

“State of Fear” Transcript
As of December1, 2004

NGC Research Review Dec. 21, 2004

Vilma Linares

All sections in green highlight have been approved/annotated.

Title	A Skylight Pictures Production
Title	Ayacucho, Peru
Title	2004
Narrator	Our story takes place in a country that has recently emerged from a 20-year war on terror. It was a time when fear ruled the land, when protectors became aggressors, when leaders failed their people. The country is Peru, but in the age of terror it could be anywhere. The 20 years of killing are over, but Peru’s democracy hangs in the balance.
Main Title	STATE OF FEAR
Credit	A film by Paco de Onis, Peter Kinoy, Pamela Yates
Title	Lima, Peru
Title	Inauguration: Truth Commission Museum
	As the country emerges from the years of fear and death, Peruvians are looking for answers. In the year 2001 a small group of truth commissioners were empowered by the government to sift through the wreckage of these dreadful years.

The Provisional Government led by Valentín Paniagua created the Truth Commission on June 4th 2001, through Supreme Decree N°065-2001-PCM, which was ratified and complemented by Alejandro Toledo on September 4th that same year, finally being called Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Supreme Decree N°101-201-PCM).

Carlos Ivan Degregori The Truth Commission believes that Peru must remember the terrible years we've lived through. If people have no memory, they don't know if they're coming or going, and are easily manipulated. The same for a country with no memory. It won't know its past, will repeat mistakes and be easily manipulated.

Narrator **For two years the truth commission gathered testimony from more than 17,000 Peruvians,** building the first complete picture of what really happened to Peru during the years of killing. The truths that the Commission uncovered made this film possible.

VL) the commission was created on June 2001; its final report was presented in August 2003.

<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB96/>

The Search for Truth. The Declassified Record on Human Rights Abuses in Peru. Edited by Tamara Feinstein, Director, Peru Documentation Project August 28, 2003

“Over the course of the past two years, the Commission accomplished these tasks by establishing five different regional offices, which collected a total of 16,885 testimonies.

Carlos Ivan Degregori The people who testified at the Commission were overwhelmingly poor, rural peasants, Indians, but they were also city people, middle class people, police officers and troops. They all came to testify.

The Truth Commission discovered that close to 70,000 Peruvians died in the political violence. More than in any international or civil war in Peru's last 180 years.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

The TRC estimates that the most probable figure for victims who died in the violence is 69,280 individuals.² These figures are greater than the number of human losses suffered by Peru in all of the foreign and civil wars that have occurred in its 182 years of independence.

Title

Seeds of Violence 1970-1980

VL) SL was formally started in 1970. Guzman steps down as teacher and goes underground in 1974.

Sources:

Encyclopedia Britannica on-line. Entry: Shining Path. Accessed 12/20/04

“The Shining Path was founded in 1970 in a multiple split in the Communist Party of Peru. It took its name from the maxim of the founder of Peru's first communist party, José Carlos Mariátegui: “El Marxismo-Leninismo abrirá el sendero luminoso hacia la revolución” (“Marxism-Leninism will open the shining path to revolution”). The leader and principal founder was Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, alias Comrade Gonzalo, a long-time communist and former philosophy teacher (1962–78) at the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, in the city of Ayacucho in the high Andes Mountains.”

"Abimael Guzman, Reynoso." Biography Resource Center Online. Gale Group, 1999.

“In 1962, Guzman became a professor of philosophy at the National University of San Cristobal del Huamanga. The school was located on the fringes of the Quechua hinterlands in the province of Ayacucho, on Peru's southwestern coastal regions, and its establishment was part of a liberal program to educate the local Indian population...

*... **Guzman stepped down from his teaching position in 1974** to devote himself full-time to the organization, which went underground in 1977; then, in 1980, the same year that Peru returned to democratic civilian rule, Sendero broke out from its Ayacucho base to unleash terror on the nation as a whole.”*

Title

Ayacucho

Narrator

The Truth Commission placed the beginning of the terrible violence in Ayacucho.

<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB96/>

From the initial burning of ballot boxes by the Shining Path in Chusqui, Ayacucho, on May 17, 1980, to the eventual flight of former President Alberto Fujimori to Japan in November 2000, Peru has been witness to many forms of political violence and human rights violations, committed by both government forces and insurgent groups

Carlos Ivan, the Truth Commissioner, happened to be there at the same time.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/lacomision/nlabor/comisionado07.php>

Licenciado en Antropología de la Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga – Ayacucho, también siguió estudios en la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, y en Brandeis University, Boston, EEUU, donde obtiene el título de Bachelor of Arts, cum laude con mención en Antropología.

Carlos Ivan Degregori **I was a professor at the University of Ayacucho. It was a vibrant place where sons and daughters of peasants went to study. I arrived there and discovered that Abimael Guzman had also arrived there. Guzman wanted really big change.**

Narrator **In the 1960's and 70's a spirit of change swept across Latin America. In Peru peasant youth first learned of a wider world and one professor, Dr. Guzman, took advantage of this spirit and created a group that set in motion the twenty years of killing.**

"Abimael Guzman, Reynoso." [Biography Resource Center Online](#). Gale Group, 1999.

During the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution was in full swing, Guzman travelled to China. He studied Maoist doctrine, as well as explosives and demolition work, and thereafter his speeches and writings--for all his followers' claims of originality and brilliance--became carbon copies of Maos'. When he returned to Peru, he found the PCP divided over whether or not to support pro-Cuban revolutionary groups, ...In June 1969, Guzman was arrested while leading an anti-government demonstration in Ayacucho, and soon afterward he split with Paredes. The latter adhered to the example of one of the world's most repressive Communist systems, that of Albania, and his group became known as Bandera Roja ("Red Flag"). But to Guzman, even the Albanian model was too soft. Thenceforth, though he and his followers referred to themselves officially as the Communist Party of Peru, they would be better known by an expression taken from a statement by PCP founder Jose Carlos Mariategui (1895-1930): the Shining Path. ...In the following decade, from 1970 to 1980, Sendero Luminoso prepared itself for action.

Carlos Ivan Degregori This gentleman was a classic intellectual, very formal, jacket, tie, and book underarm. He was a philosopher.

Narrator In the early 1960's Guzman visited China, and modeled his philosophy of change on Mao's Chinese Revolution. He taught that it was the destiny of the peasants and Indians of Peru to rise up and lead the way to a new society for all Peru.

VL) Abimael traveled to China in the 1960's.

Sources:

"Abimael Guzman, Reynoso." [Biography Resource Center Online](#). Gale Group, 1999.

"During the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution was in full swing, Guzman traveled to China. He studied Maoist doctrine, as well as explosives and demolition work, and thereafter his speeches and writings--for all his followers' claims of originality and brilliance--became carbon copies of Maos' "

[Shining Path of Peru](#). Edited by David Scott Palmer.1992. "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky" by Gustavo Gorriti.p. 156 – also confirms Guzman's visit to China in the 60's, not the 70's.

Carlos Ivan Degregori He was nicknamed "Shampoo" because he'd wash your brain and trap you in his ideology.

[Shining Path of Peru](#). Edited by David Scott Palmer.1992. "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky" by Gustavo Gorriti.p. 151" Abimael Guzman's fervent disciples called him Dr. "Puka Inti," Quechua for Red Sun. Other followers of Guzman, however, called him Shampoo, "because," as they said, "he brainwashes you."

Fany Palomino I'm from Ayacucho. This movement was led by Dr. Guzman. Dr. Guzman bravely guided a rebellion with those who believe in him. They believe this way they will build a new world with liberty, with justice...and I respect that.

Narrator Guzman successfully spread his ideas through the rural education system. . He converted university professors, who trained high school teachers, and those

teachers fanned out across the countryside, bringing Guzman's ideology to high school students.

<http://www.country-studies.com/peru/shining-path-and-its-impact.html>

Like most past revolutionary movements (as opposed to peasant revolts) acting on behalf of the poor, the SL leadership has consisted of disgruntled and angry intellectuals, mestizos, and whites, apparently from provincial backgrounds. Many adherents have been recruited from university and high school ranks, where radical politicization has been a part of student culture since the late nineteenth century. Others have come from the cadres of embittered migrant youths living in urban lower-class surroundings, disaffected and frustrated school teachers, and the legions of alienated peasants in aggrieved highland provinces in Huancavelica, Ayacucho, and adjacent areas.

Carlos Ivan Degregori Guzman told his followers they were they were the vanguard of fifteen billion years of history. It was like a cosmic ballet starting at the Big Bang, and culminating in communism.

Shining Path of Peru. Edited by David Scott Palmer.1992.

"Origins and Logic of Shining Path" by Carlos Ivan Degregori. P. 38

"..its vision, one that sought to be absolutely scientific, became exceedingly emotional, offering its members a strong quasi religious identify. One of its most important documents defines communism as: "the society of 'great harmony,' the radical and definitive new society toward which 15 billion years of matter in movement –..."

Narrator Guzman blended Marxism, Maoism, and Peruvian culture into a way forward, a way he called "Sendero Luminoso", "The Shining Path".

"Abimael Guzman, Reynoso." [Biography Resource Center Online](#). Gale Group, 1999.

*In June 1969, Guzman was arrested while leading an anti-government demonstration in Ayacucho, and soon afterward he split with Paredes. .. to Guzman, even the Albanian model was too soft. Thenceforth, though he and his followers referred to themselves officially as the Communist Party of Peru, they would be better known by an expression taken from a statement by PCP founder Jose Carlos Mariategui (1895-1930): **the Shining Path**.*

In the following decade, from 1970 to 1980, Sendero Luminoso prepared itself for action. During this time, Guzman emerged as an almost god-like figure, the "Fourth Sword of Marxism" after Marx, Lenin, and Mao. He developed his "Gonzalo Thought," the doctrine of the party, which mostly concerned the means of obtaining power by inciting the peasant masses to armed struggle against the

government. Sendero consolidated its hold on the University at Huamanga, which it now virtually controlled. Guzman stepped down from his teaching position in 1974 to devote himself full-time to the organization, which went underground in 1977; then, in 1980, the same year that Peru returned to democratic civilian rule, Sendero broke out from its Ayacucho base to unleash terror on the nation as a whole.

Guzman's young followers seized his teachings and took these ideas of rebellion to receptive ears in the barren reaches of the Andes. **The Indians, direct descendants of the original Peruvians,** eked out a living in desperate poverty, as serfs or slaves in their own land. **The Indian population, nearly half of Peru,** had absolutely no say in Peru's government. They were ignored and exploited by Peru's rulers.

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pe.html#People>
Amerindian 45%, mestizo (mixed Amerindian and white) 37%, white 15%, black, Japanese, Chinese, and other 3%

Chapter Heading "Separate Worlds" 1980

Narrator Cosmopolitan Lima has always been a world apart from the rest of Peru. Its citizens went about their lives, oblivious to the gathering storm.

Vera Lentz My mother's photographic studio, "Photo-Jeannette", specialized in portraits of children, of families from the Peruvian high society. Her studio, **"Photo-Jeannette"**, was the place to go. She photographed a lot of people who were white, but then she also photographed Peruvians who weren't so white, but wanted to be white. There was still that racial connotation...there's always been this obsession with being white. Peruvians who weren't so white, but wanted to be white. There was still that racial connotation...there's always been this obsession with being white.

<http://www.caretas.com.pe/2004/1846/articulos/jeannette.html>

La Mirada de Jeannette

Anne Herriguel, retratista de Lima, firmaba como Jeannette. Ella y su hija Vera Lentz, de la agencia Black Star, preparan exposición.

Vera Lentz

In Lima the Indian people are just not seen as equals, to put it really bluntly. Their culture was different, they spoke a different language. They were from far away – from up in the Andes or the jungle. People in Lima considered themselves the real Peruvians, the rest of the country just didn't matter.

http://www.soros.org/resources/events/recording_20040512/event_biography_foilder_view

Vera Lentz is a photographer based in Lima, Peru. She began photographing Peru's internal conflict in 1982, when she traveled to Ayacucho to document the lives of miners who had escaped the violence of the Shining Path. Her work has appeared in Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times, among other publications.

Title The Terror Starts 1980

Narrator

By 1980 Shining Path ideas had taken hold in Ayacucho and in hundreds of town villages. Lima wasn't paying attention.

<http://www.country-studies.com/peru/the-transition-to-democracy.html>

*Despite the SL's launching of activities in 1980 and its substantial presence in Ayacucho by 1982, **Belaúnde refused to take the group seriously, dismissing them as narcoterrorists.** When the government finally realized that the SL was a substantial security threat as a guerrilla and terrorist group, its reaction was too little, too late, and ultimately counterproductive. The government sent special counterinsurgency forces, the Sinchis, to the Ayacucho region, where they were given a free hand. The repressive nature of the military activities and the military's lack of understanding of the SL resulted in unwarranted repression against the local population. This, if anything, played into the SL's hands.*

Carlos Ivan Degregori

It's an ideology that wants to create Paradise on earth. And to create that Paradise, everything as we know it must be destroyed because it is contaminated by power, capitalism, and feudalism.

Narrator

On April 19th, 1980 Guzman ordered Shining Path followers to take up arms and fight for this paradise on earth.

http://ils.unc.edu/~marsc/sendero_texts.htm

The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics. Edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Ivan Degregori, and Robin Kirk. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995.

*Excellent overview of Peruvian history, culture and politics to help put Sendero Luminoso in perspective. It includes chapters on ancient civilizations, conquest and colonial rule, modern politics, the demise of the "old order," Sendero Luminoso, and the cocaine economy. It is a mix of articles, interviews, literature, and poetry written by famous Peruvians and historians of Peru. **It also includes the words to Guzmán's "We are the initiators" speech delivered on April 19, 1980 to bring in the violent part of the insurrection.***

- Fany Palomino I think to change society there necessarily has to be a confrontation. And that means violence.
- Carlos Ivan Degregori The young village students were seduced by the idea of action. A kind of teenage adventure. "You're going to have guns and dynamite." They feel that guns give them power and adults feel afraid and they obey them.
- Nelida Ore My grandmother lived there and was often visited by Shining Path. It would be around midnight and they would yell, "Get up old lady, we want to eat!" The terrorists would take our food, and people would stay quiet out of fear.
- Narrator In these isolated areas Shining Path demanded allegiance – either you were with them or you were their enemy.
- Nelida Ore So one of our elders, Alejandro Ore, was a kind of leader, he had wisdom. He organized us to live close together so we could protect each other.
- Carlos Ivan Degregori **Shining Path, to terrorize people, claimed it had 1,000 eyes and ears.** They said, "Watch out! Don't betray us or resist, because you will pay."

The Globe and Mail, March 1983, p. 20.

"Peruvian town whispers in fear of '1,000 eyes'" By Michael L. Smith

"Since early January, the Peruvian army has been patrolling the streets. There is a strict curfew. Everyday, army bulletins are distributed describing clashes with guerrillas, casualties and prisoners. And assassinations have occurred in

*broad daylight. In a secluded cafe near the main square a professor from the University of Huamanga whispered: "Don't mention my name or even my department. If you sound as though you know too much in Ayacucho, you become a subversive suspect for the police or a potential stool pigeon for Sendero Luminoso. **There are a thousand eyes watching you.**"*

Narrator Shining Path targeted community leaders and social activists who refused to cooperate.

Nelida Ore They tortured my uncle in front of everyone. The dragged people from their houses and in front of everyone they strangled him and cut off his tongue. They said we had to support them, Shining Path. Fifteen days after killing my Uncle they returned. They burned my grandmother alive in her house, and my aunts and nephews watched as she went up in flames. And that's what remains of my grandmother's house. Young couples were also killed and their babies orphaned. More than eighty people were killed here.

VL) Excel spreadsheet with list of disappeared persons, confirms 6 members of the ORE family as disappeared in Ayacucho.

<http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/peru/libros/cv/ix/relacion.pdf>

LISTA PRELIMINAR DE PERSONAS DESAPARECIDAS 1980 -2000

Narrator Unlike other guerilla movements in Latin America, Shining Path placed intimidation, violence, and murder at the center of its tactics. **Over the following ten years they killed tens of thousands of men, women, and children as they consolidated their power in the Andes.** Shining Path had become a terrorist organization.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

In the TRC's view, based on the number of persons killed and disappeared, the PCP-SL was the principal perpetrator of crimes and violations of human rights. It was responsible for 54 percent of victim deaths reported to the TRC. (69,280) 14. The TRC has proven that the PCP-SL deployed extreme violence and unusual cruelty, including torture and brutality as forms of punishing or setting intimidating examples within the population they sought to control.

Title Fighting Fire with Fire, 1982

Narrator

In 1982 the Government of President Belaunde finally took notice. Alarmed by the rise of Shining Path, Lima released the full force of its military.

http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2082/is_1_63/ai_68952061

and the government's response from 1979 through December 1982. By the latter date, the colossal failure of Fernando Belaunde's administration to check the movement with the police and the rule of law--the normal tools of the democratic state--led the president reluctantly to place the armed forces in control of an emergency zone centered on the Department of Ayacucho in the country's south-central highlands, the Shining Path's heartland.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

The TRC has established that once the State of Emergency was declared in Ayacucho, in October of 1981, intervention by the counter-insurgency police detachment, known as the sinchis, led to an increase in human rights violations, generated resentment and distanced the police from the population.

Military Training Video “A Commando is prepared, physically and mentally, to fight a guerilla war.

Carlos Ivan Degregori The military came in, but the way they came in was a big mistake.

Carlos Sanchez I went to Ayacucho in 1983. Once there we wondered what Marines were doing in the mountains. Very few of us spoke Quechua, so it was hard to get intelligence.

Carlos Ivan Degregori The soldiers came in like bulls in a china shop. They didn't have a strategy to separate civilians from Shining Path.

Carlos Sanchez We knew our military force was far superior, but their advantage was they looked like civilians so anyone might attack us. We didn't know the people and couldn't tell who was a terrorist. We didn't know who we were up against. Even a child might be a terrorist. Even an old man, or a passing woman could be a terrorist.

After one battle, we captured six subversives. We took them up in a helicopter, tied them by their feet, and hung them in the air. We'd interrogate them but they were such fanatics that all they'd say was "long live Guzman." We'd cut their ropes one by one and let them fall. This was to terrify the others until one was left and we'd say, "If you want to live, tell us where your leaders are." So to save his neck this guy tells all. But in the end we let him fall. He dies just the same.

Carlos Ivan Degregori

You have to be tough and very strong, because a democracy has the right to respond to the terrorists. But the response to terrorism must be carefully measured. If the terrorists are willing to kill and die ruthlessly, you can't respond in kind. If you do, you're playing their game and dancing to their tune.

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR460012003?open&of=ENG-PER>
Amnesty International recognizes the right of the state to protect the security of its citizens. However, abuses on the part of groups such as Shining Path and the MRTA can never justify the violation of fundamental human rights by the state. In the words of the United Nations Human Rights Committee: "Recognizing that the Government has a duty to combat terrorism, the Committee considers that the measures taken to do so should not prejudice the enjoyment of fundamental rights enshrined in the [International] Covenant [on Civil and Political Rights]".(7)

Narrator

From somewhere in hiding Guzman urged his followers to create a river of blood. He calculated that the army would meet terror with brutality, driving more of the population into the ranks of Shining Path. Guzman was able to turn Shining Path defeats to his advantage.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pelingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>
The perfidy with which the PCP-SL acted on the ground, using the civilian population as a shield, avoiding the use of uniforms or other marks to identify themselves, and attacking traitors, among other similar methods, such as recourse to terrorist actions, constituted a calculated mechanism that sought to provoke brutal reactions from the security forces against the civilian population, increasing to an extraordinary extent the suffering of the communities in whose territories the hostilities took place.

Carlos Ivan Degregori	To get these young people to follow him blindly, Guzman had to make them fanatics and he became a quasi-religious leader.
Title	Canto Grande – Maximum Security Prison
Narrator	In each prison, Shining Path controlled their own cell block. Their discipline and willingness to go to extremes gave them power over the prison authorities. http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/peru/peru170.html <i>Another problem related to the prison policy of segregating the SL members from the other prisoners. The SL turned this policy to its own advantage by creating model minicamps of collective ideological reinforcement and community building within their separate cell blocks. Visitors reported an organization and an esprit de corps not found in any other part of the prisons. This separation probably facilitated coordinated SL prisoner riots at Luriganchu, El Frontón, and Santa Bárbara prisons in Lima in mid-June 1986, as well as the overreaction by GR jailors and the army reinforcements that were sent in, resulting in the killing of nearly 300 prisoners after they had surrendered.</i>
Fany Palomino	We are all Peruvians but only Shining Path are willing to die for a new society. If you must die for a cause, so be it. Because it's a noble cause, worth more than your life.
Shining Path Recruits	[Singing] The party demands armed struggle to seize power with the guidance of Marx, Lenin, Mao, but most of all Guzman.
Fany Palomino	I was about twenty-two in that video. It was time well invested.
Shining Path Recruits	Ready to give our lives to the revolution.
Fany Palomino	This expresses the new society. And foretells the defeat of the State.
Title	The Long Night, 1982-1988

Ramiro Nino de Guzman

I want you to listen closely. We have to know our own history. From the year 1980 to 2000 these things happened in our land. There was a simple family, but one very sad day, armed soldiers arrived at their little town...

Excel spreadsheet with list of disappeared persons, confirms 3 members of the “Nino de Guzman” family as disappeared in Chejasa, Apurimac.

<http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/peru/libros/cv/ix/relacion.pdf>

LISTA PRELIMINAR DE PERSONAS DESAPARECIDAS 1980 -2000

Human beings have two parts: the animal nature and the human nature. The animal part is when people lose their control as humans, their control of reason.

This path is exactly the route used by the soldiers from Santa Rosa military base. They came to Chehasa to do away with all the villagers.

Narrator

The war on terror had become a quagmire. In 1985 Peru’s new president, Alan García, cemented the policy that gave control of all aspects of life in the emergency zones to the Armed Forces. The military occupation was now firmly in place.

VL) From the TRC’s final report, general conclusions, Belaunde’s government passed law 24150, which established military control over the emergency zones and García perpetuated them...

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

*86. The TRC finds that the Popular Action government’s unjustified tolerance of these abuses of the fundamental rights of the citizenry was founded on the intention and expectation of eliminating subversion in the short term, with no consideration for the cost in human lives. **Law 24150, passed in 1985, ratified this policy.***

*117. The TRC notes that Congressional approval of **Law 24150, which established the norms governing states of emergency** in which the armed forces assumed control of internal order in all or part of the territory, legalized what was already occurring de facto, inhibiting civilian authority to the benefit of the military.*

<http://www.europaworld.com/entry/pe.is.4>

Europa World. Entry: Peru Accessed 12/20/04.

At elections in April 1985 Alan García Pérez (the candidate for APRA) received 45.7% of the total votes in the presidential poll...

<http://www.hrw.org/about/projects/womrep/General-51.htm>

Special provisions included in the "state of emergency" legislation protect rapists in uniform and create conditions under which rape occurs with impunity. The legislation, which was first invoked in December 1982, lasts for a renewable period of three months for each defined region.

http://store.eiu.com/index.asp?layout=show_sample&product_id=30000203&country_id=PE

*In the mid-1980s many areas of the country promulgated state-of-emergency laws and **the army took responsibility for counter-insurgency operations**. Widespread violations of human rights ensued. Guerrilla-related violence claimed over 25,000 lives and cost an estimated US\$22bn in damage to infrastructure.*

Carlos Ivan

As Shining Path grew, military commands increased. It reached the point where half the population was under a state of emergency. Any military man who committed any crime was excused under military law. This guaranteed impunity for the military.

<http://www.hrw.org/about/projects/womrep/General-51.htm>

Special provisions included in the "state of emergency" legislation protect rapists in uniform and create conditions under which rape occurs with impunity. The legislation, which was first invoked in December 1982, lasts for a renewable period of three months for each defined region.

*Therefore, the amount of the country covered by the legislation fluctuates. As of the end of 1994, about one-quarter of the country and **just under 50 percent of the population lived under emergency legislation**.*

Narrator

Most people in Lima supported the military, but a small group of Peruvians began to work for a different solution.

Sofia Macher

Very early on we made a stand against the violence that was going on in our country. We issued press releases, public announcements condemning the political use of violence this way. Like when the military zones were set up. They prohibited the press, and there wasn't any information. We had a round table where each month people gathered to tell what was happening. Here we compiled an oral history from all these different people.

<http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg/ndprize/macher.html>

Peruvian human rights advocate Sofía Macher received the 2004 Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America in a ceremony June 23 in Lima. A leading force in her country's arduous efforts to emerge from authoritarian rule, Macher issued a call for citizen involvement in her acceptance speech. She dedicated a quarter century of her professional life to civil society and its non-governmental organizations.

Title Santa Rosa Military Base

Ramiro Nino de Guzman They brought sixteen people from Chehasa here.

From my family, Manuel, Rosa, Matilde, and Matilde's baby. And here they disappeared everyone. I came here to get my family and the others. When I got here Captain "Gato Seco" tied my hands behind me and then they beat me. When I came to I was in that cell. They tortured me for four days. I was tied up like this. The soldiers took turns beating me. They subjected me to terrible blows to my head and stomach. By the door was a barrel of water. They kept pushing my head under the filthy water, full of urine. After the third day the Red Cross came looking for me. They managed to free me. We did find my sister Matilde's body. They killed her here, then dumped her in the river and she floated to Casinchiva. There we found Matilde's body, beheaded, with arms and legs broken.

I don't think this generation will get over the trauma left by the violence. It's hard. The pain runs deep. And I believe we will carry this pain to our deaths.

Title Spreading Violence, 1985-1989

Narrator Guzman's strategy was to control the countryside and then cut off food supplies and strangle Lima. So now Shining Path expanded the war from the Andes down into the Peruvian jungles.

The New York Times

*June 12, 1989, Monday, SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 3;
“PERU'S GUERRILLAS BECOME A THREAT TO THE CAPITAL”
BY: By JAMES BROOKE, Special to The New York Times
In a major test of their long-term strategy of strangling Peru's capital
from the countryside, the Maoist guerrillas of Sendero Luminoso, or the
Shining Path, cut all supplies of food, electric power and export
minerals from three Andean provinces to Lima on the Pacific coast.*

Luzmila Chiricente This is **Ashaninka** land, our land. Our forefathers are buried here.

http://www.economist.co.uk/World/la/PrinterFriendly.cfm?Story_ID=2446861
In Peru during the “dirty war” unleashed by the Shining Path guerrillas in the 1980s and early 1990s, Indians suffered disproportionately: 75% of the 60,000 victims spoke Quechua, and an Amazonian tribe, the Ashaninka, suffered “near genocide” according to Carlos Ivan Degregori, an anthropologist who served on the recent “Truth Commission” which investigated these events.

*Chicago Tribune. May 27, 1991, Monday, Pg. 1; ZONE: C
HEADLINE: Peruvian Indians must battle Maoists to survive
BYLINE: By Gary Marx, Chicago Tribune*

Now the Shining Path is in Ashaninka territory, terrorizing a primitive people who recently managed to launch a major counteroffensive with the help of the Peruvian government.

*For the Ashaninkas, the battle against the guerrillas is nothing less than a battle for survival, a struggle to preserve a way of life some say already may be lost. They are reluctant - but vicious - **fighters forced into an alliance with an army and police who have threatened and abused them almost as much as the Shining Path.***

The army recently distributed 3,000 of an estimated 6,500 shotguns to peasants fighting the guerrillas in the Andes east of Lima, Peru's capital. About 1,000 troops and an unknown number of Ashaninka warriors were moved forward to positions in the jungle along the Perene, Tambo and Ene Rivers. The army also sent an unknown number of troops north to the Ene Valley from Ayacucho to trap the guerrillas.

Bernavides Chiricente I was kidnapped by Shining Path guerillas when I was eight years old. I was in sixth grade. It happened on my way to go fishing. They took me with a simple threat: “Come with us, or we’ll kill you.”

The first soldier I killed when I was eleven. We were going to organize a village when we ran into the army.

authorities The constitutional rights of persons detained by the military are routinely ignored.

Vera Lentz	I wanted to see the real side of life, I wanted to document the real things about life.
Narrator	Vera's curiosity and compassion took her into the heart of the conflict. But in these killing zones, fear often shrouded the truth.
Title	Ayacucho
Vera Lentz	We went to the police station and the head of the police pulled out three hundred pictures of the dead journalists and they told us that this could happen to us if we left the town, if we left the city. There was always this sense of being scared because everything was unknown - there was no information, people did not always tell you what they were thinking because they were also scared. So there was always this sense of fear. They were scared that they might say something and then you might not be who you say you are. There were always these silences and whispers and rumors...that always made you scared.
Narrator	Vera persevered and because of what she photographed on this day, it would be 20 years before she dared return.
Title	Vera Returns – 20 years later
Vera Lentz	Do you remember when I came to take these photographs?
Old Woman	We remember, mama. You took so many photos.
Vera Lentz	I felt overwhelmed inside. No one in the village had ever seen any of the photographs I had taken, and they offered to take me back to where it all happened.

I remember walking this same path twenty years ago when the villagers told me it **the Sinchies, the counter-terrorist police, who did the killings.** The Sinchies went to investigate an engagement party at the home of the groom. They started calling them terrorists. The sinchies forced thirty-four people out of their house at gunpoint – the men, the women and the children – and marched them into this gorge. They shot them all right down in the gorge and then they dynamited the mountain to cover up the massacre.

<http://lacic.fiu.edu/library/find/sl.cfm>

With the beginning of the urban strategy in the late 1980s and the involvement in the coca trade in the Upper Huallaga Valley soon after, it seemed all of Peru was a war zone. Flagrant human rights abuses by the military and its U.S.-trained counter-guerrilla forces (Sinchis) and the numerous killings of independent grass roots organizers, local politicians and unsympathetic civilians by Sendero Luminoso left the people of Peru caught in the middle.

The bride had survived this massacre, so it was all her family. She was looking at the dead, and her fiancé...her future husband.

Even when they saw the photographs, people in Lima didn't seem to care that there things were going on. A lot of times I would get the comment that maybe they were being killed because they were guilty of something. They had done something or were guilty of something – of being Shining Path or whatever. Everybody is responsible. A great portion of society were just bystanders, or they were indifferent and silent bystanders.

Beatriz Alva Hart

I was totally oblivious to everything that was going on. I had all the opportunities to study and grow. I had everything my parents could afford, like good schools, and later a good University. I studied, lived peacefully, and wasn't aware of the terror. I listened but I didn't hear. Things happened and I didn't notice. It's like I was outside the situation.

Sofía Macher

There was very little we could achieve in the city.

We organized vigils with the actual victims, but the press coverage was very slight. We felt isolated in a society that wasn't listening. Our most important strategy back then was to accompany the victims and demand that the military authorities give us information about people being held. At this time Peru was reporting the most disappearances in the world.

Narrator

In the Ashaninka jungles, the killings and the kidnapping of child-soldiers intensified. Shining Path activity divided the Ashaninka people. The army's solution to increased Shining Path power was to give the Ashaninkas, loyal to the government, guns. Now the Ashaninkas used them to fight one another.

*Chicago Tribune November 17, 1993 Wednesday, Pg. 8; ZONE: C;
"AFTER MASSACRE, ASHANINKA TRIBE REBUILDS ITS LIFE"
BY: By Monte Hayes, Associated Press.*

"Shining Path guerrillas arrived in the rain forest in the mid-1980s, escaping an army crackdown in the highlands, the birthplace of the movement. In 1989 rebel leaders decided the time had come to force the Ashaninka to join the armed struggle. Some clans got away, slipping deeper into the rain forest. Indians who were unable to escape and refused to take up arms were slain or forced into slavery to grow food for the rebels. Since 1989 the guerrillas have killed as many as 1,000 Indians. In a single night in August they hacked to death at least 55 men, women and children in attacks on a half-dozen villages. The army entered the Ene valley in mid-1991 and established a base in the ruins of the burned Cutivireni mission. Soon small groups of Ashaninka-emaciated, half starved, diseased-began emerging from the forest and begging for refuge. Some 6,000 Ashaninka have escaped from the Shining Path's control or have been rescued by mixed army-Indian patrols since 1991. But 5,000 are believed still in the hands of the rebels. An estimated 300 battle-hardened, heavily armed guerrillas plus Ashaninka warriors won over to revolution roam the jungle that encircles Cutivireni and other camps."

Luzmila Chiricente

When the army gave us guns it was confusing. Were we independent or part of the military? Once we accepted the guns we had to do what the army said.

They'd say, "We need more men, you have to go out, you have to patrol and look for Shining Path." We didn't agree; all we saw were more orphans and widows. We felt trapped in a cage with no idea what to do. Shining Path would threaten us, then the Army, saying we were Shining Path. The militiamen would say the same. We were in total chaos, here in the jungle.

Carlos Ivan Degregori	At first Shining Path was able to win the sympathy of peasants in the countryside. But after a few years the supporters lost faith in Shining Path.
Title	The Promise Betrayed, 1989
Narrator	Shining Path reliance on violence as a means of social control began to consume them from within.
Bernavides Chiricente	I was twelve years old. The two of us had been kidnapped – my brother and I. He was in love with a girl. And they decided to escape and go home. He wanted to live in peace and raise a family. They asked me, "What do you say about your brother the traitor? He betrayed our ideology, and the People's Army." I said, "Well, if he's a traitor what can I say?" I was afraid to say "give him a break", because I would have gotten in trouble. So they made the decision to kill him and the girl. I always remember how he was screaming when they killed him. They dumped his body like any dead chicken. I'll always miss him. He was my big brother. I put my gun down, and left on my own.
Narrator	In the mountains and jungles people rebelled against Shining Path's use of violence. Defectors began to give the army accurate information.
Carlos Ivan Degregori	When the army realized that massacring peasants wasn't working they began using intelligence instead of indiscriminate attacks. The army then took the upper hand

Narrator	Guzman's strategy of controlling the countryside before attacking the city was threatened. So from hiding he rushed Shining Path's next move; battleground Lima.
TITLE	A City Under Siege, 1990
Narrator	Hundreds of thousands of Peruvians fled the terror in the mountains and jungles. Many settled in the vast slums circling Lima. As in the countryside, Shining Path used seductive ideology to recruit young people, and used violence and killing to enforce their control.
Beatriz Alva Hart	They were concentrated in the poor neighborhoods. We didn't go in these forbidden zones because they were full of terrorists.
Narrator	Graffiti began to appear, power lines were bombed, and then cars began to explode. Fear was on the rise in Lima. Police began implementing security measures, detaining people on suspicion of terrorism. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2982020.stm <i>Not only did the rebels win control of large areas of the countryside, but they also struck repeatedly at targets in the capital, Lima, giving rise to fears the group would eventually succeed in taking over the country.</i> <i>After a series of high-profile attacks, the worst single incident came in July 1992, when two car bombs went off in the middle-class district of Miraflores, killing 20 people and injuring more than 250 others.</i>
Jose Viscardo	I was detained at a police checkpoint. They stopped the bus and made university students get out. All of us were taken to police headquarters. Fifteen days later my life changed completely when I was brought to this prison for the first time. Everyone, innocent or not, was put in the Shining Path block. That cellblock had a certain camaraderie, with order and idealism.
Prison SP Leader	Shining Path has a political goal that includes recruiting the masses. <i>PD: Is this real or movie footage?</i>

Jose Viscardo

Prison is where I came to know Shining Path and joined them.

After about a year I was released. But life wasn't the same. I got caught in a whirlwind where Shining Path demanded more and more from me.

Benedicto Jimenez

54:55

Shining Path had become highly developed and its leaders were at large. I joined up when the anti-terrorist division was formed. It was an anti-subversive unit that used traditional police methods to go after Shining Path. The terrorism reached alarming levels. Guzman was Public Enemy #1. We thought Guzman could be in France or Bolivia or the jungle. His image was everywhere – wearing glasses, the bookish professor. He became mythical. People said he would never be captured, he was like the rain, you can't see where it comes from. He was like the snake that slithers away. People said, "He's like a god." There were car bombs every day in Lima. Two policemen a day were killed.

The Washington Post

December 7, 2000, Thursday, SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

HEADLINE: 'Superman' Meets Shining Path: Story of a CIA Success; With Agency Aid, Peru Captured Chief Rebel

BYLINE: Charles Lane ,

"The situation disgusted an idealist in DINCOTE ranks, Maj. Benedicto Jimenez. The son of an Afro Peruvian father and a Greek immigrant mother, he had trained not only as a detective but also as an army commando.

For two years in the late 1980s, he had worked on joint operations with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration. He read Ralph Waldo Emerson and the ancient Chinese military theorist Sun Tzu.

In March 1990, Jimenez asked to form a unit whose goal would be to capture the leaders of Shining Path. Jimenez proposed to accomplish this seemingly impossible task the old-fashioned way: tailing suspects, cultivating informants, poring over captured documents. Torture would be eschewed on both principled and pragmatic grounds.

Jose Viscardo	Shining Path had a cold disregard for death: The end justifies the means, and if I need to kill to get something, I'll kill. And I don't care if they have kids or a family.
News Broadcast	He was shot thirty times, with his wife and son.
Beatriz Alva Hart	You felt like a target, like you could be the next victim. Shining Path was no longer in the highlands, it became urban, part of everyday life. We even started to worry about the maids at home because they could be terrorists in your own home. Some police searches found guns stashed in the maid's room.
Jose Viscardo	We used sabotage and targeted assassinations. The names put forth by militants who worked as servants in the homes of people who were the owners of Peru.
Carlos Raffo	When terror has the State under siege you can't fight back with spitballs. That's why Alberto Fujimori...Like many Peruvians I thought we absolutely needed him. We were facing the abyss.
Narrator	Peru's war on terror became a major issue in the Presidential elections of 1990. Voters blamed the former presidents for the quagmire of the war had become. A newcomer, Alberto Fujimori, offered a hope and a promise to restore order.

VL) yes, voters blamed Accion Popular and APRA, but not just for the terrorism, the economy was a disgrace...

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

The TRC believes that the acute economic and political crisis that Peru experienced beginning in 1988 fostered the development of subversive groups and the maelstrom of violence. The failure of the economic program and the onset of hyperinflation led to a situation of grave instability in the country. With the failed attempt to nationalize the banks, the government lost the support of the country's business and financial groups. The marches and counter-demonstrations on economic policy deepened existing social tensions, which were further aggravated by the collapse of basic services. The PCP-SL took advantage of these expressions of discontent to initiate its own protest marches, even in the capital itself.

<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/42a/012.html>

New social and political circumstances made Fujimori's apparent "outsider" status attractive to voters fed up with politics as usual.

*Fujimori took power at an extremely difficult and complex moment in Peru's history. **The corruption and mismanagement of the Alan Garcia administration (1985-1990) had led to a sharp deterioration of state institutions and of the public's confidence in government.** The government was also widely discredited for its inability to quell Shining Path's violence. Peru was in dire economic straits as well. In retaliation for Garcia's refusal to pay the external debt, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) declared Peru "ineligible" to receive further international loans. The gross domestic product (GDP) fell 8.3% in 1988, and another 11.9% in 1989. Hyperinflation soared, from 1,722% in 1988, to 2,775% in 1989, and 7,650% in 1990.*

- Pres. Fujimori We have to build and peaceful and democratic society. A society without corruption and violence.
- Beatriz Alva Hart He was a classic political outsider, and that really worked in his favor. People thought he would put the country back on track.
- Carlos Ivan Degregori The people voted for a political outsider who said, "I'm not a politician, I'm a technocrat, I will defeat Shining Path because I'm not corrupt." And people believed him.
- Carlos Raffo The people gave Fujimori their total approval, handing him the largest political mandate in our history.
- General Rafael Robles I was called to a meeting with the other military commanders. Fujimori spoke for an hour. He led us to believe, using many photos, that it was a crisis. That Shining Path was ready to take the city, and was preparing a final push, and that we had to accept some political consequences. **And one of them was basically to dissolve certain institutions that hampered our fight and surrendered to terrorism.** We were between a rock and a hard place. If you didn't go along you were a coward and a traitor.

"Alberto Fujimori." Newsmakers 1992, Issue Cumulation. Gale Research, 1992.

Reproduced in Biography Resource Center. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale. 2004.

*Fujimori inherited a government whose army and police were poorly equipped for counterinsurgency and had been accused of rampant human rights violations. **In his first days in office, Fujimori purged from his government those high--level officers and members of the judiciary he felt were corrupt and hindering his efforts to fight the Shining Path, and subsequently provoked controversy by arming peasant farmers to fight guerrillas in the field.***

...Claiming that Peruvians could not wait the three years it would take the congress to carry out the legislation he sought regarding guerrilla fighting and drug trafficking, Fujimori, on April 6, 1992, dissolved the congress and suspended the national constitution. "The country cannot continue to be weakened by terrorism, drug trafficking and corruption," he was quoted as saying in the New York Times. "The political corruption and the infiltration have reached such a degree that it can be found in all levels and rulings of the judicial power."

Pres. Fujimori I have decided to temporarily dissolve Congress.

Man Film this! Let everyone see!

Carlos Ivan Degregori **When he shut down Congress and took all power, he had a 70% approval. Most Peruvians opted to exchange democracy for security. Fear has a powerful effect on decisions people make.**

<http://www.europaworld.com/entry/pe.is.4>

Europa World. Entry: Peru Accessed 12/20/04.

On 5 April 1992 Fujimori announced the immediate suspension of the 1979 Constitution and the dissolution of the Congreso, pending a comprehensive restructuring of the legislature. The President maintained that the reform of the Congreso was essential in order to eradicate 'corruption and inefficiency', to enable him to implement a programme of 'pacification' of the nation by combating terrorism and drugs-trafficking, and also fully to implement free-market economic policies.

<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/42a/012.html>

A staggering 80% of the population, for example, supported Fujimori's 1992 coup. It was international pressure, not local protests, that forced Fujimori to call congressional elections in November, 1992.

Narrator	The Peruvian human rights community fought the government's move to destroy people's constitutional rights.
Sofia Macher	I felt that the country was hijacked. Fujimori began to govern by decree, and started to control the life of the country. And it became a spider-web of laws created to control the direction of the country. It led to total impunity, with no restraint. It wasn't so easy to see, I guess, because otherwise people would have been up in arms.
	<p>http://www.europaworld.com/entry/pe.is.4 <i>Europa World. Entry: Peru Accessed 12/20/04.</i> <i>The increasing divergence of interests of President Fujimori and the Congreso (which had expressed considerable disaffection with the President's reliance upon emergency legislative powers and his attempts to govern by decree) was exacerbated in January 1992 by congressional approval of that year's draft budget, which Fujimori had opposed on the grounds that it contained provisions for excessive expenditure.</i></p>
Carlos Raffo	Fujimori realized that he needed adequate laws to fight terror, so he was forced to take emergency measures. He only wanted to give the State the necessary tools to defend itself from a terrorist threat at the gates of the city.
Jose Viscardo	Shining Path had an internal structure. There were sympathizers, supporters, militants, soldiers, cells, and leaders. In Lima we all had assignments, but for big operations we had special units.
Narrator	On this afternoon, no one noticed a car parked in a fashionable shopping area. In a few hours, no one would ever forget.
Man	Goddamn sons of bitches...
Beatriz Alva Hart	When they hit us on our own turf, killing high-class white people, all of a sudden Shining Path became real. The reaction was, "Kill them all and forget human rights." That's how people felt then.

Narrator

Fujimori increasingly relied on a military solution to the crisis in Lima. But Benedicto Jimenez's detective unit had another approach. For the past four years they had painstakingly gathered intelligence to locate Shining Path leadership.

<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/42a/012.html>

*Paralleling his implementation of an orthodox neoliberal agenda was Fujimori's increasing intolerance for democratic checks and balances. Since the mid-1980s, the military has had a strong presence in national life due to its role in fighting the counterinsurgency war. Through Political- Military Commands established in areas declared as emergency zones, for example, the military exercises direct governmental control in more than a third of the country. The military's dominion over vast parts of the country resulted in grave and systematic abuses of human rights in the 1980s. **Under Fujimori, military control over counterinsurgency strategy intensified**, prompting a further deterioration in the government's human rights record.*

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/superman.htm>

In March 1990, Jimenez asked to form a unit whose goal would be to capture the leaders of Shining Path. Jimenez proposed to accomplish this seemingly impossible task the old-fashioned way: tailing suspects, cultivating informants, poring over captured documents. Torture would be eschewed on both principled and pragmatic grounds.

Benedicto Jimenez

We didn't know who Guzman's top leaders were until we seized a video where we could see his inner circle. From the video we could tell he was here in Lima. Lima is a city of eight million, and it's easy to disappear. The enemy makes gains when you make errors. But we also benefit from mistakes they make. And one of the big errors is to underestimate. As Guzman's organization grew he considered the army was his enemy. He was careful about the army, but careless about the police. The enemy must be captured alive. Dead, he doesn't do any good and could become a martyr.

Narrator

Benedicto Jimenez's small group of detectives set up careful surveillance of the people they had identified from the videotape.

Through painstaking police work they found Guzman's safe house. The leader of Shining Path was captured without firing a shot.

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/superman.htm>

Essentially free to chart its own course, the CIA turned to Jimenez's group. Still short on resources, the group had made episodic progress, scoring its biggest success on Jan. 31, 1991, when it seized Shining Path documents, including proof that Guzman was still alive--a video of the guerrilla chief dancing at a party.

Jimenez's group also identified Shining Path's logistics and financial chief for Lima. Tailed by the cops, he unwittingly led them to other cadres.

- Benedicto Jimenez When we captured him, he told us, "This is just a detour in the road. What I have up here you can't destroy."
- Guzman This is just a detour! The road is long and we will win! You will see!
- Benedicto Jimenez When Guzman fell, he suddenly became human. The myth was shattered and many left Shining Path. No one replaced Guzman.
- Jose Viscardo Shining Path was decapitated, it's limbs left flailing. No one could make decisions or strategize like Guzman did. It was definitive.
- Narrator Shining Path militants suddenly had no organization, and began to inform on one another. Within months the police dismantled Shining Path. Isolated acts of terror continued over the next several years, but the main threat facing Peruvians had been eliminated.
Fujimori disbanded Benedicto Jimenez's police unit and took full credit for the capture of Guzman.

<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/latin.20020405.bolivar.returnofshiningpath.html>

*After the capture of Shining Path founder Abimael Guzman in 1992, Fujimori began to believe his own propaganda: "Sendero has been defeated. I defeated it." This kind of statement was very useful in elections, as his landslide victory in 1995 demonstrated. **He mistakenly disbanded the Peruvian National Police's National Counterterrorism Directorate in late 1992, not appreciating that Shining Path was an adaptable virus that could quickly reemerge if not***

vigilantly controlled. It proved to be far too soon to dismantle the police intelligence effort that had been so effective over his first two years in office. DINCOTE's chief was sent to a bureaucratic post, and the National Intelligence Service--headed by Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's shadowy national security adviser— absorbed many of DINCOTE's personnel, including Colonel Benedicto Jimenez, author of Peru's operational intelligence strategy.

Carlos Ivan Degregori

Fujimori kept playing on the fears of Peruvians. He injected fear in the veins of Peruvians, to keep his authority intact, even after terrorism had been defeated.

http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/peru/#_1_6

The police possess expanded powers to investigate suspects and formulate charges under the "antiterrorism law," announced in May 1992,(24) and the "treason law" of August 1992.(25) Detainees suspected of offenses under these laws may be held for fifteen days by the police before being placed at the disposal of a judge, whereas ordinary detainees may be held only for twenty-four hours. In addition, the police have powers to place detainees in incommunicado detention for up to ten days without requiring a judge's authorization. Interrogation of suspects during the lengthy period of incommunicado detention is routinely accompanied by torture. The antiterrorist law established "faceless" courts in which the identities of the judges, prosecutors and prosecution witnesses were kept secret and the right to defense was restricted; those accused under the "treason law" were tried by faceless military tribunals using summary procedures that restrict rights related to legal defense even more severely. These courts routinely accepted coerced confessions as evidence. On October 15, 1997, the government terminated the mandate of the faceless courts, which had attracted international as well as domestic condemnation for their denial of due process and the right of defense. During the five-and-one-half years of their existence these courts had convicted more than a thousand people for security-related offenses, hundreds of whom are believed to be innocent of any connection with terrorist groups and remain in jail.(26)

In response to domestic and international criticism, in 1995 the Fujimori government had already modified Peru's antiterrorist laws to eliminate some of their most criticized aspects.(27) Decree Law 26248 restored the right to habeas corpus to people detained under the antiterrorism laws, which had been suspended under Decree Law 25659. The suspension was in force for fifteen months, from August 1992 until November 1993. Law 26447 restored the right of prisoners to have access to a lawyer from the moment of detention and requires the presence of a prosecutor during interrogations to ensure that the police respect legal procedure. This measure limited the impact of

incommunicado detention, although the prohibition of visits by family and relatives was maintained. The law also lessened the danger of children being tortured, by increasing the age at which children might be tried for terrorist offenses from fifteen to eighteen years of age.

These reforms were an effort to defuse criticism of Peru's counterinsurgency policy, and they do not eliminate conditions that facilitate torture. DINCOTE, for example, is still empowered to hold suspects for up to fifteen days before putting them at the disposal of a judge and prison facility. DINCOTE, not the judge or prosecutor, decides whether or not to hold prisoners incommunicado, and may still do so for periods of up to ten days. Many judges and prosecutors continue to have only provisional status and may be removed by a committee controlled by a government appointee, thus lacking the guarantees of tenure that would encourage them to confront the army or the police in individual cases. Some prosecutors do not appear to understand the importance of their role as guarantors of due process or are afraid to exercise it effectively.

Pres. Fujimori Terrorism won't end with the capture of Guzman. We all have to be alert, we all have to work to defeat terrorism.

T.V. Actor I was threatened by the terrorists. I feared for my life and family.

Pres. Fujimori Turn them in. You and I will win this war.

Sofia Macher We said, "It's over! Stop it! This is just a psychological ploy. Because terrorism doesn't exist." We began to fight back by demanding a return to the rule of law and democracy. If the State accused you of anything you had no defense and no right to appeal. This was the biggest human rights problem in the country.

Gustavo Gorriti Fujimori began to do his own thing. Their idea was to wage a classic counter-insurgency in which the intelligence service and the armed forces would control everything, and in which military law and draconian repression would be the centerpiece of that.

Narrator President Fujimori continued to use the broad discretionary powers granted him by an anti-terrorist

act that he had imposed. Anyone could be detained and held indefinitely with little or no evidence.

http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/peru/#_1_8

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http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1252/is_n15_v119/ai_12657673

Peru deconstructs: 'Path' hits, response misses - Shining Path
Commonweal, Sept 11, 1992 by Lucien Chauvin

After several emergency meetings, the government has implemented procedures whereby accused "terrorists" can now be tried and sentenced within twenty-four hours of being captured and most will be tried in military courts or by "faceless" judges. Stiff sentences are being imposed, and the government is also seriously considering the possibility of reestablishing the death penalty.

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR460012003?open&of=EN G-PER>

The "anti-terrorism" legislation which came into effect in 1992 did not guarantee these fundamental rights and **provided a legal framework that made it possible to unjustly charge and convict persons**. For example, the broad definition of "terrorism-related" offences, under Decree Law N°25475, which was the first of a set of "anti-terrorism" decrees issued in 1992, lacks precision. Those accused of these crimes range from those who "carry out acts against the life, physical integrity, health, freedom

and security of individuals", to those who, "by whatever means" (Amnesty International's emphasis), incite the commission of "terrorism-related" crimes, or are seen to favour or excuse such crimes. In addition, those accused of being members of an armed opposition group, whether in their capacity as leaders; or by engaging or aiding in operations designed to attack and kill may be charged with "terrorism-related" offence of "treason" which was tried in military courts.

The use of an imprecise definition of "terrorism-related" provides a framework in which persons can be found guilty of an offence without there being clear evidence of their having committed a crime.

Magdalena Monteza To hate is human. I always dreamed of having a career, of going to university.

Title Student ID check point, Lima

Magdalena Monteza The day I went to enroll, I was abducted at the university gate. Someone from behind threw a blanket over me, shoved me in a car, and drove away. I didn't know where I was, but it was an army base. They demanded names of student leaders but I didn't know since I hadn't enrolled yet. I was innocent. When I said no they beat me, kicked me, punched my face. I didn't know what was happening. They were monsters. Unhappy with my answers, they grabbed my hair and threw me over a chair. They ripped my clothes off and injected me. I collapsed. That's when they raped me. Not once, but three times. They left me covered in blood. I'd never had sex before. I was a virgin, nineteen years old. They kept me blindfolded, but whenever I stole a peek they were always masked. In prison, I missed my period and thought it might be the stress I was under. I couldn't take the torture so I decided to sign. I confessed to thing I never did. I was eight months pregnant when they brought me to court.

Magdalena Monteza **With these judges you could only hear their voices and see yourself in a one-way mirror.** Their voices were terrifying, as if from a crypt, demanding answers. I thought behind that glass could be the same people who raped me. I didn't care about the twenty-year

sentence. For me the horror of the moment was worse. If they had sentenced me to death I wouldn't have cared. It would have been better. I didn't want to live. Twenty years of nothing compared to what they did to me.

She was born in prison, and used to suck her thumb. I just stared at her. Then the nuns took her away. After six years I was able to get freed. I called Carla, we talked, and she understood. She knows how she was conceived. Now she knows her mother, and the truth. They killed my youth. The best years of my life, and my future, my career. My soul is scarred.

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR460012003?open&of=EN G-PER>

In addition, between 1992 and 1997, all "terrorism-related" offences were tried before so-called "faceless judges" (jueces sin rostro), in trials that were not public. These judges sat behind tinted glass and talked to the defendants through microphones which distorted their voices. Amnesty International has learned that on many occasions the defendant was unable to hear what was being asked and that trials lasted only a few minutes with little if any time to present a defence.

Narrator At great personal risk to themselves, Peru's human rights activists fought for the thousands of innocent people who were detained or disappeared.

Sofia Macher In the Fujimori years, the 90s, there was a stigma, a consciously applied stigma, that portrayed human rights groups that denounced rights abuses as being pro-Shining Path.

Carlos Ivan Degregori People were afraid to be mistaken for terrorists. People stayed home, didn't protest, even though the terrorism was over.

Title **A Tyranny of Fear, 1993-2000**

Narrator **Fujimori set up a rubber stamp Congress**, and Beatriz Alva Hart, who had been working as a corporate lawyer, now joined his government.

<http://archives.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/americas/10/20/peru.women.reut/>

“For most of his rule, he has enjoyed a compliant Congress, ready to rubber-stamp his policies and block probes into alleged government abuses”

Beatriz Alva Hart It’s not that I wanted to work with Fujimori. I thought I could help to make things better. That’s why I entered politics.

Narrator **But with total control of all branches of government, Fujimori’s regime became deeply corrupt.**

<http://www.hrw.org/worldreport99/americas/peru.html>

*President Alberto Fujimori and the political party he leads, Change 90-New Majority (Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría, C90-NM), continued to undermine the rule of law and independence of the judiciary during 1998. At the same time, they impeded the exercise of political rights. Although political violence and human rights violations associated with counterinsurgency continued to decline, the incidence of criminal violence increased, provoking **the C90-NM-controlled Congress** to delegate powers to the executive branch to impose tough new anti-crime decrees likely to lead to violations of the rights of criminal suspects. The decrees permitted the use of military courts to try serious crimes, systematic restrictions of suspects’ rights and due process guarantees, and a special coordinating role for the abusive National Intelligence Service, which was responsible for grave human rights violations committed in combatting leftist insurgencies.*

***Judicial independence, already precarious in Peru, suffered a major setback in March**, when the entire seven-person National Magistrates’ Council (Consejo Nacional de la Magistratura, CNM), an autonomous body established in the constitution to appoint and dismiss judges and prosecutors, resigned in protest over a law restricting its powers to investigate irregularities committed by judges and to dismiss those it found culpable.*

Title Alberto Fujimori

Title Vladimiro Montesinos

Gustavo Gorriti **One of the top gangsters whom I had covered during the eighties--he reached top power. Montesinos** was especially adept at infiltrating organizations led by

incompetent individuals, so Fujimori was a clear potential victim. And one of the things that I tried to do was to prevent that, because it was clear knowing his trajectory that Peru could go through very sad years if Montesinos came to power. And in the end, of course, reality turned out to be much, much worse than anything I had written about.

Columbia Journalism Review

July 2004 // August 2004 SECTION: LETTER FROM LIMA; Pg. 43

HEADLINE: HAVE PERU'S PRESS HEROES GONE TOO FAR?

BYLINE: BY JASON FELCH;

*"...Ironically, it was the near total repression of the mainstream press that fostered some of Latin America's best investigative reporting. I spoke with **Gustavo Gorriti, one of Peru's top investigative journalists**, in his office in a sprawling colonial house in Lince, a wealthy neighborhood near downtown Lima. The house serves as the offices of Instituto de Defensa Legal, a Peruvian nongovernmental organization where Gorriti is now a journalist in residence. He is returning to journalism after serving as an adviser to Alejandro Toledo, whom he now refers to sarcastically as "God's gift to Peru." Gorriti, who is in his mid-fifties, has never been one to mince words. "The essential struggle of the 1990s can be construed as the struggle between spies and journalists, with information as the battleground," Gorriti tells me. "And the journalists won, again and again and again."*

Gorriti's own career can be seen as a prolonged battle with Montesinos, whom Gorriti first exposed in an investigation for Caretas in 1983, when Montesinos was merely a well-connected drug lawyer. Throughout the 1980s Gorriti investigated the terror war that was consuming his country, publishing an authoritative book about the Shining Path in 1990".

Narrator

Montesinos and Fujimori created a death-squad to carry out their political will. It was called "Grupo Colina."

http://www.hrw.org/spanish/inf_anual/2002/peru.html#peru

*El 5 de septiembre, la Fiscal de la Nación, Nelly Calderón, presentó cargos contra él por asesinato, lesiones graves y desapariciones. **Fujimori fue acusado de ser coautor, junto a Montesinos, de quince ejecuciones extrajudiciales** - entre ellas la de un niño de ocho años- perpetradas en 1991 durante una fiesta que se celebraba para conseguir fondos en un vecindario pobre del distrito de Barrios Altos, en Lima. También se les acusaba de la desaparición en 1992 de nueve estudiantes y un profesor de la universidad La Cantuta. Estos delitos se atribuyeron al **Grupo Colina, un escuadrón paramilitar bajo las órdenes de Montesinos, jefe de facto del SIN, y del que Fujimori era responsable último.***

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/peru/superman.htm>

No one in DINCOTE realized it at the time, but the infiltrators were part of an army intelligence death squad, the Colina Group.

The Colina Group was the antithesis of Jimenez's unit. The group was heavily funded and amply equipped, and its purpose was to kill Shining Path leaders. It never managed to do that. But it did commit assassinations, including the massacre of 15 civilians in a Lima neighborhood in November 1991 and the slaying of nine students and a professor at La Cantuta University in July 1992. In 1993, Peruvian opposition leaders and the media alleged, based on leaks from inside the armed forces, that Montesinos had been fully aware of the Colina Group. Thanks to his control over Peru's judiciary, however, Montesinos escaped prosecution.

General Rafael Robles I received information which clearly indicated that they secretly eliminated not only supposed terrorists, but political opponents as well. The group was created to murder journalists, politicians, anyone who opposed Fujimori and Montesinos.

Gustavo Gorriti You have to understand that people were being killed left and right at the time. So, continuing my work as a journalist, I went everywhere armed.

Carlos Ivan Degregori Fujimori's primary political tool was media, especially TV. At first Fujimori and Montesinos put propaganda on TV, then they bribed them outright.

Columbia Journalism Review. July 2004 // August 2004. SECTION: LETTER FROM LIMA; Pg. 43

HEADLINE: HAVE PERU'S PRESS HEROES GONE TOO FAR?

BYLINE: BY JASON FELCH;

"..During the 1990s, Peru witnessed the creation of one of the most extensive state-run networks of corruption in Latin American history, known here universally as the mafia. The don of that mafia was Fujimori's Svengali-like national security adviser, Vladimiro Montesinos. When a corruption scandal forced Montesinos and Fujimori to flee the country in 2000, a trove of Montesinos's secretly recorded videos surfaced and exposed the depth of his corruption. Montesinos was captured and returned to Peru to face trial, and those videos form the backbone of the legal case against him and over 1,300 others who have been connected to his crimes.

Protestors	It's fallen! It's fallen! The dictatorship has fallen!
Narrator	The government collapsed. Fujimori fled to Japan and Montesinos was imprisoned. Peruvians reclaimed their democracy and elected as President, Alejandro Toledo, who publicly took pride in his indigenous heritage.
Title	Seeking Truth and Democracy, 2000
Carlos Ivan Degregori	The violence had been so massive, the human right abuses so terrible, and all done with absolute impunity, that the Truth Commission was necessary for the transition to democracy.
Narrator	The human rights movement insisted that the transitional government establish the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Dr. Salamón Lerner. Carlos Ivan and Sofia Macher, the human rights leader, as well as ten other commissioners were empowered by the new government to uncover the truth about Peru's twenty-year war. In an effort to have a broad perspective, Beatriz Alva Hart was invited to join the Truth Commission.

<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB96/>

In June 2001, interim President Valentin Paniagua established the groundwork for a Truth Commission, later reaffirmed by President Alejandro Toledo in September of the same year. This Truth and Reconciliation Commission was charged with determining the causes of internal violence in Peru between May 1980 and November 2000; contributing to the clarification of the crimes and human rights violations perpetrated during this period; identifying those responsible for these violent acts; evaluating proposals for reparation to the victims and their families; recommending reforms as preventive measures; and establishing follow-up mechanisms for its recommendations.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/lacomision/nlabor/comisionado01.php>

Salomón Lerner Febres - Presidente

El Doctor Lerner Febres es Rector de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Doctor en Filosofía (con gran distinción) de la Universidad

Católica de Lovaina (Bélgica) y Licenciado Especial en Derecho Europeo por la misma universidad.

- Beatriz Alva Hart The work of the Truth Commission is extremely important, and more than work, it's a mission.
- Sofia Macher We now call these people to testify: Mr. Ramiro Nino de Guzman...
- Ramiro Nino de Guzman We began to live moment to moment in fear.
- Commissioner ...Ms. Luzmilla Chiricente...
- Luzmilla Chiricente Fellow Peruvians, we are owners of Peru.
- Commissioner ...Ms. Magdalena Monteza...
- Magdalena Monteza It was the first time I had sex. I was a virgin.
- Narrator **In the first public hearings ever held by a truth commission in Latin America,** Peruvians listened in stunned silence.
- <http://serveur.ichrdd.ca/english/commdoc/publications/libertas/LOLnov2002/peruReconcilEng.html>
- In a further break with the style of past Latin American Truth Commissions, the Peruvian TRC has organized a number of public hearings in order to stimulate discussion and public debate over how Peruvian society can heal the wounds of the past.*
- An audience of about 100, including many Peruvian exiles, watched the video which showed peasant women speaking about the siege of their villages by the Shining Path, how their family members were executed, detained and tortured, and their villages razed.*
- Beatriz Alva Hart I never imagined how deep a personal and professional experience this would be. I was seeing so much I had never seen. What really opened my eyes was the first exhumation.
- Beatriz Alva Hart The worst is when you clean your first skull. You can't mistake it for anything but a human being, and

it's truly terrible. My pain isn't just when I feel empathy for the victims, but also when I ask, "Where was I then?"

My soul is scarred by the gaze of all those women, and all those children that I met in the highlands. From all of them, I ask forgiveness. From Mama Algelica, who I see here, from all the women, children, and orphans, and the men, from them all. I ask forgiveness.

I ask forgiveness for all the people of my class that still don't understand. Because they don't want to, or it's inconvenient.

Title	Truth Commission Exhibit
Narrator	<p>The Truth Commission took testimony from more than 17,000 Peruvians, held 22 public hearings, and collected 18,000 videos and photographs. They issued a 5,000 page report that is one of the most comprehensive descriptions of a war on terror ever compiled.</p> <p>The Commission's findings indict both Shining Path and the Government for the massive death toll. They called both for specific military personnel to be prosecuted, and for a change in the conditions of poverty and exclusion that set the stage for Shining Path violence.</p>

?

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/TOMO%20IX/2.INTRODUCCION%20RECOMENDACIONES.pdf>

*Alentar a que en el más breve plazo (30 días) el Ministerio Público abra las investigaciones correspondientes contra los presuntos responsables de los crímenes investigados por la CVR. Para tales efectos, hacemos llegar a dicha institución todos los indicios que han servido para que los comisionados, nos formemos convicción sobre la presunta responsabilidad penal **de las personas que sindicamos como probables agentes de delito.***

*d. Recomendar a la Defensoría del Pueblo, depositaria de todo nuestro acervo documental, **que haga públicos los nombres de aquellas personas que, en nuestra opinión, se hacen merecedoras de investigación penal si, en el plazo ya***

señalado, el Ministerio Público no hubiere cumplido con pronunciarse frente a los casos que le fueron alcanzados por la CVR.

The Economist, September 6, 2003 U.S. Edition

HEADLINE: The Shining Path revisited

“ Peru's public prosecution service must now decide whether to open criminal investigations on some 120 groups and individuals identified as having violated human rights. Bitter arguments will dominate the coming weeks and months. But, as the commission chairman says, the worst thing that could happen to Peru would be if this painful report were consigned to the waste bin.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

13. In the TRC's view, based on the number of persons killed and disappeared, the PCP-SL was the principal perpetrator of crimes and violations of human rights. It was responsible for 54 percent of victim deaths reported to the TRC. This high degree of responsibility on the part of the PCP-SL is an exceptional case among subversive groups in Latin America, and one of the most notable unique features of the process that the TRC has had to analyze.

Title	Final Report Presentation, 2003
Commissioner	We present this as a mandate from all the missing and forgotten people of our nation. The story we tell here is of ourselves, of who we were, and how we must change. This is the story of what we have to do. This history begins today.
Sofia Macher	We are going to erase the official history told to us and replace it with the new chapter written by the Truth Commission. It's a chapter written by those who suffered, crying out to their nation.
Carlos Ivan Degregori	We have the chance to build a democracy of compassion and solidarity with the poor and excluded who suffered the most during the violence.
Title	The Aftermath – One Year Later

Narrator

The new President, Alejandro Toledo, has moved slowly to implement the recommendations of the Truth Commission. The Commission recommended that human rights violators be punished. While Shining Path militants are almost all dead or in prison, almost no military men have been brought to justice.

The Miami Herald, October 9, 2004 Saturday F1 SECTION: A; Pg. 16

HEADLINE: Critics: Truth Commission wheels of justice are slow;

One year after Peru's Truth Commission issued its report on 20 years of violence, its recommendations are being adopted only slowly, if at all.

BYLINE: BY TYLER BRIDGES

A year ago, Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued a groundbreaking study showing that the 20 years of civil strife against two guerrilla groups had left 69,000 dead, including Jesus Noriega, a poor farm laborer killed by men now identified as members of a pro-government death squad.

The commission sent the attorney general the names of 492 soldiers and police who allegedly executed, tortured or raped Peruvians, and called on the government to prosecute those who committed these human rights atrocities.

..But the wheels of justice have been grinding slowly since then, and President Alejandro Toledo's government has only slowly, if at all, implemented the commission's other recommendations. "We haven't progressed as much as we'd like," said Salomon Lerner, who chaired the 12-member Truth Commission.

Javier Ciurlizza, the Truth Commission's executive director, said he was also encouraged that the first special court to investigate human rights cases was created last week, but added that many more are needed .

Willy Gonzalez, an advisor to Toledo, acknowledges that many people believe the government is moving too slowly to implement the Truth Commission's recommendations. But after the new court was created, he said, "At least we're not moving backward."

Toledo was applauded for issuing a public apology in the name of the state three months after the Truth Commission issued its report last year. But human rights advocates say he has done little since then, if only because constant political battles have sapped his time and energy.

The government, for example, has not met the commission's recommendation to provide extra money for roads, schools and health clinics in the mountainous area of Ayacucho state, which suffered the worst violence.

It has also not hired the extra forensic anthropologists sought by the Truth Commission to exhume graves or provided police protection for the two to three dozen witnesses to police or paramilitary brutality.

The government also has not made payments of \$10,000 to the family of each victim of government repression, one of the other recommendations of the Truth Commission.

<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php>

*168. The TRC believes that **justice is an essential part of the reparation process**. No path toward reconciliation will be passable if it is not accompanied by an effective exercise of justice in terms of reparation for the damages incurred by the victims, as well as the fair punishment of the perpetrators and, as a consequence, an end to impunity. An ethically healthy and politically viable country cannot be built on the foundations of impunity. Through the cases that it submits to the Public Ministry, the identification of 24,000 victims of the internal armed conflict and in general through the findings of its investigations, the TRC seeks to expand substantially the arguments supporting the demand for justice made by victims and their organizations, as well as by human rights organizations and citizens in general.*

Gustavo Gorriti

I have seen this savage, wild resistance to the truth, by all these people who really wanted ignorance, who really wanted forgetfulness more than anything else. So then you realize that, yes, a lot of our history, a lot the way that power is built in Peru can only be explained by a careful cultivation of ignorance and forgetfulness.

Carlos Ivan Degregori

When a violent chapter of history is not properly closed, the violence rears up again in many forms.

Narrator

In cities and town across Peru demonstrations have turned lawless. Town Halls have been sacked, records burned, mayors driven from their towns and even lynched.

Associated Press

May 17, 2004 Monday

HEADLINE: Unrest Challenges Peru's Central Govt.

BYLINE: DREW BENSON; Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PUNO, Peru

*“Arnaldo Chambilla will soon go from being councilman to the mayor of his town in the Lake Titicaca region of Peru, a job he doesn't relish - for good reason. Last month a mob murdered his predecessor - and nearly killed Chambilla. **At first the lynching of Mayor Cirilo Robles** seemed to be a case of highland Indian justice. Robles, an Aymara Indian, was dragged from a house where he was conducting a town council meeting and beaten to **death on***

April 26 after he refused to resign in the face of huge protests. The demonstrators, mostly Aymaras from surrounding villages, said the mayor was corrupt.

Latin American Weekly Report

July 6, 2004 Tuesday

HEADLINE: PERU: Who manipulated the Ayacucho riots

“A rumour that the government was about to abolish free education for the teachers of Ayacucho sparked a protest that in a matter of days escalated into riot and rampage. The government blamed the flareup on Sendero Luminoso 'infiltrators', triggering a new round of protest demonstrations. Unrest seems likely to build up to a peak in mid July, when a number of organisations have called a national protest, timed to coincide with the staging of the Copa America soccer tournament in seven cities.

*It is not clear how the rumour got started, but it was picked up by the radical wing of Sutep, the teachers' union, led by Roberto Huaylanaya. Embellished with reports that new education legislation had been 'drafted by the US State Department', it became **the banner for the seizure, on 26 June, of the Ayacucho city council premises and the regional education ministry building.** Five days later the police forcibly evicted the protesters, but this triggered a riot in which the teachers seized buildings and a courthouse and two hotels were sacked and torched.*

The government sent in a contingent of 150 elite-unit police officers to restore order. Interior minister Javier Reategui proclaimed that the violence had been provoked by 'a group infiltrated by Sendero Luminoso'. As evidence the government displayed video footage showing graffiti extolling Sendero. Taking her cue from this, the prosecutor for terrorist offences, Sonia Medina Calvo, initiated proceedings against Huaynalaya and three other Sutep leaders.”

United Press International

July 2, 2003 Wednesday

HEADLINE: Feature: Toledo's battle in Peru

BYLINE: By CARMEN GENTILE

“A recent survey shows many Peruvians feel the president lacks the authority to right a ship that has veered into the twin perils of widespread discontent and the second bout of massive government turnover in recent years, both of which have proven to be dangerous for Peru in the past.

*The **latest troubles began in May with a wave of social protests spearheaded by a monthlong strike by teachers seeking increased wages.** Farmers, judicial and healthcare workers soon joined them to protest against Toledo's free-market policies. Protestors blocked major highways and took to the streets. In response,*

Toledo imposed a 30-day state of emergency, placing the military in control and suspending some constitutional rights.

In the southern city of Puno, troops fired on demonstrators defying the state of emergency. A student was killed and 100 others wounded in the violence. The unrest saw Toledo's popularity dive to 11 percent. Last week, members of his own Peru Possible movement in Parliament refused to approve a tax increase to pay the striking teachers despite Cabinet approval of the hike. Toledo's Cabinet quit, giving him the freedom to replace some or all of its members.

... Toledo, the nation's first native Indian leader, is now beleaguered by the rapidly diminishing faith his people have in his ability to govern, leaving him with perhaps one final shot at serving the full 5 years of his term in office."

<http://hrw.org/press/2003/05/peru053003.htm>

New York, May 30, 2003) Peru's government should immediately investigate the reported use of lethal force by the security forces to quell protests taking place throughout the country, Human Rights Watch said today.

...On May 27, President Toledo declared a nationwide state of emergency for thirty days in response to a wave of strikes by teachers, health workers, farmers, and court personnel. The strikers were protesting the government's failure to improve living conditions. The government decree suspended rights of assembly and authorized police and troops to raid properties and make arrests without a legal warrant. Human Rights Watch called on Peruvian authorities to restore due process guarantees that ensure that the authorities do not carry out arbitrary or unreported detentions.

Carlos Ivan Degregori The quality of our democracy was battered by the violence and now Peru is at a precarious crossroads, where things could get ever worse, or we manage to rebuild that which was destroyed in the time of repression

Narrator Yet in the midst of continued social upheaval, some victims of the war on terror have stepped forward as leaders.

Ramiro Nino de Guzman Is there violence now or not?

Class Yes.

Ramiro Nino de Guzman Is there poverty or not?

Class Yes.

Ramiro Nino de Guzman Is there hunger? Is there alcoholism? What else?

Pupil #1 Violence!

Pupil #2 Drug Addiction!

Pupil #3 Killing!

Pupil #4 Abuses!

Pupil #5 Violations!

Pupil #6 Prostitution!

Ramiro Nino de Guzman Those are known as human rights violations.

Seeds are taking root in people who will leave fear behind. And it is necessary to, because people with fear have no voice. The Peruvian experience is very powerful, sad, and painful. I believe that because of what happened here, no country and no human being anywhere in the world should repeat our experience. It would only lead to a complete political, economic, and social crisis.