

## The Shining Path apparatus in Mexico

The Peruvian narco-terrorist group Shining Path has an important support network inside Mexico. Given the freedom with which that network operates, it would appear that it has the protection of high-level government circles. There is no other explanation for the fact that a group of Mexicans, various of whom have known terrorist or pro-terrorist backgrounds, felt confident to sign their names to a paid newspaper ad backing Shining Path, and later reiterated the support.

It is public knowledge that there exist in Mexico organizations modeled on Shining Path, such as Peasant Torch (Antorcha Campesina), the Workers Party, and the Independent Proletariat Movement. Further, as the magazine *Proceso* revealed in 1992, there also exists a large number of “former” militants of communist organizations of every stripe occupying posts of varying importance in the current Mexican government.

Although the authorities have minimized the fact, Shining Path operates on Mexican territory, as was demonstrated by the attack against the Peruvian Embassy in Mexico in May 1992, during which a dead dog was hung at the entrance, Shining Path’s signature warning when they are going to assassinate someone.

In a letter in the government daily *El Nacional* on March 7, 1992, Hugo Garavito Amézaga, a Peruvian columnist living in Mexico, wrote: “Mexico has a primary role, together with other pro-Shining Path international centers—France, Belgium, and Sweden—because of its influence in Latin America and as a pathway to the United States. According to the correspondence of Abimael Guzmán, the support of the Mexican group, the José Carlos Mariátegui Cultural Center, has existed since 1984.” It is believed that, apart from propaganda and recruitment, one of the functions of the Peruvian Shining Path apparatus in Mexico is to help in laundering drug money and in trafficking in weapons.

Information suggests that Shining Path has operated in Mexico for 15 years, and that its bases of operation are located in Mexico City and in Chilpancingo, Guerrero, from which it reaches into other areas such as Oaxaca and Chiapas. In Mexico City, its operations are headed up by Serapio Mucha Yayos and Guillermo Nonalaya, and in Chilpancingo by Camilo Valqui, who is president of a human rights committee and teacher at the Guerrero Autonomous University. That university continues to be an enclave of the “former” Mexican Communist Party (PCM), which first became the

PSUM and is today part of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas’s Party of the Democratic Revolution.

The first public warning about Shining Path in Mexico was issued by Garavito Amézaga, with his letters to *El Nacional*. On March 5, 1992, Amézaga denounced the presence of Shining Path at the International Book Fair organized by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and by its engineering faculty. In booth K-15 at the fair, warned Amézaga, Shining Path pamphlets and books were being sold by a Support Committee for the Peruvian People’s War, headed by Mexican Gabriela Salas, who authored the introduction to the book, *People’s War in Peru. Gonzalo’s Thought* (second edition, Mexico, 1991). Also part of the support committee are David Orozco and Eugenio Tapia. Garavito noted that the booth was tended by the American Frank Witman, a representative of the Chicago-based Liberation Distribution, linked to the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, a member of the Revolutionary International Movement.

One month earlier, the terrorists had given a conference in the auditorium of Section IX of the National Education Workers Union (SNTE), under the control of the National Coordinator of Education Workers (CNTE).

On Aug. 17, 1992, pro-Shining Path journalist Miguel Angel Ortega published an interview with Eugenio Tapia in the daily *El Financiero*, in which Tapia identified himself as a member of the Mexican Support Committee for the Peruvian People’s War. In the interview, Ortega gave directions on how to solicit material from Shining Path. On Aug. 27, when a group of aged Mexican leftists, several of them with terrorist backgrounds, and several political groups such as the Independent Proletarian Movement (MPI) and the Support Committee for the Peruvian People’s War, published a paid ad in the daily *La Jornada* supporting Shining Path, Ortega published a brief apology for Shining Path in *El Financiero* on the same day.

Those assuming responsibility for the Shining Path ad included Mario Omar Falcón, Fausto Trejo, and Eugenio Tapia. Falcón is a “revolutionary painter” who brought Puerto Rican terrorists into Mexico, and who in the early 1970s headed up riots which overthrew then-UNAM dean Pablo González Casanova. Fausto Trejo is a psychiatrist active in leftist circles who advised Falcón in the early 1970s. The organizations that signed include: the Support Committee for the Peruvian People’s War; the MPI; CLETA; the Revolutionary School of Popular Culture/Martyrs of ’68; Delegation D-23, Section XXXVI of SNTE, corresponding to the state of Mexico; the “Judith Reyes” Committee; the Lozano Family Committee.

### The CNTE and friends

The pro-Shining Path sentiment within the national teaching profession in Mexico is especially serious. Within the CNTE, for example, there co-exist two Maoist factions: one

radical, around Section IX of the SNTE, and a “moderate” faction headed by Teodoro Palomino, who controls Section X of the SNTE (secondary school teachers) and who also heads the Workers Party (PT), created in 1991 and considered by some to be the “Personal Party of Salinas.” The PT is one of the communist groups that evidently receives government protection. In a *La Jornada* interview on Jan. 2, 1991, Palomino spoke of the relationship between the PT and the CNTE, and said that the CNTE is “an organization of the masses, pluralist, autonomous, and independent of all parties and political organizations.” But, he admitted, he was making a concerted partisan effort to bring the largest number of teachers possible into the PT.

In the same interview, Palomino said that the origin of the PT is the Maoist movement Mass Line (Línea de Masas), founded by Adolfo Orive Alva and Alberto Anaya. Said Palomino, “The Mass Line organization has been growing since the ’60s. . . . A large number of us who make up the PT have been active in various groups under the Mass Line tendency.”

In *Proceso* (No. 827, September 1992), Patricia Dávila reported that Alejandro González Yáñez, the recently elected mayor of Durango and a PT activist, “explains that when, in 1968 the organization ‘Política Popular’ [Mass Line] was created, certain individuals in the official [PRI] party ‘helped us,’ such as Oscar Levín, today a congressman from the Federal District; Adolfo Oribe, who was in the Department of Hydraulic Resources and in the National Farmers Confederation (CNC); and Hugo Andrés Araujo, current head of the CNC. . . . Because people from ‘Política Popular’ are among the Salinas cadre, it has caused the rumor that the brothers Carlos and Raúl Salinas de Gortari are backing our movement . . . which isn’t true.”

## Peasant Torch

Peasant Torch was the first Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization to join the PRI, and which has shown many similarities to Shining Path. Its founder, agronomist engineer Aquiles Córdoba Morán, told the daily *Unomásuno* in February 1990 that the *Antorchistas* “are the fruit of a political current that originates with the Leninist Spartacus League founded by José Revueltas” in 1960.

Peasant Torch was founded in 1974, in the southern part of Puebla state, and currently has active bases in the states of Puebla, Coahuila, Durango (area of La Laguna), Oaxaca, Veracruz, Tlaxcala, Mexico state, Morelos, and Michoacán. Córdoba says that the group is in 23 states and has “800,000 members.” Despite the many accusations against it, many of them for assassinations, Peasant Torch was accepted into the PRI in 1985, assigned to the CNC, and today is run by “former” communist Hugo Andrés Araujo.

In *El Financiero* on Feb. 9, 1990, Luis Fernando Roldán noted that the group “does not directly repress the peasant movement; rather it attacks militants from opposing groups

or leftist parties and physically eliminates them. By heading the leadership, they prevent the expansion of these groups with the clear intention of eradicating possible outbreaks of opposition to the regime. When the group sets up in a community, its first action is to foment division, and then move on to verbal and physical confrontation. Thus, it resorts to intimidation, ambush, kidnapping, surrounding the victim.”

Peasant Torch has extended its methods to the poor neighborhoods of Mexico City, and there are unpublished accounts of individuals who have witnessed its actions—in the classic style of Shining Path—in the neighborhood of Cerro de Chiquihuite, Delegación Madero, where it beat three people to death.

As to Peasant Torch’s financing, every indication points to government agencies. In the Feb. 22, 1990 issue of *El Financiero*, Roldán said, “With the appointment of Raúl Salinas de Gortari, the President’s brother, as technical secretary of Pronasol [National Solidarity Program] . . . the *Antorchistas* have undertaken more daring actions. . . . It is the ruling party which created Peasant Torch to give itself consensus and legitimacy, and it is the ruling party which can dismantle it.”

## Pronasol, and other government agencies

In a Sept. 7, 1992 article in *Proceso* entitled “Yesterday, Leftist Opponents; Today They Run Pronasol’s Programs,” journalist Carlos Acosta Córdoba provides a list of “former communists, former Maoists, former Trotskyists . . . even former guerrillas” who have been incorporated into the government apparatus, including those who hold positions in Pronasol. Among them are:

- “Adolfo Oribe. Previously: founder and head of Proletarian Line [or the Maoist Mass Line]. . . . Now: director of Pronasol, adviser to Carlos Rojas.” Acosta does not mention the fact that Oribe got his degree in economics at the University of Paris (Sorbonne), under Marxist-Maoist wife-murderer Louis Althusser, who gave Oribe the express task of founding an “Althusserian” movement in Mexico.

- “Gustavo Hiraes Morán. Previously: an activist with the Mexican Communist Youth; guerrilla leader; member of the [terrorist] 23rd of September Communist League. . . . Now: adviser to Carlos Rojas, Pronasol coordinator on questions of peasant organization . . . and columnist for . . . *El Nacional*.”

- “Pedro Uranga. Previously: leader of the Socialist Current, member of the guerrilla group that participated in the attack on the Madera military barracks . . . in 1965. Now: director of social and peasant organization of Pronasol.”

Acosta added that “in lesser positions there are not only people from the ranks of their political organizations,” but “even foreigners; the most visible, the Guatemalans and Uruguayans, show clear indications of previous experience in mass organizing.”