



EMERGENCY BULLETIN 61

International Emergency Committee To Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman

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IEC 7th Delegation Preparations Underway – Funds Urgently Needed

Efforts from around the world are now coming together to send a 7th IEC delegation to Peru before the April 8 presidential elections. This delegation will voice the demand of millions in Peru and around the world that the Peruvian regime's politically motivated, inhuman, and illegal eight-year isolation of Dr. Abimael Guzman (aka Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru - PCP) must cease.

This delegation is being mobilised by the IEC specifically to demand: "End the Isolation!"; Dr. Guzman must be allowed to express himself on a live TV broadcast; Allow him to receive visits from lawyers, journalists and others from Peru and around the world; End the isolation of Oscar Ramirez Durand (aka PCP Comrade Feliciano) and the inhuman conditions of imprisonment of the 4,000 other political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Infighting over the succession to Fujimori has burst out, and many vicious crimes of the old administration have been exposed and are under renewed scrutiny. In this situation, a broad international delegation can help force the hand of the transitional or new administration to cede to these just demands. Today there is a real potential to win the battle to end the isolation of Dr. Guzman – yet **we must act quickly to seize the time.**

Delegates from various continents, including lawyers, doctors, politicians, and others have committed themselves to participating in the fast-approaching delegation. Today, with an interim government in Peru pending the scheduled 8 April 2001 elections, **there exist fresh potential and real possibilities for a breakthrough on the issue of Dr. Abimael Guzman's isolation.** However, we are lacking adequate money to proceed as total expenditures may exceed US\$20,000.

Letters of Support Needed for Delegation

From past experience, we know it is very important for the delegation to carry with them letters of support from a broad cross-section of individuals and organisations. If Peruvian authorities threaten the delegation – or when meeting with non-governmental entities – these hundreds of letters illustrate that these delegates represent a broad section of people worldwide.

When writing a letter, or recruiting others to do so, please use letterhead when possible. Preferably, the letters should be brief and to the point: Support for the 7th IEC delegation to have access to Dr. Guzman – the eight-year isolation of Dr. Guzman is in violation of many international and Peruvian laws. The delegation must be allowed to carry out its agenda freely and without interference. And that the letter's author will follow the progress of the delegation. An additional point could be that the interim government should live up to its promises of respecting democratic rights; including the rights of prisoners established in Peruvian law and international conventions signed by Peru. A sample letter of support is available.

Please keep the IEC-London office up-to-date on your organising and fundraising efforts. The leaflet "call" for this important 7th delegation is available in both English and Spanish. These can be found on the Internet at www.csrp.org/iec (both as standard web pages and as "Acrobat PDF" files), along with future updates and bulletins.

Officials Say Dr. Guzman was on Hunger Strike

Peru Minister of Justice Diego Garcia Sayan in a press conference to the Peruvian press on 2 Feb. 01 claimed that Dr. Guzman, and other prisoners at the naval base at El Callao – including Oscar Ramirez Durand (Comrade Feliciano) – had ended a hunger strike that had allegedly begun six days prior. The Minister of Justice described this as a "protest action" against prison conditions, among other things.

The interim Peruvian Ombudsman, Walter Alban, reportedly attributed the following to the prisoners: "The hunger strikers have demanded that their convictions by military trials with faceless judges

be nullified, a changing of laws, an end to sentences of life imprisonment, that their lawyers be allowed to enter Callao Naval Base, and solidarity with the struggle of all political prisoners." (Correo, 3 Feb. 01)

We cannot accept anything coming from the Peruvian state at face value. The IEC has stated time and again that the Peruvian State has a long history of distorting fact, and as such it cannot pose as a reliable source of information regarding Dr. Guzman and the other prisoners. The Peruvian authorities must stop acting as spokespersons for Dr. Guzman. While Dr. Guzman's isolation continues, the authorities are well aware that their statements and claims are completely unverifiable. However, **these allegations clearly contribute to the urgency of ending the isolation**, specifically as they directly relate to the issue of Dr. Guzman's health.

PERU NEWS

Presidential Elections

After last year's presidential elections resulted in a complete lack of legitimacy for the Fujimori regime, and a number of "scandals" having surfaced, Fujimori called for new elections to be held. He later fled the country to find refuge in Japan and resigned via fax. His notorious "advisor", CIA henchman Vladimiro Montesinos is in hiding. The interim government is headed by president **Valentin Paniagua**, with former UN general secretary **Javier Perez de Cuellar** as Prime Minister, and the former head of the anti-terrorist police, **Ketin Vidal** as Interior Minister. The elections are scheduled for April 8, with a likely second round on May 9 between the two top candidates – unless one candidate gets 50% plus one vote in the first round.

The "front runners" include **Alejandro Toledo** who lost a close runoff against Fujimori in last year's blatantly rigged elections. Toledo claims to be a political outsider in touch with the common people, similar to Fujimori's campaign in 1990. While Toledo does have humble beginnings, he parlayed a few lucky breaks as a youth into a career as a US-educated, top consultant to foreign investors. He has served as chief economic advisor to Peru's Central Bank and has worked for the World Bank. In the latest opinion polls, Toledo is neck to neck with Lourdes Flores.

Lourdes Flores has attracted attention as the first woman with a serious chance to be president. She has also been winning praise from international investors for being "centre-rightist" and a solid "fiscal conservative". In response to mainstream critics who accused her campaign of harbouring Fujimori supporters and of being the "right-wing" candidate, she retorted, "We will be the most right-wing government in the history of Peru" (La Republica, 18 Feb. 01), "but as far as our thinking is concerned, we are the most progressive group because we guarantee the progress of the country, in a sound way." (Peru Hoy, 16 Feb. 01) In 1993, as head of the largest party in "opposition" to Fujimori, she called for the imposition of the death penalty for captured revolutionaries, Dr. Guzman in particular – despite a constitutional ban.

Alan Garcia, Peru's president from 1985-1990, has returned to Peru after a decade in exile to run. Garcia fled Peru in order to avoid charges of widespread corruption. He is infamous for ordering the 19 June 1986 all-out military assault on three prisons where PCP revolutionaries were held. Nearly 300 prisoners were killed at El Fronton, Lurigancho, and the women's prison at Callao. During Garcia's presidency, thousands were "disappeared" and thousands of others killed – including 500 people slaughtered in 19 separate massacres by military and police forces because of their suspected PCP sympathies.

Fundamentally, though the programmes of the candidates differ slightly, each hopes to strengthen Peru's present establishment, and the rich minority's shaky hold on power. In the end, regardless of who is elected, the imperialists and their agents like the IMF and World Bank will continue to dictate just what they can and cannot do.

While all these candidates express their official outrage at the "corruption of the Fujimori-Montesinos era", none speak of the unparalleled repression of the people. Their only objection was that the repression spilled over on to sections of the ruling elite. Some protest the uncontrolled power of the military, sanctioned death squads, and other police forces; however, they remain silent about numerous military massacres over the last 15 years.

This election is critical to "**re-establish Peru as a democratic nation**", and to give one of the US-approved candidates a mandate to rule for the next five years. While they all understand the need to "clean up Peru's international image", they must do so within the context of the ongoing civil war. There seems to exist some litmus test that requires each to pledge that they will do even more than Fujimori to

defeat the Maoist People's War led by the PCP. This election mandate will again be used to legitimise the repressive policies the new government inherits and imposes.

In Peru, to refuse to vote is against the law. Every Peruvian must carry an identity card showing that they have voted. Anyone who did not vote is suspected of being a PCP member or supporter. **To refuse to vote is to risk your life.** Yet much of the population refuses to vote, or casts a blank or spoiled ballot. The PCP has led a broad campaign to boycott elections since 1980 under the slogan "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" In the 1990 elections the number of people who didn't vote exceeded the number who voted for Fujimori, and the boycott of last year's presidential elections contributed to Fujimori's lack of legitimacy that led to his resignation.

Peru's political map is well established. The real protagonists are not represented by the electoral candidates, but by the two sides of the ongoing civil war. And both sides are engaged in creating public opinion around the elections and contending to increase the vote/non-vote proportion.

Details of CIA-Led Effort which Captured Dr. Guzman Surface

Immediately following the capture of Dr. Guzman in 1992, the IEC in its initial organising call pointed out that this occurred "with the full assistance of the US's notorious counterinsurgency machine." Since then, the mainstream media mainly treated this as an "official secret", and the Peruvian authorities have often denied it altogether. However, the 7 Dec. 00 Washington Post carried an extensive article entitled, "'Superman' Meets Shining Path: Story of a CIA Success" ("Superman" refers to the US CIA-operative in charge). **The following are direct excerpts from this article that is based on interviews with CIA and Peruvian agents, and official documents:**

For months, Superman and personnel brought to Peru by the CIA had trained, equipped, financed and coached the detectives. When the cops needed cars, the CIA paid for them; when they found a Shining Path document in English, Superman translated. And when police radioed headquarters with word of Guzman's arrest, Superman was there to hear the news and join the celebration. Indeed, the U.S. government found out before Peru's then-president, Alberto Fujimori, or his intelligence chief, Vladimiro Montesinos, did.

...Peru's National Police set up an anti-terrorism agency known by its Spanish initials, DINCOTE. But DINCOTE's efforts too were brutal and self-defeating. "Torture consisted of beatings, shock, dunking people in cold water," recalled one U.S. official who served in Lima.... Some DINCOTE agents even posed as terrorists and kidnapped civilians for ransom, according to former DINCOTE officials.

...Among U.S. intelligence analysts, said one former official, "it was essentially a competition game as to when Shining Path would be taking over." ...Upon returning from Peru, (Bernard Aronson, the Bush administration's Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America) contacted the CIA's clandestine division and urged it to help stop Shining Path. "If this concern has been a 6 on a scale of 1 to 10," he told his CIA counterpart, "make it a 12."

...The CIA set up what the police called an "academy" in DINCOTE headquarters. CIA officers showed the detectives how to analyse, cross-reference and classify documents. Together with an expert from Britain's Scotland Yard, CIA personnel also taught the detectives how to conduct surveillance... The CIA gave (Peruvian) detectives spy gear: telephoto cameras, listening devices, night-vision goggles and a video camera that could be concealed in a briefcase. And the agency rented cars so police could follow suspects from a variety of vehicles. Occasionally, CIA officers stood behind two-way mirrors watching the police question suspects, then advised the Peruvians on their techniques, according to a former senior Peruvian police official.

...With such support, the police unit expanded to 82 members by the time of the arrest. The CIA also kept Montesinos informed... In the 1970s, as a captain on the staff of Peru's leftist prime minister, he had been recruited to sell the agency military secrets... In May 1991, about the time Aronson was urging the CIA to help catch Guzman, the agency hosted Montesinos at its Langley headquarters.

...With the newly identified (PCP) safe house under surveillance, police officers disguised as sanitation workers began picking up the garbage left outside. A male architect and female dance instructor were the home's only visible occupants. The trash, though, told a different story. The first clue was five different kinds of discarded hair. Further investigation produced evidence that Guzman himself might be in the house. One day's trash yielded a medicine package Superman helped identify as a Swedish ointment for psoriasis, from which Guzman was known to suffer... Everyone realized a political windfall would accrue to whoever could claim credit for getting Guzman. Money was at stake too: the government posted a \$1 million reward for Guzman, "dead or alive."

Videos Reveal Widespread Official Corruption

The Los Angeles Times, 10 Feb. 01 described the current situation as such:

"Every day brings a broadcast of one of at least 2,400 videos left behind by Vladimiro Montesinos, the fugitive former chief of the National Intelligence Service, or SIN. The grainy images show a parade of Cabinet ministers, judges, legislators, executives and other big shots making deferential pilgrimages to Montesinos, who holds court wearing casual clothes and an icy smile. The videotaped visitors cut dirty deals; the scenes often end with the spy chief, or an emissary, handing over an envelope stuffed with cash."

An example includes the majority owner of Lima television Channel 9 being taped receiving \$50,000 from Montesinos in exchange for cancelling a programme entitled "Without Censorship." When the owner of Channel 4 was shown accepting millions, he claimed that ALL the TV stations were under contract to Montesinos. (La Republica, 20 Feb. 01) Additionally, the editor of the Lima daily Expreso was exposed as having been on the Montesinos bank roll.

One video shows Montesinos making sure that the contract for the Yanacocha goldmine (the largest in South America) would go to a US company. Montesinos explains to the judge who later ruled on the case, "The USA is guarantor of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, and we as a State need that backer not to cause conflicts...the position has to be to defend the national interests." (La Republica, 25 Jan. 01)

While the Fujimori government publicly claimed that the insurgency was almost defeated, Montesinos in a recorded conversation "spreads fear" of how the PCP was reorganising, specifically on the university campuses, and has to be stopped. (La Republica, 15 Feb. 01)

US DEA Confirms Military Collusion with Drug Traffickers

La Republica reported on 3 Feb. 01 that they had received a detailed account of radio communications of 29 June 1991 intercepted by the US Drug Enforcement Agency at the US base at Santa Lucia. One of the recordings refers to the sale of weapons by a Peruvian Army official to Demetrio Chavez, known as "Vaticano" – an infamous Peruvian drug trafficker arrested in Colombia in 1996.

"Vaticano" was sentenced for treason for "collaborating with terrorists". During the process of revealing some of Montesinos' true activities, "Vaticano" gave testimony that he was brought down only because he refused to give Montesinos double the long-standing \$50,000 a month "protection money". The charge of terrorism and imprisonment at El Callao (the same naval base where Dr. Guzman is held) were, according to "Vaticano", measures to make sure he would not be able to reveal information concerning Montesinos' role in the drug trade.

In the recordings, the Army captain directly tells Vaticano that he must "return the weapons unless he has paid the money for them". Vaticano retorts that the weapons are required "to defend (the drug traffickers) against the subversives of Sendero Luminoso." Vaticano refers to being in touch with "The Doctor" (widely known to be Montesinos) and having made all the arrangements with him. (Also see IEC Pamphlet, "Fujimori, the CIA, and the Drug Trade – A Look at How the US does its Dirty Work in Peru", Oct. 92; available online at www.csrp.org/marga.htm#drug)

Poor Families Fight to Defend Land Takeovers

La Republica on 17 Jan. 01 reported on an extensive struggle over land that had been occupied by about 100 poor families in the San Sebastian district near Cusco. Reportedly, the people had named their new area "May First":

"More than 50 people were wounded yesterday in an enormous confrontation between police and residents of the 'May First' establishment... The authorities used force to carry out a judicial eviction order of approximately 100 poor families. The police action had to be temporarily suspended due to the response of the villagers who built barricades to confront the police attack. The massive use of tear gas did not have dissuasive effects. On the contrary, it raised the population's spirits even more. Men and women of all ages, carrying sticks, stones and slingshots, opposed the (police) attack with strong resistance, defending what they said, 'belongs to them according to social justice.' ...At 8am, the magistrate went to the newly-built housing area, accompanied by the prosecutor Maria Esther Chavez and about 200 officers of the National Police. At first, the authorities tried to convince the occupants to abandon the land peacefully, but it was in vain. The violence broke out when the head of police in charge of the operation ordered his men into the area. They were only able to evict six families and demolish their property. Faced with the outrage of the occupants, and fearing that the intervention would unleash a

tragedy, the judge ordered the operation suspended. By 10am, 14 policemen and 42 residents had suffered injuries of varying degree. Most required medical attention."

On 2 Feb. 01, Correo carried news of a similar struggle where poor families managed to defend an area they had taken over. They had reportedly named their area "New Democracy".

"The first eviction took place last Tuesday with the support of the police of Tarma, San Ramón, La Gracia, Pichanaki and Satipo, in the presence of judge Dr. Pedro Gonzales Esteban. The land invaders were given 30 minutes to withdraw peacefully. This action was carried out with such force that the police destroyed the shacks and wooden houses that stood in their way. This enraged the opposing side that chose to resist the authorities and police. They even tried to attack the District Attorney, forcing the police to retreat. Hours later, when emotions had calmed, the police troops returned to carry out the eviction... When everything seemed done, the invaders reorganised to retake possession of the lands, creating another confrontation... As a consequence, six invaders were wounded, but the others were once again able to seize control of the land, which they named 'New democracy'."

"Brutal Recession" of Peru Economy Continues

In an interview with Caretas magazine, Minister of Finance Javier Silva Ruete admitted that the situation of the Peruvian economy is "the most brutal recession this country has ever had." (21 Dec. 00) Yet the investment bank of J. P. Morgan was even more pessimistic. "It will take Peru longer to come out of the recession because of the high rate of debts of companies, the political instability, and the problem of the fiscal adjustment." The J. P. Morgan representative estimated that Peru's Gross National Product (GNP) growth this year would only be 0.3% – not the 2.5% prediction made in a draft Letter of Intention by the Peruvian government to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). (La Republica, 31 Jan. 01) Even the higher increase of 2.5% would mean a *per capita* decrease, as the economically active population will grow by 3%.

During the year 2000, the average salary for "blue collar" workers covered only 28% of the basic household budget, for "white collar" employees it covered 69%, while pay to executives surpassed it by 309%. The economic situation for workers and employees worsened compared to 1999. (La Republica, 19 Jan. 01)

Most of the presidential candidates again turn reality upside-down by promising that foreign investment will come to the rescue to solve Peru's problems. Since 1995, foreign investment has averaged approximately US\$400 million per quarter – yet during the third quarter of 2000 (the most recent available data), foreign investors spent a paltry US\$16 million. (Caretas, 21 Dec. 00)

According to the Lima Chamber of Commerce, of Peru's economically active population of 11.9 million, 6.2 million are officially "under-employed" (earning less than US\$170 a month and/or involuntarily working less than 35 hours a week), and 700,000 more are unemployed. (La Republica, 22 Jan. 01) In reality, the situation is much worse, as the true extent of the people's economic misery never appears in these official reports.

Reports of Maoist People's War

During the last few years, the People's War in Peru has continued to undergo twists and turns, suffering blows, whilst also striking hard at the enemy and successfully defying all attempts to wipe it out. The PCP has characterized the situation as a "bend in the road", starting from the arrest of Dr. Guzman, that is now being overcome.

One reason why it remains difficult to report on actions of the People's War was addressed by The Economist investor magazine: "The Peruvian Government has used its influence over the media to play down reports of Shining Path attacks." (Feb. 96) However, the official media still reports some actions. The following are a few such reports of actions attributed to Communist Party of Peru (PCP) guerrillas during the last month:

Correo on 30 Jan. 01 gave brief information on fighting in Leoncio Prado province: "One presumed subversive was killed, and one civilian and one soldier wounded following an odd counter-subversive operation last Saturday night...in Juan José Crespo district, Leoncio Prado province."

On 15 Feb. 01, El Comercio reported that PCP fighters entered the town of Olmos near Chiclayo, located on the border of Piura and Lambayeque departments. It was reported that PCP "elements" had come to flush out persistent cattle thieves that operate in the area.

"(PCP) guerrillas attacked an army helicopter in the jungle valley of Peru's Apurimac River, killing one soldier and leaving another wounded, the army said... The attack occurred (18 Feb. 01) near the

Monopata military base in Ayacucho province, 215 miles (350 kilometres) southeast of the capital, Lima. The helicopter was approaching the base to deliver provisions (and troops) when... the rebel group opened fire on the aircraft." (Associated Press, 19 Feb. 01) Reportedly, an army sergeant was killed, and a lieutenant wounded. This action forced the general commander of the army, Carlos Tafur Ganoza to make yet another denial of a "terrorist come-back". (Expreso, 22 Feb. 01)

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN REPORTS

Updates are beginning to come in from around the world. However, we need to hear from many more supporters and friends. Please send in reports of your efforts so that we can publish them.

Colombia: IEC-Colombia has held a series of organising meetings, in part to discuss the 7th IEC delegation. Since the last week of January, meetings of workers and students have been held at the National University in **Medellin**, in **Bogota**, and in **Bucaramanga**. Meetings in Pereira and Cali are also being planned. IEC-Colombia has recently produced and distributed "Information Bulletin #2" (Nov. 00) for local supporters. Included is a statement to commemorate the 8th anniversary of Dr. Guzman's 1992 speech, an update on the situation of the political prisoners and prisoners of war in Peru, and the Feb. 00 rebellion at Yanamayo. Issue #3, which will promote the 7th IEC delegation, is forthcoming.

United States: IEC-US reports fundraising efforts are underway for the 7th IEC delegation, with thousands of IEC leaflets for this delegation having already been distributed. The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) published an article entitled "International Campaign to End the Prison Isolation of Abimael Guzman in Peru" in their Winter 2000 newsletter. NLG members and a former IEC delegate are currently circulating a 7th delegation fundraising appeal among fellow members.

Greece: IEC supporters in Greece have begun raising money by selling "IEC 7th delegation support coupons". Recently, IEC supporters have been involved in efforts to support the political and revolutionary prisoners in Turkey who are on a hunger strike (see below).

Political Prisoners in Turkey: Isolation is Torture!

Hundreds of political and revolutionary prisoners in Turkey have for the last few months been fighting attempts by the Turkish government to move the prisoners into new so-called F-type "isolation" prisons. The prisoners and their supporters say that the aim of these transfers is to crush their organising efforts, and to break the political determination of the prisoners. Many of these prisoners have played an important role in the defence of Dr. Guzman's life from the beginning by holding meetings in the prisons, signing the IEC call and petitions, and carrying out other actions to make the case of Dr. Guzman known even beyond the prison walls.

To resist these transfers into prisons built to isolate inmates from each other, over 270 prisoners have undertaken a determined hunger strike. The prisoners declared that they would rather die fighting together than live in total isolation. The Turkish state responded by massacring more than 30 of the prisoners. The surviving prisoners were transferred — yet they have continued their hunger strike under even these extremely severe conditions. More prisoners are reported to be joining the hunger strike.

The IEC sharply condemns the Turkish state's moves to transfer these political prisoners into conditions of isolation, and is outraged by the massacre of prisoners. This struggle highlights the real character of isolation, such as Dr. Guzman has been subjected to for more than eight years. Isolation and solitary confinement not only keep people in captivity to prevent them from committing the "crime" of fighting for the liberation of their peoples, but are designed to punish them in the cruellest way — denying the prisoners the very source of human existence, social interaction. The isolation of Dr. Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo), the isolation of Oscar Ramirez Durand (Comrade Feliciano), and the conditions of isolation of thousands of prisoners in Peru, Turkey and other countries around the world is not just imprisonment — it is a form of torture of the worst kind.

IEC organising materials available include: "You Must Tell the World..." video documentary of the international campaign to defend Dr. Guzman's life (1993), £15 • "Panorama Ayacuchano" music tape featuring music of Peru donated for fundraising, £7 • "Peru 1509" music tape featuring rap-jazz produced by IEC supporters, £7 • T-shirt with 1509 logo on front, and Dr. Guzman's image on back, £7 • IEC Founding Conference Speeches pamphlet, £3 • IEC Campaign pamphlet, £2 • Collection of four IEC pamphlets ("Drug War", "Big Lies", and more), £2

Materials are also available from IEC-US — see website www.csrp.org/iec for catalogue.