

some 150 “disappeared” activists from the 1970s. Gandra charged that the law would be “the same as the Army making claims on leftist politicians.”

A parallel power structure

Discovered in the wake of the scandal, was that Francisco Graziano was part of an entire clandestine network, which included sectors of the Federal Police operating outside the official hierarchy. Formally, the Federal Police are subordinate to the Justice Ministry, yet when the wire-tapping scandal came to light, Justice Minister Nelson Jobim reported that he knew nothing about the order to tap Ambassador Gomes dos Santos’s telephone. On Nov. 23, Jobim confirmed to *Gazeta Mercantil* that Graziano had participated in the operation.

One of Graziano’s advisers, Federal Police officer Paulo Chelotti, had provided the tapes made by the Federal Police, which then were brought to the President. Paulo Chelotti, whose brother, director general of police Vicente Chelotti, had participated in Cardoso’s Presidential campaign.

Sociologist Graziano belongs to the President’s inner circle, and flaunts his personal friendship with the President and his wife, anthropologist Ruth Cardoso. It is to the latter, it is said, to whom Graziano owed his appointment as head of agrarian reform at INCRA—a shocking appointment, given Graziano’s long-standing role in the liberation theology circles which created the Landless Movement (MST), a Zapatista-like operation run by the Workers Party (PT) which is currently organizing violent land seizures across Brazil, in the name of “agrarian reform.” The same Workers Party co-founded and runs the São Paulo Forum with the Cuban Communist Party today.

Graziano named as his chief of staff at INCRA, Paulo Loguercio, a leading member of liberation theology’s Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) out of which the MST was created. When he left the CPT to join Graziano at INCRA, Loguercio named as his replacement, João Stedile, today one of the principal leaders of the MST. Graziano also named a former PT municipal president as one of INCRA’s directors. One of Graziano’s chosen gurus in agrarian reform, is his uncle, José Gomes da Silva, an agronomist linked to the PT.

In light of the network uncovered, political analysts have taken note of the fact that the trade union of the Federal Police is formally affiliated with the PT’s trade union arm, the Unified Workers Central.

Even after the Graziano-Federal Police-PT network was revealed, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso left Graziano in his post, until the Air Force, supported by the Army and Navy, threatened, not so quietly, an open fight with the President, over the fact that he had moved with such alacrity when it came to dumping the Air Force minister, but showed no interest in removing the party caught illegally attempting to torpedo the radar deal.

Dialogue sets Haiti trap for Clinton

by Carlos Wesley

The Inter-American Dialogue, the Washington-based bankers’ pro-drug legalization lobby that serves as the primary channel of British policy into U.S. policymaking toward Ibero-America, unleashed another bloody crisis in Haiti this past month, when it publicly urged Jean-Bertrand Aristide to ignore his deal with President Bill Clinton to leave office on Feb. 7, and instead hang on to the Presidency for at least another three years.

Aristide immediately jumped at the opportunity, and unleashed a wave of violent demonstrations of his Jacobin mobs, demanding that he stay on as President. The Clinton administration is insisting that Aristide leave on schedule, but is nervous that if they push the psychologically unstable Haitian leader too hard, he will give the green light for another giant wave of boat people refugees to head for the United States, which would be a political disaster for Clinton in an election year.

The crisis exploded just as Clinton was proposing to send 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia, as part of the NATO peacekeeping force to help implement the U.S.-brokered Dayton peace accord, which the British were opposed to. Thus, Conservative Revolution press hounds in the United States seized on the “unravelling” of Haiti—where Clinton last year foolishly deployed the U.S. military to restore Aristide to power—to challenge the administration’s planned Bosnia operation.

Lighting the match

The signal to ignite Haiti was given in an internationally syndicated column by Peter Hakim, the president of the Inter-American Dialogue (IAD), who called on the Clinton administration to allow Aristide to extend his mandate. According to the Spanish-language version published in Argentina’s daily *La Nación* in early November, Hakim admitted that besides violating the agreement with Clinton that restored Aristide to the Presidency, it would be a violation of Haiti’s Constitution were Aristide to remain in office. He also recognized that Aristide, a defrocked priest, is “an aspiring dictator ready to perpetuate himself in power.”

But, Hakim cynically argued, since whoever becomes Haiti’s next President will be “handpicked” by Aristide anyway, it would be better for the United States, in the interest of “transparency,” to let Aristide revamp Haiti’s Constitution. “Regardless of whether he is committed to democracy or not,

he continues to be extremely popular, and would win any elections in a landslide," lied Hakim. Given that Hakim's alter ego is Richard Feinberg, his predecessor as president of the IAD who is currently in charge of Latin American policy at the U.S. National Security Council, the article was read inside Haiti as a green light for all hell to break loose.

On Nov. 7, unidentified gunmen shot two members of the Haitian Parliament linked to Aristide's Lavalas political organization, one of whom, Jean-Hubert Feuille, a former bodyguard and relative of Aristide, died. Aristide blamed the killing on the opposition, and police raided the home of Gen. Prosper Avril, a former President, shot up the place, arrested his daughter, and forced Avril to seek diplomatic asylum with the Colombian ambassador.

Lavalas mobs in the town of Les Cayes burned the homes of presumed opponents, and beat to death a man they claimed belonged to an anti-Aristide paramilitary group. The same happened in Cap-Haitien, Port-au-Prince, and elsewhere, causing scores of deaths. In Gonaives, there were reportedly clashes with U.N. peacekeepers. People in Cité Soleil, a slum in the outskirts of Port-au-Prince, the capital, burned down the local police station and killed two policemen, after one had accidentally killed a six-year-old. Residents took to arming themselves with knives and machetes to protect themselves from roving gangs armed with machine guns terrorizing the area.

Everywhere the mobs demanded that Aristide remain in office, and threatened to kill anyone who filed as a candidate for the Presidential elections scheduled for Dec. 17.

'I am the State'

The violence had markedly intensified following the eulogy Aristide delivered at the funeral of the slain parliamentarian Feuille, in which he urged the masses to practice vigilante justice, and demanded complete disarmament of the population. "Do not sit idly by, do not wait; accompany the policemen when they are going to enter the homes of the people who have heavy weapons, give them information, do not be afraid of them. When you do that, tell the policemen not to go only to the poor neighborhoods, but to go to the neighborhoods where there are big houses and heavy weapons," he said, according to a transcript of the speech published by the U.S. government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service. "I am the head of State in charge of the safety of each Haitian. I want, I want, I want, and I can. I want and I can. It is over, it is over, it is over. I want and I can. It is over," Aristide said.

He openly blackmailed President Clinton: "The month of December 1995 must be a month of peace, a month of success. So the month of November 1996 can be a success also in the United States, this month must be a month of total and complete disarmament."

The eulogy recalled his earlier speeches praising the "necklace" as "a beautiful instrument." Among other rea-

sons, it was his penchant for "necklacing"—placing a gasoline-filled, burning tire around the neck of a victim whose arms have been chopped off—that led Haiti's military to overthrow Aristide in 1991.

On Nov. 24, Aristide personally escalated the chicken game, when he agreed to submit to his cabinet a resolution, passed by a government-sponsored three-day "National Dialogue" of reconciliation, held at a luxury hotel, calling for a three-year extension of his mandate.

The move shook the U.S. administration and forced Clinton to send some of his top aides, including National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, to convince the defrocked priest that he had to leave office.

Aristide acquiesced—for now—on Nov. 29, just two weeks before Haiti was to hold its Presidential elections, making those proceedings even more of a sham: The winner is expected to be Aristide's former prime minister, René Préval. Every serious opposition candidate was terrorized away from participating, or eliminated. This is the secret behind Aristide's much-vaunted popularity. In fact, many of Aristide's better-known former supporters, including former Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul and famous popular singer Emmanuel "Mano" Charlemagne, who is currently mayor of Port-au-Prince, have broken with him because of his dictatorial methods.

The refugee weapon

In exchange for withdrawing, Aristide apparently extracted a promise that the U.S. administration will return thousands of documents taken by U.S. troops last year. His government wants the records in order to move forward its vengeful persecution of supporters of the former military regime, supposedly for violating "human rights."

The big cudgel Aristide wields against Washington, is the threat of flooding the United States with a wave of "boat people." On Nov. 24, forty-seven people died off Haiti's north coast, when their vessel capsized. Three days earlier, the U.S. Coast Guard intercepted 516 Haitians aboard a coastal freighter about 150 miles off the coast of Florida, and another 60 undocumented Haitian immigrants were intercepted recently off the Bahamas.

Haiti's economy is a disaster, made worse by the fact that Aristide signed on with the International Monetary Fund before he was overthrown. Furthermore, the U.S. administration is pushing the IAD's disastrous privatization program in Haiti. Across the border, in the Dominican Republic, the fear is that Haiti's crisis will spill over, leading to a U.N. trusteeship over both countries.

Meanwhile, the IAD is exploiting the Haiti situation to advance its plot to destroy the Ibero-American armed forces. On Nov. 19-26, former Costa Rican President and IAD member Oscar Arias sponsored a travelling road-show and meeting of Costa Rican, Haitian, and Panamanian lawmakers and journalists to "institutionalize demilitarization."