMs. Because the question of extraterrestrial life is not a physical one but a political one, however, Tipler’s conclusions made not a ripple on the swirling surface of that vast Government-Research-Media Axis which needs such “Science” for funding and support. How can the Professional Politician (PP) create a constituency, the Research Establishment fund itself and the Media sell its soap if there is nobody out there to seek?

The Scattering Cross Section

If a beam of O_3 molecules is incident on a layer of CFC (chlorofluorocarbon) molecules, a mathematical description is dependent on a quantity called the *scattering cross section* (SCS).¹⁸ The SCS is a summation over all those states into which the ozone molecule may be scattered by the collision with the CFC molecule. Ignoring the possible final states of the CFC molecule for reasons to be remarked below, the final states of ozone involving O_2+O are those for which the SCS is desired; these will of course tell us the probability of the ozone dissociation. To calculate such a probability, (1) the mathematical functions—“wave functions” so called—for the initial state of the ozone-CFC system, (2) the wave functions for the final state of the oxygen molecule-oxygen atom-CFC system and (3) a mathematical description of the ozone-CFC interaction—potential—must first be determined. One takes (1) through (3) as a product function and integrates over the result *during the collision* in order to obtain a quantity—the so-called matrix element—which, when squared, provides the probability that the system will consist of the oxygen atom and oxygen molecule resulting from the interaction between the ozone and the CFC. Clearly, therefore, the problem is one of carrying out this calculation.

This can hardly be done exactly, but various valid approximations allow considerable to be learned from such a study, and it is likely that the mathematics may be treated approximately. Since the experimental “evidence” does not appear to indicate the ozone deple-

tion originally predicted by the Axis, it is at least to be hoped that some enterprising mathematical physicist will be tempted to follow up this simple outline.

The Wave Function for O₃

The most common form of the oxygen atom is made up of a nucleus containing eight protons and eight neutrons surrounded by a charge cloud containing eight "orbital" electrons. (The popular concept of these orbitals as solid spherical particles zipping about the nucleus in orbits is, of course, only a memory device left over from the Bohr atom (Neils Bohr, *Philosophical Magazine* 26, 1(1913).) There is an arrangement of these electrons by the assignment of two distinct angular momentum quantities¹⁹ which yields the lowest electronic energy state for the atom. The atom's electronic spectrum then results from the excitation by radiation of one or more of these electrons to higher energy levels.²⁰ Ionization requires 13.614 electron volts. But there is very little O about, it largely having formed molecular O₂.

Molecular oxygen consists of two O atoms bound together, their nuclei having an equilibrium separation of 1.6×10^{-8} cm, their binding energy available from spectral data. Since the vibration of the two atoms leaves the center-of-charge coincident with the center-of-mass, there is no infrared (vibrational) spectrum. Nevertheless the vibrational wave function is determinable from the interaction potential between the two atoms which tends toward infinity as separation tends toward zero and which tends toward zero as dissociation is approached with greater nuclear separation and higher vibrational frequency. The electronic wave function is more complex,²¹ the O₂ wave function here taken as the product of the vibrational and electronic functions.

O₃ is, of course, formed by the association of O and O₂. Although it was originally thought that ozone might have the form of an equilateral triangle with O atoms at each vertex, it was soon demonstrated that it was an isosceles triangle with the O₂ atom as base and a relatively widely spaced additional O at the apex. of the triangle. The fact that the dissociation energy for O₃ is only about 1 eV while that for O₂ is some 5 eV demonstrates this configuration. The symmetry structure of the molecule, which will be considered "beyond the scope of this (qualitative) text," is basically the same as that for

a bent XY_2 —such as water—which is of course much more stable under large vibrational transitions.²² There are, however, four excited electronic states—perhaps more have been observed by now—corresponding to four observed continuum (diffuse) band systems. The idea here is that the low frequency end of such a system corresponds roughly to the separation of the electronic levels involved in the absorbing (emitting) transition, the low dissociation energy more or less eliminating vibrational structure. Listing the four familiar continuum systems would serve no useful purpose.²³

As a first step in obtaining the probability for dissociation of ozone by a CFC collision then the initial wave function for O_3 could perhaps be taken as some linear combination of product functions for the relatively familiar functions for O, say, Ψ_O and O_2 , say, Ψ_{O_2} , that is $\Psi_{O_3} @ \Psi_O \Psi_{O_2}$. To some level of approximation to be determined, the ozone wave function can be more rationally constructed by a summation of such functions where now the summation is over states appropriate to the members of the product. Various symmetry considerations, again beyond the scope here, would help in this effort.

The initial state of the ozone-CFC system will be a product of the wave functions for ozone and the CFC which will, of course, be precise enough for sufficient separation of the two. The final state will be, again for sufficient separation, the product of functions for the oxygen atom, the oxygen molecule and the CFC. Therefore, *all* that is lacking now is the CFC wave function and the interaction potential for the dissociation-producing interaction.

The Trichlorofluoromethane Wave Function

As the reader is doubtless aware, there are a number of CFCs which the IEM (International Environmental Movement) has told us—for apparently no valid reason—must be banished from our existence. One of those selected for consideration here is CCl_2F_2 , hereinafter A, which has the proprietary name, Freon-12, and various other names, some rather exotic. The first symbol, C, stands for the carbon atom, the second, Cl, for the chlorine atom and the third, F, for the fluorine. The second of such five-atomic molecules to be touched upon here, CCl_3F (trichlorofluoromethane) hereinafter B, has the name Freon-11, and, more or less the same molecular structure.²⁴

A and B share the characteristic of having a *tetrahedral* structure, a structure which some have graced with a particularly convoluted

description. It is perhaps most easily pictured as a pyramidal XY_3 molecule atop the apex atom of which is perched a Z atom. In B, for example, there is first a pyramidal CCl_3 group above the apex of which exists a F atom. This lends itself to a rather simplified treatment of its vibrational wave functions.

For the modes of vibration of such a molecule, cf. Herzberg.²⁵ It is now appropriate to divide the molecule into two components, a CCl_3 (=V) pyramidal group and a VF group, with the intention of obtaining what is probably—only specific calculation will eliminate “probably”—the most important vibration to be considered here for the CFC. The symmetrical stretching vibration of V is given on p.110, note 11. Such a vibration can probably be combined²⁶ with the dumbbell vibration of the VF group in order to get the CFC vibration of probably considerable interest. Not that the vibrational structure can be left at this stage; it is more nearly a start on this important part of the problem.

Similarly, the wave functions for the ozone molecules can probably be expressed as some sort of “up-and-down” vibration of the oxygen molecule against the loosely bound oxygen atom in that molecule.

At which point then the interaction potential remains to be determined in order that the approximate calculation of the cross section for ozone dissociation may be determined approximately. In order to do this to some level of approximation higher than hand waving, some study of the theoretical input available from calculations such as those suggested above will be required.

Finally, there is a facet of the reaction which may add something to the information already discussed. Experimental evidence apparently indicates that the so-called “ozone layer” is not being and has not been depleted by CFCs. This could be by virtue of a virtual state in the scattering problem which results in a probable replacement of the allegedly dissociated O atom by the same or some other free O atom.

Decision for Disaster: The Bay of Pigs

DECISION FOR DISASTER: THE BAY OF PIGS
(SPCL 7.8, 15 APRIL 1999)

“...we were called...before an investigating committee set up by the president [J. F. Kennedy] to determine all the facts about the disaster...this committee...[consisted of] chairman General Maxwell Taylor...Admiral Arleigh Burke, chief of naval operations...Allen Dulles, director of central intelligence...[and] Robert F. Kennedy...the selection of his [J. F. Kennedy’s] brother...[was] an indication that the groundwork for a cover-up had been laid...I was ushered into the hearing room...there was no microphone or recording equipment...or a stenographer...I learned later from Admiral Burke that the official transcript of these proceedings was constructed by General Taylor and Bobby Kennedy after each day’s proceedings, supposedly from memory...General Taylor...time and again comment... ‘it all goes back to the planes. Everything that went wrong started at that point, and was caused by them’ ...But...Kennedy’s questions ...[were] meant to support the idea that the invasion would have failed even without Castro’s air strikes...I told them...I felt very strongly that the Cochinos plan had been sound and had been successful up to the time of the first Castro air attack...this ended my role as a witness, and I was quickly excused...To support their ‘myth’ of how the disaster was created and by whom, Bissell...who had warned of the disaster to come at Cochinos, was fired. Dulles was given a decent interval before being eased out. General Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the JCS, was reassigned to NATO, and Admiral Arleigh Burke was given early retirement. (Pp.148-150 of Grayston L. Lynch, *Decision for Disaster*)

The Inspector General’s (IG) report on the Bay of Pigs Operation has been synopsisized (pp.227ff, YRBK00). The report itself appears to have had the primary objective of demonstrating that the operation would have failed whatever Mr. Kennedy had ordered. Obvious propaganda statements relating to Castro’s 200,000 “troops” seem to have this as their aim, no careful military analysis of this ragtag mob dimming the raw numbers ploy. Historically, well-trained military units have dealt with such mobs routinely. Nor have the feckless changes in plan been straightforwardly treated, not only with regard to air support and air defense —although these are grudgingly admitted—but also changes of objective. No one can precisely predict what the future might have been. But Castro’s innate cowardice, as demonstrated from his behavior during the attack on the sleeping Moncada Barracks to his behavior in the Sierra Madre, would probably have assured his defeat at Cochinos, although not of course without the planned pre-landing air strikes which, in particular, would have eliminated those T-33s, Hawker Sea Furies (F.10s or FB.11s) and B-26s.

There were two North American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officers with the 2506 Assault Brigade on that April night in 1961 when the brigade successfully assaulted Red Beach (Playa Larga), Blue Beach (Girón) and Green Beach (twenty-one miles east of Girón). These two agents were William “Rip” Robertson,

now deceased, and the author of the book which is to be reviewed here.

Decision for Disaster: Betrayal at the Bay of Pigs. Grayston L. Lynch. Brassey's. Washington. 1998. 187 pages + xx. 11 pages photographs. 8 maps. ISBN: 1-57488-148-5. Reviewed by the LANS Editor.

Lynch was thus "on the ground" in the preparations for the campaign and the only surviving North American to accompany the troops ashore and work with them until Castro's air units had destroyed them. He was an experienced combat infantryman in two wars as against those inexperienced civilians—Schlesinger, Sorenson, Haynes Johnson et al—who would defend the Kennedy Administration (KA). And, finally, he was never a PP with those axes-to-be-ground which cloud the PP's testimony.

Because Lynch appears to have been the most knowledgeable witness to have come forward on this tragic operation, his description of it is assuredly the most valuable. The following highlights will be used to present this brief review of Lynch's account: (1) The Initiation of Planning. (2) The Choice of D-day. (3) The Landing Site Choice. (4) The Order of Battle for the Operation. (5) The Operational Plan. (6) Changes to Defeat.

1. The Initiation of Planning

In Spcl 7.6 above, DOs leading to Castro's occupation of the Cuban power vacuum have been discussed. It would appear that, at some time before 4 March 1960 President Dwight D. Eisenhower realized that a mistake had been made, for on that date he stated at Groton, Connecticut,

"This nation cannot and will not tolerate the establishment of a Soviet satellite ninety miles off our shores."²⁷

In July 1960 and in accordance with these sentiments, the CIA created a special Cuban Task Force in the Western Hemisphere Division of its CS (Clandestine Services). The chief of CS, Richard Bissell, was in overall command, Jake Esterline heading the Task Force. The original choice for the landing operation was Trinidad located some fifty miles to the SE of Cienfuegos where the USSR/CIS would establish its submarine base. This site had the requisite defensible beachhead and landing strip. The nuts and bolts of this

operation are appropriately discussed after Kennedy changed this location.

2. The Choice of D-Day

The CIA had learned that Castro was to receive sixty MiG21s and a cargo of tanks, artillery (field and anti aircraft), etc. by 15 March 1961. Further, 200 Cuban air cadets had been sent to Prague, Czechoslovakia, for fighter transition. The CIA planners estimated that these MiGs would be airborne over Cuba by 1 May. Therefore, the CS planners saw the obvious importance of setting D-day on 10 March 1961 at the latest. The chance would be missed and the value of this condition established.

3. The Landing Site Choice

As Lynch emphasizes, one of the myths which soon surfaced on the Cuban Operation was that President Eisenhower approved the invasion. Eisenhower did not do so for the obvious reason that the operation was not to be carried out under his administration. Kennedy finally approved an operation which had been altered by his civilian advisors²⁸ for the worse. Lynch gives the details of this “approval” which, although valuable, can hardly be detailed here.

Planning was begun in early November 1960 under the direction of the Special Group made up of representatives of the CIA, the Defense Department (DoD), the National Security Council (NSC) and State. The basic requirement for the landing site was a “defensible beachhead” containing a landing strip.²⁹ Such was available at Trinidad, a village some forty miles SE of Cienfuegos where the Soviets would establish their missile submarine base.

The KA changed this site to Cochin Bay which was about the same distance west of Cienfuegos. Of the changes which the civilians of the KA made in the operational plan, this was the least destructive. Indeed the operational objectives were effectively being met, the Castro body count proceeding satisfactorily, until other factors began to enter.

4. The Order of Battle for the Operation

The basic unit was the 2506 Brigade, its numerical designation the serial number of the first man killed in brigade training, Carlos

Rafael Santana. Brigade strength finally reached 1,500 men, a number which would have apparently been ample had the operation adhered to its original plan.³⁰

The brigade contained six infantry battalions, each of which had a heavy weapons platoon made up of 81mm mortars and 57mm recoilless rifles. In addition it contained a heavy-weapons battalion which in turn had a company of 4.2" mortars, a company of 75mm recoilless rifles, a company of 57mm recoilless rifles and a .50 cal MG company. Finally, the brigade contained a tank "company," actually a platoon of five U.S. M-41 tanks which "passed the test" against the heavier Soviet tanks.

The 1st Infantry Battalion was a paratroop battalion, the first unit into Cuba. The 4th Infantry Battalion was motorized, supplied with armored 2 ½ -ton trucks. The 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th Infantry Battalions completed the organization, each of these boasting a heavy-weapons platoon equipped with 81mm mortars and 57mm recoilless rifles.

5. The Operational Plan

The ground force operation consisted in seizing a beachhead extending from Playa Larga at the head of Cochinos Bay forty miles eastward to a road junction ten miles west of Cienfuegos. Seizing this beachhead amounted basically to seizing the three interior access roads. The first of these ran from Red Beach (Playa Larga) north to Jaragüey Grande. The second ran north from Blue Beach (Girón) to San Blas and Cavaduga. The third ran from Green Beach (twenty-one miles east of Girón) north to Yaguaramas. The airstrip so vital to the operation was on Blue Beach.

1st Battalion (Bn) paratroopers were to be dropped into the three zones to block these three exit roads. To block and hold the Red Beach road the brigade planned to place 2nd and 5th Bns and part of 1st Bn there together with two tanks, 75mm recoilless rifles and mortars. The Blue Beach (Girón) road was to be held by the 4th Bn, a company of the 1st Bn, a 4.2" mortar platoon and one M-41 tank. Finally, the Green Beach road was to be held by the 3rd Bn less one company, a company of 1st Bn, one M-41 and a company of 4.2" mortars. The road junction on the coast at Green Beach would have a company of 3rd Bn, reinforced with 75mm recoilless and 81mm mortars, dug in behind a minefield.

Finally, brigade headquarters was at Blue Beach, the requisite reserve held there and consisting of 6th Bn and one M-41.

Crucial to the entire plan, of course, was the “mass air strike of 22 B-26s” from Puerto Cabezas against Castro’s aircraft. When the KA cancelled the Trinidad plan, it cancelled the air strike, originally reducing the force to 16 aircraft. After the fifth strike on D-day the aircraft would begin using the Girón strip in what would have been a “turkey shoot,” Castro’s troops trapped on the forty-foot causeway with swamps to either side. But this was, of course, not to be.

The Debacle

Mr. Kennedy called a meeting on 4 April, already inexcusably late given the time constraints, which approved the operation as planned for 17 April 1961.³¹ The CIA and the JCS had planned this operation to begin with a mass air strike by twenty-two B-26s on the morning of the landing. At the 4 April meeting the number of aircraft was reduced from twenty-two to sixteen, and bomb runs against Castro’s parked aircraft were allegedly planned to begin on 15 April (Saturday), two days before the landing, these supposedly continuing through the landing itself. No such thing happened.

The Saturday B-26 run was carried out but only with six aircraft rather than the sixteen. Lynch understood that half of the Castro aircraft on the ground were destroyed, but this would hardly prove enough. For there were no further attempts against the Castro aircraft, the men in the landing operation, to include Lynch, the last to know. The result was by then a foregone conclusion: If the Sea Furies and T-33s could not be eliminated as a first step, the debacle that followed was assured. That the men in 2506 fought valiantly their successes at the beachhead attested. That they were doomed, however, with the unbelievable removal of their air support needed no confirmation, but it was given.

Indeed, the commanders knew the removal of the air operation foredoomed what had every chance of success. And they asked that the mission be scrubbed, but the KA would not do this. Lynch’s comment on the operation certainly has some merit:

“The failure in 1961 was just that, a failure. But not a total failure, for it did accomplish for the New Frontier a solution to one of its problems. It got rid of the 2506 Brigade.”

Eisenhower felt that the U.S. “could not tolerate the establishment of a Soviet satellite 90 miles off our shores.” The U.S. not only could but did tolerate the establishment of such a satellite which was later converted into a strategic base, now operated by the “ex” USSR and the ChiComs.

The Castroite Cuban Threat Against the U.S.

CUBA AS A THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES. I. NARCOTICS AND ELECTROMAGNETIC THREAT, USSR/CIS— CHI COM BASE THREAT (WKLY 8.6, 5 AUGUST 1999)

“As always, the official (US) tendency exists to minimize the importance of the affair and, even more, refuse assistance in arriving at the conclusion that the Cuban tyranny could convert itself into a dangerous terrorist agent.”

—Ariel Remos (Diario las Américas 16 July 1999)

It has been PC since about 1991 to believe that the MLs of the Soviet Union have been transmogrified into Free Enterprise Democrats (FEDs) and “friends” of the U.S. LANS has avoided taking any position on whether or not this is reality, although certain of the information which questions this viewpoint has been touched upon. Of recent months, however, certain reports—increased level of “Russian” espionage in the U.S., etc. —should have stimulated a certain amount of doubt as to the credibility of the FED concept of Russia. But when our scope is lowered to matters hemispheric, Ruz Castro’s Hemispheric Left (HL) is of considerable interest whether the USSR/CIS remains under ML control or not.

The question of U.S. security vis-à-vis Cuba involves the examination of a rather broad spectrum of threats which that island nation poses against the mainland. Unfortunately, the “mainstream” of American thinking appears only to have been slightly concerned with the nuclear power plant which Russia continues to build at Juraguá and which will be touched upon—again—below. And even this concern is restricted to the possibility of a Chernobyl-type “accident.” In reality, there are a number of threats, most of which are publicly treated in the U.S. as if “they could not happen here.” There is a vulnerability to attack with conventional, nuclear, biological, chemical and electromagnetic weapons. These will be discussed based on certain data that has been brought out of the Castro dictatorship in recent years.

Somewhat more arcane, however, is the vulnerability to attack by narcotics, a subject which has been carefully swept under the PC rug by a series of U.S. administrations. The instigator of this narcotics attack, Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev,³² considered it to be an important tool for the destruction of the U.S., and it has indeed proven to be such.

A. *The Narcotics Attack*

Brian Crozier (*L'Express* 26 December 1986) demonstrated that Khrushchev recruited Castro into narco-trafficking, Douglass³³ that "Cuba and Czechoslovakia first established drug operations in the early 1960s." This vital information has been carefully kept from the American people for decades; the most important source for the information has been the ranking Soviet Bloc defector, General Jan Sejna, whom the U.S. Government muzzled until his recent death.³⁴ Sejna was in the witness protection program, the threat from the FEDs' predecessors quite real. Crozier's interviews with him, however, led to an article (*Sunday Times* 28 January 1990) which revealed the threats to eject him from the program if he provided the details of Soviet-Cuban narco-trafficking.

If nothing else, Khrushchev's drug war against the U.S. has proven to be a most useful economic tool for his ML terrorists in LA, the Colombian terrorists particularly noted for the magnitude of their narco operations (pp.163 ff, YRBK97 *et seq*). For years the U.S. Government has allegedly been involved in a "war on drugs," a war which, according to various specific reports that LANS has received, is being fought with an infiltrated army.³⁵ But, most importantly, it is being fought against a hemispheric drug operation commanded by Fidel Castro. Which renders the behavior by the Clinton Government (CG) inconsistent if not inexplicable.

On 18 June 1999 the CG announced that two members of the U.S. State Department and two members of the U.S. Coast Guard were leaving that evening for Cuba. The stated purpose of their trip was a meeting with Castro's personnel on 21 June in order "to improve the coordination between the U.S. and Cuba" on detecting drug trafficking in the Caribbean.

"The news does not surprise me," said U.S. Congressman Lincoln Díaz-Balart (R, FL), "since it was the State Department that leaked to the *Washington Post* a series of lies (to the effect) that

Castro was cooperating in the battle against drugs when it knows that he is a narcotrafficker.”

Díaz-Balart added that there were “people from Cuba trafficking, and a formal action in the South of Florida against functionaries of the regime. What they should have done instead of ‘cooperating’ is to free up that prosecution and process the Cuba functionaries and their chief. They would have to ask also if they are directing assistance to the Cali and Medellín cartels.”

B. Continued U.S. Support of Narcobase Cuba

To this complaint State parroted the reply, routine for many years, to the effect that it had no credible information that “the Government of Cuba is involved in narcotrafficking.” One of the most interesting examples of such State stonewalling was provided by U.S. Under Secretary of State Laurence Eagleburger in 1983. In May of that year Mr. Eagleburger commented that “it is difficult to believe that the Cuban Government is not involved [in narco-trafficking],” then lapsed into silence as though instructed to do so (p.166, YRBK97). The “lack of credible information” claim on this occasion, while demonstrating that the ranking members of that department had been prepared against such heresies, was particularly weak in the light of the efforts which had been underway for some time by Congressmen Burton and Gilman.

In May 1999 Congressman Dan Burton (R, IN), chairman of the Government Reform Committee, and Congressman Ben Gilman (R, NY), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, asked State to put Cuba on the list of “principal” countries involved in narco-trafficking. There was apparently no noticeable effect of this request on the U.S.-Cuba Drug Conference of latter June. In early July, Burton and Gilman sponsored a bill before the House declaring Cuba a “principal narcotrafficker.” It will probably be necessary, should it pass the Congress, for the bill to override the veto of Mr. W. J. Clinton, an ambitious undertaking, if it is to become law.

Should it become law, however, it would require Mr. Clinton to include Cuba in the annual certification of governments that “cooperate fully” or not in the battle against narcotics. Since the U.S. president has carried out what appears to be a pro-Cuba policy during most of his occupancy of the Presidential Palace, it would appear unlikely that he will comply with this law. In Chapter 3, “United

States Diplomacy in Latin America” (YRBK98), The U.S. Cuba Gambit (pp.118ff, *ibid*), has been discussed. This treatment begins with the tête-à-tête dinner of the Clintons in 1994 with Castro’s good friend and supporter, Gabriel García Márquez, more or less ending with the 1997 *New York Post* report of Clinton’s determination to recognize the Cuban tyranny before he leaves office. The pace of this recognition effort appears to be picking up this summer with the visit of U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Thomas Donohue to the Castroite dictatorship. Said pace is retaining its earlier level with the U.S. president’s suspension of Title III of the Helms Burton (HB) Law on 14 July 1999.

Title III establishes the right of enterprises with legal status in this country to sue in U.S. courts those foreign enterprises which in some way are benefiting from U.S. properties seized by the Castro dictatorship. The opinion has frequently been expressed that Title III contains the real teeth of HB without which the law is a sham embargo.

Mr. Clinton has hobbled HB since it came into effect with his continuous suspensions of Title III which began on 1 August 1996. On 1 August 1999 he did it again. Smiling Stuart Eizenstat, Under Secretary of State for Agricultural and Economic Affairs and point man on what appears to be the Cuba Recognition Project, was quick to defend the action. The arguments used are routine ones with which the reader must assuredly be familiar.

C. *USSR/CIS Base Cuba*

Russian Base Cuba has been described (YRBK97), the entirety of the description not necessary of repetition here. Perhaps most astonishing about what could be a serious threat to U.S. security is the almost complete absence of interest in the matter for reasons on which the reader should feel free to speculate. In any event, LANS originally compiled a list of five principal characteristics of USSR/CIS Base Cuba. Here these will be synopsisized and modified with more recently acquired information.

1. In a 1996 interview Cuban Revolutionary Air Forces (FARC) General Rafael del Pino, a 1987 defector, told the LANS Editor that there were “more than 300”³⁶ Soviet fighter aircraft based on Cuba. Most of these were then moth-balled, a half-dozen (or so) operating out of La Cayuba Air Base at San Antonio de los Baños, another half dozen out of Holguin, Oriente Province.

2. At Lourdes Russia maintains and operates one of the world's largest electronic espionage bases outside the USSR/CIS. What U.S. Under Secretary of State Watson defended before the U.S. Congress (AFP 18 March 1995) has recently been described as follows:³⁷

The Lourdes electronic espionage base is 28 square miles in extent and employs about 1,500 Russian personnel. A satellite view of Lourdes has been provided by Professor Manuel Cereiyo of Florida International University. There are two satellite dish arrays on the base. The first of these, "Space Associated Electronic Area North," specifically monitors general U.S. communications, the second, "Space Associated Area South," targets telephones, facsimiles and computer transmissions, *inter alia*. The Russian MLs, now allegedly FEDs, have spent over \$3 billion on Lourdes. In 1996, they began upgrading this facility.

The \$250 million so far expended has provided Lourdes with state-of-the-art electronics. LANS has previously mentioned their computer capability to pick up targeted telephone numbers, then record the conversations. The upgrade has introduced voice-recognition capability to carry this surveillance to a higher level. By virtue of its activity in collection and correlation of data from "spy" satellites, ships and planes in the Atlantic region, Cereiyo has aptly classified Lourdes as a "full-fledged regional command and control center."

Lieutenant General Patrick M. Hughes, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Director, told the Senate Intelligence Committee in August 1996, "Lourdes is being used to collect personal information about U.S. citizens in the private and government sectors." Has such information been used to blackmail members of the U.S. Government into, say, supporting IMF "loans" for the USSR/CIS?³⁸

Two additional categories have arisen in the domain of electromagnetic warfare, space requiring their detailed treatment in a later report. (1) In 1995 the USSR/CIS began construction of such a base at Bejucal (south of Havana) to be operated by Cubans, this in response to Cuban complaints over lack of access to Lourdes. (2) The Peoples Republic of China (ChiCom) began beefing up its relations with ML Cuba in 1993 (AFP 24 Nov 93) with the visit of President Jiang Zemin to the island. This was followed up by the 1995 visit of Castro to Beijing (p.92, YRBK97). In February 1999 a delegation led by ChiCom Defense Minister Chi Haotian arrived

in Cuba (*Xinhua* News Agency 25 Feb 99).³⁹ The ChiCom Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) is using and improving Cuban electronic espionage capabilities.

3. Russia is reported continuing to operate the ballistic missile submarine base at Cienfuegos Bay which was established in 1971. Various sightings of Polaris-type subs were reported in 1995. LANS has received no more recent reports, although various sources have stated that, at most, these facilities have been mothballed.

4. The so-called “missile crisis” of 1962 has been generally touted as some sort of U.S. victory. The evidence which has accumulated since then has supported the conclusion that these missiles were not removed,⁴⁰ arguments in favor of removal verging on the ludicrous.⁴¹ That these delivery vehicles were not removed was inferable from the fact that no inspections were made in Cuba, no Soviet vessels boarded for inspection of canvas-covered deck cargo.

A treaty was signed on 28 September 1995 in Switzerland between the United States and Russia. The key paragraph is: “The parties understand that the treaty does not prohibit them from translating the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM) outside their national territories.”

LANS interviewed Lester T. Carbonell as this was being prepared. He stated that he had no recent information on siloed missiles but that he had encountered information on Chicom mobile Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBM). Eduardo Prida (Spcl 8.6) has mentioned reports of emplaced IRBMs in central Cuba, and Congressman Díaz-Balart maintains that SS-22s could readily be obtained on the international black market.

5. On 14 May 1999, the Russian news agency Interfax reported that Cuba and Russia have agreed to a “joint venture” to complete the reactor for a nuclear power plant at Comunidad Juraguá (Cienfuegos), perhaps with funds from U.S. economic aid. The CG is concerned, not because the plant could provide a source of weapons-grade fissionable material, but because there might be some sort of “accident” (AFP 30 January 1999). From the PC treatment which the subject has received in most of the press, it can be predicted that even this relatively minor concern is to be ignored.

CUBA AS A THREAT TO THE U.S. II. THE BIO-CHEMICAL THREAT
(SPCL 8.6, 3 AUGUST 1999)

*"Near the Teaching Military Hospital 'Luis Díaz Soto' (in Cuba)...there are three huge warehouses of cadavers which are used to make...a culture soup with water and putrefied cadavers...for the production of (various toxic substances)..."—
Eduardo Prida, scientific investigator*

Introduction

In 1992 the Cuban Institute of Oceanographic Studies conducted an experiment to determine the best sites on the Cuban coast from which to dispatch floating containers aimed at the U.S.. The bottles used contained notes requesting replies from those in the U.S. who found them. Incidentally, it was found that the north central coast of Cuba provided the best launch site for biological weapons—terrorism's next wave—attack using floating containers.

In a general way CW (chemical weapons) are poisons which act on contact with the skin while BW (biological weapons) are bacteria or virus which invade and multiply within the body in order to destroy it. In practice, many weapons in these categories are biochemical, that is, weapons having both chemical and biological effects. As Professor Cereijo points out,⁴² there are at least 80 types of bacteria, viruses and fungi which can be weaponized. Certain background relative to bacteria and viruses has been considered in Spcl 8.4 above.

Cereijo mentions a number of these viruses—among them Marburg, Ebola, smallpox and anthrax—and the research and preparation centers capable of producing them, among these the Center for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (CIGB), the National Bio-Preparation Center (BIOCEN) in Bejucal⁴³ and the Finlay Institute which will be mentioned below.

Weaponizing Anthrax and Smallpox

Weaponizing anthrax bacteria consists in the creation of a culture with bacteria and nutrient. This is then oven incubated to create a seed stock which is multiplied in fermenters, then concentrated by centrifuge and stabilized by additives.

Weaponizing smallpox viruses, because of the nature of the virus, requires animal or human tissue cells in a nutrient medium necessary to virus multiplication. For both virus and bacteria production there are various Cuban facilities such as CIGB, BIOCEN and, once again, the Finlay Institute.

One of the early bio-chemical weapons was T-2.

T-2 is one of the tricothecene mycotoxins⁴⁴ which are produced by various species of fungi and can occur on certain agricultural products. Rio, Latraite and Parent-Massin⁴⁵ have identified the compounds T-2 toxin, HT-2 toxin, diacetoxyscripenol (DAS) and dioxynivalenol (DON) as the “most naturally encountered and potent tricothecenes.” T-2 is considered first.

Only the cardiovascular and dermatologic effects of this compound are to be remarked. The cardiovascular effects are (1) angina (inability of “diseased” [poisoned] arteries to deliver sufficient blood); (2) tachycardia (heart rate greater than 100); and (3) hypotension (low blood pressure). The dermatologic effects are contact induced skin and eye coagulation necrosis (blood clots blocking blood flow (tissue death) causing tissue ischemia (decreased supply of oxygenated blood to body parts).

Stahl, Green, and Farnum⁴⁶ usefully and concisely describe T-2 as one of several “incapacitating, vesicant (blistering) and lethal chemical warfare agents.” As these authors point out, “The use of several kinds... (of these agents to include T-2) in Southeast Asia, particularly Kampuchea and Laos, has been reported since 1975.” These toxic agents were reported as having been used in Southeast Asia, particularly Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Laos. As will be seen, reports of such chemical warfare had also been coming out of Afghanistan. Air attacks, usually using spray, spread yellow to yellow-brown liquid or semi-solid particles in suspension. From the fact that these mixtures sometimes sounded like rain on the thatched roofs, this chemical agent became known as “yellow rain” or “medicine from the sky.” This biochemical weapon was also delivered by artillery shells.

Two earlier reports on this biochemical warfare by the IL (International Left) had appeared in 1983. In one of these, Harruff,⁴⁷ who had been a volunteer physician at Ban Vinai camp in Thailand in 1980, reports his evidence for the use of these biochemical weapons allegedly “outlawed” by the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. The Ban Vinai camp was the principal refuge of the Laotian Hmong population, the target of the MLs of the Pathet Lao and Vietnamese governments.

Since 1976 there had been accounts by the Hmong of biochemical operations against them. During his service in Ban Vinai Dr. Harruff’s experience with patients having unusual pulmonary prob-

lems convinced him that the Hmong were right. These people claimed that their problems began after exposure to biochemical weapons used against them in Laos by the ML Vietnamese. And evidence being gathered by the U.S. State Department supported Harruff's conclusions.

In latter 1981 State reported, first, finding tricothecenes in foliage samples from Laos and, second, the similarities of the effects produced by these compounds to those reported by the victims of these biochemical attacks. One sample, provided by the Hmong and analyzed at Rutgers University, contained, not only tricothecenes but also polyethylene glycol which could only have been of synthetic origin. The same toxins were being found in blood and tissue samples from Laos and Kampuchea and, most interestingly, on foliage and a captured Soviet gas mask from Afghanistan. As the Soviet dictator, Khrushchev, had introduced the drug weapon in his imperialist war (Wkly 8.6 above), so his successors had introduced the use of biochemical agents in their continuation of it.

Delivery Vehicles

To that time under discussion by Harruff, the preferred delivery vehicle for T-2 was an aerial spray device. In both Southeast Asia and Afghanistan the agent was "a crude extract of a *Fusaria*⁴⁸ fungal species that has been grown under conditions favoring the production of high levels of tricothecenes." The agent is delivered by spraying in a volatile solvent. Such a solvent can also be delivered in contact exploding artillery projectiles. Timed-exploding projectiles, for example, are also possible but apparently not necessary. This resume of Harruff's paper may appropriately be concluded with:

In my experience, there are no skeptics among relief workers who have been involved overseas with post-Vietnam War Asian refugee programs. The level of cruelty witnessed there is so high that the inclusion of biochemical weapons to the many forms of abuse comes as no surprise.

Prelude to Cuba

The remark on cruelty with which Dr. Harruff concludes his report could equally well be applied to the satiating effects of ML cruelty in other parts of the world, of greatest interest here, in Cuba. Dzugashvili (aka Stalin) is alleged to have told Churchill that mass

murders in the millions take on the characteristics of a “statistic,” a similar sort of situation.

The LANS interest in biochemical cruelty in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan is appropriate as background to Castroite biochemical activities, particularly in indicating the chronological continuity between T-2 activity in Asia and that in the Caribbean. Two more reports will be touched upon before this treatment takes up the Cuban phase of such activity, the first more or less contemporary with that of Dr. Harruff, the second two years later.

On 19 November 1982, the U.S. State Department held a press conference on Soviet bio-chemical activities in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan at which, *inter alia*, was dramatically revealed the T-2-polluted Soviet gasmask from Afghanistan. The conference was described by Eliot Marshall (“A Cloudburst of Yellow Rain Reports,” *Journal of Veterinary and Human Toxicology* 25, 38 [1983]) in a paper with an appropriate title. In calling the conference, State presented a 12-page report setting out new and old evidence from U.S. intelligence agencies on ML gas attacks. The report may be summarized thus: “The finding of T-2 toxin and HT-2 toxin...in the blood, urine, and tissue of victims of these attacks provides unequivocal evidence of their use as weapons.”

A brief summary of the already remarked paper by Stahl et al.⁴⁶ will conclude this background discussion. On 13 February 1982 a Khmer Rouge (KR) encampment at Toul Chrey⁴⁹ was bombarded by Vietnamese forces. The statement is made that “three artillery shells” (projectiles, no further description) “exploded upwind of the camp.” It is subsequently stated that “the attack rate is unknown.” Presumably, this means that the detonation of three projectiles is known, although the interval between detonations (rate) is not. The KR reported a “perfume-like” odor and 100 casualties.

The investigators received various organs from one of the dead on 29 May 1982 in “good condition.” T-2 was found in stomach, kidney, lung and intestine; DAS in kidney; HT-2 in heart, stomach and intestine; and Aflatoxin (see below) in all organs examined (not heart and lung).

The “paucity of information about the pathological effects” of tricothecene mycotoxins prevents the researchers from declaring positively that these unnatural levels of these toxins caused symptoms and death. However, “the circumstances of injury” and the clinical findings “are consistent with those of tricothecene toxicosis.”

The Tuol Chrey gas attack occurred in early 1982. The date is of some consequence here because of what was in progress at that time in Cuba.

Edward Prida

Before his defection from Cuba, Eduardo Prida was a scientific investigator for the Scientific Investigations Bureau of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). His account of Castro Cuban development of chemical-biological arms⁵⁰ is invaluable, and it appears to be precise. The account given by Prida meshes in well with the accounts touched upon above of USSR bio-chemical operations in Asia, both as to the toxic agents favored by these MLs and the times of their development and utilization.⁵¹

T-2 Gas

Prida points out that the first experiments by the Castro dictatorship with bacteriological agents were begun in 1978 and 1979 by its so-called Biological Front. These early efforts were concerned with germs and toxins from seaweed and shellfish and utilized as vectors⁵² drosophila flies.⁵³ Although the experience gained from these experiments has probably proven to be generally useful, the focus of the bio-chemical program was shifted to T-2 in the early 1980s. As has been discussed above, this would correspond to the use of T-2 in Southeast Asia by the Vietnamese allies of the USSR and in Afghanistan by the Soviets themselves.

The Soviet and Cuban biochemical warfare people apparently had no doubt as to the potential of this agent, for, by 1981, the first biochemical arms fabrication plant had been constructed in Matanzas Province, Cuba, and manned by Soviet technicians. T-2 was also soon being produced among the hills and caverns in the mountainous zone of San Cristóbal near Soroa (Pinar del Río Province). Prisoners with long sentences and generally without families were utilized, these disappearing after the construction was completed.

Later Developments

The account is reasonably straightforward with regard to T-2 development, this apparently continuing in Matanzas and Pinar del Río, but somewhat more complex in other areas. In April of 1994 the

first factory specifically devoted to the production of biochemical arms was constructed near the central Military Hospital. The second such factory began to function in the Spring of 1995 near the Carlos J. Finlay Hospital. According to Prida, the Castro regime utilized the patients from these hospitals as guinea pigs in order to validate their biological factory products, administering their developed viruses without the knowledge of either patients or hospital personnel.

Cadaver Warehouses

In the introduction to this report the three cadaver warehouses near the "Luis Díaz Soto" Military Teaching Hospital, Superior Institute of Military Medicine, have been mentioned. The operation of these charnel houses is "contemporary." The putrefied cadavers are utilized in order to make the tests of human tissue and a soup of water with biological substances from the rotting corpses. These subterranean swimming pools (*piscinas*) for putrefied cadavers have as their purpose production of biochemicals to be used as agents for the spread of Toxic Botulism, Aflatoxin and *Clostridium Perfringens* or gas of Gaseous Gangrene.

Botulism *per se* is from *botulus* (sausage), although its contemporary use is in the broader sense of growth of *Clostridium* (genus of bacteria) *Botulinum*. Aflatoxin is that toxin produced by molds contaminating ground nut seedlings, this producing various liver problems such as liver necrosis, cirrhosis, hepatocellular carcinoma, hepatic carcinoma and so on. *Clostridium Perfringens* is the most common etiologic (disease cause) of gas gangrene which, in turn, arises in dirty, lacerated wounds in which muscles and subcutaneous tissues become filled with gas and serosanguineous exudate (material escaped from blood vessels).

"With these compounds are developed infectious, contagious diseases capable of rapid propagation and creation of panic in the Cuban population for which the U.S. would be blamed as they have been doing for years. They would also attack the residents of Florida with them. This is very easy and much less costly than conventional or nuclear arms," Prida told Remos.

Which is a considerably different story than Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond was given by a Clinton Government report from a jumble of U.S. intelligence agencies.⁵⁵⁴

The title of the report is “The Cuban Threat to U.S. National Security” and was allegedly prepared jointly by the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), State Department Intelligence Bureau, the National Security Agency (NSA) and the Southern Command intelligence section.

Said this report,

“Cuba presently has the capability and experience to support a program of bacteriological weapons at least in the research and development stage...” This statement embodies the same sort of obfuscation of the Cuban threat against the U.S. that has been discussed in the first report of this series (Wkly 8.6 above). The report presented to the U.S. Congress by Congressman Lincoln Díaz-Balart on 19 March 1998 is more realistic as to Castroite Cuban capabilities:

“(4) Castro can deliver into U.S. territory chemical and bacteriological agents by conventional or non conventional means, with missiles available in the international black market.”

The Purpose

Prida attests to the Castroite slaughter of more than 10,000 Angolans with VX and Sarin Gas, Sarin the gas used in the subway by the Japanese New Dawn terrorists. Castro’s bio-chemical weapons and delivery capability are what the Cuban dictator considers his “containment” arms against the U.S.

Notes

1. So-called because of the “multipole expansion” which is a convenient method of dealing with emission and absorption spectra. The dipole is followed in this series by the quadrupole, octopole, etc., hardly necessary to this elementary treatment.
2. Here only the spectra arising from the vibrational and rotational motions of the molecule are considered. The more esoteric electronic-vibrational spectra are unnecessary to present concerns.
3. Gerhard Herzberg, *Molecular Spectra and Molecular Structure. II. Infrared and Raman Spectra of Polyatomic Molecules* (Van Nostrand, 1945. ISBN: 0894642693).
4. The more complex electronic-vibrational structure need not be considered here; for this see Gerhard Herzberg, *Molecular Spectra and Molecular Structure. III. Electronic Spectra and Electronic Structure of Polyatomic Molecules* (Van Nostrand, 1966. ISBN: 0894642707).
5. Cf. R. G. Breene, Jr., “The Normal Coordinates of N-Dimethylaminodiborane,” *Journal of Chemical Physics* 23, 97(1955).
6. Cf., *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Physics*, Vol. 1, pp.149-150 (Pergamon, 1961. ISBN: 0080063594).
7. In the alanine-glycine linkage, for example, the peptide will consist of a CO from the alanine and a NH radical from the glycine.

8. "Ancient" man felt that he gained power over objects, animate and inanimate, by naming them, a totemic form of behavior still perhaps most notably present in medicine. To paraphrase Professor Higgins, the attending physician may not have the vaguest idea what to do about an ailment, but this is of little consequence compared to his ability to pronounce it properly.
9. A "polymer" consists of repeating structural units—atomic groups—as we already know.
10. Is this what happens or is this what appears to be happening? This is of course merely an extrapolation of the question re the hydrogen atom: Does the absolute square of the wave function (mathematical description) for the H electron actually tell us the spatial distribution or is it simply a conveniently correct mathematical description? This question really only has meaning for the physicist who insists on microscopic-macroscopic equivalence.
11. A metabolic process is one by which energy is provided for the vital processes of an organism without a host cell.
12. F. H. C. Crick and J. D. Watson, *Nature* 177, 473(1956).
13. See also A. Isaacs, J. Lindenmann and R. C. Valentine, "Virus Interference. II," *Proc. Roy. Soc.* 147B, 268(1957).
14. Frank J. Tipler, "Extraterrestrial Beings Do Not exist" (*Quarterly Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society* 21, 267[1981]); "A Brief History of the Extraterrestrial Intelligence Concept" (*ibid.* 22, 33 [1981]); "Additional Remarks on Extraterrestrial Intelligence" (*ibid.* 22, 279 [1981]).
15. J. von Neumann and A. W. Burks, *Theory of Self-Reproducing Automata* (University of Illinois Press, 1966. LCC: 623007246).
16. Light travels 186,000 mi/sec. During the course of a year, therefore, light will travel 5.87×10^{12} or 5.87 trillion miles.
17. From Special Relativity, the faster you go, the slower your clock goes so you allegedly have lots of spare time. In practice, g-forces and the difference between a light particle and a solid body render this solution meaningless. Were the travelers moving, nevertheless, at 0.9c, it would take them "only" 127 of their years for a short 500 light year journey.
18. Those interested in the details should consult the classic treatment of Marvin L. Goldberger and Kenneth M. Watson, *Collision Theory* (Wiley, 1964. LCC: 64-17819).
19. For those wishing to delve more deeply into the subject the starting point should be the work of John C. Slater, *Quantum Theory of Atomic Structures* (Vol. I, McGraw-Hill, 1960. LCC: 60-6985; Vol. II, *ibid.*).
20. In a series of volumes Moore has collected and analyzed an immense amount of atomic spectra, the volume of interest to O being the first, Charlotte E. Moore, *Atomic Energy Levels as Derived from Analyses of Optical Spectra* (Vol. I, Hydrogen through Vanadium, National Bureau of Standards, 1949. LCC: 53060419).
21. Cf. John C. Slater, *Quantum Theory of Molecules and Solids*, Vol. I, *Electronic Structure of Molecules* (McGraw-Hill, 1963. LCC: 62-17647).
22. This is indicated by the diffuse absorption bands the lower limits on which exist more or less at the dissociation energy.
23. For details on these bands, cf. Gerhard Herzberg, *Molecular Spectra and Molecular Structure. III. Electronic Spectra and Electronic Structure of Polyatomic Molecules* (D. Van Nostrand, 1966. ISBN: 09464789).
24. Those wishing to while away an idle hour in "research," may proceed to www.chemfinder.com and locate certain vital data on these molecules such as the comments upon them as contained in the Texas Clean Air Act (sic).

25. Gerhard Herzberg, *Molecular Spectra and Molecular Structure. II. Infrared and Raman Spectra of Polyatomic Molecules* (D. Van Nostrand, 1945).
26. R. G. Breene, Jr., *J. Chem. Phys.* 23, 97 (1955).
27. Mr. Kennedy's signals were mixed or garbled. In a book which came out that same year (*The Strategy of Peace*, Harper and Row, 1960. LCC: 60-7530) he was describing Castro as "part of the legacy of Simón Bolívar" while in his campaign against Nixon he was describing the latter as "soft on Castro."
28. Most often blamed for the disastrous changes in the operational plan was the U.S. representative at the United Nations (UN), Adlai Stevenson. This is the individual who had run for U.S. president in 1956, an important plank in his "platform" being the utterly untenable argument—as Teller demonstrated—that the nuclear weapons tests would "knock the earth off its axis."
29. This might have had to be slightly extended for B-26 operation, but that such is easily and effectively accomplished with PSP (pierced-steel plank) as the LANS Editor can attest.
30. Many of the reasons advanced for gutting the operation had to do with foreign reaction. If, however, this timidity had not been displayed, a successful operation would have (a) silenced the bluster and (b) prevented the so-called "Cuban Missile Crisis" of 1962 and Soviet establishment of a base in Cuba.
31. Fulbright alone disapproved the plan on "moral" grounds." Apparently Castro's slaughters after this operation were of a high "moral" nature.
32. The Khrushchev treatment by Edward Crankshaw (*Khrushchev Remembers*, Little Brown, 1970, Translated by Strobe Talbott. LCC: 70-144137) includes photos of the lovable Castro-Khrushchev (CK) duo—Fidel is joyfully entertaining Nikita's grandson in one photograph—although no information on the CK drug smuggling activities is hinted.
33. Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., *Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America and the West* (Edward Harle, 1999. ISBN: 1-899798-04-8). The first edition (1990) of Douglass' book was effectively suppressed when it suddenly "lost" its distribution. The Harle edition, containing much new material, is available from Edward Harle Ltd., 108 Horseferry Road, Westminster, London SW1P2EF, UK or Edward Herle Lts., Suite 1209, 280 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016-0802, U.S..
34. A more extensive discussion of Sejna's muzzling has been presented (pp.212ff, YRBK00).
35. A wire service report of the involvement of U.S. embassy personnel in Colombia in narco-trafficking should surface ere long, but it now appears that the most important parts of this story will probably be spiked.
36. These were MiG-21s, MiG-23MFs, MiG-23Bs and MiG-29s. The aircraft used for the shoot-down of the unarmed Brothers to the Rescue aircraft over international waters were a MiG-23MF and a MiG-29.
37. Manuel Cereijo, "CUBA: Possible Threat to the National Security of the United States Through non-Conventional Military Methods" (Miami, Florida, 1999).
38. As usual, LANS invites its readers to furnish any documented information which they can on such blackmail efforts. The following caveats should be repeated: Any such communications should be by surface mail. No return address should appear inside or outside the envelope which should be postmarked as far from the return address as practicable
39. See also, Jaime Suchlicki, "Those Men in Havana Are Now Chinese" (p. 8, *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 2 August 1999).
40. Nestor T. Carbonell (*And the Russians Stayed: The Sovietization of Cuba, Morrow*, 1989. ISBN: 0-688-07213-5) has presented extensive detail, gathered over the

years, which demonstrated that, not only were the SS4s and SS5s not removed, but also that they were later replaced by more sophisticated delivery vehicles.

41. The Piles of Rusty Junk (PRJ) Argument: Intelligence sources (bogus and authentic) have told LANS that: "Those missiles are just 'piles of rusty junk.'" This bizarre "argument" amounts to confirmation of non-removal, that the SS4s and SS5s would be PRJ now is an irrelevant truism.
42. Manuel Cereijo, "CUBA: Possible Threat to the National Security of the United States Through non-Conventional Military Methods" (Miami, Florida, 1999).
43. In Bejucal the USSR/CIS is constructing an electronic espionage center at Cuban request (Wkly 8.6).
44. Mycotoxins are simply fungal poisons
45. B. Rio, S. Lautraite and D. Parent-Massin, "In vitro toxicity of tricothecenes on human erythroblastic progenitors," *Human and Experimental Toxicology* 16, 673 (1997).
46. C. J. Stahl, C. C. Green and J. B. Farnum, "The Incident at Toul Chrey: Pathologic and Toxicologic Examinations of a Casualty After Chemical Attack," *Journal of Forensic Studies* 30, 317(1985).
47. Richard C. Harruff, "Chemical-Biological Warfare in Asia," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 250, 497 (1983).
48. Without considerable descriptive detail, extraneous here, this can only be defined in a circular manner: A "fusarial species" relates to any fungus of the genus *Fusarium*.
49. Tuol Chrey is 75 mi north of Phnom Penh and 175 mi south of the Thai border.
50. Ariel Remos, "Bacteriological Arms Identify Castro with Bio-Terrorism. I," *Diario las Américas*, 16 July 1999; *ibid* II, 17 July 1999.
51. LANS expresses deep appreciation to Senior Circuit Librarian Mary Jo Dwyer of the University of Texas Health Science Center (San Antonio) for her assistance.
52. A "vector" is an agent capable of transmitting a pathogen (specific cause of a disease) from one organism to another.
53. A drosophila is a small, two-winged fly of the genus *Drosophila* as is the ever-popular fruit fly.

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8

Latin American International Organizations

General

The number of Latin American (LA) international organizations is legion, some consisting of only LA organizations, others of more world scope. For practical reasons, choices must be made as to which of these should be included in these annual reports and which should not. Here, a list of those organizations on which LANS reports have appeared, both in this edition and/or in previous editions of this Yearbook., is first presented. The descriptions given in this list are the minimal ones which is felt necessary for what follows. The listing is alphabetical by acronym.

AEC (Association of Caribbean States). Founded in 1994, its permanent seat in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.

ALACL (LA Free Trade Association). Founded by treaty of 18 February 1960. Members Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Replaced 1980 by ALADI.

ALADI (LA Integration Association). Founded 1980 to replace ALACL.

ALCA (Free Trade Organization of LA). Founded at 1994 Miami Summit.

ALCEE (Center for LA Monetary Studies).

ALIDE (LA Association of Development Financing Institutions).

CA-4 (Central American 4), more frequently SICA.

CAN (Andean Community of Nations), more frequently GA.

CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market). Formed in 1973 replacing CARIFTA.

CARIFTA (Caribbean Free Trade Association). Founded in 1965.

CECA (CA Ecological Summit)

CEJEG (Conference of Wives of Heads of State and Government).

CEPAL (Economic Commission for LA and the Caribbean). UN “technical organ.”

CHDS (Hemispheric Sustainable Development Summit).

CIMP (Inter American Conference of Attorneys General).

CLD (LA Law Convention).

CMC (Summit of CA Misses).

COPAL (Alliance of Cacao Producing Countries).

FIR5 (Río Forum5). Celebrates “Earth Summit.”

G-3 (Group of 3). Founded 1993 by Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela.

G-15 (Group of 15).

GA (Andean Group). Earlier designation of CAN established 1969.

GRUPO DE RÍO. Emerged from Contadora.

IAIALAR (Iberian American Institute of Agrarian Law and AgRef). Founded 1973.

IBERIAN AMERICAN SUMMIT (Cumbre Iberoamérica). First summit 1991.

IS (Socialist International).

LAECS (LA European Caribbean Summit).

MCCA (CA Common Market). Established 13 December 1960.

MERCOSUR (Common Market of the Southern Cone). Enabling treaty 16 March 1991.

NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). Effective 1 January 1994.

OAS (Organization of American States). Created in 1948

ODECA (Organization of CA States). Founded in 1951.

OLADE (LA Energy Organization). Founded in 1973.

PADF (Pan American Development Foundation). Founded in 1962.

PARLACEN (CA Parliament). Out of Esquipulas 25 May 1986.

PARLATINO (la parliament). Established 1964.

PIA American Indigenous Parliament).

SELA (LA Economic System). Seat in Caracas.

SICA (Secretariat of CA Integration). Or SIECA.

SOLIDARIOS (Council of Inter American Development Foundations). Founded 1972.

SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS. Creation of U.S. Clinton Government.

AEC (Association of Caribbean States)

II SUMMIT OF THE CARIBBEAN CHIEFS OF STATE (WKLY 7.17, 29 APRIL 1999)

The AEC (Association of Caribbean States) has been touched upon in these reports (pp.333ff, YRBK98) but so briefly that somewhat more comprehensive coverage is warranted on this occasion of the II Summit of AEC Chiefs of State.

The Evolution of the AEC

The Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) (cf. pp.334-5, 380, YRBK98) replaced Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) in 1973 and includes most Caribbean nations. Supposedly acting on the recommendation of its "West Indian Commission," CARICOM, in its October 1992 "Extraordinary Meeting" at Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, called for the establishment of the AEC. Not surprisingly, this call for one more international organization was seconded by the CARICOM/CA (Central America) Second Ministerial Conference in Kingston, Jamaica, May 1993. Other such organizations, primarily Group of 3 (G-3) (cf. pp.336ff, YRBK98), echoed the call for this additional international bureaucracy. On 24 July 1994 the CARICOM heads of state answered their own call and signed the Convention establishing the AEC at the resort city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. The inaugural summit of the new international grouping was held in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, on 17-18 August 1995.

As is usual in such procedures, this I Summit hastened to publicize its intentions, declaring that its objectives were "to identify and promote the implementation of policies and programs oriented toward" four broadly described areas.

AEC Mission Statement

As with any such political organization, the AEC established its mission in those broad terms common to the works of the contemporary PP. These terms must be vague enough to attract the voters in the respective native lands while broad enough to give the PP ample room for maneuver. As has been previously remarked here, the language has been more and more tinted with certain of the catch phrases of the International Left (IL) with the certainty that no analysis careful enough to reveal this slant is to be expected from a cowed international press. In this case there were allegedly four categories of AEC activity:

1. To strengthen, utilize and develop the collective capacities of the Caribbean to achieve SD (Sustainable Development) in cultural, social, scientific and technological areas. (Because SD is a little-understood cornerstone of the EM (Environmental Movement), the new home of the IL, this is potentially the most interesting of the four points.)
2. To develop the potential of the Caribbean Sea, etc.
3. To promote commerce and investment and permit increasing the benefits which the sources and assets of the region including the Caribbean Sea offer to the peoples of the Caribbean.
4. To establish, consolidate and amplify the institutional structures and the cooperative accords which correspond to the diversity, etc.

In short, the common-market notions which, to whatever extent, originally impelled the new association, have been all but submerged in new-speak verbiage which can be used to promote very nearly any agenda to include that of the ML dictator, Ruz Castro,¹ whose island fiefdom is an AEC member in good standing.

AEC Meetings

Whether the average international organization ever accomplishes anything desirable is hardly the measure of the grouping. What is important to the learned dignitaries in attendance is the frequency and ambiance of these meetings, the elegance of the w&d (winning and dining) which accompanies them. In the case of the AEC, the I Summit was held in Port of Spain, identified by its promoters as “the most exotic of the West Indian islands.”

This was followed by an apparently full schedule of “Ordinary Ministerial Meetings” of the AEC Ministerial Council. The first of

these was held in Guatemala City on 1 December 1995, the second in Havana, Cuba, on 12-13 December 1996, the third back in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, on 27-28 November 1997 and the fourth in Bridgetown, Barbados, on 10-11 December 1998. CARICOM Day is celebrated by the Barbadians on 1 August, but, unfortunately, the AEC planners have so far overlooked this implied invitation.

No attempt will be made to remark all the AEC meetings, but it would appear worthwhile here to recognize the II Inter-Sessional Preparatory Meeting of the Ministerial Council which took place on Castro's tight little isle (15-16 July 1998). Finally, preparations for the II Summit were apparently completed at the First Preparatory Meeting for the II AEC Summit, held at Port of Spain on 22-23 February 1999. All of which would lead to the II Summit to be held in Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Dominican Republic, on 16-17 April 1999.

As indeed they doubtless were, these gatherings accomplishing little more than the signing of a "Declaration" previously prepared by the ministry clerks.

Organization and Membership

The AEC counts twenty-five Member and eleven Associate Member states from the Caribbean Basin. The member states have the right to participate in the discussions and to vote at the meetings of the Ministerial Council and the Special Committees. The associate member states have the right to take part in the discussions and vote in the meetings on matters which directly effect them. The member states are as follows: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Dominican Republic, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Surinam, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela.

The Associate Member states are as follows: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Puerto Rico, Turks and Caicos, U.S. Virgin Islands, Guadalupe, Guyana and Martinique, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles.

These states are represented on the two permanent AEC organs:

- The AEC Council of Ministers is described as the principal organ for the formulation of policies and the direction of the organization. The Council establishes whatever Special Committees (SC) it judges “necessary.” At present the SCs include Committees for (a) Development of Commerce and Foreign Economic Relations, (b) Protection and Conservation of the Environment and the Caribbean Sea, (c) Natural Resources, (d) Science, Technology, Health, Education and Culture and (e) Budget and Administration. It may be remarked that only committees on the child, women and labor are specifically missing from this gamut of human relations, but these could probably be introduced under the umbrella of already existent committees. Otherwise, one might say that the AEC stands ready to wield whatever power it “deems appropriate.”
- (2) The Secretariat is made up of the Secretary General and the number of functionaries that the Council of Ministers deems advisable.² The Secretary General is the principal AEC administrative functionary, the four-year office an elected one on a rotational basis. At the I Summit Dr. Simón Molina Duarte of Venezuela was elected secretary general, his term apparently to be over, he to be replaced at the II Summit. Also at I Summit the seat of the AEC was established at Trinidad and Tobago.

Such, more or less, is the organization of the AEC.

The II AEC Summit

Whether the “Declaration of Santo Domingo” is considered before or after any remarks on the II Summit itself is of no real consequence, the document in existence before and after. However, it will be discussed here after a few remarks on the summit itself.

The Spanish News Service (EFE) header describes the summit as a meeting in search of common interests among the twenty-five dispersed nations of the Caribbean. This is of course what the AEC is touted as being, but it is more accurately described as twenty-five dispersed nations each seeking the fulfillment of their own interests, these generally involving additional funding from the “international” lending organizations.

For example Mexican Pres. Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León was first, or one of the first, to arrive at the summit, trailing his extensive entourage which need hardly be reproduced here. Zedillo arrived some 48 hours before the festivities were to begin. Conferences were to be held between Zedillo and DR Pres. Leonel Fernández, these having to do largely with Mexican and Venezuelan petroleum and the releasing of some \$120 million in credits.

Nicaraguan Pres. Arnoldo Alemán, whose country has suffered heavily from Hurricanes George and Mitch arrived declaring that “we assign singular importance to the option of the Council of Min-

isters' Regional Cooperation Accord in the matter of natural disasters." While realizing the extent of Central American disasters and their justification for concern such as that of Alemán, it is also worth realizing that this "summit" was hardly the selfless display of "shared interests" portrayed by the roseate press reports.

Castro and Chávez

For Ruz Castro and Chávez, the summit was more a public relations op than it was for their twenty "fellow" heads of state. Fidel Castro is recognized as an ML dictator by most of those not within the ambit of the IL. This tyrant seized power as the result of an effective DO, as have the long line of other ML tyrants. That Adolf Hitler was a fellow leftist of Vladimir Ulianov (aka Lenin) and Iosif Dzugashvili (aka Stalin) has been touched upon here (cf. pp1ff, YRBK97) and discussed in exquisite detail by Baird Professor Richard Pipes (chapter 5 of *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0-394-50242-6).

There is one difference between Ulianov, Dzugashvili, and Hitler, however. Hitler was elected to German leadership, probably largely because of the utter financial chaos which the previous German regimes had created. And, unlike the Ulianov-Castro progression, Chávez was elected to the leadership of Venezuela, probably because of the financial chaos created by the socialist regimes which preceded his. Hugo Chávez Frías has been discussed, *inter alia*, in Wkly 7.8 (chap. 6 above).

In that report LANS suggested that "The available evidence would appear to support the thesis that Venzuela's new president is a part of Castro's HL and would be delighted to add a ML Venezuela to the Cuban caudillo's projected "re-edition of a soviet-type union in Latin America' (pp.99ff, YRBK97 *et seq.*)." This thesis will be investigated in a future report dealing with Chávez's much touted plebiscite and his other remarkable activities since assuming the presidential sash.

Insofar as the II AEC Summit is concerned, Chávez showed himself to be a Castro admirer evidently eager to be photographed in adulatory and enthusiastic contact with the Cuban dictator. His "Bolivarian revolution" does appear to be right on schedule as he maintains, but the number of his countrymen who join him in this "peaceful and democratic" revolution appears to be decreasing as the outlines of this revolution begin to emerge.

Interestingly enough, the Venezuelan president told EFE (18 April 1998) that the theme of his tête-à-tête with the HL boss was LA integration. It may well have been. On being asked for his opinion on Cuba's political prisoners, he replied that "because we profoundly respect the sovereignty of all peoples of all the countries of the world" he was not going to discuss it. This is the same revolutionary who tried to assume control of Venezuela by force of arms and who has recently decorated his cohorts in that anything but "peaceful and democratic" revolution.

Declaration of Santo Domingo

[This declaration has twenty-seven points, all superficially at least addressed to the PP's contemporary version of "mother and apple pie." It is clearly meant to impress someone and provide the PP with talking points for his constituents. Because it runs to three closely spaced typewritten pages, it cannot and, save for the specialist on international fiestas, need not be reproduced in its entirety. What follows should provide the spirit of this declaration.]

1. We identify tourism as the activity where the Association has achieved the most significant progress...adopt the Declaration on the Sustainable Tourism Zone of the Caribbean (STZC).
3. We note...the progress in...trade liberalization and economic integration...
4. ...regional transport policies... "Uniting the Caribbean by Air and Sea."
5. ...Agenda 21,... support activities for the protection and conservation of the environment and natural resources...
7. ...our deepest solidarity with the countries and territories of the AEC affected by natural disasters... [8. Is agreement on same. Editor.]
9. ...co-operation in science and technology... 10. ...official languages... 11. ...international co-operation... 12. ...globalization...
14. [The Castro support resolution. Editor.] We reiterate...categorical rejection of all unilateral measures...we reiterate our exhortation to the...US to put an end to the...Helms-Burton [in accordance with UN resolutions]
15. [At Vino del Mar, Chile, Cuban dictator Castro signed a pledge to democracy "with a flourish." Here he signed the same meaningless lip service to "democracy," it not being remarked whether or not there was a flourish. Editor.] We reaffirm our commitment to the preservation, consolidation and strengthening of democracy, political pluralism and the Rule of Law, as an ideal framework that allows respect for the defense and promotion of all human rights...

16. ...implement social and economic measures...based on equity, social justice...[for] raising standards of living...and eradication of poverty...
17. ...sustainable development...
18. ...further the level of development of the small and less developed economies...
19. ...strengthen the programs of technical and financial assistance...
22. ...reject every type of intervention in the internal matters (*sic*) of states...

ALADI (LA Integration Association)

CASTRO IS ADMITTED TO ALADI
(WKLY 8.11, 20 OCTOBER 1999)

Latin American Integration Association (ALADI)

ALADI was established by the Treaty of Montevideo (Monte) in 1980. It has frequently been described as the replacement for the ALACL (Latin American Free Trade Association) (cf. p.334, YRBK98) which, while true in practice, is not precise. For the record, Article 54 of Monte establishes this relation as follows:

The legal status of ALACL established by the Montevideo Treaty signed on 18 February 1960 shall continue, in all its effects, within ALADI. Therefore, from the date when the present Treaty enters into force, the rights and obligations of ALACL shall correspond to ALADI.

ALADI is not related to the Free Trade Organization of Latin America (ALCA) which emerged from the 1994 Miami Summit, an organization apparently intended as one of U.S. President W. J. Clinton's "legacies" to the toiling masses of the hemisphere.

Monte was signed on 12 August 1980 by representatives of the Governments of the Argentine Republic, the Republic of Bolivia, the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Republic of Chile, the Republic of Colombia, the Republic of Ecuador, the United Mexican States, the Republic of Paraguay, the Republic of Peru, the Eastern Republic of Uruguay and the Republic of Venezuela. Since 69 Articles in X Chapters could hardly be expected to satisfy the bureaucratic hunger for detail, nine Resolutions were adopted during the same year by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

In what may be described as a Preamble to Monte, the assembled dignitaries declared themselves "INSPIRED³ by the purpose of

strengthening the friendship and links between their peoples,” “PERSUADED that economic...integration is...(a) means...to speed up their economic and social development...,” “DECIDED to renew LA integration,” “CERTAIN that...such process...(takes) advantage of (ALACL)...,” “AWARE that...special treatment...(necessary)...(for) less advanced...(economies)...,” “WILLING...to promote... the establishment of a regional common market,” “CONVINCED of the need...of horizontal cooperation...,”... A group of bureaucrats which, by its own admission, is INSPIRED, PERSUADED, DECIDED, CERTAIN, WILLING and CONVINCED is assuredly capable of composing 69 Articles as was this one. In discussing these briefly, the ten chapters provide the necessary framework.

Chapter I, “Objectives, duties and principles,” contains three Articles, the first of which declares that, by Monte, the “Parties pursue the integration process...to promote...harmonious and balanced socio-economic development of the region...(through) ALADI...with headquarters in Montevideo...” By Art.2 Monte has “as purpose...promotion and regulation of reciprocal trade, economic complementation and development of economic cooperation actions...” Art. 3 embarks on a statement of principles – Pluralism, Convergence, Flexibility, Differential Treatments and Multiple (varying forms of inter-country agreements). Chapter II, “Mechanisms,” boasts ten Arts from which may be learned (Art.6), for example, that “Regional scope agreements are those in which all member countries participate.” Finally, the last Art. (14) decrees that “scientific and technological cooperation, tourism promotion and preservation of the environment” will be taken into consideration.

Chapter III, “System in favor of countries at a relatively less advanced stage of economic development,” allegedly assures such favors in nine Arts. In Chapter IV “Convergence and cooperation with other LA countries and areas of economic integration” are allegedly discussed, Chapter V dealing with “Cooperation with other areas of economic integration,” specifically remarking “areas outside LA” in Art.27.

Chapter VI, “Institutional organization,” might be short-titled “bureaucrats’ delight” and carries enough detail to require or allow some 75 Sections in its 23 Arts. According to Art. 28 the “political bodies” of ALADI are the Council of Foreign Ministers (the “Council”), the Evaluation and Convergence Conference (the “Conference”) and

the Committee of Representatives (the “Committee”), the “technical body” the GS (General Secretariat) (the “Secretariat”). The Council is the “supreme body,” its powers including the appointment of the SG (Secretary General) and the others enumerated in Art. 30. The Conference is composed of Plenipotentiaries of member countries (Art. 34), the Committee is the permanent body (Art.35), it is composed of a Permanent Representative of each member country (Art.36). The Secretary General holds office for three years and may be re-elected once (Art.38) while “member countries pledge...to respect the international nature of the GS and SG and to abstain from influencing them...(sic)” (Art.41).

In Chapter VII, “General Provisions,” Art.44 allegedly guarantees that “any advantages, favorable treatments...and privileges which member countries apply to products...from or...to...other member or non-member country” will “be immediately and unconditionally extended” to other members. In Chapter VIII, “Legal status, immunities and privileges,” Art.54 continues the legal status of ALCA, its “rights and obligations” corresponding to ALADI. In Chapter IX, “Final provisions,” Art.58 establishes that Monte “shall remain open for accession to those LA countries which may so request,” Art.62 establishing Monte’s “indefinite duration,” Art.64 establishing Monte as the “1980 Montevideo Treaty.”

In Chapter X, “Transitional provisions,” Art.66 declares “the bodies of ALCA established by Monte dated 18 Feb 60 shall cease to exist,” Art.69 establishing the Government of Uruguay as “depository of the present Treaty.”

The signatories were Carlos Washington Pastor (Argentina), Javier Cerruto Calderón (Bolivia), Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro (Brazil), René Rojas Galdames (Chile), Diego Uribe Vargas (Colombia), Germánico Salgado (Ecuador), Jorge de la Vega Domínguez (Mexico), Alberto Nogués (Paraguay), Javier Arias Stella (Peru), Adolfo Folle Martínez (Uruguay) and Oswaldo Páez Pumar (Venezuela).

Only the Council of Foreign Ministers of Contracting Parties (CM) Resolution 6, 12 August 1980, will be mentioned. In the Second Resolve of CMR6 Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay are declared “at a relatively less advanced stage of development” which should have rendered them qualified for extraordinarily good treatment. Nonetheless, twenty years later Bolivian President Banzer is still agitating for his “opening on the sea,” this in spite of the fact that, accord-

ing to Chapter III, Art. 22, Bolivia was to have received favorable treatment because of its “land-locked” situation. (For completeness, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela (*sic*) are declared “intermediate development,” Argentina, Brazil and Mexico “other.”)

Castro Enters ALADI

That Fidel Ruz Castro, who recently celebrated his fortieth year as ML terrorist boss of Cuba (Wkly 7.4, Chapter 2 above), has been hemispheric drug lord during most of that time appears to be beyond any rational doubt. This does not appear to be belied by a curious anti-narcotics “war” which a series of U.S. Governments have allegedly waged (Wkly 8.6, Chapter 7 above) nor by the apparent intention of the U.S. Clinton Administration (CA) to recognize Castro.⁴ In the meantime, of course, the HL has risen from its 1991 nadir again to pose a serious threat to the hemisphere save for those who happen to “believe”⁵ that a “re-edition of a soviet-type union in LA” (p.177, YRBK98) is a “good thing.” In increasing his power as HL boss, Castro has increased his influence to the point that, through “fear” of his still bloody terrorists or a frivolous hope of “favor.”⁶

By 1986 Castroite Cuba had been admitted to ALADI as an “observer.” On 27 March 1998 what appears to have been the first overt step in the admission of the ML tyranny to the organization was taken by Mexican Foreign Minister Rosario Green at the plenum of the ALADI Committee of Representatives (Art.28).

She was, according to reports (AFP 29 March 1998), seeking to impel “integration among us all.” Said Ms. Green, “no one should be isolated from the process and the benefits should be for us all,” adding that “our essential projects should continue being regional” and various other remarks appropriate to the objective.

In this process of providing the ML boss with another forum, the next important step was taken at the X Meeting of the ALADI Council of ministers, which took place in Montevideo 6-7 November 1998 (AFP 7 November 1998). At this solemn conclave Castro’s Cuba was admitted to ALADI as a full member and given the designation of “intermediate development” (*sic*). The remarks by Castro’s ambassador to Uruguay, Manuel Aguilera, “For us Cubans...(this) means we have taken another step toward breaking the North American blockade” was probably accurately reported by Reuters (7 Nov

98). It provides one more example of Castro's recent remark that his "ambassadors are shock troops in the worldwide (ML) battle" he is waging (Wkly 8.12, Chapter 5 above). For, although it is PIC to admit as much, the U.S. "blockade" is, as LANS has often pointed out, a sham.

On 26 August 1999 a ceremony took place at the seat of ALADI in Montevideo whereat (a) Castro's satrapy was officially installed as a full member of that organization and (b) Castro's Foreign Commerce Minister, Ricardo Cabrisas, demonstrated that, not only Cuban "diplomats" are soldiers in the ML war against the non-ML world, but Cuban commerce ministers have the same "mission" (*El Observador* (Montevideo) 27 August 1999). Mr. Cabrisas parroted the ML propaganda relating to "blockades" and "dirty wars"—a particularly "dirty" one of which is still being carried on in Colombia by the ML terrorists of Fidel's HL—and other stale ML disinformation. Stale it may be, but it is still obviously useful to these MLs.

The hemispheric drug lord and HL boss had been provided another forum.

CAN (Andean Community of Nations)

XI ANDEAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS SUMMIT (WKLY 7.23, 10 JUNE 1999)

Before their appearances at the XIII GA meet Bolivian President Banzer, Ecuadoran President Mahuad, Paraguayan President González and Venezuelan President Chávez had attended the XI CAN meet at the Colombian seaside resort which had opened on 27 May.

A history of the Andean Group (GA) and its first nine summits has been given (pp.352ff, YRBK98), it being at the IX Summit that it became CAN through the Protocol of Sucre. In IX Paraguayan Pres. Wasmosy and Panamanian Pres. Pérez Balladares were present as observers as they apparently were at X, the first as a representative of the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR), the second as almost an Andean nation. The X Summit has been discussed (Chapter 7, YRBK00), it appearing at that time that Panama would have become a member by this time. This was apparently not meant to be.

The Andean Community of nations is made up of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. At the X Summit in Guayaquil, Ecuador, the presidents of these five nations were joined by the presidents of Panama and Paraguay as observers. At this meeting four of the five presidents were present, Peru represented by its prime minister, Victor Joy Way. Also present as an observer was German chancellor Gerhard Schröder, there to lobby for a CAN-UE trading The command of the organization has been transferred from Ecuador to Colombia, the chief executive of the latter nation, Pastrana, who devoted himself to promoting his "peace process" and bemoaning the fact that thirty years, more or less, has hardly brought CAN economic integration to fruition.

CEPAL (Economic Commission for LA and the Caribbean)

TOWARD A STABLE AND PREDICTABLE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM AND ITS CONNECTION WITH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT I.

JOSÉ ANTONIO OCAMPO
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CEPAL

(WKLY 8.15, 14 OCTOBER 1999)

[Editor's Introduction: The Regional High Level Meeting of the UN's CEPAL was held in Mexico from 5 to 7 September 1999. This organization has been briefly discussed (p.335, YRBK98). It is of course closely related to the World Bank, that utopian organization created by the Communist International (COMINTERN) agent, Harry Dexter White, and the inflationist and dabbler in ML, John Maynard Keynes.⁷ While Mr. Ocampo may or may not feel that forgiveness is divine, he appears to feel that economic utopia creation is assuredly a human bureaucratic possibility. Unfortunately for the interested, non-Spanish reader, the benefits of such wisdom are hidden from him by being, as Gibbon remarked with respect to Theodora's sexual peccadilloes, obscured by a learned language. Since, therefore, his remarks appear only in Spanish at the CEPAL website (www.eclac.cl), it appears worthwhile to give the English reader the benefits enjoyed by his Spanish brethren. Perhaps the reader may

conclude that this is meaningless bureaucrat-speak and may hence be ignored. Meaningless it may well be as is the babble of Fidel Ruz Castro. But it is to be ignored at the peril of anyone with a desire for economic survival.]

I wish to thank the Mexican Chancellor, Rosario Green, for this invitation to reflect regionally on the reform of the international financial system and its connection with social development. I wish...⁸ to applaud its particular recognition of the role which the UN should play in this debate⁹ and in which the UN Secretary General has asked the UN Conference for Commerce and Development (UNCTAD), the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and CEPAL to participate. I wish to express my satisfaction at the participation of Permanent Secretary Carlos Moneta of SELA.

There is not room for doubt (*sic*) that the most obvious failures of global governability in economic matters are found in the area of financial institutionality. The international financial crisis which struck the developing world between mid 1997 and the beginning of 1999 traveled from Asia to Brazil, as well as the "tequila" effect, which (had) affected Mexico and Argentina some years before, have been the most obvious manifestations of the enormous asymmetry which exists between a financial world each time more sophisticated but unstable, and the institutions which regulate it; of which the world lacks...appropriate institutions for financial globalization.

The crisis generated some positive but incomplete responses: a concerted effort at monetary expansion,⁷ led by the U.S., which...was probably the most important cause of the tendency towards normalization of the international capital markets; the enlargement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) resources and the creation of new lines of credit to support the countries in crisis and those affected by contagious¹⁰ phenomena; the initiation of processes directed to improve the prudential regulation and supervision of the financial systems as well as the information on which they depend; the recognition that the processes of financial liberalization in the developing world should be gradual and cautious and that the relative weight of the external liabilities short term increase the risks these economies face; the partial acceptance, by the IMF, that the fiscal over-adjustment in the developing countries can be inappropriate in the adjustment process, and the emphasis given to the ne-

cessity for designing in the developing countries protection networks adequate to support the vulnerable social sectors during the crisis.¹¹

The relative normality to which the market returned after the Brazilian devaluation of January gave way...to a sense of complacency which can not only brake these positive tendencies but also set back the implementation of other complementary policies. It is evident that the market is far from being normalized. After a rapid increase in the issuance of bonds in the international markets which attained favorable levels for LA in March and April, the market has newly turned elusive (*sic*). Interest rates (costs of indebtedness¹²) have remained at high levels and the lengths (of time) of new emissions have been throughout 1999, relatively short. The nervousness which has possessed investors in recent months by speculations as to the effects of increases in interest rates in the U.S. on “emerging” markets, is an unequivocal sign that the crisis has not been fully overcome.¹³

The moment is opportune for reflecting on the problems of financial governability and initiating a process of balanced negotiation which guarantees adequate representation of the diverse interests of the different members of the international community. The UN...can offer a space appropriate for reflection and negotiation. In order that the interests of the developing countries are adequately represented, it is necessary to increase the agenda to include at least five different themes: (1) prevention and management of financial crises; (2) themes associated with financing for development; (3) rules of access to financing for development; (4) the role of the regional institutions; and (5) the spaces where national autonomy should be preserved (*sic*).

1. Prevention and Management of Financial Crises

With respect to the first of these themes, there exists now a relative accord (*sic*) on the necessity of improving the information, to harmonize the codes of conduct in various areas and improve the prudent supervision and regulation at the global level. In the case of the industrialized countries, relative emphasis should devolve on the regulation and supervision of the institutions with major levels of leverage. In that of the developing countries the central themes are the necessity of eliminating incentives for the accumulation of external short-term liabilities, on counting on strong mechanisms of prudent regulation and supervision and of taking into account the

strong relation which exists between financial risks and macro-economic management. In spite of these accords I should remark again that in this matter there exist discrepancies with respect to the institutions of world extent which should have as its job the corresponding responsibilities and the relative weight which its action in this field should have in relation to other equally decisive areas.

Among these last are included the mechanisms for consultation and vigilance of the macroeconomic policies of all the countries and of the movement of capital especially during periods of financial euphoria in which the crises are created. These mechanisms constitute the basis for effective instruments of early alert and prevention of crises, the importance of which has been evident during recent years. The proposals for improving these mechanisms should be accompanied by a more adequate representation of the developing countries in the corresponding organs.

The provision of exceptional financing during the crises is the third pillar of prevention management of financial crises. In this matter, we have learned over the period of the crisis that funds are required in quantities very superior to those on which the IMF counts today, that these funds should be available before and not after international reserves reach critical levels and which, owing to the effects of the contagion (*sic*), even the countries which do not have fundamentally unbalanced macroeconomics can require contingency financing during international crises. In spite of the advances which have been experienced on this front in recent years, it has been evident that the periodic support of the IMF by the industrialized nations or the specific contingency credits are an uncertain mechanism of financing. Under these conditions it is necessary to design instruments much more reliable in terms of their capacity to respond rapidly to additional liquidity demands in periods of crisis. The active use of special drawing rights with this purpose would doubtless be most appropriate, the creation of said rights during periods of crisis would be capable of including automatic destruction during the subsequent periods of recovery incorporating in this manner an anti-cyclic ingredient to the management of international liquidity. This would allow the rest to make a more active use of the special drawing rights in international finance, a theme of great interest for the developing countries.

The fourth pillar of this system of prevention and management of crises should be the creation of mechanisms which allow methodical suspending, in methodical form and with international consent, payment of the foreign debt in critical conditions, including especially financed panic,¹⁴ and in managing in equally concerted form the problems of over-indebtedness (*sic*). Mechanisms of this type are essential in order to distribute in an equitable fashion the job of adjustment and avoiding problems of “moral risk” which characterize the disposition of exceptional financing during financial crises.¹⁵

2. *Financing for Development*

At the forefront of financing for development, the fundamental tasks are of three types. The first and principal (type) is (relates to) the bankruptcy in the adverse tendencies which have had support through development of bilateral origin, which has experienced a continuing fall, from the 0.35 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the industrialized nations in the mid 1980s to 0.22 percent in 1998. These resources constitute the unique source of capital having re-distributive effects at the global level, that is, in which the participation of the countries poorest in resources¹⁶ exceed their participation in the world population.

In the second place, it is necessary to maintain an adequate and stable rhythm of increase in multilateral financing. This financing is decisive, not only for the poor countries, but also for the middle income countries, especially of very reduced size which do not have access to private flows (of capital). It is important, as has been recognized in recent years (*sic*), in order to support the social crises networks during the crises and to palliate thus the elevated and increasingly social costs¹⁷ which appear to characterize contemporary crises.

Given its relative magnitude, the effective development financing capacity for serving as anti-cyclical at the international level is limited. Nevertheless, this is the third task which it is wished to emphasize, development financing of multilateral character can serve as an instrument for promoting access of the poorest countries or those of small extent (size) to private capital markets. In this way they could serve to improve the distribution of private (capital) flows which have had to be concentrated in the 1990s in some little “emerging” economies.

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

TOWARD A STABLE AND PREDICTABLE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL
SYSTEM AND ITS CONNECTION WITH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT II

JOSÉ ANTONIO OCAMPO

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CEPAL

(SPCL 8.12, 14 OCTOBER 1999)

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Mr. Ocampo's introduction is first repeated here. What amounts to about one-half of his talk has been reproduced in Wkly 8.15 above. Although somewhat carefully stated, Mr. Ocampo apparently believes that the UN, through the international control of all pocket books, can prevent "financial crises" – of obvious if unspecified cause. In Wkly 8.15 Mr. Ocampo treated mainly his theme (1) and theme (2). This report begins with theme (3).]

I wish to thank the Mexican Chancellor, Rosario Green, for this invitation to reflect regionally on the reform of the international financial system and its connection with social development. I wish...to applaud its particular recognition of the role which the UN should

play in this debate¹⁸ and in which the UN Secretary General has asked UNCTAD, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and CEPAL to participate. I wish to express my satisfaction at the participation of Permanent Secretary Carlos Moneta of SELA.

The moment is opportune for reflecting on the problems of financial governability and initiating a process of balanced negotiation which guarantees adequate representation of the diverse interests of the different members of the international community. The UN...can offer a space appropriate for reflection and negotiation. In order that the interests of the developing countries are adequately represented, it is necessary to increase the agenda to include at least five different themes: (1) prevention and management of financial crises; (2) themes associated with financing for development; (3) rules of access to financing for development; (4) the role of the regional institutions; and (5) the spaces where national autonomy should be preserved (*sic*).

3. *The Rules of Access to Multilateral Sources*

During the recent crisis one of the most polemical elements of multilateral financing, as much emergency as that provided by the development bank, have been the rules of access to said sources. In the case of the IMF, this subject has turned increasingly polemical, since the extent of the requirements has been extended toward themes relating to the strategies and institutions of economic and social development which, as a UN report indicated, "by its own nature, they should be determined by the legitimate national authorities on the basis of an ample social consensus." For this reason, the increase of IMF activities in the provision of exceptional resources, as well as the design of consultative mechanisms on macroeconomics and crisis prevention, should be accompanied by a new consensus on the extent of requirements (conditionality).

How effective is conditionality? On this matter, a study published by the World Bank at the beginning of this year on the results of its programs of structural adjustment, in agreement with its own evaluation of success or failure, showed that conditionality does not in-

fluence this result. This does not mean that economic policies have no impact. What is of interest, in terms which have been made familiar in discussions on these themes, is the “propriety” of the policies, that is, the commitment of the national authorities with adequate policies as well as the institutional development of a national character which endorses it, none of these can be imposed. In the words of the same World Bank president, “we should always remember that it belongs to the governments and their peoples to decide what should be their priorities. We should always remember that we cannot and should not impose the development by decree from above or from abroad” (*sic*).

This theme extends much further than the economic sphere. This has to do with the most broad objective of democracy on a world scale. There is no sense in promoting democracy worldwide if the representatives and political process at the national level are not going to have any possibility of determining the economic and development strategies, the particular mixture of policies through which each country guarantees its microeconomic stability. None of these results will be achieved and will lack sustainable policy if the institutions and the agencies of international support are appropriate to this function.

4. The Role of the Regional Institutions

The present situation offers a valuable opportunity to think on the role which can extricate from debt the financial institutions of regional and sub-regional character. The present discussion has made evident that certain “public goods” and services supplied by international financial institutions have come to be distributed in sub optimal form. Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to conclude from this that the additional offering of these public goods and services should exclusively originate from some international institutions. On the contrary, the structure required should be conceived in some cases as a network of institutions and, in others, as a coalition which distributes them in competitive form. A model of this nature should remember (recognize) that present globalization is also a process of regional openness where the institutions of regional and sub-regional character should discharge a role each time more important.

This implies that the IMF would have to be thinking toward the future, not as a unique institution but as the head of a network of

regional and sub-regional reserve banks. A model of this nature would have to prevail also for the mechanisms of consultation and vigilance of the macroeconomic policies as well as for the coordination and supervision of the national systems of prudential regulation and supervision of the financial systems, in this last case under a network whose head would be the Basel Committee of the International Payments Bank and similar institutions. In the case of the development bank, the present system should be promoted still further in which the corresponding organization, of world character, competes with regional and sub-regional organisms. In fact, the regional institutions can provide some services in more efficient form than can those of world character. For example, they could substitute long term for world institutions in the furnishing of exceptional financing for the smallest economies providing mechanisms of macroeconomic consultation among neighboring countries, and in the case of development banks, providing instruments for adequately diversifying the risk perceived by the financial markets.

A system of this nature, supported by multiple regional and sub-regional organizations of all types, not only would contribute to international economic stability, but also to the creation of a more equitable situation in terms of international economic relations. Therefore, LA and the Caribbean should commit themselves to strengthening the existing regional and sub-regional organisms and to their perfection with new mechanisms of regional and sub-regional cooperation.

5. The Extents of National Autonomy

The world which we can visualize in the future in matters of international economic organization will continue being one in which the countries will maintain an important level (*sic*) of autonomy in various economic areas and where the institutional network will continue being much more fragmented at the international level than at the national. In this context, the developing countries should, to continue maintaining autonomy in various areas, but especially in two that are critical for management of crises: the management of capital flow and exchange policy. This implies, day by day, that there does not exist unique solutions to the challenges with which the present financial architecture, so that each country should maintain the freedom to select the regulatory and exchange policy which

it considers most appropriate, given its tradition and its objectives of macroeconomic management.

The reasons which justify this position are of two types. In the first place, the phenomenon of “volatility” and “contagion” have made evident that in the developing countries the international capital markets are not smoothing the macroeconomic cycles but accentuating them. There is strong evidence that indicates a major liberalization of capital as associated with major rhythms of economic increase. A simple form of postulating this point of view is that, although the major liberation of capital, through its effects on the assignment of savings and investment resources, can have positive effects on the increase, its associated volatility has the opposite effect.

In the second place, the developing countries cannot and should not renounce autonomy in these areas *while a “financial security network” exists incomplete at the international level.*¹⁹ In other words, renunciation of autonomy in these areas is costly and therefore should be clearly preceded by a design of adequate financing and contingency systems including systems adequate to manage through pre-established international rules, the problems of over-indebtedness (*sic*). To pretend that capital freedom even with defined multilateral safeguard mechanisms be the point of departure and not the point of arrival in the new international financial order, is to pretend that the wall be constructed before the foundations which surely will not give adequate stability to the building which is constructed to survive the quake. Even more is to pretend that the most important concession which the developing countries should make to the financial architecture of the future, the resignation of autonomy in these areas, is made before the concessions *which the industrialized countries should (make)*, which is to supply the resources and rules which makes possible the stability of the edifice.

[The last paragraph is a gracious tribute to host and Chancellor Rosario Green.]

[Translated from the Spanish by the LANS Editor]

G-15 (Group of 15)

THE IX G-15 SUMMIT
(WKLY 7.11, 18 MARCH 1999)

Group-15 was created in 1989 under the auspices of the Non-Aligned Nations Movement (MNNA). As has been shown in Wkly 6.11 (pp.459ff, YRBK00), the MNNA was a creation of the IL, its members such as Cuban dictator Ruz Castro still attesting to this alignment. It now allegedly made up of the following 17, not 15, nations, all of which are self-described as “developing”:

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Jamaica, Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Zimbabwe, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

The Summit opened on 10 February at Montego Bay, the resort area of Jamaica. It was a litany of woes and mistreatment of the poor nations by the rich, a litany little of which would stand up to any serious analysis. The cry of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamed against “capital crossing any frontier it wishes” is susceptible to an analysis of which Mr. Mahatir would disapprove. But the thesis, if it did not come out of Castro’s propaganda speeches against neoliberalism, globalization and so on, could have done so.

However, the only LA head of state who could have heard Mr. Muhatir’s remarks was brand new Venezuelan President Chávez. Which was perhaps not that strange.

Grupo de Río

XIII GRUPO DE RÍO SUMMIT (WKLY 7.23, 10 JUNE 1999)

The Grupo de Río (cf., pp.233ff, YRBK96; pp.337, 358-9, YRBK98; Chapter 7, YRBK00) was allegedly founded at Acapulco in 1987 by eight chiefs of state in order to create a “permanent mechanism for joint political action.” In reality the group had its origin in Contadora which was created in 1982 by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. That this latter group was created specifically to counter U.S. policy in Central America is demonstrable through the part it played in the so-called Esquipulas “Peace Process.”²⁰ The XI GR Summit was held in Paraguay in 1997, the XII in Panama in 1998 (Chapter 7, YRBK00). In spite of the hi-flown rhetoric which continues to appear prominently in Summit pronouncements —“Education, Weapon Against Poverty” was the theme of the Panama meeting—the number of attendees remained at nine of the 13 member states, one of them, Argentine President

Carlos Menem apparently not arriving early enough in Mexico to be described by the press as “sleeping there.”

The thirteen member states are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. The chief executives of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela were present at the summit, the chief executives of Chile, Colombia, Guyana and Peru “unable to attend,” the Panamanian chief executive canceling at the “last moment without explanation.”

The summit was scheduled to take place in Mexico City on 28-29 May 1999, the twenty-eighth devoted to an eight-hour session “behind closed doors” at the Los Pinos Presidential Palace, the twenty-ninth to a press conference by Mexican Pres. Zedillo,²¹ Ecuadoran Pres. Mahuad and Uruguayan Pres. Sanguinetti. On this second day the first ladies in attendance were scheduled to visit the Viceroyal National Museum in Tepotzotlán, State of Mexico. The summit location was the result of the change of command which took place on 13 January 1999 when Panama turned over the GR Secretariat Pro Tem to Mexico.

A few of the PPs who constitute these gatherings have occasionally remarked, *sotto voce* of course, that the principal reason for them is the wining and dining of the PPs attending. In a charade, in which the press routinely plays its assigned role, there is quite a different mission claimed. The PPs, heads of state and lesser lights, are there to assuage all the ills to which the flesh is heir. For example, does anyone really believe that the goals proclaimed at the Clinton-organized Summit of the Americas (pp.235ff, YRBK97) will be met? Since it is almost 2000 now, has “child mortality” been reduced by one-third from its 1990 levels as promised? Or will all hemispheric children be completing primary school in another ten years? But such things, after all, generally “play well in Pomona” which is, after all, the reason for their enunciation by the PPs.

The XIII GR was perhaps more realistic in its five reported “goals” than most such gatherings, this principally because efforts aimed at their accomplishment are already being exerted by ministry clerks. After an “eight”-hour—given as “seven” in some reports—closed-door session in the Los Pinos library, the PPs emerged with five, doubtless pre-scripted proposals for “action.” (1) To go to the Rio

de Janeiro summit and negotiate a “comprehensive commercial opening” with the 15 countries of the European Union (UE). (2) To arrive at the OMC (World Trade Organization) meeting of next September with a common plan which will “open all sectors.” (3) To censure Mr. W. J. Clinton’s use of force in Yugoslavia. (4) To support the peculiar Colombian “peace process.” (5) To recognize the Peru-Ecuador solution of their border dispute.

There was, of course, a great deal of oratory about “the common desire that poverty and inequality” be eliminated—while presidential salaries are elevated—, but one remark of Zedillo’s is worthy of repetition. This was his reference to the “convulsions” in the region during the “lost decade” (*década perdida*) of the 1980s. The remark is interesting for two reasons. First, the decade saw the culmination of the attacks on the region since 1959 by the ML dictator, Fidel Castro, and his Soviet masters. This is the same Castro with whom most of Zedillo’s fellow summiteers maintain cordial relations. Second, the Contadora clone, which is the GR, continues to demonstrate its ancestry in its promotion of the Cuban dictator in the midst of its torrent of verbiage on “democracy.”

In order to dispatch their duties to the GR, four of the heads of state had trekked from the seaside resort city of Cartagena de Indias where they had been to fulfilling their obligations to CAN.

GRUPO DE RÍO (WKLY 8.1, 1 JULY 1999)

The Grupo de Río (GR), founded by Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela in 1987 specifically to oppose U.S. policy in Central America (CA), has been frequently discussed in these reports (pp.233ff, YRBK97; pp.337, 358-9, YRBK98; Chapter 7, YRBK00), the XIII GR Summit recently treated (Wkly 7.23 above). In this XIII Summit the thirteen-member group emerged from its session in the Mexican Presidential Palace with a five-point “action plan,” the first and inferentially most important goal being the GR trek to this Río Summit to negotiate a “comprehensive commercial opening” with the fifteen countries of the UE. Presumably, the group made more of an impression with this effort than with its “censure” of Mr. W. J. Clinton’s curious bombing of Yugoslavia. Even such simple “goals” as another meeting have been shown by LANS’ careful follow-ups to be more successful in the breach than in the reality. MERCOSUR

(Common Market of the Southern Cone), for example, has doubtless enjoyed some success but certainly not within the timetables that are ground out by such summits.

As was remarked in the treatment of GR XIII above, Mexican President Zedillo made certain remarks there about the “lost decade” of the 1980s which did nothing but emphasize the left bias of the man and the Contadora clone nature of the organization. As will be seen, however, he remains fascinated by “his” quotation.

There were an additional twenty-one Western Hemisphere states which had to be added to the thirteen of the GR in order to arrive at a hemispheric attendance level of thirty-four. Various other international organizations—the SELA (Chapter 7, YRBK00), etc.—are mentioned here and there, but this number is most easily obtained by taking the thirty-four attendees at the so-called Summit of the Americas (pp.236ff, YRBK97; Chapter 7, YRBK00), subtracting the U.S. and adding Cuba.

Iberian American Summit

THE IX IBERIAN AMERICAN SUMMIT (WKLY 8.19, 25 NOVEMBER 1999)

The following is abstracted from the 17 November 1999 edition of *Granma*, the mouthpiece of Cuban dictator Ruz Castro’s Central Committee:

“THE SUCCESSFUL AND FRUITFUL IX SUMMIT

“Resonant triumph of the Iberian American Countries

“Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State and of Ministers, in the early hours of last night, closed the labors of the IX Iberian American Summit which was in session in our country...

“In his character as president of this Summit, Fidel said a few words wherein he examined the happy development of the sessions, referring to the Declaration of Havana and to the eight special declarations approved by the Iberian American heads of state as well as the respectful, serious and profound manner in which the most diverse opinions were expounded in an atmosphere of absolute frankness and liberty (*sic*).

“The press conference offered by the Iberian American ‘troika,’ made up of Cuba, Portugal and Panama, concluded the evening

session. The leader of the Cuban revolution, Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and Panamanian Chancellor José M. Alemán responded to numerous questions from the press.

“In making the desperate attempts by the Government of the United States to frustrate the IX Summit fail resoundingly, the Iberian American countries scored a resonant triumph, expressing their sovereignty in a dignified manner.”

Another piece in the same issue of *Granma*, “Declaration of Havana,” is headed by a photo showing the doddering dictator perched next to Panamanian President Moscoso and signing something. The caption is “The Commander in Chief” – of all the Americas? – “at the moment of the signing of the Declaration of Havana.” The second paragraph of the document Castro was signing is worthy of reproduction”

2. At this Summit we reiterate the firm agreement of each one of the governments to strengthen and make more effective the functioning of democratic institutions, political pluralism, the State of Law and the respect for human rights and fundamental liberties...

Since it is to be supposed that the members of this gaggle of PPs knew what they were signing, it would be appropriate to suppose that all the signers, from the King of Spain down, or up, were standing witness to the Castro signature. But to return to the last paragraph first.

Castro and Company may be doing U.S. President Clinton a grave injustice—or showering undeserved kudos on him, depending on your viewpoint – by cursing him so heartily for Helms-Burton. In reality, Mr. Clinton has continually eviscerated Helms Burton by his continuous suspension of Title III since the law was passed (cf. Wkly 8.6 above), and his intentions are still taken in some quarters as recognition of Castro’s tyranny before he leaves office (cf.pp.118ff, YRBK98).

The Iberian American Summits

There would appear to be little doubt that this association of LA and “mother” nations—Spain and Portugal—was put together in 1991 with the twofold purpose of (a) replacing the OAS (Organization of American States) with an organization in which gringos had no place and (b) providing the sort of retinue of former colonies for

Spain and Portugal as enjoyed by such as France in Africa. The first such summit was held in Mexico and hosted by then Mexican President Salinas de Gortari whom the *New York Times* (16 June 1994) described as considering Castro a “stabilizing influence.”²² A Cuban colleague dubbed the I Summit gathering at Guadalajara “*Ali Baba y los cuarentos ladrones*” (Ali Baba and the forty thieves) (pp.228ff, YRBK97).

The III Summit was held at Salvador de Bahía, Brazil, in 1993. One of the journalists covering that Summit, Alberto Miguez, wrote that “the great paradox of these conferences has been the immense distance between what is signed—bombastic, utopian documents—and what is done.” This, of course, can be repeated for most gatherings such as this. In IV Summit ML dictator Castro blossomed out in whatever glory can be claimed for him, coverage by the NYT (16 June 1994) being chiefly concerned with his having “donned civvies.”

Castro’s popularity nadir can probably be taken as having occurred in 1991. Since then this tyrant has steadily improved his public relations image—while remaining hemispheric drug lord and HL chief—through a campaign largely in opposition to the free market. This improvement in image can be illustrated by the increasingly strident condemnation of Helms-Burton, condemnation that can be said to have begun at V Summit—before passage of Helms Burton—and become more raucous at VI Summit—after both passage and ham-stringing by Title III suspension. At VI (1996) Castro signed the Declaration of Vino del Mar touting “pluralism, human rights, free elections and freedom of expression” “with a flourish.” Of course his signature meant nothing and would produce nothing.

That the Cuban dictator has had no intention of “democratizing” his regime he has continually reiterated (cf.162ff, YRBK98); indeed, he even declared as much again during this IX Summit. But it makes no observable difference; his power and influence appear to continue that upward climb which began with the decade. It would not appear to be an exaggeration to say that it has probably reached its highest point to date with IX Summit.

IS (Socialist International)

BUENOS AIRES COUNCIL MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST
INTERNATIONAL (IS)
(WKLY 8.2, 8 JULY 1999)

Introduction

The IS is one of the most important arms of the IL. It has been touched upon in these reports but hardly in the depth which its importance warrants. The Council Meeting which the IS recently held in Buenos Aires is appropriate enough to deserve the somewhat more in-depth treatment of the organization which follows.

The three best-known “soul brothers” of Century XX were the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazi) and the Fascisti, their internecine wars nothing but competition “for the same constituencies” as Harvard’s Baird Professor of History, Richard Pipes, has made clear.²³ These soul brothers constitute that IL responsible for the debacle that was Century XX, not only in annihilation wars but also in disaster-producing economics. Since Century XX is almost concluded, it is obviously incumbent upon this IL to begin its planning for disaster repetition during the next hundred years. On 25 and 26 June 1999, therefore, it was quite logical that one branch of this IL, the IS, should meet to plan these festivities. The meeting was that of the Council of the IS and was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The Socialist International

According to the propaganda of the IS itself (www.international-socialist.org),

“The IS is the world organization of socialist parties, social democrats and laborites. It is presently made up of 130 political parties and organizations on all continents.

“The IS, whose origin goes back to the first international workers organizations of the last century (Century XIX), has existed in its present form since 1951 when it was reestablished at the Congress of Frankfurt.”

Which, as with most pronouncements by the Left, loses much in the telling. To correct this it is necessary to go back to the titular deity of the IL, Heinrich Karl Marx.

In 1847 the League of Communists (formerly the *Bund der Gerechten* or Righteous Group) commissioned Marx and Engels to write that *Communist Manifesto* which this precious pair dispatched to London in January 1848. Of this much over-worked document, only a portion of its last paragraph need be quoted here for the rumination of the reader.

“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution...”²⁴

Marx produced the “General Rules of the International Working Men’s Association,”²⁵ this Association to be the First International. Although the official acceptance of this draft is taken as 1866 (Geneva), the First International, which it governed, is taken as having its origin on 28 September 1864 (London). This first Marx playground, torpedoed by the Franco-Prussian War and, indirectly, by the Paris Commune, resolved itself out of existence in July 1876 (Philadelphia).

Although two socialist congresses were held in Paris on the centennial of the French Revolution (Bastille Day, 1889), the Marxist congress held in the Salle Pétrelle appears to be generally accepted as the inaugural session of the Paris or Second International. The International Socialist Bureau (Second International) came into existence in 1896.

As Borkenau²⁶ puts it, with the advent of World War I, “the old lines of division (among the Marxist factions) were not simply controverted; they broke down...” As did the Second International which became, as the patron saint of the IL, Vladimir Ulianov (aka Lenin), sneeringly put it, the Two and One-Half International.²⁷ Ulianov returned to Russia at German expense in April 1917 and, of course, began grinding out his *April Theses*. In one of these (p.10, no.10) the father of modern terrorism declared,

“Our Party must not ‘wait’ but must immediately found a Third International.”

After stealing Russia from a supine government, he did just this. By 1919 the theft was established well enough for him to turn his attention to international theft for which he established the COMINTERN. Its First World Congress opened in Moscow on 2 March 1919.

The attempt has been almost continually made to people the COMINTERN with the “militant” ML—which is accurate enough—and the IS with the more peace-loving, “moderate” variety. The fact that the IS has had its fully share of MLs and has frequently been the COMINTERN’s most diligent supporter in many of the latter’s adventures has been observed. A brief review of some of the IS

members attending the Buenos Aires conference serves to verify such a contention. For this “moderate” IS is nothing but the lineal descendant of Heinrich’s “Working Men’s Association” from which emerged that IL whose attempts to “forcibly overthrow all existing social conditions” led to the disasters of Century XX.

The Buenos Aires IS Council Meeting

As with the various other international organizations which are treated in these reports (cf. Chapter 6, YRBK98), a deadening array of Resolutions ranging from “Resolution on Algeria” to “Resolution on Venezuela,” issued from the council meeting. From it all emerged a doubtless pre-scripted “Consensus of Buenos Aires.” This called for a “new international pact transcending the old one from Washington” which put emphasis on market reforms. Herein are all the nostrums demanding “social change,” protection of the “environment,” promotion of “education” and so on, to which is added a clarion call for something called “globalization of progress.” Of greater interest, however, were the attendees.

Members, Associates, Guests

Castro is carefully un-mentioned as is the only political party on his tight little isle, the PCC (Cuban Communist Party). Not that this means that no Cuban from the PCC was present. However, the rule clearly is: no parties having the word “communist” in their title are officially allowed into the festivities. Which does not mean the absence of MLs.

For example, the old-line Brazilian ML, Leonel Brizola, who had orchestrated the 1964 Naval rebellion (p.58, YRBK97), was present, but only as head of the “Democratic” Workers Party (PDT). Other notables of the same ilk included Oscar Eid, chief of the Bolivian Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), who has apparently been released from duress vile (p.18, YRBK97) where he had been placed for narco-trafficking activities.²⁸

Still with the no “communist” rule in place, most of the “ex”-terrorist ML groups were present in some guise. For example, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) sent a three-man delegation headed by its second-in-command and, according to LANS information, still terrorist Tomás Borge whom the AFP

immortalized with a wirephoto during the event. Also present, as guests or associates, were the “ex” ML terrorists of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) and of the Colombian 19th of April Movement (M-19).

The Argentine Elections

The Argentine general elections are being held this fall, local elections (Chap. 1 above) occupying the attention of the electorate during most of the year. It is therefore no particular surprise that this gaggle of Marxists and MLs should roost in the Argentine capital in mid year. What is interesting is that the important Argentine PPs in these elections are vying with each other in their expressions of admiration for Heinrich Karl Marx’s legacy.

Perhaps of most direct interest to the Argentinian election situation was the presence of *Frente Grande* representative and Alliance luminary Carlos A. “Chacho” Alvarez, the vice presidential running mate of Presidential Candidate Fernando de la Rúa. During the course of the festivities the UCR asked for admission to join the IS. That FREPASO and UCR, the bulwarks of the opposition should be active in the IS should hardly come as a surprise. But the press refers to PJ as “neoliberal,” that is, a supporter of that free market which is such anathema to the true “socialist.” And, at least through an individual who should be his spokesman, Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella, Menem appears to be clutching socialism to his bosom.

According to *La Nueva Provincia* (Bahía Blanca, 28 June 1999), Di Tella recently did a short piece for *La Nación* saying that the PJ is the group most closely affiliated with socialism of all the Argentine political parties. This curious claim might be said to obtain support from the reported fraternization of the PJ powers, Menem and Duhalde, with the European leaders of the IS who were honoring Buenos Aires with their presence. Menem began his tenure as president of Argentina with the dismantling of that fascisti state which Peron had bequeathed to the nation, a removal of the dead hand of government from the economy which promised a second Latin American economic miracle (pp.45ff, YRBK97). In other words, he began it with a free-market roar. He promises now to end it with a socialist whimper.

THE XXI CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (IS). I.
(WKLY 8.20, 25 NOVEMBER 1999)

[The Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism was conducted by the MLs of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) (cf. pp.100ff, YRBK97). This was one more bombastic stage-managed ML performance, but it was not simply the joke which it appeared to be. Ruz Castro and his Twenty-sixth of July Movement was essentially a joke until he obtained what Ambassador Spruille Braden called “Robin Hood status” from Herbert Matthews, his bandits in the Sierra Maestre able to occupy the power vacuum after Batista fled. The IS, that grouping of latter-day Mensheviks with a sprinkling of latter-day Bolsheviks, is assuredly no joke as the recent successes of certain of its stalwarts attests. De la Rúa, who has just won the Argentine presidential elections, is a stalwart as is—or was—the present Brazilian president, Cardoso. Had not the Uruguayan Constitution been amended two years ago, Vázquez, another stalwart, would be its new president, and the Chilean IS militant may well win the presidential elections of December 1999. Nor is this the roll call for to it may be added a handful of latter-day Bolsheviks such as Nicaragua’s Daniel Ortega who was in Paris. The point of course is that, to the aficionado of socialism (Marxism), the IS Declaration of Principles which follows may seem a jaded and meaningless repetition. In fact, however, this may prove as unfortunately misleading a judgment as was that of Castro forty odd years ago.]

From 8 to 10 November 1999 the IS, the still extant and blossoming scourge of Century XX, held its XXI Congress in Paris. The contemporary prophets of that twisted religion, known as “socialism” and sold as “democracy,” have put together a 100-Article “Declaration of Principles” (*sic*) (www.internationalsocialist.org). It was meant to be an impressive presentation of the promise of this creed, a promise which had been demonstrated by Plymouth Colony Governor William Bradford to be nonsense over two centuries before Heinrich Karl Marx became its titular deity. Even a cursory reading of this “Declaration” reveals the tergiversations and distortions which are common to its prophets. And the tergiversation with which it is appropriate to begin here is

Art. 10. The IS was founded one hundred years ago in order to coordinate the world battle of democratic socialist movements for social justice, human dignity and democracy...

As has been described in Wkly 8.2 above, the Socialist International is the lineal descendant of that organization for which Marx produced the “General Rules of the International Working Men’s Association,” this association to be the First International. This First International was dissolved, and its successor, the International Socialist Bureau (Second International) came into existence in 1896. As Schapiro points out,²⁹ “...in 1899 Plekhanov³⁰ told the First Congress of the IS that the Russian revolution ‘will succeed as a workers’ revolution or will not succeed at all’...” And the blood and gore pronouncements of Heinrich Karl Marx were alive and well. But of course Vladimir Ulianov (aka Lenin) had no intention of allowing anyone but himself to rule Russia which meant the eventual expulsion of these Mensheviks.

The latter-day Communist Manifesto treated here is divided into six sections, the first of which is

I. Global Change and Perspectives for the Future

But even before the tergiversators give us this carefully crafted account of their “origin” in this first section, they provide a claim for their successes which would put the vaporings of Baron Munchausen in the shade:

Art. 1. The idea of socialism has become entrenched in the imagination of the world’s peoples, has successfully activated political movements, has decisively improved the lives of the workers (in the USSR, in Perón’s Argentina, in Castro’s Cuba, in Perez’s Venezuela, in Ortega’s Nicaragua, etc.) and has contributed to shaping Siglo XX.

But the last phrase is accurate, and the strength of this cult, assisted by the Yanqui Imperialism (YI) of such as Carville (cf. Wkly 8.1 of Chapter 3 above), appears to be growing as this century turns. And that, as is stated in Art. 2, the world is undergoing “economic, technological, political and social changes” is a simple statement of fact. These socialists then pose what is an important question, “who is going to direct (these changes) and how.” The answer is, of course, the IS. “It is the duty of the people throughout the world to exercise this control using a more advanced democracy in every sphere of life.” Again the Marxist “vanguard,” again the necessity for greater and greater control.

Art. 3. All the people of the planet should participate in the process of changing our societies and offering new hopes to humanity...The IS calls all men and women committed to the cause of peace and progress.."

By "peace" is meant that no nations not involved in this new world order, which appears to involve such beneficent regimes as those of Cuba, the USSR/CIS, the PRC, Libya, Iraq, Venezuela, etc., will be able to defend themselves. The "enormous possibilities opened by the global change" for the SI are discussed in Art. 4, the "threats" in Art. 5.

Art. 4...possibilities...

- *Internationalization of the economy and the new technologies, if **subjected to democratic** (read "socialist") control.the unity of the human family...is more a practical necessity.*

- *The technological revolution...should be an opportunity to conserve **the environment**, to create new employment and to liberate people from long hours of routine labor (sic)...*

- *With adequate and humane democratic (read: "socialist") structures, liberty, equality, security and prosperity can be achieved in the framework of a world democratic society.*

Art. 5. ...threats without precedents:

- Proliferation of the technologies of destruction...

- Physical conditions of life on the planet are in danger owing to increasing uncontrolled urban and industrial growth, degradation of the biosphere and irrational exploitation of vital resources.

- Hunger scarcity and death threaten entire regions and communities in the countries of the south...

In Arts. 6 through 9 "history," as it would have been written by Heinrich Karl Marx, is repeated with the clichés which should, by this time, be reasonably familiar. Art. 6 begins with a convoluted discussion of the present "transformation of social structures," comparing it to the "transition from laissez-faire to monopolistic capitalism (*sic*)," "the great social costs" then inveighed against. In Art. 7 the "accelerated process of internationalization and interdependence in the world economy" is allegedly discussed, allegations then made about the causes of the "poverty and under development in the south." The only influence of course ignored in this scenario is the effect of that very Marxism which is being purveyed. In Art. 8, one is initially surprised to learn that "real progress has been made," the

surprise evaporating on learning that this has been in “de-colonization, the welfare state and disarmament.” Such “disarmament” does not, of course, apply to the ChiComs for whom see Timperlake and Triplett.³¹

All of which is to serve as background for the IS’s “reaffirmation of its basic principles.”

Art. 9...Its (that of the SI) commitment continues being the democratization of the structures of economic, social and political power on a worldwide scale.

This treatment of Section I began with Art. 10; the section concludes with Art.11.

Art. 11. the IS is combining its traditional battle for liberty, justice and solidarity with a profound commitment to peace, the protection of the environment and the development of the south...

II. Principles: Liberty, justice and solidarity

Art. 12 defines *democratic socialism as an international movement for liberty, social justice and solidarity*, going on to describe a Garden of Eden without the snake. Art. 13 then defines *liberty* in every way save the only way in which it has yet been achieved and which is of course anathema to the IS, free enterprise and private property. The platitudes are plentiful, and, for example in Art. 13, the socialist bugaboo is expressed by demanding that “*no person, class, sex, religion or race serves another;*” even should the individual wish to do so, labor for some echelon of some government of course quite acceptable. Art. 14 allegedly discusses *justice and solidarity*, perhaps the most *avant garde* part of this being the demand for *compensation for physical, mental and social inequalities*, this of course outlawing charitable behavior by one pithecanthropoid toward another, leaving all such matters to the primitives of the bureaucracy. After a few *non sequiturs* on equality, this article also declares *Equality and personal liberty are indivisible*. Arts. 15 and 16 allegedly deal with “solidarity,” the latter article concluding the sub-section with *The conservatives and the liberals* (in the classic sense) *emphasize individual liberty at the cost of justice and solidarity (sic) and communism* (of their titular deity) *seeks to achieve equality and solidarity at the cost of liberty*.³²

The next sub-section (democracy and human rights) encompasses that “democracy” and those “human rights” which these Marxists

feel will play well in Montevideo or Milan, Art. 17 demanding *equality of rights for men and women*, Art. 18 declaring that social democracy *has as its objective the equality of rights for all races, ethnic groups, nations and confessions*. In Art. 20 it is demanded *that the people* (have the mechanisms) *can control the economic structures*, a euphemism whereby the Marxist bureaucrats are empowered to control the economic structures which are imposed on the people.

The next subsection (the nature of socialism) opens with Art. 23 which asserts that these Marxists *have arrived at these values by various roads, through workers movements, peoples liberation movements, the cultural traditions of mutual assistance and communal solidarity*...The remainder of the sub-section reiterates their devotion to various ideals such as *the inalienable right to life and physical integrity and the protection against torture* (Art. 26) and *cultural democracy* (Art. 27).

III. Peace

Art. 28 ...*A nuclear holocaust could signify the end of human life such as we know it*. In the next article the reader is told that *A lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by the nuclear deterrent*, albeit, this is precisely what the U.S. has done for over half a century.³³ Art. 29 goes on to say that therefore *Disarmament and new models of common security are necessary*. *Who* is to be disarmed is obvious; *what* the “new models” may be is not stated.

Art. 30. *What is required is not only a military equilibrium at the lowest level of defensive armaments*...There are to be no sovereign nations capable of defending themselves, in particular the “super-powers.”

Art. 31. *Peace is the absence of war* (sic) *and cannot be based on fear or the fortuitous good will of the super-powers*...

Perhaps the next article is the most significant of all.

Art. 32. *The establishment of a new international, economic and political order would be a decisive contribution to world peace*. (A meaningless sentence on “national sovereignty” and the “right to national self-government” appears next as a palliative.) *Regional and world systems for cooperation and conflict resolution are required which should be developed through the UN*...

THE XXI CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (IS). II
(SPCL 8.17, 27 NOVEMBER 1999)

[The Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism was conducted by the MLs of the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) (cf. pp.100ff, YRBK97). This was one more bombastic stage-managed ML performance, but it was not simply the joke which it appeared to be. Ruz Castro and his Twenty-sixth of July Movement was essentially a joke until he obtained what Ambassador Spruille Braden called “Robin Hood status” from Herbert Matthews, his bandits in the Sierra Maestre able to occupy the power vacuum after Batista fled. The IS, that grouping of latter-day Mensheviks with a sprinkling of latter-day Bolsheviks, is assuredly no joke as the recent successes of certain of its stalwarts attests. De la Rúa, who has just won the Argentine presidential elections, is a stalwart as is—or was—the present Brazilian president, Cardoso. Had not the Uruguayan Constitution been amended two years ago, Vázquez, another stalwart, would be its new president, and the Chilean IS militant may well win the presidential elections of December 1999. Nor is this the roll call for to it may be added a handful of latter-day Bolsheviks such as Nicaragua’s Daniel Ortega who was in Paris. The point of course is that, to the aficionado of socialism (Marxism), the IS Declaration of Principles which follows may seem a jaded and meaningless repetition. In fact, however, this may prove as unfortunately misleading a judgment as was that of Castro forty odd years ago. The first two and one-half sections in this Manifesto—I. Global Change and Perspectives for the Future, II. Principles: Liberty, Justice and Solidarity and III. Peace—have been treated in Wkly 8.20 above; the remaining two and one-half sections are treated below.]

Art. 34. Militarization of the relations among the countries of the South, as well as tensions between East and West, are today a grave threat for the future of humanity. In some cases the super-powers, in their tendency to globalize their conflicts, have generated conflicts among the countries of the South...

This is an important article as promoting the world view of International Communism: Both ML and anti-ML nations are equally — when the anti-MLs attempt to defend themselves from the *sponsored* invasions by such as Castroite Cuba, the USSR/CIS and oth-

ers. Another classic Marxist statement from this Article is worthy of inclusion, *In others (cases), the manufacture of arms from East and West (both with the same motivation), for profit or political interest, have fomented violence...*

Art. 35, Peace Initiatives, is the first of three articles in the section on “Peace Initiatives.” In the first of the three we are told that *The democratic socialists (sic) reject a world order based on armed peace between East and West but which produces incessant violence in the developing countries*³⁴...The next article (36) talks of *creation of a climate of confidence...protection of the biosphere* and other meaningless concepts all based on a world-view remarkably divorced from reality—Al Capone lies down with Tom Dewey. This romantic venture concludes with:

Art. 37. The potentially most fruitful area for the development of world solidarity without frontiers or blocks is perhaps that of the East-West cooperation to overcome the disequilibrium between North and South.

IV. North and South

Arts. 38 through 43 deal with “Globalization” as interpreted in accordance with the Marxist worldview. In the first of these articles “globalization” is defined as “an increasing internationalization of world affairs.” But, according to these socialists³⁵ who are valiantly seeking their explanation in Marxian dogma, the fault lies in the manner in which “the financial decisions of the great multi-national enterprises” now have immediate, and of course baneful, effects. “Refugees” are treated in the same article but as if those, for example, from Castro’s Cuba have nothing to do with that tyrant’s behavior; they merely reflect “national and international conflicts.” Art. 40 carries the lament over privatization without using the word, careful to leave unmentioned Pinochet’s economic miracle and Menem’s looming economic miracle, derailed by the HL successes against the free economy. This article also focuses on the Latin American “debt” but with a misrepresentation that carefully avoids “contraction,” “forgiveness” and the continuing demand for more loans. Inferred is the Castro solution: renunciation. The solution for all these woes is allegedly given by:

Art. 41. A new global economy should incorporate the centers of growth in the South in a radically new form (rnf). The details of this “rnf” are not given.

Art. 42. Africa and Latin America...must make headway against an intolerable debt... Neither the origin of the debt or the *modus operandi* for headway are discussed.

Arts. 44 through 48 allegedly address the *environment*. This is of course the new home of the International Left as typified by the status of the “ex” ML Soviet dictator, Gorbachev, in the International Environmental Movement (IEM). It is true that many of the rank and filers in the IEM believe that they are involved in “saving the earth”—doubtless a heady experience. But they are blissfully unaware that they have really become involved in providing or increasing a power base for the PP and the Marxist. If the IEM had any other objective, it would hardly have to rely on the Junk Science (Chapter 7 above) with which it attempts to threaten its opponents. All that can be gleaned from the articles in this section is that terrible, if unspecified or justified, “threats” to the environment exist.

Art. 44. The environmental crisis has been converted into a serious and fundamental threat of world dimensions...ecological equilibrium is in danger...there is increasing proof of the reduction of the ozone layer...irresponsible industrialism provokes deforestation (sic)...

Art. 45. Destruction of the environment does not respect frontiers...The best and most economic solutions of the ecological crisis will be those that transform the guidelines of production and consumption...

Having assured that some “international authority” sets the “guidelines” for production and consumption, the establishment of an international tyranny is well under way, this based on fabulous ecological claims. The next subsection, “Social Control of Technological Development,” includes Arts. 49 through 53 which advance this tyranny further, there being need here only for an example:

Art. 52 In order to guarantee the realization of these objectives worldwide it is necessary to create organisms and procedures in order to evaluate technology...

Two articles (54, 55) complete the next subsection, “Disarmament and Development.”

V. The Configuration of Century XXI

The first subsection here, “Political and Economic Democracy,” is made up of Articles 56 through 64 and recites the weary socialist nostrums which have ended on “the ash heap of history” whenever

the purveyors of this Utopia have had the opportunity to put them into practice. Art. 64 winds up this Lorelei's song with

Art. 64. A democratic society should compensate for the negative effects including those most responsible of the market systems...

The second subsection, "Culture and Society," contains Arts. 65 through 67, perhaps most importantly in the "Indoctrination Article,"

Art. 66. The educational process should transmit, above all, the values of liberty, social justice, solidarity and tolerance...

The next subsection, "The Role of the Man and the Woman in Modern Society," allegedly covers this topic in Arts. 68 through 73. The subject should be familiar enough save perhaps for the assignment of certain responsibilities for this uni-sexual world society:

Art. 71 ...The UN has played a very important role in facilitating the formation of a global feminist awareness (conciencia), creating a connection between the women of the North and the South.

The next subsection, "A New International Culture of Political Dialog," begins with a rather curious statement.

Art. 74. ...We reject and condemn all forms of political or religious fundamentalism. This probably leaves the door open to "Liberation" Theology (cf. pp.193ff, YRBK97 *et seq*) if little else among the Christian and Jewish religions. The subsection concludes with an Art. 77 in which "a culture of international dialog is sketched in very broad brush.

The next subsection, "A New Model of Growth," discusses "growth" in vague generalities which are hardly new, but which do rely heavily on the fraudulent concern over the environment. It concludes with Art. 82 which contains the Marxian lament over working hours and calls for "a just distribution of remunerated labor and of domestic labor between men and women." Perhaps the new commissars will divide the money brought into both one- and two-working-parent households.

Arts. 83 through 91 make up the subsection entitled "Solidarity Between the North and the South." There are one or two points worthy of remark.

Art. 81. ...This does not mean that there is a sensible formula, socialist or otherwise, to put an end to under-development... Or so say these socialists. But there is a formula which, where these self same socialists have not blocked its implementation, have worked wonders. It need hardly be repeated here, but it produced the Chilean economic miracle where socialism had brought economic dev-

astation; it was sidetracked by them in Menem's early attempts to repeat this economic miracle in Argentina. On the other hand, leftist regimes in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and various other LA countries have produced those disasters which the producers are now attributing to the free market.

In Art. 85 the 0.7 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) "established by the UN" is demanded "to reduce the weight of the foreign debt on developing countries..." With the exception of this specific recommendation, the other articles in this subsection amount to little more than hand-waving platitudes and exaggerations. But the claim in Article 90 that the social democrats "have strengthened themselves in the South...with new affiliates particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean..." is no exaggeration. This strengthening is not unconnected with the successful propaganda campaign against privatization which Cuban dictator Ruz Castro has been waging. Nor is it too far afield to suggest that the Yanqui Imperialism practiced by the U.S.—the Carville boast that he and his associates have left no "Right Wing" (read: anti-Left) governments standing. This boast, albeit, justified, is repeated again in

VI. The IS in the Advance Toward a World Democratic Society

The boast appears again in Article 95, but the *modus operandi* for the coming World Socialist Utopia—in which the Mensheviks can again be expected to fall before the new Bolshevik assault—comes closest to being definitized in

Art. 98. Strengthening the UN is an important step toward the creation of a new world democratic society...The specialized agencies of the UN, like the World Trade Organization, and organisms like the UN Development Program (PNUD) and the UN Children's Fund (UBICEF) have demonstrated that governments and citizens of different countries can collaborate efficiently for the realization of common international objectives.

LAECS (LA-European-Caribbean Summit)

THE I LATIN AMERICAN—EUROPEAN—CARIBBEAN SUMMIT (WKLY 8.1, 1 JULY 1999)

For those who may have read certain April 1999 accounts, this summit did **not** take place on 23 and 24 June, it took place on 28 and 29 June 1999 in the Museum of Modern Art in Río de Janeiro,

Brazil, the host therefore that nation's president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. By and large the "Declaration of R o de Janeiro" which emerged from it was, as with all such ceremonial gatherings, prescribed by the ministry clerks well before the gathering, but only by-and-large. At the alleged insistence of the European nations present, the objections to the Helms-Burton Law were removed before the emission of the Declaration. The interested reader will surely be able to analyze this.

A careful study of what the summit "declared" and what it "did" shows it to be a carbon copy of its predecessor summits, whatever their alleged *raisons d' tre*. Basically, it provides the PPs who attend one more opportunity to play to their constituents. While it is probably true that the UE will eventually enter into advantageous trading agreements, this serious subject was postponed while the delegates—presidents and prime ministers—ecstasized over the summit equivalent of "home, mother and apple pie."

There emerged the Declaration of R o (69 points) and the Action Plan (54 points), in detail important only for the pitfalls lurking there for the unwary nation or enterprise. These documents state that the parties to these pontifications are in agreement on the beauties and desirability of (1) Democracy; (2) application of Law; (3) "good" Government; (4) Pluralism and Social Development; (4) includes *more equitable distribution of wealth*. As in the initiation rights for some brotherhood such as the Sons of We Shall Arise; (5) "total respect" is pledged to the "objectives and principles" of the UN as is (6) the promotion of that august body's "Universal Declaration of HR." There is of course much to do with "environmentalism," the new home of the IL and "other matters," here only (7) the "anti-drug" stance worthy of remark.

With the exception of pledges for further trade meetings, the accomplishments of this Summit are routine rather than remarkable. More informative are certain of the declarations of the principal players: French President Jacques Chirac, Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Carlos Fuentes and Cuban dictator Fidel Castro.

Chirac

Chirac was touted as the "driving force" of this conference bringing together 48 heads of state in a summit which carefully excluded the

U.S., the “central theme” of which was allegedly free commerce. This Frenchman claimed that Europe and LA are being called upon to be the “two principal poles” of the future. This call, with other remarks made at the gathering should be pondered by those gringos who think they have any friends among the governments to their south or their east of which Mr. Carville appears to be so proud.

Cardoso (Zedillo)

This Brazilian president supported Clinton’s apparently unsuccessful Kosovo Campaign with questionably applicable remarks on the “horrors of Nazi racial purity,” this socialist of course far from admitting the brotherhood under the skin of the SI and the National Socialists or Nazis (cf. pp.1ff, YRBK97). Probably his most potentially dangerous, albeit, typically socialist, remark, however, was his attack on free capital flow, effectively the same tired and oft repeated promotion of exchange controls. The capital flow from disaster, which such “exchange controls” are supposed to remedy, is merely a symptom of the economic malaise which has routinely accompanied attempts at socialist utopias. With the childlike simplicity and belief in government power of the socialist PP, these controls are touted as “solutions” to that capital flow. Of course they are nothing more than the result of “a government...(fixing) the parity of its domestic credit or fiat money against gold or foreign exchange at a higher point than the market”³⁶ and can only exacerbate the existing problem.

Both Cardoso and Zedillo again brought up the “lost decade” of the 1980s, this in reference to the attempts of that period to remove the ML terrorists of Cuban dictator Ruz Castro from attaining his dream of a “sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in Latin America.” The matter is of some consequence in locating this pair in the appropriate part of the political spectrum.

Fuentes

Fuentes is the leftist Mexican author who, with Castro’s good friend, Gabriel García Márquez, enjoyed that intimate 1994 dinner with the Clintons hosted by Styron (p.119, YRBK98). This worthy was, of course in Río to receive the Latinity Prize, such people generally trading such honors amongst themselves as a realistic docket of Nobel “Peace” Laureate biographies would demonstrate. Falcoff³⁷

provides a more realistic discussion of this honoree than is generally available.

Having thus been provided a forum, Fuentes delivered himself of various curious remarks, perhaps the most interesting that “siglo XXI será migratorio y mestizo o no será” (Century XXI will be migratory and mestizo or it will not be). The word *mestizo*, from the Spanish *mixto* (mixed), is generally translated as “half-breed,” the breeds involved generally being Spanish and Indian. The LANS expert on racial characteristics maintains, however, that the percentage varies considerably from 50 percent-50 percent and even she cannot tell the difference after it becomes something like 80 percent-20 percent. Migratory of course means free access across the U.S. southern border for mestizos (cf. Falcoff, *ibid*), pure Spanish need not apply.

In the award presentation ceremony Cardoso, Zedillo and Chirac delivered themselves of sentiments appropriate to the occasion, thereby raising the question:

Are Messers Cardoso and Zedillo going to bundle their pure-bred spouses off to the divorce court so they may legitimately enter Siglo XXI with blushing Indian brides?

Castro

An AP wirephoto captures a fervent embrace of Cuban dictator Ruz Castro by President Zedillo. Which renders the avowed positions of this summit on democracy, transparent elections, the drug trade and so on a complete sham. As have other such gatherings whereat the tyrant has been wined, dined and treated with great respect. To which he replied with his usual pomp and circumstance heavily larded with his longtime fear of an early demise.

He arrived in Río with fifty-three bodyguards, these of the 500 total who were accredited to the 48 chiefs of state. His entourage also included two members of his Military Cabinet. This billionaire took over three floors of the Othon Palace Hotel on Copacabana Beach and treated himself to the only armored vehicle used by any of the chiefs. For whatever reason, he apparently survived the ordeal, devoting himself to his own agenda of meetings in the Niteroi District with Brazilian members of his HL and friends such as his lap cleric, Friar Betto, who publishes the journal of that HL and, in particular of its principal organ the São Paulo Forum.

MERCOSUR (Common Market of the Southern Cone)**XV MERCOSUR SUMMIT
(WKLY 7.11, 18 MARCH 1999)**

On 7 August 1987 the ML caudillo of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, blithely signed the so-called Esquipulas II Accords. With this signature he “pledged” to cease all support to “irregular forces or insurrectional movements” in CA (pp.251 ff, YRBK98). This was a “pledge” which he had no intention of fulfilling. Through his unilateral activity in, for example, supplying weapons to the FMLN terrorists in El Salvador, he demonstrated this deliberate deception as the LANS editor is able to attest. But such should come as a surprise only to the unbelievably naïve since the principal diplomatic tool bequeathed by Ulianov (aka Lenin) to his ML successors was the lie. In almost a century the PPs of allegedly non-ML stripe have been unable to assimilate this elemental truism—or claim to be unable to do so—and continue to negotiate “solutions” with these ML terrorists. On these the PPs insist on abiding while their ML opponents violate them in whatever way is most beneficial to them. All of which is relevant to the high-flown pledges and promises to which the MERCOSUR summiteers committed themselves in Rio de Janeiro.

MERCOSUR was born on 26 March 1991 in Asunción, Paraguay, when the agreement creating the regional trading group was signed by the president of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay (pp.240ff, YRBK97). Since that time Bolivia and Chile have been added as “associates” or “trading partners” to arrive at what is more realistically a true southern cone. The origins of this most mature of the trading groups have been given by LANS Associate Editor Emanueloff-Max (pp.243ff, YRBK97). The XIV MERCOSUR Summit in Tierra del Fuego has been discussed in (pp.452ff, YRBK00).

The XV MERCOSUR Summit took place on 9 and 10 December 1998 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and basically comprehended the presidents of Argentina, Carlos Saul Menem; Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Paraguay, Raul Cubas; and Uruguay, Julio María Sanguinetti. The trading partner presidents, Chile’s Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle and Bolivia’s Hugo Bánzer Suárez, were present, but that would appear to be about all. Menem, who arrived on 10 De-

ember, could hardly have contributed much to the proceedings, but, in this, he differed little from his fellow summiteers. The ministry clerks had, of course, produced all the ringing declarations of purpose and principle before the festivities began.

The clerks had prepared the rousing declarations to which the presidents duly subscribed and certain more practical documents. Among the latter were the Brasilia Protocol aimed at establishing the mechanisms for the solution of controversies among the MERCOSUR nations, an extradition agreement for “non political” crimes among the MERCOSUR nations, and another such agreement among these nations and their Chilean and Bolivian associates. But the *piece de la resistance* was of course the MERCOSUR Declaration on Sociolabor.

This was touted as an “historical declaration of labor rights.” It identifies principles of individual and collective rights of employees, migration of workers as well as the elimination of forced labor. But this is hardly all that is allegedly accomplished by this declaration which is represented as being the result of seven years “negotiations” by MERCOSUR Labor Subgroup No.10 in charge of Labor, Employment and Social Security Affairs. Fortuitously or otherwise, the “Declaration” is reported to have been completed just the week before the summit.

Called a sort of “supra-national constitution,” this document goes on to deal with virtually every woe or conjectured woe to which man is heir. If indeed it effectively dealt with any of these woes, perhaps it would be “the most important political instrument” to date. Or perhaps not. But this was hardly all.

In the Paris of 1948 the UN created the so-called Universal Declaration of HR. The four MERCOSUR nations and their two associates, in a ceremony commemorating this Declaration, supported the International Criminal Tribunal (TPI). Cardoso gave a speech wherein he declared this support the “full demonstration that HR forms a part of the identity of our states.” The TPI was allegedly conceived to judge and punish the perpetrators of “atrocities, genocides and crimes against humanity.” Cardoso went on to say that “there is much to do against the intolerable levels of violence and inequality” in the region. The Brazilian president concluded with the assertion that “few documents will have so much importance in the history of humanity.” Which is routine campaign oratory that brings

this discussion full circle and back to MLs such as Ortega—and Castro.

Castro would doubtless have been delighted to “sign with a flourish” his support of this document as he pledged himself to democracy at *Vino del Mar*. Having done as much the Cuban dictator would have introduced it into the armory of his HL for use in its endless DO campaigns.

Presumably, Rio offered the summiteers those entertainments which appear to be their specific objectives.

THE UE-MERCOSUR FORUM
(WKLY 7.11, 18 MARCH 1999)

In Spcl 2.16 (pp.59ff, YRBK97) LANS reported on the Brazilian unit of currency introduced by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the *Real*. In doing so it was remarked that certain economists described the *plano real* as “built on sand.” What the so-called “salsa effect”—meaning the current Brazilian economic chaos—appears to demonstrate is the accuracy of such a description. The Plano Real did nothing to *cure* inflation, it merely *disguised* it. In that report a list of those measures which would have had to be taken to reduce the inflationary pressures which were still there was summarized with: “those situations wherein Brazil does not collect enough in taxes from its citizens to provide for whatever largesse its politicians wish to shower on those citizens.” The sand appears to have begun to run out during the last year. And interest rates have gone somewhere above 40 percent, devaluation of the “real” above 60 percent. The answer? First of course more money from such as the BID and any other available “lending” agencies. And second, of course, more international meetings wherein the participants can assure each other that, as soon as they issue the next proclamation, all will be well. There have been two such meeting recently, the UE-MERCOSUR Forum and the IX G-15 Summit, the PPs showering each other with “solutions.”

The UE-MERCOSUR Forum took place in Rio de Janeiro on 21-22 February 1999. Of the four MERCOSUR member nations, one chief of state, Argentina’s Menem, did not attend. Whether or not his “respiratory infection” was an “excuse,”³⁸ as reported by one U.S. newspaper, or a reason, his Foreign Relation Minister, Guido di Tella, substituted for him in what would appear to be a quite

practical reason for avoidance. From the point at which Brazilian President Cardoso opened the festivities the visitors were treated to a litany of woes by the Brazilians:

UE sales to MERCOSUR had increased by 400 percent between 1990 and 1996 while sales in the reverse direction had increased only by 25 percent. Those who wish to analyze this complaint are probably not going to find the answer in tariff problems. If indeed this is where they lie, has it taken nine years to learn this, and what have been the outcomes of that continuing series of summits, each of which speaks glowingly of its accomplishments? And the U.S. has prohibited the entry of chickens because of a disease, fairly or unfairly, as it has adversely influenced entry of agricultural products by subsidies of its own farmers. Again, the level playing field question, which Brazil would probably be unable to defend.

All these woes of course are blamed for the “salsa effect” on which they may have some minor effect. But the fact remains that their complete elimination would be insufficient to prop up the Plano Real sand castle unless something is done about the elementally marxist notions on which the Brazilian economy has foundered.

OAS (Organization of American States)

THE XXIX GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE OAS (WKLY 7.24, 24 JUNE 1999)

The XXIX General Assembly of the OAS was held in Guatemala from 6 June through 9 June 1999. The XXVIII General Assembly had been held in Caracas, Venezuela from 1 June through 3 June 1998 [Chap.7, YRBK99]. The LANS treatment of this gathering is appropriately initiated with a remark on another gathering.

The II Summit of the Americas (CLA)

That the Professional Politician (PP) is indeed the “great scourge of the twentieth century”³⁹ is most definitively demonstrated when the PP is seeking to convince his power base that he can and will deliver mankind from all of the woes which it had suffered before his advent upon the scene. This urge to convince becomes most virulent with the PP’s realization of his own mortality and creates the “legacy” syndrome. Two of the most prominent/notorious PPs in this hemisphere have recently awakened to this legacy-driven

urge, these being the ML dictator of Cuba and the 1999 incumbent of the U.S. presidential palace. The first appears to have realized his physical mortality, the second his approaching political demise.

Mr. Clinton's efforts in historical revisionism (pp.149ff *et seq.*, YRBK98) have been discussed. An important part of these revisionist efforts have been included in the Clinton Administration publicity for the I CLA (pp.235ff, YRBK97) and the II CLA (Chapter 7, YRBK00). Whether or not any of the impossibly utopian CLA goals will be met is of no real consequence: the "public" has a brief attention span, and large doses of *pan et circenses* are continually applied as diversions in any event. In this vein U.S. State Secretary Albright provided an example of the Clinton Genesis of "all things good" in her remarks before II CLA.

"In December 1994, with the historic Summit of the Americas in Miami, began a new era of cooperation among the democratic nations of the Western Hemisphere...The Plan of Action of Miami...produced tangible results (*sic*) and created a base on which can continue to be raised a better future for all the citizens of the Americas..."

One of these "tangible results" would of course be the so-called ALCA (Free Trade Organization of Latin America) on which the I CLA agreed. This resulted in "competing utopias" (cf.pp.344ff, YRBK98) wherein the latter-day YI (Yanqui Imperialist), Clinton, unsuccessfully sought to have his embryo ALCA take precedence over the well advanced MERCOSUR. All of which is merely background for the statement which relates to the XXIX AG (General Assembly) of the OAS and encapsulates its relation to this YI.

"...[and] the XXIX General Assembly of the OAS which are related to, and organized under, the mandates of the Second Summit of the Americas..."

The OAS

In 1948, the OAS emerged from the Pan American Union (pp.226ff, YRBK97) during that same Bogotazo at which Castro emerged as an international terrorist (pp.85, 111, YRBK97).

The AG of the OAS is the "supreme organ" of that organization and meets annually, although it may convoke extraordinary sessions by a two-thirds vote of its member states. The AG president is elected at the first plenary session of an annual assembly, the gov-

ernment of the host country, here Guatemala, designating a provisional president until such election.

Articles 19 through 21 of the OAS Charter specify the activities of the Preparatory Commission in arranging the details of an AG session. The General Commission (CG) is made up of the president and vice president of the AG and the chiefs of the delegations. The CG consists of three principal, annual commissions—The First Commission [Juridical and Political Affairs], the Second [Economic and Social Affairs, and Educational, Scientific and Cultural Affairs] and the Third [Administrative and Budgetary Affairs]—and various permanent commissions and organizations, few of which demand treatment here.

The General Secretariat is the central and permanent organ of the OAS with its seat in Washington, DC, and with 700 functionaries, known as the Pan American Union until 1970. The Secretary General is elected by the AG for a term of five years; he may succeed himself once; he may not be succeeded by an individual from the same country.

The Permanent Council (PC) is composed of one representative with the rank of ambassador from each member state. The PC has the powers assigned to it by the OAS Charter and other inter American instruments as well as the functions assigned to it by the AG and the Foreign Ministers Consultative Meeting (RCMRE).

The RCMRE is held to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest; on being requested these meetings may be convoked by a majority vote of the PC. In case of an armed attack on the territory of a member state or within the security region established by the Inter American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the RCMRE is convoked immediately. The Charter provides for a Consultative Defense Committee to advise the organs on problems of military collaboration.

The PC has established Permanent Commissions which, *inter alia*, deal with 1) Juridical matters through the Inter American Juridical Committee (CJI), made up of 11 jurists elected by the GA with seat in Rio de Janeiro. 2) The Managua Protocol [December 1996] established the Inter American Council for Integral Development (CIDI) which is charged with the promotion of integral and SUSTAINABLE development. 3) The Inter American Commission on Human Rights (CDIH) is charged with promotion and protection of human rights. Its seat is in San José, Costa Rica.

The specialized organisms of the OAS include, *inter alia*, the Pan American Health Organization (OPS) with its seat in Washington, DC, the Inter American Commission on Women (CIM) established in June 1994, the Inter American Institute of the Child (IIN) with its seat in Montevideo, Uruguay, the Inter American Indigenous Institute (IIC) with its seat in Mexico, DF, the Pan American Institute of Geography and History (IPGH) with its seat in Mexico, DF, and the Inter American Institute of Agricultural Cooperation (IICA) with its seat in San Jose, Costa Rica.

Member States

The Charter was adopted 30 April 1948, the Protocol of Buenos Aires establishing the present organizational structure on 27 February 1967 and the Protocol of Cartagena de Indias strengthening its hemispheric political role on 5 December 1985. Dates of entry have been detailed (pp.369ff, YRBK98). Here Group 1 entered in 1948, Group 2 between 1967 and 1991.

Group 1: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, United States, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Group 2: Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Grenada, Surinam, Dominica, St. Lucia, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, Canada, Belize and Guyana.

Permanent Observers

The OAS Permanent Observers admitted between 1972 and 1992 in Group 1 have been given (*ibid*). The nations admitted between 1994 and 1997 are given in Group 2.

Group 1: Spain, Portugal, Low Countries, Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Japan, Portugal, Egypt, Austria, Holy See, Switzerland, Greece, Saudi Arabia, Republic of Korea, Morocco, Cyprus, Pakistan, Equatorial Guinea, Algeria, Finland, European Community, Hungary, Tunis, Rumania, India, Poland, Angola, Israel and Russian Federation.

Group 2: Ukraine, Lebanon, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, United Kingdom, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Latvia, Ghana, Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Bulgaria, Yemen.

XXIX GA Representatives

The OAS representatives all have the rank of ambassador; the title omitted in what follows. Those who filled this position during XXVIII are preceded by an asterisk.

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA: *Lionel Alexander Hurst; ARGENTINA: Julio César Araoz, BAHAMAS: *Arlington Griffith Butler; BARBADOS: *Courtney Blackman; BELIZE: *James Schofield Murphy; BOLIVIA: *Marlene Fernández del Granado; BRAZIL: *Carlos Alberto Leite Barbosa; CANADA: *Peter Michael Boehm; CHILE: *Carlos Portales Cifuentes; COLOMBIA: Luis Alfredo Ramos; COSTA RICA: Hernan Castro Hernandez; DOMINICA: *Eduard A. Alexander; DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: *Flavio Dario Espinal Jacobo; ECUADOR: Patricio Vivanco; EL SALVADOR: *Mauricio Granillo; GRENADA: *Denis G. Antoine; GUATEMALA: *Alfonso Quiñones Lemus; GUYANA: *M. A. Odeen Ishmael; HAITI: *Guy Pierre ; HONDURAS: *Laura Elena Nuñez Flores; JAMAICA: *Richard Bernal; MEXICO: Claude Heller; NICARAGUA: Jose Sevilla Siero; PANAMA: *Lawrence Chewing Farbega; PARAGUAY: *Carlos Victor Montanaro; PERU: *Beatriz M. Ramacciotti; ST. KITTS AND NEVIS: *Osbert O. Liburd; ST. LUCIA: *Sonia M. Johnny; ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES: *Kingsley C. A. Layne; SURINAM: *Albert R. Ramdin; TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: *Michael A. Arneaud; UNITED STATES: *Victor Marrero; URUGUAY: *Antonio Mercader; VENEZUELA: Virginia Margarita Contreras Navarrete.

The XXIX AG Meeting

The inaugural session was held on Sunday, 6 June 1999, in Antigua, Guatemala, the festivities being opened with speeches by OAS Secretary General César Gaviria Trujillo and the president of the host country, Arzú. Mr. Gaviria may be recalled for (1) his term as president of Colombia which can hardly be classified as a success, particularly if the terrorist situation when he left office is considered. (2) He appears to have been the U.S. choice for OAS secretary general in 1994.⁴⁰ (3) He informed *The Miami Herald* that he was a "friend" of HL boss, Fidel Ruz Castro, a statement which has been belied by his behavior neither before nor after the statement.

This welcoming speech by the OAS secretary general was an ode to alleged accomplishments which were claimed as the fulfillment of those goals which earlier sessions of this august body—or of various ministry clerks – had set for it. Gaviria mentioned some, but far from all, of those hemispheric happenings during the last year claiming credit for the “good things” which he claims to have emerged, a few of which are worthy of mention as examples of this PP’s consistently pollyanna approach. A few thousand of the land mines planted by the ML terrorists of his “friend,” Castro, were removed in Central America, but it is highly unlikely that his OAS was more than remotely involved with the process.

He hailed the peace which has been concluded between Peru and Ecuador while carefully avoiding any mention of the arms smuggling by one of its guarantors, Argentina, which stoked the fires of this border skirmish. The reasons for this bizarre behavior remain obscure, but, were they “plain as a pikestaff,” it is clear that no such disturbing matters would be allowed by Gaviria to intrude into his Candidean “best of all possible worlds.” The Clinton Government created the title, “Great Extra NATO Ally,” to confer on the probable smuggler, Argentine President Menem, apparently for his earlier arms smuggling to Croatia. It has been suggested that the smuggling of arms to Ecuador was encouraged to rid the scene of that “troublesome Fujimori,” the only effective opponent of ML terrorism now extant in the hemisphere.

Gaviria lauded the travesty known as the “Pastrana Peace Process” in Colombia as he applauded the work of Oscar Arias —actually his alter ego, John Biehl—for those Esquipulas Accords which entrenched “ex” ML terrorists in three CA nations (pp.146ff, YRBK97; YRBK98, *passim*). In his haste to claim credit for all things, his statement on the Ice Fields Agreement between Chile and Argentina amounting to another triumph may have been a bit premature. But all these trivial misstatements pale into insignificance when his ignoring of the hemispheric drug chief and HL terrorist boss, Fidel Ruz Castro, is remarked. As is the recent assumption of power in Venezuela of the Castroite “ex” golpista, Hugo Chávez.

There is a body of opinion which maintains that the contemporary tendency is toward the eventual absorption of the sovereignties of the individual American states in a vaguely conceived hemispheric state. Within Castro’s HL, the notion is not “vaguely conceived” but

quite specifically enunciated.⁴¹ What Mr. Gaviria laid out in his AG XXVIII OAS inaugural address can certainly be taken as a blueprint for such a transition. On this occasion he was not as blatant, the notion lurking in the background.

OAS Secretary General Gaviria wound up his oratory before XXVIII with a remark worthy of rumination: “We hope to realize the dream of Simón Bolívar when he called together the ‘Antifictionic’ Congress on Panama for the purpose of ‘uniting all of the new world into a single nation and a single bond that joins all of its parts together with the whole.’”

[In both the Spanish and English versions of Gaviria’s remarks, this is called the “Antifictionic Congress,” although it is generally referred to as Bolívar’s Congress of Panama. In the LANS files it first appears to have been discussed in the Council Meeting of Tuesday, 2 August 1825 (*Acuerdos del Consejo de Gobierno de la República de Colombia 1825-1827*, Ediciones del Consejo, 1942) recorded by Interior Secretary José Manuel Restrepo. At the meeting “the urgency of naming the plenipotenciaries from Colombia” was emphasized because “this had been compacted among all the States and Peru has already sent theirs.” The Great Liberator had his Congress of Panama in 1826, and historians generally refer to it as a “fiasco” because, “despite its grandiose start...the nations which attended failed to do anything about the resolutions passed” (John A. Crow, *Epic of Latin America*, Univ. California Press, 1992. ISBN: 0-520-07868-3).]

What Happened in Guatemala?

First, Castro’s friend Gaviria was elected to his second five-year term as OAS secretary general. Those who are interested in what actually happened, as opposed to the shadow play for the power base, should find it of interest. Between the XXVIII and the XXIX AG meetings Costa Rican President Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier had allegedly been running for OAS secretary general. His fate was the same as that which overtook his fellow countryman when Gaviria was first elected. As XXIX approached, Calderón withdrew, and an unopposed Gaviria was “elected unanimously.”

What the Assembly “decided” may most succinctly be reported as a “promise of assuagement” for all the ills and inconveniences to which the flesh is heir. In 27 categories, beginning with “Educa-

tion” and, interestingly enough, ending with “Summit of the Americas Follow-Up,” the august body allegedly dedicated itself to transforming the hemisphere into that earthly paradise in the name of which the PP scourges of Siglo XX have wrought such incredible havoc.

In 2000 the XXX GA will be held in Canada.

SICA (Secretariat of CA Integration

II SUMMIT OF THE CHIEFS OF STATE OF TAIWAN AND SIECA (WKLY 8.11, 23 OCTOBER 1999)

The Peoples Republic of China (PRC—ChiComs) recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. In those 50 years the PRC has demonstrated itself to be the bloodiest regime in history, its slaughter of more than 100,000,000 of its own citizens dwarfing any such “accomplishments” by earlier governments, even in this century of the charnel house, Siglo XX.⁴²

In China’s war against the Japanese invaders Mao Tse-tung basically took no part, waiting for Allied victory there—as did the Soviets—which would be utilized in the ML victory on which he was focused. The loss of China to the International Left (IL) is best covered by Kubek,⁴³ to which Chiang offers considerable insight,⁴⁴ Walker⁴⁵ additional information. Finally, the ex COMINTERN agent, Eudocio Ravines⁴⁶ offers a unique insight into the Dzugashvili (aka Stalin)-Mao relationship from his personal acquaintance with Mao who thought the sun rose and set in the breast of his friend Dzugashvili. [But see n.46 as amended.]

It would be almost twenty years into this so far fifty-year tyranny before the U.S. attitude toward the ChiComs began that change, some of the ramifications of which are being felt today. While motivations, even those expressed by the individual who allegedly possesses them, are dubious matters with which to deal, one of the reasons for this change was assuredly profit. Both U.S. political parties and corporations clearly felt there would be money to be made from the ChiComs. And so another “respectability” campaign was launched by the U.S. One of the generally unappreciated actions in this campaign was the relocation of the Golden Triangle—the narcotics-producing region—so as to exclude the suddenly sanctified ChiComs. Douglass⁴⁷ has shown in Figure 2, p.109, how the

“triangle” as originally worked out by the CIA showed most of the narcotics originating in Yunnan Province, China. Fig. 2 also shows how, under the Nixon White House, the triangle was rotated so as to exclude China, it subsequently located in Burma Thailand and Laos.

From the LANS point of view the ChiCom tragedy is most important as marking the establishment of the template for the use of the DO—just “agrarian reformers”—for ML conquest. This should be treated but space is restricted here.

The II Summit

Fifty years ago the Government of the Republic of China escaped from Mao’s hordes and established itself on the Island of Taiwan. It was thereafter a ChiCom target, protected only by U.S. guarantees until fairly recently, its status now somewhat up in the air.⁴⁸ While the U.S. has, until recently, offered such territorial guarantees, it has apparently acquiesced in the planned denigration in other areas, this to include the RC being “officially” Republic of Taiwan.

On 6-8 September 1999 the II Summit of the RC and the CA nations took place at Taipei. President Lee Teng-hui hosted the encounter which included the presidents of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua; the vice presidents of Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic; and the prime minister of Belize.

Perhaps the most specific action taken at this meeting was the formal admission of the RC into SICA (pp.341ff, YRBK98). The other actions were largely economic in nature, the RC, which has invested over 200 million in CA, renewed its commitment to CA integration and pledged assistance in seeking and supporting debt forgiveness in various of these nations.

Notes

1. That Castro is, and has been, the boss of the HL (Hemispheric Left) has been the subject of various articles by LANS (pp.54ff, YRBK97 and subsequent volumes). That he remains the hemispheric drug lord has been most recently discussed in Spcl 6.17.
2. The adjective used is *conveniente* which may mean either “advisable” or “convenient.” Although the former appears appropriate, the latter might afford more room for maneuver.
3. Capital and lower case letters appear precisely as indicated in the preamble.
4. This has been discussed in “The US-Cuba Gambit” (pp.118ff, YRBK98) and is perhaps most strongly suggested by CA suspension of Title III of Helms Burton (Wkly 8.6). Some 30 years after U.S. Press Attaché Bethel wrote his book (The

Losers: The Definitive Account...of the Communist Conquest of Cuba..., Arlington, 1969. SBN: 87000-053-5) these losers have multiplied and are perhaps best represented by certain alleged scholars who eschew any distinction between fact and disinformation or even the possibility of determining a difference. And cf. Mao Tse-tung below.

5. In this case, from Ulianov (aka Lenin) to Castro, Ortega et al, "belief" includes the immense power and wealth which success has been demonstrated to involve.
6. For example, Cesar Gaviria, as president of Colombia recognized Castro's tyranny, then as Organization of American States (OAS) head and with hat in hand, trekked to his tight little isle to beg the freedom of a brother, Juan Carlos, kidnapped by Colombian terrorists. The hemispheric terrorist boss returned his brother (pp. 120ff, YRBK98).
7. For those not familiar with the boons of inflationism, the work of Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics* (Regnery [Yale], 1966. ISBN: 0-8092-9743-4), Henry Hazlitt, *The Failure of the "New Economics"* (Princeton University Press, 1959. ISBN: 087000266X) and Albert Hahn, *Deficit Spending and Private Enterprise*, (Postwar Readjustments Bulletin No. 8, U.S. Chamber of Commerce) may prove of interest.
8. Mr. Ocampo's remarks occupy six, closely spaced pages. Therefore, many histrionic insertions can safely be omitted.
9. Mr. Ocampo nowhere appears to define this "debate," but the reader should be able to do so. We have translated debate as "debate" and not "discussion."
10. This Keynesian notion is clearly an excuse not a reason—while a sound national economy will not be helped by runaway inflation of obvious cause in a trading partner, that there is some sort of virus transmitted to a real "built on sand" the reader may certainly be able to demonstrate.
11. This bureaucratic verbiage is a continuation of the "pleasure to pain" syndrome which was to be found in CEPAL behavior between 1994 and 1996 (p.247, YRBK1997). At that time LANS suggested that the problem lay, not in the reality of the economic situation, but in the success of the Hemispheric Left (HL) campaign of Castro against the free market. If, for example, one refuses to admit that the Argentine economic problems had their origin in the fascism (leftism) of Juan Perón, one must rely on immense doses of mumbo jumbo for explanation.
12. In healthy economic activity such rates are also a measure of debtor reliability. There are any number of examples of rate forgiveness, etc., these rendering this entire "scientific" approach meaningless.
13. Since the root of the crisis has only been temporarily hidden by papering over, it is unlikely that it will ever "disappear."
14. Such peerless behavior is not to be, nor will it be, found amongst the professional politicians and professional bureaucrats who people these agencies at the national and international levels.
15. "We take from the rich and give to the poor," said Fidel. "What poor?" asked Camilo. "Us poor," replied the tyrant.
16. "Poorest in resources" is another excuse, not reason; vide Switzerland.
17. The observer need not have been very astute to have recognized the correlation between the rise of ML Castroite influence in recent years and the shift in the emphasis by these "lending" agencies from attempting to create healthy, free-enterprise economies which can support themselves to "charitable" economies which bode well to remain in the state of economic dependence indefinitely.
18. Mr. Ocampo nowhere appears to define this "debate," but the reader should be able to do so. We have translated debate as "debate" and not "discussion."

19. Emphasis added. It is at least inferred that they should renounce such autonomy when such a network allegedly "exists complete."
20. For the role played by the Contadora Group (CG) in the apparently unconstitutional Esquipulas II Accords, cf. pp.261, 275 (YRBK98). In 1999 of course this Contadora clone has a much friendlier ear in the U.S. Presidential Palace than it had in the 1980s.
21. LANS' recent treatment of the cupidity of the Salinas de Gortari clan (Wkly 3.22) renders Zedillos' recent alleged admission (Reforma 30 May 99) quite fascinating. The incumbent Mexican president is reported as admitting his knowledge of the \$15 m (million) contributed to the Colosio campaign, which put Zedillo in the Presidential Palace, by Carlos Cabal Peniche. Cabal is languishing in a Melbourne, Australia, prison awaiting extradition on a charge of bank fraud amounting to "at least" \$700m.
22. Perhaps Salinas knew even then that the hue and cry for his scalp might become strident enough after his departure from office so that an extradition-free refuge such as Castro routinely provides would be of considerable value to him. His relatively recent construction of a mansion on Cuba has been discussed (Wkly7.21).
23. Chapter 5, "Communism, Fascism and National Socialism," of Richard Pipes, Russia under the *Bolshevik Regime* (Knopf, 1993. ISBN: 0-394-50242-6).
24. Pp. 81-2, (Heinrich) Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto* (Regnery, 1954. Translated by Samuel Moore. Introduction by Stefan T. Possony. LCC: 54-8138).
25. Appendix II of Günther Nollau, *International Communism and World Revolution: History and Methods* (Praeger, 1961. Translated by Victor Andersen. LCC: 61-10515).
26. P.61, Franz Borkenau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International* (University of Michigan Press, 1962). The LANS copy of this has neither LCC nor ISBN. Young (1900-1957) Borkenau's only record in either the Library of Congress or, say, Amazon relates to the Spanish Civil War, e.g., *Spanish Cockpit*, 2000.
27. The II International published one issue of its periodical (*Die Internationale*, 15 April 1915) featuring an article by Rosa Luxemburg, then expired.
28. Castro is hemispheric narcotrafficking chief, this form of lawlessness having been introduced into Latin America about forty years ago by the CPSU under Khrushchev (Wkly 7.4). It is therefore appropriate that this apparent narco-trafficker should be a welcome guest.
29. P.19, Leonard Schapiro (*The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Vintage, 1964. ISBN: 0394707451). See also J. L. H. Keep (*Rise of Social Democracy in Russia*, Oxford, 1966. LCC: 64000495).
30. G. V. Plekhanov (N. Bettov) (*Development of the Monist View of History*, Beekman, 1972. ISBN: 0846410869).
31. Edward Timperlake and William C. Triplett II, *Red Dragon Rising: Communist China's Military Threat to America* (Regnery, 1999. ISBN: 0-89526-258-4).
32. It is fascinating to picture the Marxist-Leninist "ex" dictator of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega S., nodding his head solemnly as this "principle" of his IS is discussed.
33. Unless, of course, the reader wishes to give the credit for this to the USSR/CIS, late upon the scene. Now such deterrence will apparently be effected by the USSR/CIS, the ChiComs, Castroite Cuba, Libya, the PLO, Irak and other peace-loving nations all tirelessly working for the UN.
34. Had there been no resistance by the West, the world would now be enjoying a bliss such as Castro has provided his Cubans.
35. Much of this section is concerned with the alleged exploitation of the "South" by the "North" as, for example, discussed by Colombian ex Pres. Samper at the 1997 Non-

- Aligned Nations Movement (MNNA) meeting (cf. pp.362ff, YRBK98). For much of what the section under consideration here contains, this same Samper speech may be consulted.
36. Pp.800ll, Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics* (Regnery, 1966, ISBN: 0-80902-9743-4).
 37. Pp.125ff, Mark Falcoff, *A Culture of Its Own: Taking Latin America Seriously* (Transaction Publishers, 1998. ISBN: 1-56000-361-8).
 38. A complaint, typical of politically-inspired economic chaos such as this, that "Argentina is selling too much to us," may be the basis for this allegation.
 39. P.510, Paul Johnson (*Modern Times: From the Twenties to the Nineties*, HarperCollins, 1981. ISBN: 0-06-433427-9).
 40. Costa Rican sources informed LANS at the time that their longtime foreign minister had been in line for the job until the U.S. exerted sufficient pressure in favor of Gaviria to assure him the job.
 41. At Castro's São Paulo Forum encounters the idea of "supra national countries ... a sort of re-edition of a soviet-type union in Latin America" has been quite clearly enunciated (cf.pp.98ff, YRBK97).
 42. It is interesting, if seldom admitted, that, of the Axis Powers opposed to the USSR, only one was of the "Right" (conservative), Japan. The Nazis and the Fascists were, of the Left.
 43. Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East was Lost: American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949* (Regnery, 1963. LCC: 63-12892).
 44. Chiang Kai-shek (Chiang Chung-Cheng), *Soviet Russia in China: A Summing-Up at Seventy* (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1957. LCC: 57-10316)
 45. Richard L. Walker, *China Under communism: The First Five Years* (Yale University Press, 1955. LCC: 55-6422). Walker also furnishes a number of useful references in *The China Danger* (American Bar Association, 1966. LCC: 66-27709).
 46. Eudocio Ravines, *The Yen-an Way* (Scribners, 1951. ISBN: 0837159598). Doctor William Ratliff, Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, was kind enough to send the LANS Editor copies of his 1970 correspondence with Ravines relating to whether or not it was Mao or, inter alia, his brother Mao Tse-min, Wing Min and/or Li Li-san with whom Ravines talked in Moscow. The material is in the Hoover Institution Archives.
 47. Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., *Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America* (Clarion House, 1990. ISBN: 0-9626646-0-X). The page numbers refer to this earlier publication of Dr. Douglass' book. The recent publication by Edward Harle Ltd. (ISBN: 1-899798-04-8) may have different pagination, although the map presumably still appears in Chapter 9, "Hear No Evil, See No Evil, Speak No Evil" —about the ChiComs of course.
 48. Edward Timperlake and William C. Triplett II, *Red Dragon Rising: Communist China's Military Threat to the United States* (Regnery, 1999. ISBN: 0-89526-258-4). This book will apparently be available next week. Advanced information indicates it to contain considerable valuable information on the PRC.

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