

**FIRE THIS TIME**

*In English/En Español*

*We are realists... We dream the impossible - Che*

**ftt**



**September 12 International Day of Action!  
The Case of the 5 Cuban Heroes Held in US Jails:  
The Time to Increase Solidarity is Now!**

*See article on page 24*

# **AFGHANISTAN ELECTION FARCE: No Democracy Under Military Occupation**



*US Marines carry ballot boxes used in Afghan elections,  
August 20th, 2009. See article on page 2*

**CANADA/US/NATO OUT OF AFGHANISTAN NOW!**

# AFGHANISTAN ELECTIONS FARCE:

## *No Democracy Under Military Occupation*



*By Nita Palmer*

August 20th 2009 marked election day in Afghanistan – the second presidential election farce conducted under the eight year long occupation of Afghanistan by US/Canada/NATO forces. This time around, vote rigging, vote buying, discarded ballots and other incidences of widespread corruption were extensively reported. On top of this, voter turnout for these presidential and provincial elections was even lower than in the 2005 elections, with an estimated turnout of 40-50% of registered voters. With barely half of those eligible to register having registered to vote in Afghanistan, voter turnout for this election was at best a quarter of the eligible population.

Many sources have pinned the low voter turnout on increasing frustration among Afghan people with the fact that the occupation-backed puppet government in Af-

ghanistan has done nothing to improve their quality of life. “Some of the lower turnout may have stemmed from public disillusionment with politics after years of corruption, sluggish economy, poverty and rising violence,” the Associated Press reports.

“I am not voting. It won’t change anything in our country,” said Mohammad Tahir, a 30-year-old shopkeeper in Kabul in an August 20th interview with the Associated Press.

While occupation forces in Afghanistan have often cited the advancement of women’s rights as one of their primary goals in Afghanistan, it was clear that this election did anything but advance women’s rights. Voter turnout among women dropped even more than among men, according to elections observers. In an August 24th article titled, “Afghan Elections Seen as a Setback for Women” AP reported that according to the Afghan election monitor, Free and Fair Elections Foun-

dation of Afghanistan, at least 650 polling stations for women did not open.

### **No Democracy Under Occupation**

Beyond all of the reported problems with the elections, there is one critical question: How is it possible for democratic elections to occur in a country occupied by more than 65,000 foreign troops? Whether corruption and fraud occurs in the elections or not, the fact remains that whatever happens in Afghanistan is decided by the foreign powers occupying the country – not by Afghan people.

The elections are an attempt by the US/Canada/NATO occupation forces to bring legitimacy to their brutal occupation and to the Afghan government that dangles from their puppet-strings. But what truly determines the legitimacy of these elections is not the elections themselves, but the terrible social condition of Afghan people after eight years of living under foreign occupation and this ‘military democracy’. This election, like all others in occupied Afghanistan, will not legitimize the occupation or the puppet government. What a government requires to be legitimate– and what any government in Afghanistan lacks under foreign occupation– is independence, a demonstration of social progress, and an ability to govern with dignity and mass support.

### **What is the Real Problem of Afghanistan?**

In the weeks leading up to the Afghan elections, there was much talk in the media about the necessity of holding these ‘democratic’ elections in Afghanistan in order that Afghan people could decide for themselves who should lead their country and move toward addressing the major social problems that exist there. Besides this, there are many other problems in Afghanistan that we hear about daily, which are put forward by Canada, the US and NATO as being fundamental problems in Afghanistan that must be addressed for Afghan society to move forward. These problems include: the problem of widespread corruption, the problem of poverty, the problem of drug production, and the problem of the Taliban.

None of these things are the problem of Afghanistan.

The problem of Afghanistan, in fact, boils down to just two words: foreign occupation.

The irony of the claim that corruption, poverty, drug production, the presence of the Taliban or anything else are the fundamental problems of Afghanistan, which the Canada/US/NATO occupation forces must fix is that the occupation forces have proven themselves completely incapable of fixing them or of bettering the lives of Afghan people one bit. Under the watchful eye of the occupation forces, corruption has



*US backed President of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai votes in August 20 election.*

become rampant in Afghanistan, from the local level all the way up to the highest levels of government. Afghanistan has gone from producing less than 10% of the world’s opium in 2001 to producing a staggering 93% of the world’s opium in 2008, according to the World Health Organization. Opium sales now amount to more than half of the country’s GDP (UN office on Drugs and Crime). On top of this, opium addiction levels in Afghanistan have doubled in the last four years, including among women and children (UN, April 2009).

Basic human needs like access to water remain a far-off dream for many Afghans. Less than a quarter of the country has access to clean drinking water, and little more than a third has access to basic sanitation facilities. Despite billions of dollars of foreign aid sent to Afghanistan, many of the country’s hospitals remain with-

*continued below*



*Afghans protest against killing of civilian by occupying forces. Nov. 28, 2008.*



*continued from above*

out basic supplies like oxygen, bandages, or antiseptic. As a result of poverty and a lack of health care, food, and clean water, Afghan families watch as one in five of their children dies before the age of five. Maternal mortality in Afghanistan is high as well, with one woman dying in childbirth every 30 minutes.

Recently, we hear more in the news about how the occupation forces are trying very hard to establish a better life for Afghan people, but haven't been able to because they first need to get rid of the Taliban. This is a lie. Research by the International Council on Security and Development shows that the Taliban now maintain a presence in 72% of Afghanistan – up from 48% in 2007. Clearly, the occupation is not succeeding in getting rid of the Taliban. In fact, the size of the Taliban - and resistance in Afghanistan as a whole - has grown as the occupation forces prove more and more every day that they are only increasing the misery of Afghan people through their bombings, checkpoint shootings, and nighttime home raids. The expansion of the war into Pakistan and the bombing of villages in Pakistan by US drone planes in the name of 'fighting the Taliban' has only strengthened the resolve of people on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to fight this occupation. Afghan people are increasingly

joining the resistance to the occupation to fight for their basic right to a dignified life and to self-determination.

### **Why is Afghanistan Occupied?**

If, after eight years, foreign forces have completely failed to better Afghan quality of life and have in fact only created a life of humiliation

and fear for Afghan people, why are they still there? They are there because their intention never was to bring a better life for Afghan people, or even to ensure a 'secure and stable' Afghanistan. They are there because, in this time of global economic collapse, imperialist countries are scrambling more and more to stave off total economic collapse by occupying and plundering nations like Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and Haiti in an attempt to grab more resources and trade markets.

### **Canada's Role**

Within this scramble for new trade markets and resources by imperialist countries, Canada is a major player. Despite rising opposition from people in Canada to the government of Canada's war drive in Afghanistan, Canada's participation in the war has continued now for nearly eight years. The current government of Canada has said that all combat troops will be pulled out of the country by the end of 2011 (although Canadian forces would still remain in the country in a 'non-combat' role). Whether this actually happens remains to be seen, as the government of Canada has already extended the mission in Afghanistan three times, each time without public consultation or debate.

Although the majority of people in Canada

want troops out of Afghanistan, there is virtually no opposition to the war within the major national parties in Canada's Parliament. For many years, the New Democratic Party (NDP) has been branded as Canada's 'anti-war party'; however they have provided little more than lip service against the war in Afghanistan. In reality, they have never called for more than a withdrawal of combat troops, meaning that they support Canada's participation in the occupation so long as it is in a 'non-combat' role, like many of the other NATO countries. Furthermore, their actions have revealed their true intention: they are not really putting any pressure on the current Conservative government of Canada to pull the troops out of Afghanistan – in fact, they voted with the Conservatives in a motion not to end the mission in 2009 – supposedly on the principle of bringing the troops home immediately, but in fact was an action which ultimately allowed for the extension of the mission to 2011. A March 17th 2009 statement by NDP leader Jack Layton revealed more of what the NDP's real policy on Afghanistan is:

"We've come a long way since the first voices in our country called for a new role for Canada in Afghanistan. Internationally and in Canada, we are seeing a new will emerging to turn the page and begin a more balanced policy toward Afghanistan[...] President Obama has made significant shifts in America's Afghanistan policy. A



*Picket in Vancouver, Canada demands "Canada/NATO Out of Afghanistan" August 20, 2009*



*Afghan man, Haji Rozuddin shows fraudulent voter registration cards in Logar province.*

surge in troop levels will be accompanied by greater emphasis on security and political outcomes[...] Our skills and reputation as a peacemaker give Canada the basis for an active role after our troops withdraw in 2011."

So there you have it– the NDP thinks that there is a, "new will emerging to turn the page" on Afghanistan– at a time when all we have seen on the ground in that country is an increase in civilian killings and destruction. The NDP supports the US surge of 21,000 troops in Afghanistan because it will mean a, "greater emphasis on security and political outcomes", ignoring the fact that this increase in troops can bring nothing but more violence, destruction and bloodshed. And finally, the NDP supports, "an active role [in Afghanistan] after our troops withdraw in 2011", i.e. continued participation in the occupation.

The NDP's two-faced position on Afghanistan– acting on one hand as though they are the 'voice of opposition' to the war in Parliament, while in action supporting the war– will only serve to mislead the working class in Canada and will end up in a greater attitude of indifference toward, or even support for this war drive among working people in Canada. The NDP, as Canada's 'labour party', is doing nothing to encourage working people in Canada to oppose this brutal war drive and the killing

*continued on next page*

## VANCOUVER

>> **Thursday September 3**  
 Slingshot Hip Hop - Free Film Screening  
 Grandview Park, William Street & Commercial Drive  
 Documentary about youth and Hip Hop in Palestine.  
 8pm  
 Org'd by: Boycott Israeli Apartheid Campaign  
<http://www.caiaweb.org/vancouver>

>> **Monday September 7**  
 Labour Day Picnic  
 John Hendry Park  
 Trout Lake  
 11am-2pm  
 Hosted by the BC Federation of Labour

>> **Wednesday September 9**  
 Public Forum:  
 11 Years of Injustice: Why the Antirwar Movement Must Defend the Cuban 5 Political Prisoners Held in US Jails  
 Joe's Cafe - In the large North Hall 1150 Commercial Drive at William Street  
 6:30pm  
 Org'd by: Mobilization Against War and Occupation  
[www.mawovancouver.org](http://www.mawovancouver.org)

>> **Friday September 11**  
 Labour Rally

Coast Coal Harbour Hotel 1180 Hastings St.  
 Come with your members to the rally on September 11 to deliver a message to Coast that we need to keep good, stable jobs in the City of Vancouver.  
 5 pm  
 Org'd by: UNITE HERE Local 40  
 604-473-4815

>> **Saturday September 12**  
 Rally to Free the Cuban 5  
 International Days of Action to Protest the 11th Anniversary of the Unjust Imprisonment of the Cuban 5  
 Vancouver Art Gallery, Robson St at Howe.  
 12pm  
 Org'd by the Free the Cuban 5 Committee - Vancouver  
<http://www.vancouver5solidarity.com/freethecuban.html>

>> **September 26-27**  
 HIP HOP VS. WAR!  
 5th Annual International Hip Hop Festival Against War & Occupation  
 Featuring Ossesion, direct from Cuba! All Ages & All Free  
 Org'd by: Mobilization Against War and Occupation  
[www.mawovancouver.org](http://www.mawovancouver.org) for locations

**TORONTO**  
 >> **Monday September 7**  
 Labour Day Parade 2009

Good Jobs for All!  
 Queen St. and University  
 9:30am  
 Org'd by: Toronto & York Region Labour Council

>> **Friday September 11th**  
 Mapuche Protest  
 International Call Out in Support of the Mapuche Communities of Choque and the Mapuche Political Prisoners on Indefinite Hunger Strike.  
 Chilean Consulate (2 Bloor Street West)  
 12 pm  
 Org'd by:  
 The Women's Coordinating Committee Chile-Canada [Toronto]  
[wccc\\_98@hotmail.com](mailto:wccc_98@hotmail.com)

>> **Saturday September 12**  
 Movie and update  
 "The Trial: The Untold Story Of The Cuban Five", narrated by Danny Glover  
 Film showing with an update on the case by Lorne Gearshury  
 OISE - 252 Bloor Street West (St. George Subway Str.), Room #2214  
 7:00 pm  
 Org'd by: Toronto Forum on Cuba  
 Sponsored by: Latin America Solidarity Network  
[www.torontoforumoncuba.to](http://www.torontoforumoncuba.to)

>> **Saturday September 26 - October 2**  
 Toronto Palestine Film Festival 2009  
 Location: TBA  
 The films examine a wide array of

topics from a unique and under-represented Palestinian perspective, and highlight the dynamism of Palestinian culture. Tickets are \$10 to purchase e-mail tickets@pff.ca  
 Org'd by: Toronto Palestine Film Festival

**OTTAWA**  
 >> **Wednesday September 16**

Funraiser  
 Library and Archives Canada 395 Wellington  
 In solidarity with Indigenous Women across Turtle Island please join us in an evening of understanding The Epidemic of Continuing Violence Against Indigenous Women.  
 Org'd by: Indigenous Peoples Solidarity Movement Ottawa  
<http://ipsmo.wordpress.com>

## MONTREAL

>> **Saturday September 12**  
 5th Montreal Day of Friendship with Cuba  
 Celebrate 50 Years of the Cuban Revolution  
 Au Chapiteau du CCSE  
 Maisonneuve 4375 Ontario St. East, Montreal  
 Org'd by: Table de Concertation de Solidarité Québec-Cuba  
[www.solidaritequebecuba.qc.ca](http://www.solidaritequebecuba.qc.ca)

## AFGHAN ELECTIONS FARCE

*continued from previous page*

of our brothers and sisters in Afghanistan. If the NDP is to be a party truly representing working people in Canada, they must have a program against unjust imperialist war and encourage working people not to participate in this war drive. This war is not 'our war', it is a war of the capitalist class in Canada to defend the interests of the capitalist class in Canada. We, working people, should not participate in or support this massacre of oppressed people in Afghanistan. Why? Because the defeat of Canada, NATO and the US in Afghanistan means the possibility for progress not only for the people of Afghanistan, but also for working and poor people in Canada who will be in a better position to fight for their rights.

## Extension of War

Despite a recent poll by Angus Reid showing that 33% of Canadians think Canada's mission in Afghanistan should end in 2011 and another 51% believe the mission should

end before 2011, the ruling class of Canada is already in discussion on how to extend the mission in Afghanistan past 2011. There is an ongoing back-and-forth published in the Canadian press about whether the combat mission in Afghanistan should continue past 2011. This debate, like all the others that happened in previous years before the mission was extended, is created for the government of Canada to buy time to make sure they have the best justification for staying in Afghanistan and delude working people in Canada. By saying that the mission in Afghanistan will end in 2011, the government of Canada is creating false hope among people that the mission will end in order to diffuse protest against the mission now. The debate around ending the mission in 2011 is also avoiding the most important point - that the majority of people in Canada do not want troops pulled out in 2011, they want troops OUT NOW.

## What Next for Afghanistan?

Working and oppressed, peace-loving people in Canada must not be fooled by the trickery of the ruling class of Canada on their war drive in Afghanistan. This brutal, inhuman war and occupation cannot continue one more minute. It is time for all of us who believe in peace, justice and human dignity to unite to demand an immediate end to the occupation of Afghanistan. Our task is not small. We face the biggest powers in the world that are hell-bent on continuing this war in the interest of securing their profits. But we must raise our voices to demand an end to this war drive. There is no party in Parliament, no political force in Canada which will end this war for us. This means we must educate, organize, and mobilize everyone we can in consistent and effective actions to demand:

**CANADA/US/NATO OUT OF AFGHANISTAN NOW!**

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AFGHANISTAN NOW!**

**TROOPS HOME NOW!**

## ANTIWAR DVD &amp; MULTIMEDIA

# CANADA:

**Imperialist Abroad  
Imperialist at Home**



CONFRONTING  
CANADA'S WAR DRIVES:

- Afghanistan
- Iraq
- Palestine
- Haiti
- Quebec
- Indigenous Nations
- Labour Struggles

Contact Mobilization Against War & Occupation  
(MAWO) to get your copy!

- CAD \$5 or USD \$5  
 - Free to friends in Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia  
**ph 604 322 1764 | fx 604 322 1763**  
**info@mawovancouver.org**



# ELECTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN DO NOT LEGITIMIZE OCCUPATION!

**Statement of Vancouver anti-war coalition Mobilization Against War & Occupation (MAWO) regarding the August 20th 2009 Presidential Elections in Afghanistan.**

Thursday August 20th marks election day in Afghanistan, the second election farce conducted during almost eight years of foreign occupation. Just one day before the elections, which are lauded as a great achievement for 'democracy' in Afghanistan, reports of fraud, corruption, ballot selling and a lack of security at polling stations are widespread. No wonder not only independent reporters, but also mainstream news media are reporting that they have observed very uneven participation with very low turn out. However, the most critical question remains: How can democratic elections occur in a country occupied by more

than 65,000 foreign troops? However elections are conducted, the fact remains that whatever happens in Afghanistan is decided by the occupation forces – not by the people of Afghanistan.

Despite the so-called 'democracy' that the US/Canada/NATO occupation forces claim to be bringing to Afghanistan, the human rights situation in Afghanistan continues to worsen. After eight years of supposed 'reconstruction' in Afghanistan, less than one quarter of the population has access to drinkable water, two-thirds of the population remains illiterate, suicide rates among women are higher than ever, and the rate of civilian deaths at the hands of the occupation forces has increased by 25% in the last year alone, according to the United Nations.

The people of Afghanistan and people around the world understand that imposed,

militarized elections do not bring legitimacy to the occupation by US/Canada/NATO forces. But what makes this election legitimate or illegitimate is not the election itself, but the terrible social condition of Afghan people after eight years of living under foreign occupation and 'military democracy'. Previous elections did not legitimize the occupation forces and the puppet regime in Afghanistan, nor will this election will do so. Pretending to have democracy will not legitimize the government of Afghanistan. Independence, social progress, and being able govern with dignity and mass support is what any government of Afghanistan lacks under an occupation by foreign powers.

In Canada, opposition to the war is growing as more and more Canadian soldiers – now 127 - come home in caskets. A recent EKOS poll showed that at least 54% of Canadians oppose the war in Afghanistan.

After eight years, this madness, this cruelty, this destruction of human life must stop. Now is the time for all who believe in a world of justice and who value human life to come together to put an end to this occupation. We must raise our voices together to expose the disgusting truth of the occupation of Afghanistan, and unite around the demands:

**CANADA/US/NATO OUT OF AFGHANISTAN NOW!  
SELF DETERMINATION FOR AFGHANISTAN NOW!  
TROOPS OUT NOW!**

***Wear Your  
Opposition to War  
& Occupation!***



***T-Shirts  
\$20 each***

**Mobilization Against War & Occupation (MAWO)  
to order t-shirts:  
p. 604-322-1764  
e. [info@mawovancouver.org](mailto:info@mawovancouver.org)  
[WWW.MAWOVANCOUVER.ORG](http://WWW.MAWOVANCOUVER.ORG)**

*The Newspaper Of*

## **FIRE THIS TIME MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE**

**[www.firethistime.net](http://www.firethistime.net) Volume -6- Issue -3- August 2009**

### **Subscriptions**

For a one year subscription outside the lower mainland, make cheques payable to "Nita Palmer" (Canada \$15, USA \$20, International \$30) Send to: PO Box 21607 Vancouver BC, V5L 5G3

### **Distribution**

For Fire This Time in your area across BC, Canada, and Internationally contact Publicity and Distribution Coordinator Nita Palmer:  
Phone : (604) 780-7604  
Email : [distro@firethistime.net](mailto:distro@firethistime.net)

### **Submissions**

We welcome articles, letters, and unsolicited submissions. However we cannot promise publication. Submissions can be made by email, fax, or mail. Submissions will not be returned.

The opinions expressed in the newspaper are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent those of Fire This Time.

### **Donations**

If you find Fire This Time to be an effective tool in the struggle of oppressed people for justice, more than ever, we need your support. On top of our regular costs of production, we regularly send members of our editorial board on assignment throughout North America, the Caribbean and beyond in order to make Fire This Time a better resource. These efforts have strained our finances.

If you would like to help with a donation, please make cheques payable to "Nita Palmer".

This Newspaper could not have been possible without the generous contributions from our supporters.

### **Reprint Policy**

Reprinting of articles from Fire This Time by progressive media is welcomed, with source credit to the author and Fire This Time Newspaper. All other media or institutions must request permission.

**- ISSN 1712 - 1817 -**

**Political Editor:** Ali Yerevani  
[editor@firethistime.net](mailto:editor@firethistime.net)

**Editorial Board:** Tamara Hansen, Aaron Mercredi, Alison Bodine, Nita Palmer, Thomas Davies, Ali Yerevani  
[editorialboard@firethistime.net](mailto:editorialboard@firethistime.net)

**Layout & Design:** Nita Palmer & design team

**Copy Editor:** Tamara Hansen

**Publicity & Distribution Coordinator:**  
Nita Palmer

**Contributors to this Issue:**

Payvand Pejvaek, Andrew Barry, Manuel Yepe, Arnold August, Noah Fine, Sarah Alwell, Janine Solanki, Shakeel Lochan, Kerri Goodwin and Max Tennant

### **Contact**

**Phone:** (604) 322-1764

**Fax:** (604) 322-1763

**Email:** [info@firethistime.net](mailto:info@firethistime.net)

**Mail:** PO Box 21607 Vancouver BC, V5L 5G3

**FIRE THIS TIME**

**5**



Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

*By Rostam Pourzal \**

Combine Iran's post-election turmoil with the controversy over the nation's nuclear advances, and few Americans are likely to be unsympathetic toward the opposition movement there. Some bloggers have even suggested that the reformist-led protests are inspired by the teachings of Martin Luther King, Jr. Several commentators have referred to the wave of anti-theocracy rallies as Iran's "civil rights movement, perhaps implying that the social conservatives who rule the country resemble Mississippi fundamentalists.

Reese Erlich and others have reported that the insurrection now sweeping Iran spans class divisions. Middle East expert Stephen Zunes, in supporting the Iranian opposition, has written that "[h]istorically individuals and groups with experience in effective mass nonviolent mobilization tend to come from the left." But the Iranian reformist minority's proudly argued definition of anti-poverty action is a Reaganesque, business-friendly policy presumed to "lift all boats." Accordingly, the movement openly aims to overturn affirmative action programs and other "unfair benefits" enjoyed by less privileged Iranians. Judging by its literature, the opposition defends primarily the interests of Iranians who either aim for or already enjoy white-collar status. More often than not, this constituency has felt betrayed by the Islamic Republic for three decades. Since Ahmadinejad

# Would MLK Back Iran's Protesters?

was first elected in 2005, Iran's investor, academic, and professional interest groups, including numerous clerics, have complained bitterly that the president has bypassed them to go straight to the grassroots on his wildly popular monthly provincial tours. Ahmadinejad's first provocation after he took office was to auction the luxury presidential jet ordered by his reformist predecessor, Mohammad Khatami.

## Entitlements and Perceptions

Testimony that the current unrest is, among other things, a backlash against government services to have-nots comes from none other than the opposition's iconic leader himself. In gleeful remarks carried on July 5 online by the pro-reform daily Emruz, Mir Hossein Mousavi told a gathering of sympathetic academics, "Our society is quite different from what it was six months ago...The middle class has achieved a consciousness that, if channeled properly, is very constructive...The current [Ahmadinejad] administration has no plans for this class and the situation is hopeless."

In an opinion survey, funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund three weeks before the recent elections, pollsters Ballen and Doherty found that the "only demographic groups in which our survey found Mousavi leading or competitive with Ahmadinejad were university students and graduates, and the highest-income Iranians." Mousavi's most influential backer is industrialist and former president, Hashemi Rafsanjani, who is best known for pushing privatization and deregulation packaged as

"citizen empowerment." Rafsanjani ran against Ahmadinejad and lost by a wide margin four years ago. Mousavi has not distanced himself from Rafsanjani's overt hostility to government spending on subsidies and social welfare, which is expressed in a language similar to right-wing denunciations of "welfare queens" in the United States. Martin Luther King, Jr. would not likely approve of such a position.

Ervand Abrahamian, a world authority on modern Iranian history and known critic of the theocracy, recently attributed the longevity of the Islamic Republic to its constituent services and subsidies. In an article in Middle East Report, Abrahamian examined and dismissed other common explanations, including intimidation and the use of force against government opponents. If Abrahamian's analysis is accurate, it can explain the reluctance of a large sector of the Iranian society to throw away the baby (social programs) with the bathwater (morality police). Nevertheless, another candidate among the three who challenged Ahmadinejad this spring, Mohsen Rezaei, denounces the incumbent's spending on the infrastructure needs of common folks as "communism" and calls for "radical surgery" on the economy so as to please investors.

The solution offered by a third candidate, Mehdi Karroubi, for the ever-growing cost of college education is only slightly less cold-hearted. Noting that tuition at private institutions is burdensome for most families, he promised student loans for all if elected. He could have instead called for an expansion of Iran's su-

perior state university system, which costs students nothing. But that would have been politically unfeasible, because the opposition's patron saint, Rafsanjani, is a cofounder and fiercest defender of the country's largest chain of private colleges.

The opposition's insensitivity toward less affluent Iranians has gone unnoticed in the Western media, including the left-leaning press. They often prefer characterizations like "fundamentalist" and "enlightened" in describing the candidates. That leaves our pundits free to describe the opposition as a civil rights movement. The stereotypes are pervasive as much as they are misleading. A major achievement of the U.S. civil rights movement was to teach African Americans that they were intelligent and "black is beautiful." King and his associates worked tirelessly to persuade people of color to believe in themselves as equals to whites. In Iran, the public hears this message of equality (with the West) over and over from the Ahmadinejad camp, as it celebrates Iran's industrial achievements and independent foreign policy. By contrast, the Iranian youth who notoriously opt by the thousands for aesthetic nose surgery for a Hollywood look are predominantly from the ranks of Mousavi supporters. In hundreds of conversations with this constituency, which includes virtually all of my Iranian friends, I consistently hear contempt for the blue-collar and rural voters courted by Ahmadinejad.

Reformist leaders deserve credit for promoting equal opportunity for women. Mousavi has even distin-



Supporters of presidential candidate Mousavi, June 9 2009

guished himself by calling for cultural rights for Iran's numerous ethnic minorities. But since they don't target poverty and elite corruption and cost next to nothing, these sincere "civil society" initiatives are poor substitutes for Iran's welfare state. A true civil rights movement would demand expanded affirmative action for all marginalized Iranians.

## Local Bully, Global Aggressors

The Iranians who risk arrest and worse to challenge social restrictions and the apparent re-election of President Ahmadinejad deserve praise for their dissent. The abuse they suffer has drawn support from Bon Jovi, U2, and Joan Baez. But they do not speak for the truly voiceless, as a civil rights movement by definition should. From a real counter-cultural perspective, Iran's jubilant "Green Wave" has deeply conformist values that do not portend liberation for all. I contend this not because tens of millions of oppressed Muslims, even in Sunni-majority nations like Egypt, regard Ahmadinejad as a beacon of hope and freedom. Nor do I describe Iran's opposition as conformist only because Mousavi's declared vision is a return to the unremarkable times preceding Ahmadinejad. Rather, Iran's protest movement should be considered unenlightened because it affirms, more than it contradicts, the worst aspects of globalization and global domination.

Those of us who struggled unsuccessfully throughout the Bush years

*continued below*



*continued from above*

to draw Iranian Americans to antiwar protests are shocked to suddenly see thousands of them, bedecked in Mousavi green, protesting the Iranian elections on the streets of major U.S. cities. It is, of course, gratifying that Western peace and justice activists are finally able to connect with the expatriate Iranian community. But let us not assume that every newfound Iranian American friend belongs to a "civil rights movement" until we hear whether they also marched against U.S. and Israeli threats to bomb Iran.

Mousavi and his top aides, too, are not on record criticizing U.S. and British aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan or the West's illegal threats against Iran. "Provocation is for the extremists," one of Mousavi's lieutenants explained to me, referring to the Ahmadinejad faction. By contrast, reformist publications regularly feature tirades against Iran's alignment with left-leaning governments in Latin America. If Erlich could read Farsi and speak directly to Iranians who cannot communicate in English, he might not have been so quick to criticize Hugo Chavez for siding with Ahmadinejad. Another reformist candidate in this year's election who practices moderation rather than speaks truth to (global) power is former parliament speaker, Mehdi Karroubi.

During a series of first-ever televised debates that preceded the June 12 elections, Karroubi ridiculed Ahmadinejad's one-time claim that "the Americans" plotted to assassinate the incumbent in 2008 while he was on a state visit to Iraq. Before a television audience of record size, Karroubi then praised U.S. authorities for protecting him while he visited New York in 2000. One does not have to have faith in Iran's recent elections or see a Western hand in the ensuing protests to recognize that deference to, as Rev. King put it, the world's "greatest purveyor of violence" is improper for an aspiring civil rights leader.

In another move sure to please Western elites,

Karroubi made a campaign splash when he listed incremental de-nationalization of Iran's oil industry at the top of his promised economic reforms. In 1953, the CIA overthrew Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh, Iran's best hope for secular democracy, because he nationalized Iranian oil. Thousands of Iranians sacrificed their lives or careers for the nationalization campaign to succeed. The widow of Mossadegh's nationalist foreign minister endorsed Ahmadinejad in this year's election. As Karroubi's top advisors, Massoud Nili and Abbas Abdi, have argued for years, the goal of the proposed privatization of oil is to take away the Ahmadinejad faction's ability to "buy" working class votes with social spending.

If the opposition is to qualify as a genuine civil rights movement, it needs to change drastically. It must show a commitment to equality within Iran and in international relations as much as it champions freedom. With reformists siding with local and global privileged classes, it is naïve to dismiss Ahmadinejad as a demagogue relying on brute force to block a progressive mass movement.

Judging from what I hear during frequent trips in Iran, citizens of nearly all backgrounds, including the presi-

dent's supporters, want more social freedoms and political choices. But a great many are not willing to live without the services they have come to expect from their government or abandon the current leadership's foreign policy. The election of a person of color as president of the United States suggests that Americans have a renewed distaste for trickle-down economics and imperial conquests. It shouldn't be difficult to understand that a sizeable segment, perhaps a majority, of Iran's population shares those concerns and may vote accordingly to keep the reformists out of power. Reverend King would understand.

*\* Rostam Pourzal is an independent Iranian-American analyst specializing in the politics of human rights.*



*Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*

*Mir Hossein Mousavi*

## MAWO FORUM DISCUSSES IMPERIALIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST IRAN

*By Payvand Pejvack*

On Wednesday July 29th over 35 activists and antiwar organizers gathered at Joe's Cafe, in Vancouver to participate in a forum and discussion. The event was organized by Mobilization Against War and Occupation (MAWO) and Iranian Community Against War (ICAW) and entitled, "Imperialism and the Election Crisis in Iran, Myth and Reality on the Recent Turmoil. It was a very important time to hold a forum where people could discuss and open dialogue on the media frenzy and confusion surrounding the presidential election in Iran. The presidential election has been watched around the world and holds certain relevance particularly at a time when Iran is under the magnifying glass of the bloody and keen eyes of imperialist countries. Another important issue that was opened by the forum was Iran's relationship to US imperialism within context of the new era of war and occupation.

The forum was MC'd by Payvand Pejvack, an organizer with ICAW. She introduced a multi-media presentation that consisted of biased news coverage of the protests of the Iranian election from sources such as CNN, interviews with people around the world about the presidential election and also video footage from Iran.

Following the multimedia presentation was Ali Yerevani, political editor of the Fire This Time newspaper, who was also an active participant and organizer in the 1979 Iranian Revolution. He was able to draw a line of comparison and

contrast between the revolutionary movements of 1979 which overthrew the puppet regime of the Shah, with the most recent protests and unrest occurring in Iran after the recent presidential election. These protests now dubbed the "Green Revolution" are named after candidate Mir-Hossein Moussavi's presidential colour. Ali also described 8 points on the characteristics of the "green revolution" and its difference with the 1979 movement, for example the difference in the participatory demographic between 1979 and the "green movement" and its significance.

The discussion that followed was energetic, dynamic and continued until almost midnight with the majority of the participants contributing. This discussion demonstrated how important these public forums and discussions

can be and displayed how necessary these avenues are. This is especially true when imperialist forces try so hard to blur the facts. When we look at the track record of imperialist countries and the pain and destruction caused by them, one needs to ask; what is the motive for their sudden "concern" for Iranians? While the bloody occupation of Iran's neighbouring Iraq and Afghanistan along with military bases in every surrounding country are creating a massive build up of US military in the Persian Gulf is quiet in the background news. While the US government and the European Union effortlessly imposed four sets of crippling sanctions against the people of Iran, one has to wonder, what is the true motive for the sudden concern and interest in the well being of the Iranian people? Forums and discussions like that of July 29th are key in exposing these contradictions, as these educational events continue to encourage people in their demands of:

**HANDS OFF IRAN!  
NO IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN IRAN!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRANIAN PEOPLE!**



*Payvand Pejvack and Ali Yerevani*

# "I am but a common man, I am not a speaker but I have spoken"

## PAROLE DENIED FOR LEONARD PELTIER

### Introduction by Aaron Mercredi

Leonard Peltier is a Native activist, spokesperson and the longest-serving political prisoner locked up in the US prison system. A symbol of the past and present injustices that Indigenous people in the United States have faced, Leonard has been behind bars for over 33 years for a crime that he never committed.

In the 1970s, Leonard joined the American Indian Movement to defend Lakota people from the FBI and its government-sponsored terror squads on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. On June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1975, he was involved in a firefight when two FBI agents sped on to that reservation in an unmarked car and initiated a shoot-out with the activists. When it was over, the two FBI agents, and one Native activist, Joe Stuntz, were killed. While there was never any investigation in to the death of

Stuntz, the FBI began the biggest 'manhunt' in US history to for the AIM members who were involved in the firefight. Two AIM activists stood trial and were found 'not guilty' for reasons of self-defense, and the FBI put its focus on Leonard Peltier, who had fled to Canada to avoid the racist US justice system. Using manufactured evidence, the FBI had Leonard extradited from Canada to stand trial for the deaths of the agents. Despite the fact that there was never any reasonable evidence presented in the trial that linked Leonard to the deaths of the agents, and despite the fact that the prosecutor conceded that 'we do not know who killed the agents,' in 1977 he was convicted of the two murders.

On July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Leonard was granted his second parole hearing since 1993 and appeared before the board to hear his case. The US Parole Commission came down with its decision on August 21<sup>st</sup> to once again deny Leonard parole. He won't receive another parole hearing until 2024, at the age of 79 years. For Leonard, for the millions of people around the world who support him, and for the rights of all people, this is already 33 years too long. But the fight to free Leonard Peltier continues!

The following statement by Leonard was written before the parole hearing showing the hope, determination and unwillingness to bend to the criminal US system that this warrior maintains after over 3 decades behind bars.

### STATEMENT FROM LEONARD PELTIER

Greetings my friends and relatives,

I want to start off this statement or speech or whatever you want to call it by saying again as I've said before thank you thank you thank you from the bottom of my heart for supporting me and for standing up for right wherever you are. I can't express to you in words how extremely grateful I am not just to the people of America but to the people all over the world who have supported the cause of Indian people and myself.

I know a lot of you have given up a lot to help so many in my predicament. Daily I am made aware of political prisoners around the world. Many who have been killed or tortured or who knows what for trying to right the wrongs in their area, country or nation. I have been asked to make statements in support of other movement people around the world from time to time, South America, Europe and other places. People who love freedom, people who love the earth, people who love their family, people who love the freedom to make their own choice with their own resources, and all indigenous people- we share a common bond. The bond of brother and sister hood, the bond of believing there is a greater power than ourselves. And I don't mean some government power; I mean the greatest power in all the universe the Creator Himself.

We also as human beings upon this earth have to recognize that there have always been those who suffer from an illness called greed. They

have an appetite for gaining material wealth that is never satisfied. They have an appetite for land that is never satisfied. And the most common symptom of their illness is indifference to the suffering they cause with their quest. These people are the ones that have identified themselves as our common enemy. It is so terrible that under the guise of religion and shouting freedom they pit one people against another. This isn't something new. All down through history it has taken place. All down through history there have been men, spiritual men, holy men, great thinkers and philosophers who have tried to unite us against this common enemy.

Today my brothers and sisters I want you to know that if nothing else if we don't unite against the destruction against the Mother Earth we will have a common future that is void of clean air, clean water, and basic freedoms. We must reach our hands out to embrace others to the cause of life. We must do our best from where ever we are with whatever tools available to enhance and further our quality of life. We must find a way to break down the barriers that divide one people from another. We must find the things we have in common and find ways to solve our differences as basic humanity. We must evolve to a higher level of thinking or to as you might say a traditional level of thinking which obviously is superior to what they call progress today. Our traditional values taught us to live in harmony with Earth the greatest manifestation of the Creator that we have to relate to. Our traditions taught us to respect our bodies the greatest gift



Leonard Peltier

we have or possess as an individual. Our traditions taught us to preserve the environment for our children and all our future generations.

As a member of the American Indian Movement these values are what we were about. Poverty isn't solved by money poverty is solved by attitude. The problems we have today among all our people are caused by attitude. They are caused by an attitude that was given to us in boarding schools and on reservations that were nothing more than concentration camps in the past. They are attitudes by people who came to us talking to us about God and wanting us to embrace their version of religion and as one brother said once, "They told us to bow our heads, and when we looked up our land was gone, our culture was gone, our children was gone, our way of life was gone." And now the air itself is dwindling.

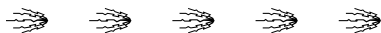
I have been in this cage for some 34

*continued below*



Artwork by Leonard Peltier





*continued from above*

years and though I have been caged I have sought the spirit in prayer of our brother the eagle, I have sought to have an overview of things for as anyone can see I don't have the freedom to examine life from a close perspective. And from this distant view, abstract view, this detached view, at times I get to see the destruction and divisiveness that these political powers that have scattered us for so long have involved themselves in promoting among our people. I don't know if it is because I am older now or because my future is so uncertain or if through some spiritual inspiration I deeply want to say so much. I deeply want to move you to do something to save our earth and our children and our children's future. I didn't get to raise my children; I haven't got to really know them or my children's children. I may never get to, but I love them all just the same. And I love life as much as anyone on the outside. And I don't know how long I will walk this cage. Some days I feel quite healthy and energized and some days I feel like the 64 year old man that I am. I'm always hopeful that I will be free at some point, perhaps in the latter part of July after my parole hearing, and perhaps I won't.

The people that hold me, the FBI and the conglomerate corporations that have for so long controlled the resources of this country and others and for so long have done their best to stifle, to denigrate, and to vilify the voice of the oppressed are some of the most formidable well funded political people on Earth. I was told that the FBI themselves are some 10,000 strong.

I am but a common man, I am not a speaker but I have spoken. I am not all that tall but I have stood up. I am not a philosopher or poet or a singer or any of those things that particularly inspire people but the one thing that I am is the evidence that this country lied when they said there was justice for all. I am the evidence that they lied when they extradited me from Canada. I am the evidence that they can lie at your trial, they can manufacture evidence at your trial, they can intimidate witnesses at your trial, they can have back room conversations and agreements with the judge at your trial. I am the evidence that the attitude, the powers that be still hold us in a grip. They hold us in an emotional grip. They hold us in a poverty grip. They hold us in a cultural deprivation grip. I could go on and on about the things that go on that weigh so heavily against our people but the bottom line is my case is well documented by court after court after court, by hearing after hearing after hearing, by statement after statement after statement.

And we as a people are the evidence that this country fails to keep its treaties, this country fails to keep its word. This country has failed to follow its own Constitution - the treaty between the people and the government. We are that evidence. I am nothing more than evidence. That is why people all over the world and here at home have supported the cause of justice in my case. In my



*Rally for Leonard's freedom in Denver, Colorado, USA, March 12, 2009*

have been taken from me. They can not give back the life of Joe Stuntz that they took June 26th 1975. They cannot give back the lives of the 60 something people that they directly or indirectly caused the death of. They cannot give back the thousand upon thousands of Indian people that were killed and abused since the inception of this government. But the one thing we can do, we must do, is find a way to change their attitude. My brother Leonard Crow Dog once said, "If you want to change the white man you have to change his religion." And religion is a word that means how you do something on a regular basis; most generally it is associated with your spirituality. Perhaps with global warming as it is and the changes in the weather patterns and the questionable future that faces the earth, they will start to listen. Maybe they will reach back and embrace the words of our people foretold again and again. We must live the way that the Earth will renew itself every spring. We must help them reach back. We must speak to them at every opportunity.

We must make an effort to reach back ourselves to our own cultural values. And in doing so we can start to solve the many destructive challenges we face. We must more than ever before find a way to heal the wounds of our children and prevent the social illnesses that are so prevalent across our reservations and communities. We have the tools, we have the teachings, we have the philosophies, we have the culture, we have the artists, we have the singers, we have the philosophers, I could go on and on but in essence what I am trying to say is it is imperative that we bring together all our resources to enhance the future

particular situation I can't say that there will ever be any level of justice.

They cannot give back the 34 years of life that

today was copied from our people. Our people with our foods, our medicines, belief in freedom and right to choose have influenced the world. Its too bad they didn't adopt a healthy attitude that we had toward the Earth or an attitude of respect for us the first keepers of this portion of the Earth. If there is something about me that this government can point at and say is wrong or any person say is wrong I will by my own choice, if it proves to be fact, seek to fix it myself. But I also want to remind them the policies that have been in place for so long have made us what we are today. The policies that have been in place for so long, have created another reservation called Iraq and another reservation called Afghanistan, and the list goes on and on, you see what's happening over there is what happened here and all down through North and South America.

I am just a common man and I am evidence that the powers that put me here would like to sweep under the carpet. The same way they did all of our past leaders, warriors and people they massacred. Just as at Wounded Knee the Fifth Cavalry sought its revenge for Custer's loss and massacred some 300 Indian men women and children then gave out 23 Medals of Honor and swept the evidence of their wrongdoing aside. Perhaps this statement is somewhat more lengthy than the others I've made; perhaps it is some things I should have said before and perhaps more, if so I hope you will forgive me. I recently was thought to be having a heart attack because of pain in my chest. After having been beaten and kicked and stomped in the last year, I am not quite sure what was causing the pain. I had never been beaten, kicked and stomped like that before. And also I have never been 64 years old before. The one thing all this did for me is it really brought home my sense of mortality. I don't want to spend the rest of my life in this prison. And I don't want you to spend the rest of your life in some prison of the mind, heart or attitude. I want you to enjoy your life.

If nothing else give somebody a hug for me and say, "This is from Leonard."

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse  
Leonard Peltier.....



for our children in a way that they themselves can further the healthy teachings of our culture and way of life; and in doing so I have no doubt that we can change the world.

If I am freed next month or if I die in prison remember my words and remember we are evidence that the Creator made a beautiful people a people that respected the Earth and nature and each other. We are evidence on every level of goodness that when the Creator made us He meant for us to be free. All our traditions have taught us this way. And even this very form of government that exists

# What is the US Discussion on Health Care all About?

By Thomas Davies

The past two months have seen an increasingly public debate about possible reforms to healthcare proposed by United States President Barack Obama. While there is huge confusion on all sides about what exactly Obama is proposing, it is clear that nothing he has put on the table so far will come close to ending the healthcare crisis in the US. The ins and outs of the Canadian healthcare system have also become a significant part of this debate, and people living in Canada should take an honest look at the realities and shortcomings of healthcare in Canada. What are the issues at stake and what are the practical solutions for the millions whose lives are at risk due to problematic medical care on both sides of the Canada/US border?

## Black Hole

The state of healthcare in the US is grotesque. Healthcare is not guaranteed for its 350 million residents, and over 50 million people do not have any health insurance at all. Families USA recently issued a report detailing how rising insurance premiums<sup>a</sup> and growing unemployment contribute to an average of 44,230 people losing health coverage each week.

A 2008 study published in Health Affairs Journal found that the US had the highest rate of preventable deaths before the age of 75 out of the 19 countries it examined. It concluded that as many as 101,000 deaths a year could be prevented by ensuring that all patients receive quality care in a timely manner.

Why can't the world's largest "super-power" provide healthcare for its population? Is it a lack of spending? Definitely not. The US spends twice as much as other industrialized nations on health care—\$7,129 per cap-

ita. That's around 15.3% of its Gross Domestic Product, over \$2Trillion (2 followed by 12 zeroes!) a year.

## Who's at Fault? How do we fix it?

Obama is not wrong to blame private insurance companies for taking advantage of people and making a huge profit doing it. Harper's Magazine noted in its 2009 census that since 2002, the average premiums paid

was given up long ago.

But how would this strike back against the insurance companies? All it would do would be to guarantee them tens of millions of new customers, often with government subsidies. An article in the LA Times summarized the situation, "Some insurance company leaders continue to profess concern about the unpredictable course of President Obama's massive healthcare initiative, and they vigorously oppose elements of his agenda. But Laszewski (Robert Laszewski, former health insurance executive and president of Health Policy and Strategy Associates Inc) said the industry's reaction to early negotiations boiled down to a single word: 'Hallelujah!'"



Another important

distinction is that having some level of health insurance does not mean full access to necessary healthcare. A recent study found that 62% of all bankruptcies filed in the US in 2007 were linked to medical expenses, and that of those who filed for bankruptcy, nearly 80% had health insurance.

The basis of Obama's current healthcare campaign states its guiding principles as, "Reduce costs, guarantee choice, and ensure quality care for all." Criticism has come due to his lack of concrete proposals, but most agree that the form it would take would be similar to what is already in place in the state of Massachusetts – where it is now illegal not to have health insurance. The government is responsible for a subsidized insurance plan, but other than that insurers are left untouched. There was also discussion about a "single payer"<sup>b</sup> public insurance option, but most agree that this bargaining chip

## Sinking Ships

With the Republican Party trying to ensure absolutely no decrease to current healthcare profits, the debate in hotly contested town hall meetings and on television screens across the country has also featured the Canadian healthcare system. Shona Holmes of Waterdown, Ontario became a celebrity in the US when she appeared in a commercial of the conservative

group, Patients United Now, saying that she "would be dead" if she hadn't travelled to the US (and paid almost \$100,000) for treatment of a brain tumour. Citing long waits and outdated facilities in Canada, the commercial warned, "Now, Washington wants to bring Canadian-style health care to the U.S.," and reopened the debate in Canada about the sorry state of Canada's national healthcare system.

To be clear, Canada's healthcare system is not "socialized" like some in the US have called it, although the government does have a mandate to provide all eligible people in the country with reasonable access to insured health services on a prepaid basis, without direct charges at the point of service. It hasn't always been that way, and this mandate was won by the important fight of poor and working people across the country.



However, despite the mandate, about 30% of all Canadian medical expenditures now happen in the private sector, with expenditures on drugs increasing more than any other area. This year, spending on drugs is expected to account for 17.4% of healthcare spending, more than double what it was 30 years ago. Basic services such as dental, optometry, and physiotherapy are also not covered. "Luxuries" such as ambulance

services must also be paid for.

## The Push for Privatization

There has also been an extreme push for privatization by Canada's business elite. This was punctuated by the June 9th 2005 decision by the Supreme Court of Canada that struck down a Quebec Law that prohibited people from buying private health insurance to cover procedures already offered by the public system. Citing the long wait times which now accompany almost every medical procedure in Canada, private healthcare companies have pushed for a more "flexible" system that would allow those who have the money the ability to pay for health procedures. They have succeeded in opening dozens of for-profit private health clinics across the country.

Canada does pay for more hospital days and doctor visits per capita than the US while spending about 40 percent less, but even then Canada's healthcare crisis is still obvious. Four million people cannot find a family doctor, and conservative think tanks have had a field day pointing out all time highs in waitlist times. A 2007 Fraser Institute Study unfortunately found an average wait of 18 weeks between visiting a doctor and receiving surgery, even though Canada is spending more on healthcare than ever before.

## "European Model" Not the Answer Either

This year's Canadian Medical Association (CMA) convention saw a push from outgoing President Dr. Robert Ouellet to adopt a "European-model" of healthcare. While the CMA is creating a "blueprint of transformation" for next year, Dr. Ouellet and others are advocating a mix of the "best" aspects of public

*continued below*



*continued from above*

and private systems, with a healthy dose of competition to stimulate efficiency.

There are already some terrible examples of this method in Canada, called P3s or “Public Private Partnerships”. P3s involve hospitals contracting a private consortium to design, build, finance, and operate all non medical services of a hospital. The private companies are then guaranteed huge profits for decades.

In England, one of the 5 countries Dr. Ouellet visited to form his proposal, after 15 years of “Private Finance Initiatives (PFI)” (their P3 equivalent) the National Health Service was forced to invest \$77Million dollars in a crash program of hospital cleaning after an audit revealed that most of the hospitals relying on private contracts failed to meet cleaning standards. Staffing and qualification levels have been slashed to cut costs. The *British Medical Journal* reports that, on average, 26% of hospital beds have been cut and staff reduced by 30% (14% of doctors, 11% of nurses and 38% of support staff).

But are they cheaper for the public? No, and there is huge amounts of research to demonstrate this. A separate study in the *British Medical Journal* found that the PFI costs at four hospitals were almost double the estimated costs of a similar scheme funded by public finance. Where does the money go? Professor Jean Shaoul of Manchester Business School found that the rate of return for the companies on twelve large PFI Hospitals was 58%.

Back in British Columbia, Canada, while Premiere Campbell celebrated the opening of the new Abbotsford Regional Hospital under a P3 scheme, the Hospital Employees’ Union pointed out that building the hospital rose from \$211Million to \$355Million after it became a P3 project. Another fact being protested by the union is the absurdity that the provincial government has placed its own privatization agency—Partnerships BC—in charge of value-for-money audits of P3s!

Meanwhile, the lives of hundreds of elderly and special needs patients were thrown into jeopardy when in August 2009 the Fraser Health Authority (FHA) announced it was cutting thousands of elective surgeries, as well giving 30 days notice of its decision to cut significant funds to Mental Health and Addiction Services as well as Seniors’ Services due to a \$160Million budget shortfall. The FHA also happens



to operate the new over-budget P3 Abbotsford Hospital.

The situation seems pretty desperate – the US healthcare system spiralling downwards, the dead-end of the “European model” and the Canadian healthcare system following close behind. Luckily for the entire world, another option exists in small island of Cuba.

### Rising Stars

“We pledge to serve the revolution unconditionally wherever we are needed, with the premise that true medicine is not that which cures but that which prevents, whether in an isolated community on our island or in any sister country in the world, where we will always be the standard bearers of solidarity and internationalism.” - Cuban Medical Graduate’s Oath

An American Association for World Health study concluded in 1998 that years of the US blockade on Cuba had “dramatically harmed the health and nutrition of large numbers of ordinary Cuban citizens,” but that, “a humanitarian catastrophe has been averted only because the Cuban government has maintained a high level of budgetary support for a health care system designed to deliver primary and pre-

ventative health care to all citizens.”

Despite a US blockade, Cuba has a comparable life expectancy to Canada at almost 80 years, and the lowest infant mortality rate in Latin America at 4.7 deaths per 1000 live births, which is also lower than the United States. By 2007 there were also 6.5 doctors for every 1,000 citizens in Cuba, compared to 3.1 per 1,000 in Western Europe, and 2.4 per 1,000 in the US. Canada came in at a dismal 2.2. Cuba’s numbers will also only improve as this year over 25,000 health professionals will graduate in Cuba, the largest number ever.

Remember, Cuba is a third world country under a brutal economic blockade by the US for



almost 50 years. Its per capita spending on healthcare is also only \$251, that’s over 28 times less than the US, and 21 times less than Canada. How does it do it? Cuba recognizes healthcare as a fundamental right, not as a potential market, and therefore focuses healthcare on the simplest and most beneficial areas, which means prevention as opposed to pharmaceuticals. In Cuba, healthcare is a human rights issue, not like the US, Canada, Europe or any other western capitalist countries, where your personal well-being must be bought. Thus the universal healthcare becomes a profit mak-

ing entity for healthcare related companies. In other words, in the US or Canada, the well being of a person is a private matter, in Cuba, on the contrary, the well being of a person is a public matter. No individual is denied because of market value, rather in Cuba all individuals unequivocally enjoy universal healthcare—for free.

### Revolutionary Cuba Shows the Way

A Cuban family doctor’s day to day work includes a detailed prevention programs, consisting of categorizing each patient yearly into a group (healthy, at risk, ill or chronically ill, and special needs) and visiting them in their home a certain number of times a year, according to what group they’re in. Have any doctors come to visit your house lately, FOR FREE?

True to its oath, the most amazing aspect of the Cuban medical system is its commitment to the health of others outside its borders. By November 2008, Cuba had more than 70,000 doctors, allowing it to send 17,697 abroad to serve in 75 countries, along with 20,847 other Cuban health professionals. There is also currently 24,000 foreign students studying medicine for free in Cuba, where since 2005, 1,500-1,800 students have graduated from 40 different Latin America, Caribbean, and African Nations. Cuba even trains doctors from the US, asking only that they commit to practicing in underserved parts of their communities.

The debate in both the US and Canada about the future of healthcare really does boil down to people or profits. Instead of trying to figure out the best way to use competition and corporations to improve healthcare, why don’t we just learn from over 50 years of the example of the Cuban Revolution and its incredible healthcare system? We must defend every single public aspect of the Canadian healthcare system as gains that were won by the fight of poor and working people, but why stop there? Cuba shows it is not only desirable, but possible to win free, universal, and accessible healthcare for all.

*a - Insurance premiums: the cost or rate that people are paying towards their insurance coverage*

*b - Single-payer health insurance operates by arranging the payment of services to doctors, hospitals, and other health care providers from a single source established and managed by government.*



# Indigenous in the Belly of the Beast

By Ray Bobb\*

In 2007 the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. That the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand voted against this declaration came as a surprise to many people. Compared to many countries of the global south that labour under thinly disguised military dictatorships these four countries are seen as pillars of freedom and democracy. In reality, these countries are imperialist settler-states. As oppressor nations the freedom of these countries is the freedom of wolves and their democracy is the democracy of whites in apartheid South Africa.

The indigenous of these countries have recently been afforded economic reforms the like of which had been afforded the working classes of these countries more than one hundred years ago. Politically, however, in terms of the colonized status of the indigenous and their legal right to self-determination, they have been subject to constant government attack. In Canada, for instance, the federal government is in the process of forcing the indigenous to renounce their Indian nationality and formally incorporate into Canada.

In 1973 the federal government initiated a treaty process based on the strictly circumscribed Comprehensive Land Claims Settlement Policy. The terms of the treaty process separate Canadian Indians into hundreds of reserve level "first nations" represented by Indian leaders on the payroll of the Department of Indian Affairs. The federal government has entered into treaty making with these leaders requiring them, for payment, to remove their bands from the jurisdiction of the Indian Act and formally incorporate them into Canada on the municipal level. These two requirements of the treaty process contravene Article 15 of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Article 1 of the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. These two articles of international law state, respectively, that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality" and "All peoples have the right of self-determination." Today, the indigenous of Canada's north including northern Quebec and many bands in the south have already been swindled into signing treaties.

The federal government heralds the treaty process as the way to a glorious "new relationship," and "self-governance." In fact, the Canadian government is effecting a policy of bureaucratic ethnic cleansing.

*\*Ray Bobb is a Member of the Seabird Island Indian Band. He is a longtime fighter for social justice as well as writer and researcher on many topics related to the international struggle against injustice.*

## Antiwar Hip Hop Festival Makes its Way Into the City

By Shakeel Lochan

In 2006, Nas, the prolific and highly decorated veteran MC/producer hailing out of Queensbridge (North America's largest housing project located in Queens, Long Island New York) – spit, "Hip Hop is dead." Now while some believe this was in reference to the ongoing corruption of hip hop and artists lack of control over their own work, an international metamorphosis across warzones, ghettos and the third world in general, is an acute indicator that hip hop is anything but deceased. Surpassing shallow debates about business, the mainstream and "keeping it real," the culture of hip hop continues to launch from its historical roots as a mode of grassroots expression for oppressed and radicalized communities across this earth.

Hip hop is being used to shed a critical and artistic light on conditions of poverty, violence and exploitation – products of capitalist degeneration and imperialist domination. Hip hop culture has been percolating and marinating within the very soil of Latin America, the Middle East and in its ancestral homeland of Africa. These are regions that are also actively engaged in struggles for self-determination and human rights against the governments and ruling classes of countries like the US, Canada, Britain and France. These struggles are against forces that have caused the loss of millions of innocent lives, destruction of civil infrastructure and the evaporation of basic necessities and essential services. Within the refugee camps of Afghanistan, Abu Gharib prison in Iraq, US run Guantanamo prison, the concentration camp that is Palestine, the imperialist interventions in Haiti or Somalia, to the impoverished Native Reservations in Canada and the US, hip hop culture has sharpened its sword



edge.

On September 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> 2009 the greater Vancouver region will once again be the base camp for Mobilization Against War and Occupation's 5<sup>th</sup> Annual International Hip Hop Festival Against War and Occupation – **HIP HOP VERSUS WAR 5**. Over the course of 48 hours, a veritable army of MC's, DJ's, breakdancers, graffiti artists, beatboxers, spoken word poets and participants from all continents will come together to showcase a blistering arsenal of radical sentiment and robust hope for humanity.

This year's festival will be featuring, 'Obsesion,' direct from Cuba! Obsesion is one of the islands most successful and outspoken hip hop groups garnering the attention and admiration of fans, international media and superstar artists like Afrika Bambaata, Mos Def, and The Roots, who shared a stage at the Apollo Theatre as part of Obsesion's landmark American tour in 2003. The group is comprised of MCs, Magia (Magia Lopez) and El Tipo Este (Alexey Rodriguez, also a producer). This highly respected duo have become relative pioneers in the Cuban hip hop scene, collaborating, supporting and promoting an extensive list of local talent and legitimate narratives of Cuban society. Equally as significant, is Obsesion's active participation within the 'Agencia Cubana de Rap' (government sponsored Cuban Rap Agency developed in 2002 as a way of encouraging and making space for young artists developing their skill and expressing what was important to them) and organizing around women and Afro-Cuban rights. In Vancouver Obsesion will also feature DJ Inay Rodriguez Agramonte. Expect Obsesion's stage presence, musicianship and lyrics to be a show that will bring the flavor of the Cuban spirit and revolutionary dedication to our collective struggle for humanity (to enjoy Obsesion before the festival visit: [www.myspace.com/obsesioncuba](http://www.myspace.com/obsesioncuba)).

Amidst all the toasting, scratching, uprocking and Krylon mists, the anthem of, '**Make Hip Hop NOT War**,' will literally shake surrounding buildings...and we won't stop, cuz we can't stop!



# PROTEST THE G-20 MEETING IN PITTSBURGH, USA!

It's Time to Demand Jobs and an End to the War Against People at Home and Abroad!

*By Alison Bodine*

This September Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors from all over the world are gathering in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On September 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 2009 they are meeting as the Group of 20, known as the G-20. The G-20 is made up of 19 countries from different regions in the world and the European Union. Combined they represent 90% of the global gross national product, 80% of world trade, and 2/3 of the world's population. Although the G-20 includes countries like Brazil, Turkey and Indonesia- the influence of imperialist countries like the US, Canada and France, is considerably greater at these meetings. Also invited to participate in the G-20 meetings are people representing the interests of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

It is assured that decisions will be made on Sept 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> in Pittsburgh that will affect billions of people around the world. It is also assured that these decisions will be made without any representatives of the people. That is the reason why people come onto the streets to protest meetings of

Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors- whether it is the G-7, G-8 or G-20. The G-20 will not discuss issues important to poor and working people all over the world, like access to food and water, healthcare, education and housing. They will be discussing "further actions to assure a sound and sustainable recovery from the global financial and economic crisis" - in other words - how to create more profit for the banks of the richest countries in the world and how to further exploit poor, oppressed and working people.

In response to the G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, antiwar, social justice, progressive organizations and coalitions from all over the US have called for protests and actions.

**September 20<sup>th</sup> March for Jobs! September 20-25<sup>th</sup> Tent City!**

Since November of 2008 the US Congress passed legislations giving \$12.6 Trillion to banks and financial institutions. This money was taken out of the US treasury, tax money paid by working and poor people in the US. This action, known as the "Bail Out of the Banks" inspired activists all over the US to start organizing

for a "Bail Out for People!" instead- demanding that money in the US treasury be used for jobs, healthcare, education and homes. The Bail Out the People Movement (BOPM), a coalition of community, labor, religious, and grassroots activists, was founded, with its base in New York City.

For the G-20, BOPM has called for a march for jobs on September 20<sup>th</sup> in Pittsburgh. The march is demanding, among others, "A Job Program for ALL Now!" "Fund Peoples Needs, Not War and Greed!" This march will be followed by other activities throughout the week of Sept 20-25<sup>th</sup>, including a tent city- a place for activists and organizers to meet and share ideas for continued actions and events. The main site of BOPM organizing is the Monumental Baptist Church, located in a historically Black community in Pittsburgh, "the Hill," close to the location of the G-20 Summit.

For the G-20 protest actions, the BOPM has gotten support from organizations, unions, and people all over the US. This has included the San Francisco Central Labor Council; ILWU Local 10; Donna DeWitt, the president



Leaders of the G20 countries at the London Summit, April 2, 2009

Put People First March in London, England against the G20 London Summit, March 28, 2009



of the South Carolina AFL-CIO Council; and antiwar activist Cindy Sheehan.

**September 25<sup>th</sup> People's March to the G-20!**

Also scheduled is a people's march to the G-20 on September 25<sup>th</sup>. This march has the demands of "Money for Human Needs, Not for Wars and Occupations!" "Environmental Justice for the Earth and its Inhabitants!" "Jobs and Health Care for All!" This march has been endorsed by large numbers of groups and organizations, including national organizations like the National Assembly to End the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars and Occupations, the Bail Out the People Movement, World Can't Wait, Code Pink, Socialist Party USA, Radical Women, Interfaith Council for Peace in the Middle East and the ANSWER Coalition, to name a few. The central organization of this march is through

the Thomas Merton Center, a peace and social justice centre in Pittsburgh, who, along with other organizations and individuals, is waging a struggle to secure the permits needed for the march. As of the time of the printing of this paper they are still fighting for the democratic right to demonstrate at the G-20.

As people are gathered in Pittsburgh for an entire week of actions demanding basic human rights it is important for people world wide to join in the effort.

For more information please go to: [www.bailoutthepeople.org](http://www.bailoutthepeople.org) or [www.pittsburghendthewar.org](http://www.pittsburghendthewar.org)



*US President Barack Obama*

*By Arnold August*

### *Part I of II*

Almost immediately after the coup d'état on June 28, the major media could not help but notice a problem facing Washington. On June 30, USA Today headlined: "Obama's day: The presidential tight rope." It went on to write: "Good morning from The Oval [White House]. On this day in 1859, a French acrobat named Charles Blondin walked above the rushing waters of Niagara Falls on a tightrope - exactly 150 years later, President Barack Obama probably knows the feeling....[On] Latin America, Obama tries to deal with the military coup in Honduras against a Latin legacy of distrust toward the United States."<sup>a</sup>

On the same day, the Washington Post introduced their article with the banner: "On Foreign Policy, Obama Treads Carefully". It continued: "President Obama came to office promising bold change on a variety of fronts, but he has often conducted his foreign policy in shades of gray. Whether in Iran or China or North Korea, when is the Obama administration not 'moving cautiously' or 'treading carefully' abroad? The latest example is Honduras, where the White House yesterday criticized the coup that toppled Manuel Zelaya yet didn't signal complete disapproval. 'But while condemning the overthrow, U.S. officials did not demand the reinstatement of Zelaya,' the Los Angeles Times writes."<sup>b</sup>

Real or apparent differences between President Obama and the State Department headed by Hillary Clinton will be dealt with below. For the moment let us continue with

the initial theme. The Associated Press story reproduced in many major US and international media on July 6 carried the following title written by their correspondent Nestor Ikeda: "Obama is playing the role of a tight rope walker in the Honduran Drama". Mr Ikeda hit the nail on the head as he writes: "Seeing as that Obama had promised the South American governments that we will follow an orientation of dialogue in conditions of diplomatic solutions, it seems that he is demonstrating a new role for the first time in the face of the military coup in Honduras: a high-wire artist."<sup>c</sup>

"Clinton's high-wire act on Honduras" was the banner of the July 7 issue of the Christian Science Monitor for the article highlighting that "the Obama administration waded deeper into the political crisis in Honduras Tuesday, anxious to see the hemisphere's latest conflict resolved - but wary of appearing like the hegemonic power of old that imposed its will on smaller neighbours."<sup>d</sup>

In the same direction, Time magazine wrote on July 8 that "Since the coup, the White House has had to walk a fine line between cultivating a new, less interventionist image for the U.S. - which has too often aided military coups in Latin America - and 'responding to the hemisphere's desire that it take a strong lead in defending democratic norms,' says Vicki Gass, senior associate for rights and development at the independent Washington Office on Latin America."<sup>e</sup>

Washington's dilemma was foreseen by one of the most hardened media supporters of the current coup d'état regime when the El Heraldo of Honduras noted on January 19 right after Obama's inauguration that "he knows that he has no right to disappoint his followers....It was reported that in his inaugural address "Obama will be as if walking on a tightrope". (My translation from origi-

nal Spanish) This was in reference mainly to the economic crisis, but it can also be applied to the international situation.<sup>f</sup>

The Honduran El Heraldo newspaper knew that the Honduran oligarchy had to tilt the balance in favour of itself.

### **What Are The Two Sides Below The Tight Rope?**

In Hillary Clinton's recent important July 15 address to the Council on Foreign Relations, she stated:

"....The question is not whether our nation can or should lead, but how it will lead in the 21st century. Rigid ideologies and old formulas don't apply. We need a new mindset....And to these foes and would-be foes, let me say our focus on diplomacy and development is not an alternative to our national security arsenal. Our willingness to talk is not a sign of weakness to be exploited. We will not hesitate to defend our friends, our interests, and above all, our people vigorously and when necessary with the world's strongest military. This is not an option we seek nor is it a threat; it is a promise to all Americans....On the question of increased funding for USAID. Just as we would never deny ammunition to American troops headed into battle, we cannot send our civilian personnel into the field underequipped....Building the architecture of global cooperation requires us to devise the right policies and use the right tools. I speak often of smart power because it is so central to our thinking and our decision-making. It means the intelligent use of all means at our disposal, including our ability to convene and connect. It means our economic and military strength; our capacity for entrepreneurship and innovation; and the ability and credibility of our new President and his team. It also means the application of old-fashioned common sense in



*Protesters demonstrating against the coup face-to-face with police in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. August 11th, 2009.*

policymaking. It's a blend of principle and pragmatism...."<sup>g</sup>

Let us take note of some conceptions to be taken into account for a successful tight rope walker:

Washington is going to lead the world, which are the same words employed by President Bush. The problem is that his foreign policy orientation proved to be a failure and thus threatened the objective of US domination and control. So how to lead without appearing that it is more of the same Bush-era politics? Thus Clinton says that there is a need for a new mindset.

Washington intends to use diplomacy, that is, emphasis on talks and engaging other countries in dialogue. At the same time the other side of the tight rope into which Washington has to avoid falling also includes the use of force and the military. But how new is this mindset? She warns that their willingness to talk does not exclude action: "vigorously and when necessary [with] the world's strongest military". Taking into account the current situation in Honduras, what place and importance does the olive branch really hold in relationship to using the military?

"A blend of principle and pragmatism." One can assume that the main principle is that the US must "continue to lead" (but successfully, that is, without inciting the world's peoples and governments against the US).

*continued below*



*continued from above*

Pragmatism must mean the need to avoid one-sided reliance on the military to the expense of the olive branch as was characterized by the Bush and other administrations before him. This is proving to be a real challenge in the face of on the one hand the continued peaceful opposition of the Honduran people and its legitimate President Zelaya, and on the other hand the military coup perpetrators and its brutal repression backed by the US military base in Honduras. The unrelenting and courageous struggle of the people of Honduras to put an end to the coup regime can upset a balancing act performed even by the most experienced tight rope walkers to be found in Washington.

Let us examine how the State Department attempts to deal with the situation as this holds many lessons for the peoples of South America.

### **The US State Department's Balancing Act**

On June 28, the day of the coup, Clinton stated: "The action taken against Honduran President Mel Zelaya violates the precepts of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, and thus should be condemned by all. We call on all parties in Honduras to respect the constitutional order and the rule of law, to reaffirm their democratic vocation, and to commit themselves to resolve political disputes peacefully and through dialogue. Honduras must embrace the very principles of democracy we reaffirmed at the OAS meeting it hosted less than one month ago."<sup>h</sup>

The State Department refused to call it a coup and makes no reference to the manner in which President Zelaya was violently kidnapped and forcefully sent out of the country, reducing this to the term "action." The delicate balanc-



ing act goes further by placing the putschists and the constitutionally elected Zelaya government on the same footing: "All parties in Honduras... should resolve political disputes peacefully and through dialogue". When the US was aware, before the actual coup on June 28, that something was to take place, whatever happened to the peace and love pragmatism of Clinton? Or was the US actually involved in the coup? Clinton's principle of using military force as indicated above in her speech to the Council on Foreign Relations might very well translate itself in the following manner: use of military to stop the ever-growing trend of governments and peoples of South America to build their own antineo liberal future and opposing US domination in the area.<sup>i</sup>

On June 29, the next day, Clinton said: "...The United States has been working with our partners in the OAS to fashion a strong consensus condemning the detention and expulsion of President Zelaya and calling for the full restoration of democratic order in Honduras. Our immediate priority is to restore full democratic and consti-

tutional order in that country. Our immediate priority is to restore full democratic and constitutional order in that country. Now, the wisdom of our approach, I think, was evident yesterday when the OAS and the Inter-American Democratic Charter were used as a basis for our response to the coup that occurred..."<sup>j</sup>

Was Clinton moving more to the side of diplomacy and distancing the State Department from the military-backed coup perpetrators? She after all mentions "condemning the detention and expulsion of President Zelaya" However, in order to be part of the OAS strong resolution against the coup and the restoration of Zelaya in his rightful position as president, the US had to make some concessions. One must take note of the fact that Clinton does not mention the return of Zelaya, but rather makes general reference to the "full restoration of democratic order in Honduras."

And so the State Department spokesman, Ian Kelly, had to mount the tightrope. Right after the above-quoted Clinton statement, on June 29, US State Department spokesman Ian Kelly responded to report-

ers' questions on Honduras during one of the regular and almost daily press briefings on any topic. It seems obvious from the excerpts of the transcript below that the US, in order to save face and combine pragmatism with principle (to use Clinton's words), had to join with the OAS orientation. This seemed to have been done in a half-hearted manner as reflected in the responses by Kelly to be seen below (the US "signed-up" to the OAS resolution). The exchange below also exposes another theme, the first of a long series of reporters' questions and ambiguous State Department answers, extending for a period of close to six weeks. What was at stake for six weeks? The answer is: whether the US legally classifies the coup as a military coup d'etat or not. This legal classification of the coup as a military coup d'etat would imply cutting off all military and other assistance to their allies in Honduras.

"QUESTION: So Ian, I'm sorry, just to confirm – so you're not calling it a coup, is that correct? Legally, you're not considering it a coup?"

MR. KELLY: Well, I think you all saw the OAS statement last night, which called it a coup d'etat, and you heard what the Secretary just said. Having said that, we're also very cognizant of the particulars of U.S. law on this. So let us get back to you on the legal definition issue. I don't want to necessarily make policy up here.

QUESTION: And can I follow up? I mean, it's unclear what you're really looking for, because you're not calling for the restoration – you're calling for the restoration that's in the democratic order in the constitution, but you're not calling for

the President, who you say is a legitimately elected president of the country, to go back. So do you –

MR. KELLY: Yes, we are.

QUESTION: – Secretary Clinton just said – no, Secretary Clinton just said that she doesn't know what the U.S. is calling –

MR. KELLY: We – I mean, we signed up to that very strong statement from the OAS Permanent Council that demanded that President Zelaya be reinstated as a legitimate president."<sup>k</sup>

The next day, June 30, Kelly had to face reporters on the same issue as to whether or not the US has legally ruled that a military coup d'etat took place in Honduras.

"QUESTION: Honduras.

MR. KELLY: Elise. Yes.

QUESTION: Can you talk about the review of U.S. aid to Honduras in the wake of the coup – President Zelaya?

MR. KELLY: Yeah. As we talked about yesterday, there is a provision in section – I think it's 7008 of the foreign operation act that obliges us to make a legal assessment of the facts on the ground and whether or not the funds cut-off provision applies to these circumstances. And so there is this process that's going on right now in our Office of the Legal Adviser.

QUESTION: -- without being simplistic, and I understand there are legalities, but if you've got a president who's been ousted, and you've got troops in charge, not constitutionally elected, I'm

MR. KELLY: Well, yeah.

*continued on next page*

## WASHINGTON ON HONDURAS: THE TIGHT ROPE WALKER

*continued from previous page*

QUESTION: -- not quite sure what the complication is.

MR. KELLY: Well, okay. You heard what the Secretary said yesterday. She said that there is a coup.

QUESTION: Well --

MR. KELLY: The President said there's a coup.

QUESTION: Right.

MR. KELLY: We do have some facts, of course, and the facts are that the constitutional order in Honduras has been overturned. But there's also a -- there's a process that we need to follow, and that we are following now. And it's a legal matter. And as you all know, when you -- when a legal issue is involved, it's good to consult your lawyers, so that's what we're doing.

MR. KELLY: Well, I think our message is going to be the same message that we've said publicly, that Secretary Clinton said yesterday and President Obama has said -- that we think that President Zelaya is the democratically elected constitutional president of Honduras and should be allowed to serve out the rest of his term. And we're working very closely through the mechanism of the Organization of American States, and we think that what happened in Honduras was inconsistent with the principles of the Inter-American charter, and that we need to work this multilaterally. At the same time, there are fast-moving events up at the UN, too. And so I think this is an opportunity to show our support for the presidentially -- I mean, democratically elected president of

Honduras, and also talk to him about how we've been coordinating with our allies, and part of that is in the OAS.

QUESTION: Do you think it's a good idea for him to return on Thursday like he wants to?

MR. KELLY: I'm not going to -- I'm just -- I think it's a good idea for him to be reinstated as the president of Honduras.

QUESTION: Will the U.S. be willing to provide any security for him if he returns to Honduras on Thursday?

MR. KELLY: That's just not a question I'm prepared to answer, actually.

Yeah, Jill.

QUESTION: Yeah, Ian, just getting back -- I hate to be kind of asking another legal question.

MR. KELLY: Yeah.

QUESTION: But just -- you say constitutional -- you do have the facts. The constitutional order has been overturned.

MR. KELLY: Right.

QUESTION: Okay. So is that the trigger? Is that enough to cut aid? Because then you said there's a legal process to follow.

MR. KELLY: Yeah.

QUESTION: In other words, have you defined -- is that the trigger we have -- you know, overthrow the constitutional order, therefore we have the right to cut the aid?

MR. KELLY: Well, we -- like I say, there's a process. We want to make sure that the newly confirmed Legal Adviser of the State Department Harold Koh and his team has a chance to make a determination on this.

QUESTION: Okay. So --

MR. KELLY: So that's what's happening right now.

QUESTION: Okay. So that's not enough to stop the aid? The overturning of the constitutional order is not legal enough for you to stop that aid?

MR. KELLY: We need to have our legal experts look at the law, look at the facts on the ground, and make a determination.

QUESTION: And how long is that going to take?

MR. KELLY: Oh, it won't take long. I can't tell you exactly how long it'll take, but I would expect it wouldn't take very long."

Once again we see above that Kelly delays any commitment on the classification of the coup from the US perspective and laws. This means more time and a daily dose of fresh oxygen for the military that was (and still is) on a daily basis repressing the growing resistance in Honduras and hindering its movements. The army and police also were, and are, attempting everything to hide and severely hinder the international and local press coverage of what is really happening in the country. Kelly also tries to divert US responsibility by quickly emphasizing the need for diplomacy and mediation by the OAS. Notice above that Kelly says that "we've been coordinating with our allies, and part of that is in the OAS." This raises the question as to who are Washington's allies? Costa Rica, Colombia, Canada? On the one hand, the US praises the OAS but at the same time reserves the right to bilaterally deal with certain governments of their own choosing. Washington needs time to organize with their allies; while simultaneously giving the green light to the putschists to do the same with the right-wing oligarchy in South America and Miami. This represents a thinly veiled attempt to divide the forces in the OAS. The just and correct OAS resolution becomes merely a cover-up for anything except the restoration of President Zelaya. Kelly also refused to answer the question as to whether or not the US would provide security to President Zelaya if he attempted to return to his country. This high-wire act is very telling; this is so because when Zelaya publicly stated that he will attempt to return on July 24 via land from the Nicaraguan border, the US as we will see below, tried to strongly persuade Zelaya to refrain from going to Honduras. This was done in such a way that any resulting incidents would be considered by the US to be the fault of Zelaya. This is the same position taken by the coup perpetrators.

At the next briefing held on July 1, Kelly, answering the same question as to when the US legal classification of the coup would be made, stated that he would disagree with any "time-related adverb." He also said, what seems to be an excuse for further delay, that the US takes "our obligations under the law very seriously." However, the law in the form of Resolutions adopted by the OAS and the UN does not seem to fall into the category of taking "our obligations under the law very seriously."

"QUESTION: To start with Honduras, yesterday, you told us that the Legal Adviser's Office has begun its formal review of whether the U.S. Government regards this as a military coup.

MR. KELLY: Right.

QUESTION: And therefore triggers the aid cutoff.

*continued below*



*Honduran flag and poster of President Manuel Zelaya, which reads "Citizens Power"*



*continued from above*

MR. KELLY: Yeah.

QUESTION: Is that review complete? You had also said you didn't think it would take that long.

MR. KELLY: Yeah.

QUESTION: Is it complete, and have you made a determination?

MR. KELLY: Yeah. It's always dangerous when you put any kind of time-related adverb on any statement. In point of fact, we have not completed our legal determination. As I said yesterday, though, our legal advisers are actively assessing the facts and the law in question, which we take very seriously. We take our obligations under that law very seriously. And of course, I'll let you know as soon as this determination is made."<sup>m</sup>

On July 2 the portion of the briefing dealing with Honduras reads as follows, in response to the same reporters' questions:

"MR. KELLY: Well, of course, our goal is the restoration of constitutional – of the constitutional order in Tegucigalpa, which means the restoration of President Zelaya. There is a process led by the OAS which is in place. We think that this process should be allowed to play out, and we would discourage any actions that would prove to be an obstacle to this process reaching its destination."



**Supporter of President Zelaya in front of the Supreme Court in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Banner reads "No Coup d'états! No Violence Against Women!" "Feminists in Resistance." August 18th, 2009.**

sired outcome, which, of course, is the restoration of Mel Zelaya to power.

QUESTION: So just so I'm clear, are you suggesting that possibly his return at too early a stage might be an obstacle?

MR. KELLY: It could be. I think that what everybody needs to focus on now is this OAS mission that was mandated by the OAS Special General Assembly. Of course, I can't speak for President Zelaya, but it's my understanding that he has delayed any plans to return.

QUESTION: Do you have any news on the review of possible aid cutoff to Honduras?

MR. KELLY: Yeah, I do have an update for you on that if you'll just hold on a second.

The legal review is ongoing. We're trying to determine if Section 7008 of the Foreign Assistance Act must be applied. In the meantime, we've taken some actions to hit the pause button, let's say, on assistance programs that we would be legally required to terminate if it is determined – if the events of June 28 are determined to have been, as defined – I'm sounding more and more like a lawyer here – as defined, under the Section 7008 of the Foreign Assistance Act, as defined as a military coup."<sup>n</sup>

While this is going on in Washington, the repression against the heroic resistance of the people of Honduras carries on without let-up.

### **A Military Coup Or Not? Has The State Department Taken A Decision?**

Not yet! On July 6, the high wire act continues:

"QUESTION: Okay. And then have you guys made a decision yet on – a determination on whether a military coup has indeed transpired, and therefore whether U.S. aid would have to

be cut off?

MR. KELLY: Well, as I said on Thursday, we decided that no aid that would be subject to termination under this law – that none of this kind of aid is now flowing to the de facto regime. We are still in the ongoing process of determining whether the law applies. But we're not inclined to make a statutory decision while diplomatic initiatives are ongoing.

....

MR. KELLY: Well, just a couple of points. One is that there are – most of our activities are excluded under this particular section of the law, and that's the humanitarian aid and aid to support democracy-building programs. What we've decided to not continue our funding of are those programs that could be construed as having – directly aiding the government or the – what we're calling the de facto regime of Honduras. And it's a complicated process, but we recognize that we may make this determination to terminate, and that's why any programs that could be construed as aiding the government have – none of this aid is flowing through the pipeline now."<sup>o</sup>

One may want to notice that Kelly is concerned about any aid to the de facto regime is "construed" as aiding the government, using this term twice in the same paragraph. This makes me think back to Mrs. Clinton's important July 15 policy statement quoted above when she referred "to the ability and credibility of our new President and his team. It also means the application of old-fashioned common sense in policymaking. It's a blend of principle and pragmatism...." What the State Department seems to be concerned about first and foremost is rebuilding the image or credibility of the US as it tries to "lead" in a new effective manner. By providing time and aid to the de facto regime this contributes to the principle enunciated above regarding the objective: the US imperialist goal to dominate or what Washington calls "leading". This intent is meant to blend with pragmatism: in the case of Honduras to refrain from brazenly supporting the military-backed regime as the disastrous Bush-policy would have done and which had only

contributed to encourage the massive peoples' movements in South America against US imperialism and neo-liberal politics. The rapid defeat of the US-organized coup against President Chavez is one example of the futility of this policy which Washington is now trying to avoid. This pragmatism is carried out by covering-up the real US target with notions of dialogue and diplomacy.

The scope of this article does not allow me to go into subtle legal notions and levels regarding different forms of US aid and support, such as military, economic, humanitarian and political "democracy promotion". Instead I am now limiting myself to dealing with the current US politics of stalling on the legal classification of a military coup d'état. What implications would a legal classification of the coup as a military coup d'état mean for US policy on Honduras? For a full disclosure and analysis regarding different forms of US aid and support, see Eva Golinger's two most recent articles:<sup>p</sup>

In the July 7 briefing, Kelly responded to a question regarding the return of Zelaya as president:

"MR. KELLY: Yeah. Well, I think – if you look at President Obama's speech in Moscow today, what he said was that we saw a situation where a democratically elected president was overthrown and exiled out of the country. And we want this principle that you can't deal with these kinds of conflicts extra-constitutionally, and that's the principle that we want to see upheld. We want to see the – this democratic and constitutional order restored.

QUESTION: It seems that you opened the window for a different solution in probably early elections or --

MR. KELLY: Now, we'll see. I mean, now – I mean, we've said all along that (a) we want these conflicts to be resolved through dialogue and (b) we saw this as a problem for the Organization of American States and for the – for this forum of this Inter-Ameri-

*continued on page 28*



Por Arnold August

Parte I de II

Casi inmediatamente después del golpe de estado el 28 de Junio, los grandes medios, aunque hubieran querido contenerse, no podían dejar de señalar un problema que Washington debía enfrentar. El 30 de junio, el diario USA Today resaltaba en un titular: “El día de Obama: la cuerda floja presidencial”. Y en el despliegue del mismo señalaba: “Buenos días desde La Oval [una oficina de la Casa Blanca]. Este día en 1859, un acróbata francés llamado Charles Blondin caminó sobre una cuerda floja por encima de las turbulentas aguas de las cataratas del Niágara, - exactamente 150 años después, el Presidente Barak Obama conoce esa misma sensación... [sobre] América Latina. Obama intenta hacer frente a la situación del golpe militar en Honduras contra la herencia latina de desconfianza hacia los Estados Unidos”.<sup>a</sup>

Ese mismo día el Washington Post publica un artículo con el titular “En Política Exterior Obama anda con pies de plomo”, y desarrolla: “El Presidente Obama viene prometiendo cambios audaces en diversos frentes, pero ha conducido su política exterior en tonos grises. Sea en Irán, en China o en Corea del Norte ¿cuando la administración de Obama no se está “moviendo cautelosamente” o “andando con pies de plomo” en el extranjero? El último ejemplo es Honduras, respecto a la cual la Casa Blanca ayer criticó el golpe que depuso a Manuel Zelaya, aunque sin dar todavía una completa señal de desaprobación. ‘Pero al mismo tiempo que condenan el derrocamiento, las autoridades de Estados Unidos no demandaron la restitución de Zelaya’, escribe el diario Los Angeles Times”.<sup>b</sup>

Diferencias reales o aparentes entre el Presidente Obama y el Departamento de Estado encabezado por Hillary Clinton las trataremos más adelante. Por ahora continuemos con el tema inicial. El artículo de la Associated Press del día 6 de Julio, reproducido en muchos de los principales medios de prensa de EEUU e internacionales, escrito por su corresponsal Néstor Ikeda, tenía el siguiente título: “Obama esta interpretando el papel de un equilibrista sobre la cuerda floja en el drama de Honduras”. El Sr. Ikeda ponía el dedo en la llaga al escribir: “Viendo lo que Obama había prometido a los gobiernos de

América del Sur de que nosotros seguiríamos una orientación hacia el dialogo en condiciones de soluciones diplomáticas, parece que él esta mostrando un nuevo papel, por vez primera, al enfrentar el golpe militar en Honduras: un artista ejecutando su acto de equilibrio en la cuerda floja.”<sup>c</sup>

“Acto de equilibrista de la Clinton en Honduras”, fue el titular de la edición del 7 de Julio del Christian Science Monitor para el artículo que resaltaba que “La administración de Obama se sumergió profundo en la crisis política del martes en Honduras, ansiosa de ver resuelto el último conflicto en el hemisferio – pero cautelosa de aparecer como el poder hegemónico de antaño, que imponía su voluntad sobre los vecinos más pequeños.”<sup>d</sup>

En la misma dirección la revista Times el 8 de Julio, escribió: “Desde el golpe, la Casa Blanca ha estado navegando sobre una cuerda floja, entre la necesidad de mantener una imagen, menos intervencionista, de los EEUU - quien muy frecuentemente ha ayudado a golpes militares en América Latina - y ‘el responder al deseo del hemisferio de que adopte un fuerte liderazgo en la defensa de las normas democráticas’ dice Vicki Gass, asociada superior para los derechos y el desarrollo en la independiente Oficina en Washington para Asuntos Latinoamericanos.”<sup>e</sup>

El dilema de Washington fue previsto por los medios de línea más dura que apoyan el actual régimen de golpe de estado en Honduras, cuando El Heraldo de Honduras, destacaba el 19 de enero, justo después de la toma del poder de Obama que: “El sabe que no tiene derecho a decepcionar a sus seguidores”... Se reportó que en el discurso de investidura, el más importante de su carrera, “Obama estará como caminando sobre una cuerda floja”. Esto fue en referencia principalmente a la crisis económica, pero también es aplicable a la situación internacional.<sup>f</sup>

El periódico El Heraldo de Honduras sabía que la oligarquía tenía que inclinar la balanza a su favor.

### ¿Qué es lo que Está a los Dos Lados Bajo la Cuerda Floja?

En una importante intervención el 15 de Julio ante el Consejo de Relaciones Exteriores, Hillary Clinton afirmó: “...La pregunta no es si nuestra nación puede o debe liderar, sino como va a liderar en el siglo XXI. Las ideologías rígidas y las viejas fórmulas no son aplicables. Nosotros necesitamos un nuevo modo de pensamiento [mindset]...Y para los enemigos y los que podrían ser enemigos, déjenme decir que centramos en diplomacia y desarrollo no es una alternativa a nuestro arsenal de

seguridad nacional. Nuestra disposición a hablar no es una señal de debilidad para ser explotada. Nosotros no vacilaremos en defender vigorosamente a nuestros amigos, nuestros intereses y por sobre todo a nuestro pueblo, y cuando sea necesario con el mas fuerte poder militar del mundo. Esto no es una opción que estamos buscando ni tampoco es una amenaza; es una promesa a todos los Norteamericanos... Sobre la pregunta de incrementar los fondos para la Ayuda de Estados Unidos al Desarrollo (USAID). Lo mismo que nunca negaríamos municiones a tropas Americanas llevadas a una batalla, nosotros no podemos mandar nuestro personal civil al campo mal equipado....El estar construyendo la arquitectura de la cooperación global requiere de nosotros idear las políticas correctas y utilizar las herramientas adecuadas. Con frecuencia yo hablo del poder inteligente [smart power] debido a que ello es centro para nuestro modo de pensar y de tomar decisiones. Ello significa un uso inteligente de todos los medios a nuestra disposición, incluyendo nuestra capacidad de convocar y hacer relaciones. Ello significa nuestra fortaleza económica y militar; nuestra capacidad empresarial y para innovar; y la capacidad y credibilidad de nuestro nuevo Presidente y su equipo. Eso también significa la aplicación del antiguo sentido común en hacer políticas. Ello es una combinación de principios y pragmatismo...”<sup>g</sup>

Tomemos nota de algunas concepciones que deben ser tenidas en cuenta para ser un exitoso equilibrista sobre la cuerda floja:

1. Washington va a liderar el mundo, que son las mismas palabras empleadas por Bush. El problema es que su orientación para la política exterior probó ser

*continúa en la página siguiente*



*Protest in support of ousted President Mel Zelaya. Tegucigalpa, Honduras. August 11th 2009.*



*continúa de la página anterior*

un fracaso y amenazó el objetivo de control y dominación de los EEUU. ¿Cómo entonces liderar sin que parezca que es más de la misma era política de Bush? Por ello la Clinton habla de la necesidad de un nuevo modo de pensamiento (mindset).

2. Washington intenta usar la diplomacia, es decir, hacer énfasis en las conversaciones y comprometer otros países en el diálogo. Al mismo tiempo, del otro lado de la cuerda floja al cual Washington evita caer, se encuentra el uso de la fuerza y los militares. Pero, ¿cuán nuevo es este modo de pensamiento? Ella advierte que la buena voluntad de los EEUU para el diálogo no excluye “vigorosamente... y cuando sea necesario [el uso del más fuerte poder militar del mundo]”. Teniendo en cuenta la situación actual en Honduras, ¿que lugar e importancia tiene realmente la rama de olivo en relación al uso del poder militar?

“Una mezcla de principios y pragmatismo”<sup>7</sup> Uno puede asumir que el principio esencial es que los EEUU tienen que “continuar liderando” (pero exitosamente, esto es, sin que esto incite a los pueblos y los gobiernos del mundo en contra de los EEUU). El pragmatismo debe significar la necesidad evitar la dependencia solo de lo militar en detrimento de la rama de olivo, como caracterizó a la administración Bush y otras anteriores a la de él. Esto está probando ser un desafío real, al enfrentar, por un lado, la oposición pacífica del pueblo de Honduras y su legítimo Presidente Zelaya, y por el otro, a los que perpetraron el golpe militar y su brutal represión respaldada por la base militar de los EEUU en Honduras. La inagotable y valiente batalla del pueblo de Honduras para poner fin al régimen golpista, puede voltear al mejor equilibrista sobre una cuerda floja que se pueda encontrar en Washington.

Vamos a examinar como el Departamento de Estado va a intentar lidiar con esta situación, que es portadora de muchas lecciones para los pueblos de Suramérica.

### **El Equilibrismo del Departamento de Estado de los EEUU**

El 28 de Junio, el día del golpe, Clinton declaró: “La acción realizada contra el presidente de Honduras, Mel Zelaya, viola los preceptos de la Carta Democrática Inter-Americana, y debe ser condenado por todos. Nosotros hacemos

un llamado a todas las partes en Honduras a respetar el orden constitucional y el apego a la ley, a reafirmar sus vocaciones democráticas, y a comprometerse a sí mismos a resolver las disputas políticas, pacíficamente y a través de diálogo. Honduras debe abrazar los principios democráticos que nosotros reafirmamos en la reunión de la OEA acogida por Honduras hace menos de un mes.”<sup>8</sup>

El Departamento de Estado rehúsa llamarle golpe y no hace referencia a la manera en la cual el Presidente Zelaya fue violentamente secuestrado y forzado a salir de su país, reduciendo esto al término de “acción”. En un delicado acto de equilibrio va más allá, colocando a los sublevados y al gobierno de Zelaya electo constitucionalmente, en la misma posición: “Todas las partes en Honduras deben resolver sus disputas políticas, pacíficamente y a través del diálogo”<sup>9</sup>. Cuando los EEUU conocen antes del actual golpe del 28 de Junio que algo iba a suceder, ¿se puede saber que pasó con la paz y al amado pragmatismo de la Clinton? O ¿estaban los EEUU involucrados en el golpe? Los principios de la Clinton del uso de las fuerzas militares, como se señaló anteriormente en su discurso en el Consejo de Relaciones Internacionales, podrían ser perfectamente traducidos como su uso para detener la creciente tendencia de gobiernos y pueblos de Suramérica para construir su propio futuro anti- neoliberal, opuesto a la dominación de los EEUU en esta área.

El 29 de Junio, al día siguiente del golpe, Clinton dijo: “... Los Estados Unidos han venido trabajando en coordinación con nuestros socios en la OEA para formar un fuerte consenso condenando la detención y expulsión del Presidente Zelaya y llamando para una completa restauración del orden democrático en ese país. Nuestra prioridad inmediata es restaurar plenamente el orden democrático y constitucional en ese país. Ahora, la sabiduría de nuestro enfoque, yo pienso, se hizo evidente ayer cuando la OEA y la Carta Democrática Inter-Americana fueron utilizadas como las bases para nuestra respuesta ante el golpe de estado que ocurrió...”<sup>10</sup>

¿Se estaba Clinton moviendo más hacia el lado de la diplomacia y distanciando al Departamento de Estado de los que perpetraron el golpe apoyados por los militares? Después de todo, ella menciona “condenar la detención y

expulsión del Presidente Zelaya”. Sin embargo, para ser parte de la enérgica declaración de la OEA contra el golpe y por la restitución de Zelaya en su posición como presidente, los EEUU tuvieron que hacer algunas concesiones. Se debe tomar nota del hecho de que la Clinton no menciona el retorno de Zelaya, sino más bien hace referencia general a “una completa restitución del orden democrático en Honduras”.

Y así el vocero del Departamento de Estado Ian Kelly, tuvo que subirse también en la cuerda floja. Justo después de la declaración de la Clinton del 29 de Junio, el vocero del Departamento de Estado Ian Kelly respondió a los reporteros preguntas acerca de Honduras en su habitual y casi diario intercambio con la prensa. Resulta obvio, a partir de los extractos de las transcripciones que aparecen a continuación, que los EEUU con el objetivo de salvar su imagen y al mismo tiempo combinar el pragmatismo como principio, según palabras utilizadas por la Clinton, tuvo que sumarse a la orientación asumida por la OEA. Ello parece haber sido hecho sin mucho entusiasmo, como reflejó en sus respuestas Kelly (los EEUU “firmaron” la resolución de la OEA). El intercambio que aparece a continuación expone también otro tema, la primera de una larga serie de preguntas de reporteros y de ambiguas respuestas del Departamento de Estado, que se extienden ya por un periodo de más de seis semanas. ¿Que ha estado en juego por más de seis semanas? La respuesta es: en cual de las dos posiciones los EEUU legalmente clasifican el golpe, como un golpe de estado de los militares o no. Esta clasificación legal del golpe como un golpe de estado militar, podría implicar el corte total de la ayuda militar y de otro tipo de ayuda de los EEUU a sus aliados en Honduras.

Ian Kelly respondió a los reporteros preguntas acerca de Honduras, 29 de Junio-

“Pregunta: Bien, Ian, me disculpa, solo para confirmar – entonces usted no le está llamando a esto golpe, ¿es así correcto? ¿legalmente usted no lo está considerando un golpe?

Mr. Kelly: Bien, yo pienso que todos ustedes vieron anoche la declaración de la OEA, la cual le llamó un golpe de estado, y usted oyó justo lo que la Secretaria dijo. Habiendo dicho eso, nosotros también conocemos muy bien de las particularidades de las leyes de los EEUU

con relación a esto. Entonces volvamos al tema de la definición legal. Yo no quiero necesariamente hacer política aquí.

Pregunta: ¿Y puedo yo seguir? Me refiero, a que no está claro que es lo que realmente están ustedes buscando, pues ustedes no están exigiendo a la restauración- ustedes están exigiendo la restauración que está en el orden democrático de la constitución, pero ustedes no están exigiendo por el presidente, quien usted ha dicho ha sido legítimamente elegido presidente por su pueblo, para que regrese. Entonces, eso es lo que ustedes-...

Mr. Kelly: Si, es lo que nosotros.

Pregunta: La Secretaria Clinton dijo exactamente- no, la Secretaria Clinton justo dijo que ella no conoce lo que EEUU está exigiendo-

Mr. Kelly: Nosotros, quiero decir, nosotros firmamos una declaración muy fuerte del Consejo Permanente de la OEA que demandaba que el Presidente Zelaya sea reinstalado como legítimo presidente.”<sup>11</sup>

Al día siguiente el 30 de Junio, Kelly tuvo que enfrentar los reporteros en el mismo tema con relación a si los EEUU consideraban legalmente que había tenido lugar un golpe de estado militar en Honduras

“Pregunta: Honduras

Mr. Kelly: Si, Elise

Pregunta: ¿Podría usted hablarnos acerca de la revisión de la ayuda de los EEUU a Honduras como consecuencia del golpe de estado al Presidente Zelaya?

Mr. Kelly: Si, Como hablamos ayer, existe una cláusula en la sección, yo pienso es la 7008 del acta de operaciones en el extranjero, que nos obliga a hacer una valoración legal de los hechos en el terreno y si procede o no aplicar la cláusula que obliga al corte de la entrega de fondos en esas circunstancias. Así, este es el proceso que está teniendo lugar ahora en nuestra Oficina del Asesor legal.

Pregunta: sin caer en simplismos, y yo entiendo que existen cuestiones legales, pero si Usted está en presencia de un presidente que

*continúa en la página 34*

# "Our People Are Capable Of Triumph Over All Difficulties"

## SPEECH BY PRESIDENT RAÚL CASTRO AT CUBA'S JULY 26TH CELEBRATION

*Excerpt from the keynote address given by General Raúl Castro Ruz, President of the Councils of State and Ministers, at the ceremony celebrating the 56th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes Barracks, at Major General Calixto García Square, Holguín, July 26, 2009, "Year of the 50th Anniversary of the Triumph of the Revolution"*

Combatants of July 26th of 1953 (Applause), of the Rebel Army, the clandestine struggle and the glorious internationalist missions (Applause);

Families of the fallen;

Men and women of Holguín (Applause); Compatriots:

We might well begin by asking a question, purely as a matter of personal curiosity. You all know that I come from these parts (Applause and exclamations), and so I have the right to wonder, to want to know, if it is possible, which fellow citizen of this province had the idea of having us standing with

the sun right behind us (Laughter), it doesn't bother me, but I'm sure that none of you can see me; if anything, a shadow: that's me (Applause).

For such reasons, during this commemoration of the 56th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes Barracks, my speech will be very short, keeping in mind the high temperatures that have been a feature of our summer this year, even though we are starting earlier than usual—at 7:00 a.m. — and being aware of the fact that all of you have been here from six in the morning, that most of you walked here from your homes (Applause), and that last night, as I saw briefly on TV, you were celebrating exactly this anniversary. Besides, that sun over there, we don't know who it was that placed in front of you.

Again, for such reasons, I shall be brief. Very soon, in the next few days, we shall be having important meetings that will serve as more fitting scenarios to delve into com-

plex matters.

The first of these will be the Council of Ministers, the day after tomorrow, dedicated to the analysis of the second adjustment to the planned outlays for this year, as a result of the effects of the world economic crisis on our economy, especially the significant reduction of income from exports and the additional restrictions to gain access to foreign funding sources.

As you know, for 11 days I have been on a tour of friendly countries in Africa. Also, until just recently, I chaired the Non-Aligned Movement. I have handed over that responsibility to the president of Egypt.

I have very little available time for I am bound by these meetings and the important subjects about which I am informing you.

The day after that Council of Ministers' meeting, on July 29th, we shall be holding the seventh Plenary of the Party Central Committee, during which, for an entire day, according to the agenda, we shall be making a deep analysis of some crucial issues related to the national and international situation.

Furthermore, the ordinary session of the National Assembly of the Peoples' Power has been called for August 1st. There we shall debate, among other issues, the draft legislation on the Comptroller General of the Republic. That entity will contribute to raise the demands on compliance with legislation in effect and on matters of control by all the leadership structures in the

nation.

### Award For Effort And Work Accomplished

This year the choice of the location for the central ceremony for July 26th did not strictly follow the established indicators. It would have been illogical to base ourselves only on the level of fulfillment of those indicators when, since September, after the devastation caused by the hurricanes, it became clear that in much of the country it would simply be impossible to attain them.

Don't forget that the damages, as we then informed in our parliament --without saying that they are all perfectly settled or accounted for-- reached the figure of approximately 10 billion dollars, the equivalent of 20% of the Gross Domestic Product; in other words, the value of everything we did in terms of work and production during that past year.

Therefore, when the Politburo determined that Holguín would be the venue and awarded the position of "outstanding" to Villa Clara, Granma and Ciudad de La Habana, it considered all that was achieved during the first months of the year in more or less normal conditions, and above all the efforts made by the provinces to face up to the meteorological phenomena with the least possible number of lives and material resources lost and particularly in the work of re-



*Raúl Castro speaking at July 26th Celebration in Holguín, Cuba. July 26th, 2009.*

covery.

Holguín played a major role in all of that. It is a large province, with more than one million inhabitants and a remarkable share of the national economy because of the nickel industry, the third tourism development area in the country and other important productions located there. It is an award for effort and for work accomplished.

Therefore, we congratulate the men and women of Holguín (Applause); comrade Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez (Applause), first party secretary in the province at that difficult time and in previous years, which were also years of intense work. We extend our congratulations to comrade Jorge Cuevas Ramos (Applause), coming from Las Tunas, a province that was also heavily battered by Hurricane Ike and who, since his election to lead the Party in Holguín, has displayed an enthusiastic and active work.

We also congratulate the "outstanding" provinces, without

*continued on page 11*



*May Day 2009 in Havana, Cuba.*



# “Nuestro Pueblo Es Capaz De Vencer Todas Las Dificultades”

## DISCURSO DE PRESIDENTE RAUL CASTRO EN EL CELEBRACIÓN POR EL 26 DE JULIO EN CUBA

*Discurso pronunciado por el General de Ejército Raúl Castro Ruz, Presidente de los Consejos de Estado y de Ministros, en el acto central en conmemoración del 56 aniversario del asalto a los cuarteles Moncada y Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, en la plaza Mayor General “Calixto García”, Holguín, 26 de julio de 2009, “Año del 50 aniversario del triunfo de la Revolución”*

Combatientes del 26 de julio de 1953 (Aplausos), del Ejército Rebelde, la lucha clandestina y las gloriosas misiones internacionalistas (Aplausos);

Familiares de los caídos;

Holguineros y holguineros (Aplausos);

compatriotas:

Pudiéramos empezar haciendo una

pregunta por pura curiosidad personal. Ustedes saben que yo soy de aquí (Aplausos y exclamaciones), y por lo tan-

to tengo el derecho de curiosear en el sentido de saber, si es posible, a qué comprovinciano se le ocurrió ponernos el sol aquí detrás (Risas), que a mí no me molesta, pero estoy seguro de que ninguno de ustedes me puede ver; verán, si acaso, una sombra: ese soy yo (Aplausos).

Por tales motivos, en esta conmemoración del 56 aniversario del asalto a los cuarteles Moncada y Carlos Manuel de Céspedes mi intervención será muy breve, atendiendo a las altas temperaturas que han caracterizado nuestro verano en este año, aunque comenzamos más temprano que lo habitual —a las 7:00 horas—, y sabiendo que desde las seis de la mañana ya se encontraban aquí todos ustedes, que la mayoría vino a pie desde sus respectivas viviendas (Aplausos), y que anoche, como pude ver brevemente por la televisión, estuvieron justamente celebrando este aniversario. Y, además, el sol ese que no se sabe quién se lo puso frente a ustedes.

Por tales motivos seré breve, repito, y en los próximos días, muy próximos, tendremos importantes reuniones que servirán de escenarios más propicios para entenderse a fondo en cuestiones complejas.

La primera será del Consejo de

Ministros, pasado mañana, dedicada a analizar el segundo ajuste de los gastos previstos en el plan de este año, a causa de los efectos de la crisis económica mundial en nuestra economía, en particular la reducción significativa de los ingresos provenientes de las exportaciones y las restricciones adicionales para acceder a fuentes de financiamiento externo.

Como ustedes conocen, durante 11 días estuve recorriendo varios países del África amiga y participar, como presidente, hasta muy recientemente, del Movimiento de Países No Alineados y hacerle entrega de esa responsabilidad al Presidente de Egipto.

El tiempo de que dispongo es muy poco y apretado por estas reuniones e importantes temas que les estoy informando.

Al día siguiente de ese Consejo de Ministros, el 29 de julio, celebraremos el séptimo Pleno del Comité Central del Partido, en el cual, durante un día entero, según el programa y la agenda u orden del día a discutir, profundizaremos en asuntos vitales relacionados con la situación nacional e internacional.

Y, además, por último, el 1º de agosto está convocada la sesión ordinaria de la Asamblea Nacional del Poder Popular, ocasión en la que, entre otras cuestiones, será sometido a debate el proyecto de Ley de la Contraloría General de la República, órgano que contribuirá a elevar la exigencia en el cumplimiento de la legislación vigente y en materia de control

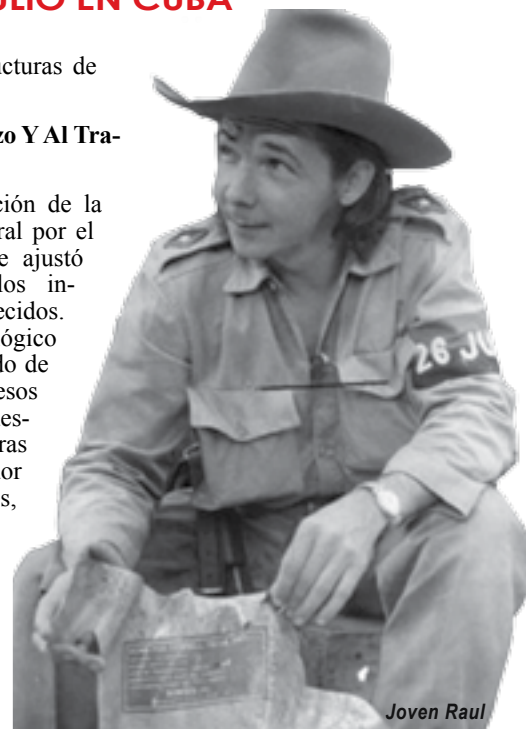
por todas las estructuras de dirección del país.

### Premio Al Esfuerzo Y Al Trabajo Realizado

Este año la selección de la sede del acto central por el 26 de Julio no se ajustó estrictamente a los indicadores establecidos. Hubiera sido ilógico partir solo del grado de cumplimiento de esos índices, cuando desde septiembre, tras el paso devastador de los huracanes, resultó evidente que en gran parte del país, sencillamente era imposible alcanzarlos.

No olviden, como en su oportunidad informamos en nuestro Parlamento, que los destrozos, sin que quiera decir que estén perfectamente todos compatibilizados o contabilizados, alcanzaron la cifra de alrededor de 10 000 millones de dólares, el equivalente al 20% del Producto Interno Bruto, o sea, el valor de todo lo que hicimos en materia de trabajo y producción durante ese año pasado.

Por tales motivos el Buró Político, al determinar que Holguín fuera la sede y otorgar la condición de destacadas a Villa Clara, Granma y Ciudad de La Habana, puso en la balanza lo logrado en los primeros meses del año, en circunstancias más o menos normales, y sobre todo el esfuerzo de las



Joven Raul

provincias, primero para enfrentar los fenómenos meteorológicos con las menores pérdidas de vidas humanas y recursos materiales, y particularmente en las labores de recuperación.

En ello a Holguín le ha correspondido una gran responsabilidad. Es una provincia extensa, con más de un millón de habitantes y una incidencia apreciable en la economía nacional por la industria del níquel, el tercer polo turístico del país y otras importantes producciones. Es un premio al esfuerzo y al trabajo realizado.

*continúa en la página 23*

## JULY 26TH SPEECH BY RAUL CASTRO

*continued from page 10*

forgetting to recognize the effort made by all others, that is, by the compatriots in the western part of Cuba, in Pinar del Rio and on the Isle of Youth (Applause), who faced up to extremely serious damages, as well as the people of Camagüey and Las Tunas provinces, especially the people of Santa Cruz del Sur and Guayabal. These towns were severely affected and in some cases sustained almost total destruction (Applause).

### **A People Educated In Genuine Solidarity**

I have only mentioned a few of the places that suffered the greatest destruction. These have really been difficult months of hard labor from one end of the country to the other. In the entire country we have seen our people's capacity to resist, organize and show solidarity. The examples abound of how we should work in such times.

That was the conduct of the vast majority of the compatriots in this province as they were hit by Hurricane Ike and in the following months. Everywhere else, people followed suit.

Many comrades stayed mobilized far from their families, even when more than a few of

them were also suffering from limitations, very often put up in shelters because they had totally or partially lost their homes.

They trusted the Revolution and carried out the assigned task, aware of its importance and confident that their loved ones would not be left helpless.

Likewise, the massive willingness to give shelter in their homes to neighbors whose homes were unsafe, an attitude that has become a daily occurrence before different kinds of adversities, speaks volumes of our people's humane quality.

Our people are educated with those values, in a genuine sense of solidarity; they share what they have with their brothers and sisters, be they Cubans or from other lands; they share not what they have aplenty, because here there is nothing aplenty but problems. (Applause)

By that same measure, the Cuban people are thankful for the help, the generous gestures and the support received from many corners of the globe. I take advantage of the occasion to acknowledge the noble and honorable work of the Interreligious Foundation Pastors for Peace (Applause), and its leader, the Reverend Lucius Walker (Applause) and the members of the 20th US-Cuba Friendship Caravan (Applause), along with the "Venceremos" Brigade --which has reached its 40th anniversary-- some of whose members are here with us today (Applause).

### **Damages To Homes Are A Very Serious Matter**

Damages to homes are a very serious matter. Just in the province of Holguin almost 125,000 were affected; about one-half of them have been restored.

On a national level, if one adds to those damaged by these three hurricanes, those still awaiting solutions from previous years, especially at the beginning of the century for similar reasons of hurricane damage,



by the end of 2008 the total came to more than 600,000; that was the reason I warned that it would need time to radically change that situation.

The state entities, labor collectives and even the neighbors have made efforts worthy of recognition. It is significant that up to July 20th, 43% of the problems had been solved, that is, more than 260,000 homes.

Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done. Moreover, it is necessary to avoid accumulation of such enormous figures again in the future, bearing in mind that because of the climate change many scientists are forecasting that hurricanes could be more intense and frequent.

### **Our People Are Capable Of Triumph Over All Difficulties**

Although still insufficient, the progress made despite the deficit in material and financial resources confirms the enormous potential that we still have to exploit in agriculture and in every area of the economy.

The modest results confirm, once again, our optimism and confidence that "Yes, we can!", and that our heroic people are capable of triumph over all difficulties, no matter how great (Applause).

This is a undoubtedly a huge challenge, in the midst of the economic blockade and many other aggressions conceived precisely to prevent the development of the nation.

Our people have never faltered when the

Homeland has called on them. They have always said "Present!" from the days of the Mambi troops of Calixto Garcia, the general of the three wars; the one with the star on his forehead who chose to take his own life rather than falling prisoner; the son of a heroic mother; the man who fought many thousands of much better armed soldiers on these lands; and much more than that, the man who fought the best army ever sent by the Spanish metropolis to the Americas.

And along with the Liberation Army the population endured, stoically and without letting up in the struggle, the countless hardships caused by the war and the cruel repression by the colonial authorities. That is our lineage and we shall continue being faithful to its legacy (Applause).

With the monolithic unity of our people, its most powerful weapon forged in the crucible of struggle under the leadership of the Chief of the Revolution Fidel Castro Ruz (Applause), no matter how great the difficulties and the dangers: We shall carry on! (Applause)

Glory to the martyrs of the Homeland!  
(Exclamations of "Glory!")

Viva Fidel! (Exclamations of "Viva!")

Viva Cuba Libre!  
(Exclamations of "Viva!")

(Ovation)



*Cubans participate in voluntary work to recover the potato harvest after the hurricanes, Camagüey, Cuba, December 2008*



## DISCURSO DE RAUL CASTRO

### *continuación de la página 21*

Por tanto, felicitamos a las holguíneas y holguineros (Aplausos); al compañero Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez (Aplausos), primer secretario del Partido en la provincia en ese momento difícil y en los años previos, que también fueron de intenso trabajo. Hacemos extensiva esta felicitación al compañero Jorge Cuevas Ramos (Aplausos), procedente de Las Tunas, provincia también golpeada fuertemente por el huracán Ike y que desde su elección al frente del Partido en Holguín ha desplegado una entusiasta y activa labor.

Felicitamos igualmente a las provincias destacadas, sin dejar de reconocer el esfuerzo realizado por todas, a los compatriotas de Pinar del Río y la Isla de la Juventud (Aplausos), en el occidente, que afrontaron daños sumamente severos, así como a camagüeyanos y tuneros, en particular a los habitantes de Santa Cruz del Sur y Guayabal, poblados con afectaciones considerables, que en algunos casos, casi les ocasionaron la destrucción total (Aplausos).

### **Un Pueblo Educado En La Genuina Solidaridad**

Solo he mencionado algunos de los lugares que sufrieron los mayores destrozos. Realmente han sido meses difíciles y de arduo trabajo de un extremo a otro de la nación. En todo el país se ha puesto de manifiesto la capacidad de resistencia, organización y solidaridad de nuestro pueblo. Crecen los ejemplos de cómo debe trabajarse en estos tiempos.

Esa fue la conducta asumida por la inmensa mayoría de los compatriotas de esta provincia durante el paso del huracán Ike y en los meses posteriores. Así sucedió en todas partes.

Muchos compañeros han permanecido movilizados lejos de sus familias, incluso cuando no pocas de ellas también sufrirían serias limitaciones, con frecuencia albergadas por haber perdido total o parcialmente sus viviendas.

Confiraron en la Revolución y cumplieron la tarea asignada, conscientes de su importancia y seguros de que sus seres queridos no quedarían en el desamparo.

Igualmente dice mucho de la calidad humana de nuestro pueblo, la masiva disposición de acoger en sus hogares a vecinos cuyas casas no ofrecían suficiente seguridad, actitud que se ha hecho cotidiana ante adversidades de diverso tipo.

En esos valores está educado nuestro pueblo, en la genuina solidaridad, comparte lo que tiene con sus hermanos, sean cubanos o de otras tierras, no lo que le sobra, que aquí no sobra nada, generalmente sólo problemas (Aplausos).

En esa misma medida el pueblo cubano agradece la ayuda, los gestos de generosidad y el apoyo recibidos desde múltiples rincones del planeta. Hago propicia la ocasión para reconocer la noble y digna labor de la fundación interreligiosa Pastores por la Paz (Aplausos), a su líder, el Reverendo Lucius Walker (Aplausos) y a los integrantes de la XX Caravana de la Amistad Estados Unidos-Cuba (Aplausos), así como a la Brigada Venceremos que arribó a su 40 aniversario, una representación de las cuales nos acompaña en este acto (Aplausos).

### **Los Daños A Las Viviendas Son Un Asunto Muy Serio**

Los daños a las viviendas son un asunto muy serio. Solo en esta provincia de Holguín resultaron afectadas casi 125 mil, de las cuales se han recuperado alrededor de la mitad.

A nivel nacional, si se agrega a las dañadas por estos tres ciclones, las pendientes de solución de años anteriores, sobre todo de principios del siglo por similares motivos de huracanes, sumaban a finales del 2008 más de 600 mil, por eso alerté en su momento que se requeriría tiempo para cambiar radicalmente esa situación.

Se ha hecho en realidad un esfuerzo digno de reconocimiento por entidades, colectivos laborales y los propios vecinos. Es significativo que hasta el 20 de julio estuviera solucionado el 43% de las afectaciones, o sea, más de 260 mil viviendas.

No obstante, resta muchísimo trabajo por hacer y además es necesario evitar que vuelvan a acumularse en el futuro esas enormes cifras, teniendo en cuenta que a consecuencia del cambio climático, se pronostica por muchos científicos que los huracanes podrían ser de mayor intensidad y con mucha más frecuencia.

### **Nuestro Pueblo Es Capaz De Vencer Todas Las Dificultades**

El avance constatado, a pesar del déficit de recursos materiales y financieros, aunque insuficientes, confirma las enormes potencialidades que aún nos resta explotar en la agricultura y en todas las ramas de la economía.

Los modestos resultados nos ratifican, una vez más, el optimismo y la confianza en que ¡sí se puede!, y que nuestro pueblo heroico es capaz de vencer todas las dificultades, por grandes que sean (Aplausos).

Es sin duda un enorme reto, en medio del bloque económico y de muchas otras agresiones concebidas precisamente para impedir el desarrollo de la

nación.

Nuestro pueblo no ha fallado nunca a un llamado de la patria. Invariablemente ha dicho presente desde los tiempos en que la tropa mambisa de Calixto García, el general de las tres guerras, de la estrella en la frente, al suicidarse antes de caer prisionero, el hijo de la madre heroica, enfrentó por estas tierras a muchos miles de soldados con un armamento muy superior, con creces, el mayor ejército que la metrópoli española envió a América.

Y junto al Ejército Libertador la población soportó, estoicamente y sin cejar en la lucha, las incontables penurias provocadas por la guerra y la cruel represión de las autoridades coloniales. Esa es nuestra estirpe y seguiremos siendo fieles a su legado (Aplausos).

Con la unidad monolítica de nuestro pueblo, su más poderosa arma, forjada en el crisol de la lucha bajo la dirección del Jefe de la Revolución Fidel Castro Ruz (Aplausos), por grandes que sean las dificultades y los peligros: ¡Seguiremos adelante! (Aplausos.)

¡Gloria a los mártires de la Patria! (Exclamaciones de: “¡Gloria!”)

¡Viva Fidel! (Exclamaciones de: “¡Viva!”)

¡Viva Cuba libre! (Exclamaciones de: “¡Viva!”)

(Ovación).



*Participantes en la celebración del 26 de julio, Holguín Cuba, 2009*

## Supporters of Cuba in Vancouver Celebrate The July 26 Movement

*By Max Tennant*

On July 26th 1953, around 150 brave revolutionaries that included Fidel and Raul Castro attacked the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. Although the attack failed militarily, this attack and the movement that came out of it, the July 26th Movement, are seen as the birth of what led to the successful 1959 socialist revolution in Cuba. As a result of this revolution, people have seen many gains in Cuba like free health care, education, the improvement of human rights, and the growth of its revolutionary internationalism. Cuba has now become famous for exporting its doctors, medical professionals, and teachers to spread health and eradicate illiteracy in poor countries around the world.

On July 24th 2009, over 80 Cuba supporters in Vancouver came to celebrate the July 26th Movement, at an event co-organized by Vancouver Communities in Solidarity



**Cuba supporters dance and enjoy live music at the July 26 celebration organized by VCSC, Vancouver, Canada**

with Cuba (VCSC) and la Trova Nuestra. The evening began with MC's Colleen Glynn, secretary of VCSC and the president of the Richmond NDP and Tamara Hansen, coordinator of VCSC and co-chair of Canada Network of Cuba (CNC) opening with two films "History Will Absolve Me" and "Moments with Fidel." These films showed from the beginning with the Moncada attack through many years of the Cuban Revolution.

After the movies, powerful poetry was read by local poets Luis Velasquez, Shakeel Lochan and Dilia Ochoa. Then Gladys Uribe, an organizer with the Solidarity Coalition for a United Latin America (SCULA) performed a beautiful Chilean dance. After Gladys, Joaquin Ernesto, a crowd favourite, performed his unique trova to an excited crowd.

Afterwards, the talented group Cantango performed their tango fusion. The evening finished with an open mic where performers were able to showcase their talent to the audience.

Finally, Sarah Alwell, coordinator of the Free the Cuban 5 Committee-Vancouver connected the fight of the original July 26th rebels to the Cuban 5 who are unjustly imprisoned in US jails for fighting against US sponsored terrorism against Cuba. The evening was a great success celebrating the achievements of the July 26th Movement and the continual gains of the Cuban revolution.

## Vancouver Activists Protest US Hypocrisy on the 5 Cuban Heroes

*By Sarah Alwell*

On June 15th 2009 the US Supreme Court announced its decision not to review the case of Gerardo Hernández, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Ramon Labañino, and Fernando González, internationally known as the Cuban 5. These 5 Cuban heroes have been unjustly imprisoned in United States jails for almost 11 years for investigating US sponsored, anti-Cuban terrorist organizations in Miami. These organizations are responsible for the deaths of well over 3,400 innocent Cuban people.

In response to the June 15th decision, Gerardo Hernández stated, "I repeat what I said one year ago, June 4th 2008, that as long as one person remains struggling outside, we will continue resisting until there is justice." It was with these words of inspiration that on July 9th dozens of people of all ages gathered outside the United States Consulate in Vancouver, Canada to demand, "Freedom for the 5 Now!" This action was the 44th picket in defence of the 5 heroes organized by the Free the Cuban 5 Committee – Vancouver. Speakers included Aaron Mercredi, organizer with the Indigenous Rights and Action Project (IRAP), Dilia



**Participants at the monthly picket action to free the Cuban 5, Vancouver, Canada, July 9 2009.**



Ochoa, a well-known Latin

American poet and Noah Fine, the West Coast Coordinator of Vancouver Communities in Solidarity with Cuba (VCSC). Proudly waving picket signs, protesters vowed to continue to come to the streets until the very day the 5 are free!

### International Day of Action for the 5 Heroes

September 12th 2009 will mark the 11th anniversary of the unjust imprisonment of the 5 Cuban heroes. The Free the Cuban 5 Committee – Vancouver is calling on all peace loving people to join them on this day at 12 noon outside the Vancouver Art Gallery to demand "Free the Cuban 5 Now!"

Also, on October 13th 2009, Ramon, Fernando, and Antonio are scheduled to be re-sentenced; however the re-sentencing will take place in a court in Miami, the centre for organized anti-Cuban terrorism.

Now is a more important time than ever in the case of these 5 anti-terrorist fighters. We must continue to organize and come to the streets every month until justice and freedom are won! The Free the Cuban 5 Committee – Vancouver is calling on all human loving people to join them and the international solidarity movement to demand:

**"FREE THE CUBAN 5 NOW!"**



# "SMART POWER" AGAINST LATIN AMERICA



**Protest against US military bases in Latin America.  
San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, August 27th 2009.**

*By Manuel Yepe\**

"Smart power" has been practically officialized by the Obama administration as a weapon of U.S. foreign policy, with Hillary Clinton as its main spokesperson.

At the Senate hearing in January that confirmed her as Secretary of State, Mrs. Clinton proclaimed that the United States must utilize a diplomacy of Smart Power, without expanding on the essence of that policy.

In an ironical article by the former senior writer for the Council on Foreign Relations, Lionel Beehner, published by the Huffington Post on Jan. 23, the author affirmed that Hillary Clinton "has managed to sum up the bold new direction of U.S. foreign policy into a bumper-friendly catchphrase: Smart Power. Sufficiently vague, the phrase is remarkable for its meaninglessness. Ostensibly it combines "hard" with "soft" power, a win-win policy that will wot the pants off the world's tyrants and restore American lead-

ership in the world."

Beehner wondered whether Smart Power wouldn't be a sophisticated way to call for a traditional policy that might seek to restore liberal internationalism to its previous position,

countering Bush doctrines that nobody supports, "outside of a few Palins and fossilized experts at the American Enterprise Institute."

But on April 5 the Secretary of State defined more precisely the essence of Smart Power, which she described as the Obama doctrine of foreign policy. She said it consists of "the full range of tools at our disposal -- diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural -- picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation."

"Military force may sometimes be necessary to protect our people and our interests," Clinton said. "But diplomacy and development will be equally important in creating conditions for a peaceful, stable and prosperous world."

According to Clinton, Smart Power requires the ability to "reach out to old friends and adversaries, bolstering old alliances and forging new ones," with tools such as:

- "Negotiating, persuading and exerting leverage;

- "Cooperating with our military partners and other agencies of government;

- "Partnering with NGOs [non-governmental organizations], the private sector and international organizations;

- "Using modern technologies for public outreach, and

- "Empowering negotiators who can protect our interests while understanding those of our negotiating partners."

The doctrine of Smart Power has been put to the test in Latin America. It has been seen in the current counteroffensive by the U.S. in the continent, a strategy designed by the ultra-reactionary forces of neoconservatism during the Bush administration.

The adaptation of the old imperialist practices to the sophisticated methods of Smart Power has brought to the surface numerous contradictions. Some are apparent, others are real, and some are simulated within the schemes of Smart Power.

That has become evident on several world stages. In this continent, it has been observed in the destabilizing intrigues against the government of President Colom in Guatemala, in the divisionist tricks in Bolivia, in the maneuvers to prevent the consolidation of the platform that propitiated the election of President Funes in El Salvador, and in the aggressive deals made to secure military bases that would turn Colombia into a country militarily occupied by the United States in the bosom of Latin American.

The coup d'état in Honduras, whose purpose was to eliminate what was



**Protest against US intervention in Colombia**

supposedly the ALBA's weakest link, undoubtedly was adapted from Smart Power.

The unfolding of events, and especially the "unexpected" attitude of the Honduran popular forces in support of President Zelaya's valiant attitude, revealed serious contradictions in the way the U.S. government expresses itself. Far from profiting from a "smart" behavior, the U.S. attitude has antagonized Hondurans, who see its linkage with the oligarchy in that Central American nation.

As regards policy toward Cuba, high-ranking diplomatic officials close to Clinton have divulged the bases for a new tactic to not eliminate the blockade but to turn it into "an effective instrument of Smart Power to achieve the objectives of U.S. policy toward Cuba."

For that reason, the recommendations and initiatives made do not erode the principles of the embargo but seek to liberalize it in aspects that benefit the powerful economic interests within the U.S. by means of specific licenses and concessions, without affecting their usefulness as weapons of pressure.

The scheme of "soft" imperialism being fabricated by The Powers That Be to save the system with the charismatic figure of the black president who promises change, using the perfidious doctrine of Smart Power as a method, is being answered by the people of Latin America, who see in it more of the same.

**PROGRESO WEEKLY**  
Miami, Florida, U.S.A.,  
Wednesday, 12 August 2009 09:53

*\*Manuel E. Yepe Menéndez is a lawyer, economist and journalist. He is a professor at the Higher Institute of International Relations in Havana. He was Cuba's ambassador to Romania, general director of the Prensa Latina agency; vice president of the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television; founder and national director of the Technological Information System (TIPS) of the United Nations Program for Development in Cuba, and secretary of the Cuban Movement for the Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples.*

# El Poder Astuto Contra América Latina

*Por Manuel Yepe\**

El Smart Power, en español “poder astuto, hábil o inteligente”, ha sido prácticamente oficializado por la Administración Obama como arma de política exterior de Estados Unidos, con la canciller Hillary Clinton como su principal portavoz.

En la audiencia del Senado que la confirmó en el cargo de Secretaria de Estado, en enero último, la señora Clinton proclamó que Estados Unidos debe utilizar una diplomacia de Smart Power, sin abundar en la esencia de esa política.

En un irónico artículo del ex redactor principal del Consejo de Relaciones Exteriores (Council on Foreign Relations), Lionel Beeher, publicado por el Huffington Post el 23 de enero, el autor afirmó que Hillary Clinton “ha conseguido resumir la nueva dirección de la política exterior de Estados Unidos con un eslogan pegajoso: Smart Power, una formulación de notable ininteligibilidad y suficientemente vaga que ostensiblemente combina el poder ‘duro’ con el poder ‘suave’ y que hará que los tiranos del mundo se bajen los pantalones para restaurar el liderazgo de los Estados Unidos”.

Beeher se preguntaba si el Smart Power no sería una sofisticada manera de convocar a una política tradicional que busque reinsertar al internacionalismo liberal en su



*Protesta contra la intervención de los EEUU en América Latina. Buenos Aires, Argentina, 28 de agosto 2009*

posición anterior, contrarrestando doctrinas de Bush “que ya nadie apoya más que Sarah Palin y unos pocos fósiles expertos de la AEI (American Enterprise Institute)”.

Pero, en abril 5, la Secretaria del exterior estadounidense definió más precisamente la esencia del Smart Power, que calificó como la doctrina Obama de política exterior. Dijo que consiste en el uso del “conjunto de herramientas a nuestra disposición –diplomáticas, económicas, militares, políticas, legales y culturales- escogiendo la herramienta o combinación de ellas más adecuada en cada situación”.

“La doctrina del Smart Power -ha dicho la canciller- puede requerir, en ocasiones, el uso de la fuerza militar para proteger a nuestra gente y nuestros intereses. Pero serán igualmente importantes la diplomacia y el desarrollo para la creación de condiciones para un mundo pacífico, estable, y próspero”.

Según la Secretaria de Estado, el

Smart Power requiere de la capacidad de acceder a amigos y adversarios por igual, reforzando viejas alianzas y forjando otras nuevas con herramientas tales como: la negociación, la persuasión y el ejercicio de influencias; la cooperación con socios militares y con los de otras agencias del gobierno; la relación con organizaciones no gubernamentales, del sector privado y organizaciones internacionales; el uso de modernas tecnologías de divulgación pública; el reforzamiento de la autoridad de negociadores que puedan proteger los intereses de EEUU, y la comprensión de los intereses de los socios.

La doctrina del Smart Power ha sido ya puesta a prueba en América Latina. Se le ha visto el rostro en función de la contraofensiva actual de Estados Unidos en el continente, una estrategia diseñada por las fuerzas ultra reaccionarias del neoconservadurismo durante la administración del presidente anterior.

La adaptación de las viejas prác-

ticas imperialistas a los métodos sofisticados del Smart Power ha provocado que afloren numerosas contradicciones: unas aparentes, otras reales y algunas simuladas dentro de los esquemas del Smart

Power.

Así se ha evidenciado en varios escenarios mundiales. En este continente, entre otros, en las intrigas desestabilizadoras contra el gobierno del Presidente Colom en Guatemala, los ardides divisionistas en Bolivia, las maniobras para evitar la consolidación de la plataforma de gobierno que propició la elección del presidente Funes en El Salvador y, ahora, los agresivos manejos que apuntan a la concesión de bases militares que harían de Colombia un país militarmente ocupado por Estados Unidos en el corazón de Latinoamérica.

El golpe de Estado en Honduras, que tenía por objetivo eliminar lo que se suponía el eslabón más débil del ALBA, sin dudas debió sufrir adaptación al Smart Power. El desarrollo de los acontecimientos y en especial la “inesperada” actitud de las fuerzas populares hondureñas respaldando la valiente actuación del presidente Zelaya puso

en evidencia serias contradicciones en la forma de manifestarse el gobierno de EEUU que, lejos de intentar provecho de un desempeño “inteligente”, ha estimulado la animadversión de los hondureños por la evidencia de sus vínculos de interdependencia con la oligarquía de esa nación centroamericana.

En lo que respecta a la política contra Cuba, altos funcionarios diplomáticos cercanos a la Clinton han divulgado los fundamentos de una nueva táctica de no eliminar el bloqueo sino convertirlo “en un instrumento efectivo del Smart Power para alcanzar los objetivos de la política de Estados Unidos en Cuba”. De ahí que, las recomendaciones e iniciativas que han trascendido no atenten contra los principios del “embargo”, sino que busquen liberalizarlo en aspectos que beneficien a los poderosos intereses económicos de EEUU mediante licencias y concesiones puntuales, sin afectar su utilidad como arma de presión.

Al esquema de imperialismo “blando” que pretenden fabricar los “powers that be” (élite del poder estadounidense) para salvar el sistema con la carismática figura del presidente negro que promete cambios y la pérdida doctrina del Smart Power como método, están respondiendo prestamente los pueblos de América Latina, que solo ven... más de lo mismo.

Agosto de 2009.

*\*Manuel E. Yepe Menendez es periodista y se desempeña como Profesor adjunto en el Instituto Superior de las Relaciones Internacionales de La Habana.*



# MAWO ACTIVITIES IN JULY EXPOSE IMPERIALIST WAR DRIVE

*By Janine Solanki*

In this new era of war and occupation in which we live, imperialist forces are constantly opening new fronts in their wars against oppressed nations. In their search

for new markets and resources to save their failing economic system, the heavy price of human lives is on the hands of war mongering countries. Whether they are using open military attacks, such as the US expansion of war from Afghanistan to Pakistan; or sanctions and propaganda campaigns, like those being used against Iran and

the 50 year blockade against Cuba; or covert support for the right-wing coup d'états, like in Honduras- antiwar organizers must be quick to respond, resist, and fight back every attempt by imperialist forces to undermine the basic right of self-determination for oppressed nations. Mobilization Against War & Occupation (MAWO), an antiwar coalition in Vancouver, Canada, recognizes the necessity of consistently opposing every move of the imperialist war machine. We do this through educational events and direct actions, whether we are discussing and developing how we should respond to latest events and our ideas, or organizing actions like rallies and pickets to actively and publicly protest war and occupation. An overview of MAWO's July 2009 events and actions demonstrate how MAWO is educating, organizing and mobilizing to expose and oppose this imperialist war drive.



MAWO Forum on Honduras. July 15, 2009.

## Forum on Canada Day

July started off with a bi-weekly public forum on July 1st, so-called "Canada Day," on the topic of "Canada Day is War at Home, War Abroad - Indigenous in Afghanistan, Indigenous in Canada: Same

Aspiration, Same Struggle, Same Liberation." This forum took the opportunity of "Canada Day" to discuss why this is not a day to celebrate, but a day that the racist state of Canada was established on stolen Indigenous land – a colonialist policy that continues in Afghanistan. This forum received international media coverage from Press TV, which can be viewed at [www.mawovancouver.org/reports/090701forum.html](http://www.mawovancouver.org/reports/090701forum.html)

## Forum on Honduras

The next bi-weekly public forum, on July 15th was titled, "Honduras: People in Motion for Social Change - Why the Military Coup in Honduras Will Not Succeed." This event discussed the current coup d'état in Honduras,

which is an offensive against both the people of Honduras and people across Latin America who are fighting for their rights, dignity and an end to neo-colonial oppression. This event gave participants a chance to discuss and understand the situation in Honduras and especially the concealed support of the right-wing coup from the governments of Canada and the United States. The discussion established the need for peace-loving people to organize in solidarity with the Honduran people who are protesting against the coup.

## MAWO Rally Against War

From discussing the state of war and occupation around the world, it is necessary to take our ideas and demands to the streets. On July 18th, MAWO organized its monthly antiwar rally



Canada Out of Afghanistan Picket. July 23, 2009.



MAWO rally against war. July 18, 2009

getting more information about antiwar issues. As an antiwar group in Canada, it is critical to also focus our efforts on fighting the war drive that the government of Canada is carrying out in Afghanistan. At every monthly rally, MAWO organizers collect petition signatures on the "Canada Out of Afghanistan" petition and at the July rally over 250 more signatures were added to the almost 15,000 who have signed their name to this demand.

## MAWO Picket: Canada Out of Afghanistan

Another part of MAWO's Canada Out of Afghanistan campaign is our monthly picket actions at the Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment Centre in New Westminster. July 23rd was MAWO's 56th picket action demanding an end to the Canada/US/NATO occupation of Afghanistan. Energetic rounds of picketing were mixed with dynamic speakers, as well as scores of honks from passing cars in response to the "Honk for Canada Out of Afghanistan" sign.

The propaganda machines and military might of imperialist

countries like Canada and the US have much more money and resources than an antiwar coalition made up of peace-loving students, workers, unemployed, immigrants, and refugees. Although we don't own TV or radio stations, our efforts are made in the spirit of justice and humanity. The truth is on our side, and the fact is that throughout

history humanity could not have reached this stage of civilization if people were not inspired and fought for the justice. Through consistent and broad events and actions, MAWO is exposing the brutal, unjust and criminal imperialist war drive- event by event, signature by signature, and ultimately voice by voice.

Please join us in this effort for a better world.

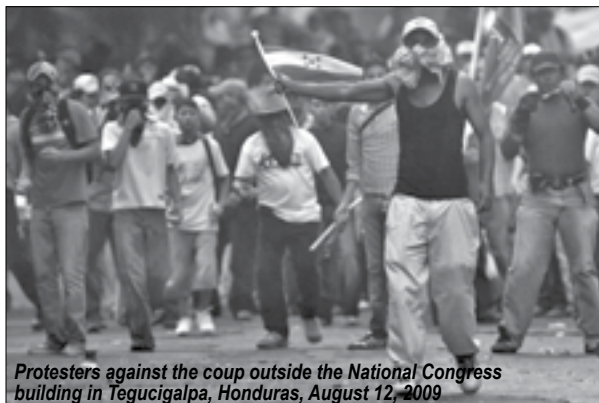
## WASHINGTON ON HONDURAS: THE TIGHT ROPE WALKER

*continued from page 8*

can Forum. We now have a very good process where you have the president of Costa Rica who's agreed to be a mediator. Of course, this is the beginning of a process. And as the Secretary said, we don't want to prejudge how the process will play out, but we now have a dialogue in place."<sup>q</sup>

Mr. Kelly wants Costa Rican President Arias' mediation and dialogue to "play out" while the struggle in Honduras continues between the regime and the resistance. It seems that the State Department is hoping and praying that the resistance of the people in Honduras will wear itself out over time. However, at the time of writing, this demoralization is not happening despite the repression and extremely difficult conditions.

On July 10 in response to questions, Assistant Secretary of the US State Department Philip J. Crowley said that the Arias "...negotiation is the best route to solve this peacefully...." Only when a



Protesters against the coup outside the National Congress building in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, August 12, 2009

reporter insisted if this means the return of Zelaya to his position, did Crowley confirm this, "...in words, in any case."

### Is The Arias Mediation An American Process?

As the answer to this question was becoming more and more under public scrutiny on July 13, Kelly was asked whether the Arias mediation is an American process or not.

"MR. KELLY: Yeah. Well, this is not an American process. It's a process that we are putting all of -- it's a process led by Costa Rican President Arias that we are giving our full support to. And --

QUESTION: That sounds like an American process to me. (Laughter.)

MR. KELLY: We are supporting this process led by President Arias. It is not an American --

QUESTION: Whose country is in what part of the world?

MR. KELLY: It's not a process that's being led by the United States of America. (Laughter.) And we just have to give -- we have to give time for this process to work. And I'll just -- we -- we're -- as I say, we're standing firmly behind

President Arias. He said late last week that he expects to sit down again within a week with the two parties, and these would be the kinds of pro-

posals I hope that both sides can discuss."<sup>s</sup>

And on July 14:

"QUESTION: President Zelaya has laid down a -- what people say is an ultimatum. He says that if the talks that President Arias is mediating don't restore him or return him to power in their next session, that they will have failed and other measures may have to -- other measures will have to be taken.

MR. KELLY: Yes

QUESTION: What -- is that the same as the U.S. position?

MR. KELLY: Well, I think you know what our position is -- is that we think that all parties in the talks should give this process some time, don't set any artificial deadlines, don't make any -- don't say if X doesn't happen by a certain time, then the talks are dead. We have to give the process a chance and support what President Arias is doing.

QUESTION: Well, will you regard them as having failed if they do not at their next session result in Zelaya returning?

MR. KELLY: Well, look, again, we don't want to set an artificial deadline.

QUESTION: Well, that's -- are you saying the answer is no, you do not agree with Zelaya that they will have failed if they --

MR. KELLY: I think that we should give President Arias a chance...."<sup>t</sup>

### Change Of Tight Rope Walker But Same Shaky Position

Another State Department spokesman, Robert Woods responded to reporters on July 17 in this way:

"MR WOOD. And look, the Arias peace talks haven't been -- I mean,

this is recent. We need to give it some time. As I said, he's committed to this process, we are, others in the hemisphere are. We need to allow it to work. We need to allow it to go forward.

And so we're going to continue to encourage the parties to support this process, because we think it's the best way to get back to where we want to get to.

QUESTION: Following on that, has the U.S. Government specifically asked or urged President Zelaya not to try to make another contested attempt to enter Honduras?

MR. WOOD: I don't want to get into discussions we may or may not have had with President Zelaya on a host of issues. Let us just say that we don't -- as I had said earlier, we don't want people to take steps that in any way conflict or don't contribute positively to the Arias mediation efforts.

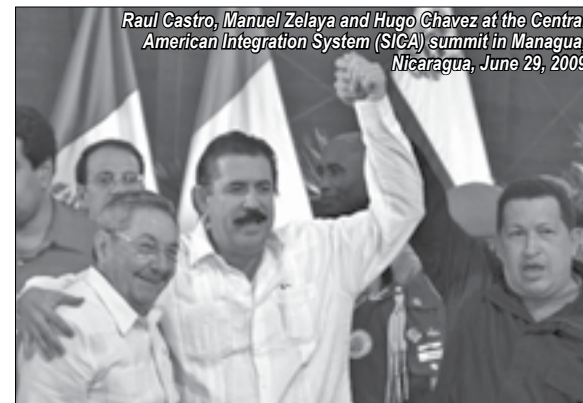
QUESTION: So then would his return not contribute positively to it? Is that what you're saying?

MR. WOOD: I don't have anything more to add to it than I've given you...."<sup>u</sup>

### What Did Clinton Say To Micheletti?

On July 20, back to Crowley:

"MR. CROWLEY: And yesterday from New Delhi, the Secretary



Raul Castro, Manuel Zelaya and Hugo Chavez at the Central American Integration System (SICA) summit in Managua, Nicaragua, June 29, 2009

had a phone conversation with the leader of the de facto regime, Mr. Micheletti. And she laid out during that call -- encouraged him to continue focus on these negotiations and also helped him understand the potential consequences of the failure to take advantage of this mediation.

QUESTION: Now, that's the first time that she -- that anyone, I think, has talked to Micheletti?

MR. CROWLEY: That's a fair question. I don't -- we have been touch with representatives from both sides, but that clearly is her first contact with him.

QUESTION: So not on --

QUESTION: Do you have any readout on how firm she was in her conversation with Micheletti?

MR. CROWLEY: I think she --

....

QUESTION: -- was she very clear to Mr. Micheletti that the U.S. does not recognize the de facto government, and that whatever its objections during this weekend's talks,

*continued below*



*continued from above*

it needs to make preparations to step aside and let the elected president come back?

MR. CROWLEY: I think it was a very tough phone call. However, I think it was – she made clear if the de facto regime needed to be reminded that we seek a restoration of democratic and constitutional order, a peaceful resolution. We do not think that anybody should take any kind of steps that would add to the risk of violence in Honduras, and that we completely support the ongoing Arias mediation.

QUESTION: So are you cautioning Mr. Zelaya to stay in Nicaragua, or whichever country gives him shelter, for the time being if that does lead to a lessening of tension?

MR. CROWLEY: I think we've also made clear to President Zelaya that we think that mediation is the way to go.

QUESTION: Can you – any tougher actions, any declarations that you're planning to do if they – the de facto regime keep doing the same --

MR. CROWLEY: I mean, we have options if not – also legal requirements if these negotiations fail.

....

QUESTION: Just to clarify that. You said that you told Zelaya that mediation is the way. But have you told him specifically, "Do not go back because it's dangerous and it could create tension and violence"?

MR. CROWLEY: Yes.

QUESTION: Directly, you've said that?

MR. CROWLEY: Yes.

QUESTION: Okay."

This Clinton-Micheletti telephone conversation has not been made public. However, I believe that Clinton did indeed make a "tough" phone call to Micheletti as her secretary spokesman indicated above. Why is this? The coup perpetrators cannot even agree to a mediation proposal which is heavily in their favor, while the resistance in the streets of Honduras continues: how does

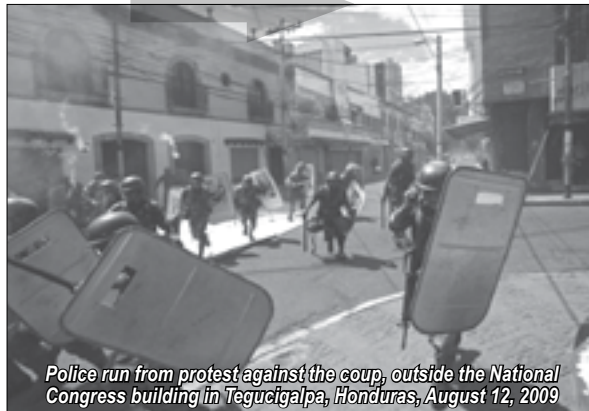
this look for the new foreign policy image that Washington would like to portray to the world? How does this appear to the US population itself who have shown that it is increasingly against confrontation politics on the international scale?

Zelaya, on the other hand, did not have the privilege of any private warnings. As indicated above by the State Department: "Do not go back because it's dangerous and it could create tension and violence". By publicly saying this, does it not indicate in an open manner to the putschists that Zelaya is fair game and that he will not enjoy the support of Washington? Compare this to the secret phone call to Micheleletti: perhaps not as tough as the words directed toward Zelaya?

Washington's decision on the legal classification of the coup according to US norms had not yet been decided. This eventual ruling would probably decide whether the US will or will not fully and permanently, as long as the coup plotters stay in power, cut off all military, economic and political aid as well as withdraw diplomatic recognition. The regime fully depends on US aid of all kinds for its very existence. At the time of the briefing cited above (July 20) the State Department has said that they have only hit the pause button on certain programs, that is placed them on temporarily hold. On so later on during this briefing, in response to the following question: "Have you ruled this as a coup d'état there legally..." Mr. Crowley said: "No."

Washington's decision on the legal classification of the coup according to US norms had not yet been decided. This eventual ruling would probably decide whether the US will or will not fully and permanently, as long as the coup plotters stay in power, cut off all military, economic and political aid as well as withdraw diplomatic recognition. The regime fully depends on US aid of all kinds for its very existence. At the time of the briefing cited above (July 20) the State Department has said that they have only hit the pause button on certain programs, that is placed them on temporarily hold. On so later on during this briefing, in response to the following question: "Have you ruled this as a coup d'état there legally..." Mr. Crowley said: "No."

Ambiguity within ambiguity! Does this mean that the US had finally classified that the coup is not legal, or does this mean that



Police run from protest against the coup, outside the National Congress building in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, August 12, 2009

they have not yet ruled on the issue? This will be clarified later on over a week later, on July 29.

At the next briefing on July 21, Deputy Department spokesman Woods said in response to a question that "We're in constant contact with a number of countries in the hemisphere regarding the situation in Honduras. And we believe that the Arias mediation is the right way to go..."

In reaction to another question as to what Woods meant by "acting now", he responded that "what I meant by acting now is we have a process that's in place that's being headed by President Arias."

It seems clear that the Arias mediation goes hand in hand with providing time for the US to attempt to form alliances in South America. These alliances are directed not only against Zelaya but also in opposition to all South American governments including those in the Caribbean and Central America who persist in supporting his unconditional return as required by the OAS and UN resolutions. It must be very frustrating for the thousands of people in the streets of many cities in Honduras who are defying the US-trained and sponsored military. The people persist in putting forward their demand in the face of fierce repression; the US defines "acting now" as being applicable only against the social forces that oppose the coup plotters and not pertinent to the putschist regime. On the list of US priorities, the olive branch is all the way on the bottom, after all the military components.

*Part II of "Washington on Honduras" will appear in the next issue of Fire This Time.*

*\* Arnold August lives in Montreal, Canada*

*and is an author and journalist specializing on Cuba.*

## Endnotes

- a. <http://content.usatoday.com/communities/theoval/post/2009/06/68493138/1>
- b. [http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2009/06/30/on\\_foreign\\_policy\\_obama\\_treads.html](http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2009/06/30/on_foreign_policy_obama_treads.html)
- c. <http://www.chron.com/disp/story.mpl/sp/us/6516263.html>
- d. <http://www.csmmonitor.com/2009/0708/p02s01-usfp.html>
- e. <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1909181,00.html>
- f. <http://www.heraldohm.com/content/view/full/70415/>
- g. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm>
- h. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125452.htm>
- i. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125452.htm>
- j. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125487.htm>
- k. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/125481.htm>
- l. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/125510.htm>
- m. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125545.htm>
- n. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>
- o. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>
- p. <http://www.chavezcode.com/2009/07/washington-coup-in-honduras-here-is.html>

In Spanish only for the moment:

<http://www.vtv.gov.ve/articulos/reportajes/21598>

- q. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>
- r. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125940.htm>
- s. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125995.htm>
- t. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126023.htm>
- u. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126171.htm>
- v. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126250.htm>
- w. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126250.htm>
- x. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126274.htm>

## NO WAR ON IRAN!



buttons available from:  
mobilization against war and  
occupation - mawo

50¢ ea.

to order:  
604-322-1764  
[info@mawovanancouver.org](mailto:info@mawovanancouver.org)  
[www.mawovanancouver.org](http://www.mawovanancouver.org)

# THE YANKI BASES AND LATIN AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY

## *Reflections of Fidel Castro*

The concept of nation emerged from the sum of common elements like history, language, culture, customs, laws, institutions and others related to the material and spiritual life of human communities.

The peoples of America, for whose freedom Bolívar undertook the great feats which made him the liberator of the peoples, were called on by him to create, as he said: "The greatest nation of the world, less through its extension and wealth than through its freedom and glory."

In Ayacucho, Antonio José de Sucre waged the final battle against the empire that had converted a large part of this continent into the royal property of the Spanish crown for more than 300 years.

It is the same America that dozens of years later, and after it had already been encroached on by the nascent yanki empire, Martí named Our America.

It is worth noting once again that, before dying in battle for the independence of Cuba, the last bastion of the Spanish colony in America, on May 19, 1895, a matter of hours before his death, José Martí prophetically wrote that everything that he had done and would do was in order "...to prevent in time, with the independence of Cuba, the United States extending into the Antilles and falling, with that additional force, upon our lands of America."

In the United States, where the recently liberated British colonies wasted no time in extending in a disordered fashion toward the West in search of land and gold, exterminating the indigenous population until they reached the Pacific coast, the agricultural slave states of the South were competing with the indus-

trialized states of the North that were exploiting wage labor, by trying to create other states in order to defend their economic interests.

In 1848 they seized more than 50% of Mexico's territory in a war of conquest against that militarily weak country, which resulted in them taking the capital and imposing humiliating peace conditions. The snatched territory contained large oil and gas reserves that later would supply the United States for more than a century and continues in part to do so.

Encouraged by the "manifest destiny" proclaimed by his country, the yanki filibuster William Walker landed in Nicaragua in 1855 and proclaimed himself president, until he was expelled by the Nicaraguans and other Central American patriots in 1856.

Our national hero perceived how the destiny of Latin American countries was being destroyed by the nascent empire of the United States.

The military intervention in Cuba came after Martí's death in battle, when the Spanish army had already been defeated.

The Platt Amendment, which conceded the powerful country the right to intervene in the island, was imposed on Cuba.

The occupation of Puerto Rico, which has lasted for 111 years and which today constitutes a so-called free associated state, which is neither a state nor free, was another of the consequences of that intervention.

Worse things were to come for Latin America, confirming Martí's brilliant premonitions. The growing empire had already decided that the canal that was to link the two oceans would pass through Panama and not through Nica-

ragua. The isthmus of Panama, the Corinth dreamed of by Bolívar as the capital of the greatest republic of the world as conceived by himself, would become yanki property.

Even so, the worst consequences were to come throughout the 20th century. With the support of national political oligarchies, the United States subsequently took over the resources and economies of the Latin America countries; interventions multiplied; military and police forces fell under its aegis. Yanki transnationals seized basic goods and services; banks, insurance companies, foreign trade, railroads, shipping, warehouses, electricity and telephone services and others passed into their hands to a greater or lesser degree.

It is a fact that the profundity of social inequality led to the explosion of the Mexican Revolution in the second decade of the 20th century, and which became a source of inspiration for other countries. The revolution prompted Mexico's advance in many areas. But the same empire that devoured a large part of its territory yesterday is today devouring important natural resources taken from it (Mexico), a cheap labor force, and is even making it spill its own blood.

The NAFTA agreement imposed on a developing country. For the sake of brevity, the U.S. government has just affirmed: "At a moment when Mexico has suffered a double blow, not only due to its failing economy but also the effects of the A H1N1 virus, we would probably want to have the economy more stabilized before having a long discussion on new trade negotiations." Of course, not a single word has been said on how, as a consequence of the war unleashed by drug trafficking, in which Mexico is deploying 36,000 soldiers, close to 4,000 Mexican have died in 2009. The phenomenon is being repeated to a greater or lesser degree throughout Latin America. Drugs not only produce serious health problems, they produce the violence that is tearing apart Mexico and Latin America as a consequence of the insatiable U.S. market, an inexhaustible source of hard currency that foments the production of cocaine and heroin, and it is the country where the weapons are supplied that are being utilized in that ferocious and unpublicized war.

Those who are dying from the Rio Grande to the limits of South America are Latin Americans. In this way, generalized violence is beating the record in deaths and its victims are in excess of 100,000 per year in Latin America, basically engendered by drugs and poverty.

The empire is not fighting a war on drugs

continued on page 32



*Image from the Organization of Solidarity of the People of Asia, Africa & Latin America, from poster in solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico.*



# LAS BASES YANKIS Y LA SOBERANÍA LATINOAMERICANA

## Reflexiones del compañero Fidel

El concepto de nación surgió de la suma de elementos comunes como la historia, lenguaje, cultura, costumbres, leyes, instituciones y otros elementos relacionados con la vida material y espiritual de las comunidades humanas.

Los pueblos de la América, por cuya libertad Bolívar realizó las grandes hazañas que lo convirtieron en El Libertador de pueblos, fueron llamados por él a crear, como dijo: “la más grande nación del mundo, menos por su extensión y riquezas que por su libertad y gloria”.

Antonio José de Sucre libró en Ayacucho la última batalla contra el imperio que había convertido gran parte de este continente en propiedad real de la corona de España durante más de 300 años.

Es la misma América que decenas de años más tarde, y cuando ya había sido cercenada en parte por el naciente imperio yanqui, Martí llamó Nuestra América.

Hay que recordar una vez más que, antes de caer en combate por la independencia de Cuba, último bastión de la colonia española en América, el 19 de mayo de 1895, horas antes de su muerte, José Martí escribió proféticamente que todo lo que había hecho y haría era para “...impedir a tiempo con la independencia de Cuba que se extiendan por las Antillas los Estados Unidos y caigan, con esa fuerza más, sobre nuestras tierras de América”.

En Estados Unidos, donde las 13 colonias recién liberadas no tardaron en extenderse desordenadamente hacia el Oeste en busca de tierra y oro, exterminando indígenas hasta que arribaron a las costas del Pacífico, competían los Estados agrícolas esclavistas del Sur con los Estados industriales del Norte que explotaban el trabajo asalariado, tratando de crear otros Estados para defender sus intereses económicos.

En 1848 arrebataron a México más del 50 por ciento de su territorio, en una guerra de conquista contra el país, militarmente débil, que los llevó a ocupar la capital e imponerle humillantes condiciones de paz. En el territorio arrebatado estaban las grandes reservas de petróleo y gas que más tarde suministrarían a Estados Unidos durante más de un siglo y lo siguen en parte suministrando.

El filibustero yanqui William Walker, estimulado por “el destino manifiesto” que proclamó su país, desembarcó en Nicaragua en el año 1855 y se autoproclamó Presidente, hasta que fue expulsado por los nicaragüenses y otros patriotas centroamericanos en 1856.

Nuestro Héroe Nacional vio cómo el destino de los países latinoamericanos era destruido por el naciente imperio de Estados Unidos.

Después de la muerte en combate de Martí se produjo la intervención militar en Cuba, cuando ya el ejér-

cito español estaba derrotado.

La Enmienda Platt, que concedía al poderoso país derecho a intervenir en la Isla, fue impuesta a Cuba.

La ocupación de Puerto Rico, que ha durado ya 111 años y hoy constituye el llamado “Estado Libre Asociado”, que no es Estado ni es libre, fue otra de las consecuencias de aquella intervención.

Las peores cosas para América Latina estaban por venir, confirmando las geniales premoniciones de Martí. Ya el creciente imperio había decidido que el canal que uniría los dos océanos sería por Panamá y no por Nicaragua. El istmo de Panamá, la Corinto soñada por Bolívar como capital de la más grande República del mundo concebida por él, sería propiedad yanqui.

Aun así, las peores consecuencias estaban por venir a lo largo del Siglo XX. Con el apoyo de las oligarquías políticas nacionales, los Estados Unidos se adueñaron después de los recursos y de la economía de los países latinoamericanos; las intervenciones se multiplicaron; las fuerzas militares y policiales cayeron bajo su égida. Las empresas transnacionales yanquis se apoderaron de las producciones y servicios fundamentales, los bancos, las compañías de seguros, el comercio exterior, los ferrocarriles, barcos, almacenes, los servicios eléctricos, los telefónicos y otros, en mayor o

menor grado pasaron a sus manos.

Es cierto que la profundidad de la desigualdad social hizo estallar la Revolución Mexicana en la segunda década del Siglo XX, que convirtió en fuente de inspiración para otros países. La revolución hizo avanzar a México en muchas áreas. Pero el mismo imperio que ayer devoró gran parte de su territorio, hoy devora importantes recursos naturales que le restan, la fuerza de trabajo barata y hasta lo hace derramar su propia sangre.

El TLCAN es el más brutal acuerdo económico impuesto a un país en desarrollo. En aras de la brevedad, baste señalar que el Gobierno de Estados Unidos acaba de afirmar textualmente: “En momentos en que México ha sufrido un doble golpe,

no solo por la caída de su economía sino también por los efectos del virus A H1N1, probablemente querremos tener la economía más estabilizada antes de tener una larga discusión sobre nuevas negociaciones comerciales.” Por supuesto que no se dice una sola palabra de que, como consecuencia de la guerra desatada por el tráfico de drogas, en la que México emplea 36 mil soldados, casi cuatro mil mexicanos han muerto en el 2009. El fenómeno se repite en mayor o menor grado en el resto de América Latina. La droga no solo engendra problemas graves de salud, engendra la violencia que desgarró a México y a la América Latina como consecuencia del mercado insaciable de Estados Unidos, fuente inagotable de las divisas con que se fomenta la producción de cocaína y heroína, y es el país de donde se abastecen las armas que se emplean en esa feroz y no publicitada guerra.

Los que mueren desde el Río Grande hasta los confines de Suramérica son latinoamericanos. De este modo, la violencia general bate récord de muertes y las víctimas sobrepasan la cifra de 100 mil por año en América Latina, engendradas fundamentalmente por las drogas y la pobreza.

El imperio no libra la lucha contra las drogas dentro de sus fronteras;

*continuado en la página 32*



## REFLECTIONS OF FIDEL CASTRO

*continued from page 30*

within its borders; it is waging it in Latin American territories.

Neither coca nor poppies are cultivated in our country. We are fighting efficiently against those who are attempting to introduce drugs into our country or to utilize Cuba as a transit point, and figures of persons dying on account of violence are falling every year. We do not need yankee soldiers for that. Fighting drugs is a pretext for establishing military bases throughout the hemisphere. Since when did the ships of the 4th Fleet and modern fighter planes serve for combating drugs?

The real objective is control of economic resources, domination of markets and fighting social changes. What need is there to reestablish that fleet, demobilized at the end of World War II, more than 60 years ago, when neither the USSR nor the cold war exist any longer? The arguments being utilized for establishing seven airbases in Colombia are an insult to human intelligence.

History will not forgive those who commit such acts of disloyalty to their peoples, nor those who utilize the exercise of sovereignty as a pretext to explain away the presence of yankee troops. To which sovereignty are they referring? That conquered by Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, O'Higgins, Morelos, Juárez, Tiradentes, Martí? Not one of them would have ever accepted such an invalid argument for justifying the concession of military bases to the armed forces of the United States, an empire that is more dominating, more powerful and more universal than the crowns of the Iberian peninsula.

If as a consequence of those agreements being promoted by the United States in an illegal and unconstitutional manner, any government of that country should use those bases — as was the case with Reagan with his dirty war and Bush with that of Iraq — to provoke an armed conflict between two sister peoples, that would be a great tragedy. Venezuela and Colombia were born together in the history of

America after the battles of Boyacá and Carabobo, under the leadership of Simón Bolívar. The yankees might promote a dirty war as they did in Nicaragua, including the use of soldiers of other nationalities trained by them, and might attack one country or another, but the combative, courageous and patriotic people of Colombia would not easily allow themselves to be dragged into a war against a sister people like that of Venezuela.

The imperialists would be committing an error if they likewise underestimate the other peoples of Latin America. None of them will be in agreement with yankee military bases; none of them will lose their solidarity with any Latin American nation attacked by imperialism.

Martí had an exceptional admiration for Bolívar and was not mistaken when he stated: "... and so, there is Bolívar, in the skies of America, vigilant and with his brow furrowed... still wearing his campaign boots, because what he did not complete, is still incomplete today: because Bolívar still has much to do in America."

Fidel Castro Ruz  
August 9, 2009  
6:32 p.m.

Translated by Granma International

## REFLEXIONES DEL FIDEL CASTRO

*continuado de la página 31*

la libra en los territorios latinoamericanos.

En nuestro país no se cultivan la coca ni la amapola. Luchamos con eficiencia contra los que intentan introducir drogas en nuestro país o utilizar a Cuba como tránsito, y los índices de personas que mueren a causa de la violencia se reduce cada año. No necesitamos para ello soldados yankees. La lucha contra las drogas es un pretexto para establecer bases militares en todo el hemisferio. ¿Desde cuándo los buques de la IV Flota y los aviones modernos de combate sirven para combatir las drogas?

El verdadero objetivo es el control de los recursos económicos, el dominio de los mercados y la lucha contra los cambios sociales. ¿Qué necesidad había de restablecer esa flota, desmovilizada al final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, hace más de

60 años, cuando ya no existe la URSS ni la guerra fría? Los argumentos utilizados para el establecimiento de siete bases aeronavales en Colombia es un insulto a la inteligencia.

La historia no perdonará a los que cometen esa deslealtad contra sus pueblos, ni tampoco a los que utilizan como pretexto el ejercicio de la soberanía para cohonestar la presencia de tropas yankees. ¿A qué soberanía se refieren? ¿La conquistada por Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, O'Higgins, Morelos, Juárez, Tiradentes, Martí? Ninguno de ellos habría acep-

tado jamás tan repudiable argumento para justificar la concesión de bases militares a las Fuerzas Armadas de Estados Unidos, un imperio más dominante, más poderoso y más universal que las coronas de la península ibérica.

Si como consecuencia de tales acuerdos promovidos de forma ilegal e inconstitucional por Estados Unidos cualquier gobierno de ese país utilizara esas bases, como hicieron Reagan con la guerra sucia y Bush con la de Iraq, para provocar un conflicto armado entre dos pueblos hermanos, sería una gran tragedia. Venezuela y Colombia nacieron juntos en la historia de América tras las batallas de Boyacá y Carabobo, bajo la dirección de Simón Bolívar. Las fuerzas yankees podrían promover una guerra sucia como hicieron en Nicaragua, incluso emplear soldados de otras nacionalidades entrenados por ellos y podrían atacar algún país, pero difícilmente el pueblo combativo, valiente y patriótico de Colombia se deje arrastrar a la guerra contra un pueblo hermano como el de Venezuela.

Se equivocan los imperialistas si subestiman igualmente a los demás pueblos de América Latina. Ninguno estará de acuerdo con las bases militares yankees, ninguno dejará de ser solidario con cualquier pueblo latinoamericano agredido por el imperialismo.

Martí admiraba extraordinariamente a Bolívar y no se equivocó cuando dijo: "... así está Bolívar en el cielo de América, vigilante y ceñudo... calzadas aún las botas de campaña, porque lo que él no dejó hecho, sin hacer está hasta hoy: porque Bolívar tiene que hacer en América todavía."

Fidel Castro Ruz  
Agosto 9 de 2009  
6 y 32 p.m.

(Tomado de Cubadebate)



*By Nita Palmer*

July 2009 saw the launch of the 20th Pastors for Peace Friendship Caravan to Cuba. From July 1st to July 19th, over 100 caravanistas rode buses, trucks and cars on 14 different routes through the US and Canada, stopping in 140 communities to gather aid for Cuba and to hold events to raise awareness about the criminal and inhuman US blockade on Cuba. Caravanistas then crossed the US border into Mexico with over 100 tons of aid destined for Cuba. After unloading computers, construction materials, medical supplies and other aid from the school buses onto a ship destined for Cuba, caravanistas flew to Havana. There they spent eight days learning about the Cuban reality, the effects of the US blockade on the country, and the many achievements the Cuban revolution has made for human-

Check back in the next issue of Fire This Time for a report on the 20th Caravan by FIRE THIS TIME editorial board members and participants in the Caravan, Nita Palmer and Alison Bodine!

### **Saturday July 4th Vancouver Send-off Event!**

On Saturday July 4th 90 people came together for the 2009 Pastors for



*Aid crosses the border, July 5, 2009*

Peace Caravan send-off celebration and barbeque where the smells of de-

get the aid to the Mexican border.

Next was special guest speaker Lisa Valanti, national president of the US-Cuba Sister Cities Association and participant in all 20 Pastors for Peace Caravans to Cuba, including a successful hunger strike for 96 days to release US-seized aid bound for Cuba. Lisa spoke about the importance of the Pastors for Peace Caravan to Cuba and Cuba solidarity organizing. She also shared her stories and experience from being on the caravan all twenty times, including the very moving story of a man from Vancouver named Bryan Rohatyn who joined Lisa and other Caravanistas in the 96-day hunger strike.

Following Lisa, Joaquin Ernesto performed beautiful songs on his acoustic guitar. He brought together people in celebration of the next successful Caravan to Cuba and also in celebration of the success of the

of the Caravan from Canada and MC of the border crossing event outlining the importance of the Caravan and its challenge to the US blockade against Cuba.

Art Farquharson, a progressive singer from Victoria, shared his music with the crowd. He was followed by talks from several of the Caravanistas, including Janine Bancroft, Rick Fellows and Lisa Valanti, who shared their thoughts on the importance of the caravan.

Sarah Alwell, co-coordinator of the

### **Promoting Pastors for Peace T-shirt**



# **VANCOUVER & VICTORIA SUCCESSFULLY LAUNCH 20TH PASTORS FOR PEACE CARAVAN TO CUBA**

ity. Pastors for Peace, a project of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) has been organizing caravans to Cuba since 1992 as a challenge to the US



*March to the border, July 5, 2009*

blockade on Cuba and travel ban for US citizens going to Cuba. The following is a report from the caravan send-off events in Vancouver.

licious foods, musical performances and stories from past caravans filled the air of Trout Lake Park. The event was MC'd by Tamara Hansen, coordinator of Vancouver Communities in Solidarity with Cuba (VCSC) and co-chair of the Canadian Network on Cuba. The evening opened with heartfelt works of poetry by Luis Velasquez, Dilia Ochoa, Seonaid Lamb, Alejandro Mujica-Olea and Shakeel Lochan, all supporters of Cuba who had come to share their work in celebration of the Caravan send-off.

Following the performances, participants of all ages came together to play a game of "Get the Aid to Cuba" in which opposite teams played "US border guards" against "caravanistas" who are trying to pass them and

Caravan to Cuba thus far.

### **Sunday July 5th BC/Washington Border Crossing!**

The next day, Vancouver Communities in Solidarity with Cuba, Victoria Goods for Cuba, and other Cuba solidarity organizations including the Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association (Vancouver) and Cuba solidarity activists from Salt Spring Island, the Comox Valley and Nanaimo joined together with organizers from across Washington for the Caravan send-off at the Peace Arch Park Canada-US border crossing. Over 120 people from across British Columbia and Washington State came together to send off five Caravanistas. The event began with Randy Caravaggio, with Victoria Goods for Cuba, one of the main organizers

Free the Cuban Five Committee -Vancouver emphasized the importance of fighting against the blockade on Cuba. She added that everyone involved in the Cuba solidarity movement must multiply their effort to support the five Cuban men – known as the Cuban 5- being held unjustly in US jails for fighting US-backed terrorism imposed on their country.

Heartfelt and musical performances from the Raging Grannies from Seattle and the Solidarity Notes Choir from Vancouver soon had everyone on their feet singing along to their progressive and beautiful lyrics and melodies.

Tamara Hansen, another organizer of the event, read out the recent letter and statement of the Canadian

Federation of Students (CFS) to President Obama condemning the blockade. Tamara's announcement was met with cheers and applause from the participants. Tamara also spoke on the importance of unity in Cuba solidarity work and our fight to end the blockade. She said, "We don't need to just be active, but we must be active and involved in an ongoing campaign."

After the speakers, some participants in the Ernesto Che Guevara Volunteer Work Brigade from Vancouver came up to sing an original song written and dedicated to the Five Cuban heroes. By the end of the song people were on their feet clapping and singing along to the chorus.

After all of the speakers and musical performances, participants picked up signs, Cuban flags and banners and headed off to the border. The marchers were met with three honking vehicles filled with the humanitarian aid headed to Cuba. The participants marched along

side the vehicles chanting, "Lift, Lift Lift the Blockade!" "US Hands Off Cuba!" and catching the attention of many driving by.

Once on the US side of the Peace Arch Park everyone began to load the aid from the Canadian cars into the Pastors for Peace bus that carried the aid and Caravanistas through the United States. The Caravanistas said their goodbyes to the crowd of supporters, loaded into bus and the 20th Pastors for Peace Caravan to Cuba began its successful tour of the United States to challenge the immoral and criminal US blockade on Cuba!

*For more information on Pastors for Peace, please visit:*  
[www.pastorsforpeace.org](http://www.pastorsforpeace.org)

## EL CASO DE HONDURAS

*continuado de la página 19*

ha sido depuesto, y tiene tropas que han asumido el mando, sin haber sido electas constitucionalmente, yo estoy...

Mr. Kelly: Si, bien.

**Pregunta: No estoy muy segura de cual es la complicación**

Mr. Kelly: Bien, okay. Usted oyó lo que nuestra Secretaria dijo ayer. Ella dijo que allí hay un golpe de estado.

Pregunta: Bien...

Mr. Kelly: El Presidente dijo que allí hay un golpe de Estado

Pregunta: Cierito...

Mr. Kelly: Efectivamente estamos ante ciertos hechos, y los hechos son que el orden constitucional en Honduras ha sido revertido. Pero está también que -allí hay un proceso que nosotros necesitamos seguir, y que nosotros estamos siguiendo ahora. Existe también una cuestión legal. Y como todos ustedes conocen, cuando ustedes -cuando de un tema legal se trata, es bueno consultar a sus abogados, y eso es lo que estamos haciendo

Mr. Kelly: Bien, yo pienso que nuestro mensaje va a ser el mismo mensaje que hemos dicho públicamente, que la Secretaria Clinton dijo ayer y el Presidente Obama ha dicho - nosotros pensamos que el Presidente Zelaya es el presidente constitucional de Honduras, electo democráticamente y debe serle permitido llevar a término su mandato. Nosotros estamos trabajando muy estrechamente mediante los mecanismos de la Organización de Estados Americanos, y pensamos que lo que pasa en Honduras es inconsistente con los principios de la Carta Inter-americana y que necesitamos trabajar esto multilateralmente. Al

mismo tiempo, se están desarrollando también rápidamente acciones en la ONU."

Por ello yo pienso que esto es una oportunidad para mostrar nuestro apoyo al presidencialmente, quiero decir, al presidente de Honduras democráticamente electo y también, para decirle a él acerca de cómo hemos estado coordinando con nuestros aliados, y parte de eso es en la OEA.

Pregunta: ¿opina usted que es buena idea la de él de regresar el jueves, como quiere hacer?

Mr. Kelly: Yo no voy a - yo quiero ser preciso- yo pienso es una buena idea para él ser reincorporado a su puesto como Presidente de Honduras.

Pregunta: ¿Estarán los EEUU en disposición de brindarle alguna seguridad a él, si retorna a Honduras el jueves?

Mr. Kelly: Esta no es una pregunta para la cual yo estoy preparado a dar una respuesta, realmente.

Sí, Hill.

Pregunta: Sí, Ian, volviendo atrás... si tuviera la amabilidad de permitirme hacer otra pregunta sobre cuestiones legales.

**Mr. Kelly: Si**

Pregunta: Pero, precisamente, - usted dice constitucional- usted tiene los hechos. El orden constitucional ha sido revertido.

Mr. Kelly: Correcto.

Pregunta: Okay. ¿Entonces es ese el detonante? ¿Es eso suficiente para cortar la ayuda? Porque usted dice que hay un proceso legal que hay que seguir.

**Mr. Kelly: Si**

Pregunta: En otras palabras, ha usted definido- es ese el detonante que nosotros tenemos- usted conoce que

se ha echado abajo el orden constitucional, ¿tenemos entonces el derecho de cortar la ayuda?

Mr. Kelly: Bien, nosotros- como yo digo, eso es un proceso. Nosotros queremos hacer seguro que el recién confirmado Asesor Legal del Departamento de Estado, Harold Koh y su equipo tengan la oportunidad de tomar una determinación con relación a ello.

**Pregunta: Okay, entonces...**

Mr. Kelly: Entonces eso es lo que está sucediendo exactamente ahora.

Pregunta: Okay. Entonces ¿no es ello suficiente para detener la ayuda? El revertir el orden constitucional, ¿no es legalmente suficiente para usted como para detener la ayuda?

Mr. Kelly: Nosotros necesitamos que nuestros expertos legales revisen la ley, vean los hechos en el terreno y tomen una determinación.

Pregunta: ¿Cuánto tiempo va a tomar esto?

Mr. Kelly: Oh, no será mucho, yo no le puedo decir exactamente cuanto tiempo va a tomar, pero espero no sea mucho tiempo."

En lo expuesto anteriormente se ve como el Sr. Kelly aplaza hacer cualquier comentario respecto a la clasificación del golpe desde la perspectiva y leyes de los EEUU. Ello significa darle más tiempo y una dosis diaria de oxígeno fresco a los militares que estaban (y todavía están) reprimiendo a diario la creciente resistencia en Honduras y obstaculizando sus movimientos. El ejército y la policía estaban también, y están, intentando ocultar todo, y obstruyendo fuertemente la cobertura de la prensa nacional e internacional acerca de lo que realmente está sucediendo en el país. Kelly, además, trata de desviar la responsabilidad de los EEUU, enfatizando rápidamente la necesidad de la diplomacia y la mediación de la OEA. Véase que



*Una mujer hondureña en una protesta contra el golpe de estado en Honduras.*

Kelly dice "nosotros estamos coordinando con nuestros aliados y parte de eso es en la OEA". Ello plantea la interrogante acerca de ¿quiénes son los aliados de Washington? , ¿Costa Rica, Colombia, Canadá?

Por una parte los EEUU elogian a la OEA, pero al mismo tiempo se reservan el derecho de establecer tratos bilaterales con ciertos gobiernos de su elección. Washington necesita tiempo para organizar con sus aliados y dar luz verde a los golpistas a hacer lo mismo con el apoyo de las oligarquías de derecha de Suramérica y de Miami. Ello representa un velado intento de dividir las fuerzas de la OEA. La justa y correcta resolución de la OEA deviene una cobertura para cualquier cosa, excepto para la restitución del presidente Zelaya. Kelly también rechazó contestar la pregunta acerca de si los EEUU podrían brindar alguna seguridad al Presidente Zelaya si intenta retornar a su país. Este acto de equilibrio en cuerda floja dice mucho, debido a que cuando Zelaya hizo pública su declaración de que intentaría regresar el 24 de Julio, por vía terrestre desde la frontera con Nicaragua, los EEUU, como veremos más abajo, trató enérgicamente de persuadir a Zelaya de que no lo hiciera. Esto fue hecho de forma

tal que cualquier incidente que sucediera, sería considerado por los EEUU como culpa de Zelaya. Esta es la misma posición asumida por los golpistas.

En el siguiente encuentro de prensa brindado por Kelly, el 1 de julio, al dar respuesta a la misma pregunta acerca de cuando sería hecha la clasificación legal del golpe por parte de los EEUU, planteó su desacuerdo con "cualquier adverbio referido al tiempo". También dijo lo que parece ser una excusa para cualquier posterior demora, que los EEUU toman "sus obligaciones para con la ley muy seriamente". Sin embargo, parece ser que la ley en la forma de la resolución tomada por la OEA y la ONU, no se adapta a la categoría a la cual se refiere cuando plantea que los EEUU toman sus "obligaciones para con la ley y muy seriamente".

"Pregunta: para empezar con Honduras, ayer usted nos habló de que la oficina del Asesor Legal ha iniciado su análisis formal acerca de si el Gobierno de los EEUU considera lo ocurrido como un golpe de estado militar.

*continúa en la página siguiente*



*continúa de la página anterior*

Mr. Kelly: Correcto

Pregunta: Y por tanto desencadena el corte de la ayuda.

Mr. Kelly: Si

Pregunta: ¿Ya esta completo el análisis? Usted ha dicho también que no piensa que ello debe tomar mucho tiempo.

Mr. Kelly: si

Pregunta: ¿Está terminado el análisis?, ¿han tomado ustedes una determinación?

Mr. Kelly: Si. Siempre es peligroso cuando usted utiliza cualquier tipo de adverbio de tiempo en una declaración. Desde el punto de vista de los hechos, nosotros no tenemos completa nuestra determinación legal. Como le dije ayer, a través de nuestros asesores legales, estamos evaluando activamente los hechos y la ley en cuestión, lo cual hemos tomado muy seriamente. Hemos tomado nuestras obligaciones para con la ley muy seriamente. Y por supuesto, se le hará saber a ustedes tan pronto como sea tomada una determinación.”<sup>2m</sup>

El 2 de Julio la parte del intercambio con la prensa relacionada con Honduras podemos leerla a continuación, en respuesta a las mismas preguntas de los reporteros:

“Mr. Kelly: Bien, por supuesto, nuestra meta es la restauración de lo constitucional – del orden constitucional en Tegucigalpa, lo que significa la restauración del Presidente Zelaya. Este es un proceso que está siendo llevado a cabo liderado por la OEA. Nosotros pensamos que debe permitirse que ese proceso se desarrolle, y estaríamos en desacuerdo con cualquier acción que significase un obstáculo para el alcance de la salida deseada, que por supuesto, es la restauración de Mel Zelaya en el poder.

Pregunta: Entonces, si me queda claro, ¿esta usted sugiriendo la posibilidad de que su retorno demasiado temprano, podría ser un obstáculo?

Mr. Kelly: Podría serlo. Y yo pienso que en lo que todo el mundo necesita enfocarse ahora es en esta misión de la OEA encomendada por la Asamblea General Especial de la OEA. Por supuesto, yo no puedo hablar por el presidente Zelaya, pero tengo entendido él ha aplazado cualquier plan de retorno.

Pregunta: ¿Tiene usted alguna noticia acerca de la revisión de un posible corte de la ayuda a Honduras?

Mr. Kelly: Si, yo tengo algo actualizado para ustedes acerca de esto, si pueden esperarse un segundo. Se está llevando a cabo la evaluación legal. Estamos tratando de determinar si la sección 7008 del Acta de Asistencia Extranjera debe ser aplicada. En este momento nosotros estamos tomando algunas acciones para tocar el botón de pausa, es decir, en cuanto a programas de asistencia que nosotros estaríamos legalmente obligados a rescindir si es así se determina, -si los sucesos del día 28 así lo determinan, según está definido – estoy hablando cada vez más como un abogado aquí – como está definido según la Sección 7008 del Acta de Asistencia Extranjera, si está definido como un golpe de estado militar.”<sup>3n</sup>

Mientras esto está sucediendo en Washington, la represión contra la heroica resistencia del pueblo hondureño se mantiene con toda la fuerza.

**¿Es un Golpe Militar o No? ¿Ha Tomado el Departamento de Estado una Decisión?**

¡Todavía no! El 6 de Julio el acto de equilibrio sobre la cuerda floja aún continuaba.

“Pregunta: Bien. Y, entonces, muchachos, ¿no han tomado aún una decisión, -una determinación acerca de si en efecto ha ocurrido un golpe militar y por tanto la ayuda de EEUU tiene que cortarse?

Mr. Kelly: Bien, como dije el jueves, nosotros decidimos que ninguna ayuda debe estar sujeta su cancelación al amparo de esta ley – que ninguna ayuda de este tipo esta ahora fluyendo al régimen de facto. Nosotros estamos aún en el proceso de determinar si se aplica la ley. Pero no nos inclinamos a tomar una decisión definitiva mientras se llevan a cabo iniciativas diplomáticas...

Mr. Kelly: Bien, solo un par de puntos. Uno es que existen – la mayor parte de nuestras actividades están excluidas de esta sección particular de la ley, y ellas son, la ayuda humanitaria y la ayuda para el apoyo de programas de construcción democrática.

Nosotros hemos decidido no continuar nuestro financiamiento en aquellos programas que pueden ser considerados como teniendo – como

brindando directamente ayuda al gobierno o a – lo que nosotros llamamos régimen de facto de Honduras. Y ese es un proceso complicado, pero reconocemos que podemos tomar esta determinación de finalizar, y es por ello que todo programa que pueda ser considerado de ayuda al gobierno ha terminado, nada de este tipo de ayuda está fluyendo en estos momentos.”<sup>4o</sup>

Uno puede querer notar que Kelly está preocupado acerca de que cualquier ayuda al régimen de facto sea “interpretada” como una ayuda al gobierno, al utilizar este mismo término dos veces en el mismo párrafo. Ello me hace pensar, volviendo atrás, en la Sra. Clinton y su importante declaración política del 15 de Julio citada anteriormente, cuando ella se refirió a “la capacidad y credibilidad de nuestro nuevo presidente y su equipo. Ello también significa la aplicación del antiguo sentido común en las formas de hacer política. Ello es una mezcla de principios y pragmatismo...”. Acerca de lo que el Departamento de Estado parece estar preocupado en primer lugar y como su principal preocupación es por reconstruir la imagen o credibilidad de los EEUU, a la vez que trata de “liderar” de una nueva manera más efectiva. Dando tiempo y ayuda al régimen de facto contribuyen al principio enunciado anteriormente respecto al objetivo: el objetivo imperialista de los EEUU de dominar, o lo que Washington llama “liderar”. Esta intención se trata de mezclar con pragmatismo: en el caso de Honduras, abstenerse de apoyar abierta y descaradamente al régimen militar, como la desastrosa política de Bush hubiera hecho, la cual solo contribuyó a fomentar los movimientos sociales populares en Suramérica contra el imperialismo norteamericano y las políticas neoliberales.

La rápida derrota del golpe organizado por EEUU contra el Presidente Chávez es un ejemplo de la inutilidad de esta política, que Washington está ahora tratando de evitar. Este pragmatismo se aplica ocultando el blanco real de los EEUU, mediante el uso de los conceptos de diálogo y diplomacia.

El alcance de este artículo no me permite entrar en revisar cuestiones que pueden resultar

sutilezas referidas a conceptos jurídicos y cantidades de gasto relativas a las distintas formas de ayuda y apoyo norteamericano - por ejemplo militar, económica, humanitaria y la promoción política de la “democracia”. Prefiero concentrarme en analizar la actual política de Washington, que ha caído en un estancamiento en su empeño de definir rigurosamente la clasificación legal de un golpe de estado militar. ¿Qué implicaciones tendría una clasificación legal del golpe como un golpe de estado militar para la política norteamericana sobre Honduras? Para un análisis completo y muy revelador sobre diferentes formas de ayuda y apoyo norteamericano, ver los dos artículos más recientes de Eva Golinger.<sup>5</sup>



En el contacto de prensa efectuado el 7 de Julio, Kelly respondió a la pregunta con respecto al retorno de Zelaya como Presidente:

“Mr. Kelly: Si, Bueno, yo pienso, -si usted mira al discurso de hoy del Presidente Obama en Moscú, lo que él el dijo fue que nosotros vemos una situación en la que un presidente democráticamente electo fue derrocado y exiliado fuera de su país. Y nosotros queremos este principio de que usted no puede tratar con esa clase de conflictos extra-constitucionalmente, y eso es el principio que nosotros queremos ver defendido. Nosotros queremos ver el orden constitucional y democrático restaurado.

Pregunta: Tal parece que usted ha abierto la ventana para una solución diferente, probablemente a partir de unas elecciones adelantadas, o....

*continuado en la página 36*

## EL CASO DE HONDURAS

*continuado de la página 35*

Mr. Kelly: Ahora, veremos. Quiero decir, ahora, -quiero decir, y nosotros lo venimos diciendo a todo lo largo del proceso, que: a) nosotros queremos que esos conflictos sean resueltos a través del dialogo y b) hemos visto esto como un problema para la Organización de Estados Americanos y para el- para este forum que es el Forum Inter-Americano. Ahora nosotros tenemos un proceso muy bueno donde ustedes tienen al presidente de Costa Rica, que está de acuerdo con ser el mediador. Por supuesto, este es el principio de un proceso. Y como la Secretaria ha dicho, nosotros no queremos prejuzgar como se desenvolverá el proceso, sino que ahora tenemos un diálogo que está teniendo lugar.”<sup>q</sup>

El Sr. Kelly quiere la mediación del Presidente de Costa Rica, Arias, y que el diálogo “tenga lugar” mientras la lucha en Honduras continúa entre el régimen y la resistencia. Parece que el Departamento de Estado, está deseando y rezando para que la resistencia del pueblo en Honduras se desgaste, se desmoralice y debilite con el transcurso del tiempo. Sin embargo, en el momento en que estas líneas se están escribiendo, esa desmoralización no está ocurriendo a pesar de la represión y las extremadamente difíciles condiciones en que se están desarrollando los acontecimientos.



El 10 de Julio en respuesta a preguntas realizadas de los reporteros, el Secretario Asistente del Departamento de Estado de EEUU Philip J. Crowley, dijo que la negociación de Arias “... es la mejor ruta para resolver esto pacíficamente...”. Sólo cuando el reportero insistió de que si ello significaba el retorno de Zelaya a su posición, Crowley confirmó esto, en todo caso, en palabras.<sup>f</sup>

### ¿ES LA MEDIACIÓN DE ARIAS UN PROCESO NORTE AMERICANO?

Dado que la respuesta a esta pregunta se ha venido exigiendo cada vez más por la opinión pública, el 13 de Julio, a Kelly se le preguntó si la mediación de Arias era o no un proceso Americano.

“Mr. Kelly: Sí. Ben, este no es un proceso Norte Americano. Es un proceso en que todos estamos poniendo de su parte – es un proceso liderado por el Presidente de Costa Rica, Arias, al cual le estamos dando todo nuestro apoyo. Y...”

Pregunta: eso a mi me suena como un proceso Norte Americano (risas).

Mr. Kelly: Nosotros estamos apoyando el proceso que lidera el Presidente Arias. No es un proceso Americano –

Pregunta: ¿De quién es el país, en cual parte del mundo?

Mr. Kelly: No es un proceso que este siendo liderado por los Estados Unidos de América (risas). Nosotros

solo tenemos que dar – nosotros tenemos que dar tiempo para que este proceso funcione. Y yo voy a precisar- nosotros- nosotros estamos como yo digo, nosotros estamos firmemente al lado del Presidente Arias. El dijo a finales de la semana pasada que esperaba sentarse de nuevo en una semana con las dos partes, y estas serían el tipo de propuestas que yo espero que ambas partes puedan discutir.”<sup>s</sup>

### Y el 14 de Julio-

“Pregunta: El presidente Zelaya ha planteado, lo que el pueblo considera un ultimátum. El dice que si las conversaciones con el presidente Arias como mediador no le restauran o retornan al poder en la siguiente sesión, entonces ellas habrán fracasado y otras medidas pueden ser, otras medidas tendrán que ser tomadas.

Mr. Kelly: Si

Pregunta: Qué, ¿es esta la misma posición de los EEUU?

Mr. Kelly: Bueno, yo pienso que usted sabe cuál es nuestra posición – es que nosotros pensamos que todas las partes en las conversaciones deben darle cierto tiempo al proceso, no fijar fechas límites artificiales, no hacer algo así – no decir si X no sucede en cierto tiempo, entonces las conversaciones están muertas. Debemos darle oportunidad al proceso y apoyar lo que el presidente Arias está haciendo.

Pregunta: Bien, ¿Consideraría usted que ellas han fallado si durante la siguiente sesión no resultan en el retorno de Zelaya?

Mr. Kelly: Bien, mire, de nuevo, yo no quiero fijar ninguna fecha límite artificial.

Pregunta: Bien, eso es. -está usted

ed diciendo que la respuesta es no, que usted no está de acuerdo con Zelaya en que ellas hayan fallado si ellas...

Mr. Kelly: Yo pienso que nosotros debemos darle una oportunidad al Presidente Arias.”<sup>t</sup>

### CAMBIA EL EQUILIBRISTA, PERO SE MANTIENE LA MISMA POSICIÓN VACILANTE.



Otro vocero del Departamento de Estado, Robert Woods, respondió a los reporteros el 17 de Julio, del siguiente modo:

“Mr. Woods: Y mire, las conversaciones de paz de Arias no son cosa del pasado, -quiero decir que esto es reciente. Necesitamos darle cierto tiempo. Como yo le dije, el está comprometido con este proceso, nosotros lo estamos, otros en el hemisferio lo están. Nosotros necesitamos permitirles que trabajen. Nosotros necesitamos permitirles marchar adelante. Y así nosotros vamos a continuar alentando a las partes a apoyar el proceso, porque nosotros pensamos que es la mejor manera de retornar al punto hacia donde queremos regresar.

Pregunta: Siguiendo en este tema. ¿Ha pedido específicamente o urgido el Gobierno de EEUU al Presidente Zelaya, que no trate de hacer otro intento de entrar a Honduras?

Mr. Woods: Yo no quisiera profundizar acerca de los temas que hemos podido haber entrado a discutir o no con el presidente Zelaya. Permitásenos solo decir que nosotros no - como he dicho anteriormente-

nosotros no queremos gente dando pasos que en algún modo puedan entrar en conflicto o no contribuir positivamente a los esfuerzos de mediación de Arias.

Pregunta: Entonces ¿su retorno no contribuiría positivamente al proceso de mediación? ¿Es eso lo que usted está diciendo?

Mr. Woods: Yo no tengo nada más para añadir a lo que ya le he dado a usted.”<sup>u</sup>

### ¿QUÉ LE DIJO CLINTON A MICHELETTI?

El 20 de Julio, volvemos a Crowley-

“Mr. Crowley: Y ayer desde Nueva Delhi, la Secretaria tuvo una conversación telefónica con el líder del régimen de facto Sr. Micheletti. Y ella planteó durante su llamada – lo animó a continuar centrado en esas negociaciones y también le ayudó a comprender las consecuencias potenciales de no ser capaces de aprovechar esta mediación.

Pregunta: Ahora, ¿esta es la primera vez que ella, que alguien, yo pienso, ha hablado con Micheletti?

Mr. Crowley: Esta es una pregunta justa, yo no, -nosotros hemos tenido contacto con representantes de ambas partes, pero esta claro que ese es el primer contacto de ella con él.

### Pregunta: Entonces no sobre-

Pregunta: ¿Tiene usted algún comentario acerca de cuan firme fue ella en su conversación con Micheletti?

### Mr. Crowley: Yo pienso que ella...

Pregunta: ¿Fue ella bien clara con el Sr. Micheletti de que los EEUU no reconocen al gobierno de facto y que independientemente de sus objeciones durante estas conversaciones de fin de semana, es necesario que se

*continúa en la página siguiente*



continúa de la página anterior

prepare para hacerse a un lado y permitir el regreso del presidente electo?

Mr. Crowley: Yo pienso que fue una conversación telefónica fuerte. Aun más, yo pienso que en lo que ella fue clara fue en recordarle al gobierno de facto, si lo necesitaba, que lo que nosotros buscamos es restaurar el orden constitucional y democrático, una solución pacífica. Nosotros no pensamos que alguien deba dar algún paso que añada riesgos de violencia en Honduras y que nosotros apoyamos completamente la mediación que está llevando adelante Arias.

Pregunta: Entonces ¿esta usted advirtiéndole al Sr Zelaya que permanezca en Nicaragua, o cualquier otro país que le brinde refugio, durante el tiempo de la mediación si ello conduce a una disminución de las tensiones?

Mr.Crowley: Yo pienso que le hemos puesto en claro al presidente Zelaya que nosotros pensamos que la mediación es la vía por donde debe ir. Sí.

Pregunta: Puede usted –hablarnos de cualquier acción fuerte, declaraciones que estén ustedes planeando, si ellos –el régimen de facto, se mantiene en su actual postura-

Mr.Crowley: Quiero decir, que nosotros tenemos opciones si no cambian, también exigencias legales si estas negociaciones fracasan.

Pregunta: Sólo para clarificar eso. Usted ha di-

cho que le dijo a Zelaya que la mediación es el camino. Pero le ha dicho usted específicamente, “No regreses debido a que es peligroso y puede generar tensión y violencia”

Mr.Crowley: Sí

Pregunta: Directamente, ¿usted le ha dicho eso?

Mr. Crowley: Sí.”

La conversación entre Clinton y Micheletti no se ha hecho pública. No obstante, yo creo que la Clinton realmente tuvo una llamada telefónica “fuerte” con Micheletti, tal como su secretario señalo en la entrevista que aparece previamente. ¿Por qué es esto? Los golpistas no pueden ni siquiera estar de acuerdo con una propuesta mediadora que esté fuertemente a su favor, mientras continúa la resistencia en las calles de Honduras: ¿Cómo se vería ello para la nueva imagen de política internacional que Washington quiere presentar al mundo? ¿Cómo tomaría esto el pueblo de los EEUU, que ha mostrado estar cada vez más en contra de las políticas de confrontación a escala internacional?

Por otra parte, Zelaya no ha atendido el privilegio de ninguna advertencia privada. Como indicó antes el Departamento de Estado: “No regrese, porque es peligroso y podría crear tensiones y violencia”. Diciendo esto públicamente, ¿no indica ello, de manera abierta a los golpistas, que Zelaya es un blanco fácil y que no va a disfrutar del apoyo de los EEUU? Compare esto con la llamada secreta a Micheletti:

¿quizás no tan dura como las palabras dirigidas a Zelaya?

La decisión de Washington acerca de la clasificación legal del golpe acorde a las normas de los EEUU no se ha tomado aún. Esta eventual decisión decide si los EEUU van a cortar completamente y perman-

entemente, en tanto los golpistas estén en el poder, cortar toda la ayuda militar, económica y política, así como retirar el reconocimiento diplomático.

El régimen depende completamente para su existencia de la ayuda de todo tipo de los EEUU. Al mismo tiempo del contacto de prensa citado anteriormente (del 20 de Julio) el Departamento de Estado ha dicho que ellos sólo han tocado el botón de pausa en ciertos programas que están temporalmente detenidos. Mas tarde, durante ese contacto, en respuesta a la siguiente pregunta: ¿han ustedes definido legalmente esto como un golpe de estado....?, la respuesta de Mr. Crowley fue: “No”.”

¿Ambigüedad tras ambigüedad!, ¿Significa ello que finalmente los EEUU han definido el golpe como no legal; o ello significa que todavía no han tomado una decisión en este tema? Ello será clarificado mas tarde, cerca de una semana después, el 29 de Julio.

En el siguiente contacto de prensa del 21 de Julio, el vocero comisionado por el Departamento de Estado, Woods dijo en respuesta a una pregunta que “Nosotros estamos en constante contacto con un número de países del hemisferio acerca de las situación en Honduras. Y nosotros creemos que la mediación de Arias marcha por el camino correcto...”. En reacción a otra pregunta relativa al significado que Woods el daba al término “actuando ahora”, él respondió que “lo que yo quiero decir con actuando ahora, es que nosotros tenemos un proceso que está teniendo lugar liderado por el Presidente Arias.”

Parece claro que la mediación de Arias va poniéndole en las manos a los EEUU el tiempo necesario para tratar de formar alianzas en Suramérica. Esas alianzas son directamente no sólo contra Zelaya, sino que están en oposición a todos los gobiernos suramericanos, incluyendo aquellos del Caribe y de Centroamérica, que persisten en apoyar el retorno incondicional como requirió la OEA y la resolución de la ONU. Ello tiene que ser muy frustrante para los miles de personas en las calles de muchas ciudades en Honduras que están desafiando los militares entrenados y asesorados por los EEUU: mientras el pueblo persiste en alzar sus demandas enfrentando una feroz represión, los EEUU definen “actuando ahora” de un modo que es solo aplicable en contra de las fuerzas

sociales que se oponen a los golpistas y no a los golpistas. En la lista de prioridades de los EEUU, la rama de olivo está todo el tiempo en el fondo, por debajo de todos los componentes militares.

*Parte II de “Washington en el Cuerda Floja” aparecerá en el próximo número de Fire This Time.*

\* Arnold August - Montreal, autor/periodista/conferencista especializado en Cuba. Libro *Democracy in Cuba and the 1997-98 Elections*. Capítulo titulado: “Socialism and Elections” en *Cuban Socialism in a New Century: Adversity, Survival and Renewal* (University Press of Florida 2004, editado por los profesores Max Azicri y Elsie Deal. Próximo libro Cuba: Democracia Participativa y Elecciones en el Siglo XXI (español, inglés, y francés en otoño 2010). Miembro de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA), the International Committee for the Freedom of the Five and the Comité Fabio Di Celmo pour les Cinq of the Table de concertation de solidarité Québec-Cuba.

## Notas

a <http://content.usatoday.com/communities/theoval/post/2009/06/68493138/1>

b [http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2009/06/30/on\\_foreign\\_policy\\_obama\\_treads.html](http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2009/06/30/on_foreign_policy_obama_treads.html)

c <http://www.chron.com/disp/story.mpl/sp/us/6516263.html>

d <http://www.esmonitor.com/2009/0708/p02s01-usfp.html>

e <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1909181,00.html>

f <http://www.heraldohio.com/content/view/full/70415/>

g <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm>

h <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125452.htm>

i <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125452.htm>

j <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/06/125487.htm>

k <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/125481.htm>

l <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/125510.htm>

m <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125545.htm>

n <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>

o <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>

p <http://www.chavezcode.com/2009/07/washington-coup-in-honduras-here-is.html>

<http://www.vtv.gov.ve/articulos/reportajes/21598>

q <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125599.htm>

r <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125940.htm>

s <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/125995.htm>

t <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126023.htm>

u <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126171.htm>

v <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126250.htm>

w <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126250.htm>

x <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2009/july/126274.htm>



Protesta contra el golpe en Honduras.

# Vancouver Activists Form a Coalition to Oppose Right-Wing Coup in Honduras



*Vancouver activists protest the coup in Honduras, July 18, 2009*

*By Andrew Barry*

The June 28<sup>th</sup> coup d'état in Honduras that overthrew the democratically elected government of President Manuel Zelaya was a severe attack on the struggles and gains of poor people in Honduras and throughout Latin America. In Vancouver, Canada more than 25 Latin American organizations, solidarity groups, antiwar organizations and political parties formed a committee to protest and expose this right-wing attack.

The coalition, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Honduras, formed under the simple yet strong banner of "Unite Against the Coup in Honduras". Young and old, experienced and new to politics, this committee brought out a diverse mix of people, Latin American and non-Latin American who opposed this right-wing coup and wanted to express solidarity with

the Honduran people.

## July 4<sup>th</sup> Action

The first protest rally organized in Vancouver against the coup took place less than one week after the undemocratic removal of Honduran president Zelaya. Social justice loving people, from all communities and nationalities, were infuriated and gathered in downtown Vancouver to demand the immediate return of Manuel Zelaya. Protesters also condemned the repression of the coup government against the Honduran people and the kidnapping and beating of the Venezuelan and Cuban ambassadors to Honduras.

## July 11<sup>th</sup> Action

The second action organized was a "United Rally Against the Coup in Honduras!" This demonstration opened the space for Hondurans, Latin Americans, and many other people to express their outrage at the illegal and unconstitutional removal of President Zelaya. This protest came almost one week after a massive protest at the main Honduran airport where President Zelaya unsuccessfully attempted to return to Honduras, but was blocked from doing so by the coup military forces.

## July 19<sup>th</sup> Action

A week later, on July 19<sup>th</sup>, a third protest took place in Vancouver, this time with an even stronger presence. Under the 32 degree heat over 250 activists and concerned human loving people held signs, banners, and chanted slogans against the coup. This was especially stronger because of the performance by the revolutionary band, Lloviznando Cantos, direct from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. They performed several solidarity songs, including

a new song specifically condemning the coup in Honduras. Lloviznando Cantos' set paid a tribute to the people of Honduras for their continuous daily struggle against the coup plotters. The band was enthusiastically received by the crowd as well as from people passing by who stopped to listen to the music and get more information on the crisis in Honduras.

## July 31<sup>st</sup> Event

After three demonstrations on the streets of Vancouver, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Honduras called for a public forum to discuss the crisis in Honduras. The forum, "Honduras After the Coup: Challenges and Perspectives," took place on July 31<sup>st</sup> at the Chilean Housing Co-Op. This event gave a chance for organizers and solidarity activists to speak more in depth about the significance of the coup in Honduras. Speakers also opened discussion on the history of US backed coup d'états in Latin America, and how this one in Honduras is no different.

## Down with Coup D'état!

Nearly two months have passed since the US-backed right-wing coup in Honduras overthrew President Zelaya. The people of Honduras show no signs of slowing down



*Rally in Vancouver against the coup in Honduras, July 4, 2009*

on their daily actions against this unjust coup regime. Hondurans have led daily protests, unions have gone on strikes, factories shut down, and highways and transportation routes have been blocked, all in an effort to weaken this coup government. These heroic actions have been met with repression, killings, thousands of arrests, and night time curfews by the coup regime. In Vancouver, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Honduras will continue to demonstrate and organize against the right-wing coup. All peace loving people should join this international struggle in solidarity with the Honduran people who have heroically demonstrated to the world their consistent and uncompromising call for justice, and for the restoration of their elected President.

**NO TO THE COUP IN HONDURAS!**

**US HANDS OFF HONDURAS!**

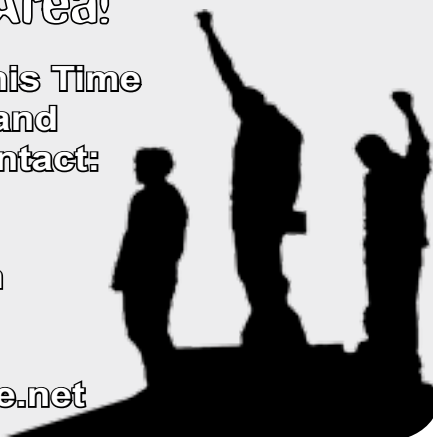
**REINSTATE PRESIDENT ZELAYA NOW!**



## Distribute Revolutionary Change in Your Area!

For distribution of Fire This Time in your area, across BC, and internationally, please contact:

Nita Palmer  
Publicity and Distribution  
Coordinator  
Phone: (604) 780-7604  
Email: [distro@firethistime.net](mailto:distro@firethistime.net)



## Subscribe to Fire This Time!

NAME

ADDRESS

For a one year  
subscription, make  
cheques payable to  
"Nita Palmer"

Send along with form to:  
PO Box 21607  
Vancouver BC  
V5L 5G3

EMAIL

PHONE

Canada \$15  
USA \$20  
International \$30

## Also Available from **FIRE THIS TIME**



For more pamphlets available from Fire This Time contact:

Nita Palmer (604) 780-7604 [distro@firethistime.net](mailto:distro@firethistime.net)  
Or view all available titles at [www.firethistime.net](http://www.firethistime.net)

## SUBSCRIBE!

DIARIO  
**Granma**  
NEWSPAPER

Send your name, address, province/state, country and postal/zip code with the equivalent of \$40.00 USD (for 52 weeks) by postal or electronic bank transfer to:  
Ediciones Cubanas, Apartado 6260, C.P. 10699, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba.  
In the United States or anywhere else in the world, go to the Pathfinder website at: [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)

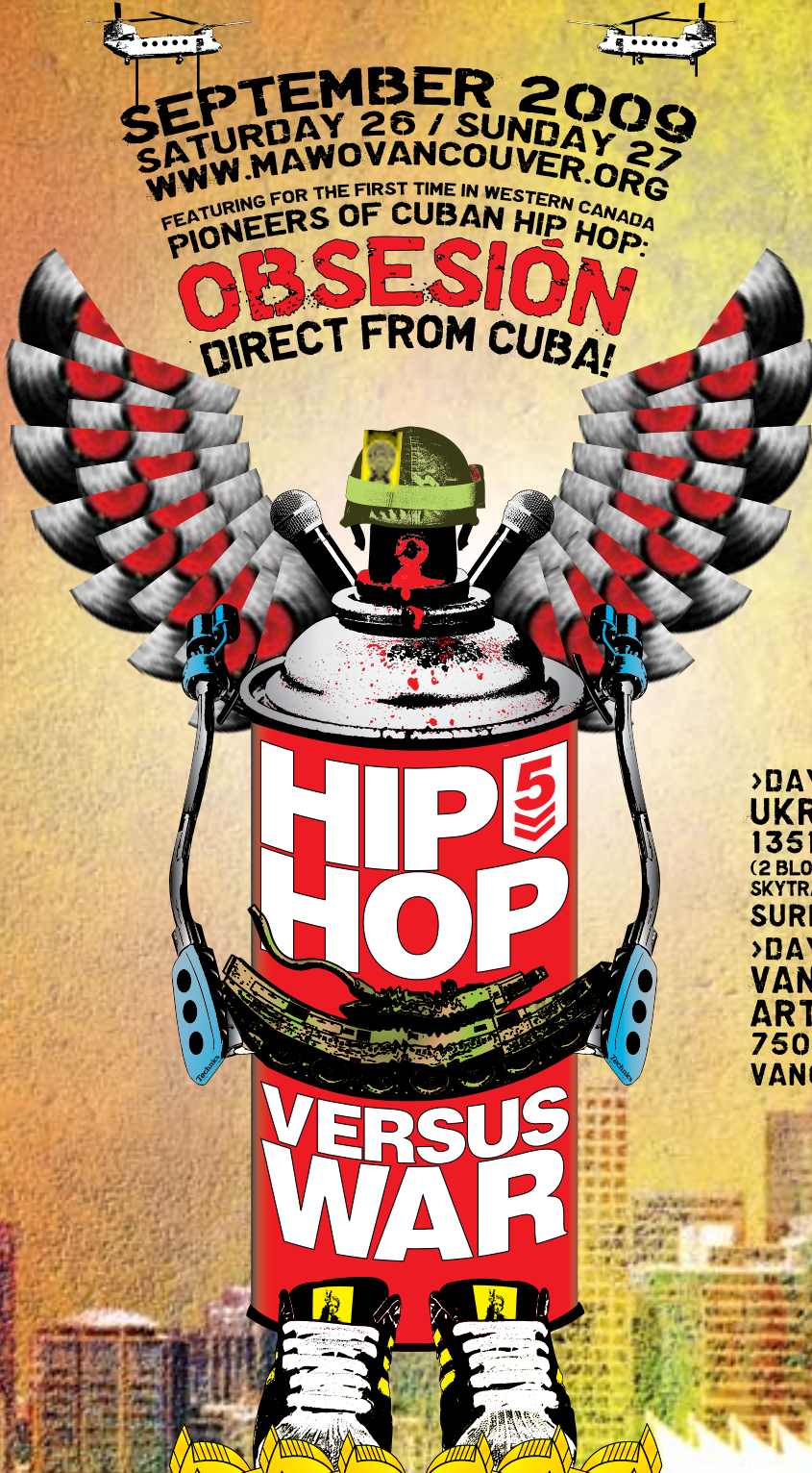
## ADVERTISING OUR SUPPORTERS

PANTALLA GIGANTE - TV EN ESPAÑOL - FUTBOL - MUSICA EN VIVO - AMBIENTE FAMILIAR

 **El Rancho** RESTAURANT  
112 Kingsway & Broadway (second floor)  
Vancouver, B.C. V5T 312  
Phone: 604.8741363

 **El Rancho** RESTAURANT





**SEPTEMBER 2009**  
**SATURDAY 26 / SUNDAY 27**  
**WWW.MAWOVANCOUVER.ORG**

FEATURING FOR THE FIRST TIME IN WESTERN CANADA  
PIONEERS OF CUBAN HIP HOP:

**OBSESIÓN**  
DIRECT FROM CUBA!

›DAY 1  
**UKRAINIAN HALL**  
13512 108 AVE.  
(2 BLOCKS EAST OF GATEWAY  
SKYTRAIN STATION)

**SURREY**

›DAY 2  
**VANCOUVER**  
**ART GALLERY**  
750 HORNBY ST.  
**VANCOUVER**

VANCOUVER'S FIFTH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL  
**HIP HOP FESTIVAL**  
AGAINST WAR AND OCCUPATION  
FREE AND ALL AGES - VISIT WEBSITE FOR PROGRAM UPDATES