

British indigenism spawned the MRTA and Shining Path

by Manuel Hidalgo and Gretchen Small

On Dec. 17, 1996, about two dozen commandos of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), a Peruvian narco-terrorist group, seized over 400 hostages, including nationals from numerous countries, who were attending a gala diplomatic event in Lima at the official residence of the Japanese ambassador to Peru. As of this writing, almost a month later, international media have reported nothing of significance, and very little that is even remotely true, about the MRTA, the larger international narco-terrorist structure of which it is a part, the names and addresses of its true controllers, or the strategy behind the incident. In warfare, to be so blinded by the enemy's propaganda is almost always fatal.

In this special security memorandum, *EIR* documents that the MRTA was manufactured by a British "indigenism" project which has been operational in the Americas since at least the early 20th century, a project which also spawned Peru's other, more famous narco-terrorist force, the Shining Path, which modelled itself on the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia's Pol Pot. Despite all the media lies, the MRTA is no different from Shining Path: They are the sometimes-squabbling children of the same British "mother." The ideology of each was created by the same radical anthropological networks centered in London and at the Sorbonne in Paris; the finances and logistics of both are provided by the drug trade, with which they are closely allied; and their strategic goals are identical. Like Mexico's Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) and similar narco-terrorist ethnic and separatist operations around the world, the MRTA and its British masters are bent on annihilating the very existence of the sovereign nation-state.

EIR's work on terrorism in Peru came out of an international investigation into this British anthropological project, which dates back to the early 1980s. On July 20, 1982, *EIR* published a feature story entitled "Nazi Anthropologists In-

cite New Ethnic Violence," in which Lyndon LaRouche warned that oligarchic financiers were deploying an "anthropologists' nightmare of separatist movements," whose intent was "to generate throughout the planet a protracted condition of chaos—economic depression, regional wars, dionysiac orgies of assassination, rioting, and insurrection in many nations. This process is intended to obliterate the institution of the sovereign nation-state and to bring forth out of chaos a malthusian world-federalist order."¹

Over the subsequent 15 years, *EIR* has documented in detail this network's deployment to shatter Peru,² and has published numerous other case studies as well, including on the role played in Ibero-America by Fidel Castro's São Paulo Forum.³ Virtually all of the information presented by *EIR* is available in the public domain. However, the facts have been

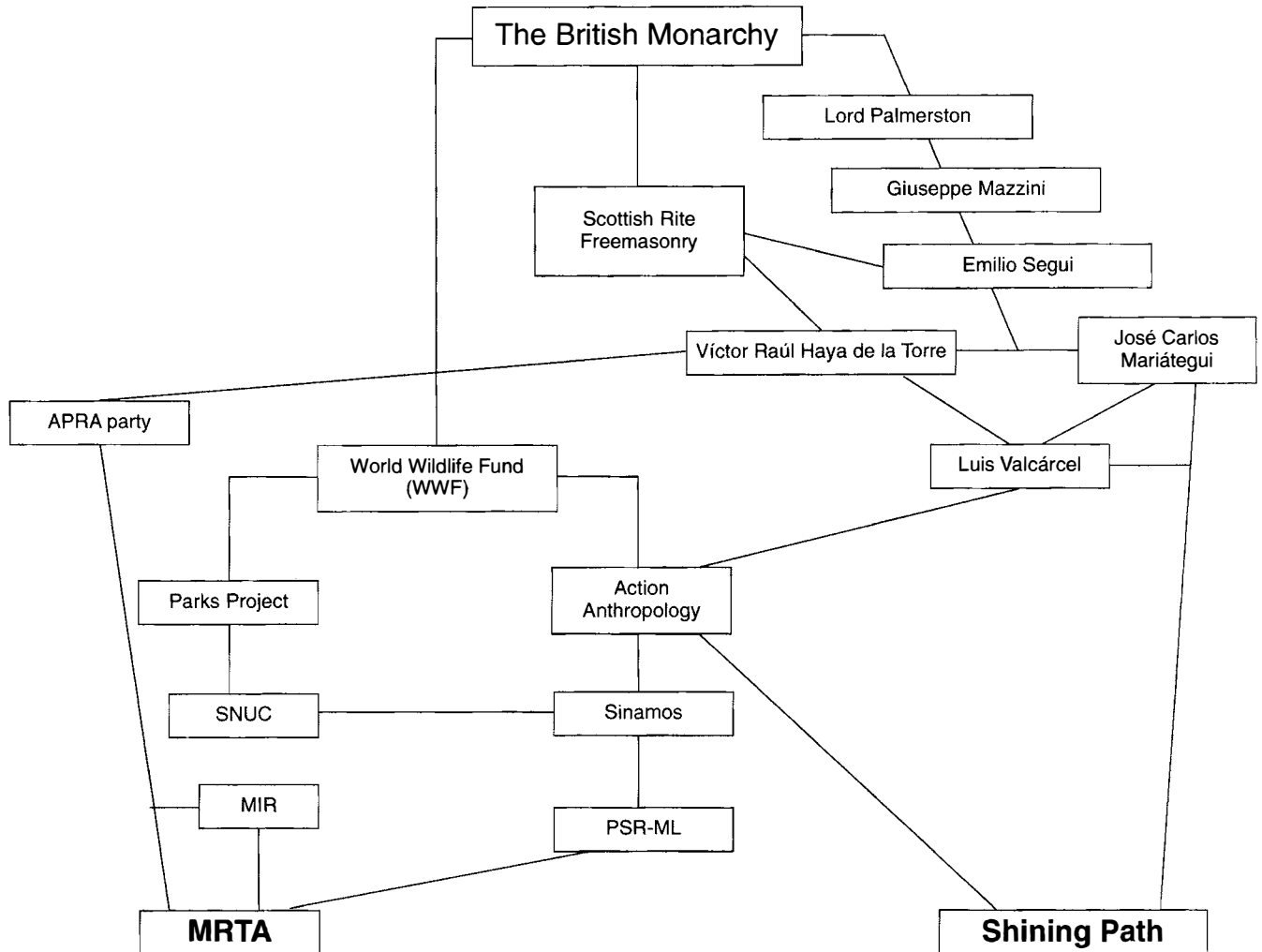
1. In an included case study on indigenist-separatist operations in Central America in that feature, *EIR* warned the government of Mexico that foreign anthropologists seeking to attend the 25th anniversary celebrations of Harvard University's Chiapas Project in Chiapas, should be denied entrance to Mexico, because "war and rebellion in Mexico . . . is an immediate aim of these networks, who talk now of establishing an independent Indian 'nation' in Chiapas." *EIR*'s 1982 warning proved prophetic: It was precisely these anthropological networks centered around the Harvard project, including Cultural Survival, that we examine here in relationship to the MRTA, and that were instrumental in launching the EZLN.

2. *EIR*'s groundbreaking studies of terrorism in Peru can be found in the May 1985 *Special Report*, "Narco-Terrorism in Ibero-America"; and in *EIR* feature stories on June 12, 1992 ("Shining Path, 'Pol Pot' Assassins in Peru"); Aug. 13, 1993 ("Peru Cannot Surrender in its War on Shining Path"); March 31, 1995 ("Terrorist International at Work: the Chiapas Model"); Nov. 10, 1995 ("New Terror International Targets the Americas"); and Nov. 17, 1995 ("RIM: London's Narco-Terrorist International"). See also, *EIR*'s Aug. 15, 1985 *Special Report*, "Soviet Unconventional Warfare in Ibero-America: The Case of Guatemala."

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

FIGURE 1

The MRTA and Shining Path's shared ancestral roots



largely ignored by governments and influential policy groups around the world—an almost willful blindness which springs from their frightened refusal to face the policy implications of the fact that all narco-terrorism today is a product of Britain’s anti-nation-state policy.

The MRTA’s roots

The MRTA was founded in 1982 by a group of Peruvians, most of whom were from the Socialist Revolutionary Party Marxist-Leninist (PSR-ML), under the direction of Luis Varese. Many of them had fought in Nicaragua during 1978-80 on behalf of the Sandinistas, and several, including Varese, had also spent time in Cuba. A second founding component came from the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), Peru’s first Castro-ite guerrilla movement, founded in 1965. A third group which joined the early MRTA came from the APRA party, including top leader Víctor Polay (currently in jail) and

Nestor Cerpa Cartolini, the leader of the commandos today controlling the Japanese residence in Lima (see **Figure 1**).

Shortly after founding the MRTA (which was named after Túpac Amaru, the Indian leader who led a bloody Jacobin revolt in 1781 against the Spanish colonial authorities in Peru), Varese summarized their terrorist mission in an April 21, 1983 interview with Shining Path’s daily, *Diario de Marka*: “In the construction of the popular army, popular militias, and the revolutionary party, today the principal axis of accumulation of political forces of the masses, is the development of armed struggle.”

In its first few years of existence, the ranks of the MRTA were swelled by a steady stream of recruits from the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), one of whose founders was life-long narco-terrorist handler Javier Diez Canseco, today a congressman and darling of the international media and human rights lobby. The UDP merged organizationally with the

MRTA in the late 1980s.

By 1987, the MRTA had firmly established a base of operations in the Upper Huallaga region, and was deep into the drug trade which is centered in that area.

Throughout this period, APRA Masonic networks played a singular role in providing protection and logistical support to the MRTA, especially during the Presidency of APRA leader Alan García (1985-90). Cerpa Cartolini himself emphasized the APRA connection in his “press conference” of Dec. 31, 1996: “A group of people from several APRA sectors created the MRTA.”

But the key to understanding the MRTA’s true nature today, lies in the history of the international networks which spawned it, years and even decades before it ever appeared publicly or went into action.

From 1910 to 1930, British Masonic networks set into motion an indigenist project in Peru, out of which came every feature that is tearing Peru apart today. In the 1900s, Emilio Segui, a former personal secretary of Lord Palmerston’s leading “revolutionary” agent, Giuseppe Mazzini,⁴ founded the first indigenist movement of the 20th century in Peru around the “Pro-Indian Association.” Segui had headed the Masonic lodges of Lima and its neighboring port, Callao, for years. Out of his circle of followers came three evil men who shaped the following decades of Peru’s history: José Carlos Mariátegui, Luis E. Valcárcel, and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Segui sponsored the training and early political career of a young Peruvian Nietzschean, José Carlos Mariátegui. Mariátegui founded the Peruvian Communist Party in the 1920s, and decades later was taken up as the founding ideology of Shining Path (whose official name is “Peruvian Communist Party in the Shining Path of José Carlos Mariátegui”).

A leading associate of Segui in the “Pro-Indian Association” was Luis E. Valcárcel, the father of Peruvian anthropology, who sought to reshape the Peruvian identity along racial lines (see p. 51). Valcárcel was a protégé of Albert Giesecke, a Sorbonne-trained “social scientist” who worked for the British Foreign Office and British Museum before moving to Peru, where he became the rector of the University of Cuzco in 1910. From the ranks of Valcárcel’s followers came the leadership core of all subsequent, fabricated “indigenist” movements in the country, emphatically including Shining Path.⁵

Valcárcel collaborated closely with Mariátegui on the indigenist project. In 1927, Valcárcel published a fascist diatribe, *Tempest in the Andes*, at the urging of Mariátegui, which outlines a scenario of a storm of Indian rebellion descending on the coastal region of Peru: “One day, the Andean men will descend like the hordes of Tamberlaine. The barbarians, for those of this lower empire, are on the other side of the moun-

tains.” Mariátegui wrote the introduction to the book, in which he glowingly called it “a passionate prophecy which announced a new Peru.”

The third person in Segui’s trio was Valcárcel intimate Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who founded the APRA party in the 1920s. APRA is widely known as the political party of Masonry in Peru; in fact, Haya’s eldest brother, Edmundo, was for a long time the head of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in the country. Haya’s principal protector and financier was John Mackay, the Scottish director of the Anglo-Peruvian school in Lima and director of the YMCA. One of the more famous pictures of the notoriously effeminate Haya shows him posing, wrapped in the Union Jack.

Haya concocted the crackpot concept of “Indo-Americanism,” an explicitly racist ethnic definition of Ibero-American identity. “As a race, the Indian is not only an economic and social force, but a traditional and telluric one,” he pronounced.

Out of Segui’s offspring—Haya’s APRA and Valcárcel’s action anthropologists—came the MRTA.

The hand of ‘Action Anthropology’

The initial cadre who founded the MRTA, including Varese, coalesced during the 1970s under the umbrella of Sinamos (the National System of Social Mobilization), a powerful government agency created in the early years of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado’s regime (1968-75), with the ostensible task of organizing the popular sectors (trade unions, Indians, peasants, and so on). In fact, Sinamos, headed by the Maoist Gen. Leonidas Rodríguez Figueroa, became a nest of radical social scientists who took up Valcárcel’s project, organizing peasant and Indian federations on an anti-technology, anti-Western basis. Sinamos soon replaced the Peruvian Institute of Indigenism as the primary government agency “studying Indians.” Varese was himself an anthropologist, trained at the Social Sciences School of Lima’s Catholic University.

One of the chief ideologues of the Sinamos project was Luis Varese’s brother, Stefano Varese, today one of the leading action anthropologists in the Americas. Stefano worked in Peru’s Agriculture Ministry, where he had been drafted to serve by fellow anthropologist Carlos Delgado Olivera, the former personal secretary of APRA-founder Haya de la Torre. Delgado assembled a team of some 90 “social scientists” to work with him.

Stefano developed the profiles and studies which were used by his brother, Luis, and the Sinamos crew, to organize a network of activists in the Indian and peasant communities. Stefano’s specialty at the time was Amazonian Indians; he had published a study in 1968 of Peru’s Ashaninka (Campa) Indians, *The Salt of the Hills: Approaching the World of the Campa*, which glorified their “confrontation with civilization.”

When Sinamos was disbanded in 1978, many of its activists and leaders, including General Rodríguez, regrouped under the banner of a new party, the Socialist Revolutionary

4. *EIR*, April 15, 1994, “Lord Palmerston’s Multicultural Human Zoo.”

5. *EIR Special Report*, May 1985, “Narco-Terrorism in Ibero-America”; *EIR*, Aug. 13, 1993, “Peru Cannot Surrender in Its War on Shining Path.”

Party (PSR), in which Luis Varese led a radical dissident faction. Varese and others were soon expelled, and they then founded their own party, the so-called Socialist Revolutionary Party Marxist-Leninist (PSR-ML), which advocates the “seizure of power through the most appropriate means of struggle, with the goal of destroying the bourgeois state.” This group soon became the core of the MRTA.

The early role of the Varese brothers in the MRTA provides a key to understanding how such seemingly “national” narco-terrorist groups as the MRTA are, in fact, mere instruments of the broader agencies and policies which generated them. In this light, examine the career of Stefano Varese, who, since the time of his work for Sinamos, has fomented indigenist-profile narco-terrorist groups.

In 1971, he attended the Barbados conference of Ibero-American anthropologists. Organized by two of the region’s most rabidly anti-nation-state anthropologists, Mexico’s Guillermo Bonfil Batalla and Brazil’s Darcy Ribeiro, that meeting ended with a final declaration which committed the participants—none of them Indians, to be sure—to organize “the liberation of the indigenous populations” of the Americas. Twenty-two years later, the same group of anthropologists—Stefano Varese among them—met again in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on Dec. 6-10, 1993, to review the status of their project. They reiterated their commitment to “a definitive break with the old colonial heritage of a national state centralizing the fruits of human collectivities.” Demanding autonomy for their would-be pet indigenous tribes, these anthropologists committed themselves to bringing about “geopolitical re-orderings” through the creation of “Indian territoriality, including in the numerous cases in which Indian peoples have been left divided by state borders.”

As of no later than the early 1980s, Sinamos ideologue Stefano Varese had joined the advisory board of Cultural Survival, the international hit-squad of anthropologists whose role in the Zapatista insurgency in Mexico has been documented by *EIR*. Based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Cultural Survival is yet another front for the British Crown. It was founded in 1972 as an offshoot of Survival International, the “human division” of Prince Philip’s World Wildlife Fund (WWF, now the World Wide Fund for Nature), under the direction of David Maybury-Lewis, a British anthropologist headquartered at Harvard.⁶

In 1975, Stefano moved to Mexico, invited by his colleague Bonfil Batalla, and for the next 13 years he operated out of the Mexican state of Oaxaca (bordering on Chiapas). During that time, he helped produce *Indigenous World*, a newspaper which proclaimed that “Revolutionary Popular War and the ethnic affirmation of the Indians in the process of this war, today offers the only alternative. . . . Elimination of cultural oppression is a central objective of the revolution.”

6. *EIR*, March 31, 1995, “Terrorist International at Work: the Chiapas Model.”

The director of *Indigenous World* was Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, a member of the Revolutionary Union (a.k.a. Revolutionary Communist Party), which runs the international support apparatus for Shining Path.⁷

Today, although still active in Mexico, Stefano is a professor of Native American Studies at the University of California, Davis, from where he has collaborated with the Inter-American Dialogue’s “Ethnic Divisions Project.”

WWF creates protected areas— for narco-terrorism

Tracking down the actions of Stefano Varese and Cultural Survival leads us to another, crucial, feature of the creation of narco-terrorism worldwide, including the MRTA: the role of Prince Philip’s WWF and his genocidal environmentalist movement, working hand-in-glove with the indigenous movements to shut down all possibility of economic development in nations and entire regions of the world.⁸

In 1974, Stefano Varese teamed up with French-born Peruvian Marc Dourojeanni, who ran Peru’s National System of Conservation Units (SNUC) from 1970 until 1979, from his post as head of the Agriculture Ministry’s Directorate of the National Forestry and Fauna. Together, Varese and Dourojeanni rammed through the precedent-setting “Law of Native Communities and Agricultural Activities in the Peruvian Jungle.” This law established the previously non-existent legal category of “native communities” in the Peruvian Amazon, and awarded them an “ethnic territory” which, as the authors of the law themselves stated, could only be determined from the Indians’ “oral tradition”—which, of course, could only be interpreted by anthropologists such as Varese and Dourojeanni! The law was hailed by indigenous activists and ecologists around the world, as the most advanced law of its kind hitherto enacted anywhere.

The Sinamos team, meanwhile, set out to visit the more than 60 Amazon ethnic groups, forming federations to “represent” them, and designating immense ethnic territories according to the dictates of “oral tradition.” All this was backed up by aggressive campaigns in the state-owned daily *Expreso*, and other media, attacking all “Westernization,” development projects, “local bourgeoisie,” religious missionaries, and settlers in the area as “anti-Indian.”

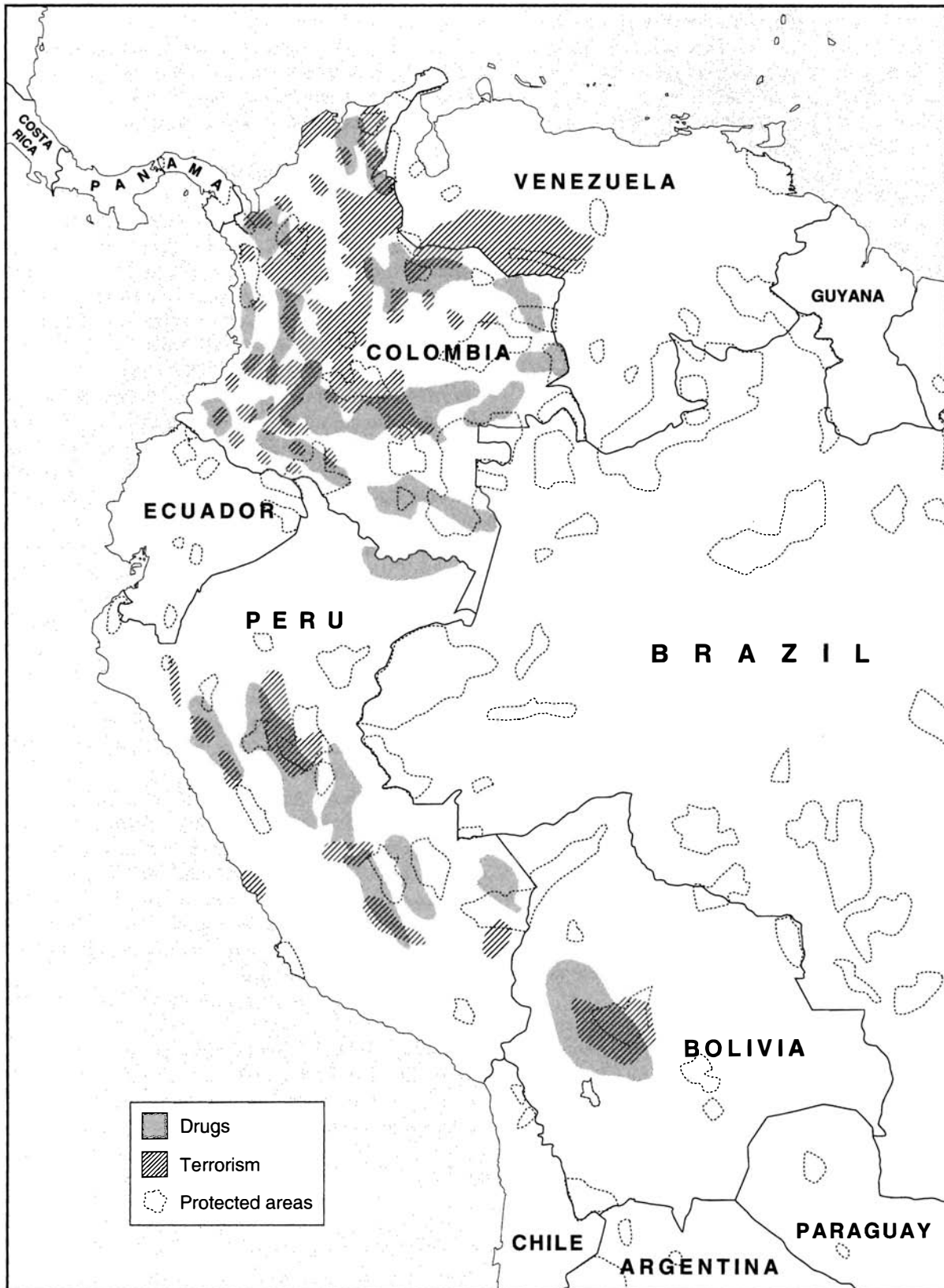
Dourojeanni is one of Peru’s leading environmentalists; he has worked for Prince Philip’s WWF and allied British interests since the 1960s, and played a personal role, under direct British control, in creating a system of national protected areas and ecological reserves. Over the years, these areas have removed more than 10% of Peruvian national territory from any possibility of economic development (see **Figure 2**).

7. *EIR Special Report*, “Soviet Unconventional Warfare in Ibero-America: the Case of Guatemala,” Aug. 15, 1985.

8. *EIR*, Oct. 28, 1994, “The Coming Fall of the House of Windsor.”

FIGURE 2

Drugs, terrorism, and protected areas in the Andes



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MRTA Dossier

A model international terrorist force

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

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

Founding: March 1, 1982.

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

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

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

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

Major terrorist actions:

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