

The Humala Uprising: A Nazi Putsch Rerun?

by Luis Vásquez Medina

In a typically fascist propaganda move, reminiscent of the 1923 Munich putsch that catapulted Adolf Hitler into the political limelight, Antauro Humala and more than 100 heavily armed Army reservists chose New Year's Day to capture and occupy a police station in the Andean city of Andahuaylas, Peru, for three days. The "ethno-fascists" (as the Lima press has dubbed them) assassinated four policemen, finishing off one of them in front of television cameras, and then surrendered en masse to the Peruvian authorities. The international synarchist bankers behind the Humala "indigenists," whose views are expressed in the pages of the Lima daily *La Razón* and the Miami *El Libertador*, intend to turn the now-imprisoned Humala into a folk hero, capitalizing on the widespread discontent of the Peruvian population caused by the economic crisis and the abject failure of the Alejandro Toledo government. The synarchists' goal is the destruction of the nation-state, creating what the Pentagon today calls a zone of "ungovernability."

The results of this maneuver were evident soon enough. On Jan. 12, the Lima daily *El Expreso* editorialized on a recent poll conducted by the University of Lima: "That 34% of those polled in Lima (the most educated and Westernized in the country) say that they are in agreement with the Humala uprising, is enough to send one running for airplane tickets."

Links to the Drug Trade

It was not only the fascist connections of the Humalas which were exposed in the Andahuaylas uprising (the ethno-fascists unfurled banners bearing insignia clearly inspired by the Italian *Fascisti*). Also exposed was their link with the drug trade. At Andahuaylas, a city which is a necessary stepping-stone for the drug trade that flourishes in the Ene and Apurímac valleys in Peru, Antauro Humala's right-hand man was the former Army Captain Marco Vizcarra Alegría, who has a criminal history involving drug trafficking, and who was charged and brought to trial in 1994 for his close ties to the drug traffickers in Uchiza, San Martín. At the time, the prosecutor had asked for a 15-year sentence against Vizcarra, for having collaborated with Demetrio Chávez Peñaherrera, Peru's foremost druglord. For this reason, Vizcarra was kicked out of the Army, and has remained a fugitive until the present time.

The shared interests of the Humalas and the drug traffickers were confirmed by Elsa Malpartida, a leader of the country's coca farmers (*cocaleros*) and a promoter of coca legalization, who said, "Truly, what Humala has done does not displease me."

It is also worth noting that the Andahuaylas insurgency occurred just a few days after the founding of the Peruvian Indigenist Party, in the area of Huancavelica, near Andahuaylas. The founding of the new organization, which for the first time combines all the indigenist and *cocalero* movements with the Humalist Movement, was also attended by indigenist delegations from Ecuador and Bolivia.

The Peruvian Indigenist Party is headed by Congressman Michel Martínez, the self-dubbed "Peruvian Evo Morales" (Morales is the leader of the Bolivian *cocaleros*). Martínez is a fierce defender of coca legalization, and was present in Andahuaylas, where he served as interlocutor between the Humalista insurgents and the authorities. According to Humala himself, Martínez transmitted information on the movement of police and military forces during the period the ethno-fascists were still occupying the police station. After the uprising was over, Martínez said that those really responsible for the deaths at Andahuaylas, were not the Humalistas, but were the National Congress and the political parties, for failing to send a high-level commission to Andahuaylas on Humala's bidding.

Setting the Continent Aflame

The Peruvian crisis takes place precisely at the time that the Bush Administration is using the idea of "ungovernable areas" as a pretext for future political—and even military—interventions. These theories were expressed fulsomely by U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, at the Defense Ministers of the Americas meeting in Quito, Ecuador, last year. For Rumsfeld and company, the "ungovernability" of certain areas of Ibero-America, legitimizes the concept of limited sovereignty, and therefore, of multinational military incursions across national borders, under the pretext of fighting terrorism and drugs. However, the reality of Rumsfeld's "solution" can be seen in the ongoing crisis between Colombia and Venezuela.

It should come as no surprise that the Humala "putsch" occurs within the same time-frame as the chaos that is being launched throughout the Andean region: the Colombia-Venezuela crisis; the dramatic situation in Ecuador, where opposition groups are collecting signatures to end Lucio Gutiérrez's Presidency; the explosive Bolivian situation, where violent protests in Santa Cruz and El Alto, led by the *cocaleros*, have put President Mesa in check.

It is thus significant that immediately following the Andahuaylas uprising, the Federation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the leading organization of Ecuadorian Indians, gave their support on Jan. 7 to the Humalas:

"It is appropriate to applaud the fight for the rights of the Indians. It is necessary for there to be justice in the face of all the inequalities and iniquity that affects the indigenous sectors, who are the most unprotected," said CONAIE's communiqué.

Neither are the connections between Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez and the ethno-fascist Humalas a surprise. Just as we have been reporting since early 2004, the support of the Chávez government for the Humalas is now confirmed. According to the Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio*, the Chávez government gave the Humalas \$100,000 in 2001, to launch their political activities inside Peru. The channel for that "donation" was retired Army Captain Eloy Villacrez Riquelme.

Final Blow to the Army

Former Gen. Gustavo Bobbio Rosas, the son of Gen. Bobbio Centurion who was a great admirer of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, and who in 1976 attempted a right-wing coup orchestrated by the U.S. State Department, is considered the strategist of the Humala movement. In statements recently made to the Lima press, Bobbio Rosas said, "50% of middle-range Army officers support the majority of the [Humala] movement's proposals, and in the case of the non-commissioned officers, that support reaches 80%." Although the figures given by this fascist general were rather exaggerated, the infiltration of the Humala movement into the Army's ranks is worrisome, even more so when one realizes that Gen. Bobbio Rosas himself had been an advisor to Peruvian Army Commander Gen. José Graham Ayllon, who was just retired in December 2004.

According to Humala, the New Year's Day uprising was intended as a protest against the "abuses" committed by the Toledo government against the Armed Forces. Among the abuses he listed was the forced retirement from the military of a number of individuals, including Lt. Col. Ollanta Humala Tasso, the brother of Antauro Humala, who had served as Peru's military attaché in South Korea, and who had been under the protection of General Graham until the general's own retirement.

And although former General Bobbio has been unmasked, other *Pinochetista* generals who are collaborating with the Humala ethno-fascists are still veiled, but active. Such is the case, for example, of former Gen. Ludwig Essenwagner Sánchez who, while serving as head of the Army's intelligence network during the Morales Bermúdez dictatorship, was the Peruvian contact for Pinochet's infamous Operation Condor—the death squads.

If there remains any doubt that the objective of the Humala operation is the destruction *from within* of the Peruvian Army, just take a look at the statements made by Humala to *La Razón*, speaking from the Andahuaylas police station he had just occupied: "The final blow was delivered to the

Armed Forces, which were already in the process of moral and material demolition, by reducing their natural standing as the guiding institution of the nation, to that of an auxiliary police force." He added that "the New Peruvian Army is organized and in operation, within the perspective of a new republic."

The Synarchism Behind the Humalas

Humala's imprisonment notwithstanding, the intellectual authors of the Andahuaylas "putsch" remain free. The true enemy, well financed by the international synarchist banks, continues to act with impunity. This international network extends from Hitler's 1923 Munich putsch to Andahuaylas. Behind the "ethno-fascist" thugs are those Peruvian fascists associated with the neo-fascist International of the Spaniard Blas Piñar. Inside Peru, this network is headed by Fernan Altuve-Febres, who has been making propaganda for the Humalas from the pages of Lima's *La Razón*, and is active in spreading the ideas of world synarchism, as the heirs of Joseph de Maistre, ideologue of both the French Jacobin Terror and the Napoleonic tyranny that followed it.

For more than a week during the Andahuaylas uprising, *La Razón* served as the main propagandistic outlet of the Humalas. On Jan. 2, its front page announced: "They rise up in arms! Ethno-cacerists call for Toledo's resignation as a

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traitor and pro-Chilean.” The headlines added, “Protests Spread to Arequipa, and Wall Slogans Appear in Cuzco.” On Jan. 3, the newspaper’s lead headline announced, “Exclusive: The Confessions of Antauro: I Am Prepared To Die.” On Jan. 4, with the surrender of the Humalistas to the authorities, *La Razón* screamed: “Humala Betrayed; Captured While Negotiating.”

The paper’s Jan. 2 lead editorial on Andahuaylas, asked: “What moral authority, what legitimacy could these subjects [the Peruvian government] have to speak of the principle of authority and to condemn the rupture of the constitutional order, if they themselves feed its collapse?” The editorial added, “Yesterday was Ilave [the Peruvian town where the mayor was hideously lynched in April 2004] and today is Andahuaylas. What will tomorrow bring? Before indulging their thirst for the blood of repression, this same political class should keep in mind that these are the consequences of a long-term tendency toward a political crisis, that threatens to sweep away the foundations of an historically unjust order.”

The connections with international fascism are illustrated in particular by the case of Blas Piñar’s pet Peruvian, Fernan Altuve-Febres, who has used the pages of *La Razón* to justify the insurgency, writing: “If Toledo does not resign, he will be opening up the doors to violence,” and warning that all the political parties will be swept away by “a political tsunami, when the people take their destiny back into their hands, by electoral means or by violence. Antauro Humala is the effect of the political decomposition that exists. He is thus not the cause of the illness, but the effect.” Altuve was the only follower of now-exiled President Alberto Fujimori in the Congress to betray his nominal leader. In October 2000, he voted in favor of amnesty for the Humalas, who had just attempted a mutiny against the Fujimori government.

While the Humala thugs do their dirty work in the streets, Altuve and other neo-fascists have taken charge of spreading “neo-conservative” thought from the pages of *La Razón*, and have propagandized the works of such fascist Ibero-American thinkers as Colombian philosopher and reactionary politician Nicolás Gómez Dávila; Spanish traditionalist Alvaro D’Ors; Plinio Correia de Olivera; Donoso Cortes; and above all, their philosophic mentor Joseph de Maistre. On Jan. 2, the day that *La Razón* joyously announced the Humala uprising, Altuve published a cultural article praising the intellectual legacy of de Maistre.

Martín Santibañez Vivanco is another personality who demonstrates the connection between the emergence in Peru of the neo-Nazi Humalas and the rebirth of international fascism. Santibañez, another writer for *La Razón*, is a young Peruvian fascist philosopher, who belongs to the intimate circle of Blas Piñar, and has been a speaker more than once for Piñar’s New Force movement in Spain. On Dec. 25, 2004, he wrote a commentary in *La Razón* which went a long way toward clarifying the roots of this new outbreak of world fascism. His editorial is entitled, “Nations Gain Nothing From

Submissiveness, ‘Don’t Mess With Texas’ ”—with the latter part of the headline in English. He praised the electoral victory of George Bush over John Kerry, saying that it “is the unequivocal sign of the good winds that the ship of neo-conservatism in U.S. society is encouraging,” and that this is the triumph of empire. “The empire wishes to be an Empire; the Roman wants to be a Roman.”

Santibañez, an admirer of Harvard “clash of civilizations” zealot Samuel Huntington, predicts that Bush’s victory will give the United States a victory over “savage terrorism from a handful of Muslim warriors, fanatic champions of a profane religion, which puts cities in check and causes flags to wave at half mast in the very seat of power. The confrontation between cultures and the axiological conflict thus replaces class struggle and the rebellion of the masses.”

Santibañez concludes his editorial by addressing the Peruvian Right (and why not say it, the *Fujimorista* party that the synarchists are grabbing, with the help of George Bush). He writes: “A small lesson for our indecisive Right: where the neo-conservatives see the people, ours see the rabble. Over there, they see supremacy; ours vote for brotherhood with Chile and signing of the Convention [of the Sea]. This neo-liberal mentality that has seized hold of our Right, should be rejected as parasitical and condemned as cosmopolitan. Nations gain nothing by submissiveness. The road is that of sovereignty, the path is that of pride. The only course possible, the only path for which we fight, is that of supremacy: Caesars or nothing! National power should be our objective, being lords of our own surroundings is our greatest desire, and all our policy—until now, pacifist and therefore shackled—should be directed at achieving one single goal: dominion over the South Pacific. Our Right is very very far from that, too concerned with pleasing lobbies and governments that smile while negotiating with its acolytes. Peru clamors for a popular and patriotic Right, that interprets the sentiment of a majority ripe for hegemony, and ripe for challenge. We will not achieve any of this while we live more dependent upon the demands of the economic city than the imperatives of Peru.”

Not the least of those on the list of fascist supporters of the Humala movement is Carlos Bologña, the Mont Pelerin Society’s man in Peru. His nationally circulated book *El Men* was another propaganda tract for the Humala uprising. Bologña brought José Piñera to Peru to propagandize for the Chilean model of Social Security privatization, a reform which so far, according to Finance Minister Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, has already stolen billions of dollars from the pension funds of Peruvian workers. As part of his campaign to promote the Chilean model, Bologña—with financing from the International Republican Institute—has travelled to Russia, together with the father of the Chilean model and trainer of the infamous “Chicago boys,” Arnold Harberger, on a visit financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development.