

ports in the Turkish press, citing the Azerbaijani embassy in Ankara, of "Armenian massacres" of Azeri civilians. Many hundreds of Azeri civilians have died *of cold and exhaustion*, by fleeing on foot over mountain regions up to 3,000 meters high, to escape the advancing Armenians.

To date, however, Turkey has confined its response to tough words and intimidating military activities, stopping short of actual intervention. In the latter category, Turkey has heavily reinforced its troops along the Armenian border, and, if Turkish press reports are true, initiated reconnaissance flights over Armenia and Azerbaijan. Starting April 4, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and the entire military leadership and key cabinet members have been in daily crisis sessions, in the words of Demirel on April 4, to "coordinate" with Azerbaijan "further steps" to compel Armenia to end its "aggression."

On the diplomatic front, Turkey has demanded action by Russia, the United States, and the U.N. Security Council to stop "Armenian aggression." At the U.N. level, the only action taken to date was a U.N. airlift to Baku of emergency relief supplies for Azeri war refugees, which was inaugurated April 14.

### The next round of escalation

The initial hesitation of the Turkish regime aside, the pressure for Turkey to intervene is growing. A verbal escalation has been apparent since the weekend of April 10-11. The catalysts were the latest Armenian breakthroughs, and the fact that Azerbaijan, in anger over Turkish inaction, for the first time in the war turned to Iran for military help. This occurred on April 11, when Azeri Deputy Prime Minister Penah Husseinov arrived in Teheran with an urgent request for Iran to help. Iran responded by strongly condemning "Armenian aggression," and offered military help on condition that Baku repudiate its pipeline agreement with Turkey.

The news of the Iranian conditions, carried front-page in *Hurriyet*, the leading government-connected national daily in Turkey, exploded like a bomb in Ankara. By April 13, even Turkish Vice Premier Erdal Inonu, not known as a hardliner, joined the chorus of Demirel and the military, to the effect that Turkey cannot stand idly by, and that Turkish patience "will come to an end." Addressing the deputies of his Social Democratic People's Party caucus, Inonu warned that if Armenia did not immediately end its attacks, then "unending suffering will befall the people of Armenia." He stressed that Turkey would support "our brother country" Azerbaijan, branding Armenia an "aggressor state."

Turkey will definitely await the outcome of the April 16 extraordinary CIS summit in Minsk, Belarus, which will focus on the CIS Defense Pact, before making any decision on military intervention. After that, anything is possible, including a strategic miscalculation by Ankara that would transform the Caucasus "regional conflict" into a world strategic crisis.

# Fujimori proclaims against terrorism of

by Carlos Méndez

With the support of the Armed Forces, the National Police, and the great majority of the population, I rebelled April 5, 1992 against a pseudo-democracy, against a system that tried to force me into a compromise, and against a state of things in which the Congress and the Judiciary practically protected the narco-terrorists, said Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori in a message to the nation on April 5.

April 5, 1993 was the first anniversary of what has come to be known as Fujimori's "self-coup," the presidential decree which shut down the Congress and the Supreme Court because of their tolerance of narco-terrorism.

For a year, the U.S. State Department has maintained a political, economic, and propaganda offensive against President Fujimori, accusing him of being anti-democratic and authoritarian, and against the Armed Forces of Peru for their alleged "systematic violations of human rights." Among those collaborating in this offensive, which has often taken the form of explicit defense of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) narco-terrorists, have been Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, the Organization of American States (OAS), and a handful of the so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Amnesty International, Americas Watch, and even the International Red Cross. That offensive reached the point of imposing upon Peru the "Haiti treatment" of a punishing economic embargo.

And yet, despite all of this, one year later Fujimori has strengthened himself both at home and abroad, for events have proven him right and his enemies wrong. In his message, Fujimori stated that the greatest achievement of his government has been the capture and sentencing to life imprisonment of narco-terrorist chieftains Abimael Guzmán and Víctor Polay. In particular, he denounced the "Shining Path" experts who predicted that with Fujimori's April 5 actions, "Shining Path would end up winning. . . . What is meant by this is that Guzmán, because of Fujimori's error, would head the popular uprising against the 'dictator' and would grow, and emerge triumphant.

"Today, one year later, we know that this is just one more of their fantastic arguments, given that precisely the opposite has occurred. . . . Here is Guzmán, totally defeated. . . . However, in their time, some eminent 'Senderologists' subscribed to these fantastic theses, while further taking respon-

# progress in war Shining Path

sibility for spreading predictions of a civil war abroad.”

## The military reiterates its support

The April 5 measures were taken “to overcome the economic, social, political and moral crisis that threatened the survival of Peruvian society,” said Army Gen. Nicolás Hermoza Ríos, president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces, in a ceremony to show support for the Fujimori government. Hermoza Ríos also said that the situation that existed before April 5, 1992 “was endangering the survival of the nation-state,” for which reason the Armed Forces did not hesitate to support, “with full conviction, the actions of the President of the Republic.”

The figures are overwhelming. In the decade of the 1980s, there were only 5,031 Shining Path terrorists arrested, and of these, only 550 were jailed. Following the April 5, 1992 “self-coup,” 4,300 terrorists were captured in a single

year, the majority of whom have already been tried and sentenced, according to Hermoza Ríos.

The explanation for these strikingly different pictures, of course, is the actions of April 5, 1992. As Fujimori said, the convictions of Guzmán and Polay “would not have been possible without the legislation promulgated after April 5. Our hands would have been tied, perhaps even during their trials, and they both might have been freed . . . for ‘lack of evidence,’ as the Supreme Court had already declared in its incredible ruling in 1991.” The efforts of the Armed Forces and the National Police “were annulled by the release, one after the other, of the terrorists, all for supposed lack of evidence,” said Fujimori, who added that “the Congress . . . sole power of the state enabled to reform the judiciary, never took any measures. . . . Thus things stood during 12 years of so-called democracy, of so-called balance of powers.”

## ‘Senderologist’ changes his tune

Given Fujimori’s undeniable successes, former U.S. State Department employee David Scott Palmer, one of the most radical of the “Senderologists” in terms of his support for Shining Path, recently retracted his previous analysis regarding Fujimori. In an article in the April 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, Palmer acknowledged that the hard line he himself had urged against Fujimori had failed. He now says that a more subtle policy must be employed if the United States is to retain control over Peru.

Reflecting his fear that if Fujimori is pushed too hard, he might go further in his defiance of Project Democracy and



*A December 1992 demonstration in Washington in support of Peru's Shining Path killers. The State Department is, by its actions, on the same side as these demonstrators. Inset: President Alberto Fujimori.*

break with the International Monetary Fund's economic austerity conditionalities which Fujimori still embraces, Palmer says that the time has now come for the United States to "abandon" its demands that Fujimori reestablish the previous political system, given that "a decade of formal democracy has made things dramatically worse in Peru." Palmer now proposes that the NGOs that are emerging across Peru be supported and encouraged, "to try to do the job that formal electoral party politics so far has failed to accomplish."

Various of the human rights NGOs have by no means abandoned their declared war against Peru. Perhaps the most brazen is Americas Watch, which celebrated the April 5 anniversary of Fujimori's "self-coup" by issuing a report with the incredible evaluation that after April 5, 1992, "the human rights situation has deteriorated seriously" in Peru. Americas Watch even goes so far as to call on the United States to suspend aid to Peru until such time that the Peruvian government "establishes a mechanism to permit independent oversight of all the judicial processes carried out under the anti-terrorist decrees, to determine those cases which merit a new trial but, this time, with an impartial and independent court." That is, they seek some international forum which

could order the release from prison of Guzmán and the other Shining Path terrorists.

### **The economy is the Achilles' heel**

President Fujimori's popularity notwithstanding, his Achilles' heel continues to be the economy. In an article in the April 9 *Wall Street Journal*, Fujimori defended economic liberalism and said that the problem is "mercantilist right-wingers and Bolshevik left-wingers," who "act as a bloc counteracting any program to establish a modern economy." Modernization, in this case, is Orwellian "newspeak" for the prescriptions which the International Monetary Fund imposes on developing sector economies as a means of continuing to collect their foreign debts.

Ironically, Fujimori includes himself among those "new leaders [who] are appearing everywhere—pragmatic men and women, without tradition or partisan commitments" who are promoting free-trade economics as the solution to the continent's ills. Fujimori chooses to ignore the fact that it is these same "pragmatic" leaders, such as Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, who are part of the very Project Democracy campaign out to destroy Peru.

## **There was no other way to save the nation**

*Excerpts from the Message to the Nation presented by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori on April 5, 1993, on the first anniversary of his "self-coup."*

We have had here a vicious political system, run by elites who have dragged the entire country into a shocking crisis. . . . In the guise of democracy . . . there has been an orgy of power. A party and its boss comes into power to rule and the opposition, which lost the elections, makes them fail to be able to win the next elections. When these then come to power, those who lost become an opposition as devastating as the previous. This was the pseudo-democracy they defended. . . .

### **What I rebelled against**

It is against that system, against that status quo that I rebelled on April 5 [1992]. And just as I supposed . . . I was unreservedly supported by a people tired of such frustration. And the high command of the Armed Forces and the National Police supported me. . . .

I assumed a position of rebellion against the system, against the formalities, and in my condition as President

of the Republic, with responsibility . . . I concluded that I should choose change and social transformation over compromise or negotiations which in the guise of national conciliation tried, through pressure and sabotage, to trap in a vicious circle a President chosen precisely to put an end to this dance of interests. . . .

Something which weighed heavily on my conscience was the fact that in every one of my encounters with the people, I discovered this tenacious hope for change that I was supposed to represent. And I said to myself: Did I challenge my life merely to occupy a place in the gallery of democratic Presidents? . . .

### **Playing the terrorists' game**

The temporary emergency measures certainly represented a rupture of the constitutional order: There's no denying it. For a President elected overwhelmingly by the people, it could appear a contradiction . . . to suspend, even temporarily, basic institutions of a system which is the origin of power and of his mandate. I could not let this mere formality hold me back, for it would have meant continuing to coexist with a democracy in which no one believed. . . . The Congress and the Judiciary were two institutions . . . which vulgarly lent themselves to the terrorists' game. After reflecting . . . I reached the conclusion that there was no other way to get the country back on track but to pull out by the roots those factors which stood in the way. . . .