

## Det første offer i kampen mot terror

Demokrati og krigen mot terror

### “STATE OF FEAR”

USA 2005, 94 min, engelsk tale og teksting  
en dokumentarfilm om hvordan menneskerettigheter ofres i krigen mot terror

**Film Critics Award:** *Chicago Documentary Film Festival 2005*

**Audience Award:** *Amnesty International Film Festival 2005*



*-Our story takes places in Peru but it could be anywhere!*

Hvordan kan et åpent samfunn balansere behovet for trygghet med demokrati? State of Fear viser hvilke menneskelige og samfunnsmessige kostnader et demokrati kan få når man går inn i en ”krig mot terror” - en krig uten noen slutt, og enkelt utnyttet av ledere til å tjene personlige interesser. Filmen handler om Peru, men fungerer som en advarsel til alle demokratiske land.

Økende vold og frykten for terror underminerte demokratiet i Peru på 1990-tallet og førte landet, under ledelse av president Fujimori, inn i et tilnærmet diktatur. Terrorhandlinger utført av organisasjonen Lysende Sti (Sendero Luminoso) provoserte fram en unntakstilstand med militær okkupasjon av landsbygda, og tilsidesettelse av sivile rettigheter både i byene og på landsbygda, som fortsatte også etter at Lysende Sti var tilintetgjort.

Perus historie er voldsom og det er mange ulikheter i forhold til vårt eget samfunn, men argumentasjonen som brukes av Fujimori og hans regjering for å forsvare tilsidesettelsen av demokratiet og sivile rettigheter er skremmende like de som brukes i vesten i dag for å forsvare tiltak som skal trygge oss mot eventuelle framtidige terrorhandlinger.

Filmen begynner med å fortelle om bakgrunnen for og oppveksten av Lysende Sti stiftet av Abimael Guzman. Lysende Sti ble raskt til en terror-organisasjon som så på alle som ikke samarbeidet med dem som fiender som burde utslettes.

I 1970 var Peru et land der befolkningen levde i to totalt forskjellige verdener. I hovedstaden Lima satt all politisk makt og overklassen, mens resten av befolkningen levde på landsbygda, uten innflytelse og til dels i ekstrem fattigdom. I 1980 erklærte Abimael Guzmán, en filosofiprofessor, krig mot det peruvianske klassesamfunnet og dannet organisasjonen Lysende Sti. Lysende Sti ble raskt til en svært voldelig geriljahær som skydde få midler for å presse folk til å underkaste seg deres behov. Hans medfølgere måtte, med hans egne ord, ”kryse en elv av blod” for å skape et bedre samfunn i Peru. Den peruanske regjering svarte med å sende elitesoldater til landsbygda. Befolkningen på landsbygda havnet i kryssilden mellom militæret og Lysende Sti, og ble offer for overgrep og drap fra begge sider. Militærets voldelige strategi førte til en polarisering og brakte flere rekrutter til Lysende Sti. I 1990 truet Lysende Sti hovedstaden Lima. Alberto Fujimori ble valgt til president på sitt program for å bekjempe terrorismen. Han tilsidesatte de fleste sivile rettigheter, oppløste kongressen og innførte militære domstoler der dommere med tildekkede ansikter dømte folk som var mistenkt for tilknytning til Lysende Sti.

Mens militæret drev en krig som ikke ledet til noen løsning men snarere sterkere polarisering av samfunnet og voksende overgrep mot befolkningen, klarte krefter innen politiet å spore opp og arrestere Guzmán og de fleste ledere av Lysende Sti og dermed undergrave hele organisasjonen og stoppe terroren. Fujimori tok æren for arrestasjonene, men i stedet for å bygge ned krigen mot terror fortsatte han i åtte år å spille på terror-frykten for å opprettholde militær kontroll og sikre sin enehersker-posisjon. Utallige overgrep på sivile førte til store demonstrasjoner som igjen førte til at Fujimori til slutt måtte forlate Peru og demokratiske institusjoner ble gjenopprettet.

I prosessen med å føre landet tilbake til demokratiet nedsatte den nye regjeringen en Sannhetskommisjon for å avdekke hva som faktisk hadde skjedd under ”krigen mot terror”. Resultatet av arbeidet gjort av Sannhetskommisjonen avdekker en tragisk historie om overgrep, drap og tortur gjennom mange år under dekke av krigen mot terror.

Filmmakerne Pamela Yates, Peter Kinoy og Paco de Onis reiste til Peru i 2002 for å følge arbeidet til Sannhetskommisjonen. Gjennom en blanding av intervjuer, voice over og arkivopptak gjenforteller de historien om hva som ledet fram til volden og terroren og hvordan frykten for terror ble brukt til å undergrave demokratiet, og til slutt hvordan en folkelig, fredelig protest ledet landet tilbake til en normaltstand.

**Filmen har mottatt flere priser og mange gode kritikker, og vil ha sin kinopremiere i New York i januar 2006. Filmen vises også på Film fra sør-festivalen i Oslo. Paco de Onis vil introdusere filmen og snakke om demokratiet i USA under Patriot Act og kunstens og dokumentarfilmens rolle i samfunnsdebatten under deres (og vår) krig mot terror.**

## **Priser:**

**WINNER – FILM CRITICS' AWARD** FOR BEST DOCUMENTARY FILM, 2005 CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL

**WINNER – AUDIENCE AWARD** – 2005 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA FILM FESTIVAL, LOS ANGELES

**OFFICIAL SELECTION – OPENING NIGHT FILM** – 2005 HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL, NEW YORK (ALL 3 SCREENINGS SOLD OUT AT LINCOLN CENTER).

**WINNER – HENRY HAMPTON AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN FILM & VIDEO** – 2006 COUNCIL ON FOUNDATIONS FILM FESTIVAL (will be awarded in May 2006).

## **Presse:**

“**Pamela Yates**’ well-documented and balanced **State of Fear** depicts the murderous methods of Maoist cult Shining Path devotees in Peru as much as the counterterrorist atrocities of an over-empowered military that reached an apex under disgraced President Alberto Fujimori in the '90s.”

*Howard Feinstein, indieWire, June 10, 2005*

“So visually stunning it could double as a travelogue – if it weren’t for the social justice issues that drive the story.”

*Anne-Marie O’Connor, Los Angeles Times, May 22, 2005*

“The Human Rights Watch International Film Festival’s great selection from Latin America, **State of Fear**, examines the findings of the country’s Truth Commission following Peru’s long reign of state terror.”

*Alexander Zaitchik, New York Press, Fri.-Thurs., June 10-23, 2005*

“**State of Fear** is an insightful chronicle of the violence that gripped Peru between 1980 and 2000, and a timely warning about the perils of declaring war on terror.”

*Chicago Reader, April 10, 2005*

## **Andre kommentarer til filmen:**

“*State of Fear is brilliant in conveying a story informed by its values and classical in its devotion to truth (like some of the best human rights reporting). It is remarkably fair, coherent and well documented. At this point it's the gold standard; it has no peer.*” **Alexander Wilde, former Director of WOLA and Vice President of Communications, Ford Foundation**

“*State of Fear is a brilliant and moving film, which is both a portrait of Peru and a chronicle of terror and response - fanaticism, bravery, heroism, abject fear and the way everyone is affected by such events. It is what Orwell called the aim of great art, which was both imaginative in craftsmanship and politically committed at its heart.*” **Paul Theroux, Author**

## **The Characters**

STATE OF FEAR is shot in high-resolution digital cinematography, capturing a land of breathtaking beauty and contrasts: the snow-capped Andes, the verdant mysterious jungles, and the teeming coastal capital, Lima. Set in these locations a kaleidoscope of Peruvians tells us the story of these violent and

chaotic years. Each character fills in another essential piece in puzzling together a complete picture of how Peru's response to terror left its democracy in ruins.

**Abimael Guzmán** – the cult-like leader of Shining Path, a philosophy professor at the University of Ayacucho who was prepared to sacrifice a million lives in his quest for power.

**Carlos Iván Degregori** – taught alongside Guzmán in Ayacucho and later becomes a leading member and voice of the Peruvian Truth Commission.

**Fany Palomino** – youthful follower of Guzmán and member of Shining Path, who still believes the revolution is imminent.

**Nelida Oré** – peasant victim who lived through the horror of Shining Path intimidation and killings in her remote village.

**Bernavides Cuevas** – child soldier kidnapped by Shining Path and forced to fight in their army.

**Carlos Sánchez** – a Marine sent with his unit to wipe out insurgents in the Andean highlands describes the gruesome atrocities they committed.

**Sofía Macher** – Human Rights leader who persevered through the dark days of repression and finally helped to overthrow the autocratic regime of President Fujimori and establish the Truth Commission.

**Ramiro Niño de Guzmán** – victim of military torture who becomes a peasant leader and then embarks on a relentless quest to bring military perpetrators to justice.

**Vera Lentz** – the intrepid photojournalist who risked her life to cover the war on terror, and whose photographs reveal the deep humanity of Peruvians even as they are buffeted by a storm of violence.

**Beatriz Alva Hart** – Wealthy Lima lawyer who like most people of her class stood by and did nothing as her society crumbled, until events forced her to see the world in ways she never could have imagined.

**President Alberto Fujimori** – he was elected to save his country from terrorism, then created a state of fear to impose a ruthless regime of repression and unprecedented corruption.

**José Vizcardo** – Shining Path lieutenant in charge of assassinations, now from his lock-up in a maximum security prison he describes how the insurgents created chaos in the city.

**General Rodolfo Robles** – Army officer who blows the whistle on the Fujimori regime's use of death squads.

**Benedicto Jimenez** – Lima police Detective who spends years tracking down Guzmán and Shining Path leadership by cleverly stalking his prey, and finally capturing them without firing a shot.

## **The Filmmakers**

**Pamela Yates, Director,** has dedicated her life to social issue storytelling, bringing unreported and unseen realities to audiences all over the world and has a breadth of experience in commercial television and independent documentaries. Her recent credits include "Presumed Guilty" (2-hour prime-time PBS Special) about the role of public defenders in the criminal justice system, and "Cause for Murder" (PBS/"Wide Angle") about the murder of human rights activist Digna Ochoa in Mexico. Other films include "Brotherhood of Hate" (Showtime) a study of violent white supremacy; "Witness to War", (Academy Award 1985) about an American doctor behind rebel lines in El Salvador; "When the Mountains Tremble" (Special Jury Award Sundance 1984), featuring Nobel Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú; "Poverty Outlaw" (Sundance 1995); "TV Nation" with Michael Moore (NBC/FOX).

**Paco de Onís, Producer,** grew up in several Latin American countries and is tri-lingual (Spanish, Portuguese, English). His extensive knowledge of Latin America and his television production experience in the United States make him uniquely suited to be the producer of "State of Fear". He has produced television documentaries for PBS ("On Our Own Terms" with Bill Moyers) and NBC ("TV Nation" with Michael Moore).

**Peter Kinoy, Editor,** has worked for twenty-five years in the New York media industry as Producer and Editor. His recent work includes Presumed Guilty, about the role of Public Defenders in the U.S. criminal justice system, broadcast nationally on PBS in 2002, Cause for Murder, (PBS series "Wide Angle", 2002). His independent documentaries include "Takeover", "Poverty Outlaw", (both official selections of the Sundance Film Festival) and "Outriders", all broadcast on PBS.

**Juan Durán, Director of Photography**, is one of Latin America's leading cinematographers. He is based in Peru and has shot over 30 documentaries and feature films. His cinematography is respected throughout Latin America and he is Roger Corman's favorite Latin American DP, having shot more than 12 features for him.

Co-Producer	Ana Caridad Sánchez
Narrator	Karen Duffy
Music	Tito la Rosa and Tavo Castillo
Location Sound	Francisco Andrianzén
Asst. Camera	Matías Durán
Asst. Editor	Dara Kell
Consulting Producers	Alberto "Chicho" Durant, Gail Pellett

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## **STATE OF FEAR - Interview with the Filmmakers**

Production Notes

### **Filmmakers:**

**Pamela Yates – Director**

**Paco de Onís – Producer**

**Peter Kinoy – Editor**

**1) What is the history of the film? How did you come to this story and what inspired you to make the film?**

**Paco de Onís:** We first learned about the Peruvian Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in January 2002 at a meeting at the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), and were intrigued by the fact that it was the first TRC in Latin America to hold public hearings on its legacy of political violence. Since Pam and Peter and I have a long standing interest in Latin American social-political issues, we thought the Peruvian TRC offered a unique opportunity to hear and try to understand the human stories underlying a period of mass atrocities, and what led to the social upheaval. We decided to attend the public hearings, and as we listened to the testimonies we realized that the Peruvian TRC was really examining a 20-year "war on terror" with remarkable parallels to the global "war on terror" launched by the Bush administration. It became obvious to us that Peru's story presented a timely cautionary tale, and we developed STATE OF FEAR with that in mind - yet also so that the findings of the Peruvian TRC also would live on in the film and serve as a permanent reference for Peruvians of their reevaluated history. It was a real privilege for us to work with a great Peruvian crew that brought their own historical perspective to the production process - the combination of our differing but complementary perspectives strengthened the film and gave it universal resonance. We completed STATE OF FEAR in January 2005, 3 years after that initial meeting at the ICTJ.

## **2) When you were making the film, were there particular obstacles you encountered? Particular surprises?**

**Pamela Yates:** What was particularly surprising was how this film became a long and deep journey of discovery. There was so much unknown when it came to Peru's war on terror. Plus, how to make a compelling film about a 20-year period of time in 94 minutes? I like to start any film, by talking to the people who really don't want to talk to me, and in this case it was the perpetrators of human rights abuses: on the one side, Shining Path militants and the other side those who carried out State terror---some members of the Armed Forces. Slowly we found people who were at least willing to sit down and talk, I went into the prison where Shining Path militants were being held and listened to their stories for hours. I began to build relationships with people who had served in the Peruvian military. Over the years, after convincing them of how important it was to give their testimony, to tell what they did and witnessed, people finally began to agree to go on camera with their stories expressing what part they had played in Peru's war on terror. This was particularly true for The Child Soldier, The Marine, and The Guzmán Follower who play roles in STATE OF FEAR.

Another big obstacle was how to universalize the Peruvian story and make it relevant to today's world and compelling enough to grab a US and international audience's full attention. When we discovered the parallels between Peru's story and the current "war on terror," we decided to make those parallels subtle but clear so that STATE OF FEAR could become a cautionary tale. What happened in Peru is a story of epic proportions that the whole world can learn a great deal from.

**Peter Kinoy:** Completion of STATE OF FEAR occurred in a marathon of 5 months of intense editing. When it was all done, the sound mix completed, the color corrected and the final title created, I sat back and watched the show. To my horror it suddenly seemed to me that we had put much too much into the movie, and that audiences would be totally lost after the first ten minutes. I call this a form of "editorial psychosis." (The other form of editorial psychosis is when you are convinced that this is the greatest film ever made.) So it was with great trepidation that I sat in the world premiere, at the Chicago International Documentary Festival. To my relief not only did the audience totally stay with it and got it, but the film won the first of its many awards.

## **3) Can you discuss your approach to making the film, e.g. interviewing, research, shooting, editing?**

**Paco de Onís:** Pam and Peter and I had a true collaboration every step of the way: from the initial development of the film; to later when Pam and I were in the field, we would confer with Peter who was looking at the footage as it came in back in NY; to the preparation of interview questions; and then to the editing process, during which we crafted the story. Collaboration is often an arduous process, but ultimately it leads to a very well developed narrative. It isn't often that a production can have the Editor, in this case Peter, working

“side by side” with the Producer and Director during the actual shooting.

**Pamela Yates:** I wanted a feature film look for STATE OF FEAR, one that would make every image count. Through filmmaker friends, I was introduced to world class Peruvian cinematographer Juan Durán, who shoots features as well as documentaries. Together we came up with a look that conveys the epic scope of the Peruvian story, and very carefully chose every image so that the audience had ample time to reflect on the past. Peru is an incredibly beautiful country from the Pacific coast, up through the Andean mountains, down into the verdant jungle. Our idea was to juxtapose that beauty with the terrible violence visited on the country. In doing so, it would recall the depth of the horror as well as capture the hope eternal of the human spirit.

Another important aspect of STATE OF FEAR was finding the right music, the right composer. I was looking for an ancient yet contemporary sound when we heard the haunting music of Tito la Rosa, which was perfect. He's a shaman who lives in the Andes and plays pre-Incan instruments like condor bones, conch shells, and ceramic flutes, creating a sound that transcends time. He travels and performs throughout Latin America and the US. We worked together to get the music for STATE OF FEAR to be mournful, as well as uplifting - music that was deeply Peruvian, without being folkloric.

**Peter Kinoy:** In STATE OF FEAR, our biggest editorial challenge was to create an exciting visual basis for an incredibly complex and fascinating story that was uncovered by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Almost our entire story takes place in the past, during a time when we weren't present to film. We had a three-fold challenge in terms of editorial presentation. First, there was the sheer breadth of the 30-year historical period, then the personal stories of a dozen different Peruvians, and finally the larger transcendent story of a "war on terror." We rejected the "TV" model of frenetic repetition and hyper-impact. Instead, we reached back to a more settled model, that of literature - binding the story between the covers of violence in Ayacucho and then letting each character have their moment on stage as they tell the part of the history that they were most intimately involved in.

The story is presented in the simplest way, a chronological narrative relay race, where each character hands off the baton to the next, starting in the 1970's and bringing us all the way to the present. We decided to include historic road signs, or chapter headings, that not only indicate the next time period to be examined, but also give a brief verbal description of the outstanding characteristic of that period, i.e. "Terror Takes Root". The final challenge was to create a working balance between the three main building blocks; the historical facts, the personal stories, and the over-arching themes. To do this we used a series of focus group screenings where we were able to refine and calibrate what the audience was getting or not getting.

**4) After making this film, have you changed your views about particular aspects of this situation or story?**

**Paco de Onís:** It hasn't really changed my views, but deepened my understanding of how a state of fear comes to be. I'm impressed by how quickly people respond to the Peruvian story as a reflection of our current realities vis-a-vis the global "war on terror", and the dangers our democracy faces as it weighs the balance between security and civil liberties.

**Pamela Yates:** As has been said, "History is an argument". What impressed me most about the Peruvian story was how the Peruvian Truth Commission changed Fujimori's official version of history: that in order to defeat terrorism a lot of people had to die, even innocents. The official version of what happened in Peru is now rewritten from the point of view of the victims, the disenfranchised, the poor, and is embodied in STATE OF FEAR.

Another thing I realized through the making of STATE OF FEAR was that asking whether one should exchange democracy for security is a false argument. We deserve both and can have both.

#### **5) What are you working on now?**

**Paco de Onís:** We're developing two projects: a series on the International Criminal Court and the history of the international justice movement, and a sequel to WHEN THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLE, a film we made in 1983 about the genocide committed against the indigenous people of Guatemala perpetrated by General Efraim Rios Montt and his cohorts. A case is being prepared against the generals now by a Guatemalan human rights legal organization, CALDH, and they are going to use footage from our film as evidence in the case - the sequel will document the case and the use of documentary film in human rights work.

#### **6) If someone wanted to know what they could do with regards to some of the issues raised in the film, what would you suggest they do?**

**Paco de Onís:** Follow the example of the human rights organizations in STATE OF FEAR - get active in an organization that is vigilant of our democracy - contribute funds or give your time when you can, keep our political representatives aware that we expect them to protect, not debase, our democracy.