

American Indian Movement founded the IITC in 1974) argued that the IITC would continue its years of work with Nicaragua's Sandinistas.

"We believe the actions of the Treaty Council in dealing with liberation movements, governments and organizations has been deliberate and calculated," he wrote. "Through the years we have made many friends and allies who were working in various movement organizations before their homeland was liberated. Many of these grassroots people now hold key positions in newly founded governments. A case in point is Nicaragua, where relationships were built many years before the victory. . . . Following this initial trust and contact inside the new government of Nicaragua, we felt as Indian movement representatives that we should continue to work with the Nicaraguan government."

In 1983, *Indigenous World*, a U.S. newspaper edited by anthropologist Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, published a series of articles praising the URNG's war in Guatemala, illustrating one with a picture of Rigoberta Menchú, identified bluntly as "one of the four-person delegation of Guatemalans from the URNG" attending a February-March 1983 U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, which Dunbar Ortiz also attended. The series featured the work of Menchú's CUC, publishing an interview with CUC leader Francisco Alvarez in which he stated: "Only our struggle led by our URNG will allow us to have a patriotic, popular and democratic revolutionary government."

Dunbar's collaboration with URNG reveals some of the networks joining the Central American "indigenous" war with that of Peru's Shining Path. This "indigenous activist" was a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), when the group was known as the Revolutionary Union. Dunbar's work with the URNG and the CUC was made public in the same year (1983) in which her RCP joined Shining Path in forming the Maoist Revolutionary International Movement, which serves as the primary Shining Path support apparatus internationally.

**The French-Cuban connection.** In 1982 in Paris, Rigoberta Menchú was picked up by Elizabeth Burgos-Debray, the Venezuelan-born anthropologist married to Régis Debray, the old comrade in arms of Cuba's "Che" Guevara, and later adviser to French President François Mitterrand. Burgos-Debray promoted Rigoberta's career by introducing her to Mitterrand's activist wife, Danièle Mitterrand, and by writing her autobiography, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. Immediately awarded Cuba's most prized literary award, the *Premio Casa de las Americas*, the Debray-Menchú book became an international hit, and by 1992, had been published in 12 languages.

Danièle Mitterrand accompanied Menchú on her first return to Guatemala in 1991. Menchú's Cuban connections also remain in force. On Oct. 12, she attended "500 Years of Resistance" events, which she had done so much to promote—in Havana, of course.

## Argentina to be a tool of NATO?

by María del Carmen de Pérez Galindo and Cynthia Rush

In April 1982, Great Britain, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), sent its naval task force out of its traditional area of deployment to the South Atlantic to wage a colonial war against Argentina. Then-British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was determined to punish that nation for having had the nerve to retake the Malvinas Islands which the British had illegally seized from Argentina in 1832. Now Argentine President Carlos Menem and his anglophile Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella are spitting on the memory of patriots who fought and died in that war, and who have fought historically to defend Argentine sovereignty against Anglo-American interests, by begging to become a member of NATO.

While Britain proceeds unimpeded to strengthen its strategic interests in the South Atlantic, including guaranteeing its access to the region's oil and mineral wealth, Menem and Di Tella have all but abandoned any attempt to defend Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. In late September, during the celebration of "British Week" in Buenos Aires, Menem loudly proclaimed that Britain and Argentina were as close as two allies could be.

The Argentine President perhaps thinks that joining NATO is a guarantee of his political longevity, at a time when many of his neighbors in Ibero-America face an uncertain future. The Brazilian President has been ousted from office, and the scandal-plagued Menem may be getting nervous. Moreover, the economic "miracle" allegedly wrought by his finance minister, Domingo Cavallo, is starting to look frayed around the edges.

From the Anglo-American standpoint, however, Argentina can be of use in helping to achieve certain strategic goals. This is especially true in Ibero-America's Southern Cone, where activity by nationalist military men in Argentina and unpredictable developments in Brazil have sown panic among the proponents of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) "democracy" project. Following the Oct. 3 founding of the Movement for National Identity and Ibero-American Integration (Mineii) under the leadership of imprisoned nationalist Argentine Col. Mohamed Alfí Seineldín, Gen. George Joulwan, head of the U.S. Southern Command, trav-

eled to the Southern Cone to evaluate the situation.

Over the past three years, Menem has groveled before the Bush administration and scrapped every traditional foreign policy stance which bound Argentina in a commonality of interests to other developing-sector nations. These actions, including Argentina's participation in the coalition which waged war on Iraq in 1991, and Menem's willingness to form part of any future NATO operations against other Third World nations—including against other Ibero-American nations—are what apparently make the country "qualified" to now seek NATO membership. In a final attempt to destroy Argentina's Armed Forces as an institution which is constitutionally mandated to "defend the common good and the nation's highest interests," Menem will try, as he did in the war against Iraq, to drag the troops which fought NATO and Britain in 1982 into an alliance with their historic enemy. For this, he has the United States' full blessing.

### **Aligning with the Anglo-Americans**

On Oct. 1, Foreign Minister Di Tella addressed the Permanent Council of NATO ambassadors in Brussels to formally request that the Argentine Navy be permitted to become a member. Di Tella is well qualified for such an assignment. Not only has his family always sided with British interests in Argentina, but during the Malvinas War, he went into "exile" in London, from where he opposed his own country's efforts.

In his speech in Brussels, Di Tella explained that it was the 1982 "defeat in the South Atlantic" at British hands, "and the failure of the economic system of the past 40 years which had accelerated Argentina's transformation" to the point where it felt it should join NATO, i.e., that it is no longer a member of the developing sector. Di Tella has fought tooth and nail to ensure that the Menem government eliminates every last vestige of dirigist economics in the country in favor of British free trade policies.

He also condemned what he called Argentina's "exotic" technology transfer agreements with countries such as Iraq, which, he said, had led to the "autonomous development in sensitive areas through association with nations in confrontation with the West, and through secret programs such as the Condor II missile, which we have definitely canceled."

As part of its policy of "technological apartheid," by which developing sector nations are denied access to advanced technologies, the Bush administration demanded that Menem scrap the Air Force's Condor missile and any agreements with Iraq or any other nation seeking technological advancement independent of Anglo-American control. Now, Di Tella reported gleefully, Argentina will shortly join the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), and no longer belong to the "obsolete" Non-Aligned Movement.

### **A rapid deployment force**

It was Di Tella's assertion in his Brussels speech that Argentina is interested in joining NATO to seek "shared objectives throughout the world including, logically, in the South Atlantic," which gives a clue to the role the country intends to play on behalf of Anglo-American interests. He emphasized that no effort should be spared to advance the "Argentine project" aimed at creating "new organizations for military cooperation in the South Atlantic in order to keep the peace."

The 1982 Malvinas War was the first case of NATO "out of area" deployments. That the Anglo-Americans are planning to expand this policy, but now with Third World "partners" like Argentina, is indicated in an article published in the Sept. 20 *La Prensa*. This reported that when Menem traveled to Germany, he was given a document prepared by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner which stated that "the military presence of NATO's founding members outside their borders may diminish, [but] with greater participation of armed forces from the Third World in international zones of conflict."

The daily *Ambito Financiero* reported on Oct. 7 that one of NATO's primary concerns at this time is to create a U.N.-style peacekeeping force, but one that would be "more rapid deployment and efficient." The paper noted that for this type of force to function, "partners will be needed to allow it to operate outside of the European continent." The conflict in former Yugoslavia was cited as an example of why such a force might be necessary.

### **A force against 'rebellious' nations**

For whom will Menem be keeping the peace? Within such regional bodies as the Organization of American States (OAS), Argentina is Washington's toady for promoting the growth of IMF "democracies." It has tried, and thus far failed, to get through resolutions at the OAS demanding automatic expulsion of any nation which dares to reject the "democracy" agenda and look for a better alternative. It has also firmly backed calls for creating an inter-American military force that could be used against "rebellious" countries. At the next OAS meeting in December, Di Tella will try again to get the expulsion resolution passed.

Inside Argentina's Defense Ministry, according to the Oct. 20 *La Prensa*, there is talk of establishing "organic relations" with NATO's 16 member nations and formalizing naval cooperation in the South Atlantic, which would involve Argentina, South Africa, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Moreover, Argentina will propose to the OAS that substantial modifications be made to the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR), the Inter-American Defense Board, and the Inter-American Defense College. The idea is that these institutions be "modernized" in a new military relationship between the nations of the Southern Cone and those of NATO.