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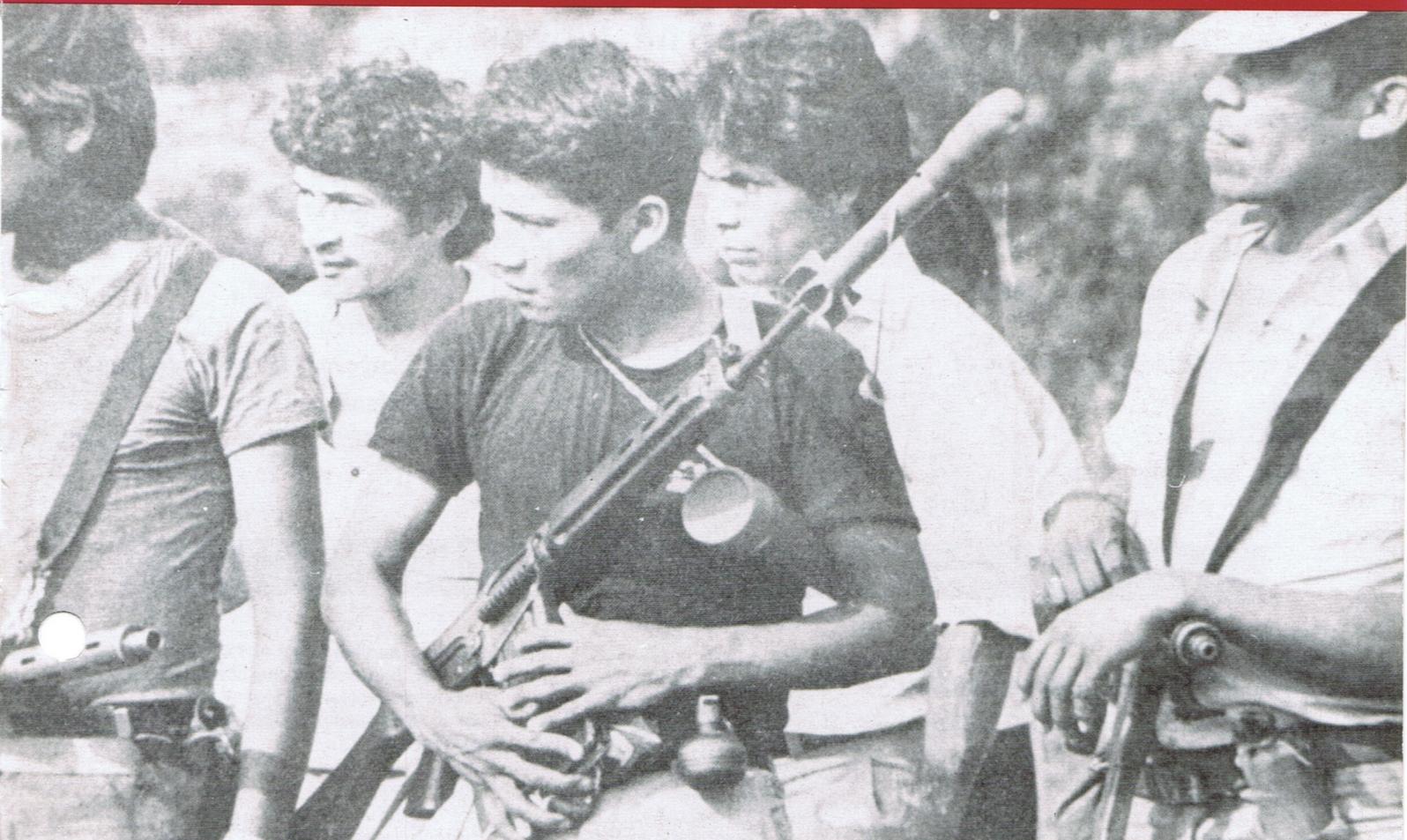
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'No' vote in Quebec won't stop balkanization
Consumer debt may trip up financial markets
Candidate LaRouche rebuts DoD 'Strategy' paper

**New terror international
targets the Americas**



EIR

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From the Associate Editor

This special issue is dedicated to the memory of Colombia's Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, a courageous fighter against narco-terrorism, and one of the top leaders of the political opposition to narco-President Ernesto Samper Pizano. He was assassinated on Nov. 2.

Yet, according to a September 1995 report by the U.S. Department of Defense, terrorism in Ibero-America is on the wane. "Although their impact has diminished," says the report, "insurgent and guerrilla forces continue to operate in some countries." This unbelievably foolish statement is quoted by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., in his new Presidential campaign document, *The Blunder in U.S. National Security Policy*. LaRouche underlines that the DOD "emphasizes the relics of the past, and cheerfully ignores the fact that the new terrorist capabilities now being mobilized within the region, are far more numerous and dangerous than those of past experience."

The *Special Report* which forms the bulk of this expanded issue provides extensive documentation, for both intelligence specialist and layman, of the true extent and character of the new terrorism in Central and South America today. It constitutes Part II of the *Special Report* published in our Oct. 13 issue, on terrorism in South Asia. Due to space constraints, two major sections of the current report have been deferred to next week's issue: the case of the ETA Basque separatist group in Spain; and the British control of terrorism through the Revolutionary International Movement.

Our *Special Report* should really be read alongside LaRouche's campaign document, which addresses the scientific and epistemological issues behind the DOD's manifest incompetence on this matter. You will find a summary of LaRouche's document in *National*, but the full text is "must" reading. It is available from the candidate's campaign committee, and can also be accessed on the Internet (see the ad on p. 74).

I am happy to report to you that, as we go to press, the Federal Election Commission has approved LaRouche's bid for federal matching funds for the 1996 Presidential primary elections. This opens the way to an enormous expansion of the influence of the candidate and his "heavy ideas" in the coming year.

Susan Welsh

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Leveraging defense assets for the promotion of "democracy" and "open markets" must be the core of national security policy, says the DOD. Nonsense! "Up to this time," LaRouche writes in a recently released campaign paper, "democracy is no longer possible in Africa, nor Asia, nor Central and South America, nor in the former Soviet Union, and will not long continue, even vestigially, inside the United States itself—without early and drastic reversal of policies typified by House Speaker Newt Gingrich's 'Contract on America.' "

86 National News

London's irregular warfare vs. nations of the Americas

by Dennis and Gretchen Small

You will read in the following pages, detailed reports of the murder, brutality, kidnapping, bombings, and terror, which have become daily life for many in the Americas. Study the profiles of the narco-terrorist forces which are the instruments of this destruction. See in the maps how much territory is now controlled, not by governments, but by the drug cartels and their terrorist partners. Note especially the total geographic overlap between the terrorist areas, and where drugs are grown. See how dramatically, in the case of Colombia, that destruction has advanced in little over a decade. Read how in Peru, where the government and military had succeeded in restoring peace by crushing the bloody Shining Path insurgency, British-run anthropologists and Fidel Castro's assets are working overtime to create a new narco-terrorist force, based on the area's coca-growers, to again sink that country in war.

Work through this material, and judge for yourself how close to disintegration many of the nations of this hemisphere now stand. Consider how rapidly it has begun to spread into the United States itself.

The picture that comes into focus, perhaps slowly at first, is that this is a continent at war—*irregular war*. We use that term in the sense defined by Prof. Friedrich August Freiherr von der Heydte, in his classic study, *Modern Irregular Warfare*: "Irregular warfare consists of individual acts," he explained in an interview prefacing the 1986 edition of his book. "These individual acts are linked to each other in the larger framework. But anyone who wants to wage irregular war will have to hide this larger framework. It is characteristic of modern irregular war, that the one who wages it disguises himself."

Compare the reality we present in the pages that follow, to what you have read in your newspapers, or heard reported on what passes for television news anywhere in the world today. Have you not been told that "democracy" is sweeping the Americas, that terrorists are laying down their guns to join "civil society," and that only the military remains as an obstacle to peaceful coexistence?



Cecilia Rodríguez, representative to the United States of the Zapatista separatist movement in Mexico, during a press conference in Washington, March 8, 1995. The Zapatistas are a synthetic creation of four principal agencies of British intelligence: Action Anthropology; the theology of liberation; the São Paulo Forum; and a far-flung network of non-governmental organizations.

More frightening still, consider the fact that many U.S. national security officials are retailing the same delusional reports as you hear in the press, in their briefings to the U.S. Congress and the Executive. The governments of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and so on, repeat the same lies, and are even purging from their ranks, and those of their armed forces, any officer or civilian who sees the danger and wishes to fight.

Those government officials and advisers have available to them, the same essential array of facts which you are about to read—some with more detail, some less. Why, then, is policy based on such patent unreality?

Presidential candidate Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. addresses precisely that question, in a major campaign statement, *The Blunder in U.S. National Security Policy*, released on Oct. 11. LaRouche's policy paper, issued in the form of a rebuttal of the U.S. Department of Defense's September 1995 report, *United States Security Strategy for the Americas*, exposes the absurdity of the claim that democracy and economic well-being are spreading across the Americas, and that the danger of terrorism is receding.

LaRouche explains that it is the underlying historical and philosophical axioms which are at fault, axioms permeating the thinking of not only official Washington, but of you, the citizen, as well. These axioms have blinded many to the stark reality: that the world financial system is at the edge of disintegration; and that its masters, the London-centered financial oligarchy, seek to retain political control at all costs.

It is they who have deployed narco-terrorist, irregular warfare, to annihilate the nation-state as the only institution capable of mobilizing a sane alternative to their policies.

"Will the oligarchy outlive the obliteration of its own present, worldwide monetary and financial system?" LaRouche wrote recently. "The oligarchy is at the extremes of hysteria, in its determination to destroy existing nation-states, especially the United States of America, before the point is reached that such recovery measures might be forced onto the table for immediate action.

"That hysteria is key to the way in which London-centered forces are pushing for Quebec separatism now: to use that as the first of a series of chain-reaction developments intended to bring about the weakening and de-centralizing, and early dissolution of the U.S.A.—among other existing nation-states."

Three levels of British control

The above quote is taken from LaRouche's introductory article to the Oct. 13 *EIR Special Report*, "New Terror International Targets South Asia." That study was the first of a three-part *EIR* series on narco-terrorism, the second installment of which we present below.

Here, our story centers on the São Paulo Forum, created by Fidel Castro in 1990 as a unified narco-terrorist apparatus throughout the region. Castro's own goal in this is straightforward: He has privately told leaders of the SPF that the only way his regime can survive, after the fall of communism

Narco-terrorism spreads across the Americas



Key to Map 1

British-sponsored narco-terrorism is spreading across the Americas, using the January 1994 separatist uprising in Chiapas, Mexico as a model. The two principal organizations the British have deployed for this task, are the London-based Revolutionary International Movement (RIM) and the Cuban-run São Paulo Forum (SPF).

There are four countries in Ibero-America where SPF member parties either run the government (Cuba and Haiti), or hold cabinet positions (Bolivia and Chile). There are other areas, shown on the map, which are either current or targeted war-zones, where narco-terrorist forces deployed by the SPF and RIM are engaged in combat.

EIR has identified the following 11 immediate flashpoints of separatist narco-terrorist explosions throughout the Americas, where Britain's "new Chiapas" project is already under way. In every case, the lead agents are part of either the SPF or the RIM apparatus, or are directly run or manipulated by Prince Philip's World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF).

1. Canada: Quebec separatism. The Oct. 30 referendum on Quebec independence, which was narrowly defeated, has set off a "gang-countergang" conflict all across Canada, involving Quebecois separatists, WWF-manipulated Indian and other indigenous peoples, and separatist elements in western Canada. Prospects run high for a protracted political destabilization, and a possible revival of Quebec separatist terrorism.

2-5. United States: Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Miami. This Maoist terrorist organization, which launched RIM, is run from London, and has been involved in provoking urban riots in all of the above cities. It has close ties to dope-trafficking street gangs, including the Bloods and the Crips; in Miami, RCP members run the Aristide networks in the Haitian community, which police link directly to Colombia's Cali Cartel.

6. Puerto Rico: The New Puerto Rican Independence Movement (NMIP) and its allies are threatening to use violence to stop the emplacement of a key anti-drug radar on the island. They recently organized a 10,000-person demonstration in San Juan against the radar. Puerto Rico has historically been a stepping-stone for bringing such terrorist activity to the U.S. mainland.

7. Mexico: The "Internet International," the real muscle behind the Zapatista (EZLN) uprising in Chiapas, has long planned to spread the indigenist revolt to other states. The immediate target is Guerrero, the country's leading drug-producing region, which has been plagued by guerrilla groups since the 1960s. The Revolutionary National Civic Association (ACNR) has launched terrorist provocations, in which dozens have died, designed to create Chiapas-like conditions.

8. Colombia: The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the allied National Liberation Army (ELN) jointly have about 11,000 men under arms, and have been in armed insurrection against the State for decades. Now they have unleashed terrorist violence in the Urabá region on the border with Panama, hoping to provoke its secession from Colombia, with U.N. backing. This year, they have killed 700 people there. The FARC is also known as Colombia's "Third Cartel," for its extensive involvement in the drug trade, including in Urabá.

9. Venezuela: Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez (ret.), head of the Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement (MBR-200), is using his base in the state of Apure to link up with Colombia's ELN guerrillas across the border. In February 1995, this led to an ELN cross-border raid in Cararabo, and the murder of eight Venezuelan marines there. Chávez is also trying to overthrow the anti-International Monetary Fund government of Rafael Caldera—with the City of London and Wall Street cheering him on.

10. Bolivia: There are an estimated 50,000 coca-growing families in Bolivia, and another 200,000 in Peru. The Andean Council of Coca Leaf Producers (CAPHC), based in the Chapare region, is threatening to organize and arm all of them to violently impose drug legalization in the area, and to establish a separatist State.

11. Brazil: The Landless Movement (MST) is organizing violent land seizures throughout the country, with emphasis on Brazil's most productive agricultural areas in the south. There have been shootouts with military and farmer self-defense units, which could spread rapidly to virtual civil war.

in the Soviet Union, is if allied forces seize control of at least one of the major countries of Ibero-America. Brazil is thought to be his preferred target.

His own delusions of grandeur aside, Castro is still what he always was, even while tied to the Soviet regime: an instrument of destruction utilized as a useful pawn by British intelligence. Castro and his SPF are the stick of dynamite in the British hand.

British control over the São Paulo Forum occurs on a number of levels. On the most obvious level, there are numerous cases of overt involvement with and support for different narco-terrorist groupings.

- Venezuela's Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez (ret.) was wined and dined by British Embassy officials and even invited to visit London (the trip was stopped only when the Venezuelan government protested vehemently). Chávez's MBR-200 is

a member of the São Paulo Forum.

- Brazil's Luís Inacio "Lula" da Silva did visit London during his 1994 unsuccessful Presidential bid, and was well received by the heads of British banking and business. The *Financial Times* later called Lula's Workers Party (PT) the "only new blood in Congress," capable of forcing through the economic reforms London is demanding of Brazil. The PT is a founding member of the SPF.

- The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in Chiapas, Mexico, and their existentialist, hooded sub-Commander Marcos, have been repeatedly promoted by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, the British Hollinger Corporation's hitman, who has also headed up London's campaign to topple the Clinton presidency. The EZLN was recently welcomed into the SPF.

- The support for the SPF by the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue, the primary channel of British policy into U.S. policymaking toward Ibero-America, is so extensive that we have included a full article on this subject below. The Bush administration's Ibero-American policy, for example, was totally shaped by the Dialogue, and consisted of outright support for drug-running operations such as Ollie North's Nicaraguan Contras.

On the second, more decisive level, Britain created and runs the international support apparatus which is the true political muscle behind the continent's narco-terrorist insurgencies. In the case of Mexico's Zapatistas, for example, there are hundreds if not thousands of national and international non-governmental organizations—feminists, environmentalists, gays, indigenists, human rights activists, and so on—which, along with the liberal news media, are permanently mobilized to defend and strengthen the hand of the EZLN. In fact, it is safe to say that, were it not for the influence of this "Internet International," and their allies in official London and Washington, D.C., the Mexican government and military could have wiped out the EZLN long ago. The same holds true for every country of Ibero-America—as the success of Peru's Fujimori government against Shining Path proves.

But the third level of British control is the most important, and most insidious, since few even recognize that it exists. London has historically controlled the *ideology* guiding the narco-terrorist armies and their witting and unwitting supporters. It is the philosophical premises of indigenism and ethnicity that are at fault, with their evil idea that man is defined by his race and his bloodline, rather than his universal capacity to reason. It is the Malthusian underpinnings of environmentalism that are criminal, and which lead to insisting that the earth only has a limited "carrying capacity," and that populations over that level have to be eliminated.

As LaRouche argues, it is the axioms underlying such belief structures that lead populations to their destruction, and it is that which must be identified and combatted wherever

they appear—whether among the coca growers of Bolivia, in the congress of Colombia, or among the permanent bureaucracy of the U.S. Pentagon and State Department.

The Clinton initiative

President William Clinton's address to the United Nations on Oct. 22, went a long way toward recognizing the real nature of the narco-terrorist beast, on two critical points:

1. that the key to the narcotics trade is drug-money laundering ("Criminal enterprises are moving vast sums of ill-gotten gains through the international financial system with absolute impunity"); and

2. that drugs and terrorism are inextricably linked ("Nowhere is cooperation more vital than in fighting the increasingly interconnected groups that traffic in terror, organized crime, drug smuggling, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction").

To underscore this second point, Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters Robert Gelbard explained to the press: "There are, indeed, cases where there are terrorist organizations which are engaged in drug trafficking, usually to finance their activities." Gelbard went on to cite as examples Colombia's FARC and ELN guerrillas—two cases which we document below.

These two points of emphasis of President Clinton's speech—coming on the heels of his administration's successful assault against the Cali Cartel capos, in coordination with Colombian law enforcement officials—mark a radical break with the British-run policies of his predecessor, George Bush. It was Bush, whose phony "war on drugs" was designed to cover up his banking friends' role in laundering billions of drug dollars. And it was then Vice President Bush, as anti-drug czar, who ruled out the existence of the term "narco-terrorism," adopting instead a policy of working with the drug mafia as alleged anti-communist allies.

For many in Washington, D.C. and across Ibero-America, Clinton's U.N. speech will bring to mind a widely circulated policy document on the same subject presented a decade earlier by Lyndon LaRouche. In a March 13, 1985 paper read to a conference in Mexico City, LaRouche had described the international drug trade as "a financial, political, and military power greater than that of entire nations within the Americas," and outlined a 15-point plan for a War on Drugs, to be conducted jointly by the United States and its Ibero-American allies, with full respect for each other's sovereignty. LaRouche's battle plan denounced the existence of "narco-terrorism," and emphasized the need to target "those banks, insurance enterprises, and other business institutions which are in fact elements of an international financial cartel coordinating the flow of hundreds of billions annually of revenues from the international drug-traffic."

That perspective remains as valid today as it was a decade ago. Only the urgency of its adoption has increased.

The São Paulo Forum, Castro's shock troops

Name of group: São Paulo Forum.

Headquarters: The Forum is in the process of creating a permanent secretariat. Havana and Managua serve as unofficial command centers; periodic steering committee meetings move from country to country in Ibero-America.

Other major office/outlet locations: *América Libre*, the Forum's magazine, is "outlined in Brazil, edited in Argentina, printed in Chile," and distributed worldwide, in the words of its Brazilian editor-in-chief, Frei Betto.

When founded: July 1-4, 1990.

Locations of operations, areas active: Member organizations, movements, and parties operate in 18 Ibero-American and 11 Caribbean countries, plus Puerto Rico. Member organizations are currently leading active armed insurrections in: Mexico-Guatemala (both the state of Guerrero and the Chiapas/Guatemalan border area); Colombia and several bordering areas in Venezuela; and rapidly developing in that direction in the coca-growing regions of Peru and Bolivia. Pre-insurrectionary preparations are under way in the Chaco region in northern Argentina, and Brazil; significant Forum capabilities for armed action remain intact in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Chile.

Forum member parties run the governments of Cuba and Haiti; hold cabinet posts in the governments of Bolivia and Chile; and control the government of Uruguay's capital and largest city, Montevideo, as well as numerous important state and city governments in Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico.

Major terrorist actions: See other profiles; ETA.

Trademark terror signatures: Kidnapping for ransom, run as a centralized, nationwide, operation. Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) insurrection in Chiapas, dubbed by *América Libre* "the first post-modern revolution," as "an armed political movement," is held up as model for the continent; chief characteristic being that indigenous and poor local residents are used as cannon fodder—e.g., "armed" with wooden guns—to provide political cover for irregular warfare operations of hard-core terrorist forces, with ethnic-separatist objectives. Similarly, organized mass occupations of farmers' land are being used in Brazil, Chiapas, and elsewhere, as means to seize territory, which is then held through terror, as logistical bases and brainwashing centers for entrapped poor, outside of State control.

Leaders' names and aliases: Fidel Castro. Otherwise, the editorial board of the Forum's magazine, *América Libre*, constitutes its public leadership. Frei Betto of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT) is the magazine's editor; managing editor is Argentine Communist Party member Claudia Korol. In

1995, the editorial board consisted of:

- Argentina: Luis Brunati, Popular Encounter (EP); Patricio Echegaray, secretary general, Communist Party; Miguel Monserrat, Southern Front (FS); Bishop Federico Pagura, president of the Latin American Council of Churches (CLAI); Lisandro Viale, secretary general, Revolutionary Party for Argentine Social Independence (PRISA); Néstor Vicente; David Viñas, member of the literati.

- Brazil: Leonardo Boff, founder of liberation theology (see PT profile); Chico Buarque de Hollanda, protest song writer and friend of Fidel Castro; Antonio Candido, PT; Gilberto Carvalho, PT Secretary of Organization; Roberto Drummond, writer; Paulo Freire, PT (see PT profile); Luis Eduardo Greenhalgh, PT human rights lawyer (now defending Canadian terrorists jailed for 1989 kidnapping of Brazilian businessman Abilio Diniz); Fernando Morais, writer and Castro intimate; Eric Nepomuceno, journalist; Emir Sader, ecologist academic.

- Chile: Manuel Cabieses, editor, *Punto Final* magazine; Volodia Teitelboim, former secretary general, Communist Party.

- Colombia: Gilberto Vieira, secretary general, Communist Party.

- Costa Rica: Daniel Camacho.

- Cuba: Marta Harnecker (see below); Fernando Martínez Heredia; Manuel Piñeiro (see box); Silvio Rodríguez.

- Ecuador: Osvaldo León.

- El Salvador: Schafik Jorge Handal, secretary general, Communist Party. An unrepentant advocate of armed struggle and outspoken supporter of the National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala (URNG), Handal is currently a member of the "mediation" commission for Antioquia, Colombia set up by Harvard University's Program on Negotiation.

- Guatemala: Rigoberta Menchú Tum, 1992 Nobel Peace Prize winner, self-admitted leader of the Guatemalan URNG since the 1970s, advocate of "revolutionary popular war," and international spokesman for the United Nations' indigenous anti-nation-state movement; Guillermo Torriello Garrido, foreign minister (1950-54) under the Arbenz government, and founder of the Guatemalan Committee of Patriotic Unity (CGUP), established in January 1982 as the political front for the URNG military command.

- Haiti: Gerard Pierre Charles, coordinator of Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Lavalas movement, long-time Communist Party leader, now one of Aristide's leading strategists.

- Mexico: Alonso Aguilar, professor; Adolfo Gilly, PRD (see PRD profile); Pablo González Casanova, Zapatista National Democratic Convention; Carlos Núñez, president of the Adult Education Council of Latin America (CEAAL), who argues that "popular education" modeled on the programs carried out by José Carlos Mariátegui, César Augusto Sandino, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Paulo Freire is "a strategic and indispensable component of the 'new forms of politics' arising in the continent."

- Nicaragua: Fernando Cardenal, S.J., education minister in the Sandinista government; Mirna Cunningham; Miguel D'Escoto, foreign minister in the Sandinista government.

- Panama: Nils Castro, currently Panama's ambassador to Mexico, a prominent figure in the Permanent Conference of Political Parties of Latin America (COPPAL), who at one time claimed to have served as an adviser to Castro's Cuba.

- Paraguay: Joel Casal.

- Peru: Javier Diez Canseco, former secretary general, Unified Mariateguista Party (PUM).

- Uruguay: Mario Benedetti, member of the literati; Hugo Cores, Congressman of People's Victory Party (PVP); Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, "historic leader" of the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement.

- Venezuela: Alí Rodríguez, Causa R party.

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

- ETA, Spanish-based Basque separatists.

- Communist parties outside Ibero-America with which the Forum has relations include North Korea, China, United States, Canada, Austria, Britain, France, Germany (both German Communist Party and Democratic Socialist Party), Greece, Italy (Communist Refoundation), and Portugal. French CP Foreign Relations Commission member Pierre Larroche told an August 1995 *América Libre* conference in Buenos Aires, that "an exchange of experiences, analysis, and propositions" between Europe and Ibero-America is needed, and committed his party's solidarity to "the peoples in struggle of this continent, particularly to the people of Chiapas who battle for their dignity, and to Cuba, for its sovereignty."

- Libya. Muammar Qaddafi sent a personal message to the May 1995 Fifth Conference in Montevideo, calling for the formation of "a World Popular Front [of] political and revolutionary forces, parties, and popular organizations." Libya's ambassador to Cuba, Saaid Hafianna, attended the Forum's Fourth and Fifth conferences, as did Ambassador at Large to Latin America Ali Ahmed Agili.

- Permanent Conference of Political Parties of Latin America (COPPAL).

- New Democratic Party, Canada, has sent representatives to various Forum congresses, and provides support for Chiapas insurgency.

- Inter-American Dialogue.

- National Democratic Institute, U.S. National Endowment for Democracy.

- Socialist International.

- Tricontinental Center, University of Louvain, Belgium.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: As a clearinghouse of Ibero-American left and terrorist groups, its ideology is an amalgam of indigenism, theology of liberation, and ecology. Its most significant common thread is the defense of Castro's Cuba. Forum members are mandated to

carry out demonstrations, apply international political pressure, and send financial and material aid to support Castro's regime. Shafik Handal told the May 1995 Montevideo meeting: "Cuba is the hope. . . . There will be Cuban socialism and revolution forever." Bolivian coca leader Evo Morales told an August 1995 Buenos Aires seminar: "If we want to be free, in Latin America there should not be one Cuba, but several Cubas. . . . What do we need for that? Heroic figures. And for me, Fidel Castro is such a figure. I am ready to proclaim him commander of the liberation forces of America, or Latin America."

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians:

Controllers: Fidel Castro; former Sandinista Interior Minister Tomás Borge; founder of Cuban intelligence, Manuel Piñeiro; Cuban and Nicaraguan intelligence services.

Mentors and theoreticians: Marta Harnecker, Chile/Cuba. Wife of Cuban intelligence's Manuel Piñeiro. Her best-seller, *Elementary Concepts of Historical Materialism*, in the 1970s served as a catechism for the Left in the region. She is the director of the Center for the Recovery and Promotion of the Historical Memory of the Latin American Popular Movement in Havana, through which various activities of the Ibero-American Left are coordinated.

Frei Betto.

Argentine-Cuban Ernesto "Che" Guevara is claimed as inspiration for the Forum; *América Libre* was founded at a conference celebrating the 65th anniversary of his birth.

Number of cadre: Some 107 parties, groups, and sectlets are members of the Forum. *EIR* estimates that the Forum may have upwards of 250,000 deployable cadre and followers under their command, perhaps 20-30,000 of them armed.

Known drug connections: The prominent role of the "Third Cartel" of Colombia—the FARC—in the Forum structure exemplifies the integral relationship of the São Paulo Forum with the drug trade. Cuban officials are reported, by intelligence officials in the region, to have advised other groups in the Forum at the time of its founding, that, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of financing from the Socialist International, parties should adopt "the M-19 model"; that is, assure self-reliance through the drug trade. The announcement by Bolivian leader Evo Morales at Aug. 18-20, 1995, *América Libre* conference in Buenos Aires, of a strategy for continental resistance to eradication of coca, and international coordination of coca-legalization campaign, signals a new phase of Forum warfare to defend the drug trade. A new Puerto Rican member organization, New Puerto Rican Independence Movement (NMIP), is bringing that battle to the United States itself, threatening terrorism against installation of anti-drug radar.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Arms are bought primarily on the international and regional black market, which is interlocked with the drug trade. Since 1992, Central America has become a major source of weapons for the conti-

Manuel Piñeiro, Castro's hit-man

The surfacing of Manuel Piñeiro as a leader of the São Paulo Forum constitutes, in and of itself, grounds for firing any U.S. intelligence or national security official who has argued that Fidel Castro and his Forum are no longer a threat to the security of the United States or its hemispheric allies.

For 35 years, "Redbeard" Piñeiro has served as Castro's dirty operations man for the Western Hemisphere, personally setting up and directing Cuba's assassination, kidnapping, and terror international in the region. Piñeiro founded Cuba's General Intelligence Directorate (DGI), after Castro seized power in 1959, maintaining his ties with it as deputy interior minister (1961-74). In 1974, he left the Interior Ministry to take charge of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee's newly established Americas Department, a unit created to centralize Cuba's operations in Ibero-America under the personal control of Castro, to whom Piñeiro reported.

Throughout, Piñeiro has worked on one operation: deploying a centralized terrorist international, along the lines of Ernesto "Che" Guevara's instructions to the 1966 Tricontinental Congress, that "the armed groups . . . form . . . coordinating committees to make more difficult the repressive task of the Yanqui imperialism and to facilitate

our own cause." In 1967, the Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) was formed, a sort of first-generation São Paulo Forum.

During the early 1970s, Piñeiro lived in Chile for several months, directing the estimated 14,000 "internationalists"—which included members of the Cuban Interior Ministry's Special Troops—deployed into Chile by Cuba to secure the Salvador Allende government. After the overthrow of Allende in September 1973, Piñeiro's Americas Department helped set up the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee (JCR) in 1974 as the successor to OLAS, assigned to provide a unified command for "just and necessary revolutionary violence" on the continent. It was led by Uruguay's Tupamaros, Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), Gorriarán Merlo's People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) of Argentina, and Bolivia's National Liberation Army.

Piñeiro's most successful operation was the 1979 Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. His Americas Department provided the Sandinistas intelligence, communications, arms, and even exiled Chilean Army officers, who had earlier been incorporated into the Cuban Armed Forces. Cuba's first public narco-terrorist operation—the arms-for-drugs deal with Colombia's M-19 movement, revealed with the 1981 arrest of Jaime Guillot Lara—was also a Piñeiro job. Cuba's ambassador at the time, Fernando Ravelo, was pulled out of Colombia after the scandal, and reassigned as Piñeiro's deputy at the Americas Department.

mental terror-drugs nexus. In the words of a former Salvadoran guerrilla: "Nicaragua was a large arms fair, a sort of huge gray market. You could get anything."

Known political supporters/advocates: Under the administration of George Bush, the U.S. State Department provided political support for members of the Forum steering committee, in the name of "peace negotiations." Coordination with the FMLN of El Salvador was notorious: the State Department reviewed and approved FMLN proposals for reducing El Salvador's Armed Forces; the U.S. ambassador and military attaché visited FMLN camps; Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson met with the top five FMLN commanders on Jan. 1, 1992, to tell them that "we wanted to make peace." Subsequently, Sandinista and FMLN leaders were invited, by the State Department, to speak at U.S. college campuses.

Thumbnail historical profile: The Cuban Communist Party (CP) initiated the founding of the São Paulo Forum, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall made it clear that the coming disintegration of the Soviet bloc threatened to bring with it the disintegration of all Soviet-allied and socialist

movements internationally. In July 1990, Brazil's Workers Party (PT) sponsored the first conference, where representatives of 40 organizations and parties, from 13 Ibero-American and Caribbean countries, met in São Paulo, with Cuban officials, to discuss how to revise revolutionary strategy in the midst of the crisis of socialism worldwide.

Initially founded as a loose, political umbrella organization with a mandate to propose common actions, over the past five years the Cuban CP has directed the systematic transformation of the Forum into a centralized political command structure, led by the principal narco-terrorist insurgencies in the Americas. Their objective has been to rebuild the old Communist International in the Western Hemisphere under Cuban control, as originally laid out in the January 1966 Tricontinental Congress.

In 1991, formal by-laws were drawn up, and a steering committee chosen. Its members: the Cuban CP, Brazil's Workers Party (PT), Mexico's Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Nicaragua's Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN), Aristide's Haitian Lavalas, Bolivia's Free

Bolivia Movement (MBL), and member parties from Peru's United Left and the Uruguayan CP- and Tupamaro-led Broad Front (FA). In 1992, the National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala (URNG), the terrorist force most closely modeled on Peru's Shining Path in *modus operandi*, was added to the steering committee. By May 1995, the Forum's central command also included Colombia's narco-terrorist groups (Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinator, FARC, ELN, M-19), Dominica's Labor Party, Panama's Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), and the member organizations from Guadeloupe (CP, Resistance Union Group [GUR], and Union for the Liberation of Guadeloupe).

In 1992, the Forum launched a magazine, *América Libre*, to strengthen its political presence in the continent and give it centralized direction. Seven issues have since been published, including exclusive interviews with FARC commander Manuel Marulanda Vélez from his hideouts in "the mountains of Colombia," URNG communiqués, and instructions for peasant organizing from the Brazilian Landless Movement (MST).

In 1993, Uruguay's Broad Front (FA) was charged with establishing a computerized electronic-mail system among member organizations. Standing commissions, on such issues as human rights, were created to direct specific campaigns. By May 1995, the Forum command felt ready to announce their intent to set up a permanent secretariat.

The five plenary conferences have charted the growth, and shifts in political focus, of the Forum. Documents from every clandestine terrorist group on the continent circulate at these events, whether "official" members or not (e.g., Shining Path, Argentina's All for the Fatherland (MTP), Chile's Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front).

June 12-15, 1991: Mexico's PRD sponsored the "Second Conference of the Movements and Political Parties of the São Paulo Forum," in Mexico City. Sixty-eight organizations from 22 countries of Ibero-America and the Caribbean were represented; observers from the United States, Canada, Spain, France, Italy, and Russia attended. Two initiatives were adopted here. The Forum mandated its members to support the "500 Years of Resistance" campaign, the United Nations-spawned mobilization against the Christian evangelization of Ibero-America, and its resulting nation-states. Under the "500 years" banner, a continent-wide ethnic separatist structure was being built, uniting the myriad of anthropologist-run "indigenous" organizations into a centralized force, functioning parallel to, but in coordination with, the São Paulo Forum.

The Forum also ordered organizing in Europe and the United States expanded. The latter task was directed by Bolivia's MBL party, which sent a team to visit the United States, China, North Korea, and six countries in Europe, from February to April 1992, to establish "fraternal ties" for the Forum steering committee.

July 16-19, 1992: The Sandinistas took charge of the

Third Conference, held to coincide with celebrations of the anniversary of the 1979 Sandinista seizure of power. The agenda here centered on 1) upgrading the Forum's profile in the region as "a viable option for power," and 2) increasing dialogue with other "equivalent coordination efforts of progressive forces which are being carried out on other continents."

Oct. 16-18, 1992: The steering committee met in Montevideo, announcing at its conclusion that support for the "struggle of the Guatemalan peoples" and for indigenous resistance in the Americas, must be a central campaign of the organization. "Peruvian political persecution" was condemned, effectively a statement of support for Shining Path, whose top leadership had been arrested just weeks before.

July 21-24, 1993: The Fourth Conference, held in Havana, Cuba, coincided with celebrations of 40th anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada barracks, and was used to emphasize the need to defend the Castro regime. One hundred and twelve member organizations and 25 observer groups from the region, attended this plenary, along with observers from 44 political institutions and forces of North America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Thirty-one new organizations had joined the Forum by its conclusion, 21 of them from the Caribbean.

A distinct change in morale was evident. Demoralized analyses of the "defeat" of socialism in the Soviet Union, were replaced by plans to seize the opportunities opened by "the rupture of the neo-liberal project." Forum leaders Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula") outlined a strategy of sweeping to power in six countries over the next 24 months, targeting upcoming national elections in Venezuela, El Salvador, Mexico, Brazil, and Nicaragua.

December 1993: A centralized organizing thrust into the militaries of the region was set into motion. Venezuela's Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez (ret.) was given the responsibility for coordinating the military flank, during his visit to Cuba.

No plenary was held in 1994, reportedly in order not to weaken the electoral chances of the designated host, Uruguay's Broad Front. By 1995, it was clear, however, that the strategy outlined in Havana, of gaining national power through elections, had failed.

March 1995: A core group of the editorial board of *América Libre* was called to Havana, to resolve "difficulties," including financial, which had arisen. The meeting was run by two heavies of Cuban intelligence, Manuel Piñeiro and his wife, Marta Harnecker, both now members of the editorial board. Frei Betto later reported that "a new profile" for the magazine had been decided upon there, including financial quotas for member organizations, plans for recruiting "militants" around the magazine, and the delineation of organizing campaigns.

May 25-28, 1995: Discussion at the Fifth Plenary Conference, held in Montevideo, Uruguay, centered on the question of power, in the wake of the members' manifest inability to

win national elections. The Cuban delegation, led by Communist Party Central Committee member Abel Prieto, argued that the Forum must be strengthened, to confront the "deepening geopolitical crisis," and U.S. success in rebuilding hemispheric relations. Gains had been made, they argued, calculating that between the Fourth and Fifth Plenaries, the Forum had elected 291 deputies, 57 senators, 10 governors, hundreds of mayors, and obtained 29 million votes, or 24.01%—almost one-quarter—of the valid votes cast in that electoral period.

Self-criticism sessions, run by Harnecker, concluded that where Forum members had lost, they had made pragmatic concessions to electoral alliances, instead of staking their strategy on "social action." They determined that they now must change the rules of the game, through "electoral reform" and by establishing "provisional governments" and "Constituent Assemblies," as demanded by member parties in Mexico, Venezuela, and elsewhere.

The Final Resolution from the plenary endorsed the Zapatista insurgency in Chiapas, calling it representative of the "new forms of expression, democracy, and people's power" developing in the region. The EZLN's Sub-Commander Marcos had addressed the plenary, through a video brought by Mexico's PRD delegation.

July 1995: *América Libre #7* outlined the parameters of the "Chiapas strategy"—combining armed uprising, mass land seizures, and a campaign for constituent assemblies to reform national constitutions—which has been adopted throughout the continent. Wrote Managing Editor Korol: "In how many regions of Latin America could a portrait be made, similar to that which capitalism has made of Chiapas? What could the Bolivian or Peruvian Indians tell? What would the people of Northeastern Argentina write, declared unviable by successive military and civilian governments? What would the forgotten of Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti, tell? Or will it be that Chiapas speaks for all of them; and that it is, at the same time, an invitation to add new voices of denunciation?" Chiapas, she adds, provides "the keys to future movements."

Spain's ETA sets up 'Kidnappers, Inc.'

For more than a decade, the Basque terrorist-separatist ETA (as we will elaborate fully in week's *EIR*) has been operating in Ibero-America, where it has established a broad funding network (through collection of revolutionary taxes, assaults and kidnappings, and its own businesses, particularly restaurants). In recent years, ETA (Euskadi and Freedom) has

fully integrated itself into the São Paulo Forum's continental narco-terrorist apparatus, of which it now constitutes an essential element. Although some ETA members have played leadership roles in El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and other groups, its specialty is in the "kidnapping industry"; and it has trained the Forum's continent-wide machinery in this "art." This was proven conclusively in May 1993, when a secret arms cache in Managua exploded (see below).

The ETA is present above all in Mexico, considered an important international base second to France, and in Venezuela, although it also maintains an important presence in Uruguay, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil. Its presence in Cuba and in Nicaragua is of a special nature.

On April 30, 1992, in a visit to Buenos Aires, Spanish Interior Minister José Luis Corcuera said that "Ibero-America is the preferred location for ETA members." Many of them left Spain under the government of Francisco Franco, claiming to be persecuted politically, and alleging that their terrorism was "revolutionary war." There are apparently secret, semi-official agreements to grant them refuge in Mexico and Venezuela, as long as they don't interfere in internal politics.

Nicaragua's arms bunker

During the 1980s, Nicaragua under the Sandinistas became a key base of ETA operations. ETA members obtained false passports, they were incorporated into Interior Minister Tomás Borge's security apparatus, and they used Nicaragua as a base to expand their continental operations. ETA leader Eusebio Arzallus Tapia, alias *El Paticorto*, traveled to Managua in the early 1980s to establish ties to the Sandinistas and El Salvador's FMLN, and to organize an international network of 35 kidnapers. He became a naturalized Nicaraguan in 1990.

On May 23, 1993, a secret vault containing weapons and documents exploded in Managua, in a store belonging to one Miguel Antonio Larios Moreno, "a false identity behind which Eusebio Arzallus Tapia was hiding," according to the Spanish magazine *Cambio 16*. The arsenal, built with hydraulic doors and tunnels, contained several tons of weapons, explosives, 19 surface-to-air missiles, 310 passports from 21 countries, many of them blank—one of these was found in the possession of Ibrahim Elgabrownny, who was arrested as a suspect in the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York—as well as false identification papers and documents belonging to a kidnap ring. According to Interpol sources, among the documents found was a list of 77 "kidnappable" Ibero-American businessmen, 65 of whom were Brazilian, as well as pictures and other documents relating to the 1989 kidnapping of Brazilian supermarket magnate Abilio Diniz. Other sources confirmed that there were hundreds of names on the list.

Weeks after the Managua explosion, according to the

Mexican magazine *Impacto*, Arzallus showed up in Mexico where, according to Spanish intelligence sources, he still resides. *El Patricorto* reportedly entered Mexico using a phony Honduran passport under the name Julio Aguilar Cruz.

Mexico: An estimated 100 to 200 ETA members currently live in Mexico, many of whom entered as tourists from Spain and France. Others arrived from Nicaragua, among them members of the Donosti command who sought refuge there "after having worked closely with the Sandinista government in 'Section Five' (secret service) led by ideologue and writer, Tomás Borge," according to *Impacto*.

In most cases, ETA members arrive in Mexico with no financial resources, but tap into an established support network for help. It is suspected that sizable sums of money are also transferred to them through bank drafts from abroad. Most of them are concentrated in Mexico City, but can also be found "in at least four states of the Republic of Mexico . . . Hidalgo, Querétaro, Nuevo León, and Guanajuato," *Impacto* and the Spanish daily *ABC* report.

There have been recent indications that ETA is also in the state of Chiapas. *ABC* reports that Spanish anti-terrorist police traveled to Mexico at the beginning of 1994 at the request of the Mexican government, because there was evidence of ETA's presence in Chiapas. The Barcelona, Spain daily *Observador* reported that a group of terrorists led by ETA members and Guatemalan guerrillas had set up operations in the region of Soconusco, Chiapas. The French news agency AFP reported early in 1994 that "EZLN leader, Subcommander Marcos, confirmed that he hopes to establish 'autonomy' in Chiapas similar to what the Basques and Catalans enjoy in Spain."

According to the Spanish daily *El País*, "the Spanish minister of justice and interior possesses 'confirmation' that the terrorist ETA gang provides economic assistance to the Zapatista guerrillas, but affirms that, for now, it has no evidence that the Basque terrorist organization has provided military training or weapons to the EZLN, according to high-level individuals in Madrid's anti-terror apparatus.

" . . . Spanish intelligence services say they have 'confirmation' that a part of the infrastructure established in Mexico does contribute money to maintaining the Zapatista guerrillas. . . . Sources in the Spanish anti-terror fight also believe that there have been contacts between the leaders of political groups linked to ETA and leaders of the EZLN, to give the latter 'indoctrination' and ideological support."

Venezuela: For over a decade, a "non-aggression pact" has existed between Venezuela and ETA: Cadres of the latter are allowed to use the country as a place for rest and rehabilitation, as long as they don't operate inside the country. This was formalized in 1989, when then-Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez and his friend, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González, agreed that detained ETA members would be "deported" to Venezuela, where they would report their movements and location to the political police, DISIP.

For example, on May 29, 1992, eleven ETA members arrived in Venezuela on a Spanish Air Force jet, but they were not classified as political refugees. On June 1, 1992, Carlos Andrés Pérez declared that ETA members are *not* terrorists: "It is a mistake to call a group of Basques terrorists."

Cuba: According to the Miami-based *Diario las Américas* on Dec. 15, 1994, there are 15 top ETA people in Cuba, from both the "military" and the "political" branches of the group. They maintain excellent relations with agents of Cuba's military secret service, and some Spanish anti-terror experts estimate that, on a smaller scale, they are witnessing a case similar to what happened in Nicaragua where ETA members became part of "Section Five" of the Sandinista Interior Ministry.

Anti-terror experts underscore the "complete freedom" given the group by the Cuban regime, and say that they may well be receiving training from their hosts. On Jan. 14, 1992, Spanish officials arrested a member of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), René Valenzuela (alias "Gato"), on charges of participating in ETA kidnapping and bombings. Valenzuela had reportedly been a close collaborator of Cuban intelligence's Manuel Piñero for more than 20 years, operating much of that time in Mexico.

Uruguay: On May 21, 1992, the Argentine daily *Clarín* reported that "a high-level source of the Uruguayan Interior Ministry told *Clarín* today that the Uruguay police are carrying out an intense search for a militant of the ETA organization, who evaded the operation through which the Basque separatist sanctuary was dismantled in Uruguay." The operation netted 13 Basques, "four of whom definitely participated in bloody incidents provoked in Madrid and Valencia by itinerant ETA commandos," among them Rosario Delgado Iriondo, identified as "Comando Madrid." Three of the ETA members were arrested in the high-class La Trainera restaurant, owned by a Basque who was also arrested.

Modus operandi: The explosion of the Managua arms cache brought to light evidence of ETA's direct participation in the 1989 kidnapping of Brazilian businessman Abilio Diniz, by a group of Chilean, Argentine, and Canadian leftists. ETA is suspected of involvement in the Mexican kidnap industry. In 1993 alone, there were hundreds of kidnappings in that country, and in the first half of 1994, some 500 kidnappings were officially reported, ransoms for which were sometimes as high as \$15 million. Over the past few years, there have been close to 2,000 kidnappings in Mexico. According to the June 1993 edition of the Mexican magazine *Proceso*, "experts in the anti-terror fight consulted by the Spanish daily *ABC*, say that ETA is behind some of the kidnappings which have been occurring in Mexico."

Reliable sources say that ETA members also collect "war taxes" from wealthy Mexican and Spanish citizens. The same is done with residents of Spanish and Portuguese extraction in Venezuela, and if they don't pay, their businesses and lives are destroyed.

Inter-American Dialogue: sponsors for São Paulo Forum in Washington

by Valerie Rush

The narco-terrorist insurgency known as the São Paulo Forum (SPF) has very high-level sponsors inside the financial and political establishment of the Americas, in the form of a Washington-based think-tank founded in 1982 by David Rockefeller, McGeorge Bundy and others, known as the Inter-American Dialogue (IAD). A collection of prominent bankers, politicians, and diplomats from both North and South America, the IAD promotes London's one-worldist agenda of "free-trade" looting and depopulation, to be achieved through the dismantling of the region's military forces, drug legalization, erosion of the concept of national sovereignty, and, finally, the breakup of the nation-states of the region.

One of the ways that London has maintained hands-on policy control over the Dialogue since its founding, is through British intelligence assets in the Canadian establishment. For example, the top foreign and intelligence adviser to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Eliot Trudeau in the 1970s, Ivan Head, was a founding member of the IAD and today sits on its executive committee. More recently, Canadian Maurice Strong, Prince Philip's own, who ran the Eco-92 environmentalist summit in Rio de Janeiro, was added to the Dialogue's Cuba Task Force.

The Dialogue thoroughly shaped the Ibero-American policy of the British-run Bush administration. Although it has lost significant ground under Clinton, it remains a powerful policy force in Washington, and across Ibero-America. As the IAD itself bragged in its April 1993 newsletter, it has a number of "members currently 'on loan' to their governments." This includes IAD past president Richard Feinberg, currently Latin America director for Clinton's National Security Council; Brazil's President Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Bolivia's President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada; Argentina's Defense Minister Oscar Camilión.

The Inter-American Dialogue has fostered, protected, and provided direction to Castro's São Paulo Forum since the latter was founded, using the Forum as a brutal battering ram against the structures which sustain the nation-states of the region. Mexican writer Jorge Castañeda, who functions as a liaison between the two organizations, confessed the strategy underlying the IAD's promotion of the Forum, in his book, *Utopia Disarmed: The Latin American Left after*

the Cold War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

Ibero-America is reaching the limit of where it can find resources with which to pay its debts, under current models, Castañeda wrote. States will soon run out of natural resources or utilities to sell; once "the fire sales" are over, where will the funds come from to meet debt payments? Castañeda argues, bluntly, that terrorism, however distasteful, is all that remains to force the institutions and populations of the continent to submit to the next round of looting:

"But lesser evils can function only in reference to greater ones; they require a clear and present danger to be credible. Thus, the condition for the renewed viability of reforms in Latin America—of any persuasion, but mainly in consonance with the social-democratic paradigm—lies inevitably in the threat of something worse. Since it cannot be revolution as such—the way Cuba was for nearly 20 years—it must be different, yet terrifying nonetheless. This is the syndrome of Sendero Luminoso [Peru's narco-terrorist Shining Path]. . . . Without the fear inspired by the prospect of losing everything, the wealthy and middle class will prefer to lose nothing."

Two faces, one goal

Ties between the IAD and the SPF are formal, public and extend even to shared membership and activities:

- In July 1990, the Forum was created in São Paulo, Brazil, under the cosponsorship of the Cuban Communist Party and Brazil's Workers Party (PT). That same year, the PT's leader Luís Inacio "Lula" da Silva was invited to join the IAD.

- In February 1992, a featured speaker at an SPF conference in Lima, Peru was Sandinista ideologue Father Xabier Gorostiaga, S.J., a member of the IAD.

- In April 1993, the IAD sponsored a visit to Washington by three presidential candidates of São Paulo Forum parties: Brazil's "Lula" (PT), Venezuela's Pablo Medina (Radical Cause), and Colombia's Antonio Navarro Wolf (M-19). The IAD meeting was designed to introduce the Forum's leading figures to Washington policy-makers, including Clinton administration officials. It followed an April 16-17 conference at Princeton University, in New Jersey,

with those three candidates, and three more SPF candidates: Mexico's Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (PRD), Rubén Zamora of El Salvador (FMLN), and Luis Maira of Chile (Chilean Socialist Party). They were introduced at the Princeton meeting by Jorge Castañeda. IAD President Peter Hakim and member Jorge Domínguez briefed Washington journalists in August of that year that a "genuine ease of communication" between the Forum and U.S. officialdom, had been established in the April visit.

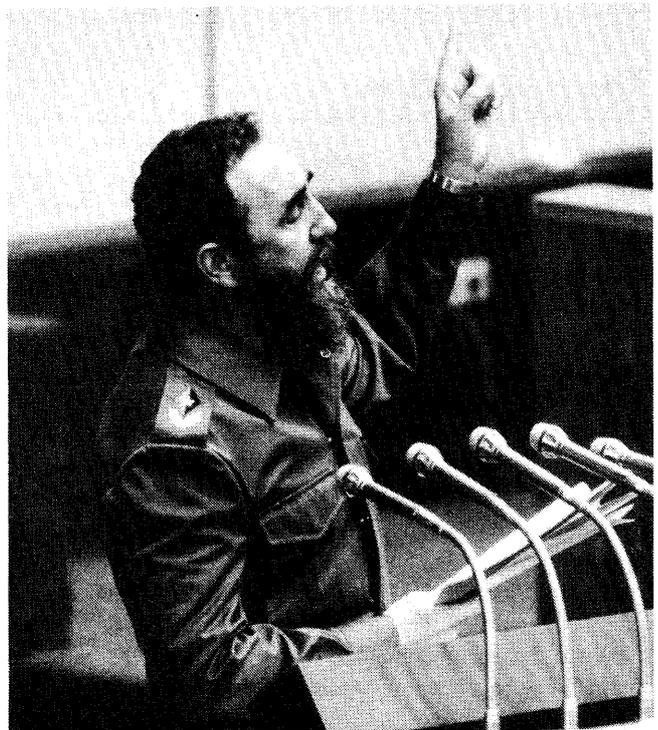
- In June 1993, Inter-American Dialogue member Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, a millionaire mining entrepreneur and partner of the British Crown's Rio Tinto Zinc mining company, assumed office as president of Bolivia; his vice president, "indigenist" leader Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, was (and is) an active participant in the Dialogue's Ethnic Divisions Project. Appointed foreign minister, was Antonio Araníbar, from the Free Bolivia Movement (MBL), a member-party of the São Paulo Forum's steering committee. Araníbar had spent the preceding year developing international relations for the Forum.

- In September 1993, Tabaré Vázquez, then mayor of Montevideo, Uruguay, for the Broad Front—a member of the São Paulo Forum steering committee—toured the United States, where he met with both the Dialogue itself, and Dialogue members Richard Feinberg (Latin America director at the NSC), and Enrique Iglesias (president of the Inter-American Development Bank). Feinberg, the Uruguayan press reported, discussed prospects for future U.S.-Uruguayan security accords with the Forum's mayor.

- In November 1993, the Dialogue sponsored a briefing in Washington, for Mexico's Jorge Castañeda to present his new book, *Utopia Unarmed*. Castañeda is an official adviser to the Forum's Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of Mexico, and advocates drug legalization. During the Brazilian presidential elections of 1994, he asserted, "The left will rule in Latin America, through the election of Lula in Brazil."

- On Aug. 25-26, 1995, the Inter-American Dialogue joined with the Chilean government and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs to host a seminar on "the crisis of the parties." SPF member parties represented included the Chilean Socialist Party, the Mexican Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), Nicaraguan Sandinista Sergio Ramírez, and others. A leading speaker at the event was Uruguayan Juan Rial, co-author of the 1990 book, *The Military and Democracy: the Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1990) which became the Bush government's "manual" on how to dismantle the armed forces of the continent, as per Dialogue policy prescriptions.

- José Octavio Bordón, a Dialogue member, former governor of Argentina's Mendoza province and a former senator of the Peronist party, was 1995 presidential candidate of the Frepaso movement, an affiliate of the São Paulo



Cuba's Fidel Castro, the strange bedfellow of the Inter-American Dialogue. In September 1995, the IAD announced that Castro's regime "no longer poses a conventional security or ideological threat to any of its neighbors, and certainly not the United States."

Forum.

- The Dominican Republic's José Francisco Peña Gómez, presidential candidate for a coalition of opposition forces which includes the São Paulo Forum's United Left Movement (MIU), is a member of the IAD.

- The National Democratic Convention (CND) in Mexico, a front for the Forum's Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), includes among its leading figures Pablo González Casanova, a member of the editorial board of the SPF's magazine, *América Libre*, and IAD member Mari-claire Acosta Urquidí, a former president of British intelligence's Amnesty International in Mexico.

A common agenda

Whether in pin-striped suits or hood and bandolier, the members of the Inter-American Dialogue and of the São Paulo Forum promote a shared agenda:

Limited sovereignty:

At a Dec. 8, 1992 press conference in Washington, then-Dialogue directors Richard Feinberg and Peter Bell, of the Ford Foundation and Human Rights Watch/Americas, unveiled the results of a year-long project on "Redefining Sovereignty," concluding that sovereignty must not be "a shield behind which governments or armed groups" can hide. They pointed to Somalia as an example of how the world communi-

ty can "legitimately" abrogate national sovereignty. In that report, and other locations, the IAD argued that sovereignty must take a back seat to "collective hemispheric action," "election monitoring," "conflict resolution," "supervising peace accords", and the "defense of human rights"—whether through the auspices of the Organization of American States, the U.N., the International Red Cross, or some other supra-national agency.

In its report "Convergence and Community: The Americas in 1993," the Dialogue demands that "the nations of the hemisphere must actively promote negotiated settlements of Latin America's remaining guerrilla conflicts," i.e., power-sharing arrangements with the local SPF affiliates. The model for this approach is the U.N.-brokered "peace negotiations" in El Salvador, where, with Bush State Department enforcement, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) narco-terrorists won massive political victories that they never achieved on the battlefield, while the country's military is being dismantled.

The São Paulo Forum also embraces the concept of "limited sovereignty," and employs similar tactics to achieve it:

- El Salvador's FMLN imposed, as a condition for partial disarming, the creation of a foreign-run "Truth Commission," which determined who would be purged from the military for alleged human rights violations. That commission functioned as a de facto international court, for whose decisions no national recourse was allowed.

- Argentina's MTP, Colombia's M-19 and FARC-ELN, and Guatemala's URNG have all called for similar "Truth Commissions" in their countries.

- Mexico's PRD demanded oversight of the 1994 national elections by the U.N.'s non-governmental organizations (NGO) network.

- In early July 1993, Humberto Ortega, then head of the Sandinista People's Army, sent a proposal to the U.N. that Nicaragua host a school for training Central American troops deployed by the U.N. for regional operations.

- Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Lavalas movement encouraged a full-scale multinational military invasion of Haiti—with enthusiastic backing from the IAD—to restore itself to power in that country.

Ethnic separatism:

In February of 1993, the Dialogue set up an "Ethnic Divisions Project" under Donna Lee Van Cott, a specialist in "ethnic conflict" who sits on the World Bank advisory committee on indigenous peoples. Van Cott describes the project's focus as follows: "In virtually every country in Latin America, indigenous cultures are challenging the legitimacy of nation-states that exercise dominion over their ancestral territory. They challenge not just the state's disposition of their lands, languages, resources, and heritage, but the very concept of national identity and national culture."

Indigenism and ethnic separatism are also bywords of

almost every SPF member organization (see IDs on p. 9-10).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs):

The international support apparatus for the SPF insurgencies, is composed principally of NGOs, as we document in the following section (see p. 26). These NGOs, in turn, are coordinated and guided by the Dialogue.

The 1992 IAD report defined as one of its main goals, "To strengthen the role of the increasingly significant community of NGOs, by facilitating communication among these groups and improving their ties to governments and international organizations." On Dec. 8, 1992, the Dialogue's Feinberg announced that "the era of the NGO has arrived in the Western Hemisphere." The Dialogue created an umbrella group of Washington-based NGOs that dealt with Latin America, whose declared purpose was to "build stronger bridges between the NGO community and the U.S. government." In February 1993, Peter Hakim told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that "collaboration with NGOs should become a major new ingredient in American foreign policy." On March 2, Feinberg, newly appointed to the National Security Council, held an "off-the-record" luncheon with NGO representatives, in which he "underscored the strategic importance" he placed on coordinating policy with NGOs.

Demilitarization:

The IAD argues that the nations of Ibero-America must "redefine the mission" of their armed forces, and significantly reduce their military budgets. "An effort must be undertaken to change military thinking about internal security and subversion," through a "reform" of military education, they argue. The IAD is worried that "traditional views of the military's role in politics still prevail," and that in many countries, "public attitudes toward the military are not uniformly unfavorable, and the armed forces themselves are generally proud of their accomplishments."

Dialogue founding member Robert McNamara, former U.S. secretary of defense and former World Bank president, has spearheaded this campaign. In a 1991 policy paper he called for "conditioning financial aid to developing countries on their reduction of military expenditure."

The SPF agrees. The Final Statement of the Forum's fourth annual conference in Havana (July 21-24, 1993), states that the armed forces "constitutes [one of] the most serious threats to the construction of political democracy in Latin America."

In a March 1992 speech, the Sandinistas' Tomás Borge said that "armies are only used for coups d'état and to repress people and, further, eat up a large part of our budgets. [They are] a cancer in our countries. . . . [There is] no reason for armies to continue to exist."

During his April 1993 speech to the Princeton gathering, Argentine presidential candidate Pablo Medina (Radical Cause) said that "without a defined role in the international

arena, and with the internal conditions of the economy aggravated by their high cost of maintenance, the militaries have become a serious problem for democracies.”

Brazil’s “Lula” told a May 1994 press conference in Washington: “I think we already have too many armed forces in the world. We have to diminish the military apparatus.”

Drug legalization: In its April 1986 annual report, the IAD argued that the war on drugs was an abject failure and that, “because narcotics is such a formidable problem, the widest range of alternatives must be examined, including selective legalization.” A later IAD report states: “To curtail drug production is to destroy the livelihoods of tens of thousands of people, to cripple local economies, and to foment political opposition. Moreover, although only a small fraction of drug profits return to producing countries in Latin America, *the amounts are substantial for strapped economies carrying large burdens of external debt*” (emphasis added).

In February 1993 testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on U.S. Policy after the Cold War, Dialogue President Peter Hakim declared, “Given the scarcity of foreign aid resources, funding for drug initiatives in Latin America should either be sharply curtailed or more effectively directed to helping Latin American governments to deal with their drug problems—not ours.”

At an August 1995 continental meeting in Argentina, sponsored by the Forum’s *América Libre* magazine, Evo Morales, the head of the CAPHC (see p. 36), denounced the 1961 U.N. decision to declare the production of coca leaves illegal, and argued that those fighting the drug trade “have a Hitlerian mentality.” He said that “to defend coca is to defend the dignity of national sovereignty.”

In September of 1995, Forum luminary Rigoberta Menchú of Guatemala called on Morales’s movement to prepare a document for submission to the U.N., which would prove that the coca leaf is “a natural and cultural resource of the Andean peoples” and to demand “urgent U.N. action” to defend its cultivation and consumption.

Economic policy: The Dialogue is a key proponent of George Bush’s North American Free Trade Agreement, as well as of an expanded Western Hemisphere version of NAFTA. The IAD’s 1993 report states that such free-trade pacts, “once bound by international agreement, are insulated—at least to some degree—from domestic political reversal. For some, the ‘locking in’ of economic policies might be considered a cost, not a benefit, because it restricts national sovereignty and may constrain national response to special problems. But the intent of all international agreements is precisely to limit the sovereign choice of the contracting nations in order to obtain mutually agreed upon benefits.”

The Dialogue is confident that the SPF, despite its rhetoric about “fighting neo-liberalism,” shares this approach. In August of 1993, the Dialogue’s Peter Hakim said of the

Forum’s presidential candidates, “They really can’t pursue populist policies once they are in office.”

In fact, SPF leaders have repeatedly embraced the International Monetary Fund (IMF) system and its free-trade doctrine, and implemented these policies vigorously when they accede to power. Fidel Castro argued in 1985 for saving the IMF as an institution, and for paying the region’s foreign debt with money taken from the U.S. defense budget. Haiti’s Jean-Bertrand Aristide campaigned against the IMF in the 1990 elections, and within months after being sworn in as President in February 1991, signed an austerity pact with the IMF. Subsequently, Aristide outlined a World Bank-approved economic plan for privatization, tax reform, cutting the fiscal deficit and promoting exports, which the *Washington Post* accurately described as identical to Milton Friedman’s policies.

Mexico’s Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas favors NAFTA, and told the Argentine daily *Clarín* on April 17, 1995, that “open economies aren’t necessarily bad . . . the trade opening is a tool that can be used for good or bad; the same with privatization, which can be bad at one moment and good at another.” Brazil’s “Lula” da Silva advocates a “practical socialism” which would implement measures which must “adapt to the world’s reality.” Carlos Alvarez of Argentina’s Frente Grande coalition said there could be “no turning back” from the Menem government’s free-trade economic policies. Colombia’s Antonio Navarro Wolf (M-19) praises the IMF for having “imposed discipline in monetary management and that helps integration. . . . I would say that that is the positive side of neo-liberalism, that forced Latin American businessmen to be more responsible.”

Support for Castro regime: The Inter-American Dialogue established a Task Force on Cuba in 1991, headed by former U.S. Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson, which has been carrying out quiet back-channel negotiations with the Castro regime, to normalize U.S.-Cuban relations. The Second Report of the Task Force, released on Sept. 15, 1995, reveals that they premise such proposed normalization on the lie that the Castro regime “no longer poses a conventional security or ideological threat to any of its neighbors, and certainly not the United States . . . [and] has curtailed its interference in the affairs of other countries.”

In August 1993, Dialogue president Peter Hakim and Cuba Task Force member Jorge Domínguez had argued the same regarding Cuba’s entire continental narco-terrorist apparatus, the São Paulo Forum. At a Washington press conference, Hakim insisted that the SPF presidential candidates “are not looking to use democracy as a means towards socialism.” Domínguez elaborated that they had abandoned terrorism. “Whatever doubts one might have about any of the [Forum candidates], they are not doing now, what they were doing before. Navarro Wolf is . . . not shooting it out somewhere. The same is true of a variety of other groups who have given up violence,” he lied.

The 19th-century British roots of today's São Paulo Forum

by Cynthia R. Rush

Patriots across Ibero-America are right to be alarmed about the activities of Fidel Castro's São Paulo Forum. But they should not make the mistake of assuming that they are dealing simply with a group of communists and narco-terrorists who are out to overthrow governments and establish their Marxist utopias. We are not dealing here with your standard "communist threat."

The ideology guiding the Forum has been around for much longer than Fidel Castro—he is only its creation, and a recent one, at that. In reality, the São Paulo Forum is a continuation of the gnostic, British intelligence-controlled, freemasonic apparatus which, from even before South America's independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, has sought to chain the continent to London's geopolitical goals and bestial moral outlook.

A constant presence throughout this historical period, and one of Britain's primary instruments of destruction in the region, is found in the person of the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), who spent most of his adult life in England under the control of networks established by the founder of British intelligence, Jeremy Bentham, and his protégés such as Lord Palmerston, and John Stuart Mill of the East India Company (See "Lord Palmerston's Multicultural Human Zoo," *EIR* April 15, 1994). The organizations created by Mazzini and his British controllers, including the Ibero-American offshoots of the Young Europe and Young America movements—Young Cuba, Young Argentina, Young Brazil, and, in the 1940s and 1950s, the Caribbean Legion—sought, as the São Paulo Forum does today, to destroy any potential for the development of the sovereign nation-state, assaulting the institutions which defend and bolster it, such as the Armed Forces and the Catholic Church. They attacked the heritage of the Spanish evangelization of the New World and its Catholic cultural matrix, attempting to replace it with a degraded "Americanist" indigenist culture, based on separatism, "ethnicity," and "telluric emotions."

The end product was a manufactured, jacobin "democracy" which was launched as a battering ram on behalf of Britain's Black Legend—the lie that the entirety of Spain's political system and religious culture was the repository for "authoritarianism" which had to be overthrown. There were

legitimate reasons for Ibero-American patriots to seek independence from Spain beginning in 1810, and many of them even looked to the young United States as a model for building sovereign republics. Mazzini's agitation for "national liberation" and "self-determination" was deployed to destroy the patriotic movement which sought to establish a unified Ibero-America. That destruction was a necessary precondition for the subsequent balkanization of the region, which resulted in the nineteenth century becoming, as the British still fondly call it, Ibero-America's "British century."

Breaking with the past?

"The theater of Incan history is the *sierra* [the mountains]. . . . The *sierra* is nationality. Peru lives outside itself, cut off from its intimate and true self, because the *sierra* is superseded by the coast, wedded to Lima. . . . The monstrous urban plant will grow on the coast, extending its tentacles to the sea. . . . Civilization will produce its rotten fruits, and its flower of decadence will shine with brilliant colors, and its perverse, exquisite aroma will intoxicate. But one day, the Andean men will descend like the hordes of Tamburlain. The barbarians, for those of this Lower Empire, are on the other side of the mountains. [But] they will carry out the necessary expulsion [of the whites]."

This quote from *Tempestad en los Andes* (*Storm in the Andes*), written in 1924 by Peruvian indigenist and theosophist Luis Valcarcel, exemplifies the bestial, anti-western culture these networks advocated. Rejecting the achievements of the Renaissance and the philosophy of natural law, universal history, and universal truth, they made pre-Columbian ethnic culture and indigenism the centerpiece of their cultural ideal. Valcarcel collaborated with José Carlos Mariátegui, the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party and known practitioner of black masses, after whom the murderous Shining Path took its name. Mariátegui's indigenism was encouraged and guided by Emilio Seguí, a former secretary to Giuseppe Mazzini, who financed Mariátegui's trip to Italy in the early 1920s to perfect his philosophy of anarchism and violence in politics.

In the prologue he wrote to *Storm in the Andes*, Mariátegui explained that "faith in the Indian resurgence does not

come from a process of material Westernization of the Quechua land. It is not civilization, or the white alphabet which will ennoble the Indian soul. It is myth, it is the idea of the socialist revolution." In his 1925 essay *Two Conceptions of Life*, Mariátegui wrote that he rejected "the evolutionist, historicist, and rationalist philosophy . . . [with] its superstitious worship of the idea of progress." That same year, he elaborated in another essay: "The force of the revolutionaries is not in their science; it is in their faith, their passion, their will. It is a religious, mystical, spiritual force."

One of the primary organizing tools of this political current in the twentieth century, has been the publication of "cultural" magazines, such as *Amauta*, published in Peru by Mariátegui, and *Sur* magazine, founded by Victoria Ocampo in Argentina. British historian John King, in his history of the *Sur* project, described Mariátegui's *Amauta* magazine as "perhaps the most interesting attempt in Latin America to fuse a radical line in politics with the cause of modernism in art."

It was the precursors and architects of modernism and cultural deconstruction, including the founders of the Frankfurt School of the 1930s, who were idolized by these networks: Pre-Raphaelite John Ruskin, Nazi philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche—to whom Mariátegui dedicated his works—Oswald Spengler, author of *The Decline of the West*, and Pablo Picasso, to name a few. King adds that out of that admiration came "the interest in black culture, seen in Picasso's work of the 1920s; in French writer André Gide's visit to the Congo, and the development of black American music such as jazz." A synthetic "Afro-Cubanism" was fashioned out of what King described as intellectuals' fascination with Oswald Spengler's idea of "living close to the soil, at one with the rhythms and essence of nature." Likewise, Ocampo's American mentor, Waldo Frank, an advocate of "integral communism" who advised Mariátegui, Peruvian politico Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, and Mexico's Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas, advocated the "cultural union of the Americas through the minorities."

Brazil's Landless Movement, an appendage of the São Paulo Forum-allied Workers Party, embodies this same ideology today. They argue that "the land is a mystery," which it seeks to "spiritualize" through violent land invasions. In the nineteenth century, José Martí, one of Mazzini's key operatives in the Cuban independence movement and a hero of the São Paulo Forum today, wrote that revolution will be made by "natural man . . . the autochthonous mestizo" who, governed by his primitive emotions, race, and virility, "is prepared to seize respect by force from those who wound his susceptibilities." It is understood, he said, "that a country's form of government must accommodate itself to its natural elements; that absolute ideas . . . must now be put into relative form." Nativism and "the fire of the heart" will free America, not "false erudition."

Not even the name of the São Paulo Forum's magazine, *América Libre*—*Free America*—is original: José Martí's magazine was named *Nuestra América*—*Our America*. *América Libre* Editor Frei Betto, in his address to the Fourth Plenary of the São Paulo Forum in Havana, emphasized the historical continuity of this project, stating that *América Libre* "lies in the tradition of *Nuestra América*, of José Martí, and also that of the magazine, *Amauta*, which José Carlos Mariátegui did in Peru." David Viñas, one of Victoria Ocampo's closest collaborators, today serves on *América Libre*'s editorial board.

Separatism and revolution

Mazzini sent his lieutenant, Giuseppe Garibaldi, to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where for ten years (1837-47), with the aid of the Young Argentina and Young Brazil organizations, he worked as a British operative in the Southern Cone. He organized a separatist movement in southern Brazil, and joined British and French naval forces in their attempts to overthrow the government of Argentine "dictator" Juan Manuel de Rosas, whose crime was his refusal to grant Britain free navigability of Argentina's rivers.

In Brazil, Garibaldi linked up with exiled members of Mazzini's Young Italy, such as Giovanni Battista Cuneo. Through Tito Livio Zambecari, another exiled Mazziniite, Garibaldi contacted "revolutionaries" in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, became their mentor, and introduced them to Mazzini's ideas. One leader of this grouping was Bento Gonçalves da Silva, for whom Zambecari was secretary, whose plan was to sever Rio Grande from the Brazilian monarchy and create an independent republic. One Garibaldi biographer reported that the group's political slogans were "in line with the tradition of Rousseau, of the French revolutionaries of 1789, and Mazzini."

Based in Rio Grande and later Montevideo, capital of the buffer state of Uruguay created as a result of British manipulation of Brazil and Argentina in 1828, Garibaldi organized a foreign legion of Italian exiles, Europeans, and a sizable number of North Americans, with the aim of "liberating" Rio Grande from the Brazilian monarchy, and uniting it with one or two provinces he intended to pull out of Rosas's Argentine Confederation, to form a new nation that would advance the British cause in the region.

In the end, Garibaldi's separatist plan failed, but his efforts contributed to Rosas's final overthrow in 1853.

Cuba: Mazzini's paradise

If there is any country in Ibero-America which has served as a laboratory for the application of Mazzini's concept of "national liberation," and all of its bestial cultural offshoots, it is Cuba itself. It is this history which explains Cuba's coordinating role today in Britain's São Paulo Forum project.

Cuba's strategic importance was understood early on by such republican humanists as Alexander von Humboldt and John Quincy Adams, as well as by the Young America slavetraders of the American Confederacy. As the *Southern Standard*, an American newspaper which expressed the views of the latter grouping, boasted in 1854, "With Cuba and Santo Domingo, we could control the productions of the tropics, and, with them, the commerce of the world, and with that, the power of the world."

Spain abolished Freemasonry in Cuba in 1824, but secret lodges sprang up nonetheless, to agitate for the island's phony "independence," often in collusion with U.S.-based Freemasons, among other things to ensure the continuation of the institutions of slavery and free trade. In the 1850s, Mazzini's Young America and Young Cuba movements fomented revolution on the island against Spain, while simultaneously organizing the invasion of mercenaries from New York—the "filibusters"—who hoped to seize control of the island, and annex it to the Union as a slave state.

Mazzini and his followers set up a vast organizing and propaganda apparatus in Italy on behalf of Cuban independence, some of whose members subsequently traveled to Cuba to fight in the Spanish-American War of 1898, and then remained in the country for decades afterward.

Many of these Mazzinists were crucial in shaping the island's political and educational institutions, and training several generations of "liberal youth," many of whom served in the Castro government after 1959. These included the founder of *negrismo* ("blackness"), Fernando Ortíz Francisco, who created Cuba's school of cultural relativism, and wrote the defining works on history, ethnology, linguistics, archeology, and political affairs. In 1926, he co-founded, with poet Nicolás Guillén, the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, thus elevating synthetic "Afro-Cubanism" to the status of Cuba's "authentic" culture, in opposition to the legacy of the Spanish evangelization and European Renaissance. After Castro seized power, Ortíz set up the cultural department of the Ministry of Education.

London's Caribbean Legion

The Castro government was a direct product of this Mazzinist current, put in power by the group which dominated the politics of the Caribbean area in the decade of the 1940s and 1950s, the Caribbean Legion. The Legion, a group of "ex"-communists who publicly converted to social democracy but whose philosophical outlook remained that of the secret masonic lodges of the Caribbean and Central America to which many of them belonged, organized one guerrilla invasion after another in the area, before they became the great "democrats" of the region: Venezuela's Carlos Andrés Pérez and Rómulo Betancourt; Costa Rica's Pepe Figueres; Cuba's Carlos Prío Socarrás; and Peru's Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

These "democrats" financed Fidel Castro's return to Cuba in 1958 to oust Fulgencio Batista—Prío Socarrás reportedly provided a quarter of a million dollars to Castro's operation—and maintained their ties to the island under various guises in the decades following.

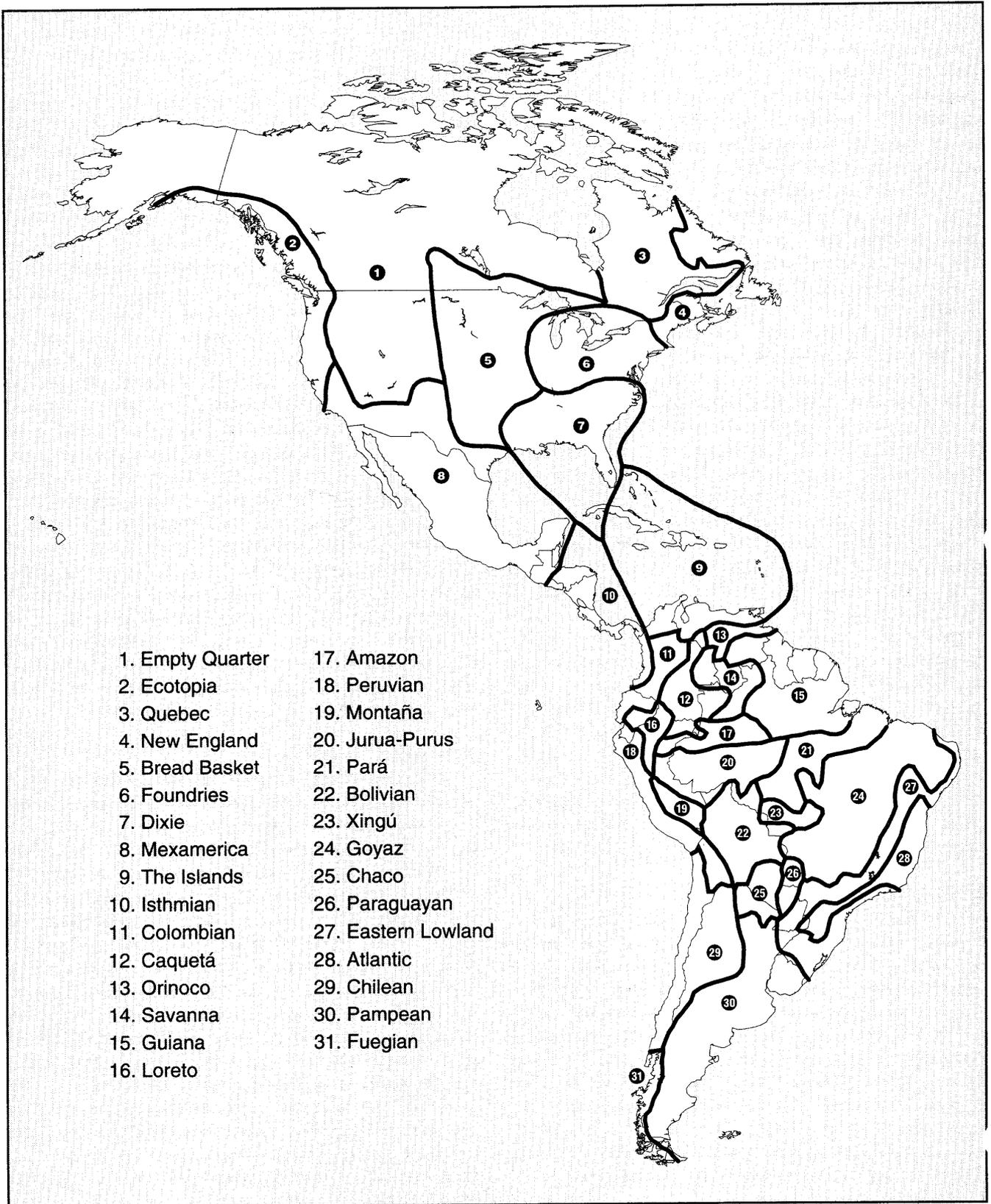
The Legion was run by British assets in the U.S. intelligence community, such as the Dulles brothers, and the British intelligence-controlled Permindex organization, of which Prío Socarrás was a board member. Permindex was later instrumental in organizing the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy and attempts against the life of France's Charles de Gaulle.

The presence among the Caribbean Legion of Haya de la Torre, founder of Peru's APRA party, reflects the group's ideological origins, as well as its British "mother." His "Indo-Americanism," originally intended to be a continental movement, was a gnostic belief-structure created to oppose Peru's Spanish, Catholic political and cultural heritage, and Haya made no bones about his British ties. In 1927, he boasted that the interim headquarters of APRA's executive committee were based in London. Even members of Mexico's Communist Party, at the time Haya was in exile in Mexico, considered Haya to be "an agent of British imperialism," and pointed to the fact that he was stipended by a wealthy, "pacifist" British lady, Ann Melissa Graves. In his 1985 book *Mito y Realidad. Haya de la Torre, Orígenes del APRA*, Peruvian historian Pedro Planas Silva published a photograph of Haya wrapped in a British flag, standing in the library of Protestant minister John MacKay. "His relations with MacKay, with Melissa Graves, and other British political personalities, generated such suspicion, that he came to be considered a 'spy' of the British Empire," Planas wrote.

Newspeak 'democracy'

All of the elements which go into the São Paulo Forum's political and cultural agenda today can be identified in the writings and subversive activities of these Mazzinian networks of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Central to that agenda was a fraudulent "democracy" like that demanded by the International Monetary Fund today. In 1942, Waldo Frank met and talked with APRA founder Haya de la Torre, who was then in hiding in Peru. The last true democracy in Ibero-America, was when the Incas ruled Peru, Frank told Haya. "That was the last true unity of South Pacific America. Its base was a *democracy*; and the base of the new unity, the new stability, will have to be democratic." In his program for hemispheric union, Frank proposed "at least a negative guarantee of basic democratic governments . . . in the form of a refusal to recognize obvious dictatorships. . . . The American republics, considering themselves a family, have the *right to keep their democratic house in order*. . . . *Of course, enforcement should always be a joint, collective effort*" (emphasis added).

"31 Nations" of the Americas



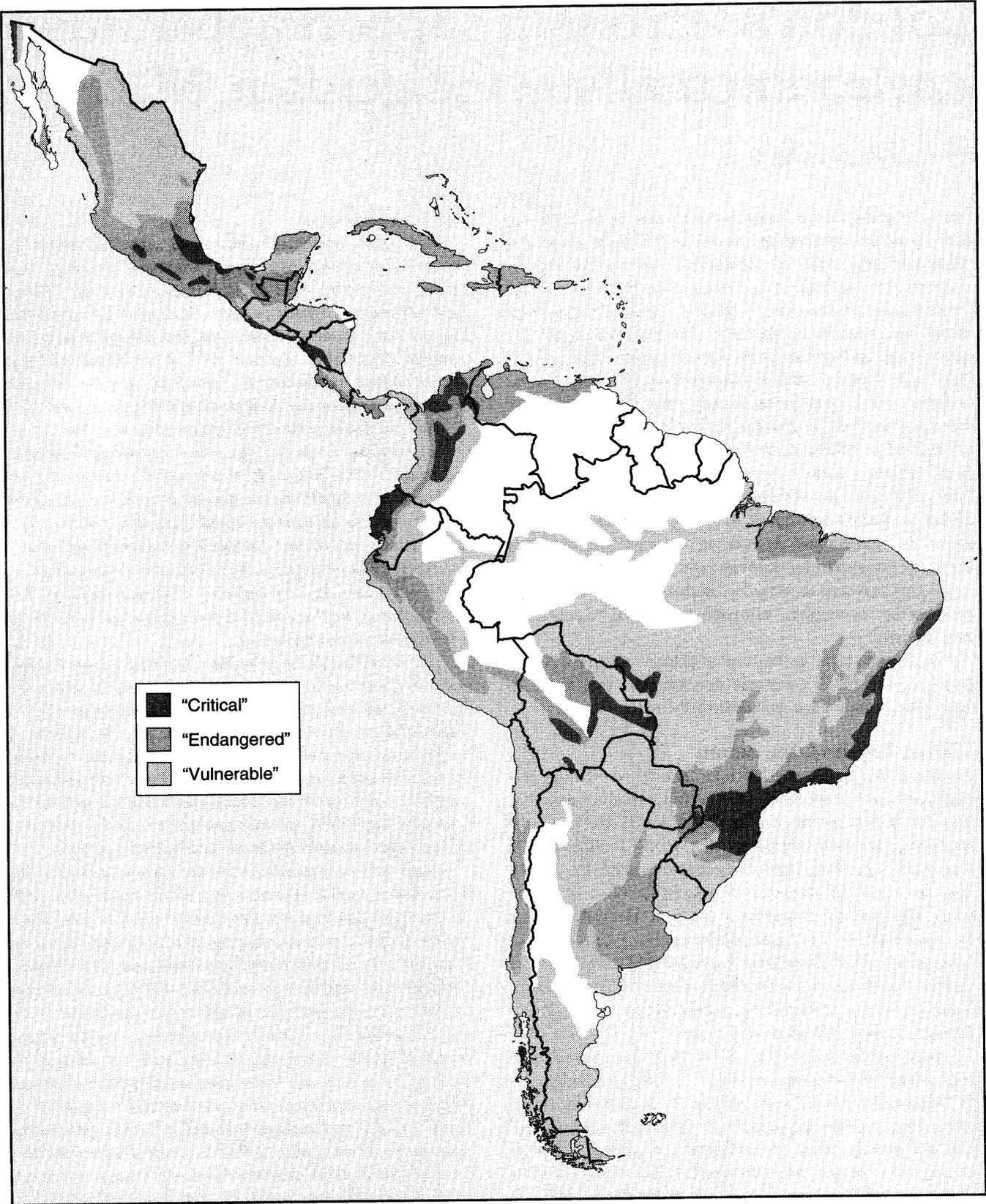
“Ethno-linguistic regions” of Ibero-America



Protected areas of Ibero-America



"Endangered Ecoregions" of Ibero-America



London's terrorism support apparatus: environmentalism, indigenism, NGOs

by Joseph Brewda

British targeting of the Americas today uses an international network of environmentalist and ethnic indigenist terrorist gangs operating under its ideological control. The support apparatus for this network is made up of well-financed non-governmental organizations (NGOs), especially those operating under human rights cover. The goal is to wreck the nation-state, and to redefine the Americas along "Indian peoples" lines. Britain's insane intent is shown by the proposed division of the western hemisphere into 31 "nations," as per maps prepared by Joel Garreau, the Royal Dutch Shell-funded author of *The Nine Nations of North America*, and Yale University's *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* (Map 2). The instruments and ideological justification to achieve this goal are reflected in Maps 3, 4, and 5, and Table 1. Map 3 shows the "indigenous" population regions of the continent allegedly threatened by development. Map 4 shows the national parks created to preserve "endangered species." Map 5 shows the "ecoregions" allegedly threatened by economic development.

These maps point to the purpose of terrorism in the Americas today: to block economic development, tear societies apart along ethnic lines, and destroy the nation-state.

Mother Earth vs. the nation

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have operated against economic development and the nation-state, since their inception after World War II. But now, in a further evolution of this policy, the World Bank has gone unabashedly green to justify its genocide, as has the related Inter-American Development Bank. In October 1995, the World Bank and the British royal family's World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) released a joint study, *A Conservation Assessment of the Terrestrial Ecoregions of Latin America and the Caribbean*, whose stated purpose is to "identify ecoregions that, due to their conservation status, cannot absorb further intensive development projects."

According to this report, 137 of the 178 supposed "ecoregions" of Ibero-America are in a "critical," "endangered," or "vulnerable" condition, requiring the cancellation of "intensive development projects," the "immediate implementation of recovery plans," and efforts to "ward off complete degradation." Map 5 shows that almost all of Ibero-America, except for the Amazon jungle, falls under these combined

bogus classifications.

The report makes no bones about what constitutes the threat: "agricultural expansion, intensive grazing, road building that opens areas for exploitation, logging, mining, dam construction, water projects, increased urbanization." The recovery of these ecoregions and efforts to ward off complete degradation, demands that international managers of "investment portfolios" cut off credit for development projects, and also apply diplomatic and other pressure.

Other pressure certainly includes terrorism.

In 1994, the *Ecologist*, the magazine of WWF founder and funder Teddy Goldsmith, endorsed the Zapatista uprising in Mexico as "a dignified reaction to too much development," which arose "because people opted for a more dignified form of dying." Under the claim that the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) defends the environment, Greenpeace, a WWF sub-group run by Imperial Chemical Industry heir Lord Melchett, has organized support demonstrations for the uprising throughout the world.

The WWF's efforts to build a terrorist movement opposed to "too much development," are closely tied to its creation of national parks and ecological reserves throughout Ibero-America, in which all economic activity is banned. Map 4 shows the vast area of the continent now locked up in parks and reserves, some 13% of the South American continent. These parks are usually planned, sited, and administered by the WWF, and imposed on the nations concerned through international diplomatic and financial pressure.

These parks and reserves virtually constitute extraterritorial enclaves, used for the training and safe haven of ecological-terrorist organizations. For example, in Chiapas, Mexico, the EZLN's primary staging areas and safe-haven are found in the Lagunas de Montebello and Agua Azul Cascades National Parks, and the Montes Azules and El Ocote Ecological Reserves, the latter of which is also a safe-haven for Rigoberta Menchú's National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala (URNG). Similarly, Shining Path has carried out much of its activity and found safe haven in Peru's national park system, which had been planned and established by WWF's Col. Ian Grimwood, under a British government grant in the 1960s. Shining Path's bases of operation have included the Biabo-Cordillera Azul, Alexander von Humboldt, and Pampa Galeras national parks, all located in Peru's

TABLE 1

NGO support apparatus for international narco-terrorism

	Bolivia-Peru CAPHC	Brazil MST	Brazil PT	Colombia ELN	Colombia FARC	El Salvador FMLN	Guatemala URNG	Haiti Lavalas	Mexico EZLN	Nicaragua FSLN	Peru MRTA	Peru SL
Amnesty International	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Anti-Slavery International		X							X			
Greenpeace			X			X						
Harvard Negotiating Committee				X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Human Rights Watch	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Misereor		X					X		X			
Nobel Committee						X	X		X	X		X
Norwegian Peoples Aid							X	X	X	X		
Oxfam			X					X	X	X		
Pax Christi				X	X	X	X		X		X	X
Red Cross				X	X		X		X			X
World Wide Fund for Nature	X						X		X			

coca-growing regions (Map 6).

'Protecting' the indigenous peoples

According to the World Bank's 1990 definition, "indigenous peoples" are "social groups . . . vulnerable to being disadvantaged by the development process." In the bizarre world of the World Bank, roads, canals, farms, factories, and the like, not only constitute a threat to "ecoregions," but to impoverished indigenous peoples as well. Map 3, drawn principally from anthropologist Manuel Lizarralde and published in Yale University's *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, shows the areas purportedly occupied by the indigenous peoples of Ibero-America, who allegedly comprise some 25-30 million people, out of Ibero-America's total population of 460 million, divided into some 170 major tribes.

The United Nations' International Year of the Indigenous People (1993) declaration goes even further than the World Bank to claim that the hideous underdevelopment of these peoples constitutes a model for all mankind. "Where most of humankind seek dominion over the natural world," it gushes, "indigenous peoples generally favor a holistic approach that is the very essence of sustainable development."

The latest draft of the U.N. *Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* asserts that "all indigenous nations and peoples . . . have the right to whatever degree of autonomy or self-government they may choose," and "may engage in self-defense against State actions in conflict with their right to self-determination." And, with an eye to justifying imperial intervention into former colonies, the draft adds that "disputes regarding the jurisdiction, territories, and institutions of an indigenous nation or people are a proper concern of international law." In other words, Britain and its allies claim the right to intervene in the internal affairs of

States, to protect indigenous people "threatened by the development process."

The British are very busy doing just this. "The indigenous nations of South America have resisted genocide and ethnocide throughout their history," and "this tradition of resistance is far from dead," Minority Rights Group reports in its 1987 study *The Amerindians of South America*. "Throughout South American, indigenous peoples are currently forming local, national, and international organizations to fight for their rights to life, land, culture, and self-determination." The chairman of the group, Sir John Thomson, is a former British ambassador to the U.N., and reportedly is currently the deputy director of the British intelligence agency MI-5. The group's U.S. arm, the Harvard University-based Cultural Survival, played a central role in forming one such terrorist "indigenous organization," the EZLN.

Norway's Nobel Committee, heavily influenced by British intelligence, is also involved in promoting indigenist terrorism. Their granting of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize to the Guatemalan terrorist leader Rigoberta Menchú glorified such terrorism internationally. And in 1995 they reportedly came within a hair's breadth of granting the peace prize to Bishop Samuel Ruiz of Chiapas, Mexico, the actual commander of the EZLN guerrillas.

'Human rights' NGOs and 'aid'

The deployment of ecological and indigenous terrorist insurgencies requires an international support apparatus. Table 1 shows the connection between many of Ibero-America's terrorist organizations and several top NGOs. Much of the support apparatus is environmentalist and indigenous, but a critical role is also played by human rights NGOs, which openly defend narco-terrorism. Two key ones are Amnesty

International, a covert arm of the British Foreign Office; and Human Rights Watch, a New York-based organization financed by the multibillionaire speculator George Soros, a proponent of narcotics legalization who went from rags to riches in the 1970s.

Amnesty International's 1995 *International Report*, which reviews alleged violations of human rights throughout the world, is typical of the pro-terrorist propaganda.

"Scores of prisoners of conscience, mostly indigenous peasants, were detained," reads the lead sentence of the report's chapter on Mexico, which focuses on condemning the Army suppression of the EZLN. "During the uprising in Chiapas," it adds, Indians "were tortured and ill-treated before being released." Similarly, Bolivia is singled out for "torture and ill-treatment of coca-growers detained during an operation to counter drug-trafficking."

For its part, Human Rights Watch's 1995 *World Report* calls for the creation of an international criminal tribunal with the power to try individuals, including government officials, for committing human rights abuses within their own States. One reason for such a court, it claims, is that "eleven months after the Chiapas uprising, no one from the Mexican Army has been prosecuted for any of the documented acts of abuse committed in the course of suppressing the rebellion." The use of "faceless courts" (anonymous judges) in Peru and Colombia, where the identities of witnesses and judges are concealed in trying terrorists, is also condemned.

Both groups point to the Ibero-American military, and its war on narcotics traffickers, as central to the suppression of insurgencies. In an 1990 report, *The 'Drug War' in Colombia*, Human Rights Watch complains that "the 'drug war' has increased the killing and human suffering in Colombia," and charges that U.S. government support for this effort makes it "responsible for the serious violation of human rights that are being committed under the guise of a 'war on drugs.'" The Medellín Cartel's kingpins, known as the "Extraditables," immediately demanded that the HRW report be published in the Colombian press, as a condition for the release of several journalists they had kidnapped.

According to Lord Avebury, the head of the British All-Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, and a top figure in both Amnesty and HRW, the main human rights issue in Ibero-America is that "the military structures, which have caused the problem all along, have not been totally dismantled."

While Amnesty and HRW oversee the international human rights campaigns, other NGOs directly provide the terrorists funding and logistics.

In 1994, **Misereor**, the official aid organization of the Catholic Church in Germany, admitted that over the previous ten years it had covertly sent \$7.5 million to Chiapas to fund indigenous human rights self-defense organizations, including a refugee camp used for recruiting EZLN terrorists, and overseen by its commander, Bishop Samuel Ruiz. Misereor's

propaganda routinely supports the EZLN.

Pax Christi, a Catholic "Liberation Theology" outfit based in Belgium, is also active in Chiapas, working closely with Greenpeace, one of whose former officials now directs Pax Christi U.S.A. The group also plays a role in the Colombian kidnapping industry. According to the July 16 issue of *La Prensa*, Colombia's terrorist groups paid Pax Christi and other NGOs to negotiate the payment of ransoms for hostages they had seized. In early 1995, it secured \$6 million in ransom for two Swedish engineers held by the FARC. In 1992, Pax Christi published a book, *State Terrorism in Colombia*, which provided the names, addresses, and photographs of the 500 top anti-guerrilla fighters in the military, claiming that they were "human rights violators."

Oxfam (Oxford Famine), a British Foreign Office covert arm, is also active in Ibero-America. Oxfam President Pierre Galan attended the São Paulo Forum's Fourth Plenary, in Havana, Cuba. The group finances the EZLN, according to Jorge Santiago Santiago, an imprisoned EZLN leader. Oxfam has been active in Chiapas and the Mexico/Guatemala border region since the mid-1980s. It was also caught red-handed funding the training camps of the terrorist Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka.

Norwegian People's Aid, which received funds from the U.S., Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch governments, was in the forefront of efforts in Nicaragua to "support the Sandinista struggle for freedom," it reports, and to mobilize "Native Americans" under the slogan "500 years of resistance." "Native Americans have been oppressed and exploited for centuries," it insists, offering as evidence that, "as a result of hundreds of years of colonization, many native Americans have come to reject their ethnic origins, language, and culture." It has sponsored political asylum for Peruvian indigenous emigrés in Norway, according to its literature, many of whom are thought to have links to Peru's Shining Path (SL) and other terrorist groups.

Similarly, the Switzerland-based **International Committee of Red Cross** routinely works with terrorist and insurgent organizations throughout the world, under the false claim that such organizations are "combatants" in war, and therefore must be accorded the same status as nation-states. According to its 1993 annual report, the ICRC "maintained high-level contacts with representatives of the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN)" of El Salvador, as well as the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka. In Peru, it "continued dissemination activities designed to remind combatants and armed groups of the provisions of humanitarian law . . . allegations concerning the armed opposition were communicated during contacts with the Shining Path and MRTA in the field." On March 29, 1995, the Mexican newspaper *El Herald* published transcripts of a March 24 intercepted phone call between EZLN terrorists, where one terrorist told the other, "it is necessary to ask for more aid from the ICRC and the human rights groups, or our movement will die out."

Explosion nears over 'landless movement' provocations

by Silvia Palacios and Lorenzo Carrasco

Starting in mid-1995, the Landless Movement (MST) of Brazil, controlled by the Workers Party (PT), launched a well-planned and massive campaign of land seizures across the country, just as *EIR* had warned more than a year ago (see *EIR*, June 24, 1994, p. 54). The invasions take advantage of the real conditions of injustice and misery suffered not only by hundreds of thousands of peasants, but also by the inhabitants of the slums (*favelas*) in every Brazilian city; nonetheless, they form a key element in a coordinated plan of continent-wide irregular warfare.

In late July 1995, the MST held its Third National Congress in Brasilia, in which it resolved to directly confront agricultural producers by demanding that the lands of 1,227 producers be handed over for settlements for some 200,000 families. The properties they targeted were on a list of "the leading landowner debtors of the Banco do Brasil." Stated MST leader Fatima Ribero, "Each delegation of the 22 states where the MST operates is studying the areas that are going to be occupied through the end of this year. The areas of the landowners with debts with the Banco do Brasil should be analyzed for occupation."

They also resolved to launch their greatest offensive of land invasions, military-style, to press for the settling of some 60,000 families. Should this occur, it could spark an explosion of rural violence unprecedented in Brazilian history.

The MST seeks to spread this political storm into Brazil's cities, in particular into the volatile *favelas*. Recently, they have begun to enter these miserable slums, to forge a link between the urban poor and the rural landless. In São Paulo, for example, they are recruiting unemployed, street vendors, servants, etc., presaging the formation of a press-gang army of the most impoverished layers of the population.

What makes the crisis inside Brazil even more serious is the fact that the MST's operations, with their sequel of bloody confrontations with the military police, are being encouraged by the "family cabinet" of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, which is made up of his wife, sociologist Ruth Cardoso, and representatives of the non-governmental organization (NGO) apparatus, described by President Cardoso as "neo-government organizations."

In the case of President Cardoso, he is a founding member of the Inter-American Dialogue, and was responsible for the acceptance of then-PT president Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva as a member of the Dialogue. Cardoso also orchestrated the dramatic political strengthening of the MST when, in July 1995, he opted to meet with a delegation of MST leaders who had just concluded their Third National Congress, and who presented him with a list of demands. Just weeks earlier, Cardoso had refused to meet with representatives of the agricultural producers from around the country, who had organized an historic motorcade of more than 1,000 vehicles and several thousand individuals to Brasilia, to protest Cardoso's destructive "Real Plan." The President simply absented himself from the country for those days.

Cardoso agrees to MST demands

Cardoso not only personally received the MST, but he also agreed to all of their main demands, including the replacement of the director of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) (dubbed "an ally of the latifundists" by the MST) with his own former personal secretary, sociologist Francisco Graziano Neto, a man with blatant links to the MST. Graziano Neto's chief of staff, Paulo Loguercio, was a member of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT, see below), at the time that the commission helped create the MST. Loguercio named as his replacement at the CPT João Pedro Stedile, today the visible head of the MST.

By strengthening the radical groups to the detriment of the producers, President Cardoso is following in the disastrous path of former Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who simultaneously enforced a cruel neo-liberal, i.e., free trade, economic austerity program while sponsoring, through his "Solidarity" program (then under the control of his brother Raúl, who is today sitting in a Mexican prison), a variety of neo-communist and outright terrorist groups from which the Zapatista National Liberation Movement would later emerge.

In the first meeting between the new president of INCRA and the MST leadership, on Oct. 23, 1995, the MST leaders declared that their plan for mass land invasions "is not on the agenda for negotiation." Further, one of the main controllers of the movement, Zapatista bishop from San Félix de Araguaia, Don Pedro Casaldaliga, provocatively stated one day before that meeting: "There is war in the countryside. The courage of the MST through its occupations and its resistance is going to more openly provoke the reaction of the latifundists." He added that "the latifundio is perverse, stupid, and archaic. Since the government is not carrying out land reform, the people are doing it. The MST does what it can, under its slogan 'occupy and resist.'"

At the same time that the MST is continuing its invasions, its provocations have reached the extreme of demanding that the government expropriate the "unproductive" lands that the

Army holds for training and installations, as a first step in "land reform."

Thus far, the confrontations over land occupations have been between peasants and public defense forces, but what the MST really seeks is to provoke violent confrontations with landowners, which would set the Brazilian countryside on fire. In São Paulo, the landowners of one of the areas targeted for invasion, Ponta de Paranapanema, warned that the government is proving too slow in addressing land matters, and that the region is fast approaching "an anarchy which can only be resolved by federal intervention." At the same time, it is known that some landowners—not just the large ones, but also small and medium-sized ones—are arming themselves.

The country's producers are facing a true pincers operation. On the one side, they suffer from usury and economic depression; on the other, from the violent challenges of radical groups such as the MST. Further, the MST has now allied itself directly with the usurious banks, demanding that the government expropriate land belonging to the Banco do Brasil's agricultural debtors—land which would then be handed over to the MST!

Real control held by the PT

The MST, including its dissident factions, is controlled by the leadership of the PT, and its current offensive is coordinated directly by the leadership of the theology of liberation crowd, which is doing everything it can to radicalize the situation in the countryside. (For a more thorough discussion of the philosophical roots of liberation theology see "Ruiz's Ideological Support Networks in Germany," *EIR*, March 31, 1995, p. 31.)

Thus, Lula declared in an Oct. 4, 1995 meeting that the MST should continue its land invasions and refuse any offers of a truce. He reminded listeners that during the Presidency of José Sarney (1985-90), "The landless accepted a truce and the result was no settlements."

On Sept. 7, Brazilian independence day, in Aparecida del Norte (shrine of the patron saint of Brazil), Bishop Angelico Sandalo—theologian of liberation and close associate of Cardinal Evaristo Arns, who has given his fullest support to the MST and to the PT (see PT profile)—held a "mass of the excluded," attended by 40,000 workers organized by the MST-PT.

The PT sees the MST as "the best organized people's movement in the country," according to Frei Betto, director of the São Paulo Forum's magazine and one of the key advisers to the MST and PT leaderships. The majority of MST state and national leaders are PT cadre, according to the Rio Grande do Sul daily *Zero Hora*.

The MST is a product of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), the bastion of liberation theology extremists within the country's Catholic Church. The CPT actively supported the two presidential campaigns of PT candidate "Lula" da

Silva, who used it as his political arm. Although that commission cannot be directly linked to the conflicts, by virtue of being an official body of the national bishops conference (CNBB), it serves to give voice to several liberationist bishops. Especially in the north, northeast, and in the center-west of the country, the MST shares with the CPT the organization of settlements.

The links of the MST with the theology of liberation is so evident and organic that the main MST offices in São Paulo operate out of a place granted by the São Paulo diocese, ruled by Cardinal Evaristo Arns.

To understand the true danger the MST represents, it is necessary to point out its links, through the CPT, with Brazil's international enemies, in particular with the world ecological fascists controlled by the British monarchy, one of whose objectives is to exercise supranational control over the strategic Amazon region.

In 1991, the British Right Livelihood Foundation (RLF) granted an "alternative Nobel prize" to the CPT, which in turn is affiliated to the pro-terrorist Pax Christi NGO, based in Belgium. The RLF is part of the Gaia Foundation, created to spread the theology of the New Age and premised on the pagan beliefs in Mother Earth, or Gaia.

The CPT also maintains relations with the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) of London, which coordinates theology of liberation operations globally. Its leaders acknowledge that their philosophical models are the theologians of liberation Gustavo Gutiérrez of Peru, and Leonardo Boff and Cardinal Evaristo Arns of Brazil. Britain's Royal Institute of International Affairs identifies the CIIR as a key instrument of British foreign policy influence within Catholic Ibero-America.

London Cardinal Basil Hume also answers to this CIIR network. In 1992, Hume gave to the CPT's and MST's international mouthpiece Father Ricardo Rezende the medal of the Anti-Slavery International (ASI), which, under cover of fighting modern forms of slavery, promotes supranational interventions against nation-states.

Founded in 1787, the ASI describes itself as "the oldest human rights organization," and includes some of the most renowned families of the British oligarchy, such as Wilberforces and Buxtons. Lord Buxton today is one of the vice presidents of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) of Prince Philip, the organization which, through the George Bush Presidency in the United States, unleashed its fury against Brazilian sovereignty in an attempt to seize the Brazilian Amazon.

This international network founded the so-called Brazil Network, headquartered in London and in Washington, to coordinate the efforts of the main NGOs, including Amnesty International, Survival International, Oxfam, WWF, and Greenpeace, which are all committed to limiting Brazilian sovereignty by using the pretext of ecological, indigenist, human rights, and now agrarian reform causes.

The Brazilian subsidiary of Brazil Network is the Institute of Socio-economic studies (INESC), which lobbies inside the Brazilian Congress in favor of ecology, human rights, and feminism. It is led by PT politician Maria José Jaime, a former terrorist who received her political and military training in China in 1969, when she was an activist in the group Popular Action (AP). She became a central committee member of the Maoist guerrilla movement in 1972. INESC is the MST's major propaganda support apparatus, and has received substantial financing from Canadian organizations such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Canadian Catholic Development and Peace (CCDP). Anthropologist José Carlos Libanio, director of INESC's indigenous affairs, was also adviser to the Canadian embassy in Brasilia and of CIDA. In 1988, Libanio accompanied a group headed by former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau to the Amazon, including a visit to the future Yanomami Indian reserve. One of the members of the group was Sen. Leo Kolber, linked to the Bronfman family.

The INESC is responsible for spreading slanders against EIR and its founder Lyndon LaRouche in the Brazilian Congress.

The PT: New Age neo-liberals

Name of group: Workers Party (PT).

Headquarters: São Paulo, Brazil.

Founded: 1979-80.

Locations of operations, areas active: The PT is a national, legal party, the country's third largest. Currently it controls two governorships (Brasilia, D.F. and Espiritu Santo), dozens of municipal presidents and vice presidents, several of them in the larger cities, and broad representation in the National Congress with 70 deputies and 5 senators.

The PT has a trade union apparatus, the Unified Workers Central (CUT), giving it a great mobilization capacity. Also in its support apparatus are 80,000 Ecclesiastical Base Communities (CEBs), with 3 million members.

As of the last Presidential election, the PT has been working intensively to organize a group within the Armed Forces, regarding which Fidel Castro gave them the following advice in a 1989 meeting: "The PT shouldn't give the impression it is hostile to the military. It is crucial that they not see the PT as an enemy. Without conceding the party's principles, you should seek them out."

Major terrorist actions: Although the PT is not directly terrorist, leading members came out of groups which participated in the terrorist movement of the 1960s. Inside the country, it supports and promotes pro-terrorist groups such as the

Landless Movement (MST). Outside Brazil, PT leaders such as Sen. Eduardo Suplicy openly defend active narco-terrorist groups, as in the case of the kidnapping ring exposed after the explosion of an arms bunker in Managua, Nicaragua.

Trademark terror signatures: This is a classical Leninist political party, with professional militants. Its statutes permit the existence of so-called tendencies, so that, in effect, the PT is a conglomerate including many different groups ranging from the ultra-left to those nearer to the right-wing social democracy.

The PT's known currents are: "Articulation," its historical wing which, although it portrays itself as moderate, houses Marxist groups and a section of the CEBs; PT-Broad and Democratic, the moderate wing. The most radical currents are: "Labor" and the "Socialist Current," both Trotskyist groups, the latter affiliated with the Trotskyist Fourth International led by Ernst Mandel; The Hour of Truth; Socialist Force; Leftist Option; Socialist Brazil; Marxist Tendency; and Revolutionary Communist Workers Party (PCBR), proponents of armed struggle, members of which, in 1986, assaulted a branch of the Banco do Brasil, in Salvador, Bahia.

Leaders names and aliases: Luís Inacio da Silva ("Lula"), twice candidate for the Presidency of Brazil; José Dirceu, current PT president; Aloizio Mercadante, in charge of economic studies; Olivio Dutra, former municipal president of Pôrto Alegre; José Genoino, deputy, specialist in security and intelligence matters; Marco Aurelio Garcia, foreign affairs secretary; Maria Luiza Erundina, former municipal president of São Paulo; Markus Sokol; Luís Eduardo Greenhalgh, on the board of the São Paulo Forum's magazine, *América Latina*; Francisco Weffort, current culture minister; Benedita da Silva, senator; João Paulo Cunha; Raul Pont; Marcos Rolim, who represents the party's most radical New Age, anti-military current; Rui Falcão; Gilberto Carvalho, secretary of organization of the PT, and sits on the board of *América Livre*; Eduardo Suplicy, senator; Tatau Godinho; José Luís Fevereiro; Lauro Marcondes; Augusto de Franco; Telma de Souza; Hamilton Pereira; Luci Choinacki; João Machado; Vladimir Palmeira.

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

Nationally: Unified Workers Central (CUT); Landless Movement (MST); Brazilian Socioeconomic Analysis Institute (IBASE), a PT intelligence group run by sociologist Herbert de Souza; Socioeconomic Studies Institute (INESC); National Forum of NGOs; Pastoral Land Commission (CPT); Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), a group of bishops and archbishops linked to liberation theology, including Cardinal Evaristo Arns.

Internationally: founding member of the São Paulo Forum; Greenpeace; Trotskyist Fourth International; former communist parties of Europe, especially from the former Italian Communist Party (PCI); Germany's Green party; Cuban Communist Party; Inter-American Dialogue.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: neo-



Luís Inácio da Silva, known as Lula, twice the PT's candidate for the Presidency of Brazil. His party is a rainbow coalition of various "tendencies," which support environmentalism, socialism, feminism, and other New Age "isms."

communism, Marxism, theology of liberation, ecologism, feminism, and all variants of the New Age. It fights for socialism, and embraces all globalist causes.

Economics: Although it claims to oppose free-market neo-liberalism, it actually supports its central theses: In December 1992, Lula proposed using a part of the country's reserves to purchase U.S. government bonds, to be given as a guarantee to creditors who would agree to extend payment terms on the foreign debt. José Dirceu, current party president, stated in June 1993, "We're open to discussing the privatization project." The *Financial Times*, policy voice of the City of London, happily described the PT on May 17, 1995 as "the one real source of new blood in the Congress . . . a modernizing influence."

Nuclear energy: The PT opposes Brazil's nuclear program. In 1988, a PT leader who promised to give no quarter in the fight against nuclear energy, won the municipal presidency of Angra dos Reis, site of Brazil's nuclear plants. The PT is a founding member of the Brazilian Anti-Nuclear Network, which includes Greenpeace and other NGOs. In 1993, then-PT Presidential candidate Lula told Bernard Aronson, then-U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, that the PT was, and would continue to be, anti-nuclear.

Armed Forces: During the 1989 campaign, the party proposed redefining the role of the Armed Forces, creating a Defense Ministry, which the Inter-American Dialogue promotes to reduce the military in Ibero-America, and eliminating obligatory military service.

Indigenism and ecologism: The PT supports the creation of the Yanomami Indian reserve, and demarcation of other

indigenous areas. Lula proposes linking renegotiation of Brazil's foreign debt to environmental issues.

Feminism: The adoption of feminism is the party's main cultural project. The most aberrant example is its defense of medieval witches as a symbol of women's liberation. "Who were the witches we burned at the stake in European town squares? Ordinary women who didn't adapt to the masculine criteria of piety."

Demographic control and sterilization: In the National Congress, the PT proposed an amendment to make sterilization legal and performed within the public health system. It also supports abortion.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Fidel Castro, Louis Althusser, Herbert Marcuse, Max Weber.

Frei Betto: Dominican friar Carlos Alberto Libanio Christo, known as "Frei Betto," intimate friend of Fidel Castro and Lula; former adviser to the CEBs under Nicaragua's Sandinista regime, and currently editor-in-chief of *América Libre*, magazine of the São Paulo Forum; expresses satisfaction that "there is a new emergence of religiosity in the world, as can be seen in the fact that the books which sell best are spiritualist, esoteric, and self-help books."

Paulo Freire: founding member of the PT; leading advocate of theology of liberation; author of *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which proposes "deschooling"; argues that written and spoken language itself is "a western imposition" upon Africans whose "natural" mode of communication is pantomime. His "literacy" programs were implemented in Sandinista Nicaragua, and have been pushed by Unesco worldwide.

Leonardo Boff: ex-Franciscan priest, one of the primary theoreticians and propagandists of liberation theology and the Gaia cult; argues that Christianity is responsible for genocide and ethnocide; in his book *Latin America: From the Conquest to the New Evangelization*, he calls for salvaging "the identity [of the Indians], suffocated by European culture and the Christian religion." In a 1994 book, he wrote: "Mankind is in a difficult transition—from the nation-state to the world-state, from the worldwide to the cosmic. . . . We are standing before a new planetary civilization."

Current number of cadres: unknown.

Training: Cuba, Nicaragua.

Known drug connections: unknown.

Known arms suppliers/routes: unknown.

Known political supporters/advocates: Of particular importance are theology of liberation advocates within the Catholic Church, who have provided systematic political cover for the PT's activities. Chief among these is Cardinal Evaristo Arns, of São Paulo; and the bishop of São Felix de Araguaia, Pedro Casaldaliga (who refers to Fidel Castro as "older brother, first comrade, already patriarch of the Great Fatherland," and who is intimate friends with the Zapatista Mexican bishop, Samuel Ruiz).

Known funding: As a registered party, the PT receives

Workers Party goes to court against the MSIA

In July 1994, the Brazilian chapter of the Ibero-American Solidarity Movement (MSIA) published a pamphlet entitled "Lula and the São Paulo Forum, Agents of One Worldist Imperialism," in which it exposed the origins and activities of the São Paulo Forum and the Workers Party's (PT) ties to it, facts which were practically unknown to most Brazilians.

Exasperated with the pamphlet's broad distribution throughout the country, the PT took legal action against the MSIA, which is a Brazilian political movement associated with the ideas of American statesman Lyndon H. LaRouche. On Sept. 9, 1994, in the city of Pôrto Alegre, capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the PT's delegate to the state Electoral Tribunal, Maritania Dallagnol, initiated court action against the MSIA, accusing it of "electoral crimes" for having made "slandorous and defamatory statements against the PT and its president, Luís Inácio 'Lula' da Silva." At the time, "Lula" was one of two candidates favored to win the presidential elections scheduled for October and November. The PT stated that the pamphlet was a "politically fantasy-ridden, delirious and lying" publication, linking the party and its members to "a network of international drug-trafficking and terrorism which, according to its absurd thesis, seeks to destabilize governments and destroy sovereign states and their Armed Forces."

In response to the PT's action, the Electoral Tribunal requested that the Federal Police take testimony from Vitor Gruenewaldt, Nilder Costa, and Geraldo Lino,

members of the MSIA's organizing committee in Brazil, and from journalist Gustavo Camargo, in charge of the MSIA's publications. This was done in October and November 1994.

After the elections, everything indicated that the case would be closed and filed. But, in July 1995, MSIA organizers received a summons to appear before the judge of Pôrto Alegre's Second Electoral Zone.

Neither the reactivation of the case, nor the fact that it was initiated in Pôrto Alegre, were accidental. The reactivation occurred after the Fifth Congress of the São Paulo Forum, held last May in Montevideo, Uruguay, during which a decision to proceed was apparently made. In addition, Pôrto Alegre is a city which the PT intends to make an example of successful party administration (it has controlled the mayor's office since 1988). In a roundtable discussion during the Uruguay congress, chaired by Chilean sociologist Marta Harnecker, Pôrto Alegre Deputy Mayor Raul Pont confirmed this intention: "In Pôrto Alegre, we are living this experience. It has become a reference point . . . because it is something new, and different." Harnecker lent her "consulting" services to Pôrto Alegre's mayor.

Harnecker sits on the editorial board of the São Paulo Forum's magazine, *América Livre*, as does her husband Manuel Pineiro, the feared chief of Cuban intelligence, the DGI.

Another factor is the political presence in Pôrto Alegre of Jair Krieschke, a longtime slanderer of the MSIA and LaRouche. In Brazil, Krieschke has made a career out of spreading the slanders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), and he is also an intimate friend of the former Montonero leader, the Argentine Mario Firmenich, among others.

legal funding from companies and foundations. In the 1989 Presidential campaign, there were accusations that the PT had received secret financing from foreign firms; among those mentioned were the Argentine food cartel Bunge and Born. The U.S.-based Woodrow Wilson Institute supports it through scholarships granted to PT academics.

The CUT, on the other hand, has admitted that 18% of its total 1994 budget came from Italian, Dutch, and German organizations. The German Catholic Church, through its Adveniat and Misereor agencies, finances the PT indirectly through various projects. The allocation of the funds is mediated through the Pastoral Land Commission, or the Indigenous Missionary Center, both official entities of the Brazilian Catholic Church.

Thumbnail historical profile: The PT was founded in São Paulo in 1979-80. Three types of forces came together

to create it.

The first was a group of intellectuals, sons of wealthy families who belonged to the generation of the New Left, joined with a group of leftist intellectuals from the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), predecessor of the country's largest party, the PMDB. The second group was made up of São Paulo trade union leaders, especially from the metalworkers unions. The third was a strong group of liberation theologians from the Ecclesiastical Base Communities, led by a group of Dominican friars from São Paulo, to which Frei Betto belonged. In radicalizing, it had joined the National Liberating Alliance, the terrorist group of Carlos Marighella, trained in Cuba. The entire project had the blessing of São Paulo Archbishop Paulo Evaristo Arns.

Between 1977 and 1979, the second group of intellectuals, known as the "independent left," tried to create a social

democratic party. Participants in this effort were sociologist Francisco Weffort, later the PT's foreign affairs secretary and culture minister in the current government; José Alvaro Moisés; Francisco de Oliveira; José Serra, current planning minister; Paulo Singer; then-candidate for the federal Senate from the MDB, Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Almino Afonso; Mario Covas, current São Paulo governor; and Luís Carlos Bresser Pereira, current administration minister.

At that time, Luís Inacio da Silva was a famous and charismatic metalworker union leader from the industrial heart of São Paulo, and the intellectuals wanted to win him over to their projected new party. In 1979, the unions he led used their votes to put Fernando Henrique Cardoso in the Senate.

On Jan. 24, 1979, trade unionists attending the Ninth Metalworkers Congress voted for creating the Workers Party, and not the social democratic party sought by the intellectuals. Some of these joined the PT, and others who did not, nonetheless remained within the party's orbit.

Strong ties to Cuba were evident from the very inception of the party. Originally, these were established through the mediation of Frei Betto, who, in 1980, became friends with Fidel Castro. There were also strong ties with the Cuban intelligence service, the DGI. In his book *Paradise Lost*, Frei Betto reports that in July 1980, Lula da Silva met Castro for the first time, in Managua, Nicaragua, during the celebration of the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. Also present was commander Manuel Piñeiro, whom Betto characterizes as "a professional conspirator endowed with an enviable sense of humor."

The PT has maintained permanent relations with Piñeiro through his wife, Chilean Marxist Marta Harnecker, who has served as an adviser to several Brazilian city governments, such as those of Pôrto Alegre, Santos, São Paulo, and Vitoria, which are, or were until recently, run by PT members.

According to PT historians, the party was consolidated throughout Brazil in 1982, having at that time 400,000 members.

In the 1988 elections, the PT garnered big electoral victories, winning the municipal presidencies of three state capitals: São Paulo, Pôrto Alegre, and Vitoria.

Later, it had significant participation in Presidential elections, in 1989 against Fernando Collor de Mello, in which it won more than 10 million votes in the first round; and in 1994, against Fernando Henrique Cardoso, winning 17 million votes in the first round.

Inspired by such liberation theologians as Frei Betto, the PT has also created other battlefronts involving a broad spectrum of the New Age movement, together with more marginal layers of the population which are the ideal bases for jacobinism. These include the National Articulation of Popular and Trade Union Movements (Anapos), created in 1980 with Lula's backing, and in April 1993, the Popular Movements Confederation.

The MST: the other face of usury

Name of group: MST, Landless Movement (Movimento dos Sem Terra).

General headquarters: São Paulo, Brazil.

Founded: 1989-90.

Locations of operations, areas active: land invasions throughout the country, especially in the south, which is the region of greatest economic and cultural prosperity of the country, and where there are the fewest *latifundios* (large land holdings). The MST's areas of operations, by order of importance, are in the states of: 1) Paraná; 2) Rio Grande do Sul; 3) São Paulo; 4) Minas Gerais; 5) Mato Grosso; 6) Pará; and 7) Rondônia. The actual area occupied adds up to some 700 square kilometers, while their regular encampments cover 72.5 square kilometers, according to the MST itself.

Major terrorist actions: In 1993, the MST carried out 81 land invasions; in 1994, there were 119. In 1995, the most important actions have been:

On Aug. 9, in Corumbiara, Rondônia, they ambushed a military police battalion that was going to evict them from a ranch that had been occupied by 600 families, with the bloody outcome of two soldiers and nine peasants dead. The occupation of this ranch was headed by a radical "dissident" group of the MST, led by Cicero Pereira Neto, a member of the Workers Party (PT). After the incident, Pereira Neto declared: "Corumbiara was a regional fight. The fight for agrarian reform is greater." The *New York Times*, the *Economist* of London, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like Amnesty International defended the MST and blamed the Brazilian government for a "massacre."

On Aug. 13, in Pedra Preta, Mato Grosso, 1,100 families invaded a 6,600 hectare ranch; in Nova Xavantina, a group from the MST took the head of the mayor's cabinet as hostage, and took over a bridge on the River of the Dead for 24 hours.

Also in August, nearly 700 families occupied a ranch in the region of Unai, 30 kilometers from the ranch owned by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

In early September, in the region of Pontal de Paranapanema, São Paulo, more than 4,000 families occupied four ranches totalling 8,000 hectares. In this same region, they invaded land belonging to the company Centrais Eletricas de São Paulo, where the Taquarucu hydroelectric project was being built.

In September, more than 800 families occupied a ranch in Cruz Alta, Rio Grande do Sul.

Modus operandi: In the central offices of the MST in

São Paulo, they use maps to plan what areas are to be invaded. Many of these properties are productive, others not. An advance group of MST professional activists is sent, and later they lead families in a land invasion, families who don't necessarily belong to the area, but are brought there like serfs. It is common that the land to be invaded is located near some strategic area, such as hydroelectric projects.

The professional MST cadre take charge of the security of their camps, using a Vietcong-style methodology: They build trenches and pits around the occupied area, camouflaging them with leaves and branches, and then place sharpened wooden stakes at the bottom of the pits, smeared with human feces. This ensures that anyone falling into the pit is quickly killed, as the excrement enters the blood stream.

Then the "education" team arrives, to begin indoctrination.

Leaders' names and aliases: Father Ricardo Rezende, international spokesman for the MST and for the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT); Gilmar Mauro; Maria Rainha; João Pedro Stedile. The leadership structure of the MST, according to sources from the group cited in the Sept. 24, 1995 issue of *Folha de São Paulo*, is the following: They operate without a president, but with a collective leadership named the National Coordinator, made up of 65 members; after that is the National Directorship, which also functions as a collective, with 15 members; then come the state directorships, many of which are made up of Workers Party cadre, or cadre from the PT's labor federation, the CUT; finally come the camp coordinators, made up of 7 individuals who organize land occupations and are divided into sectors (education, food, health, security, production, and conflict negotiation.)

Groups allied to nationally or internationally:

National: Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), an official agency under the Brazilian National Bishops Council (CNBB), but actually controlled by the theology of liberation faction; the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), also an agency of the CNBB; Institute of Economic and Social Studies (INESC), an NGO which is the main lobbying group in the National Congress in favor of the MST; Brazilian Institute of Socio-Economic Analysis (IBASE), headed by Herbert de Souza, an NGO that serves as an intelligence unit for the MST, PT, and other radical groups.

International: São Paulo Forum; Popular Indigenous Peasant Movement 500 Years of Resistance; Shining Path (Peru).

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Existentialist theology of liberation, combined with pagan worship of the Mother Earth goddess (Gaia).

For the MST and CPT, as well as for the innumerable Ecclesiastical Base Communities (CEBs) linked to them, the key to a victorious insurrection is in their capacity to "spiritualize the earth," based on their view that "the earth is a mystery" in the religious sense, and "to free the earth is to create space for God to act in the world." They hold

indoctrination rites, and thus justify their acts of violence.

One of the top leaders of the MST, João Pedro Stedile, has stated that land occupations are "our main form of pressure, but our entire socialist approach is related to the principles of the Catholic Church, our main base of training"—that is, the theology of liberation.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Political controllers of the MST are a group of PT leaders from theology of liberation. Their ideologues are: Paulo Freire, Leonardo Boff, and Frei Betto (for these three, see PT profile). MST leader José Rainha Junior confessed in an Oct. 15, 1995 interview with the daily *O Estado de São Paulo*, that his activism began in 1978 in what was the embryo of the Ecclesiastical Base Communities, and that since then "I have had the joy of knowing Frei Betto, who has inspired me so."

Current number of cadres: 5,200 professional militants, according to *Folha de São Paulo*.

Training: Cuba has trained activists in "agricultural techniques." Also links with Shining Path of Peru, according to Brazilian Army intelligence sources: "the methodology of the Landless is very similar to that of Shining Path, which was already imported by the Zapatista National Liberation Army of Mexico and by the National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala (URNG)," explained the daily *Gazeta Mercantil* of Sept. 18, 1995.

In one of the MST camps, manuals prepared by the Nicaraguan Sandinista Front were found, according to a 1994 report of the military police of São Paulo.

Known drug connections/involvement in: Unknown.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Unknown.

Known political supporters/advocates: The Workers Party (PT), on whose electoral lists were five elected federal congressmen of the MST; Cardinal Evaristo Arns of São Paulo, the de facto "chaplain" of the São Paulo Forum; Bishop Pedro Casaldaliga of São Felix de Araguaia, a long-time intimate friend of Mexican Bishop Samuel Ruiz, EZLN commander; Americas Watch; Amnesty International; Anti-Slavery International (London); Brazil Network; Survival International; Catholic Institute for International Relations (London).

Financing: Misereor, according to the press of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, sends money indirectly to the MST through the Center of Popular Alternative Technologies (CETAP), which includes agricultural technicians linked to the MST, to the CUT, and to the Pastoral Land Commission. The Catholic organization Caritas also has been mentioned as a financier of the MST under cover of providing humanitarian aid to the needy, money which is channeled through entities of the Catholic Church.

Thumbnail historical profile: The MST was created 15 years ago by the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), which until today remains the most important center of theology of liberation in Brazil. Since then, the MST has managed to get land for some 130,000 families, which maintain links to the organization.

Coca growers building a regional 'Chiapas'

by Manuel Hidalgo

After the defeat of Peru's narco-terrorist Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), few imagined that efforts to create new "Chiapas" in Peru and neighboring Bolivia could possibly be successful. Nonetheless, British networks are quickly and publicly building an armed movement of coca-producing peasants, which opposes the eradication of coca crops, advocates separatism, and which is performing exactly the same role as Shining Path and the MRTA once did.

This is a binational operation, consisting of a large and well-armed force. If successful, it will transform the coca-producing valleys of both nations into a separate "republic," made up of the continuous corridor of the eastern side of the Andes mountain range descending down into the Amazon Basin. This is a region virtually forgotten by the State, in which Castroite guerrillas operated in the mid-1960s. Throughout this region, there is a complete overlap of the zones dominated by drug-trafficking, terrorism, and the parks or ecological reserves established by networks associated with Prince Philip's World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) (Map 6).

Peasant self-defense groups

A key aspect of this strategy in Peru is the project to recruit and transform peasant self-defense groups (*rondas campesinas*) into shock troops in the coca-producing valleys. Originally, these groups were created and armed by the State, as a component of its offensive to defeat Shining Path. But now, spokesmen for the São Paulo Forum, such as Peruvian Carlos Tapia and myriad anthropologists, are trying to organize and recruit these self-defense groups into orchestrating a "new Chiapas," as they become incorporated into the coca-producers' fight. Currently, there are 240,000 peasants, with 16,500 weapons, belonging to 4,200 self-defense committees (Anti-Subversive Civil Defense), who have a dominant presence in this part of Peruvian territory.

The most recent conference of the São Paulo Forum in Buenos Aires, Argentina openly promoted this plan of organizing a coca-producers' insurgency in Bolivia and Peru, as the leading edge of the drive to legalize the narcotics trade

internationally. Bolivian Evo Morales, leader of the Andean Council of Coca Leaf Producers (CAPHC), was treated like a star, and loudly applauded when he proposed drug legalization and the strengthening of the coca-producers insurgency, which he characterized as "anti-imperialist." During his stay in Buenos Aires, Morales gave an interview to Bolivia's *Hoy* newspaper, in which he warned that the coca-producing Chapare region of Bolivia could easily become "another Chiapas." He praised Cuba's Fidel Castro as "a heroic figure. . . . I am ready to proclaim him commander of the liberation forces of America, or Latin America."

Morales has a base today, thanks to the work of Harvard University's punk economist, Jeffrey Sachs, who served as an adviser to the Bolivian government of Víctor Paz Estenssoro from 1985 to 1987. Finance minister in that government was Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, today Bolivia's President. As Sachs's monetarist, free-market policy directives were implemented by Sánchez de Lozada—Sachs described himself as having personal, "hands-on" control—they wiped out what little existed of the productive economy, and knowingly opened the doors for the international drug trade to come in and fill up the gap. Under Sachs's rule, entire new areas of the country, such as the Beni and Chapare regions, became major drug zones.

Sachs, in his 1988 study, *Bolivia: 1952-1986*, admits that he knew exactly what he was doing:

"To preserve fiscal balance, the government had to launch a brutal battle to reduce payrolls in Comibol [the State-run mining company]. . . . Comibol has reduced its employment from about 30,000 workers in 1985, to just 7,000, as of 1987. Many of these workers are still unemployed, or only marginally employed, or *have gone to the coca-growing region to find work*. The mining towns themselves have been decimated" (emphasis added).

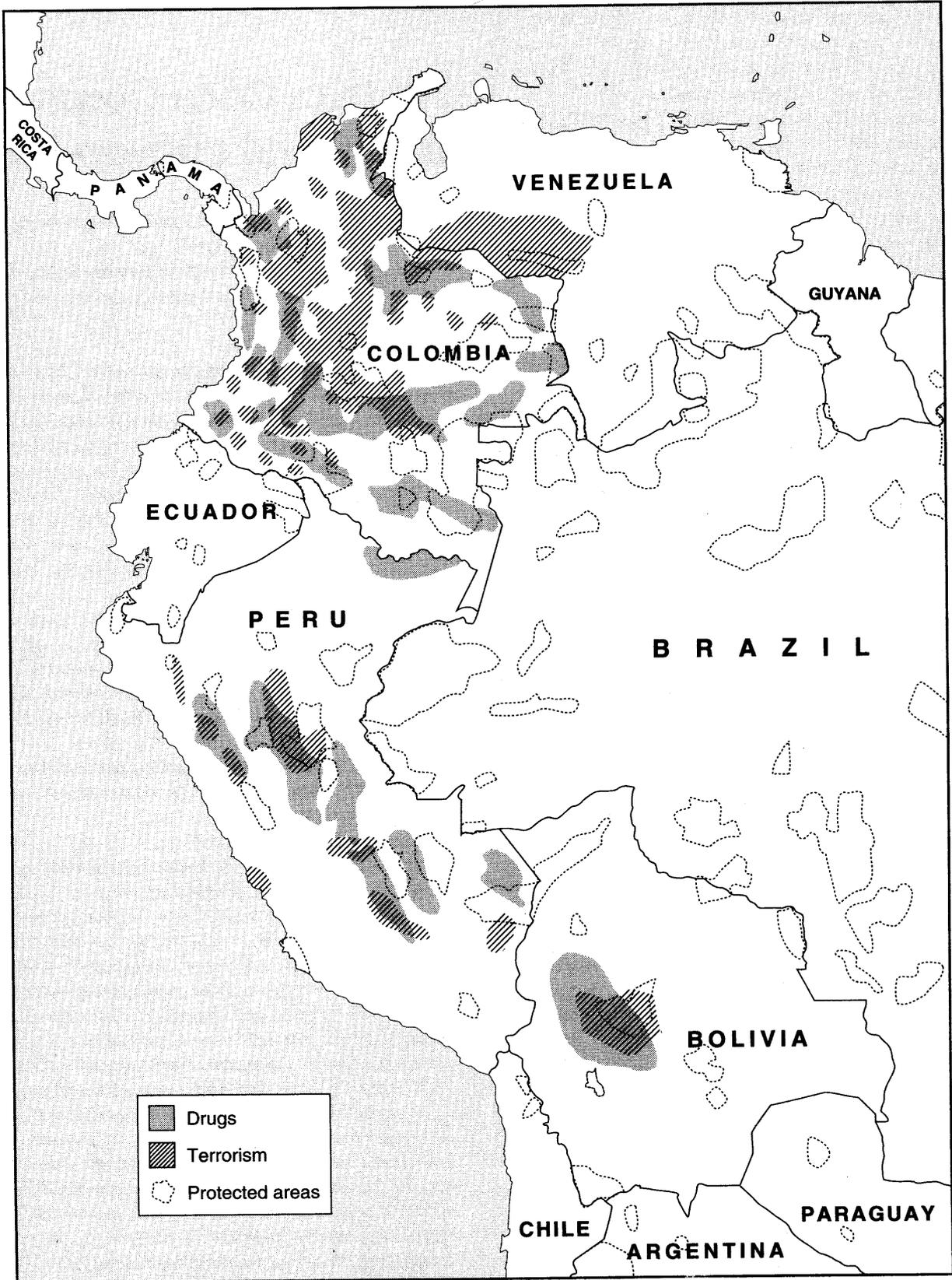
The Chapare front

Since August of 1993, confrontations between the coca producers controlled by Evo Morales and Bolivian anti-drug forces has escalated, forcing the government to decree states of emergency on more than one occasion. The government also accused Morales of receiving funds from drug traffickers and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in order to set up paramilitary groups to defend the drug trade. He has been arrested several times.

On March 23, 1995, Roger Rumrill, Peruvian adviser to CAPHC, announced that he and Morales would participate in the "Coca Campaign '95," organized by a "handful of European NGOs," of which he mentioned the Germany-based Society for Endangered Peoples. The campaign included a tour and conferences in Europe. On Sept. 19-20 of this year, in Vienna, Austria, non-governmental organizations organized a forum on "Indigenous Peoples, Drug Trafficking, and Development."

On April 18, in a town on the border with Peru, Bolivian

Drugs, terrorism, and protected areas in the Andes



authorities captured Evo Morales, together with the top leadership of CAPHC from both countries, who were ostensibly coordinating a new wave of resistance to coincide with the separatist efforts of six Bolivian states, occurring at precisely that moment. The foreign leaders, most of them Peruvian, were expelled and the Bolivians arrested.

Another deadly blow to CAPHC's base was delivered in June-July 1995, when joint anti-drug operations by the Clinton administration and Colombian law enforcement agencies virtually decapitated the Cali Cartel. Within weeks, the price of raw coca leaves in Peru and Bolivia had dropped by 95%—there was no one to buy their product. Nationalist anti-drug layers in Bolivia, Peru, and the United States all agreed: 200,000 families of Peruvian and other coca-producers were being left without income, and this was clearly the moment to move to replace coca with food production, and wipe out the problem once and for all throughout the Andean countryside.

But the CAPHC has also moved to exploit the crisis. On Aug. 10, a CAPHC spokesman threatened: "In [Peru's] Apurimac Valley, there are 25,000 people [from peasant self-defense groups] who fought Shining Path, and now they have been abandoned. . . . These people's misery can be the breeding ground for subversion. . . . This is a time bomb that can explode at any moment." On Aug. 10-11, CAPHC again met on the Peruvian side of the border and continued to threaten that uprisings would occur in Peru's two major coca-producing valleys, the Upper Huallaga and the Apurimac. The daily *La República* encouraged this with headlines such as "Less Coca, More Hunger."

The IMF and the narco-economy

The Andean Council of Cocoa Leaf Producers estimates that the combination of extreme poverty and corruption will push the peasant self-defense groups into confrontation with the State. Its spokesmen boast that the self-defense groups in what have now become coca-producing valleys, are infiltrated by the drug trade, to the point where they are protecting drug traffickers' activities in the same way that Shining Path used to do.

CAPHC strategy is premised on the expectation that the government of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori will continue to implement the brutal economic policies of the International Monetary Fund. The IMF and World Bank have prohibited the creation of infrastructure, agricultural credit, or protection for agricultural production. CAPHC assumes, therefore, that no other crop can compete with coca, and that the drop in the coca leaf price will allow the rage and desperation of the coca-producers and self-defense groups to be directed against the State. Indigenist anthropologists have been patiently profiling this situation for a number of years, exemplified by the case of the American Otto Starn (see CAPHC profile, below).

Andean Coca Council: drugs and subversion

Name of group: Andean Council of Coca Leaf Producers (CAPHC); Andean Coca Council.

General headquarters and important fronts: Bolivia: Chapare region, La Paz. Peru: coca-producing valleys in the south, Lima.

Founding: early 1990s.

Locations of operations, areas active: Main base of operations is the Chapare region and the adjacent Esiboro-Secure National Park, in Bolivia, but it is spreading to other coca-producing valleys of Bolivia and Peru: La Convención (Cusco), Apurímac and Ené (Ayacucho, Junín, Cusco), Pichis Palcazu (Huánuco), Ucayali (Ucayali), Alto Huallaga (San Martín, Huánuco), Marañón (La Libertad, Huánuco, San Martín), and Mayo (San Martín). Also, along the border area are the coca valleys of Tambopata (Sandía, Puno) and the Manu National Park.

The Peruvian and Bolivian coca valleys form a nearly continuous corridor along the eastern slope of the Andes, surrounded by ecological reserves: the Esiboro-Secure National Park in Bolivia; the Tambopata Candamo Reserve, Manu National Park, and Pampas del Heath National Reserve in Peru.

The CAPHC also includes coca groups from Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador. Their coordinating meetings have been held in Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia.

Major terrorist actions:

- August 1994: CAPHC leader Evo Morales organized a march with thousands of coca-farmers from Villa Tunari (Chapare) to the capital of Bolivia, La Paz, to protest the coca-eradication efforts, assisted by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, known as Operation New Dawn, in the Chapare, Cochabamba. The march ended violently, and Morales was arrested and charged by the authorities with encouraging the formation of a paramilitary guards with funds from non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

- April 18, 1995: The Bolivian government arrested 24 members of CAPHC, including Evo Morales, and declared the country under a state of siege to halt the "seditious subversive escalation." One day earlier, the government had used force to control a secessionist movement in the department of Tarija, arresting five leaders of that movement. The department created an "independent provisional government." On April 18, five departments joined Tarija.

● April 23, 1995. Serious confrontations in Chapare, when the coca-farmers tried to stop coca-eradication efforts.

● July 22, 1995: More confrontations took place between coca-farmers and anti-drug forces in the Esiboro-Secure National Park. Evo Morales was arrested. Two months later, Morales—now free—announced that he has gone into hiding.

Modus operandi: The CAPHC in a coalition of coca-farmers' unions and federations, funded and controlled by a network of NGOs and extreme-left political parties. In Bolivia, the unifying feature is the active resistance to eradication of illegal coca crops. They organize regional strikes, highway blockages, marches, and confrontations with anti-drug forces. In Peru, the eradication programs have not yet begun, so that all the CAPHC forces are dedicated to supporting Morales.

The coca-farmer federations are organized by valley, generally unifying coca-farmers in each village. There are valleys where the major agricultural activity is coca-growing, such that the agrarian federations are run by the coca-farmers. In the case of Peru, there are "peasant self-defense" groups in each valley, initially armed and organized by the Army to fight the Shining Path, which in some cases (e.g., the Apurimac Valley) are largely made up of coca-growers. The CAPHC is trying to attract all of these self-defense groups to its cause.

The leadership is constantly traveling through the Andean countries, the United States, and Europe.

Leaders' names and aliases: Nearly the entire leadership of CAPHC was arrested for "sedition" by Bolivian authorities in Copacabana, Bolivia, when they met on April 18, 1995. The majority have been released. They include:

Evo Morales Ayma, Bolivia, president; Genaro Cahuana Serna, Peru, vice president.

Peruvians: Hugo Cabieses Cubas, economist; Ricardo Soberón García, lawyer; Roger Rumrill, journalist; Baldomero Cáceres Santa María, psychologist; Alberto Quintanilla Chacón, former United Left congressman; Antonio Moreno Vargas, general secretary of the Peruvian Peasant Federation (CCP); Augusta Tejada Huallpa, secretary of the CCP; Eliseo Condori, representative of the Provincial Peasant Federation of Sandía, Puno; Abel García Luna; Jorge Luis Vásquez Espinoza; Juvenal Mercado.

Bolivians: Segundo Montevilla; Juan Bautista Quispe; Maruja Machaca; Dante Lorini; Crisólogo Mendoza; Miguel Calisaya Montalvo; Modesto Condori; Sabino Arroyo.

Others: María Margarita Gonçalves, Brazil; Lucio Hurtado, Colombia; Luis Fernando Giraldo Soto, Colombia; Ellen Cross, North America.

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

National: Peruvian Peasant Federation (CCP), linked to the ultra-leftist Mariátegui Unified Party (PUM); United Left (IU), founding member of the São Paulo Forum; Pro-Human

Rights Association, linked to the PUM; National Executive Committee of the Peasant Self-Defense Movements.

International: São Paulo Forum; Society for Endangered Peoples (GfBV).

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: The nativist ideology spread among the peasant federations by institutions like the South American Indian Council, the American Indigenist Institute, Cultural Survival-USA, and others. They consider coca a basic ritual element of the Indian religion of Mother Earth (Pachamama), in which coca is "paid" to the earth. Thus, defending coca, which they call the "sacred leaf of the Incas," is defending the indigenous cultural identity against the "invader" West. They consider the eradication of coca as "imperialism" and "foreign occupation."

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians:

● Orin Starn, American anthropologist from Duke University (North Carolina), primary strategist behind the mobilization of the Peruvian self-defense groups (*rondas campesinas*) to insurrection. In 1991 and 1994, Starn published profiles of the 4,500 existing self-defense groups nationwide, including interviews with their leaders.

● Roger Rumrill, Peruvian adviser to CAPHC, propagandist for the GfBV, linked to Stefano Varese, the indigenist anthropologist-ideologue and member of the board of directors of Cultural Survival, whose brother Luis is a cofounder of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). Varese worked in the 1970s with Marc Dourojeanni, a World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) operative in Peru, to create the conditions for terrorist warfare in the 1980s.

● Carlos Tapia, former Peruvian congressman from the United Left, predicted on April 9, 1995, that the self-defense groups would head up the "new Peruvian Chiapas."

● Virgilio Roel, member of the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP), promoter of the South American Indian Council. Encourages a "Marxist interpretation" of Peruvian history, and especially of the "indigenous uprisings." Headed the mobilization against the 1992 Quincentenary of the Evangelization of the Americas.

● Baldomero Cáceres, Peruvian adviser to CAPHC, expelled from Bolivia. Leading promoter of drug legalization, linked to the activities of the U.S. Drug Policy Foundation.

● Rodrigo Montoya, Peruvian, indigenist anthropologist close to the MRTA, defends consumption of *ayahuasca*, another native hallucinogen.

● Max Hernández, Carlos Alberto Seguín, and Moisés Lemlij, British-trained Peruvian psychiatrists who have profiled the use of hallucinogens by the Indians, for British intelligence's Tavistock Institute.

Current number of cadres: Morales claims to have mobilized 5,000 coca-farmers for his 1994 march; an unknown number have been arrested in confrontations with anti-drug forces. In Chapare alone, there are some 50,000 coca-

farmers.

In Peru, the targets for recruitment are the 20,000 coca-growing families in the above-mentioned valleys, and in particular the 240,000 members of some 4,200 armed peasant self-defense groups. A large number of these are in the coca-growing valleys. CAPHC has fluid relations with the leaders of these groups.

Training:

No information on Bolivia.

In Peru, the self-defense groups in the coca valleys have received training from the Peruvian Army.

Known drug connections/involvement: Nearly 95% of the production of the coca-farmers goes to the illegal drug trade, the rest to "traditional consumption."

In Bolivia, the government has accused Morales of being financed by the drug traffickers to arm paramilitary guards to protect him.

In Peru, spokesmen for the CAPHC have expressed their intention to mobilize the self-defense groups in the coca valleys, which have been infiltrated by the drug trade and have received weapons from drug traffickers.

Known arms suppliers/routes:

Bolivia: No information.

Peru: The 240,000 members of the self-defense groups possess some 16,500 rifles received from the Armed Forces to fight Shining Path. These *ronderos* have bought more weapons with money from the drug traffickers, particularly in the coca valleys like Apurimac.

Known political supporters/advocates:

● Rigoberta Menchú: In September 1994, the CAPHC announced that Menchú would present an "urgent action" before the U.N. Human Rights Commission in defense of the coca leaf, to be prepared by CAPHC.

● Bolivian Workers Federation (COB): In September 1994, they suspended wage talks with the government, to force the release of Evo Morales.

● Congressmen Gregorio Lanza (Bolivia) and Julio Castro Gómez (Peru, United Left), toured Europe in April 1994, together with CAPHC leaders and advisers.

● Gustavo Mohme Llona, São Paulo Forum member, congressman, and director of the daily *La República*, the main mouthpiece for the CAPHC.

● Ricardo Soberón Garrido, CAPHC adviser expelled from Bolivia, member of the Andean Commission of Jurists, correspondent for Human Rights Watch/Americas.

● Javier Diez Canseco, member of the editorial board of São Paulo Forum magazine *América Libre*, former secretary general of the PUM, three-term congressman, and most recognized leader of the violent ultra-left.

● Antonio Moreno Vargas, of the Peruvian Peasant Federation, linked to the PUM, also arrested and expelled from Bolivia;

● Labor Advisory Council of Peru (CEDAL), an NGO

on labor affairs, one of whose members, Farid Matuk, was convicted of terrorism for belonging to the MRTA;

● Peruvian Forum of International Relations (FOPRI);
● Peruvian Center of Social Studies, an NGO on agrarian matters;

● Drug Policy Foundation, United States;

● Cultural Survival-USA;

● Andean Commission of Jurists;

● Wenner Gren Foundation.

Financing: The Bolivian government has accused Morales of being financed by the drug trade and by the NGOs. Among these: Society for Endangered Peoples, U.S. Drug Policy Foundation.

Thumbnail historical profile: CAPHC inherited the work of forming peasant federations in the eastern slope of the Andes since the 1960s. The ultra-left was involved full-time in this effort, and collaborated with the Peruvian guerrillas in 1962-65. In the 1970s, the work was taken up by local organizers of Cultural Survival-USA. The majority of the peasant federations formed joined the Peruvian Peasant Federation (CCP), linked to the ultra-leftist Mariátegui Unified Party (PUM), advocates of armed struggle.

In July 1983, a column of Shining Path guerrillas attacked the offices of a coca-leaf eradication program financed by U.S. AID, in Tingo María (Alto Huallaga). Two thousand inhabitants, backed by Shining Path, defended their right to grow coca. The eradication program was suspended. In March 1989, sixteen police agents were assassinated by Shining Path in the occupation of Uchiza (Alto Huallaga). Shining Path announced in wall paintings throughout the area: "Stop the eradication of coca crops!"

In the late 1980s, the ultra-leftist Popular Democratic Unity—the predecessor of the PUM—organized for the separation of the Alto Huallaga area from the La Libertad region, to create the San Martín region, with an autonomous regional government. The main operatives in that were convicted in 1992 for belonging to MRTA.

In the 1990s, they begin to organize the coca-growers, under the political protection of Hernando de Soto (founder of the Liberty and Democracy Institute, ILD, financed by Oliver North's National Endowment for Democracy, and the primary promoter of the theories of the Mont Pelerin Society in Peru), and of Gen. Alberto Arciniega Huby, then head of the Huallaga military front, who sponsored the formation of coca-grower cooperatives, supposedly to "break" the narco-terrorist alliance and to put the State on the side of the coca-growers.

CAPHC began to organize the "legal" coca-growers in the traditional cultivation areas. As the valleys gradually began to turn to coca-growing, the peasant federations began to join the CAPHC, the majority of them illegal. In 1992, a group of CAPHC advisers toured the United States to promote legalization of the coca leaf.

Separatism in Urabá: a U.N. pilot project

As the world applauds the takedown of Colombia's Medellín and Cali cocaine cartels, by coordinated actions of Colombian law enforcement agencies with the Clinton administration, little attention is being paid to the existence of a danger as great or greater: the so-called Third Cartel, the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces, or FARC. Like the Medellín and Cali cartels, the FARC runs drugs, but also has a nearly 50-year history of operating as an armed guerrilla movement across Colombia. Along with its allies in the National Liberation Army (ELN), it controls large portions of national territory, drug production, and guerrilla activity.

As **Maps 7 and 8** show, there is a total overlap between Colombia's drug regions, and those areas controlled by the FARC and ELN terrorists. The maps also show the dramatic growth of both drugs and terrorism from 1982 to the present.

This Third Cartel is today being used by the British and the United Nations to run a terrorist separatist operation against the Colombian nation-state. Supranational oversight of "conflict resolution" is being actively promoted by the United Nations and its NGOs, and the U.S. State Department, under the policy advice of Kissingerian permanent bureaucrats such as Luigi Einaudi, is fully behind this insane approach, which was pioneered in El Salvador with disastrous results.

In Colombia, there is no "ethnic" or "racial" pretext, as was fabricated in Chiapas and Bosnia, to justify a U.N.-sponsored partitioning of the nation. But Colombia has the FARC and ELN narco-terrorists, which are deploying to create the conditions of civil war that would "justify" direct U.N. intervention—politically and, perhaps, even militarily—into Colombian territory.

The plot

The FARC and ELN, which together constitute the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group (CGSB), propose that the United Nations recognize the departments of Santander, Norte de Santander, Cesar, Arauca, Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare, as well as the region surrounding the Gulf of Urabá (see map), as territories officially controlled by these "insurgent" forces, a move which would lead to a kind of Korea-style partition. The terrorists' plan is to later deploy out of these controlled territories to lay siege to the capital city of Bogotá. A large percentage of the water,

food, and energy supplies which go to Bogotá's 8 million inhabitants, come from precisely those territories that the narco-terrorists are moving to control. The siege would be combined with attacks against military and police installations.

The escalating spiral of violence in Urabá has set the stage for this scenario. Urabá extends along the Caribbean coast, from the Colombian border with Panama, through Chocó and Antioquia departments, to the border with Córdoba department. The FARC's efforts to control this important region have concentrated on murdering anyone who gets in its way. Among those "in the way" are members of the Hope, Peace, and Freedom Party (EPL), a former guerrilla group which was legalized after signing a peace agreement with the government, and which went on to join the electoral alliance of the M-19, another legalized terrorist group. The FARC views the EPL as having committed "treason" by signing a peace pact, and has begun assassinating EPL members. The EPL has now in turn armed itself, and even allied with other "paramilitary groups," in order to respond with "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" to any attack from the FARC. The result is that 700 people have been murdered in Urabá this year alone.

On cue, the U.N. Human Rights Commission proposes to name a special rapporteur to head a commission of "international observers" that will look into the Urabá massacres. Included in this commission will be delegates of Pax Christi, a U.N.-affiliated non-governmental organization (NGO) known for its constant persecution of the Colombian military, along with other European NGOs. Pax Christi already has more than 100 observers in Urabá, and France, Italy, and Spain have sent delegates to Urabá to determine the cost of such an international oversight commission, which would be financed by the U.N. and the European Union's Economic Commission.

The advocates of this oversight commission view it as the first step toward bringing U.N. blue helmets into the area to "pacify" the region, supposedly because the Colombian State is incapable of doing so. Once the region is "pacified" under U.N. authority, Urabá would be returned to the Colombian authorities again. However, if another massacre were to occur, Urabá's *independence* would be declared, so that the population of the region could control its own destiny "under U.N. protection."

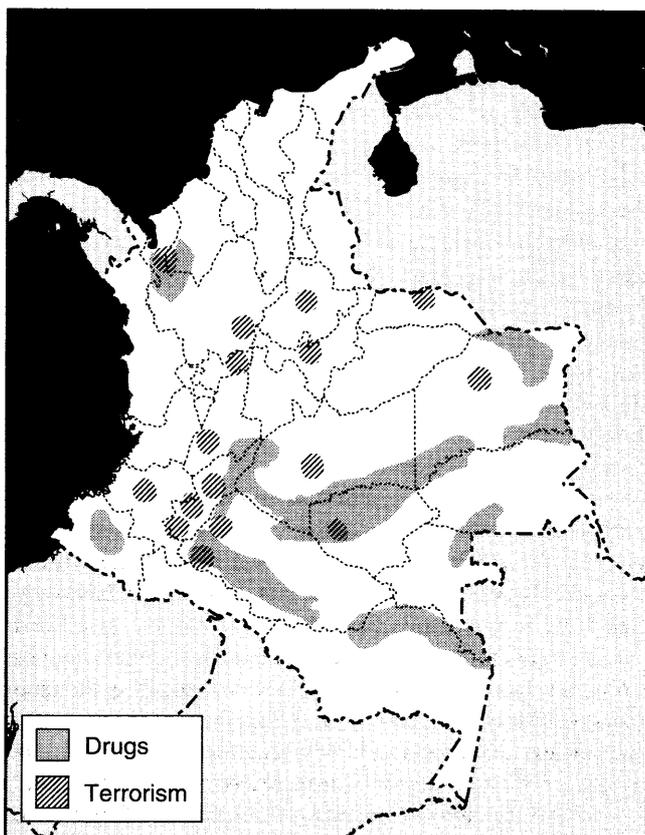
Supranational authority

While the idea of the United Nations moving in and running a region of a country may appear to be lunacy, the fact is that things have already gone a long way toward establishing the U.N. and the human rights NGOs as the real authorities in the country:

- In 1992, a cluster of human rights NGOs, prominently including the Belgium-based Pax Christi International,

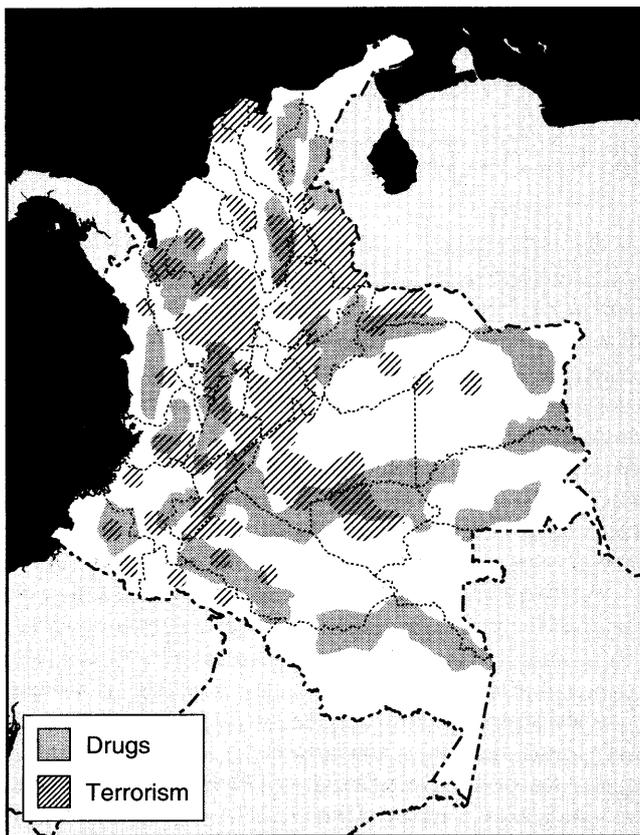
MAP 7

Drugs and terrorism in Colombia, 1982



MAP 8

Drugs and terrorism in Colombia, 1995



issued a book entitled *State Terrorism in Colombia*, which contains detailed profiles, including photos, of over 350 of the country's most effective anti-subversive fighters in the military and national police. The book, which condemns these men as "human rights violators," constitutes a hit-list both for the terrorists and for their allies inside the Attorney General's office and related institutions who are determined to purge the country's defense forces.

- The ELN's third-in-command is Francisco Galán, who today is in a cell at Itaquí maximum-security prison on charges of multiple murders and kidnappings. Galán and his colleague Francisco Caraballo, of the People's Liberation Army (EPL), receive daily visits from U.N. representatives, and representatives of Amnesty International and other human rights NGOs, who are coordinating efforts to win the terrorists' release. In July 1995, the U.N. Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, a non-governmental organization, demanded that the Colombian government release Galán, who they claim was illegally arrested. On Oct. 26, a delegation headed by Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, the former Colombian foreign minister who is the United Nations'

chief agent in Colombia, met for five hours with the terrorists.

- Gen. Alvaro Velandia Hurtado was forced out of office in September 1995, after the human rights prosecutor of the Attorney General's office accused him of responsibility for the 1987 kidnapping and subsequent torture-murder of an M-19 terrorist by a military intelligence unit under his command. Evidence proving that the terrorist was a military informant *against* the M-19 was not permitted to be used in General Velandia's defense, and the main witnesses against the general were other M-19 terrorists. General Velandia's name appears in *State Terrorism in Colombia*.

- Head of Army intelligence Gen. Luis Bernardo Urbina was abruptly discharged from the military in late October 1995, by President Ernesto Samper, when he was named as responsible for having leaked to the press a taped phone conversation by Congressman Heyne Mogollón, head of the "accusations committee" which is investigating Samper's narco-corruption, in which Mogollón is caught committing fraud. Said General Urbina, "Loyalty to my country came first. The only thing important to me is that whoever investi-

gates the President be clean." General Urbina's name also appears in *State Terrorism in Colombia*.

History of the project

With Urabá, the history of Panama may be repeated. In 1903, Panama "won" its independence from Colombia thanks to the intervention of U.S. Marines, deployed by the British-run President of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt. Immediately afterwards, Panama signed a treaty with the United States in which Panama granted a chunk of its territory for the United States to build an interoceanic canal.

The Gulf of Urabá is one of the only routes possible for a new, sea-level interoceanic canal. Only 100 kilometers separate Urabá on the Atlantic Ocean from the Pacific. It also borders on the Darién National Park of Panama, a narco-terrorist refuge. Urabá has some of the most fertile land in Colombia, and is also a natural sea outlet for Medellín, Colombia's most industrialized city. However, there is currently no decent highway between Medellín and Urabá, much less a railroad.

In the late 1960s, Urabá was converted into banana plantations under United Fruit Co. *EIR's* book *Dope, Inc.* identifies United Fruit, later United Brands, as a front for the international drug trade. United Fruit invented the technique of transporting cocaine to the United States packed in banana skins.

During the 1970s, United Fruit decided to sell its Urabá land, to dedicate itself exclusively to banana transport. That period precisely coincides with the creation of the so-called Medellín Cartel, which got its start stuffing cocaine into bananas for export. Since that time, violence has grown in the area, until it now serves as the pretext the United Nations needs to dismember Urabá from Colombia.

Creating an 'ethnic' flank

Apart from committing massacres in Urabá, the FARC has poured finances and manpower into trying to create an "ethnic guerrilla" force in Chocó, the neighboring department to Antioquia which shares the Urabá region. Ninety percent of Chocó's inhabitants are black. Chocó is also a region which is physically separated from the rest of the country by a lack of roads, and its poverty is dramatic. While the FARC is trying to create a guerrilla front made up exclusively of blacks, the better to promote separatism (à la Chiapas), a theology of liberation faction inside the Catholic Church has tried to promote a "black theology of liberation," with the absurd concept that each race requires a different "gospel."

The FARC has been helped along in this endeavor by the *New York Times*, which last year devoted a prominent story to the supposedly spontaneous emergence of a black ethnic movement in Chocó, which the *Times* portrayed as a possible "next Chiapas."

FARC: Colombia's 'Third Cartel'

Name of group: Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC).

Also known as Communist Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Also known as Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces—People's Army (FARC-EP).

Also known as Bolivarian Militias.

Also known as the "Third Cartel."

Headquarters and important fronts: The general headquarters were in La Uribe (Meta), Colombia, until the Army uprooted them from that area in December 1990. Today, it is believed that the headquarters where the "joint chiefs of staff" of the FARC operate, is somewhere in the eastern mountain range, in the Páramo region, possibly in El Sumapaz, 100 kilometers southeast of Bogotá. It is also suspected that the FARC has a "mobile headquarters" which moves within the departments of Meta, Guaviare, and Caquetá, and possibly Cundinamarca and Huila.

Founded: officially, on May 20, 1964 in Marquetalia (Tolima), but the decision to form the FARC and its founding nucleus was created at the full plenum of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) in 1947.

Locations of operations, areas active: They operate in virtually all of Colombian national territory, but especially in the rural regions, perhaps with the exception of Amazonas, Vaupés, and Guainía. The FARC's greatest area of control is in El Guaviare and El Meta, as well as in the eastern mountain range which embraces Huila, Tolima, Cundinamarca, Boyacá, Caquetá, Santander, and North Santander departments.

Major terrorist actions: Rather than spectacular terrorist actions, the FARC carries out terrorist actions daily, with the intent to impose their "authority" on the inhabitants of a certain region through assaults on police and Army targets. They impose a kind of "war tax" or "vaccination" (*vacuna*) (payment of monthly dues to the guerrillas allowing the residents to work), carry out kidnappings, and forcibly recruit the children of farmers who cannot pay. In late 1995, they are planning to lay siege to the capital city of Bogotá de Santa Fé, which would include attacks on transportation infrastructure, airports, water reservoirs and pipelines, and electricity generating plants.

Modus operandi: Some of their members are "guerrillas" who are farmers by day, but at night can be called on to carry out some action in a nearby town. Others are permanent

terrorists who travel in groups of 30. Sometimes these groups join forces to carry out attacks of 100-300 men. They seize small towns in which they overwhelm the defense capacity of the local police, they assassinate policemen, steal their weapons, and rob the local banks, especially the local Agriculture Unions. Sometimes they force the inhabitants of a town to meet, to hear their "revolutionary" harangues. Later, if they do not leave, they may lie in wait for Army or police reinforcements, to ambush them with dynamite and other explosives, and then disperse.

Before carrying out their "occupations," they conduct intelligence, so that during the action, they can point out someone to accuse of collaboration with the Army or the paramilitaries, whom they "execute" as a "lesson" to the town. In some parts of the country, they distribute leaflets in the form of "wanted posters," in which they offer rewards to anyone in the area who can deliver or denounce the commander of a battalion or a professional soldier. In the city of Cali, the FARC has been offering rewards of \$1,000 to anyone who murders a soldier or policeman, a technique that was used by Medellín Cartel drug trafficker Pablo Escobar Gaviria.

The FARC has people who specialize in kidnappings, from which they not only derive part of their income, but which also weakens the national economy by affecting company management structures. It is estimated that the FARC and the National Liberation Army (ELN) combined carry out 700 kidnappings a year. Foreigners are the favorite target. Kidnappings of both Colombians and foreigners rely on the active collaboration of the "human rights" non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Pax Christi, whose representatives come to Colombia to "receive" the kidnap victims after their ransoms are paid. The International Red Cross plays the same role, and is currently the leading mediator agency in these kidnappings.

Non-payment of ransom means death for the kidnap victim. In some cases, despite having received ransom, the victim is not delivered and a new ransom is demanded. In other cases, when the family or the company pays the ransom, they receive the dead body of their employee or family member in return.

Recruitment to the FARC is usually forced, not voluntary. Farmers are forced to contribute their children to the "revolution." The Communist Party (PCC) has also sent cadres who serve as political representatives to their armed wing. In all cases, the first lesson of new recruits is how to assassinate alleged traitors. Discipline is maintained through cruel punishment and the constant threat of death if rules are violated.

The FARC also maintains a death squad to murder "enemies of the revolution" both within and outside their own organization. There are suspicions that the FARC assassinated Bernardo Jaramillo, who was president of the PCC's electoral front, Patriotic Union, in 1990, and Carlos Pizarro

León-Gómez, Presidential candidate of the M-19, which had been recently legalized, also in 1990. The FARC has also murdered at least 1,000 activists of the Hope, Peace, and Freedom movement (EPL), a faction of the People's Liberation Army (EPL), which was legalized through a peace agreement with the government, primarily based in the Urabá (Antioquia) region.

Leaders' names and aliases: Pedro Antonio Marín, best known by his alias Manuel Marulanda Vélez (a.k.a. *Tirofijo*, or "Sureshot"), is the general commander of the FARC. However, the ideological leader is Alfonso Cano. Also part of the leadership staff are Rigoberto Losada (a.k.a. Joselo), Elmer Briceño Suárez (a.k.a. "El Mono Jojoy"), Iván Márquez, Raúl Reyes, and Jaime Guaraca. The true political leader of the FARC until August 1990 was Luis Alberto Morantes Jaimes, a.k.a. Jacobo Arenas. According to the FARC, he died of a heart attack, but other sources say he murdered a guerrilla in front of his "troops" for having stolen a couple of loaves of sweet bread from the storehouse, and that the victim's brother, also a member of the FARC, shot him in revenge.

Allied groups nationally or internationally:

Nationally: Colombian Communist Party, Patriotic Union, Permanent Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, Communist Youth of Colombia (JUCO), National Liberation Army (ELN), People's Liberation Army (EPL), Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group (CGSB), National Pro-Housing Organization, Unified Workers Federation (CUT).

Internationally: São Paulo Forum member.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: classic Marxism-Leninism, with particular admiration for Joseph Stalin. They combine Marxism with demands for "agrarian reform." More recently, they have added the "ecological" and "ethnic" ingredient to their actions. The FARC helped create the Quintín Lamé Command, an indigenous group in which drug trafficker Carlos Lehder Rivas was an active figure. They recruit black people from across the country to bring them to the Chocó, where they promote ethnic separatism. They also justify the kidnapping of engineers who build dams with the argument that they are defending ecology and the habitat of the Indians.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: The Colombian Communist Party (PCC), backed at the time by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Jacobo Arenas, Manuel Cepeda, Alvaro Vásquez del Real, all members of the PCC central committee, and Gilberto Vieira, the secretary general of the PCC for 30 years. Also brothers Nicolás (Center for Social Studies and Investigations, CEIS) and Enrique Buenaventura (Experimental Theater of Cali, TEC).

Number of cadres: estimated at about 8,000 men under arms.

Training: Guerrillas recruited during the so-called *La*

Violencia (the undeclared civil war between Liberal and Conservative parties) between 1947 and 1953, were trained in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and East Germany. In the 1980s, they grew closer to the Fidel Castro regime and established an alliance with their old factional rival, the ELN, from which point they also began to train in Cuba. Inside Colombia, the FARC maintains various training camps.

Known drug connections/involvement: The FARC is known as the "Third Cocaine Cartel," after the better-known Medellín and Cali cartels. They defend cocaine laboratories in Guaviare, Caquetá, Meta, Casanare and Putumayo. They control at least 70% of the production of coca leaf in the country. They also have their own cocaine laboratories, but it is not known if the FARC directly exports to the United States or simply sells the drug to networks of allied drug traffickers. They also have agreements with the two other cartels, and collect quotas which range from between 10% and 30% of the value of cocaine produced at laboratories under their protection, and for the protection of airstrips, per landing and unloading of each narco-plane, and they also collect a tax, which they call *gramaje*, that ranges between 10% and 30% of the estimated value of coca leaf production, depending upon the size of the plantation. The networks of assassins who were left temporarily unemployed with the death of the drug trafficker Pablo Escobar, were turned into the FARC's or ELN's Bolivarian Militas in urban centers.

Known arms suppliers/routes: The bulk of the FARC's weapons are of U.S., Israeli, German (east and west), and Russian origin. In certain cases, the drug traffickers pay their "taxes" to the FARC with weapons they buy primarily in the United States. The FARC also inherited arms trafficking networks out of Europe from the Liberal guerrillas of the *Violencia* period.

Political defenders and supporters: Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, former foreign minister; Alvaro Leyva Durán, "Conservative" politician; Alberto Mendoza Morales, who was the Patriotic Union's Presidential candidate in 1994; Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, former director of the U.N. mission in El Salvador, ONUSAL; Carlos Andrés Pérez, who, as Venezuelan President in 1990, offered to serve as intermediary in negotiations between the FARC and the Colombian government. The FARC also has the invaluable collaboration of the national Attorney General's office.

World Organization Against Torture (OMCT), American Association of Jurists, Andean Commission of Jurists, Latin American Federation of Associations of Disappeared (Fedefam), Pax Christi International, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, Rechtaardigheid en Vrede, Comission Justice et Paix, Centre National de Cooperation au Développement (CNCD), National Centrum Voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (NCOS), Justice and Peace Service—Latin America (Serpaj-AL), Amnesty International, Interna-

tional Red Cross.

Known funding: They finance themselves through the *vacuna*, a protection "tax" paid by the large majority of landowners in the rural zones, and also by the mayors of many rural towns from local and municipal budgets. Also through bank robberies, kidnappings of businessmen and ranchers, and, of course, through drug trafficking. They also have extensive investments in real estate, in the stock market, in legal enterprises ranging from goldmining to cattle raising, hotels, pharmacies, and businesses overseas. Defense intelligence estimates are that approximately \$1.6 million enters the coffers of the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group, the combined FARC/ELN forces, on a daily basis, more than the income of Colombia's most profitable company, the National Coffee Fund.

Thumbnail historical profile: The Colombian Communist Party created the FARC at a full plenum in 1947, where it approved "the use of all forms of struggle." Jacobo Arenas, Alvaro Vásquez del Real, and Manuel Cepeda were assigned to recruit to communism the Liberal guerrilla leaders involved in the *Violencia* civil war. The Communists were further considered the allies of the Liberal faction allied with Alfonso López Pumarejo (President from 1932-38, and 1942-45), father of former President Alfonso López Michelsen. After the 1953 coup d'état by Col. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, which initiated the "pacification" of the country and the surrender of Liberal guerrilla forces through the pact known as the National Front, the guerrillas organized by the Communists did not surrender, but instead remained in the mountains and formed the base of the FARC. This occurred in Marquetalia, a place which was dubbed an "independent republic" under guerrilla control. On May 20, 1964, the FARC was officially created. In 1968, they almost disappeared from the map because of a tactical error, in which they began to operate as a regular army, with all the visibility of a regular army. In battles in Tolima and Caldas, the FARC lost 70% of its forces. Manuel Marulanda Vélez and Jacobo Arenas, two of the few "commanders" who did not participate, decided to reorganize the FARC as a mobile guerrilla force dispersed in various parts of the country.

Their power was relatively small and manageable, until the peace process launched by President Belisario Betancur in 1982. In 1984, an agreement was officially sealed in a pact between the FARC and the government, which provided for an amnesty for FARC members and the release from prison of their captured members. At the time, FARC leaders were presented by the media as "statesmen." They organized the Patriotic Union as their electoral front. From that moment forward, the FARC has grown like a kind of "Wallenstein's Army."

Its links to the drug trade trace back to the black market in weapons. The known direct collaboration between the FARC and the drug trade surfaced in the department of Ca-

quetá in the late 1970s. The first coca crops in the Amazon jungle were planted in inaccessible areas. The FARC, familiar with the terrain, lent their men to transport the bundles of coca leaf through the jungle to the traffickers' airstrips. Later, the FARC collaborated in the construction of airstrips closer to the areas of coca cultivation, and later, in the same areas, hired out to build entire "cocaine cities," including cocaine laboratories, dormitories for the "workers" and "guards," and airstrips. Experts in guerrilla warfare, the FARC designed means of camouflaging the installations by using huge movable pots planted with typical jungle trees to hide the sophisticated drug production centers. Despite all of these efforts, the anti-narcotics police, using satellite information and triangulated radio signals, succeeded in locating and raiding the laboratories of Tranquilandia and Villacoca in 1983 and 1984, when Rodrigo Lara Bonilla was justice minister. Those laboratories were under FARC protection. Today, with the Cali and Medellín cartels nearly dismantled, it is feared that the FARC could appropriate the drug-trafficking routes used by the two cartels.

The César Gaviria government, in international coordination with the United Nations and its NGOs, attempted to carry out a "peace process" with the FARC and ELN in 1990, 1991 and 1992. However, these efforts were completely discredited nationally by the FARC's insistence on continuing kidnapping, assassinations, and terrorist attacks against national infrastructure. Current narco-President Ernesto Samper Pizano continues to hope for a negotiated peace agreement, on the El Salvador model—a policy which has the support of members of the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue.

ELN: Fidel Castro's personal project

Name of group: National Liberation Army (ELN); Revolutionary Camilista Union (UCR), Camilista Commandos, Camilista Brigades, To Fight.

Headquarters and important fronts: Mobile headquarters in Santander department, sometimes meeting in Bucaramanga, sometimes in Barrancabermeja, the latter considered Colombia's "oil capital."

Founded: 1963, in Simacota, Santander.

Locations of operations, areas active: Mainly in Santander department, and following the route of Santanderean migration in the rest of the country. Starting with the discovery of oil in Caño Limón (Arauca department), ELN began to grow along the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline.

The ELN carries out operations in Arauca, Casanare,

Boyacá, Norte de Santander, Cesar, Bolívar, Sucre, Córdoba, and Antioquia. Recently, it has spread toward Venezuela, taking advantage of the migration of Colombians to that country.

Major terrorist actions:

- In 1991, the ELN attacked the main port of Coveñas with explosives and other weapons. A great quantity of fuel is stored there, and a huge fire was set off; had there been an explosion, it could have caused at least 3,000 deaths.

- Bishop of Arauca was kidnapped and assassinated for "collaborating with the Army." There have been at least ten attempts to abduct and "try" Cardinal Alfonso López Trujillo.

- Feb. 26, 1995, assault on the naval post at Cararabo, in the Venezuelan border state of Apure, sadistically executing eight sailors.

Modus operandi: More than 90% of the ELN's operations are attacks on oil installations, primarily the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline, which runs 1,500 kilometers and crosses the country from east to west. They always attack Colombian installations (of the State oil company Ecopetrol), and almost never those of Occidental Petroleum or the other multinationals that operate in the country. They also kidnap political leaders, mayors, governors, priests, businessmen, and ranchers. They ambush soldiers and police patrols.

When they set out to control a region, they begin with leaflets that tell property and business owners and industrialists that the ELN plans to collect a monthly protection fee. If they refuse to pay for the "vaccination," as it is called, they are fair game for kidnap or some other violent attack. Under threat of terror, the ELN imposes its candidates and determines what percentage of the municipal budget will be channelled to the ELN forces.

Leaders' names and aliases: The best known is that of the Spanish "priest" Manuel Pérez, a.k.a. "Poliarco." However, different sources suggest that the real leader of the ELN is Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista Pérez, alias "Gabino," who controls the organization's financial structure, handles relations with the press and with political movements and factions, and directly handles contact with Fidel Castro.

Others include Antonio García and Gerardo Bermúdez (a.k.a. Francisco Galán), the latter a prisoner in the maximum-security Itaguá jail, but who maintains contact with the ELN's 33 fronts by means of a high-powered radio and cellular telephone in his cell.

Groups allied nationally or internationally: National Guerrilla Coordinator (CGSP), Center of Popular Education Research (CINEP), São Paulo Forum; Occidental Petroleum Co.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Fidelista-Guevarista; theology of liberation. They cite Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who said that one cannot be "dogmatic" against the Catholic faith that prevails in the region. A

large number of ELN leaders are Catholic priests of the theology of liberation faction, educated in Europe, such as Camilo Torres, Domingo Laín, and Manuel Pérez, and they have emphasized the ideology of a "people's church." In economics, they have an anti-imperialist, physiocratic line—that oil and natural resources are the wealth of the land, and that one must prevent "the multinationals from stealing them"—but in practice they work with the multinationals such as Occidental Petroleum.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Since its founding, the ELN has been a personal project of Fidel Castro, such that the ELN is now exporting coal to Cuba to help solve its fuel shortage. Ernesto "Che" Guevara; France's Régis Debray (promoter of the "Christian-Marxist" dialogue); novelist Gabriel García Márquez, promoter of "magical realism" and theoretician of "revolution with *pachanga*," (in Colombia, *pachanga* means "partying"), who donated one of his first literary prizes to the Movement to Socialism (MAS) of Venezuela, which shared it with the ELN.

Number of cadres: Some 3,000 men under arms.

Training: Cuba; the Basque ETA (Euskadi and Freedom).

Known drug connections/involvement: They protect marijuana and coca crops, especially in the Sierra de Perijá along the Colombian-Venezuelan border, and in Antioquia. They collect a "tax" from drug traffickers for drug production and for protecting their laboratories. Since 1984, the ELN has joined forces with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), in the CGSP, and the central ELN command spent a long time in La Uribe, discussing joint strategy and finances, in which the drug trade played a key role.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Cuba; Venezuelan weapons that disappeared after Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez's attempted coup d'état; rifles donated by former Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez to the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, which mysteriously came into the hands of the ELN; El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) (weapons which were supposedly destroyed as part of the peace agreement imposed by the United Nations); weapons sold by former Sandinista soldiers.

Known political supporters/advocates: Alfonso López Michelsen (former President); Horacio Serpa Uribe (government minister); Alfonso Gómez Méndez (former attorney general); Bernardo Hoyos (former priest and former mayor of Barranquilla); the Justice and Peace Commission of the Colombian Bishops Conference; Amnesty International; Human Rights Watch; the human rights commissions of the United Nations and Organization of American States (OAS).

Financing: Drug trade, kidnap ransoms, protection money collected from businessmen and ranchers. It is estimated that the ELN controls 20% of the gold and coal production in the country, because the companies that mine these minerals pay their "vaccination" fees to the ELN with mines that the

ELN itself works. They hold investments in numerous Colombian companies and in the stock exchange.

By no later than 1984, Armand Hammer's Occidental Petroleum Co. had negotiated a deal with the ELN, in which three multinational companies operating in Colombia paid the ELN \$200,000 a month, not to attack their oil installations. Hammer told the *Wall Street Journal* in July 1985: "We are giving jobs to the ELN. We give them work as suppliers." Occidental reportedly paid \$6 million in "ransom" to the ELN in 1988, for the release of one of their engineers, but they say they no longer pay "protection" money.

Thumbnail historical profile: The ELN was founded in 1963 to defend the "Cuban Revolution," primarily by a group of students at the Industrial University of Santander and by a group of Santander peasants. ELN leaders since its founding were the brothers Manuel, Fabio, and Antonio Vásquez Castaño, who were earlier trained in Cuba under the personal direction of Fidel Castro.

Meanwhile, a group of priests known as the Golconda Group, headed by Buenaventura Bishop Germán Valencia, began to introduce the ideas of Régis Debray to the church. "Father" Camilo Torres created, in parallel to the ELN, a national student movement in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Torres, a sociologist from the University of Louvain in Belgium, officially entered the ELN in 1966, bringing with him a large group of students. Torres died "in combat" in 1967, when he tried to steal weapons from some soldiers who had fallen into his ambush; one of the soldiers had played dead, and shot him.

At the same time, another group of left Jesuit priests created the Center for Research and Social Affairs—(CIAS) in 1963, a center of economic and social affairs "experts" whose intention was to document the theses of the Golconda Group and the ELN. Later, the CIAS changed its name to the Center of Popular Education Research (CINEP), which, until recently, was run by Jesuit priest Francisco de Roux.

With Torres's death, a group of priests from the Golconda Group, including Domingo Laín and Manuel Pérez, both Spaniards, entered the ELN so that "the flame of Camilo's ideas would not die out." Father Bernardo Hoyos was assigned the job of creating a popular base for the ELN within the parishes. In 1992, Hoyos managed to get himself elected mayor of Barranquilla, thanks to the political movement of the now-legalized M-19 narco-guerrillas. Today, he is a Presidential candidate for the 1998 elections.

In 1973, the ELN suffered a major blow in Anorí, Antioquia, when an effective Army encirclement led to the death of nearly all of their cadres. Only 17 men survived, among them Manuel Vásquez Castaño, Manuel Pérez, and Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista. The survivors submitted Vásquez Castaño to a "verbal war trial" for his evident military failure, and decided to shoot him. However, thanks to Rodríguez

Bautista's intervention, Fidel Castro decide to give Vásquez Castaño refuge. Today, he lives in a psychiatric hospital in Cuba.

In late 1974 and early 1975, the Army once again surrounded the ELN in the department of César. The remaining forces of the ELN would probably have been captured or killed, had it not been for the order of then-President Alfonso López Michelsen to suspend the military siege because, supposedly, the ELN was going to surrender.

The ELN's influence was relatively insignificant from that moment until 1982, when President Belisario Betancur began his policy of "negotiating the peace" with the different terrorist groups. Also in this period, the enormous donations from Occidental Petroleum enabled the ELN to rearm, buy new uniforms, and subject the peasants in the oil regions to their control.

In 1984, the ELN joined up with the FARC, the M-19, and the Hope, Peace, and Freedom movement (EPL), in the so-called Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinator. This immediately meant that the ELN would participate in the drug trade that the FARC dominated.

Despite its economic power, the ELN suffered another severe hit in 1993, when the Army captured its number-three man in Bucaramanga, Gerardo Bermúdez, alias Francisco Galán, who was drunk, high on drugs, and in the midst of a homosexual orgy at the time of his arrest. Galán is charged with innumerable kidnappings and assassinations. This did not stop the U.N. Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, an NGO, from issuing a statement in July 1995 demanding his release from prison, arguing that he had been arrested illegally.

In Colombia, life under narco-terrorist dictatorship

Vicente is a 50-year-old Colombian farmer who lives in a town of about 5,000 people, about 150 miles from Bogotá, the capital of Colombia. It is a town where nothing is said or done without the authorization of the commander of a "guerrilla" squad of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Vicente owns 10 hectares of land on the outskirts of town. We are withholding Vicente's real name, and the name of the town and department where he lives, to prevent reprisals being taken against him and his family. For the same reason, we omit the details of how Vicente came to

tell us his life story. This is what he told us:

I am the father of eight children, of whom four have already died, and two more, I don't know where they are, nor even if they are alive or dead. I will speak first of those two. Once, several persons who called themselves guerrillas came to my home and said that I had to give them 4 million pesos to help finance "the cause." I told them I had no money, that I am a poor farmer. Then they threatened they would burn down my house and my farm if I didn't give them 4 million pesos, which is what happened to a neighbor of mine who had to flee here, and now lives in Bogotá begging on the streets.

The next day they came back to demand the 4 million pesos. This time, they were armed with rifles and revolvers. There were 15 of them. They said they were hungry and that I had to feed them. I had to kill five chickens to carry out their orders. Then they said they had another proposal for me, that they had already verified that I didn't have 4 million pesos, but that I could contribute to the cause by handing over my eldest son to do "military service" with the FARC. He was barely 13 years old, but he helped me a lot in my work. I told him he was my best helper and that I didn't want him to leave me. Then they put us all against the wall of my house. The leader shouted: "Ready, aim, fire!" We heard them lift their weapons and we expected to fall down dead but they shot into the air. Then we heard the leader: "Tomorrow we will come for your decision." Then my eldest son said, in front of them, that he was going to become a guerrilla so that they wouldn't kill me. We said good-bye, and I have never seen him again.

This was done throughout the town. They also took the son of my neighbor, but he decided to run away. He told us he had been forced to kill some people because they were supposedly "Army informants," and that when they forced him to attack the police station in a town, he fled in the confusion of the gunfire. A few days later, the head of the guerrillas came to our town and went to my neighbor's home. They didn't find the "deserter," because he had already left, so they took the whole family to the main park in town. The guerrillas went door to door to force people to go to the park. Then they took one of the sons of my neighbor and shot him. The guerrilla leader said this was in reprisal for the desertion of his brother, and that if the "deserter" didn't return, they would kill each and every member of the family. And that's what they did. After they had killed them all, they brought a family who had been promised land, to occupy my neighbor's property. From then on, the boys they take never run away, out of fear that they will assassinate all of their loved ones.

One day, they again appeared and told me that comrade "Juancho" needed a sex partner, because he couldn't take the loneliness. So they took my oldest daughter. She was 12 years old, and hadn't even had her first period. We never saw

her again.

They killed my next daughter. It turns out that a group of Army soldiers was coming, which was very unusual. The guerrillas had told us that they had detected the soldiers' presence, but that they weren't planning to fight them in town. They ordered everyone not to give or even sell food to the soldiers on pain of death for collaborating with the enemy. Two days later, the soldiers arrived and came to the marketplace, and no one wanted to sell them anything. But it seems that my daughter, who was then 14 years old, went out to the street to look at the soldiers. She liked one of the soldiers, and winked at him. The soldier smiled at her, but continued to follow the other soldiers. Two days later, the guerrilla chief took her and, after calling a meeting, killed her because she had smiled at the soldiers, which was an act of treason.

The narco/terror symbiosis

My next son was also killed. One day, the guerrillas called us all together in the plaza. They told us that they had reached a deal with some men who were going to distribute some seeds, and that they would pay us well for the crops we would have. The guerrillas let us sow, on condition that we would pay them 20% of what we produced to "support the cause." A few days later, these guys came by helicopter, gave us the seed, and offered us a good price for the crop. It turns out this was seed for coca bushes, from which they make cocaine. I told my son I didn't want to get involved in that, but he said he wasn't going to be a fool and live a miserable life like I had. He didn't pay any attention to me. The men soon came to the town, with the guerrillas' permission, bought the crop, and carried it off in the helicopters. Afterwards, they made an airstrip for their airplanes to land and later constructed a laboratory to process cocaine. The laboratory was guarded day and night by the guerrillas.

One day, the anti-drug police arrived in planes and helicopters, destroyed the lab, bombed the airstrip, and sprayed the coca. There were fights, but everyone was taken by surprise, since the reconnaissance planes and helicopters hadn't been detected. Later, when the people came to buy up the crop, they had a fight with my son. They told him they had already paid him half, and that he should return the money or hand over the crop. They refused to believe that the police had destroyed the coca. They said they were sure my son had sold the coca to others, and they were going to make him pay. Before leaving, they shot at him, and he died.

Later, the narcos fought with the guerrillas, because they hadn't carried out the agreement to protect the crops and the laboratory. The guerrillas then set up a camouflaged laboratory and said that from then on, they would be administering everything directly. The narcos, in revenge, killed some deputies from the [FARC-linked] Patriotic Union. But later, they reached an agreement, according to which the guerrillas' quota would rise to 30% of the take from what was produced

in the laboratory, and the narcos pledged to pay part of the percentage with weapons, grenades, and ammunition. The narcos also promised to transport the guerrillas abroad to get special training or to do business. The guerrillas said that to prevent something like [the raid] from happening again, there had to be a march to the capital of the department to demand an end to crop fumigation. We all had to go, otherwise they would have killed us or demanded 3 million pesos to help pay for the march.

U.N. promises territory

Before we left on the march, they explained to us that soon the United Nations was going to grant the guerrillas control over a good piece of national territory. That they were then going to make a deal with Venezuela, so that Venezuela would recognize the existence of a new state under their control, in exchange for halting kidnappings and other guerrilla activity inside Venezuelan territory. They said that they would be controlling Urabá very soon, that this was a strategic zone because of its proximity to the oceans, and that they were going to reach an agreement with Panama, and therefore, indirectly, with the United States, which is the true owner of Panama. They said that things were more difficult along the border with Ecuador and with Brazil. But they said that the regions the U.N. would recognize as belonging to them had oil, banana, gold, coca, and coal, and that the oil multinationals were already paying a "war tax" to them because they are so powerful that the "multis" have to deal with them.

They also said that soon, they would launch a definitive attack on Bogotá from the territories they are going to control, and that they would lay siege to the capital, and that people were going to die of hunger because they weren't going to allow water, electricity, food, or fuel to enter the city.

There was a period where, for the space of two years more or less, the Army controlled the town. The Army arrived one day and took it over. There was fighting and the guerrillas withdrew or disguised themselves as farmers. After a while, the Army was winning the people's confidence. They began to talk to us about not supporting the guerrillas, that this was bad, and we began to trust that the reign of terror had ended. Then those with the Patriotic Union began a debate in Congress, saying that someone here had created a paramilitary force and that the government had to stop the Army from forming paramilitary groups. The scandal was so great that the lieutenant who commanded the troops here was put on trial in Bogotá for violating human rights. One of the guerrillas from here served as a witness against the lieutenant. Then the government decided to abandon us. That's when life got complicated. The guerrillas took revenge for our collaboration with the Army, and mined our fields so that we couldn't sow and so that we would starve. One of those mines, the so-called "footbreakers," killed another son of mine, only nine

years old. I also lost a horse that was very useful to me. Even now, once in a while, a mine that was placed years ago explodes, despite the fact that they have taken control of the town once again.

Here, we are all silent. No one talks anymore, we are barely able to greet each other. Anything we say can get us in trouble. All friendship here is ended. My wife cries every night thinking about the six children we will never see again. She takes out the images of the Virgin and of Jesus Christ that are hidden, and she prays. And to think that the guerrillas began here by winning over the people because they assaulted the Agrarian Bank, after attacking the police station. At that time, they stole all the money in the bank and burned the bank's files. Then we were all happy because they had taken a great debt from us, since the bank now didn't know who owed or who had paid. They also told us they would defend the farmer from the greed of the landowners and that they would defend the wages of the day-workers.

Theology of liberation allies

The government never replaced the police. Later, they threw out the village priest. They wanted the priest to use his robes, and transport weapons in his camper. He refused, and had to flee. The guerrillas thought the priest was the competition, because here, you did whatever the priest said. For a while the [Catholic] Church remained shut down. They told us that religion is the opiate of the people and that it was good that the priest had left. These guys didn't like to see Christs or Virgins. We kept our images of Christ and the Virgin hidden. Although now, since there is a new priest who works with them, they half-tolerate it when the people pray. But I think that he is not a priest, but a guerrilla with black robes. The priest talks more to us about revolution than about Jesus Christ and God, and says that now the church has a theology of liberation.

So that is how we lost four children. Of another two, we don't know if they are alive or dead. Each time we ask the guerrillas for them, they answer us: "Old ones, don't worry about them; they are alive and fighting." We have only two children left, which is going to be very hard for them when we can no longer work and they will have to support us.

Coca production this year is going to end, it seems. After they jailed the chiefs of the Cali Cartel, no one comes here anymore to buy coca leaf, the laboratory which the guerrillas guarded has been abandoned, and the people have no interest in renewing that crop. Many are asking the guerrillas for permission to emigrate, and the coca crops that the police destroyed are no longer being replaced. The guerrillas are very worried, and it looks like now they are going to replace the coca income with kidnappings, but for a long time there has been no one to kidnap here. It also seems that they are directly exporting the cocaine to the United States, and are going to use the networks of the distribution bosses.

Venezuela

Chávez organizes SPF's military wing

by David Ramonet and Cynthia Rush

The nation of Venezuela is a flashpoint for a new "Chiapas" on the Ibero-American continent, in which the Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement-200 (MBR-200), founded by Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez Frías (ret.), will play the leading role. In fact, the MBR-200 is a case study for how the São Paulo Forum is retreading itself continentally. In the December 1993 Presidential elections, the Forum's affiliated Radical Cause (Causa R) party failed miserably in its efforts to defeat Rafael Caldera. While Causa R maintains a facade of promoting the electoral route, the MBR-200 is actively pursuing the path of armed revolt.

All the elements for Venezuela's destabilization are present: There is a direct British role in the attempt to overthrow President Caldera, using the still-intact political apparatus of deposed former President Carlos Andrés Pérez, as well as organized financial warfare executed through house organs of British economic policy, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the London *Financial Times*, and the London *Economist*. The latter publication insultingly refers to Caldera as a "cockroach."

Unique characteristics

An MBR-200 insurgency in Venezuela would not have the indigenist characteristics of Mexico's EZLN—there is no sizable Indian population of that sort in Venezuela. What makes Chávez's operation unique on the continent is, first, the involvement in his movement of military personnel, many of whom participated in the two coup attempts against the government of Carlos Andrés Pérez (CAP) in 1992. Second, during Chávez's December 1994 visit to Cuba, President Fidel Castro received the MBR-200 leader with State honors, and personally anointed him as the "commander, not only of the Venezuelan Army, but of the continental revolution which is under way."

Chávez's organizational stronghold in Venezuela is the region bordering Colombia, where the drug-linked ELN guerrillas operate right across the border. Chávez recognizes both the ELN and the FARC as "belligerent parties," has reportedly met with their leaders, and demands that the Caldera government negotiate with them directly.

Exemplary of how the MBR-200 operates, was its support in February 1995 for a civic strike in Apure, the Venezuelan state bordering Colombia's Arauca department, and Chávez's stronghold. This is an area which the Caldera government has selected for a 4 billion bolivar economic and infrastructure development package, including the building of a new city, Ciudad Sucre. The strike, which took place in the municipality of Guasdalito, specifically opposed the building of Ciudad Sucre.

Guasdalito is a region into which the ELN had previously made numerous incursions, and two of its members successfully infiltrated the strike organizing committee, although they were later arrested by local authorities on Feb. 26. In a provocative move, Chávez announced that he would personally travel to Guasdalito to support the strike, "despite death threats I have received."

Perhaps as a reprisal for the arrests of the two Colombian guerrillas in Guasdalito, between 150 and 200 members of an ELN force attacked the Venezuelan Naval outpost of Cararabo, on the Meta River, and murdered eight Venezuelan sailors, decapitating some of them, and mutilating their corpses. Four others were wounded and several reported missing. Although Chávez formally condemned the massacre, his reported meetings with guerrilla leaders, and his presence in the region agitating against the government, immediately raised questions as to his role.

Chávez's MBR-200 also stands out for its open ties to London. In a March 29, 1995 press conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Chávez bitterly complained that he had been planning to travel to London for a series of meetings, at the invitation of London's ambassador in Caracas, John Flynn, but that the Caldera government had intervened with the British government to sabotage his trip. The Caracas daily *El Nacional* also reported that Paul Webster Hare, the British embassy's counselor, had been seen dining with the "commander" at one of Caracas's ritzier restaurants.

Chávez is totally open about his plans to overthrow Caldera. On March 30, he warned that "anything could happen at any time. We are prepared to govern now, or whenever necessary. We're not planning a conspiracy, or anything like it, but faced with rebellion, we're prepared. I don't think Caldera will make it to the end of his term." For this reason, he is courted by leading members of Carlos Andrés Pérez's political machine, who want to see Caldera ousted and CAP's image restored, if not the man himself back in power.

Last May, Chávez traveled to Spain and France, sponsored by Gustavo Lamoine and Ignacio Quintana, the latter a financier friend of CAP who handled special accounts of government officials in Banco Latino, before it went bankrupt and was taken over by the State. According to journalist Rafael Poleo, Quintana had offered several bankers to help organize a broad-based coalition to overthrow Caldera, which would include Chávez and the MBR-200.

MBR-200 takes aim at the armed forces

Name of group: Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement 200 (MBR-200); MBR-civil.

Headquarters and important centers: Caracas; El Amparo, Apure, Venezuela.

Founded: July 24, 1983, on the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simón Bolívar, "The Liberator" of Venezuela and other South American countries.

Locations of operations, areas active: Nationally, the main base of operations is in the border states with Colombia, where the Colombian narco-guerrillas operate: Apure, Amazonas, and Táchira. The primary base of operations is in the border town of El Amparo, Apure state. Apure is considered the "Chiapas" of MBR-200.

Active primarily in neighborhoods, the barracks, and universities. They tend to attract extremist students who are not members of another legal party. Their primary bases of support are at the Venezuelan Central University; the Caballero Mejía Pedagogical University in Caracas; Carabobo University in Valencia; University of the Andes in Mérida; the Lisandro Alvarado Central University in Barquisimeto, in the state of Lara.

They have recently organized among poor peasants, in the border states of Apure and Táchira, and in Barinas, Lara, Guárico, and Aragua.

They reject any participation in the electoral process.

In the international arena, MBR-200 leader Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez Frías (ret.) has conducted several tours abroad since his release from jail in early 1994, under the excuse of organizing the "Second Amphictyonic Congress of Panama," with the participation of leftist retired military personnel from throughout the continent. He has visited Cuba, Colombia, Panama, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Spain, and France.

Major terrorist actions: Its first public action took place on Feb. 4, 1992, at the head of the failed military rebellion against then-President Carlos Andrés Pérez. Chávez was captured and jailed, together with other leaders of the uprising.

March 1, 1992: Lt. Raúl Alvarez Bracamontes stole a cache of weapons from a military installation, to deliver to clandestine members of MBR-200. According to Bracamontes, Chávez gave the weapons to Pablo Medina, leader of the Radical Cause (Causa R) party, to distribute among civilians.

Nov. 27, 1992: A group of active military members of MBR-200 participated in a second military uprising against Pérez, but with the intention of sabotaging it and simultaneously releasing Chávez from the Yare prison.

Feb. 26, 1995: The Colombian ELN narco-guerrillas at-

tacked the naval post at Cararabo, in Apure state, killing eight sailors. One week earlier, Chávez had been in El Amparo, backing a hunger strike by four members of his group. According to press reports, Chávez used his visit to meet with Colombian guerrilla leaders. Some media stated that Chávez had actually participated in the Cararabo attack, but this has not been confirmed.

Modus operandi: The movement operates as a “resistance movement,” drawing on an informal organization of cells, which identify only with the name of the group and with Chávez, without the cells having anything to do with each other. Some of these “cells” are really armed bands of impoverished adolescents. Others are more politicized, and it is suspected that military weapons stolen during the uprisings of 1992 are distributed among them.

The leadership of the organization is structured on the model of secret lodges, with both public and secret members. Leaders are initiated through a Masonic-style ritual, held at some historic site, such as Saman de Guere or the military camp at Carabobo, where they pledge their lives to the movement.

They also organize for convoking a Constituent Assembly, at the same time that they threaten to carry out another armed uprising.

Leaders' names and aliases: Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez Frías (ret.); Manuel Quijada; Luis Miquelena; Comisario Freddy Bernal, former commander of the Special Tactical Support Force (CETA) of the Metropolitan Police; Col. Luis Dávila García (ret.); Army Capt. Jesús Aguilar Gómez (ret.); Capt. Carlos Luis Duarte (ret.); Capt. Ismael Pérez Sira (ret.); Capt. Miguel Madriz Bustamante; Leticia Barrios; Prof. Adina Bastidas (Venezuelan Central University, or UCV); Prof. Maigualida Barrera, of the MBR-civil (of UCV); Prof. Nelson Morentes; lawyer Guillermo Gavidia.

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

Nationally: National Bolivarian Front (retired military personnel who participated in the February and November 1992 rebellions, together with civilians who promote the Constituent Assembly); Red Flag (BR), the last terrorist group of the 1970s, currently operating in the universities; Union of Revolutionary Youth (UJR), which works with BR; Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), which also works with BR, but with greater involvement in the poor neighborhoods, which played an important role in the “Caracazo” riots of 1989; Third Path, formed by ex-guerrilla Douglas Bravo; Causa R, also a member of the São Paulo Forum, which participated in the elections together with former members of MBR-200 who have personal differences with Chávez, such as Lt. Col. Francisco Arias Cárdenas (ret.).

Internationally: member of the São Paulo Forum; the ELN's Domingo Lainz Brigade (Colombia); FARC (Colombia); Argentine World Studies Center, linked to former Argentine commander Raúl de Sagastizábal and former Montero guerrilla Norberto Ceresole.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: The MBR-200 has a synthetic ideology, based on a British-Masonic interpretation of the history of Venezuela's civil wars of the past century, with a superficial varnish of Marxism. Their interpretation of “Bolivarianism” is based on the views of Marxist historian Federico Brito Figueroa: Bolívar represents the “chief general”; Ezequiel Zamora represents the “warrior”; and the Rousseauvian pedagogue of the last century Simón “Robinson” Rodríguez is “the teacher,” the one who initiated Simón Bolívar into Masonry. These three individuals form “the roots of the MBR-200 tree.”

MBR-200 shares the belief in indigenism with the EZLN. In the words of Chávez: “Both movements constitute an ideological resurgence drawing inspiration from the rescue of our historic identity, especially now when there is talk of the end of ideologies. To say Emiliano Zapata in Mexico is to say Ezequiel Zamora in Venezuela, both leaders rooted in agrarian and peasant revolution. This is how an ideology stops being a simple system of ideas and is transformed into the motor that stirs popular action against servitude.”

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Chávez credits Federico Brito Figueroa as his inspirer, after having discovered his book *The Times of Ezequiel Zamora*, after graduating from the military academy. Brito Figueroa derived his view of Zamora, according to his own account, from Soviet historian Anatoli Shulgovsky of the Latin American Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Shulgovsky promoted the figure of Emiliano Zapata, and pushed the line that indigenous autonomy must be at the center of any Ibero-American “liberation struggle.” Brito's book was the ideological manual of the Venezuelan Marxist guerrillas of the 1960s, who gave their brigades the name of Zamora. Brito proudly states that several of these guerrillas were his students.

In the past century, Zamora's image was used by the Masons to give a populist and jacobin tinge to the various governments they controlled. In this century, Zamora disappeared from official history, until he was rescued in 1975 by Carlos Andrés Pérez, who was inspired by Brito Figueroa's book: He introduced it to the military academy, and endowed schools with Zamora's name.

Chávez also credits Mao Zedong, José Carlos Mariátegui, and Antonio Gramsci as ideological influences on his movement. In fact, Chávez states that Marxism “is a science beyond any political thought, as a method of analyzing reality, as a method of facing reality and the perspective of the future; it continues to have perfect relevance, as do all the political currents that exist or have existed.”

Today, Chávez listens to two main advisers: Luis Miquelena and Manuel Quijada. Miquelena edited a newspaper with José Vicente Rangel called *El Clarín*, during the 1970s, which was the mouthpiece of the Marxist guerrillas of the period, although it was officially opposed to armed struggle. Miquelena was a channel for funneling funds to the guerrillas from the U.S.S.R., Algeria, Cuba, and China.

Manuel Quijada was the central civilian figure of the most important Marxist military rebellion against the government of Rómulo Betancourt, which took place in Puerto Cabello and was known as *el portenazo*. After serving time in prison, he left to study in England with a scholarship in economics.

Current number of cadre: No precise figures available. Judging from the number of soldiers who were imprisoned during the Feb. 4, 1992 and Nov. 27, 1992 uprisings, their military cadre could be conservatively estimated between 200 and 300. Some of these, including those who have been initiated into MBR-200 ranks, have abandoned public activism upon being reincorporated into the ranks of the military.

The number of civilian cadre could be much larger, given that they are drawn from ultra-left student groups.

Training: According to intelligence sources from State security agencies, members of MBR-200 have been in contact with the Cuban DGI (intelligence service) for the purpose of coordinating basic training. According to these sources, members of the group have received training in Colombia by members of the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group. In recent months, it appears that the group has received training in the Barinas Mountains, in Chávez's home state.

Known drug connections/involvement: Their base of operations in Apure is a binational drug-trafficking region, but there is no direct evidence regarding the involvement of the MBR-200 in such activity. Indirectly, it is linked to the Colombian narco-terrorists, and to Cuba.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Since the military uprisings of 1992, according to media reports, small quantities of weapons have been continually disappearing from the arsenals of the national Armed Forces.

Known political supporters/advocates: Fidel Castro; Commander Raúl de Sagastizábal (ret.) and Norberto Ceresole (Argentina); Pablo Medina and Andrés Velásquez of Causa R; former President Carlos Andrés Pérez (who defended Chávez when he was accused of involvement in the Cararabo massacre); sectors of the Catholic Church identified with theology of liberation, such as Arturo Sosa, S.J.; communications media tied to the Cisneros group (Televen and Venevisión).

Financing: Its best-known financier is Gustavo Lamoine, of a wealthy family, who was linked to the DISIP (Venezuelan political police) during the Pérez and Jaime Lusinchi governments. More recently, it has been learned that financier Ignacio Quintana, linked to the failed Banco Latino and to Carlos Andrés Pérez, has been funding various of Chávez's trips, specifically his last tour of Europe, Argentina, and Panama.

Thumbnail historical profile: When the study of the "social sciences" was first introduced into the Armed Forces in the late 1970s and early '80s, a group of leftist officials, described as a "Bolivarian lodge" by their leaders, explicitly prepared itself to take power. The MBR-200 comes out of

that current.

For a decade, they organized a military lodge inside the Armed Forces, on the basis of Masonic structures and practices, with a Marxist orientation, but cloaked in nationalism. Organizing was oriented particularly at the rank of lieutenant colonel (commander) on down—major, captain, lieutenant—and these were known as the "Comacates," for the two initial letters (in Spanish) of each rank.

Of the original founders who participated in the February 1992 uprising—Chávez, José Acosta Chirinos, Francisco Arias Cárdenas, Jesús Urdaneta, and Jesús Ortiz Contreras—only Chávez remains in the group. Urdaneta is a consul in Vigo, Spain. Arias Cárdenas worked for a time for a government agency, and then became a Causa R gubernatorial candidate; Ortiz Contreras died in a car accident in Paris, while working for the agency run by Arias Cárdenas; and Acosta Chirinos withdrew from public life.

Chávez was released from jail in early 1994, and proceeded to travel around the country and abroad. Most important was his trip to Cuba on Dec. 13, 1994, where he was personally received by Fidel Castro at Havana Airport with all honors due a head of State, and given extensive publicity. In Havana, Chávez gave a press conference at the Simón Bolívar House, attended by Castro along with Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega.

On Dec. 16, 1994, he traveled to Santa Marta, Colombia where, according to intelligence sources, he met with leaders of the Colombian FARC. He also traveled several times to Panama, where he met with leaders of the Panamanian Communist Party. On the last visit in mid-June 1995, the Panamanian government announced that it would deny his re-entry in the future, nor would it permit any international event to be held there of the sort Chávez was trying to organize.

Since his imprisonment, Chávez has established links to a faction of Argentina military leftists represented by retired commander Raúl de Sagastizábal and his adviser, former Montonero guerrilla Norberto Ceresole. On Nov. 26, 1994, Chávez was invited for the first time to tour Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, organized by the Argentines. In Buenos Aires, he announced that he would soon be going to Mexico to meet with "Sub-commander Marcos" of the EZLN, a meeting which has apparently not yet come about.

Ceresole and Chávez frequently accompany each other on tour. In June 1995, Ceresole was in Caracas, and was expelled from the country for intervening in internal politics. On May 6, 1995, Chávez traveled to Spain, presumably to promote his movement and to revive the Association of Latin American Military Studies, run by Ceresole. One week later, Chávez travelled to France. The trip was sponsored by financier Ignacio Quintana, who was acting in the name of several bankers who are fugitives from Venezuelan justice, mainly linked to Banco Latino, which was owned by the Gustavo and Ricardo Cisneros group, until the bank was closed by the Venezuelan government.

'Internet International' targets Guerrero state

by Carlos Cota Meza and Cynthia Rush

On June 28, a shootout in Aguas Blancas, in the municipality of Atoyac de Alvarez in the Mexican state of Guerrero, left 17 peasants dead, all of whom were members of the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra (OCSS), a group created by the National Revolutionary Civic Association (ACNR), founded by guerrilla leader Genaro Vázquez.

The state government's communiqué established that the shootout was provoked at a police checkpoint, after two individuals attacked the police with machetes. According to Gov. Rubén Figueroa Alcocer, the group was on its way to Atoyac de Alvarez to violently take over the mayor's office. Mayor María de la Luz Ramos, nominally a member of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), is the wife of veteran communist Arturo Martínez Nateras. The OCSS had long since broken its ties with her. Last May 18, in commemoration of the 1969 uprising launched by pro-Cuban guerrilla Lucio Cabañas and his Party of the Poor (PDLP), the OCSS had organized violent demonstrations in this and other municipalities.

Almost immediately, the same national and international support apparatus which is behind the insurrection launched in the southern state of Chiapas on Jan. 1, 1994, went into action to transform this incident into the detonator for a new "Chiapas" in Guerrero and, at the same time, to accelerate the destabilization of the Mexican nation-state. There was also a huge orchestrated outpouring of protests by the international media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other groups from London to Paris to Wall Street, whose intent was to turn Guerrero into an international *cause célèbre*, the next Chiapas.

This apparatus, which coordinates internationally by the Internet and other forms of electronic communication, is a virtual "Internet International"—and it is deployed to destroy Mexico.

This "Internet International" is counting on activating inside Mexico a nationwide constellation of left and pro-terrorist groups into an actual insurrection. Much of the ground work for this has already been laid. According to a recent Mexican Army intelligence document, as reported

by *Epoca* magazine, the Revolutionary Workers Party-Clandestine Union of the People (Procup) is playing a critical role in pulling together the remnants of the different terrorist groups that existed at the end of the 1980s and which eventually coalesced into the EZLN.

According to the military intelligence document, Procup-led forces have gained control of at least 21 universities, where "former" guerrillas that were amnestied by the last three administrations, are now on the faculty. They have now formed clandestine regional cells, or have joined above-ground political organizations that they use as cover for kidnappings, arms-running, etc. The report says that there is a "guerrilla corridor" between several municipalities in the state of Guerrero that is responsible for a series of bank robberies, kidnappings, and other violent acts.

The apparatus is activated

Despite the confusion surrounding the Aguas Blancas shootout, by July 1, an entire constellation of national organizations, led by PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, had emerged to demand the "political trial and removal" of Governor Figueroa and the establishment of an interim government. Some demanded that the Mexican Army be withdrawn from Guerrero, and that its presence be limited in other parts of the country. PRD federal Deputy Ramón Sosamontes demagogically warned that "it would be very dangerous for soldiers to roam around the country, with no logical explanation or constitutional mandate."

The demonstration in which Cárdenas made his demands, like similar ones around the state, were organized by the PRD, together with openly terrorist or proto-terrorist groups such as "500 Years of Indigenous, Black, and Popular Resistance," the Workers Party (PT), and UOCEZ, FEUG, CDP, and others (see profile).

Together with the states of Tabasco and Oaxaca, Guerrero is one of the primary targets of this international destabilization apparatus, for two reasons. First, it is the national center for the trafficking of drugs and weapons. A report prepared by the National Defense Secretariat (Sedena) on Mexico's anti-drug fight affirms that "Guerrero occupies first place in drug production," and "is distinguished by the largest production of drugs within the region considered to have the highest incidence [of drugs] in the Republic of Mexico, that is, the area sloping down to the Pacific Ocean."

Second, since the 1960s, the state of Guerrero has been a base of operations for pro-Cuban guerrillas, such as Lucio Cabañas and his PDLP, and Genaro Vázquez, founder of the ACNR.

The "Internet International" also opened a new flank over the last few months in the neighboring state of Morelos, which raised the coordination of the "environmentalist" terrorist apparatus with their "indigenist" comrades to a new level. On Sept. 3, in the tourist-dominated town of Tepoz-

tlán, a large group of enraged townspeople, whipped up by the PRD's environmentalist machine, assaulted the police and kidnapped the Guerrero government undersecretary and three other officials, holding them prisoner in the town for several hours. The protesters charged that the planned building of a golf course and tourist center would dry up the region's already-scarce water supply and threaten the traditional, bucolic lifestyle of the area's "Indians." In a matter of hours, an entire network of national and international ecology groups sprang up out of nowhere, offering their support to the townspeople. Among the supporters were Greenpeace, the Sierra Club, and Friends of the Earth.

Morelos is of strategic importance, lying north of Guerrero, directly on the route to Mexico City.

A manufactured insurgency

In the case of Chiapas, the Zapatista National Liberation Army's (EZLN) base is not the state's peasant or Indian communities, but rather the hundreds of NGOs which British Intelligence has deployed to back the separatist insurgency, both nationally and internationally. For every peasant or Indian which the Zapatistas use as cannon fodder, there are at least a dozen non-governmental organizations mobilized to promote the "indigenous cause." The same is true of Guerrero: The destabilization there is based on the activation of dozens of NGOs to provoke insurrection in a state which, like the others of southern Mexico, has an indigenous population which can be used as cannon fodder for the agents of the "Internet International."

In his 1993 book *Utopia Disarmed*, Mexican Jorge Castañeda, a São Paulo Forum ideologue, underscores the importance of this international propaganda machine when he discusses how Guerrero's guerrillas operated in the 1960s. He notes that "had Cabañas and Vázquez received outside help, to break their isolation and increase their meager resources, and had the urban middle-class student movement been more developed and committed, history might have taken a different turn."

Today, such "outside help" is visible everywhere. The parliamentary fractions of both the PRD and the PT in the National Congress announced that letters were being sent to NGOs in the United States and Europe, denouncing events in Guerrero and accusing the state government of "human rights violations." On July 15, Joseph Manso, political affairs secretary at the U.S. embassy in Mexico City, traveled to the state to gather "information on human rights violations for the State Department's annual report."

The American diplomat met with representatives of the OCSS, with the Voice of the Voiceless Human Rights Commission (created at the urging of the EZLN and its National Democratic Convention), and with the mayor of Atoyac, among other opposition groups.

On July 16, the Inter-American Human Rights Commis-

sion of the Organization of American States (OAS), accepted a PRD denunciation of the Aguas Blancas events, and began to discuss making a possible "recommendation" on the case to the Mexican government. On Aug. 14, the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH) rejected the Guerrero government's account of what happened, and ruled that the ambush was perpetrated by the police "which fired at will and finished off the survivors with a final shot." It demanded the removal and "legal action" against 22 state officials, including the government secretary and attorney general, as well as the naming of a special prosecutor to investigate the incident and its aftermath.

Indiscriminate shootouts

After the Guerrero incidents, it appeared that the "Chiapas model" of armed, separatist insurrection would be successfully extended to another state. Nonetheless, and despite all of the propaganda and media warfare, reality at least partially imposed itself.

On July 7, ten days after the Aguas Blancas shootout, five agents of the state's motorized police were ambushed and massacred. Governor Figueroa denounced the activities of the Revolutionary Workers Party-Clandestine Union of the People and the PDLP. At the same time, for a full week in different parts of the state, there were public statements of *support* for the state government and denunciations of several terrorist incidents (kidnaps, murders, robberies, etc.).

In many municipalities, the PRD itself split, and some of its members supported the governor.

Another of the events "not foreseen" by the supporters of a new Chiapas, was the massacre of 12 peasants one week after the Aguas Blancas shootout, apparently related to family feuding, or an execution by drug traffickers. On July 16, there were three more murders. Two of the dead, who were OCSS leaders, "were involved in previous investigations of murders, armed robbery, and kidnapping," according to the police report. The third, a PRD member, was apparently killed by an enemy from his own party.

On Sept. 27, four more peasants were murdered by individuals "dressed in military uniforms," according to eyewitnesses. The next day, three other people were killed by individuals identifying themselves as members of the judicial police.

Immediately, the PRD's top leader in Guerrero, Sen. Félix Salgado Macedonio, demanded the Army's withdrawal "from some towns irritated by its presence." But he was forced to admit, speaking from the Senate, that "we don't even know whether the dead were PRDers or PRI members. . . . Hooded ones enter homes carrying high-caliber weapons, take the residents out and kill them. And this causes concern at Sedena, which fears the resurgence of guerrilla groups."

The PRD: masons and jacobins against the State

Name of group: Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

Headquarters: Mexico, D.F., Mexico. Other bastions are in the states of Michoacán, Guerrero, and Tabasco.

Founded: 1989, by a coalition of “ex”-communists, “ex”-terrorists, and social-democratic dissidents from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), controlled by former President, Luis Echeverría Álvarez (1970-76).

Locations of operations, areas active: Throughout Mexico, particularly in the central and southern states of Michoacán, Guerrero, Tabasco, Chiapas, and Mexico City.

Universities: National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM), Autonomous University of Puebla, Autonomous University of Guerrero, Agricultural University of Chapingo, Benito Juárez University of Oaxaca, and others.

Rural areas: depressed agricultural areas; among organizations of collective farmers (*ejidatarios*); in the country's primary indigenous zones.

Major terrorist actions: Rather than direct involvement in terrorism, the PRD serves as apologist for the terrorist actions of other allied groups, and is also frequently involved in violent confrontations with police and opposing political groups.

In 1988, in Tabasco, violent attacks on installations of Petróleos Mexicanos (Pemex).

In 1989, in Guerrero, provoked violent confrontations with police in the takeover of several mayoral offices, plus sit-ins and marches.

On Jan. 1, 1994, the PRD's armed wing, the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), launched insurrection in Chiapas.

Throughout 1994, invasions of more than 1,000 farms in Chiapas, as part of the Zapatista strategy of “liberating” territory and declaring it to be “autonomous.”

Throughout 1994, takeovers of mayoral offices and confrontations with militants of the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) in Chiapas.

January 1995: violent confrontations with PRI militants in Villahermosa, Tabasco, to overthrow Governor-elect Roberto Madrazo Pintado.

June 1995: shootout with state police, in Aguas Blancas, Guerrero.

Aug. 6, 1995: takeover of mayor's office in Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Oct. 2, 1995: burning of six buses at the Plaza de la Constitución (Zócalo) in Mexico City.

Trademark terror signatures: The PRD presents itself as the “defender of human rights” of terrorists and promoter of their cause, without taking direct responsibility for terrorist actions. From 1988 to 1991 in Mexico City, it organized a coalition of terrorists and proto-terrorist groups, such as the Neighborhood Assembly, the Francisco Villa Urban Popular Movement, the (now-defunct) Urban Route 100 Transportation Workers Union, the National Education Workers Coordinator (CENTE), and the University Student Council (CEU) of the UNAM, among others. Mexico City Mayor Manuel Camacho Solís coordinated all of these.

Leaders' names and aliases: Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, Presidential candidate in 1988 and 1994; Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, PRD president.

Groups allied nationally or internationally: The PRD is the political and electoral arm of the narco-terrorist, indigenist, and ecological groups associated with the EZLN (see EZLN profile).

Nationally: National Democratic Convention (CND); “El Barzón” National Union of Agricultural, Business, and Industrial Producers and Service Providers.

Internationally: founding member of the São Paulo Forum, and member of working group since 1991; Socialist International; Cuban Communist Party; Inter-American Dialogue; National Endowment for Democracy (NED); Rainbow Coalition of the U.S. Democratic Party.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Because its component groups are not united by any principle, the PRD represents an amalgam of different ideologies, bound together by their philosophical and political hostility to the Vatican.

Masonry: Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's faction has historically been identified with the thinking of his father, the late President Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas: “Masonry [is] to act as citizens within socialist criteria, at the vanguard of Mexico's social movement.” According to General Cárdenas's biographer, Luis Suárez, the general “at certain times stimulated . . . the spread of Protestantism in order to free Mexican believers—without eliminating God—from dependence on the Vatican.”

Theology of liberation: General Cárdenas developed a close relationship with the “red bishop” of Cuernavaca, Sergio Méndez Arceo, who introduced liberation theology to Mexico. In 1970, Cárdenas told Méndez Arceo: “If in converting itself, the church doesn't transform Mexico, we won't transform it, because we are too close to it.”

Socialism: The “ex”-communists who joined the PRD had abjured “Marxism,” proposing instead a “Mexican socialism,” or “autochthonous socialism.” Another strong fac-



Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas addresses a 1988 Presidential election campaign rally. When his bid for the Presidency failed, Cárdenas and his supporters formed the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Today, it functions as the electoral arm of the Zapatista insurgents.

tion, currently led by Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, identifies with the international social democracy, typified by Germany's Willy Brandt, Sweden's Olof Palme, and Spain's Felipe González.

Feminism and homosexuality: promoted by PRD leaders Ifigenia Martínez, Amalia García, and Laura Itzel Castillo, as well as by the Trotskyist faction led by Argentine Adolfo Gilly (Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's primary ideologue, and member of the editorial board of the São Paulo Forum's magazine *América Libre*), who advocates the "unification of new social movements" which seek "global rights" such as "the diversity of sexual options," "ethnic minorities," etc.

Indigenism: The PRD's statutes promote "indigenous autonomy."

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: former President Luis Echeverría Alvarez; Fidel Castro; Adolfo Gilly, Trotskyist intellectual and Zapatista; Pablo González Casanova, UNAM rector during the Echeverría administration (1970-76), member of the Zapatista National Democratic Convention, and on the editorial board of São Paulo Forum magazine, *América Libre*; Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas.

Current number of cadres: *La Jornada* correspondents who attended the PRD's national convention, Aug. 23-27, 1995 in Cuernavaca, Morelos, reported that "several hun-

dred" attended. Other media reported the attendance of only 300 delegates from around the country.

Training: Most PRD activists with narco-terrorist backgrounds were trained in Moscow, North Korea, China, Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

Known drug connections/involvement: Leaders such as Ifigenia Martínez, Sen. Heberto Castillo, as well as Jorge Castañeda, the party's ideologue and international propagandist, have all advocated drug legalization. Journalist Miguel Angel Granados Chapa, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's close ally, is also an important proponent of legalization.

Cárdenas has been accused of involvement with Oliver North in drug-running schemes through the state of Michoacán in the 1980s, when Cárdenas was governor of that state (see Terry Reed and John Cummings, *Compromised: Clinton, Bush and the CIA*).

Known arms suppliers/routes: See EZLN profile.

Known political supporters/advocates: former President Luis Echeverría Alvarez, (1970-76); associate of the Club of Rome; identified by many political figures as the architect of the 1968 student riots, organized from his position as government secretary under then-President, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz; presided over a known KGB front, the World Peace Council; promoter of the United Nations' one worldist policies; admirer of Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain, whom

he invited to Mexico while President (1970-76).

Manuel Camacho Solís, former mayor of the Federal District (1988-93), which post he used to bring multibillionaire speculator George Soros to Mexico; former foreign minister (December 1993-January 1994); former Chiapas peace commissioner (January-June, 1994); linked to former President Luis Echeverría; member of the United Nations' Commission for Global Governability; one of the primary promoters of ecologism in Mexico.

Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios, former head of the now-defunct Federal Security Directorate; former government undersecretary (1970-82); former director of the Federal Roads and Bridges Agency (1982-85); former governor of Veracruz (1985-88); former government secretary (1988-93); personal friend of Fidel Castro, whom he saw off on the vessel *Granma*, from Tuxpán, Veracruz, in 1958; his chief of advisers is the former Argentine Montonero leader, Abal Medina; self-proclaimed friend of all of Ibero-America's narco-terrorist groups and personalities.

Manlio Fabio Beltrones, former government undersecretary (1988-91); governor of Sonora (1991-); protégé of Gutiérrez Barrios.

Known funding: National Endowment for Democracy (NED); Mexican government funds allocated to registered political parties.

Thumbnail historical profile: In 1986, former President Luis Echeverría, controller of the PRI's masonic, social democratic faction, quietly created the "Democratic Current," which, under the rubric of democratizing the PRI, exerted pressure for Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano to be named the party's Presidential candidate. Failing in this objective, Echeverría and his group decided that a group of the PRI's social democrats, led by Cárdenas, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Ifigenia Martínez, and later, in 1989, Rodolfo González Guevara, would leave the PRI (August-September 1987) to launch Cárdenas's Presidential candidacy, which was subsequently registered under the name of the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM). All of the registered and unregistered communist parties, as well as some disoriented nationalist groups, rallied around Cárdenas's candidacy, in the so-called National Democratic Front (FDN).

When this strategy failed (July-December 1988), part of the FDN abandoned Cárdenas; the other part, led by the Mexican Unified Socialist Party (PSUM, formerly the Mexican Communist Party, PCM), and the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT), decided in 1989 to create the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), with a simple change of name as a registered party, from the PSUM to the PRD.

The PRD was thus made up of a coalition of communist political fiefdoms, the most important of which were:

1. The ex-PRI, social democratic, Echeverristas: Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, Ifigenia Martínez,

Rodolfo González Guevara. The latter, according to his own statements, comes out of the Comintern's "Bukharinite" faction of the 1920s.

2. The entire leadership of the former Mexican Communist Party, led by Pablo Gómez, Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo, Valentín Campa, Danzos Palomino, and others.

3. A faction of the old Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT), led by Adolfo Gilly and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

4. Former members of the narco-terrorist Revolutionary Armed Movement (MAR), September 23 Communist League (LC23S), the guerrilla movement of Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vázquez, etc., led by Rosalbina Garavito (former LC23S), formerly a leader of the PRD's parliamentary fraction.

5. Elements of liberation theology, headquartered at the Center for Social Communication (Cencos), run by José Alvarez Icaza.

6. Entities directly dependent on the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the Inter-American Dialogue, such as the Social Democratic Party of Luis and Edmundo Sánchez Aguilar (recently split from the PRD), and Mariclaire Acosta, leader of the National Network of Civil Human Rights Organizations (see "Cárdenas, the Mexican Aristide," in *EIR's* Special Report *Shining Path North. Explodes in Mexico*, January 1994).

Since Jan. 1, 1994, the PRD has led the defense of the EZLN's "human rights" and is currently its electoral arm. For example, in the August 1994 gubernatorial campaign in Chiapas, the EZLN's candidate, Amado Avendaño, ran on the PRD's ticket. The same thing happened with the senatorial campaign of Irma Serrano, the satanic cabaret performer and promoter of the EZLN internationally.

During the PRD's most recent national convention, in August 1994, the majority voted against Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's strategy of overthrowing President Ernesto Zedillo and installing a "national salvation government," instead backing Porfirio Muñoz Ledo's strategy of "negotiated democracy," otherwise known as dressing the wolf in sheep's clothing.

Historically speaking, the Party of the Democratic Revolution's leadership, and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in particular, identify with: 1) the nineteenth-century Mazzinian faction of Lord Palmerston's political zoo, within Benito Juárez's Mexican Liberal Party (PLM), and particularly with the anarchist, agrarian Ponciano Arriaga; known as *los puros*—"the pure ones"; 2) the anarcho-socialist, jacobin faction of the 1910 Mexican Revolution led by Ricardo Flores Magón; with the jacobins of the 1917 Constituent Assembly, who elaborated all of the anticlerical and collectivist agrarian laws of the 1917 Constitution; and with the father of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas, President from 1934-40.

EZLN terrorists: a foreign invasion of Mexico

Name of group: Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

Headquarters and important fronts: Lacandón Jungle, Montes Azules National Park, and the Highlands of Chiapas, state of Chiapas, Mexico.

Founded: 1984, as the National Liberation Forces, with a background going back to 1969.

Locations of operations, areas active: Chiapas state (Lacandón Jungle, Chiapas Highlands, coast). Significant presence within and in the environs of two protected national parks: Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve, and Lagunas de Montebello National Park. The EZLN has a "security corridor" between Chiapas and the British Commonwealth's Belize, according to the Mexican magazine *Siempre*. Also, it is said that "Sub-commander Marcos" has a safehouse in Belize. Urban safehouses are maintained in Mexico City and elsewhere.

Major terrorist actions:

December 1992: kidnapped collective farmer Mariano Encino, from Atamira township, who was tortured to death.

March 1993: kidnapped two military officers in San Isidro El Ocotol, Chiapas. Their remains were found in March 1993, with signs of having been mutilated by an electric chainsaw, burned, and buried in graves covered with lime.

Jan. 1, 1994: armed uprising, proclamation of the "Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle," in which they declared war on the Mexican Army and Executive branch. The municipal seats of San Cristóbal, Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, and Altamirano, were seized by force.

January 1994: bombing of the Plaza Universidad shopping center in Mexico City, in coordination with Procup (see below).

January 1994: dynamite attack, overturning electricity towers in Michoacán and Puebla.

January 1994: failed rocket attack on the Number One Military Camp in Mexico City.

September 1994: EZLN declared Yajalón and Simojovel as "autonomous" municipalities, and banned any presence of the national or state government (eliminate health and education services) and anything related to "the presence of the white man."

December 1994: EZLN returned to seize the municipal offices of Simojovel with armed commandos.

February 1995: Farmer Gustavo Mar Kanter is kidnapped, tortured, and murdered by quartering.

Modus operandi: They operate anonymously, using masks to cover their faces, and they use bloody "Pol Pot" and "Shining Path"-style terrorist methods. They use sophisticated communications technology (radios, cellular phones, the Internet) to coordinate and publicize their actions. They put an emphasis on publicity coups with the media, for example, inviting journalists to conduct interviews in the Chiapas jungle. They carry out pre-Columbian nocturnal ceremonies (snail-like formations by torchlight), such as that at which the leadership baton was passed to "Marcos" after he drank blood from a cup.

Leaders' names and aliases: Samuel Ruiz, bishop of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas (a.k.a. "The Mayan Prince"); Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente (a.k.a. "Sub-commander Marcos"); Fernando Yáñez Muñoz (a.k.a. "Commander Germán"); Commander Tacho; Commander Ramona; Commander Trini.

The following were arrested by the Mexican authorities in EZLN safehouses in Mexico City, Mexico State, and at the EZLN arsenal in the town of Yanga, Veracruz: Javier Elorriaga; Fernando Domínguez Paredes; Gerardo López López; Gonzalo Sánchez Navarrete; Luis Sánchez Navarrete; José Martínez González; Martín Trujillo Barajas; Ricardo Hernández López; Hilario Martínez Hernández; Alvaro Castillo Granados; Patricia Jiménez Sánchez; Ofelia Martínez Guerrero; Ofelia Hernández Hernández; Brida Rodríguez Acosta; Rosa Hernández Hernández; and Hermelinda García Zepahua.

Groups allied nationally or internationally: The EZLN is paradigmatic of the new structure of international terrorism: a small group of terrorists whose primary power base lies in the non-governmental organizations, national and international, mobilized to defend it. In February 1994, "Marcos" sent a letter to the NGOs which said: "We know that the so-called non-governmental organizations have become a key part of the movement for a dignified peace. . . . The fact that we have decided to trust our lives and our freedom to the NGOs is because we see in them the future to which we aspire, a future that will make not only war, but also armies, unnecessary."

Nationally: All the "civic" organizations mobilized to support the EZLN since January 1994 are closely interlinked. There are three "mother" organizations which operate on a national level: the National Center of Social Communication (Cencos) of José Alvarez Icaza; Eureka (Committee in Defense of Prisoners, Persecuted, Disappeared, and Political Exiles) of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra; and Convergence of Civil Organizations for Democracy, also known as the Civic Alliance. All of the nearly 200 organizations and personalities that the EZLN counts as its "advisers" in its dialogue with the federal government, come from these three groups.

"Convergence" (or Civic Alliance) was created at the request of the Mexican Academy of Human Rights, run by Sergio Aguayo Quezada, who receives funds from the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy (NED). It was formed as an umbrella for non-governmental organizations that created "Observation '94," supposedly to oversee the August 1994 Presidential elections. For that event, they received approximately \$1 million from the U.S. State Department. On Aug. 27, 1995, the Civic Alliance held a "national consultation" for the EZLN, so that "civil society" could vote on whether the EZLN should become a political force or should continue as an armed group.

These organizations coordinated the EZLN's National Democratic Convention (CND) ("Aguascalientes Convention"), held Aug. 14-16, 1994, and its subsequent meetings, and also held the Mexican Caravan for All (which then established itself as an NGO), supposedly to "break the military encirclement" of the EZLN in Chiapas and to bring them food, clothing, and medicine.

They have also engendered the "All Rights for All Network" and the Human Rights Commission's "Voice of the Voiceless," which includes the most radical groups on the state or regional level which are not yet duly registered as NGOs.

Rosario Ibarra's Eureka and Alvarez Icaza's Cencos maintain relations with clandestine terrorist groups. Within the state-level organizations are individuals who appear on the steering committees of the EZLN's National Democratic Convention and/or in some other organization, be it human rights, indigenist, or environmentalist.

Other members of this EZLN network include: Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD); Workers Party (PT); Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).

Of the 254 NGOs listed in the directorate of the Mexican Academy of Human Rights, approximately 90% make up the EZLN's support network. These include: Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights (Mariclaire Acosta Urquidi); Indigenous Rights Center (Cedhiac), José Avilés Arriola; Mexican Institute for Communal Development (INDEC), Carlos Núñez Hurtado; Self-Managed Popular Research and Education, A.C., Mérida, Yucatán; Defense Committee for Indigenous Freedoms, Palenque, Chiapas (María Mayers).

Other major allied groups include: Fray Bartolomé de las Casas Human Rights Center (Father Pablo Romo Sedano); Independent Proletarian Movement (MPI), Ricardo Barco López; Ex Urban Route 100 Unified Autotransport Workers Union (Sutaur-100), Ricardo Barco López; Revolutionary Workers' Party-Clandestine Union of the People (Procup), Felipe Martínez Soriano; Popular Revolutionary Union (UPREZ); Emiliano Zapata Communal Landowners' Union (UCEZ); Party of the Poor (PDLP); Emiliano Zapata Front; ACNR and allied groups from Guerrero (see profile); National Education Workers' Coordinator (CNTE), Section 31;

Neighborhood Assembly of Mexico City (Luis Campos); National Coordinator of Coffee Producers' Organizations (CNOG); El Barzón (both factions, one run by Juan José Quirinos and Alfonso Ramírez Cuéllar, and the other by Maximiliano Barbosa); Union of Roof Tenants (CCAT-UCAD); Group of the 100 (Homero Aridjis, Ofelia Medina); The Peoples' Team (Carlos Heredia).

Internationally: The following are only some of the global networks activated in support of the EZLN:

São Paulo Forum; Revolutionary International Movement (RIM); Shining Path; ETA; Coordinator of Indigenous Nations and Organizations of the Continent (CONIC); Pax Christi; Amnesty International; Human Rights Watch; Inter-American Dialogue; U.N. High Commission for Refugees.

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF); Greenpeace; Earth First!; Friends of the Earth; Native Forest Network; *The Ecologist* magazine (Teddy Goldsmith).

A network of Oscar Arnulfo Romero Solidarity Committees and centers, led by the Belgium-based Coordination of the European Network of O.A. Romero Committees, which operate in Berlin, Bonn, and Münster, Germany; Paris; Lucerne, Switzerland; Albacete, Aragon, Madrid, Valladolid, and Zaragoza, Spain.

Germany: Adveniat; Edition ID-Archiv Berlin Amsterdam; Editorial Nautilus, Hamburg; International Youth Social Service (IJGD), Berlin; Misereor; Solidarity with Latin America, Dusseldorf; Society for Endangered Peoples.

Belgium: Ecumenical Center for International Liaisons (COELI); Louvain-la-Nueve Tricontinental Center (CETRI); Center for Latin America (SAGO); Justice and Peace Commission of the Dutch-Belgian Province of the missionary fathers of Steyl (SVD); Mutual Aid and Fraternity (Catholic agency); Committee for Missionary Studies (CMI); Latin American Cooperation (Slacal); Latin American Christians Abroad (CLE); Catholic-National Worker Youth (KAJ); Pax Christi-Pis Flamenco; University Parish of the Dominican Fathers in Ghent; Priests and Clergymen for Justice and Peace; Support Groups for Human Rights in the Church; Center for Equal Opportunity and the Fight Against Racism; Uruguayan-Argentine Socio-Cultural Association; Argentine Cultural Circuit; Support Group for Justice and Peace in Guatemala; SEIN Youth Group.

Denmark: Solidarist Action, Copenhagen.

Spain: Chiapas "consulates" in rebellion of the Amado Avedaño "Transition Government," Santander and Barcelona; Solidarity with the Zapatista Rebellion Collective, Barcelona; United Left; Spanish Communist Party; Spanish Association for Human Rights; Institute for Dynamic Personal Interaction; Faith and Secularism Institute; Solidarity Committee with Zaire and Central Africa; Open-Air Center of Popular Culture; Center for Social Volunteers; Intermon Zaragoza; Pignatelli Center, Zaragoza; Peace Research Seminar; Youth Mission; Verapaz Collective, Valladolid; Local Youth Council, Valladolid; Christian Popular Worker Youth;

Christian Fraternity Council of the Ill and Disabled; Catholic Action Worker Brotherhood (HOAC); Nuns Collective in Worker and Marginal Neighborhoods; Christian Popular Communities; Little Sisters of the Assumption; Apostolic-Lay Cooperation; Hispanic American Christians of the South; Pilarica Parish Community; St. Thomas of Villanueva Parish; Consolata Youth-Missionary Group.

France: Trotskyist Workers Struggle (LO) party; Ecumenical Help Service (Cimade); Support Committee for Chiapas People in Struggle; Solidarity Committee with the Peoples of Central America (Cosopac); Mexico Today Study Group (GRAM); Zapata Association.

Ireland: El Salvador Awareness-Romero House; Irish Committee for Support of El Salvador; Viatores Christi-Latin American Committee.

Switzerland: Swiss Evangelical Churches Aid (HEKS); Caritas of Switzerland; Bern Declaration, Zurich; Third World Solidarity Association (Bern); Guatemala Network, Bern; Interteam, Lucerne; Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture (ACAT); Lay Missionaries, Vilare sur Glane; Christian Solidarity with Central America (Csocri); World Christian Life Community.

Canada: International Centre on Human Rights (Ed Broadbent); Canada-Mexico Solidarity Network; Eyes on Chiapas, British Columbia.

United States: Cultural Survival; Conversion for Reclaiming Earth in the Americas (CREA), Philip Wheaton; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Maryknoll; South and Meso American Indian Information Center (SAIIC); American Indian Movement; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); National Lawyers Guild; New England Central American Solidarity Network; National Commission for Democracy in Mexico; Mexican Information Service for Social Justice, Washington, D.C.

Arizona: People for Peace Chiapas Coalition, Tucson; Tonatierra, Tempe.

California: Chiapas Support Committee, Berkeley; Global Exchange, San Francisco; Mexicans Without Borders, San Francisco; Mexico Information Project, Los Angeles; La Raza Rights Coalition, San Diego; San Diegans for Dignity, Democracy and Peace in Mexico; Zapatista Solidarity Coalition, Sacramento.

Colorado: Tierra Amarilla Youth Brigade, Denver.

Illinois: Chicago Coalition against Proposition 187; Interfaith Network for Peace with Justice and Dignity, DeKalb; Without Borders, Chicago.

Massachusetts (Boston): Community Church; Grassroots International; July 26th Coalition; Latin America and Caribbean Solidarity Association; Latinos for Change; Tonatzin Committee in Support of the Native Peoples of Chiapas; Veterans for Peace-Smedly Butler Bridge.

Michigan: Organization in Solidarity with Central America, Detroit.

Minnesota: Committee in Minnesota in Solidarity with

the Defense of Human Rights in Mexico, Minneapolis; Northern Front, Minneapolis; Taos Amistad, Taos.

Montana: Comrades in Mexico, Missoula.

New Mexico: Southwest Network for Environment and Economic Justice, Albuquerque.

New York: El Chacon, Binghamton; Peace Group, New York City; New York Resource Center; Oswego Interfaith Peace Group.

Oregon: Chiapas Urgent Call, Portland; MECHA, Eugene; Survival Center, Eugene.

Tennessee: Friends of the Zapatistas, Knoxville.

Texas: Austin Committee in Solidarity with Chiapas and Mexico; San Antonio Committee in Solidarity with the Mexican People; Houston Committee in Solidarity with the Mexican People; Paso del Norte Mexico Solidarity Committee, El Paso.

Virginia: Appalachian Women Empowered, Gate City; Exiled Mexicans for Democracy, Norfolk.

Vermont: Burlington Peace and Justice Center.

Washington: Coalition in Solidarity with Indigenous People of Chiapas, Olympia; Emergency Coalition against Repression in Mexico, Seattle; Media Island International, Olympia.

Wisconsin: Central America Solidarity Coalition, Racine.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: indigenist separatism synthesized in the British and French schools of "Action Anthropology," hostility to the nation-state and to Christianity. Premised on theology of liberation, which proposes indigenist autochthonous (pagan) churches, and on French existentialist structuralism.

Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente (a.k.a. "Marcos") is a graduate of the philosophy department at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and carried out post-graduate studies at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the School of Mexican History and Anthropology. His university thesis was a diatribe against western culture and the family, in particular, against the figure of the father; Guillén bases his views on the theories of Marxist structuralist Louis Althusser, who, in an attack of psychological alienation, strangled his own wife; on Karl Marx; and on Michel Foucault, the existentialist philosopher and homosexual who died of AIDS in 1984.

About the EZLN's separatist ideology, "Marcos" explained in an interview with the Mexican daily *La Jornada* of Aug. 26, 1995: "Borders not only disappear, but are multiplying; and the armies not only do not dissolve into one larger one, but are splitting into many. There is the example of Yugoslavia, and the former Soviet Union and the Chechnya conflict. . . . In the case of the Mexican Army, it could be still more dramatic, because in Mexico one can distinguish totally different regions, as if they were nation-states."

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: The EZLN

is a synthetic creation of four main international agencies at the service of British intelligence:

1. Action Anthropology, whose birthplace is the Sorbonne in France, which has deployed in Chiapas, together with Harvard University, for at least the past three decades;

2. Existentialist theology of liberation, a product of the Nazi philosopher Martin Heidegger, run in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, by schismatic Bishop Samuel Ruiz García, who has been building his own "autochthonous indigenous church" in Chiapas since 1974;

3. The narco-terrorist São Paulo Forum; and

4. The non-governmental organizations (see above; also see *EIR*, March 31, 1995, for detailed elaboration).

Number of cadre: 8,000 catechists in the networks of Bishop Ruiz, who operate as organizers and coordinators of the EZLN, which itself has between 700 and 2,000 armed cadre.

Training: North Korea; Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow; the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany); Cuba; Nicaragua (it is believed that Marcos received training there in the early 1980s). Also working with the EZLN are guerrilla elements from Guatemala (URNG) and El Salvador (FMLN), trained in their respective countries. Inside Mexico, training is carried out inside national parks and in "neutral zones," in particular Lagunas de Montebello National Park, Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve, and Agua Azul Cascades National Park.

Known drug connections/involvement: In the government's National Drug Control Program (1989-94 and 1944-2000), Chiapas is indicated as an important drug-trafficking zone, including the border area with Guatemala and Belize—precisely the EZLN's area of operations.

Brig. Gen. Manuel Fernando Badillo Trueba, operations deputy for the Army Chief of Staff, declared that "there are indications that the cartels count on the support of the EZLN in Chiapas, since the drug lords operate in the armed group's area of influence." The drugs are thrown from small airplanes in flight over areas of Chiapas such as: La Unión, Laguna de Santa Clara, Laguna de Baquelte, Nuevo Guerrero, San Miguel, Pico de Oro, Benemérito de las Américas. The areas of greatest concentration of cocaine "air launches" are along the coasts of Quintana Roo, Mexico, and Belize, a member of the British Commonwealth.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Throughout 1995, arsenals belonging to the EZLN have been uncovered in Guatemala (URNG), Nicaragua (Sandinistas), El Salvador (FMLN), and Costa Rica (a group of Mexicans and Central Americans.) Since the 1980s, the URNG of Rigoberta Menchú has maintained cross-border communications with the EZLN through guerrilla groups and Guatemalan refugees living in Chiapas and Tabasco. Belize is considered another important source of weapons.

Known political supporters/advocates: Manuel Camacho Solís has played a special role in the defense and promo-

tion of the EZLN (see PRD profile), in particular when he served as Chiapas "peace commissioner" (January-June 1994), in charge of government negotiations with the EZLN. Also, sectors of the Catholic Church allied to Commander Samuel Ruiz.

Known funding: Misereor, the German Catholic organization, has admitted to donating \$7.5 million to Bishop Samuel Ruiz over the last ten years. The German Catholic organization Adveniat has also made contributions. Part of these funds are used to buy sophisticated radio communications equipment for the Ruiz diocese, which Ruiz's deacons have put at the service of the EZLN.

The Mexican government is investigating the accounts of the Federal District during Camacho Solís's mayoralty, where it is suspected that "transfers of funds" to the EZLN, through the former transport union Sutura-100, were carried out.

The National Coordinator of Coffee Producers' Organizations contribute percentages of their coffee exports as "donations," through priests allied to Bishop Ruiz. The coffee is exported to Japan, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, and the United States, at a yearly value of some \$7 million.

The network of national and international NGOs has provided food and other material support, especially through the so-called Caravans. Of special importance in this is the International Red Cross, which, according to intercepted radio communications, provides medicines and food directly to the EZLN.

Thumbnail historical profile: The EZLN stems from the National Liberation Forces (FLN), formed in the early 1980s on the basis of the remnants of various guerrilla and urban terrorist organizations which operated in Mexico during the 1960s and 1970s: Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR); Zapatista Urban Front (FAZ); Revolutionary Student Front (FER); Lacandón Movement of Chiapas; Party of the Poor (PDLP) of Guerrero, led by Lucio Cabañas; Guerrero Civic Action, led by Genaro Vázquez Rojas; and the 23rd of September Communist League.

After the FLN were annihilated by the Mexican federal security forces of the Luis Echeverría government (1970-76), the survivors were exiled by the government to countries like Cuba, the Soviet Union (Patrice Lumumba University), East Germany, and North Korea. During the José López Portillo government (1976-82), an amnesty was passed allowing the guerrillas to return to the country and regroup.

One of these is the so-called Torreón Group, which as of 1974 formed several peasant organizations in Chiapas, such as OPEZ, Anciez, and Peasant Torch. Out of these came the EZLN. Peasant Torch received extensive political and material support during the Carlos Salinas de Gortari government (1988-94), in particular from the President's brother Raúl Salinas, and from the official social welfare organization which he controlled, Pronasol.

ACNR spreads drugs, terror in Guerrero

Name of group: Revolutionary National Civic Association (ACNR). Also appears as the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra (OCSS).

Headquarters: Chilpancingo, Guerrero, Mexico; Iguala, Acapulco and Tlapa, Guerrero.

Founded: January 1983.

Locations of operations, areas active: The state of Guerrero, along the Pacific Coast of Mexico. This state is divided by the Balsas River. The concentration of guerrilla activity is in the area known as the Upper Balsas, bordering southern Puebla state and northern Oaxaca state, which forms what is known as the "Mixteco Knot" (conjunction of the Western Sierra Madre with the Eastern Sierra Madre). Also along the Balsas River basin, from the Mixteco Knot to the outlet of that river, which forms the border between Guerrero and Michoacán states, where the Lázaro Cárdenas-Las Truchas steel complex is located.

From the Michoacán-Guerrero border, along the Pacific Coast, to the port of Acapulco (which is known as the Great Coast of Guerrero). From Acapulco port, along the Pacific Coast to the southeast, to the border with Oaxaca state, an area known as the Small Coast.

Major terrorist actions: On June 28, 1995, members of the OCSS attacked police, when stopped at a roadblock; 17 members were killed in the resulting shoot-out.

Modus operandi: From April 1987 to 1990, they have carried out innumerable "civic" actions (seizures of mayoral offices, some with armed cadre; picket lines; meetings; university strikes; etc.) against state governor José Francisco Ruiz Massieu. Since 1989, these activities were staged under the name of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

From 1993 through today, under the governorship of Rubén Figueroa Alcócer, terrorist activity has notably increased, characterized by ambushes of police personnel, assassinations of municipal authorities, and attacks on peasant groups not allied to their movement.

Leaders' names and aliases: Founders include: Santos Méndez Bailón, Ismael and José Bracho Campos, Demóstenes Onofre Lozano Valdovinos, Antonio Sotelo Pérez (all belonging to the Peasant Execution Brigade of the Revolutionary Civic Association of Genaro Vázquez); Enrique Lavida Ruiz, Octaviano Santiago Dionisio, Ramón and Francisco Juventino, and Alfredo Camapana López (all belonging to the Armed Revolutionary People's Front, or FRAP, which operated in Jalisco during the 1970s); Tecua Salas, leader of "500 Years of Indian, Black and People's Resistance."

Groups allied to nationally or internationally:

Nationally: PRD; Workers Revolutionary Party (PRT); EZLN; Revolutionary Clandestine Workers Party-Popular Unity (PROCUP); Party of the Poor (PDLP); Emiliano Zapata Front; "All Rights for Everyone" Network; Emiliano Zapata Worker/Peasant Union (UOCEZ); Democratic Union of Transport Workers (UTD); Emiliano Zapata Revolutionary Agrarian League (LAREZ); Popular Defense Committee (CDP); Sixth of March Movement; Union of Mexico's National Autonomous University Workers (Stunam); "Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez" Human Rights Center; Union of Autonomous University of Guerrero Workers (STUAG); Student Federation, Guerrero University (FEUG).

The ACNR is supported by several "civilian" groups in Guerrero, which it set up itself: the Southern Coordinator for Peace and Democracy; Human Rights Commission/"Voice of the Voiceless," Coyuca de Benítez; Guerrero Council for 500 Years of Indian, Black and People's Resistance; Nahua Council of Upper Balsas; Coalition of Collective Farms of Guerrero's Great Coast; Guerrero Student Union; Emiliano Zapata Southern Agrarian Revolutionary League.

Internationally: Cuban Communist Party; Amerindian Studies of Quebec, Canada; Coordinator of Indian Agencies and Nations of the Continent (CONIC); Peru's Shining Path.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Communists and Zapatistas ("we fight for the land, and also for power"); see historical profile, below.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Cuban Communist Party; Lucio Cabañas (guerrilla founder of the Party of the Poor which operated in Guerrero from 1969 to 1979); Genaro Vázquez Rojas (guerrilla founder of the Revolutionary Civic Association of Guerrero, which operated from 1969 to 1971).

Training: ACNR founders lived in exile in Cuba from 1972 to 1983. They trained in producing explosives, guerrilla tactics, and acts of mass terrorism. It is not confirmed whether they physically participated in the Cuban Army's legions in Angola, but they had the same kind of military training. Training camps and the hideouts of armed groups have been discovered in various Guerrero areas. Former members of the Route 100 Urban Transport Workers Union (Sutaur) have handed over evidence to the federal Attorney General's office which establishes that this union and the Independent Proletarian Movement (MPI) bought up land in this region which was adapted for guerrilla training.

Known drug connections: Guerrero state holds first place in the nation in the cultivation of poppy and in the production of opium gum, the base for the production of heroin. According to reports from the Ninth Military Region, 1995 is the year during which the most narcotics crops have ever been destroyed, and yet, more poppy is being found in ever larger areas. The same is happening with marijuana, which is being sown in increasingly more visible areas. This is a territory of drug trafficker Arellano Félix, who operates

in alliance with the opium mafias of Thailand.

According to reports from the Attorney General's office, plantings have increased along the Tenango mountain range, from which a great number of Balsas River tributaries flow. Poppy cultivation also extends toward the Upper Balsas, as well as in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. These are the same areas of concentration of the ACNR guerrilla and of the operations of the Nahua Council of Upper Balsas, an "indigenist" organization linked to the EZLN.

Reports from the Guerrero state government and from the Ninth Military Region indicate that the number of 10- to 12-year-old children who are being arrested in the camps where the poppies are milked (Asian-style) is growing.

Marijuana cultivation is spreading along the Guerrero Great Coast and in the so-called Small Coast, where guerrilla training camps have been detected.

Known arms suppliers/routes: Probably through the drug trade and organized crime in the United States. A Feb. 8, 1994 memorandum from the Mexican Defense Ministry talks about an "imminent shipment of 2,000 AK-47 assault rifles, which will be sent from that country [the United States] to national territory." This shipment is part, says the memorandum, of "a larger shipment of nearly 20,000 weapons of this type, destined for the state of Guerrero." The report adds information that "allows one to presume the possibility of drug trafficking and general criminal activity that could be confused with a budding subversion."

The arms-contraband corridor is the same as that for opium gum traffic running from Guerrero to clandestine laboratories in the state of Nayarit (where clandestine arsenals have been found) and in the state of Sonora.

Known political supporters/advocates: The same support networks as for the EZLN (see EZLN profile).

Known funding: Drug trade, robberies, assaults, and kidnappings. Administration of restaurants and brothels in Acapulco and Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo.

Thumbnail historical profile: In January 1993, an amnesty by the government of José López Portillo (1976-82) permitted the return from Cuba of Santos Méndez Bailón, Ismael and José Bracho Campos, Demóstenes Onofre Lozano Valdovinos, and Antonio Sotelo Pérez. These men, belonging to the Peasant Execution Brigade of the guerrilla movement of Genaro Vázquez Rojas, had gone into exile in 1972, after the death of Vázquez Rojas. Their departure was protected by Cuernavaca Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo.

The reception committee was composed of: Alvarez Icaza of Cencos (see EZLN profile); Graco Ramírez and Rafael Talamantes, then leaders of the Socialist Workers Party (PST); María Teresa Ulloa, leader of the Workers Union of the College of Mexico; Jaime Neri Ramírez, then director of the Teachers College and of personnel at the Autonomous University of Guerrero. This committee was the same which was enrolling Mexican youth to help in the reconstruction of Nicaragua after the victory of the Sandinistas.

Other members of the reception committee included: Enrique Laviada Ruiz, Octaviano Santiago Dionisio, Ramón and Francisco Juventino, and Alfredo Camapana López. These were all members of the Armed Revolutionary People's Front (FRAP), which operated in Jalisco in the 1970s together with the FER of Carlos Ramírez Ladewing. They, too, had received the benefit of José López Portillo's amnesty.

Upon their return, the exiles held meetings at the Teachers College with teachers and students, who created the National Coordinator of Education Workers (CENTE), where the ACNR declared itself formally established. During their visit to Chilpancingo, Guerrero, they held a meeting in the Number 2 High School of Iguala, where they were received by Félix Salgado Macedonio, at the time the leader of the student body there (today, Salgado Macedonio is a PRD senator). It was in this school that the exiles declared, "Perhaps we are too old to take up arms, but we have ideas. The fight begun by Genaro Vázquez is not over."

Teachers and university officials from the Autonomous University of Guerrero came to Chilpancingo, taking over the law school of the university then located at Calle Abasolo No. 33, in Chilpancingo. Between 1983 and 1985, they also controlled the rectory of that same university, forcing out PRDer Wences Reza and imposing José Enrique González Ruiz, who turned out to be an activist of Procup-PDLP.

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The SPF's terrorist bridge to the U.S.

by Iván Gutiérrez del Arroyo

In less than two years of existence, the Puerto Rico New Independence Movement (NMIP) has established itself as the official subsidiary of the São Paulo Forum in Puerto Rico and within the Puerto Rican communities in major cities on the mainland, such as New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. This gives the SPF a terrorist capability within the United States proper, with all that that implies.

The NMIP is a New Age version of the old Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which has incorporated radical environmentalism and violent opposition to any war on drugs, to its long-standing ties to Castro's Cuba. The drug angle is key, because the NMIP's central campaign today is to mobilize and threaten terrorist actions against the Clinton administration's plan to install a sophisticated radar on the island to give early warning of incoming drug flights. The planned radar is of strategic significance, because it will extend U.S. detection capabilities to cover the entire Caribbean Sea.

Radar proponents targeted

Since this plan was announced, the NMIP weekly *Claridad* has heaped a steady flow of invective upon anyone who wants to see the radar installed. In mid-July 1995, Julio A. Muriente Pérez, NMIP president, began to openly incite terrorist actions against the radar. "We Puerto Ricans know how to blow up towers," he bragged. Immediately afterwards, the "Vietnam Veterans and Families" (linked to and promoted by the NMIP) began a vigil at the site where the radar antennas are to be installed, and threatened to "fight for my land. . . . This will be my last battle as a forgotten Vietnam warrior." In mid-September, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, an old Cuban agent of the terrorist Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) and leader of the terrorist group "Los Macheteros," sent a video from hiding which calls for escalating military actions against the radar installations.

At the same time, *Claridad* and its "respectable" allies, such as Sen. Rubén Berríos Martínez, of the Socialist International, and Dr. Neftalí García, a leading environmentalist on the island financed by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), launched a publicity and electoral campaign to le-

galize drugs. In August 1995, NMIP head Muriente Pérez was in Buenos Aires at the continental São Paulo Forum seminar, where he also pushed the case for stopping the radar.

Is all of this a lot of hot air, or does it represent a credible terrorist threat?

A history of terrorism

A little history answers the question. In 1950, Puerto Rican terrorist Andrés Figueroa Cordero attempted to murder President Harry Truman. In 1954, a suicide commando group of four Puerto Rican terrorists shot up the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding five congressmen. In 1979, the four were pardoned by President Jimmy Carter, and a few days later, Rafael Cancel Miranda, head of the commando squad, declared to the international press that he was ready to do it all over again, but this time using grenades instead of bullets!

Since then, these four terrorists have not ceased to fight, first together with the PSP and now with the NMIP, for the release of 15 other Puerto Rican terrorists, members of the National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN) and the Macheteros who are in federal prison for "bombings and revolutionary thefts" on the island and on the United States mainland. Both groups call themselves Marxist-Leninist, but they emphasize that their methods and tactics of struggle are inspired by the suicidal terrorist actions of their predecessors in 1950 and 1954.

The fact is that the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, through its Cointelpro operations, played a decisive role in the formation of both groups.

Several months ago, Cancel Miranda became part of the steering committee of the Fifth Congress of the Peoples of America and the Caribbean, held in Managua, Nicaragua. This meeting was headed by the top leaders of the Sandinistas, including Daniel Ortega and Tomás Borge, and voted unanimously in favor of a resolution calling on President Clinton to free the 15 FALN and Macheteros terrorists. The head of the Macheteros, Ojeda Ríos, sent a taped message to the meeting from his place of hiding.

Such prominent members of the Episcopal Diocese of New York as the Rev. Paul Wright, the National Lawyers Guild, and many other international groups, have joined the campaign to free the 15 terrorists. They insist on classifying them as "prisoners of war," whose armed struggle has been characterized by respect for human life and for "symbolic bombings" in favor of "Puerto Rican separatism." At the same time, the pro-terrorist editorial house "Common Courage" recently published a book, *Prisoners of Colonialism: The Fight for Justice in Puerto Rico*, apologizing for the terrorists. Ironically, in the book, sociologist Ronald Fernández documents some of the FBI's Cointelpro operations to infiltrate and create the National Liberation Armed Forces and Macheteros.

NMIP: terrorism under the banner of independence

Name of group: Puerto Rican New Independence Movement (NMIP); previously, Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and Pro-Independence Movement (MPI).

Headquarters: San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Founded: Oct. 29, 1993, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Location of operations, areas active: NMIP organizes in the main districts and cities, including San Juan, Ponce, Mayagüez, Bayamón, Caguas, Arecibo, Humacao, Carolina, and Aguadilla, as well as in towns in the interior, including Patillas and Barranquitas.

On the mainland, it has a committee in Washington, D.C. and maintains a presence in New York and Chicago. U.S. Reps. Luis Gutiérrez (D-Ill.) from Chicago, and Nydia Velázquez (D-N.Y.) from Brooklyn, were members of the PSP. Its weekly, *Claridad*, has two U.S. correspondents. Its primary focus is environmentalist, anti-military, pro-drug legalization, feminist, and for the freedom of "prisoners of war."

Major terrorist actions: The NMIP, like its predecessors, does not carry out direct terrorist activities. Rather, it creates a political environment to justify actions of fronts, carried out by "synthetic" terrorist groups such as the "Los Macheteros" and the National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN).

Modus operandi: Its primary activity is propagandistic, through *Claridad*. It defends terrorist groups such as "Los Macheteros," the FALN, and Greenpeace, whose collaboration with the Earth First! terrorists was confirmed by a Hamburg, Germany court; it promotes international campaigns to free the 15 Puerto Rican terrorists jailed in the United States; and it organizes against the installation of an anti-drug radar facility on the island. Its "Youth in Movement" camp in the island's interior, is a recruitment center for youths between 14 and 25, and is run by Doris Pizarro Claudio and Julio Santiago.

Leaders' names and aliases:

Julio A. Muriente Pérez, president and interim spokesman. Earlier he was vice president in charge of international affairs. He lived for some years in Cuba and Hungary as an official representative of the MPI-PSP, and is currently the official contact with the São Paulo Forum and with the Cuban Communist Party. He is the most open promoter of terrorism within the NMIP and *Claridad*, around a campaign to prevent the installation of the anti-drug radar.

Reyda Eunice Santana Melecio, former president and spokeswoman for the NMIP. She shares a collective presidency of the World Council of Churches, and is in charge of Latin America and the Caribbean. Currently, she is a member of the women's section of the NMIP.

Genaro Rentas, former vice president in charge of organizational affairs (former member of the political commission of the MPI-PSP).

Carlos Gallisa, founder and first president and spokesman for the NMIP, former secretary general of the PSP, former member of the House of Representatives and vice president of the PIP.

Carmen Borges, in charge of the women's section.

Marilyn Pérez Cotto, interim director of *Claridad*.

Rev. Juan A. Franco, member of the international commission.

Olga Sanabría, member of the international commission.

Regional leaders: Doris Pizarro Claudio (San Juan); Remi Rodríguez (Ponce); Miguel Sánchez (Mayagüez); Pedro Adorno (Bayamón); Carlos Vega (Arecibo); Juan Luis Gómez (Carolina); Ismael Barreto y David Quiñónez (Aguadilla); José Carrasquillo (Humacao); Nelson Santiago (Patillas); Humberto Padillas (Barranquitas); Father Roberto Morales, of San José Episcopal Church of Arlington, Virginia (United States).

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

Nationally:

The Puerto Rican Peoples Army, a.k.a. "Los Macheteros," founded by former MPI member Filiberto Ojeda Ríos in 1970, upon returning from a nine-year stay in Cuba where he worked with the terrorist Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) and received military training.

Its main activities are bombings of military and government installations, robberies and assassinations of law enforcement officers (e.g., two Puerto Rican policemen in 1978; two U.S. marines in 1979; an undercover agent in 1986; and the Wells Fargo robbery in Hartford, Connecticut at the end of the 1980s). They operate both in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. mainland.

Luis Colón Osorio, one of the founders and commanders of the Macheteros, under house arrest, received specialized training in explosives and weapons in East Germany, and then was discharged from the U.S. Army after having a nervous breakdown and for heroin addiction.

Another of the imprisoned Macheteros is Oscar López Rivera, former Vietnam War veteran where he received the bronze medal for heroism.

The FALN, a group created by the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpro) with Vietnam veterans and students from Chicago's Northeastern University. Since 1974, it has carried out more than 120 bombings in the U.S., particularly against military and police facilities, banks, government offices in Washington, and businesses (for example, New York's historic Fraunces Tavern, in 1975). Eleven

members of the FALN are serving lengthy prison terms in U.S. jails.

The Broad People's Movement (MAP), the green party of Puerto Rico, which favors drug legalization and whose founder Jorge A. Farinacci, is a lawyer for the Macheteros (he was arrested and accused of being a member); the Hostosian National Congress, whose slogan is "Defending the Environment Is Making the Fatherland"; the Puerto Rican Historians Association; the Teachers Federation; the Puerto Rican Workers Federation (CPT); the Coordinator of State Workers (CUTE); the National Union of Health Workers (UNTS); the Brotherhood of Non-Teaching Employees of the University of Puerto Rico; the Group for Productive Rights and the Organization of Women Law Students, of the Inter-American University; the Grand Orient National Lodge (Masonry) of Puerto Rico; Vietnam Veterans and Families against the anti-drug radar; the Committee to Rescue and Develop the Puerto Rican Island of Vieques, and the United Front for the Defense of Lajas Valley.

Internationally:

Member of the São Paulo Forum since 1995; World Wildlife Fund gave \$65,000 in 1992 for an ecology project under Dr. Naftali García Martínez, president of the non-government organization Scientific and Technological Services (Secete), in which interim director of *Claridad* Marilyn Pérez Cotto also worked; Genetic Resources Action International (GRAIN), an NGO in Barcelona, Spain, where Nelson Alvarez Febles, a former member of the PSP central committee, also works; Greenpeace; the Ecology Action Pact of Latin America (PAEAL), which is made up of 13 environmentalist organizations from 10 countries, among others the Environmental Studies Group of Mexico, the Social Ecology Network of Uruguay, the Institute of Ecology Policy of Chile, the Ecology Workshop of Argentina, and the Ecology Association of Costa Rica; the Freedom for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War National Committee (Cnplppgp) of Chicago, which promotes Puerto Rican terrorists as "combatants in the clandestine movement for the liberation of Puerto Rico"; the Working Group for Hawaiian Sovereignty; the Ecumenical Peace Institute; the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) and the National Lawyers Guild of the United States.

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Marxism-Leninism on the model of Fidel Castro; anti-Catholic Masonry; more recently, it has adopted an environmentalist hue, along with the New Age/Heideggerian theology of liberation.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians: Main ideologues are Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Pedro Albizu Campos, and historic figures linked to the Jacobinism of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, such as Puerto Rican Ramón Emeterio Betances (leader of the nationalist revolt against the Spanish in 1868) and the Cuban José Martí.

Current number of cadre: Possibly 1,000 members, with approximately 30-35 full-time members (5 with the political commission, 7 with *Claridad*, 11 in charge of key cities and districts; and 5 in charge of different sectors of the NMIP).

Training: Cuba; U.S. Army (see above).

Known drug connections/involvement: Direct links to drug-running are unknown; they organize for drug legalization, and against the anti-drug radar; they defend Rep. José Enrique Arraras, leader of the minority in the Congress who was expelled and then temporarily reinstated, who is a known drug-money launderer through his control of the real estate market and horse-breeding and horse-racing on the island.

Known arms suppliers: Weapons for the Macheteros and the FALN come from the FBI or are gotten through robberies of military installations, or are bought on the black market and paid for through bank robberies.

Known political supporters/advocates: U.S. Rep. Luis A. Gutiérrez, former PSP member from Chicago, met with President Clinton to formally request a pardon for the Puerto Rican terrorists; U.S. Rep. Nydia Velázquez, former PSP member from New York, has just visited the Puerto Rican terrorists in California jails; Australian Senators Nick Sherry and John Coales, and Australian Attorney General John Deven, who publicly back the campaign to free the Puerto Rican terrorists.

Financing: Sales of *Claridad*; cultural festivals; travel agencies, which promote cultural trips to Cuba; monthly fees paid by affiliates.

Thumbnail historical profile: In 1959, the MPI was founded by four main groups: dissidents of the social democratic Puerto Rican Independence Party, liberation theologians, Marxist-Leninist defenders of the Cuban Revolution, and dissidents of the Nationalist Party.

Until 1972, the MPI was a militant socialist group with inclinations toward Marxism-Leninism; along with the PN, it promoted electoral abstentionism and began to openly back "revolutionary violence" by terrorist groups like the Armed Liberation Commandos (CAL) and the MIRA, both created by the FBI and trained in Cuba. Openly defended the Communist guerrillas and the activities of the terrorist Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS) in *Claridad*.

Its main university leaders, such as the NMIP president Julio Muriente Pérez, publicly organize violent protests at the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras.

In 1972-73, it became the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), an openly Marxist-Leninist and pro-terrorist group. After an electoral beating in 1976, in which it received only 10,000 votes, the PSP began to die slowly. After a political hibernation in the 1980s, a group of former PSPers, theology of liberation advocates, feminists, and environmentalists formed the NMIP on Oct. 29, 1993.

Consumer debt may trip up shaky financial markets

by Anthony K. Wikrent

Late last year, it was Orange County, California, and then the Mexican peso. In February, it was Barings PLC and derivatives markets in Singapore. In June and July, it was Daimler Benz and the cross-links between industrial companies and banks in Germany. In August, it was the pubescent banks of Russia. In September, it was the Japanese banking system. Now, it's the American consumer.

"It" refers to the latest cause of alarm over yet another leak in the rotting financial system, which threatens to unleash the raging flood waters of world monetary and financial disintegration. The newest hole gained front-page attention on Oct. 26, when reports of growing U.S. consumer loan delinquencies, and charge-offs by banks and other financial companies, sparked a nervous sell-off of banking and financial stocks that roiled the U.S. stock markets for days. The Money Store reported that 30-day overdue delinquencies on its lower-quality home equity loans had jumped over 1%, to 5.47% of all such loans outstanding. At the same time, the Mortgage Information Corp. of San Francisco was reporting that the overall delinquency rate for home mortgages, nationwide, had increased 11 basis points from the first quarter of this year, to 2.84%.

"Assuming that this is a fairly normal business cycle, then the consumer credit and loan problem will likely get much worse before it gets better," James Solloway, director of research at Argus Research in New York City, told the *Wall Street Journal*. Other signs to look at are the host of discount retail stores that have filed bankruptcy, such as Caldor's. The retail outlook for the all-important Christmas season, is increasingly being described in terms that would only delight a Scrooge. Even once-mighty K-Mart has fallen on hard times and is said to be seeking protection from its creditors.

As a result, nervous investors have sent bank and con-

sumer credit company stock prices tumbling 10-25% in the past few weeks, leading sharp falls in the U.S. stock market twice in the last week of October.

Why all the fuss?

Why all the fuss about consumer spending? The fact is, that over the last decade, Americans have borrowed heavily to compensate for falling real incomes. Now, increasing numbers of Americans are unable to pay back their borrowings. And that threatens to further unravel parts of the financial derivatives markets, such as so-called "asset-backed securities," that are based on such things as home mortgages, or credit card receivables. Since the growth of the financial bubble proceeds by cannibalizing the productive economy, the consumer credit collapse reflects the principle, "the better it grows, the worse it gets." The indicative reproductive parameters of the physical economy have been declining at a "trend" rate of around 2% per year over the last three decades, while the claims of financial instruments have been increasing at around 40% per year. These two "trends," and the growing disparity between demands to be paid, and the ability to pay, cannot continue much longer.

The mortgage derivative market has already imploded, in February and May 1994, obliterating David Askin's Granite hedge funds, and General Electric's Kidder Peabody. But, what of credit cards? As the yahoos on Wall Street say, it's been a "growth industry." Credit card debt in the United States has tripled to more than \$387 billion in the past 10 years. It is an extremely lucrative business for the banks, with interest rates of 16% or higher charged on credit balances. How lucrative this racket is, can be judged by the fact that credit card issuers mailed out 2.1 billion solicitations for new cards in 1994—an average of eight for every man, woman, and child