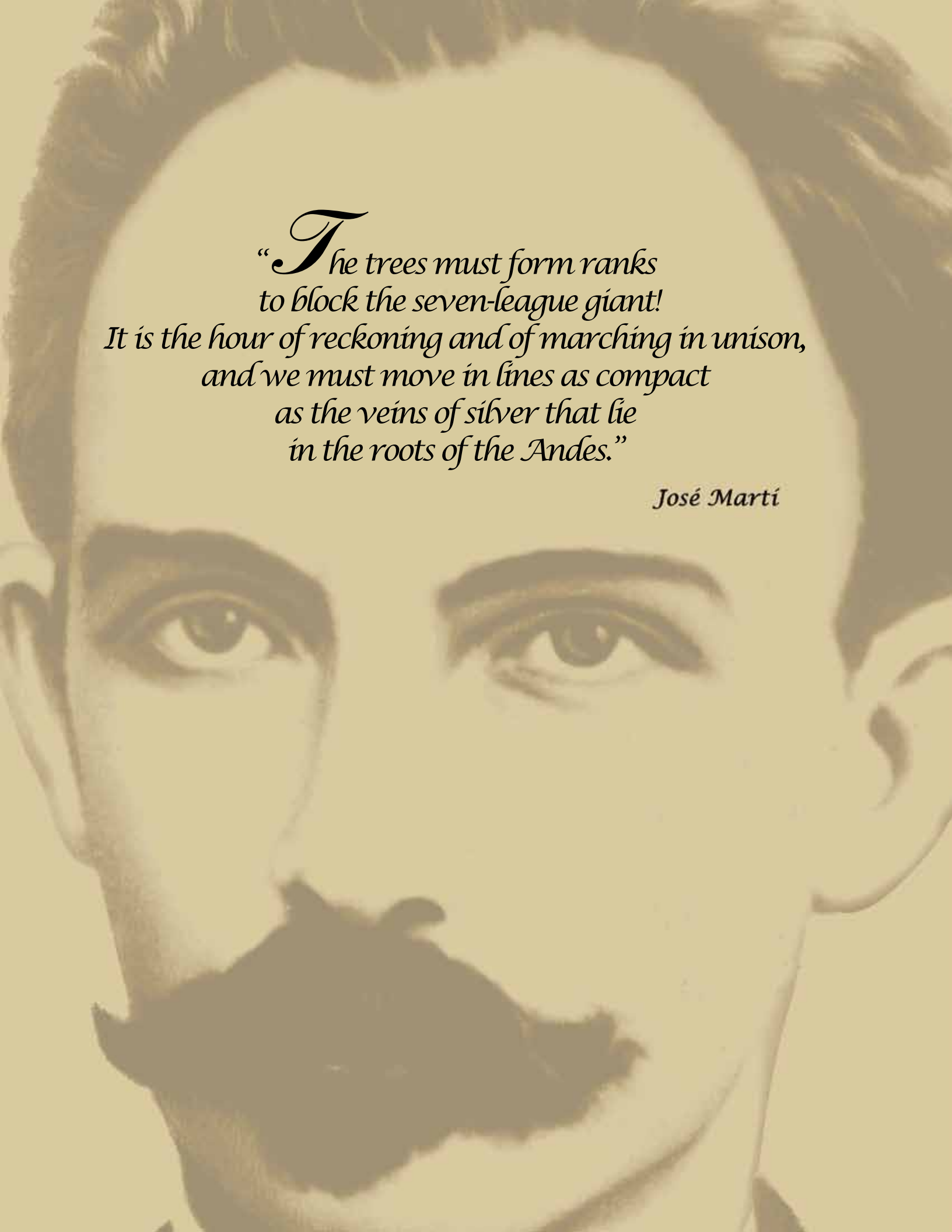


# THE SEVEN-LEAGUE GIANT

An illustrated handbook  
of US aggression against  
the peoples of Our America





*“The trees must form ranks  
to block the seven-league giant!  
It is the hour of reckoning and of marching in unison,  
and we must move in lines as compact  
as the veins of silver that lie  
in the roots of the Andes.”*

*José Martí*





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An illustrated handbook of US aggression  
against the peoples of Our America

**CIHSE**

State Security's Center for  
Historical Research  
Ministry of the Interior

E D I T O R I A L



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BY WAY  
OF INTRODUCTION

JULY  
14  
1954

## *Manifest Destiny US interventionism in Our America*

*Knowledge of the history of US interfering relations with Latin America is due not only to a natural intellectual curiosity nor to the growing and demanding appeal for erudition of millions of readers, who in today's globalized world focus their attention on present and past realities of inter-American affairs, among the many options offered by hundreds of publishing houses, book stores, and libraries. Indeed, this demand is much more intense where the public is more convinced that knowledge is also an imperative of cultural identity, national awareness and sovereignty. This is the particular case of all those countries in Our America that have undertaken intense revolutionary experiences, and besides transforming their social, economic and political systems have carried out transcendental cultural changes rehabilitating self-determination, independence, and human dignity, convinced that, in the words of Fidel Castro, "Another world is possible". More than once he has also underscored the meaning of culture. Allow me to remind you his words at the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists' 6th Congress held in 1998: "Culture should be the first thing to be saved."*

*Thus, from the example of a society such as the Cuban —whose triumphant Revolution in January, 1959 became an example and a living symbol of the difficult formation of new men in the midst of a world where savage capitalism, neoliberalism and the so-called "unique thought" reign, and where roads often become labyrinths and destinies lose their way— literacy campaigns extend in Our America, and creative and fecund cultural and educational transformations take place, under different circumstances that keep in mind their own realities and claims. Progressive and revolutionary processes and popular struggles that launch them express the early emancipating and integrationist aspirations by Bolívar and José Martí. A couple of well-known expressions by Martí underline how imperious and pressing for all of them is the alluded historical knowledge: "To be cultured is the only way to be free", and "Reading, in a sense, is growing up."*

*With the present book, the Capitán San Luis Publishing House offers a necessary and timely text to the bibliographical effort undertaken in the country in the past few years in a renovating and vigorous manner, thus propitiating a more ample and profound knowledge of the realities of the interfering policies that the United States has imposed on Our America. In this manner, another grain of sand is contributed to the determination of growing, of being more cultured and free. Indeed, this is assumed from the revolutionary position with which Cuban scholars commit themselves with modesty, responsibility and rigor to a more profound, comprehensive and up to date understanding of past and present processes that characterize the complex and contradictory inter-American scene, where continuity and change alternate and overlap.*



*Many have been the recent contributions that the publishing house has placed on the reader's hands, revealing little known and even unexplored passages, facts, and processes of US aggressive and interfering policies in the case of Cuba. Many of those publications are the result of investigations by the Center for Historical Research of State Security (CIHSE) that have made public unfolded plans and others partially or totally implemented: from terrorist conspiracies to political or diplomatic measures; direct or indirect economical, ideological or military aggressions; covert or open subversive actions, together with international pressure through unilateral, bilateral or multilateral instruments.*

*On this occasion, from the title itself to a summary overview of the index, it is obvious that the material broadens the horizon, focusing on the context of which US interventionist policy has been and still is an essential part. No need to underscore the place and role assigned to the Cuban Revolution in the cultural symbology and in the US doctrinal or strategic projections towards Latin America on the part of their ideologues, decision makers or enforcers. But it is convenient to bear in mind the fact that Cuba has been for half a century a functional piece that prefigures, embosses, completes, complements (or even contrasts) US-Latin American policy. Whether from the government's executive structures or from legislative or congressional instances, or from the so called "think tanks" in the academic field of Latin- Americanology and Cubanology, Cuba remains and sticks out in the historical records of US interventionism in Our America, as part of a system of domination that is anticipatively articulated since the 19th century, long time even before imperialism dominated that country, that monopolies and financial capital were born or that there were talk of hegemony. In this sense, the present book is extremely opportune, for it echoes the importance that the Commander in Chief has been ascribing to historical knowledge—in his anthological speech on October 10, 1968, when he underscored the continuity of our national struggles on the commemoration of the uprising at La Demajagua—, and reiterating it subsequently in many speeches in the midst of the Battle of Ideas in the past decade and in his enlightening and systematic "Reflections" of the past few years. From that point of view, the present material fills a void previously uncovered, offering a chronological and panoramic vision of the framework that in its dialectical articulation links elements of US history—and particularly its expansionist and interventionist tradition, based on economic and geopolitical interests, but coded, justified and even disguised under different deceiving ideological constructions that resemble authentic cultural determinations—with the evolution of Latin America. Just when there is progress in the scrutiny and clarification of events, contexts, characters and dates found in the text, it is clear that the doctrinal umbrella ("Manifest Destiny") that seems to drive as a cultural determination (like a divine decree) the inner development of the North American nation by an unavoidable road of territorial plundering and of genocide, together with its global messianic project, is nothing but an economic determination such as those labeled by Engels as a "last resort". In other words, the text is a useful and enlightening tool for understanding that behind its phenomenological and formal expression lie the essence and contents of*





*American Manifest Destiny in Latin America. Without repeated quoting or resorting to set phrases or empty words, it conveys an approach committed to the creative character of Marxism-Leninism and to contemporary critical and revolutionary thinking.*

*As it is seen from the very first pages, the book contains chronologically organized valuable information, with the objective of focusing on a political and ideological perspective in order to deal with the essential part of the historical process that leads to the formation of the nation and of imperialism in US society, and that segment of inter-American relations concentrated in the sphere of interventionism, where frequently cover actions are even overshadowed by those unfolded in an open manner.*

*The book is a useful tool for those interested in the subject—including academics, students, social scientists, teachers, researchers, political leaders, officials and those related to foreign policy, ideology, college and university level, national defense or national security. Undoubtedly, it will be well received everywhere. In a rather small number of pages the goal is attained: that of approaching the public, through a unit of progressive reading that includes the possibility of assuming only a specific part of the text, by consultation or selective random review—to the essential moments, events and stages in the development of the examined phenomena and relations.*

*There is no doubt that the work of the authors has been arduous in order to summarize, classify, frame and place events derived from numerous searches and findings stemming from the majority—if not the total—of the fundamental studies and chronological records published or disseminated in our country. Based on it, the material has been conceived in an enjoyable presentation that allows a gradual familiarization backed by effective illustrations for an additional value to the text. In this sense, the work has been the subject of a careful editing, a very creative design and a beautiful binding, together with imaginative visual compositions—drawings, vignettes, reproductions, maps and photos—that contribute in great measure to make of its reading, consultation or study a real pleasure.*



*Thus the contribution of Francisco Masvidal, with his characteristic excellence, contributes in a decisive manner to the objective that the contents of the book are integrated in a conceptual whole of word and image, a trait not very common in this kind of text. It is easily seen, after reading multiple references and quotes from speeches by the Commander in Chief, or from learned studies by Manuel Medina Castro, Ramiro Guerra, Hortensia Pichardo, Luis Suárez Salazar, Sergio Guerra Vilaboy, James Cockcroft, as well as articles by Gabriel García Márquez, Stella Calloni, James Petras, and Noam Chomsky, among many others, and political documents from many sources that differ in origin, content, and approach.*

*Allow me once again to reiterate the mention made to the dedicated work by the authors through their effort and the attained result. As perhaps readers know, they are part of a professional group formed by acclaimed experts on enemy subversive actions, particularly those carried out by US special services, frequently associated to academic institutions identified as “think tanks”, which draft reports that as a rule contain diagnosis,*

*predictions, recommendations —sometimes from a liberal point of view and on other occasions from a conservative one; on occasions committed to the Democratic Party, on others to republicans; following the interest of the White House or Congress, the military-industrial complex's or the intelligence community's. In the case of the present work, it attracts our attention the ample, diverse and up to date bibliographic research on which analyses are based, the scrupulous record of references and the meticulous periodization, none of which is done with the intention of pontificating*

*As readers will see, in the different chapters and sections the book delves into the intricate historical framework of the United States, underscoring the role of economic determination and the fundamental process of capitalist development. On analyzing the contents as a whole, it is obvious that the authors are successful in presenting an adequate summary of US history, from an integral point of view, clarifying the role played by the reception of British mercantilism and capitalism in North America since colonial times. There is also the contribution to keeping alive the need to break away from the myth that the English colonizers, the so called "Pilgrim Fathers", arrived to an empty prehistoric world, thus stimulating to remember the tribes previously settled in what later on would be known as US society.*

*The voyage points out the contradictions that delve into the socio-economic, classist, cultural and ideological fabric of that society, from its embryonic formation to its birth as a nation, and that through the wars —from independence to the Civil War— present a sequence of problems that persist and mark the subsequent course of the United States, most visible with the rise of capitalism. To this would be added the multiethnic and racial characteristics, the place of intolerance and the discrimination, the configuration of monopolies, and the evolution to imperialism. In some cases there are allusions and in others there is implicit mention of aspects such as the development of class relations, immigration, population, urban, industrial and technological growth, elitist power structures, economic crises and the projects of solutions that are designed and put into practice.*

*The reading of the book offers a panoramic vision of that complex, diversified and dynamic mosaic where social differentiations are reproduced —differentiations that accompany the heterogeneity of origins and national and religious factors, as well as color of the skin, which form US social structure since the time of the North American Thirteen Colonies up to the society established after the Independence revolution, marked by Jacksonian democracy, as well as its consequences that go beyond the Civil War and the reconstruction, up to the late 19th century. Since then, the milestone that introduces the process of transition to the imperialist stage, obvious in the first two decades of the 20th century, links the effects of World War I with the concerns due to the Russian revolution, opening the way through prosperity and depression up to the readjustment represented by the New Deal in the 1930s, and the context previous to World War II.*

*It is necessary to add comments to the data and explanations that the authors present. The stage that begins with the postwar era at the level of foreign relations is none other than what readers know as the Cold War, which would stretch for 40 years revolving around the principle of containing communism, the deployment of the military-industrial complex,*



*the strategies of massive retaliation and flexible reaction, the New Frontier, the Nixon Doctrine, the Vietnam War, the crisis of hegemony of the 1970s, the 1980 conservative revolution, up to the so-called “end of the Cold War.” In this sequence, the articulation of phenomena of domestic and foreign policy, of the economy with society and culture has a significant dynamism expressed in the relation of continuity and changes of the administration of the moment, from Truman to Obama. Indeed, the itinerary includes situations and processes in which the discourse and the course of US imperialism in relation to Latin America manifests itself in full force —the Kennedy years, Johnson’s, Nixon’s, Ford’s, the period of the Carter administration, and the conservative offensive by Reagan and Bush Sr.*

*Implicit as a coda to these events are triumphalism and elation due to the collapse of socialism, the gradual recovery from the US hegemonic crisis and the result of the Persian Gulf War, as elements that inaugurate the final ten years of the 20th century and symbolize the above mentioned “end” of the Cold War. From then on, there are in the text important situations in US foreign policy regarding Latin America, beginning with the two Clinton administrations and the subsequent Bush years, marked by the fraudulent 2000 presidential election and the consequences for US global interventionism due to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, together with the present Obama administration that up to now has embarked on a year and a half performance that is more of a continuity than of change for Latin America.*

*As will be seen, the work assumes the forecast and concern by Bolívar and Martí in relation to the perspectives of domination that in those years both noticed in US policies for Latin America. Although well known, their somber predictions cannot be obviated and thus it is worthwhile to repeat them here too. Bolívar’s anticipation indicated that in 1829 “the United States seem predestined by Providence to plague the Americas with miseries, on behalf of freedom.” Nevertheless, as Atilio Borón pointed out, this prediction, although notable, was not detailed:*

*“It would be Martí,” wrote Borón, “who stated with unparalleled clarity the precise outline of the threats that hovered over our countries stemming from US imperial vocation. The exceptional penetration of Martí’s vision, his personal experience in US society, and his unyielding struggle for the freedom of Cuba and that of its sister nations in Our America, allowed him to grasp with unique precision the extent of the threat that the power from the North placed on the peoples of Latin America.”*

*He was referring, of course, to Martí’s repeated calls for alert, above all the ones mentioned in the face of the imperial desires that cropped up at the First Pan American Conference in 1889, and in his famous letter to Manuel Mercado in 1895, in which he made the call to “timely prevent with the independence of Cuba that the United States stretch out over the Antilles and fall with that additional force on our lands in America.”*

*As an analytical complementation of the facts, of the context and explanations that we find in the book, we should bear in mind some additional points. Thus, the prestigious*



*and objective British historian Gordon Connell-Smith summed up the essence and the almost constant presence of the interventionist trend inspired by US Manifest Destiny in Our America: “The general objective of US Latin American policy has been to protect and increase its already considerable interests in the region. In practice, this has meant the establishing and subsequent preservation of its hegemony by excluding any extra continental power capable of challenging the US; in absence of such a power, Latin American has not represented in itself a serious challenge. US interests in Latin America are strategic (its security is at stake), economic and political. All of them are closely related among themselves. They also have an important moral and psychological interest in the region.”*

*The reflection, although formulated halfway in the past century, still has full validity, allowing to track in US history the doctrinal rationality of Manifest Destiny and link it to the ideological constructions of Monroism as a lifeline, which since its inception reappears through Pan-Americanism, and of the subsequent variants that are the object of this book, such as dollar- and gunboat diplomacy, the Roosevelt corollary, the Big Stick, the Good Neighbor policy, the Alliance for Progress, and the rest of the formulations, even those included, for example, in the Free Trade Area for the Americas (FTAA).*

*Connell-Smith acknowledged that “Latin America is undoubtedly the immediate region of interest for the United States, and it has been so even before Latin American countries were independent”. He also admitted that “the Monroe Doctrine was the announcement of US hegemony in the Western Hemisphere (...) Linked to its ambition is the conviction, associated to the concept of Manifest Destiny, that the United States has a natural right to exercise its hegemony in the Americas.” Connell-Smith concluded that “the United States have maintained an attitude of superiority toward Latin America and Latin Americans—an action of tutelage.”*

*A relevant element is the US’ deep contempt for Latin American cultural and national identity as a factor conditioning all that policy. American historian and political scientist Lars Schoultz has demonstrated that the belief of Latin American inferiority has been the basic core of US policy, for it has determined the concrete steps on every stage for protecting its interests. According to him, for nearly two centuries three interests have defined US Latin American policy: The need to protect national security, the desire to accommodate demands of its domestic policy and the promotion of US economic development, and although these interests converge, prevail over some others at a given time, they always remain. Undoubtedly, even during the first decade of the 21st century, the policies of both the George W. Bush and the Barack Obama administrations are also a reflection of those factors and their confluence.*

*These considerations are relevant as long as their formulation is based on positions completely alien to a revolutionary or Marxist vision. They are the result of objective historical research on the part of the authors that acknowledge that, besides the strategic, economic and political interest that Latin America has for the United States, it also has a “great moral and psychological importance”. The continuous US interventions in the*



*countries of Our America, as the book shows, take into account that symbolic value. Thus the wide range of interventionist options designed to avoid successful alternative scenarios, configured through electoral processes based on representative democracy—such as the one that permitted Allende’s triumph in Chile or Zelaya’s in Honduras— or through political radicalization in the style of Árbenz in Guatemala or Bishop in Grenada, or through revolutions as in the case of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, Socialist Cuba or Bolivarian Venezuela.*

*In essence, as it was expressed in a clear and summarized manner by intellectual and politician Rogelio Polanco, “the relation of Latin America with the United States has been one of subordination and dependence, a truth confirmed by countless events and predicted by the Founding Fathers of Our America. Several US administrations have carried out without scruples the doctrines for justifying the “Manifest Destiny”: the Monroe Doctrine, Pan Americanism, the Big Stick, Dollar (and Gunboat) Diplomacy. Good Neighbor. Good Partner; Alliance for Progress, National Security, counterinsurgency, communism contention, promotion of democracy, human rights, free market and antiterrorism. These terms are none other than their sly and cynical pretentiousness of dominion over a region considered by successive occupants of the White House as their backyard, their third frontier, the US Mediterranean, the Southern flank, or the shield and the sword for the expansion of US global power (...) Although during the 20th century the United States managed its links with Latin American and the Caribbean at its whim, the 21st century begins with an even more uncontrasting period. They are the times of a galloping neoliberal globalization in which the countries south of the Bravo River suffer a dismantling process and the region as a whole faces total annexation”.*

*On reading the present work, the reader may appreciate that the text covers, in themes or sections, many of the most important moments and stages that characterize US interventionist policy since its inception as a nation. “Birth of an Empire”, for example, summarizes from its graphic presentation the sense of expansion to the West; and through illustrations and data, “The United States’ First Expansionist Efforts” specifies and elaborates on analogous representations with didactic effectiveness. The same happens in other cases, such as “America for Americans” or “The Massacre of Wounded Knee, which are decisive milestones in the early imperialist projection in the 1820s or in the 1890s.*

*The above mentioned examples explain the circumstances in which continuity and change alternate. On reading “Dollar and Gunboat Diplomacy”, “The Fallacy of the ‘Good Neighbor’”, “The Truman Doctrine” and “The Johnson Doctrine”, the potential of that exercise becomes evident. From that perspective, the Commander in Chief’s appreciation on July 26, 1978 is still valid and in force: “(...) every US governing leader has a rhetoric phrase for Latin America or for the world; one spoke of the Good Neighbor, another of the Alliance for Progress; now the mantra is Human Rights. Nothing has changed in its policy toward this hemisphere and the world, everything has remained the same; the*



*gunboat and dollar diplomacy, and the law of the jungle has always prevailed. Phrases are as ephemeral as administrations. The only thing that endures in US policy is lying.” Beyond the universal revolutionary outreach of US independence in 1776, this book offers assistance for understanding that the fact symbolizes the beginning of a new mythology, which includes the rapid entrenchment of ideological constructions such as “Manifest Destiny” —the early anticipation of geopolitical messianism and territorial expansion, both in North and South America, and the Monroe Doctrine— as and advance of Pan Americanism and the justification of an era of hemispheric interventions. Thus, the historic relations that the United States establishes with Latin America are born under the advocacy of mythological formulations. Through them traps and deceit are entwined, disguises are placed. With them, the United States —appealing to claims such as the upholding of “domestic consensus”, and the defense of “national security” in Latin America— succeeds in manipulating both societies from a cultural point of view. The device is set up around the axis of hegemony that is never physically present, and it is reproduced through stereotypes embedded in historical memories and, in an almost regular manner, are not usually debated, questioned or clarified.*

*From that perspective, even when it is clear that this is nothing more but the imperialist phase that crystalizes or jells the hegemony as a quality in US strategic efforts (materialized in the wake of World War II), the historical conditions that converge in the process of colonization, in the revolution for independence, the birth of the nation and the development of pre-monopolistic capitalism in that country, propitiate the embryonic apparition of certain standards that prefigure the maturing of later tendencies and phenomena. Among those particularities, messianic aspiration, the missionary sense, the expansionist invocation, the obsession with power and domination express perhaps the best components of a condition that expresses economic, political and cultural rationality of a trajectory that is defined much before that monopolies and financing capital appeared in US society, that the country reached the international hegemonic position, as a result of World War II.*

*Beyond the historic reality that sprang up from the interaction of such components in the material order from which frontiers extended and a standard of accumulation was consolidated, in the ideological and psychological order, a cultural structure was built up. The ideals of the Founding Fathers spread at full speed with Jacksonian democracy, the Monroe Doctrine and Pan Americanism. The values that make up the “American Creed” are consolidated in a mold that is central for the comprehension of the national psychology and the political culture in the United States. The mythical presentation of Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine is part of it. Messianism is the element par excellence that gives organicity to that mythology. Pharisaism, deceit and manipulation contribute with their functionality and lend it credibility.*

*There are numerous works that examine case studies showing the contradictions between US hegemonism and Latin American interests. Nevertheless, the present structure should be seen from a perspective that links it to its origins and with those expressions that*



*prefigure its historical tendency, such as US intervention in Guatemala in 1954; actions against the Cuban revolution in 1959; US invasion to the Dominican Republic in 1965; confrontation with guerrillas in the Andean region, such as the one against Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967; Operation Condor in the Southern Cone; military aggression to Grenada, in 1983; and to Panama in 1989. About these and other episodes, the reader will find chronological specifications and interpretations throughout the text.*

*According to Chilean political scientist Luis Maira, “unlike other regions, Latin America has been part of US foreign policy scenarios almost since its birth as a nation (...) The United States’ original goal of becoming an international power based on regional influences (...) would determine the selection of regions such as (...) Latin America as one of the privileged sites for such expansion.” Thus hegemony (understood as the imperial ability of controlling and subordinating the behavior of other states, with the assistance of the ideological reproduction of the consensus imposed by the ruling classes) is the defining factor in the history of US-Latin American relations, even when during the 19th century and up to almost the mid-20th century that factor would manifest itself more as an obsession and search than as a reality, based on the pretentiousness to contain the influence of European colonial powers in the Latin American region.*

*In truth, the display of US hegemony over the countries of Our America takes place in mid-20th century, in the aftermath of World War II, during the so-called Cold War. In that process, the definition of US hegemony in Latin America is particularly legitimized through the mimetic ideology of “national security”. Once the alleged “communist menace” has disappeared, a search begins for “new enemies”, finally focusing on world terrorism.*

*In 1954, the Cuban revolution signified above all the breaking away from the system of domination imposed by the United States in Latin America. Fifty years later, at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, that symbolism is still alive, while US imperialism reintroduces the IV Fleet in the region, backs the coup in Honduras, promotes the creation of a system of military bases in Colombia, supports the Mérida Initiative with the pretext of assisting Mexico in its war on drugs, and in truth extends its network of dominance to Central America and the Andean region, in an attempt to destabilize the Bolivarian revolution. As the reader will find out, there are elements and specifications in the different sections of the book about the above mentioned events. As Raúl Castro said in his speech to the National Assembly of Popular Power on August 1, 2010,*

*“Regarding Cuba and the United States, basically nothing has changed; our brave Five Heroes are still suffering an unfair prison (...) Although there is less rhetoric and occasional bilateral talks are held about specific and limited subjects, in essence the blockade is still in place.”*

*The panorama presented in this book reflects the permanence and functionality of the conceptions that still support the “domestic consensus” required by US policy at the level*



*of its own society and the subject of “national security” in its Latin American projection, although the priority of hegemony as such is still not acknowledged.*

*In brief, the book offered by the Capitán San Luis Publishing House is an excellent and very timely contribution to the Battle of Ideas, and brings to mind another still valid quote from José Martí, who said that “the great war waged on us is of thought: let us win it by thought.” This book increases the arsenal of readers with the arms of history and revolutionary critical thought in order to keep on waging the battle in the field of ideas.*

*As we suggested at the beginning, the acquisition or deepening of the knowledge this book offers answers to imperatives of that conflict. In this sense, its reading assists us in keeping memory alive, even recovering it in some cases. As a popular Latin American saying goes, “The people that do not know their history are condemned to relive it.” Although the expression could be considered schematic, it can be made more subtle, adding that the people that do not know their history do not have a clear understanding of their present, and therefore do not control it, so maybe others will do it for them.*

*We are certain that the reading of this book will enrich all readers, and especially for the younger ones it will be a stimulus to see in a new light the United States’ policy toward Latin America and contemporary imperialism as a whole.*

***Jorge Hernández Martínez***

Director  
Center of Hemispheric Studies and on the United States  
University of Havana







**Territory claimed by England**

**Territory claimed by Francia**

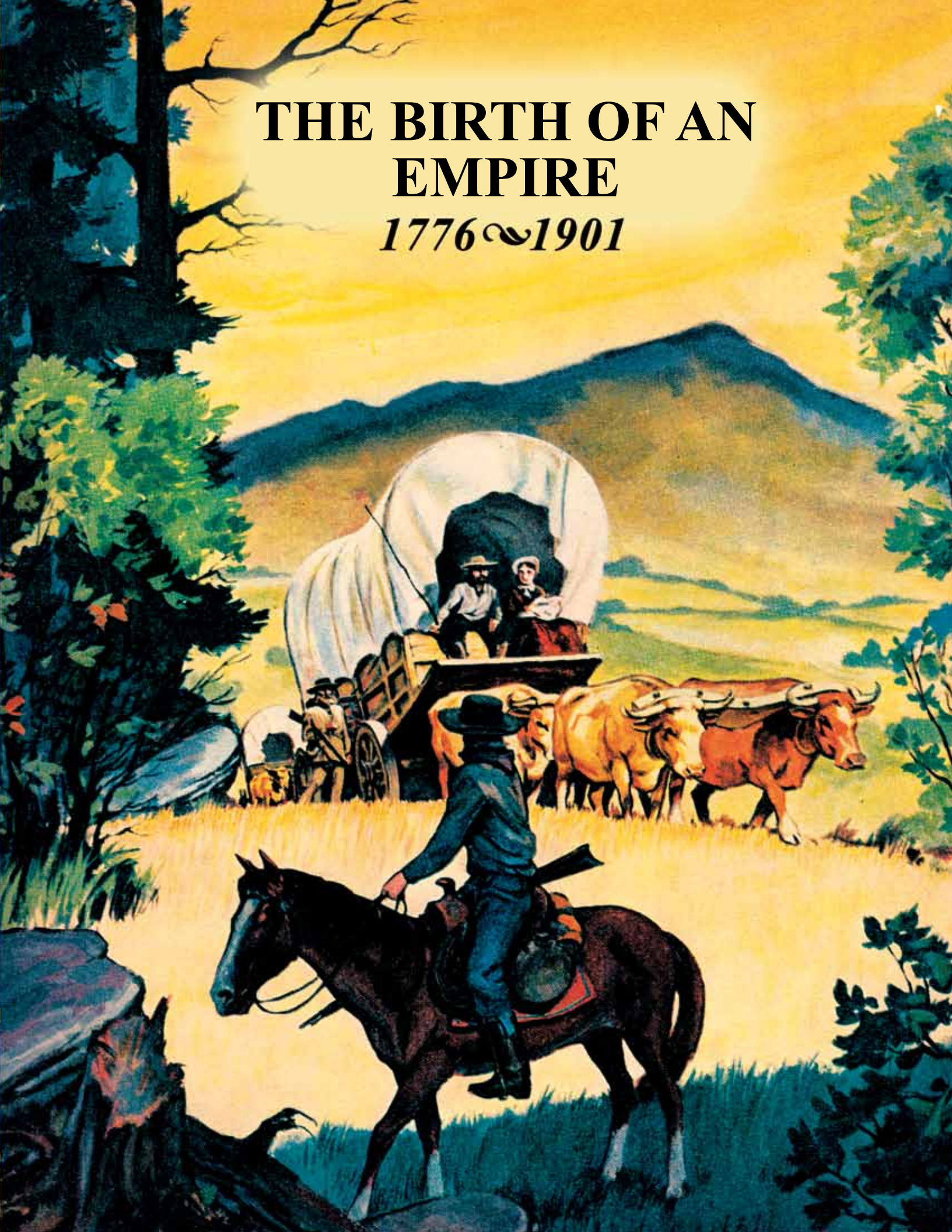
**Territory claimed  
by España**

**Territory of the Thirteen British  
Colonies**

**Territory claimed by colonial  
powers in 1700**

# THE BIRTH OF AN EMPIRE

1776 ~ 1901

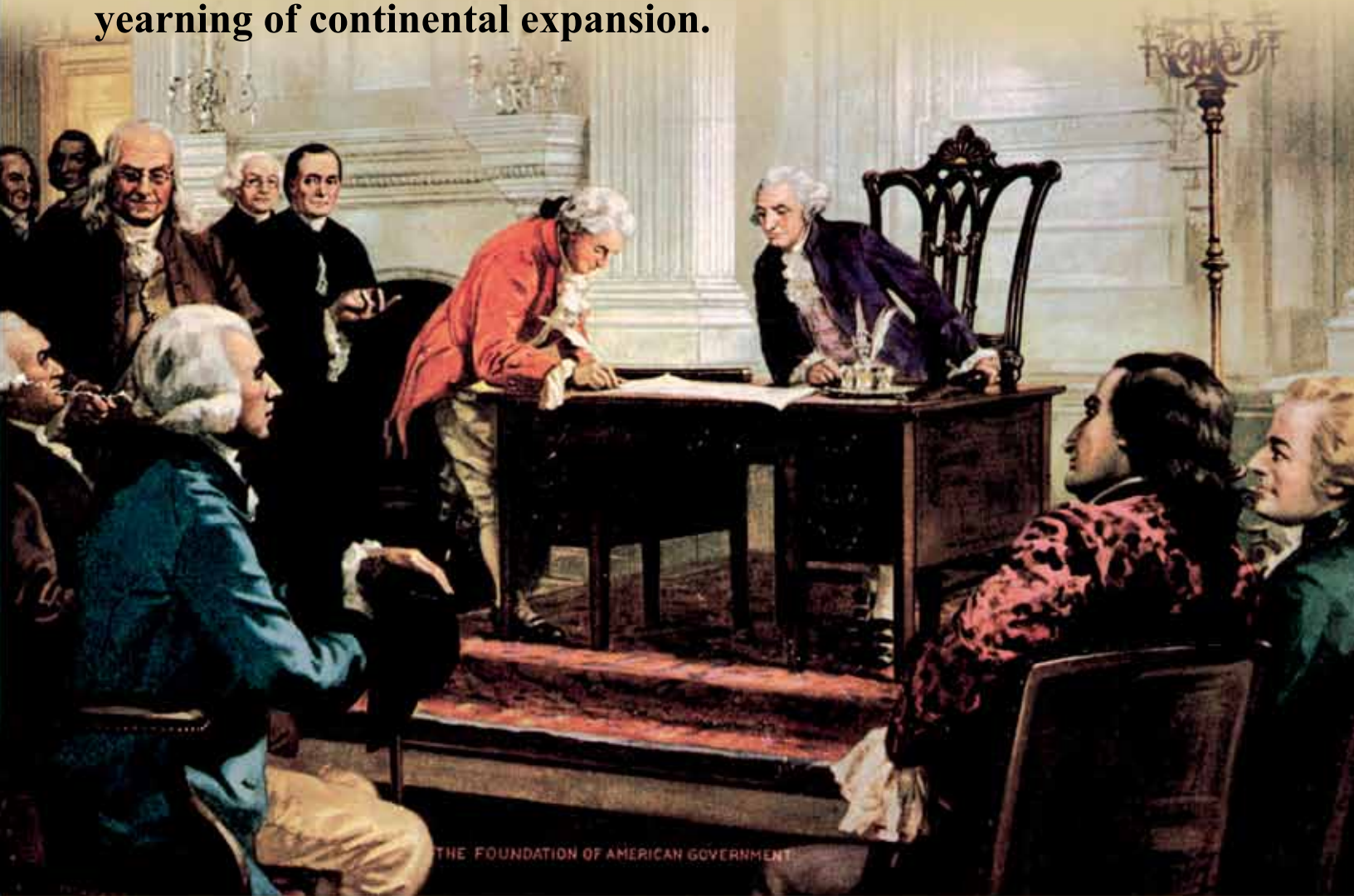






# THE UNITED STATES' FIRST EXPANSIONIST EFFORTS

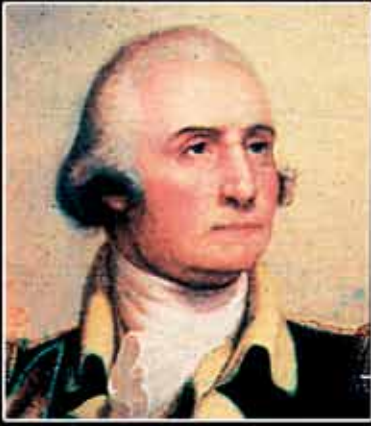
Since its emergence as a nation, US leaders displayed an infinite yearning of continental expansion.



**“The United States seems predestined by Providence to plague the Americas with miseries, on behalf of freedom.”**

Simón Bolívar, from a letter to Patricio Campbell, August 5, 1829.

*We the People* of the  
insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defense,  
and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for  
the United States of America.



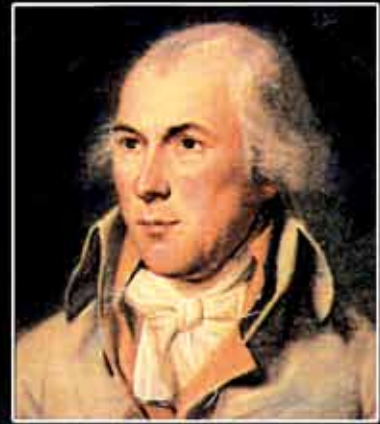
George Washington.



Benjamin Franklin.



Alexander Hamilton.



James Madison.



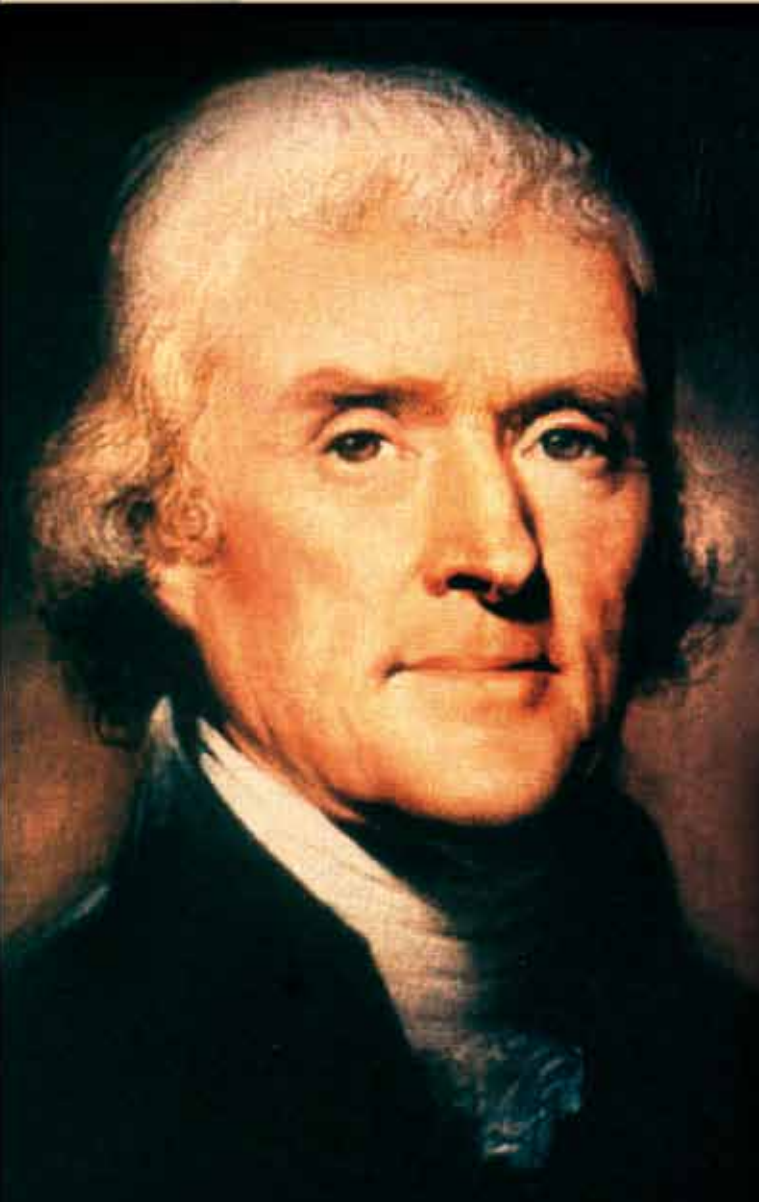
## 1767

US territorial expansion to the West and South of its territories, even in times of the British Crown, was already in the plans of those who later on would be considered the Founding Fathers of the Nation.

While in London as a representative of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin worked on the colonization project East of the Mississippi. In a letter to his son, he wrote that the project would be “in the Bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself.”

## 1783

The United States of America emerged as a nation adopting a misleading name. Its inhabitants called themselves “Americans”, a name valid for the population of the whole hemisphere, from the most northern areas bordering the Artic Polar Circle to the southernmost Chilean islands.



## 1786

**Spanish domination in Latin America was convenient for the first US rulers, while they were not strong enough to seize those territories.**

**Thomas Jefferson, a leading figure of US independence, sentenced:**

**“Our Confederation should be considered the nest from which all of America, both the North as well as the South, will be populated. But take care (...) of believing that it is in the interest of this great continent to expel the Spaniards. For the time being, those countries are in the best of hands, and my only fear is that they were too weak to keep them subdued until our population has grown enough to snatch them away from them piece by piece.”**

## 1788

Alexander Hamilton, one of the so called Founding Fathers, said:

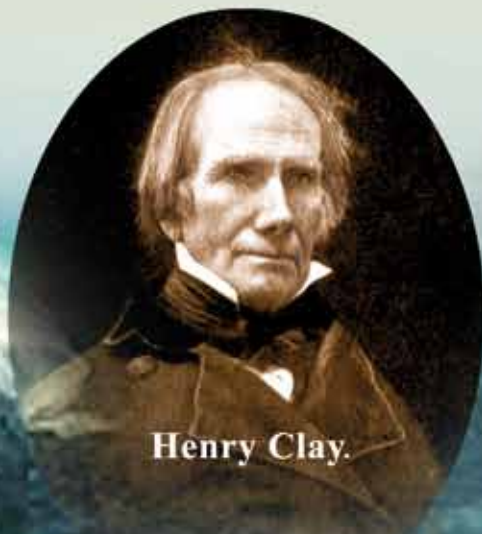
”We can expect that in a short time we will become the arbiters of Europe in America, tilting the balance of European struggles in this part of the world, according to the dictates of our interests. (...) Let the thirteen states bound by a firm and indissoluble union take part in the creation of a great American system, superior to all transatlantic strengths and influences and capable of dictating the terms of the relations to be established between the Old and the New World.”

## 1790

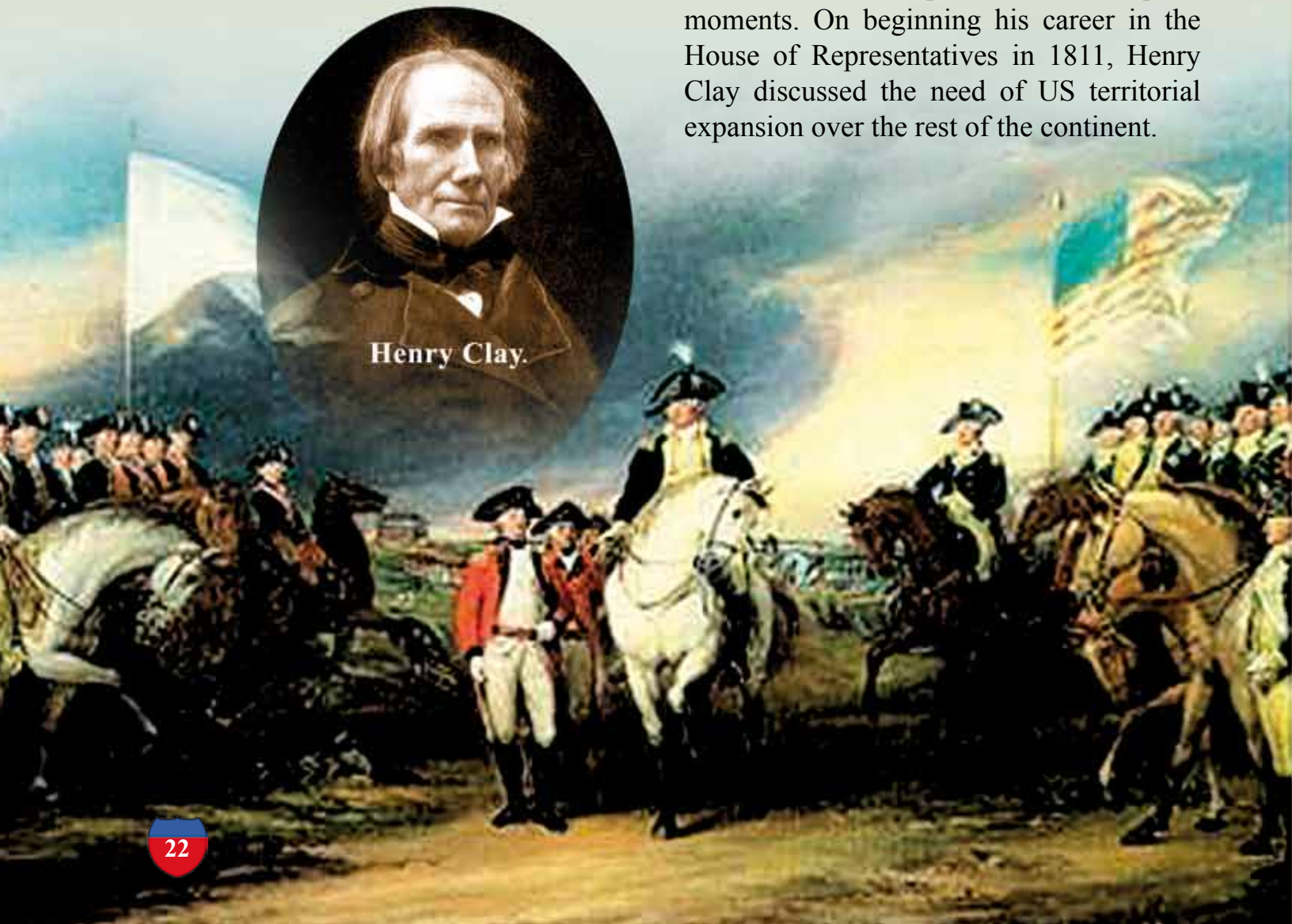
Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State under George Washington, faced with a request from the English government, set a practical rule applied since then to the whole hemisphere:

”(...) the ambitioned territories, as long as the United States cannot take them, should remain in the weakest hands.”

The idea was repeated on subsequent moments. On beginning his career in the House of Representatives in 1811, Henry Clay discussed the need of US territorial expansion over the rest of the continent.

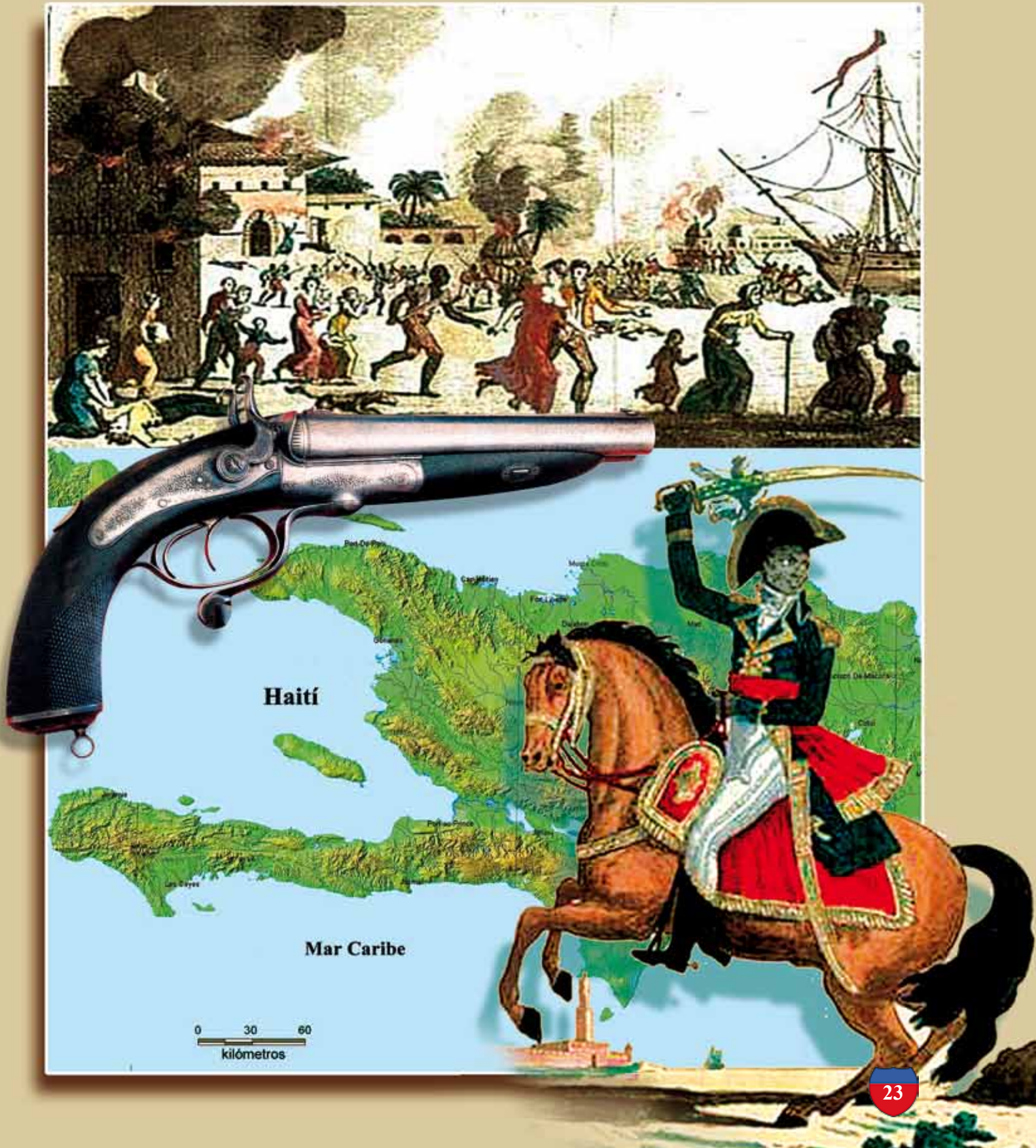


Henry Clay.



1791

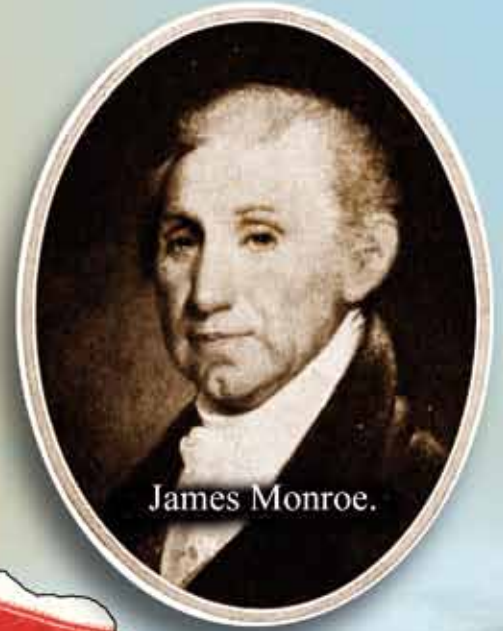
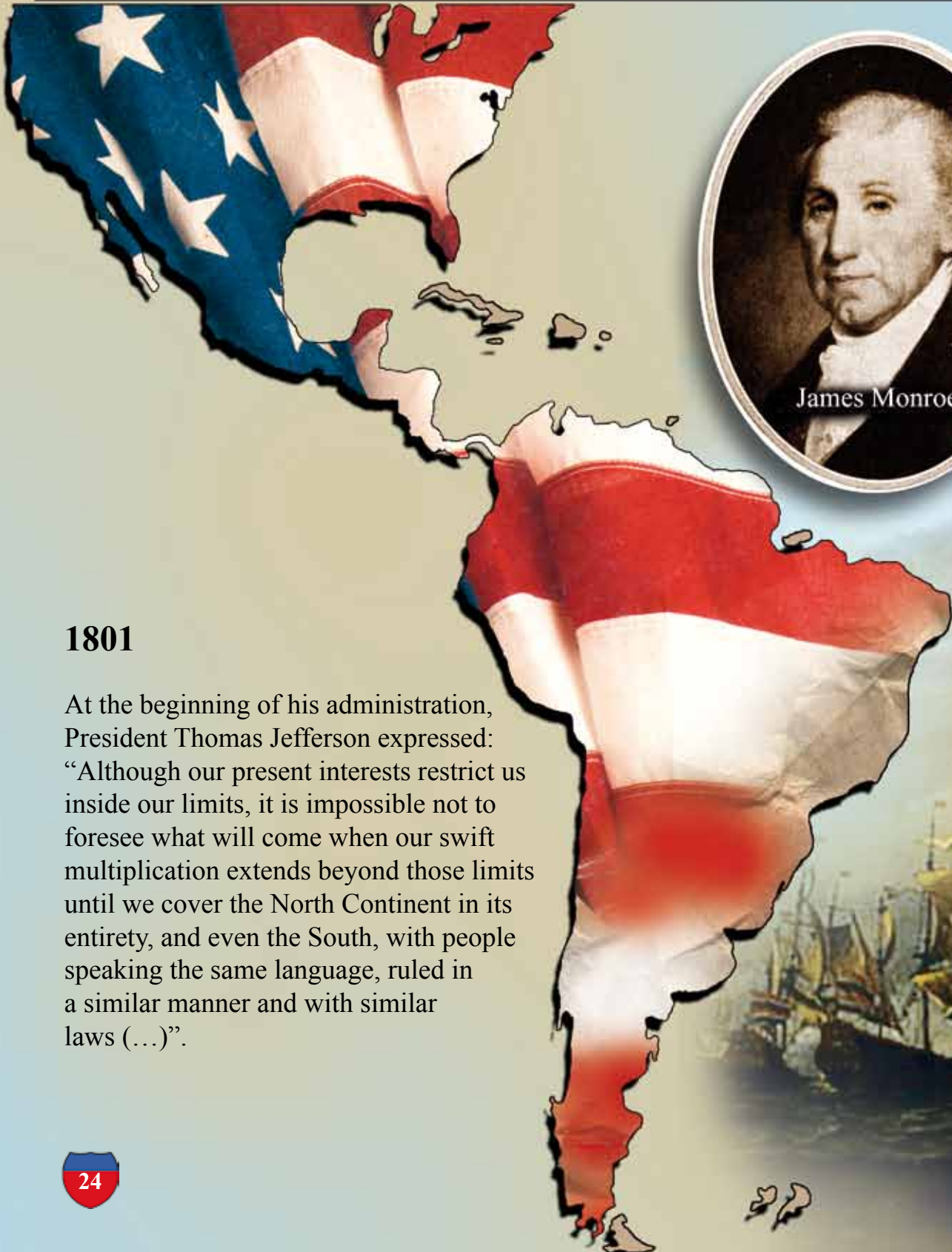
The US government gave its full backing to the French colonial administration of Haiti in order to subdue the anti-slavery feeling that was gathering strength there.







# AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS



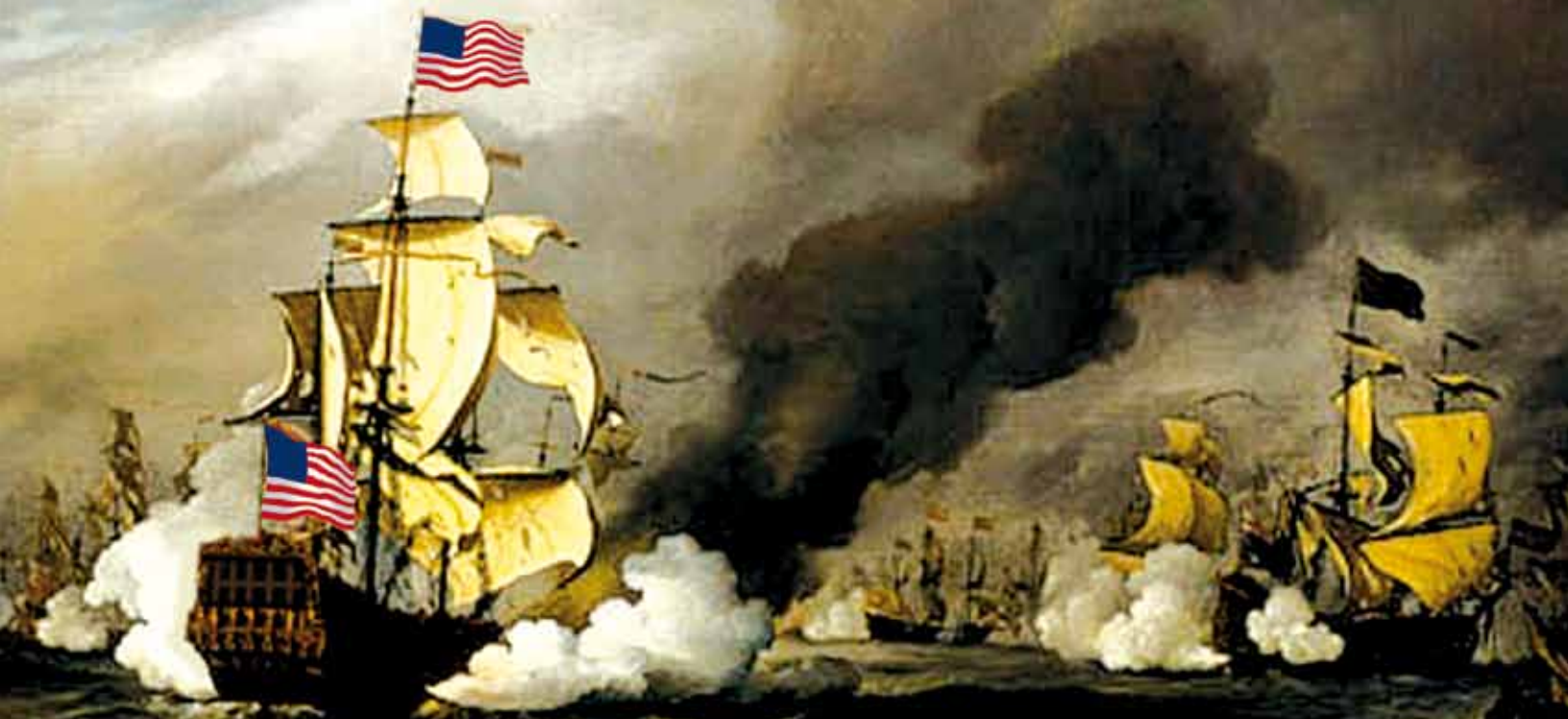
**1801**

At the beginning of his administration, President Thomas Jefferson expressed: “Although our present interests restrict us inside our limits, it is impossible not to foresee what will come when our swift multiplication extends beyond those limits until we cover the North Continent in its entirety, and even the South, with people speaking the same language, ruled in a similar manner and with similar laws (...).”

1823

Even when independence of the former Spanish colonies in the continent was a fact, President James Monroe proclaimed the expansionist ideas that later on were known as the Monroe Doctrine —“America for the Americans”. What he really meant was “The Americas for the United States.”

The Monroe Doctrine was the consequence of political and economic contradictions between England and the United States for the control of the continent, in their eagerness for domination over the recently liberated territories and the conquest of new markets and investments. There were two threats implicit in the text: the United States was not renouncing to its territorial aspirations on the continent and rejected European intervention, but left in place its own right to intervene.



*Fragata U.S. Constitution.*



# ANNIHLATION OF NATIVE POPULATION

From the very first moments of the United States as a nation and the beginning of the so-called “March to the West” —the continuation of the policy of conquest and colonization by the British Crown— brute force was used for stripping the original native population of their land.

The deception behind the words of favoring “the move” of the aborigines “to agriculture, industry and civilization” (according to President Jefferson’s message to Congress in 1803) hid one of the most horrendous crimes ever committed against whole populations of North America’s original settlers, thus typifying an act that can only be described as genocide.





## 1812-1814

In the context of the British-American War some of the greatest massacres of the American aborigine population took place. Future president Andrew Jackson began to shine in public life as an exterminator of the aborigines.

“(…) the War of 1812 was a conflict for the expansion of the new nation to Florida, Canada and the Indian Territories.

“Andrew Jackson became a national hero in 1814, when he fought in the battle of Horseshoe Bend against 1 000 Creek Indians, of which he killed 800 with few casualties among his men (…). When the war was over, Jackson and his friends bought the confiscated lands of the Creeks and he was appointed commissioner of the 1814 treaty, which stripped the Creeks of half their territory.

“(…) the Creek lands suffered a white invasion —sackers, people in search of new lands, whisky sellers and gunmen—that drove the Indians toward the marshes and the jungle. The federal government did nothing. On the contrary, it negotiated a new treaty that included the swift emigration of the Creeks to the West.”

Howard Zinn.

## 1834

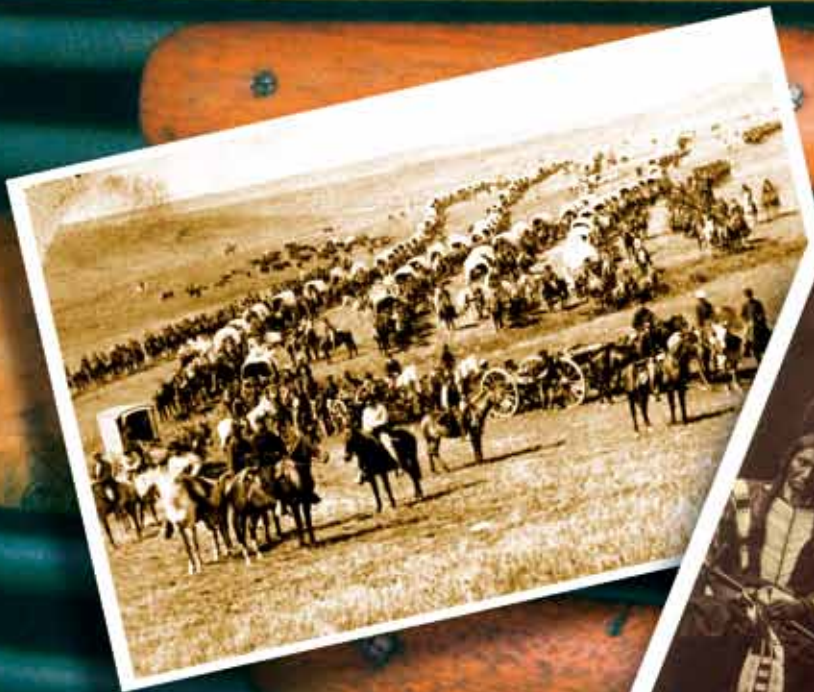
“In 1834, seven hundred war-weary Cherokees accepted moving West. Eighty-one of them died in the trip, 45 of which were children (...) Those who survived reached their destination beyond the Mississippi in the midst of a cholera epidemic, and half of them died within a year. It was at this time that the whites in Georgia redoubled their attacks against the Indians in order to hasten their “move”.

Howard Zinn.

## 1836

“The army imposed on the Creeks the exodus to the West. Ten thousand troops were sent after them. The Creeks not even resisted, there was not a single shot fired: they surrendered. The army gathered the allegedly rebel or hostile Creeks, and handcuffed the men for their march to the West under military supervision. Women and children followed in the rear.”

Howard Zinn.



## 1838

Martin Van Buren ordered Lt. General Winfield Scott into Cherokee territory, and told him to use any kind of military force he deemed necessary to displace the Cherokees to the West. Five regiments of regular troops and 4,000 militiamen and volunteers began a massive occupation of Cherokee territory.

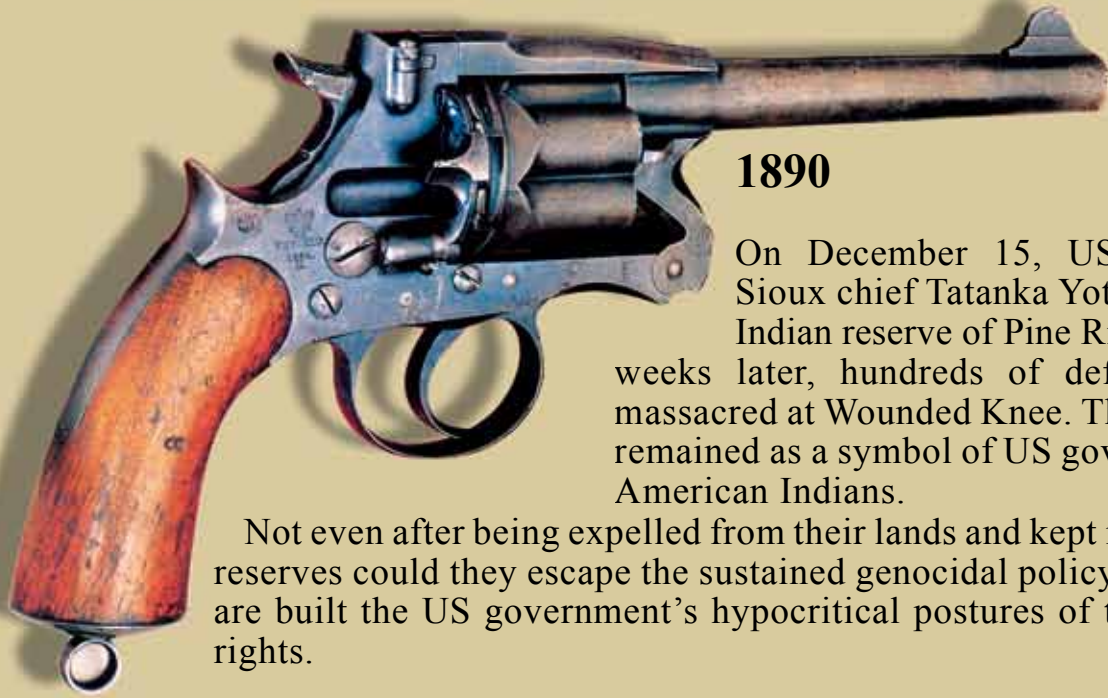
“On October 1, 1838 the first detachment left in what would later be known as the Road of Tears. On their journey to the West they began to die from diseases, thirst, heat and cold. There were 645 wagons and people walking alongside. “There were hundreds of diseased and dying packed into the wagons or lying on ground.” During the march and their confinement in the stockade 4,000 Cherokees died.

Howard Zinn.





# THE MASSACRE OF WOUNDED KNEE



1890

On December 15, US authorities murdered Sioux chief Tatanka Yotaka (Sitting Bull) at the Indian reserve of Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Two weeks later, hundreds of defenseless Indians were massacred at Wounded Knee. The name of the place has remained as a symbol of US government cruelty toward American Indians.

Not even after being expelled from their lands and kept in captivity in the Indian reserves could they escape the sustained genocidal policy. On these bloody bases are built the US government's hypocritical postures of the "defense" of human rights.









# THE UNITED STATES DID NOT RECOGNIZE HAITI'S INDEPENDENCE

1804

The struggle of the Haitian patriots that had proclaimed the country's independence on January 1, 1804, had been critical for frustrating France's plans of colonial restoration in that part of the world. As a consequence, the United States was able to obtain the territory of Louisiana west of the Mississippi.

US rulers collaborated with the blockade imposed by the former French metropolis against that nation and abstained from recognizing Haiti's independence until 58 years later.

The US government, a staunch advocate of slavery, could not approve of a country born out of the struggle of former slaves.





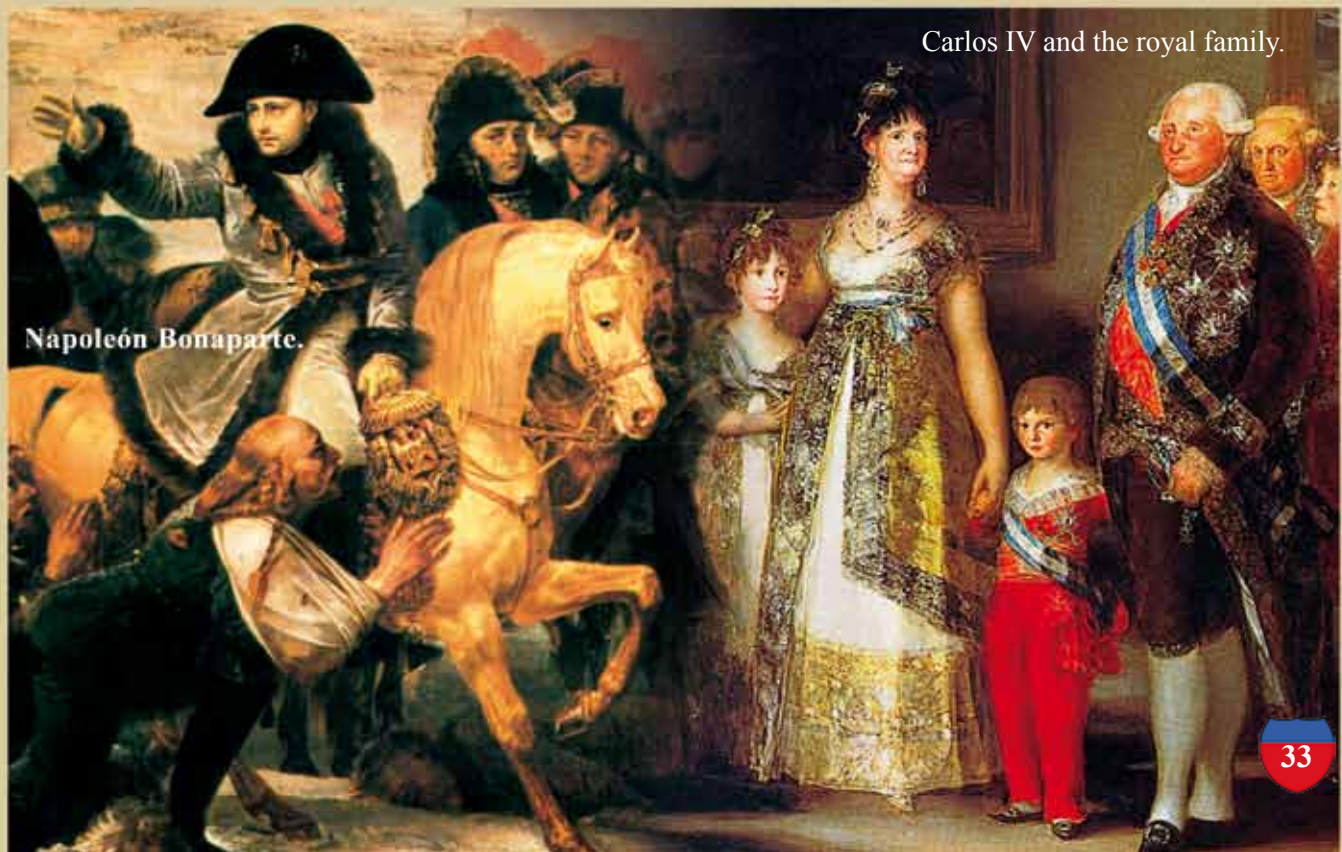
# THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

1803

The United States paid Napoleon Bonaparte \$15 million dollars for the Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, thus duplicating the country's area. Originally a French possession, it had come under Spanish rule in 1761 and returned to France by the Treaty of St. Ildephonse in 1761, imposed by Napoleon on Spanish King Carlos IV, in an attempt to restore the French colonial empire in America.



The whole process was fraudulent. The Treaty of St. Ildephonse expressly forbade France to cede Louisiana to a third party. The US delegation that signed the agreement for purchasing the territory did not have the authority to do so, and President Thomas Jefferson endorsed it in spite that it violated the Constitution passed a few years before.



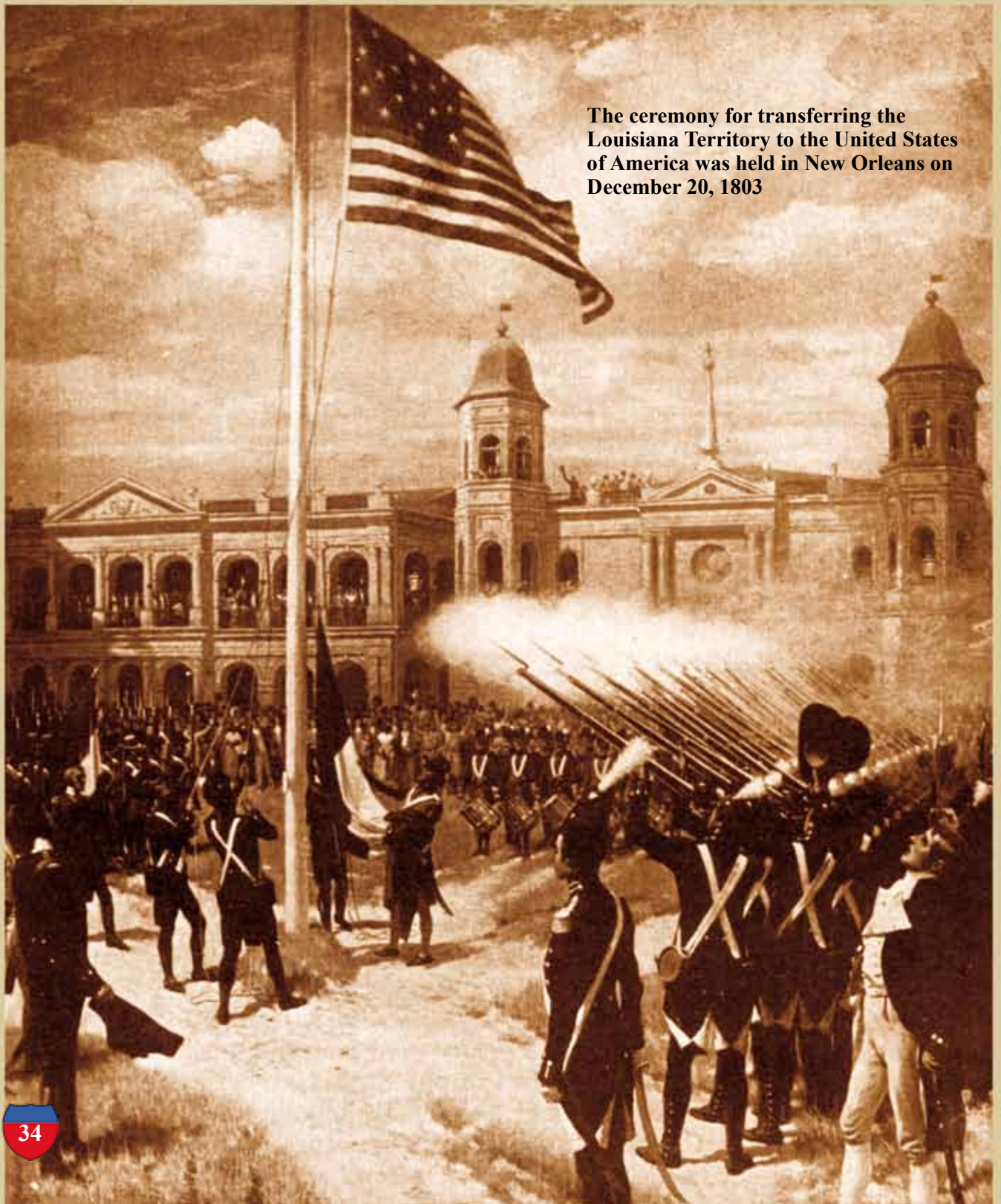
Carlos IV and the royal family.

Napoleón Bonaparte.

US troops were sent to Natchez when Louisiana was still a Spanish possession, in order to pressure the Spaniards to transfer the territory illegally purchased from France to the United States.

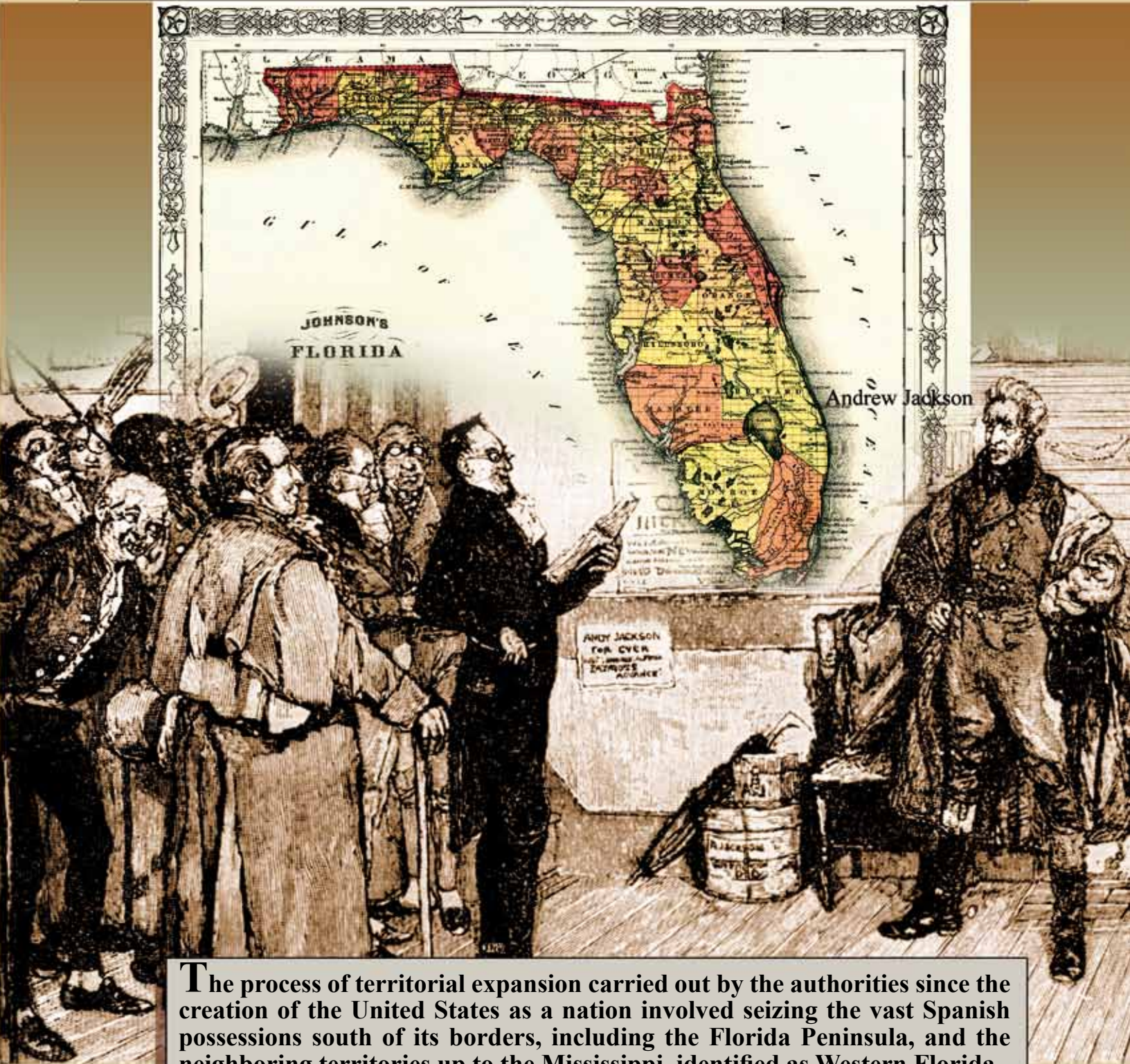
“(…) neither the government nor Congress was authorized to extend the limits of the nation beyond the ones mentioned in the fundamental law of the country (…)”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.





# THE OCCUPATION OF FLORIDA



The process of territorial expansion carried out by the authorities since the creation of the United States as a nation involved seizing the vast Spanish possessions south of its borders, including the Florida Peninsula, and the neighboring territories up to the Mississippi, identified as Western Florida.

## 1804

On February 24, after the purchase of Louisiana, Congress passed the *Mobile Act*, later signed into law by President Thomas Jefferson, under which the fiscal district of Mobile was created, as a way to pressure Spain, which was in possession of Western Florida, as a logical extension of the neighboring territory of Mississippi.

The United States inaugurated a mode of aggression against Spain that it has used up to the present against other nations:

- Claims for monetary damages —real or imaginary— inflicted by other nations on US citizens.
- Economic pressure wielded as a club against other nations in order to achieve political objectives.
- At a moment in which Spain was weakened because of the war with France, the government-backed economic claims by US citizens would serve to pressure Spain and force it to turn over Florida.

At the beginning of the *patient waiting* (“the ambitioned territories, as long as the United States cannot take them, should remain in the weakest hands”) there was now another that would complement it: “At the difficult moment of the weak holder of the territory, the expectant attitude should be abandoned in order to act swiftly and energetically against it.”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.

Jefferson offered Spain to “purchase” West Florida, but Madrid never saw a single cent. The transfer took place after the United States promised it would take care of the “claims” of its citizens against the Spaniards.



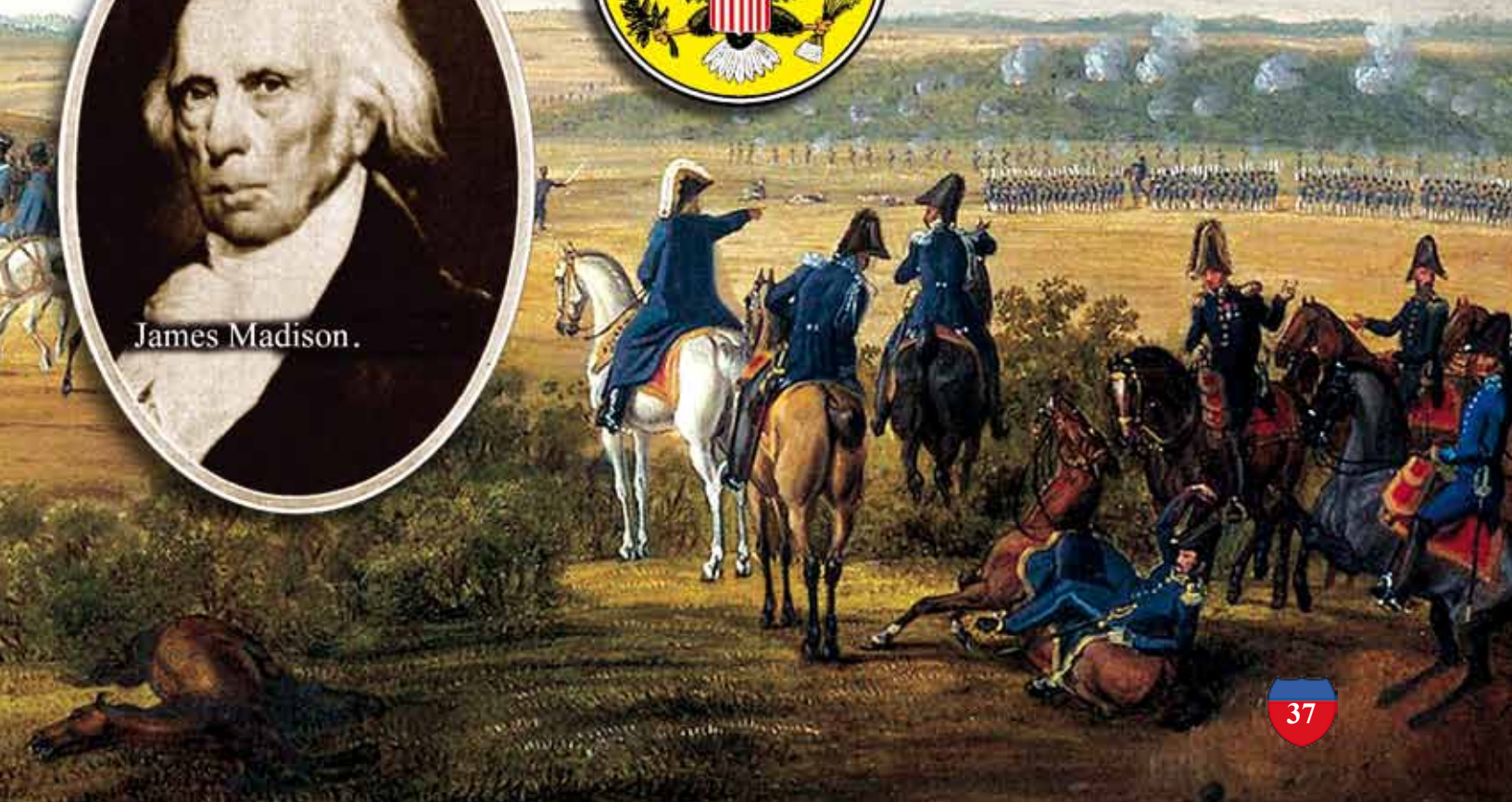
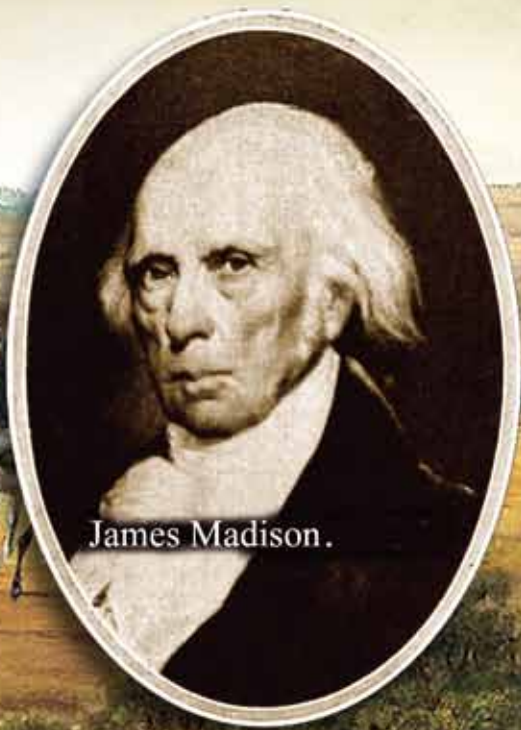
## 1806

Congress appropriated \$2 million dollars for the purchase of Florida from Spain, which Napoleon said he would endorse in exchange of US collaboration to the economic blockade against Haiti. For that reason, the government passed the law prohibiting trade with that country that had been independent since 1804.

## 1810

Taking advantage of Spain's occupation by Napoleon, US colonists settled in West Feliciana, Fla. attacked the Spaniards in Baton Rouge, declared independence and immediately applied for annexation to the United States. President James Madison did not accept, for he did not endorse the independence of a region that the US government claimed as its own, a fact that also permitted to ignore land concessions by Spain after the US purchase of Louisiana.

On October 27, President Madison ordered General Matthews the invasion and occupation of the territory. A large portion of Florida fell in US hands and the government took steps to begin the occupation of the rest of Florida.



## 1811

Taking advantage of Spain's invasion by France, President Madison asked Congress for special powers to occupy East Florida.

Following orders from President Madison, Gen. Matthews began to organize the secession of that territory through US colonists headed by Gen. John McIntosh, settled there as nominal subjects of Spain.



## 1812

In March, Gen. Matthews organized US colonists as “insurgents” through the offer of 500 acres of land, freedom of religion, guarantee of life and property and payment of salaries due by the Spanish government. The settlers landed on Amelia Island assisted by 50 US soldiers and naval forces sent from Charleston.

Once there, they demanded the surrender of the Spanish authorities on Fernandina Island and declared the independence of the “Republic of Florida”. Its first actions were to request its annexation to the United States and prepare for the conquest of St. Augustine.

But pressure from Spain and Great Britain forced President Madison to disapprove—in words only— Gen. Matthews' actions, although he ordered to maintain the positions already occupied, which subsequently were returned to Spain as a result of the English-American War.



**1821**

By means of the Adams-Onís 1819 Treaty, Spain recognized US rule over West Florida and sold the East Florida to the US.

“Jackson had extended the white colonies down to Florida’s border dominated by Spain. (...) Under the pretext that it was a safe haven for run-away slaves and renegade Indian, Jackson began incursions in Florida that according to him were essential for the defense of the United States. It was the classic prologue of a war of conquest.

“In this manner began the 1818 Seminole War that ended with the American acquisition of Florida, born out of Andrew Jackson’s military expedition beyond Florida’s borders, burning down Seminole villages and capturing Spanish forts, until Spain was ‘persuaded’ of the need to sell (...) Thus Jackson became Governor of Florida.”

Howard Zinn.

This war paved Andrew Jackson’s road to the presidency that he held from 1829 to 1837. During his office, directing his aggressiveness for conquering new lands —“Manifest Destiny”— he snatched the vast territory of Texas from Mexico.

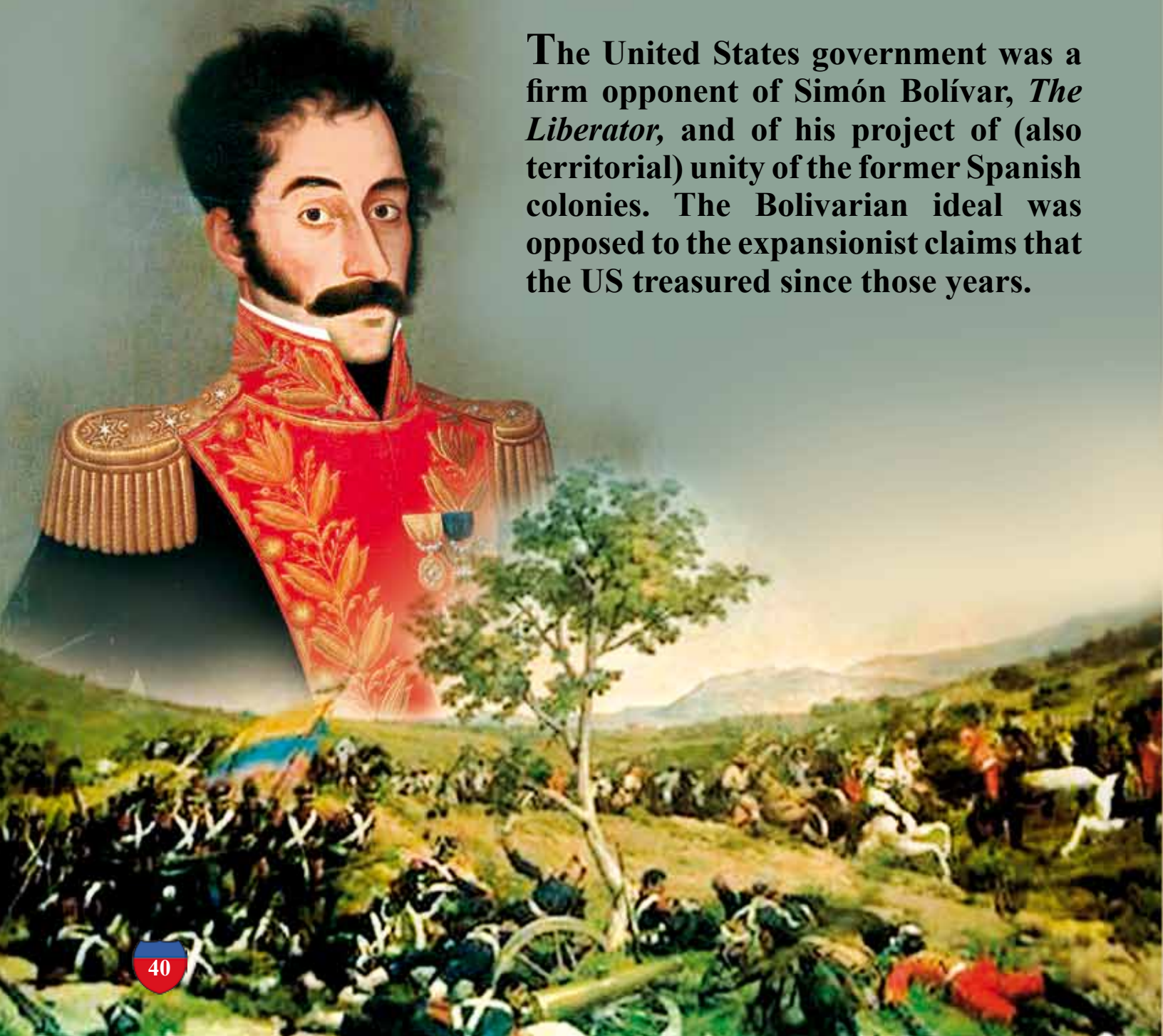






# THE UNITED STATES, ENEMY OF SIMÓN BOLÍVAR AND HIS IDEAL OF LATIN AMERICAN UNITY

The United States government was a firm opponent of Simón Bolívar, *The Liberator*, and of his project of (also territorial) unity of the former Spanish colonies. The Bolivarian ideal was opposed to the expansionist claims that the US treasured since those years.



## 1826

“Bolivar aspirations of doing away with slave trafficking in the Americas, as well as his plan of independence for Cuba and Puerto Rico, and their integration to the great Hispanic American were thwarted at the Congress of Panama because of the open opposition of England and the United States.”

Sergio Guerra Vilaboy.

“(…) and if the new Republics or some of them attempted to conquer them (…) the United States would consider such an enterprise opposed to its policy and interests (…) US naval forces, such as they stand now or could be in the future, would be constantly on the alert to save them (…)”

Manuel Medina Castro.



## 1827

The January 26 rebellion in Lima of a 2,700-strong division under the command of José Bustamante contributed to the definite consolidation of Simón Bolívar’s opponents and gave birth to a series of events that culminated three years later with the creation of the Republic of New Granada and Venezuela as two separate states, the end of the Bolivarian ideal of unity.

“US consul in Lima William Tudor was linked to the revolt of the Colombian division and (…) later had a great and decisive influence in the new government”.

Manuel Medina Castro.

Among the elements that show the active participation of US diplomats in instigating and influencing against Bolívar is the correspondence of US consul William Tudor with the State Department.

On informing that after the 1827 uprising a congress would be organized from which the new government would emerge, Tudor took in his hands the task of guaranteeing the presence of several exiled elements opposed to Bolívar. On the matter he wrote: “Dr. Luna Pizarro has been called and today I sent him the decrees and letters for his return. I have urged for his immediate return; he is the most illustrated, the most liberal and the purest of Peruvian patriots (...) Also La Mar, with whom he has the closest friendship, will undoubtedly be elected as president. Under the leadership of these two men, Peru can hope for prosperity and happiness (...)”

The contempt for Simón Bolívar is obvious in that correspondence: “The hope that Bolívar’s projects are now definitely destroyed is most consoling (...) The United States are thus relieved of a dangerous enemy in the future (...) were he to succeed, I am persuaded that we would have suffered his animosity.”



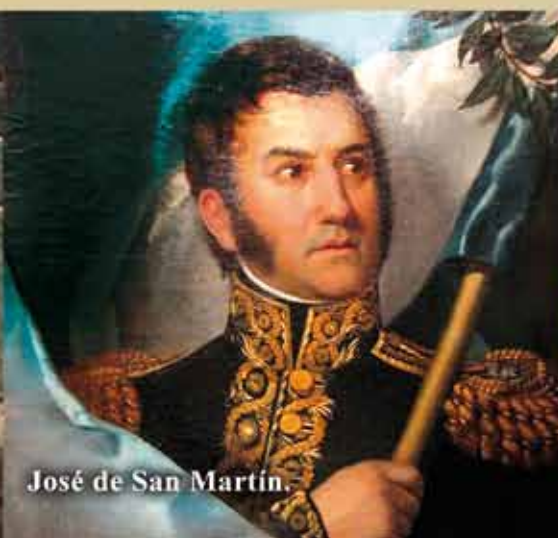
William H. Harrison.

## 1829

The new US representative in Bogotá, Gen. William Harrison, continued the interfering actions of his predecessor. In reference to forces partial to Bolívar, Harrison wrote to the Department of State: “But his confidence will be his ruin. A loaded mine is ready and will explode over them in a short time. Obando is in Bolívar’s camp seducing his troops. Córdova has seduced the battalion that is in Popayán and has gone to Cauca and Antioquia, which are mature for the revolt. (...) Money has been distributed to the troops with the government still ignorant of these movements.” Ecuadorean historian Manuel Medina Castro concluded from Harrison’s expressions: “As seen, Harrison handles a vast network of espionage. Bolívar himself is surrounded by Harrison’s espionage. All his correspondence passes through Harrison’s hands. Additionally, Harrison is at the center of Córdova’s conspiracy.”



42  
José Gervasio Artigas.



José de San Martín.



Bernardo O'Higgins.

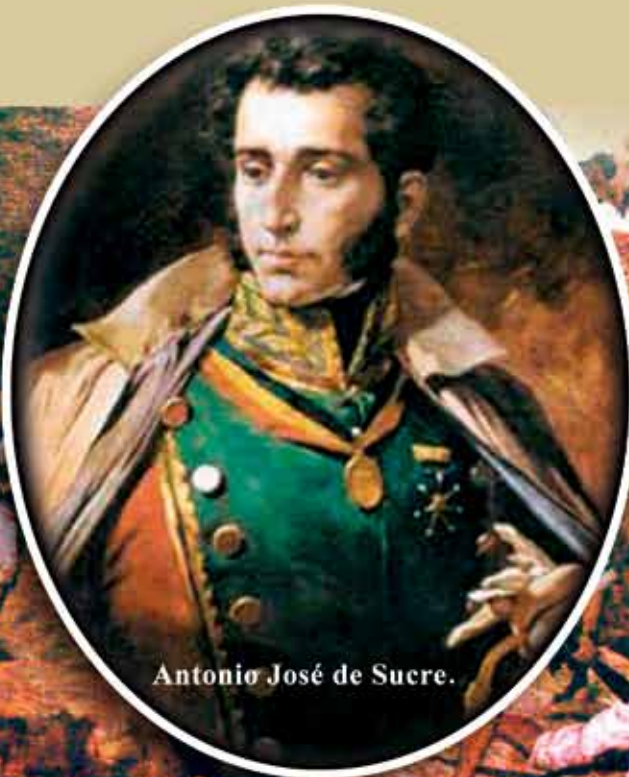
The actions of both representatives of the empire show that the so called political action operations by the CIA, at its peak in the 1950s, designed to back, stimulate and even to lead foreign political forces partial to the US for the achievement of its goals, began to be applied in Latin America right after the independence and were directed in full force against Bolívar and his idea of continental unity.

## 1830

Antonio José de Sucre, Simón Bolívar's second in command, was murdered on June 3, on his way to Ecuador to put down a separatist insurrection.

Bolívar died in exile on December 17. The Republic of Greater Colombia was dismembered, destroying the Liberator's dreams. Thus the desires of internal opposition forces were fulfilled, as well as those of US expansionist groups.

### **THE UNITED STATES WAS UNABLE TO PREVENT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE FORMER SPANISH COLONIES**





# NEUTRALITY FAVORABLE TO SPAIN

**The United States was not partial to the emancipation of the peoples of South America from Spanish colonial domination, which led to US neutrality favorable to Spain. This was a characteristic of US policy regarding independence movements south of its border.**

## 1806

US President Thomas Jefferson did not offer official assistance to Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda in his libertarian attempts. Miranda's expedition raised for the first time what would later become the Venezuelan flag at La Vela del Coro, in the northeastern part of the state of Falcón. For his endeavors, he went down in history as the Precursor (of independence).

On this year, Jefferson reiterated that "he did not see with enthusiasm" the idea of the emancipation of the peoples of South America from Spanish colonial domination, which led to US neutrality favorable to Spain.

## 1811

According to its interests —aimed at delaying the independence of Spanish colonies until the United States



was in a position to seize those territories— US diplomacy in South America began to spread a network of intrigues that would serve that purpose.

US special agent in Chile Joel Poinsett interfered in such a manner in that country's internal affairs that Chilean political forces demanded his expulsion from the territory. Finally he was declared *persona non grata* and was forced to return to the US.

## 1814

President James Madison gave assurance to King Fernando VII of Spain —when the latter was reinstated on the throne and attempted to regain the lost Spanish colonies in America— that the US government would maintain a “policy of neutrality” in relation to the struggles for independence that were taking place in almost all of the former Spanish possessions, and pushed through Congress a Neutrality Act that forbid the collaboration with the struggles for independence.

## 1815

Col. Martin Thompson was accused of violating the Neutrality Act and thrown in jail. Thompson had come to Washington to demand assistance for the struggles of independence against Spain in the then called United Provinces of the River Plate, the present Argentina.



## 1817

“(…) the government of Washington (…) rejected in practice all requests of recognition and assistance submitted by the patriots and followed a policy of “neutrality” that allowed the US to sell arms and ammunition to Spain. Following this policy that favored Spanish colonialism, on March 3, 1817, President Madison prohibited the organization of expeditions from US soil to South America. This was the context in which Bolívar seized and then sank two American schooners, the *Tiger* and the *Liberty*, for running the blockade imposed on the Spaniards in Venezuela. The episode was proof of the tacit understanding between the US and Spain, and motivated Bolívar’s harsh letters to US representative John B. Irving, in which he denounced the US pharisaical policy.”

Sergio Guerra Vilaboy.

## 1818

In order to facilitate negotiations with Spain regarding the purchase of Western and Eastern Florida, James Monroe promoted another “neutrality” law (always favorable to Spain) that forbid any attempt to assist Latin American independence struggles in US soil.

## 1819

After the sinking of the *Tiger* and the *Liberty* in 1818, US representative Baptist Irving undertook an offensive exchange of letters with Bolívar, claiming compensation



for the destruction of both ships. The demand was categorically rejected by the Liberator.

“At some moment Irving loses his patience and Bolívar reacts strongly, ending the dialogue,” wrote historian Manuel Medina Castro, underscoring Bolívar’s firm stance from Angostura, on October 7. (...) ‘I will not allow insult or disdain against the government and the rights of Venezuela (...) Venezuela will not only fight Spain, but the whole world, if the whole world insults Venezuela.’”

## 1822

Once in possession of Florida, the US government began a process of recognizing the former Spanish colonies as independent nations, although it kept its hypocritical “neutrality” in favor of Spain.

## 1826

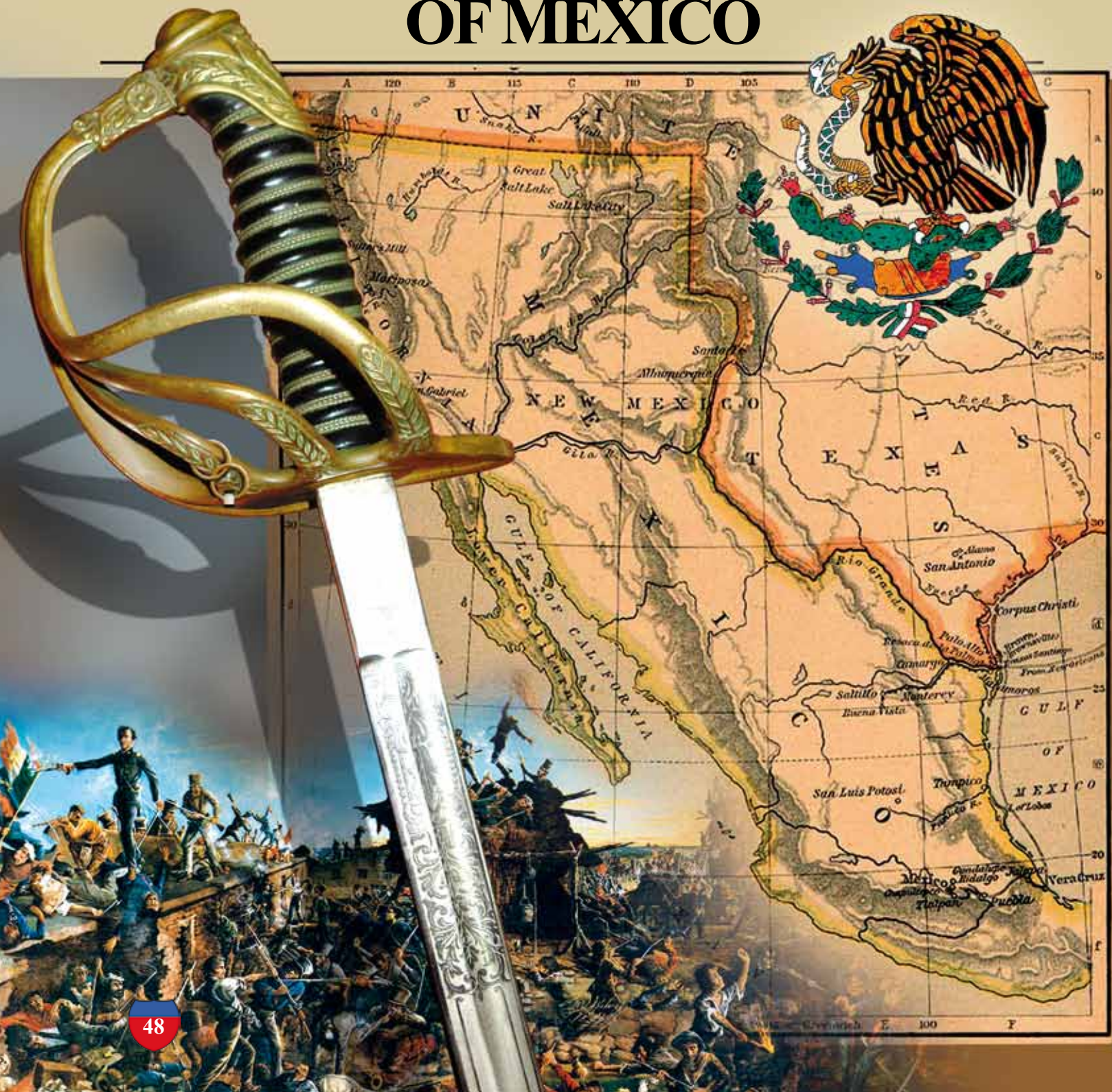
US ships smuggled weapons to Spanish troops that were still plotting against Greater Colombia, which included at the time the present territories of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Panama since the Angostura (1818) and Cúcuta (1821) congresses.







# “MANIFEST DESTINY” PAVED THE WAY TO THE TERRITORIAL PLUNDER OF MEXICO



## 1799

US citizens led by Philip Nolan invaded the northern region of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, a territory that after independence adopted the name of Mexico.

“(…) It is believed that he was following Jefferson’s orders.”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.

## 1804

Former President John Adams expressed that “(…) the people of Kentucky are filled with eagerness for ventures, and although they are not poor, they have the same avidity for plundering that ruled the Romans at their time of glory. Mexico sparkles before our eyes. Our only hope is to own the world.”

This was one of the first expressions related to the desire of possessing those territories still under Spanish rule.

## 1806

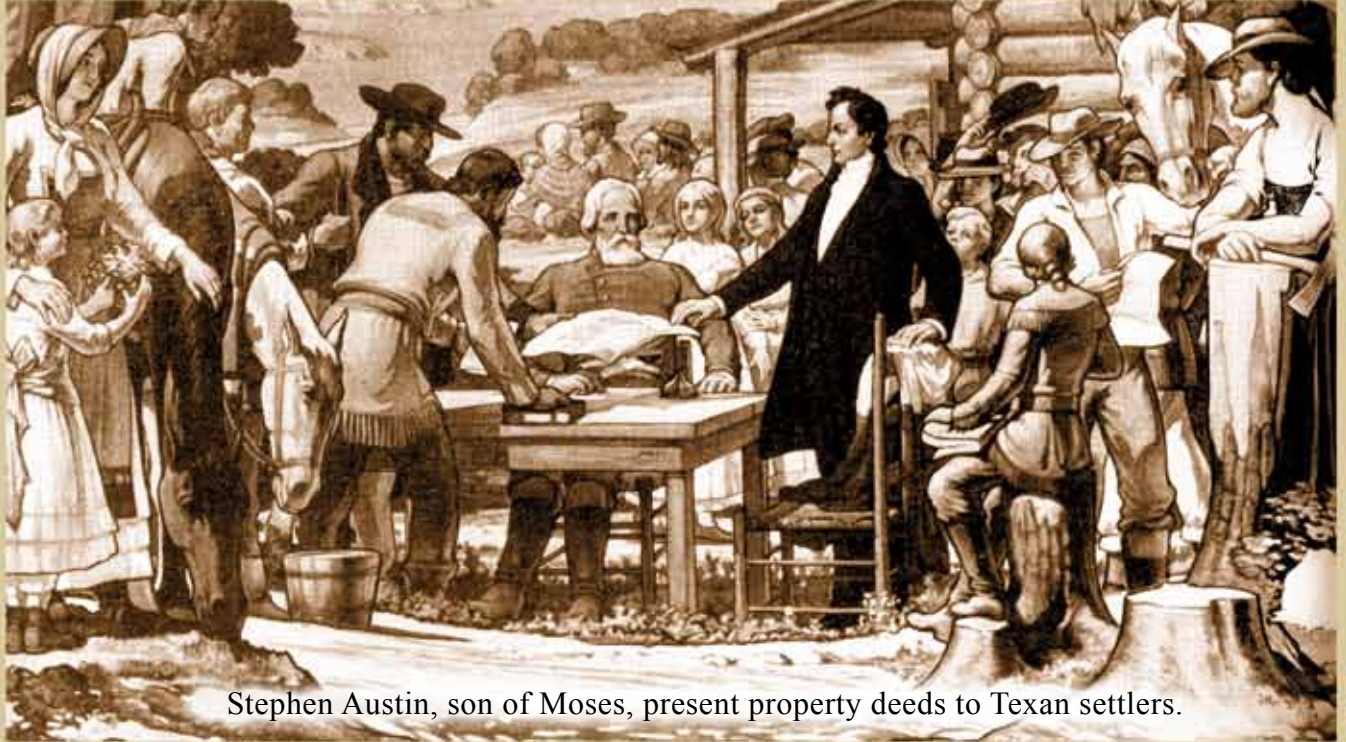
**US troops commanded by Capt. Z.M. Pike and following Gen. James Wilkinson’s orders, occupied the source of the Bravo (Grande) River under Spanish rule.**

## 1819

Under the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty, Spain accepted US official claims to the southern area of Alabama and Mississippi, defining for the first time the western border of Louisiana, a fact that spurred US Southern expansionists and slavers to continue their plans for seizing the territories West and South of their borders.

James Long, a US businessman based in Natchez, conspired with refugee Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara to lead a force of 300 men and setting up a provisional government in Texas. Long de pain and began distributing public land in an effort to attract followers. He was defeated by Spanish troops.





Stephen Austin, son of Moses, present property deeds to Texan settlers.

## 1810

On September 16 the beginning of the struggle for independence against Spanish colonial rule is proclaimed in Mexico.

## 1820

US penetration of Texas, which became the detonator of one of the most serious aggressions against any country, had among its most important precedents the concession of land to Moses Austin by the colonial authorities of the New Spain Viceroyalty. The concession included a permit for 300 settlers with their families.

According to Ramiro Guerra, “The population of San Felipe de Austin, founded in 1823, was the colony’s administrative center and the focus of US influence in Texas.” The territory began to be claimed as American.

## 1821

US filibuster expeditions continue on Texan territory.

## 1825

US Minister Joel Poinsett travels to Mexico following instructions to attempt the purchase of Texas. Poinsett organized the so called “American Party” (aka as the “Yorkers”) for bringing together Mexican citizens partial to the United States, who later became a fifth column favorable to the US.

## 1826

Haden Edwards, an American concessionary, seized Nacogdoches and proclaimed the “Republic of Fredonia”, an attempt at secession that lasted a month and was defeated by Mexican troops.

## 1827

US representative Joel Poinsett continued his interventionist actions in Mexico, stimulating “Yorkers” for the purpose of attaining the political control of the new nation. One of the Mexican officials attracted by Poinsett was Lorenzo de Zavala, who later on was one of the leaders of US colonists that declared Texan independence. Subsequently he was appointed Vice President of the so-called Republic of Texas.

Sectors that claimed the right of the United States to Texas, represented by Sen. H. Benton and Gen. Andrew Jackson, gained support in the US.

Also, in the South, political elements promoted the annexation of that territory in order to tip the balance in Congress against abolitionist Northern states.

## 1828-1830

The Mexican government, fearing that in the case of Texas similar methods were being used as the ones in Florida —such as encouraging independence and requesting annexation to the United States—, began to curb US immigration to Texas and banned slavery in the territory.

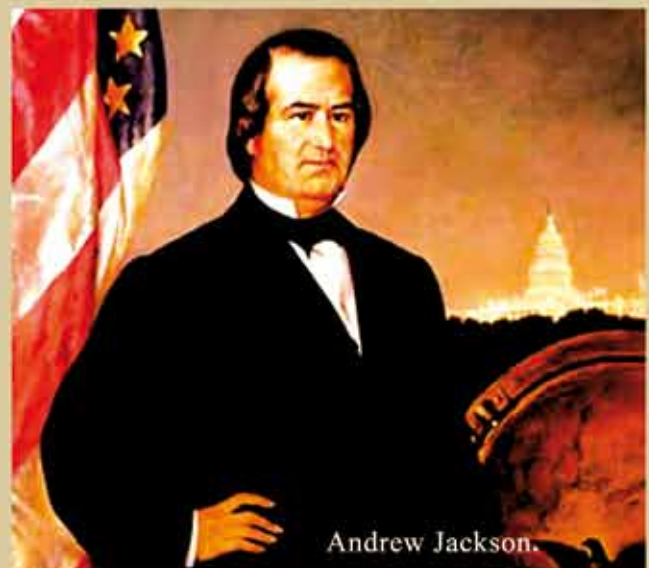
“The marked and open struggle between Mexicans and Americans began as soon as the former decided to enforce those legal regulations. Since 1831 there was unrest, and on the following year it ended up in a serious crisis.”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.

The swearing in of Andrew Jackson as president in 1829, and the aggressive policy for obtaining Texas at any cost, increased the tension.

## 1832

Following President Jackson’s instructions, former Tennessee Governor Samuel Houston arrived in Texas to organize the rebel colonists against Mexican authorities.



## 1833

On April 1, a convention of “representatives of the people of Texas (US colonists organized by Houston) approved a Constitution, and “if there was not a complete breakaway from Mexico it was because military preparations were not ready: everything was postponed for the right moment.”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.

## 1835

On November 17 the first Texan government was organized. Sam Houston was appointed general in chief of the army formed by volunteers recruited in US important cities.

Ships loaded with weapons sailed from New Orleans and New York. All over the South there were public meetings for raising funds. Those forces were backed by US troops under the command of Gen. Edmund Gaines, which reached Nacogdoches, deep into Mexican territory.

Mexican military response, led by President Antonio López de Santa Anna, was rated by Manuel Medina Castro as “lackluster, undistinguished. And for the Mexican military, it was undoubtedly a shame.”



Samuel Houston.

# 1836

The republic was proclaimed by the Texas Convention.

On March, Mexican troops commanded by Santa Anna committed atrocities against the garrison that defended The Alamo, shot to death after surrendering, following a bloody battle. The result was a slogan wielded by the secessionists led by Houston that was widely used from that moment on: “Remember The Alamo,” which tried to give a positive ethical content to the campaign. The Mexican defeat at San Jacinto one month later, where Santa Anna was made prisoner by Houston, sealed the definite loss of Texas for Mexico.



Santa Anna fell in Houston's hands. Subsequently there was a chapter of capitulations that is a shame to remember (...). In exchange for his life, the prisoner signed treaties, surrendered his weapons and made a commitment to obtain the recognition of Texas independence, with the border at the Rio Grande."

Manuel Medina Castro.

The process marked the so-called "Manifest Destiny" that began to reveal itself as a US political principle since the early years of the decade, and which should spread (...) by inevitable historical laws to all those lands that seemed assigned (...) to be part of 'the great Republic' (...). The belief in Manifest Destiny justified those ambitions of foreign lands before the most scrupulous conscience."

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.

## 1837

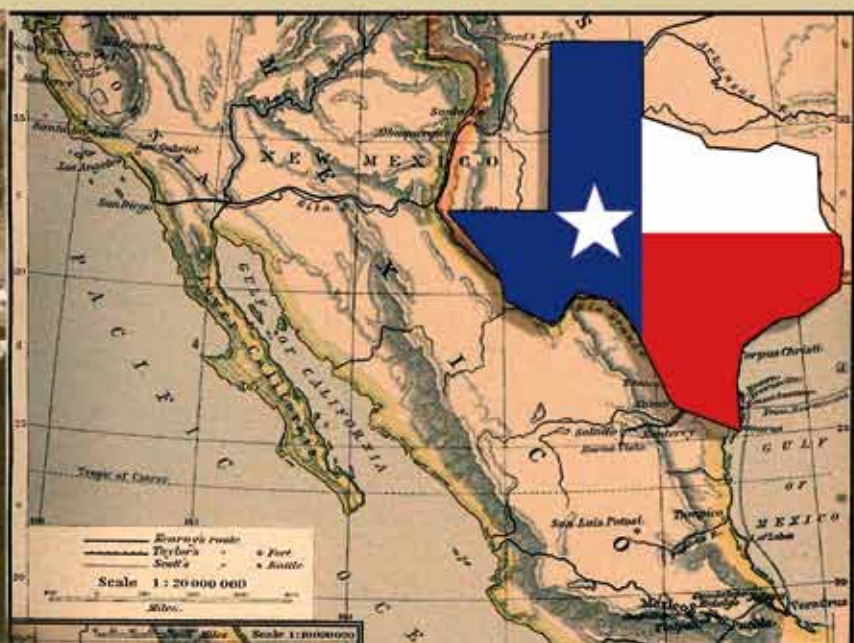
The "independence" of Texas was recognized by the US government, thus adding tension to diplomatic relations with Mexico. Its subsequent worsening would lead to the US-Mexican War and the definite break away of Texas from Mexico.

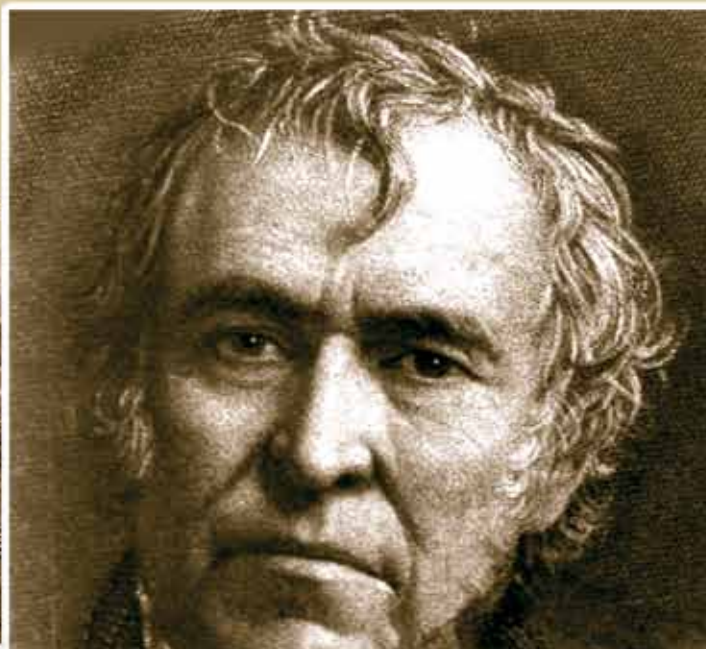
## 1842

As a sample of the psychological climate previous to the war of pillage against Mexico, US Army and Navy troops temporarily occupied the Mexican cities of Monterrey, and San Diego in California.

## 1845

On January and February, the US Congress sanctioned the treaty of annexation of Texas. It was signed into law on March 1 by President Tyler and came to fruition at the end of the year. Mexico suspended relations and accused the United States of "stripping a friendly nation of a considerable portion of its territory." There was no declaration of war.





General Zachary Taylor.



## 1846

The US government had mobilized its military and naval forces threatening Mexican territory since 1845. In January 1846, Gen. Zachary Taylor received orders to cross the Rio Grande with the purpose of provoking clashes with Mexican troops that would serve as a pretext for declaring war.



The first armed encounter took place on April 25 in La Rosita, on the outskirts of the city of Matamoros. On May 13, the United States declared war on Mexico.

On July 7, Commodore John D. Sloat took the port of Monterrey, on the Mexican Pacific Coast, and announced the occupation of California.

On August 15, Col. Stephen W. Kearny took possession of New Mexico. From the 21st to the 24th of September, US troops occupied the city of Monterrey.



## THE CONQUEST OF VERA CRUZ

1847



The battle of Buena Vista took place on February 22 and 23. On March 29, Vera Cruz was conquered and on April 18 the battle of Cerro Gordo permitted US aggressors the swift conquest of Jalapa, Enríquez and Puebla.

The battle of Contreras was held on August 19 and 29, where Mexican forces suffered huge losses. On September 1 negotiations began. Mexico considered unacceptable the harsh conditions imposed by the aggressors, who were bent on seizing more than half of Mexican territory. Military actions were renewed.

On September 8 both armies engaged at the battles of Casa de Mata and Molino del Rey, which would open to US troops the road to the Mexican capital.

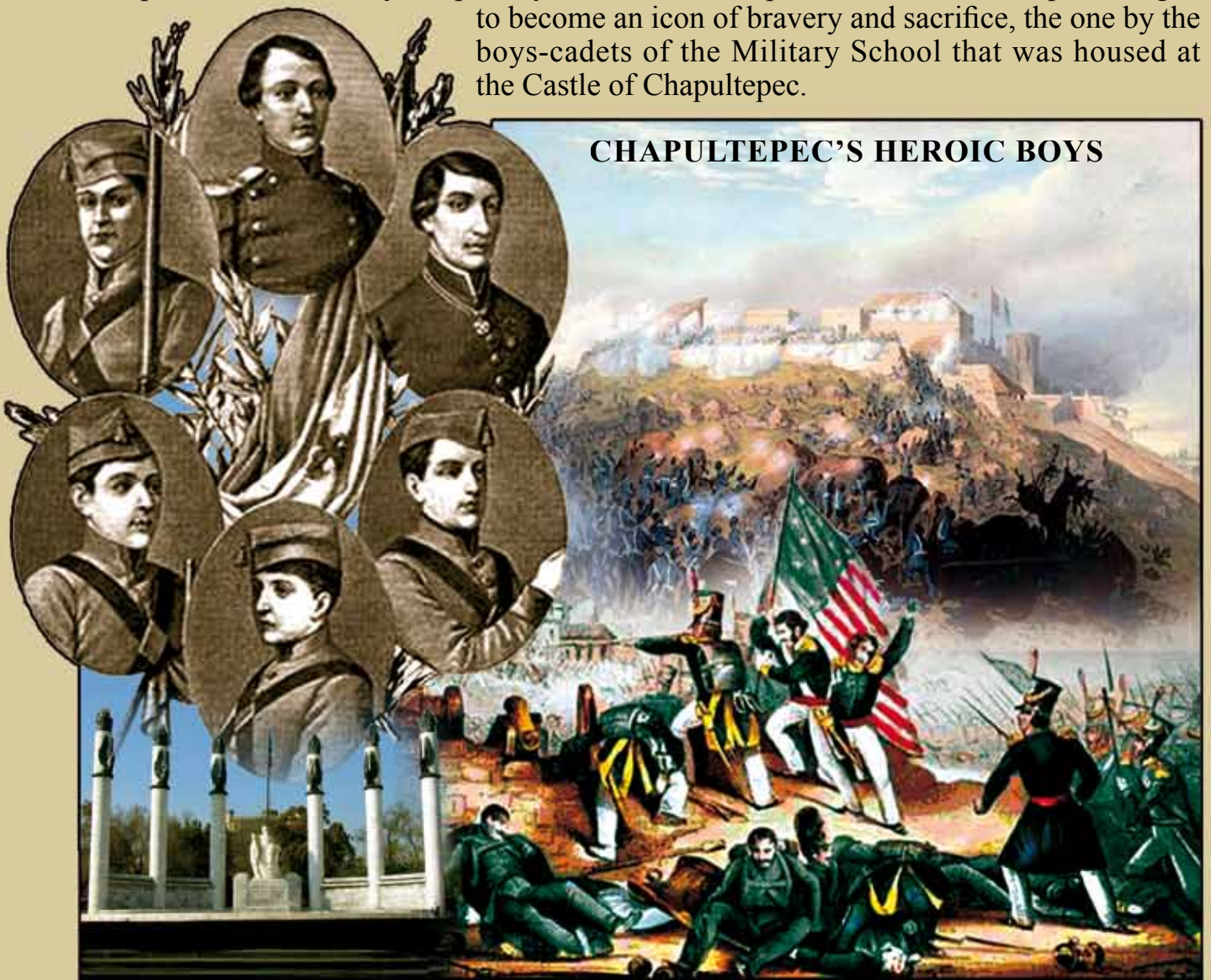
## THE BATTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC

1847



The Battle of Chapultepec began on September 13 and its outcome resulted in the occupation of the country's capital by the invaders. In spite of defeat, an example emerged to become an icon of bravery and sacrifice, the one by the boys-cadets of the Military School that was housed at the Castle of Chapultepec.

### CHAPULTEPEC'S HEROIC BOYS



## 1848

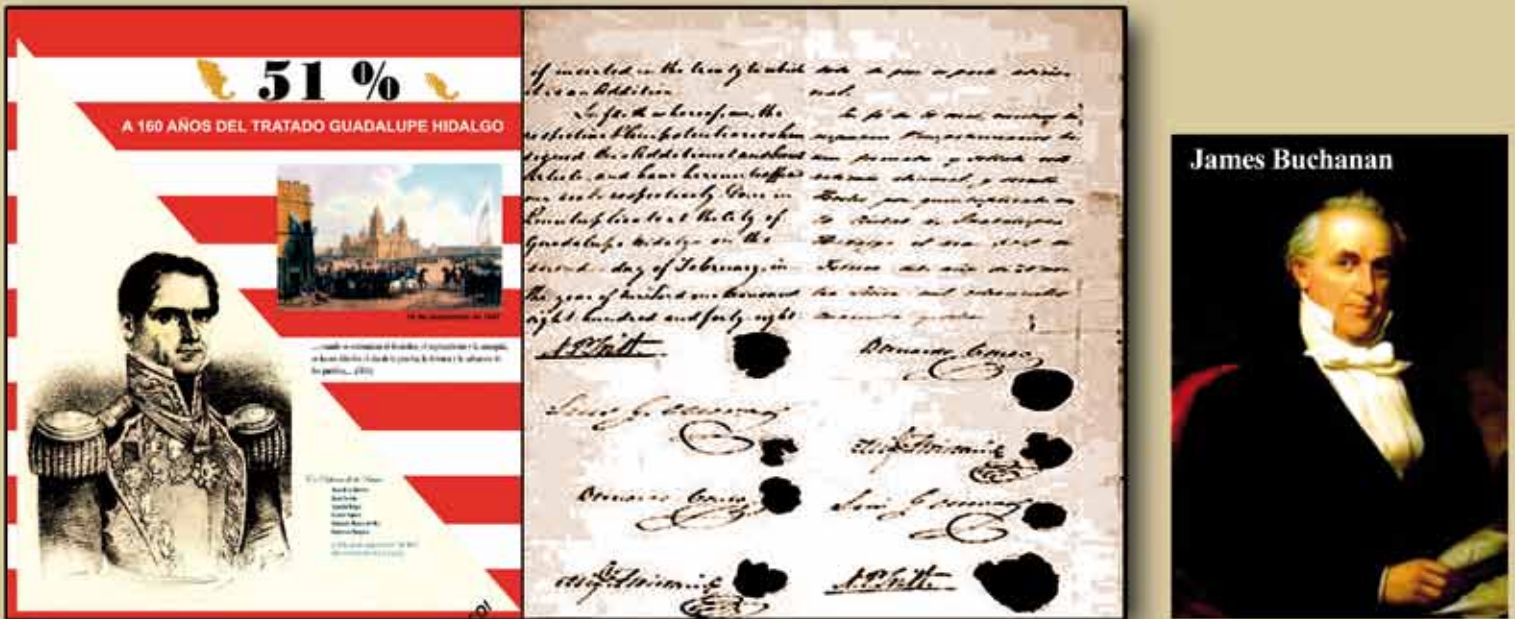
On February 12 the disgraceful Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty was signed, by which Mexico was stripped of 51% of its territory.

“In 1848 they seized over 50% of Mexican territory in a war of conquest against the militarily weak nation. They occupied the country and imposed humiliating conditions for peace. On the seized territories were the huge oil and gas reserves that later on would supply the United States for over a century and still do (...)”

Fidel Castro Ruz: “Yankee Bases and Latin American Sovereignty”  
“Reflections,” August 10, 2009.

Some US Congressmen were opposed to the treaty, claiming that the US (...) should make the best of the opportunity and seize all of Mexico”. Manifest Destiny was very elastic. For many (...) it included now ‘all of Mexico’, and even all of Central America.”

Ramiro Guerra Sánchez.



## 1853

The United States obtained new territories from Mexico, thus establishing its definitive border with that country. With the so-called “Gadsden Purchase”, for \$10 million dollars Mexico ceded to the US the area known as La Mesilla and other neighboring territories, in all, almost 77,000 square kilometers.

## 1857

In a message on January 7, President James Buchanan said: “It is a destiny of our race to extend throughout all of North America, and this will be done in a short time, if events follow their natural course. Emigration will go south, and no one can stop it. In a short time, Central America will have an Anglo-American population that will work for the good of the indigenous people.”



## 1861

With the consent of Secretary of State William H. Seward, a powerful Spanish, English and French naval squadron blockaded the Port of Vera Cruz demanding that the Benito Juárez administration (1858-1879) pay its debts. Subsequently, taking advantage of US neutrality, the new French Emperor Napoleon III (1852-1870) began the military occupation of Mexico.

## 1864

The US government refused to sell arms to Mexican patriotic forces that led by Benito Juárez were fighting against the monarchy of Maximilian I of Hapsburg, Napoleon III's puppet. "At the same time, the French Army and Navy were authorized to be supplied on US soil, and the American Navy protected the passage through Panama of French troops with the mission of controlling Mexican ports on the Pacific."

Luis Suárez Salazar.



## 1866

US troops invaded Mexico and took El Chamizal.

The State Department began to conspire with former Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna with the objective of overthrowing Benito Juárez.

“Is it given to man, sir, to attack the rights of others, to seize their goods, attempt against the life of those who defend their nationality, make crimes of their virtues and a virtue out of their own vices? But there is something that is out of reach of perversity, and it is the tremendous judgment of history. It will judge us.”

Benito Juárez: excerpt from a letter sent to Maximilian, Monterrey, May 28, 1864.

## 1873

US military incursions continue deep into Mexican territory, under the pretext of chasing “outlaws.”

## 1876

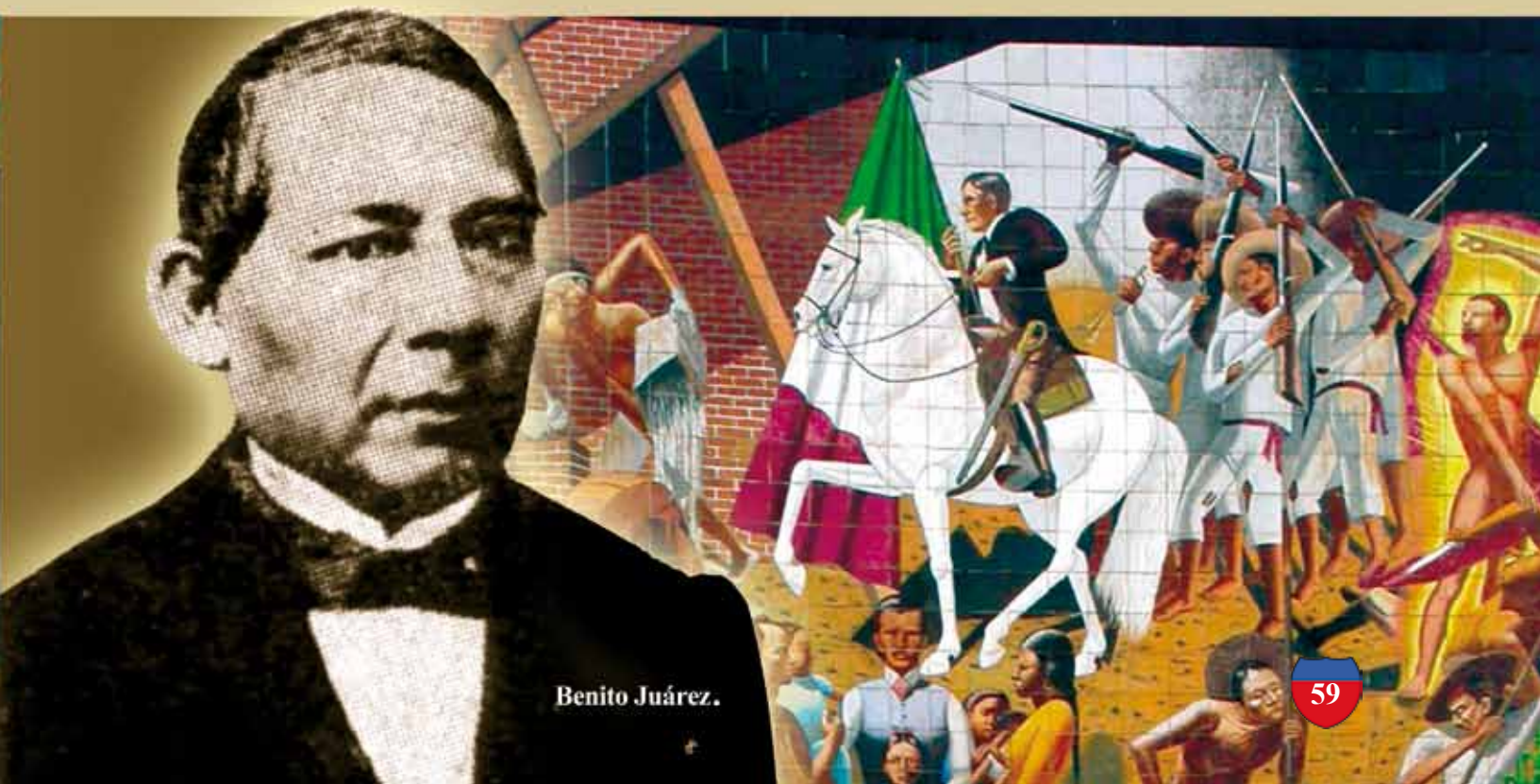
US troops occupy the Mexican city of Matamoros at a time of internal tension due to the uprising of Gen. (and dictator-to-be) Porfirio Díaz.

## 1880

More violations of Mexican sovereignty, allegedly in pursuit of bandits.

## 1882

According to a treaty imposed on Mexico by the US, American troops could freely enter Mexican territory.



Benito Juárez.



# WILLIAM WALKER: A REPRESENTATIVE OF US GOVERNMENT INTERESTS

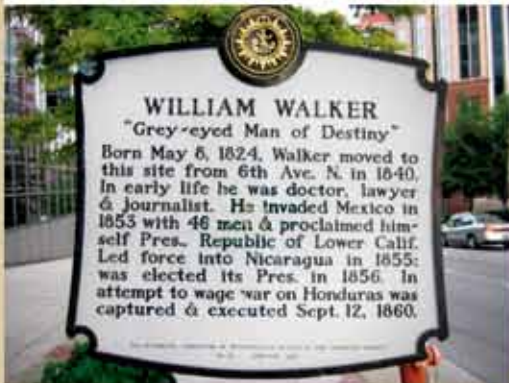


**William Walker gave continuity to the ideas of Manifest Destiny.**

**1853**

Following the formulation of Manifest Destiny and influenced by the interventionist spirit due to the annexation of Texas and the subsequent seizure of Mexican territories, William Walker, the organizer of a so-called American Phalanx, sailed from San Francisco, California, landed on Mexican territory at La Paz, and proclaimed himself President of the Republic of Baja California.

The next year he annexed the neighboring territory of Sonora. After exhausting his possibility of remaining in the region, he surrendered to US authorities. Mexico demanded the United States try him in a court of law, He was acquitted.



**1855**

On July, William Walker headed a so-called Phalanx of Immortals, US citizens like him, and landed at El Realejo, Nicaragua, at the summons of one of warring factions that granted him Nicaraguan citizenship, gave him the rank of colonel, and appointed him chief of its forces.

The next year, after a campaign of murders and pillage, he proclaimed himself President. The United States hastened to recognize his government and ambassadors were exchanged.

The epithet of “freebooter” that always accompanied him hid his interventionist ideas in tune with Manifest Destiny, the policy used by the United States as justification for seizing its neighbors’ territories.

“President Walker begins the Americanization of the country (...) A decree of September 22, 1856 re-established slavery (...) English would be the official language, together with Spanish (...) Lands would be transferred to whites, which were the Americans of the glorious phalanx (...) There could not be a more comprehensive plan for the Americanization of that small country.”

Manuel Medina Castro.

## 1856

On March 20, allied Central American military forces headed by Costa Rican President Juan Rafael Mora defeated William Walker at the battle of Santa Rosa. Walker retaliated proclaiming himself president of El Salvador also. In spite of reinforcements both in men and means from the United States, the unleashed popular war was too much for him. After setting fire to the city of Granada, Walker and 260 of his men were rescued by a US war ship and taken to New Orleans, where they were welcomed as heroes

“Washington had ordered the fleet to assist Walker. This was recognized by the Secretary of the Navy in his 1857 report: ‘The government deemed necessary, *as a humanitarian and policy measure*, to instruct Commodore Marvin, head of the Naval Division, that if necessary he should assist in the retreat of General (?) Walker and his comrades from Nicaragua.”

Manuel Medina Castro.

## 1857

In November there was a new attempt by William Walker to invade Central American territory with 400 men. It was unsuccessful.

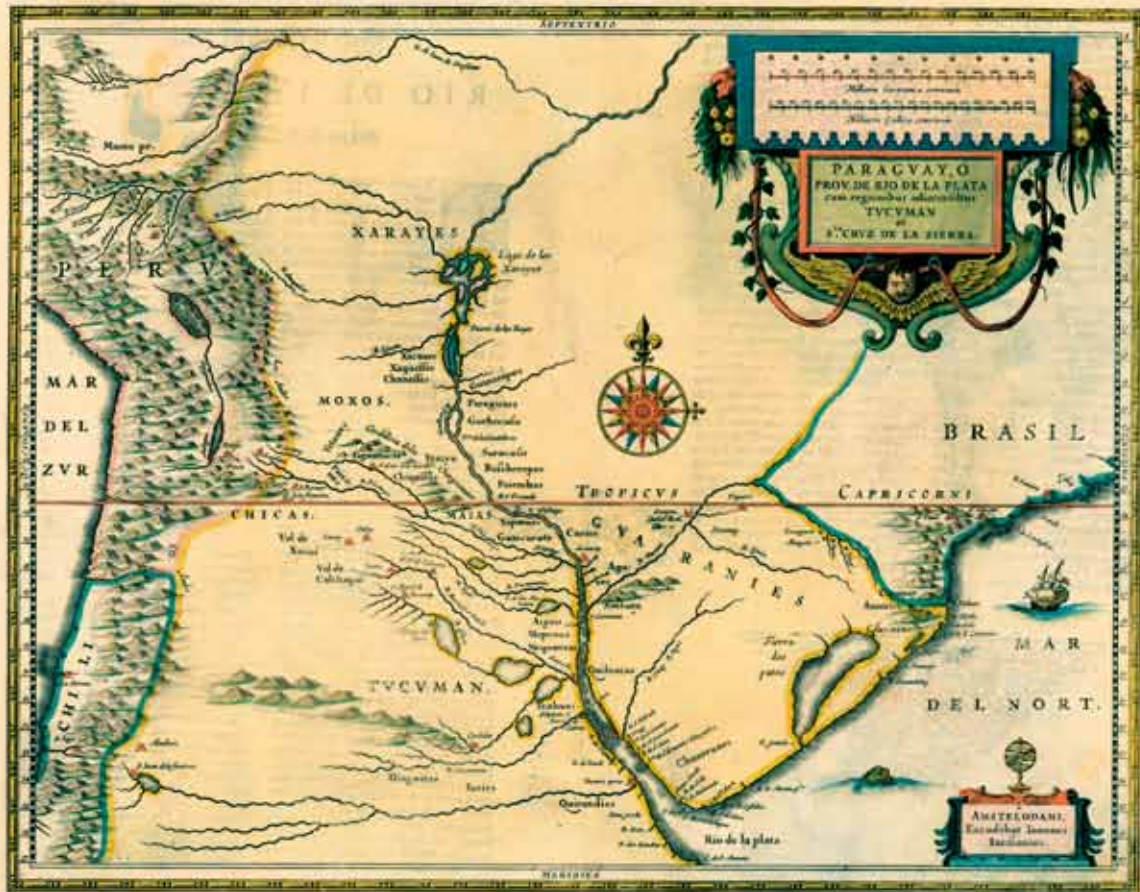
## 1860

William Walker landed on the city of Trujillo, Honduras, which he sacked. He was captured by the British Navy and handed over to Honduran authorities. Walker was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death.





# INTERVENTIONIST WAVE IN THE CONTINENT



## 1825

US ships intervened in the war between the United Provinces of the River Plate and the empire of Brazil for the control of the so-called Eastern Band, a territory that proclaimed its Independence in 1839 under the name of Eastern Republic of Uruguay. The American intervention had the purpose of liberating US merchant ships that had been captured for violating the Brazilian blockade on the coast of present Argentina.

## 1831-1832

In retaliation against sovereign measures by Buenos Aires on trade with the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, troops aboard a US warship landed in Puerto Soledad under a fake flag and with apparently peaceful intention. Once there, they put the defense system out of action, raided the Argentinean colony, imprisoned a number of Argentineans, and declared the territory “free from any government.”

In 1832, US *chargé d'affaires* in Buenos Aires Francis Baylies denied Argentina's sovereignty over the islands and proclaimed Great Britain's rule.

## 1833

“England seized the (Malvinas) Islands with the total acquiescence of the United States.”

Manuel Medina Castro.

Due to internal political conflicts in Argentina, US naval forces landed in Buenos Aires under the hackneyed pretext —widely used in its interfering actions in other countries— of “protecting the interests of the United States and of other nations.”





## 1835

In the midst of the civil war that caused the dissolution of the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation, US forces occupied areas of Lima and the port of El Callao under the pretext of protecting the lives and interests of US citizens.

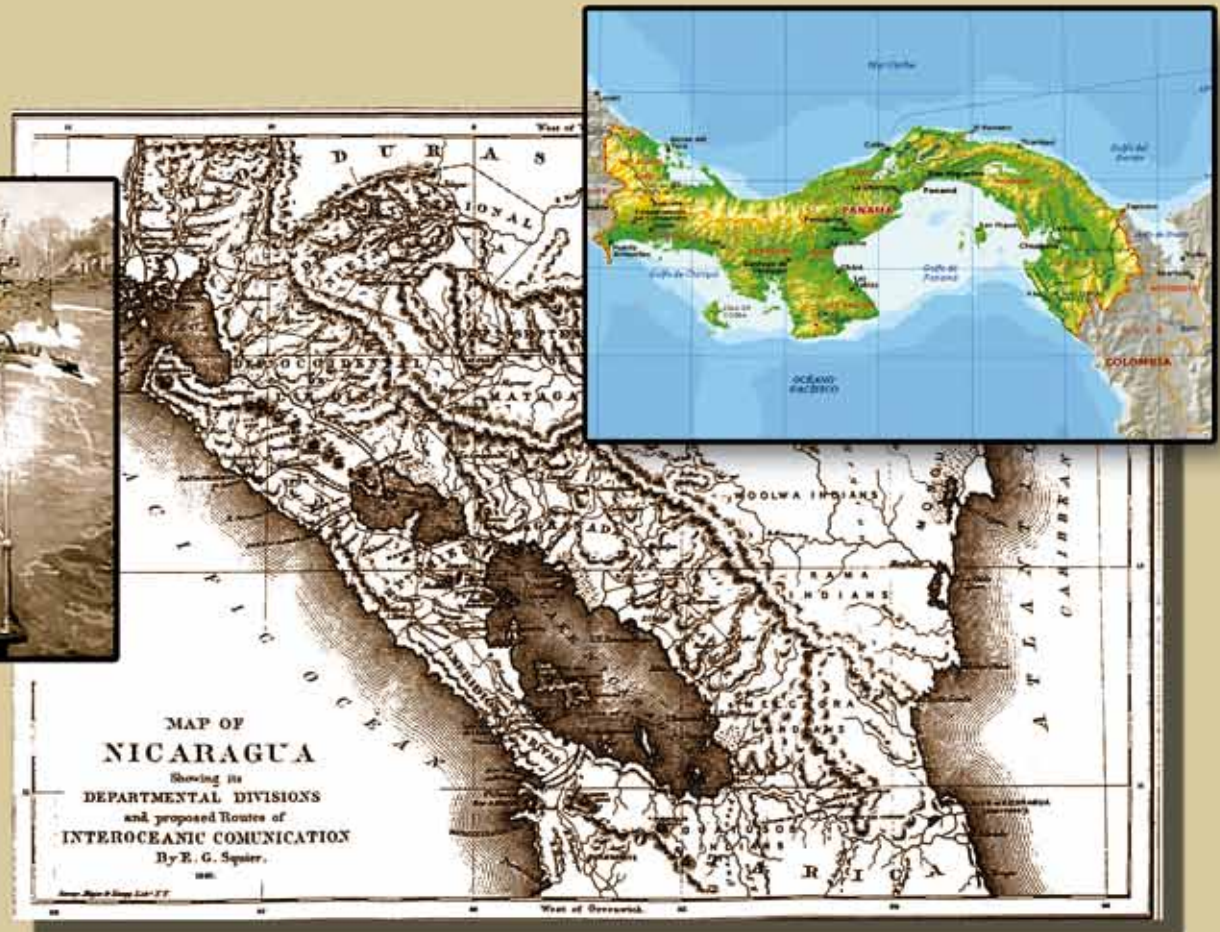


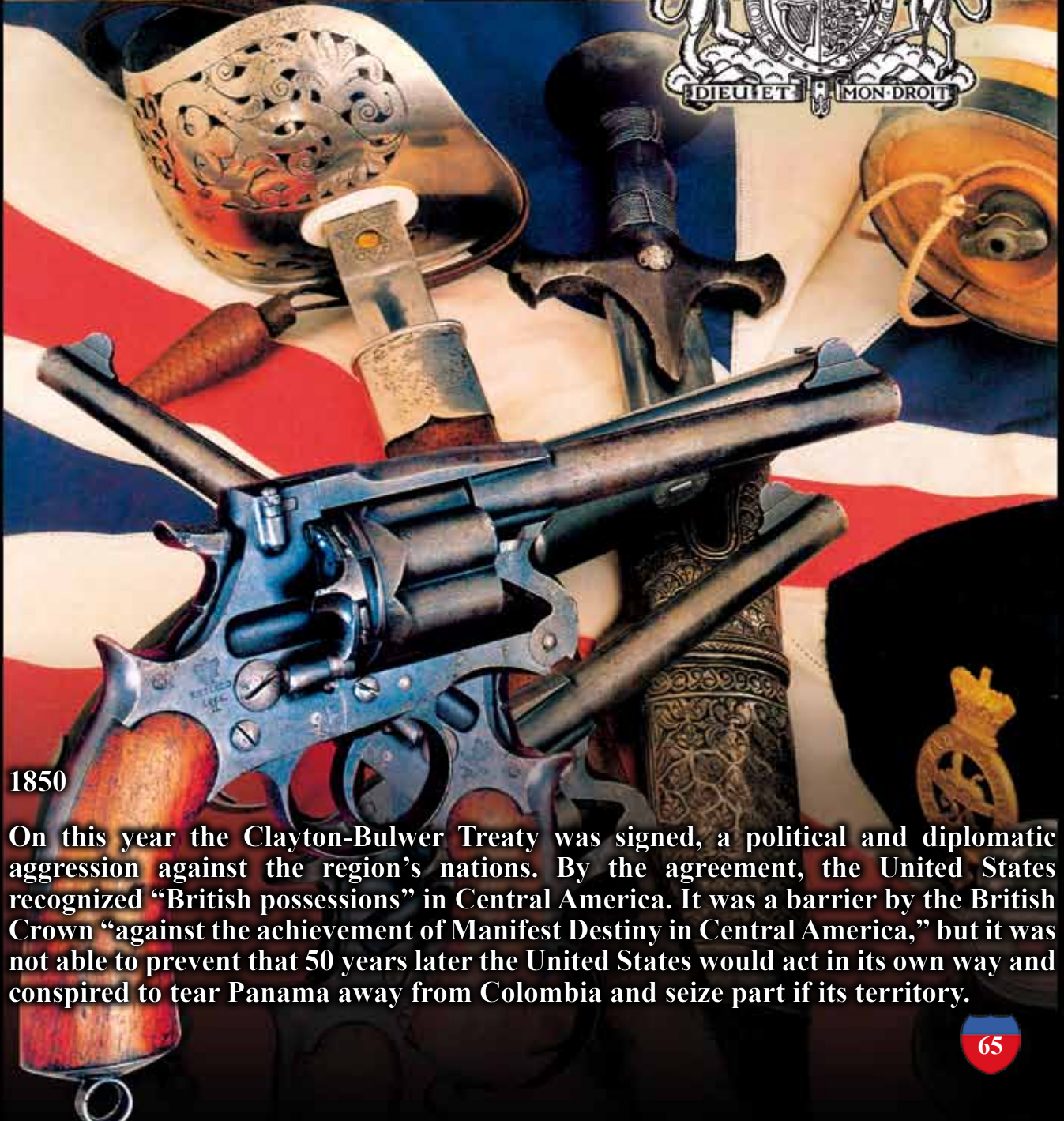
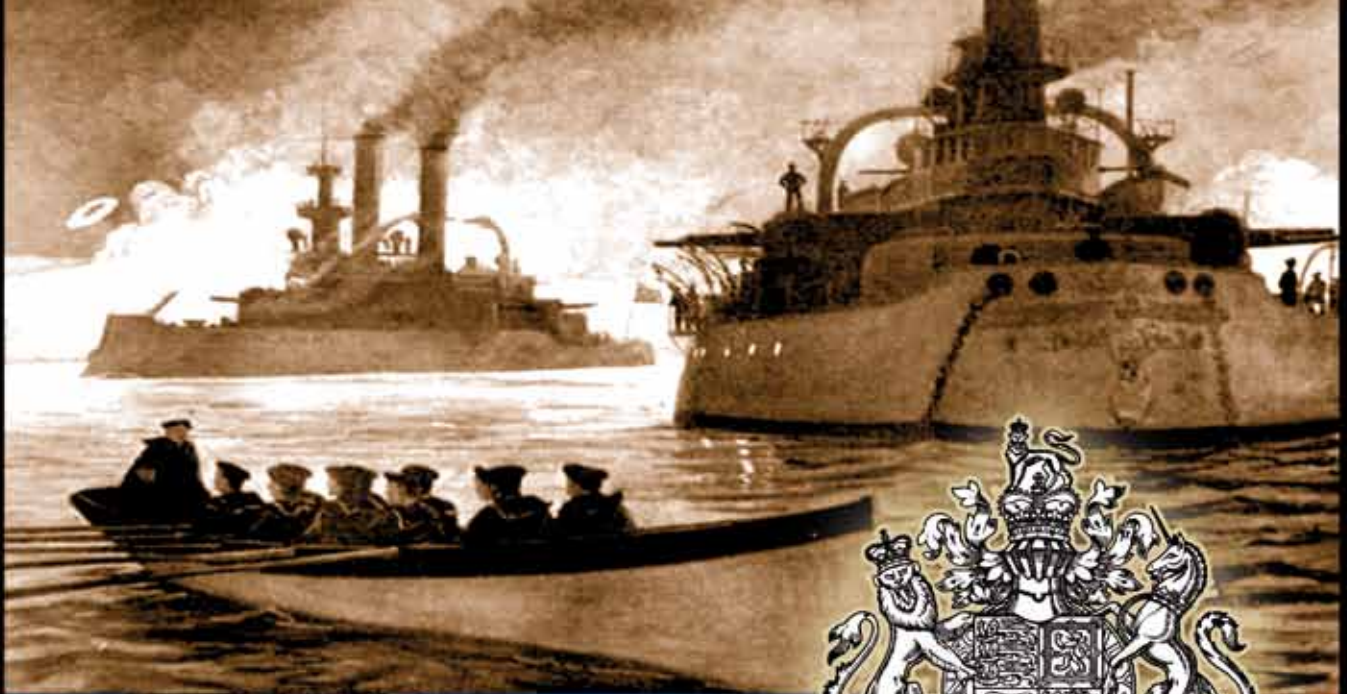
## 1836

Due to the attack by Chile against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation, which endangered the treaty of the Confederation and the United States (against Chilean interests), US chargé d'affaires in Lima Edwin Bartlett wrote to US State Secretary John Forsythe: "If the war between Chile and the Confederation continues (...) I believe that our squadron in the Pacific should be of at least four ships not smaller than corvettes."

## 1841

British forces occupied the Port of San Juan, on the mouth of the namesake river, under the sovereignty of the recently created Republic of Nicaragua. Because of the possibility of building on the site an interoceanic canal, during the second half of the 19th century the area was under the threat of numerous intrigues and military action on the part of the United States and England.





1850

On this year the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was signed, a political and diplomatic aggression against the region's nations. By the agreement, the United States recognized "British possessions" in Central America. It was a barrier by the British Crown "against the achievement of Manifest Destiny in Central America," but it was not able to prevent that 50 years later the United States would act in its own way and conspired to tear Panama away from Colombia and seize part if its territory.



**1853**

US military forces landed in Nicaragua with the purpose of “protecting the lives and interests of US citizens during the political upheaval” in that country.

**1852-1853**

US marines landed twice in Buenos Aires to back the promises made by rebel Gen. Justo José de Urquiza of opening the fluvial system of the River Plate to English, French and US ships.



## 1854

With intimidating purposes, and in retaliation for alleged offenses of local authorities against the American Minister, US naval forces shelled the Port of San Juan, in Nicaragua. These facts were coincidental with the backing supplied to anti-government forces by US tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt with the intention of setting up a government partial to the interests of The Accessory Transit Co., owned by Vanderbilt. Since he could not achieve his goal, Vanderbilt began hiring mercenaries in the US for destabilizing the Nicaraguan government.

## 1855

Continuing military aggressions in the name of “free shipping of the rivers for forcing the inland markets and wealth”, a US Navy ship attacked Paraguay to compel the nationalist and popular government of Carlos Antonio López (1844-1862) to open the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers to US traders.

On that same year, military forces landed in Uruguay with the stale pretext of “protecting US interests” during internal civil conflicts.

## 1856

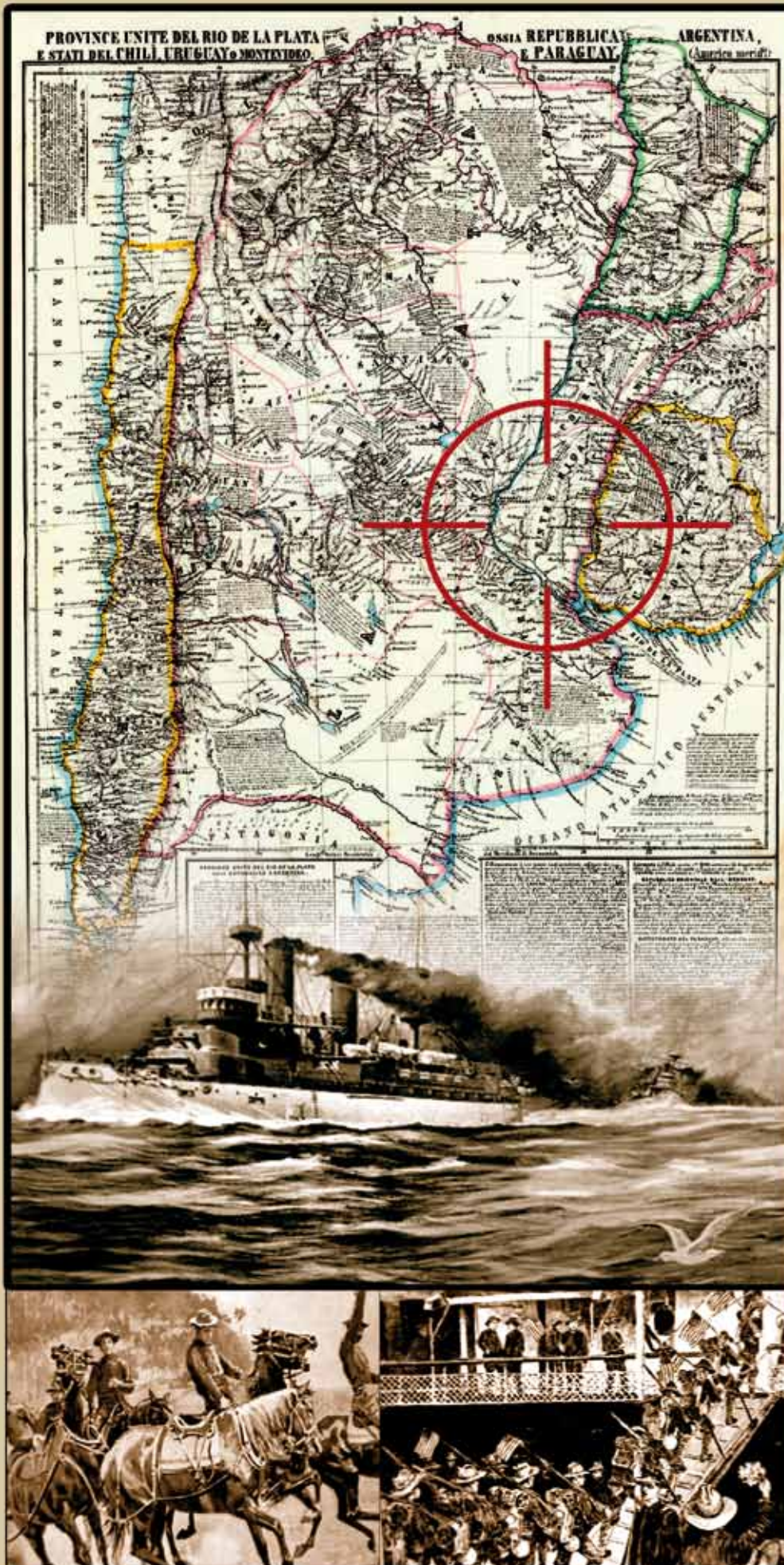
In an overreaction for the death of a US citizen in a commotion at a Panama railroad station, two US Navy ships occupied the Panama Isthmus and imposed on the government of the Republic of New Granada (present Colombia), of which Panama was part, a stiff indemnity that included the cession to the United States of the Colon-Panama Railroad and the islands on the Bay of Panama.

## 1857

The James Buchanan administration imposed on the Nicaraguan government the Cass-Irrisatti Treaty that guaranteed the United States its “right of transit with no cost at all on any part of Nicaraguan soil.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

US Navy ships held a demonstration of force in front of the Haitian coastline with the objective of favoring the “business” of US citizens.



## 1858

Two US Navy warships landed forces in the Uruguayan capital to “protect US properties” during the continuation of internal strife that affected the political life of the country.

## 1859

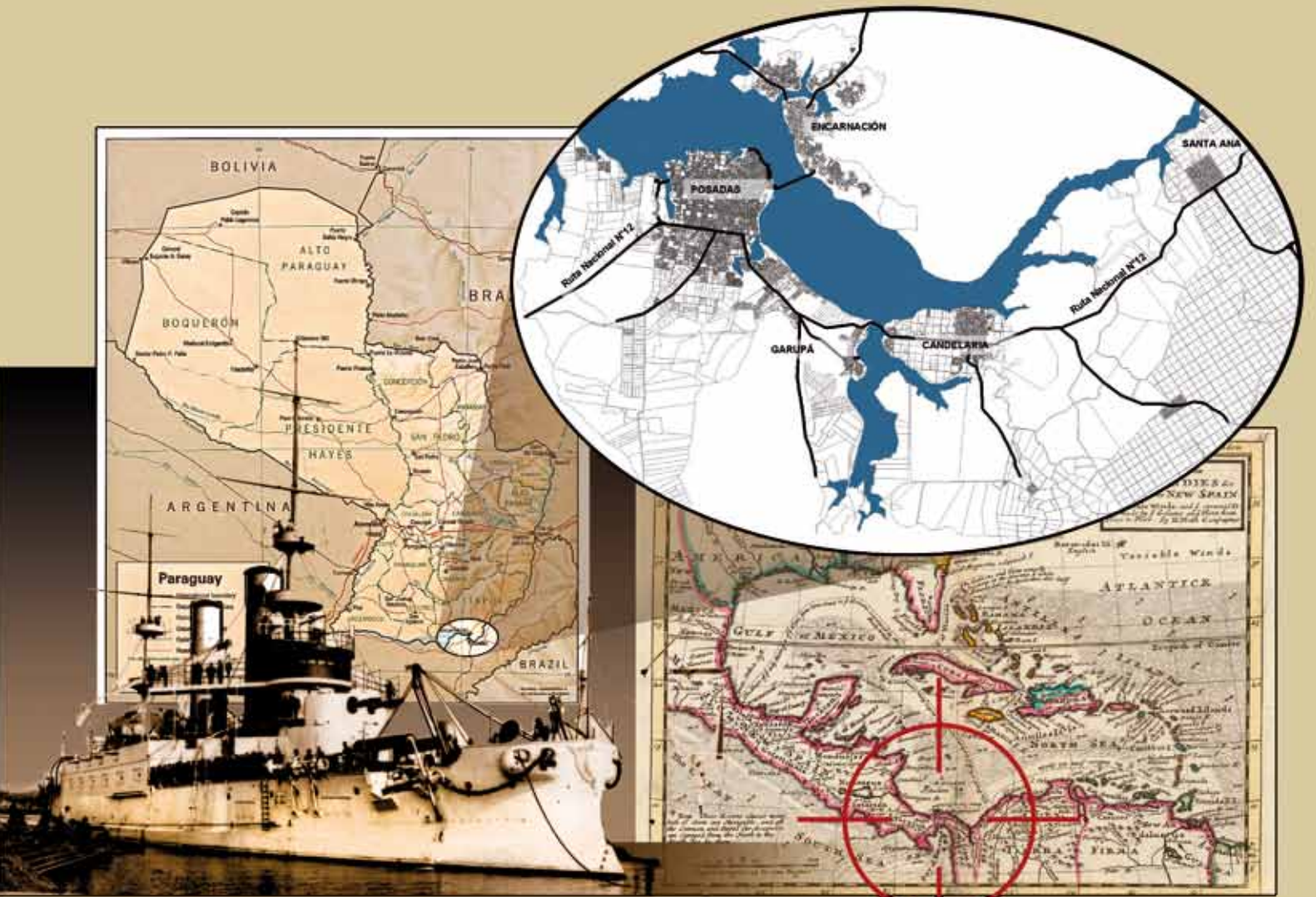
In the face of a threatening force of 20 naval units and 2,500 men, the Paraguayan government had to sign a friendship and trade treaty with the United States that gave the US the right to free shipping in the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers.

## 1860

United States troops landed in Panama to “protect the interests” of US citizens during the civil war in the Republic of Nueva Granada, of which Panama was still part, following the insurrection of former President Tomás Cipriano Mosquera against constitutional President Mariano Ospina Rodríguez.

## 1865

US marines land in Panama under the pretext of protecting properties and



lives of US citizens living in that territory, during the conflict between liberals and conservatives that shook the political foundations of the so-called (since 1863) United States of Colombia.

## 1867

US forces attempted to seize the Honduran island of Tigre, on the Atlantic coast. In the same manner, they occupied the Nicaraguan capital and the city of León, with the pretext of “protecting US interests” during one of the many political conflicts between liberals and conservatives that upset Nicaragua’s political life.

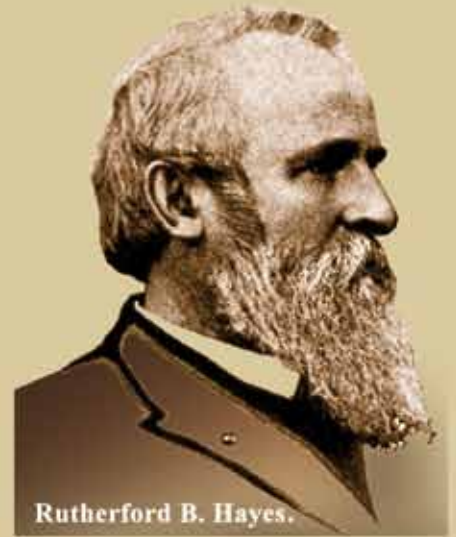
## 1868

US military forces occupied once more the territory of Panama “to protect passengers and goods” travelling by railroad, because of the power vacuum generated during the government of Colombian President Santos Gutiérrez (1868-1870).

US marines landed once again in Montevideo, Uruguay with the pretext of “protecting foreign residents and Customs” during the revolt against the government in office.

## 1870

The Paraguayan territory was dismembered by Brazil and Argentina, a fact that allowed the United States, with Great Britain's consent, to obtain the "rights" to free shipping in the Paraná and Paraguay rivers which they had been attempting to secure for some years.



US warships assisted Dominican dictator Buenaventura Báez in defeating the military expedition headed by Gen. Gregorio Luperón, one of the leaders of the War for the Restoration of Independence against Spanish domination (1863-1865), and one of the promoters of a Confederation of the Antilles that would include reunification with Haiti, and the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico, a plan opposed to US interests.

The next year, President Ulysses Grant asked the US Senate for the annexation of the Dominican Republic, previously agreed with Báez, which Congress rejected. "Nevertheless, with the aid of the White House, the Samana Bay Company was created with the purpose of guaranteeing US control of that strategic Dominican bay—for a price of \$150,000 dollars a year."

Luis Suárez Salazar.

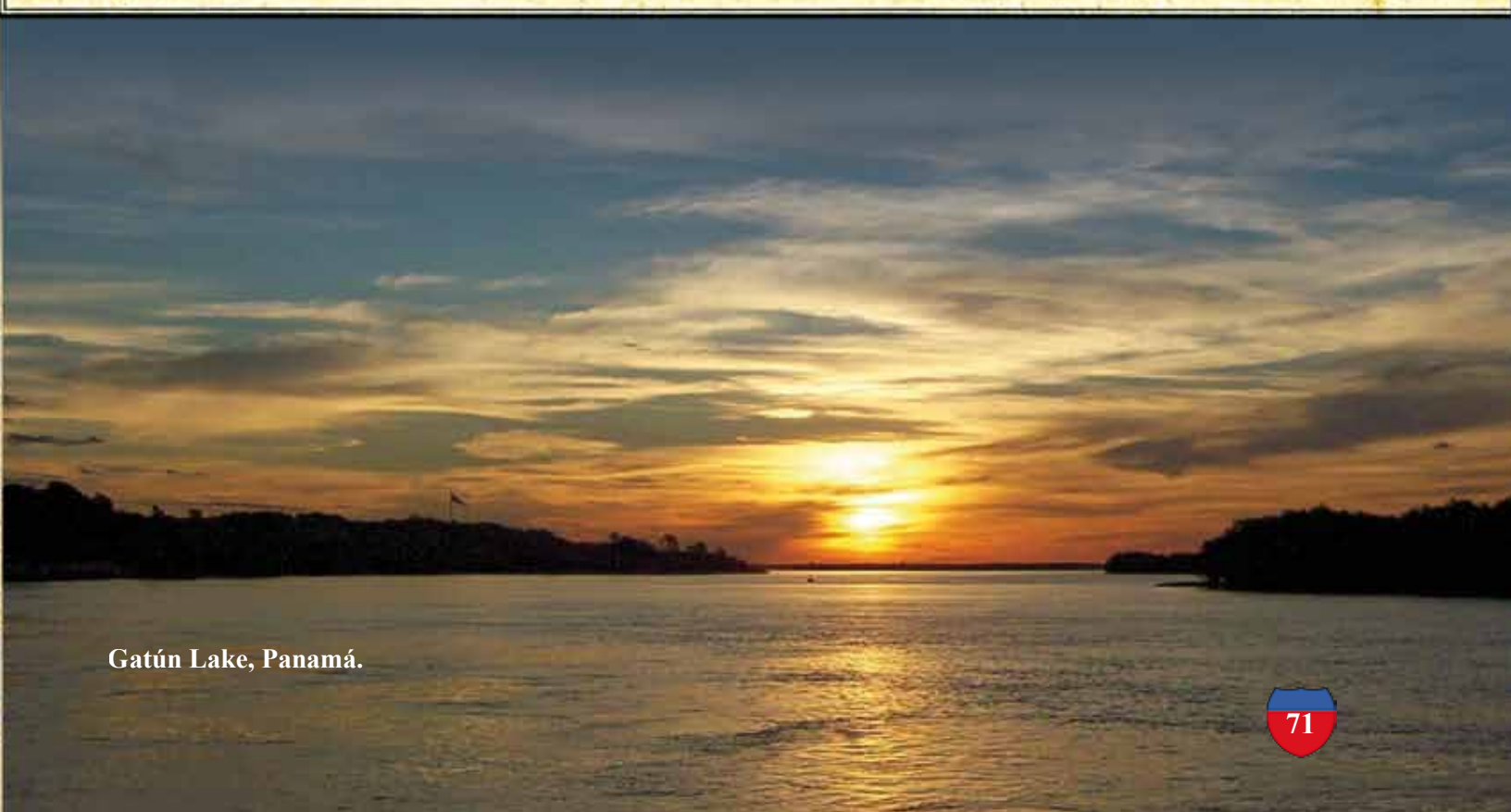
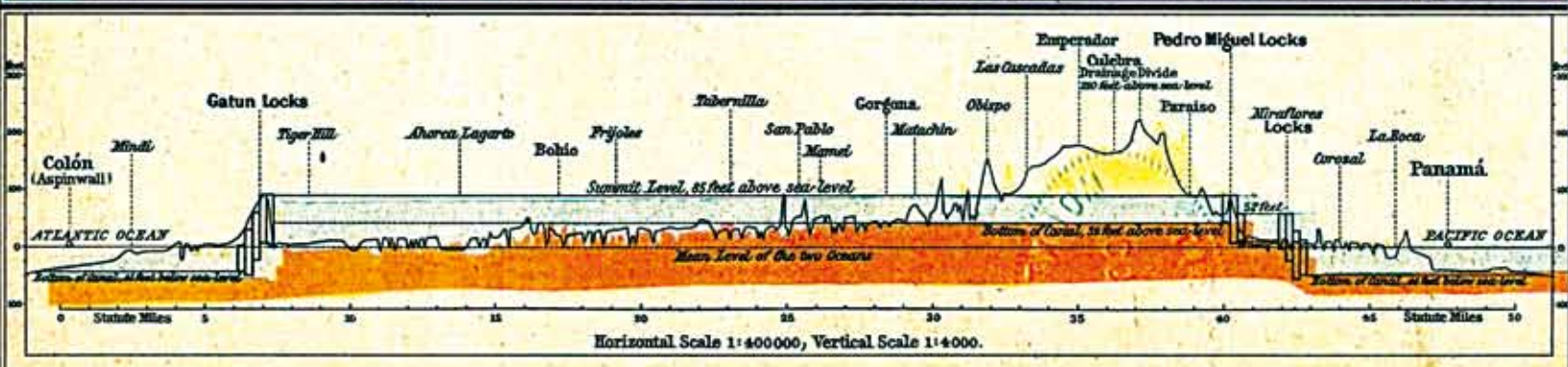
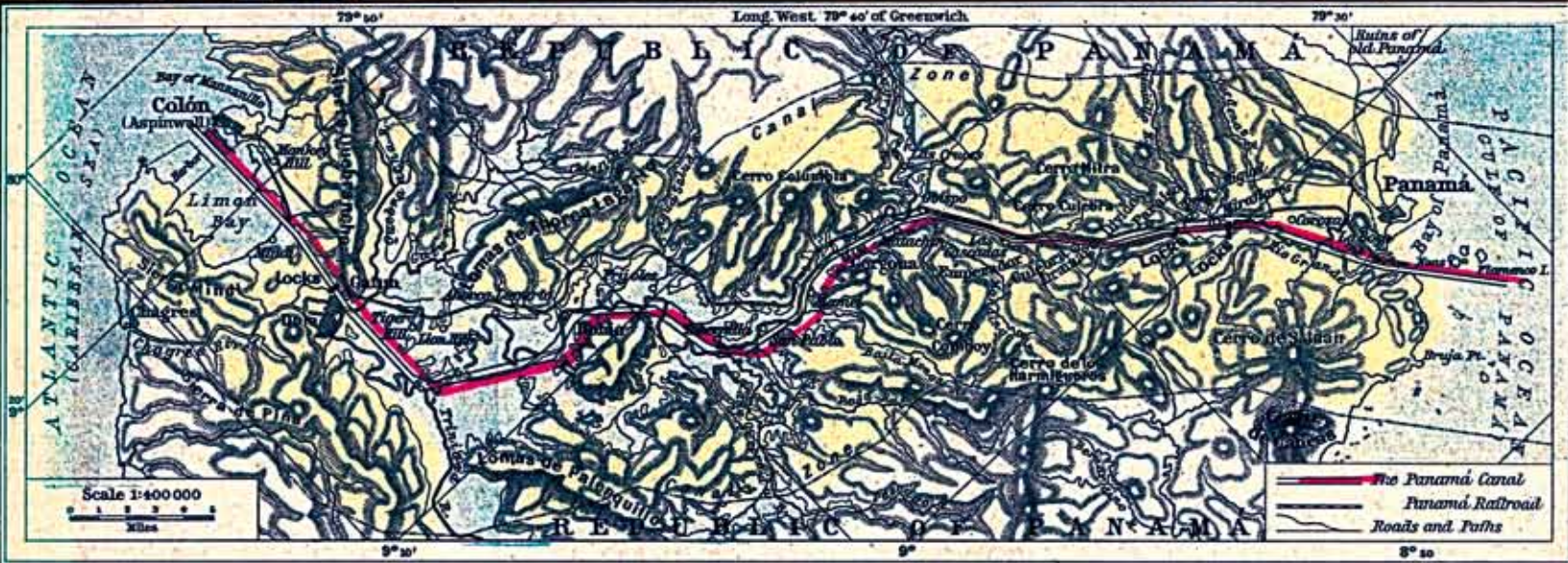
## 1871

The US Navy continued to make a show of force against the Haitian government with the purpose of benefitting US businessmen and obtain a territory to establish a base in the Molé de Saint-Nicholas Bay, and the control of the Windward Passage.

## 1873

US marines landed twice in Panama to "protect US interests" during internal strife.





Gatún Lake, Panamá.



## 1880

On learning of the intention by a French company to build the Panama Canal, US President Rutherford B. Hayes proclaimed the so-called “Hayes Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine”, according to which the United States could not allow the control of the canal by “any European state or a combination of European powers,” since it believed that the interoceanic waterway was “part of the coastline of the United States.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

## 1885

In the midst of recurrent internal unrest, US troops occupied for three months the cities of Colón and Panama, under the pretext of “guaranteeing free transit of people and goods through the railroad of the isthmus.”

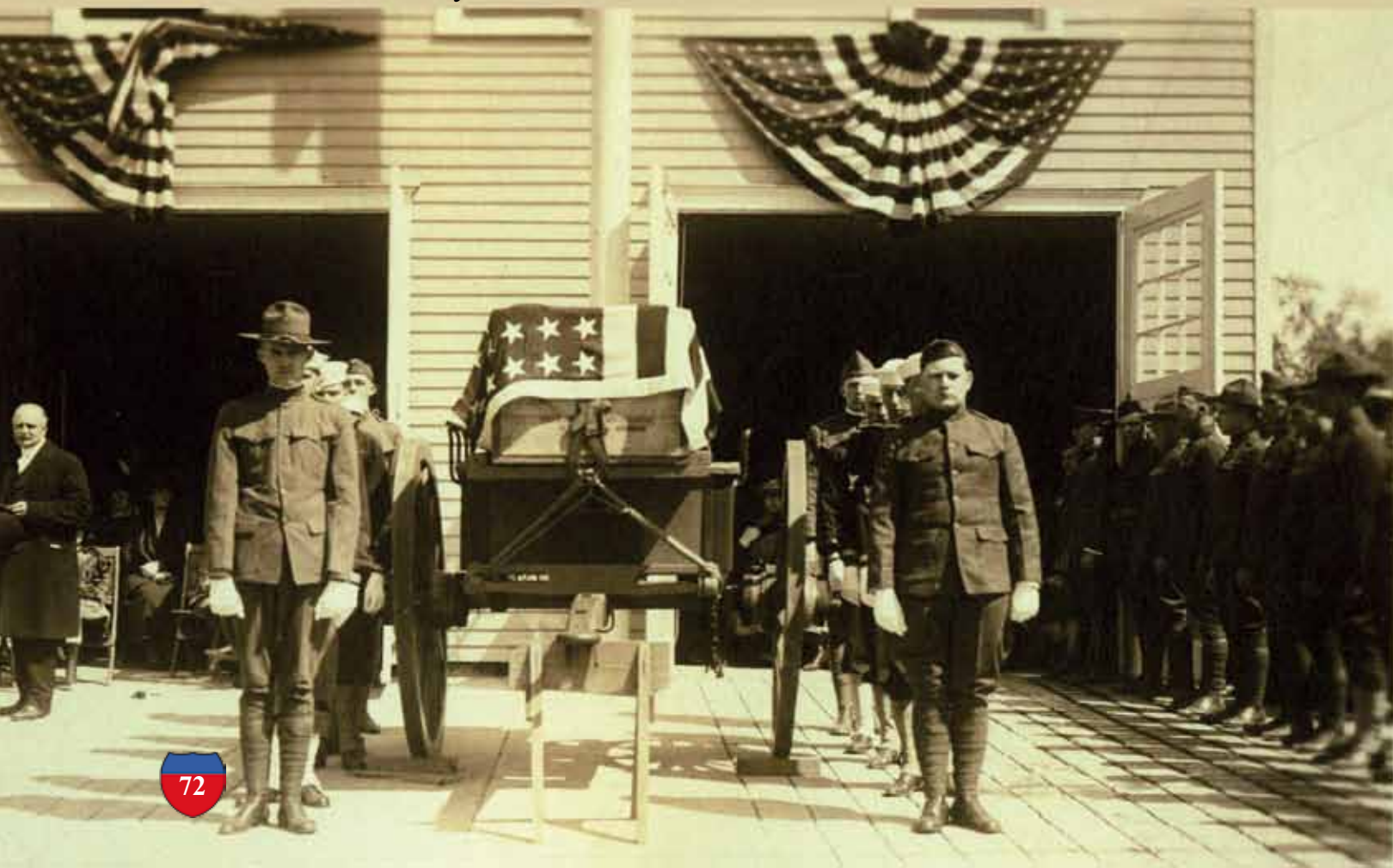
Luis Suárez Salazar.

## 1888

US Navy warships blockaded the coasts of Haiti. In the second half of the 19th century, the United States carried out some twenty interventionist actions against successive governments of this small and impoverished island.

## 1890

US marines once again landed in Buenos Aires under the pretext of protecting “the US Consulate and Embassy” in the midst of local conflicts.



## 1890

The First International Conference of American States was held in Washington, which created the International Union of American States (later rechristened as Pan American Union). The Executive Office (under the name of Commercial Office of the American Republics) was based in Washington under the tutelage of the State Department

“There never was in the Americas, since its independence to the present, a matter that requires more good sense or that binds to more watchfulness, or demands a more clear and thorough examination, that the invitation that the United States, potent, packed with unsellable products and determined to extend its domain in the Americas, makes to the less powerful American nations. (...) From the tyranny of Spain, Hispanic America knew how to save itself, and now, after seeing with judicial eyes the background, causes and factors of the invite, it is urgent to say, because it is the truth, that for Hispanic America has arrived the hour to declare its second independence.”

José Martí.



## 1891

US marines landed in the Port of Valparaíso, Chile, to “protect the American Consulate, and the women and children” that had sought asylum at that facility after the violent overthrow of President José Manuel Balmaceda.

Under the pretext of “protecting the life and properties of US citizens on Navasa Island,” US Navy ships blockaded once again Haiti in order to force the local government to allow the installation of a naval base in Molé de Saint-Nicholas Bay.

## 1894

“As part of its repeated intervention in the internal conflicts between monarchist and republican factions in Brazil after the institutionalization of the so-called Velha Republica (1891), US marines landed on Rio de Janeiro under the pretext of preventing the arrival of weapons from Germany and “protecting US trade and ships” at that port.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

US troops occupied the port of Bluefields, Nicaragua, under the well-tried pretext of “defending American interests” during the insurrection of the Conservative Party against Liberal President José Santos Zelaya (1893-1909).

## 1895

Once again US forces landed in Panama, now claiming to “defend US interests during an attack of bandits to the Panamanian city of Bocas del Toro.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

## 1896

The US Navy occupied the city of Corinto, Nicaragua, under the pretext of protecting “US interests” during the political unrest that continued to affect that country.

## 1898

US troops landed in Nicaragua claiming “to protect US lives and interests in (the province of) San Juan del Sur.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

## 1899

US marines landed once again at the ports of Bluefields and San Juan del Norte, Nicaragua, with the purpose of imposing a treaty on President Santos Zelaya designed to guarantee alleged “US rights” in the eventual construction of an interoceanic canal in Nicaraguan territory.







# ATTEMPTS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF CUBA

**“What the imperialists did not attain in 200 years will not be attained now; that is, to take possession of Cuba; what they were not able to do when Martí died in Dos Ríos, after writing that everything he had done and would do was to prevent, with the independence of Cuba, that the United States spread with additional strength over the peoples of America —and that happened almost one hundred years ago—, the imperialists will not attain it now, because we will not allow it.”**

Fidel Castro Ruz: Speech at the 6th Forum on Spare Parts, Equipment and Advanced Technologies.  
Palace of Conventions, December 16, 1991.



## 1805

Conflicts between Spain and the US due to Louisiana's illegal sale to the United States by Napoleon made US President Thomas Jefferson threaten Spain with a declaration of war if the Spaniards continued to block US trade with Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, and attempted to claim any right over regions that the United States had "legally" purchased.

On this occasion Jefferson notified the British Minister (Ambassador) that in case of war with Spain, the United States would occupy Cuba for "strategic" reasons related with the defense of US territory.

## 1809

President Jefferson suggested to his successor President James Madison that he should attempt to obtain from Napoleon—that at the time had invaded Spain—the island of Cuba and Florida, in exchange for maintaining US cooperation on the blockade against Haiti, and neutrality in relation to the opposition to France in occupied Spain and in Spanish colonies in America.

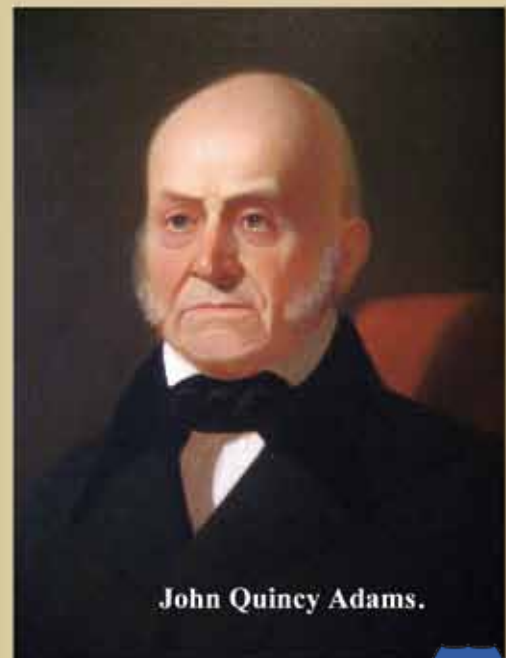
## 1822

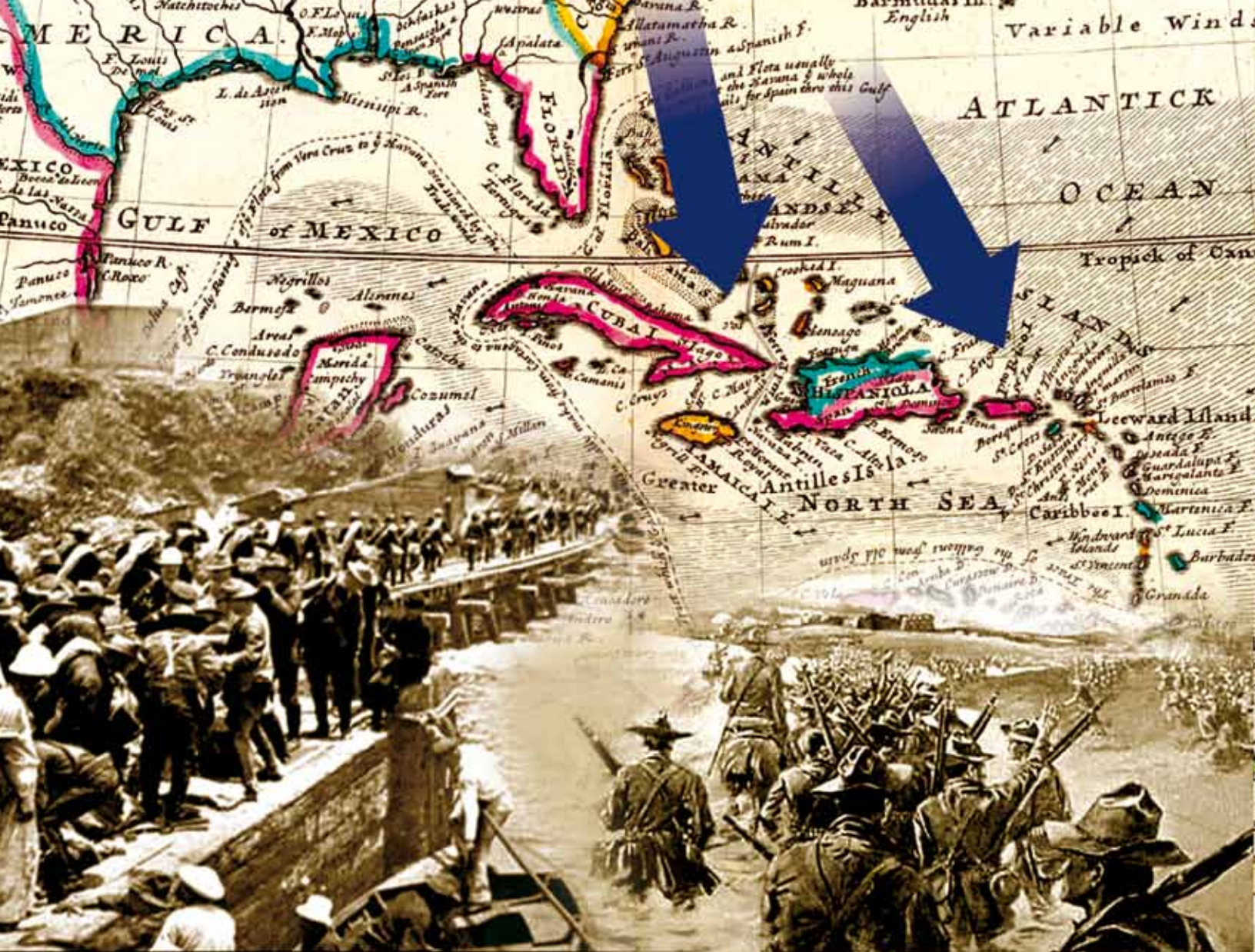
Since 1822, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams promoted a treaty with England and France designed to avoid the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Until they were in US hands, it was convenient that they remained under Spain's weak rule.

## 1823

During consultations before the public announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, former President Thomas Jefferson reiterated: "I confess, in all sincerity, that I have always considered Cuba as the most interesting addition that could be made to our state system. The control that together with Florida that island would give us on the Gulf of Mexico and the countries of the adjoining isthmus (Central America), as well as (over) the lands whose waters flow into the Gulf, would completely guarantee our continental security."

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams pointed out that due to its geographic position Cuba and Puerto Rico were "natural appendixes" of the United States. According to the so-called "ripe fruit" theory, US rulers began to act on the certainty that alleged "force of political gravity" would cause Cuba to fall in their hands.





**1824**

US military forces landed on Cuba and Puerto Rico under the pretext of destroying alleged “pirate bases”, thus asserting US claims about the importance of those two islands for US security and ignoring the Spanish authorities on several occasions from that moment on.

**1851**

US President Millard Fillmore, as his predecessor Zachary Taylor had done before him, took a stand against those who intended to free Cuba from Spanish rule, including those who wanted to annex it to the US, because of its incidence in the correlation of forces between pro-slavery and anti-slavery states

The US government did not make any claim due to the execution by Spanish authorities of the survivors (mostly US citizens) of the military expedition led by Gen. Narciso López, a Venezuelan-born annexationist, and Col. William Crittenden.

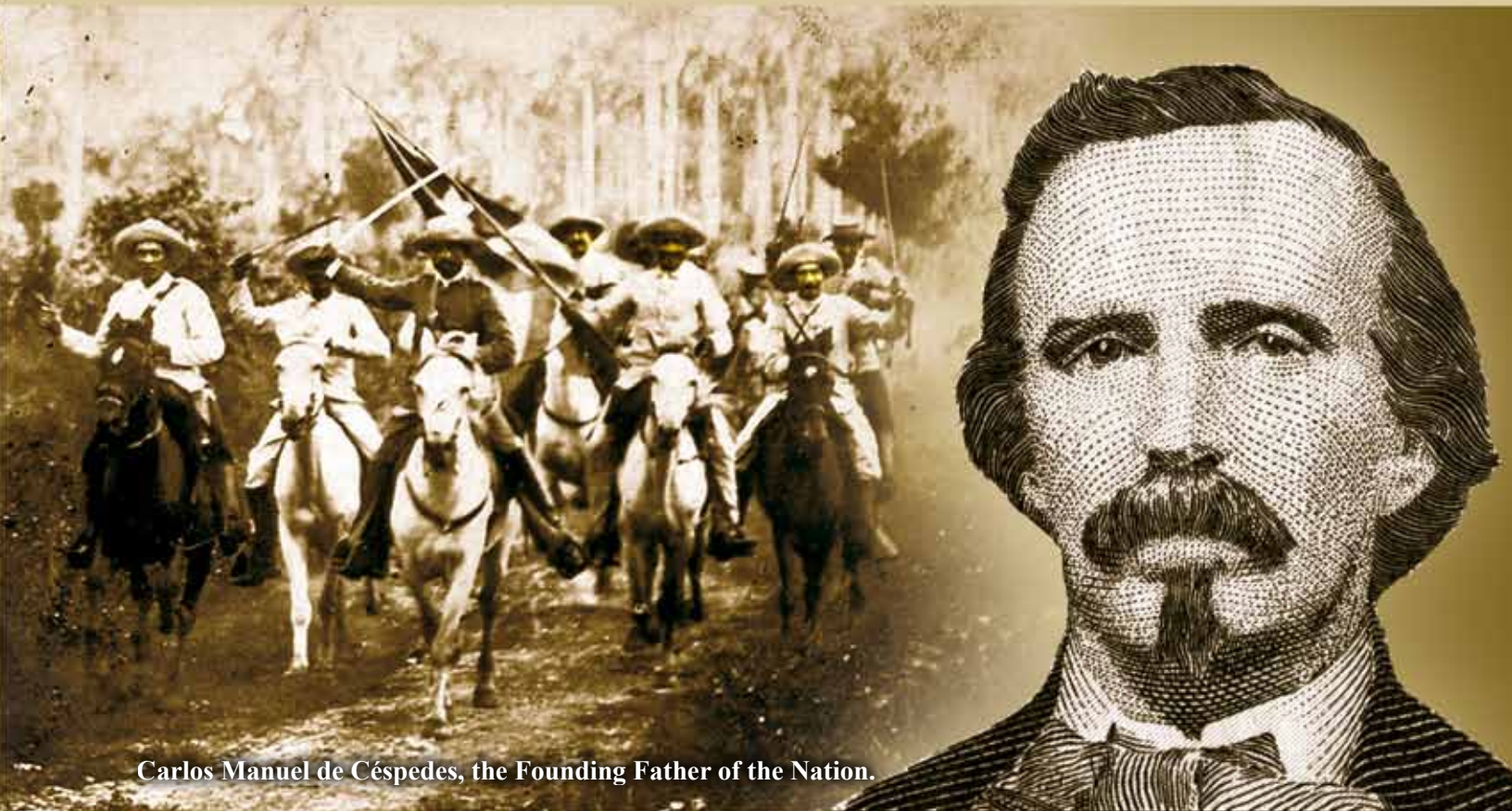


**Narciso López Uriola**



## 1868

The 10-Year War for Cuban Independence, led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, began on October 10 at La Demajagua, a sugar mill in Eastern Cuba.



**Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, the Founding Father of the Nation.**



**1869**

In a unilateral manner, US President Ulysses Grant placed himself as “mediator” between Spain and the newly created government of the Republic of Cuba in Arms. Grant offered several million dollars to Spain in exchange for the recognition of the island’s independence. Subsequently, a “Cuban government” would be installed and said government would guarantee with its customs revenues the payment of its “independence debt”. At the same time, Puerto Rico would become a protectorate of the United States.



After the plan failed, the White House did not recognize the belligerence of the Cuban patriots. Instead, in the following years the US adopted a “neutral” position, totally in favor of the bloody policy of counterinsurgency displayed by the Spanish monarchy to confront the Cuban Liberation Army.

## **LONG LIVE FREE CUBA**

**1895**

The White House seized the arms and ammunitions obtained by the Cuban Revolutionary Party for the development of the La Fernandina Plan, with the objective of achieving the independence of Cuba and promoting that of Puerto Rico.

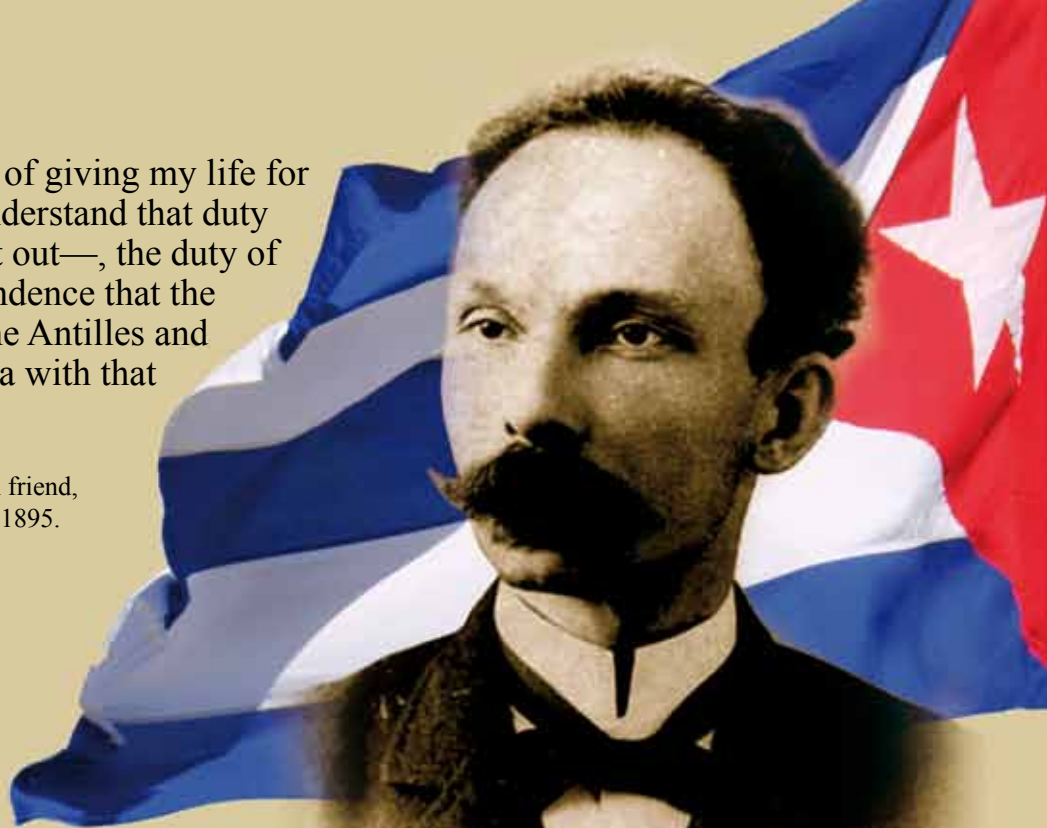
The US government was not able to prevent the resumption by the Cuban people of the War of Independence on February 24; US authorities once again adopted its “policy of neutrality” totally favorable to Spain.



**Presidential seal**

“(…) I am now in daily danger of giving my life for my country and duty —for I understand that duty and have the courage to carry it out—, the duty of preventing with Cuba’s independence that the United States spread through the Antilles and overpower our lands of America with that additional strength (…)”

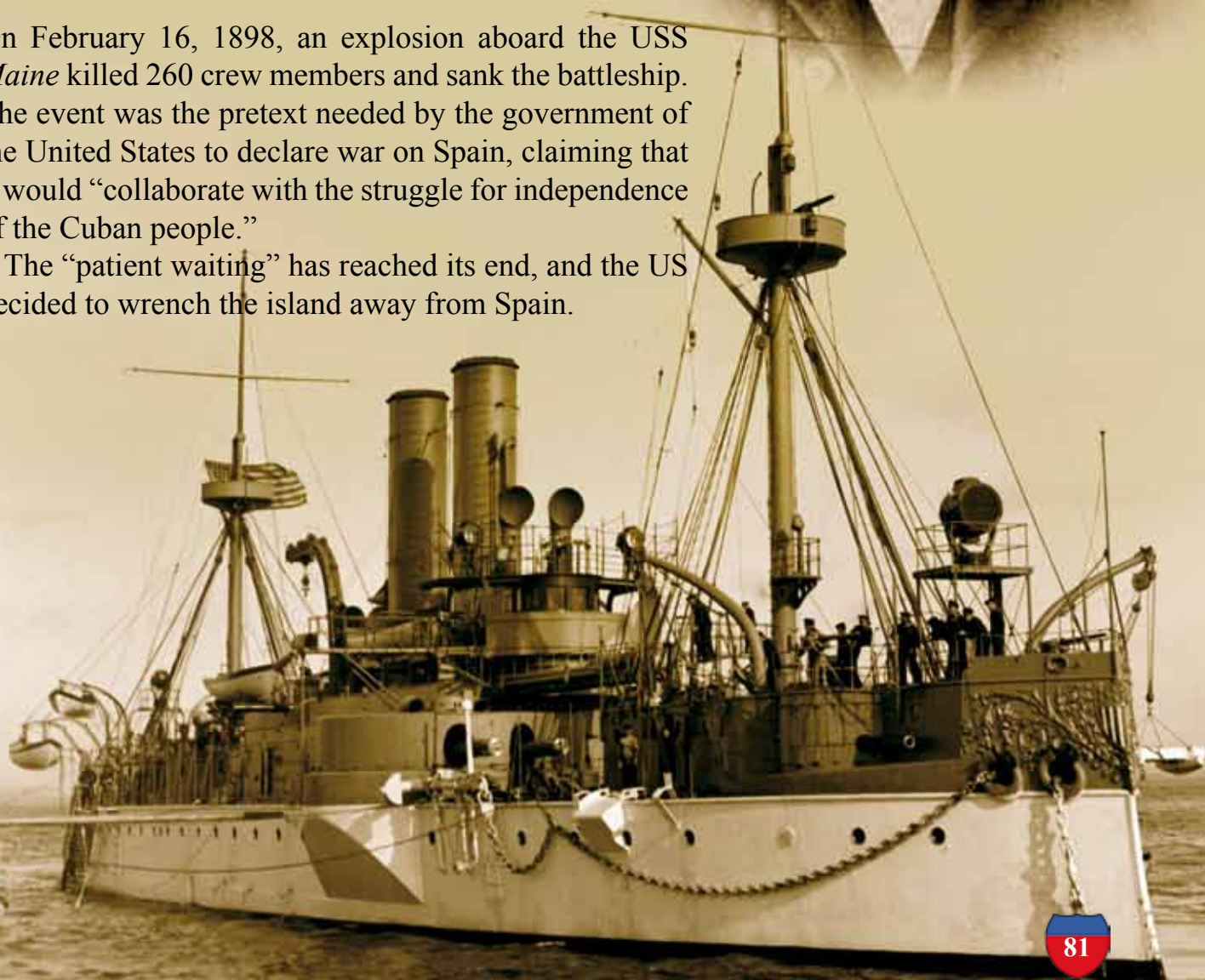
José Martí, Unfinished letter to his Mexican friend, Manuel Mercado, Dos Ríos camp, May 18, 1895.



## THE SINKING OF THE USS *MAINE*

On February 16, 1898, an explosion aboard the USS *Maine* killed 260 crew members and sank the battleship. The event was the pretext needed by the government of the United States to declare war on Spain, claiming that it would “collaborate with the struggle for independence of the Cuban people.”

The “patient waiting” has reached its end, and the US decided to wrench the island away from Spain.





Recruiting Office registering volunteers for the war with Spain.

863,956 The World 863,956  
 WORLDS CIRCULATED YESTERDAY  
 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1898  
**MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO**  
 Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt--The World Has Sent Special Tug, With Submarine Divers, to Havana to Find Out--Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry--260 Men Dead.  
 IN A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE CAPTAIN SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN ENEMY.  
 Dr. E. C. Pendleton, Just Arrived from Havana, Overheard Talk, There of a Plot to Blow Up the Ship--Zolinski, the Dynamite Expert, Reports to The World that the Wreck Was Not Accidental--Warning of Spanish Responsibility--Action if Spanish Responsibility Can Be Proven--Make Careful Examinations.



**1898**

On the morning of June 22, 1898, the 5th Corps, US Army, landed on a rustic wooden pier at Daiquirí Beach, south of Santiago de Cuba. The subsequent occupation would last four years.

“Due to the magnitude and transcendence of the intervention, it would mark in the historical sense the coming out of the United States as a great imperialist power.”

Gustavo Placer Cervera



Major General William R. Shafter.

**THE UNITED STATES PREVENTED THE CUBAN LIBERATION ARMY FROM ENTERING SANTIAGO DE CUBA**

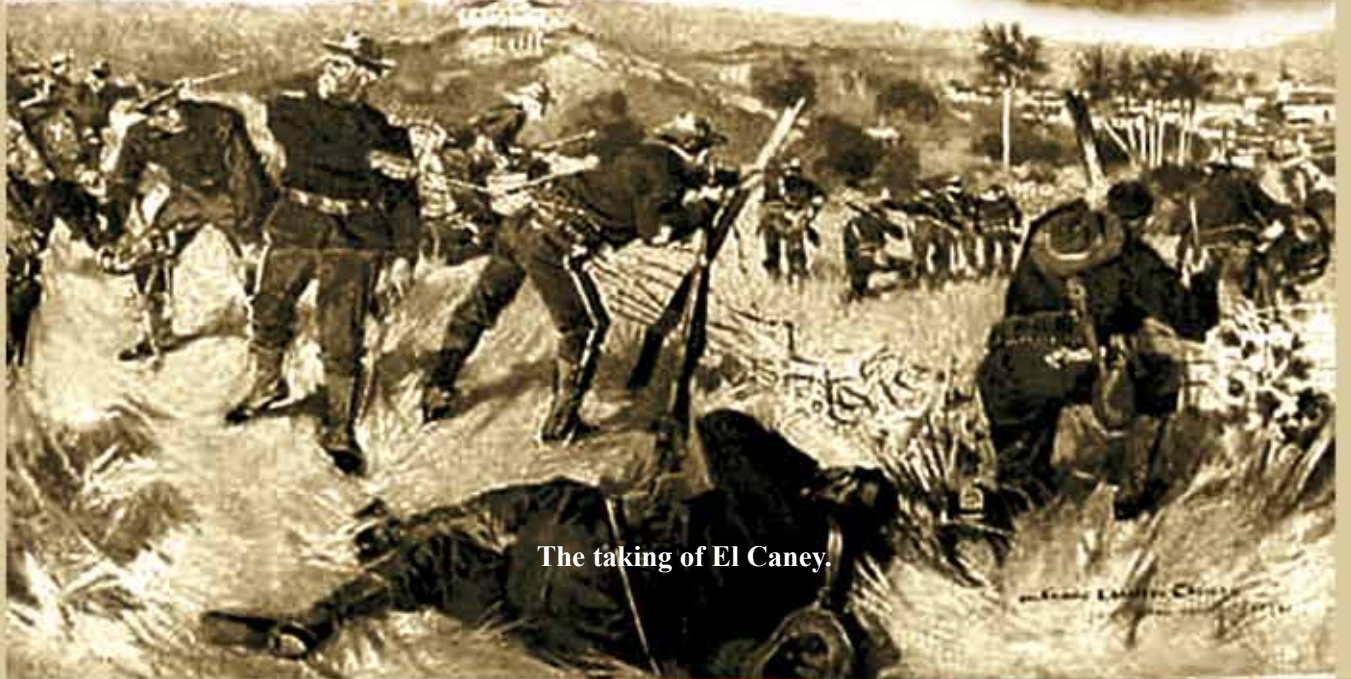
In spite of the Cuban liberation fighters' contribution to that war, US armed forces prevented the entrance to Santiago de Cuba of Gen. Calixto García Íñiguez and his men. At the time, Gen. García was the second in command of the Cuban Liberating Army.





Castillo / Shafter / Wheeler / Kent / Miles / García.

Brigadier General Ludlow and Calixto García.



The taking of El Caney.



The "rough riders"

Teodoro, *Teddy*, Roosevelt.



Admiral Pasquale de Cervera y Topete.



**“(…) when the power of Spain was practically spent, the government of the United States, motivated only by imperialist cravings, participated in the war, after 30 years of struggle on the part of the Cubans. With the help of Cuban liberty fighters, US troops land, take the city of Santiago de Cuba, sink Admiral Cervera’s fleet —more a collection of ships worthy of a museum than a real fleet— sent out due to pure and traditional Quixotism to be shelled by US battleships until they sank, like shooting fish in barrel, in front of Santiago de Cuba (…)”.**

**Fidel Castro Ruz, Speech at the commemoration of One Hundred Years of Struggle, La Demajagua National Monument, October 10, 1968**

## 1899

On Sunday, January 1, 1899, nearly four hundred years of Spanish colonization were over and US military occupation began officially in Cuba, under the command of Gen. John R. Brooke.

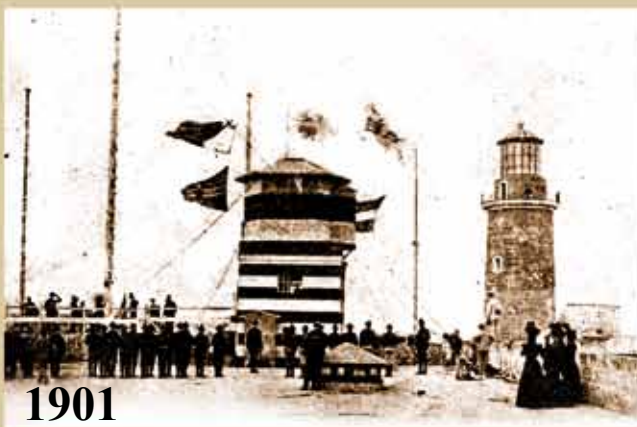
With fallacious arguments —creation of mechanisms that allegedly would allow consecrating Cuban sovereignty and independence— the US Army remained in Cuba; they also occupied Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam on the Pacific Ocean as “booty” or “compensation” for the expenses of the war with Spain. Add to it the annexation of Hawaii (1898) and the formalization of its “shared protectorate” with Germany over the islands of Samoa.

“Since then, in order to fulfill the dreams of the Founding Fathers, the United States became ‘a true world power’ and the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

“(…) with the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico by the Spanish monarchy (…) began the era of neocolonialism for most of the continent. The fundamental advance of decolonization in the Caribbean insular region, a process still inconclusive, was pending until the mid-1950s. And above all, a new emancipating panorama began, defined in a proper manner by José Martí (…) who proclaimed the need for a second independence.”

Historic and Political Platform for Thinking, Debating and Doing on the Bicentennial of the First Independence in Latin American and the Caribbean. Chair of the Bicentennial



On 1901, the US imposed the Platt Amendment. Cuba changed masters, from Spain to the United States.



# THE EMPIRE IS CONSOLIDATED

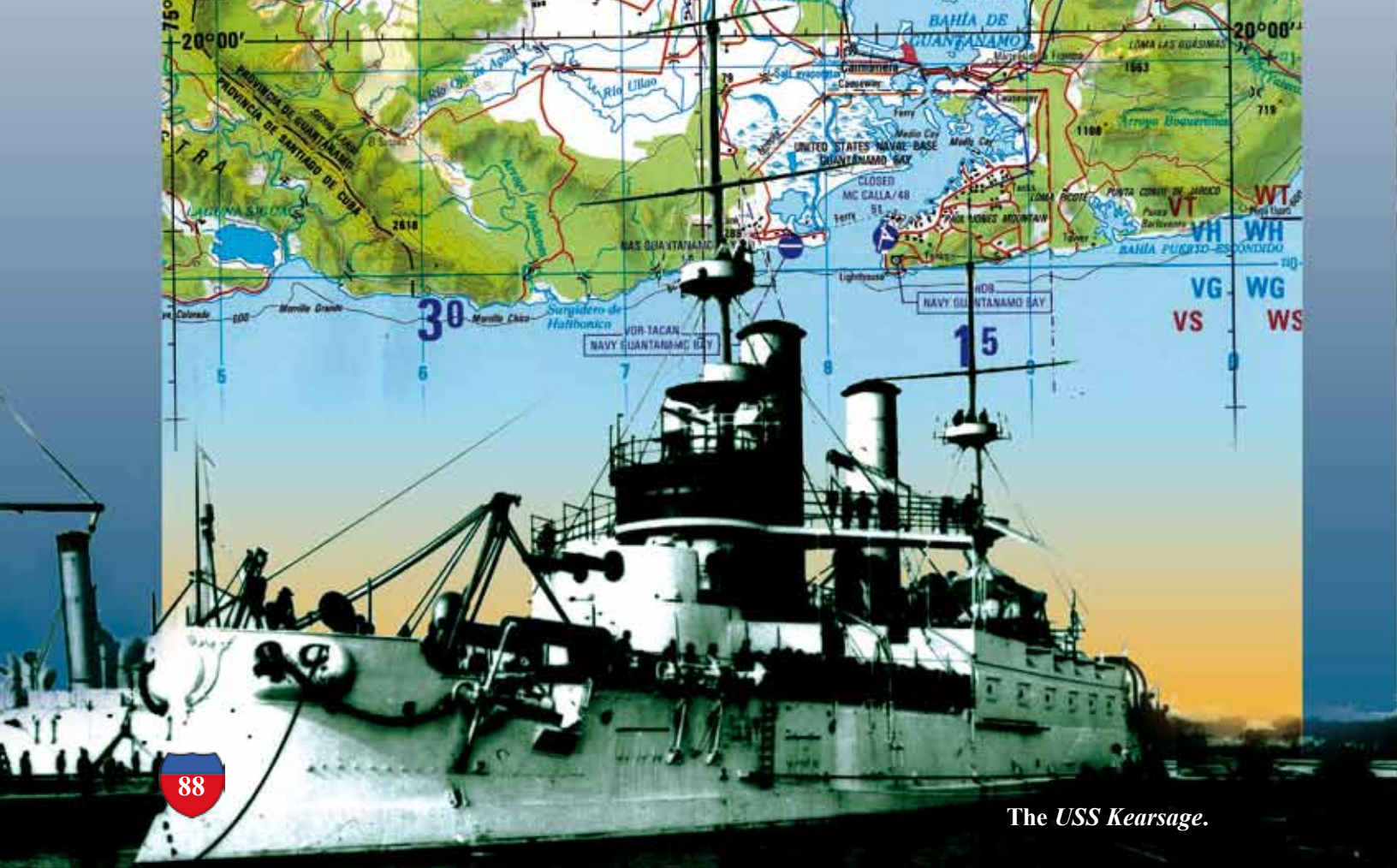
1901~1958







# THE US NAVAL BASE AT GUANTÁNAMO, AN INSULT TO THE CUBAN NATION



## 1903

At noon on December 10, after a 21-gun salute by the USS Kearsage, anchored in Guantánamo Bay, the Cuban flag was lowered and the US flag was raised on land, at a point called Playa del Este. Thus began in Cuban history the shameful and illegal occupation of a part of its territory.

The seizing from Cuba by the US government of a portion of land and sea in the area of Guantánamo Bay and the installation of a naval base had at the time a strategic sense, due to the island's geographic position.

The characteristics of the bay (5.2 km long, 20 meters deep, 20 inner keys, 5 piers and a docking capacity of 42 ships) lent it great value for US military dominion in the Caribbean, Central and South America. Cuba was a critical point for the control of the inter-oceanic canal that would be built in Panama, the rights of which had been obtained by the US on that same 1903.

The agreements for the usurpation of that area in Guantánamo Bay were signed in Havana on February 16, 1903, and in Washington on February 23rd. Subsequently, on July 2, a leasing agreement was signed.



Paragraphs 3 and 7 of the ignominious Platt Amendment, approved by the US Congress and annexed to the 1901 Cuban Constitution, would serve as “legal framework” for a possible US military intervention in Cuba, and the subsequent allocation “for as long as (the US) would need it” of portions of land and water at the bays of Guantánamo and Bahía Honda for the installation of coal or naval bases.

Paragraph 7 stipulated that “In order to create conditions for guaranteeing Cuban independence and protecting its people by the United States, as well as for US defense”, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States the necessary land for coal or naval stations en certain points that will be agreed upon with the President of the United States.”

Hortensia Pichardo Viñals.

The agreement on the land at Bahía Honda was terminated on December 12, 1912 in order to extend the area leased in Guantánamo. Years later, as a result of popular protests against US intervention and changes in the international status quo, the Platt Amendment was terminated with the signing of the 1934 Treaty of Relations. But the naval base at Guantánamo remained.

“The leasing contract in perpetuity for the land and territorial sea that were part of the Guantánamo Naval Base does not have a legal existence and judicial validity; it is vitiated in its key elements: a) the radical incapacity of the government of Cuba to cede a portion of the national territory in perpetuity; for the same reason, the object and the cause are illicit; c) the consent was obtained through irresistible and unfair moral violence. (...) An unconstitutional treaty void of juridical efficiency does not confer rights, does not impose obligations, does not provide protection, lacks inexorable enforceability; from the legal point of view, it is as inoperable as if it never had been approved (...)

Fernando Álvarez Tabío.

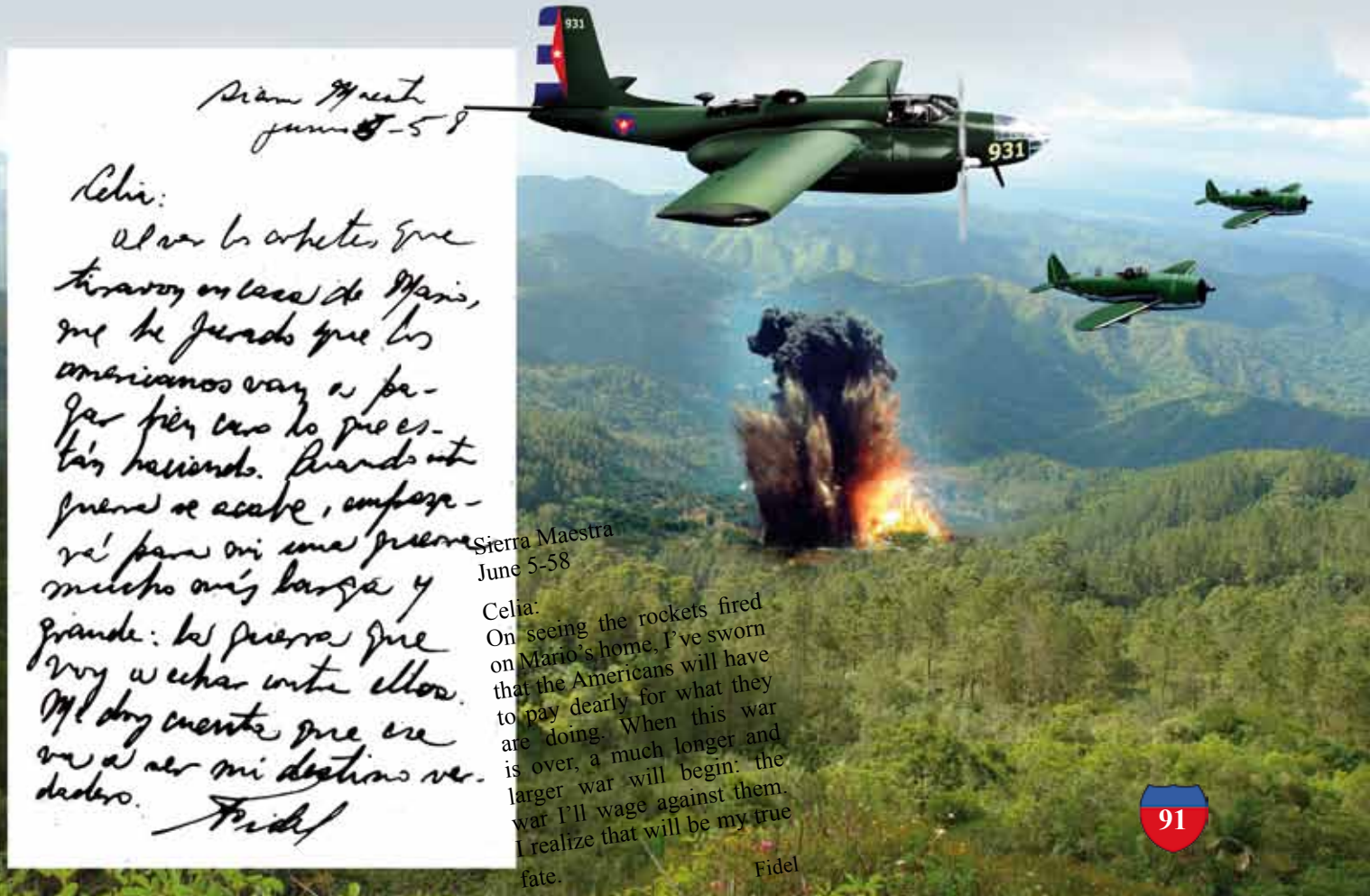




The troops displayed at the US facility were used more often than not as instruments of internal repression by the government of the moment. In 1912, Yankee soldiers at the base intervened on Cuban territory due to the uprising of the so-called Independent Colored Party. Five years later, on the occasion of the uprising of the Liberal Party, several units from the 7th Regiment, US Marine Corps were deployed outside the base under the pretext of protecting the base's water supply on Cuban territory.

The Guantánamo facility allowed the use of military force during the Yankee invasion to Haiti in 1915 and the Dominican Republic in 1918.

During the insurrection against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, the tyranny's Air Force was refueled and resupplied with ammunition at the base. From there, the airplanes took off to bomb indiscriminately the territories liberated by the Rebel Army at the Sierra Maestra Mountain Range, causing the death of innocent civilians.



Sierra Maestra  
junio 5-58

Celia:  
 al ver los aviones que  
 tiraron en casa de Mario,  
 me he jurado que los  
 americanos van a pa-  
 gar bien caro lo que es-  
 tán haciendo. Cuando esta  
 guerra se acabe, compa-  
 ñerá para mí una guerra  
 mucho más larga y  
 grande: la guerra que  
 voy a echar contra ellos.  
 Mi día cuenta que era  
 un día en mi destino ve-  
 dadero.  
 Fidel

Sierra Maestra  
June 5-58

Celia:  
 On seeing the rockets fired  
 on Mario's home, I've sworn  
 that the Americans will have  
 to pay dearly for what they  
 are doing. When this war  
 is over, a much longer and  
 larger war will begin: the  
 war I'll wage against them.  
 I realize that will be my true  
 fate.  
 Fidel

1959

## THE BASE AT GUANTÁNAMO AS A SOURCE OF PROVOCATIONS AND AGGRESSIONS AGAINST THE CUBAN REVOLUCIONT

“Not a single day goes by that we are not reminded of having a dagger to the side of the nation, a few kilometers to the south of where we are now. We also do not lose hope of removing that dagger in a peaceful, civilized manner, and enforcing the principles of international law.”

Raúl Castro Ruz: Speech at the commemorative of the proclamation of the Socialist character of the Revolution and Militiaman Day, Mariana Grajales Revolution Square, Guantánamo, April 16, 1994.

Since the triumph of the Revolution in 1959, the base has been a source of provocation and aggressions, both from soldiers at the facility and from counterrevolutionaries that found safe haven there after perpetrating crimes and other misdeeds.

The aggressions from the base have been several violations of Cuban territorial waters and of Cuban land by US military vessels and airships; shots fired from handguns and automatic weapons from US sentries, as well as other provocations, including foul language, and throwing stones and other objects.

The naval base has been an important redoubt for Cuban counterrevolutionaries and agents from abroad sent by the CIA who used neighboring areas as seats for bandits and for stockpiling weapons smuggled in from the United States.



# CUBAN SOLDIER WOUNDED BY SHOTS FIRED FROM THE YANKEE NAVAL BASE

*An American soldier on guard duty discharged his rifle nine times*

• Siendo las once p.m., del día 9 de junio, una de las postas yanquis abrió fuego con su fusil de campaña contra una de las postas cubanas que guardan la frontera en la base naval de Guantánamo, alcanzando con uno de los siete disparos que efectuó al soldado José Ramírez Reyes, de 25 años de edad, hiriéndolo de carácter grave en la pierna izquierda. El hecho se produjo a dos kilómetros al sur de la entrada principal de la base por el límite Este de la misma. El soldado herido fue ingresado en el Hospital Civil de Guantánamo donde está siendo atendido. La posta yanqui, después de herir a nuestro soldado, realizó todavía dos nuevos disparos de fusil. José Ramírez Reyes reside en calle Pri-



Heido en la pierna izquierda. Ramírez tuvo dificultad para alfrontar una provocación semejante.



El soldado del Ejército Rebelde, compañero José Ramírez Reyes, narra en su cama del hospital civil de Guantánamo la forma en que se produjo la cobarde agresión yanqui.

**REVOLUCION**

La Habana, junio 11, jueves, 1964  
Año VIII No. 257a  
5 CENTAVOS



**REVOLUCION**  
La Habana, junio 11, jueves, 1964  
Año VIII No. 265  
5 CENTAVOS

**ANOTHER CUBAN SOLDIER IS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED NEAR THE BASE**

• A las 11 y 12 horas de hoy 25.6, la posta norteamericana en un punto a 5 km. al Sur de la entrada principal por el límite Este de la Base Naval de Guantánamo abrió fuego con su fusil de campaña contra una de las postas cubanas que guardan la frontera en la base naval de Guantánamo, alcanzando con uno de los siete disparos que efectuó al soldado José Ramírez Reyes, de 25 años de edad, hiriéndolo de carácter grave en la pierna izquierda. El hecho se produjo a dos kilómetros al sur de la entrada principal de la base por el límite Este de la misma. El soldado herido fue ingresado en el Hospital Civil de Guantánamo donde está siendo atendido. La posta yanqui, después de herir a nuestro soldado, realizó todavía dos nuevos disparos de fusil. José Ramírez Reyes reside en calle Pri-

Heido en la pierna izquierda. Ramírez tuvo dificultad para alfrontar una provocación semejante.

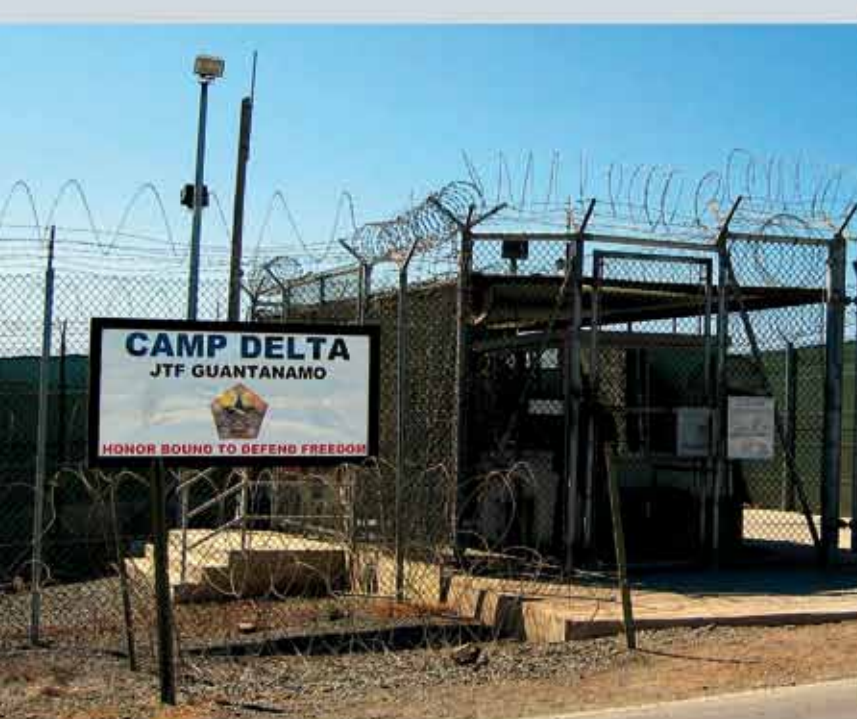




**1994**

**THE BASE AND ITS USE AS A CAMP FOR ILLEGAL EMMIGRANTS AND FOREIGN REFUGEES**

The year 1994 witnessed the migratory crisis caused by the strengthening of the US blockade and the hardships of the special period, the violation of the 1984 Migratory Agreement signed by the Reagan administration, the significant decrease of the agreed upon visas and the encouragement of illegal emigration, including the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act. As a consequence of the crisis, a declaration by President William Clinton on August 19, 1994 turned the base into a huge concentration camp for more than 30,000 Cuban rafters that were trying to reach US soil.



**2001**

**A TRUE “MORAL AND JUDICIAL BLACK HOLE”**

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 served as a pretext to the George W. Bush administration for the launching of a neo-fascist strategy of domination.

The US government decided to use the Guantánamo base as a detention center for prisoners captured in the “war on terrorism.”

On January 11, 2002, a military aircraft landed at Guantánamo with the first 20 prisoners, who traveled with hoods over their heads and lashed to the floor of the plane. They were locked in cages exposed to the elements. The arrival of the prisoners turned a second rate base —manned by scarce military personnel— into the most defended and controversial jail in the world.

To the violation of the human rights of thousands of foreign citizens arbitrarily detained in US territory, a judicial and existential limbo should be added where more than 700 people from 48 countries, including children, have been held. In that territory usurped by the United States against the will of the Cuban people, hundreds of foreign nationals are arbitrarily detained, subject to torture and other forms of humiliations, denied the possibility of communicating with their families or to have adequate defense counsel. The charges against most of the prisoners are still unknown.

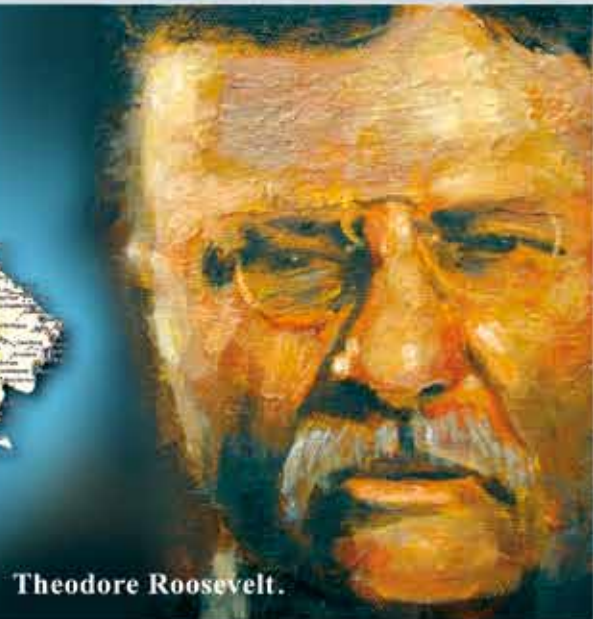
Some former prisoners have told about the horrors of that concentration camp where torture, cruel, degrading and inhuman treatment is common practice.







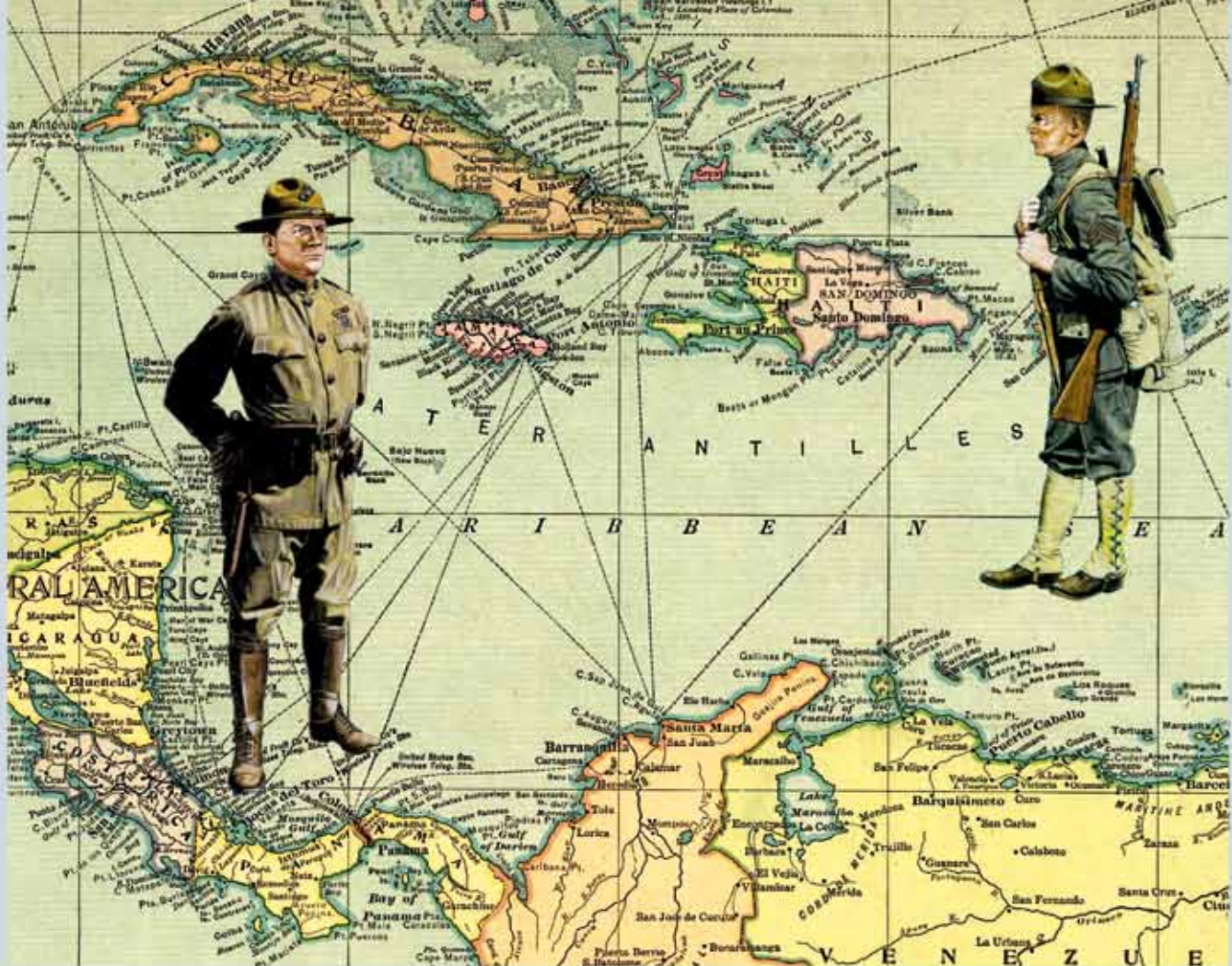
# THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE



**From January 2 to February 11, 1903, US marines landed at Dominican Republic “to protect US interests” in the cities of Puerto Plata, Souza and Santo Domingo, and to put down an armed uprising against the government.**

**“In order to support the weak and submissive government of former priest Carlos Morales Languasco (1903-1905), US marines landed in the Dominican Republic and took part in the combats of the so-called War of Disunity. Subsequently, President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed his famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. According to the declaration, “Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may ultimately require in America (...) intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States (...) to exercise an international police power.”**





“In 1903, after organizing a ‘secessionist revolution’ in Panama, and following President Roosevelt’s orders, the US Navy prevented the landing of Colombian troops that were trying to restore its sovereignty on the isthmus. Immediately after, the White House negotiated a treaty with the oligarchy of the newly born semi-republic, and with the New York based French businessman Philippe J. Bunau-Varilla. By that treaty, the United States obtained absolute control of the so called Panama Canal Zone.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.



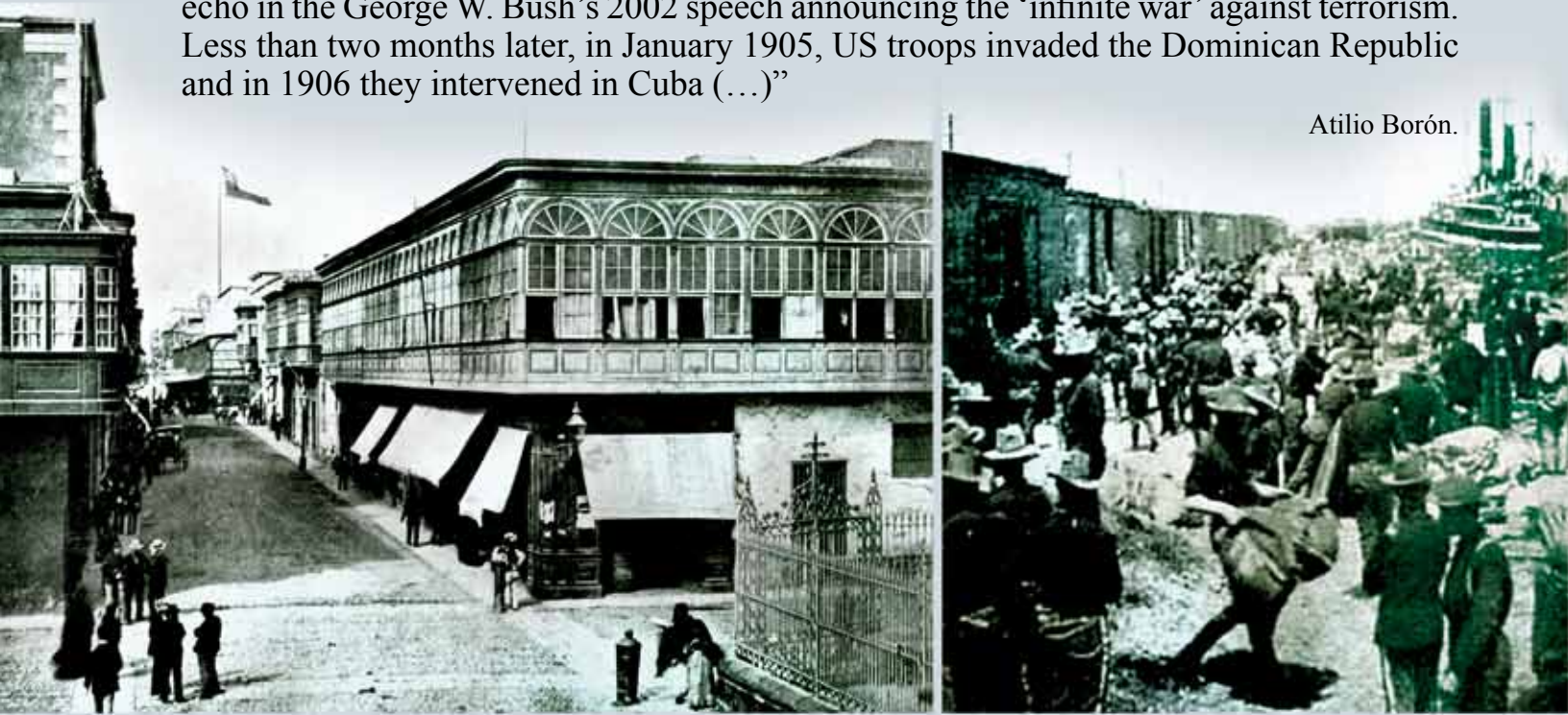
Construction of the Panama Canal.

## 1904

From November 17 to 24, 1904, US troops landed in Ancón, Panama “to protect US lives and properties.”

“In late 1904, in his State of the Union speech before Congress, the President announces the ‘Roosevelt Corollary’. By it, the United States reserves the right to intervene in any country in keeping with the manner in which its interests are affected. Those words would echo in the George W. Bush’s 2002 speech announcing the ‘infinite war’ against terrorism. Less than two months later, in January 1905, US troops invaded the Dominican Republic and in 1906 they intervened in Cuba (...)”

Atilio Borón.



## 1905

”The first victim of the application of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was the Dominican Republic (...) where the United States imposed the control of its finances and Customs, which turned Dominican sovereignty in a nominal matter.”

Sergio Guerra Vilaboy.

## 1906

The US government interposed its military forces in the armed conflict between Guatemala and El Salvador, forcing both nations to sign an armistice. The agreement was signed aboard the *USS Marblehead*.



The second US military intervention in Cuba took place from October 13, 1906 to January 23, 1909 under the pretext of restoring order, protecting foreign citizens, and the establishment and stability of the government.

In 1906 US troops put down a workers' strike at Green Consolidated Copper Company in Sonora, Mexico. The US also gave public support to dictator Porfirio Díaz (1884-1911) for defeating the popular insurrection headed by the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, with a high number of victims.

## 1907

From March 18 to June 8, US troops intervened in an armed conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua. The invaders were deployed for several weeks in the cities of Trujillo, La Ceiba, Puerto Cortés, San Pedro, Laguna and Cholona. With its mediation the White House achieved an end of hostilities. The agreement was signed on April 23 aboard the *USS Chicago*.

## 1908

US military forces intervened in Panama.

“With the purpose of making (...) Cipriano Castro perform his obligations regarding the 1902 Washington Treaty, the White House broke diplomatic relations with Venezuela in 1908 and backed the coup d'état headed by Gen. Juan Vicente Gómez. To this end, and under the pretext of reestablishing relations, President Theodore Roosevelt sent a war fleet to the port of La Guaira (...)”

Luis Suárez Salazar.



The Port of La Guaira.



## 1909

In Nicaragua the Conservative Party and some sectors of the Liberal Party took up arms against nationalist President José Santos Zelaya. The actions were backed by US President William Taft (1909-1913).

Actually, the uprising was organized and armed by the United States government. In view of the imminent defeat of the rebels, several US warships intervened. The Nicaraguan president was forced to resign. His government had become an obstacle for US plans to create a security scheme in the Central American isthmus according to its geopolitical and economic interests.

On that same year there was a US military intervention in Dominican Republic to “assist the Dominican government in crushing an opposition movement.”

From 1909 to 1912, the White House consolidated its political and economic influence in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica.





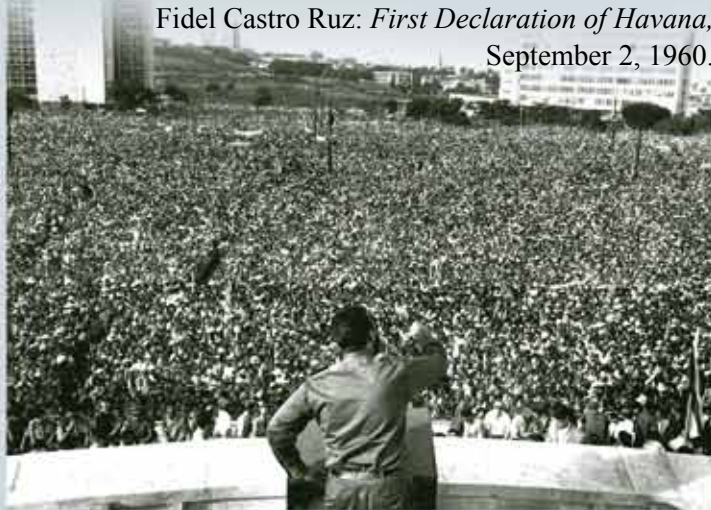
# DOLLAR- AND GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY

The United States government promoted military occupations and other punitive actions against the civilian population in the Caribbean region. Countries like Haiti, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama and Cuba, among others, were victims of merciless bloody actions.



“Throughout more than a hundred years this intervention, based on military superiority, in unequal treaties, and in the shameful submission of treacherous governments, has turned Our America —the America that Bolívar, Hidalgo, Juárez, San Martín, O’Higgins, Sucre, Tiradentes and Martí wanted free— into a region of exploitation, the backyard of the Yankee financial and political empire.”

Fidel Castro Ruz: *First Declaration of Havana*,  
September 2, 1960.



## 1910

With pressure from its warships, the White House imposed on Haitian President Antoine Simon (1908-1911) a credit by Speyer and Co., and the National City Bank, as well as the so-called MacDonal Contract, by which the Haitian government lost its financial sovereignty and opened the doors of the country to several US monopolies.

At the time, the US Navy occupied the port of Bluefields, in Nicaragua, to allegedly protect US properties.

On February 22, 1910, US military forces landed in Nicaragua to prop up Adolfo Díaz’s regime. From May 19 to September 4 they intervened again in that country to “protect US interests” in Bluefields.

## 1911

On January 26, US naval forces landed in Honduras during internal conflicts with the purpose of “protecting lives and interest”. The landing caused the overthrow of Miguel R. Dávila’s liberal government (1909-1911) and imposed conservative Manuel Bonilla as president, who opened the doors of the country to US monopolies.

On that same year, and with the support of the US Embassy in Nicaragua, Conservative Party leader Adolfo Díaz took over the presidency.

The United States openly conspired against the progressive sectors of the Caribbean and Central American region and provided protection to conservative governments and to national oligarchies supported by US monopolies.

## 1912

A US military expedition landed in Honduras under the pretext of “preventing” the government from taking over a railroad, the property of a US company, in Puerto Cortés.

US President William Taft, said: “The day is not far away in which three stars and three stripes in three equidistant points mark the limits of our territory: one at the North Pole, another one at the Panama Canal, and the third at the South Pole. All the hemisphere will in fact be ours by reason of our racial superiority, as it already is morally ours.”

The US Marine Corps landed in Nicaragua on 1912 to ensure the election of Adolfo Díaz’s puppet government. The US occupation lasted until 1925.

US troops intervened in Panama to manipulate a presidential election in which Belisario Porras was elected (1912-1916). They also intervened once more in Honduras under the pretext of “protecting their interests” from the opponents of newly elected President Manuel Bonilla.

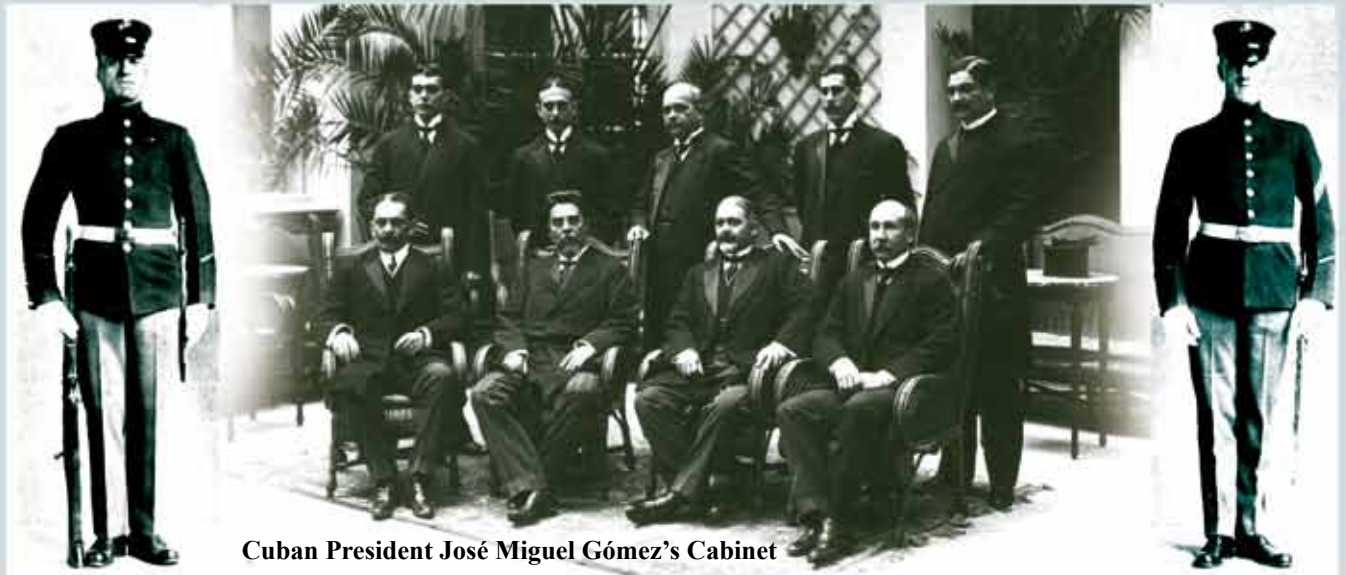




## THE UNITED STATES INTERVENES AGAIN IN CUBA

**1912**

The third US military intervention took place on May 20, under the pretext of “protecting the lives and interests of US citizens and investors”, allegedly threatened by “armed uprisings by the Independent Colored Party, savagely put down by President José Miguel Gómez (1909-1913). More than three thousand blacks and mulattoes were killed.



## THE “PROTECTION” OF HAITI BY THE US LASTED 19 YEARS.

**1914**

During the months of January, February and October, 1914, US marines landed in Haiti. US President Woodrow Wilson ordered the military occupation of the Haitian capital, pressing Haitian President Davilmar Théodore to favor the interests of US monopolies on the country.

Under President Wilson, between 1913 and 1921 the US unleashed a long series of military interventions citing the artifice of “promoting democracy” in Latin America and the Caribbean.



## 1915

On July, US marines occupied Haiti to “restore order”. A de facto US “protectorate” was created that would last until August, 1934. Yankee troops and Haitian gendarmerie brutally tortured the people. On informing about the situation in Haiti, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan remarked: ‘imagine this: niggers speaking French’.”

## 1916

From May, 1916 to September, 1924, the Dominican Republic was occupied by US troops.

## 1917

Cuba was invaded in 1917 by US troops deployed at the Guantánamo Naval Base, under the known pretext of “safeguarding US properties”, during an uprising by the Liberal Party. Most of the invading forces left the country two years later, but other military units stayed on until 1922.

## 1918

In 1918, Yankee forces based in the Panama Canal Zone occupied the cities of Panama, Colón, and Chiriquí with the purpose of containing popular unrest against Acting President Ciro Luis Urriola and protecting the interests of US landowner William G. Chase and the Chiriquí Land Co.

Under the pretext of supporting US participation in World War I, Cuban President Mario García Menocal allowed the “camping” of 2,600 Yankee troops in the province of Camagüey, where they stayed for four years.

## 1919

In September, the United States deployed a landing force to Honduras for maintaining order in a neutral zone during intense social conflicts in that country.

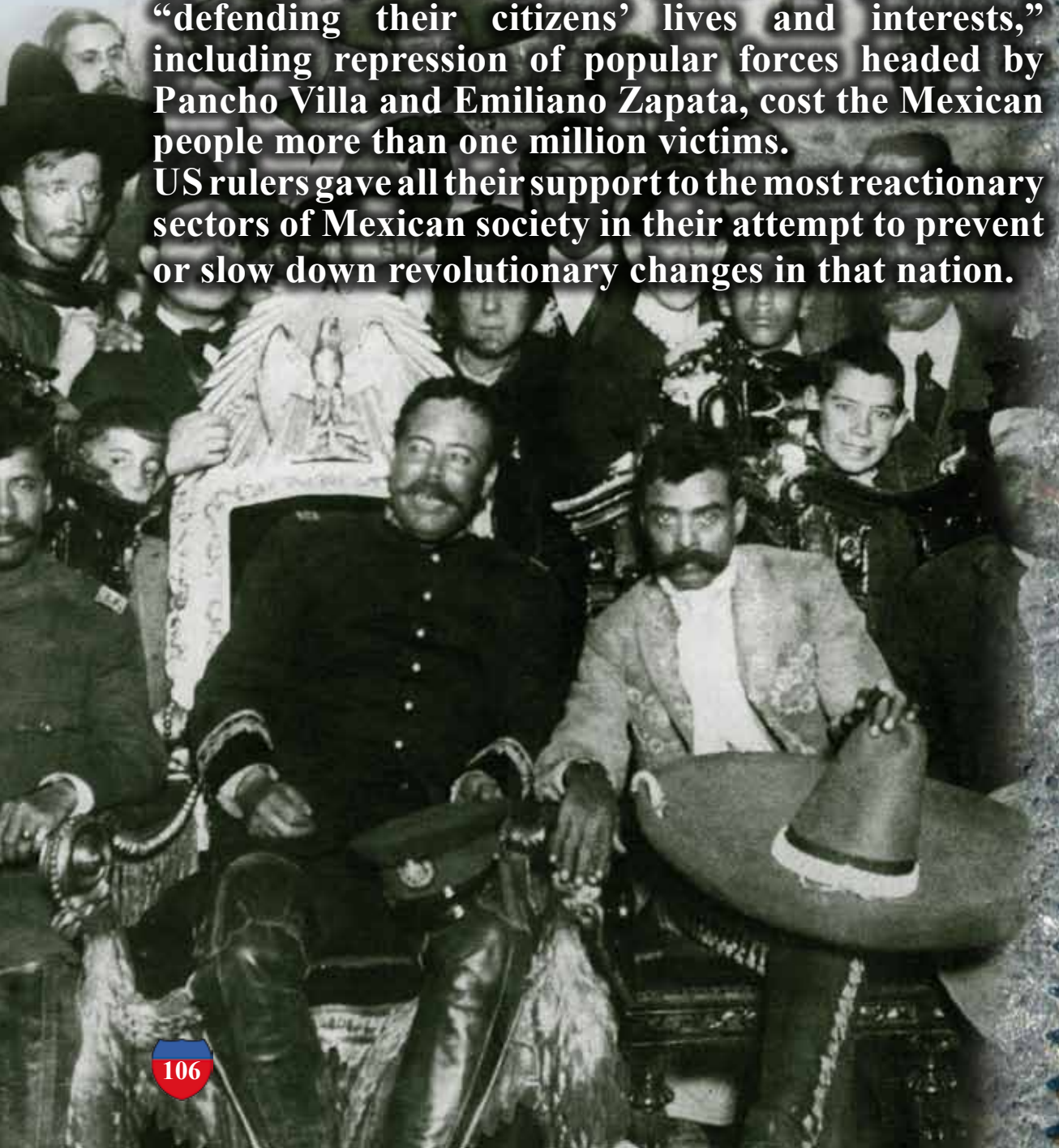


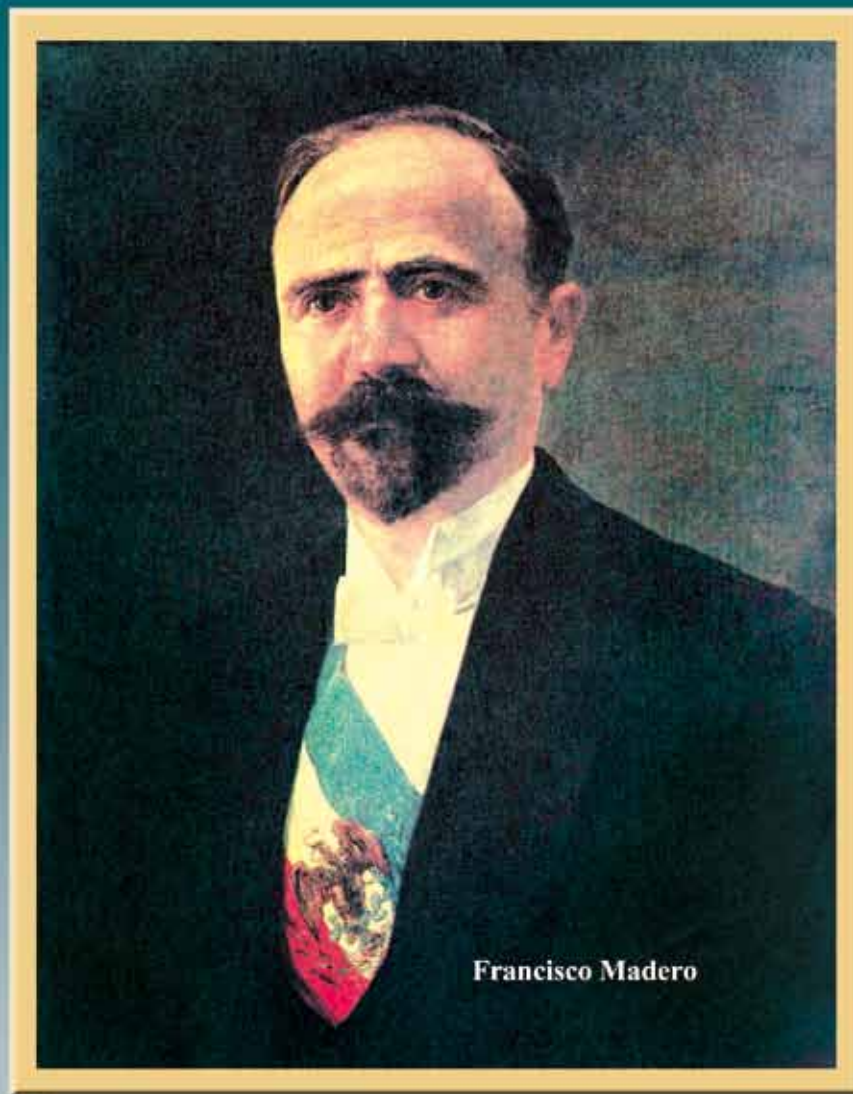


# THE US CHALLENGE TO THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910-1917

US military interventions under the pretext of “defending their citizens’ lives and interests,” including repression of popular forces headed by Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, cost the Mexican people more than one million victims.

US rulers gave all their support to the most reactionary sectors of Mexican society in their attempt to prevent or slow down revolutionary changes in that nation.





## 1911-1912

As in 1911, in February, 1912 the United States massed 34,000 troops at the Mexican border and mobilized 60,000 volunteers. Warships violated Mexican sovereignty on coasts and ports, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, in order to put pressure on President Francisco Madero (1911-1913). The following year, the US Embassy, headed by Henry Lane Wilson, organized a coup against Madero and promoted the so-called "Embassy Pact". Madero was assassinated together with Vice President José María Pino Suárez.

## 1913

US President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) refused to recognize the government of dictator Victoriano Huerta and promoted actions to overthrow him. Between September 5 and 7, 1913, US troops landed at Estero del Chiari, in the state of Sinaloa, under the pretext of assisting in the evacuation of US citizens and other foreign nationals from Yaqui Valley, where "their lives were in danger because of the civil war."





## 1914

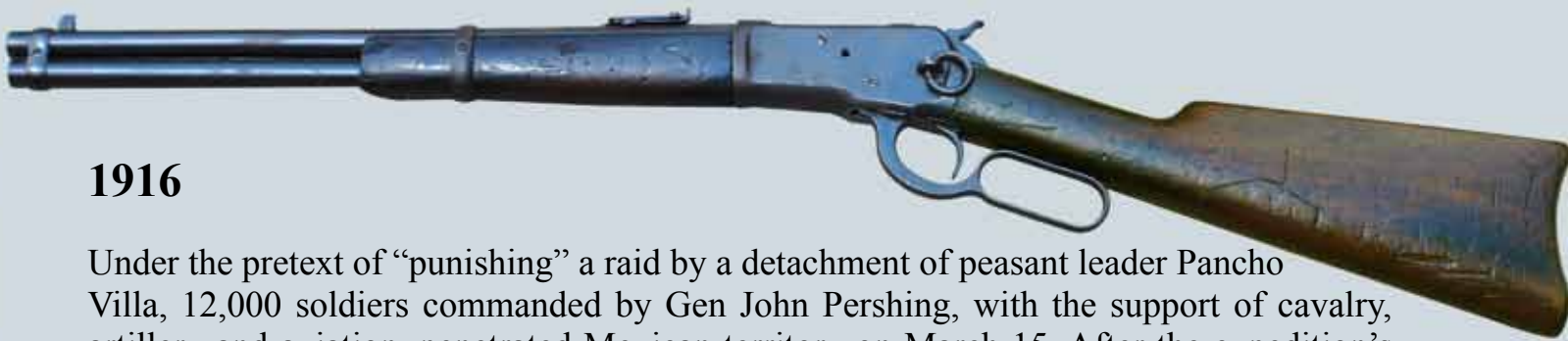
The US Navy shelled the port city of Vera Cruz in an attack apparently motivated by the arrest of US soldiers in Tampico. Although there was no declaration of war, Vera Cruz was occupied. In the action, the invaders seized about \$8 million dollars that were deposited in the customs house.

“The United States only wanted to assist the Mexican people in their search for peace and to establish a constitutional honest government.”

Woodrow Wilson.

“Truly the deep social inequality detonated the Mexican Revolution, which became a source of inspiration for other countries. The revolution developed Mexico in many ways. But the same empire that previously had devoured much of its territory, today devours important natural resources it still has, cheap labor and even provokes the shedding of its own blood.”

Fidel Castro Ruz: “Yankee Bases and Latin American Sovereignty” “Reflections,” August 10, 2009.



## 1916

Under the pretext of “punishing” a raid by a detachment of peasant leader Pancho Villa, 12,000 soldiers commanded by Gen John Pershing, with the support of cavalry, artillery and aviation, penetrated Mexican territory on March 15. After the expedition’s withdrawal, US troops returned to Mexico three times in 1918 in persecution of alleged “insurgents.”

## 1918

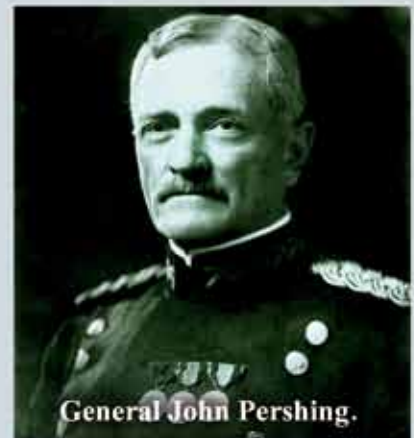
In August of that year, Yankee and Mexican troops clashed in Nogales, Mexico.

## 1919

US forces invaded Mexican territory on six occasions.

Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919), Mexican revolutionary leader and agrarian reformer, a protagonist of the Mexican Revolution. Since his incorporation in 1910, Zapata embodied the struggle of the poorest that dreamt of a better life. He was murdered at the Chinameca Hacienda (Cuautla).

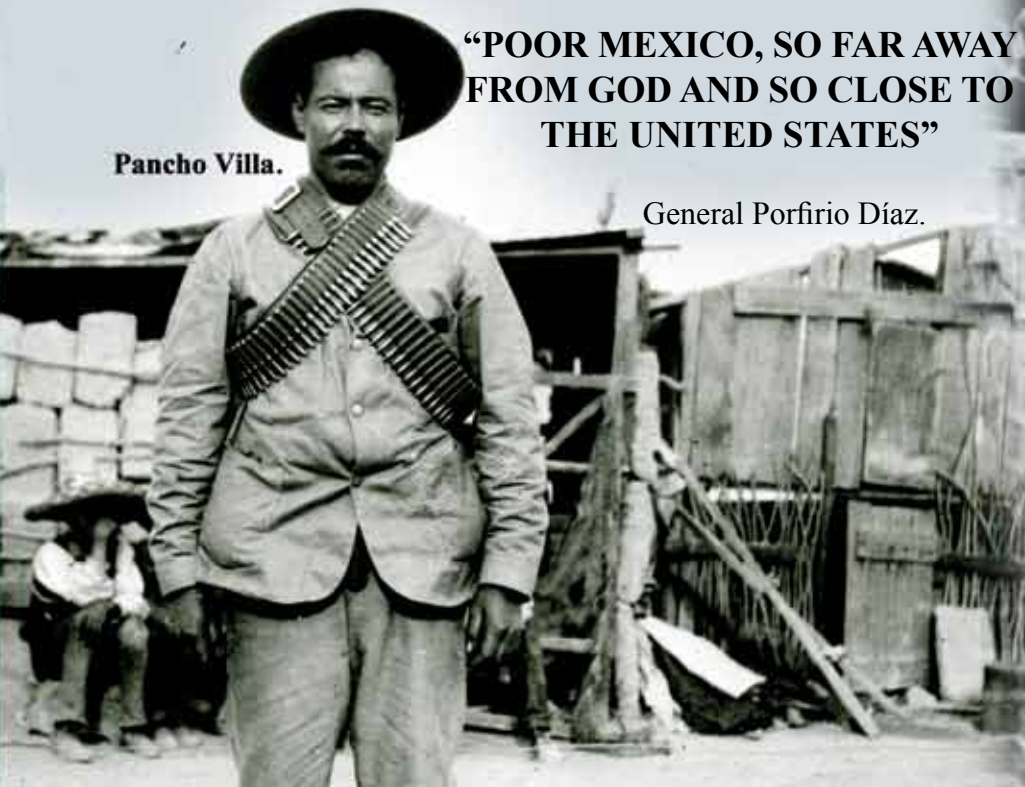
Doroteo Arango, aka Pancho Villa (1878-1923), Mexican revolutionary leader, was one of the greatest Mexican revolutionaries of the early 20th century. He was an active collaborator of Francisco Ignacio Madero and Venustiano Carranza. Villa joined forces with Emiliano Zapata at the Aguascalientes Convention (1914) and was murdered in Chihuahua in 1923.



**“POOR MEXICO, SO FAR AWAY FROM GOD AND SO CLOSE TO THE UNITED STATES”**

Pancho Villa.

General Porfirio Díaz.



Emiliano Zapata.

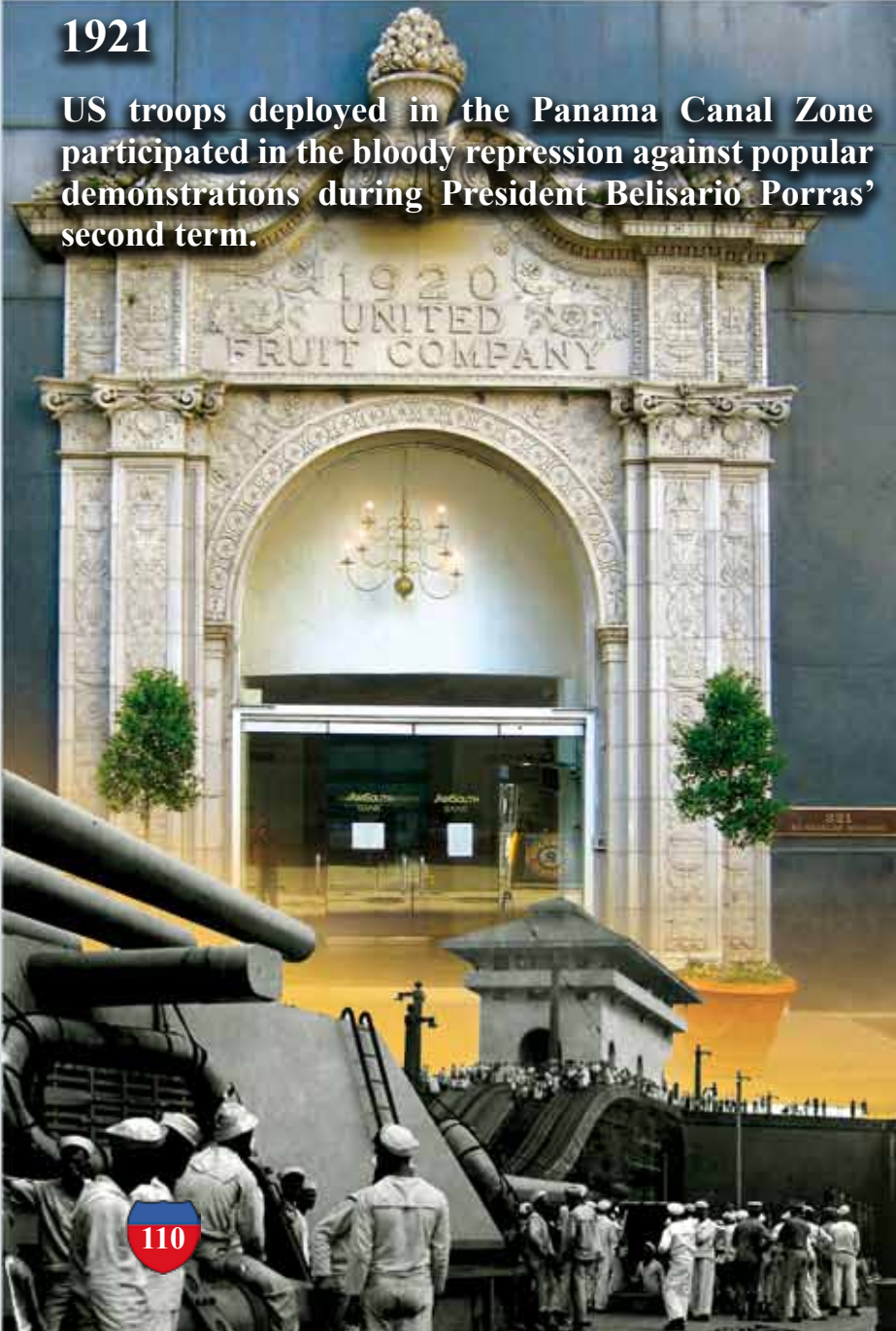


# REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE 1920S

REPUBLICANS WARREN HARDING (1921-1923), CALVIN  
COOLIDGE (1923-1929) AND  
HERBERT HOOVER (1929-1933) WERE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE UNITED STATES IN THOSE YEARS.

1921

US troops deployed in the Panama Canal Zone participated in the bloody repression against popular demonstrations during President Belisario Porras' second term.



Herbert Hoover



Maximiliano Hernández

## 1924

US marines landed in Honduras in 1924 in order to “mediate” in the civil strife known as the “Triangular War” among different political forces. At the time, Honduras was the first world exporter of bananas, controlled by United Fruit Co.

## 1925

On October 12, 1925, six hundred Yankee soldiers landed in Panama under the pretext of putting down a workers’ strike.

## 1926

The Calvin Coolidge administration (1923-1929) gave firm support to Cuban dictator Gerardo Machado’s bloody tyranny.

## 1930

Dictatorship of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, an officer of the National Guard –created and trained by the United States.

## 1932

In El Salvador, dictator Maximiliano Hernández (1931-1944) murdered more than 30,000 people in retaliation for the failed popular insurrection led by Farabundo Martí. US warships remained in the Salvadoran port of Acajutla in support of the regime.

The massacre did not crush the love for freedom of the Salvadoran people. The US military attaché for Central American Affairs, Major A.R. Harris, warned in 1932: “A socialist or communist revolution in El Salvador can be postponed for some years —ten, or perhaps twenty—, but when it comes, it will be a bloody one.”



Calvin Coolidge is sworn in as President of the United States.

Calvin Coolidge Gerardo Machado





# AUGUSTO CÉSAR SANDINO, GENERAL OF FREE MEN



Augusto César Sandino.

1926

Five thousand marines, backed by 16 warships, invaded Nicaragua on December 24, disarmed the National Guard and occupied the country.

Augusto César Sandino (1895-1934), national hero of the Nicaraguan people, decided to create a popular army to fight against the foreign invaders. From 1925 to 1933 he led the struggle of his people.

The United States carried out the first aerial bombing in Latin America at the village of El Ocotal, the capital of the Nueva Segovia department (province) in Northwest Nicaragua. Some 300 Nicaraguans died from the Yankee bombing and strafing.



General Sandino wrote: “(...) from now on our enemies will not be the forces of the tyrant Díaz, but the US marines of the most powerful empire that has ever existed.”

In spite of their superiority in men and weapons, US troops were never able to eliminate the popular support for Sandino, who defeated them. They finally had to withdraw on January 3, 1933.

“Similar episodes shook Central America and the Caribbean, the United States ‘third frontier’, particularly in Nicaragua, where US forces remained for decades until they eliminated Sandino and created the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. “A son of a bitch”, said US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of Somoza, “but our son of a bitch.”

Atilio Borón.

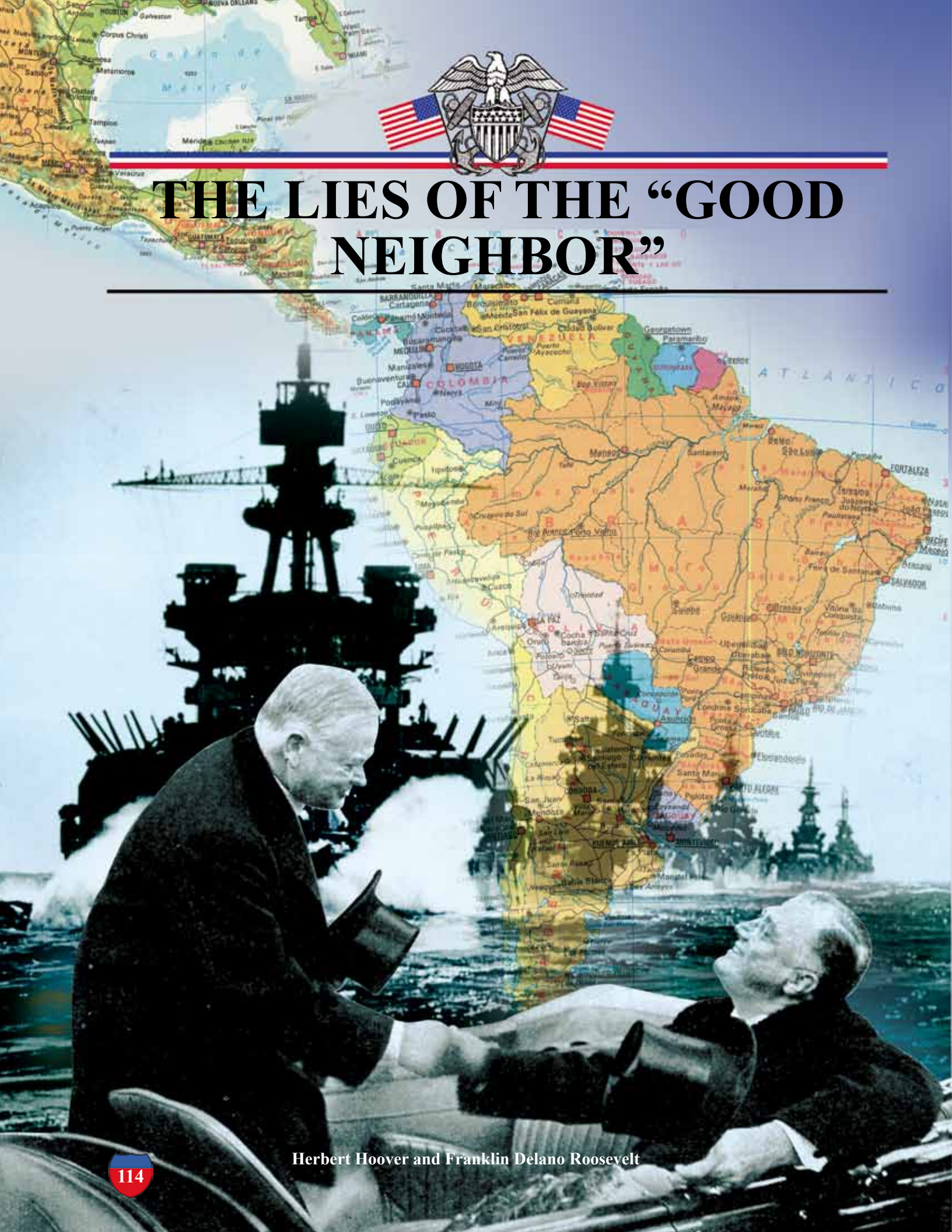
## 1934

Plotting with US Ambassador in Managua Arthur Bliss Lane, the criminal Anastasio Somoza García, head of the National Guard that had been created by the United States, ordered Sandino’s assassination.





# THE LIES OF THE “GOOD NEIGHBOR”



Herbert Hoover and Franklin Delano Roosevelt

“In spite of the much trumpeted Good Neighbor policy and its commitment to give up interventionism practiced by his predecessor, and after a failed attempt at “mediation” with Gerardo Machado’s dictatorship, US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-1945) promoted several actions to overthrow Ramón Grau San Martín’s government, including a show of force by thirty US warships opposite to Cuban coasts, and the refusal by the White House to recognize the government, later known as ‘of the one hundred days’.”

Luis Suárez Salazar.

## 1934

In 1934, Cuban President Ramón Grau San Martín was overthrown by a coup organized by Fulgencio Batista and US Ambassador Jefferson Caffery.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt reached an agreement with Haitian President Sténio Vincent that allowed the US to occupy Haiti and have permanent control of that country’s politics and economy for many years.

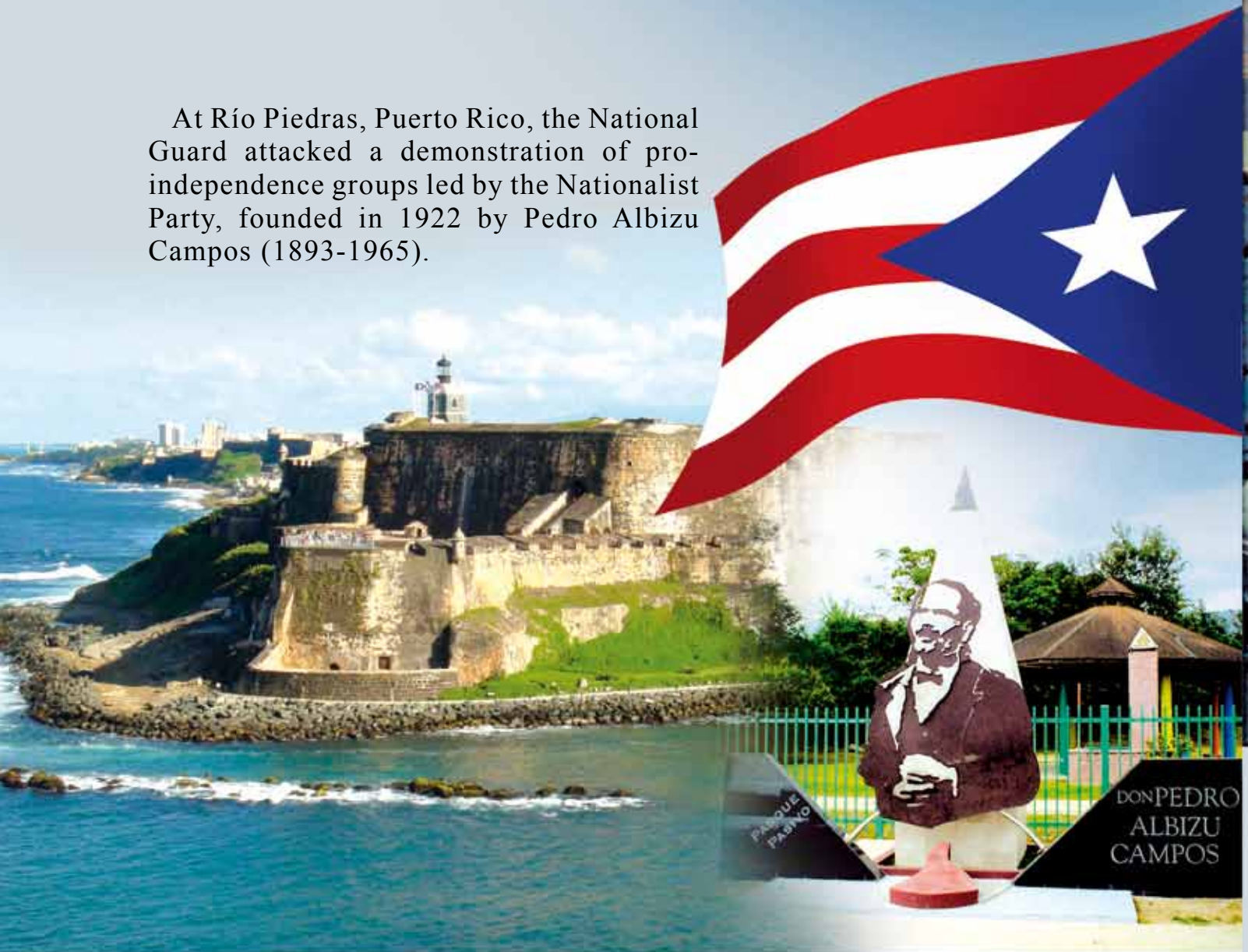


## 1935

With the support of the United States, the regime formed by Batista-Caffery-Mendieta drowned in blood the general strike declared on March, 1935. The government ordered the assassination of revolutionary leader Antonio Guiteras Holmes and his Venezuelan comrade in arms, Carlos Aponte, who had been a colonel in Augusto César Sandino’s popular army.



At Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, the National Guard attacked a demonstration of pro-independence groups led by the Nationalist Party, founded in 1922 by Pedro Albizu Campos (1893-1965).



## 1936

US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt backed a coup d'état against Nicaraguan “liberal” President Juan Bautista Sacasa (1933-1936) by the then head of the National Guard Anastasio “Tacho” Somoza. Thus, with the support of the “Good Neighbor” policy, one of the bloodiest dynastic dictatorships in Latin American and the Caribbean was born.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Panamanian President Harmodio Arias (1932-1936) signed a new treaty that formally abolished the United States’ right to intervene in Panamanian internal and foreign affairs, Nevertheless, the US maintained control of the Panama Canal and its “right” to guarantee *ad infinitum* the security of the inter oceanic waterway.



## 1937

The US Navy occupied a sizable portion of Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, in order to use it as a firing range.

The National Guard opened fire against pro-independence peaceful demonstrators at the Puerto Rican city of Ponce.



## 1938

The White House decreed harsh economic sanctions against the popular nationalist government of Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas, in retaliation for the nationalization of US and British oil properties in Mexico.



Lázaro Cárdenas.

**1939**

With the beginning of World War II, US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed Admiral William Leahy as colonial governor of Puerto Rico. Immediately, Admiral Leahy took steps for the militarization of the territory.

A photograph showing three US Navy biplanes flying in formation against a clear blue sky. The planes are silver with black and white markings, including a large white star on a black circle on the fuselage and wings. The numbers 2, 5, and 8 are visible on the fuselages of the three planes from top to bottom. The planes are flying from left to right across the frame.

## **NEW NAVAL AND AIR BASES IN THE CARIBBEAN**

**1940**

Through the agreement “Bases for Destroyers”, the US Navy made a “preemptive” occupation of the main British colonial possessions in the Caribbean Basin

As a result of negotiations with the United Kingdom, the US government created army, naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, St. Lucia, Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad and British Guiana.

The Second Consultation Meeting of the Pan American Union’s Foreign Ministers endorsed the Joint Resolution of the US Congress that did not recognize the transfer of any territory in the Western Hemisphere from “a non-American power to another non-American power.”

In this manner, the military occupation by the United States of Dutch colonial possessions (Aruba, Curacao and Surinam) as well as French ones (Martinique, Guadeloupe and Cayenne) was “legalized”. According to Professor Luis Salazar, with this endorsement some of the Monroe Doctrine’s postulates acquired a “Pan American” character for the first time in history.

## 1941

The United States occupied the territory of Dutch Guiana (Suriname), after reaching an agreement with the Brazilian army and the Dutch government in exile.

The US organized a coup against Panamanian President Arnulfo Arias (1940-1941) in order to extend its military bases in the Canal Zone, to which the new government of Adolfo de la Guardia (1941-1945) promptly agreed.

## 1942

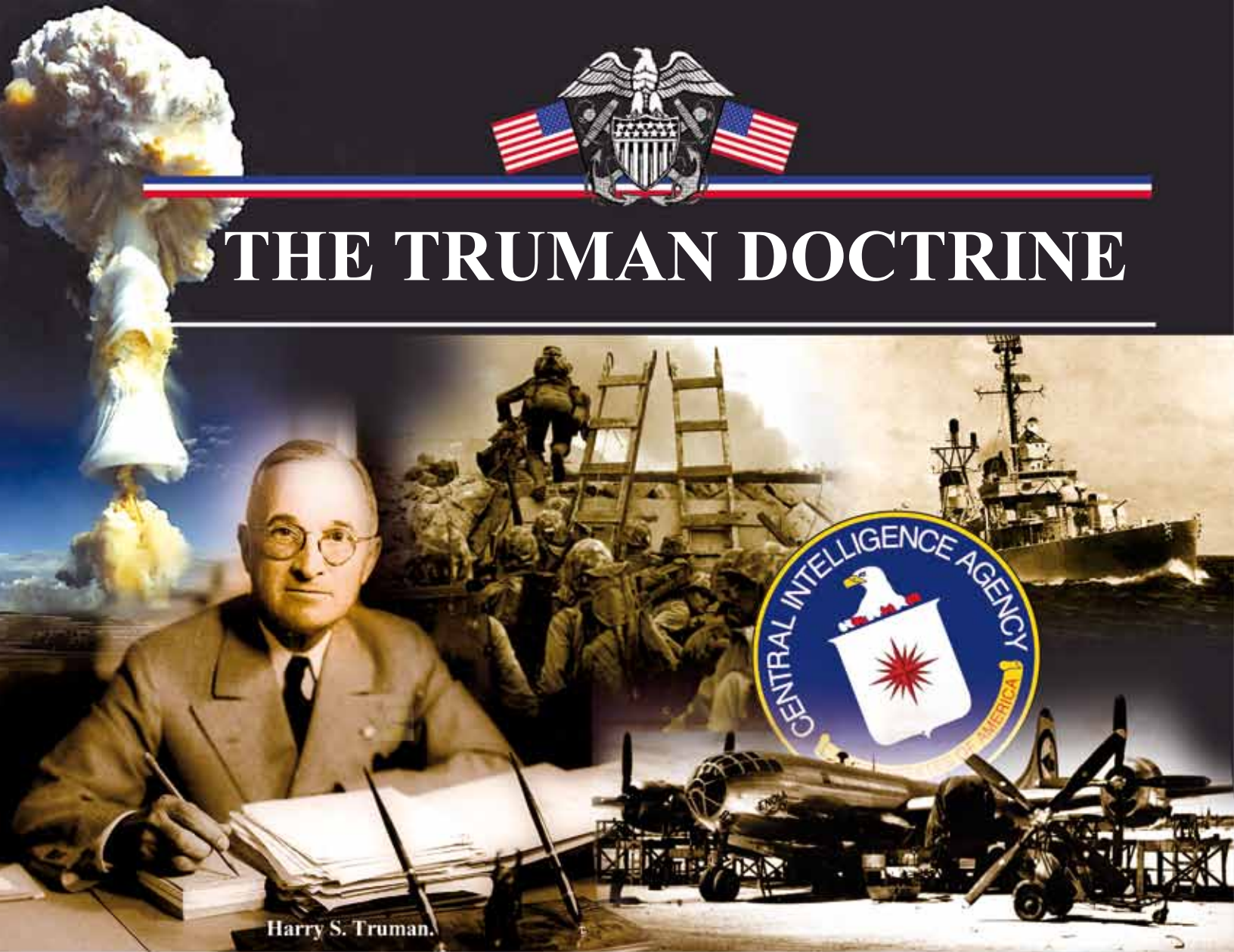
The Inter-American Defense Board was created by the region’s armies, headed by the United States. New US bases were built in Cuba, Brazil, Dominican Republic and Ecuador.







# THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE



Harry S. Truman.

**A**fter the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Vice President Harry Truman was sworn in as president (1945-1953). Truman authorized the atrocious atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing hundreds of thousands of civilians, including the elderly, women and children at a moment in which the Japanese empire was already defeated.

The Truman Doctrine is proclaimed to “contain the advance of communism in the world”, according to ideologues of anticommunism. In the framework of the doctrine, 20 Latin American and Caribbean countries signed in Rio de Janeiro the so called Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (IATRA), which served as model for US military treaties the world over.

The new “hemispheric security” projects, through which Latin American nations were made responsible for the “collective security of the continent”, actually meant that they would be subordinated to geostrategic objectives of US imperialism.

This stage witnessed a new wave of coups in the continent as well as acts of repression against nationalist forces and popular movements, which the US have supported or tolerated, such as the coup that overthrew Brazilian President Getulio Vargas (1930-1945) with the collaboration of the US Embassy.

## 1946

Gualberto Villarreal's nationalist government in Bolivia (1943-1946) is violently overthrown and a brutal internal repression is unleashed. The coup had the blessing of the US Embassy at La Paz.

Plotting with several sectors of different political shades in Argentina, the US Embassy attempted to prevent the election of the Labor Party's candidate, Colonel Juan Domingo Perón, but failed because of the leader's wide popular support.

## 1947

The United States supported a coup in Ecuador against constitutional President José María Velasco Ibarra (1944-1947).

## 1948

The White House backed the coup that gave birth to the military dictatorship of Manuel Odría (1948-1956) in Peru, and the bloody repression by British colonial authorities against pro-independence movements in British Guiana.

It also backed the violent repression in Colombia by the regimes of Mariano Ospina Pérez and Laureano Gómez that from 1948 to 1953 murdered tens of thousands of Colombians.



José María Velasco Ibarra.



Eva Perón.

Juan Domingo Perón.

## 1950

After a trip to the region, ideologue of the policy of contention and State Department official George Kennan formulated the so called “Kennan Corollary” of the Monroe Doctrine in a document titled “Latin America as a Problem in US Foreign Policy”. In it, Kennan justified US support of Latin American rightist dictatorships that flowered in the region under the pretext of anticommunism.

In this period, colonial Governor of Puerto Rico Luis Muñoz Marín and the National Guard violently repressed the Puerto Rican pro-independence movement.

The White House backed the military coup that placed Haitian General Paul Magloire as president (1950-1956).

## 1952

With his US backed coup in Cuba, Fulgencio Batista became Washington’s main ally, as well as its political and military support. The coup unleashed a bloody repression against every opponent of the dictatorship and sowed misery and death in the country, until the revolutionary triumph on January 1, 1959, led by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro.



“The big-stick-and-carrot policy, the dollar-, corruption- and deceit policies, gunboat diplomacy and military aggressions, US National Security, the defense of the sacred interests of transnational corporations, the brazen intervention in our countries’ internal affairs, blackmail and bribery to governments and traitors have been some of the imperial domination strategies reinforced after World War II, when in 1947 experts in espionage and national security with military invasions and geopolitics of domination decided to create the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), a freak creature of the United States National Security Act (...)”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005.

## THE ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES FOR PERPETUATING REPRESSION IN CUBA

124 *Servando Valdés Sánchez*

**SECRET**

12 February 1952

**PLAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA  
AND THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
FOR  
THEIR COMMON DEFENSE**

1. General Situation: (for detailed Intelligence see I.A.D.B. Document C-05/2, dated 27 April 1951)

a. **Enemy Forces.**

The security of Cuba and the United States of America, together with that of the other countries of the Western Hemisphere, is threatened by the imperialistic designs of the USSR, and international Communism. At the present time this threat may take the form of subversive and sabotage activities designed to weaken the two countries. The USSR has the capability of initiating open warfare without warning. In such an event, the most probable form of enemy action would be air attacks against vital installations, submarine attacks against sea communications raiding actions, and increased subversion, and sabotage.

b. **Friendly Forces.**

The major portion of the armed forces

**PLAN DE LOS GOBIERNOS DE CUBA  
Y DE  
LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NOROCCIDENTAL  
PARA  
SU DEFENSA COMÚN**

1. Situación General: Para la apreciación en detalle, véase el documento C-021; C-05/3, con fecha de 11 de Diciembre, 1951 de la Junta Interamericana de Defensa)

a. **Fuerzas Enemigas.**

La seguridad de Cuba y de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, junto con la de los otros países del Hemisferio Occidental, está amenazada por las intenciones imperialistas de la URSS y del comunismo internacional. En la actualidad, esta amenaza puede tomar la forma de actividades de subversión y sabotaje con el objeto de debilitar a los dos países. La URSS tiene la posibilidad de iniciar la guerra abierta sin previo aviso. En tal caso, la mas probable forma de acción del enemigo sería ataques aéreos contra instalaciones vitales, ataques submarinos contra las comunicaciones marítimas, incursiones esporádicas y un aumento de las actividades de subversión y sabotaje.

b. **Fuerzas Amigas.**

La mayor parte de las fuerzas armadas de los Estados Americanos pueden estar

Anexos documentales 125

**SECRET INFORMATION**

defensive operations to pre-  
vents on the hemisphere and  
to carry the war to the  
power. This concept is in  
the defense doctrine approved  
Defense Scheme for the Amer-  
which calls for taking of-  
defeat aggression against

annunciates the principle  
State should contribute  
defense of the hemisphere.  
hemisphere requirements,  
each her forces within the  
hemispheres. Therefore, the  
of all the countries of  
hemisphere is required to pro-  
cess for the hemisphere.

ferio Occidental, efectuando operacio-  
nes defensivas para prevenir ataques  
directos contra el Hemisferio, y opera-  
ciones ofensivas para llevar la guerra  
a las fuentes del poder enemigo. Este  
concepto está en consonancia con la  
doctrina de defensa aprobada en el  
"Esquema de Defensa Común para el  
Continente Americano", el cual dispone  
que se tome acción ofensiva para re-  
chazar una agresión contra el Hemi-  
ferio.

Dicha doctrina establece el principio  
que cada Estado Americano debe con-  
tribuir a la defensa colectiva del  
Hemisferio. Debido a requisitos fuera  
del Hemisferio, los Estados Unidos de  
Norteamérica se encontrarán obligados  
a reducir al mínimo sus fuerzas dentro  
del hemisferio. Por consiguiente, se  
hace imprescindible el esfuerzo colecti-  
vo de todos los países del Hemisferio  
Occidental para proveer una defensa ade-  
cuada del Hemisferio.

2. Misión:  
Defensa del Hemisferio Occidental  
contra cualquier forma de agresión median-  
te la coordinación de los esfuerzos de-

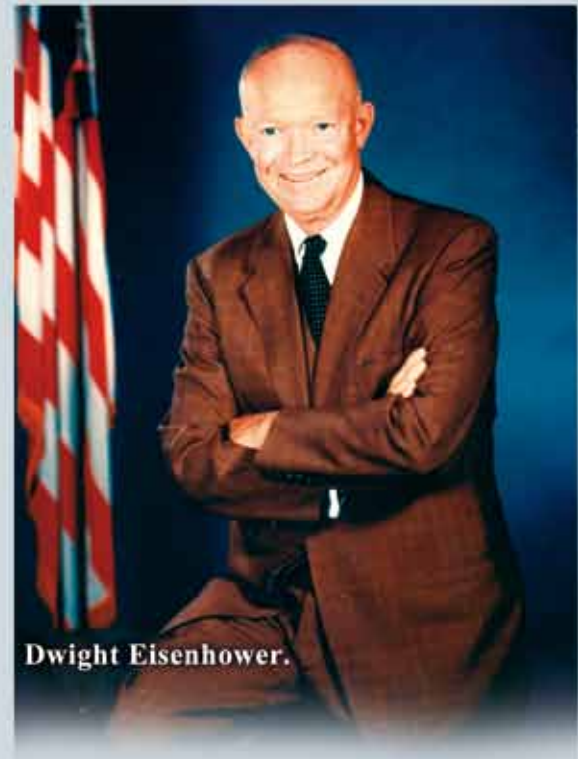




# THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

**Most Americans have a vague idea of the term “military-industrial complex”. But US President Dwight Eisenhower himself announced its existence in his farewell speech at the end of his presidency:**

**“Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime (...); we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. (...) But we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications (...). We must be on guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex (...).”**



Dwight Eisenhower.



An article published in *Pacific News* on February 1, 2006 describes it: “It is essentially an informal group of people from the military, government and business that are illicitly associated and plot in order to make capitalist profits out of war.”

Peter Dale Scott

“To the distinguished President Eisenhower, far from being opposed to anti Cuban terrorism, but rather its initiator, we must thank at least his definition of the military-industrial complex that today, with its insatiable and incurable voracity, is the motor that drives the human species to its present crisis.”

Fidel Castro Ruz: Submission to Imperial Policy” “Reflections” August 27, 2007.

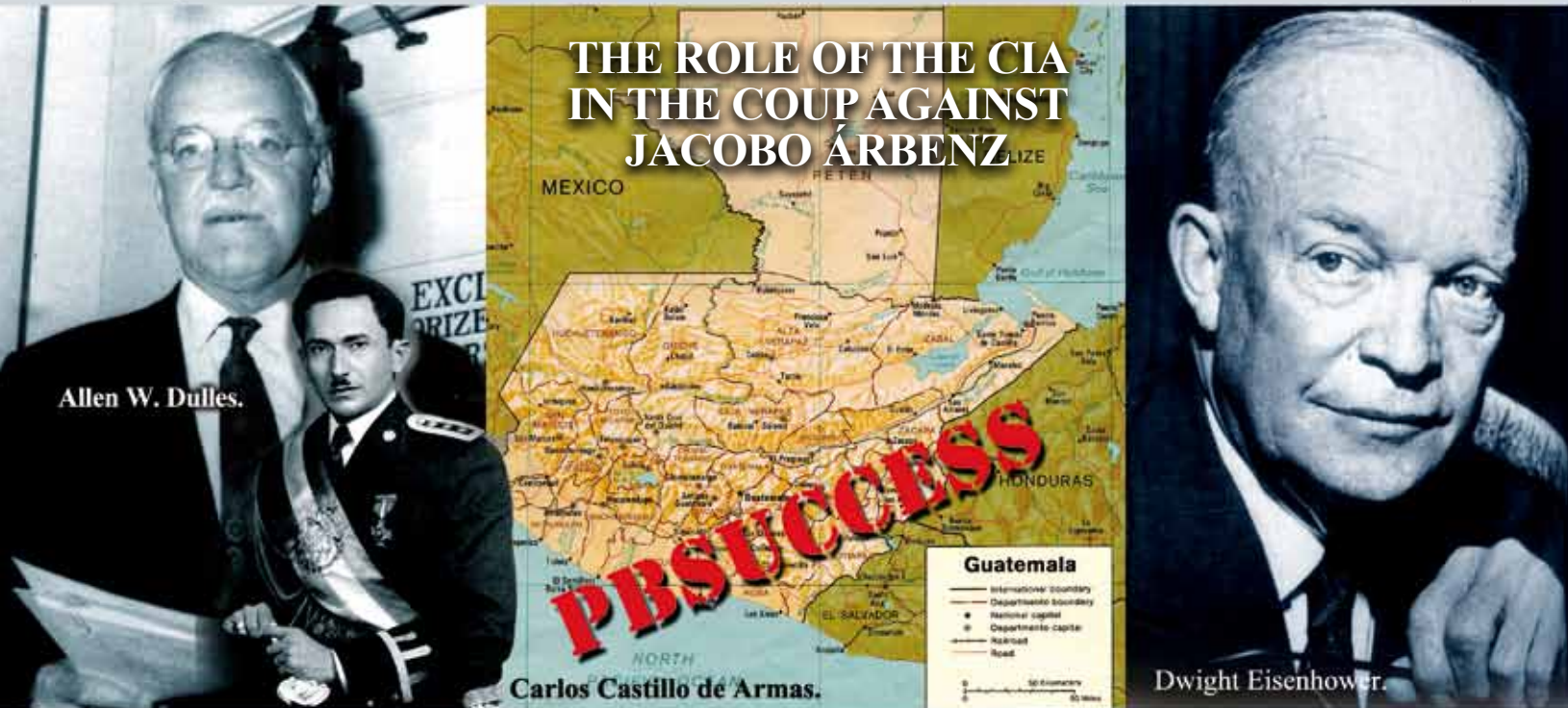
The prevailing anticommunism in the 1950s fed the arms race and the thirst for wealth of wide sectors in US economy, which became a factor of importance for the development of the military-industrial complex. The expenditure in defense rocketed from \$13 billion in 1950 to \$47 billion in 1960.

According to estimates, the defense budget for 2010 is \$533.8 billion dollars, excluding the cost of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. A characteristic of these times is that US armed forces, plus the CIA and other agencies in charge of illegal tasks—that is, undercover and subversive actions—in Third World countries, depend on “private contractors.” These are true mercenaries interested in profits, but in private “national security” functions for the US government.





# GUATEMALA: A STORY OF GENOCIDE



**The Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961) strengthened ties with every military dictatorship or “repressive democracy” in Latin American and the Caribbean.**

**An undercover operation in 1954 in Guatemala known by the cryptonym of PSUCCESS, organized by the US executive branch and the CIA, executed a military coup against the democratically elected President Jacobo Árbenz. Colonel Carlos Castillo de Armas was imposed as president.**

“Eisenhower’s Guatemala policy was not an aberration. It fits in a long standing tradition, shared by both Republicans and Democrats, and is centered in the intransigent imposition of US hegemony on Central America and the Caribbean (...) The Eisenhower Administration acted with supreme indifference to the Guatemalan people’s interests. This cannot be called “good intentions”, but rather criminal negligence.”

Piero Gleijeses.

Assisted by US administrations, during the subsequent four decades extreme right dictatorships ravaged Guatemala, which brought chaos, destitution and death to thousands of Guatemalans.

“Just in in the period of 1981-1983, four hundred and forty Indian villages were destroyed and almost 100,000 people were murdered. Among other violations of human rights, people were burned to death, women were raped, electric shocks were administered, children were dashed against rocks, and people were dismembered.”

James D. Cockcroft.

“(…) in homage to the Guatemalan people, cowardly machine-gunned by United Fruit Company’s bullets and planes, in homage to the Guatemalans that were murdered or shot by Castillo de Armas’ mercenary hordes, armed by United Fruit Co, and the State Department, as a tribute of those heroes, as a tribute to all those that fell victim of the most cowardly and shameful plot that this continent has seen in recent years (…)”

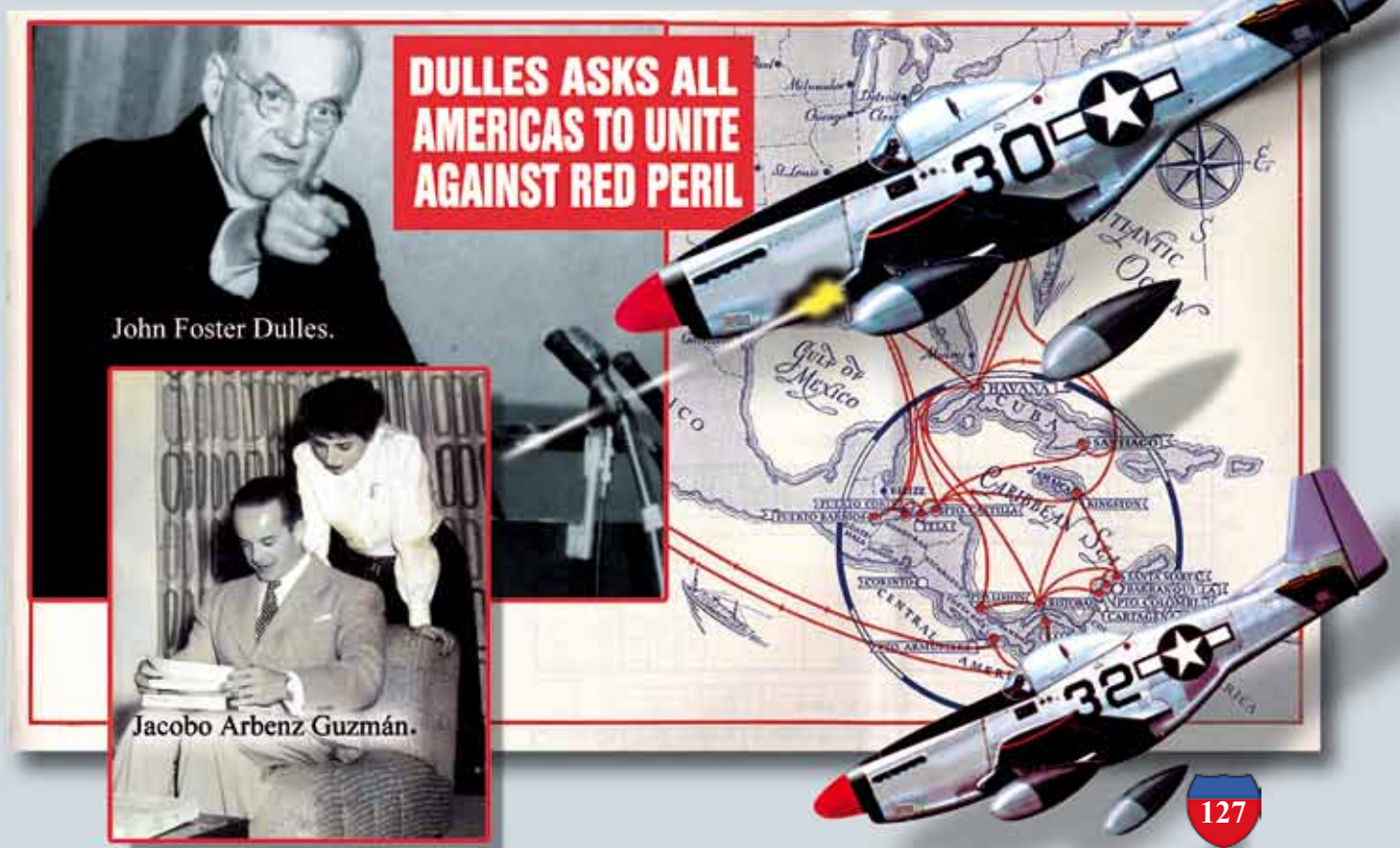
Fidel Castro Ruz: Speech given at the closing ceremony of the First Latin American Congress of Youths, Havana, August 6, 1960.

## 1953 Stephen Austin

The United States backed the brutal British military intervention against the government of Cheddi Jagan, the prominent independence and Socialist leader of Guiana, and the subsequent repression of its people.

## 1954

Overthrow of Paraguayan President Federico Chávez (1949-1954) and of Brazilian Getulio Vargas’ second administration (1950-1954), with the support of the White House.





## 1955

A military coup was executed against the second constitutional government of Argentinean President Juan Domingo Perón (1952-1955), with the consent of the United States.

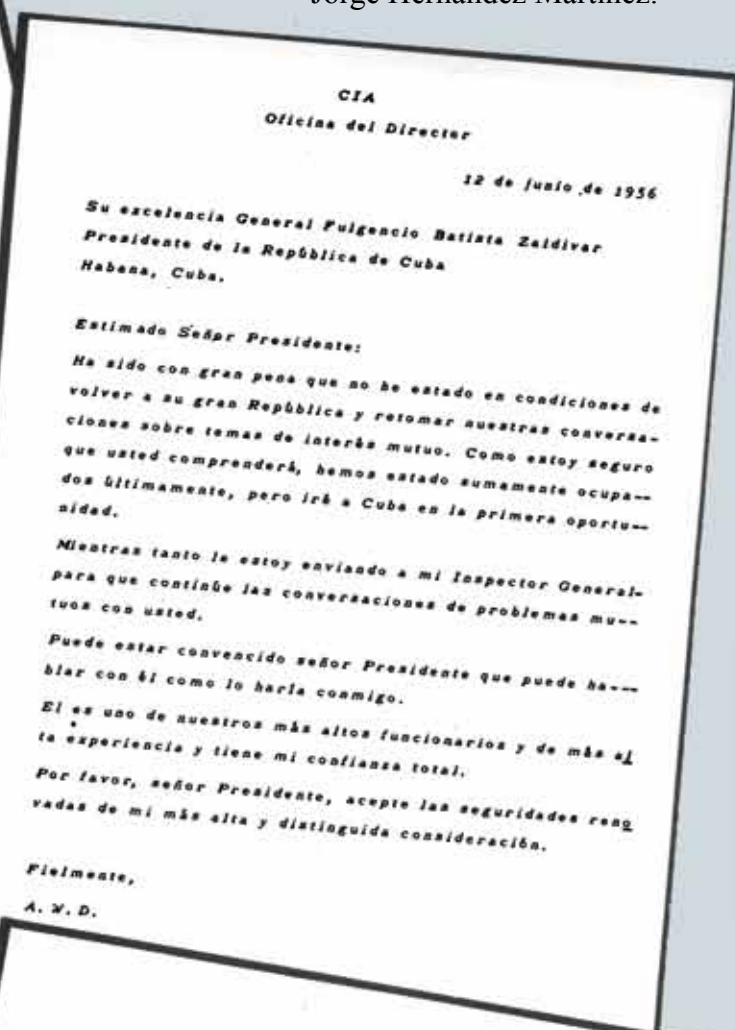
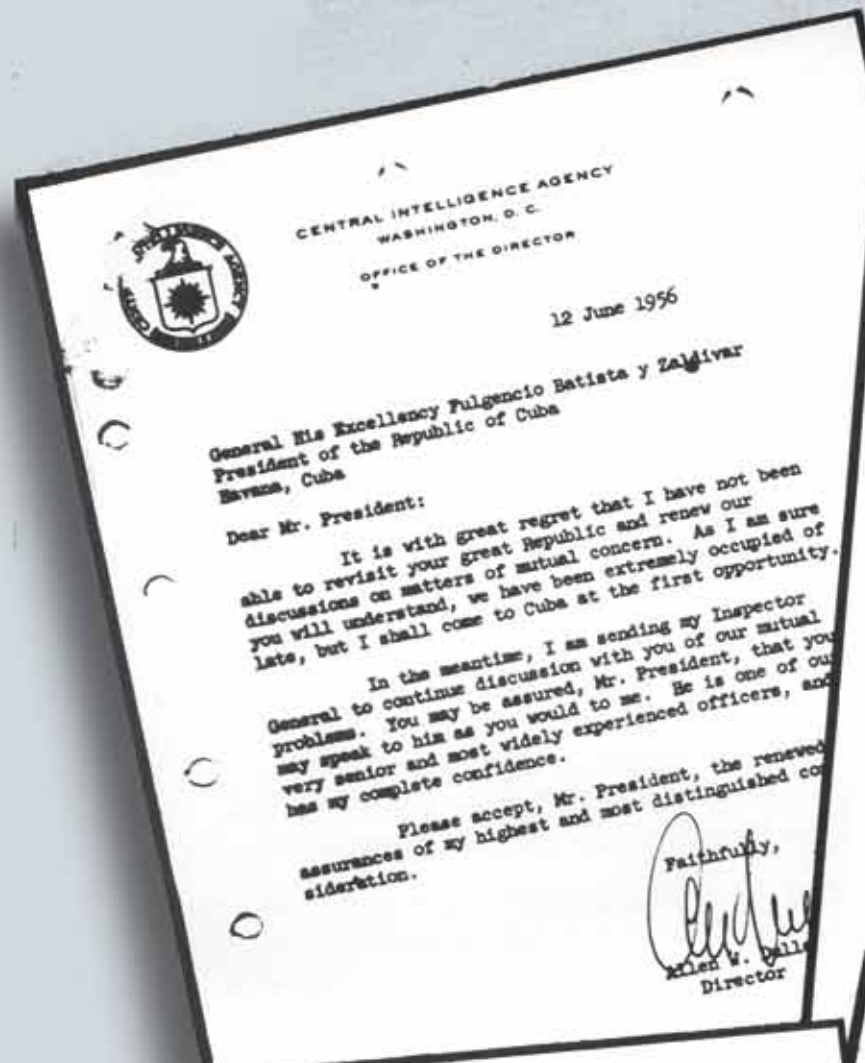
## 1957

In Nicaragua, after the execution of dictator Anastasio “Tacho” Somoza, his son Luis Somoza Debayle was elected President (1957-1963) with the assistance of the United States.

Rigged elections in Haiti imposed François Duvalier as president, thus creating a bloody dynasty until 1968 with the assistance of the United States.

“Subsequent periods after two world wars, as well as the intermediate stage between them —1920s, 1930s and 1950s— are examples of the articulation of reactionary conceptions that promote in large measure, according to each circumstance, atmospheres of obscurantism and paranoia, encouraging the appearance of trends of thought, social organizations and extremely conservative-, rightist- and fascist-oriented political actions that reach even fanatical levels, shielded by the government on certain occasions (...)”

Jorge Hernández Martínez.



# PREVENTING THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA

*1959 ~ 2010*





# THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

**1959**

With the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, aggressions by the US government escalated. Assassination plans against its main leaders, plotting all over the country, bombing of cities, sugar mills and other civilian targets, organization of terrorist bands, infiltrations of armed groups, espionage, sabotage against economic and social objectives, aggressions against fishing boats and merchant ships.

The Eisenhower administration and its intelligence agencies launched an intense terrorist campaign against the Cuban Revolution to achieve its overthrow. On March, 1960, President Eisenhower gave the go ahead to a CIA plan, the “Program of Covert Actions against the Castro Regime.” Among other actions, it included the organization of a mercenary brigade for invading Cuba that was defeated on April 19, 1961 at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs).





# PLAYA GIRÓN

## FIRST DEFEAT OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM IN AMERICA

1961

On April 17 the mercenary invasion against Cuba was launched on Playa Girón, an attack frustrated by the Cuban people in less than 72 hours.



## THE UNITED STATES LAUNCHED COUNTERINSURGENCY IN LATIN AMERICA TO ELIMINATE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

In a letter on April 22, 1961, John F. Kennedy gave General Maxwell Taylor the following instructions: “(...) to closely examine all of our actions and programs in the military, paramilitary, insurgency and counterinsurgency areas short of open war. I believe that we need to reinforce our work in this field. During the course of the study, I expect you to pay special attention to the lessons that can be learned from the recent events in Cuba.”

The US government engendered a powerful and bloody monster on this decade. A mercenary army trained on Central American bases and in the US formed the first counterinsurgency group for facing the revolutionary movement with undercover operations and the participation of the CIA from its headquarters in Langley, Virginia, and its Stations at US Embassies in Latin America.



Maxwell Taylor.

Robert McNamara.

John F. Kennedy.

El Pentágono  
Washington D.C.

## THE NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE

After the failure of the Alliance for Progress, the US created a new strategy for defeating social revolution in Latin America and began large collaboration programs in military and police advising at those countries, giving rise to the so called “National Security Doctrine”. This meant that Latin American armed forces would play a role in the defense of the country against “international communism,” and would be trained by US instructors, not in conventional warfare, but in “anti-subversive” tactics.

In 1964 the first new type of military dictatorships took power. The United States through its ambassadors, the CIA, its military might and corporations had an active participation in the coups and in the consolidation of dictatorships. Military regimes acted since then inspired by a political doctrine that defined a domestic state of war whose enemies were parties and revolutionary political organizations—even religious or progressive ones. Democracy was interrupted and extra-judicial arrests, torture, assassination and disappearance of persons became everyday practice. South American military dictatorships waged a “dirty war” against their own citizens, allegedly to “save Christian civilization” or fight against the “evils of communism.”

These regimes imposed a true terrorism of state, murdering thousands of people and forcing millions into exile.

Dozens of Cuban-born mercenaries were sent to Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Chile, and even Viet Nam and the Belgian Congo. The United States gave them profitable contracts as advisors to pro-Yankee dictatorships in Latin America, and in mercenary adventures in Africa and Asia at the service of the CIA.

The US government sent a group of CIA officers and agents as advisors to the Bolivian army for military operations against the internationalist guerrillas led by Ernesto Che Guevara. The murders of Che and his comrades were perpetrated on orders from Washington.





# THE POLICY OF TERROR AGAINST CUBA

**The United States' policy of state terrorism against Cuba from 1959 on has cost the life of 3,478 Cuban citizens and incapacitated 2,099 others.**

**A Demand of the Cuban People against the United States Government for Human Damages**

**A total of 120 children died and 70 others were wounded in terrorist acts.**

**In the 1960s, seven young teachers were murdered by terrorist bands while teaching in Cuban rural areas.**

**Terrorist acts set fire to 162 schools; 86 of them were destroyed.**





The airplane flown by Pedro Luis Díaz Lanz at Pompano Beach Airport.

## MONSTROUS ACTS

**October 21, 1959:** two airplanes that took off from Pompano Beach, Florida, strafed Havana, causing 2 dead and 45 wounded.

**March 4, 1960:** in the sabotage of the French cargo ship La Coubre at the Port of Havana, 101 people died and some 400 were wounded.

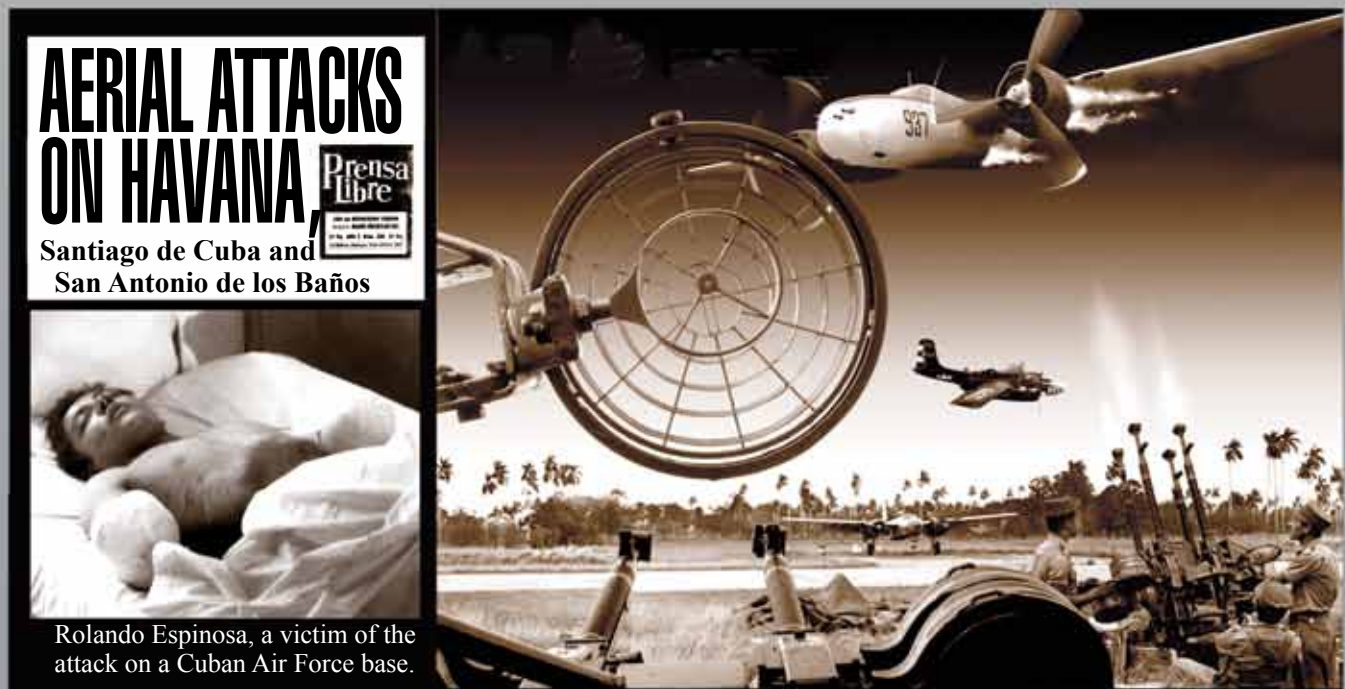
**April 15, 1961:** bombings to the airports of Santiago de Cuba (former province of Oriente), and San Antonio de los Baños and Ciudad Libertad (Havana) left 7 dead and 53 wounded.

**April 17 to 19:** during the Bay of Pigs invasion by Brigade 2506 the Cuban toll was 176 dead and 300 wounded, 50 of them permanently crippled.

**1960 and 1964:** terrorist bands organized, funded and supplied by US intelligence services murdered 196 civilians in rural areas.

**October 12, 1971:** a terrorist group from Florida opened fire on the coastal town of Boca de Samá in Banes, north of Holguín, leaving 2 military dead and several wounded civilians, among them Ángela Pavón, 13, and Nancy Pavón, 15. The latter had a foot amputated.

**1976:** Cuban Shrimping Fleet advisor Artagñán Díaz was murdered in Mérida, Yucatán. In Lisbon, Portugal, diplomats Adriana Corcho Calleja and Efrén Monteagudo Rodríguez were also murdered.



### AERIAL ATTACKS ON HAVANA

Prensa Libre

Santiago de Cuba and  
San Antonio de los Baños



Rolando Espinosa, a victim of the attack on a Cuban Air Force base.





**October 6, 1976:** under orders of Cuban-born terrorists Luis Posada Carriles and Orlando Bosch Ávila, a mercenary team bombed a Cubana Airlines plane that flew from Seawell International Airport in Barbados to Havana, killing all 73 persons on board. The victims were 57 Cubans, 11 Guianans and 5 North Koreans.

**September 11, 1980:** Cuban diplomat Felix García Rodríguez was murdered on Queens Ave., New York by a commando group from terrorist organization Omega-7.

**1981:** the covert introduction of the hemorrhagic dengue type II virus caused the infection of 344,203 Cubans and took the life of 158; of the deceased, 101 were children. On that same year there was an outbreak of dysentery in the province of Guantánamo. Eighteen children died from the infection of a bacteria known as *Shigella*, never before reported in the country.

**"The mision of the group I led was to obtain certain germs and introduce them in Cuba (...).**

**CIA's Biological Warfare against Cuba**

**Testimony by Cuban-born terrorist Eduardo Arocena in a Federal court in New York, p. 2189, 1984. Exp. 2 FBINY 185-1009.**





# A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY GROUP MURDERS A CHILD

*Atacado a tiros el jeep en que viajaban por un grupo que intentaba quemar una rastra en la carretera central. Herida también grave la madre del menor. 2 presos*

MAYANZAS, octubre 11.— Una infortunada criatura, sólo 22 meses de nacido, sufrió muerte de un balazo en la cabeza y su madre gravemente herida también de la, al ser atacado el jeep que viajaban por la Carretera Central, cerca del kilómetro 78, por ocho contrarrevolucionarios, dos de los cuales han sido capturados y esperando que los restantes

## ADELANTAN OBRAS EN EL ESCAMBRAY

Los trabajos de caminos, escuelas y hospitales se están adelantando por el Gobierno Revolucionario en la zona del Escambray, a través del Ministerio de Obras Públicas y el Ministerio de Fomento.



Centro Médico", de esta ciudad, donde quedó reducida esta última con balazo en el hombro (Continúa)

El Banco de Seguro Social de Cuba ha otorgado mil 350 jubilaciones y pensiones de los distintos sectores laborales del país, durante el pasado mes de septiembre y en los primeros 8 días del mes en curso, después de una fuerte huelga que comenzó el día 1 de septiembre, cuando se habían agotado en dicho momento, los fondos del seguro social.

## THE CIA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ACTS OF TERRORISM

Colonel Jack Hawkins, chief of Paramilitary Operations of the CIA task force known as “Cuban Operation”, previously to the Bay of Pigs invasion, said that from October 1960 to April 15, 1961 they perpetrated about 110 bombing attempts against political and economic objectives; placed over 200 bombs; derailed 6 trains; attacked with fast boats the Santiago de Cuba refinery, putting it out of commission for a week; caused over 150 fires in public and private centers, including 21 homes, and 800 fires in sugar cane plantations.

“These operations had significant success. The boats that supplied service from Miami to Cuba delivered over 40 tons in arms, explosives and military equipment, and infiltrated and exfiltrated a large number of people (...) The majority of the sabotages in Havana and other places were carried out with materials supplied in this manner (...)”

Colonel Jack Hawkins, CIA.



# THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS



The first precedent of the so-called School of the Americas go way back to 1946, when the United States organized in Panama the US Army's Latin American Training Center for the formation of officers and non-commissioned officers of the armed forces and political allies in the hemisphere.

The School of the Americas —since 2001 renamed as Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, is a US Army institution based at present in Fort Benning, near Columbus, Georgia, and for decades has been dedicated to train Latin American repressive forces, including many main figures from military dictatorships in Latin America after the second half of the 20th century.



## 1976

During the James Carter administration the institution went on hold. Subsequently it was moved from Panama to Fort Benning.

## 1984

The Ronald Reagan administration restarted counter-guerrilla preparation under the name of United States Army Training and Doctrine Command School.

## 1996

Under pressure of the media and US human rights organizations, the US Army released part of the school's documentation, including some of the secret manuals advising students to practice torture, blackmail and extortion, and grant rewards for dead enemies.

## 2000

On December 15 the school was officially closed. Up to July 1, 1999, it had graduated 60,000 Latin American military; a large number of them subsequently stood trial as war criminals.

The School of the Americas has been the largest counterinsurgency center in the continent for recruiting non US military. Courses are taught in Spanish by US military of Mexican and Puerto Rican ascendancy, as well as by Cuban-born counterrevolutionaries.

Several important figures in the US have asked Congress to act in order to close down this sinister military training center.

“If the School of the Americas decided to hold a meeting of alumni, it would call together some of the most infamous and undesirable thugs and hoodlums in the hemisphere.”

US Senator Martin Meehan.

Among its most outstanding alumni are important instigators of war crimes and genocide, such as Roberto Viola and Leopoldo Galtieri (Argentina), Hugo Banzer (Bolivia), Elías Wessin (Dominican Republic), Roberto D'Aubuisson (El Salvador), Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda (Chile) and the heads of the Honduran armed forces, generals Romeo Vásquez and Luis Javier Prince, main participants in the coup against the government of Manuel Zelaya in June, 2009.

In an open letter sent on July 20, 1993 to the *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, US Army Major Joseph Blair (Ret.), a former instructor at the School of the Americas, said; “In my three years of service in the school I never heard a word about such lofty objectives as promoting freedom, democracy and human rights.”



# THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE

**In 1964 the United States began important programs of military advising and repression techniques with the armed forces of Latin American countries. President Lyndon B. Johnson authorized US armed forces to intervene unilaterally and launch the so-called limited or preemptive wars in any part of the world where US interests were believed to be threatened.**

**“This declared policy by US imperialism of sending troops to fight the revolutionary movement in any country of Latin America —to kill workers, students, peasants, Latin American women and children— has no other objective but to maintain its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the treacherous oligarchy that supports them (...)**

Fidel Castro Ruz: *Second Declaration of Havana*,  
February 4, 1962.



John McCone.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

Dean Rusk.

Robert McNamara.

General Maxwell Taylor.

## 1964

On January 9, US forces violently repressed a student demonstration that called for Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

The Yankee government supported a military coup in Brazil that inaugurated a bloody dictatorship.

Progressive leader Cheddi Jagan's second administration in Guiana (1961-1964) is toppled by a CIA-led coup.

## 1965

US armed forces 42,000 strong —backed by the OAS and a small Brazilian force—intervened in the Dominican Republic to defeat a popular insurrection led by Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deñó.

## 1966

In 1966 the White House sent weapons and advisors to Guatemala, as part of its counterinsurgency plans. A State Department report admitted that “(...) in order to eliminate a few hundred guerrillas, some 10,000 Guatemalan peasants must be killed (...)”

“Latin America has become a theater of the United States campaign against ‘international communism.’ Under that pretext, the US organized coups d’etat, strengthened and protected fascist dictatorships, structured police corps and repressive armies that did not stop at mass killings, but also excelled in torture, murder of innocent people, forced disappearance of thousands of men, women, children and young people (...)”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005..

A military coup in Argentina, backed by the United States and headed by General Alejandro Lanusse, overthrew constitutional president Arturo Illia.

As a result of Yankee intervention in Dominican Republic with the backing of the Lyndon Johnson administration, dictator Trujillo's henchman Joaquín Balaguer becomes president again.

## 1967

With the support of the United States and Brazilian military dictatorship, a government in Uruguay was constitutionally inaugurated with former general Oscar Gestido as president (1967-1976) and Jorge Pacheco Areco as vice president. From then on, the CIA played an important role in the bloody repression of revolutionary movements in that nation.

“Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador were the countries sacrificed to the sacred interests of the United States and transnational corporations (...)”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005.



# MILITARY COUP IN BRAZIL

A military coup fostered and supported by the United States overthrew Joao Goulart's progressive government in Brazil.

Declassified documents prove that the United States supported the coup. "I believe that we should take all the steps we can, be prepared to do what we need to do," said US President Lyndon Johnson on March 31, the day before President Goulart was overthrown.

In a telephone conversation, Johnson instructed Deputy Secretary of State George Ball to make sure that CIA Director John McCone and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara guaranteed the success of the Brazilian coup.



Robert McNamara.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

Those documents also confirmed the deployment of an airborne brigade ready to intervene to back the coup if US Ambassador Gordon deemed it necessary.

In the 1960s the first death squads were created in Latin America. There was evidence that the CIA was responsible for the training of these groups of torture and death against revolutionary movements.

“In Brazil, the CIA and the FBI advised the police and the armed forces to organize and execute monstrous repression, selective murders, the cruelest tortures, forced disappearance of people from all ages, aberrant practices of humiliation and the depravation of men and women accused of being subversive communists and leftists.”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005.

“Is it not indispensable on the Bicentennial to rethink the dialectics of the Revolution, reform and counterrevolution today in Our America? How can we approach the Bicentennial under the silence that has been imposed in the face of the rupturing of ‘representative’ democracy in Brazil in 1964, of the spreading of coups and political assassination in the region, inaugurating state terrorism and turning it with Plan Condor into a transnational corporation of crime at the service of oligarchies and US hegemonic interests?”

Felipe de J. Pérez Cruz y Luis Armando Suárez Salazar.







# THE INVASION OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



Caamaño and the people

**US forces invaded the Dominican Republic in order to eliminate the popular movement led by revolutionary leader Francisco Caamaño Deñó. The landing of the US Marine Corps began on April 28, 1965. Over 300 transport planes and 25 war ships took part in the operation, as well as 42,000 troops. Dominican civilian deaths were calculated at 6,000.**

“Neither by air, by land nor sea. Neither Wessins’ airplanes nor General Imbert’s tanks are able to put out the combat in the city that is ablaze. Nor the ships: they shell the Government Palace, occupied by Caamaño, but they kill housewives. The US Embassy, which calls the rebels “communist scum” and “gang of hoodlums” reports that there is no way to stop the situation and asks Washington for urgent help. Then Yankee marines land.”

Eduardo Galeano.



“On the next day the first invader dies. He is a boy from the mountains in upstate New York. He was shot from some rooftop in a little street of this city that he never heard of. The first Dominican victim is a five year old child. He dies in a balcony from a grenade. The invaders took him for a sniper (...)

“President Lyndon Johnson warns that he will not tolerate another Cuba in the Caribbean. And more soldiers arrive. And more still. Twenty thousand, thirty five thousand, forty two thousand. While US soldiers disembowel Dominicans, US volunteers patch them up in hospitals. Johnson exhorts his allies to join this Western Crusade. Brazil’s military dictatorship, Paraguay’s military dictatorship, Honduras’ military dictatorship, and Nicaragua’s military dictatorship, they all send troops to the Dominican Republic (...)

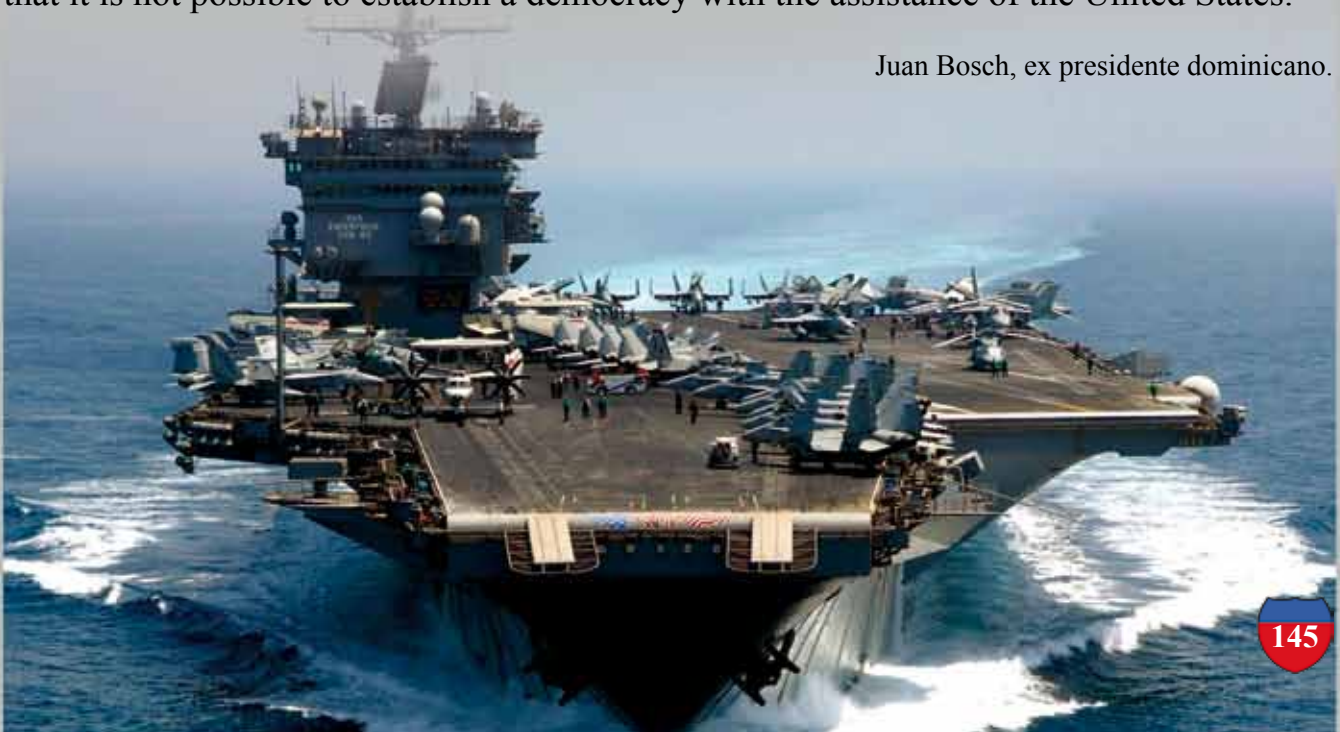
Eduardo Galeano.

Washington is taking the Dominican Republic to a military dictatorship like the one of the Trujillo era (...) For fear of a new dictatorship they are risking the lives of many non-communist Dominicans (...)

Tad Szulc.

“I believe that in the Dominican Republic Latin America has received a lesson: the lesson that it is not possible to establish a democracy with the assistance of the United States.”

Juan Bosch, ex presidente dominicano.





# THE PLOT AGAINST SALVADOR ALLENDE

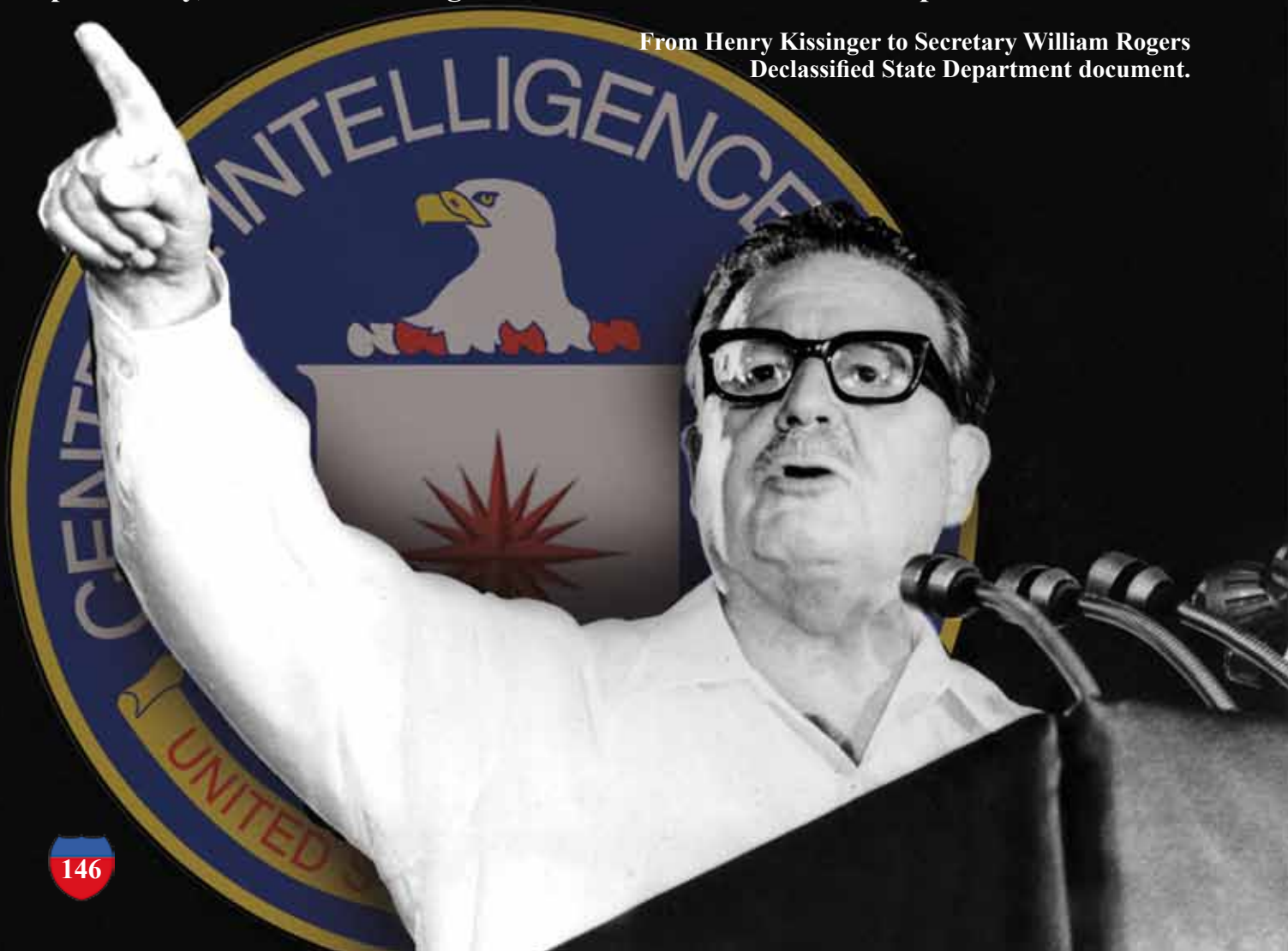
1970

The US government tried to prevent the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

“President Nixon had decided that an Allende government in Chile was not acceptable for the United States”, said CIA Director Richard Helms to Directorate of Plans officers and added: “The President has asked the Agency to prevent Allende to be sworn in or to overthrow him.

“The President’s vision is doing the utmost to prevent Allende from rising to the presidency, but to do it through Chilean sources and with a low profile.”

From Henry Kissinger to Secretary William Rogers  
Declassified State Department document.





Richard Nixon.

Henry Kissinger.



## 1970-1973

### THE CIA'S PROJECT FULBELT

FULBELT was the code name of the CIA project for undercover operations in Chile designed to destabilize the Unidad Popular government and promote a military coup.

After Allende's election, the US pressured the OAS to expel Chile from that organization, as it had done with Cuba in the 1960s.

Between 1970 and 1973, Richard Nixon instructed the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank and the ExIm Bank to block loans to Chile in order to deteriorate the Chilean economy and President Allende's image.

## 1971

Brazilian dictator Emilio Garrastazu Médici, chairman of the Military Junta since 1969, and President Richard Nixon met at the White House on the morning of December 9, 1971 to discuss bilateral cooperation and foreign policy.

Nixon asked Garrastazu Médici if the Chilean military would be capable of overthrowing Allende, who had been sworn in as president on November 3, 1971. According to documents, Garrastazu Médici answered that in his opinion they could do it, and he was "very clear that Brazil was working in that direction". Also "President Nixon said that it was very important that Brazil and the United States could work hand in hand in this area", and asked Garrastazu how he could help him, offering economic assistance "or any discreet support."

"The United States and Brazil should attempt and prevent new Allendes or Castros and attempt or reverse those tendencies wherever possible." As a South American country, Brazil "could do many things that the United States could not do in the region (...)"

Richard Nixon.



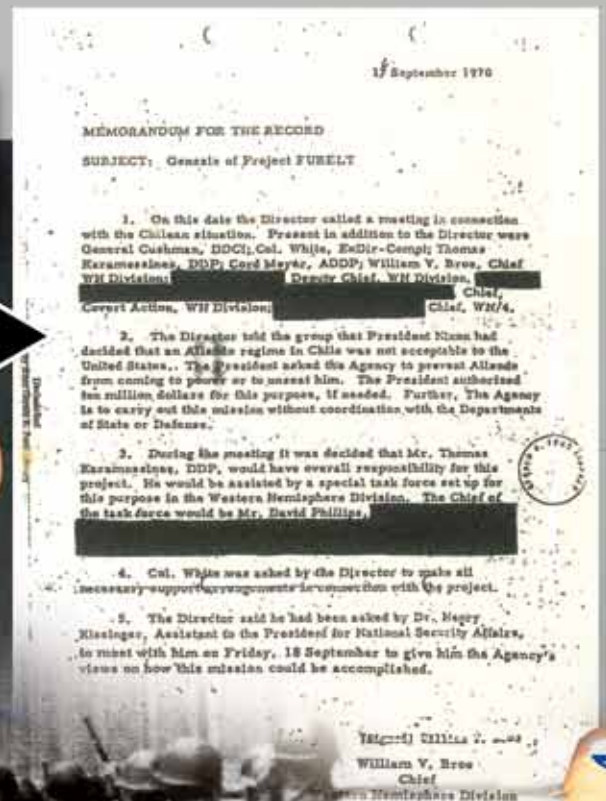
## “THE COUP IN CHILE WAS ALMOST PERFECT”

According to declassified documents, Gen. Alexander Haig confirmed that National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger ordered: “The Agency must continue to maintain pressure on every weak point Allende has (...)” On the next day, CIA’s headquarters instructed its Santiago de Chile Station: “It is a firm and continuous stance that Allende should be deposed by a coup (...) before October 24. But efforts in this sense will continue vigorously after that date. We will continue to apply maximum pressure to this end.”

“The coup in Chile was almost perfect”, claims a report by US military present in Valparaiso. According to CIA documents, the 40 Committee had OK’d covert operations for “smearing Allende and his Unidad Popular coalition.” But it was not only media support; the US government inspired and controlled the military coup since its inception, it aided and abetted the crime committed against President Salvador Allende, and was an impassive witness of the murder and disappearance of thousands of innocent Chileans.

2. The Director told the group that President Nixon had decided that an Allende regime in Chile was not acceptable to the United States.. The President asked the Agency to prevent Allende from coming to power or to unseat him. The President authorized ten million dollars for this purpose, if needed. Further, The Agency is to carry out this mission without coordination with the Departments of State or Defense.

Henry Kissinger.



## FASCIST REPRESSION

“My view is that you (General Pinochet) are a victim of all leftist groups in the world, and that your greatest sin is that you were capable of overthrowing a government that was becoming communist.”

Henry Kissinger.



Augusto Pinochet and fellow plotters.



## THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT ALLENDE

On September 11, 1973, shortly before dying, Salvador Allende gave his last and most famous speech from the Presidential Mansion, bombed by the Chilean Air Force. He said farewell with the following words:

“Much sooner than later the great avenues will open through which a free man will walk to build a better society.”

## CENTERS OF TORTURE OF THE PINOCHET REGIME 1973-1974

### Chilean Navy Naval Academy

“Used in 1973 and 1974 (...) The victims, men and women, were threatened and beaten, on many occasions blindfolded and with their hands tied, forbidden to communicate with anyone; they were kept in a large common room with their hands on their head, lying on the floor and motionless. Women were kept apart, naked, incommunicado. They suffered sexual humiliations and some reported having been raped (...) interrogations and systematic torture, hangings, use of electricity, knife cuts, immersion and asphyxiation in sewage water, application of tortures such as the “telephone”, “water planking”, “pau de arará”. There are testimonies that some prisoners were forced to play “Russian Roulette (...)”

Report by the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture.

## 1980-1988

### Facilities of the National Information Center (CNI)

“According to declaration of deponents, since the moment they were detained the prisoners were violently ill-treated and beaten. In the facility they remained incommunicado, blindfolded, slept handcuffed in a cabin and were intensively interrogated. They were tortured in a special room, and some of the prisoners were tied to a tree (...) They declared that they were beaten, electricity was applied to them, particularly in their bodies’ most sensitive parts, were placed in forced positions, and permanently threatened”.

Report by the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture.



Victoria Jail.

Palace of the Smiles.

Gimaldi Villa.

Chile Stadium.

Copiapó Prison.

La Serena Prison

## DEPOSITION OF TORTURED PRISONERS

“Woman. We were kidnapped from our home one early morning (...) I was subjected to more interrogations, blows, application of electricity in nipples and vagina, I was raped by more than two persons, even though I was four and half months pregnant. My daughter was born in prison with a C-section induced by police officers when they deemed it fit.”

“A woman that was seven months pregnant was arrested and taken to a DINA (secret police) unit. She said that she was raped constantly. Her daughter was born in police custody at the Sotero del Río Hospital. She was with her in another DINA place until the baby was five months old.

“(...) the torture sessions lasted about 12 hours. I was three months pregnant. I received blows to my underbelly, blows with wet sacks in my legs, buckets of water while being tied to a post, tied during hours with ropes under my legs. They pulled my pinky toe-nails and burned my body in several places. Because of the tortures, I aborted. They never gave me medical assistance (...)”

Report by the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture.

1973

“Man, detained in the month of December. While he was detained at the Chorrillos de Talca Regiment, VII Region, he said that ‘(...) although I was disfigured by the blows received, they pulled out my toenails from both my feet and applied electric current in cold blood, which gave me great pain’.”

Report by the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture.

“Man, detained in July. [...] They asked me if I had anything to say before they killed me, and I answered that I had nothing else to say. Then they made me dig a hole with pick and shovel, about 50 centimeters deep, one meter wide and two meters long. When I finished they made me lie down on my side. I heard someone cock a gun and put it against my temple. ‘Step back a little, so that his brains don’t splash out’. Before putting me in the hole, they had removed the shackles from my ankles and they told me they were going to tie me up with wire (...) After a while they pulled me out of the hole, shackled, handcuffed and blindfolded me and shoved me back to the car (...)”

Report by the National Commission on Political Prison and Torture.







# THE UNITED STATES AND ASSASSINATION PLOTS

94TH CONGRESS }  
1st Session }

SENATE

{ REPORT  
No. 94-465

## ALLEGED ASSASSINATION PLOTS INVOLVING FOREIGN LEADERS

AN INTERIM REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS

WITH RESPECT TO

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
UNITED STATES SENATE

TOGETHER WITH

ADDITIONAL, SUPPLEMENTAL, AND SEPARATE  
VIEWS

# 1961

## ZR-RIFLE

“One day, early in 1961, Bissell instructed William Harvey, who was then the CIA’s Chief of Foreign Intelligence, to prepare “Executive Action capacity” that would include a study on the existing ability to assassinate foreign leaders.”

Documents from the US Senate Church Commission, 1975.

“Executive Action” was a CIA euphemism defined as a project to investigate the manner for developing the means to overthrow foreign political leaders, including the ability to assassinate them.”

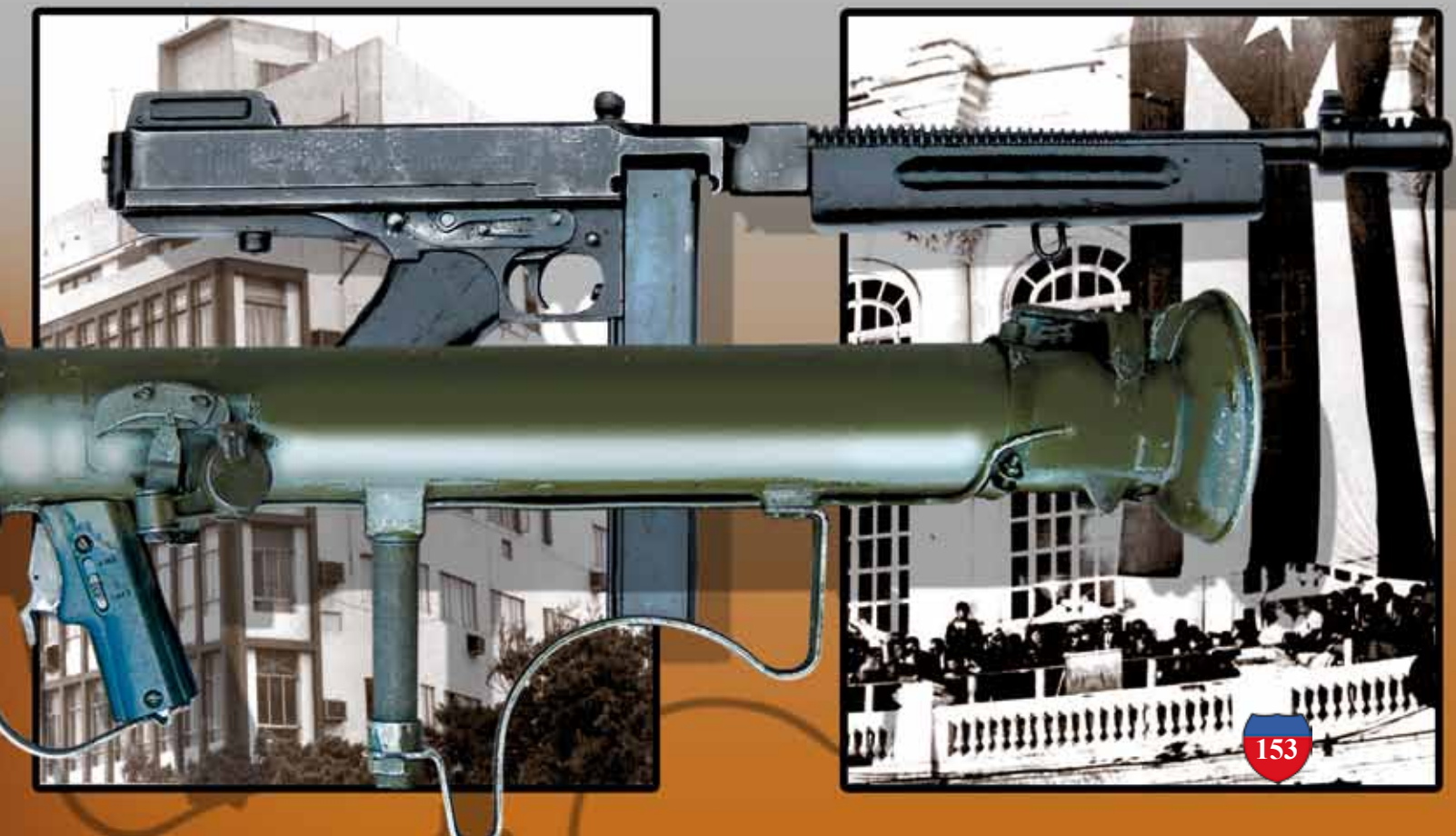
William Harvey.

“Bissell indicated that Executive Action covered a ‘wide range of actions’ for ‘eliminating the effectiveness’ of foreign leaders, with assassination as the ‘ultimate (action)’ in this range.”

Documents from the US Senate Church Commission, 1975.

“The Inspector General’s Report describes executive action as the ‘general ability to be on wait for executing assassinations whenever necessary. The cryptonym for the project given by the CIA was ZR/RIFLE.’”

Report, CIA’s Inspector General



## **THE ROLE OF THE MAFIA IN ASSASSINATION PLOTS**

“On August, 1960, the CIA took steps for recruiting members of the mob in contact with the gambling syndicate to assist in Castro’s assassination. The Chief of Support declared that Maheu was told to offer money, probably \$150,000, for assassinating Castro.

The Chief of Support said that Colonel J.C. King, head of the Western Hemisphere Division had given him \$50,000 at Bissell’s office to pay the Cuban if he successfully assassinated Castro.

The Chief of Support remembered Roselli’s request of doing something “good and clean, without going into something like an ambush, preferably a poison that would disappear and leave no trace. The Inspector General’s Report cited the Chief of Support as saying that ‘the Agency had first considered a mob-like hit’ where Castro would be shot. It is said that Giancana was firmly against the idea, claiming that it would be very hard to recruit someone for an operation so dangerous; he then suggested the use of poison.”

Documents from the US Senate Church Commission, 1975

## **WHO KNEW OR AUTHORIZED IN THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY THE PLANS AGAINST CASTRO**

### **1975**

“We have discovered concrete evidence of at least eight assassination plots against Fidel Castro from 1960 to 1965 in which the CIA was involved (...)

“CIA officials questioned by the Select Committee and involved in the assassination plots considered that assassination was a permissible way to act, so they declared that they believed that their actions were authorized.

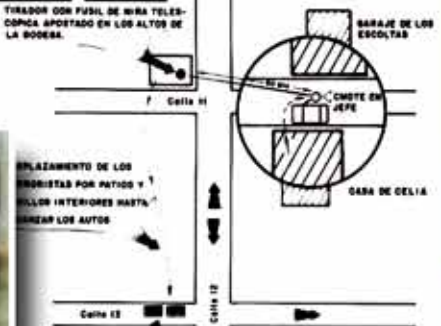
“In the case of the attempts, Bissell and Sheffield Edwards declared that they believed the operation that included mobsters had been authorized by Dulles (...). William Harvey testified that he thought the attempts were fully authorized at all the appropriate levels, both within and out of the Agency, although he had no personal knowledge about the identity of the individuals (...) Harvey declared that Richard Bissell told him that actions against Castro had been authorized by the highest levels, and that he had discussed the plans with Richard Helms, his immediate superior (...)”

US Senate Church Commission, 1975.

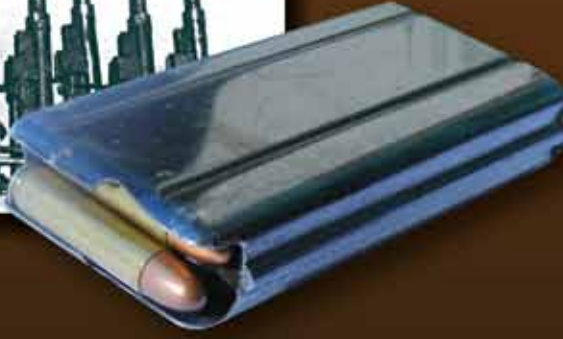
# CASO Pinar del Río

Organizaciones contrarrevolucionarias involucradas: Movimiento 30 de Noviembre, Frente Revolucionario Democrático (FRD), Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP). Principales encantados: Mario Chaves de Armas, Francisco Chaves de Armas, Roberto Concepción Valera, Orlando Ullacia Valdés, Francisco Gil Cruz y Segundo González González.

Durante la segunda quincena de julio de 1961, elementos contrarrevolucionarios de las organizaciones 30 de Noviembre, MRP y FRD planearon un atentado contra la vida del Comandante en Jefe, en las calles 11 entre 18 y 19...



DESPLAZAMIENTO DE LOS PROTESTAS POR PATIOS Y BARRIOS INTERIORES HASTA QUINTAR LOS AUTOS



“All assassination attempts were discovered and dismantled. For a long time they said it was Cuban propaganda, that there were no such assassination plots, until one day gentlemen in the US Senate met and gave an explanation and spoke about everything, told everything, which does not mean at all that imperialism has abandoned such practices and such methods.”

Fidel Castro Ruz, Speech on the 25th Anniversary of the creation of the Interior Ministry June, 1986.



# OPERATION CONDOR

Operation Condor took place between 1975 and 1983, and caused thousands of deaths and the disappearance of others all over the continent. The government of the United States and the CIA joined efforts with the military dictatorships of Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Bolivia, and the terrorist group Cuban Nationalist Movement. They had the support of paid criminals from Miami organizations and terrorist groups with the objective of annihilating the progressive and revolutionary movement in Latin America.

## Plan Condor

Seventeen high officials of the Pinochet military regime will be tried in absence in Paris for the disappearance of four French citizens under Operation Condor.

Countries involved



French citizens disappeared between 1973 and 1975:  
**Georges Klein,**  
**Etienne Pesle**  
and **Alphonse Chanfreau**  
in Santiago,  
**Jean-Yves Claudet,**  
in Buenos Aires



Source Conadep

210207 AFP

Colonel Contreras.

“(…) Plan Condor was one of its manifestations: a systematic project of extermination designed by Richard Helms, at the time CIA Director, and by his right-hand man David Attlee Phillips, who was then chief of the Western Hemisphere Division. The “workforce” to execute the plan’s dirty tasks was mainly, although not exclusively, recruited among Miami’s terrorist mafia. Operations included a wide range of actions, from coups to sabotage, media campaigns, extortion, assassination, bombings, etc. (...)”

“The systematic extermination plan applied in Argentina and other countries of the Southern Cone —the somber Plan Condor— was originated in the US. There it found its ideological sustenance, its protectors, the necessary funding, and the required human resources and organizations to execute it. The government of a country that boasts of being an alleged “sanctuary of all freedoms” trained the butchers that for years ravaged the region, monstrous creatures of successive incarnations of Dr. Jekyll that very frequently dwell in the White House (...)”

Atilio Borón.

## TERRORISTS IN THE BARE

### 1976

“As long as General (President) Videla is in power, I will kill.”

General Benjamín Menéndez, chief of the Army’s III Corps in Córdoba, Argentina.

### 1976

“First we will kill the subversives, then their collaborators, then their supporters, later the indifferent ones, and finally the weaklings.”

General Ibérico Saint-Jean.



## 1983

“I have a few things in common with Hitler, such as the desire to save humanity and of battling the communists.”

General Ramón Camps, former chief of police, after bragging about killing 5,000 Argentinians, including 21 children.

“If we cannot control Latin America, how can we control the world?”

Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State

### VICTIMS OF CONDOR ACCUSE

## 1977

“The bodies of the prisoners were piled up and then dismembered (...) The stench was unbearable (,,,) my daughter’s hands were in that barrel.”

From a letter to US Congressman Donald Frazer by Dr. Laura Bonaparte, a professor of Psychology, whose entire family disappeared.

## 1983

“I’ll never be able to forgive those murderers.”

An Argentinian mother whose young children were kidnapped and disappeared.

“They were also giving Fátima electric shocks (...) When they saw me raise the hood, I was almost strangled by a rope around my neck (...) Life at the police stations was a constant hell, with swastikas painted on the corridor wall’s.”

Patrick Rice, an Argentinian father, A report by Amnesty International.

### CORU JOINS CONDOR

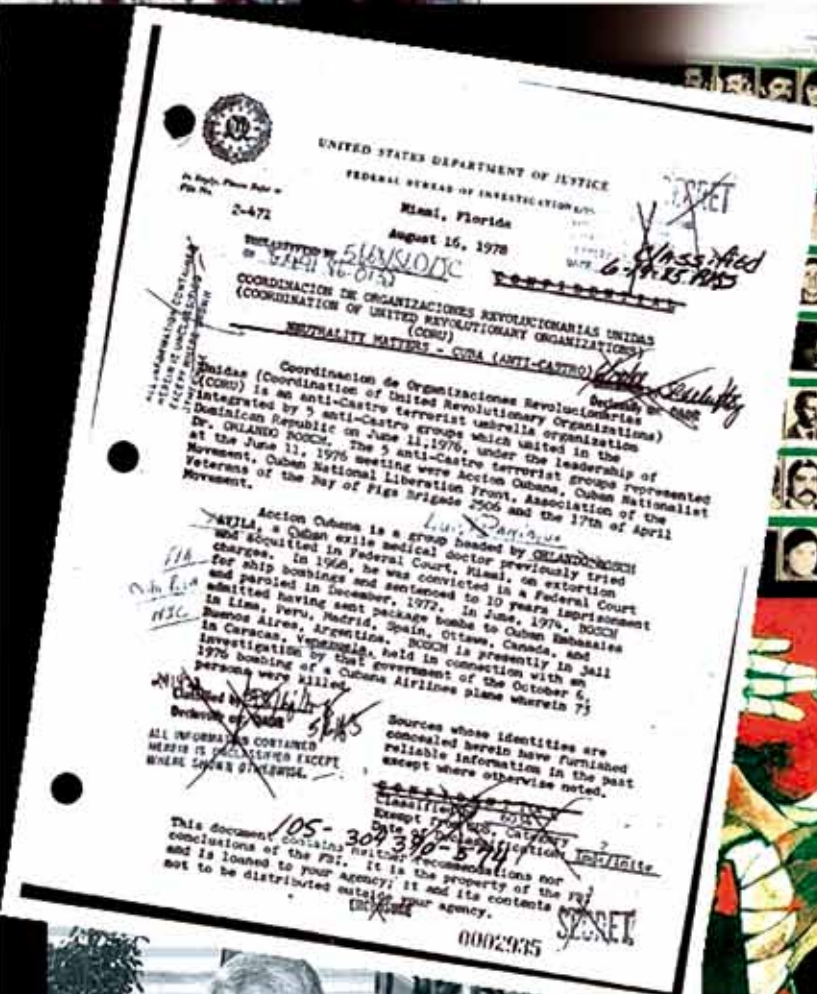
## 1976

In a meeting in June at Bonao, Dominican Republic, the CIA created CORU (Spanish acronym for Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations) that fused the most violent neo-fascist groups of Miami’s anti Cuban Mafia, with the relevant participation of criminals Orlando Bosch Ávila and Luis Posada Carriles. Some of these groups based in Miami and tolerated by the US government joined Plan Condor.

According to 1976 official documents declassified by the FBI, Augusto Pinochet’s fascist junta in Chile maintained a “special relation” with Cuban anti-Castro groups. The relationship included joint assassination missions.

“The toll generated by repression in the Southern Cone was of some 50,000 assassinations, 30,000 missing —most of them in Argentina— and 400,000 jailed. Among the assassinated and missing were some 3,000 children. Nevertheless, those figures are only related to the chilling reality of the illegal states (...)”

Stella Caloni.



# Chilean General declares he will go "to no jail"

**LUES 10 de JUNIO de 1995**  
**Servicios cablegráficos combinados**  
 Contreras, creador de la policía secreta (DINA) bajo el régimen del general Pinochet (1973-1990), fue condenado el martes por la Corte Suprema, que estableció su culpabilidad en el asesinato en Washington de Letelier y su secretaria Ronnie Moffitt.  
 Por su parte, el brigadier Pedro Espinoza, que deberá



Norberto Karasiewicz and Edelmiro Navarro, two Villa Pueyrredón residents, members of Plan Condor



## CONDOR PLAN Once again





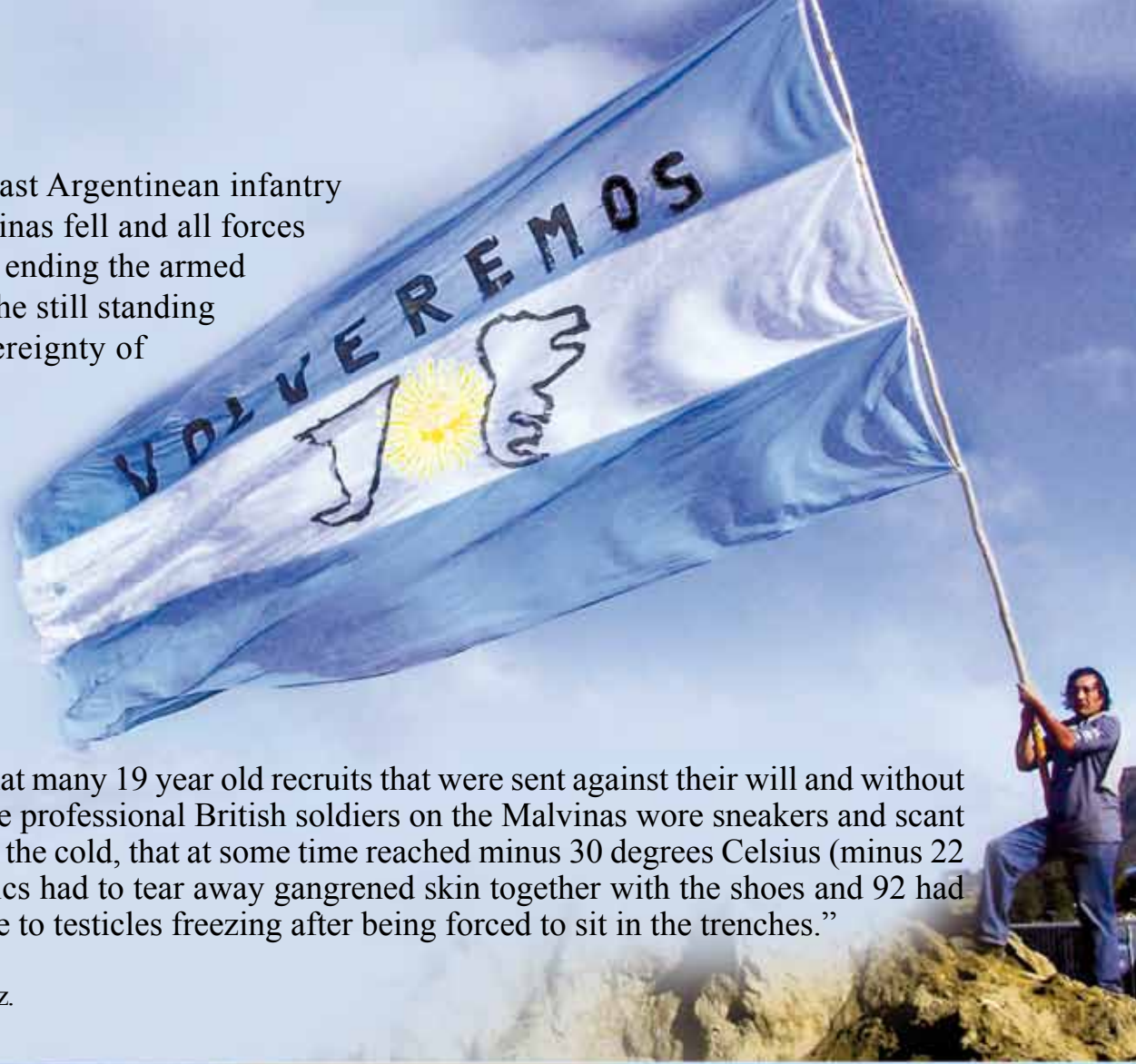
# THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED TO THE INVASION OF THE MALVINAS (FALKLAND) ISLANDS



1982

After serious incidents between both countries due to the occupation of the territory by Argentinean troops, the British government led by Margaret Thatcher ordered a huge air and sea invasion of the Malvinas with the firm political and logistic support of the United States, which caused the death of 600 Argentines.

On June 14, the last Argentinean infantry positions at Malvinas fell and all forces surrendered, thus ending the armed conflict, but not the still standing dispute over sovereignty of the islands.



## 1983

“Now we know that many 19 year old recruits that were sent against their will and without training to face the professional British soldiers on the Malvinas wore sneakers and scant protection against the cold, that at some time reached minus 30 degrees Celsius (minus 22 Fahrenheit). Medics had to tear away gangrened skin together with the shoes and 92 had to be castrated due to testicles freezing after being forced to sit in the trenches.”

Gabriel García Márquez.





# THE DIRTY WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA



Ronald Reagan and members of his staff.

**1982**

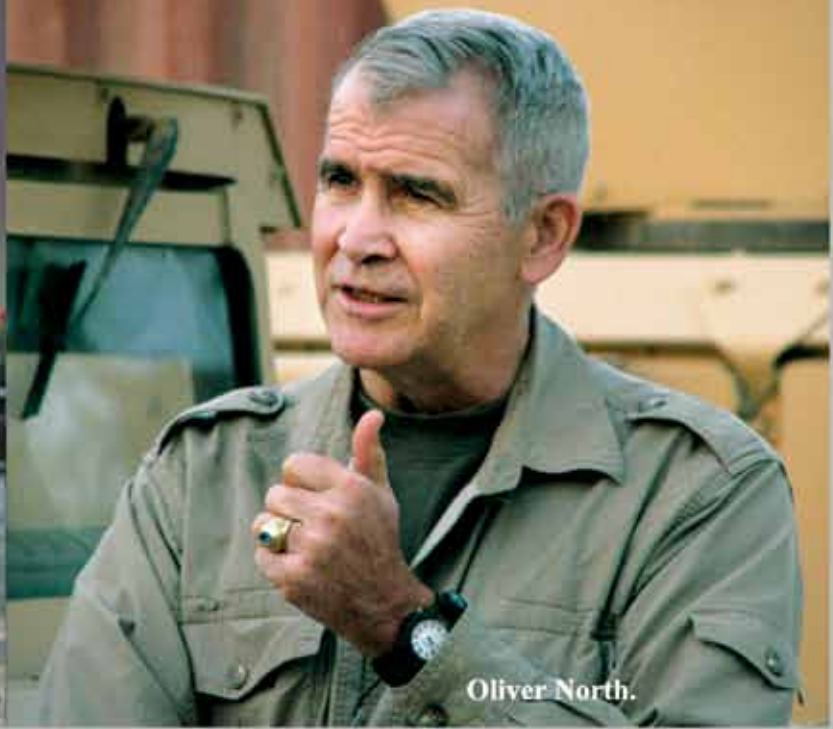
In 1982, the US government began a covert operation in Nicaragua for overthrowing the legitimate government of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

“In the 1980s, Central America became the testing ground for US counterrevolutionary war. Thousands of troops and CIA agents of the powerful empire were deployed in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. By their own hand or through hundreds of mercenaries nearly 250,000 Central Americans were murdered and disappeared, according to conservative estimates of local and international human rights organizations.”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005.



Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush.



Oliver North.

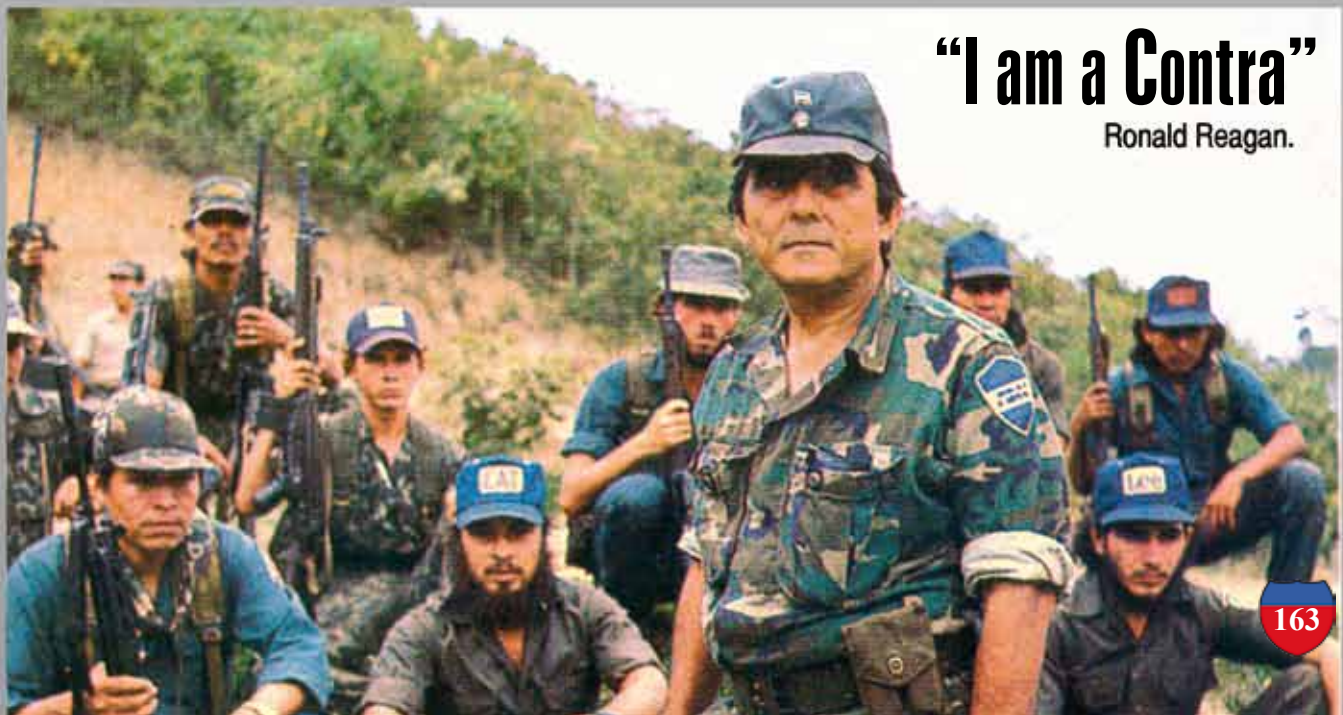
## CONTRAS WERE CREATED BY THE UNITED STATES

The Nicaraguan Contras were a creation of the United States government. Their leaders were members of the infamous US-trained National Guard of tyrant Anastasio Somoza that caused more than 50,000 victims. Somoza's henchmen fled to Florida and Honduras after the Sandinista Revolution's victory.

The dirty war against Nicaragua waged by the US government in the 1980s was a true expression of state terrorism.

The operation was illegal because it violated US laws, such as the Weapons Export Act, the Neutrality Act and the Boland Amendments. It was run by the National Security Council, the CIA and top officials of the Pentagon and the State Department.

None of the officials involved went to jail for these crimes. Lt. Col. Oliver North, a member of the NSC, oversaw a vast network of arms traffickers and secret bank accounts for the funding of this US government covert operation.



## 1984

The CIA recognized the publication of a “Freedom Fighters’ Manual” that was distributed among Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary forces and that included instructions for sabotage, torture, propaganda, blackmail and political assassination.

## 1990

### **RONALD REAGAN RECOGNIZED THAT THE OPERATION WAS UNDERTAKEN “AT MY REQUEST”**

“Prediction by communists that a “revolutionary fire” would cover all of Central America could become true in a very short time (...) I do not intend to leave such a crisis to the next President of the United States.”

Ronald Reagan.

“By training, arming, fitting, funding and supplying the ‘contras’, or in other ways encouraging, supporting and assisting military and paramilitary actions in Nicaragua and against this country, the United States of America has acted against the Republic of Nicaragua violating its obligations under common international law to not intervene in the internal affairs of another state.”

Finding of the International Justice Court, June 26, 1986.





# THE INVASION TO GRENADA

**In the early hours of October 25, 1983, a reinforced US Marines battalion, two Rangers battalions, two brigades of the 82nd Airborne Division with the support of other special logistics units and the participation of the aircraft carrier Guam, plus 15 ships and transport planes launched a surprise invasion on the little island of Grenada, in the Caribbean.**

**The revolution in Granada was crushed and the United States imposed a new government akin to its interests. More than 400 Grenadians were killed.**

**At that moment, 784 Cubans were in the island, most of them construction workers, as well as some doctors and teachers. During the uneven encounter, there were 24 dead and 59 wounded and a large number of Cuban construction workers were taken prisoners.**

**“The US government despised Grenada and hated Bishop. It wanted to destroy the process and the example of Grenada. It had military plans ready to invade the island, as Bishop denounced almost two years ago, but it had no pretext.”**

Fidel Castro Ruz, Speech at the burial of the heroes fallen in the unevenly-matched combat with Yankee imperialism on Grenada. Havana, November 14, 1983.





# OPERATION “JUST CAUSE”? THE INVASION OF PANAMA



**O**n December 19, 1989, the US Army’s 82nd and 193rd divisions launched the bloody invasion of Panama under the codename “Just Cause”. They used state-of-the-art equipment like F-117 Stealth planes and Apache attack helicopters.

The invasion imposed a puppet regime headed by Guillermo Endara (1989-1994) and arrested the head of government General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who stood trial in the US for drug trafficking.

## THE MASSACRE OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE

The operation began on the early hours of December 20, 1989 with the bombing of many facilities in an attempt to cancel the possible response of the Panamanian army. Subsequently, 26,000 troops landed.

The bombing destroyed airports and military bases, such as the Punta Paitilla Airport, Army Headquarters in El Chorrillo, the Tinajitas Barracks, the Old Panama Barracks, Los Pumas Barracks, the Río Hato Military Base and the Coco Solo Naval Base.

More than 3,000 civilians were murdered, plus several thousand wounded and 15,000 lost their homes when many buildings in workers' neighborhoods were destroyed. None was a military target.

There was no declaration of war and the invasion was condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

“In that manner they have rained death and destruction on that sister country of Latin America; in that manner they have shed the blood, in a few hours, of thousands of Panamanians, most of them civilians. And it is not that they attacked despising death, the death of imperialism's own mercenary soldiers; on the contrary, killing as many people as necessary in order to avoid their own casualties. Where there was resistance, they did not send soldiers; they bombed with their planes and helicopters.”

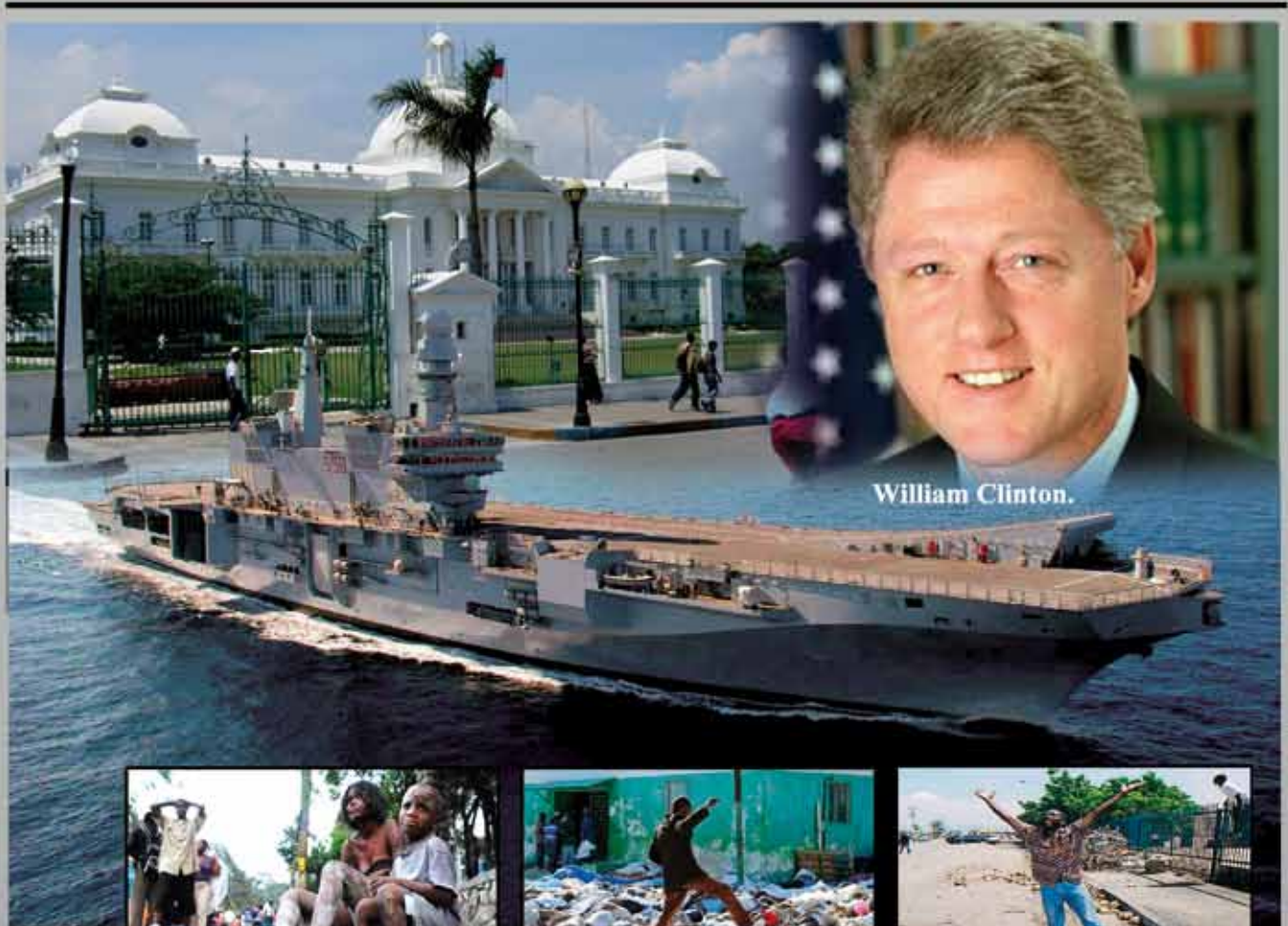
Fidel Castro Ruz, Speech at the awarding ceremony for Best Athletes of the Year, December 21, 1989.







# HAITI: A DEMOCRATIC INTERVENTION?



**1991**



During the government of Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti, the United States employed all its brutality to topple him in association with paramilitary groups at the service of the dominant classes and the military caste that for decades had ruled that impoverished country.

On September, General Raoul Cedras executed a coup d'etat. In the first few days after the coup, 3,000 civilians were murdered.

**1994**

The US government launched a so called "Democratic Intervention" to restore Aristide as president, following a UN Security Council resolution. After strengthening its naval

blockade on Haiti, US armed forces occupied the country. In keeping with the agreements of Governor's Island, New York, Aristide returned to Haiti and, after consultations with the White House, appointed a prime minister and allowed the military officers who had been involved in the brutal repression of the previous years to leave the country.

## 1997

According to Luis Suárez Salazar, the William Clinton administration increased pressure on President of Haiti René Preval (1996-2000), a consequence of the political crisis in that country when the opposition accused the government of “rigging (the April) parliamentary elections”, as well as the supplementary elections held in July and August of that same year.

## 2004

The US launched an invasion and military occupation of Haiti under the same old pretext of “protecting US interests” and “maintaining order.”

“Haiti, the poorest country in Latin America, is another recurrent victim of imperialism. The recent overthrow of President Aristide that caused the rebirth of military and paramilitary violence against the people was a product of a US-France joint plan, agreed upon in the summer of 2003 (...)”

The Court of Dignity, Sovereignty and Peace against War, Quito, Ecuador, 2005.

## 2010

### EARTHQUAKE IN HAITI

In January 12, a devastating earthquake ravaged Haiti and plunged it into tragedy and desperation, thus causing the most terrible humanitarian crisis in its history. Some two weeks after, the report of the toll was of 200,000 dead and 300,000 wounded, and the almost total destruction of urban infrastructure.

Contrary to many countries that came immediately with humanitarian aid, the United States sent a huge military contingent that occupied important civilian facilities.

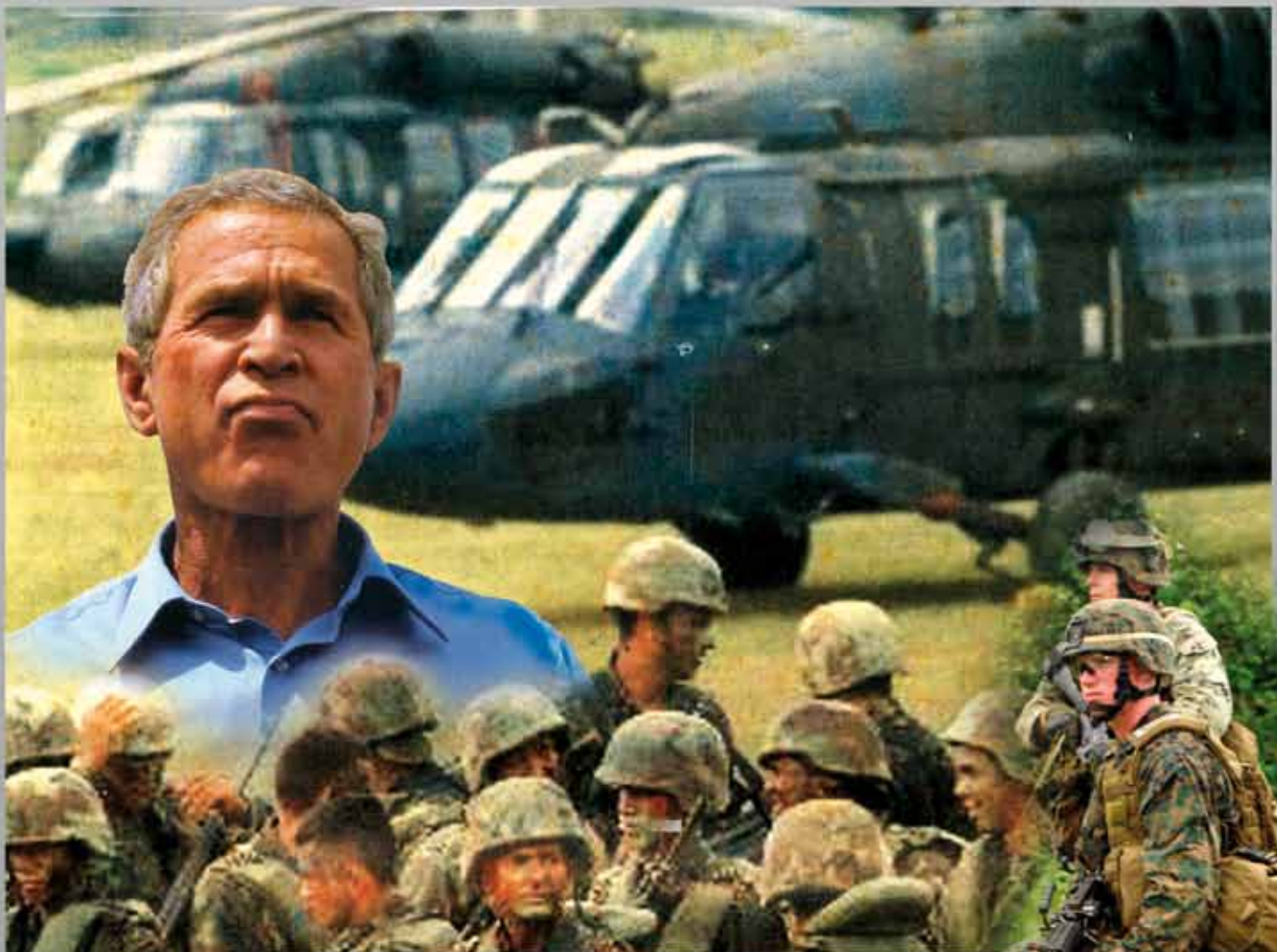




# PLAN COLOMBIA FOR “PEACE”

2000

Plan Colombia was designed by the United States during the government of Colombian President Miguel Pastrana Arango, and was advised and supplied by the State Department, the CIA and the Pentagon. The Clinton administration allocated over \$3 billion dollars in military and economic “aid”.



## Washington hopes for action on Uribe's part

GERARDO REYES  
El Nuevo Herald

Los colombianos no son los únicos que tienen urgencia de que el presidente Álvaro Uribe muestre resultados en los primeros seis meses de su gobierno.

Desde las postrimerías de la presidencia de Andrés Pastrana, congresistas y funcionarios de Estados Unidos también



El Congreso de EU quiere ver resultados

“no todo es cuestión de chequera, sino de eficiencia”, y que la soluciones que se apliquen en ese segundo frente podrán verse más rápidamente que aquellas que requieren trámites, dinero y debates.

The pretext for Plan Colombia was the war on drugs, but the real objective of the empire was the destruction of the revolutionary and democratic movement in the country and creating conditions for its total domination.

## 2004

Plan Colombia meant an increase of violence, limitation of human rights, militarist expansion, and intensification of the conflict that has turned Colombia into an immense military base with the participation of thousands of troops, military advisors and CIA and Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agents.

This military might threatens the peace in countries of the region, particularly in Bolivarian Venezuela.

### IMPORTANT FIGURES GIVE THEIR OPINON ON PLAN COLOMBIA

“Does it make any sense that the US government invests time and money for building military bases in Colombia for imposing on our peoples its hateful tyranny?”

Fidel Castro Ruz, “The Annexation of Colombia to the United States”, “Reflections”, November 6, 2009

“The colonization of Colombia is a political and military project of the empire for Latin America”

James Petras.

“To speak of Colombian sovereignty is a joke,. Plan Colombia, created by Clinton, is an aggressive intervention in Colombian internal affairs, and it has had consequences (...)”

Noam Chomsky.



Barack Obama.

Álvaro Uribe.



# THE DOUBLE COUP AGAINST VENEZUELA



**2002**

We need to remember that the US government promoted and backed the fascist coup d'état in Venezuela on April 11, 2002, and after its failure placed all its hopes in an oil coup, backed by programs and technical means capable of destroying a government, underestimating the people and the revolutionary leadership in that country. Since then, the US has plotted incessantly against it (...)"

Fidel Castro Ruz, "Is there Room for Hypocrisy and Lies?"

"Reflections", November 30, 2009.

"I believe there is no doubt that in 2002 the United States had at least total knowledge or may have been indirectly involved in the coup. So he (Chávez) has a legitimate claim against the United States."

James Carter.

## THE UNITED STATES FUNDS COUNTERREVOLUTION IN VENEZUELA

“The funding front began in 2001, when the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) quadrupled its annual funding for groups opposing Chávez that later used those funds for planning and executing a totally undemocratic coup against President Chávez, on April 11, 2002. The funds that at the time were approximately one million dollars a year, were conveniently increased two weeks after the coup, in late April, 2002, and funneled to the same groups that had just participated in the overthrow of the democratically elected government in Venezuela (...) President Bush himself asked Congress to duplicate the NED’s budget for Venezuela in the 2005-2006 period (...) Almost simultaneously, the “money pot” also overflowed for the Agency for International Development (USAID) and its Office for Transition Initiatives (OTI) that operates out of the US Embassy in Caracas (...) Instead of the \$5 million dollars a year that the State Department received in 2002, the last figures show an increase to \$7 million for the fiscal year 2005, and State Department’s spokespersons have declared their wish to increase these funds even more.”

Eva Golinger.

“(…) Among all documented military coups in 25 Latin American countries, from 1902 to the last one in Venezuela (2002), there were 327 attempts, counting those who were successful and established military dictatorships through months or years, as well as those who lasted a few days, like the repeated coups in Bolivia.”

Modesto Emilio Guerrero.





# US MILITARY BASES IN LATIN AMERICA

Seeing that for attaining US geostrategic objectives in Latin America and the Caribbean, instruments of domination such as the Free Trade Area for the Americas (FTAA) and other unfair economic or trade agreements have not been enough, Yankee imperialism has resorted to the deployment of troops and military bases, particularly in areas considered essential.

US military bases in Latin America and the Caribbean are a network designed by military geopolitics makers that have in mind, in the first place, US corporate interests at the time of devising strategies. Its programs are made for guaranteeing the access to strategic raw materials, markets and main energy sources.





Analysts and military experts from Europe, Latin America and the US claim that “without its wide network of military bases the world over, it would not have been able to intervene abroad in more than 300 occasions in the 20th century. Without them it would have been much more difficult to overthrow democratic Latin American governments, sympathizers of the socialist countries, and involve itself in wars and campaigns in East Asia.”

Military bases threaten Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador and the rest of Latin America from the north, while the US Navy’s IV Fleet has been recently activated after being dormant for almost 70 years. Colombia remains as the spearhead for future aggressions in the region.



34 | CONVENIO Invertirá 5 mil millones en infraestructuras

# The US Increases its Military Presence in South America

Instalará cinco bases en Colombia, a las que enviará tratistas civiles del Pentágono para dirigir desde allí

un contingente de 800 militares y 600 contra la lucha contra el narcotráfico y el terrorismo.

**Inventario de tropas**

Estados Unidos cuenta con 4.500 bases militares dentro de su territorio y 823 fuera de él, ubicadas así: 21 en América, 513 en Europa, 36 en Asia-Pacífico, 288 en Asia-Pacífico-Oceania y 5 en África; en una extensión que ocupa más de 2,5 millones de hectáreas en los cinco continentes. No se incluyen 106 bases militares instaladas desde 2005 en Irak y Afganistán, ni las construidas en Israel, Qatar, Kirguistán y Uzbekistán; tampoco las 20 bases de EE.UU. que comparte con el ejército turco. Además, el Pentágono indica que posee 32.327 cuarteles, hangares, hospitales y otros edificios en sus bases en el extranjero y que rentó 16.527 instalaciones. Durante el año fiscal 2005-2006 contrató para esos enclaves a un millón de personas.

**La presencia MILITAR será de unos 800 soldados en total.**

El ex ministro de Defensa y pre candidato liberal a la Presidencia colombiana, Rodrigo Fando, criticó por la falta de transparencia del Gobierno por que si su juicio mediante un acuerdo se crearía una plataforma de operaciones militares y/o de inteligencia de otro país.

En un artículo publicado en el

**Condición del acuerdo: 10 AÑOS DE PLAZO**



Cada uno de los 100 soldados de Estados Unidos.

**Colombia**  
Agencia noticiosa

El plan de EE.UU. de instalar a sus militares en cinco puntos del territorio colombiano, con un máximo de 800 militares y 600 civiles, ha creado una commoción nacional que alcanza a los vecinos, sobre todo a Venezuela y Ecuador. Las negociaciones se han llevado en secreto en EE.UU. en los últimos meses y el acuerdo ya está prefirmado a falta de una inminente quinta ronda de conversaciones en Bogotá.

Desde hace 50 años, Estados Unidos brinda cooperación militar a Colombia.

El objetivo del convenio es la lucha frontal contra el narcotráfico y el terrorismo.

Estas bases tratarán de suplir la...

Los expertos desde el punto político, esta cooperación Estados Unidos podría ser el pretexto para la presencia de las bases militares en Colombia y como pretexto para la presencia de las bases militares en Colombia y como pretexto para la presencia de las bases militares en Colombia.

Los expertos desde el punto político, esta cooperación Estados Unidos podría ser el pretexto para la presencia de las bases militares en Colombia y como pretexto para la presencia de las bases militares en Colombia.



## LAS BASES MILITARES DE EEUU EN AMERICA LATINA

Atentado a la paz y a la integración de la Región



**PONENTE: RAMIRO ORJUELA**

Abogado defensor de los Derechos Humanos, miembro del Comité Permanente de Derechos Humanos de Colombia.

Edificio Moma, Medellín. 2 de diciembre, 20.00 h.

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COLABORAN



## CONCENTRACION

# CONTRA EL IMPERIALISMO

## SUS GOLPES DE ESTADO Y LAS BASES MILITARES



On March, 2008, in a swift operation coordinated with the US, Colombian troops illegally entered Ecuadorean territory and assassinated Commander Raúl Reyes, one of the top leaders of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Simultaneously, they massacred some twenty people, including FARC guerrillas and a group of young people from several countries that were present.

“The event was a humiliating action of the small and heroic South American country, involved in a political democratic process (...)”

Fidel Castro Ruz, “It is the Hour of Reckoning and of Marching in Unison,”  
“Reflections,” August 27, 2009.

“(...) Its trumpeted ‘war against’ terror is nothing but the ominous incarnation of the perverse Ministry of Truth —created by George Orwell in his 1984 novel—, and in which lies, deceit and spin were conveniently fabricated for manipulating citizens (...)”

Atilio Borón.

“US military expansion and the strengthening of Latin American armies are the main threat for the emergence of democracy and regional stability (...)”

James Petras.

“The war against drugs is a pretext for establishing military bases all over the hemisphere. How can ships of the IV Fleet and modern combat planes be appropriate for fighting drugs?”

Fidel Castro Ruz, “Yankee Bases and Latin American Sovereignty,”  
Reflections, August 9, 2009.

“To invade Panama all they had to do was cross a street, That is the Pentagon’s dream: cross a street, or walk a very short distance, as could Bolivia be invaded from their advance post in the Paraguayan military barracks at Mariscal Estigarribia, a scant 250 kilometers from the Bolivian border, where they have an air strip similar to the one at Palmerola, 3,800 meters long, for landing their huge planes (...)”

Stella Caloni.





# IMPERIAL OFFENSIVE IN HONDURAS

On Sunday, June 28, 2009, with the blessing of the US government, democratically elected President of Honduras Manuel Zelaya Rosales was kidnapped from his Tegucigalpa residence and taken to Costa Rica, while a coup by the Honduran armed forces placed businessman Roberto Micheletti as head of the country.

The Honduran people put up a tenacious and brave resistance to the coup and because of it were brutally repressed. Many innocent citizens have been persecuted and murdered by the military.

The Soto Cano military base, home to the United States so-called “Bravo Joint Task Force”, was the backup for the coup.

“At Palmerola there are about 500 US military, but the base has mobility in all of the Honduran territory using maritime, land and air resources for its deployment.”

Stella Caloni.

## THE HEROIC RESISTANCE OF THE HO





**HONDURAN PEOPLE**





# SUBVERSION LOOMS OVER LATIN AMERICA USAID AND NED

In 1961, Latin America was the stage for one of the first programs by the Agency for International Development (USAID) —the Alliance for Progress—, a first great attempt to isolate the Cuban Revolution, stigmatize it and minimize the influence that could derive from it in favor of national liberation movements in the continent.

This project became the basis for USAID programs in Latin America in the 1960s. But they were not dedicated to foster and manage programs for economic development, but rather were placed at the disposal of the brutal repression of progressive, nationalists or left-leaning groups, organizations or common citizens.



# USAID

FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



## THE CIA LINKS

Since the 1960s, USAID worked in close association with the CIA in all international aid projects, particularly those related to training of police forces in military regimes that had come to power through coups d'état in Latin American countries, such as Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil, among others.

According to CIA declassified documents, it may be inferred that during the years of the infamous Plan Condor in Latin America USAID was involved in a type of highly secret international activity in relation to so-called counterterrorism, which included training on several specialized techniques, including interrogation, sabotage and persecution. The US government has used the USAID cover to lead illegal activities in countries questioned by the US.

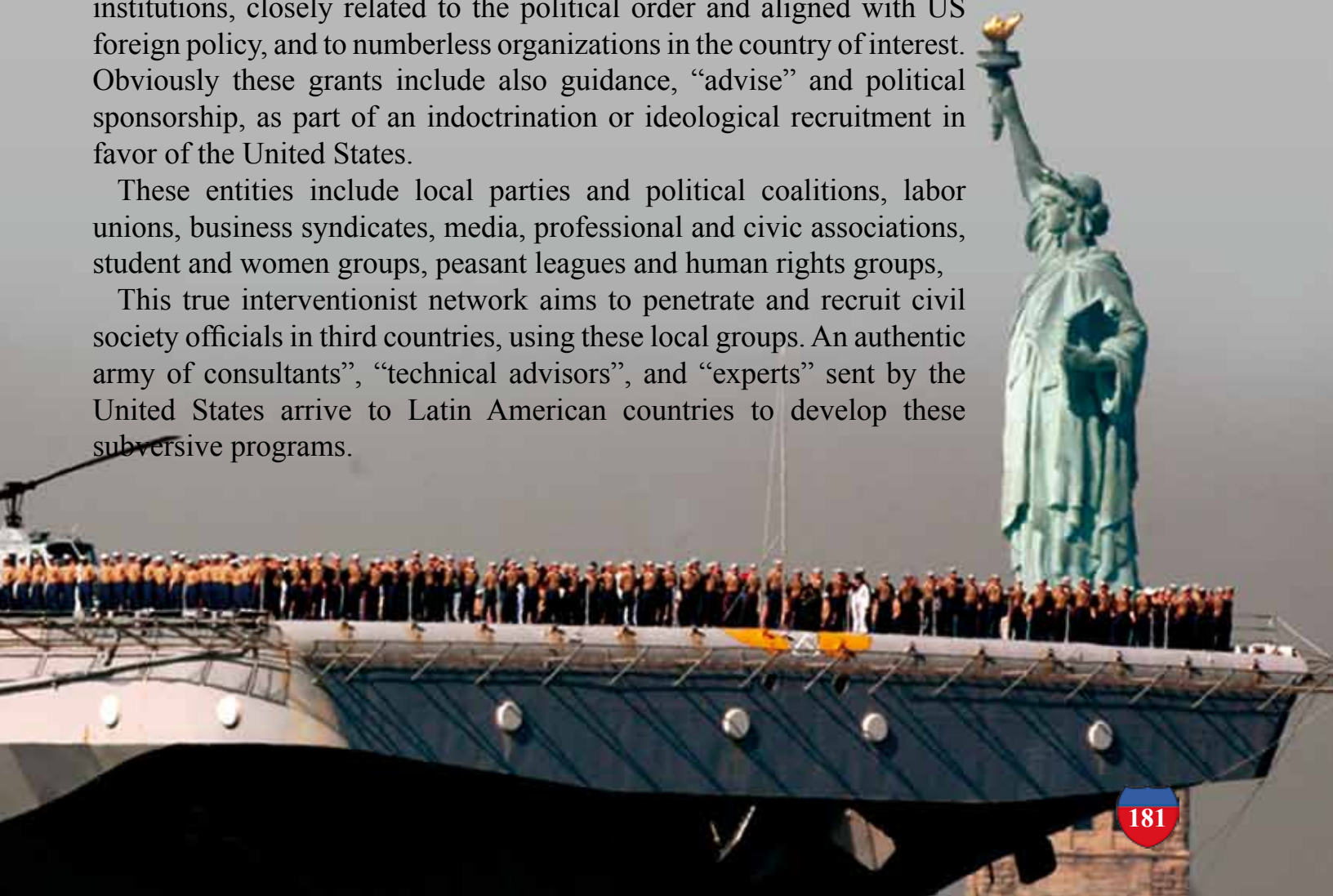
## PROMOTING “DEMOCRACY”

In the last few years, political intervention programs organized by the United States and developed under the umbrella of “promoting democracy”, have had several levels of policy design, funding, operational activities and influence.

At these levels is the USAID, to which millions of dollars are allocated directly or through NED and other agencies that fund US private institutions, closely related to the political order and aligned with US foreign policy, and to numberless organizations in the country of interest. Obviously these grants include also guidance, “advise” and political sponsorship, as part of an indoctrination or ideological recruitment in favor of the United States.

These entities include local parties and political coalitions, labor unions, business syndicates, media, professional and civic associations, student and women groups, peasant leagues and human rights groups,

This true interventionist network aims to penetrate and recruit civil society officials in third countries, using these local groups. An authentic army of consultants”, “technical advisors”, and “experts” sent by the United States arrive to Latin American countries to develop these subversive programs.



For the period of 2007-2012, and under the concept of “Governing justly and democratically”, USAID had in 2008 a budget of \$258 million dollars in programs for Latin America and the Caribbean for the creation of alleged competitive political systems where every citizen has the right to political power.

In 2008, US agencies affiliated to USAID funded over 68 programs or organizations of Venezuelan opposition forces with \$3 million dollars, while most of the Americans hit by the worst economic crisis in 80 years, ignored that millions of their tax dollars were used in anti-democratic campaigns in countries like Nicaragua, Bolivia or Ecuador.

The National Endowment for Democracy also has an active participation in these interventionist programs. During its first ten years of existence, it distributed approximately \$200 million in 1,500 projects to aid “America’s friends”. In the 1990s, the money distributed by NED on a global scale was \$267 million.

USAID OPEN GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE PROJECT  
 ПРОЕКТ “ИНИЦИАТИВА ОТВОРЕНО УПРАВЛЕНИЕ”

**ПРЕПОРЪКА**

Проект “Инициатива отворено управление” на Американската агенция за международно развитие оказва съдействие за няколко работещи за оздравяване на необходимите реформи в областта на обществените държави в България. Дейността на проекта е пряко свързана с организиране на събрания, семинари, обучения и т.н. Тези събития са на международно ниво, с участието на известни американски специалисти в съответната област и като такива, действат положително на организационни, дискуссионни, презентационни и озвучителни апаратури.

От 2003 година насам “DIP Consulting”, като изпълнител на проекта ползва услугите на “Конгрес Инженеринг” ЕООД за организиране, изпълнение, настройка и поддръжка на необходимото, за пълноценното провеждане на обучението, техническо оборудване. Между двете страни е подписан договор за комплексна поддръжка на техническо оборудване и услуги. Конферентните системи на “Конгрес Инженеринг” напълно отговарят на поставените от ААМР изисквания, фирмата винаги поема пълното техническо обезпечаване независимо от конфигурацията. Специалистите от екипа са на високо ниво, добре подготвени и устрояност оказват съдействие при нужда от страна на организаторите, като имат голям принос за спешното и безпроблемно протичане на мероприятията.

“DIP Consulting” на “Конгрес Инженеринг” ЕООД за свой коректен и навременен отговор на всички технически изисквания за работен и гъвкав за продажба или отдаване под наем на конференционна зала.

**Career Opportunities**

USAID Pakistan, in pursuit of its goal to improve the well-being of the people of Pakistan and vision of a moderate, democratic and prosperous Pakistan, is looking for high caliber professionals with demonstrated capacity and competence to take up challenging positions in the areas mentioned below:

**AID Project Management Specialist - Economic Growth**  
 (Salary Range: Rs. 1,940,194 to 3,590,053 p.a.)

- Masters / Bachelors’ Degree in Economics, Business Administration, Finance or Public Policy along with at least 7 to 10 years experience at senior professional or management levels in government, NGOs, private sector or international donor organization. Senior level experience in policy / strategy development and program design for multi-sector development programs. Experience preferred in independently managing an organization or a section or division of a large organization.
- Fluent oral and written English and Urdu (Level 4 is required). Good working knowledge of more than one local language will be an added advantage.
- In-depth knowledge of Government of Pakistan’s development agenda, PSDP and ADP development initiatives and socio-political culture.
- Expert level knowledge of economic development and agriculture sector growth issues.
- Competence to take up an advisory role on Pakistan’s economic development and related issues.

**AID Project Management Specialist - Private Sector Development**  
 (Salary Range: Rs. 1,940,194 to 3,590,053 p.a.)

- Masters / Bachelors’ Degree in Economics, Business Administration, Finance, Public Policy or Agriculture along with at least 7 to 10 years experience at senior professional or management levels in government, NGOs, private sector or international donor organization. Senior level experience in policy / strategy development and program design for multi-sector development programs. Experience preferred in independently managing an organization or a section or division of a large organization.
- Fluent oral and written English and Urdu (Level 4 is required). Good working knowledge of more than one local language will be an added advantage.
- In-depth knowledge of Government of Pakistan’s development agenda, PSDP and ADP developmental initiatives and socio-political culture.
- Expert technical abilities in private sector development.
- Ability to conceptualize and articulate / design economic growth strategies and organize, analyze and interpret economic growth sector data.

**AID Project Management Specialist - Trade**  
 (Salary Range: Rs. 1,940,194 to 3,590,053 p.a.)

- Masters / Bachelors’ Degree in Economics, Business Administration, Finance or Public Policy with at least 7 to 10 years experience at senior professional or management levels in government, NGOs, private sector or international donor organization. Senior level experience in policy / strategy development and program design for multi-sector development programs. Experience preferred in independently managing an organization or a section or division of a large organization.
- Fluent oral and written English and Urdu (Level 4 is required). Good working knowledge of more than one local language will be an added advantage.
- In-depth knowledge of challenges in economic growth with emphasis on trade and private sector opportunities.
- Expert technical abilities in development economics and its relevant domains.
- Ability to conceptualize, design, implement, coordinate and evaluate.

**Public and Outreach Communications Specialist**  
 (Salary Range: Rs. 1,940,194 to 3,590,053 p.a.)

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## SUBVERTING THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

In the case of Cuba, funding by USAID or NED is funneled to a group of anti-Cuban organizations based mainly in the United States, and to internal counterrevolutionary factions, led and manipulated by the US Interest Section in Havana. In 1995, the Clinton administration orchestrated the first assistance package for Cuba through USAID aimed at the overthrowing of the Cuban Revolution.

Since then, the United States has dedicated dozens of millions of dollars to this purpose. On January 31, 2008, USAID asked for funds to finance subversive programs against Cuba for \$20 million dollars.

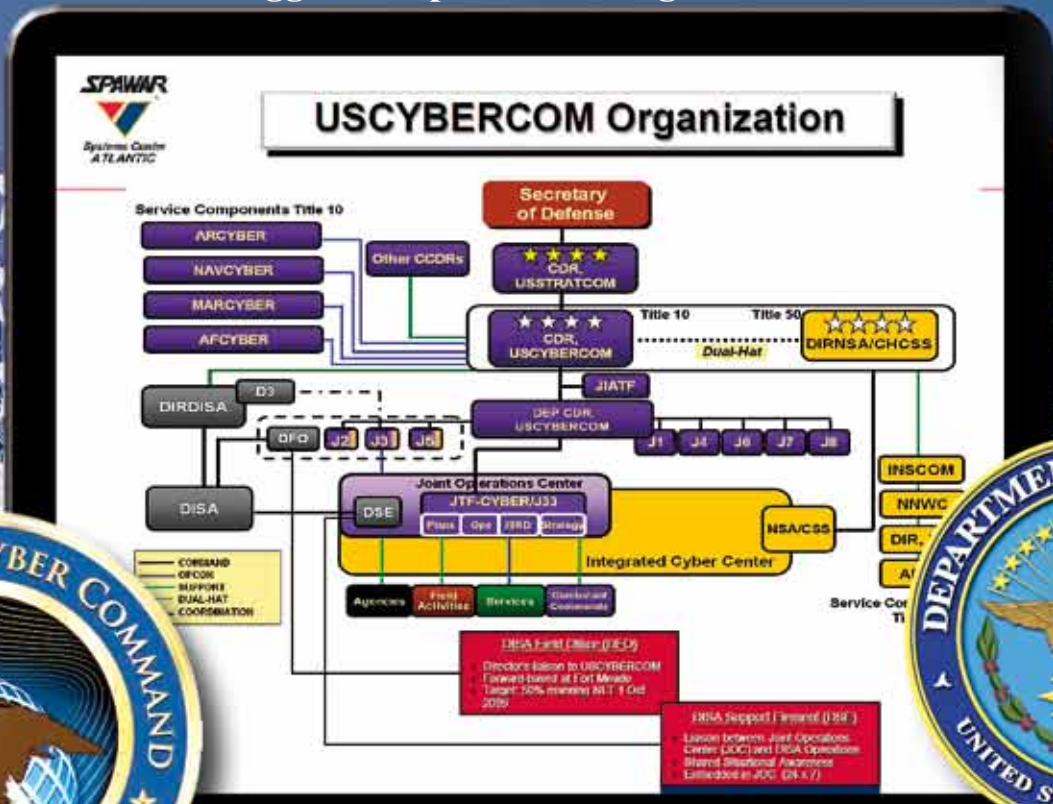






# NEW MEANS OF AGGRESSION IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup>. CENTURY

Billions of dollars dedicated by the US to R&D in the war industry increase its aggressive possibilities against the world.



According to news media, on May 21, 2010 the US Cybercommand (USCYBERCOM) was officially created as part of the US Strategic Command, headed by the Director of the National Security Agency (NSA).

The branch will assume the responsibility of other existing specialized agencies and will be based at Fort Meade, Maryland, home also to NSA main facilities. USCYBERCOMM plans, coordinates, integrates, synchronizes and directs operations for protecting the Defense Department's information networks and also carries out an ample sort of offensive military operations in cyberspace against other countries. It is a growing sector within the military-industrial complex and will require from its inception billions of dollars in investment and over 10,000 experts.

USCYBERCOM will fuse the four existing teams of cyber war —the 24th Air Force, the 10th Fleet, and the Army and the Navy Cybercommands— in a single organization

The destructive power of CYBERCOMM will be long-reaching, for it has the ability to inflict irreparable and catastrophic damage to social life in the target countries, in its civilian infrastructures, power grids, water storage systems, financial institutions, and transportation and telecommunications centers. In heavily populated cities of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, a small number of attacks that target these centers would cause the collapse of the entire network.

The Internet site WikiLeaks recently posted a US document that shows the close coordination of multiple agencies in actions of this type of war, including the FBI, NASA, the US Northern Command, and the National Geospatial-Intelligence



Agency (NGA). The leaked document mentioned the monitoring in real time of cell phones and other electronic communications obtained by NGA military spy satellites.

“Cyberspace as a war theater (...), like the sky, favors the offensive,” said Lani Kass, special assistant to the Chief of Staff, US Air Force, who previously headed the cyberspace task force.

“Those operations will deny, degrade, destabilize, destroy or deceive an adversary. Offensive operations in cyberspace will guarantee a freedom of friendly action, while denying the same freedom to our adversaries. We will increase our ability to carry out attacks with electronic systems, interdictions, and attacks against electro-magnetic systems, against networks, and attack operations against infrastructures. The targets include the adversaries’ land, air and space networks, electronic attacks and attacks against network systems and the adversary itself.”

“Strategic Vision”, Air Force Cyber Command,

# Microsoft



# Google

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CNN



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the collaboration of many comrades and institutions:

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“José Martí” National Library: Eduardo Torres Cuevas, Ana Gloria Valdés Arranz, Tomás Rodríguez Ramírez.

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**“The trees must form ranks to block the seven-league giant! It is the hour of reckoning and of marching in unison, and we must move in lines as compact as the veins of silver that lie in the roots of the Andes.”**

**“(…) of preventing the United States from spreading through the Antilles as Cuba gains its independence, and from overpowering with that additional strength our lands of America.”**

**“There never was in the Americas, since its independence to the present, a matter that requires more good sense or that binds to more watchfulness, or demands a more clear and thorough examination, that the invitation that the United States, potent, packed with unsellable products and determined to extend its domain in the Americas, makes to the less powerful American nations. (...) From the tyranny of Spain, Hispanic America knew how to save itself, and now, after seeing with judicial eyes the background, causes and factors of the invite, it is urgent to say, because it is the truth, that for Hispanic America has arrived the hour to declare its second independence.”**

**José Martí**

**“Throughout more than a hundred years this intervention, based on military superiority, in unequal treaties, and in the shameful submission of treacherous governments, has turned Our America—the America that Bolívar, Hidalgo, Juárez, San Martín, O’Higgins, Sucre, Tiradentes and Martí wanted free— into a region of exploitation, the backyard of the Yankee financial and political empire.”**

**Fidel Castro Ruz,**

