

The plans which Dourojeanni implemented were drawn up by Maj. Ian R. Grimwood, a British military conservationist who was sent into Peru in 1962 by Prince Philip's WWF. Peru was one of the first countries targeted by the WWF, immediately after the WWF was founded in 1961. It was the WWF which arranged for the British Ministry of Overseas Development (the renamed Colonial Office) to send Grimwood into Peru. That year, Prince Philip visited Peru, supporting local leaders of the conservation movement, and campaigning against "excessive" Peruvian anchovy fishing and other major economic activities.

Major Grimwood lived in Peru for a few years during the mid-1960s, during which time he drafted a plan for setting up national parks across the country (including legislation which was later implemented), and chose the first sites for the ecological "Conservation Units." This plan was promptly implemented, as the SNUC—run by Dourojeanni.

In his report on his activities,⁹ Grimwood outlined his plan to "found, in inhabited areas . . . selected inviolable refuges, in the form of national parks and reserves." A national park, for example, should be "an area set aside for perpetuity—no individual rights should exist in a national park, and hunting, killing, or capture of animals of any type . . . or of natural objects should be totally prohibited." Such parks, he added, "should be of an adequate size to prevent the destruction or modification" of that for whose "conservation" such a park had been created, by "factors which occur outside its boundaries," and whose "integrity should be guaranteed by an adequate administrative staff and legal [coercion]."

In the report, Grimwood expressly credits Dourojeanni with having helped draft and implement this policy. Dourojeanni, for his part, praised the role played in Peru by the WWF, "present in Peru from 1965, with economic contributions of strategic importance, precisely when and where they were most necessary." With this help, Dourojeanni bragged, the entire national parks operation, the SNUC, was created "in the course of a mere decade, from 1967-77." Throughout the 1970s, while he served as director of Forestry and Fauna, Dourojeanni was also a director of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the sister institution of Prince Philip's WWF. He later became a vice president of the IUCN, and its Honorable Advisor on South America.

As *EIR* has documented,¹⁰ these park areas, which have been stripped of economic development by Her Majesty's combined indigenist and ecological agents, are today the center of operations of the drug trade, and of the narco-terrorist armies of the MRTA and Shining Path.

9. "Recommendations on the Conservation of Wildlife and the Establishment of National Parks and Reserves in Peru," I.R. Grimwood, Technical Advisor of Wildlife, British Ministry of Overseas Development, June 1965-March 1967.

10. *EIR*, Nov. 10, 1995, "New Terror International Targets the Americas."

MRTA Dossier

A model international terrorist force

Name of group: Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA).

General headquarters and important fronts: They deploy out of Lima, the Peruvian central jungle, and the Upper Huallaga Valley.

Founding: March 1, 1982.

Locations of operations, areas active: The MRTA is a clandestine subversive movement, linked to drug trafficking, with a long history of robberies, kidnappings, extortion, blackmail, assassinations, car-bombings, and confrontations with security and defense forces. In the national arena, at the moment of its most intense activity in the early 1990s, the MRTA operated in Lima and in other cities, as well as in the central jungle (Huánuco and San Martín provinces), the Upper Mayo Valley (San Martín province), and in the jungle region of Amazonas province (these last being largely drug-trafficking activities).

In the international arena, the MRTA is the international narco-terrorist movement *par excellence*. For example, until 1992, of the MRTA members imprisoned in Peru, 48 were foreigners. Since that time, many more foreign members have been arrested, in 1995 and 1996, in particular among its leadership. Bolivia is its major center of international operations; the MRTA carried out an important kidnapping there in 1995, preceded by other kidnappings dating from 1990. Bolivian authorities have stated that the MRTA is trying to infiltrate the coca-growers' groups in Bolivia's Chapare region, as well as the miners unions there. In Colombia, the MRTA joined with that country's narco-terrorist M-19 in the so-called Americas Battalion.

Its arms supplies operations have involved El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, and Chile.

Members of the MRTA have sought refuge in Bolivia, Uruguay, Mexico, France, Germany, and other European countries. In France and Germany, they have received the status of "political refugees," while in other countries, like Bolivia and Uruguay, they have received the status of "refugees" under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Major terrorist actions:

Nov. 7, 1983: The MRTA kidnaps businessman José Antonio Onrubia Romero, member of the board of the Banco de Crédito, in Trujillo, Peru. He is freed in April 1984, after paying a large ransom.

January 1984: The MRTA attacks a police station in the district of Villa El Salvador, in Lima.

March 1985: They set fire to a fast-food restaurant, Kentucky Fried Chicken, in Lima.

July 1985: They simultaneously attack seven outposts of the National Police, in Lima. Two weeks later, they explode a car-bomb in the parking lot of the Interior Ministry.

August 1985: They announce from hiding a suspension of their violent actions against the new government of Alan García Pérez, in the form of a truce.

December 1985: The MRTA sends its cadre to join with Colombian narco-terrorist groups, among them, the M-19, which, together with the MRTA, Alfaro Vive, Carajo! of Ecuador, and others, made up the so-called Americas Battalion, which carried out terrorist operations in Colombia. There also exists information that other cadre went to North Korea to receive training.

Aug. 7, 1986: The MRTA calls off its truce with the Alan García government. One day later, they attack the Presidential palace with a grenade launcher, without causing major damage.

Nov. 6, 1987: The MRTA seizes the city of Juanjui, in the province of San Martín, for several hours.

July 1988: The MRTA kidnaps Armed Forces Gen. Héctor Jeri (ret.), along with Enrique Ferreyros, both businessmen.

Aug. 10, 1988: They put a car-bomb in front of the office of Centromin Peru.

April 1989: Sixty members of an MRTA commando group die in a confrontation with security forces in Los Molinos, Jauja (Junín).

Oct. 5, 1989: They kidnap Héctor Delgado Parker, well-known media businessman and adviser to President García, thereby putting some orchestrated “distance” between themselves and García. Delgado pays a ransom and is released, apparently convinced that the MRTA acted justly.

Jan. 9, 1990: They assassinate former Army commander Gen. Enrique López Albuja, who ran the Army when it defeated the MRTA offensive at Los Molinos.

July 9, 1990: Twenty days after the Presidential transition from Alan García to Alberto Fujimori, Víctor Polay Campos and 46 other members of the MRTA escape the high-security Castro prison.

Dec. 6, 1990: Kidnapped Bolivian businessman Jorge Lonsdale dies during an attempt to free him from his kidnapers, members of the MRTA and of the Néstor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ) of Bolivia. The kidnapping had been carried out six months earlier. Together with Lonsdale, Peruvian MRTA member Juan Joya is killed, and another Peruvian member, Dante Limaya, is captured and sent to prison. MRTA leader Néstor Cerpa Cartolini calls on then-Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora to free Limaya, without success.

Jan. 14, 1991: They set off a car-bomb at the Interior Ministry in Peru.

Feb. 5, 1991: They explode a car-bomb in front of the U.S. Embassy in Lima.

March 11, 1991: An MRTA commando unit frees terrorist leader María Lucero Cumpa, by attacking a convoy transporting her, and murders two police guards.

December 1991: MRTA dissident Andrés Sosa Chamane is assassinated. The crime was ordered by Yehude Simons Munaro, leader of the MRTA front known as Free Fatherland Movement (MPL). At least nine other known dissident leaders of the MRTA are assassinated in that period.

Feb. 14, 1992: Four soldiers are killed during an ambush in Lima.

May 1992: The police dismantle a kidnapping and extortion branch of the MRTA, headed by Peter David Cárdenas Shulte; also found is a list with the names of 2,000 businessmen chosen as kidnapping targets.

June 9, 1992: MRTA chieftain Polay is captured for the second time, and has been serving a life sentence in jail ever since.

Sept. 11, 1992: Businessman David Ballón Vera is kidnapped. Despite paying a ransom, Ballón is killed, after having been subjected to such brutal treatment that his weight had dropped by half, to only 40 kilograms, by the time he died. From this point on, an intense and desperate wave of such kidnappings is begun.

Dec. 15, 1992: Businessman Fernando Manrique Acevedo is kidnapped and assassinated.

Feb. 1, 1993: Businessman Antonio Furukawa is kidnapped.

Feb. 22, 1993: Businessman Pedro Miyasato is kidnapped, and assassinated.

June 7, 1993: Businessman Raúl Hiraoka is kidnapped. The terrorists attack Hiraoka’s business offices, to try to get the ransom.

Sept. 22, 1993: Businessman Enrique Uribe is kidnapped, and kept for months in a so-called “people’s jail”: a cement pit of less than four square meters. Between 1990 and 1996, the MRTA carries out 73 kidnappings, keeping their captives in this same kind of “jail.”

Oct. 14, 1993: Security forces free Hiraoka and dismantle the MRTA’s Special Extortion and Kidnapping Force, capturing its members and arsenals. This special MRTA commando force is headed by Chilean Jaime Castillo Petrucci, and includes three other Chileans as well. Castillo Petrucci was in charge of rearming the MRTA’s kidnapping operation, which had been dismantled in May 1992. The police found plans to carry out selective assassinations on a large scale.

April 21, 1994: MRTA terrorists ambush a military truck, and kill three soldiers and 15 civilians.

April 28, 1994: MRTA carries out an armed strike in Chanchamayo and in Oxapampa (Junín and Pasco provinces).

Nov. 1, 1995: Commando headed by Néstor Cerpa Cartolini kidnap in Bolivia businessman Samuel Doria Medina, a former minister under President Paz Zamora. The terrorists

These photos were taken from the "Official Homepage of the MRTA in Europe." Right: The Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru, where MRTA terrorists have been holding hostages since Dec. 17, 1996. Below: The terrorists planning their assault on the compound.



collect a ransom estimated at more than \$1 million, money which—according to Peruvian police—enters Peru, and eventually finances the December 1996 occupation of the Japanese ambassador's residence.

Nov. 30, 1995: Peruvian authorities dismantle an MRTA plan to lay siege to the Congress of the Republic, and to kidnap congressmen, who were to be exchanged for imprisoned MRTA leaders. Among the Túpac Amaru members captured are Miguel Rincón Rincón, U.S. citizen Lori Berenson, Panamanian citizen Pacífico Castellón, and others. Other participants in the plot, including Chilean-Nicaraguan Miguel Cruz Suárez, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, and Rodolfo Klein Samanez, are not captured.

Feb. 16, 1996: MRTA leader Carlos Caballero Velásquez is arrested in Bolivia. The Bolivian government formally charges eight Peruvian MRTA members—four whom are in prison in Bolivia—and two Bolivians, with the Doria Medina kidnapping.

Dec. 17, 1996: An MRTA commando unit, apparently made of foreigners and Peruvians, and led by Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, seizes the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Lima, taking more than 400 hostages.

Modus operandi: Since the beginning, the MRTA has been a truly international force guided from Cuba, in particular by Fidel Castro and by his intelligence chief for the Americas, Manuel Piñeiro, with important support from Sandinista intelligence. The MRTA has a long record of collusion with the drug trade, and specializes in kidnapping and extortion. According to the Peruvian Joint Chiefs of Staff, between 1990

and 1996 alone, the MRTA carried out 1,485 acts of sabotage, 1,947 dynamite attacks, destroyed 194 high-tension towers, and carried out 73 kidnappings, many ending in assassinations. They also repeatedly used car-bombs, and carried out selective political assassinations, and assaults against military bases. They also attacked food trucks, supposedly to distribute their booty to the poor.

Regarding the drug trade, their activities range from protection of drug flights, to links with the coca-grower organizations of Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. It is worth noting that the MRTA commando group that seized the Japanese ambassador's residence has demanded, among other things, safe passage to the Upper Huallaga Valley, the world center of coca production and processing. The MRTA had divided control of this valley with Shining Path, before the Fujimori government smashed both of the groups in the mid-1990s. The MRTA has also publicly supported drug legalization, and has actively participated in a regionwide coca-growers' insurgency, together with Colombia's FARC and with Evo Morales group in Bolivia.

The MRTA's Special Force of Extortion and Kidnapping was the most effective of its operations, and the one which gave it the most notoriety. Its members—Peruvian and foreign—had experience in terrorist actions with the Basque terrorist ETA (Jaime Castillo Petrucci and Manuel Cruz), and in other international operations, such as the kidnapping of Mexican businessman Alfredo Harp Helú (Caballero Velásquez), and of Bolivian businessman Samuel Doria Medina. The MRTA began its kidnappings in 1983; in 1993, lists were

seized bearing the names of 2,000 businessmen targeted for kidnapping, as well as 2,349 more who were already victims of MRTA extortion.

Leaders' names and aliases:

• National Leadership:

Víctor Alfredo Polay Campos, "Rolando," in prison.
Peter David Cárdenas Schulte, "Alejandro," in prison.
Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, "Evaristo," at large.
Rodolfo Klein Samanez, "Dimas," at large.
Hugo Avellaneda Valdéz, "Eloy," at large.

• National Executive Committee (in addition to the National Leadership):

Alberto Gálvez Olaechea, "Guillermo," in prison.
Cecilia Oviedo Huapaya, "Tía," at large.
Orestes Dávila Torres, "Germán," dead.
María Lucero Cumpa Miranda, "Esther," in prison.
Miguel Rincón Rincón, "Francisco," in prison.

• Central Committee (in addition to the above leadership bodies):

Rómulo Ulloa Jesús, "Marcos," at large.
Juan Mendoza Silva, "Juan," at large.
Héctor García Neyra, "Domingo," in prison.
Walter Palacios Vines, "Matusalén," at large.
Andrés Sosa Chaname, "Madero," dead.
Fernando Valladares Jara, at large.
José Córdova Vences, in prison.
Carlos Arango Morales, "Carlos," at large.
Jorge Saravia Vivas, "Walter," at large.
Emilio Villalobos Alva, "Polo," in prison.
Jaime Castillo Petrucci (Chilean), "Sergio," in prison.

• Other prominent members:

Lori Berenson (U.S. citizen), in prison. Secretary in El Salvador since 1992 of Salvador Sánchez Ceren, leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), before travelling to Peru to join the plot to take the Peruvian Congress hostage. Berenson was a key figure in arranging the transport of FMLN weapons for this plot.

Pacífico Castellón (Panamanian), in prison. He was arrested together with Berenson, when Peruvian authorities uncovered the plot against the Congress. Castellón was a key contact for the arms shipment in Panama, destined for the MRTA.

Manuel Suárez Cruz (Chilean, naturalized Nicaraguan), at large. A member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and in charge of weapons supplies for the MRTA. He coordinated actions with Berenson, Castellón, and others.

Federico Britton (Chilean), at large. He coordinated arms supplies for the seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence.

Gabriella Guarino (Italian), arrested, convicted, and deported to Italy. He served as a member of the MRTA's propaganda network.

Lucas Cachay (Peruvian), fled the country. A member

of the MRTA front, Free Fatherland Movement (Movimiento Patria Libre); he also led the Selva Maestra Agrarian Federation, in the Upper Huallaga Valley, and the Front for the Defense of the Interests of the People of San Martín, a key agent in the MRTA's "people's power" plan in the Huallaga. Cachay's slogan was: "Coca, flag of the people's resistance."

Cecilia Oviedo (Peruvian), in prison. She was a leader of the Democratic Popular Union (UDP), and went on to become part of the the MPL.

Carlos Caballero Velásquez (Peruvian), in prison. Arrested in Bolivia for the kidnapping of Samuel Doria Medina, he also confessed to Bolivian police that he participated in kidnappings in other countries, among them, of banker Alfredo Harp Helú in Mexico, in March 1994, for which a multi-million-dollar ransom was paid, in U.S. dollars.

Martín Serna Ponce, Elizabeth Aída Ochoa Mamani, and Justino Soto Vargas, arrested in Bolivia for the Doria Medina kidnapping.

Silvia Gora and Alberto Miguel Samaniego, arrested (and released) in Uruguay, in connection with the Doria Medina kidnapping.

Nancy Gilvonio Conde, wife of Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, arrested in Lima in December 1995, with Lori Berenson.

Groups allied nationally or internationally:

• National:

Partido Aprista Peruano (APRA): The leading figure of the MRTA, Víctor Polay Campos, is the son of an APRA founding member and congressman from Callao province. (Callao has been, since the last century, the most active center of Peruvian Freemasonry. Víctor Raúl Haya de La Torre, the founder of APRA, was a recognized British agent and Mason.) Víctor Polay was the general secretary of the APRA's university organization in 1970. Polay was also a member, together with ex-President Alan García, of Haya de la Torre's "alliances bureau."

Polay maintained a close personal relationship with García, before, during, and after his Presidency (1985-90). When Polay was arrested on Feb. 3, 1989, Interior Minister Armando Villanueva, a longtime APRA leader, rushed to visit him before any interrogation was begun. Within days of the end of García's term, Polay and 47 other MRTA members escaped from their maximum-security prison. This launched the re-founding of MRTA; the Peruvian press claimed at the time that the García government had organized the jailbreak.

Revolutionary Vanguard (VR), Democratic Popular Union (UDP), Mariátegui Unified Party (PUM), various ultra-left combinations, whose most notorious leaders are Javier Diez Canseco and Ricardo Letts Colmenares. The UDP is currently deactivated, and was replaced by the PUM. These groups served as the constant recruiting-grounds for the MRTA.

United Left (IU). Formed as an electoral front for the 1985 general elections, IU is a founding member of the São Paulo

Forum, since 1990. In 1995, its Presidential candidate was Javier Diez Canseco.

Peruvian Communist Party (PCP), Peruvian Communist Youth (JCP). Important leaders of the JCP, like Miguel Rincón and Andrés Sosa Chamane, migrated into the MRTA, after first passing through the UDP.

Pro-Human Rights Association (Aprodeh). Closely tied to Cong. Javier Diez Canseco, the Aprodeh was the lawyers' stable for the UDP and PUM. One of its officials is Eduardo Cáceres, who, as PUM general secretary, said, in 1990, "The PUM has strategic agreements with the MRTA." The Aprodeh is the Peruvian representative of the pro-terrorist magazine *Our New Land*, of APIA (see International Groups). In Peru, it publishes the newsletter of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), which specializes in lobbying the U.S. Congress and which was, and continues to be, a leading promoter of the campaign to isolate Peru, following the April 5, 1992 anti-terrorist measures ordered by President Fujimori.

National Human Rights Coordinator (Cnddhh), whose most prominent member is Aprodeh. Miguel Risco Franco, member of the Cnddhh's board of directors, was accused by Peruvian courts of being the MRTA's financial chief. Risco fled the country.

Peruvian Social Studies Center (CEPES). Led by Hugo Cabieses.

Center for Development Studies and Labor Advice (CEDAL). Founded by Hugo Cabieses. One of its directors, Farid Matuk, was prosecuted on charges of being an MRTA member.

Center of Promotion and Promotional Development (Ceprodep), whose adviser, Carlos Tapia, said in 1990 that Polay's prison escape "helped pacification."

- International:

São Paulo Forum. Within hours of the seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, the international apparatus of the São Paulo Forum (SPF) swung into support action for the MRTA. The Túpac Amaru has participated at SPF meetings as an active "observer," in addition to the logistical and political support it receives from such SPF-affiliated parties as the M-19, FMLN, FSLN, PCC, Montoneros, and FMOR. MRTA central committee member Walter Palacios Vines was a participant in the Forum's fourth conference, in Cuba in 1994. At the Forum's sixth conference, held in Montevideo in 1995, the MRTA requested formal incorporation in the SPF, a petition which was temporarily postponed for tactical reasons. The position of Forum spokesmen is that the MRTA should be legalized.

Revolutionary International Movement (RIM), to which the Peruvian Shining Path belongs. In the magazine, *A World to Win*, RIM supports both the MRTA and the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), in Chiapas, Mexico.

Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR), of Chile, and Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC). Both have expressed public support for the MRTA during the December

1996 hostage crisis.

Japanese Red Army. Shortly after the MRTA seized the Japanese ambassador's residence, several Japanese newspapers said that the MRTA could be coordinating with the Japanese Red Army, which has had people in Peru for several years. According to the daily *Nikkan Gendai*, a Japanese-speaking woman equipped with a cellular telephone was seen receiving information in front of the ambassador's residence, to transmit to the terrorist commando unit inside.

On May 25, 1996, the Peruvian anti-terror police arrested Kazuo Yoshimura, leading member of the Japanese Red Army, wanted for her participation in the attack on the French Embassy in The Hague in 1974. She was deported to Japan on July 5. The Japanese police said that they were in possession of letters that the Red Army had sent to Shining Path, and that Yoshimura had provided money and logistical support to that terrorist organization. According to the Japanese newspaper *Sankey Shimbun*, the MRTA adopted the "battle tactics" of the Japanese Red Army; the newspapers mention that several "high-level Peruvians" told them they had "no doubt" of contacts between the MRTA and the JRA.

ETA. Jaime Castillo Petruzzi, the Chilean in charge of the MRTA's most brutal kidnapping wave, was trained by the Basque separatist/terrorist ETA, as was the Chilean Manuel Suárez Cruz.

Néstor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ), of Bolivia. Participated with the MRTA in the 1990 kidnapping of Bolivian businessman Jorge Lonsdale, who died during the operation.

Andean Commission of Coca Producers (CAC). Shares personnel with Aprodeh and the São Paulo Forum, such as Hugo Cabieses. Another prominent member is Roger Rumrill. The president of the CAC, Evo Morales of Bolivia, told *EIR* that he considered a female MRTA leader arrested in Bolivia in connection to the Doria Medina kidnapping, "a defender of human rights." In April 1995, a CAC delegation that he headed, was expelled from Bolivia on sedition charges, at a time when Bolivia was facing a violent rebellion of coca-growers. That same year, CAC representatives travelled to Europe as part of their coca-legalization campaign, "Coca 95," financed by Germany's Society for Endangered Peoples (*Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker*—GFBV).

Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology: Followers of Castro and Che Guevara, the MRTA drapes itself in anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. "nationalism." It considers itself responsible for completing the "liberation" of the region from imperialism, begun by Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín; all of this is presented with masonic rhetoric.

The MRTA spouts a post-modernist and deconstructionist "indigenism," and upholds as its banner the indigenous uprisings of Túpac Amaru and Juan Santos Atahualpa. It has repeatedly expressed racial hostility toward the Japanese descendants in Peru.

Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians:

Fidel Castro and Manuel Piñeiro (Cuba). The MRTA

emerged from the Peruvian militias sent to Nicaragua in the late 1970s as part of Castro's operation; various MRTA leaders were trained in Cuba (see *Historical Profile* below).

Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua), was the first international leader to call for "peace negotiations" with the MRTA in February 1992, and offered himself as "mediator," during a visit to Lima.

Tomás Borge (Nicaragua). In the late 1980s, Borge interviewed Polay, while he was on an official visit to Peru, to meet Peruvian President Alan García. The interview with Polay was published by *Caretas* magazine.

Stefano Varese (Peruvian). Member of the board of advisers of Cultural Survival, the network of indigenist anthropologists led by British agent David Maybury-Lewis.

Current number of cadre: It is estimated that the MRTA has some 350 cadre, although it is stated that only a column of 30 members are currently active. There are 458 members in prison.

Training: The initial group—Rodolfo Klein, Miguel Rincón Rincón, etc.—was trained in Cuba and Nicaragua, as well as in El Salvador. Many "internationalists," such as the Chileans Castillo Petruzzi and Manuel Cruz Suárez, had previous experience with the Sandinistas, FMLN, and ETA (especially Castillo Petruzzi) in kidnapping methods. In 1986, the MRTA officially sent cadre to Colombia to fight alongside the M-19, as part of the Americas Battalion. They also received training in North Korea.

Later, Peruvian authorities exposed the presence of Sandinistas and FMLN instructors in the Peruvian jungle, in charge of training MRTA columns. On Oct. 9, 1992, Peruvian troops bombarded an MRTA training camp in Pampa Hermosa, San Martín, and seized evidence that foreign trainers were involved. A Lima newspaper commented: "Former officials of . . . the FMLN of El Salvador and some Nicaraguans are training . . . the subversive MRTA forces on the northeastern front." On Nov. 8, 1992, the Peruvian Army attacked a training camp in the Upper Mayo Valley, San Martín, where they also found evidence of foreign involvement.

Known drug connections/involvement: According to the book *Drug Trafficking: Aggression against Peru*, by Army Col. Juan Muñoz Cruz (ret.), and cited by *Expreso* on Jan. 3, 1997, in a column by Patricio Ricketts, the MRTA moved to the Upper Huallaga Valley in 1986, and later divided the valley—and the lucrative drug trafficking franchise—with Shining Path. The lower area, from Juanjui, belonged to MRTA, and the northern portion to Shining Path. Muñoz wrote: "By 1989, narco-terrorism had already taken over the Huallaga basin, spreading to Yurimaguas and Aguaytia. Both Shining Path and MRTA began to capitalize their annual profits, with their collections from the narcos calculated at \$100 million a year. The small planes that landed, carrying PBC [cocaine paste], paid approximately \$15,000 per trip. It is estimated that Shining Path and MRTA protected some 10,000 flights a year, an activity that has provided their

terrorist bands with huge sums of illegal dollars, while paying for the pleasures of their leaders and to foment corruption."

The MRTA received financing from drug-trafficking bands such as that of Abelardo Cachiue Rivera (a leading coca supplier to the Colombian Cali Cartel, as well as weapons supplier to Shining Path), and Waldo Vargas (a.k.a. "The Minister"). Cachiue had a special relationship with Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, to whom he gave financial and logistical support. Cerpa Cartolini, who operated in the coca-growing zones of Pasco and Junín provinces, received payments directly from the Colombian narcos. Meanwhile, the MRTA's most important front, the Northeastern Front, operated in the Huallaga.

According to Peruvian military intelligence, published by Peru's *Expreso*, the weapons the MRTA received were brought in with the collaboration of Ecuadoran traffickers in Ipiales. The information also reveals that the MRTA "provided security" for the coca plantations.

The MRTA tried to take over the regional government of San Martín (which included the Huallaga) through its "Front for the Defense of the Interests of the San Martín People," led by Lucas Cachay, whose motto was: "No to coca eradication."

Known arms suppliers/routes: Primarily from the drug trade, and from the FARC through the Colombian-Peruvian Amazon border. In February 1995, a major weapons supply network of the "demobilized" Salvadoran FMLN was discovered in Peru. It went through Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama, ending with the MRTA in Peru and Bolivia. The weapons transfers were facilitated by the FMLN through Salvador Sánchez Cerén, who admitted that the clandestine arsenal that exploded in Managua in May 1993, comprised FMLN weapons. Forty-eight such FMLN arsenals have been discovered in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras, but others were sent directly to Peru. In February 1995, the shipment crossed Nicaragua—with the obvious approval of the Sandinista Army—and in Panama was coordinated by the Castroite networks of the National Liberation Movement-29 (MLN-29), through the People's Coordinator of Human Rights for Panama (Copodehupa), with the help of Gustavo López and Chilean Sandinista Manuel Cruz Suárez.

Known political supporters/advocates:

• National:

Javier Diez Canseco. Today, a United Left congressman, and editorial board member (with Manuel Piñeiro and others) of the São Paulo Forum's publication, *América Libre*, Diez Canseco has played an important role since the 1970s in preparing the cadre who began the MRTA. Diez Canseco said in 1978: "The final confrontation will include a confrontation with the Armed Forces." That year, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. In 1983, he asked for a dialogue with Shining Path, denying that it had "an exclusive terrorist nature. . . . Shining Path clearly uses terrorism as a method of action, with which we have indicated our disagreement, but two other elements as well . . . guerrilla actions and . . . mass

action, as expressed in the recent [Shining Path] strike in Ayacucho, which was a mass and homogeneous action of local people." In 1985, he called for a general amnesty for all those in jail for terrorism. Diez Canseco was recognized by Polay as one of the few individuals who had visited him in prison; in December 1996, after spending several days as an MRTA hostage in Japanese ambassador's residence, he was released and immediately became a spokesman for their demands.

Alan García Pérez: (see *Locations of Operation, Groups Allied, and Thumbnail Historical Profile*). On Dec. 26, 1996, former President Alan García called on the Peruvian government to grant the MRTA's demands.

La República newspaper: Its director, Congressman Gustavo Mohme, and its union have participated in meetings of the São Paulo Forum. From the very beginning, this newspaper backed the romantic myth of a "Robin Hood" MRTA, as well as the myth that "MRTA is not Shining Path." It served as a sounding board for the MRTA's actions, and supported the MRTA's legalization in 1991, which was frustrated by Fujimori's anti-terrorist measures on April 5, 1992. After the MRTA seized the Japanese ambassador's residence, *La República* leapt to support its legalization, as a solution to the crisis. The position is not new: In 1990, after Polay and his followers escaped from prison, *La República* said that that would facilitate its legalization.

Armando Villanueva: (See *Groups Allied*).

Guillermo Thorndike: MRTA apologist (as in his novel *Los Topos*, which presents Polay's 1990 jailbreak as heroic). He also defends Alan García, and founded the pro-MRTA newspapers *La República*, *El Nacional*, and *La Nación*.

Carlos Tapia and Eduardo Cáceres: Leaders of the UDP and PUM (see *Leaders' Names and Groups Allied*) along with current leaders of the MRTA. Tapia was a MIR activist in the guerrillas in 1965; he celebrated Polay's 1990 escape, and in December 1996, urged the government to accept the MRTA's conditions and legalize them.

Gustavo Gorriti: "Senderologist" (expert in Shining Path) and open enemy of the Peruvian Armed Forces. Gorriti published an unabashed apology of the MRTA in the *New York Times* on Jan. 8, 1997. In November 1986, Gorriti published a defense of MRTA founder Luis Varese, in the Peruvian magazine *Caretas*, after Varese had been captured by the police. Gorriti said that Varese had already left the MRTA, but that, under his leadership, it limited itself to "propaganda actions, without victims." After Varese left the group, said Gorriti, the killings began. Gorriti offered that Varese was already, at the time, committed to "growing chrysanthemums." Gorriti was also a defender of Shining Path, and when arrested in April 1992, during the raids against the terrorist apologists, he was in possession of extensive archives on Shining Path operations. He was released after intense international pressure from the "human rights" lobby. Today, he works in Panama.

- International:

The Andean Commission of Jurists (CAJ) has worked intensively, as have other human rights NGOs (such as Amnesty International and Aprodeh), on behalf of the MRTA's legal defense, and has called for overturning the terrorists' convictions, as well as for eliminating the system of "faceless courts," which protects judges in terrorism and drug cases, by giving them anonymity. CAJ also promotes drug legalization. Its closest ties are with Human Rights Watch/Americas, the NGO financed by global speculator George Soros, the moneybags behind the U.S. drug legalization campaigns.

Rigoberta Menchú: On Dec. 29, 1996, she called on the Peruvian government to accede to the MRTA's demands.

Andean Council of Coca Producers (see *Groups Allied*).

French Socialist Party (PS): Various MRTA leaders and family members received political refugee status in France under the Socialist government of François Mitterrand, including Néstor Cerpa Cartolini's mother and Víctor Polay's wife. The Mitterrand government intervened several times on behalf of MRTA members, such as Jaime Castillo Petruzzi, who took asylum in the French embassy in Chile, and then resumed armed warfare against the state.

Jaime Paz Zamora: As Bolivian President, agreed to allow Bolivian territory to serve as refuge for the MRTA. Paz Zamora, according to sources, had shared classes in Paris at the Sorbonne with his friend Alan García and with Víctor Polay.

Alternative Press Information Agency (APIA): Under the sponsorship of the Secretary of State for Cooperation and Development of Austria, APIA publishes the pro-terrorist magazine *Nueva Tierra Nuestra* (*Our New Land*), which defends the FMLN, Sandinistas, Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, and so on, as well as the MRTA and its leaders, such as Lucas Cachay. The Peruvian representative of *Nueva Tierra Nuestra* is Aprodeh.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) protected the majority of MRTA's leaders and members when they fled to Bolivia and other countries. Some 250 MRTA members found refuge in Bolivia. A large number of the Samuel Doria's MRTA kidnapers in La Paz, Bolivia, received refugee status from UNHCR.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has played a prominent role in the seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, confirming its history of logistical and political support for various narco-terrorist groups.

British and Anglophile press: Media such as Reuters, Cable News Network, and London's *Financial Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Times*, have supported the MRTA on repeated occasions. During the December 1996 crisis, the media have even served as couriers for the MRTA's extortion demands.

The one-worldist NGOs have also provided logistical and propaganda support.

Internet: Various groups of international sympathizers maintain propaganda and information pages on MRTA

through the Internet. One of these is called “Arm the Spirit,” an “autonomist/anti-imperialist” group based in Toronto, Canada. It is worth noting that a direct connection between the MRTA and Shining Path homepages on the Internet has been established.

Known funding: The bulk of MRTA financing comes from the drug trade (see *Known Drug Connections* and *Known Arms Suppliers*) and from kidnapping and extortion. Further, they receive large sums of money, both directly and indirectly, from various NGOs. For example, the Society for Endangered Peoples finances the activities of NGOs linked to the MRTA, such as the Andean Council of Coca Producers.

Thumbnail historical profile: The MRTA was created in 1982, from the union of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) IV Stage, and the Revolutionary Socialist Party Marxist Leninist (PSR-ML), headed by Luis Varese. A small French cell of the MIR, founded by Víctor Polay Campos and Hugo Avellaneda, joined the MRTA in 1984, providing many of its current leaders.

The MIR was founded in the late 1950s, as a pro-Castro split from the APRA, called “Rebel APRA,” by Luis de la Puente Uceda. The MIR was the protagonist of the guerrillas in Peru from 1962-65, and was the leading exponent of Peruvian Castroism. APRA is the old party of the British masonic agent Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, of the Caribbean Legion. Víctor Polay, the MRTA’s current chief, was a member of Haya de la Torre’s “alliances bureau,” and was given a scholarship by him to pursue his studies at the Sorbonne in Paris, together with Alan García Pérez, another member of this “bureau.” García and Polay were roommates, and, in May 1988, García said, “I had an alliance with Polay.”

The Revolutionary Socialist Party brought together most of the promoters of separatist indigenism associated with the Society for Endangered Peoples and Cultural Survival. Before forming the MRTA, they had infiltrated and sowed chaos within the military government of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-75), through the infamous Sinamos (National Social Mobilization System). The head of Sinamos for many years was Gen. Leónidas Rodríguez Figueroa, who later headed PSR. The founder of MRTA, Luis Varese, was a Sinamos official. His brother, Stefano Varese, a deconstructionist anthropologist, who today is a board member of Cultural Survival, was one of Sinamos’s ideological gurus. A hard-line faction headed by Luis Varese split from the PSR, calling itself the PSR-ML, which became the founding nucleus of MRTA.

The initial cadre of MRTA were recruited from among the Peruvian militias, led by Luis Varese, who fought alongside the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in the late 1970s. Although they represented different groups and factions, Cuban leaders, including Fidel Castro and Manuel Piñeiro, played a key role in unifying them, a unity that later became the MRTA. Upon their return to Peru, the coordinators of the Peruvian militias in Nicaragua—Luis Varese, Captain Villacrez, and Maj. José

Fernández Salvatecci (ret.)—were key figures in the MRTA’s formation in 1982. Fernández Salvatecci’s wife, a member of Shining Path, was eventually arrested and tried for terrorism.

In 1984, several leaders of the Democratic Popular Union (UDP) joined with Varese’s MRTA, including UDP steering committee member Víctor Polay Campos, and Néstor Cerpa Cartolini. The UDP was an ultra-leftist front, whose most notorious leader was Javier Diez Canseco (see *Groups Allied*). Diez Canseco thus was active in UDP alongside leading future MRTA leaders: Miguel Rincón Rincón, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, Cecilia Oviedo, and Yehude Simons. In the late 1980s, when the UDP leadership migrated into the MRTA, Diez Canseco formed the PUM. In 1990, the PUM general secretary declared, “The PUM has strategic agreements with the MRTA.”

Later, the MRTA was to frequently draw on the members of UDP and the Peruvian Communist Youth wing of the PCP, for recruits.

The MRTA began its public actions with a symbolic masonic ritual, on July 24, 1985: the theft of the sword of the Liberator José de San Martín, supposedly to signify that they would finish the country’s truncated emancipation. From at least 1986 on, the MRTA and Shining Path began to take control of the primary coca-growing areas: While Shining Path settled with the Upper and Middle Huallaga Valley, the MRTA became entrenched in some towns in those areas and in Lower Huallaga, especially in the tributary basins of the Mayo and Saposoa rivers. This was the MRTA’s famous Northeastern Front. It also settled in the coca-growing basins of Ene and Pichis-Palcazu.

In 1989, Luis Cárdenas Schulte and Miguel Rincón Rincón were freed from jail by the Alan García government, as was Hugo Avellaneda. On July 9, 1990, less than 20 days before García was to leave office, Víctor Polay and 27 other MRTA narco-terrorists escaped from the maximum-security Miguel Castro Castro prison. Polay had been arrested on Feb. 3, 1989. His escape was a true “second founding” of the MRTA, which by then had been severely beaten by the Peruvian security forces.

Some Lima dailies at the time said that the 350-meter tunnel could not have been built in less than two years; that is, that the MRTA could not have built it. Rumors leaked to the press indicated that the tunnel was built by prison authorities as an anti-riot precaution, and had simply told the MRTA members where to find it. The escapees had keys to the five security doors between them and freedom. Two days later, the APRA youth issued a communiqué congratulating Polay for having “recovered” his freedom.

By the late 1980s, the MRTA decided to “take advantage” of the “regionalization” promoted by the APRA government, pressing for the creation of an autonomous government in the “San Martín Region,” which included the entire Huallaga basin, to be split off from the “La Libertad-San Martín Region.” In February 1991, a referendum was passed to create