

tel's donations to the Samper campaign. It also ordered the arrest of Alberto Giraldo, the "journalist" who served as a high-level public relations agent for the cartel. The Prosecutor's office also called on the Colombian Supreme Court to open up an investigation against eight congressmen, Attorney General Orlando Vásquez Velázquez and Comptroller General David Turbay Turbay, for having taken money and other payoffs from the Rodríguez Orejuela organization. The payoffs to the 10 people mentioned occurred during a tour they had taken with candidate Samper in 1994.

In early June of this year, Samper met with the entirety of the military and police command structure and warned that if they did not produce concrete results against the Cali Cartel, "I'm going to go, and so are you." In other words, his government could fall unless they could practically demonstrate that he did not have ties to the drug traffickers. The U.S. pressure was on.

On June 9, the police captured Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela. After that, more were captured and others surrendered.

On July 17, Santiago Medina was called to testify before the Prosecutor's office, and was unable to explain the origin of a \$48,000 check drawn on the account of a Cali Cartel shell company to his name. The check had been used to cover expenses of the Samper campaign in Cali.

On July 26, the Prosecutor's office arrested Medina. Despite pressure from several Samper emissaries, Medina decided on July 27-28 to collaborate with the Prosecutor, and revealed that Fernando Botero, in his capacity as Samper's campaign manager, had managed a secret bank account at Chase Manhattan Bank in New York. He also revealed that, on orders from Samper and Botero, he had met with the cartel bosses to request contributions.

On Aug. 1, the Prosecutor's office called on the Supreme Court to consider opening an investigation against Fernando Botero and against Armando Benedetti, Samper's communications minister, who had also taken mafia money for Samper's campaign, according to Medina.

On Aug. 2, Defense Minister Fernando Botero resigned his post. Samper urgently brought National Police director Gen. Rosso José Serrano back from New York, where he had been attending a seminar. Samper told Serrano that the only thing that could save his government would be the immediate arrest of Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela.

On Aug. 3, the Prosecutor's office sent the "Accusations Committee" of the Colombian House of Representatives a dossier of evidence, to determine whether or not it should initiate a trial against President Samper Pizano. A copy of the dossier was also sent to the Federal Prosecutor's office urging an investigation of the conduct of Interior Minister Horacio Serpa Uribe, who had tried to pressure Medina against collaborating with the judicial authorities.

On Aug. 6, the National Police captured drug trafficker Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela in Cali. After his arrest, Samper declared that, with six of the seven top cartel leaders in jail,

## César Gaviria Trujillo

Former Colombian President (1990-94) César Gaviria Trujillo today holds the prestigious position of secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS). Both posts were reached by striking a deal with the narcotics cartels,



which included climbing over the corpse of assassinated presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán, whose 1989 campaign Gaviria had managed.

According to 1992 press revelations, Gaviria turned the security apparatus of his government's Justice Department over to the men who had been his campaign bodyguards, and those of Galán before him. These men, it turned out, were part of a network of thugs known as "The Black Ants," who worked for the Medellín Cartel and are believed to have brought in the trainers and weapons used in Galán's assassination. "The Black Ants" became a terror and blackmail machine within the very core of Gaviria's government, and were responsible for the security at Envigado prison, which housed Medellín Cartel boss Pablo Escobar after his June 1991 "surrender" and from which he easily escaped one year later.

But Gaviria's complicity with the mob was evident long before the 1992 revelations. Immediately following his Aug. 7, 1990 inauguration, Gaviria named a cabinet which included Antonio Navarro Wolf, the "former" head of the recently legalized narco-terrorist group M-19; Ernesto Samper Pizano; and Rudolf Hommes, the former business partner and close associate of Rodrigo Botero Montoya, architect of López Michelsen's infamous 1974 "tax reform" and "sinister window." Gaviria went on to facilitate the rewriting of a new national constitution in 1990-91, which among other things banned extradition of drug traffickers, and decreed a new, lenient "surrender" policy for the cartel bosses. For his appeasement of the cartels, Gaviria earned the gratitude of the Bush government in Washington—and eventually his cushy job at the Organization of American States.