

## EMERGENCY BULLETIN NO. 20

January 3, 1993

International Emergency Committee  
to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman

FAX/TEL.: (44) (71) 482 0853

Address: BCM-IEC, 27 Old Gloucester Street,  
London WC1N 3XX, England

### IEC FOUNDING CONFERENCE:

On the weekend of February 27-28, in Germany, the IEC will be holding a Founding Conference! The purpose of this conference will be to bring together organizers from around the world, including as many activists as possible, to discuss and strategize on how to raise the campaign to defend the life of Dr Guzman to a new level.

Our campaign has already accomplished a great deal: an unprecedented international outpouring of support for a leader of the people was brought together within weeks of his arrest. Now, literally 10s of thousands worldwide are involved, with participation from so many different kinds of people, it has astonished many. In the past, leaders such as Dr Guzman have often been killed in jail and no movement built to prevent it. This situation has been different. Dr Guzman remains alive, and the movement has helped keep the spotlight on the crimes of the Peruvian government (and its US backers) against him and the other political prisoners.

Building on this solid foundation, a Founding Conference of the IEC is now possible and necessary-- in order to bring more people into the campaign in a much more active and responsible way. We need an organization which is better able to collect and synthesize the experience and opinions of activists in different countries and better able to mobilize them in a unified way. This conference can be a strong beginning step. We encourage as many people and groups as possible to make plans now to attend.

On the first day there will be an all-day public meeting which will discuss the campaign and the situation with Dr Guzman and the other political prisoners in Peru. The next day there will be a Steering Committee (SC) meeting. Members of the SC will be chosen by the committees of each country (one or two per country), and there will also be several "at-large" members elected to the SC by the country representatives. The SC will also elect the Coordinator for the IEC and will determine the basic direction of our work. After this conference, the SC members will be polled by fax and phone for their input on important decisions of IEC. The purpose here is to put the responsibility for the political direction of the organization into the hands of those around the world who are carrying out the work, and at the same time avoid an unwieldy bureaucracy.

At the conference, we will discuss the basic situation with Dr Guzman. He remains locked away with no communication. The death penalty-- legal or extralegal-- remains a threat. The US is increasing its support to the regime despite the increasing repression. But there's now a much bigger political basis to intensify the campaign. We can use this rare opportunity of coming together for this weekend to share our experiences, solve some of the difficult problems of the campaign (such as how to overcome the ceaseless slanderous press and the prejudices of some people in the progressive movement regarding PCP), and make ambitious plans for the coming months.

We invite comments and suggestions for discussions and presentations from everyone. Details (including location, etc.) will follow shortly.

**BADGE:** To the right, a suggested idea for a badge for the campaign:



#### WORLD BANK LOAN TO PERU

BBC World Service Radio reported last week that the World Bank just signed \$1,000 million loan agreement with Peru. They report that \$900 million of this loan will be used to "refinance Peru's debt arrears." The remaining \$100 million will be used to "refinance trade and financial reforms." In other words, Peru has contracted another huge loan, and this money will go straight to the same banks to pay back old loans.

#### WORLDWIDE ORGANIZATION HALTS COOPERATION WITH AMNESTY IN PROTEST

We received a copy of the following letter written to Amnesty International from the MONDSINDIKATISTOJ movement whose group promotes the international language of Esperanto:

"A brief note to let you know that our movement of syndicalists without borders, "MONDSINDIKATISTOJ", after polling our members around the world, has decided to suspend all activities with Amnesty International as long as AI tramples on its own credibility in the matter of Abimael Guzman in Peru.

"Have a little dignity, damn it!"

For MONDSINDIKATISTOJ, (ABVV/FGTB-ESPERANTO),  
André Martin, Citizen of the World

#### FAMOUS FRENCH SINGER WRITES PROTEST LETTER TO FUJIMORI

We received a copy of a letter to Fujimori from Colette Magny, a well known singer in France:

"As a member of Amnesty International, I write to you on the subject of Dr Abimael Guzman. After having been captured in Lima on 12 September, by armed soldiers and presented as a spectacle in a cage to the media, then tried before a military tribunal on an island by blackhooded judges like was done in the Spanish Inquisition, he is condemned to life imprisonment, 'buried alive' before the regime decides how to dispose of him totally, then the Peruvian government decides to abandon the Inter-American San Jose Human Rights Agreement, a convention which denounces the death penalty.

"We know very well that the peoples war led by Abimael Guzman for the last 12 years and presented to the world by the Peruvian government in a false way, is in fact a struggle of the poor, the peasants and the Peruvian Indians, and not 'acts of terrorism' as you would have us believe. According to information from the humanitarian organization America's Watch, the Peruvian military has killed 23,000 people and forced 200,000 peasants from their villages as refugees in the shantytowns of Lima.

"All this we cannot accept and we denounce loudly and strongly. The Peruvian state must respect the international conventions for treatment of prisoners of war and political prisoners. A military tribunal is not competent to judge them and decide their fate: ABIMAEI. GUZMAN'S LIFE MUST BE SAVED."

#### REPORTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD

**NEPAL:** We've just heard that a large demonstration was held in Kathmandu outside the U.S. Embassy on 27 November. More to come.

**ENGLAND:** On 20 December 60 people came together for a meeting called by the "Committee to Defend the Revolution in Peru" in London. At the event, new video footage was shown from a journalist who travelled to Peru shortly after the arrest of Dr Guzman. The footage included: Dr Guzman giving the speech in

the cage on September 24; the Peruvian military arresting teachers accused of being "apologists for terrorism"; the People's Guerrilla Army on patrol in the Huallaga Valley; PCP supporters in Lima carrying out an action on roads into Lima.

**SWITZERLAND:** A new IEC group has been established in Switzerland. A meeting of 70 people was held. The speaker was the Turkish journalist Ragip Zarakolu, who was a member of the IEC 2nd Delegation to Lima.

**FRANCE:** The anti-racist group MRAP, wrote a letter to the Peruvian Embassy a while ago, and received a hostile and slanderous letter in return. MRAP responded and the following are excerpts of their letter:

"In our first letter, we demanded the guarantee of all the legal rights in the trial of Abimael Guzman. To that came a virulent response accusing us of supporting terrorists and never addressing our principal concern, which was the fetters being placed on the defense lawyer, Dr Alfredo Crespo.

"...What bothers us is the persistent military repression against the guerrillas who exist in your country. Also we want to express to you our concern over the possible reinstatement of the death penalty."

#### **NEW SIGNATORIES (or new to this listing)**

Colette Magny - Singer, France

Emil Galip Sandalci - Writer/journalist, Istanbul, Turkey

Murat Celikkan - Journalist/Human rights activist, Turkey

Ilhan Redost - Publisher, Ankara, Turkey

Cevat Korkmaz - Writer/journalist, Ankara, Turkey

Semra Somersa - Journalist/Professor of Anthropology, Turkey

Mustafa Sonmez - Writer/Scientist, Istanbul, Turkey

Korkut Boratav - Prof of Economics, Univ of Ankara, Turkey

Bulent Taner - Prof of Law, Univ of Istanbul, Turkey

Alp Ismen - Graphic artist, Istanbul, Turkey

Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, U.S. Branch

Floyd Salas- author, Buffalo Nickel, Pres. of P.E.N./ Oakland, U.S.

Ring Lardner Jr. - writer, U.S.

#### **FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED**

To readers of the Emergency Bulletin:

The IEC's One-Day Wages Campaign is alive and well, and all people are urged to participate now! This international expression of solidarity with the campaign has brought forth inspiring examples of donations from across the globe: from Afghan refugees in Pakistan, from shantytown dwellers in Turkey, from a group of workers in Kerala, India, making no more than £1 per day who held a meeting on the shop floor and decided to give one-days wages. In fact, we have to report that the majority of donations received by the IEC have come from people in the poorer countries, who have made great sacrifices to do this. With these examples leading the way, it's time that people in the other countries do their part in this most crucial financial aspect of the campaign. This is how an international movement must be built.

At this point, the IEC has before it urgent tasks-- such as sending a 4th Delegation to Lima and the Founding Conference in Germany. And of course our FAX/phone bill for sending out Bulletins and staying in touch worldwide-- nearly £800/month. It is only with significant contributions from around the world that these activities will be possible on the scale required. Please send money in £(pounds) sterling to avoid big charges for changing currency.

U.S. RAND Researcher Predicts PCP Getting Stronger- Fujimori Weaker

An interview with Gordon McCormick entitled "Sendero According to McCormick: THE LONG NIGHT" was conducted and published by Caretas (a major Lima magazine) on 10 December, 1992. McCormick works for the RAND corporation, a private think-tank that carries out studies for the U.S. Defence and State Departments. His point of view is that the Communist Party of Peru needs to be soberly analyzed and understood, for the purpose of wiping it out. In this Addendum to the Emergency Bulletin, we present the interview in the interest of encouraging debate and discussion over the nature of Dr Guzman's movement and organization, the support it has from the Peruvian people, its prospects for the future-- and the "prospects" for the Fujimori regime, which McCormick describes as much more fragile than the PCP (referred to here as "Sendero Luminoso" or "SL".)

**Q:** Do you believe that with Abimael Guzman's capture, Sendero has been defeated?

**A:** One of my colleagues at RAND, who also studies SL, made an interesting comment. He said that you need to be a good engineer to build a locomotive, but you don't have to be that good to get the locomotive going on the tracks. All you need to do is set it on course.

The thinking of the intelligence community in Washington is basically that the war is over. I feel that this is a wrong interpretation of the robust and strong nature of Sendero. You only have to look at the ability and the reach of Sendero's operations to realize that Guzman can be their leader, but on a day to day basis, the organization functions on its own.

Many think that SL will be fractured. I don't believe that Sendero is going to be split up, because it was built from the bottom up, and it has a very clear line of leadership that makes it possible for Guzman to be replaced. It's very different than the cases of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, or the FMLN in El Salvador, who were different groups that came together out of need. Different also than the MRTA, which is made up of different groups who had to unite. They, by their nature, can be fractured. However, Sendero is not going to break up, because it is a very disciplined force, which has been built in the image and likeness of Guzman, so that if Guzman is missing, the chain of command will seek out somebody to replace him.

"The second reason is that Sendero Luminoso is a rural force, which comes from outside Lima in order to attack it. The armed forces attack Sendero when they come into the city, but they rebuild their forces outside of the city, and come back in when it's necessary.

"The third reason is that the socioeconomic conditions in Peru, which gave rise to Sendero, still exist. For these three reasons, I believe that those who think that the war has come to an end, or that it's going to start unravelling, are wrong.

The only thing Sendero has to do to win, is to continue doing what it has been doing up to now. They were advancing, two steps forward, one step back, but advancing nonetheless.

**Q:** Guzman has been credited with an enormous ability to plan. It is said that he personally supervised the carrying out of his plans. Do you believe that there is somebody who can duplicate his abilities?

**A:** I don't know. But during this twelve years of war, from the point of view of operations, it would have been impossible for Guzman to manage Sendero

Luminoso on a daily basis. I believe that Sendero Luminoso has a lot of regional autonomy among its different commands. And they have to operate independently because it's not possible to run the affairs in the countryside from Lima. This part of the organization has only partly been affected by the capture of Guzman.

Belaunde, Garcia, and Fujimori have always exaggerated their successes. If we were to believe them, the Central Committee has been captured five or six times. I believe that Sendero Luminoso has been wounded by the capture of Guzman, mainly psychologically. For the first time, Sendero Luminoso has shown its vulnerability, and its theory of victory has been weakened. They were winning when they thought that victory was inevitable, and now that has been shattered. For the first time, the Peruvian government has taken the psychological initiative. The initiative is fundamental to any guerrilla group, it has to be one step ahead of the government, and for now, Sendero Luminoso is one step behind. What Sendero Luminoso has to do now is retake the initiative, and the best place for that is Lima, but that is where it has been hurt the most. I believe we are going to re-build itself, and it is going to arise anew.

Another important point for any guerrilla movement, is that if they control the initiative, they will also control their casualties, because they can advance, and if they start taking heavy casualties, they can retreat. As for the government, it can't reach the interior and have successes against Sendero Luminoso, who on the other hand, is able to retreat and advance later.

Many say that with Guzman's capture, SL's leadership has been decapitated. I ask myself, if the Peruvian government is not in a more vulnerable situation to be decapitated? What would happen, for instance, if Fujimori were assassinated? There would be chaos. I believe that even if Guzman were to die, SL will still be the main political organization in Peru.

Q: How do you think that the government has done in its handling of Guzman's capture?

A: The incident in the cage was ridiculous, and quite possibly backfired on them. I consider myself an objective observer, and what I saw was a man who was dressed to look ridiculous, but he didn't look ridiculous. The spectacle that they mounted was to show him subjugated, and totally under their control. However, there were sharpshooters all around, helicopters flying overhead, he looked like a very dangerous man who had to be handled very carefully. And there was a humorous angle to it all, which recalled a King Kong movie, with the gorilla in the cage.

Q: What do you think of the armed forces' strategy based on civic duty and repression?

A: As long as the Peruvian armed forces have the power to control an area, they can control it. Unfortunately, my feeling is that in the rural areas, there are 18,000 men assigned to fight the counter-insurgency, 8,000 of them are in the department capitals, and 10,000 in the countryside fighting SL. This in turn, has to be divided into three, because one-third of the force is on leave, another third is guarding the fortresses, and to give the Peruvian military the benefit of the doubt, one-third (that is, 3,500 people) is patrolling-- that's how many people I went to school with! The emergency zones are three or four times the size of South Vietnam, in other words, the military presence is not that effective.

Q: What about the peasant rondas?

**A:** They are overemphasized, they have made the people believe that they are very important, but that is not the case, they have been made out to be more important than they are. They have been oversold. The best that one could say about them is that they may complicate SL's offensive plans, but they don't allow the government to control any areas. Nothing could substitute for a force on the spot, in the areas that must be controlled on the village level, which is where SL is.

**Q:** Do you believe that with the recent captures and the diminishing activity in Lima, the capital is no longer in danger from the subversives?

**A:** I'm not too sure I agree with that. I believe that Lima is a very vulnerable city, because communications could be cut from the rural areas. If in the future, SL gains more force, in the areas surrounding Lima, it could have the force capable of cutting communications from the outside, which would cause a great crisis in the country.

We mustn't think of SL as it is right now, while in retreat because their leader has been captured. A few months ago, if they had retaken the offensive towards the end of August, made it last twice as long, and with more intensity, there would have been a double, compound crisis. This brings us back to the question of the psychological victory. The middle class people and the upper class people, including the military and the political elite, begin to think about leaving the city. SL takes aim at diplomatic missions and starts attacking diplomatic residences, forcing the total evacuation of the diplomatic community in twenty four hours. This creates the dynamic of an exodus of people, and as more people leave, more people are going to want to leave, and the system begins to unravel more rapidly, it begins to fall apart.

And if we look at the history of revolutions, about how power has been siezed in Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Cuba, the conditions arise for the political collapse when the guerrillas are surrounding the city, an the elite are leaving them, so that the system falls apart from inside, abandoning its control to the guerrillas. SL was moving in that direction.

**Q:** How are the U.S. State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA viewing the situation in Peru? Are they optimistic?

**A:** Before Guzman's capture, there were different opinions, the Defence Department was very pessimistic, the State Department and the intelligence community were a little more optimistic. But the difference in points of view were due to different ways of understanding the SL phenomena. The Defence Department looked at things more the way I looked at them. As an institution, the State Department, but not everyone in it, has seen this for some time more as a terrorist group, and not as a social insurgency. Since they have looked at it as a terrorist group, they have not been able to comprehend what's happening in Peru. But in the last six months, everyone had become more pessimistic, especially after the offensive at the end of July, and the beginning of August. That made everybody more pessimistic. Nonetheless, there were those different analyses.

Now, after the capture of Guzman, the State Department once again is optimistic, and the Defence Department looks at it more the way I see it. This is obviously a generalization.

-END-