

Capture of Guzmán could end Shining Path, despite Bush's support

by Luis Vásquez Medina

The Sept. 12 capture of Abimael Guzmán, head of Peru's Shining Path, could mean the beginning of the end of this terrorist group. The second and fourth in command of Shining Path—both women—fell along with Guzmán, together with volumes of vital information which are still being deciphered, and which could lead to a definitive set-back for subversion in Peru.

The Peruvian government succeeded in arresting Guzmán through an excellent combination of police and intelligence work which, as President Alberto Fujimori said, was "100% Peruvian," a swipe at the Bush administration, which, for more than three years, limited military aid to Peru, claiming that the Peruvian Armed Forces violate human rights in their anti-terror fight. On April 5, when Fujimori dissolved the corrupt Congress, the United States ended all military and economic aid to Peru outright. With the information now in hand, it is known that the terrorist strategists considered the cutoff of U.S. aid to Peru as one of their most important victories.

The arrest of Guzmán and Co. also dealt a harsh blow to the plans of the U.S. administration to impose its "new order" upon the Ibero-American continent, through a military invasion into the South American heartland, following the expected dismantling and defeat of the Peruvian Armed Forces. Thus the bitterness with which spokesmen for the Anglo-American political establishment have received the news of Guzmán's capture. The *New York Times*, *London Guardian*, and others complain that the arrest of Guzmán "will be used to justify the Fujimori dictatorship."

But it took Pen International writer Mario Vargas Llosa to bring the questioning of Guzmán's capture to the level of delirium. In recent statements published by *Time* magazine, he argued that the capture of the Shining Path leader would turn out to be a victory for the terrorists, since, according to his twisted logic, "the capture of Abimael reinforced the Fujimori dictatorship, and given that it is to Shining Path's advantage to fight a dictatorship, in the long run his capture could prove beneficial to Guzmán himself!"

The de facto support which the Bush administration has provided Shining Path was confirmed again on Peruvian television Sept. 18, when the press attaché of the U.S. embassy in Lima was asked, "Why do certain academics and political

organizations which openly back Shining Path in your country enjoy the legal protection of your government?" The attaché answered, "It is not a crime to back Shining Path, and they are protected by the freedom of opinion which prevails in the country." His argument is identical to that put forward by the British government to justify its continued protection of Adolfo Olaechea, Shining Path's "ambassador" in London, who uses his "freedom of expression" to issue threats that a million Peruvians will die in Shining Path's war.

A dramatic change in policy

Guzmán could not have been captured without the institutional changes put through on April 5 in Peru. His arrest demonstrated conclusively that the system of formal democracy which existed prior to that date was not only incapable of stopping terrorism, but was in fact the most appropriate framework for Guzmán to achieve his objectives. As President Fujimori said, when he announced the arrest of the Shining Path leader, the changes instituted on April 5 ended the institutionalized support which had protected Shining Path. He noted that since April 5, not one single person arrested for terrorism had been released, compared to the more than 200 terrorists freed in the months prior by a terrified and corrupted judiciary. At least two of the Shining Path leaders arrested with Guzmán had been imprisoned before, but had been set free!

For the first time in 12 years of battling these terrorists, military and police forces were unified under a single anti-terror command, permitting the coordination of intelligence and operations. Also after April 5, a series of anti-terrorist decrees was promulgated which had previously been torpedoed repeatedly by parliament. The National Intelligence System was raised to a cabinet-level post, thereby able to coordinate directly with the President on an almost daily basis. All of this was facilitated by a secret budget, of a minimal but sufficient amount to achieve the spectacular successes.

The information seized in the Guzmán raid included computer files which contain key data on the terrorists' military and political structure nationwide. At the time of this writing, more than 100 Shining Path cadre have been captured, based on the information which intelligence experts have just begun

to sort through and decipher.

According to police intelligence sources, "surprising" new revelations, which implicate high-level social and political leaders of the country, will become public soon. As Peruvian commentator Patricio Ricketts stated: "No one should fool themselves thinking that Abimael could elude, for 12 years, pursuit by 250,000 soldiers and policemen. The truth is that no one sought him, nor wanted to seek him, until six months ago." Denunciations of the complicity of former President Alan García (1985-89) have begun. According to journalist Chirinos Soto, García was a "shamefaced *Senderista*" (supporter of Shining Path—Sendero Luminoso in Spanish), while Ricketts decried the fact that García kept the Dircote (the police division responsible for the anti-terrorism fight) "toothless, blind, and deaf, lacking telephones, mobility, and even petty cash."

Neither has ex-President Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1980-85) gone untouched. According to retired Gen. Clemente Noel, who nearly defeated Shining Path in Ayacucho in 1981, when police had surrounded the house of Guzmán's political godfather, with Guzmán inside, Belaúnde "prohibited a search of the house where Guzmán was sick, because he did not want the prisoner to die in jail, leaving him open to blame."

The relations of Shining Path with Theology of Liberation networks, including coming very close to their Peruvian founder, Father Gustavo Gutiérrez, are also being exposed. As the police have revealed, the now-jailed former nun, Nelly Evans, a rabid militant of liberation theology, provided the thread which finally led to the skein itself. Another nun, still at large and with the last name Bailey, has been identified along with Evans as Shining Path figures who form part of the circle around Gutiérrez.

Also captured with Guzmán were detailed plans already under way for a "final assault on Lima," with Oct. 12, 1992 as the target date: the day on which 500 years of the Christian evangelization of Ibero-America is commemorated. This date, as an officer of the Peruvian Army told this magazine, "constitutes conclusive proof that Shining Path is a project against the Catholic faith and culture which Spain bequeathed us 500 years ago."

It must be added that, according to the evaluations of anti-terror forces, the recent seizures have only postponed, but have not yet dismantled permanently, the "Red October" which Guzmán prepared for Oct. 12.

So evident is the role of Shining Path as an instrument of the *Black Legend*—the lie propagated by the British that Spain's Catholic-led colonization of Ibero-America constituted genocide against the native population because they were largely Christianized—that the Peruvian Armed Forces, through a presidential decree, declared Sept. 24 the day of the Virgin of Carmen, the patron saint of the Armed Forces, to be a national day of thanks for the capture of Shining Path's chief.

The war isn't over

While Guzmán's capture is a hard blow to Shining Path, it does not mean that the Peruvian nation can claim victory in this irregular war. On the contrary, everything suggests that the war will intensify. One of Guzmán's first statements from jail was to take full responsibility for all the terrorist actions committed in 12 years of subversive warfare against Peru. His statement constitutes a total challenge to the Peruvian state, and is a clear message as well to his psychotic followers that the war must continue, despite his imprisonment.

Shining Path is now engaged in attempting to reconstruct its national leadership, under the former "Number 4" of the organization, Oscar Ramírez Durán, son of a former Army general; Teresa Durán Araujo, one of the organization's most important military commanders; and by her brother, physicist Maximiliano Durán Araujo, who serves as Shining Path's "foreign minister" in Europe and who has gone into hiding in France.

Under standing orders to carry out the "taking of Lima," significant numbers of terrorist cadre continue to arrive in the capital from the interior of the country. It is rumored that a group of 100 commandos which Shining Path had sent for training in Libya is now on their way to Lima. In response, combined Army-police forces are conducting intensive nocturnal searches in the various shantytowns ringing the capital, looking for hidden stores of weapons, explosives, and terrorists.

Two recent developments have raised the level of tension in the country: A few days following Guzmán's capture, Lima television showed a video which police forces had taken of Guzmán's capture, which included a harangue by the Shining Path leader. President Fujimori slammed the leaking of the video as a "terrible betrayal," and suggested that the effects would be negative. The other development was the discovery of a radio-guided missile in the middle of a Lima street. The missile, which belonged to the Peruvian Air Force, had apparently been abandoned by Shining Path when they were unable to explode it. The missile had an explosive impact radius of 600 meters!

The final proof that the war is not over is the fact that more than 200 attacks, with 54 victims, have occurred since Guzmán's arrest.

Along with the rising success rate in the arrests of Shining Path members comes a question that will prove decisive for the future of the country: what to do with Guzmán? A large group of Shining Path apologists ensconced both inside the country and abroad is defending Guzmán's life. People like social democrats Enrique Bernaldes and Armando Villanueva are all coming out with legalistic reasons to argue the impossibility of decreeing capital punishment for the man responsible for 25,000 Peruvian deaths.

But a number of retired military officers, such as Gen. Sinécio Jarama and Gen. Luis Cisneros Vizquerra, argue that the only chance the country has to win the war against Shining

Path is to condemn Guzmán to death. For these two generals, among others, what the Peruvian state must do—as a matter of its own survival—is convoke a Nuremberg-style tribunal, similar to the one which judged the Nazi leadership at the end of World War II. Such a move would be fully justified, given that Guzmán's "crimes against humanity" are fully comparable to the crimes of Adolf Hitler.

Others note that the country is still submerged in irregular warfare, and that it is not only acceptable but imperative in such cases to apply the death penalty to Guzmán, given that his followers have bloody plans to free him from jail at the first opportunity. Shining Path's plans to kidnap President Fujimori's family members, those of government ministers, and even school buses filled with the children of military personnel, as bargaining chips to negotiate Guzmán's release, are already known. The fact is that as long as Guzmán remains the head of Shining Path, the national security of Peru remains in danger.

Documentation

Shining Path's operatives abroad

On Sept. 17, the government of Peru released the following list of 49 people and 39 organizations which lead Shining Path's support network in the United States and Europe, with a concluding commentary on the overall importance of SP operations in France. We have rendered names of groups in English equivalents, except for those operating in Spanish-speaking countries:

1. BELGIUM

- a. Committee in Defense of Human Rights in Peru
- b. Committee in Support of the Peruvian People
- c. International Popular Relief in Belgium

Terrorist criminals

- a. Luis Arce Borja (journalist, propaganda chief in Europe, current director of [SP's newspaper] *Diario Internacional*)

2. SPAIN

- a. Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista
- b. Comité de Apoyo a la Revolución Peruana
- c. Asociación de Amigos Hispanos Peruanos
- d. Comité de Solidaridad
- e. Frente Cultural

Terrorist criminals

- a. Javier Mújica Contreras (president, Asociación de Amigos Hispanos Peruanos)

- b. José Adolfo Mejía Giraldo (member of the newsletter, *Chuschi*)
- c. Mila Zanabria Rivero (promoter)
- d. Yolanda Domínguez Ríos (promoter in Vigo)
- e. Jorge Mújica Contreras (promoter, ex-policeman)
- f. Carmen Prado (Mújica's sister-in-law)
- g. Walter Malca Carbajal (head of operation)

3. FRANCE

- a. Mariátegui Artistic Intellectual Front
- b. French-Peruvian Committee against Repression
- c. Sol-Peru Committee
- d. Sol Peru 11 (founded by Maximiliano Durán)
- e. Movement for the Liberation of Peru
- f. International Solidarity Committee with the Struggle of the Peruvian People

Terrorist criminals

- a. Alberto Diego Ruiz Eldredge Goicochea
- b. Maximiliano Durán Araujo (from the José Carlos Mariátegui Cultural Circle)
- c. Ronald Bustamante (president, Sol Peru Committee)
- d. Carlos Cáceres Campos (secretary, Sol Peru Committee)
- e. Alfredo Carrillo (Treasurer, Sol Peru Committee)
- f. Manuel Herrera (French-Peruvian Center)
- g. Elvira Zanabria Rodero (principal promoter)
- h. Bertha Ore Meneses (activist)
- i. Angélica Mendoza Almelda (Committee of Relatives of the Disappeared in Ayacucho)
- j. José Rodríguez Najjar

4. ENGLAND

- a. Peru Support Group (headquartered in London)
- b. Sol Peru Committee
- c. Revolutionary International Movement (RIM, headquartered in London)

Terrorist criminals

- a. Adolfo Héctor Olaechea Cahuas (Sol Peru Committee in Great Britain)
- b. César Augusto Sotero Alejos (promoter in London)
- c. Carlos Calderón Toralba
- d. Oswaldo Edwin Buchuck Gil
- e. Judy Córdor
- f. Nancy Rocío Buchuck Gil

5. SWEDEN

- a. Ayacucho, Peru Studies Circle
- b. 4th of November Peruvian Group
- c. Ayacucho Literary Circle of Shining Path
- d. Popular Movement of Sweden
- e. Ayacucho Group (headquartered in Malmö and Stockholm)
- f. Latin American Cultural Coordinating Committee

Terrorist criminals

- a. Carlos Rolando La Torre Córdova (promoter in