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Three Kinds of Terrorism Control Latin America

Perhaps the basic cause of the existence of terrorism in Latin America today, can be found in the United States' historical interest in imposing its own vision of democracy by means of force. This phenomenon, which goes far beyond its immediate and serious physical effects, has taken root in the very life of Latin America, destroying or cancelling its national and democratic aspirations. Francisco Gutiérrez provides the following analysis of the different varieties of terrorism which affect Latin America.

Introduction

The document entitled *Christian Principles of Communication of the WACC*¹, states that there are brutal and subtle ways of silencing a people. Nothing could be more true: both brutally and subtly, the Central American peoples have been silenced for 500 years.

The media, legislation, culture, economic conditions, many governmental social programs, and frequently "evangelism" and "education" are methods which, although subtle, turn out to be terribly efficient in the silencing of popular sectors of society.

But we should not present the Central American dilemma in such a dichotomous way, putting brutality on one side and subtlety on the other.

The spectrum is more tenuous and deceptive than that.

In Central America we find very subtle violence and terrorism and terribly violent legislation and messages from the mass media. The fact is, violence and terrorism, both brutally and subtly, have taken possession of Central

America. We can say without exaggerating that violence has come alive for the Central American people. The language, or better yet, the languages of terrorism, are heard by one and all. Violence and terror are not the sole privilege of any one group or ideology. They are a common language. With Noam Chomsky, we must realize that the "culture of terror" conditions human existence in unexpected and terribly deceptive ways.

Uncovering the deception to discover these subtle forms of violence is not an easy task. Contadora, Esquipulas I and Esquipulas II are proof of how difficult it is to unmask violence.

This analysis seeks to be of help in the unmasking of the terrorism which brutally and subtly effects the daily life of the Central American people. It should in no way be interpreted, from the pages that follow, that we are in favor of terrorism regardless of its form, perpetrators or ideology. We emphatically believe that liberation and peace for Central America should not come as a result of terrorism, war, repression or anti-terrorism.

Liberation and peace for the Central American peoples must necessarily be the consequence of justice, respect for human rights, and participation for all - not just the elite - in the democratic and productive processes of each of the countries in the region.

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Effects of the repression in El Salvador. Photo by José Angel Rodríguez/Imagenlatina

Two Conflicting Hypotheses about Terrorism

If we base our reasoning on the values, means of communication and rational principles of the Western-Christian culture it is very difficult to understand the silence, submission, exploitation, pain and death that the Central American peoples have suffered for 500 years.

In order to understand this secular repression we will explore two hypotheses which try to explain modern terrorism.

Simplistic Hypothesis

Held by the United States and its allies, this hypothesis associates terrorism with revolutionary-subversive movements, drug trafficking, and communist governments.

For those who support this line of thinking, "terrorism is the illegal use of force and violence, or the threat of its use, by revolutionary organizations against individuals or property, with the intention of coercing or intimidating governments and societies, often for ideological ends".² This terrorism is the essence of the evil empire - controlled

by "the sons of darkness" - pitted against goodness, liberty, democracy and peace, which "the sons of light" defend.

This evil empire, according to the late Director of the CIA, William Casey, is made up by: "the USSR and its satellites in Eastern Europe, Libya, Iran, North Korea, Yemen, Cuba and Nicaragua".³ To these states we must add the revolutionary and subversive groups which fight against the establishment in other countries.

In case this hypothesis is not sufficiently clear, on July 2, 1985, Ronald Reagan expressed it in an unprecedented, overwhelming and revealing statement: "Iran, Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua and North Korea constitute a confederation of terrorist States led by degenerate, maladjusted, crazy and mentally unbalanced leaders".⁴

A new angle which has been used to magnify the terrorist threat in the minds of North Americans is the supposed "link between terrorism and international drug trafficking".⁵

For those who support this hypothesis there is only one answer: anti-terrorism. Therefore, on April 3, 1984, the National Security Directive Decision 138 was made. This

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is a classified decision, "but according to some officials, permits military and intelligence agencies to conduct operations to avoid or prevent terrorist acts".⁶

This document is part of an anti-terrorist policy which leads to unprecedented terrorist acts such as, to name only three examples: the surgically accurate bombing of Libya, the invasion of Grenada and the support given to the Nicaraguan contras.

The essence of the hypothesis of those who maintain - for their own benefit - that there is only one kind of terrorism, is that it seeks the destruction of the establishment, liberty, democracy and peace.

Realistic Hypothesis

The realistic hypothesis, held by less ideological supporters, describes at least three kinds of terrorism. This hypothesis is held, for example, by Monsignor Cirarda, Catholic bishop of the Basque Country, who mentions:

- a) Structural terrorism, or State terrorism, characteristic of the dominant social system. It is often called institutional terrorism.
- b) Subversive terrorism, performed by those who rebel and fight against structural terrorism. Guerrillas and popular liberation movements belong to this type of terrorism.
- c) Repressive terrorism, which confronts subversive terrorism and for convenience sake has come to be called anti-terrorism.

The differences between these three kinds of terrorism are obvious. But it is precisely this obviousness which forces us to explain some of the similarities which lead governments, intellectual elites, the media and other parts of the dominant social system, to recognize the subversive and revolutionary kind as the only existing terrorism.

In this explanation it is necessary to point out, in the first place, that the three kinds of terrorism - structural, subversive and repressive - use violent means to eliminate the enemy, and that this violence is symbolic as well as physical.

For physical violence to have an effect it must also be symbolic, because symbolism is precisely one of the basic elements of all terrorism. What is not always taken into account is that symbolic violence is also necessarily physical, especially in the case of structural terrorism.

It is precisely this symbolism that gives specificity to each of the three types of terrorism. This symbolic specificity is based on the assumptions, foundations and goals which motivate acts of physical violence.

Those in power use structural violence to maintain and

reaffirm this power, which is essentially economic.

"Revolutionary violence saves the lives and prevents sacrifices of the people," according to Bolivian guerrillas of the early seventies. This revolutionary violence is a result of the failure of leftist parties and groups, who speak and act in ways that do not interpret society's desire and need for change. If the social structure were not violent - and for the people of the Third World it has always been and continues to be terribly violent - there would be no place for revolutionary violence and consequently repressive terrorism would not exist either.

Therefore, it is the intentional symbolic meaning which differentiates one terrorism from another. This means that structural terrorism, with its strong symbolism and hidden intentions, is difficult for popular sectors of society to identify because it is presented not just as neutral but as positive, as worried about defending democracy and liberty.

The Discourse of Structural Terrorism

In his recent book about "The Culture of Terrorism"⁷ Noam Chomsky analyzes with great clarity and exhaustive documentation the present terrorist offensive that the United States directs at Central America.

In essence, the discourse of structural terrorism - both today and throughout history - is very simple: "You want to do what I want," "Do what I want you to do because if you don't...". In Central America today this discourse translates as follows: "those who do not accept our democracy are communists and as communists must be eliminated. If they do not accept our democracy and they insist on their goal they should be destroyed".⁸

This discourse explains the military aid that the United States gives to the Nicaraguan *contras* and to the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.

This terrorism is responsible for the level of violence, destruction, hunger, misery and death which exists in the countries of the region. First hand accounts and statistics completely confirm this: in Guatemala for example, between 1980 and 1984, 440 towns were destroyed, displacing a million and a half persons, while more than 150 thousand people have become refugees in nearby countries and the number of deaths is close to 72 thousand. This plague of violence continues today in a much more refined and covert manner.

It is well known that in El Salvador atrocities increased under the Christian-social government of José Napoleón

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Duarte, "who was president during the worst massacre in the history of the country".⁹

Five Centuries of Structural Violence

But this violence is not a recent phenomenon. For 500 years, the region has suffered similar forms of violence from the different empires which have dominated it. First it was the Spanish empire, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, which conquered, subjugated and dominated the indigenous peoples of the region. Colonial society created ideological, legal and restrictive mechanisms - crystalized in the *Repatriamiento** and the *Encomienda*** - which enabled them to exploit, to the point of exhaustion and death, thousands and thousands of Indians.

The crimes and violations of the Spanish empire were followed by those of the English, whose terrorist discourse was based on the slave trade, pillaging and plundering and ended in the absolute stripping and bleeding of the peoples of the Third World on various continents.¹⁰

Historically, violence and injustice were institutionalized and from Spanish domination to modern times "violence constitutes one of the most serious problems which have arisen in Latin America". This explains the outcry of millions of people who feel bound by living conditions which limit their very existence. But we must realize that this institutionalized injustice inevitably produces a profound desire for liberation from all forms of servitude, for complete emancipation and collective participation¹¹ and creates an urgent need for equally profound changes which will allow the creation of a juster society.

But all these legitimate desires are brutally and subtly crushed by:

Structural Terrorism "Made in USA"

In this Central American relay race, the North Americans take the torch of structural violence in this century with an assuredness, arrogance and technical perfectionism without historical precedent.

To understand what is happening at present in Central America it is necessary to unearth some of the fundamental principles of the North American terrorist discourse. Here we list the four most important:

1) Economic Stranglehold

So dominated countries will not try to stand on their own it is necessary to keep them in a state of complete poverty and economic dependence.

* **Repatriamiento** is the concession of Indians to a Spanish "owner".
 ** The **encomienda** was a Spanish colonial institution in America with the object of distributing Indians among the conquerors. Indians had to work for or pay tribute to their owners.

According to this reasoning, countries like Nicaragua that do not want "to accept our democratic principles, must be reduced to bare subsistence".¹²

This principle explains the economic embargoes, foreign debt, reduction of foreign investment, capital flight, etc.

This economic stranglehold can lead to extreme measures which make possible the traumatization, intimidation and absolute slavery of these countries.

A corollary of this principle states that "in the region, no government which tries to meet the needs of popular sectors of society should exist".¹³

Any "communist" government in the region that struggles to close the gap between rich and poor must be destroyed by any means possible. In the case of Nicaragua, aid to the contras is not intended to overthrow the Sandinista government but to make the social model they have proposed fail economically.

The explanation of this principle offered by Noam Chomsky states : "What interests the United States is that ideological and political systems be controlled by business interests.

"In the Third World, this 'democracy' requires that the political system and the mass media be in hands of the local oligarchies or other sectors equally dedicated to the type of 'development' which is in the interests of United States investors; that the people be marginalized (forcefully if necessary), and that the military, with their long-held ties to the United States' system of violence, have free reign".¹⁴

The three kinds of terrorism - structural, subversive and repressive - use violent means to eliminate the enemy, and this violence is symbolic as well as physical

And he concludes with a direct reference to the case of Nicaragua: "In the real world, the people of Nicaragua should be punished for the criminal effort of the Sandinista government to redirect resources towards the poor majority. This crime explains the firm belief of the Reagan Administration that the Sandinistas should be defeated, or at least, their revolution should become a revolution of misery, a terrible lesson for the other peoples of the region, who should be kept away from such heresies".¹⁵

The truth is, as the late Director of the CIA, William Casey said, "relatively few people and a limited amount of aid is needed to disturb the national peace and economic stability of a small country like Nicaragua".¹⁶

2) The Fifth Freedom

The second principle has to do with the type of liberty and democracy that is at the root of the North American political conception whose "basic objective is the protec-



Salvadoran soldiers revising citizens. Photo by José Angel Rodríguez/Imagenlatina

tion of what we could call the Fifth Freedom",¹⁷ which can be understood, in somewhat crude, but not imprecise terms, to be the freedom to rob, exploit, dominate and undertake any action aimed at protecting and promoting existing privileges. This Fifth Freedom is the basic principle guiding the actions of the United States' government throughout the world. They need "free" countries which they can use as a platform to further their economic interests without any opposition.

"Freedom" in the North American discourse is no less offensive to people in underdeveloped countries than the concept of "democracy", which consists of a favorable climate for U.S. investment, including the exclusive right to control the political system. "Those who oppose this democracy will be called communists".¹⁸

These two assumptions are not open to discussion. They are part of the doctrine, regardless of the facts. "If the facts indicate something else is true, too bad for the facts",¹⁹ the doctrine cannot be changed. For example: "when President Reagan speaks of freedom he is referring to the freedom of the rich to humiliate, exploit, and if it is to their benefit, kill the poor".²⁰

Therefore, it is an absolute truth that the Fifth Freedom constitutes the determining factor in United States foreign policy. This explains why this policy has directly conflicted with Contadora and Esquipulas. The Central American

Structural violence is used to maintain and reaffirm this power, which is essentially economic

people, and even their governments, can say whatever they please so long as what they say and do does not conflict with United States' interests in the region.

It is evident that this principle includes corollaries that merit emphasis. One corollary has to do with the destruction of popular organizations, which has become a priority for North Americans in the region. This is true because revitalization of grass-roots organizations in the long term would create effective opposition to the type of "democracy" supported by the North American government. We cannot forget that "elite sectors of the United States have always held prevention of the growth of popular organizations to be an essential priority".²¹ In a well functioning system pledged to support established privileges, efficient unions, with authentic worker participation, that struggle to solve serious problems in the social order, and groups devoted to workers' inde-

pendence, grass-roots control of communities, independent systems of information, etc. should not exist.

In this context, "it is perfectly understandable that the United States demonstrates a sudden concern for its particular concept of 'democracy' in Nicaragua, after the overthrow of the Somoza regime in July of 1979 (but not before), and at the same time organizes extremely violent programs to destroy popular organizations which during this very period could have built the foundations of a real democracy in El Salvador".²²

In other words, "peoples (and countries) should be forced into renewed passivity if they dare to put into action a 'democracy' and a 'freedom' which contradict the United States 'democracy' and 'freedom'. And if this fails, as much violence as is necessary must be used to destroy the popular organizations".²³

3) Religion and Democracy

"Religion and Democracy" is the name of an Institute founded in 1981 in Washington to direct and carry out religious strategies in support of the ideological discourse and policies which are the basis of structural terrorism. The activities and publications of the Institute "show that the combination of Marxism and Christianity is crucial and makes essential not only the fight against the external enemy - Latin American Liberation Theology - but also internal adversaries, such as those churches which sympathize with this theology".²⁴

According to the doctrine of the Santa Fe document (the political guide of the Reagan Administration), liberation theology constitutes a serious obstacle for U.S. policy in Latin America because of its high level of ideological efficiency in the control of people's consciences, and because it is assumed that religious sectors have played a part in a supposed distortion towards the "left".

As a consequence, it is perfectly normal that the United States' discourse is impregnated with a series of symbolic

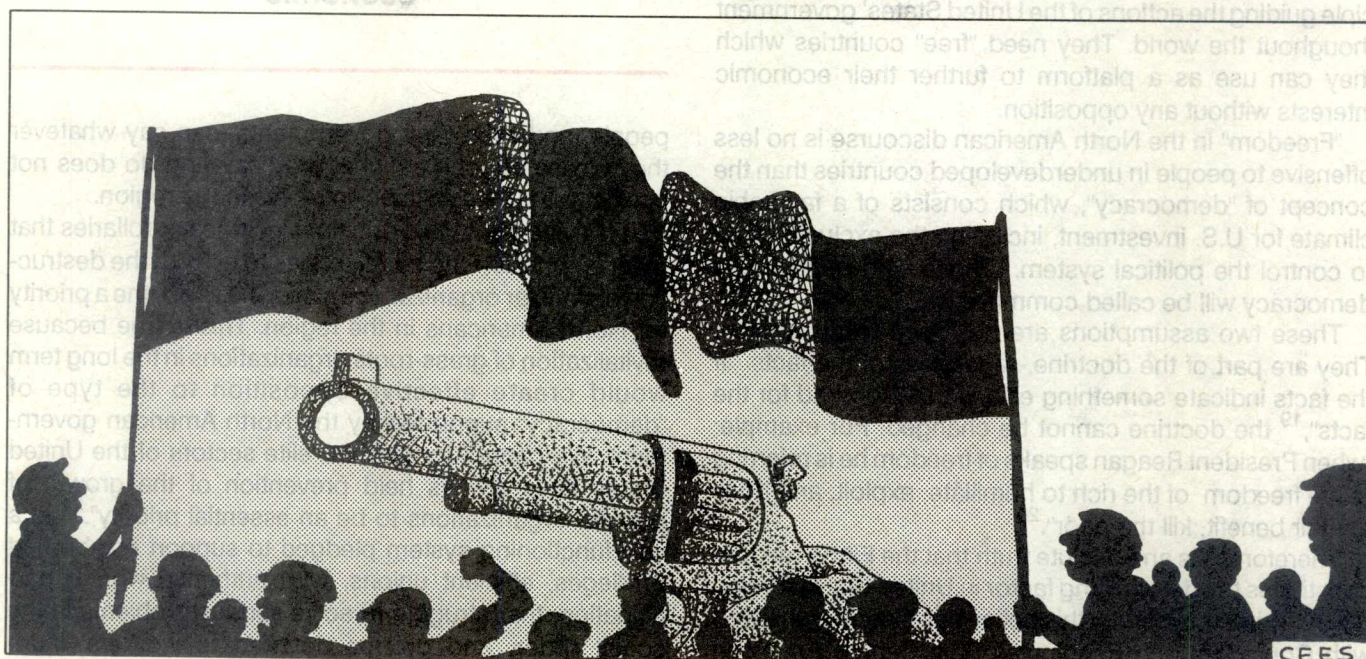
constraints based on the religious morals and principles of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. These constraints vary from overwhelming inroads in Central America made by fundamentalist sects (amply funded by the U.S.), to the control of the ecclesiastic apparatus at a national level as in the case of Nicaragua. And if someone with the authentic gospel in hand defends and supports popular organizations, against the United States' "norms", such as Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, and the six Jesuit priests, there is no choice but to physically eliminate him, with full realization of the political cost of this type of action.

Similarly, if certain churches, ecclesiastic base communities, education centers and other similar organizations, maintain goals of support of the popular sectors, they can be sure that they will soon be slandered, accused of collaboration with communists and even linked to guerrillas and other groups which destabilize the "social order".²⁵

During 500 years, the region has suffered similar forms of violence from the various empires which have dominated it

In this way religion performs important political functions which work against the self-determination and independence of the people with a discourse focused not so much on social and moral topics - or even strictly religious themes - as on specific political practice and ideology with an emphasis on the liberal values of "democracy" and "freedom" within the scope of the Fifth Freedom.

This is why the preferred actions of the Institute are aimed at "contradicting, discrediting and changing the



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orientation of the leaders of the National Council of Christian Churches, the World Council of Churches and the World Service of Churches, or creating parallel ecumenical institutions". According to these activities and strategies "the Institute on Religion and Democracy constitutes one of the most organic responses that the United States' political class carries out at present in this area. Its principal objective appears to be to block and revert, if possible, the growing organized participation of Christians in the liberation movements of Latin America. It tries to actively combat the resulting solidarity of broad sectors of North American churches which oppose the ideological, political and military intervention of their government in Central America and the Caribbean".²⁶

Consequently, it is not strange that U.S. imperialism, with its present administrative structure, finds in religion a very useful manipulative instrument for its aims. For example, they are not embarrassed to state "that Sandinism is part of Soviet expansion into Latin America and as a consequence is atheist and therefore perverse, diabolical, contrary to the will of God and unworthy of existing, so fighting it is a dignified Christian act, congruent with the plans of the Lord, an authentic modern crusade absolutely blessed by the hierarchy of all churches".²⁷

4) Terrorist Communication

Without communication, assures McLuhan, there would be no terrorism. This is because what is important in terrorism is not the action itself but its resonance; that is to say, for every terrorist act, the greater its symbolic power, the stronger the terrorism. This symbolic resonance is obtained through the mass media. A terrorist act, however terrible, is weakened by lack of publicity. This means that the mass media, with their universal power - since they reach all countries instantly - are a basic component of terrorism.

"Terrorist action is symbolic and its effect should be seen in terms of information, and not only in terms of its physical effects".²⁸

It is useful to repeat that in the case of terrorism, physical violence should be measured by how symbolic it is, that is, the extent to which it becomes a message, which is that much more meaningful when it reaches a larger public emotionally trapped by the information.

If a terrorist act does not become news, it loses its very essence and in this way is no longer terrorist. It can also occur - and it does quite frequently - that a subversive terrorist act invented by institutional terrorists, is terrorist not because of its physical power - which does not exist - but due to its symbolic power. The effects of this act of terrorism in the mass media, can be just as terrible as the act of terror itself.

This means that it is precisely the modern means of communication that create modern terrorism. Moreover, "structural terrorism is essentially terrorist communication while subversive and repressive terrorism imply communication about terrorism".²⁹

This facet of the terrorism of the mass media explains many of the effects of the low intensity warfare of the United States against Central America. It also explains how "war is also fought from the pages of newspapers".³⁰

The mass media are the bearers of "verbal terrorism" used by North American strategists to manipulate statistics, and which, in that it gives subversive terrorism a dimension of supposed support from States of the "other block", has the clear objective of legitimizing both the use of force and the increases in military budgets allocated to dealing with it".³¹

Likewise, it is the mass media that daily and obstinately try to convince the defenseless public of the necessity of fighting against terrorists, subversives and other sons of darkness. This war includes all areas of society: political, economic, psychological, military; its objective, instead of the conquest of territory, is the domination of the will and thinking of the population.

All of this is particularly true if the omnipresence of the mass media in the modern world is taken into account.

To this must be added the strict conformism and the absolute submission of the mass media to U.S. policies. Any voice that contradicts this policy can be sure that it will not find acceptance, be it a Pepe Figueres, an Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, the Catholic Institute of International Relations of London, The Baptist Convention of Nicaragua, Americas Watch or Helsinki Watch or any other person or institution ready to point out objectively the abuses and violations of the North American presence in the countries of the region.

If the circumstances force the publication of reports by these contradictory voices, "the media should be careful to effectively invalidate these affirmations, according to accepted directions about how to select, present and interpret the facts according to the dictates of the White House Office of Public Relations. This job, there is no room for doubt, is carried out conscientiously".³²

The North Americans hold the torch of structural violence in this century with an assurance, arrogance and technical perfection without historical precedent

Constant Adjustment of Structural Terrorism

Between Reagan's terrorist discourse and the discourse of President Bush there are only small tactical differences. Santa Fe I and Santa Fe II constitute one single discourse with modifications made necessary by new socio-political circumstances in Latin America.

The four principles which we have just listed and which were put into practice aggressively during the Reagan Administration, today have become the seven plagues of



Nicaraguan contra-revolutionaries - an example of terrorism in Central America. Photo from Unomásuno archives

the Third World which the Bush Administration tries, by all possible means, to exclude from United States' territory.

They are the plagues referred to in the report "The Underdeveloped World: a Threat to the National Security of the United States", elaborated by the Commission for Control of Arms and Foreign Policy of the U.S. Congress, and they are the basis of the following petitions of the prayer that the empire prays to its god every day:

1. From the dangers to our economy if the Third World could not or would refuse to pay the interest on their foreign debt: free us Lord.
2. From participation and popular organization which threaten our style of democracy: free us Lord.
3. From the deterioration of the environment which puts in danger the ecological equilibrium of our continent: free us Lord.
4. From the proliferation of arms and the serious problem of not being able to control them: free us Lord.
5. From Contadora, Esquipulas and other proposals to counter our influence in Latin America: free us Lord.
6. From the guerilla groups: free us Lord.
7. From drug trafficking because it represents a destabilizing force for our economy from the enormous drain on hard currency: free us Lord.

The concept of "democracy" consists of maintaining a favorable climate for United States' investment, including the exclusive right to control the political systems

These seven plagues are a very clear sign "of the changes that are occurring in the power centers in the United States: the growing realization that the principal dangers for the security of the United States are not the East-West conflict but instead, they tend to shift towards a new geographic axis: the North-South relationship".³³

This explains why the United States is focusing most of its attention and concentrating all of its strategic efforts on maintaining its hegemony in Latin America, regardless of the economic or military cost.

To understand this restatement of the U.S. discourse, we offer for consideration the impressive military and economic resources deployed by the Bush Administration against drug trafficking which clearly reflect how, in

the struggle of the "sons of light" against the "powers of darkness", economic motives are disguised in order to stress other motivations which constitute the updated core of the U.S. terrorist discourse. Not without reason, after learning about the plan of President Bush to fight drug trafficking, a Colombian legislator commented that "on the one hand, the said plan contemplates a budget for more information and education for the U.S. population (the diseased party), includes funds to carry out military actions, install 'advisors', transport troops, provide arms, initiate low intensity conflicts...That is, to make war on drug trafficking not on the streets of New York or Washington but in areas of the Third World".³⁴

This new factor in the discourse explains many current events in Central America. If tactically there are small differences, strategically the terrorist discourse is the same.

The existence of this structural terrorism means that the barriers to the liberation of Central American peoples are practically unsolvable from within the present structure of domination. Liberation will certainly not be the result of the signing of a Peace Treaty, of a cease fire, nor even of proposals and programs conceived and carried out from the platform of the political economies of developed countries.

Central American liberation can only be the result of political, social, economic, cultural and religious participation of the majority.

But this liberation, the result of popular participation, is subject to the following basic conditions:

1) Knowledge of the Existence and Forms of Structural Violence.

No one can liberate themselves unless they know from what domination.

Peace is the result of justice and in consequence, of the end of the causes of structural terrorism. If structural terrorism did not exist there would be no place for subversive or repressive terrorism.

It is structural violence that produces hunger, exploitation, injustice, pain and death in Central America.

Although it is true that the leaders of struggles for liberation - like Monsignor Romero - have always known against whom and how these struggles should be fought, it is not so for the great majority who day after day are deceived by the mass media. Although it is true that in this area in recent years substantial efforts have been made, it is no less true that difficulties are constantly growing.

2) Popular Organization and Participation

Imperialist democracy, freedom and peace are contrary to popular organization, mobilization and participation. Central American liberation will become a reality when the popular sectors are political, economic and cultural participants.

The Central American Parliament, for example, although a conquest for regional integration, will only be a

democratic platform when organized workers, women, indigenous peoples, churches, popular organizations, etc. can participate.

In this area, although there is a long way to go, successful results can be mentioned such as a Central American Coordinator of Workers that includes the principle trade unions of the region; Esquipulas of the People, which mobilizes workers, women, indigenous peoples, intellectuals and church people; the Central American Consensus, which coordinates the popular education in centers and non-governmental organizations of the region, and the Consensus of Cristian Groups, which works to integrate churches, ecumenical agencies and religious groups.

We cannot forget that elite sectors of the United States have always held prevention of the growth of grass-roots organizations to be an essential priority

3) Consciousness of the Popular Sectors

For 500 years these sectors of society have been told that their culture is inferior to Western culture, and that they lack the capacity and technology for their development. At the same time, their natural resources and their forms of organization and production have been taken from them.

The recuperation of their historical potential and of their possibilities as a people, is what will give the liberation struggle its true dimensions and scope.

The work towards recuperation is slow and difficult but is the only guarantee of hope.

In support of this process of historical recuperation, intensive popular education and communication efforts are underway. The number of support centers have multiplied, numerous base communities have appeared, pastoral accompaniment is promoted, as are ecumenical movements, while religious traditions of the native cultures are recuperated, experiences are interchanged and actions are coordinated.

The truth is that in spite of 500 years of structural violence, the Central American peoples have not yielded and in one way or another, throughout history, they have fought in defense of human rights, freedom and democratic participation.

In evidence of this struggle, moral giants shine forth. In the indigenous world they range from Tecún Uman, the hero of the Quiché province in Guatemala who fought against the conquerors, to Rigoberta Menchú, the young indigenous woman, also from the Quiché, who has been proposed for the Nobel Peace Prize because of her struggle against the injustices her people suffer.

In the field of political organizing, heroic personalities such as Francisco Morazán and César Augusto Sandino stand out, who even though they disappeared physically many years ago, continue to be the moral leaders of permanent struggles which take place in the region to create a people evermore conscious of their historic destiny. ■

1 World Association for Christian Communication
 2 Bermúdez, Lilia. **Guerra de Baja Intensidad: Reagan contra Centroamérica.** [Low Intensity Warfare: Reagan Against Central America.] Siglo XXI Editores, 1987. p. 194.
 3 *Ibid.*, p. 194.
 4 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
 5 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
 6 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
 7 Chomsky, Noam. **La Cultura del terrorismo.** [The Culture of Terrorism.] Ediciones B. Barcelona, 1988.
 8 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
 9 Chomsky, Noam. **La quinta libertad.** [The Fifth Freedom.] Editorial Crítica Grupo Editorial Grijalbo. Barcelona, 1988. p.47.
 10 "England was, for as long as it was beneficial, the champion of the slave trade" from Galeano, Eduardo.
Las venas abiertas de América Latina. [Open Veins of Latin America.] Siglo XXI Editores, 1986.
 11 2nd General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate. Medellín Conclusions, 1968.
 12 Chomsky, Noam. **La cultura del terrorismo.** op. cit. p. 185.
 13 *Ibid.* p. 187.
 14 *Ibid.* p. 158.
 15 *Ibid.* p. 63.
 16 Quoted in *El País*. October 30, 1988.
 17 Chomsky, Noam. **La quinta libertad: la intervención de los Estados Unidos en América Central y la lucha por la paz.** [The Fifth Freedom: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace.] Grijalbo. Barcelona, 1988.
 18 Quoted in *El País*. October 30, 1988.
 19 Chomsky, Noam. **La cultura del terrorismo.** p. 20.
 20 Testimony of the Catholic Institute of International Relations of London, quoted by Chomsky, Noam. **La cultura del terrorismo.** p. 260.
 21 *Ibid.* p. 320.
 22 *Ibid.* p. 27.
 23 *Ibid.* p. 165.
 24 De Lella, Cayetano. **Cristianismo y liberación en América Latina.** [Christianity and Liberation in Latin America.] Claves Latinoamericanas. Ediciones Nuevomar. México, 1984.
 25 "How is your Church spending its dollars?...They are used to finance guerrilla movements, to pay salaries and rental of offices for individuals who help the guerrillas, to run campaigns that promote the political objectives of Cuba..." Institute on Religion and Democracy. **Introductory Pamphlet.**
 26 De Lella, Cayetano. op. cit. p. 82.
 27 Pastor Miguel Angel Casco quoted by Raúl Macín in **Teologías y clases sociales.** [Theologies and Social Classes.] op. cit. p. 142.
 28 *El País*. October 30, 1988.
 29 *Ibid.* p. 20.
 30 A document prepared for the "Foro Chistiano por la Paz con Justicia en Centroamerica" [Christian Forum for Peace with Justice in Central America] held in San Jose, Costa Rica in September, 1988.
 31 Bermúdez, Lilia. op cit. p 186.
 32 Chomsky, Noam. **La cultura de terror.** p. 263.
 33 Osorio, Jaime. **"La epidemia que viene del Sur".** [The epidemic that comes from the South.] in **El mundo de México.** [The world of Mexico.] October 9, 1989.
 34 *Ibid.* p. 43

The struggle of the "sons of light" against the "powers of darkness", economic motives are disguised in order to stress other motivations which constitute the updated core of the U.S. terrorist discourse. Not without reason, after learning about the plan of President Bush to fight against trafficking a Colombian legislator commented that on the one hand, the said plan constitutes a budget for more information and education for the U.S. population (the biased party), includes funds to carry out

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