# A rogues gallery: Who's who in the São Paulo Forum

by Carlos Méndez

Several dozen leftist parties and organizations met in Havana July 21-24 to participate in the Fourth Meeting of the São Paulo Forum, among them the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Mexico, the Workers Party (PT) of Brazil, the Cuban Communist Party (PCC), the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador, the M-19 and the National Guerrilla Coordinator (CNG) of Colombia, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG), Causa R of Venezuela, the All for the Fatherland Movement (MTP) of Argentina, the Broad Front of Uruguay, the United Left of Peru, the new Chilean Socialist Party, and the Free Bolivia Movement.

Prominent among those attending were Rigoberta Menchú and Brazilian Marxist Theology of Liberation proponents Leonardo Boff and Frei Betto. Cuba's Fidel Castro himself was there to attend the opening and closing ceremonies, and to personally oversee the work.

The Forum has significantly expanded its ranks since its founding meeting in São Paulo in 1990 under the sponsorship of the Cuban Communist Party.

Although the São Paulo Forum declared itself in Havana to be the continental alternative to collapsing British-style free-market economic policies—what is called "neo-liberalism" by many Ibero-Americans—the truth is that its proposals are identical to those of neo-liberalism, since they both stem from the same premise that the usurious foreign debt must continue to be paid, no matter what. The Forum came out against "militarism"—a pretext for attacking the armed forces of the continent—and supported "human rights," the United Nations, and "the efforts of the FMLN, the FSLN, and the URNG to strengthen the peace processes that are developing in the region."

# State Department leftists

Despite the fact that all of the Forum's members and observers are self-declared leftists and some are even openly narco-terrorists, their leaders have received ringing endorsements from the U.S. State Department, and in particular, from the Inter-American Dialogue. The Forum's "star," Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, is a Dialogue member.

In April 1993, several of the stars of the Havana meeting were launched into the limelight in the United States through a conference entitled "Options for Latin America: A Committee of Presidential Candidates for 1993-1994." The conference was held at the Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Relations at Princeton University. Participants were Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of the PRD, "Lula" from the PT, Antonio Navarro Wolf from the M-19, Rubén Zamora of the FMLN, and Pablo Medina of Causa R.

After the conference, the Inter-American Dialogue and Aspen Institute organized a meeting between U.S. government officials and several of those who had participated in the conference: Lula, Navarro Wolf, and Pablo Medina. The high-level meeting included Peter Hakim, co-chairman of the Inter-American Dialogue; Richard Feinberg, former president of the Dialogue and current director of Latin American Affairs for the U.S. National Security Council; Harriet Babbitt, U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS); Tim Wirth, of the State Department; and Luigi Einaudi, State Department official and former U.S. ambassador to the OAS.

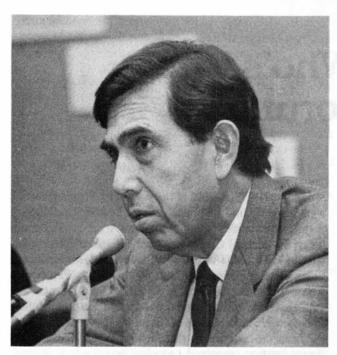
# The 'super-stars'

### Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

Leader of Mexico's Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) and a former presidential candidate, Cárdenas is currently running for the presidency in the 1994 elections. At the Havana meeting, Cárdenas declared: "I find that this has been a purposeful forum . . . with possibilities to form governments in the near future. The Broad Front of Uruguay, the Brazilian PT, the MAS and Causa R of Venezuela, FMLN-Democratic Convergence in El Salvador, PRD in Mexico. All hold similar positions [and] very similar concerns which surely will allow us to establish at some point common policies of social improvement and political autonomy for Latin America" (emphasis added) (La Jornada, July 24, 1993).

Economy: Although in the early days of his movement Cárdenas spoke of the injustice of the foreign debt and attacked the policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), he soon abandoned these issues, and today is in agree-

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Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's movement may transform Mexico into a center of "indigenist" and other communist-sponsored violence.

ment with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). "We don't reject NAFTA. The truth is, we don't exactly know what it is, what its clauses are. It smells like it should be a bad agreement. In that case, we want it to improve, to be acceptable to the three participating countries. We are seeking a good agreement. Mexico cannot isolate itself," said Cárdenas in an interview with the Argentine daily *Página 12* on Aug. 1, 1993, conducted in Havana during the Forum meeting. Cárdenas also said that "when it comes to privatizations, we won't bring in ideologies. We will say yes to some and no to others. . . . We will review the way the privatizations are being carried out, case by case, because some were conducted in total secrecy."

Drug trade: Two of the top leaders of the PRD, economist Ifigenia Martínez de Navarrete and Heberto Castillo, have proposed drug legalization, with Cárdenas having made no comment at all on the matter.

Ifigenia Martínez de Navarrete said that "the problem of the drug trade in Mexico will not be solved by changing a few constitutional articles," and therefore it is preferable that "the use of drugs in the country be decriminalized, as long as there are norms which will allow the federal government to keep track of the quantity of narcotics in the country," according to the daily *El Universal* on June 14.

A few days later, Heberto Castillo declared that should he become president of his party, he would fight for the decriminalization and regulation of narcotics consumption "to lower the costs and thereby end the trade," according to *El Día*, on June 25 and *Impacto* on July 2.

# **Adolfo Gilly**

The person who has perhaps most clearly expressed the thinking of the PRD is this Argentine Trotskyist living in Mexico, one of Cárdenas's leading gurus. In his speech at the Winter Colloquium held in Mexico City in January 1992, Gilly attacked those who "wasted" the decade of the 1980s campaigning with "illusory political slogans, such as not paying the foreign debt." According to Gilly, "the international economic system . . . and its agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, have built-in and inescapable guarantees so that no government in its right mind would undertake that kind of measure at its own risk, without paying an intolerable price... The new social movements in Latin America are forced to proceed from these great realities, many of them irreversible.... The restructuring of Latin American capitalism . . . has put an end . . . forever to the old-style populist national pacts. . . . Any proposal to revive these pacts would only serve as a diversion."

As is the case with other members of the São Paulo Forum, Gilly's speech is based on an openly satanic New Age agenda. In the Winter Colloquium, Gilly urged the unification of the new political parties with "the new social movements" which seek "global rights," such as "diversity of sexual options," abortion, feminism, environmentalism, the "ethnic minorities," etc. Democracy, he said, should be based on a combination of "epic changes" in sexuality and the freedoms won during the countercultural uprisings of 1968.

### Luiz Inácio da Silva

A leader of the Marxist Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) of Brazil, and the brightest star of the São Paulo Forum, Lula is also an official member of the Inter-American Dialogue, which only goes to show how the narcoterrorist side of economic neo-liberalism works.

The PT is most dangerous in that it could trigger a civil war in Brazil, as Brig. Gen. Ivan Moacyr da Frota warned in an Aug. 15, 1993 interviewpublished in the *Jornal do Brasil*. Da Frota explained that today, "the PT is very organized," and that "despite the fact that the PT has no military organization, nor soldiers, nor weapons, it would provide the foundation of an opposition structure which could lead this country to civil war."

Da Frota is right, but it is nonetheless necessary to point out that the foundation of that "opposition structure" which could turn into a terrorist army is precisely those Base Communities (CEB) which have been taken over by the Marxist Theology of Liberation and which are run in particular by heretics Leonard Boff and "Frei" Betto, with the latter also serving as Lula's leading spiritual adviser. In fact, the ranks of the PT are not workers at all, but members of those Base Communities now run by Liberation Theology. The PT hopes to use the CEB in the same way that the Marxist liberation theologists did so in Nicaragua: turning them into support committees for the Sandinista revolution.

As part of this strategy, sociologist Herbert de Souza formulated a project for creating "Citizen Action Committees" throughout Brazil, which in the short term would be turned into support committees for Lula's presidential campaign. On Lula's direct recommendation to President Itamar Franco, De Souza was recently named to head the Brazilian government's "program against hunger," which has provided him the vehicle for creating his "Citizen Action Committees." Those committees would not only be made up of the CEB, but also a host of other non-partisan (e.g., neighborhood) organizations, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The first experiments in these have already begun in São Paulo, Brasilia, and Rio de Janeiro.

Herbert de Souza, known as "Betinho," is director of the Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE), a private intelligence center which is closely linked to Marxist Theology of Liberation circles, and which provides information to the PT and to the left in general—a fact which does not prevent it from receiving money from the Ford Foundation.

# Lula and Washington

Following the dramatic fall of Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello in 1992, the Inter-American Dialogue and the State Department are playing the "Lula" card for the 1994 presidential elections. After his presentation at the Princeton conference, Lula met in Washington, D.C. on April 19 with various officials of the Clinton administration, and with members of the Inter-American Dialogue; the president of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), Enrique Iglesias, gave a dinner for him. In particular Lula met with Bernard Aronson, then assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, with whom he agreed to press for the signing of a tripartite nuclear pact among Brazil, Argentina, and the International Agency of Atomic Energy, a pact whose terms imply "technological apartheid."

In Brazil, Lula has held a series of meetings with bankers and businessmen, and the CUT labor federation—out of whose ranks the PT was forged—reports that it is trying to purchase TV Manchete, one of the country's most important television networks, to use in the electoral campaign. The CUT has proposed the involvement of television magnate Roberto Marinho in the deal. Marinho is the owner of the satanic O Globo chain. For some time, Lula has maintained a special relationship with Marinho, who also has good relations with Fidel Castro.

Economy: Lula has little to say personally on economics, but until now he has not come out in opposition to the barbarous economic policy of Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who is also a member of the Inter-American Dialogue. In his commentary in the Inter-American Dialogue report "Convergence and Community: the Americas in 1993," Lula has limited himself to noting that he does not accept economic neo-liberalism in the terms proposed by the Dialogue.

Strictly speaking, the PT's economic program is a proletarian version of neo-liberalism, as shown by the fundamental idea behind the emergency measures it has proposed to President Franco: Omitting even the word "moratorium," the PT only makes a vague allusion to debt renegotiation, and then proposes that the Brazilian government acquire U.S. government bonds, which would be given as guarantees to domestic creditors willing to extend the term of their debt holdings.

However, Lula has supported a Brazilian version of Mexico's National Solidarity Program (Pronasol), the apparatus through which President Carlos Salinas de Gortari hands out a few crumbs as a means of maintaining political control, and which incorporates a large percentage of Mexico's communist and terrorist left.

## Antonio Navarro Wolf

Navarro Wolf is the chief ideologue and commander of the gnostic and narco-terrorist M-19 of Colombia, which in November 1985 stormed the Justice Palace and murdered more than half the Supreme Court magistrates, who were overseeing cases against drug traffickers at the time. The M-19's satanism is not merely expressed by its narco-terrorist actions, but also by its philosophy. As its founder Jaime Bateman declared, the M-19 gets "spiritual protection" from the Gnostic Universal Church of Colombia.

In an interview published in December 1985 with the Mexican magazine Cuadernos Políticos, Navarro Wolf defended the M-19's assault on the Justice Palace, saying that the M-19's objective was to destroy "one of the last, if not the last, respectable institution the country has left. . . . [We] measured the significance of the Supreme Court in a country which no longer believes in anything and which only has two institutions left: the Catholic Church and the Court of Justice."

Economy: The policies of the IMF "have been a scourge, our blood is being squeezed from us with debt payment, but in the midst of this we must recognize that they have imposed discipline in monetary management and that helps integration. . . . Today there is monetary management imposed by the international banks, which makes the monetary question homogeneous in the region. This contributes to the internationalization of the economy, which logically benefits the great economic power blocs, but on the other hand this reality forces us to do what we would not have known how to do voluntarily, namely, to integrate. We are forced to do it of necessity. I would say that that is the positive side of neoliberalism that forced Latin American businessmen to be more responsible," said Navarro Wolf in a Jan. 31, 1992 interview with the Argentine newspaper El Cronista, under the headline, "Former Guerrilla Praises the IMF."

Apart from his presentation in Princeton and his attendance at the meeting with U.S. government and Inter-American Dialogue officials in April 1993, Navarro Wolf attended the August 1992 Democratic Convention in New York as a



Antonio Navarro Wolf, the chief ideologue and commander of the narco-terrorist M-19 in Colombia.

"special invited guest."

# The Free Bolivia Movement (MBL)

The MBL has formed part of the coordinating committee which runs the São Paulo Forum since its founding. As a promoter of radical indigenism, the MBL seeks to reorganize Bolivian society and institutions on the basis of ethnic, rather than national identities.

In March 1992, the MBL sent a three-man delegation to China to establish fraternal relations "at the highest level" with the Chinese Communist Party. The MBL delegation toured five cities and held "various working meetings" with the top leaders of the International Department of the Chinese Communist Party. An editorial in the MBL's May 1992 International Bulletin hailed China as "the leading socialist country in the world, with its own renovated proposals which keeps alive the idea of the battle for a society of communitarian values." The MBL singled out China's turn toward free-trade economics and its creation of special foreign economic zones for praise, asserting that the political situation in the country is "completely controlled" after "adjustments" made after the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, thus guaranteeing conditions for foreign investment.

The MBL delegation then went onto North Korea, where, after meeting with President Kim Il Sung, the party established "fraternal relations at the highest and most promising level" with the North Korean communists.

Yet, in August of this year, the newly elected President

of Bolivia, Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada, a member of the Inter-American Dialogue, brought the MBL into his government coalition, and is reported to be considering handing the MBL the post of foreign minister in his cabinet. Here, too, the strategy of using communist muscle to impose a liberal free trade dictatorship stands out clearly: Sánchez de Losada (who has spent so much of his life in the United States that he no longer speaks Spanish well) is the man who, as economics minister of the Paz Estenssoro government (1986-90), oversaw the economic shock therapy program of Harvard free trade maniac Jeffrey Sachs, a program which handed Bolivia over to the drug trade.

# Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

The FSLN is a key part of the controlling apparatus of the São Paulo Forum and its Narco-Terrorist International.

Tomás Borge, interior minister in the Sandinista regime and the sole survivor of the founding group behind the FSLN, is an example of how Sandinismo functions in the Narco-Terrorist International which the Forum shelters. On March 26, 1992, in a speech in Managua, Borge came out against the existence of Ibero-America's armed forces, and said that "armies are only used for coups d'état and to repress the people and, further, eat up a large part of our budgets." He added that the militaries are "a cancer in our countries," and that he sees "no reason for armies to continue to exist."

On May 22, 1993, Borge was the first to show up, still in his pajamas, at the site where a clandestine FMLN weapons cache blew up in Managua (see p. 27).

Borge is former president of the Conference of Latin American Political Parties (Coppal), and official biographer of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

Daniel Ortega, former Sandinista President of Nicaragua, is also a perfect example of the narco-terrorist underpinnings of the São Paulo Forum. In a March 1, 1992 interview with the Lima newspaper *La República*, Ortega said, "Yes, I am ready to serve as mediator between the Peruvian guerrillas and the democratic forces of the country, to try to avoid the spiral of violence that is laying waste to Peru. Just as I participated in the El Salvador and Guatemala negotiations, so I am prepared to do so here to make peace a reality."

Economy: In his March 1 interview with La República, Ortega "acknowledged that this government, upon finding itself blockaded and under siege, had to resort to the instruments imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, with anti-popular prescriptions, since this was the only way out given the lack of financial oxygen" (emphasis added).

Against national sovereignty: In early July 1993, Daniel Ortega's brother Humberto Ortega, head of the Sandinista People's Army—the official name of Nicaragua's army today—sent a proposal to the United Nations that Nicaragua host a school for training Central American troops deployed by the U.N. for regional operations. On July 3, Antonio

Lacayo, presidential minister and leading ally of the Sandinistas in the Chamorro government, announced that the government supported Ortega's proposal.

Theology of Liberation: According to La República, Daniel Ortega "said that socialism in this part of the world is also different from that which reigned in eastern Europe, because Christianity is not excluded as a social practice." He "offered the example of his country, where the Sandinista revolution achieved success through the backing of progressive sectors of the Catholic Church," the latter a euphemism for the Marxist Theology of Liberation.

### Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front

Despite the FMLN's communist identification, in January 1992 its leader Joaquín Villalobos welcomed the United States as "guarantor" of the "peace pact" between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN guerrillas. In a Jan. 20, 1992 interview published in the Peruvian magazine Si following the signing of the peace accord, FMLN head Shafik Handal stated: "The U.S. government today has a different view of things, and its Latin America policy is on a different track. . . . Of course, the U.S. government has, as we also do, its own proposals and hopes. The coming years will tell us who will achieve them and who will not. But I don't believe that our proposals and hopes, especially during this period, are totally antagonistic to the proposals and hopes of the United States government. They will have a strategy that doesn't entirely cohere with our own, but there are points of coincidence. And it is worth developing those."

Shafik Handal also told Si that the "key aspect" of the socalled peace agreement "is that the armed force, the Army, which has been the hegemonic force in the country for more than 60 years . . . be subordinate to the democratically elected civil authority." Handal added that the new relationship between the FMLN and Washington is due precisely to the fact that the United States has promoted "civilian society to take a leading role."

# **Guatemalan National Revolutionary** Union (URNG)

The URNG is the spearhead of what has been dubbed "Shining Path North." Created in 1979 after Fidel Castro gave orders that the four Guatemalan guerrilla organizations join forces or lose Cuba's substantial financial backing, the URNG shares with Shining Path its barbarism and the fact that the drug trade serves as one of its financial sources.

On Feb. 23, 1993, a news story from EFE wire service reported that URNG leaders welcomed the creation of the socalled Group of Friends - Colombia, Spain, Mexico, and Venezuela – to collaborate in the pacification of Guatemala, just as that same group had already done in El Salvador.

According to news stories from both EFE and Associated Press, URNG representative in Europe Jorge Rosal declared on Oct. 20, 1992 that Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchú would help to push the peace talks between the URNG and the Guatemalan government forward. Rosal added that "that prize [to Menchú] should help the international community pressure the military, who are the true rulers in Guatemala, to return to the negotiating table."

Ever since the early 1980s, Rigoberta Menchú represented the URNG in international forums. In 1983, the newspaper Indigenous World, published in the United States by anthropologist Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, published a series of articles supporting the URNG, one of which is illustrated by a photograph of Menchú with the following caption: "One of four people who made up the URNG delegation from Guatemala" to the meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Menchú was launched as a political figure in 1983 by the Casa de las Américas publishing house in Havana, which gave her a prize for her book I, Rigoberta.

On Aug. 3, 1992, Fidel Castro honored Menchú, who agrees with Castro on a fundamental point: his hatred of the evangelization of America. In October 1992, Menchú declared that she had been thinking of using the Nobel Prize money to halt the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in America (Reuters, Oct. 19, 1992).

# Venezuela's Causa R

The Radical Cause Party (Causa R) in Venezuela has been the pampered darling of Washington because of its willingness to back the IMF economic program adopted by Carlos Andrés Pérez, and for its attacks on the Armed Forces. On several occasions, Causa R came out against the Venezuelan Congress and demanded Pérez's resignation. It also urged that those military officers who had rebelled against Pérez retire from the Armed Forces in exchange for a pardon.

In an interview with El Diario de Caracas of Feb. 7, 1992, Causa R's Secretary General Pablo Medina said that Causa R's relationship with U.S. ambassador to Venezuela Michael Skol began "one year ago. Friends, no. They are political relations, one couldn't call it friendship." And yet, one of the invitees to Skol's house to watch the U.S. presidential election results of 1992 was Causa R presidential candidate Andrés Velásquez.

On Jan. 2, 1993, Ambassador Skol attended the swearing-in of Causa R leader Aristóbulo Isturiz as mayor of Libertador township, the most important in Caracas. Skol told the press that he was at the event because for the United States, "democracy is the most important thing, and I am here to witness a democratic act." According to the daily El Universal on Jan. 3, 1993, "Mayor Isturiz would later comment that the presence of the ambassador at the event meant support for national democracy and an end to commentaries claiming that members and leaders of Causa R were a bunch of 'stonethrowers.' "

In April 1993, after participating in the Princeton University meeting of the Woodrow Wilson School for Political and International Affairs, Pablo Medina also attended the meetings organized by the Inter-American Dialogue with various high-level U.S. government officials.

In late July 1993, Andrés Velásquez made a tour of the United States, during which he spoke before David Rockefeller's Americas Society. The tour was coordinated from Caracas with U.S. Ambassador Skol.

Economy: According to Causa R leader Pablo Medina, in a Feb. 7, 1993 interview with El Diario de Caracas, Causa R leaders assured U.S. Ambassador Skol at a Dec. 20, 1992 meeting at the U.S. embassy that "If we have a Causa R government here, there is not going to be any problem with the foreign debt, because we will pay it."

According to Medina, "we would pay the debt, but not with oil income, nor by tightening the belt of the people further. Rather, by imposing a tax on capital held abroad. Nothing more than these taxes would pay the debt, and would even yield a surplus."

In an advertisement published Oct. 20, 1992 in the Caracas daily El Nacional, entitled "There Is a Way Out," Causa R proposed an economic plan of sacrifice. "The sacrifices imposed by a plan like this could only be demanded by a leadership with credibility among the people: Neither Democratic Action, nor COPEI, nor adventurers, nor tyrants, could offer this."

Armed Forces: In his speech to the Woodrow Wilson conference in April 1993, Pablo Medina attacked the military, and stated that "without a defined role in the international arena, and with the internal conditions of the economy aggravated by their high cost of maintenance, the militaries have become a serious problem for democracies" (El Globo, April 18, 1993).

In July 1993, Andrés Velásquez announced that Causa R had offered Lt. Col. Francisco Arias Cárdenas, one of the leaders of the Feb. 4, 1992 uprising, the opportunity to head Causa R's congressional slate as a senatorial candidate. Arias accepted, and requested his retirement from the military.

## **Fidel Castro**

Regarding this key man behind the São Paulo Forum and its "Narco-Terrorist International," it should suffice to remind the reader that Castro attacked the quincentenary celebration of the evangelization of America; he opposed debt moratorium, and has defended usurious international banks and the IMF; and he harbors drug money-launderer Robert Vesco as his personal guest.

In July 1985, Castro described the Spanish conquest and colonization of the New World as a "genocidal" and "unfortunate and fateful" event, and declared that Oct. 12, 1492 "opened up one of the most scandalous pages of universal history."

Also in 1985, Castro proposed solving the problem of

Ibero-America's foreign debt and saving the banks by making the United States pay that debt with money taken from cutbacks in the U.S. defense budget. Castro also said that the IMF had to be saved as an institution.

# Theology of Liberation

The role of prominent Markist liberation theologists in the São Paulo Forum is relevant, in particular that of Castro intimate Frei Betto, who is also the spiritual adviser to Brazil's Lula and director of the recently created magazine América Libre, the official organ of the Forum. Another such influence on the Forum, and on Lula, is the former Franciscan Leonardo Boff. Frei Betto and Boff are true promoters of the Black Legend against Catholic Spain, as well as promoters of indigenous peoples and a return to primitive pagan religions.

In an article published Oct. 19, 1992 in the Mexican newspaper *El Día Latinoamericano*, Frei Betto said that the Spanish Conquest was genocide, and that "with Christianity, an entire cultural, political, and economic system was imposed on the New World." He stated that in the first evangelization, "the theology of domination predominated."

But in practice, Frei Betto has little interest in justice, but rather in "class struggle." In September 1990, in an article published in the Brazilian magazine *Tiempo e Presença*, No. 252, Frei Betto said, "The great challenge facing humanity today is to find an alternative to both capitalism and state socialism. It is not a question of finding a 'third way,' since there is no alternative to the suppression of poverty in which two-thirds of humanity lives except socialization of the goods of the earth and of the fruits of human labor."

Boff, who has just abandoned the Catholic Church, promotes a return to Pelagianism and to primitive indigenous paganism. In his recent book América Latina: de la Conquista a la Nueva Evangelización (Latin America: From the Conquest to the New Evangelization), Boff calls the Spanish conquest genocidal, although he himself promotes genocide by insisting that defense of the environment is the new "paradigm of development" in which all should be sacrificed to the altar of nature and to the Sacred Mother Earth. Says Boff: "In the development-ecology relationship, one should always opt for ecology, even at the cost of development."

In his book, Boff also says that one must rescue "the identity [of the Indians], suffocated by European culture and the Christian religion." In his public letter renouncing the priesthood, published June 29, 1992, Boff says: "I wish, through my intellectual work, to involve myself in forging an Indo-Afro-American Christianity, rooted in the people, in the skin, the dances, the suffering, the joys and in the language of our people, in answers to God's Gospel."

In an interview published in the daily *El Día Latinoamericano* on Sept. 7. 1992, Boff said that "one must always remember that Christianity is a western version of faith. And the West is an accident. It does not represent the totality of human experience."