

The Friends of Blas Piñar Send the Andes Up in Flames

by Luis Vásquez Medina

See hordes of unemployed, primarily former soldiers, beaten down by a horrific economic crisis, wearing black shirts in imitation of a military uniform, boasting on the street that if they get to power, “there won’t be enough bullets for all the corrupt ones,” threatening retaliation against a neighboring country for a war that occurred more than a century ago, and speaking of the superior race that will rule the country.

Although the similarities are great, we are not talking about Weimar Germany, or of the nascent Nazi Party in the early 1930s; this is Peru today.

These Andean Nazis are part of a group which calls itself “ethno-nationalist” or “ethno-cacerist,” led in the countryside by the Humala clan. Backed by the Alejandro Toledo government and financed by the drug cartels, this grouping has become the political “phenomenon” of Peru today, says a recent Gallup poll.

Nor are the similarities to the Nazi movement only formal ones. The Humalas’ ethno-nationalist movement is an intelligence operation which, from its inception was shaped and led by French and Spanish synarchist networks. It was given birth at the Sorbonne University in Paris, where Nazi theories of “ethno-history” are cooked up and disseminated by the heirs of the Vichy tradition in France¹. Today, the operation is run inside Peru by people belonging to the Synarchist International of the Spaniard Blas Piñar, a group of ultramontanes grouped around the newspaper *La Razón*. These Peruvian synarchists, followers of Count Joseph de Maistre² embrace

the concept that terror is the only way to rule a country; and now, in alliance with the Humala Jacobins and the drug cartels, they have inaugurated the era of “narco-synarchism,” through which they intend to set the entire region aflame.

This has already begun in the Peruvian-Bolivian highlands—the *altiplano*—with the bestial murders of public officials in Ilave, Peru and in Ayo Ayo, Bolivia, where the strategic objective is to destroy the nation-state and to facilitate the application, in regions which the synarchists themselves will have made “ungovernable,” of the “Rumsfeld Corollary” of the imperialist global doctrine of U.S. Vice President and neo-conservative Dick Cheney. Like Cheney, these ethno-nationalists are true “beastmen,” in the style of the Great Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada.

The sympathies of the Peruvian synarchists with the strategic objectives of Dick Cheney’s gang are overt. *La Razón* is one of the few media in Peru which supported the U.S. invasion of Iraq. In his demented support for the barbarity perpetrated by world Synarchism, Franco-ite Fernán Altuve, one of the commentators who contributes regularly to *La Razón*, and about whom we will have more to say below, has even gone so far as to call the Auschwitz-type wall that Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is building in Palestine, “the wall of peace.”

The Peruvian ethno-nationalists are a typical pro-terrorist synarchist movement. They were the only ones in Peru to publicly praise the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, describing them as “genuine anti-imperialist actions.” Their message is a mixture of revanchist chauvinism

1. Luis Vásquez Medina, “Proyecto senderista dentro del Ejército peruano: el extraño caso del levantamiento del coronel Humala,” *Resumen Ejecutivo de EIR*, first half of December 2000.

2. Nineteenth-Century French synarchist, one of the preferred philosophers of the U.S. neo-conservative movement, promoter of torture and murder on

the model of the Spanish Inquisition. Jeffrey Steinberg, “The Return of the Beasts,” *EIR*, May 21, 2004, Vol. 31, No. 20.



The reactionary and even ultramontane ideology of hispanidad strangely links Spain's Falangist fascist leader Blas Piñar (left) to the black-shirt "rebellion" in Peru of the Humala brothers (right), Antauro and Ollanta, which is supposedly indigenous in character. The Humalas' movement supports Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, and at the same time Dick Cheney's Iraq war.



and Inca millenarianism.³ Their primary platform proposal is for legalizing cultivation of the coca leaf, the old dream of the drug cartels who seek the unrestricted production of this raw material for cocaine. The ethno-nationalists never get tired of pointing out that, should they gain power, they would make the coca leaf the national symbol, and would declare the coca-growers "heroes of the Fatherland."

Since 2002, the ethno-cacerist Humala gang has dedicated itself to seizing control over the Peruvian coca-growers' movement, acting as shock troops of the drug mafias in the coca growing zones. And they have been the main organizers of the coca-growers' marches into the country's leading cities, including Lima. On Sept. 5, 2003, the newspaper *Ollanta* held a forum entitled "Agro, Coca and Nationalism," which was attended by two figures closely associated with George Soros, the world's leading drug-legalization lobbyist: Roger Rumrill, the pro-legalization journalist linked to the magazine *NarcoNews*; and Hugo Cabieses, Soros' drug-legalization frontman in the Andean region.

Referring to the ethno-nationalists, Rumrill commented: "Apparently, the reaction to the multinationals, to globalization, and to the U.S. Empire does not come from the middle classes, from the urban political groups, but rather is beginning to emerge from the peasantry. . . . We are seeing the birth of one of the most important political movements of this decade in Latin America."

For his part, Cabieses, who was presented as the "standard-bearer for the campaign against eradication" of coca,

commented on the masthead slogan of the Humala newspaper *Ollanta*—"Peruvian, Be Patriotic: Sow More Coca"—Cabieses suggested that the term "sow" be replaced by "consume more coca," which suggestion was elaborated upon and incorporated into later issues of the newspaper. That slogan now reads: "Peruvian, Continue Being Patriotic: Sow and Consume Much More Coca." In the March 2004 march of the coca-growers, when 7,000 descended on Lima to demand the Toledo government fulfill its promise to legalize coca cultivation, *La Razón* proclaimed on the front page of its March 22 edition: "Autaro Humala is the main organizer of the march." And its centerfold boasted: "Keeping watch, *cocaleros* and ethno-caceristas demand legalization of the coca leaf."

Continent-Wide Synarchist Operations

Since the Humala operation was publicly launched with the uprising led by Lt. Col. Ollanta Humala in October 2000, it has counted on the de facto support of the Toledo government. At that time, the leader of the Humala clan, along with his brother Antauro Humala—an army major who had been discharged from the Peruvian military for disciplinary reasons—seized control of an Army barracks in the border region with Chile. The rebellion was supposedly a protest against the corruption of the Peruvian Army command, and the Alberto Fujimori government.

The rebellion dissolved with a whimper: the soldiers, who had been tricked by the Humalas into joining them, simply abandoned them after the first few days. The Humala brothers were arrested and tried by the Army. However, months later, they were granted amnesty by the government imposed on Peru by the Organization of American States (OAS), led briefly by Valentín Paniagua. Lt. Col. Ollanta Humala's status and rank within the army were returned to him.

3. In the Nov. 12, 2003 edition of their *Ollanta* newspaper, the ethno-nationalists promote an Inca "renaissance" in opposition to the classical Renaissance. "After a thousand years of obscurantism, plagues, famines and invasions, certain patriotic European intellectuals revived the Greeks' *modus operandi*. Here, we "ethno-cacerists" wish to revive the *modus operandi* of the Incas."



Front page of *Ollanta*, the newspaper of the Peruvian “ethno-nationalists,” whom tabloid press and even the desperate Toledo government have built up to 25% public support, according to polls. The masthead slogan is: Peruvian, Continue Being Patriotic: Sow and Consume Much More Coca.”

Given the rancor that decision triggered within the Army, President Toledo decided several months later to kick Ollanta Humala upstairs, sending him as Peru’s military attaché to France, where the head of the ethno-nationalists rushed to sign up for a doctorate program in political science at the Sorbonne, the historic center of “action anthropology” and imperial “indigenism.” In May 2004, the Toledo government deployed Humala as military attaché to South Korea, a key place for his political plans, if one considers the sympathies the Humala movement has publicly expressed for the Communist leaders of North Korea.

The Toledo government’s continued support for the ethno-nationalist movement has never been hidden: In April 2004, when public opinion was pressuring the government to repress the ethno-nationalists, then Interior Minister Fernando Rospigliosi refused to do so, concluding that “if we investigate the Humala, they will accuse us of political persecution.”

In its organizing work, the Humala movement has also had the support of many “former” Shining Path terrorist cadre. For example, Máximo Grillo, a known Shining Path ideologue at San Marcos University, regularly addresses that movement’s cadre school; Maluencha Prado, a folklore expert from Ayacucho who served for several years as Shining Path’s ambassador to Europe, is today its leading promoter in the art world; and the Peruvian press has exposed many other cases of Shining Path cadre who have joined the Humala movement, particularly in the country’s interior.

The mysteriously financed *Ollanta* newspaper has been extended throughout the country and into parts of Bolivia. In fact, the Nazi Humala movement is just one part of a vast continental ethno-nationalist operation based in the South American Andes. The bi-weekly newspaper announced on Oct. 15, 2003 that ethno-cacerist reservists had crossed the border into Bolivia, to support the peasants who overthrew the



government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. More recently, in the midst of the strikes and marches which currently have the Toledo government in check, Antauro Humala has declared that “the solution to nationalist problems is a *boliviano* (a Bolivian-style coup).”

In Bolivia, the Humala movement has established strong ties to the coca-growers’ movement, especially with Evo Morales’ Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) party, and the Pachacutec Movement run by guerilla Felipe “el Mallku” Quispe. The Feb. 20, 2003 edition of *Ollanta* announced: “The rise of the ethno-nationalist movements in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru have many similarities,” and denounced an attack against the president of the Federation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), Leonardo Ite, who, together with the Federation of Peoples of Quechua Nationality of Ecuador (ECUARUNARI), are, according to the same newspaper, the base of ethno-nationalism in Ecuador.

Relations between the Peruvian Humala movement and the Bolivarian Movement of Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez, go far beyond simple ideological affinity. According to Antauro Humala’s lover Nora Bruce, Hugo Chávez is one of the leading financiers of the ethno-nationalists. The newspaper *Ollanta* regularly proclaims the achievements of the “Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela,” and serves as the distributor inside Peru and Bolivia for books by Hugo Chávez. According to Bruce, whose assertions have yet to be repudiated, one of the important links between Chávez and the Humalas is retired Venezuelan Air Force Gen. Francisco Visconti. During the early 1990s, when he lived in exile in Lima—to which he fled after participating in a coup attempt against President Carlos Andres Pérez—Visconti was supported by Fernando Quijano, Blas Piñar’s agent who was embedded in the Lyndon LaRouche movement for many years. Visconti has since then secretly travelled to Lima a number of times.

In an article entitled, “Hugo Chávez: If Only We Had a

‘Dictator’ Like Him in Peru,” *Ollanta* denounced the supposed CIA operations against the government of Chávez, who was described as “a troop commander, of humble coloring (the first non-white ruler of Venezuela in five centuries) who is restoring popular democracy in Latin America.”

Another article published late last year was penned by Eloy Villacrez Riquelme, a former Peruvian army captain who was discharged for heading a communist rebellion in 1976, and who spent several years living in exile in Caracas. He argued that with Hugo Chávez’s appearance on the scene, “the Peruvian case, with its ethnic addition, allows us to visualize a great and united fatherland, made up (in addition to Venezuela) of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.” Eloy Villacrez is the Peruvian link to the Chavista movement. He travelled together with Antauro Humala in early 2004 to a meeting of the Bolivarian Movement in Caracas, on Chávez’s personal invitation.

For the ethno-nationalists, political unity of the Andean countries is based on the shared indigenous makeup of those nations.⁴ This idea is very similar to the proposal of the ultra-montane hispanists who seek to revive “Greater Peru,” returning to the borders that existed before the Bourbon restoration in the 18th Century, those of the Hapsburg Viceroyalty of Peru, and which embraces what today is Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

Beastman Philosophy in the Andes

Precisely as argued by the Nazi doctrine of French ethno-history, the Humala movement maintains that history should be seen as the struggle of ethnic groups for survival. In this struggle, the strongest ethnic group will survive. Antauro Humala presents this Social Darwinism quite clearly: “The world is for the fittest: he who does not win or does not adapt, is destined for extinction, oblivion. This applies to the atom, the molecule, and the cell, as much as it does to the intergalactic battle. The dinosaur, the Tasmanian tiger, the dodo bird, the neanderthal, and a large number of black and brown ethnic groups ‘lost,’ I imagine, in the fight against the weather, hunger, wild beasts and (in the case of *homo sapiens*), also against other competing ethnic groups.

“Focusing on the ‘human’ cultural field,” he continues, “the Law of Supreme Selection also rules. The clash of civilizations refers to this: the ‘barbarian’ invasions of the impe-

rium, the slave trade, the ‘colonization’ of America, the depopulating of the Indies, the conquest of the Far West, the conquest of Peru itself, etc.”⁵

The newspaper *Ollanta* has published the famous Túpac Amaru decree of racial war more than once. At the end of the 18th Century, Túpac Amaru headed a huge “millenarian” rebellion, which embraced all of South America. The rebellion by Túpac Amaru, who proclaimed himself the Inca King of Peru—with the surprising Spanish name of José I—was the Jesuit order’s response to their expulsion from South America in the 1700s. The famous “Tiquina” decree of 1780 read: “The sovereign Inka (Túpac Amaru) orders the killing of all mayors, their ministers, tax collectors, and other dependents, as well as all newcomers, creoles, or anyone who is, or looks like, a European.”

Inca “millenarianism,” which calls for the return of the Incan Tahuantinsuyo, was elaborated on the basis of a series of myths and legends “rescued” by French and U.S. anthropologists, in studies begun by French “ethnologist” Paul Rivet at the end of the 1940s. A series of “magical” predictions, called “Pachacutec” or “Inkari,”⁶ assert that after 500 years, the moment for the resurrection of the ancient Incan empire has arrived.

At the same time, as *EIR* has warned since 2000, this Synarchist operation seeks the destruction of the Armed Forces, introducing a subversive “ethnic” element into the ranks of recruits, above all those of peasant background.

The Humala and company are based on a small fascist tradition that was introduced into the Peruvian Armed Forces with the deployment of Gen. Wilhelm Von Faupel, who led the German military mission in Peru between 1927 and 1930, and came to be appointed Inspector General of the Army, as part of the Nazi deployment to Spain and Ibero-America. Today, various high-level retired Army officers are linked to the ethno-nationalist movement. Among these are retired generals Ludwig Essenwanger Sánchez, Eleazar Gutarra, Chávez Valenzuela and Gustavo Bobbio Rosas.

Gen. Essenwanger Sánchez is a case in point. He was

4. *Ollanta*, Jan. 5, 2003: “While it is true that both ethnic and classist factors are currently juxtaposed to each other, we should note that the ethnic factor has been the standard used under heroic conditions, for the last five centuries. It would be difficult to enumerate the number of ‘indian’ rebellions, uprisings and revolts that have occurred, from Tierra del Fuego to Alaska. Because of their demographic density and cultural pre-eminence, it is Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador which make up the original ethno-cultural bastion of these groups—precisely where ethno-nationalists are the ones contending for power: Felipe Quispe’s (el Malku) Pachacutec Movement in Bolivia, Ecuador’s National Indigenous Confederation (CONAIE), and the ethno-cacerists of Peru.”

5. In Major Antauro Humala’s book *Ejército Peruano: Milenarismo, Nacionalismo y Etnocacerismo* (Peruvian Army: Millenarianism, Nationalism and Ethno-Cacerism), he asserts: “Given that it fuses the culture’s biological roots—as in the case of race—the ethnic focus is more profound than such ‘strictly cultural’ economic or political foci. We’re dealing with a factor whose potential has shaken humanity from the times of ancient tribal conflicts, far earlier, and with greater repercussions, than the classist factor.” In this book, Antauro Humala reveals his intellectual ties to the pro-Vichy French historian, Camille Julian, from whom he takes the following statement: “The race problem, regardless of how it is resolved, is the most important one in the history of nations. We can say that if we study history, it is to resolve the racial question.”

6. The myth of the “Inkari” affirms that, after a thousand years, the remains of the Inka, who was drawn and quartered and buried in far-off lands, will reunite beneath the Earth and the Inka will be reborn, and the Inca Empire will arise again. This myth has been promoted by certain “Marxist” intellectuals, such as Alberto Flores Galindo.



The Humalas' "rebellion" has been tirelessly promoted by the tabloid newspaper La Razón, owned by the Wolfenson brothers who were close allies of Vladimir Montesinos, the "Rasputin" of Alberto Fujimori's government who helped bring Fujimori down. "The Untold History of the Humala," promises this headline.

director of the Peruvian intelligence service during the Fernando Belaúnde Terry government (1984-1985); today he goes around on a motorcycle wearing a black leather jacket, and is one of the main "instructors" of the ethno-nationalist movement. His brother Juan Essenwanger was a renowned Shining Path leader who died in the revolt of the Shining Path prisoners at Frontón Prison in 1988.⁷

La Razón: Nest of Peruvian Synarchism

The Synarchist newspaper *La Razón* is not only the mouthpiece of the ultramontane hispanists, and propaganda outlet for the theories of the synarchists' leading philosopher, Leo Strauss, but is also the main promoter of the Humala ethno-nationalist movement. This newspaper first appeared in 2000, for the purpose of bringing together all the opposition to the Toledo government. Its owners, a family of Jewish origin named Wolfenson, closely collaborated with the "Rasputin" behind Alberto Fujimori, Vladimiro Montesinos, in setting up a media empire with a series of low-priced newspapers, known in Peru as *diarios chicha*. These are your typical yellow journals, filled with pornography and scandal, which served to demolish the government's political opponents at that time. They were one of the dirtiest operations of "social engineering" ever run in the country.

The owners of *La Razón*, who in private repeat the slander that Lyndon LaRouche is "anti-Semitic," nonetheless have allied with the dirtiest neo-fascists in Peru. The lawyer and

main political advisor to the family is none other than the synarchist Fernán Altuve Febres-Lores. This individual, who is linked to Blas Piñar, and is a member of the editorial board of the synarchist Argentine magazine *Maritornes*, had a great deal to do with creating the newspaper *La Razón*, which took its name from its Spanish counterpart, *La Razón Española*.

Altuve is part of a circle of synarchists, some of them ultramontane advocates of *hispanidad* and the Spanish monarchy, like Víctor Samuel Rivera and Martín Santibáñez, who conclude their articles with the slogan, "Long Live Christ the King!" (*Vivo Cristo Rey!*) Another key figure in this circle is the veteran Peruvian synarchist Juan Vicente Ugarte del Pino, a lawyer who was president of the Peruvian Supreme Court, who is self-dubbed "Blas Piñar's best friend in Peru," and who boasts of being one of the main historians of revanchism against Chile. Ugarte del Pino, who publicly defends Hitler,⁸ is also legal advisor to the Wolfenson family, and a permanent editorial writer for *La Razón*.

The openly Franco-ite propaganda line of *La Razón* is as evident in editorial commentaries which cite José Antonio Primo de Rivera, as in its proclamations which announce that the time for Carlism has arrived for Ibero-America⁹. Together

7. In the prologue he wrote to Antauro Humala's book (see Note 5, above), General Essenwanger stated: "By accepting this reality [Peru's racial condition], we shall achieve, in a singular ascendancy and a plural descendancy, the yearned-for national identity, which, by overcoming the natural tendency toward ethnic conflict due to natural and cultural selection, will allow us to finally develop our country."

8. In an article in *La Razón Española* No. 115, entitled "La Imagen de España en el Perú," ("Spain's Image in Peru,") Ugarte del Pino absolves Hitler of responsibility for having started the Second World War: "Six months later, on September 3 of that year, England began the 1939-1945 Second World War, using as an excuse Germany's recovery of the so-called Danzig Corridor."

9. On March 9, 2004, *La Razón* published a scandalous editorial written by former Uruguayan President Juan María Bordaberry, in which he declared that the moment of Carlist traditionalism has arrived in Hispano-America: "The traditional Spanish monarchy was never parliamentary like the British one, nor absolutist like the French. The black legends circulated by the revolution have led to the monarchy being associated with absolutism, and this, of

with these blatant Franco-ite messages, *La Razón*—as we will show below—has also set out to propagandize and popularize the Nazi theories of Leo Strauss, through its star columnist Eduardo Hernando Nieto.

What has most characterized *La Razón* is its propaganda in favor of liberalizing the cultivation of coca. It has in fact turned itself into the leading mouthpiece of the legalizers and of the coca-growers movement in Peru. This is the central aspect of its alliance with the Nazi Humala grouping, with the result that *la Razón* has become, as the ethno-nationalist leaders themselves admit, the daily voice of this group. There is hardly a day goes by that *La Razón* doesn't publish some interview with an ethno-nationalist figure. And, in late 2003, with an unusual front-page propaganda display, the newspaper published a series of biographical reports on the Humala family itself.¹⁰

The editorial line of *La Razón* is also clearly at the service of the ethno-nationalists' political platform. Thus, the massive coverage it gives to denouncing the supposedly imminent threat from Chile, and the danger of a new War of the Pacific (a campaign in which Fernán Altuve and Ugarte del Pino are especially prominent), which has only benefitted the anti-Chilean revanchist campaign of the Humalas.

The relationship between *La Razón* and the Humalas seems strange to many analysts. For them, it is weird to see the Wolfensons, a family which made its money with Montesinos and is the prototype of corruption in Peru, hand in hand with the Humalas, the supposed anti-corruption champions. On more than one occasion, this strange marriage has been questioned, even by activists within the ethno-nationalist ranks. In response to this criticism, Antauro Humala has said that the relationship is beneficial and necessary for both families: "Through us, *La Razón* increases its declining readership and in addition, in its confrontation with the other mafia, under the slogan that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend,' it uses

course, with arbitrariness. The Spanish monarchy cannot separate itself from the legitimacy of its functioning; that is, the defense of the faith, respect for privileges, the unity of the Fatherland, and existence of God's justice, with the integral restoration of the faith; Fatherland, with the reunification, first in the consciences, and then in the fact of Hispano-America and the King, as a return to the natural institutions of government. The march to our beginnings is a long and difficult one, but we have a good map: traditional Carlism, which, while arising out of something that was dynastic in appearance, took almost two centuries to become the conscience of Spain, and has earned our respect and confidence for the task."

10. Through this series, we discovered that Antauro Humala was educated at Lima's French School, and that in his youth, he was a "fanatic fan of Pink Floyd," and that the song "Another Brick in the Wall" by this drug-addicted rock star "still affects him." It is also reported that reading of *The Wretched of the Earth* by synarchist Franz Fanon, produced "a catharsis" in him. "Although it appears contradictory," rock music "holds a great fascination inside the humalista movement." *Ollanta* regularly publishes articles in defense of the counterculture. One of them, "Rock Peruano: Vitalidad Nacionalista," ("Peruvian Rock: Nationalist Vitality"), dated Nov. 26, 2003, states: "As to whether rock generates alienation among youth, well, not exactly. Let's say it generates passion. Rock is rebellion, protest, opposing the accepted and the culture imposed on us. Thus, it tends toward the revolutionary."

us. And we them: through instant and daily promotion and response (since *Ollanta* is bi-weekly) to the attacks of the rest of the stinking local media."¹¹

***La Razón* Promotes Leo Strauss**

La Razón, the only written media in Peru which defends the invasion of Iraq, has become the primary transmission belt for the ideas of Nazi philosopher Leo Strauss. The blurb "Read Straussian philosopher Eduardo Hernando Nieto every Wednesday," has adorned its pages for a long time. This campaign by *La Razón* began at the same time that Lyndon LaRouche's denunciations of the neo-conservative disciples of Leo Strauss in the United States and of his dreams of imposing world fascism, began to circulate inside Peru.

Eduardo Hernando Nieto, self-proclaimed follower of the Jewish Nazi philosopher Strauss, was until that time an obscure professor at Lima's Catholic University. At the same time that *La Razón* began to publish his articles, he began to give presentations at the cadre school of the Humalas' ethno-nationalist movement. Hernando Nieto is a member of the synarchist Kalki information network, which in Argentina is headed by Alejandro Biondini, whose Nazi party (New Triumph Party) has the swastika as its symbol.

In Uruguay, the Kalki network includes the Revolutionary National Front, Skinhead Pride, and Anti-Capitalist Uruguay; in Chile, Al Sur del Mundo; in Spain, Revolutionary National Youth, New Era, and the National Workers' Party; in Italy, National Alliance, New Force, Fascism and Liberty Movement, and the Italian Social Movement. The word Kalki in Hindu means "the last reincarnation of God," the one who comes to put an end to "the dark age," and to impose "the era of uprightness in the law." Catholic fundamentalists identify Kalki with the archangel Michael, the victory in the final battle against the dragon and his allies.

Hernando Nieto has his connections to Argentine synarchist networks through philosopher Alberto Buela—a specialist in Heidegger, Hegel, and Aristotle—who also draws on the influence of Nazi jurist Carl Schmitt. He is a collaborator of the magazine run by Buela, *Disenso*, the first Ibero-American magazine of "metapolitics." Another of his synarchist connections is through Chilean philosopher Francisco Widow, of the Pinochet Foundation, who is very close to Blas Piñar. Widow currently is on the editorial council of the magazine *Maritornes, Cuadernos de la Hispanidad*. Hernando Nieto's works also nurture national socialism in Chile, where they are very widely circulated, such as in the magazine *La Ciudad de los Cesares, Philosophica* (The City of the Caesars, Philosophica).

Hernando Nieto has written: "Without the notoriety and political correctness of Hannah Arendt, the notable German-born Jewish philosopher Leo Strauss is paradoxically quite well known today by the international media, through his

11. *Ollanta*, Dec. 17, 2003.



The Humala rebellion has become the center of a destabilization which may very rapidly break up Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador as nations, and also threatens an near-term Third War of the Pacific involving Chile and Bolivia.

supposed influence on the political thought of many of President Bush's advisors and analysts, such as Wolfowitz, Fukuyama, or Kristol, and, of course, on so-called neo-conservatism."¹²

Hernando Nieto, who begins his articles with the slogan "Vetus Ordo," is a good disciple of the Satanist Joseph de Maistre—like Maistre, arguing that violence and terror are the most certain source of power, because man is fundamentally an animal: "The true ethic of open struggle is that which considers man to be a rational animal and therefore, that war is natural. That is, we are not dealing with pure animalism, as is apparently believed by those who control technology and bombard us with it wherever they please, nor with pure rationality, as preached by the epigones of the enlightened ones, who cross themselves every time the word *war* is mentioned.

12. Hernando Nieto, "Democracia de Élités," ("Democracy of Elites"), *La Razón*, March 19, 2003.

Rather, as we have said, they would be prepared to use weapons to do away with those who still believe war to be valuable, like the Armed Forces, for example. Demystify war and enter deeper into its metaphysics is also a pending task."¹³

The first purpose of politics, according to this Strauss follower, is re-establishing the social order, returning each to his pre-established "category" in "a natural way."¹⁴ Nieto's proposal, as he himself says, is that Strauss's thesis be applied in Peru, beginning with his proposal for a Straussian "liberal" education: "The chaotic situation of our country, in which the culture of the masses dominates everywhere, makes it practically imperative to resort to the Straussian body of work and to the conclusiveness of its thinking. Only then would we be in a position to begin serious political activity that would allow us to reverse this anomie."¹⁵

A Nazi dogma in favor of an elitist education, and hatred for the Golden Renaissance, is clear, and obviates any further commentary on this Nazi philosopher who is very influential inside the *ethno-cacerist* movement, especially with Gen. Edwin Essenwanger.

In his book *Pensamiento reaccionario (Reactionary Thought)*,¹⁶ Hernando Nieto comments on Hobbes, Maistre, Donoso Cortés, Schmitt, Mills, Rawls, and Habermas, as well

13. Hernando Nieto, "Sobre la Guerra," ("On War"), *La Razón*, Aug. 6, 2003.

14. *La Razón*, June 18, 2003: "Thus, serious politics and real political knowledge always involves delimiting spaces, establishing functions and defining identities. In a transcendent sense, we call this 'drawing the line,' and the art of politics has rested precisely on this, in an act of will, or in a decision that draws the line and establishes borders. For example: here is the good, there is the bad, here the State, and there the community, without mentioning many other things such as citizen/delinquent, sacred/profane, man/woman, etc. This line, which Junger [sic] and Heidegger discussed in the 20th century, or this Nomos, as Carl Schmitt called it, or, up to a certain point, this will of power which Nietzsche discussed, was then the evoking of an absolutely necessary order to restore the civilization lost by those who, intentionally, or without really consciously intending to do so, tried to erase the line, and in doing so, generated confusion and chaos."

15. *La Razón*, July 30, 2003. Nieto adds: "Specifically, liberal education would be one in, and toward, Western culture, and whose purpose would be to contribute to the creation and consolidation of a democracy characterized by the virtue of men—in direct opposition to the democracy of the masses characteristic of decadent contemporary societies, evidently among them, the Peruvian. In this sense, we could assert—following Strauss and performing a simple examination of reality—[this is] due to electoral apathy, lack of a public spirit, and the exasperating mediocrity of politicians and consumerism. As we can see, access to a culture of the masses doesn't require greater intellectual or moral effort and, it can be stated, it has a relatively insignificant price, so that its growth shouldn't be surprising.

"From this standpoint, liberal education would be—in the words of Strauss—a staircase that would allow us to move up from the democracy of the masses to a regime of virtue, in which the hierarchies and the pluralism characteristic of the world of nature, to which man certainly belongs, would be maintained, despite the fact that, from the time of the Renaissance forward, an attempt was made to impose an image on us totally apart from nature and the animal kingdom."

16. Eduardo Hernando Nieto, *Pensando Peligrosamente: El Pensamiento Reaccionario (Thinking Dangerously: Reactionary Thought)*, Lima: Editorial Universidad Católica, 2000.

as other doctrinaire connections. According to Nieto, these reactionary philosophers are right, since liberalism has failed. According to *La Razón Española*—the newspaper that promotes Hernando Nieto—his book is extraordinarily erudite; they shares the vision that “reactionary thought is superior to any other political thought.”

The Philosophers of Peruvian Synarchism

The Pontifical Catholic University of Lima (PUC), where the Peruvian oligarchy sends its children to study, and whose principal benefactor in the 1940s was reactionary politician and thinker José de la Riva Agüero y Osma (who ended his days supporting Mussolini and Franco), has been the center of synarchism in Peru, both of the left and the right. There is where the theology of liberation of priest Gustavo Gutiérrez was developed as well as hispanist ultramontanism. Today, the heirs of that oligarchical dream of finding a standard bearer who can return their ancient privileges to them. They look at Ollanta Humala, leader of the ethno-nationalist clan, as the “new Sánchez Cerro.”

Luis M. Sánchez Cerro was a *mestizo* who, also a lieutenant colonel in the Peruvian Army, headed up a military rebellion that overthrew President Leguía in 1930. Sánchez Cerro, who was assassinated in 1933, was a fervent Catholic and dyed-in-the-wool Hispanophile, and he had fought in the colonial wars in the ranks of the Spanish Army in Africa. The Peruvian oligarchy used him with great efficiency and extreme cruelty to stop the onrush of the communist and popular movements which, as a result of the 1929 crisis, threatened the Peruvian state.¹⁷ That oligarchy, which in its time was dazzled by Franco and Mussolini, is today, from the pages of *La Razón*, continuing to clamor for the application of Primo de Rivera’s doctrines.¹⁸

Sánchez Cerro’s patriarch was the 19th Century priest Bartolomé Herrera, who was a follower of Maistre and who,

among other things, opposed giving the vote to citizens who could not read. He was an ardent defender of the death penalty and of returning the Jesuits to Peru. In 1844, Herrera set about training a generation of “authoritarians.”

Today, the argument of the narcoterrorist Humala group that “the firing squad is the only way to resolve national problems,” has revived the polemic in favor of the death penalty which Herrera so vehemently defended. The *Ollanta* newspaper has repeatedly published and propagandized Simón Bolívar’s January 1825 decree, issued in Lima, which imposed the death penalty for all officials who “embezzled” more than 10 pesos. *La Razón* has also propagandized on this theme, including interviewing Congressman Rafael Rey, a member of Opus Dei and a great friend of Venezuelan synarchist Alejandro Peña, the visible head of that country’s most radical opposition. Rey says that approving the death penalty would “moralize the country,” and Barba Caballero, another congressman and political associate of Rey’s, has told *La Razón* that “Humala’s thinking doesn’t seem subversive to me; the polls show that 21% are in favor of executing rapists of children, the corrupt. So, count me also among that population. . . . Truly, in this sense, I add my voice to that clamor for profound changes in legislation to be able to achieve a more just order in Peru.”¹⁹

Fernán Altuve Febres-Lores, the son of a Venezuelan diplomat in Peru and also at the Vatican, and another key figure of Peruvian synarchism, has become the voice of the “authoritarian option.” He has just had an exchange with Hernando Nieto on the characteristics of the “new right” in Peru. According to Altuve, the new right should base itself on traditionalism and conservatism, that is, on the ultramontane concept of the “altar and politics.” Altuve attacks Straussian Nieto for being a “layman” devoted to “metapolitics”; that is, for falling for the “mundane” concept that culture, not religion, should guide politics.²⁰ For these ideas, Altuve has written that he prefers Franco over Hitler and Mussolini.²¹ Only

17. The Peruvian oligarchy, which lost economic power with the 1968 revolution of General Velásco Alvarado, has always been pro-Hispanic. In 1910, one oligarchical President changed the words of the national anthem because he said they were too anti-Hispanic. In 1913, another representative of this faction, President Billinghurst, asked Hispanophile poet, José Santos Chocano, to write new, less “subversive” words.

18. On April 28, 2004, *La Razón* published an opinion piece by another of its frequent contributors, Pedro Saldaña Ludeña, in which he says the time has come to impose the ideas of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. “Therefore, it’s good to remember the words of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, that great Spanish ideologue, who gave his life for his ideals—he was shot—when the Second Republic was tottering.” Saldaña Ludeña goes on to quote Primo de Rivera himself: “The Army, is above all, the guardian of permanence; thus it shouldn’t get involved in accidental battles. But, when permanence itself is in danger, when the existence of the Fatherland itself is at risk—which could happen, for example, if things go in a certain direction, and even unity is lost—the Army has no other option but to deliberate and choose. If it abstains, because of a purely external interpretation of its duty, it risks finding itself, from one day to the next, with nothing to serve. In the face of decisive events, the Army can only serve permanence in one way: rescuing it with its own force of arms. It has happened this way since the beginning of the world. Once more, it will be up to the Army to replace the non-existent State.”

19. *La Razón*, Dec. 2, 2003.

20. In an article entitled “Legalidad y Legitimidad,” (“Legality and Legitimacy”), published in the June 6, 2003 edition of *La Razón*, Altuve says: “That’s why the statement by Spanish (Franco-ite) jurist Alvaro D’ors is correct, in affirming that democracy only knows legality but not legitimacy.” This legitimacy, Altuve asserts, comes only from God and “traditionalism, based on the principle of ‘Throne and Altar,’ and evokes the agrarian paradigm of the Ancient Regime, with its paternalistic protection of Faith and community.” This type of government, Altuve explains, “is represented in France by the legitimists who defend the House of Bourbon, in Spain by the Carlists; in England they are the so-called Jacobites; in Italy they were the ultramontanes of Pius IX and Pius X, and in Germany they were the supporters of Prince Metternich.”

He adds that this type of government, “given its preference,” has as its “most conspicuous” writers, Count de Maistre, Meléndez y Pelayo, Juan Vázquez de Mella and Juan Donoso Cortés. In Peru, according to Altuve himself, these ideas were embraced by Bartolomé Herrera (1808-1864), José Ignacio Moreno (1767-1841) and José de la Riva Agüero (1885-1944), the latter an ardent defender of fascism and Francoism.

21. *La Razón*, July 1, 2003, “¿A qué llaman derecha clásica?” (“What Do you Call the Classic Right?”). For Altuve, Hitler’s and Mussolini’s problem—but

the divine origin of power, according to this friend of Blas Piñar, can legitimize a State; democracy suffers from this birth defect: "If it can be legal, it is doomed to failure, because it is not legitimate."

This last argument, by the way, is Antauro Humala's favorite.

Joining Altuve among the ranks of Peruvian synarchism is *La Razón* editorial commentator Juan Vicente Ugarte del Pino, self-described as "Blas Piñar's best friend in Peru." Ugarte del Pino is an old Peruvian Falangist who got to be president of the Peruvian Supreme Court and proclaims himself the leading historian of the 1879-1881 War of the Pacific. However, his nationalism does not stop him from dreaming about the return of Spanish domination to the continent.²² Ugarte del Pino has just published an article in *La Razón* which defends coca, for its "geriatric and therapeutic" qualities.²³ The article was published just when the coca-growers were demonstrating in the streets of Lima to demand legalization of "the tree of life," as Ugarte del Pino calls it.

Ugarte del Pino frequently travels to Spain, and currently serves as the liaison between the Peruvian synarchists and Blas Piñar's Frente Español. It is noteworthy that Blas Piñar's current private secretary is Peruvian Gianfranco Sangali, a graduate of the Catholic University of Lima, a fanatic Lefevrist, and Ugarte's disciple.

The list of Peruvian neo-conservatism comes straight from the synarchist pits of Lima's Catholic University, and includes:

not Franco's—was that their revolutionary nationalism became contaminated by leftism, and they adopted a narrow, layman's vision of the world, contaminating themselves with intellectual leftism and petit-bourgeois racism.

22. Referring to the fact that Spain separated itself from Ibero-America after 1898, when it left Puerto Rico, Ugarte del Pino says: "The ties that united Spain with America began to weaken. . . . There were no investments, and except for migratory movements and the one attempt by Cambó to create the Hispano-American Electricity Company (CHADE) in Argentina, nothing else was done. Economic studies done up to the decade of the 1970s dealt with the era of the Viceroyalty.

"Then, suddenly everything changed. We should remember Ullastres. After Spain joined the EEC in 1985, the peseta became part of the European Monetary System in 1989. On May 2, 1998, Spain became a member of the Monetary Union and since then, it again turned its eye toward Ibero-America, whose securities are now traded on the Madrid stock market, while Spain is the largest investor in the Mercosur and the Andean Community. All at once, as Velarde Fuertes says, what disaster undid a century earlier in 1898, has been more than re-established a century later. Spain believed itself exiled from America, in which the British, Dutch and French continued in British Honduras, in Jamaica, in Puerto España, in Aruba, in the Guyanas, in Martinique, or in Guadalupe, with their flags flying high. 'No, Spain couldn't even consider the tiniest piece of that continent that she one day discovered, to be hers.' But I think that she didn't need it, because she was always present through the umbilical cord of language, and in the hearts of everyone." For Ugarte del Pino, it didn't matter that that Spanish capital was really British; the only thing that mattered was the return of the Spanish Empire. (The Spanish *La Razón*, No. 115, "La Imagen de España en Perú" ("The Image of Spain in Peru").

23. *La Razón*, May 15, 2004.

• Víctor Samuel Rivera,²⁴ who is promoted by *La Razón* as its Sunday philosopher columnist, and who ends all his articles with *Long Live Christ the King*—a religious fundamentalism that doesn't prevent him from agreeing with Satanic thinker Friedrich Nietzsche.

• Martín Santibáñez Vivanco, currently working on his doctorate in political science at Spain's University of Salamanca, and who also writes for *La Razón* and gives conferences for Blas Piñar's Fuerza Nueva in Spain.

• Pedro Saldaña Ludeña, who writes for *La Razón* and quotes Prime de Rivera demanding an authoritarian coup in Peru.

• Antonio Peña Cabrera, associated with Chilean Synarchist Juan Antonio Widow, and who belongs to the board of directors of *Maritornes*.

• Manuel Migoñe, a professor who promotes the thinking of Maistre at the PUC and at the Superior Naval School.

• Alberto Wagner Reyna, the main translator of Heidegger in Ibero-America.

• Ricardo Vásquez Kunse, a *La Razón* commentator and frequent speaker at the Humalas' cadre school.

In addition to their Humala project, these synarchists have deployed to surround and try to capture former Peruvian President Fujimori. A December 2002 article in the *New York Times* announced that Fujimori had just finished writing his political memoirs, in which he reveals all the details of his fall from power in 2000. That announcement also signalled the beginning of his political campaign to return to power in Peru, a campaign which has now taken off with the creation of a new political party, "Fujimori Keeps His Promises," which, according to the polls, already has a 25% acceptance rate among the population. The *Times* article also insists on the "great friendship" that unites Fujimori with the Bush family, a friendship which would presumably make his return to Peru possible.

Will Fujimori allow himself to be pulled in by these siren songs, and by the advice of the Peruvian synarchists who surround and advise him to make a pact with U.S. neo-conservatives?

One group of Peruvian synarchists, who one year ago called themselves "The Patriots," are jockeying for position to seize control of Fujimori's new political party. Carlos Raffo, the party's secretary, rubs elbows with the synarchists of *La Razón*. Víctor Samuel Rivera and Fernán Altuve regularly write for the new party's newsletter.

In this project, the purpose of these synarchists is to carve out political space and posts in the Congress, using the political figure of Fujimori. But their main strategy is to set the whole region aflame with a series of ethnic and narcoterrorist wars.

24. Rivera, who is reportedly former President Fujimori's preferred philosopher, notes that "Professor Manuel Migoñe (of the PUC) introduced me to Donoso Cortés, and to de Maistre, the teachers to whom I owe my deepest convictions."