

ter Enrique Parejo González, and, in 1991, by hiring himself out as the lawyer for the Medellín Cartel's number-two, Jorge Luis Ochoa Vásquez.

Another source for Carrigan's book, we are told, is the son of former Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen, Juan Manuel López Caballero. López Michelsen, known alternately in Colombia as "The Chicken" and "The Godfather," is the country's leading political broker for the cocaine cartels. As President, López facilitated the growth of Colombia's drug trade by forging the tax breaks and banking mechanisms, such as the so-called *ventanilla siniestra* (sinister window), that gave the cartels their eventual stranglehold on the nation's political and economic sectors.

López Michelsen, who has been a long-standing opponent of extradition, is the mentor of drug legalization lobbyist and presidential candidate Ernesto Samper Pizano, and is known to have accepted generous cartel contributions to his (failed) 1982 re-election bid. In April 1984, López outdid Jiménez Gómez, by waiting barely one week after Lara Bonilla's assassination before holding secret meetings with his killers to try to mediate a government amnesty for them. He issued a public appeal on their behalf in July 1984, and has repeatedly acted as the cartels' go-between with the Colombian government ever since.

Lies and anonymous testimony

It is precisely in these mob connections of Carrigan's sources that the real story of what happened during the M-19 guerrillas' November 1985 siege of the Colombian Justice Palace lies, since—as Carrigan states from the outset—her intention is to "discredit" the official conclusion that it was the drug cartels, using the M-19 as their footsoldiers, which ordered the siege that destroyed the nation's legal archives and left half of the Supreme Court dead.

Carrigan's so-called investigative journalism, based largely on *anonymous* testimonies as well as on the "confessions" of the M-19 itself, has served up a soap opera about idealistic M-19 youth who had the misfortune to believe that, with the help of the Supreme Court, they could symbolically put the Colombian government on trial for violating a peace treaty with the M-19.

Through a combination of faulty planning and plain bad luck, Carrigan claims, the M-19's plans went awry. Instead of negotiating with the M-19, the "cowardly" Belisario Betancur government handed full authority over to the military to retake the Justice Palace. A full-scale assault was launched, despite the pitiable pleas of the M-19's hostages—who included nearly a dozen Supreme Court magistrates—and within 24 hours the entire building was reduced to rubble and everyone left inside to ashes. Carrigan concludes that the military's rampage had "killed two birds with one stone," by eliminating both the pesky M-19 and an "overly independent" Supreme Court that was allegedly prying too closely into military corruption and dirty war tactics.

Carrigan's tale is constructed from a tissue of lies. Not only is her book a coverup of who and what the M-19 is, and what the nature of the judiciary's war with the drug interests was, but she also distorts the fundamental issue of what the role of the state must be in protecting the national interest.

Carrigan is obsessed with the fact that, throughout the siege, President Betancur refused to accept a phone call from the president of the Supreme Court, an intimate friend of his and the M-19's most prominent hostage. The M-19 nonetheless succeeded in broadcasting over national radio the judge's pitiful appeal for a cease-fire and negotiations. And yet Betancur knew only too well that there was nothing he could say to his friend, because there was nothing to negotiate—an M-19 surrender and release of the hostages were the only course that could leave the national institutions intact and credible. The terrorists had already rejected those terms.

Meet the M-19

Although Carrigan describes the M-19 as a group of disenchanted political activists whose worst fault is their ineptness, she chooses to leave out a few relevant details about them, such as: their kidnap/murder of labor leader Raquel

The red dye

Conor Cruise O'Brien's authorship of the foreword to this book is a red dye identifying it as part of the British oligarchy's plans to murder national sovereignty and political freedom everywhere—including allying with the drug mafias to achieve this. The former Irish cabinet minister and high-level U.N. official in the Congo, born in Dublin in 1917, most recently disgraced himself as the mouthpiece of Margaret Thatcher's efforts to shore up the communist dictatorship in East Germany.

In October 1989, while the brave citizens of Leipzig were marching nightly demanding freedom from their Soviet oppressors, O'Brien denounced the specter of a reunified, free Germany in the London *Times*, under the headline: "Beware a Reich Resurgent." O'Brien's Oct. 31 piece fretted that the Soviets were too preoccupied with internal problems to militarily put down the East German resistance: "If this view of the Soviet Union is correct, then German reunification is now inevitable. We are on the road to the Fourth Reich: a pan-German entity, commanding the full allegiance of German nationalists and constituting a focus for national pride." Not long before this fulmination, O'Brien had called for legalizing drugs and dismantling the war on drugs.—*Katherine Notley*