

Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela, Orejuela's people identified Tribaldos as the man who laundered \$40 million through the **Banco Continental del Panama** for them.

- **Banco Continental** is headed by **Roberto Motta**, one of nine conspirators accused of "promoting public disorders of grave consequence for the nation" by Panama's Legislative Assembly.

- Tribaldos was the alternate board member at Banco Continental for **Roberto Eisenmann**, the owner of the opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, so opposed to Panama's cooperation against drugs. Eisenmann has been a contact man for pro-opposition activities funded by the U.S. **National Endowment for Democracy**. Eisenmann had also been a top contact in Panama of the **Fernández marijuana syndicate**, until the chiefs of that Colombian-connected gang were indicted in Florida in December 1984, in the "Sunshine State Bank case." The Fernández syndicate had bought shares in Eisenmann's Miami bank, **Dadeland Bank**, and used it for money-laundering. One of Dadeland's employees was Eisenmann's friend, **Iván Robles**. Iván was granted immunity from prosecution, in a deal arranged by the ring's money-manager, **Steven Samos** (later identified as also a money-launderer for the Nicaraguan Contras).

- *La Prensa* contributing editor **Winston Robles** has also been seen recently with John Maisto, the opposition's point-man at the U.S. embassy. Winston, too, was part of the Fernández ring. **Robles y Robles**, his law partnership with his brother Iván, was hired by money-manager Samos for "legal" work with the drug ring.

- Former President **Nicolás Ardito Barletta**, named by the Legislative Assembly as one of the nine top conspirators in the plot to overthrow the government, returned hurriedly to Panama to give his support to Díaz Herrera. A former economics student of George Shultz, Barletta was one of the bankers most angered by Panama's participation in "Operation Pisces." Barletta personally, back in the early 1970s, ensured that the offshore banking center was, in his words, "more secret than Switzerland." Barletta also supported the 1986 call by the Inter-American Dialogue, for the "selective legalization" of narcotics to be considered as an option, even if, as the Dialogue admits, this would likely lead to 60 million cocaine addicts in the United States.

- Fellow Inter-American Dialogue member, Panamanian Catholic **Archbishop Marcos McGrath**, also signed the call for the legalization option. McGrath has lent his support to cultist Díaz Herrera, and the opposition generally.

- Christian Democrat Secretary General **Guillermo Cochez**, is at the center of the opposition plot. Cochez, who also protested Panama's cooperation in "Operation Pisces," stated on May 22, 1986, "I tell you, we are preparing the soil here for the same problems they have in El Salvador and Nicaragua. People are losing their faith. What are they going to do? They are going into the mountains soon."

## Symbiosis of drugs and terror in Peru

by Sara Madueño

Peru is unfortunately one of the countries where Moscow's fairy-tale that there is no such thing as narco-terrorism has had the widest echo—so much so that the recent narco-terrorist atrocities in May and June in the jungle city of Uchiza and a dozen nearby villages in the Departments of Huánuco and San Martín, carried out by a combined force of Shining Path terrorists and bands of drug traffickers, have been labeled mere Shining Path "opportunism."

As shown in **Maps 1** and **2**, the strategy is nothing new. The recent years' growth of zones where drugs are cultivated and processed has proceeded in strict parallel, in time and space, with the burgeoning terrorism, deployed and expanded in lockstep with the great irregular army occupying the Andean region.

When Peru's President Alan García warned in Uruguay last May 15 that the terrorism typified by Shining Path is not unique to Peru, but "is essentially an Andean phenomenon which will stretch over the Andes toward Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador," he was not painting a futuristic picture. This transnational narco-terrorist army is already reality, and it deploys throughout the Andes without regard to borders.

For example, last March 16, the Peruvian weekly *Visión* reported that the number-two man of the Ecuadorian terrorist band "Alfaro Vive, Carajo," Edgard Antonio Frías, had been operating in Peru for two years. On May 6, the *Washington Times* revealed that terrorists of the Peruvian Shining Path and the Colombian M-19 are operating jointly and "are responsible for numerous blackouts in the last two years." The same day, the Caracas newspaper *El Nacional* reported on the arrest, in Caracas, of "foreign terrorists probably linked to the M-19 and Shining Path," and revealed that "Shining Path and M-19 operate jointly in Venezuela."

Shortly before, on Feb. 25, Bolivian Interior Minister Fernando Betherlemi reported on the arrest in Bolivia of five Peruvian subversives of the group "Red Fatherland," and a Uruguayan, connected to the Basque terrorist group ETA,

accused of various terror attacks in Bolivia in 1986, according to a UPI wire. It was said to be the second case of foreign subversives apprehended in Bolivia.

### Shining Path narco-terrorists

As early as 1984, Shining Path was identified as narco-terrorist by the Italian news weekly *Panorama*, as reported in the book *Dope, Inc.* Holding its first and second fronts in the high plateaus of Ayacucho and the jungle town of Tingo María, it had already extended its actions to other parts of Peru. *Panorama* exposed the links of the Nazi International to Shining Path when it stated that “according to Peruvian police sources,” Stefano Delle Chiaie (the Italian terrorist recently arrested in Venezuela for the 1980 Bologna train station massacre) “organized one of Shining Path’s most spectacular acts: the assault on Lima of May 28, 1983,” to stop a program of substituting crops for coca, to the northeast of Lima.

*Panorama* also reported on the cancellation of a joint Peruvian-U.S. coca eradication program in Tingo María, after Shining Path organized 2,000 peasants of the valley of Tingo María, and attacked, on July 4, 1983, a complex of the Agency for International Development (AID) which coordinated the program, murdering numerous policemen and technicians.

- On May 1, 1987, the *Wall Street Journal* revealed that in the coca zones, Shining Path “guerrillas now present themselves as the defender of the coca growers.” In return for their protection, “the guerrillas demand that the farmers turn over one-fifth of their coca crop,” which they sell to the international traffickers—usually Colombians—in exchange for arms, money, and local resources. The “coca zones” are mainly located in the jungle area of the Upper Huallaga Valley, which includes Ucayali and Tingo María, as well as the departments of San Martín and Madre de Dios, and the jungle fringe departments of Ayacucho, Huánuco, Cuzco, Puno, Cajamarca, and Apurímac.

- On May 23, the *Times* of London Lima correspondent reported that “Shining Path guerrillas halt efforts to eradicate cocaine; they have exploited farmers’ anger at official anti-drug efforts; coca eradication is a hopeless task.” Established in the Upper Huallaga Valley, one of the main sources of cocaine, the guerrillas “engage in expensive arms deals with the traffickers,” the *Times* continues, asserting, incredibly, that the guerrillas themselves are “not believed to be involved in the drug business.”

### García targeted by Moscow

Since 1985, the year of Alan García’s inauguration, Peru has recorded 2,605 terrorist acts, between blind and targeted assassinations, power-line bombings, and massacres of army units and police posts, etc., according to Interior Ministry statistics released on April 20, 1987.

- On Jan. 16, 1985, Shining Path, which alternates in urban terrorism with the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), announced plans to “turn Lima into a second Beirut, demolish its national productive apparatus, and paralyze its national industry,” according to statements by an arrested member of Shining Path, published in the Lima daily *El Nacional*.

- In October 1986, the Soviet Spanish-language review, *América Latina*, dedicated its issue to analyzing “the correlation of forces” in Peru, and concluded that it was time for the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) to stop playing the democracy game. The publication made it clear that Peru is Moscow’s principal strategic target in Ibero-America, and gave the signal to launch the “Third Phase” of total armed insurrection.

### Communists drop ‘democratic’ mask

Shortly before, on March 11, the “democratic” communists abandoned all democratic pretexts. “Some 200 dissidents of Jorge del Prado’s PCP are said to have signed up in the ranks of the MRTA,” reported the weekly *Visión*. The others, more cautious, merely launched into an overt campaign to promote an alliance with Shining Path, MRTA, and “similar groups.”

On May 4, Shining Path foresaw “the start of a great subversive offensive, which would go up to July, and which would complete the long wave of attacks begun last December.” This offensive would “reach its climax in mid-June, with bold and far-reaching acts of sabotage and hair-raising assassinations of politicians” in reprisal for the government’s quelling of the prison uprisings on June 19, 1986. By then, Shining Path warned, “they were preparing . . . the assassination of an important political leader, whose name, obviously, was not given to us,” said the Peruvian journal *Equis X*, a habitual Shining Path mouthpiece, which “anticipates,” with amazing clairvoyance, the narco-terrorists’ actions.

Not long afterward, the PCP went public with its demands for an alliance with the terrorists:

- On May 13, Jorge del Prado, the PCP secretary general, revealed the conclusions of the regional congress of the PCP in the Department of Junín, saying that, concerning the MRTA, “it reached the opinion that it would be possible and appropriate for United Left and other anti-imperialist forces . . . to initiate a dialogue” with that organization.

- May 18, Shining Path’s seventh anniversary, was the date published as its “great assault on Lima.” To hardly anyone’s surprise, the celebration was timed in coordination with the May 15 police strike which Shining Path forces and the MRTA had provoked in limited sectors of the police, and was to coincide with the general strike of the communist-controlled General Confederation of Workers of Peru (CGTP). The latter, which failed, was called for May 19 by “fortuitous

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MAP 2.

**Geographic confluence of drug trade and terrorism**

- Zones of coca cultivation and cocaine processing (1985)
- Zones of coca cultivation and cocaine processing (1960-1969)
- Current presence of narco-terrorism
- Zones where guerrilla movements appeared in the 1970s

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coincidence,” according to CGTP chairman and secretary general, Gustavo Espinosa.

- From May 19 onward, PCP secretary general Jorge del Prado threatened that “the way things are going . . . everything points toward a civil war . . . and we must be ready for anything.” United Left Sen. Valentín Poacho, chimed in on Peruvian television that the CGTP “has the capacity to blow up the country if we want.”

- Simultaneously, the secretary general of the CGTP, Gustavo Espinosa, blurted out on the TV program “En Persona,” that “the United Left will not wait until the 1990 elections to attain power . . . [because] the present regime may end in an unexpected way, perhaps via a coup d’état.” This is why, as Espinosa himself made clear, the PCP has long maintained both “legal” (called “democratic”) and “conspiratorial” work. Now it is busy trying to bring the two together.

- On May 28 the PCP national congress concluded, with an agreement to recognize Shining Path and MRTA as “political organizations,” and called the García government “bourgeois, developmentalist, and in the process of turning fascist.” Del Prado, Espinosa, et al. also announced that the PCP is open “to dialogue with the MRTA, if they take the first step.” The MRTA folks, they explained, “are closer to the PCP because they are a mass movement.”

- On May 30, the president of United Left, Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, was forced out because his open opposition to terrorism was getting in the way of Moscow’s plans. The PCP gave Barrantes his last stab in the back: After provoking a humiliating scene against him in the congress, they forced his resignation. In his farewell speech, Barrantes denounced those who moved to get him out: “Terrorism, as John Paul II says, is never justified in a civil society;” this, he added, “is a sophisticated return to barbarism and anarchism; it is always a manifestation of hate.”

- The next day, May 31, Barrantes’s erstwhile collaborator, the Jesuit senator for United Left, Enrique Bernales, dropped his mask and proposed “the articulation of all the forces of the popular camp, with an organic mobilization capability, that can convince those who are in other parts of the revolutionary camp, Shining Path, the MRTA.” It is a question, he added, of “getting Shining Path and MRTA to drop their militarist strategies . . . to begin the process of incorporation of both Shining Path and MRTA into the popular national project.”

- On June 5, communist leader Jorge del Prado, now doubling as the president of United Left, called a press conference to be more explicit in his appeal to close ranks with the Shining Path narco-terrorists: “We do not condemn the armed struggle,” he said. “We think that in a given case we also can take up arms.” As to Shining Path, del Prado said: “It is a political movement which has risen up in arms, which

uses direct terrorist action. We admire and cultivate their spirit of sacrifice.”

## **Narco-terrorism in action**

While in Lima the handshake was being clinched between the “democratic” communists, Shining Path, and the MRTA, the narco-terrorists staged their first major show of force:

- On June 2, three hundred narco-terrorists equipped with modern weaponry (such as Soviet AK-47s) had their debut as Shining Path’s “Popular Guerrilla Army,” attacking the jungle fringe town of Uchiza, where they reduced the police post to rubble, and then raised the hammer and sickle flag in town’s main square.

Peru’s entire population watched “eyewitness” reportage on TV’s Channel 5 and read in the magazine *Caretas* how narco-terrorist operations are run. As could be seen, the seizure of Uchiza and a dozen nearby towns—later retaken by the army—was a combined Shining Path-drug mafia operation. The journalists who did the documentary were clearly aided by Shining Path guerrillas and drug traffickers alike—some of the latter sporting unmistakable Colombian accents. The TV broadcast showed how walls all over Uchiza were painted with graffiti cheering on Shining Path leader “Chairman Gonzalo” and rejecting the government’s anti-drug operations, particularly “Operation Condor.”

- On June 4, by executive order, a combined 500-man force of the army and police retook control of Uchiza and 12 other towns.

- On June 14, the director of Brazil’s Anti-Narcotics Office, Augusto Bellini, revealed that “Brazilian police agencies and the DEA [U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration] have verified that Shining Path and the M-19 operate with international narco-terrorist bands and are financed by them,” the Peruvian daily *El Comercio* reported.

On June 17, the French paper *Le Monde* reported that “Peruvian terrorists of Shining Path and the drug traffickers identify themselves as defenders of the small coca producers,” and have sealed a “non-aggression pact.”

With the drugs-terrorism symbiosis made public, Moscow started a desperate campaign to deny the existence of narco-terrorism, and called its own troops into the fray. Thus on June 23, in the district of Qinaua, a contingent of 30 Shining Path members set fire to a truck loaded with coca from the National Coca Enterprise of Peru (the official entity which authorizes, buys, and trades in the legal coca crops for pharmaceutical purposes) to “prove” they have nothing to do with drugs. According to testimony from the driver and the other occupants of the assaulted truck, before burning the coca the Shining Path guerrillas gave them an indoctrination lesson for 10 minutes saying that “nothing unifies” Shining Path with the drug traffickers and that they were doing this action to “prove it.” “Death to the liars, we’re not drug traffickers,” shouted the guerrillas as they burned the coca.