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# THE CITIZEN

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for Social Responsibility, a Non-Profit Corporation

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## *Is it Subversion ? ...Or is it Dissent ?*

By: Victor Saraiva

During a great part of 1999, while visiting Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador I was able to meet people who live and work in the most impoverished areas and in the most dire conditions in these countries. Many, many thousands live in huts with dirt floors, cook over open fires, under conditions best described as abysmal. There are no indoor bathrooms, plumbing, nor in most villages, even piped water, though in Mexico there has been an attempt to pipe potable water to villages and construct roads in previously inaccessible regions.

Few villages had schools, fewer teachers, none had a hospital or clinic or even doctors. Many struggle to live on a diet of beans, corn and coffee. Those fortunate enough, have bananas, oranges and pineapples in their diet— those that cannot develop scurvy and die. Many children go barefooted but yet work alongside their parents in the fields for long hours. They are mostly descendants of the Mayan and Aztec civilizations. They can still speak ancient languages that are quickly vanishing from existence. Indeed they claim that they are the victims of a war of extermination at the hands of their governments.

Clothing donated by church groups and Aid organizations in the USA are not being provided FREE to those who need it— the Indians and poor in these countries. Donated clothing winds up being sold at markets in the cities, as cheap clothing— and serves to tax the poor rather than alleviate their need. A further effect is that such tactics prove to weaken the textile industry of these countries, essentially by becoming a source of competition at the market place. The garment industry cannot compete with such lower prices and thus many companies go out of business and produce greater unemployment. Where is the justice in that ? Who is profiting ?

I witnessed also medicine being sold that came from the USA with dates of expiration exceeding two years. How can “men” profit in this way at the expense of human suffering and human lives ? Is this free enterprise ? Is this sound business ? Is this freedom and democracy at work ?

Therefore many Indians, are fighting as members of organizations identified by their countries, and by our State Department as subversive. They constitute the EZLN in Mexico, the URNG in Guatemala and the FMLN in El Salvador. In fact their villages receive little, if any, government assistance.

They live in the cities and in the jungles, and forests— and protest and resist with both nonviolent and, at times, violent means in order to bring about needed reforms for the Indians and the poor of those nations. They have struggled to survive against oppression and corruption, amid grave injustice and violence of every form imaginable. In Guatemala, entire villages have been wiped off the face of the earth. In El Salvador, and in Guatemala, people who have opposed the government have simply disappeared.

*How can one call subversive the desire to have decent and available medical care for one's family and community ? How can one call subversive the desire to have one's children receive an education ? How can one call subversive the desire to have just laws that treat all people as equals rather than some as more equal than others ?*

In Mexico too, oppression is quite obvious. In the Mexican state of Chiapas, where the EZLN is quite active since overt fighting began in the early to mid 90's., Today the remote mountainous and jungle portions of the state resemble a state under siege, there is a strong military presence. Although tourists can be seen throughout the state, the Mexican government is attempting to dissuade people from visiting, or rather witnessing what is occurring. During my visit, the Zapatistas, as the EZLN is referred to, were conducting a public referendum called “The Consulta.” This was a democratic process of documenting public opinion regarding demands for the government to continue dialogue with the Zapatistas concerning the “Indian condition.” Mr. Labastida Ochoa, the Governor of the state of Chiapas and a defeated candidate in the recent presidential election, responded that no such public opinion referendum would be at all of interest or even considered. Even though the “consulta” was being performed by many members of international human

rights organizations. Such is the state of affairs of how people are being treated by a so called "democratic government." Children are not being schooled because the uneducated, the illiterate, are easily controlled and made to accept the most dire of living conditions. According to a Mexican army general with whom I struck conversation; "*peasants are easily controlled because they are so religious and tend to believe what they are told. We have much religion here*". They can be made to work for pennies a day since they know not the value of their work or the "inalienable rights" that they should enjoy as human beings and as citizens of their country. Therefore it is not in the interest of those who own large expanses of agricultural land to have educated workers. It is not in the interest of businesses, which can easily sell commodities produced at lower prices, (made possible at the expense of cheap labor as a result of human want, and suffering)— pay higher wages. Desperate starving people also become easy prey and are easily convinced to participate in smuggling and drug traffic, still paid poorly but once again helping to generate huge profits for the corrupt.

General corruption in government has become the rule. In Guatemala, for instance, the black market is seen as a "legitimate business." Loan sharks, who double as money changers abound in the streets throughout the country. In fact those who have foreign currencies, other than US dollars cannot exchange their currencies at any Bank in the country, only on the street through the black market, can it be done. So brazen are these operations, that upon my clearing customs, a customs official "informed" me that the money changers were good people who would give me a good rate. The same was conveyed to me when I attempted to exchange Mexican Pesos at the National Bank of Guatemala, in the nation's capital; "We do not exchange any currency except US Dollars. Try the black market."

In December 1999, Guatemala elected a new president, amid seemingly "democratic elections." Alfonso Portillo, a lawyer and self confessed murderer was elected its new president. Today 80% of the country's 11 million people live *below* the poverty line.

In my travels through the mountains and jungles, of Central America I witnessed what our nation's leaders consider subversive, and I say they know not what subversion is. Since Eisenhower, every administration has contributed to the chaos and poverty of our southern neighbors because of a fear tied to "national security issues." Our nation's leaders have willingly confused

dissent with subversion. They have supported tyrants and fascists, gain control and exercise that control over millions of honest, hard working, impoverished and defenseless people. How have we done it, you ask? Why have we done this in the name of *national security*?

What is national security? It is a concept, a way to define threats to our way of life, to our institutions, and generally to the people of this nation. These threats are presumed to be destructive, possibly causing loss of property and even life. Thus we have agencies that work to prevent such threats from becoming realities. Such agencies include the FBI, and outside our borders "quasi-police" agencies such as the CIA and military intelligence. They are all controlled in one form or another by a secret agency created by executive order on November 4, 1952, by President Harry Truman—the National Security Agency. The agency itself employs in excess of ten thousand people, although there are divisions that employ many thousands more. According to some sources the total of committed employees approaches fifty thousand. However the exact number may be several times this figure. So secret is the NSA that Congress in 1959 passed Public Law 86-36 Section 6 which stated; "*Nothing in this act or any other law...shall be construed to require the disclosure of the organization or any function of the National Security Agency, or any information with respect to the activities thereof, or of the names, titles, salaries, or number of the persons employed by such Agency.*"

Despite its size and power, no law has ever been enacted that can prohibit this agency from engaging in **any** activity. It is essentially "above the laws" of this land. Its budget is in the billions of dollars. It can essentially plan and execute any policy in the name of national security, without any debate or input from Congress or the people of this nation.

One of the first covert missions planned by the NSA and implemented by the CIA, was operation PBSUCCESS. It essentially was a covert operation which destabilized a democratically elected government in Guatemala and substituted it with a fascist dictatorship. PBSUCCESS was a prototype intelligence operation which used intimidation, terrorism, assassination, sabotage *and* the development of the use of paid mercenaries in the guise of "freedom fighters" to interfere in another nation's affairs. PBSUCCESS succeeded in destabilizing the Arbenz government of Guatemala in 1954 and empowering a dictatorship led by Castillo Armas, a fanatic who likened himself to Hitler.

The USA orchestrated the coup, sponsored

and trained paramilitary goon squads that rounded up and assassinated intellectuals, labor and political leaders, as well as human rights activists, altogether over 2,000 people. These methods were later repeated in Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua and again in Guatemala in the mid 1960's and again in the 1980's. Hundreds of thousands have perished in Latin America alone, thanks to our tax dollars.

Declassified memos from the CIA obtained through freedom of information requests have shown that our nation's intelligence agencies were instrumental in the developing of tactics of mass murder in Latin America in order to silence voices of dissent. Lists of people targeted for execution were traced to US sources of intelligence gathering, both in Guatemala and in Chile. Copies of said lists have been made public and paint a grim picture of the brutality of such methods to quash those who disagree with their government's policies or who crusade for better living conditions within nations at our doorstep. In order to distance themselves from these tactics, the CIA used Argentinian military personnel in Central America as military "advisors" who directed such terror tactics, at the command of CIA operatives who worked in the background. Training in such methods was accomplished at an American army base in the State of Georgia, where the "School of the Americas" is located. Among the things taught to foreign armies, are methods of torture, right here in the USA at the School of the Americas !

Recently, the United States Senate passed a bill that would allow victims of terrorism to collect court awarded damages from countries that sponsor terrorist activity. Ironic indeed since the USA has been the single most initiator of government sponsored terrorism in Latin America and elsewhere.

Terror has not limited itself to outside our borders. During the 1970's the CIA together with the Pinochet government of Chile, developed *Operation Condor* which sought to trace the whereabouts of "leftist agitators" who had fled countries in turmoil and have them returned to their countries of origin so that they could be murdered, or if this was not possible then to "terminate" them in the country where they now lived. Former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier was one such victim who was assassinated in Washington D.C. in 1976, at the command of the Pinochet regime. CIA has denied complicity with Operation Condor, however the status quo at CIA is to "deny everything". An ironic contradiction to the agency's motto— *the truth shall set ye free.*

In our own Declaration of Independence our forefathers wrote the following:

- ▶ "Governments are instituted among Men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

In this light, who are the true subversives; we who meddle in the internal affairs of other nations— such as Chile, Guatemala, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador; or those who emulate the spirit so eloquently presented in our own Declaration of Independence, and who have the courage to fight, if need be, for justice and freedom from oppression ?

### In Search of Dissent in America

On a recent visit to Mexico in 1998, Louis Freeh, Director of the FBI, commented that the FBI was entering into a new challenging mission and course. Asked by journalists what he meant, he declined further comment. His visit coincided with the FBI's assistance to Mexico in forming a new Federal Police agency, described as a Federal Preventive Police organization. A preventive force seeks to prevent crime before it happens, stated Freeh. Mexico's "*Federal Preventive Police*" initiated operations January 1999. Their precise duties have been described in vague terms. Meanwhile the FBI, has enlisted into its ranks thousands of new operatives, although crime figures are down. The specific duties of these new agents has not been identified.

Also of late, the FBI has initiated Operation Carnivore, which is a domestic variation of the NSA's Operation Echelon. The USA currently intercepts all communications worldwide; fax transmissions, e-mails, as well as telephone calls. This Operation is called ECHELON. Computers then, using artificial intelligence, gather information about the content of these private calls throughout all nations of the world. No conversation is private anywhere !

Since there are laws in this country prohibiting such practices, ECHELON is not authorized to "spy" on American communications. The fact though, is that no one knows whether ECHELON also targets American communications. Thus the FBI, has sought Congressional approval for a copy of ECHELON, which

is called CARNIVORE. Typically the FBI states that CARNIVORE will target e-mail communications, however once "the foot is in the door" privacy in domestic communications becomes a mute point.

Of interest is whether ECHELON seeks to identify "subversive" elements across the world, and CARNIVORE at home. We have seen how the CIA and the NSA label dissent as subversion abroad. We have also seen the consequences of being labeled subversive abroad.

### Living with BIG BROTHER

► *"To the future or to the past, to a time when thought is free, when men are different from one another and do not live alone-- to a time when truth exists and what is done cannot be undone: From the age of uniformity, from the age of solitude, from the age of Big Brother..."*

From Nineteen eighty four, by George Orwell

*1984 has come and gone, the year that is, without the least reflection or realization of Orwell's premonition. Or has it? During the 1960's the NSA implemented Operation Minaret, which targeted influential Americans and collected ongoing intelligence information. Some of these included; Joan Baez, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Eldridge Cleaver, the Reverend Abernathy, and leading Quakers (source: *The Puzzle Palace*).*

The existence of such intelligence operations bring the dawn of a new age—the age of BIG BROTHER, an Orwellian world where what one thinks, and what one says lays bare the possibility of retribution, and of a frightening level of control of society, in fact of the future of all societies, through the whims of a truly small minority of people who are not regulated by any democratic principles. More than privacy is at stake, freedom and democracy is at stake, not just here but across the entire world. The USA is on the fringe of doing what it accused the USSR, during the cold war, of trying to do— world domination and control!

In 1981 discussions were held in our nation's capitol concerning the reactivation, in some form, of the House Un-American activities committee (HUAC). This occurred during the Reagan presidency, and before the Iran-contra fiasco was to become a major scandal. Why is this important? Because it establishes a background, a mentality very much present in Washington, then and pervasive even now, concerning the relationship between, some of our government's institutions which have essentially created -- "Big Brother", and those

governed--the people. Central to this issue of control, is how "national security" is defined and interpreted.

What we cannot deny is the existence of mounting evidence of a paranoid foreign policy which is creating hatred of this country abroad among the hearts and minds of millions of ordinary people who inhabit the same world that we do. Mounting evidence of our continued support of undemocratic principles at work that condone torture, assassination, and the violation of civil rights, is doing much harm to our nation's image abroad.

Who decides what is acceptable, what is truth, what is just and what is subversive? By what measures is human thought and action evaluated? If alive today, could George Washington and Thomas Jefferson be on NSA and CIA "hit lists" tomorrow?

### Witnessing Terror

The following poem was written by Victor Jara, a popular songwriter and poet from Chile who was detained by security forces in Chile at the outbreak of Pinochet's coup d'état, which was made possible by the CIA. Mr. Jara's name was listed in the US sponsored, infamous list of subversives and was taken along with thousands of others to Chile's soccer stadium in the capital city. Mr. Jara perished two days later.

While he waited to be interrogated, he wrote the following poem which was memorized by many others who shared his fate. Somehow the poem was smuggled out. It lays testimony to the dangers of government sponsored terrorism, and the effects of the political "witch hunts" of our age.

### Chile Stadium

*There are five thousand of us here  
in this part of the city.  
We are five thousand.  
I wonder how many we are in all  
in the cities and in the whole country?  
Here alone  
are ten thousand hands which plant seeds  
and make the factories run.  
How much humanity  
exposed to hunger, cold, panic, pain,  
moral pressures, terror and insanity?  
What horror the face of fascism creates!*

*How hard it is to sing  
when I must sing of horror.  
Horror which I am living.  
Horror which I am dying.  
To see myself among so much horror  
and so many moments of infinity*

*in which silence and screams  
are the end of my song.  
What I see I have never seen.  
What I have felt and what I feel  
will give birth to the moment....*

**Victor Jara**, poet and songwriter was  
assassinated at Santiago National Stadium, Chile—  
by Pinochet's security forces Sept 12, 1973

## More Information

on the drug issue can be found on the Internet concerning symptoms,  
treatment, referrals, research, and parenting at;

[www.drughelp.org](http://www.drughelp.org)  
[www.casacolumbia.org](http://www.casacolumbia.org)  
[www.christians-in-recovery.org](http://www.christians-in-recovery.org)  
[www.redribbonworks.org](http://www.redribbonworks.org)  
[www.pta.org/commonsense/](http://www.pta.org/commonsense/)

### On CIA operations...

*Bledowska and Bloch, KGB/CIA, Intel,  
Counterintel Ops, Exeter, 1987.*

#### ... in Guatemala;

*Glejjeses, Piero, Shattered Hope, Princeton Univ. Press 1991.  
Harbury, Jennifer, Searching for Everado, Warner Books, 1997.  
Schlesinger S. and Kinzer S. Bitter Fruit. Harvard Univ. Press 1999.*

#### ... In Chile;

*Chavkin, Samuel, Murder of Chile, Dodd Mead and Co., 1982*

### On National Security issues...

\_\_\_\_\_. *National Insecurity, Craig Eisendrath (ed.), Temple Univ  
Press, 2000.*

### On the NSA...

*Bamford, James, The Puzzle Palace, Penguin Books, 1983.*

#### ...on Operation ECHELON;

[www.epic.org](http://www.epic.org)

## Editorial

We celebrate our nation's history; its battles, its heroes, its martyrs and all its glory. Washington, Jefferson, John Paul Jones, Paul Revere, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin— all men who by virtue of courage, bravado, intelligence, and a sense of political justice helped to mold not only a nation but also a new type of government--the Republic. The Republic was a step ahead of the times, it was government by the people, for all the people rather than government by the rich, for the rich, such as the rule by Kings and

noble families was the rule in the 1700's. The American Revolution was an assault on not just the English empire but also on a way of governing-- "no taxation without representation."

Our history proclaims that we as a people, had the right to establish our own destiny. What a sad lament then to recognize our nation as hypocritical to its roots ! When people of other countries seek to throw off the shackles of oppressors and tyrants why is it we invariably find our foreign policy supporting the wrong side ? Even worse, how frightening it is to discover the extent of our nation's involvement in sordid events which have created great upheaval and great injustice. The justification for this, cannot be found as the planting of seeds of democracy.

Ours is the most powerful and advanced nation on this planet ! We fear no one. We invade islands like Grenada, small nations like Haiti and Panama and bomb rogue states like Iraq and Lybia. And we blockade nations at our doorstep for forty years because they are communist dictatorships which violate democratic principles and the rights of a people to be free. Economic blockades can go on for forty years leaving an island nation with little in the way of food and medical supplies but after all it is all in the interest of democracy.

What hypocrites we are ! If we were in fact so concerned for the rights and liberties of people around the world, why did this nation remain silent for so long concerning South Africa ? Why do we look the other way when nations like Saudi Arabia condones slavery within its borders ? Why do we continually arm and train the armies and security forces of fascist dictators ? Why do we sit on the sidelines and watch people of other nations like Rwanda, Indonesia, Serbia, and other nations slaughter tens and hundreds of thousands of people, while we do nothing ? It took years for our nation to respond to the genocide in the Balkans and in East Timor.

Hunger and extreme poverty claim the lives of millions in Africa. The life expectancy of citizens of that continent, on average, live no more than 40-45 years as per statistics of the United Nations. What greater violence to liberty can there be, than the neglect caused by poverty and hunger to children, the elderly and entire generations ? Yet our nation has shown little concern, in fact we have over the years supported terrorists in Africa, like Savimbi in Angola, a U.S. labeled "freedom fighter" who has been responsible for laying hundreds of thousands of land mines in Angola, making it the most mined nation on Earth. Thousands have been killed or maimed, adults and children alike. Mines which in great measure have been provided by the USA, to Savimbi's forces who continue to fight against a democratically elected leftist government. Where is our concern for liberty to be found in this case ?

The recent violence in the Middle East lays testimony to how our nation is increasingly seen in the eyes of millions of people around the earth. We support Israel, and watch on our TV screens as kids who throw rocks and unarmed civilians, are shot dead by Israeli soldiers. What kind of screwed up priorities are we following whence life, liberty and justice has come to signify nothing, while politics and alliances everything ?

Much of our foreign policy is fashioned in the interest of big business guised as "national security" or as some have stated; in "a paranoid sense of national insecurity." Things must change. In the name of justice, in the name of humanity, things must change.

Below are entries from the "death lists" used by the army of Guatemala during the 1980's.

**OSCAR EDUARDO BARRILLAS BARRIENTOS**

(s) TONO  
Miembro del PGT. PC.  
21-12-83: Capturado en la zona 2 a las 2:00 pm  
Responsable de la impreña del Periódico  
de "CLARIDAD".  
21-01-84: 300  
*Entregó la impreña y el microfilm al Instituto  
de Imprenta y Telegrafía en la calle 15 entre 15-20 zona 1 (Maraca).*



**EDGAR FERNANDO GARCIA**

Hijo de María Emilia García, ojos café, estatura promedio, tez morena, 1.72 de estatura, soltero, maestro de escuela primaria, nació en la ciudad capital de Guatemala el 29 de noviembre de 1957. Posteriormente contrajo matrimonio con la señora NINETH MONTENEGRO, reside en la 13 calle N° 29-78 Zona 7.  
22-07-77 Propuesto para ocupar plaza en el Instituto Nacional de Hidrología, Vulcanología, Meteorología e Hidrología (INSIVUMER).  
13-07-79 Se le extendió el pasaporte N° 606929.  
19-04-84 Miembro activo del Sindicato de CAVISA, perteneciente a la Junta Reglamentaria de Costumbres de Turbado.  
18-04-84 Fue secuestrado e introducido a la 3ra. avenida y 7a. calle de la Zona 11, por haberse acercado, sin que hasta la fecha se conozca su paradero.

**NICOLAS CASTELLANOS ALVARADO**

(s) ARMENIO  
21-01-84: A las 09:00 horas, en la 27 calle entre 5a. y 6a. avenidas de la Zona 3, fue presionado cuando buscaba de hacer contacto con la "ROGELIO" en el interior del inmueble donde se preparan para ser enviados como partisanos.  
Miembro de el EGP. Combatiente, habiendo estado en varios frentes.



**Edgar Fernando Garcia**

Son of Maria Emilia Garcia, dark brown eyes, black hair, tanned skin color, 1.72 meters in height, bachelor, elementary school teacher, was born in the capital city of Guatemala on November 25 1957. Has lately become engaged to Miss NINETH MONTENEGRO (note 3), resides at N° 29-78 B 13<sup>th</sup> Street, zone 7.  
July 29 1977 Candidate for position at the National Institute of Seismology, Vulcanology, Meteorology and Hydrology (INSIVUMER)  
July 19 1979 Obtained passport N° 606929.  
April 1984 Active member of the Union CAVISA, and belonging to the committee negotiating working conditions  
April 18 1984 Abducted near 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> Street of zone 11, by unknown men. To date his exact whereabouts remain unknown.

**Nicolas Castellanos Alvarado**

(s) (known as) Armenio  
April 23 1984: At 9:00 am, on 27<sup>th</sup> Street between 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Avenues of zone 3, was captured when attempting to make contact with (s) ROGELIO in the interior of a building which he was attempting to establish a shoe store as a front.  
Dissident of EGP (see note 4). Combatant in several fronts.  
May 6, 1984: 300

**NOTES**

- 1. PGT-- Guatemalan Labor Party, also called the PC (communist party) by the Guatemalan army.
- 2. 300-- the notation on the death lists which meant the individual had been disposed of by assassination. Note the time lapse between date of capture and date of death, which indicates the time period which this person was subjected to torture, in order to "surrender information."
- 3. NINETH MONTENEGRO-- The army kept long lists of people who were to be targeted for death, people who were being watched would lead the military to include in their lists also people who simply were friends or acquaintances. The name above typed in capital letters meant this person was also to be watched.
- 4. EGP-- Guerrilla Army of the Poor (a rebel army).

**Mission Statement**

The Citizen for Social Responsibility was created as an educational tool which seeks to examine critical issues in our society which are not being addressed, by motivating public debate and discussion. It is solely an enterprise which does not seek profit as its reason to exist.

We can be reached, by mail, at:

**THE CITIZEN**  
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**TRANSLATION**

Oscar Eduardo Barillas Barrientos (s)-(known as) TONO  
member of PGT. PC. (See note 1)  
December 21 1983: captured in zone 2 at 2:00 pm  
Responsibility for preparing the newspaper "Clarity"  
January 1, 1984: 300 (see note 2)  
Surrendered location of printing equipment and microfilm  
located at 15<sup>th</sup> Street, n°. 15-20, zone 1 (illegible)