

Presentation to the Ontario Press Council

**Complaint regarding four erroneous, incomplete,
unbalanced, and demeaning articles about Venezuela,
published by the Toronto Star in May 2006**

**By
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Toronto, 19 October 2006

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to meet with you today and to present our case. My co-complainant, Antonio García Dangles, is out of the country and could not be here today. He sends his regrets to the Ontario Press Council.

As a Canadian and a resident of Toronto for over 30 years, I am concerned that the newspaper with the largest circulation in Canada has published four articles on Venezuela that fail to meet the standards of fair, professional, and ethical journalism that we expect in our province and country.

Our complaint centres on four articles written by Tim Harper and published by the Toronto Star in May 2006. The topic, Venezuela, happens to be a subject Antonio García Dangles and I know about because of our Venezuelan background and academic qualifications.

I do not intend to repeat in detail what we have already covered in our letters since I understand that the members of the Council have read the articles in question and the correspondence about them and are well acquainted with our complaints. I will concentrate on our main concerns, which are,

- **The issue of erroneous reporting on poverty**
- **The issue of erroneous and incomplete reporting on crime**
- **The issue of biased and unbalanced reporting**
- **The issue of the demeaning and discriminatory assertions**

In my remarks today, I will emphasize the reliance by the reporter on unbalanced and unrepresentative sources, selective use of statistics, and biased reporting with the result that the reader is given a very inaccurate view of developments in Venezuela under President Hugo Chávez.

The Toronto Star's National and Foreign Editor, Mr. David Walmsley claims in his response to our complaint that “ *Mr. Harper interviewed many people, read widely* ” to prepare these articles. **We dispute this assertion.** We can show that, on the contrary, the reporter did not interview representatives of the government of Venezuela, he relied overwhelmingly on opposition sources, and he did not make use of readily available information from reliable international and Venezuelan sources on the very topics he was covering. He did interview Venezuelan citizens, some opposed and some supportive of the government, but having interviewed prominent members of the opposition parties he did not interview counterparts in the various parties that support the government.

(1) First of all there is the issue of erroneous reporting on poverty

The May 8 article states that poverty “*has risen more than 50% during Chavez' reign*”. No source is quoted so the reader does not know how Mr. Harper obtained this figure. However, in Mr. Walmsley's response to our complaint, in a private letter, the editor reveals that the sources were two people well known to be vehemently opposed to President Chávez. He then states that the reporter “*was warned not to trust year to year poverty comparisons from the Venezuelan National Statistics Institute because of a change in methodology that made apples to apples comparisons invalid.*”

However, the “methodology” used by these opposition members to arrive at their figure was not questioned.

We find it demeaning to Venezuela and frankly discriminatory that the reporter would disparage a highly professional institution, the National Statistical Institute of Venezuela (INE), and counterpart to Statistics Canada. The staff of the Venezuelan National Institute of Statistics consists of mostly mathematicians and statisticians whose professional standing and statistical reports are accepted by nations around the world. The Institute has formal agreements and projects with the following international organizations:

- The Community of Andean Nations (CAN)
- The Spanish Agency for International Cooperation
- The Japanese Agency for Cooperation
- The UN Population Program (UNFPA)
- UN Development Program (PNUD)
- UNICEF
- The Inter-American Development Bank
- The World Bank

The Institute’s statistical reports are accepted by these prominent international agencies, but apparently, not by the Toronto Star. **The National Institute of Statistics figures show that poverty was reduced from 50.4% in the second semester of 1998 to 39.7% in the same period in 2006. That is a 10% reduction in 7 years.**¹ The rate is lower today because of the higher growth rate of the economy in 2006. Not only has the number of poor gone down, also the number of people who were “extremely

poor” has been sharply reduced (in 2005 it dropped to 10% from 18% the previous year)² which means they are out of the malnourishment level.

It is pertinent to quote here the representative of the World Bank in Venezuela, Mr. David Varela who has stated:” *We have examined the policies of the (Venezuelan) government and believe they are producing results. There are very successful social programs that have shown their impact on the quality of life of the people... and are making a fundamental change in the quality of life of the communities. Along with the Venezuelan National Institute of Statistics we are working to develop a system to evaluate the impact of those social programs.*”³

We are surprised that the reporter would not at least try to find out from the Institute itself about its poverty statistics. Had he done so he would have found that poverty is calculated by the Venezuelan National Institute of Statistics using the same metrics since 1967. It uses the method called the Poverty Line, which is recommended by the UN for tracking progress towards the Millennium Goals. It consists of comparing income to basic needs expenses and food needs expenses. People are then categorized as “extremely poor”, “poor “ and “not poor”. This method has not changed. New metrics are being developed to take into account not just cash income but also the non-cash benefits and services of the many new social programs such as the food services and free health services which have a major impact on their standard of living. **But the measurement of poverty remains the same and there is no evidence that the Venezuelan National Institute of Statistics has changed it.**⁴

The reporter would have also learned that poverty increased in 2002-2003 due to the military coup and the opposition's economic sabotage that crippled the economy.⁵ Since then, the Venezuelan economy has grown sharply and the greatest growth has been in the non-oil section of the economy.⁶

Even if the reporter did not wish to consult Venezuelan official statistics, why did he not get information on poverty in Venezuela from reputable international organizations such as,

- **UN Human Development Program:** The reports have shown a decrease in poverty from 1997 to 2003. The most recent report (2005) does not account for all the progress that has taken place in 2004/05/06 in health, education, labour, employment, economic growth, and control of inflation. The UNDP Human Development Index for Venezuela has improved from 1999-2005 from 0.765 to 0772.⁷
- **The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean:** *"Venezuela has made major strides in combating poverty; its social policy is contributing to a substantial reduction in poverty."*⁸
- **World Bank:** *"Venezuela has made substantial advances in the fight against poverty..."*⁹
- **Centre of Economic and Policy Research in Washington DC:** *"There is no ambiguity as to the decline in poverty in Venezuela over the last seven years, even if we look only at cash income".*¹⁰

Any and all of these organizations would have indicated to the reporter that poverty in Venezuela has been significantly reduced in the past years and it is this that he should have reported.

The articles do not inform the reader that the Venezuelan government has made massive investments in anti-poverty initiatives that has given 54% of the population access to free medical services, a literacy campaign that - in its first year- taught 1.5 million people to read and write, and a subsidized food program that benefits 47% of the population.¹¹ And, most impressive of all has been the significant decrease in infant mortality from **21**/1000 in 1998 to **15**/1000 in 2005.¹² Even if the reporter had misgivings about a statistical estimate of poverty, he could have documented these unprecedented achievements in social and human development in Venezuela that directly and positively affect the living standard of its population.

The May 8 article refers to these programs but only as if these program were an after thought, not the centre piece of the Chávez Administration's policies.

It is a fact internationally recognized that President Chávez has fought poverty implacably as he campaigned to do.¹³ The Toronto Star's editorial on Oct. 14 "*Let's stand up to fight Poverty*" urges the Canadian government "*to put the issue of poverty back on the political agenda as a national priority*". It is frankly puzzling why a newspaper with this social concern would not applaud a developing country, which is doing precisely that with much more severe challenges.

(2) Secondly, there is the issue of erroneous and incomplete reporting on crime

The May 13 article asserts that 100,000 Venezuelans have been murdered since President Chávez was elected, and again no source was quoted for this figure. Mr. Walmsley explains in his letter to us that the source was opposition candidate Julio Borges and he admits in writing, ” *this estimate should have been attributed to him*”. Once again, figures invented by the opposition purely for political purposes are accepted without question and the careful estimates by the country’s professional statisticians are ignored.

We acknowledge that the Toronto Star issued a short retraction on October 14, in which it identifies who is the source of this outlandish statement. However, such an explanation five months after our letter of complaint, which pointed out this anomaly, will have little effect in counterbalancing the impression made by prominent articles and headlines upon readers.

We indicated to the Ontario Press Council and the Toronto Star in our letter how in terms of crime, the articles show a misuse of statistics, confusing a point estimate with a trend and make no reference to baseline data. The article states, without any hard evidence, that “*Caracas may now be South America’s most violent capital, rivaling Colombia’s Bogotá for kidnappings, carjacking and murder*”. There was no background information about crime that would inform the reader that crime is a serious and widespread social problem in all of Latin America, that it is multidimensional, that it is linked to conditions of inequality and poverty, that other countries in the region face a more serious problem with crime than Venezuela and that, contrary to the May 13 article which states that President Chávez “*has turned a blind eye to increasing corruption in the police force and a mounting death toll in his country*”, the Venezuelan government is vigorously trying to combat

crime.¹⁴ Had the reporter consulted the following readily available sources he might have avoided giving his readers such a misleading impression of crime in Venezuela:

- **The Hearing Before the Sub Committee on the Western Hemisphere of the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives of the 109th Congress of the USA, April 20, 2005**, heard evidence from USAID, among others, which stated that while Latin America is suffering from crime rates that are more than twice the world average, the greatest incidence of gang crime is in Central America and the countries at greatest risk from crime are Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, followed by Brazil and Jamaica, as well as the United States. The Inter-American Dialogue indicated to the US Congress that in terms of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, Honduras, Colombia, El Salvador, and Guatemala are ahead of Venezuela in terms of this grim category.
- **The Centre for Study of Violence at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, estimated** in April 2002 that the costs of violent crime in Venezuela is much lower than in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and El Salvador.¹⁵
- **PROVEA**, the respected independent Venezuelan human rights NGO reports that homicides have not varied significantly in the last 7 years, which is progress considering the population has grown; furthermore, that no less than 10 separate police reforms are underway in the country and that 1,400 officers were sacked in 2004 for corruption.¹⁶

- **The UN Human Rights Commission** has revealed that between 2002/06 in **Colombia** there have been 8 murders or disappearances per day and the responsibility for 74.5% of these cases lies with the Colombian state.¹⁷ The situation in Venezuela in contrast is totally the opposite. **The US State Department’s 2005 Report on Human Rights in Venezuela**¹⁸ states that there were no reports of politically motivated disappearances in Venezuela, that the Venezuelan government or its agents were not accused of committing any politically motivated killings and that no deaths resulted from security force interventions.

All of these sources were available to the reporter but he chose not to use them, relying instead on unsupported claims from opponents of the government.

(3) Thirdly, there is the issue of biased and unbalanced reporting

As with the topic of crime, throughout the four articles we observe a simplification of important issues; by this, we mean that sentences are included about a complex subject with insufficient information to give the reader perspective.

- For example, in the May 7 article there is reference to one opposition marcher who fears “*Chávez’s musings on seizing property and distributing it to landless peasants*”. The reporter lets this sentence stand alone with no reality check. There is no mention that the constitution guarantees rights to private property,¹⁹ despite the fact

that 75% of arable land is in the hands of 5% of the population,²⁰ that this situation is so inefficient that 70% of foodstuff is imported, and that in the past 4 years 120 rural leaders have been killed by paramilitary assassins hired by landlords who control the vast haciendas.²¹ The modest land reform being implemented transfers land to qualified farmers only, owners are fully financially compensated for any lost land, and only unused, uncultivated land can be redistributed.

It is obvious that the reporter did not mention these crucial factors because sadly he did not “read widely” and spoke overwhelmingly to those who oppose the significant social transformation that is occurring in Venezuela today.

I have already noted many examples of biased and inaccurate reporting in the articles. The crucial issue here is that these articles are based on one-sided sources coming overwhelmingly from those in opposition to President Chávez. The editor claims that the Venezuelan government was not available for interviews. This is very hard to believe apart from the fact that the onus is on the newspaper to get the interviews, not on the Venezuelan government.

However,

- **President Chávez’s Political Advisor for Canada** has stated that: *“I have never seen a Harper interview request come through to our office at the President’s Office. Our unit manages these sorts of*

*interviews for the president and if they can't get the President, we refer them to other officials if we deem them to be really important. Since it is a Canadian publication, it would have come to my desk for opinion for sure. It never did. But our President is more accessible than most other presidents anywhere else in the world. He loves the press.”*²² I think that you would all agree that President Chávez is not a shy person and his government is not one that avoids a chance of international coverage.

- **The Press Attaché at the Venezuelan Embassy in Washington DC** has stated that they did not receive any request from the Toronto Star or Mr. Harper for help in obtaining interviews.²³
- **The Director of the Venezuelan Information Office in Washington DC** also has stated that they did not receive any request from Mr. Harper or the Toronto Star for help in obtaining interviews.²⁴
- **The Ministry of Communication of the Venezuelan Government, International Division**, informed us that between February 2005 and September 2006 (the last 18 months), **70** international journalists carried out **104** interviews of Venezuelan government representatives. These included journalists from the media in Europe, UK, Latin America, China, Japan, USA, and Middle East. The interviewees were ministers, vice-ministers, governors, directors, coordinators, government lawyers, ambassadors, members of parliament, directors of the social programs, and the president of the Venezuelan National Institute of Statistics.²⁵

The Venezuelan government is a very popular government that has the support of 60 to 70% of the country!²⁶ Faced with uncompromising hostility from the government of the United States²⁷, it is in the Venezuelan government's interest to accommodate foreign journalists so that people outside of Venezuela can appreciate all that is being accomplished. By relying so heavily on sources opposed to President Chávez, the articles give the impression that President Chávez and his government are far less popular and far less effective than a more accurate assessment would suggest.

(4) Fourthly, there is the issue of the demeaning and discriminatory assertions

- The headline of the May 8 article, "*Poor are fed by Chávez' Vanity*" implies that President Chávez uses public services for his own aggrandizement. Mr. Walmsley acknowledged in his letter of 17 July, that this headline was "*regrettable*" because it was a misreading of the text. This headline alone is cause for retractions because it is harmful, it is without basis, and it poisons readers mind as they read the article. While we appreciate the correction that the Toronto Star made on October 14, we doubt that such a terse explanation five months after the article was published will have any effect in counterbalancing the harm that was done. However, our complaint was not only about the headline as the article itself is riddled with demeaning statements, and here are the examples,

- The constitution of the Venezuelan people is the work of an elected constitutional assembly, a product of broad consensus, intense consultation, and landslide approval in a referendum and is perhaps the most progressive constitution in the Hemisphere.²⁸ It is demeaning, i.e. harmful and without basis, to the Venezuelan people to refer to it as a “*Chávez vanity decision*” and to trivialize it saying that it has become a “*fashion accessory*” as if it were a Prada bag. The reporter simply does not understand the profound impact this constitution has had on the psyche of ordinary Venezuelans, civil society, government, and even the opposition. Previously, political chatter had scarcely mentioned human rights; now these are being discussed even in the meanest of shantytowns. Why would a self-proclaimed progressive newspaper disparage a developing country’s newfound pride in democratic principles? If the populations of Saudi Arabia or Pakistan were keenly reading a liberal constitution of their own the media would be applauding.
- It is demeaning and culturally insensitive to the Venezuelan people to disparage the historical roots that led to the changes in the flag and the coat of arms –symbols of the country. Each star of the flag represents a founding state. A star was added to honour the very first state (Guayana) of the new independent country of Venezuela, which had been left out of the flag and the change to the coat of arms was to make the horse resemble the actual little native horses that helped win the War of Independence, not the European thoroughbred. These are means of reviving and asserting the country’s culture and history, long disregarded by ruling elites that

want to be just like the US or Europe and disdain their own cultural and historical background.²⁹ Do we call the assertion of Quebec culture and history just the vanity of its political leaders? And if it is all right for Quebec to celebrate its traditional roots, why is it not acceptable for Venezuela?

- The change in the country's name was meant to honour the life and ideals of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar. If the country had been named the "Chavista" Republic of Venezuela then this would have been a vanity decision. Those who are not Latin Americans, or are poorly acquainted with its history, tend not to understand just how deeply Simón Bolívar is revered in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru –countries which he liberated from more than 300 years of Spanish rule- and these Toronto Star articles did nothing to try to convey such understanding to the Canadian public.
- We also call to your attention the use of the phrase "*Chávez's reign*". President Chávez is a legitimately elected democratic president, not a monarch, or a dictator. Again, this phraseology is disrespectful, demeaning and fails to inform.
- The reporter's bias against the Venezuelan president is not subtle. He refers to him in the May 8 article,
 - As "*a leader often consumed by hubris*" – opinion for which the reporter offers no substantial backing.

- As “*spending too much money building alliances outside the country to further his own personal ambitions*”; We do not recall the Toronto Star objecting to the prodigious squandering, a veritable orgy of corruption of previous Venezuelan governments and elites – who are now the opposition- who spent Venezuela’s oil wealth on themselves alone, and left such a significant portion of the country’s population in poverty and most of its infrastructure derelict.
³⁰ We do not see the Toronto Star objecting to the USA spending money to build alliances around the world, or even Canada for that matter. Why is it wrong for Venezuela? As well, why is building much needed alliances for Venezuela a *personal* ambition, it is not as if the Venezuelan president is seeking money or a position outside his country.

- The May 8 article states, “*Even the packaging of (government subsidized) foodstuff touts Chávez programs.*” I have here two examples for you to see: a rice bag and a sugar bag from the government food stores. You will not see the name of President Chávez or any of the social programs anywhere on the bags, only articles of the constitution: these two particular bags have imprinted the right to education and the right to the diversity of cultures, with an explanation of what each right means. It is a very good public education tool. The bags are not propaganda for government programs or for the person of the president but to help the Venezuelan people understand that they have

constitutional rights and must hold the government accountable to uphold them.

The overall impression given in the whole series is a negative view of Venezuela's president who is further described in the other articles as "*powerful, mercurial, bombastic*" (May 7), "*with a bullying, meddling style*" (May 7), "*who sprinkles oil riches around to curry favour*" (May 2), issues "*whims and threats*" (May 2), is a member of a leftist "*troika*" (May 2), has "*a hint of hypocrisy in his rantings*" (May 7). As the Ontario Press Council itself asserts: "***A newspaper has an inescapable obligation to vigorously pursue comment from any person about whom it plans to publish derogatory accusations and if possible to print it at the same time. It should check, preferably before publication, damaging statement one person attributes to another.***"³¹ We do not believe there was a vigorous pursuit to obtain comments from President Chávez himself or any of his representatives.

- Mr. Walmsley in his letter to us further demonstrated cultural insensitivity. It is demeaning and racist for the Toronto Star to refer to the continent's only indigenous democratically elected president, Mr. Evo Morales, as having the "*rhetoric of a one-time llama herder.*" What is sadly unbelievable is that Mr. Walmsley actually pointed to this phrase in his letter as an example of how respectful the newspaper is of Mr. Morales' indigenous roots. The article of May 7 implies that Mr. Morales owes his election to President Chávez; there is no evidence whatsoever that Venezuela

had any hand in the Bolivian election and this statement only tarnishes Mr. Morales' historic electoral triumph.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we ask the Ontario Press Council to find that the Toronto Star by publishing four erroneous, incomplete, unbalanced, and demeaning articles on Venezuela has violated the principles of good journalism upheld by the Council. Although the Toronto Star has issued a belated brief correction, as the Ontario Press Council itself upholds: "*A brief item in the usual location for corrections may not be adequate in cases where readers may be misled by the original error.*"³²

Therefore, we request that the Ontario Press Council ask that the newspaper redress the misleading impression these articles have left on readers by providing a new series that is more balanced, more informative and which provides readers with a greater appreciation of what is really happening in Venezuela.

Thank you very much for your attention.

¹ National Institute of Statistics of Venezuela, Venezuelan Government News Agency, 9 September 2006 "*Gobierno ha logrado que 4.5 millones de venezolanos estén fuera de la pobreza*"; Mark Weisbrot, Luis Sandoval, David Rosnick, "*Poverty Rates in Venezuela*:"

Getting the Numbers Right”, Centre for Economic And Policy Research, Washington DC, May 2006 ;

² “*Poverty and Unemployment Down Significantly in Venezuelan in 2005*”, Venezuelanalysis.com, Oct. 14, 2005

³ Mr. David Varela, President of the World Bank, interview to Panorama, 2 April 2006; www.aporrea.org/dameverbo.php?docid=75548

⁴ Mark Weisbrot, Luis Sandoval, David Rosnick, “*Poverty Rates in Venezuela: Getting the Numbers Right*”, Centre for Economic And Policy Research, Washington DC, May 2006; Oil Wars, “*Chavez Fights Poverty, and Succeeds*”, Nov. 5, 2005, Venezuelanalysis.com; data refers to poverty in families (households)

⁵ According to the UN Development Program the unprecedented economic sabotage of three months in 2002/03 caused a 5% drop in the Venezuelan GNP. See: Juan Torres Lopez and Alberto Montero Soler, “*Hay mas pobres en Venezuela con Hugo Chavez?*” *Rebelión*, 6 October 2004, www.rebelion.org

⁶ Mark Weisbrot, “*A Note on Venezuela’s Economic Performance*”, Centre for Economic and Policy Research, Washington DC, May 27, 2005; Venezuelanalysis.com.; Mark Weisbrot, “*Economic Growth is a Home Run in Venezuela*” *Knighth-Ridder News Service*, Nov. 2, 2005

⁷ Jonah Gindin, “*Venezuela’s Human Development Index: A Lesson in the Malleability of Statistics*”, 19 July 2004, Venezuelanalysis.com; UN Human Development Report 2005, Country Fact Sheet;

http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_VEN.html; M. Weisbrot, L. Sandoval, D. Rosnik, op. cit. May 2006, footnote #3.

⁸ UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, November 2005

⁹ World Bank, May 2006

¹⁰ Mark Weisbrot, Luis Sandoval, David Rosnick, and op. cit.

¹¹ Mark Weisbrot, Luis Sandoval, David Rosnick, and op. cit.

¹² Venezuelan Health Ministry, August 2006

<http://www.aporrea.org/misiones/n83358.html>

¹³ Robert Collier, “*Venezuela’s Oil Wealth Funds Gusher of Anti-Poverty Projects*” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 4, 2006

¹⁴ Stephen Mather, “*Venezuela Sentences 24 Soldiers and Police for 2005 Murders*”, 1 September, 2006, Venezuelanalysis.com; “*Venezuela Announces Gun Control Plan to Lower Crime*”, Venezuelanalysis.com, 3 July 2006; Gabriel García, “*Venezuela: Holding the Line Against Drug Trafficking*”, Council for Hemispheric Affairs, Washington DC, 13 June 2006

¹⁵ Paulo de Mesquita Neto, Centre for Study of Violence, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, <http://laili.unm.edu/conference/mesquita.php>, April 2002

¹⁶ PROVEA, www.derechos.org.ve/.

¹⁷ Oral Intervention of the Colombian Commission of Jurists and the World Organization Against Torture: Presentation of the Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia. 28 September 2006. Human Rights Council, 2nd session

¹⁸ US State Department 2005 Human Rights Report;

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61745.htm>

¹⁹ Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Article 115

²⁰ Gregory Wilpert, “*Land for People not for Profit in Venezuela*”, Venezuelanalysis.com 23 February 2005

²¹ Marino Alvarado, Venezuelan Action Education Program for Human Rights in Venezuela, Aporrea, 15 August 2003. <http://www.aporrea.org/misiones/n83358.html>

²² Sharmini Peries, Presidential Political Advisor on Canada; e-mail dated 11 October 2006

²³ Roraima Albornoz, Press Attaché, Venezuelan Embassy in Washington DC; email dated 12 Oct 2006

²⁴ Eric Wingerter, Director, Venezuelan Information Office, Washington DC, email dated 12 Oct. 2006

²⁵ See Appendix A: Interviews Arranged for International Journalists, Feb. 2005-September 2006; Ministry of Communication and Information, Government of Venezuela

²⁶ In the last year’s referendum on his term of office President Chávez garnered 60% of the votes; for the presidential election of December 3, the latest poll gives him 30 points ahead of his nearest rival (51.5% of votes); the 2005 poll from Chilean polling firm Latinobarometro (the leading multi-country public opinion polling firm in Latin America) of 18 Latin American countries states that more people in Venezuela consider their country “totally democratic” than any other nation in Latin America and Venezuelans have the second highest satisfaction level with the way their own democracy functions; it ranks third among countries that believe that things have improved in the last two years.

²⁷ Ed Vulliamy, “*Venezuelan Coup Linked to Bush Team*”, The Observer, 21 April 2002; Eva Golinger, *The Adaptable US Intervention Machine in Venezuela*, in “*The Venezuelan Reader*”, (ed) Olivia Burlingame Gombri, EPICA, Washington DC, 2005; Marjorie Cohn, Chavez Victory: Defeat for Bush Policy, Truthout, 20 August 2004

²⁸ Gregory Wilpert, “*Venezuela’s New Constitution*”, Venezuelanalysis.com, 27 August 2003; Sarah Wagner, “*The Legal And Practical Basis of Citizen Power in Venezuela*”, Venezuelanalysis.com, 2 December 2004; Michael McCaughan, “*The Battle of Venezuela*”, Seven Story Press, 2004, p. 101

²⁹ Edgardo Lander, “*The Racist Colonialism of the Venezuelan Opposition and its Intellectuals*”, 7 Sept. 2004, Venezuelanalysis.com.

³⁰ Jonah Gindin, “*Subverting Democracy in the Name of Democracy*”, 14 August 2004, Venezuelanalysis.com; Antonio Guillermo Garcia Dangles, “*The Dark Side of the Venezuelan Opposition*”, 24 Oct. 2004, Venezuelanalysis.com

³¹ Ontario Press Council web page: 1. About the Press Council, Where the Press Council Stands, Journalism of Opinion

³² Ontario Press Council web page: 1. About the Press Council, Where the Press Council Stands, Journalism of Opinion.