

Alejandro Peña-Esclusa

The Foro de São Paulo  
A Threat to Freedom in Latin America



## Dedication

*To the people of the Americas in apology  
for all the harm Hugo Chávez has done.*

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# Prologue

## Prologue

The demolition of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Empire in 1990, in addition to the adoption of private enterprise in China, led to the belief that the long nightmare of the Marxist social engineering experiment was over. The world was moving towards globalization- depicted by the phrase “global village”. The once powerful communist parties of Western Europe were shamed into changing their names and doctrine. In Latin America, the only Marxist country was Cuba, suffering under the iron fist of a senile dictator. Cuba had just lost the Soviet subsidies that allowed it to pay for its oil and food. The predictions of Francis Fukuyama, in the sense that ideology would no longer subsist, rang true. Liberal economics would be the rule the world over.

Many in Colombia, myself included, thought the communist guerrillas –FARC and ELN- would quickly sue for peace. At the time, there was little inkling that they would prosper and grow by becoming masters of the “up-stream” end of the drug trade. No one heeded to a desperate initiative set in motion by Fidel Castro, who urgently needed to break out of his isolation. Castro turned to the leader of the most powerful leftist party in the Americas: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of the Worker’s Party of Brazil (PT). Lula had

nearly won the presidency a year before. Together, they arranged the largest meeting of leftist parties and terrorists ever held on the Continent. The event was hosted by Lula in Sao Paulo, his power base. Elsewhere on the Continent, communism was in a profound crisis. The Sandinistas would lose power in 1990, in an election forced upon them, and the communist insurgency in El Salvador was on the wane.

It was in those difficult times, having lost the support and guidance of Moscow, that the Sao Paulo Forum (FSP) was born. It would become a broad and effective alliance of communist parties and guerrilla movements that would soon make spectacular progress towards recovering lost ground and advancing the Marxist cause throughout the Continent. It included communist parties and others with different names but similar ideologies, as well as terrorist movements. This was quite in line with the Marxist doctrine on the combination of all forms of struggle. Along with the Colombian Communist Party, the FSP included the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), the Peruvian Communist Party, the MRTA guerrillas and similar combinations in other countries.

Few politicians or democratic leaders on the Continent took notice of the newborn threat. They thought it was just another rabble of loud Marxists, nostalgic for the collapsed Soviet Empire, a group organization that would be convened every so often to denounce cruel and heartless capitalism and the imperialistic United States. After all, it now seemed that communism was effectively dead, a painful aberration of history, and - like Nazism before it - would soon become politically irrelevant.

What a serious mistake! There were, of course, long speeches and Marxist rhetoric, but the FSP would be much more than the usual talking meeting. It is a real continental organization, much more effective than Stalin's stodgy COMINTERN. In fact, the mutual support among its members has allowed communists, sometimes in alliance with more moderate parties, to rise to power in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua. That same solidarity also allowed Marxism to survive in Cuba, after a half century of economic failure. The FSP candidates lost presidential elections by slim margins in Mexico and Peru. Luck played its part in that success. Hugo Chavez, after a failed coup in 1992, was pardoned and released from prison by President Caldera. He was elected president of Venezuela in

1998. His party, Movimiento V República (MVP), had joined the FSP in 1995. Oil prices, long stagnant, would soon start their climb to record highs. Chavez used his oil revenues to fund candidates of his choice and to buy the votes of small Caribbean island states. The FSP's next target is El Salvador, where the party of the former FMLN guerrillas, generously funded by the clownish Venezuelan president, has a good chance of winning the presidency.

The FSP has developed strategies and techniques to gain power through democratic elections. Several campaigns and political parties have been funded through PDVSA, the Venezuelan state-owned oil company, and the FARC have contributed to others. Once power is secured, there are strategies to hold on to it. One is, of course, and not surprisingly, to develop popular hatred of the "Empire" (the US), as well as class confrontation. But, beyond that, most regimes have fueled ethnic mistrust.

The governments try to give the impression that they are following democratic procedures, but electoral fraud is used blatantly, and all power is concentrated eventually in the executive branch. A new constitution is drafted - one that concentrates power in the executive branch and allows repeated re-election. The armed forces that fought armed subversion are reduced through "judicial warfare," which includes disowning laws on amnesty for the military but, of course, not for terrorists. Violent militias or pressure groups, outside formal government control, are organized to intimidate the opposition - along the line of Hitler's infamous "brown shirts".

One of the few who has called attention to the FSP and its importance is Alejandro Peña-Escusa. He has traveled to a number of countries to warn anyone who would listen about the threat to freedom and democracy on the Continent posed by the FSP. Few listened, and fewer still did anything to counteract the threat. For the press, all of this was not newsworthy. Government leaders usually do not see threats beyond their borders. Business leaders do not look much beyond their next accounting period, and many think they can somehow deal with any government that comes to power.

In the Colombian case, it has long been known that Chávez and Correa supported the FARC guerrilla in various ways, including safe havens and easy access to weapons and supplies. Glaring proof of this was found in the computer files of Raúl Reyes, the FARC's second in command, killed in Ecuador by an air strike on his camp in Ecuadoran territory. The strike was carried out by the Colombian Air Force. The Colombian government has

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leaked a minimal part of the contents of those files, but has decided to keep most of the evidence secret, in the hope of maintaining good relations with its neighbors and trading partners. One example is the evidence concerning Brazilian government officials who had extensive relations with the FARC. The FSP is a threat to all democracies and the Reyes files should be open to all, especially to those who now suffer under FSP dictatorships and those who are endangered by the FSP conspiracy.

## Introduction

# Introduction

Colombian security forces launched Operation Phoenix on 1 March 2008. It was a commando maneuver against the main camp established in Ecuador by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The second in command of the FARC at the time, Raul Reyes, was killed in that operation. Because Reyes was one of the most dangerous men in the history of organized crime, it was logical to assume that every country in the region would congratulate Alvaro Uribe's administration and even decree a day of continental joy, inasmuch as the FARC is a drug- trafficking terrorist organization that violates the law in Colombia and worldwide. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of Colombians and the international community, three countries broke off diplomatic relations with Colombia in protest over Operation Phoenix.

In an attempt to justify their incomprehensible attitude, the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador and Nicaragua argued that Colombia had entered Ecuadorian territory illegally. However, considering the importance of the operation, the problem could have been resolved easily through normal diplomatic channels. In contrast, those governments chose to ignore the fact that the FARC constantly violate their territory to kidnap, extort and assassinate innocent citizens.

The hypocritical and obviously exaggerated reason for the break in diplomatic relations confirmed what had been suspected already: that the ideological affinity between the FARC and several regional governments constitutes an alliance based on permanent coordination and mutual support. Several days later, the information extracted from Reyes's computers, which were seized during Operation Phoenix, confirmed every suspicion.

The primary purpose of this report is to show that alliance began at least eighteen years ago, when the São Paulo Forum was created, and how its repercussions and ramifications are far more profound than they seem to be. Secondly, it is intended to warn Colombians, their government and all of Latin America that the crisis of March 2008 is not over. On the contrary, it has just begun. Hopefully, the information provided in this report will help to offset actions taken against the Latin American countries by the international allies of the FARC. The third objective of this report is to propose a course of action aimed at defending the Americas from the São Paulo Forum, while benefitting from this crisis to solve some of the more pressing problems in the region and encouraging a political, economic, scientific and cultural renewal.

The Author  
Caracas, April 2008

# 1. What is the São Paulo Forum?

## What is

The São Paulo Forum (FSP) celebrated its eighteenth anniversary on 3 July 2008. This political organization brings together nearly every leftist organization in Iberian America, including armed guerrilla movements. Its name comes from the Brazilian city where its first meeting was held.

The FSP was convened by the Workers' Party of Brazil and the Cuban Communist Party to redefine the objectives and actions of left-wing parties after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union. Sixty-eight political forces from twenty-two Latin American and Caribbean countries participated. However, since its first summit meeting, the FSP has grown substantially.

The VI FSP Summit, held in 1996 in the city of San Salvador, was attended by one hundred eighty seven delegates from fifty-two member-organizations, one hundred forty-four guest-organizations represented by two hundred eighty-nine participants, and forty-four observers from thirty-five American, African, Asian and European organizations.

The São Paulo Forum has no known headquarters. However, it has held thirteen summits in different cities, approximately one every year: São Paulo (1990), Mexico City (1991), Managua (1992), Havana (1993), Monte-

video (1995), San Salvador (1996), Porto Alegre (1997), Mexico City (1998), Managua (2000), Havana (2001), Guatemala (2002), São Paulo (2005), and San Salvador (2007). The 2008 summit took place in May in Montevideo, Uruguay.

The FSP member-organizations include the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the Alternative Democratic Pole in Colombia (a left-wing political party), the Workers' Party of Brazil, the Broad Front in Uruguay, the Socialist Party of Chile, United Left of Peru, the Free Bolivia Movement and the Socialist Movement of Bolivia, the Ecuadorian Socialist Party, the Fifth Republic Movement (MVR) of Venezuela (now the United Socialist Party of Venezuela - PSUV), the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in Mexico, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit (URNG), the Democratic Revolutionary Party of Panama, the Lavalas Movement of Haiti, and every communist party in the region, including the one in Cuba.

A number of Latin American presidents are members of the São Paulo Forum; namely, Lula da Silva, Raúl Castro, Hugo Chávez, Tabaré Vázquez, Evo Morales, Rafael Correa, Daniel Ortega, Martín Torrijos and René Preval. Cristina Kirchner and Michelle Bachelet do not formally belong to the FSP, but some of the parties that support them do.

The FSP says “it is not, and does not pretend to be a new ‘international’ or an organic structure that imposes agreements and ideas on its participants, nor a transmitter of unanimities.” However, although no unanimity exists among its members –as is the case in any other political organization - it does operate as an “international” and has a well-orchestrated organic structure. It has permanent systems for communication, a system for coordination and activity-centralization, a magazine called *America Libre* and, most importantly, a clearly defined objective, which is to seize power in Iberian America.<sup>1</sup>

The members of the São Paulo Forum offer no concrete proposals to solve the problems of the region and, when in power, they too have been unable to find solutions. Their only discourse is to criticize the existing order; namely, globalization, neo-liberalism, free trade, imperialism and traditional political parties.

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1 Baráibar, C. and J. Bayardi. “*El Foro de San Pablo ¿Qué es y cuál es su historia?*” (23 August 2000). Available at <http://www.analitica.com/va/internacionales/noticias/7026753.asp>

Armed with statistics, the members of the FSP constantly emphasize the failures of modern capitalism:

While the wealthiest 20 percent of the world population in 1960 had 30 times more income than the poorest 20 percent, the ratio is now 82 to one. The 358 wealthiest people in the world have an annual income greater than 45 percent of the world's poorest people; that is, 2.6 billion individuals. Thirty million people die of hunger every year and more than 800 million are underfed.<sup>2</sup>

The FSP claims these contradictions are impossible to maintain and, sooner or later, the neo-liberal model will collapse, allowing communism or one of its variations to emerge.

Encouraged by the fall of the Berlin wall, neo-liberal triumphalism tried to prevail over all else, but now must overcome far stronger opposition. Society's rejection of globalization is broad and growing. Globalization is viewed as planetary looting... It is a world-order that is destroying the planet and has brought us face to face with new social unrest.<sup>3</sup>

The members of the FSP use social unrest as a way to grow and to fortify themselves, using new and varied forms of struggle. The FSP believes the Left must coordinate and centralize all reaction against neo-liberalism, regardless of whether it comes from its own rank and file, and must encompass the grassroots organizations that emerged in response to the injustices of modern capitalism. This includes small groups created to resolve specific problems, such as building a school, and larger movements that fight for women's rights, preservation of the environment, the rights of indigenous peoples, etc. Of course, many of these "grass-roots organizations" are nothing more than opportunists who are looking to derive personal benefit from the so-called "the injustices of capitalism".

Flexible regrouping of this sort has allowed the FSP to grow quickly. According to its leaders, the organization includes:

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2 Peña, A. "Radiografía del Foro de São Paulo" (July 2000). Quote taken from the working document for the IX Meeting of the São Paulo Forum, which was held in Managua in February 2000. Available at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/FuerzaProductiva/RadiografiaFSP.html>

3 Ibid.

“...left-wing forces of extremely diverse origins, some eight decades old, others created more recently; Marxist and non-Marxist groups; others with a Christian-social inspiration, some of which identify with the Theology of Liberation; nationalistic and anarchist groups; sectors that are an offshoot of liberal, social-democrat and Christian-democrat parties; organizations with a long history in the legal political systems of their respective countries, and others that were forced underground, including some that once took up arms.”<sup>4</sup>

Having been created eighteen years ago, there is now enough information to assess the actions of the FSP. The FSP can no longer allege it is a forum for discussion and theoretical research, since many of its members hold important governmental positions. Since its founding, the São Paulo Forum faces a series of contradictions that have deepened over time.

The São Paulo Forum makes democracy a bastion, while defending Cuba’s communist revolution, which is rejected throughout the world. The communist revolution in Cuba is rejected the world over as an implacable dictatorship that has assassinated and imprisoned thousands of opponents, while hampering liberty and freedom for of speech for its citizens.

The FSP verbally opposes terrorism and violence. However, its members include guerrilla groups such as the FARC and the ELN; both are violent, terrorist organizations. It also condemns drug trafficking, despite irrefutable proof that several of its member organizations are involved in the production and trafficking of illicit drugs; Colombia’s guerrilla groups are the most conspicuous example.

Not everyone in the FSP identifies with the armed struggle and illegal methods used by some of its most radical groups. Nevertheless, rather than breaking ties or denouncing them publicly, the FSP sits down with them at the same table and shares the same strategy. This demonstrates the lack of solid principles and pragmatism that motivates them, which is identical to that of the traditional political parties they claim to combat.

The FSP rejects corruption, but when its members govern, they make no attempt to fight it. On the contrary, corruption increases, as in Venezuela where government officials grow rich and their plans for continental expansion are financed illegally. Many leaders of the São Paulo Forum present themselves as anti-imperialist, but are quick to subordinate their country’s interests to those of Castro-communism.

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<sup>4</sup> *El Foro de San Pablo ¿Qué es y cuál es su historia?* Ibíd.

The São Paulo Forum claims to fight neo-liberalism, charging that it enables “elites to accumulate wealth at the expense of growth and poverty.”<sup>5</sup> It also claims to be a grassroots and democratic alternative to neo-liberalism; however, after 50 years, the Cuban regime has created its own elite, surrounded by privileges, while the rest of the Cuban population lives in absolute misery.

These contradictions show the main objective of the members of the São Paulo Forum is to seize power. They do not work to end or to resolve the problems of the poor (whose representation the FSP attributes exclusively to itself), but to profit from them. Ironically, the poor are affected the most. Apart from being disappointed once again, they continue to experience the hardship of underdevelopment, but even more so because they have lost their freedom.

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5 *Radiografía del Foro de São Paulo*. Ibid



## 2. Expansion of the São Paulo Forum

# Expansion

In December 1994, Hugo Chávez traveled to Cuba after being released from prison (He was incarcerated after an attempted coup in 1992). He was welcomed as a visiting head of state and had come to publically seal an alliance with Fidel Castro. Later, in May 1995, Chávez traveled to Montevideo to enlist in the São Paulo Forum, which was holding its V Summit there. The FSP members agreed to support the lieutenant colonel who had staged the coup, in exchange for retribution once he seized power in Venezuela. After Chávez became President, the São Paulo Forum began a period of expansion. Chávez provided open political support to his allies, as well as generous donations to many FSP candidates in the form of petrodollars that were the property of the Venezuelan people. The donations helped FSP candidates to win elections in their own countries or, in the worst of cases, to improve their position.

On 23 February 1999, only three weeks after being elected President, Chávez declared his neutrality with regard to the Colombian guerillas; he even offered them asylum in Venezuela. This sparked rejection and consternation in Venezuela. The FARC and the ELN not only commit crimes in Colombia, they constantly kidnap, extort and assassinate innocent civilians in Venezuelan territory.

In June 2000, the director of DISIP (the police force in charge of political issues), Jesus Urdaneta Hernandez, resigned his post, claiming the Venezuelan government had ordered him to provide 300 thousand dollars to Colombian guerrillas. On 30 October 2000, the Comprehensive Cooperation Agreement between the Republic of Cuba and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela was signed. Under that agreement, Venezuela will supply Cuba 53 with thousand barrels of crude oil and refined products daily, one fourth at virtually no cost, inasmuch as the value is to be paid over a period of 15 years, at only two percent interest. Being a ten-year commitment, Venezuela will give Cuba more than 1.4 billion dollars, through long-term financing. At the time, crude oil prices were around 30 dollars a barrel; however, the contribution increased considerably once the price of oil reached 100 dollars a barrel.

This is just one of the many agreements signed to provide a huge amount of economic support to the Cuban regime. As compensation, Cuba agreed to send Venezuela an army of doctors, teachers, trainers and all sorts of consultants, including military advisers. However, the true purpose of the agreements is to keep Fidel Castro in power and to save Cuba from bankruptcy. In exchange, Cuba provides the Venezuelan government with Castro-communist propaganda agents and commissars who are capable of reproducing the system of social control and repression that persists in Cuba.

The Venezuelan government also has invested large amounts to prop up other international allies and to finance election campaigns within the region, through selective agreements such as those signed with the city halls controlled by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, “humanitarian” donations to foreign countries to build homes, hospitals or highways, the purchase of foreign-debt bonds from friendly governments or, quite simply, briefcases filled with cash, like the one seized in Buenos Aires.

The intervention of the Venezuelan government in Latin American countries was so evident and flagrant that it incited all kinds of protests. For example, in March 2006, the National Action Party in Mexico accused Chávez of supporting the campaign of presidential candidate Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador. In May 2006, the President of Guatemala, Oscar Berger, accused Chávez of interfering in Central America, while Nicaraguan President Enrique Bolaños accused Chávez of supporting the Sandinistas. That same month, former Bolivian President Jorge Quiroga complained to the Organi-

zation of American States about Chávez's intervention in his country, while Ecuador's manufacturing associations rejected Chávez's involvement in that nation's affairs.

In June 2006, the President of El Salvador, Elías Antonio Saca, complained about PDVSA's illegal support for the Farabundo Martí Front. In July 2006, presidential candidate Eduardo Montealegre denounced Chávez for providing financial support to Daniel Ortega and his campaign to buy votes in Nicaragua. That same month, at the Thirtieth Mercosur Summit, Chávez publicly announced his support for Lula's re-election.

In July 2007, the Prime Minister of Peru, Jorge del Castillo, denounced Hugo Chávez's followers for interfering in the Puno region in an effort to destabilize the country. At the same time, the Third Vice President of the Peruvian Congress, Carlos Torres Caro, accused the Venezuelan government of interference through Ollanta Humala and ALBA.

At the time this report was written, international news agencies revealed a plan backed by Chávez to overthrow President Alan Garcia. It was discovered after two FARC guerrillas were captured by the Peruvian police in the city of Iquitos.

Several Venezuelan ambassadors and consuls have been admonished and sent home for supporting radical groups in other nations. Vladimir Villegas (Brazil 2002 and Mexico 2005), Cruz Martinez (Peru 2006), Roger Capella (Argentina 2006) and Victor Delgado (Chile 2006) are some examples. Colombia merits a separate analysis, due to the magnitude of Venezuelan intervention.

The delivery of petrodollars was not the only reason candidates backed by the São Paulo Forum were elected to office. Undoubtedly, the failure of traditional parties, particularly in eradicating poverty, is a determining factor. However, the Latin American map definitely took on a red tinge after Chávez was elected President of Venezuela. The founder of the São Paulo Forum, Lula da Silva, was elected President in 2002, followed by Néstor Kirchner in 2003, Tabaré Vázquez and Martín Torrijos in 2004, and Evo Morales in 2005. In 2006, four leftist Presidents were elected: Michelle Bachelet, Rafael Correa, René Preval and Daniel Ortega. Ollanta Humala almost won in Peru, as was the case with Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico. However, by that time, their bonds with Chávez had been unmasked and were detrimental to the aspirations of both candidates.

In addition to the executive branch, many political parties that belong to the São Paulo Forum have secured lesser positions in every Latin American country as governors, mayors, senators and congressional members. They obtain government funding and use their positions as a platform to win future elections.

After securing those positions of power, the São Paulo Forum underwent a metamorphosis, inasmuch as state institutions were now at the service of the organization. In other words, the FSP ceased to be the opposition party and became the government party, but on a regional scale.

The São Paulo Forum continued to operate normally, keeping its political and ideological foundations intact. However, it was now the foreign offices and other bureaucratic institutions that were in charge of executing its plans, with far more power, constituted authority and efficiency. The resolutions of the FSP were being reflected increasingly in statements made by prominent government officials, with certain nuances to suit diplomatic formalities. Its projects became law, approved by parliaments with members who belong to the FSP. The mandates of the organization created in 1990 by Lula da Silva and Fidel Castro were transformed into state policy, without Latin Americans noticing that a change of paradigm had taken place. Simultaneously, as shown in Chapter 5, the history of Latin America began to be revised or distorted to root out our national identity and to replace it with another that is consistent with the ideological project of the São Paulo Forum.

Never before in Iberian American history had such bold political fraud been committed. Weary of the traditional parties, Latin Americans chose candidates from the São Paulo Forum in the hope of finding social justice and economic vindication. What they received in return – hidden behind false promises - was a severe and aggressive dose of Cuban totalitarianism.

The decision on the part of Correa, Ortega and Chávez decision to break off diplomatic relations with Colombia in the wake of Operation Phoenix, and Venezuela's unacceptable dispatch of troops to the Colombian border, show these presidents do not act as heads of state, representing the interest of their nations, but as members of the São Paulo Forum who are defending their FARC allies. They are clearly capable of involving their countries in an unjustified war simply to protect their continental political plan.

# Methods

## 3. Methods Used to Seize Power

The members of the São Paulo Forum do not believe in democracy, nor do they share its principles in terms of freedom, respect for minorities and a balance of power (check and balances). However, because they have not achieved success through armed struggle, they have disguised themselves temporarily as democratic in the hope of accomplishing their goals. Therefore, it is no surprise that they combine both democratic and non-democratic strategies to seize power.

Chávez burst into politics after leading two coup d'états (on 4 February and 27 November 1992) against a legitimately constituted government. After being released from prison, Chávez promoted an abstentionist position that was clearly unjustified, since the electoral system at that time, despite its shortcomings and vices, was moderately acceptable. Eventually, he took advantage of his “anti-system” image to infiltrate the system itself by participating in the presidential elections of December 1998.

Retired Lieutenant Colonel Ollanta Humala attempted a coup d'état in October 2000 against President Alberto Fujimori. On 1 January 2005, Humala publicly supported a military revolt mounted by his brother (Antauro Humala) against President Alejandro Toledo. Nevertheless, in 2006, Ollanta Humala for-

got his eagerness for a coup d'état after announcing his candidacy to become the President of Peru.

A former leader of the Bolivian Coca Growers' Union, Evo Morales organized the closing of highways and demonstrations to overthrow two presidents: Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada in October 2003 and Carlos Mesa in June 2005. However, in December 2005, Morales himself was a candidate in his country's presidential elections.

Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador did the same in Mexico, but in the opposite direction. First, he used the democratic system to participate in the 2006 presidential election, which he lost. Then, arguing fraud, he turned to destabilization campaigns mounted through street demonstrations.

An interesting and revealing case is that of Lucio Gutiérrez, a former Ecuadoran army colonel who participated in the coup that overthrew President Jamil Mahuad on 21 January 2000. After spending six months in jail, Gutiérrez decided to run for president in the 2002 elections, with the support of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), which is a member organization of the São Paulo Forum. However, after being elected President of Ecuador, Gutiérrez failed to live up to FSP expectations by negotiating with Ecuador's traditional political parties. As a result, it took part in the revolts that led to his overthrow on 20 April 2005. The FSP used Gutiérrez temporarily and only to promote one of its more reliable members, Rafael Correa.

The FSP's strategies in Uruguay and El Salvador are in agreement. The more radical leftist groups in Uruguay (such as the National Liberation Movement - Tupamaros) decided to rejuvenate their discredited image by joining forces with the Socialists to create the so-called Broad Front (Frente Amplio). To win the presidency, they chose a candidate with a moderate image, Tabaré Vázquez, who is an oncologist educated in Paris. Old guerrillas now occupy top positions in the government, which they use to promote longstanding radical positions and to persecute members of the military who found them during the war against the subversion.

With Cuban support, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador took up arms against the system, but was defeated in the civil war of the eighties. Former guerrillas have lost every presidential election in which they have participated, although they have been victorious in a few regional ones. For the upcoming presidential election in March 2009, the FMLN has decided to imitate the strategy used by the Broad Front in Uru-

guay. A well-known journalist and news commentator of moderate, democratic appearance, Mauricio Funes, is running for President. Nevertheless, just to be sure, the choice for Vice President is former guerrilla commander Salvador Sánchez Cerén.

The “piqueteros” in Argentina are financed by the government of Venezuela and act as “shock troops” to open the way for more moderate FSP members. This explains why Néstor Kirchner offered Luis D’Elía, leader of the “piquetero” movement, the post of Undersecretary of Earth and Social Habitat. News broadcasts aired while this report was being written showed “piqueteros” led by D’Elía violently suppressing a peaceful demonstration by Argentine farmers who were protesting the export tax increase decreed by Cristina Kirchner.

The partnership between “moderates” and “radicals” has been extremely lucrative for the São Paulo Forum. Respectively, they serve as “hammer and anvil” to strike against democracy in Iberian America. This strategy is used internally, as in Brazil, where there is an extraordinary understanding between the Landless Movement (MST) and the Labor Party - one supposedly “bad” and the other “good,” but always in support of one another. It also is used internationally by moderate presidents such as Lula, Kirchner and Vásquez, who support the more radical heads of state such as Chávez, Morales and Correa. In Chapter 8, we will analyze the symbiotic relation between Lula and Chávez.

Border conflicts are another mechanism used by the São Paulo Forum to strike at democracy. Since 2004, Chávez has promoted an outlet to the sea for Bolivia through Chile; however, his real goal is not to help the Bolivian people, but to fortify radical movements in both nations.

In January 2005, after the capture of Rodrigo Granda, who was the FARC’s “chancellor” in Venezuela, Chávez ordered closure of the border with Colombia, causing millions in losses for businesses in both countries. To prevent Colombian companies from losing even more money, President Uribe was forced to come to an agreement with Chávez during a meeting held in February of that year, despite the fact that Venezuela had given refuge to the narco-terrorist leader.

The conflict between Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia is currently supported by the FSP. In doing so, it hopes to protect the FARC from future military defeat and, above all, to force President Uribe to assimilate the FARC into the political system with full rights and privileges.



#### 4. Demolishing Democracy from Within

# Demolishing

The São Paulo Forum is to democracy what the acquired immune deficiency syndrome is to the human body. Once introduced into the democratic system, it destroys its natural defenses from the inside. And, as with the AIDS, the disease is transferred from one body to another; in this case, from one country to another.

Although the São Paulo Forum has functioned as an institution since 1990, it has a long memory or historical archive that includes the experiences acquired by international communism during the regimes of Joseph Stalin in Russia, Manuel Azaña in Spain and Fidel Castro in Cuba, among others.

Decades of success and failure have allowed the FSP to design mechanisms to achieve totalitarian aims through what appear to be democratic practices, taking advantage of system's weaknesses. One of those mechanisms involves constitutional amendments intended to reflect FSP interests.

Even before winning the presidential election in 1998, Chávez announced that one of his main goals was to convoke a constituent assembly, supposedly to ensure social justice and economic development. Once in power, Chávez not only amended the Constitution, but also invented the “originary” status of the Constituent Assembly, above and beyond constituted

powers. This enabled him to dismiss legitimately elected congressmen and magistrates, who would have opposed his administration; they were replaced with other more loyal to his project.

Thanks to that scheme, which was democratic in appearance because it used electoral methods, Chávez obtained absolute control over the executive branch, the Congress or National Assembly, the Supreme Court of Justice, the National Electoral Council, and the Office of the Attorney General. Since then, Chávez has done whatever he pleases, imprisoning his adversaries, closing uncomfortable television channels and using petrodollars that belong to Venezuelans to illegally finance his international allies. Moreover, any complaints, accusations or opinions leveled against him are rejected by his party comrades who are embedded in every branch of government.

Using national resources (oil), Chávez buys consciences and loyalties in Venezuela and abroad. He gives the poorest Venezuelans a monthly stipend, provided they use the red bandanna. Businessmen are offered contracts in exchange for silence, and friendly governments are given large sums of money in return for public support. It is difficult, if not impossible to defeat Chávez at the polls, because the voting system is so polluted and biased.<sup>6</sup> However, in December 2007, he supposedly lost an election for the first time in eight years, when a referendum was held to amend the Constitution once again, even more radically than before. Nevertheless, that defeat was the result of a silent military revolution against the amendment, not a clean ballot count.<sup>7</sup>

Once all legal alternatives were closed to Venezuelans, the only option was to fill the streets with demonstrations to show their disagreement and discontent. However, even the streets are restricted, since the government has created paramilitary groups to suppress and intimidate people.

Whenever the regime feels threatened by a popular demonstration, official armed groups attack, even the demonstration is a peaceful. Occasionally, these official groups are supported by the police or the military. This has prompted a formal accusation filed with the International Court of Justice in The Hague for crimes against humanity.<sup>8</sup> Every now and then, the regime

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6. For more information on Venezuela's voting system, see [www.esdata.info](http://www.esdata.info)

7. Peña, A. "Venezuela estuvo a punto de una guerra civil" (8 diciembre, 2007). Available at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Escritos/VenezuelaEstuvoAPuntoDeUnaGuerraCivil.html>

8. See the video produced by the Asociación Civil Fuerza Solidaria. "La masacre del 11 de abril fue planificada" (Octubre 2007). Online: <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Multimedia/LaMasacreDel11DeAbrilFuePlanificada.wmv>

organizes parallel demonstrations paid for by the government; their goal is to dilute the psychological or propaganda effect caused by the opposition.

The Constituent Assembly was used to establish a dictatorship disguised as a democracy. Deceived by numerous fraudulent elections, the international community still believes that Chávez is endorsed by most Venezuelans. In its eyes, that legitimizes every criminal and illegal action committed by the government of Venezuela in and outside the country, such as support for the FARC.

The scheme has been so successful that three of Chávez's closest allies - Evo Morales, Rafael Correa and Daniel Ortega - have, or are in the process of doing exactly the same. The FMLN announced that, if elected, it will do likewise in El Salvador.

The obstacles Evo Morales has faced in trying to dismantle the established powers and to gain approval for a new Constitution are because the Bolivian people – forewarned by what happened in Venezuela with Chávez – are more aware of the danger. The Venezuelans were novices and, therefore, taken off guard.

The Kirchners and Tabaré Vázquez have yet to amend their countries' constitutions, not due to a lack of will, but because the circumstances are not right, at least not for now. However, they have used other means to initiate a bid in that direction. Both the Kirchners and Vázquez have eliminated a number of dissident groups through judicial persecution, focused mainly on members of the military who fought subversion in the past. This is unjust and hypocritical. It is unjust, because it ignores legitimately approved laws; ones that are extremely beneficial in terms of reconciling the sides in conflict. It is hypocritical because Argentinean and Uruguayan authorities persecute only those who fought the guerrillas, not the rebels who committed terrorist acts and are now in power. In short, they are merely satisfying their own interests and their desire for revenge. They are intimidating the military in an effort to quench opposition to their totalitarian plans.

Lula and Chávez share virtually the same aspirations. However, Lula is cautious, because Brazilian institutions are more solid and, therefore, more difficult to deceive. On 26 April 2007, he openly confessed: “Chávez races with a Formula 1 car, faster than us. He goes 300 kilometers an hour, while we only can go 230 or 270. Everyone works at the pace one's country allows.” Readers who are accustomed to hearing analysts say that Lula is

*Alejandro Peña Esclusa*

Chávez's continental counterbalance might be surprised by this assertion. In Chapter 8, we will justify our opinion.<sup>9</sup>

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9. Available online at: [http://www.abn.info.ve/go\\_news5.php?articulo=89918&lee=18](http://www.abn.info.ve/go_news5.php?articulo=89918&lee=18)

## 5. Destroying Iberian America's Identity

# Destroying

To achieve its goals, the São Paulo Forum needs to change Iberian American values, such as those based on the dignity of human life, freedom, justice, tolerance and the search for the common good. These are all Christian-Western values that restrain totalitarianism. One of the mechanisms commonly used by FSP members to bring about a change in values is to distort history.

From the time he entered politics, Chávez has attacked the Spanish Conquest by stressing only its negative aspects. He denies the Evangelization and refers to that period as one of “genocide” against Native Americans. In 2002, Chávez signed a decree in which Venezuela rejected the Day of the Race (*Columbus Day*) and officially adopted 12 October as the so-called Day of Indigenous Resistance.<sup>10</sup>

In the past two years, Chávez has intensified his attacks. Not even Pope Benedict XVI has escaped his criticism. Chávez has publicly demanded the Pope “apologize” for “having denied the existence of the Native American holocaust”.

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10. Decree 2,028 commemorating 12 October each year as the Day of Indigenous Resistance, *Gaceta Oficial* No. 5605, Special Edition, 10 October 2002.

This is not an individual opinion, but a position shared by every member of the São Paulo Forum. At its third summit meeting, the FSP actively promoted “alternative programs to official celebration of the V Centennial of the Discovery of America.” The idea was to “oppose official celebration of that day, and to extol grassroots, indigenous and black resistance, as part a liberating effort.”<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, the World Social Forum (WSF)<sup>12</sup> - a broader version of the FSP- has accused Spain of “killing and exterminating our indigenous peoples.” The WSF claims the “mother country” is responsible for “the loss of our ancestral culture” and imposed a “culture of sadism” in its place. “What is most inconceivable,” says the World Social Forum, “is the fact that genocide against our Indians is now celebrated as the Day of the Race. In our opinion, it would be the official start of Latin America’s genocide.”<sup>13</sup>

This position is not limited to Marxists, although they are its main proponents. It is a widespread belief throughout Iberian America. However, it is more of a “black legend” – as it is commonly called - than a historical fact. There is no question that many abominable crimes were committed during the Spanish Conquest. The Spanish forces included a number of ambitious men and assassins who cruelly abused the natives and took advantage of them to become rich. To deny it would be tantamount to supporting the “El Dorado legend,” which is the opposite of the “black legend”. Nevertheless, those were individual crimes, not State policy.

The orders given to the Spanish conquerors by the Catholic Queen, Isabel, and by other monarchs were explicit; namely, to defend the lives and dignity of native peoples, as well as to educate and convert them, since they were considered human beings equal to the Spanish. This was made clear in the Laws of the Indies. Perhaps the most convincing evidence against any claim of “supposed genocide” is mestization. If all Native Americans had been killed, they simply would have disappeared and would not predominate in Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru, where pure-blood Native Americans and mestizos now constitute the bulk of the population.<sup>14</sup>

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11. Peña, A. (2006). *El Continente de la Esperanza*. Ediciones Fuerza Productiva. Caracas,” p. 78. Available online at: <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/LibrosFolletos/LibroElContinenteDeLaEsperanza.pdf>

12. *Ibid*, p. 16.

13. Foro Social Mundial. Available online at: [www.forosocialmundial.org.ve](http://www.forosocialmundial.org.ve) [1 March 2006].

14. *El Continente de la Esperanza*. *Ibid*, p. 74

The São Paulo Forum and its international allies defame the Catholic Church and any evangelization process. In fact, they want to replace the Catholic faith in Latin America with a materialistic and atheistic culture that is consistent with the Castro-communist model. To promote the Marxist class struggle, they claim it began with the confrontation between oppressed indigenous peoples and the oppressive Spanish Conquerors. They also want to justify the creation of indigenous movements such as those of Evo Morales and Rigoberta Menchú, which serve the FSP's political aims. Latin American natives definitely have been ignored and exploited, but the FSP takes advantage of that injustice to use and manipulate them as a political weapon, not to halt or correct any wrongdoings. That interpretation of our past destroys Iberian America's historical bonds with Western scientific, artistic and cultural wealth, leaving our people defenseless against the flawed theories of Marxism.

In other words, if our nations are the result of an advanced indigenous civilization that was plundered and destroyed by foreign occupation, if our race is the undesired product of women raped by evil Spaniards, and if hispanicity is synonymous with a sadistic, backward and reactionary culture, there are more than enough reasons to feel inferior and resentful. Therefore, why not break ties with Spain and all of Western civilization, and become outlaw states governed by the São Paulo Forum? However, if we are the heirs of the Empire of Charles V, where the sun never set, if our ancestors contributed to Don Pelayo's heroic deeds and to the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula by Christian rulers, against the Moors, if we are the proud successors of those who won the Battle of Lepanto, if we share the values and principles so beautifully expressed during the Spanish Golden Age, if our legitimate language is that of Cervantes, Góngora, Quevedo and Calderón de la Barca, if what happened in Iberian America was - for the first time in human history - a conquest based on dissemination of the Christian faith, the building of cities, the creation of universities and a wonderful mixture of races promoted directly by the Spanish Crown, and if our independence was a civil war and natural consequence of our people's political maturity and Spain's political situation, then it is madness to attempt to change so glorious a past and such an immensely rich culture based on merely a tall tale told by the São Paulo Forum.



## 6. Replacing Multilateral Organizations

# Replacing

Democracy is an excellent form of government, provided there is a system of values to protect it from malicious attack and assault. The will of the majority, expressed at the ballot box, is indispensable for a democracy to be considered legitimate. However, that alone is not enough. When a society's moral principles are perverted, voters can make mistakes that can endanger the very existence of a nation.

Ever since a raging mob preferred Barabbas over Jesus, there have been many emblematic cases where elections have harmed society. The election of Hitler is one example. Moral relativism – which claims anything is valid as long as it is approved by the majority - gave rise to an era where thieves, assassins and criminals abound and are routinely vindicated, simply by winning an election.

The São Paulo Forum takes advantage of “the will of the people” - which is considered a supreme value - to infiltrate the system and to destroy it from within. For example, a person who directs a coup d'état against a legitimately constituted government should be banned from being a presidential candidate. Nevertheless, Chávez did so with the consent of a good portion of Venezuelan society. Is it no surprise that he is using the

Presidency to destroy democracy? However, the problem is more serious, inasmuch as national elections have regional repercussions. This is because a national government has automatic access to international instances and positions in multilateral organisms.

The many governmental positions gained by members of the São Paulo Forum throughout Latin America have given them access to associations such as the Organization of American States (OAS). Oftentimes, they force decisions that have unfavorable consequences for the Continent. A recent example is the Rio Summit in the Dominican Republic (7-8 March 2008). At that meeting, President Uribe was reproached for having neutralized one of the world's most dangerous drug-trafficking terrorists and was ordered to apologize for having done so. Most of those who attended that summit do not believe the FARC are terrorists, or at least that was not evident in any of their documents. Rather, they see them as victims of illegal actions on the part of the Colombian government.

Rafael Correa – who broke off diplomatic relations with Colombia – does not behave like the President of Ecuador, but like a member of the São Paulo Forum. Jose Miguel Insulza – who misjudged the information extracted from Raul Reyes's computer and minimized the discovery of uranium belonging to the FARC – does not behave like the Secretary General of the OAS, but like a spokesman for the Socialist Party of Chile and a member of the São Paulo Forum.

It is not the first time Insulza has behaved that way. In July 2007, after RCTV – Venezuela's most important television channel – was forced to close, Insulza refrained from denouncing Chávez and declared instead: "I believe democracy is very much alive in Venezuela. I also believe the alternative some have proposed; that is, a kind of isolation of the (Chávez) regime, is a totally unviable alternative from the legal point of view, and not at all convenient from a political standpoint."<sup>15</sup>

At a seminar in Argentina on 28 March 2007, the President of Bolivia, Jorge Quiroga, publicly denounced Chávez's control over 19 of the 34 votes in the OAS. Chávez also attempted to control the Andean Community of Nations and to transform that economic organization into a political

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15. *El Mercurio*, a Chilean newspaper available online in Spanish at:  
<http://www.emol.com/noticias/internacional/detalle/detallenoticias.asp?idnoticia=262676>

instrument. After failing to do so, because of Colombian and Peruvian opposition, Chávez withdrew Venezuela from the organization in an attempt to sabotage its operation. At the same time, he is promoting a multilateral organization of his own, the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean (ALBA).

Chávez is working hard to get Venezuela into Mercosur. Here again, he hopes to transform it into a political instrument that supports the interests of the São Paulo Forum. All that remains is for Brazil and Paraguay to give their approval, since the presidents of Argentina and Uruguay have already done so. As we warned Brazilian congressmen in an open letter written on 13 June 2007,

Chávez will open Mercosur to rogue States and Islamic fundamentalism, just as he has done with Nicaragua, Bolivia and Ecuador, where economic agreements with Iran and Cuba have been encouraged. Organizations like Hezbollah and the FARC go unpunished in our country, thanks to their affinity with Chávez's ideological position. Their actions will expand to include the Mercosur countries, if Venezuela is allowed to join.<sup>16</sup>

This topic is addressed in more in detail in Chapter 7, which concerns "transverse empires". During October 2007, Chávez did all he could to gain a seat on the United Nations Security Council. With the support of Lula, Tabaré Vázquez and Néstor Kirchner, he almost did so. After being defeated, Chávez launched a campaign against the government of Guatemala, accusing it of being an agent of the American "Empire". Guatemala was vying for the same seat at the United Nations.

The São Paulo Forum wants to control every multilateral organization at the regional level. It hopes to replicate a mechanism that has worked effectively at the national level to legitimize dictatorships by portraying them as democracies.

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16. Fuerza Solidaria. *Carta abierta al Congreso de Brasil*. Available online at: <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Cartas/CartaAbiertaAlCongresoDeBrasil.html>



## 7. The São Paulo Forum and Transverse Empires

# The São

*This chapter was written by Pedro Paúl Betancourt,  
National Director and Chief of International Affairs for Asociacion Fuerza Solidaria.*

Born amidst the technological, social, political and ideological transformations that have characterized world development since the Second World War,

Transverse empires are bent solely on achieving power and wealth. Once successful, they must persevere and develop. They are not linked or subject to national origins (nor do they depend on any nation; however, this does not prevent them from being national, multinational, transnational, “anational” or anti-national). They are linked only to the activities they perform in pursuit of their main objective: empires of information, technology, economics, finance, warfare, and terror or crime, among many others. They operate in function of their now nature and according to the circumstances of the moment. Their particular aim is constructed in light of the specific orientation that rules each transverse empire; however, transverse empires relate to and cooperate with one another to help accomplish their goals.<sup>17</sup>

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17. Mini, Fabio (2003). *La guerra dopo la guerra. Soldati, burocrati e mercenari nell'epoca della pace virtuale*. Giulio Einaudi Editore S.P.A., Torino, Italy.

Transverse empires are apolitical and not country-based. They do not take ideological positions and have merely an economic function. They operate only for financial gain benefit, and sell themselves to the highest bidder. Therefore, they lack ethical principles or any moral value.

However, to survive, these “empires” need communicating vessels through which their economic activities can be carried out. Obviously, they too have entered the era of globalization and, far from being isolated from the world, they take advantage of technological developments.

This is how the economic empire expands globally. It opens and reinforces the warfare empire, which also is globalized and simultaneously encourages terrorism on occasions when it is impossible to combat hegemonic powers through symmetrical bellicose ways and means. All sorts of criminal empires emerge as a result. We, therefore, find ourselves in the face of a globalization of transverse empires.<sup>18</sup>

These empires communicate and move throughout the world, encountering almost no resistance or limits. This is why they are transverse; they belong to no specific territory and lack ideology. Using the capabilities provided by the era of communication technology, they spread to any corner of the planet where there might be an opportunity to do “business”.

By making the most of the enormous potential inherent in globalization,

organized crime has adapted to the new global environment and become a driving force that spreads its culture into every new market.<sup>19</sup>

Even so, it needs specific spaces or areas to do business. Usually, these “communicating vessels” are varied in nature and have diverse purposes.

Nation states with an authoritarian political system, preferably, totalitarian, are the first type of communicating vessel. As absurd as it may seem, the most obvious reason is their compatibility with a lack of values and, hence, their failure to apply laws based on the universal principles of justice. Another, but no less important reason is that authoritarian states can be gov-

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18. *Ibid*, pgs 9-10.

19. *Ibid*, pg. 18.

erned more freely and flexibly, because they are not accountable to national and international communities; they are not subject to public opinion, a powerful and controlling tool found in any democratic system. This is how transverse empires use such “spaces” to conduct their “business” freely, with the complicity of similar regimes.

Another type of communicating vessel is comprised of national and international non-governmental organizations (NGO). There are many known cases of NGOs that use “defense of human rights” as a facade, while promoting organized crime, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, human trafficking and money laundering. NGOs find it easy to operate and work within democratic systems, to make contacts and to do “business” within States, while mocking the rule of law. Transverse empires also take advantage of the structure and human machinery of NGOs to establish supranational bonds in search of the best buyer/seller.

The São Paulo Forum is a huge communicating vessel that contains many other communicating vessels. The FSP is an ideal and essential instrument for performance, organization, communication and coordination among “transverse empires” in Latin America and throughout the world. This explains why FARC members have traveled to Eastern Europe countries or, closer to home, the relationship between the FARC and Hugo Chávez’s government in Venezuela, or the brotherhood that exists between a communicating vessel such as the government of Venezuela and States controlled by Islamic fundamentalism that sponsor criminal groups the likes of Hezbollah, Hamas or Al-Qaeda.

The FARC, in and of themselves, are an important, fundamental and powerful part of the transverse empires of drug trafficking, arms trafficking, money laundering and human trafficking. From the moment the FARC assumed control of the coca plantations once operated by the Colombian cartels that were displaced or wiped out after the death of Pablo Escobar, it has become the largest criminal group on the Continent.

The São Paulo Forum gives the FARC an organizational structure within which it can move about easily. It also allows the FARC to connect quickly with other criminal groups on the Continent and around the world. The FSP supposedly affords the FARC “political legitimacy” when it is recognized by political parties and public officials in different States as a valid spokesman. Above all, it gives totalitarian regimes, such as those in Venezuela,

Bolivia and Ecuador, the opportunity to conduct and develop their business and criminal activities in a safe environment.

In this way, Colombia's neighboring countries have given the FARC oxygen to survive and to train, to expand and market their "product" and to develop economically. The information extracted from Raul Reyes's computer provides ample proof of this. The FARC have found the São Paulo Forum and its members to be useful criminal allies for their most coveted project, which is to seize power in Colombia.

The political and ideological aims of the FSP leadership (Castro, Lula, Chávez, Morales, Correa and Ortega), coupled with the economic interests of the FARC, make of the FSP one of the most dangerous and powerful international terror organizations on the planet. The São Paulo Forum has ceased to be merely the object of political analysis and is now a priority for every political and police action necessary to dismantle it. This is a matter of continental and global emergency, and must sound alarms throughout the Hemisphere and in the civilized world.

Today, Colombia is threatened by a mortal grip. The reaction must be immediate, not only from the country's democratic authorities, but from the entire Western world. Colombia is the last stumbling block on the path to definitive consolidation of the most macabre initiative ever conceived in our Hemisphere. Fortunately, if we act in time, this struggle could spell salvation for our "Continent of Hope" and the recovery of universal values founded on justice, solidarity and the common good.

## 8. Lula: The Power Behind the Throne

# Lula: The

Most political analysts agree that Chávez is a radical socialist, prone to authoritarianism, while Lula da Silva is a moderate socialist and a staunch democrat. They also agree that Brazil's President is a man who could offset Chávez's harmful influence in Latin America.

Lula's rhetoric might be more moderate, but we must not forget that he is one of the founders of the São Paulo Forum. The FARC joined the FSP with the consent of the Labor Party of Brazil, which is Lula's political party. A chronological review illustrates this point and can be verified easily on the Internet. Moreover, Lula is, and always has been Hugo Chávez's staunchest supporter.

Some have attributed Lula's position to the fact that he is a pragmatic man, interested only in the petrodollars Chávez can provide. However, that argument simply does not hold up. Brazil is the eighth largest economy in the West and, unlike Cuba, the continuity and stability of its government does not depend on Venezuelan support.

The following is a brief overview of Lula's relationship with Chávez and how it is based not on economic interests, but on a close bond in which the Brazilian seems to be the manager and the Venezuelan, his protégée.

In December 2002, when he was still president-elect, Lula convinced then President Fernando Cardoso to send a freighter stocked with fuel – the *Amazon Explorer* – to sabotage a civic strike mounted against Chávez for illegally dismissing 20 thousand employees of Venezuela’s national oil company.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting that a union leader like Lula would help to sabotage a strike in another country.

According to a press release on 3 October 2005, Lula publicly confessed that support from the São Paulo Forum was fundamental to Chávez during the August 2004 crisis, when a referendum to determine whether Chávez should be recalled from office was put to a vote.<sup>21</sup>

On 21 September 2006, according to a cable from the Bolivarian News Agency, “the Minister of Foreign Relations of Brazil, Celso Amorim, confirmed his country’s support for Venezuela’s bid to win a temporary seat on the United Nations Security Council.”<sup>22</sup>

A news report published by *El Universal* in September 2006 indicated that “Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva wants his government to cooperate with the government of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, even on the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.”<sup>23</sup>

On 13 November 2006, during a visit to Venezuela in support of Chávez’s political campaign, Lula stated: “The same people who elected me, Kirchner, Evo Morales and Daniel Ortega will undoubtedly elect you as President of the Republic of Venezuela for a second term.” He also claimed there had been no government in Venezuela for quite some time that had been “as concerned about the poor as yours (Chávez’s).” He went on to say: “Be assured, Comrade Chávez, that your people love you very much.”<sup>24</sup>

That same month, at a meeting with his party, Lula said: “I am confident Chávez will be reelected next Sunday. Together with Chávez and Kirchner, we will create the South American Community of Nations.”<sup>25</sup> In December, after Chávez was reelected, Lula voiced his pleasure, saying “Chávez’s

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20. Available in Spanish at [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin\\_america/newsid\\_2612000/2612325.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_2612000/2612325.stm)

21. Available in Spanish at [http://es.wikinews.org/wiki/Según\\_Lula,\\_ayuda\\_del\\_Foro\\_de\\_São\\_Paulo\\_fue\\_fundamental\\_para\\_Chávez](http://es.wikinews.org/wiki/Según_Lula,_ayuda_del_Foro_de_São_Paulo_fue_fundamental_para_Chávez)

22. Available in Spanish at <http://www.aporrea.org/venezuelaexterior/n83936.html>

23. Available in Spanish at [http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/09/07/pol\\_ava\\_07A775287.shtml](http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/09/07/pol_ava_07A775287.shtml)

24. Available in Spanish at <http://www.unionradio.com.ve/Noticias/Noticia.aspx?noticiaid=186584>

25. Available in Spanish at <http://www.rnv.gov.ve/noticias/index.php?act=ST&f=3&t=40990>

victory is the expression of a larger process of social and political transformation that is now underway in Latin America.”<sup>26</sup>

On 26 January 2007, Lula traveled to Davos where he defended his Venezuelan counterpart by saying that Chávez “was elected on three occasions, in the most democratic way possible and in the presence of international observers.” However, Lula failed to mention the complaints of fraud or the fact that Venezuelan government officials prevented the presence of observers who do not adhere to socialist ideology. On 26 April 2007, in a statement published in the Argentine press, Lula affirmed that “Chávez is an exceptional ally from a political and commercial standpoint, and in terms of energy.”<sup>27</sup>

On 20 November 2007, a cable from Telesur stated, “Lula offered Brazilian territory for an eventual meeting between the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, and the leader of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Manuel Marulanda.”<sup>28</sup>

In January 2008, the Chief of the President’s Institutional Security Cabinet, General Jorge Felix, ruled out Venezuela’s arms race as a threat to Brazil. “They say that military commanders consider Venezuela as a possible threat. I do not believe this to be a reality,”<sup>29</sup> he said.

On 6 February 2006, Ideli Salvati, who heads the Workers’ Party bloc, reported that “Venezuela’s entry into Mercosur is a priority for the pro-government senators.” A member of President Lula’s party, Salvati added, “The inclusion of Venezuela will strengthen Mercosur.”<sup>30</sup>

On 30 September 2007, Brazil’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, Celso Amorim, stressed that his government would do all possible to make sure the Brazilian Congress approves Venezuela’s entry into Mercosur. “For us, the admission of Venezuela is very important. It will help to consolidate South American integration, which is fundamental today and for the future. This is our vision, the one we have always emphasized to Brazilian congressmen, and we are working in that direction.”<sup>31</sup>

26. Available in Spanish at [http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/12/05/elecc\\_ava\\_05A811967.shtml](http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/12/05/elecc_ava_05A811967.shtml)

27. Available in Spanish at [http://www.abn.info.ve/go\\_news5.php?articulo=89918&lee=18](http://www.abn.info.ve/go_news5.php?articulo=89918&lee=18)

28. Available in Spanish at <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=56541>

29. Available in Spanish at [http://politica.eluniversal.com/2008/01/01/pol\\_art\\_asesor-de-lula-desca\\_01A1281611.shtml](http://politica.eluniversal.com/2008/01/01/pol_art_asesor-de-lula-desca_01A1281611.shtml)

30. Available in Spanish at <http://www.sela.org/sela/prensa.asp?id=12428&step=3>

31. Available in Spanish at <http://www.telesurtv.net/secciones/noticias/nota/18301/canciller-amorin-el-ingreso-de-venezuela-a-mercosur-es-muy-importante/>

On 19 September 2007, the Vice President of the Mercosur Parliament (Parlasur), Deputy Doutor Rosinha, sent a letter to Fuerza Solidaria, the association of which I am President. In it, Mr. Rosinha “*regrets*” our position against Venezuela becoming a member of Mercosur. Deputy Rosinha was referring to an open letter sent by Fuerza Solidaria to the Brazilian Congress. We refer to that letter in Chapter 6. Fuerza Solidaria replied the next day, saying:

The Venezuelan government commits crimes against humanity, violates human rights, holds public powers hostage, commits electoral fraud, imprisons its adversaries, suppresses the media, interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, and maintains relations with rouge States and terrorist groups. We understand that, as a member of the PT, you must be loyal to your political allies, such as Chávez. However, the case at hand is beyond any circumstantial alliance; it concerns the stability and the survival of the region itself.<sup>32</sup>

In March 2008, after Chávez broke off relations with Colombia and sent troops to the border in protest over the death of his terrorist friend Raul Reyes, Lula dared to declare publicly that “Chávez has been the ‘great pacifier’ in this conflict.”<sup>33</sup>

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32. Letter from Fuerza Solidaria, Available in Spanish at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Noticias/VicepresidenteDelParlasurRespondeAFS.html>

33. Available in Spanish at <http://www.terra.com.ve/actualidad/articulo/html/act1189715.htm>

## 9. Free America and the Purloined Letter

# Free America

*The Purloined Letter* by Edgar Alan Poe (1809-1849) is a classic tale that depicts perfectly how a criminal mind works. An unscrupulous French minister of the Royal Court was seen purloining a letter that contains important State secrets. The minister hides the letter in his home, so no one can find it.

The French regime knows the minister will not confess to having stolen the letter much less reveal its whereabouts. So, every time the minister goes out, the police secretly ransack his home in search of the letter, but fail to find it. The police prefect asks Dupin (the hero in three of Poe's stories) to help him solve the mystery behind the purloined letter. Dupin studies the case and concludes the best way to hide the letter is by not hiding it at all and by leaving it where anyone can see it, but no one would ever look.

The São Paulo Forum operates the same way, especially with its magazine *America Libre*. Everything it does is out in the open; therefore, no one seems to notice the criminal organization behind it. At noon on 30 March 2008, while writing these lines, I searched the Internet for a sentence with "Free America" in quotation marks. When I open the first link, all the information was there.<sup>34</sup>

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34. *America Libre*. Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/>

The members of the magazine's editorial board – some now deceased - include Commander Manuel Marulanda Velez, alias Tirofijo, Commander-in-Chief of the FARC; Commander Milton Hernandez, ELN Secretary of Foreign Affairs; and Victor Polay, founder of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement in Peru. Appearing next to them—as though it were natural- are the names of Ali Rodriguez, former oil czar in Venezuela and Vice President of the pro-government party; Rigoberta Menchu, the Guatemalan indigenous leader who won the Nobel Peace Prize; the deceased leader of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, Schafik Handal; Peruvian Deputy Javier Diez Canseco; Chilean writer Marta Harnecker; former Sandinist ministers Fernando Cardenal and Miguel D'Escotto; the Brazilian Landless Movement activist Joao Pedro Stedile, and liberation theologian Leonardo Boff, along with many others.<sup>35</sup>

The links on this website include – among others –the websites of the FARC, the ELN, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Landless Movement, the Cuban newspaper *Granma* and France's *Le Monde Diplomatique*.<sup>36</sup> Clicking the button labeled “Past Issues” brings up the covers of the 21 issues of *America Libre*, which contain everything from interviews with Fidel Castro and Tirofijo to praise of Che Guevara and documents published by the São Paulo Forum.

Some of the contributors to *America Libre* – which also appears in print – unabashedly try to justify the crimes of the Cuban regime, the subversion in Latin America and even terrorism, arguing they are necessary to accomplish social justice and the coveted Marxist Utopia. “Moderate” Lula da Silva dared to write for the magazine's 18th issue, even though it also contained an article by Colombian guerrilla leader Milton Hernandez<sup>37</sup>. Curiously, Fernando Enrique Cardoso wrote an article for the 6th issue.<sup>38</sup> The speeches given by Lula and Fidel Castro at the IV Summit of the São Paulo Forum were published in the 4th issue.<sup>39</sup>

The magazine's website contains enough evidence to demonstrate the activities of Argentine communist leaders and their trips to FARC camps.

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35. Editorial Board Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/consejo.htm>

36. Links Available online at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/enlaces.htm>

37. Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/anteriores/18/index.htm>

38. Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/anteriores/6/index.htm>

39. Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/anteriores/4/index.htm>

It did not have to be extracted from Raul Reyes's computers. The 13th issue of *America Libre* includes a laudatory interview with Tirofijo, conducted in December 1998 in the jungles of Colombia by the General Secretary of the Argentine Communist Party, Patricio Echegaray.<sup>40</sup>

In March 2008, during one of Colombia's most critical diplomatic crises, Gloria Flores and Nelson Verrier, leaders of the Alternative Democratic Pole, traveled to Mexico City for a meeting organized by the Working Group of the São Paulo Forum. Their trip was not intended to support the government of Alvaro Uribe and its fight against narco-terrorism. Along with other members of the FSP, Flores and Verrier signed a declaration objecting to Operation Phoenix and supporting Rafael Correa. Although it might seem unbelievable, the leaders of the FARC were also invited to participate in that event. However, the Mexican government denied them visas.

According to a cable dispatched from Mexico by *Prensa Latina* on 21 March, the Alternative Democratic Pole "will convene an International Summit for Peace in Colombia during the second half of 2008, with Latin American leaders and social movements participating."<sup>41</sup> A look at the conclusions of the Mexican meeting shows that peace was not the real purpose of the event; on the contrary, its intention was to destabilize the Uribe government and to host the FARC's political allies.

Once again, the members of the São Paulo Forum take advantage of the weaknesses of the democratic system –in this case, a misinterpreted freedom of speech - to commit crimes and to associate with the worst criminals in America; in other words, they use democracy only to destroy it.

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40. Available in Spanish at <http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/anteriores/13/echegaray13.htm>

41. Available in Spanish at <http://www.prensalatina.com.mx/article.asp?ID=%7B4021EB36-562F-4A0C-8026-428B94D9C7E9%7D>)



## 10. The Revolution is a Farce

# The Revolution

People outside Venezuela believe Chávez is the leader of the poor and has the support of most Venezuelans. This notion is based on the many elections held in Venezuela. Yet, as illustrated later in this chapter, the Chávez government is a farce. The figures show the problems confronting the poor in Venezuela are unsolved and have grown even worse.

Chávez remains in office because of lies and repression, and because he holds public power hostage, has committed electoral fraud and has bought consciences. Venezuela is essentially a petroleum exporting country and its national budget depends directly on the price of crude oil. Oil prices have increased five-fold since Chávez took office in 1998. Consequently, during his administration, Chávez has had more revenue than the three previous administrations combined. Therefore, one would assume that development, production and wealth also would be at least three times higher. However, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita remains steady at around six thousand dollars. The public debt has increased from 30 to 40 billion dollars. The *bolivar* has devaluated exponentially. The annual inflation rate remains above the rate of inflation in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico.

Although it may seem incredible, poverty levels have remained constant. This is according to figures provided by the Central Bank of Venezuela and the Venezuelan Treasury Department. Malnutrition has increased, as have food shortages. Five out of every eleven Venezuelans work in the informal sector of the economy.

Despite having three times more revenue, the Chávez government has built seventy percent less housing than preceding administrations. The number of industries has declined by half. Imports have quadrupled, going from 4 billion dollars in 1996 to 16 billion dollars in 2006, and skyrocketed during 2007 and 2008.

Oil production has declined from 3,200 barrels a day to less than 2,500. In fact, the numbers might be even smaller, but this cannot be determined due to a lack of transparency in official figures. Foreign investment has plunged from 6 billion dollars in 1997 to negative numbers in 2006. This means that foreign companies have closed down and left the country, taking their money with them.

According to The Heritage Foundation, the Index of Economic Freedom in Venezuela is one of the worst on the planet, surpassing only those of North Korea and Zimbabwe. One of the most pressing problems in Venezuela is insecurity. During the Chávez administration, the level of insecurity has increased and more than one hundred thousand Venezuelans have died at the hands of criminals; this number is larger than in countries subjected to civil war. However, rather than investing in security, Chávez spends huge amounts on weapons, more than any other Iberian American country. For each *bolivar* invested in security, 90 are spent on weapons.<sup>42</sup>

Another problem is the collapse of food production, which has led to a shortage of foods such as, milk, sugar, rice, eggs, meat and chicken. Besides the difficulties inherent in farming, Venezuelan farmers struggle with squatters who are encouraged by the government and with extortion and kidnapping by Colombian guerrillas, who have the unspoken consent of the Venezuelan government.

At the same time, the government uses the country's natural resources to finance its international allies. During his nine years in office,

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42. The figures are available at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Multimedia/EconomiaVenezolana.pps>

Chávez has spent more than 25 billion dollars to support his friends; this figure is larger than Venezuela's foreign debt. Venezuela builds houses in Nicaragua, hospitals in Africa, bridges in Uruguay and highways in Cuba. It finances Bolivia's police force, purchases foreign debt bonds from Argentina, sends subsidized fuel to El Salvador and finances housing for abandoned children in Guyana. These are but a few examples. Meanwhile, many Venezuelans are unemployed, hungry, deprived of shelter, uneducated, sick and lack highways, bridges, hospitals and a host of other public services and facilities.

Chávez repeatedly uses imperialism as an excuse to justify the failures of his administration. The North American "Empire" is responsible for the country's ills. Opposition leaders are all "CIA agents" or "lackeys of the Empire". If there are shortages, it is because the "Empire" is sabotaging food production. If hospitals do not operate properly, George Bush is to blame. It was the United State that sent paramilitaries to the neighborhoods of Caracas to increase insecurity and violence.

Imperialism is used not only to justify failures, but to portray Chávez as a victim. All the while, the government furiously represses dissidents, imprisons leaders and makes lists that include everyone who voted against Chávez. They are denied contracts, loans, services and jobs.



## 11. An Attempt to Prevent Tragedy

# An Attempt

I heard about the São Paulo Forum shortly after it was created, and decided to monitor its workings out of curiosity. I wanted to know why the Cuban regime had escaped failure after the Soviet Union and every communist regime in Eastern Europe had collapsed. There was no doubt the FSP had served as a buffer for Fidel Castro, by providing him with political support in Latin America.

My concern increased in May 1995, when I read an AP cable on Chávez's trip to Montevideo (Uruguay) to sign up for the São Paulo Forum. I assumed the members of the FSP would use their experience and resources to bolster Chávez's candidacy for president, in return for future retribution. That same year, I decided to embark on a political movement intended to warn Venezuelans and the international community about the dangerous consequences that could result from that alliance.

In November 1995, almost thirteen years ago, I published my first article in a national newspaper (*Ultimas Noticias*) In it, I illustrated the relationship between the FSP, Chávez and the FARC. In 1998, I decided to declare myself a candidate for the Presidency of Venezuela. My goal was not to win the election, which I knew was impossible, but to continue to warn the world

about that dangerous alliance. On 1 November 1998, my team and I drafted and distributed 200,000 copies of a report entitled “The São Paulo Forum’s Plan to Conquer Venezuela”. In it, I wrote:

A transnational organization of terror known as the São Paulo Forum, led by Fidel Castro, with criminals, drug traffickers and assassins as members, is attempting to take over Venezuela and to use our territory to export the Cuban Revolution to Latin America. Hugo Chávez Frias is the main instrument in that macabre plan...Chávez does not represent a national project. He was an instrument of Fidel Castro and the Latin American guerillas even before the coup of 4 February 1992, and still is. Their only intention is to use Venezuela’s oil, iron, aluminum and geopolitical influence to export the Cuban Revolution to Latin America.

I traveled across Venezuela on three occasions, giving lectures, press conferences and interviews, all on one topic: “Chávez is the FARC’s Candidate”. The topic was featured often in the regional and national press.

Unfortunately, many Venezuelans so strongly rejected the country’s traditional parties that they ignored my warnings and cast their vote for Chávez in the only election he won fair and square. Yet, Venezuelans voted not for Chávez, but against the previous governments.

Once Chávez took office, I did all I could to prevent his project from expanding. I continuously denounced Chávez in Venezuela and led several peaceful protests against his administration. Outside the country, I wrote letters and articles, and traveled throughout the region to warn about the dangers of that expansion. In July 2000, I filed a complaint with the Attorney’s General Office denouncing Chávez for treason, based on his continued ties with the FARC and his payments to the Colombian guerrillas<sup>43</sup>. In 2001, several friends and I founded a non-governmental organization called Fuerza Solidaria. Its objective is to make the fight against totalitarianism in Venezuela more organized and effective. Fuerza Solidaria pioneered demonstrations and gatherings against the regime almost a year before the huge demonstrations in 2002.<sup>44</sup> Today, our NGO is one of the main opposition forces to the Chávez regime and clearly the most important bastion of civil resistance in Venezuela.

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43. The full text of the accusation is provided as an appendix to this document. Also available in Spanish at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Escritos/JuicioChávez.html>

44. “The Origin of Fuerza Solidaria,” available in Spanish at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/No-sotros.html>

As to our international efforts, we have written several open letters to communities and institutions in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay<sup>45</sup>. We have warned other countries against making the same mistakes, and have urged them not to vote for FSP candidates. We have alerted governments and congresses throughout the region about the FSP and its plans.

I have made thirty trips: six to Brazil, five to the United States, five to Argentina, three to Colombia, three to El Salvador, two to Bolivia, two to Uruguay, two to Italy and two to Spain. On each occasion, I have spoken to the media and have met with political, religious and union leaders to warn about the plans of the São Paulo Forum.

Fuerza Solidaria has created a concise digital information service called “Revolutionary Tips,” which has thousands of subscribers from all over the Continent. Its objective is “to show, day by day, the troubling advance of Castro-communism in the region and what some sectors are doing to prevent it.”<sup>46</sup>

After many years of struggle, we have found there is an obstacle to our fight that is cultural, not political. There is a relationship between the prevailing culture and a nation’s capacity to tackle totalitarianism effectively. The materialistic concepts that now prevail throughout Iberian America harm society. If there are no principles and values superior to our mortal existence, how can we combat a system that threatens to take freedom and life itself from its adversaries?

Consequently, Fuerza Solidaria has launched a national and international movement to promote the recovery of the transcendental values and principles that are unique to our Christian-Western civilization. The movement includes the publication and distribution of two books: *The Continent of Hope* and *Classical Art and Good Government*<sup>47</sup>.

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45. These letters are available in Spanish at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Cartas.html>

46. Revolutionary Tips may be accessed in Spanish at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/TipsRevolucionarios.html>

47. Both books are available at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Publicaciones.html>



## 12. Why is Chávez Still in Power?

why is

The international community must wonder how a country as democratic as Venezuela can allow a man like Chávez to become President and, even worse, how it can allow him to remain in power for almost ten years. We have spoken about the anti-system environment in 1998 that allowed Chávez to become President. In Chapter 4, we explained how the Constituent Assembly was used to seize all public power, blocking the way for democratic alternatives. However, Chávez's "secret formula" for remaining in power has been to control and manipulate the opposition.

Besides the well known opportunists who profit tremendously from the government and the pragmatists who defend and consolidate positions, there is an explanation that rests with the history of political parties. The first political parties in Venezuela - now the opposition - grew and developed during the 1950s to counter the right-wing military dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez. Since then, many politicians have adopted a leftist position and a profound fear of the "ghost" of dictatorship. We call it a "ghost" because the probability of a right-wing military dictatorship taking power in Latin America, such in the 1950s and 1960s, is now virtually non-existent.

Dictators such as Pinochet are what explain the opposition's preference for Chávez as opposed to a military government. Ironically, Chávez too is a soldier. They see him as the black sheep of socialist family; however, he is still family. On the other hand, a military government represents a historical enemy, or at least that is how they see it.

This paradigm was clearly evident after Chávez ordered the massacre of 11 April 2002, which led to his resignation. Admittedly, the provisional government made some unforgivable mistakes, due mostly to improvisation and, in some cases, to spitefulness. Although it manifested a willingness to rectify things, opponents such as Teodoro Petkoff publicly sabotaged the new government. At the same time, many worked secretly to facilitate Chávez's return, as was confirmed later by Francisco Arias Cárdenas, the promoter of Petkoff's candidacy. The massacre was no longer important. What mattered was to prevent the Right from winning control of the government.

There was a similar situation during the civic strike in 2002 and the demonstrations in 2003 and 2004, which were known as "guarimbas". The opposition wanted to pressure Chávez into hold elections, but without going to the "extreme" of provoking a military crisis. This is why they negotiated the strike behind the backs of oil company employees who had been dismissed unfairly, while publically applying the brakes to the "guarimbas".

Although it might seem hard to believe, Venezuelans still fear the ghost of the Right. This is why most opposition leaders insist on waiting until the presidential elections of 2012 to choose a new government, despite the evidence gathered from Raul Reyes's computer to the effect that Chávez has ties with terrorist drug traffickers in Colombia. To allow a criminal to remain in power for fear of a ghost that does not exist is completely absurd.

It is unlikely the Venezuelan military will stage a coup against the government. The military's democratic foundations, which date back half a century, will prevent this from happening, as will international circumstances. General and peaceful civil disobedience is more likely to occur (such as the strike on 11 April 2002). It will be the result of the social crisis, the economic debacle and the political discontent that has been amplified by the newly revealed connections between Chávez and the FARC.

Article 350 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela not only authorizes but explicitly orders the people of Venezuela to ignore authorities and laws that infringe on people's rights and demo-

cratic values,<sup>48</sup> as has been the case with the Chávez administration. Therefore, when fully justified civil disobedience occurs, the military will refuse to repress the population, as it refused to do so on 11 April, thus giving rise to a political crisis that will lead to the election of a new government long before 2012.

A referendum was held four months ago, on 2 December 2007, to approve the constitutional reform proposed by Chávez. The military opposed the fraud being prepared by the regime and the result was a victory for those who voted “No,” although by a much smaller margin than the real one.

The transition and the make-up of a new government have yet to be designed, since public power in Venezuela is contaminated and unable to conduct any sort of transition. This will undoubtedly be one of Venezuelan society’s greatest challenges.

The other challenge is time. As explained in the next chapter, Chávez and his allies will react to the revelations found in Raul Reyes’s computer. The longer Chávez is in power, the greater the threat to stability in Venezuela and throughout Latin America. This is why, even prior to Operation Phoenix, Fuerza Solidaria did all it could to convince democratic institutions in Venezuela to join forces in the interest of a change of government in the near future.<sup>49</sup>

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48. Peña, A. (2005). 350 – *Cómo salvar a Venezuela del castro-comunismo*. Ediciones Fuerza Productiva. Caracas. Available online at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/LibrosFolletos/Libro350Espanol.pdf>

49. *¡Ni un días más!*. Available online at <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Escritos/NiUnDiaMas.htm>



### 13. What Can We Expected of the São Paulo Forum?

Great playwrights such as Shakespeare and Schiller never dramatized tales or fables. They wrote about important historical events to teach their audiences the consequences of wrongful deeds and behavior. When characters behave according to common sense and morality, as in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth*, the work is an epic; however, when they behave heartlessly and are motivated by low passions, as in *Othello, the Moor of Venice*, the play is a tragedy.

This is an educational and pleasant way to pass on life's lessons to entire generations. To know what the São Paulo Forum will do in the weeks and months ahead, one need not be a clairvoyant or have access to confidential information. It is enough to read and analyze the characters in Shakespeare's work (especially those whose crimes have been discovered). In *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Claudio pours poison into a cup to kill his brother - the King - and to take his wife and crown. Prince Hamlet, son of the King, discovers the fratricide, but fails to act promptly, out of fear or hesitation. Feeling cornered, King Claudio wastes no time in trying to eliminate his adversaries. He plans their deaths one by one, including Hamlet's. It is the only way he can continue as king and escape punishment. The same happens with Macbeth, the Scot-

tish army general who kills all his adversaries to cover up the vile regicide he committed in his own castle.<sup>50</sup>

Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa and many other members of the São Paulo Forum are trapped inevitably by Raul Reyes's computer. The information in that computer has confirmed every suspicion about their relationship with the FARC. Clearly, any public servant who engages in illegal activities with drug-trafficking terrorist organizations must be removed from office. However, like Claudio, they will use every minute in power to eliminate their adversaries at home and internationally, with their first target being the administration of Alvaro Uribe.

The FSP can use several means to apply pressure, such as the following:

- First, a diplomatic campaign in which all FSP members work to discredit the government of Colombia by minimizing the information found in Raul Reyes's computer.
- Second, a border dispute, probably with Ecuador, where Correa still has a certain amount of popular support. In contrast, Chávez has no internal support for military action.
- Third, economic damage to Colombia by sabotaging trade. Venezuela is already working to spoil bilateral trade with Colombia.
- Fourth, strengthen Uribe's adversaries in Colombia to destabilize his administration. The trips to Mexico by several leaders of the Alternative Democratic Pole are part of that strategy, as is the International Peace Summit to be held in Colombia.
- Fifth, perpetrate selective terrorist attacks with logistic support from government administrations that are controlled by the FSP.

As I was finishing the previous paragraph, I saw a news cable announcing the Ecuadoran government had filled a complaint against Colombia, with the International Court of Justice in The Hague, concerning the glyphosate sprayed aerially on coca fields in Colombia. According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, María Isabel Salvador, the complaint was filed because "Ecuador has conclusive proof that aerial spraying in Colombia drifts across the border and seriously affects the health and economy of many Ecuadorian citizens."<sup>51</sup> However, by all indications, this

50. Peña A. (2008). *Arte clásico y buen gobierno*. Ediciones Fuerza Productiva, Caracas.

51. Available online at <http://globovision.com/news.php?nid=83239>

complaint has nothing to do with spraying; it is merely part of the plan described earlier.

The immediate intention of FSP members is to overthrow Uribe or to force him to back down and negotiate. The FSP will make the most of the few remaining months of Uribe's administration to convince him to "leave things as they are". But, of course, like any other mafia, it will not leave Uribe alone until it has extracted revenge, no matter what. The FARC and its allies are like Macbeth, who sealed a pact with the Devil to achieve his goals. I do not say this figuratively, the FARC are a satanic sect with blood and death rituals.

Consequently, the only path open to the Colombian government, and the morally correct one, is to defeat both the FARC and the São Paulo Forum. However, as explained in the next chapter, that will require a continental effort.

It is important to bear in mind that El Salvador, in addition to Colombia, is an immediate target. El Salvador has fought forcefully against communism in Central America and helped to prevent its spread throughout the region. In response, Chávez has provided massive support to the Farabundo Marti Front in El Salvador.



## 14. It is Urgent to Create a Counterpart to the São Paulo Forum

It is urgent

One of advantage the São Paulo Form has over democratic institutions in Iberian America is that it operations continentally, while Iberian American institutions work nationally. When the Colombian government combats the FARC, it is fighting not only a dangerous guerrilla organization, but the entire membership of the São Paulo Forum, which is represented in Colombia by the FARC.

When Venezuelans struggle against and somehow manage to weaken Hugo Chávez, every member of the São Paulo Forum runs to his aid, hoping their comrade will remain in power and continue to send them dollars that belong to Venezuelans. When the ARENA political party competes with the Farabundo Marti in elections, it is running not only again the FMLN, but also against Cuban advisors, Venezuelan financing, Mexican ideologists, Brazilian experts and Chilean communists; in other words, against the full power of the São Paulo Forum.

When a country dares to go a few kilometers into foreign territory to defend itself from terrorist attacks perpetrated by members of the São Paulo Forum, as Colombia did in Operation Phoenix, the members of the FSP throw up their hands in horror and allege violations of sovereignty. However,

they violate sovereignty everyday, with no hint of scandal. In other words, the FSP leads an international battle in every country on the Continent, while we democrats mount a national fight against an international adversary. The only way to deal with the São Paulo Forum successfully is to combat it simultaneously in every Iberian American country. This requires a certain amount of coordination, while respecting and preserving each country's autonomy.

On 18 April 2007, during the XX Forum on Liberties in Porto Alegre (Brazil), I publically recommended the creation of a defense organization (ODA) for the Americas to curb the spread of Castro-communism in the region.<sup>52</sup> The procedure required to create an organization capable of coordinating continental efforts to counter the actions of the FSP would be the following:

The first step is to hold a "founding" summit that brings together democratic representatives from every Iberian American country, preferably members of non-governmental organizations (NGO), although members of political parties would be welcomed as well. We used the word "democratic" simply to differentiate them from those that share the ideology of the São Paulo Forum.

The second is to create an intelligence archive or virtual library that will give every Iberian American citizen access to information on the São Paulo Forum. For example, who are its members in a specific country, its alliances and ramifications? How does it work and what are its ideological tenets?

Thirdly, it is important to establish a team of professors, philosophers, journalists and researchers who are willing to travel throughout the region. They would refute the FSP's tenets ideologically, through speeches, conferences, interviews and, above all, by teaching young people about the risks and lies of materialism in all many variations.

The fourth step is to establish a continental mechanism for an immediate exchange of information and consultation on threats within the region and to design joint action to combat them.

When a FSP member meddles in a country's internal affairs to defend one of its comrades, as Chávez does on a routine basis, local opposition to the FSP must denounce such behavior publically. In our case, it is the democrats in Venezuela who must do so. When Lula defends Chávez, as he

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52. <http://www.fuerzasolidaria.org/WebFS/Noticias/APEProponeCrearLaODA.html>

It is urgent to create a counterpart to the São Paulo Forum

has done publically on at least three occasions, Brazilian democrats should voice their protest and organize street demonstrations against him for endorsing totalitarianism in another country. When Rafael Correa tries to involve his country in a conflict with Colombia to defend the interests of the FARC, Ecuadorian democrats should confront him and denounced those actions. Chileans who love democracy should speak out against Jose Miguel Insulza for using his position at the OAS to defend his comrades in the São Paulo Forum. Likewise, the members of the FSP opposition should act as a “sounding board” in their respective countries, so each of these particular complaints or admonitions is publicized widely within the country. In short, we recommend that concerted action be taken to counter the efforts of the São Paulo Forum. However, in contrast to the way it operates, this must be done with respect for democratic values and the rule of law.



## Conclusion: Crisis as an Opportunity

# Conclusion:

The confrontation between the São Paulo Forum and the Colombian government was inevitable and even predictable. The FSP is like a cancerous tumor that needs healthy cells (democracy) to spread. Colombia, in South America, and El Salvador, in Central America, are nations that pose an obstacle to expansion of the FSP, which has been unable to complete its regional metastasis. According to the logic of the FSP, the few governments that are outside its orbit would fall easily thereafter; namely, Mexico, Peru, Costa Rica and Guatemala.

Once established in Iberian America, the FSP would continue to implement its plans for expansion on other continents, through the World Social Forum. Fortunately, Operation Phoenix dramatically changed the political game board in the region by providing the elements required to defeat not only the FARC, but also its allies. This can be accomplished, as long as democratic institutions in Latin America are determined to stand up and pursue to the end the law enforcement, political and legal fight derived from that military action.

However, several questions remain. Why was the São Paulo Forum able to seize so many governments? How was it possible for communism

to be reborn in Iberian America, after being defeated so resoundingly in Eastern Europe? What went wrong with our governments and our people? The explanations are many and each is reviewed separately in an essay entitled “The Continent of Hope.”<sup>53</sup> However, one clear explanation is that poverty-related issues continue to persist throughout the region, even though we live in the richest continent on the planet. Weary of misery and social injustice, the people of Iberian America opened the door to Marxism in search for a solution to specific and pressing problems. However, the FSP has been unable to solve them. The crisis continues and will grow even worse.

The final struggle against the São Paulo Forum began on 1 March 2008. It is a historic opportunity to defeat Castro-communism once and for all, and an opportunity to initiate an exciting quest for development and industrialization. It also is an opportunity to rescue the values inherent in Christian-Western civilization, of which we are proud to be a part; an opportunity to make our continent a paradise where love and solidarity prevail; an opportunity to remedy past mistakes by enthusiastically working to solve the problems of the neediest; and an opportunity to build a fair and fruitful society where people can develop, live in peace with their loved ones and achieve happiness.

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53. Peña A. (2006). “El Continente de la Esperanza,” *Ibíd.*

# Request to Prosecute Chávez for Treason

# Appendix

**July 2000**

To the Attorney General of the Republic:

My name is Alejandro Peña-Esclusa. I am an engineer by profession, a Venezuelan citizen of legal age and bearer of Citizen Identity Card No. 3,753,933. Acting in compliance with the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, specifically the obligation incumbent upon every Venezuelan to honor and defend the country, its symbols and cultural values, and to safeguard and protect the sovereignty, nationality, territorial integrity, self-determination and interests of the nation, as provided for in Article 130 of the Constitution and Article 322 therein, which stipulates that “national security is an essential realm and responsibility of the State.. and defense of the nation is the duty of all Venezuelans...situated within the territorial bounds of the country,” I respectfully request that you, as a Venezuelan with the aforementioned obligations, and the office under your command, investigate, take action and enforce the law to the fullest extent with respect to the events described below, which are of serious concern to all Venezuelans.

1. The delivery of money to Colombian guerrillas by the Venezuelan government, money that belongs to the people of Ven-

ezuela (reported by the former director of DISIP, Jesus Urdaneta Hernández)

2. A neutral position and offer of asylum to an enemy of the country.

3. Membership in an organization of which an enemy of Venezuela is a member (the São Paulo Forum)

4. Venezuelan weapons confiscated from the guerrillas

5. Declaration of a change in attitude of the part of the President of Venezuela with respect to the guerrillas, admitting implicitly that he has been a friend, when his attitude should be one of invariable opposition towards a declared enemy.

## I

### Warnings Based on Fact

As reported on 13 June of this year by the Venezuelan daily newspaper *El Universal* (Appendix A), the former director of DISIP, Commander Jesús Urdaneta Hernández, reported having received orders from the government to turn over 300 thousand dollars in public funds to Colombian guerrillas. He added, “The President has been in favor of the guerrillas and has always wanted to give them weapons.” If these claims prove to be true, the situation is serious, particularly because the guerrillas in Colombia are enemies of the Venezuelan people. The facts speak for themselves. Colombian subversives assassinate, kidnap and extort Venezuelans. In terms of legal recourse, Venezuela has set up military theaters of operation along the border with Colombia, mainly to combat Colombian guerrillas in that part of the country. There is evidence of this in statements made to the Venezuelan press on 19 January 1997 by then Minister of Defense General Pedro Nicolás Valencia Vivas, when he announced that Military Theater of Operations No. 2 had been established in response to an anguished petition from the community in Tachira for a solution to the wave of kidnappings and other crimes being committed by Colombian guerrillas. According to Minister Valencia Vivas, that theater of operations was subject to a special legal regime backed by a military court (Appendix B). This leaves no doubt that Colombian guerrillas are enemies of Venezuela. It also clearly indicates that we have been at war with them and still are, inasmuch as the theaters of operation remain active and in force.

According to an article published in the Venezuelan daily newspaper *El Nacional* on 23 February 1999, under the title “Chávez Offers Asylum to Colombian Guerrillas” (Appendix C), the President of Venezuela indicated, “if a Colombian soldier falls back, in any condition, wounded or not, we will attend to him; if a Colombian guerrillas falls back, we will do the same, because he is a combatant in an internal conflict in which we are neutral.” This statement is serious and contrary to national interests, because the President is offering asylum in our country to an enemy under the same conditions that apply to a friendly soldier. Moreover, he has declares himself neutral in the conflict between the guerrillas and the Colombian government, when the guerrillas are clearly enemies of Venezuela, as illustrated above.

An Associated Press (AP) cable that appeared in several national newspapers on 30 May 1995, including *El Nuevo Pais* (Appendix D), says Hugo Chávez joined an organization known as the São Paulo Forum, which includes organizations such as the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This information was confirmed by a leader of the ELN, Pablo Beltrán, in an interview on 17 November 1999 with Globovisión, a Venezuelan television channel (Appendix E), when he confirmed that the ELN and President Chávez are part of the São Paulo Forum and meet regularly to “exchange opinions”. At a press conference held last June in Caracas, the FARC leader Raul Reyes said he and President Chávez both attended the summit of the São Paulo Forum in El Salvador (Appendix F).

On 11 June 2000, General Fernando Tapias, Commander of the Armed Forces of Colombia, showed the media an arsenal that had been seized from Colombian guerrillas (Appendix G). The weapons bore the seal of the Armed Forces of Venezuela. Presumably, they were confiscated during only one military incursion against the guerrillas; there are many more still in the hands of Colombian subversives.

On 21 July 2000, according to *El Universal*, President Chávez warned he would “close the door on Colombia’s guerrillas if they are shown to have been involved in Richard Boulton’s kidnapping.” (Appendix H). In other words, up to that point, the President had not treated them as the enemy. Once again, Hugo Chávez acted contrary to national interests by affording friendly treatment to those who have declared themselves to be enemies of Venezuela, as illustrated above.

## II Legal Recourse

Pursuant to the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, specifically Article 130 on the duty of Venezuelans to honor and defend their country, Article 322 which says that although national security is the province of the state, its defense is the responsibility of all Venezuelans, and Article 285, Section 5, with respect to the powers of the Attorney General's Office to do whatever is necessary to hold public servants liable for their actions from a civil, labor, military, criminal, administrative or disciplinary standpoint, we request that you undertake this investigation, in exercise of your authority, and that respective charges be filed in the Venezuelan courts, if warranted.

Article 232 of the Constitution outlines liability for the actions of the President, who is obliged to ensure and guarantee the rights and liberties of Venezuelans, and the independence, integrity, sovereignty and defense of the country. In other words, the events motivating this request involve responsibilities and obligations the President is duty-bound to protect.

Article 327 of the Constitution says that borders must receive priority attention and the principles of national security must be applied. The Constitution also says that military criminal jurisdiction is an integral part of the judicial branch of government and is limited to crimes of a military nature. The scope of military jurisdiction, its organization and modes of operation are governed by the accusatory system, pursuant to the Military Code of Justice.

Article 11 of the Code of Military Justice, which is part of our legislation, says, "Investigations into the origin and other circumstances of military infractions and the proceedings that apply are mandatory and indispensable." In Article 6, the Code indicates: "No one may be tried in a military court for offenses other than those determined and penalized herein..." Moreover, Article 22 states: "The proceedings in military trials are ordinary and extraordinary, depending on whether they are undertaken during peacetime, during war or during a time when civil liberties have been suspended."

According to Article 56 of the Military Code of Justice, "For the effects of this section and Section VIII, it shall be understood that a state of war exists when war has been declared or when it exists in fact, even if not preceded by an official declaration of war." There is a "de facto war" in Venezuela,

inasmuch as military theaters of operation have been set up in response to an imminent and constant threat posed to the region in the form of continuous and sustained attacks by an enemy. This doctrine is commonly accepted in our courts. Therefore, crimes that might require a state of war to be prosecuted may be prosecuted as such when they involve the declared enemy in these military theaters of operation.

Article 123 of the Code of Military Justice indicates that military jurisdiction includes, among others, Venezuelan territory, military infractions committed by military personnel or civilians, and all cases involving the criminal offenses determined by the Code. Article 464, Sections 1, 2, 15, 18 and 20, outline the crimes that are regarded as treasons and are included in this compliant; namely,

1. “Constitute part of enemy forces.” In light of what has been said, President Chávez would be a member of the same organization to which the FARC and the ELN belong (the São Paulo Forum).

2. “Facilitate entry of an outside enemy into Venezuelan territory or any advancement of its armed forces.” The facts show that President Chávez offered asylum and protection to Colombian guerrillas, which is the same as “facilitating the entry of an outside enemy of Venezuela.”

15. “Divulge news that creates panic, discouragement or disorder aboard ships or among the troops, even if true, provided a decision has been made to keep it confidential, or that tends to encourage the dispersion of troops in face of the enemy, or commit any act that might have similar consequences.” When President Chávez said he would “close the door to the guerrillas,” the implication was that his attitude had been friendly up to that point. This would generate confusion and disappointment among Venezuelan troops who fight and risk their lives in the theaters of operation created precisely to combat the Colombian subversion.

18. “Serve as an enemy spy or hide, help to hide or safeguard an enemy spy or agent, if that person is known to be a spy or enemy agent.” In other words, offering asylum to a Colombian guerilla, as President Chávez publically offered to do, is the same as “safeguarding an enemy agent.”

20. “Provide the enemy with means to harass the country or to undermine its defense mechanisms.” As indicated earlier, Commander Urdaneta complained he had been order to deliver funds to the guerillas and added that President Chávez “always wanted to provide weapons to the subversion

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in Colombia.” If proven to be true, this would be tantamount to “providing the enemy with means to harass the country.” In this context, it is important to investigate the provenance of the arsenal of Venezuelan weapons seized in Colombia from the guerillas.

For all the reasons outlined in this letter, we request that an investigation be undertaken, an indictment be issued and action brought before the respective courts. It is justice that I request on this day, the 22 of July 2000, in the city of Caracas.

**An open letter to the colombian people**  
**There is a Plot to Overthrow President Uribe**

**Caracas, 25 January 2005**

I write this letter in a sincere and unselfish attempt to warn you that a plan is now underway to overthrow President Uribe and to turn control of Colombia over to Fidel Castro. The facts are the following:

The FARC and the ELN are not independent groups, nor do they represent the interests of the Colombian people. They adhere to the guidelines of an international apparatus known as the São Paulo Forum, which was created by Fidel Castro to seize power throughout Latin America. It has a vast network of continental support that includes political parties, labor unions, religious organizations, indigenous movements, guerilla groups (such as the FARC and the ELN) and members of the mass media. During the last few years, the São Paulo Forum has gained considerable force and has expanded its operations, thanks to a close working relationship with an international structure known as the World Social Forum.

The strategy of the São Paulo Forum (FSP, for its abbreviation in Spanish) is to take power through elections in countries where this can be done, and through armed conflict in those where it cannot. Sometimes, it uses a combination of both: harassment of the government through border

disputes (the Colombian case), upheavals (the Peruvian case) or violent uprisings (the Bolivian case), followed by elections to finish off the government once it has been weakened.

The Colombian guerillas are a key element in this strategy. The São Paulo Forum uses them as an armed wing, a training center and source of financing to destabilize democratic governments in the region. Because the Colombian government has succeeded in dismantling a third of the FARC and the ELN, and is threatening to do away with them entirely, the São Paulo Forum has set in motion a continental plan to overthrow President Alvaro Uribe. The first element of the plan is a campaign to discredit Uribe and weaken him politically, with the help of every FSP member in Latin America. The second is to use Venezuela to jolt the Colombian government in the hope of creating a serious internal crisis, even though the Venezuelan people reject the maneuver and will not support a sterile confrontation.

The next step for the São Paulo Forum is to take control in Bolivia, where the FSP supports Evo Morales's candidacy, then to advance quickly to the south, until the entire Continent is under its control and placed in the hands of the Cuban regime.

I believe it is my duty to warn you of the dangers that are brewing, so you can neutralize them. I urge you not to succumb to provocation and to continue to struggle bravely against the guerillas. In doing so, you are not only defending your country, but also the future of every Latin American.

Alejandro Peña-Esclusa

## An Open Letter to the Ecuadoran People

**Caracas, 6 October 2006**

In 1998, weary of corrupt and incompetent governments, the people of Venezuela punished the country's traditional parties by voting for Hugo Chávez. However, instead of solving Venezuela's problems, Chávez has used the presidency to do away with freedom and liberty, to hold public power hostage, to pursue his opponents aggressively and, sadder still, to promote the Castro-communist model throughout Latin America, contrary to the identity of the Venezuelan people.

I write this letter out of serious concern that you might make the same mistake with Rafael Correa's candidacy. I assure you that he represents not the interests of Ecuadorans, but those of the São Paulo Forum, an organization created by Fidel Castro. Hugo Chávez, Evo Morales and the FARC in Colombia are all members

If Correa wins the election, Ecuador will cease to be a free and sovereign country. Cuban and Venezuelan agents will take control of its institutions, as is happening already in Bolivia. Correa will do away with democracy and impose a totalitarian dictatorship by convoking a constituent assembly as a means to that end.

It works this way. First, the constituent assembly declares itself “originary” and “plenipotentiary”. Then, it dissolves all legitimately constituted powers, such as the Congress and the Supreme Court of Justice, substituting them with new officials who submit to the authority of the executive branch. Finally, it takes control of the electoral apparatus to commit fraud and re-elect the President indefinitely.

This perverse script – written in Cuba and financed with an abundance of Venezuelan petrodollars - has been played out in Venezuela since 1999 and is now being staged in Bolivia. Fortunately, you still have time to prevent it.

In spite of being a foreigner, I voice these warnings because it is my moral obligation to help you avoid the unfortunate fate that has befallen the people of Venezuela. Do not make the same mistake! Do not cast your vote out of punishment! If you do, you will regret your mistake, as we regret ours. I wish you success in the immediate future and extend to you my sincerest esteem and solidarity.

Alejandro Peña-Esclusa

## Other Works by the Author

### *Classical Art and Good Government*

February 2008

*Classical Art and Good Government* demonstrates the relationship between the prevailing culture and a country's capacity to deal effectively with totalitarianism. According to the author, the materialistic concepts that prevail in today's world jeopardize society. The reason is simple. If there are no values and principles superior to our own mortal existence, then why risk a fight! Through a fascinating interpretation of the works of great artists such as Dante, Shakespeare, Schiller, Cervantes, Verdi, Beethoven and Mozart, the author shows that classical art transmits important values that modern society must rescue if it is to deal successfully with the threats it faces.

### *The Continent of Hope*

April 2006 – First Edition, in Spanish

July 2006 – Portuguese Edition

September 2006 – English edition

*The Continent of Hope* offers an alarming description of the true plans of the Latin American Left. In the beginning, the reader experiences the pain of what Latin America could have been, but is not, followed by the hope that comes with a proposal for development that combines apparently unrelated themes such as history, economics, creativity, identity and moral values. It ends with a fascinating description of how to do away with poverty and bring about an economic, moral and cultural rebirth in Iberian America.

***350 - How to Save Venezuela from Castro-Communism***

June 2005

The book is a stark personal and critical account of the mistakes made during the struggle to eject Hugo Chávez from power. It captivates the reader from the onset, stirs the conscience, provokes reflection and proposes a brave course of action that is surprisingly direct and simple.

***Fuerza Productiva***

July 2001, Issue No. 11

“A Philosophy for Development in Venezuela”

“The Government Unmasks Itself”

“Our Nation’s Armed Forces”

“Protesting Totalitarianism to the Din of Pots and Pans”

“An Alliance between Rich and Poor to Save the Nation”

“Shakespeare: Nobles and Their Subjects Unite to Save the Nation”

“Shiller: Ennobling the Soul to Overcome Tyranny”

***Fuerza Productiva***

April 2001, Issue No. 10

“Cubanization Advances in Step with the Winners”

“Building Infrastructure to Combat the Recession”

“Pedro Manuel Arcaya and the Crisis in the 1930s”

***Fuerza Productiva***

January 2001, Issue No. 9

“An Education Plan Made in Cuba?”

“Hamilton and the Defense of National Industry”

“St. Thomas More: An Example for Politicians”

***Fuerza Productiva***

October-November 2000, Issue No. 8

“Converting Plan Colombia into a Marshall Plan”

“Postmodernism and the Paralysis of Society”

“The Alcazar de Toledo: A Heroic Gesture”

***Fuerza Productiva***

July-August 2000, Issue No. 7

“Parallels with the Spanish Civil War”

“An Inside Look at the São Paulo Forum”

An Analysis of the Economic Policy of the São Paulo Forum”

***Fuerza Productiva***

May-June 2000, Issue No. 6

“The Raw Truth about Globalization”

“Elecar: They Wanted to Be Globalized and They Were”

“Globalization Spells Unemployment”

“What is the São Paulo Forum?”

***Fuerza Productiva***

March-April 2000, Issue No. 5

“Marxism and Liberalism: Two Sides of the Same Coin”

“How to Solve the Housing Problem”

“It is Impossible to be Bolivarian and Marxist”

***Fuerza Productiva***

January-February 2000, Issue No. 4

“The Vargas Reconstruction Plan and National Development”

“Tragedy as an Ultimatum”

“The 1947 Marshall Plan”

“Why Venezuela Has Been on a Bumpy Road for the Last 200 Years”

“José María Vargas”

***Fuerza Productiva***

November-December 1999, Issue No. 3

“Henry Carey’s Economic Miracle”

“Macroeconomic Guidelines for Development”

“How to Integrate Latin America”

“Is Science Compatible with Catholicism”

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***Fuerza Productiva***

September-October 1999, Issue No. 2

“Science and Moral Values: Driving Forces of the Economy”

“Benjamin Franklin Refutes Modern Economic Theory”

“An Urgent Call to the Middle Class: How Can We Avoid a New Federal War?”

“Fermin Toro Tried to Avoid War by Reactivating the Economy”

***Fuerza Productiva***

June-July 1999, Issue No. 1

“How to Develop a Successful Economic Program”

“How Roosevelt Saved the United States from Economic Collapse”

“Federico List: Father of the Nation’s Economy”

“The Catholic Concept of Ownership”

***The São Paulo Forum’s Plan to Conquer Venezuela***

November 1998

***Let’s Make Venezuela an Industrial Giant***

July 1998